Romantic Antiquaries and Silent Conversations: Ann Radcliffe's Post-1797 Texts and Sir Walter Scott

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Abstract

This study aims to redress the almost complete critical marginalisation of Ann Radcliffe's post-1797 works, published in a four-volume collection entitled *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 Ann Radcliffe, to which is Prefixed a Memoir of the Author with Extracts from her Journals* (1826). I examine the major works of this collection, beginning with Radcliffe's last novel, *Gaston de Blondeville,* before providing a critical analysis of her two longest narrative poems, *St. Alban's Abbey* and *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge.* In arguing for a widening of the bounds of Radcliffean scholarship to include not just her well-known Gothic romances of the 1790s, but also her later works, I contextualise Radcliffe's post-1797 texts alongside Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* (1820) and his earlier narrative poetry. Examining Radcliffe's later work in the context of Scott's historical fiction allows us to see Radcliffe's innovation as a writer post-1790s. It also highlights the striking thematic reciprocity which exists between Radcliffe's post-1797 texts and Scott's historical fiction. These works display varying responses to a larger revival of interest in Britain's early heritage, exemplified through Radcliffe's and Scott's exploration of the nature of antiquarian study and medieval romance forms. In tracking this thematic reciprocity, this study uncovers a little-acknowledged 'conversation,' initiated by Radcliffe's post-1797 works with Scott's oeuvre. The forthcoming chapters define the specific nature of this 'conversation,' in which Radcliffe first anticipates and then responds to Scott's unprecedented literary success in the field of historical fiction.

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Author's Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and that I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for any award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

Introduction

1. Listening in on the 'Silent Conversation'

At the centre of this study is an attempt to recover an acknowledged, although little explored creative engagement between two best-selling authors of the Romantic period: Ann Radcliffe and Sir Walter Scott. In exploring the thematic mutuality which exists between the texts of these two authors, this study will be primarily concerned to examine and contexualise Radcliffe's little known post-1797 works alongside Scott's narrative poetry and historical fiction. In recovering the creative dialogue between Radcliffe and Scott, this study takes as its focus their lesser known texts. It concentrates on Radcliffe's posthumously published work and Scott's verse narratives, closely bound up with their varying (and sometimes contradictory) responses to a larger revival of interest in the nation's early heritage. Radcliffe's later works were published by her husband, William, in a four-volume collection published three years after her death entitled *Gaston de Blondeville, or The Court of Henry III Keeping Festival in Ardenne, a Romance; St Albans Abbey: A Metrical Tale, with some Poetical Pieces by Ann Radcliffe, to which is Prefixed a Memoir of the Author with Extracts from her Journals* (1826).[1] This collection contains texts written approximately between 1802-1815, comprising not only *Gaston de Blondeville* and *St Albans Abbey*, but another narrative poem entitled *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge*, and a series of shorter verses concluding with *Edwy*, a fairy

[1] All citations in this thesis from *Gaston de Blondeville* are taken from Frances Chiu's 2006 edition published by Valancourt Books. As there are no edited editions of Radcliffe's other post-1797 texts, citations from *St. Alban's Abbey* and *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge* are taken from the original, four-volume edition of these works, published in 1826.

poem set in the grounds of Windsor Castle. Crucially, the works within this collection, published three years after Radcliffe died in 1823, have been systematically marginalised in constructions of the Radcliffean canon--an exclusion which Scott himself helped to contribute towards in his own critical account of Radcliffe's life and work in his 'Memoir of Mrs. Radcliffe,' for *Ballantyne's Novelists Library* in 1824. This study will attempt to redress this critical imbalance, offering up in-depth critical analyses of Radcliffe's most lengthy post-1797 works: *Gaston de Blondeville* (1802-3), *St. Albans Abbey: A Metrical Tale* (1808-9), and *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge*. My last chapter examines T.N. Talfourd's 'Memoir of Mrs. Radcliffe,' prefixed to William's collection of his wife's later writing.

Putting Radcliffe's later works in the context of Scott's historical fiction allows us to see Radcliffe's innovation and importance as a writer after the 1790s, a period which many scholars have written off, consigning it to what they see as Radcliffe's 'later life,' characterised by Radcliffe's retirement from the contemporary literary scene. E.J. Clery for instance, only cursorily alludes to the existence of *Gaston de Blondeville* and *St. Alban's Abbey* in her study entitled *Women's Gothic* (1995), framing their composition as a rather uninspiring bookend to Radcliffe's 1790s' Gothic romances, having 'none of the magic of her famous works' (67). As I hope to illustrate in this study, such a characterisation of Radcliffe's post-1797 creative life and output could not be further from the truth. In 1797, Radcliffe was only thirty-three. She was still young, and had hardly reached the end of her creative life. Although she only composed one more novel after the 1790s, we can see from the publication of her journal extracts in T.N. Talfourd's 'Memoir of the Life and Writings of Mrs. Radcliffe,' that Radcliffe's creative impulse

post-1797 became deeply bound up with creative responses to the antiquarian excursions throughout England which she undertook with her husband. This was an impulse which endured until the very end of her life as evidenced in her commonplace book, kept from 1822-23, in which we can see the possible beginnings of a literary project based on the life of the Duke of Marlborough, whose ancestral home, Blenheim Palace, Radcliffe had visited in 1802.[2]

Her post-1797 works, did, however, effect a major shift in creative trajectory from her 1790s' Gothic romances, and we can perhaps assign the marginalisation of these texts to their sudden and unexplained swing away from the famous Radcliffean 'formula' of the 1790s. Her first Gothic romance, *The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne,* set in the Scottish Highlands, appeared in 1789, the momentous year in which the events of the French Revolution began to reverberate throughout Europe. The last of Radcliffe's works to be published during her lifetime was *The Italian,* published in late 1796. This was a period which saw Britain embroiled in a bitterly contested war against Revolutionary France, and which witnessed Pitt's infamous suspension of habeas corpus and resulting treason trials (Barrell 208). Between 1789 and 1796, with the appearance of *A Sicilian Romance* (1790), *The Romance of the Forest* (1791) and *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794), Radcliffe's name became synonymous with the features of her particular brand of the Gothic, with her Southern European settings, remote and mouldering castles, and her trademark use of the 'explained supernatural.' Radcliffe's distinctive brand of Gothic romance tantalised her readers with plots structured around a sexually threatened, yet

[2] Radcliffe quotes at length in her 'commonplace' book from William Coxe's *Memoirs of John, Duke of Marlborough* (1818).

morally courageous, heroine. It is owing to this central theme that critics such as Diane Long Hoeveler and Carol Davison have come to associate Radcliffe's earlier Gothic romances with the 'Female Gothic.' These five works proved so popular that Radcliffe became 'far and away the best-selling English novelist of the 1790s,' receiving an unprecedented £800 advance for *The Italian* (Miles 8). Rictor Norton, Radcliffe's most accomplished contemporary biographer, similarly characterises Radcliffe's literary success during the decade as 'unparalleled' (89). After her publication of *The Italian* however, Radcliffe does not carry on with her successful and lucrative formula but instead opts to take a different course entirely, in which she returns to the origins of the Gothic. Her post-1797 works look back to antiquarian cultural materials of the mid-eighteenth century, effecting an excavation of works such as Richard Hurd's *Letters of Chivalry and Romance* (1782), James Macpherson's *The Works of Ossian* (1765), Thomas Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765) and his translation of Paul-Henri Mallet's *Northern Antiquities* (1770). The dramatic shift which Radcliffe's post-1797 texts effected from her Gothic romances of the 1790s must have appeared to be a perplexing change of direction to Radcliffe's contemporaries. Reviews of *Gaston de Blondeville* are oddly rather mixed on the subject, often failing to register the exact nature of the novel's vast difference from Radcliffe's earlier romances. Indeed, only *La Belle Assemblée* registers Radcliffe's antiquarian interest in *Gaston de Blondeville,* commenting on Willoughton's character, who is 'warmed by the spirit of antiquarianism,' and 'the shadowy recollections of past ages which it conjured up in his mind' (303). However, the subsequent marginalisation of Radcliffe's 1826 texts within her canon demonstrates how Radcliffe's overt and self-conscious return to antiquarian themes from the mid-eighteenth

century failed to conform to contemporary constructions of the 'Radcliffean' Gothic. Radcliffe, then, was essentially a victim of her own success, with the popularity of her Gothic romances making it difficult for readers to accept a work so different from her earlier narratives.

This study, then, will argue for a broadening of the traditional bounds of Radcliffean scholarship, which, as I note above, has consistently located Radcliffe's oeuvre within the bounds of the 'Female Gothic.' Diane Long Hoeveler, for instance, situates Radcliffe's 1790s' fiction within a recognisable tradition of 'gothic feminism,' in which she sees Radcliffe as an author who put forward a powerful literary formula through which to indict the patriarchal society of late-eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Britain. Hoeveler argues: 'Her novels, particularly *Udolpho* and *The Italian*, established the narrative trajectory that has persisted into contemporary "Female Gothics:" a persecuted heroine trapped in a crumbling castle diffused with manic oedipal anxieties and assaulted by the forces of socioeconomic power (often disguised as religion) run amok' (1). She even goes so far as to associate Radcliffe's 1790s' romances with the radical ideology put forward concerning female education by Mary Wollstonecraft in *Vindication of the Rights of Women* (2), while Carol Davison similarly understands Radcliffe's gothic romances to be key texts in understanding the 'multifaceted ideology of femininity, particularly the constraining roles advocated for women and the institutions of marriage and motherhood' (87). While Hoeveler and Davison have made important claims concerning the ways in which Radcliffe's 1790s' Gothic romances questioned accepted notions of contemporary femininity, such assertions are based on an analysis of only half of Radcliffe's body of work, the focus of which significantly shifted after 1797.

This study intends to address this forgotten half of Radcliffe's oeuvre, and to account for the shift which these later texts effected in Radcliffe's creative trajectory, arguing that Radcliffe's post-1790s' work serves to complicate and interrupt traditionally held critical notions of Radcliffe's body of work, usually examined within the confines of the 'Female Gothic.' In doing so, I hope to contribute to the increasing attention which Radcliffe's later works have garnered in recent years, notably by Susan Manning, Angela Wright, Dale Townshend, James Watt, and Samuel Baker.

Departing from the 'formula' of her earlier Gothic romances, typified by her use of the 'explained supernatural,' Radcliffe's post-1797 texts effect an important 'return' to the cultural materials of earlier Gothic romances such as Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* (1764), Clara Reeve's *The Old English Baron* (1787), and Ann Fuller's *Alan Fitz-Osborne* (1787), which illustrate what Robert Miles refers to as the mid-eighteenth century's 'Gothic taste,' or revival of antiquarian interest (30). Miles identifies this 'revival' as a 'nationalist movement' concerned with the 'racial past that gave birth to Englishness' (Miles 30). Radcliffe's post-1797 texts re-privilege the historical epochs and medieval settings of earlier Gothic novels which, as Anne Stevens charts, had generically developed alongside the historical novel, in which 'Gothic' simply denoted the medieval (Stevens 49). As in Scott's texts, Radcliffe's post-1797 works also foreground the concerns of the spurious publications of James Macpherson's *The Works of Ossian* (1765) and Thomas Chatterton's *Poems Supposed to have been Written at Bristol, by Thomas Rowley and Others, in the Fifteenth Century* (1777). These texts, purported to have been written by an ancient Scottish bard and a fifteenth century English monk respectively, passed themselves off as authentic examples of an indigenous literary tradition. The

contemporary debates over the authenticity of these works created a literary climate in which authenticity became increasingly difficult to establish, especially given the inherently oral nature of the ancient texts which ballad collectors often amassed. In Scott's *The Antiquary* (1816), for instance, a roused Jonathan Oldbuck asks his friend, in a debate over the authenticity of Ossian's Fingal, '… [do] you absolutely believe that stuff of Macpherson's to be really ancient, you simple boy?' (293). However, establishing authorial or temporal authenticity is not the primary concern of Radcliffe and Scott in these texts. Instead, they emphasise the inherent fictionality of their works, operating within a new 'post-forgery' context in their re-appraisal of the themes explored by the literary scandals of the mid-eighteenth century. In *Gaston de Blondeville*, Radcliffe presents her readers with an obviously apocryphal thirteenth century manuscript, just as Scott situates *Ivanhoe* as a tale taken from the fictional Wardour MS, owned by a similarly fictional friend and neighbour of Jonathan Oldbuck. These texts are mediated by multiple authors, and, unlike Macpherson's or Chatterton's works, their focus rests on the credulity of the antiquaries which 'translate' the 'Trew Chronique' and the Wardour MS. Radcliffe and Scott credit what they present as popular belief here, not the convincingness of Willoughton's and Templeton's 'translations.' Similarly, Radcliffe's *St. Albans Abbey,* which closely follows the structure of Scott's narrative poems in its attempt at 'modern antique poetry,' entertains no pretense of authenticity. It is instead an overt re-enactment of competing tendencies within the ballad collector-poet to be a faithful editor of collected texts, and to re-invent, or modify such works. All of Radcliffe's post-1797 works traverse the border between a knowing irony and a willing naiveté in their approach to Britain's deep past.

It is through this 'return' to earlier iterations of the Gothic that we can discern another clue as to the critical exclusion of Radcliffe's post-1797 texts from her accepted oeuvre. By the time that Radcliffe's later works were published in 1826, contemporary meanings of the Gothic had changed, and we can speculate that Radcliffe's re-working of the Gothic was an attempt to stay clear of the increasing violence and sexualization of contemporary Gothic works in the wake of Matthew Lewis's *The Monk*, published the same year as Radcliffe's own tale of the Inquisition, *The Italian*. Indeed, Nick Groom, in his new introduction to *The Italian*, argues that 'Radcliffe's literary standing was tarnished by *The Monk*, which was seen as being the spawn--however monstrous and illegitimate--of *The Mysteries of Udolpho'* (Groom 7). Thus, after the publication of Lewis's novel, 'the Gothic of the 1790s began to move in two distinct directions,' defined by Radcliffe's 'terror-Gothic,' operating on a ritualization of secrecy and half-realised suggestion, and Lewis's 'horror-Gothic,' which was unapologetically graphic in its depictions of murder, incest, and rape (Shapira 462). Her turn to Britain's various strands of cultural inheritance in partial response to Scott's work, then, can perhaps be understood as part of Radcliffe's attempt to disassociate herself from an incarnation of the Gothic which threatened her carefully negotiated literary reputation as a female author, in which she avoided aligning her works with either a 'conservative' or 'radical' political ideology, or indeed, in the case of her post-1797 works, any straightforward historical interpretation of Britain's deep past. It was this shrewd ability which kept her firmly grounded within the accepted literary establishment of the 1790s, while other female novelists such as Hays and Wollstonecraft were associated with Richard Polwhele's 'unsex'd women.' Subsequently, Gothic novels of the first two decades of the nineteenth century such as

Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818), began to utilise a contemporary setting, 'whereby the Gothic [lost] all connotation of the medieval, [and became]…a mere synonym for the grotesque' (Stevens 49). Radcliffe's turn to Britain's past in her later work reflects the shifting modes of representation which the Gothic underwent during the period. In her turn to the past, Radcliffe did indeed manage to distance herself from her Gothic successors, but her lack of success can in part be attributed to her abrupt change of focus in these texts, which blatantly turned away from the direction the Gothic was taking post-Lewis. As a result, scholars today are still struggling to look beyond the sheer disappointment and confusion of Radcliffe's initial readers and critics.

After the publication of *The Italian* in 1796, Radcliffe did not publish another literary work during her lifetime. Taking this into consideration, we can see how, when coupled with Radcliffe's unexpected shift to Britain's deep past in her post-1797 texts, these works were largely excluded from Radcliffe's oeuvre by contemporary critics. By 1826, the literary marketplace had been irrevocably transformed by the historical narratives of Scott, and Radcliffe's later texts made their appearance in the overwhelming shadow of Scott's pioneering success in the field of historical fiction. *Gaston de Blondeville,* set in Warwickshire at Kenilworth Castle, was specifically targeted in reviews of Radcliffe's posthumous work as particularly derivative of Scott's novels, despite being composed during the winter of 1802--a full nineteen years before Scott published his own novel of Kenilworth. *The London Literary Gazette* emphasises what critics understood to be the derivative nature of *Gaston de Blondeville*, characterising it as yet 'another tale of Kenilworth' (321). The review implicitly privileges Scott's novel over Radcliffe's as a result of the false perception of Scott's creative precedence. Thus, in the words of Ina

Ferris, he 'thoroughly eclipsed the already existing category of the historical novel, becoming synonymous with it for the rest of the nineteenth century' (7). A critical recognition of Radcliffe's exploration of the interaction between localized historical memory, national identity, and medieval romance was lost in the 'Scott mania' of the early nineteenth century. The purpose of this study is to re-evaluate these forgotten aspects of Radcliffe's work, embedded as they are within a similarly forgotten period of Radcliffe's career.

Significantly, it is in Radcliffe' post-1797 interest in the development and nature of 'Englishness,' and its relationship to a broader 'British' identity, that we can see Radcliffe's 'silent conversation' with Scott's historical fiction begin to unfold. Radcliffe's post-1797 works engaged with many of the same thematic concerns which Scott explored throughout his much-lauded literary career. These texts, set during the reign of Henry III amidst the lead up to the Second Baron's War (*Gaston de Blondeville*), the Wars of the Roses (*St. Alban's Abbey*), and the mythical construction of Stonehenge (*Salisbury Plains*), are deeply and self-consciously concerned with the processes through which England's history is narrativised, recorded, translated, and edited. Written almost twenty years before, Radcliffe's *Gaston de Blondeville* anticipates Scott's 'ironic relationship' to the representation of Britain's past in *Ivanhoe*, with its complex frame narrative occupied by the fictional antiquaries, Mr. Willoughton and Mr. Simpson, and their apocryphal medieval MS, the 'Trew Chronique.' *St. Albans Abbey*, likewise, experiments with the format of Scott's popular metrical romance, interrogating the process laid out by Scott in his preface to *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, in which he attempts to blend 'the refinements of modern poetry without losing the simplicity of

[ancient romance]' (16). Like Scott's *Harold the Dauntless*, Radcliffe's *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge* looks back to Britain's deeper past, examining the processes of cultural 'layering' and assimilation whereby the national identities of early nineteenth-century Britain came into being. This dialogue between Radcliffe's post-1797 works and Scott's historical fiction is reflected in the structure of this study. Each of my discussions of Radcliffe's posthumously published texts is focalised through an examination of one of Scott's early narrative poems, with the exception of chapter one, which discusses Radcliffe's *Gaston de Blondeville* alongside Scott's *Ivanhoe*. The second chapter contextualises Radcliffe's *St. Alban's Abbey* in relation to Scott's first two verse narratives, *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805) and *Marmion* (1808). These are the texts which Radcliffe likely read and actively responded to in her own work. Indeed, it was not until after Radcliffe had stopped publishing her Gothic romances that she began to compose her first historical narrative poems--a significant clue as to the influence which Scott exerted on her later work. As Alison Lumsden and Ainsley McIntosh rightly highlight in their discussion of Scott's narrative poems, studies of Scott's early texts have been generally excluded from Scott scholarship and indeed the wider Romantic canon as a whole (35). It is my intention to use the obscurity of Scott's narrative poems in order to redress the similar erasure of Radcliffe's later work from her own critical canon as a whole, and to highlight how Scott's early texts influenced Radcliffe's later ones, through his attention to the processes of ballad collection, his attention to Britain's ancient folkloric tradition, and his antiquarian structuring of his narrative poems, complete with lengthy and well-researched endnotes.

In shedding light on the 'silent conversation' between Radcliffe's post-1797 works and Scott's historical fiction, it is important to recognise how the nature of this creative engagement evolves and changes as we trace it through Radcliffe's posthumously published works. In many ways, the 'conversation' which I trace here is not straightforward, and I use the term to emphasise the striking thematic reciprocity which exists between Radcliffe's post-1797 works and Scott's historical fiction, rather than to suggest that a direct dialogue exists between these works. As I note above, Radcliffe anticipates Scott's ironic representation of England's medieval past in *Gaston de Blondeville*, while she more straightforwardly responds to the popularity of Scott's narrative poetry in *St. Alban's Abbey*, in which she not only adopts the use of Scott's canto structure in order to divide up the action of her poetic narrative, but also introduces a sense of 'narrative simultaneity' into her representation of civil conflict (Stevens 160), which she tells from varied and contrasting view-points. Radcliffe's role in this 'silent conversation,' then, ranges from her anticipating Scott's historical fiction to her creatively responding to it. Due to the late publication of Radcliffe's post-1797 works, appearing twenty-four years after *Gaston de Blondeville* was initially written, Scott would have been totally unaware of the 'conversation' which Radcliffe's later works initiated with his historical fiction. Thus, in 1824, when he composed his critical memoir of Radcliffe's career--the only direct 'response' to Radcliffe's works which Scott ever made-- he was only engaging with half of Radcliffe's oeuvre. Little did he know that as he treated Radcliffe's Gothic romances with a condescending sense of his own literary superiority in his 'Memoir,' Radcliffe had already engaged in her own exploration of Britain's deep national past. This is the fundamental irony which this study attempts to emphasise, in

the hope that contextualising Radcliffe's later works alongside Scott's historical fiction will help to illustrate the importance of her post-1790s' texts in constructing a new critical interpretation of Radcliffe's oeuvre which, for the first time, takes her entire body of work into account. Scott, then, can be seen as an unknowing participant in this 'conversation.' Despite this, the nature of Scott's participation in this creative dialogue can be discerned through his own carefully-managed negotiation of his creative relationship to Gothic romance.

Scott's literary fame came immediately after Radcliffe's in the first decade of the nineteenth century, first with his historical narrative poems, beginning with *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805), and then with the success of his thirty Waverley novels, published between 1814 and 1832. Starting with his narrative poems, Scott drew on the conventions of Gothic romance at the same time that he disavowed the genre's influence on his own historical fiction, which successfully cultivated a sense of its own generic innovation, or 'newness,' discussed further in chapter two. According to Ina Ferris in her groundbreaking work *The Acheivement of Literary Authority: Gender, History, and the Waverley Novels* (1991), Scott used his consciously constructed sense of 'innovation' in his historical fiction in order to '[move] the novel out of the sub-literary margins of [literary] culture,' initiating the first 'decisive move' of the novel 'from literary outsider to literary insider' (2). In order to do so, as Fiona Robertson has shown, Scott's historical fiction effectively subsumed many of the narrative elements of the Gothic romance, such as the delayed or broken narrative, medieval settings, and plots which centre on the restoration of legitimacy (8). He necessarily drew on the tropes and plot structures which Radcliffe herself injected into the Gothic tradition. Even more importantly, the Waverley

Novels worked to explore the various modes through which the particularities of historical epochs and the processes of historical change can be represented in literary form. In the words of Robertson, 'the questions about the value and status of historical fiction which are repeatedly raised in the Waverley Novels become much more significant when examined in the context of the literary Gothic, much of which was engaged in exploring the same aesthetic and historiographical questions' (7). As a result of Scott's effective subsuming of the Gothic romance within his supposedly 'new' brand of historical fiction, there has been a critical tendency, beginning with Georg Lukacs, to understand the Gothic's interest in historiography as a mere pre-cursor to the more 'legitimate' representation of the historical process which Scott foregrounds in his Waverley novels. Indeed, Lukacs' analysis of Scott's historical fiction completely divorces his works from their most contemporary literary context alongside the Gothic romance, arguing that Scott's historical novel is 'the direct continuation of the great realistic social novel of the eighteenth century' (31). In doing so, he explicitly associates Scott's fiction with the 'realistic' novels of Richardson, Fielding, and Smollett, excluding the Gothic from the literary genealogy of Scott's novels. This study will build on Robertson's argument that 'Gothic modes of history were not preparations for the real thing, but ways of presenting the past and imaginative responses to the past, which survive in the Waverley Novels…' (7). It is through Radcliffe's and Scott's parallel interest in what Robertson calls 'Gothic modes of history' that we are able to uncover the creative dialogue which Radcliffe's post-1797 texts initiate with Scott's historical fiction.

The runaway success which Scott garnered during his literary career has resulted in sensational characterisations of his popularity. Peter Murphy makes a similar claim to

the one which Norton makes for Radcliffe above, arguing that 'his accomplishment remains…unparalleled, even in our era of smash hits and giant blockbusters' (136). These claims demonstrate how Radcliffe and Scott have been discussed together before, but not in any systematic or thorough way. Ellen Moers, for instance, obliquely connects Radcliffe and Scott in her citation of Scott's biography of Radcliffe, published in 1824, noting Scott's characterisation of Radcliffe's particular brand of the Gothic as an addictive drug, 'dangerous when habitual, but of most blessed power in those moments of pain or of languor, when the whole head is sore, and the heart sick' (78). Significantly, Marilyn Butler, in her article entitled "The Woman at the Window: Ann Radcliffe in the Novels of Mary Wollstonecraft and Jane Austen," identifies the important influence which Radcliffe had on Scott, arguing, 'the full sweep of the Waverley series, with its fictional motifs of pursuit and imprisonment, of the hero's neurotic depression, inner division, frustration, fear, and helplessness, is nothing if not Radcliffean' (Butler 128). Nineteenth-century critics were also ready to draw critical comparisons between Radcliffe and Scott. Henry Crabbe Robinson saw Scott's *Rokeby* (1813) as 'a romance à la Radcliffe in verse' (1: 130), while Coleridge negatively viewed Scott's novel *The Pirate* (1822), at least in part, as an imitation of Radcliffe: '…to be classed among the instances of self-nescience…in competition with Mrs. Radcliffe' (333). In an issue of *The Edinburgh Review,* published in May, 1823--the year of Radcliffe's death--an article on the nature of the periodical press acknowledges that 'the editor of the Englishman was for many years a Mr. Radcliffe,' married to 'the fair authoress [who] kept herself as much incognito as the author of Waverley; nothing was known of her but her name on the title page. She never appeared in public, nor mingled in private society, but kept herself apart,

like the sweet bird who sings in solitary notes, shrowded and unseen' (38: 360). Significantly, the critic in the *Edinburgh Review* discerns certain key similarities in Radcliffe's and Scott's handling of their respective authorial reputations. The careful mediation of their own authorial anonymity not only fueled critical interest in their respective literary careers, but also played a significant role in the marketing of their works. Scott tantalised his readers by constructing elaborate frame narratives, in which 'the author of Waverley' debates the finer points of his creative practice and historical depiction, while Radcliffe shunned a public literary life at the apex of her career with the publication of *The Italian*, serving to heighten public interest in the mysterious author behind her Gothic romances.

In his biography of Radcliffe, Scott nimbly negotiates the influence which Radcliffe had over his own writing, obliquely acknowledging Radcliffe as an innovative founder of a new 'school' of romance, while stopping short of associating it with his own new brand of 'romance,' marked by his publication of *Ivanhoe* (1819). Scott marginalises Radcliffe's romances at the same time that he upholds the innovations which she affected on the gothic romance, arguing that 'she led the way in a peculiar style of composition, affecting powerfully the mind of the reader, which has since been attempted by many, but in which no one has attained or approached the excellencies of the original inventor' (xviii). Scott comes closest to directly owning up to Radcliffe's influence in his brief discussion of her first novel, *The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne* (1789). He notes how the novel contains 'germs of that taste for the wild, romantic, and mysterious…but [is] without any attempt to trace either the peculiar manners of scenery of that country' (iii). Scott positions Radcliffe's first novel as a literary influence on his own tales of the

Scottish Highlands, while he also opens up a space for his own works, as offering a more specific delineation of ancient manners and customs, a claim he would make in the preface to *The Lay of the Last Minstrel,* discussed further in chapter two. Here, we can discern yet another similarity in the literary trajectories of Radcliffe and Scott: both of their literary careers 'began' in Scotland, with Radcliffe's examination of Scottish feudalism in *The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne* and Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802). In identifying this common interest, we can see the seeds of Radcliffe's later engagement with a broader cultural turn to Britain's distant past, even at the very outset of her literary career.

2. Antiquarianism, Nationhood, and the Gothic

In the decades after the Seven Years' War, which extended the boundaries of Britain's empire, Kathleen Wilson argues, 'a convergence of developments [led] to the re-discovery' of Britain's essential 'island-ness' as 'a formative force within British and English history' (Wilson 5). However, this renewed desire to stress how Britain was historically unique came 'at the precise moment in which England was less an island than ever before' (5). In response to the expansion of Britons' horizons at this time, travel writing, which illustrated the manners and customs of geographically distant cultures, became one of the most popular genres on the British literary market, 'forcing a re-thinking of Britain's own pasts' (5). The 1770s saw the publication of Captain Cook's accounts of his travels through the South Pacific, for example, sparking a renewed literary interest in primitive cultures which prompted readers to reconsider Britain's own distant past, as Radcliffe's illustration of Druid and Norse culture in *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge* shows. Here, Radcliffe introduces a comparative dimension to her mediation

on the 'primitive,' in effect asking, were we once like them? It is in the larger context of explorations of British identity, in which Britain collectively returned to its own past through the renewed efforts of local and literary antiquaries and an upsurge in national tourism, that Radcliffe's and Scott's creative dialogue unfolds. More specifically, this study locates Radcliffe's growing interest in the definition of 'Englishness' in relation to the climate of 'British' introspection which Wilson outlines. Katie Trumpener, in her important work *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire* (1997), considers how it may have been difficult for some to conceive of Britain as unified, arguing that authors from Britain's 'Celtic fringe,' such as James Macpherson, highlighted national difference within the British Isles. Trumpener also identifies this period as a significant moment in the development of the novel, in which it 'appears to take up exactly where the antiquarian theorists…of the 1770s left off (and to redeploy literary tropes thirty or forty years old with scarcely any consciousness of the passage of time)' (12). Radcliffe's 'return' in her post-1797 texts to mid-eighteenth century Gothic romances such as *Longsword, Earl of Salisbury* (1762) and *The Old English Baron* (1778), which emphasised their historical settings, also reflects this broader cultural 'return.' In returning to the Gothic genre's earliest roots, based on the structures and settings of medieval romance outlined by Hurd, Warton, and Percy, and informed by the late eighteenth century's revival of national antiquarianism, Radcliffe and Scott participate in what Trumpener has recognised as a broader movement of the early nineteenth-century novel, in which 'late eighteenth-century discussions of bardic poetry and national antiquities revived during the first years of the nineteenth century' (11). The works which I examine in this study, then, are part of what Tom Duggett has identified

as a 'Gothic culture' (8). The early-nineteenth-century texts of Radcliffe and Scott participate in this renewed examination of contested histories, privileging a wide range of regional, antiquarian settings in England and Scotland which invite readers to consider both their cultural specificity, and their relationship to contemporary British identity. Radcliffe's return to questions posed by the literary antiquaries of the 1760s and 1770s has led me to contextualise my discussion of Radcliffe's work against Scott's well-known interest in such studies. His popularisation of Britain's history occupies a significant position, then, in any study which undertakes an exploration of Radcliffe's own turn to Britain's deep past.

In seeking to understand this 'redeployment,' we need to think about the role of the antiquary in early nineteenth-century novels. Susan Manning argues that 'antiquarian activity reaches right into the quiddity of Romantic writing' (45), and the antiquary, despite being a figure of contemporary satire mocked by Scott in his depiction of his over-zealous Jonathan Oldbuck, and by Radcliffe in her illustration of Mr. Willoughton in *Gaston de Blondeville,* became emblematic of the contemporary questioning of the nature of Britain's contested national inheritances. Significantly, Manning not only reads Radcliffe's *Gaston de Blondeville* as a text which explores the complexity of the antiquary as a figure serving to mediate anxieties concerning the construction of an early nineteenth-century 'Britishness,' but she also recognises how Radcliffe's last novel foregrounds Scott's ironic representation of medieval England in *Ivanhoe,* arguing that 'Ivanhoe lurks in the wings of *Gaston de Blondeville*' (68). Manning's observation has served as the initial inspiration of this study, both in its recognition of the central importance of the figure of the antiquary to Radcliffe's later imagination, and in its astute

noticing of the text's anticipatory relationship to Scott's *Ivanhoe*. This study is greatly indebted to Manning's essay 'Antiquarianism, Balladry, and the Rehabilitation of Romance,' in which she argues that the antiquary and his pursuits came to represent differing notions concerning the 'proper' collection of historical artefacts, and how such objects might be assimilated into coherent historical narratives (45). Often satirised as indiscriminate material collection, antiquarian study was to seen to run the risk of being unorganized or 'unarticulated' into a cohesive trajectory of British nationhood (45). The early-nineteenth-century texts of Radcliffe and Scott playfully embody the intellectual approach of the antiquary in order to exploit the essential ideological malleability of antiquarian study, allowing them to excavate the differing strands of Britain's cultural heritage without presenting straightforwardly allegorical readings of the nation's (dis)unity. In doing so, they play on the 'considerable slippage' inherent in the connotations of ancient romance, wavering 'between a version of romance as fiction…and a historicist version, locating it at various moments in a stadialist sequence which linked the barbarous past to modernity' (Manning 68).

This 'slippage' between romance and history was taken up and explored by contemporary antiquaries, particularly within the context of their own 'regionally based sense of cultural continuity' (Trumpener 47). Trumpener draws on the antiquarian interest in 'regionality' in order to suggest that 'English literature constitutes itself in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries through the systematic imitation, appropriation, and political neutralization of antiquarian and nationalist literary developments in Scotland, Ireland, and Wales' (45), and Radcliffe's later texts provide us with a fascinating example through which we can examine and complicate Trumpener's theory.

As a female English author writing from London, the nerve-centre of Britain's growing empire, we might speculate that Radcliffe is concerned in her later work to carve out a particularly English cultural tradition in response to the national literary movements of Britain's Celtic fringe. Radcliffe's later works, then, can be seen to respond to increasing British centralization, and to England's position at the centre of the empire. Trumpener persuasively argues, 'to the degree that England becomes the centre of the empire, its own internal sense of culture accordingly fails to develop' (15-16). Instead, its cultural identity came to be defined by its appropriation of its colonial cultures, resulting in what Trumpener terms 'the systematic underdevelopment of Englishness' (15). Radcliffe stages this perceived lack of cultural specificity in *Gaston de Blondeville*, figured by Mr. Willoughton's disappointment upon his arrival in the Forest of Arden as a physical site which does not embody the imaginative power of Shakespeare's Forest in *As You Like It*, now only to be found 'by the paltry light of stage lamps' (Radcliffe 4). In identifying this sense of cultural underdevelopment, Radcliffe appropriates Ossianic tropes of cultural loss in *Gaston de Blondeville*, naturalizing the voices of English literary culture into specific national landscapes. She places Shakespeare at the forefront of a uniquely English Bardic tradition, in which the very ground of Kenilworth Castle is imbued with the voices of England's past. She rehearses Macpherson's representation of memory, landscape, and song as inextricably constitutive of national identity in *The Works of Ossian* (1765), whose Scottish bard is 'heard… even when the noise of the chase is passed, and the streams of Cona answer to the voice of Ossian' (Macpherson 45). In Radcliffe's take on Ossianic sentiment, Willoughton is haunted by the absence of Rosalind's song, of which he cannot even 'catch the last faint echo,' in a landscape which

has become divorced from its cultural history. Radcliffe's post-1797 works, then, are deeply concerned with the potential irrecoverability of the national past, and the implications which an 'irretrievable' past has for contemporary notions of cultural unity.

In mediating the potential irrecoverability of the national past, the Gothic sites in Radcliffe's post-1797 works take on a spectral aspect. Willoughton's viewing of Kenilworth Castle in *Gaston de Blondeville*, for instance, recalls Beattie's *The Minstrel* (1771-4) to his mind, and Radcliffe incorporates a portion of a stanza from Book II of Beattie's text in her frame narrative: 'Hail, awful scenes, that calm the troubled breast,/and woo the weary to profound repose/ Can passion's wildest uproar lull to rest,/ And whisper comfort to the man of woes' (42).[3] As in her appropriation of Ossianic cultural loss, Radcliffe adopts Beattie's representation of his minstrel's deep creative connection to his Scottish landscape in her depiction of Willoughton's emotional transport at viewing the ruins of Kenilworth castle. In appropriating the texts of these Scottish authors, Radcliffe reworks their evocation of the relationship between poetry, memory, and national landscape. She centralises the social, literary, and military histories of England's Gothic structures in her later texts as constitutive of England's cultural identity. Whether, in doing so, Radcliffe 'neutralises' the cultural nationalism of Britain's Celtic fringe, as Trumpener suggests, is less straightforward. Trumpener credits Gray's 'The Bard' (1757) with initiating a process in which the figure's 'new found popularity in England came to endanger the bardic tradition in a new way, as English poets tried to impersonate the bardic voice…without grasping their historical and cultural significance'

[3] Beattie's *The Minstrel* was a favourite work of Radcliffe's, and she used many quotations from the poem as chapter epigraphs in her Gothic romances.

(6). As a result, Trumpener contends that English poets imagined the bard as a solely poetic figure, 'inspired, isolated and peripatetic' (7), while Janowitz understands the English adoption of the bard as a gradual 'Britishing' of the figure, 'in which the political merging of the boundaries between England and Scotland, and England and Ireland, demanded the incorporation of disparate, and potentially disruptive nationalistic cultures, into an overarching British culture' (68). Radcliffe's later works take part in this process of 'Britishing.' Significantly, however, Radcliffe also suggests a conception of bardic memorialisation which foregrounds a tension between the potential irrecoverability of the national past, and the bardic desire to record or anthologize it. In illustrating this tension, Radcliffe presents a widely researched and varied presentation of the ancient cultures, civil conflicts, and literary influences which are allowed to sit side by side in her representation of England's heterogeneous cultural heritage. Normans, Saxons, Norse-men, Jews, and Druids make up the cultural fabric of Radcliffe's English past, yet their constitutive role in English (or British) national identity remains undefined. She presents an 'unsyntaxed' representation of England's heritage, in which she unearths the nation's history without sorting or cataloguing her representations into a more directive, or allegorical take on England's position within a wider 'Britishness.' Her readers are left to negotiate these questions themselves in a way which resonates with what Susan Manning refers to as the 'ideologically promiscuous' practice of contemporary antiquaries, whose 'fragmented relics' revealed the 'texture of the past rather than its meaning' (50).

Attending to this potentially ideologically promiscuous representation of Britain's various cultural identities in her post-1797 texts helps us to complicate more traditional

evaluations of Radcliffe's use of medieval settings in her Gothic romances. For instance, Rictor Norton, Radcliffe's most thorough biographer, argues that Radcliffe used these historical settings more as a backdrop for the exotic than as a marker of historical particularity. He writes: 'History held relatively little importance for Ann Radcliffe. Whatever she learned from Sophia Lee's *The Recess* (1783), it was not an appreciation of historical authenticity…[She] valued primarily the splendour and mystery of an idealised late-medieval transitional period in which she could co-mingle high passions with exquisite taste, and at the same time find justification for portraying the shift from feudal to modern, more egalitarian manners…' (72). Largely due to his marginalisation of Radcliffe's later works in his biography, Norton fails to acknowledge how Radcliffe obviously appears to have encountered strategies for representing the past from novels such as Lee's *The Recess*, which contains fragmented, cut-off accounts of the lives of Mary, Queen of Scots' two illegitimate daughters. Undoubtedly, Radcliffe's ironic foregrounding of the apocryphal 'Trew Chronique' in *Gaston de Blondeville* bears a creative debt to Lee's work, and goes even further than Lee in committing to a minute pastiche of a thirteenth-century medieval manuscript. An examination of Radcliffe's attention to such matters in her post-1797 works highlights the short-sighted nature of critical assessments such as Norton's, which base their evaluations of Radcliffe's engagement with history on her 1790s' texts.

Scott, however, more clearly guides his readers in his negotiation of the boundary between a specifically Scottish and a unified British nationalism, allowing Scottish nationality to exist more clearly within a broader British identity. The characters which he introduces in *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, for instance, are inhabitants of the Scottish

Borders, a liminal zone in which the cultural interplay between England and Scotland is at its most fluid, represented by the incessant border-hopping of English and Scottish raiders, precipitating the central conflict of the poem. Looking forward to *Ivanhoe*, in which Scott adopts the marriage plot of the national tale popularised by authors such as Maria Edgeworth, Wilfred of Ivanhoe, a Saxon by birth but culturally Norman, marries the Saxon Rowena, in what is a symbolic union of Britain's ancient ancestors. Scott, then, makes use of his own antiquarian researches to gesture towards a more cohesive cultural narrative of Britain's development in his depiction of medieval and ancient Britain. Compared to Radcliffe, Scott can be viewed as more straightforwardly 'unionist' in his vision of Britain's past. That is not to say, however, that Scott does not leave the possibility of cultural plurality and ensuing conflict open. In *Harold the Dauntless* (1817), discussed further in chapter three, Jutta, a witch who worships an ambiguously defined Eastern European god, remains resolutely unassimilated within the newly-Christianized Viking society of Northumbria. Thus, while Scott's historical fiction generally locates such cultural conflict in the past (the Battle of Flodden Field in *Marmion* was famously the last full-scale, medieval battle between the Scots and the English), his representations of cultural plurality potentially interrupt his constructions of a cohesive 'Britishness.'

Necessarily bound up with the period's collective recuperation of the nation's past is the broader question of the perceived cultural value of Britain's deep past to contemporary readers. As Rosemary Sweet argues, 'eighteenth century attitudes towards the middle ages were complex, shifting, and ambivalent,' at the same time that they played into emerging narratives of the nation (231-3). Radcliffe's and Scott's representations of Britain's medieval period interrogate popular conceptions of the

Middle Ages as a period of 'assumed barbarity, feudal oppression, stunted learning, and Catholic tyranny' (Sweet 231). Radcliffe and Scott interrogate this cultural heterogeneity through their representation of formerly Catholic cathedrals or monasteries, most often presented to the reader in ruined form (discussed further in chapter two). For many during the period, 'medieval antiquities were ecclesiastical antiquities,' and an interest in 'churches, abbeys and cathedrals considerably outweighed attention scholars gave to the secular remains of the medieval' (Sweet 231). Diane Long Hoeveler attributes this interest to the '[British] public's pervasive fears about the presence of an increasing number of Catholic clergy in a Britain that was by this time thoroughly invested in a form of nationalistic Protestantism' (i). The texts of Radcliffe and Scott resonate with both the arguments of Sweet and Hoeveler. All of the texts in this study reflect contemporary interest in the ecclesiastical remains of the medieval period--every major text of Radcliffe's later work centres on an abbey or priory. Significantly, it is in their depictions of such sites that we are able to unpack Radcliffe and Scott's careful, double-visioned negotiation of Protestant antipathy to Britain's Catholic past, which accepts Catholicism as an unavoidable part of the nation's history, but which also resists straightforward readings of the Catholic Church as either corrupt or benevolent. The venality of the Catholic Church is depicted through figures such as the Prior of St. Mary *in Gaston de Blondeville* or the ostentatious Prior Aymer in *Ivanhoe*, at the same time that such characters are respectively counterbalanced by the rationality of Radcliffe's Abbot Wheathampstede in *St. Albans Abbey,* the Archbishop of York in *Gaston de Blondeville,* and by Scott's Bishop of St. Cuthbert in *Harold the Dauntless,* or St. Hilda in *Marmion.* In *Salisbury Plains*: *Stonehenge,* Radcliffe looks towards the development of nineteenth-

century Britain's 'chosen' doctrine of Protestantism from its Druid ancestry through to the Norman re-construction of Salisbury Cathedral's central tower. These texts attempt to absorb Britain's Catholic past into cohesive narratives which chart the cultural and religious development of early nineteenth-century Britain, at the same time that they acknowledge the medieval church's tyranny. In teasing out the implications behind Radcliffe's depictions of the medieval Catholic Church, I shall draw attention to Radcliffe's entries in her little-studied commonplace book of 1822-3 in my conclusion, in which she quotes at length from Scott's own *Life of Dryden* (1808) on Dryden's conversion to Catholicism, and John Evelyn's 1688 letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

In these texts' explorations of how conflicting narratives can be imposed on (and resisted by) historical artefacts and literary fragments, Radcliffe and Scott look back to the literary antiquarian works of the 1760s and 1770s, particularly Thomas Warton's *History of English Poetry* (1774-81) and Thomas Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765). Despite the ways in which their titles suggest a specifically English literary context, the works of Percy and Warton took part in helping to construct early notions of a British national literary canon, part of the wider trend of emerging notions of cultural 'Britishness.' Significantly, the editorial decisions which Warton and Percy made established a selection of works which not only recognised a preliminary base-line for what constituted the nation's literary heritage, but also implicitly demonstrated the various sources of national inheritance from which Britain's literary origins might be culled. It is this tension between a desire for cultural unity, and an inescapable recognition of Britain's cultural plurality that is unearthed in attempted establishments of this 'unity'

which Radcliffe and Scott explore in these works. In *Gaston de Blondeville*, Radcliffe includes an explanatory end-note referring to a rumour circulating through Henry III's court in the novel about an Arabian jongleur, who supposedly enchants the machinery of the anti-hero's wedding masque in order to expose his crimes with the appearance of an unknown knight. In the end-note, Radcliffe states that Arabian entertainers were 'said to practice a kind of natural magic, and by some means of chemistry to raise up false appearances' (220). Although Radcliffe does not explicitly cite Warton in her end-note, the influence of his *History* in her last novel is clearly perceptible here. In his discussion of Chaucer's *The Squire's Tale*, Warton argues that the romance trope of the unknown knight employed by Chaucer in his tale, derives from 'Arabian fiction engrafted on Gothic chivalry' (1: 398). In his explanation, he provides an example of such a tale, in which a King of Tartary is disturbed during his birthday celebrations by an unknown knight 'upon a stede of brass' (1: 398). Here, then, we can see how Radcliffe's seemingly simple allusion to her Arabian jongleur opens up the possibility of a string of contested literary histories, just as Radcliffe's acknowledgement of her indebtedness to Percy's *Reliques* in her note on the origins of the legend of Robin Hood in *Gaston de Blondeville* suggests the reigns of both Edward III and Richard I as possible periods for the outlaw's activity (220-1). The inherent cultural plurality which necessarily contributed to early constructions of 'English' poetry is a reality with which both Radcliffe's post-1797 works and Scott's historical fiction engage. Such a plurality is often attested to in these works by the attention which Radcliffe and Scott give to the ambiguously defined cultural histories of the figures they depict. Similar to Scott's Ulrica in *Ivanhoe*, Radcliffe's Druid

in *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge*, bears a particularly hybrid cultural identity, as a mystical figure who draws his power from both Druidic and Norse origins.

Similarly, Scott implicitly acknowledges the multiplicity of British cultural identities in his *Essay on Romance*, printed in the sixth volume of *The Miscellaneous Prose Works of Sir Walter Scott* (1827), noting the 'novelty of the studies in which Percy led the way' (6: 184). Such an acknowledgement calls up contemporary debates over Percy and Warton's careful organisation of English literary history. According to Marilyn Butler in *Mapping Mythologies* (2015), these debates were spearheaded by Joseph Ritson, who argued against Warton's 'ordering of English literary history as a narrative that began after the Norman Conquest…[cutting] English literature off from its popular and pagan roots' (Butler 137). Ritson was perhaps best known, however, for bringing the national heritage of the ancient minstrel to the forefront in his attacks on Percy's genealogy of the minstrel, published in *A Select Collection of English Songs* (1783). Here, he condemns Percy on scholarly grounds: 'French or Norman minstrels are not English ones. There is not the least proof that the latter were of respectable society…that they were received into the castles of nobility, sung at their tables, and were rewarded like the French minstrels does not anywhere appear….The French tongue alone was used at court, and in the households of the Norman barons (who despised the Saxon language and manners) for many centuries after the conquest' (Ritson lxvi).

In foregrounding the figure of the minstrel in his first narrative poem, Scott invites his readers to reconsider the implications of these debates and the plurality of national identities brought together under a shared British literary heritage, while Radcliffe's *St. Albans Abbey* and *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge* complicate the nationalist implications

of the minstrel-cum-bard, often associated by scholars such as Trumpener with a specifically Celtic nationalism. Radcliffe's poems, then, provide a useful counterpoint to Scott's re-working of the minstrel figure, which, rather than being emblematic of the cultural defiance of the 'Celtic peripheries,' came to be more indicative of a growing sense of British unity and cultural continuity. At the end of *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, for instance, Scott's bard is comfortably installed in the grounds of Newark Tower where he sings for passersby (216). '…Close beneath proud Newark's Tower,/ Arose the minstrel's lowly bower;/ A lowly hut; but there was seen, a little garden hedged with green,/ The cheerful hearth and lattice clean' (216). This is clearly not the Ossianic sublime. Instead, Scott's minstrel is cosily ensconced within a picturesque construction, where the past unthreateningly mingles with the present. As Peter Murphy elucidates, Scott shrewdly devises a narrative construct in which he can mourn an irrevocable, Ossianic Scottish past at the same time that he looks forward to a progressive British future. According to Murphy, at the end of the poem the minstrel is 'the last minstrel, and so sings of an irrevocable past: yet…he also carries on a sort of commerce between past and present, a commerce in which the pathos of the passing of things is quietly surrounded by a cheerful accommodation of the regularities of life's progress' (168). Radcliffe's Druid minstrel, on the other hand, is left at the end of *Salisbury Plains* as the sole guardian of the region, staving off the still-latent Norse wizard's power, which is resurgent at the end of the poem after the minstrel's death (4: 167). Unlike Scott's poem, the contestation of national inheritance is still opposed by the end of Radcliffe's narrative.

3. 'Re-Historicising' the Gothic and 'Gothicising' History

This difference highlights how Scott is interested in his texts to more directly explore the forging of 'Britishness' in a way that Radcliffe is not. Ultimately, as I argue in upcoming chapters, Scott's ability to couch cultural progress within a narrative which also acknowledges cultural loss allowed his historical fiction to be more immediately consumable to readers than Radcliffe's post-1797 works, which, as I have already discussed, do not straightforwardly stage such progress. We can speculate that the lack of such a narrative in Radcliffe's post-1797 works contributed to their failure to garner the same level of critical or popular attention which Scott's narrative poems and later Waverley Novels achieved. While Radcliffe was far and away the bestselling author of the 1790s, her Gothic romances did not achieve the popularity of Scott's historical narrative poems and Waverley novels, whose influence, as Ann Rigney has shown, spanned well into the twentieth century. Over time, Scott's works have proven to be 'pro-creative,' inviting others to recall, re-produce, or otherwise re-appropriate [them] at a later time' (Rigney 32). They sustained a type of accessibility which Radcliffe's more self-reflexive works do not invite. Peter Murphy notes that despite the way in which Scott's works 'tower' over the era, his 'enormous stature…is of a peculiar sort,' which, combined 'with his reduced presence in the current canon, makes up a confusing image; an image that at once demands respect and provokes critique' (136). As Alison Lumsden and Ainsley McIntosh have commented, Scott's narrative poetry 'has received little critical attention over the years and there is as yet no modern scholarly edition' (35). This lack of modern critical attention, however, 'belies their incredible popularity at the time of their publication and their influence throughout the nineteenth-century' (Lumsden and

McIntosh 35). Indeed, *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* was so popular, that Scott was offered 1000 guineas in advance for *Marmion* (35). By the time Scott published *The Lady of the Lake* (1810), his popularity had grown to such a pitch that eight editions of the poem were published in its first year alone, '[consolidating] Scott's position and [proving] his most popular work' (35). Twentieth-century constructions of Romanticism, however, have tended to 'privilege an art which is in excess of the collective pressures of society and history,' and, as a result, Scott's narratives, with their attention to the progress or development of 'Britishness' have largely fallen from critical favour (35). This gradual diminishment of Scott's literary reputation had begun by the end of the nineteenth century. Celebrating the centenary of Scott's birth in 1874, Leslie Stephen famously cites Scott's 'descent from the library to the schoolroom' (1: 246), aligning his historical fiction with nothing more than 'amusing nonsense,' fondly remembered for the youthful diversion his works provided to a generation of readers (1: 246).

Here, then, we can see the texts of Radcliffe and Scott being critically devalued at different moments, Radcliffe's upon the publication of her later works in 1826 (partly as a result of Scott's rise to fame), and Scott's during the mid-twentieth century's construction of the Romantic canon. The upcoming chapters in this study attempt to place Radcliffe's post-1797 works and her creative dialogue with Scott within a context which examines how Romantic-era writing engaged with particularly nationalist literary agendas. Radcliffe's and Scott's engagement with such concerns reflects the often-acknowledged Romantic interest in the construction of Britain's various nationalisms, as discussed by Benedict Anderson and Ernest Gellner. Regarding Radcliffe's and Scott's self-conscious negotiation of the tension between a unified 'Britishness' and more local

nationalisms, my arguments here are indebted to Portia Fermanis and Carmen Casaliggi, who have rightly considered England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales as 'separate public spheres or distinctive centres of cultural production, rather than merely as peripheral voices,' at the same time that they acknowledge 'the possibility of a more cohesive British national identity following the Acts of Union' (92). Radcliffe and Scott negotiate the tension between these two nationalist agendas through their ironic foregrounding of history, allowing them to expose the inherent narrativization of the historical process in literary works, and the ways in which such nationalisms are in turn constructed.

Finally, while I have argued that Scott's historical fiction achieved a level of consumability which Radcliffe's later works did not, we must not overlook the essential importance of Radcliffe's post-1790s' texts in unearthing Scott's own creative debt to the female writers of historical fiction who went before him. Scott was a highly self-conscious author who carefully controlled his acknowledgement of these influences. As Ann Stevens has noted, Scott 'took over themes that had been emerging in women's writing…and spearheaded a whole novelistic tradition of counter-history' in his historical fiction--a genre which had been almost exclusively relegated to the realm of women's writing before Scott so successfully legitimated the genre as mainstream (80). The exploration of the parallel dialogue between Radcliffe and Scott in Radcliffe's later works provides a specific case study, then, which draws on Katie Trumpener's and Ina Ferris's landmark studies of Scott's re-appropriation and transformation of contemporary feminine literary genres, as well as examining how female authors such as Radcliffe negotiated their own position in the field of historical fiction. While Radcliffe re-historicises the Gothic in her posthumous work, Scott gothicises his historical narrative

poems and *Ivanhoe*. The striking thematic reciprocity which can be detected here between Radcliffe's post-1797 texts and Scott's historical fiction will be the focus of the next four chapters of this study. In a way which is comparable to Scott's poetry and novels, Radcliffe's post-1797 works synthesize history and romance. Radcliffe uses her later works to define herself against the authorial identity assigned to her as 'the first poetess of romantic fiction'-- an identity solely based on her 1790s' romances. As I hope to demonstrate in upcoming chapters, recognising how Radcliffe uses her later fiction to redefine herself as an author after the publication of *The Italian,* will help us to re-situate our understanding of Radcliffe's oeuvre in ways that critics have not acknowledged.

Chapter one examines how Radcliffe responds in *Gaston de Blondeville* to England's perceived cultural 'under-development,' as a result of its position as the epicentre of the Empire (Trumpener 15). In doing so, she re-functions key narrative structures, tropes, and themes commonly associated with Macpherson's Ossianic bard as a figure whose song is deeply connected with themes of memory, landscape, and national recuperation. Radcliffe makes her literary 'return' to England in her last novel, using the often satirised figure of the antiquary to reconstruct a specifically English national past which situates Shakespeare as the nation's bard, deeply bound up within England's geography and its sites of national heritage. I consider *Gaston de Blondeville* alongside Scott's *Ivanhoe*, exploring how both texts can be seen to work within a new 'post-forgery' context, playfully foregrounding themes of inauthenticity and fictionality as they revisit the literary antiquarian works of Warton, Percy, and Ritson from the 1760s and 1770s, and the scandals of James Macpherson's *The Works of Ossian* (1765) and Thomas Chatterton's *Poems Supposed to have been Written at Bristol, by Thomas Rowley and*

Others, in the Fifteenth Century (1777) in their excavations of early-nineteenth-century British identity.

Chapter two analyses *St. Alban's Abbey* alongside Scott's verse narratives, *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805) and *Marmion* (1808). I analyse the influence on Radcliffe of Scott's narrative poems, situating *St. Alban's Abbey* within Scott's popular tradition of versified antiquarian romance by examining their similar concern to produce 'modern antique' imitations of ancient metrical romance. In particular, I examine Radcliffe's division of the poem into ten cantos, her use of antiquarian endnotes, her invocation of the 'spirit of ancient days' within the text in comparison to Scott's minstrel figure, and her minute attention to the pattern and ritual of medieval warfare. I also consider how Radcliffe's narrative poem differs from the model offered by Scott in its use of the supernatural, which serves to 'ruinise' St. Albans Abbey. In my exploration of the Abbey's role within Radcliffe's poem, I compare it with Scott's depiction of Melrose Abbey and Lindisfarne in his first two narrative poems. I do this in order to contrast the way Radcliffe and Scott depict national moments of violent civil strife against a carefully localized background as they consider the role such regions play in contributing to a broader sense of British identity. I also briefly explore how these texts invite romantic tourism as a mode through which to consume the past, arguing that whereas Scott's poems facilitate such tourism, Radcliffe's text responds to this upsurge in tourism effected by Scott, by positioning St. Alban's Abbey as an embodiment of England's national past.

Chapter three considers Radcliffe's and Scott's depictions of Britain's pre-history by examining how they use Druidic and ancient Norse figures within their texts to mediate various and often differing ideas of British nationhood and religious identity. I situate

Radcliffe's *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge* alongside Scott's little-known narrative poem, *Harold the Dauntless* (1817). I suggest that both texts can be read as dynamic responses to contemporary antiquarian debates over the idea of contested national inheritance, led by William Stukeley and John Aubrey, which centered on the geographical origins of the Druids and the Vikings, and their association with the construction of stone circles. *Salisbury Plains* represents Radcliffe's most overt meditation on Britain's religious development. She figures her Druid priest, endowed with 'the spirit of minstrelsy,' as an ancient forerunner of what was viewed in the nineteenth century as Britain's distinctive Protestant liberty. The trajectory of Scott's poem, meanwhile, is one of Christian religious conversion, in which Viking culture is gradually assimilated into an early-nineteenth-century conception of British national identity. More broadly, these poems negotiate and respond to a wider contemporary narrative of Britain's growing empire, and its confrontation with the unconverted 'primitive' peoples of Britain's foreign territories.

My concluding chapter examines the works of Radcliffe's biographers, taking as its focus the memoir written by Scott for *Ballantyne's Novelist's Library* (1824) and Thomas Noon Talfourd's biographical preface to *Gaston de Blondeville* (1826). I suggest that the dearth of personal records relating to Radcliffe's private life not only resulted in Radcliffe's authorial identity becoming particularly susceptible to rumour and myth-making, but also severely constrained Scott and Talfourd in their biographical accounts of Radcliffe. Using Scott's memoir, this chapter aims to shed further light on the textual dialogue which took place between Radcliffe and Scott through a close examination of Scott's own appraisal of Radcliffe's body of work as it existed at the time, paying particular attention to Scott's double-edged mediation of Radcliffe as a female author of

romance, at the same time that he negotiates his own creative relationship to romance and the novel. Talfourd's biography differs from Scott's, his account being the only one which contains a full-fledged knowledge of Radcliffe's post-1797 works (despite being carefully edited by Radcliffe's husband, William). Overall, then, I will argue that the critical marginalisation of Radcliffe's later work runs deep within Radcliffean scholarship, reflected in Scott's and Talfourd's biographical prefaces. In shifting focus from a primary analysis of Radcliffe's post-1797 texts to contemporary critical responses to her works, I hope to provide readers with alternative sources from which to trace this marginalisation of her posthumously published works.

In the opening to *The Acheivement of Literary Authority* (1999), Ina Ferris quotes from John H. Raleigh, who writes that 'to have been alive and literate in the nineteenth century…was to have been affected in some way by the Waverley novels' (1). No study of what Rictor Norton terms Radcliffe's late 'antiquarian impulse' (119) would be complete without a careful acknowledgement and evaluation of the ways Radcliffe responds to and anticipates Scott's exploration of these themes in her later texts. More than this, however, I have attempted to highlight the effect of this engagement in order to situate Radcliffe's work within a new literary context, in hopes that in doing so, we might be better able to understand Radcliffe's significance as an author after the publication of her 1790s' Gothic romances. So far, Radcliffe scholarship has been hampered by its own exclusion of her post-1797 texts from Radcliffe's accepted canon, and, as a result, these texts have not received the critical analysis of which they are worthy. As long as Radcliffean scholars continue to devote the majority of their attention to Radcliffe's 1790s' texts, we will only be able to understand half of Radcliffe's creative trajectory.

The most recent revaluation of Radcliffe's work, *Ann Radcliffe, Romanticism and the Gothic* (2014), for instance, does not consider *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge*. This study, then, attempts to shed light on the forgotten half of Radcliffe's story, in the hopes that we can begin to uncover the overlooked aspects of Radcliffe's authorial identity as a Romantic antiquary.

Chapter One: 'Lurking in the Wings:' Departing from the Continent and Alighting in Arden: Ann Radcliffe's *Gaston de Blondeville* and Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*

1. In Conversation with Radcliffe and Scott

Gaston de Blondeville, Radcliffe's last novel, was published in 1826. Set during the reign of Henry III (1216-1272) at Kenilworth Castle, it follows Hugh Woodreeve, a merchant who accuses the King's favourite knight, Gaston de Blondeville, of murdering his cousin. In the thirty years since Radcliffe retired from the literary scene in 1796, the literary marketplace had been transformed, first by the verse narratives of Scott, set in Britain's feudal past, and subsequently by his historical novels. Consequently, *Gaston de Blondeville,* despite being composed during the winter of 1802--a full nineteen years before Scott published his own novel of Kenilworth--made its appearance in the overwhelming shadow of Scott's pioneering success in the field of the historical novel. Notwithstanding Radcliffe's much earlier exploration of the interaction between localised historical memory, national identity and medieval romance, Scott's *Kenilworth* (1821) was explicitly invoked by contemporary critics in their reviews of Radcliffe's novel. As I emphasise in my introduction, The *London Literary Gazette* emphasises what critics understood to be the derivative nature of *Gaston de Blondeville*, characterising it as yet 'another tale of Kenilworth' (321). The review implicitly privileges Scott's novel over Radcliffe's as a result of the false perception of Scott's creative precedence in the field of historical fiction.

The inaccurate critical assumption of Scott's creative 'monopoly' over the genre is most visible in reviews of *Ivanhoe* (1819). In his biography of Scott, written after his

death in 1832, J. G. Lockhart (Scott's son-in-law), argues that 'as a work of art, *Ivanhoe* is perhaps the first of all of Scott's efforts, whether in prose or verse; nor has the strength and splendour of his imagination been displayed to a higher advantage than in some of the scenes of this romance…' (2: 368). Here, Lockhart figures *Ivanhoe* as the epitome of Scott's literary craft and originality, effecting a total erasure of Radcliffe's *Gaston de Blondeville*, which strikingly anticipates *Ivanhoe* in its pseudo-medieval setting, and in its Chattertonian pastiche of medieval syntax and orthography. As *Ivanhoe* was published seven years before *Gaston de Blondeville,* Scott, of course, could not have known that his first 'English' novel resonated with the themes of *Gaston de Blondeville*. Here, we can see Scott as an 'unknowing participant' in Radcliffe's creative engagement with his work, as I argue in my introduction. In this chapter, I will bring the exact nature and import of this creative engagement into sharper focus by contextualising Radcliffe's last novel alongside Scott's hugely successful *Ivanhoe*. Set in 1193-4, the action of *Ivanhoe* predates *Gaston de Blondeville* by sixty-two years. However, the proximity of their settings allows us to compare the much maligned reign of King John in *Ivanhoe*, with that of his son, Henry III, in Radcliffe's novel. This chapter will work to resituate *Gaston de Blondeville* in its rightful place as a prescient experiment in the aesthetic choices and historical themes which are foregrounded in *Ivanhoe.* It will chart the similarities in the creative trajectories of Radcliffe and Scott, whose works became synonymous with the specific geographic regions of Southern Europe and Scotland respectively, before they made the decision to turn their creative eye to a medieval England. Here, it is important to make clear that Radcliffe's and Scott's engagement with 'Englishness' in these novels is different in each case. Radcliffe examines England's medieval past as an Englishwoman, writing from the

imperial centre of the empire, while Scott approaches his depiction as a Scottish Lowlands unionist.

Ivanhoe and *Gaston de Blondeville* take part in an early nineteenth-century revival of interest in indigenous medieval romance forms which began during the 1760s and 1770s, reflected in the earlier publications of the historical gothic, such as Thomas Leland's *Longsword, Earl of Salisbury* (1762) and Clara Reeve's *The Old English Baron* (1777). This return to historical romance at the beginning of the nineteenth century reflects the emergent awareness of the variety of country-specific nationalisms across Europe, which encouraged British literary antiquarians to revisit the cultural identities of the constituent nations of the British Isles (Kumar xii). In particular, authors such as Radcliffe and Scott became concerned to reconsider the nature of 'Englishness,' in response to the 'strong expressions of ethnic and cultural nationalisms' of the 'Celtic Peripheries' (xii). Radcliffe returns, as I allude to in my introduction, to an excavation of native English literary tradition in *Gaston de Blondeville*, which works to address the contemporary problem identified by Trumpener, who argues that 'British centralization [implied] not only the spread and enforced imposition but also the systematic underdevelopment of Englishness' (15). Scott, as an author working outside of England, incorporates his first English novel into a carefully drawn politics of compromise and national union, in which, in the words of Marilyn Butler in *Romantics, Rebels, and Reactionaries* (1982), he builds up England's literary canon in order to absorb it into a collective 'British literature' (Butler 149-50). Scott's epigraphs in *Ivanhoe* constitute his own formation of this canon, quoting from Chaucer, Pope, Dryden, Thomson, Marlowe and Shakespeare. Despite their differing cultural perspectives, the excavation of

England's indigenous romance forms which Radcliffe and Scott effect in their novels question the limits and broader associations of British nationalisms. In doing so, *Gaston de Blondeville* and *Ivanhoe* infuse their excavations of English romance with an evocative sense of locality, subtly positioning their narratives away from the metropole, to widen the physical and mythical bounds of 'England' as a site which inhabits its own ancient literature, independent of England's traditional centres of power.

Finally, this chapter will account for Radcliffe's literary 'return' to the British Isles (which had not featured as a setting of her texts since her first novel, *The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne* in 1789 after which her Gothic romances became synonymous with the Continent). Radcliffe's literary and political motivations will be contrasted with Scott's own literary ambitions, characterised by his contemporaries as the aspirations of a literary 'coloniser,' whose works depict the violent crises of Britain's national past in order to 'lay them to rest,' absorbing Britain's constituent nations into a literary allegory of modern political union (Duncan xxii). Duncan argues that 'like a literary version of the Conqueror, Scott…achieved the most effective Scottish invasion of England since the Union [in *Ivanhoe*], [reversing] the relations between imperial centre and province' (vii). Scott's first 'English' novel, then, represents a 'cultural colonisation' of England's past, in which 'Scott furnished the English with their idea of an ancestral England as effectively as Shakespeare in his history plays' (vii). In reversing the role between the 'colonised' and the 'coloniser' in *Ivanhoe,* Scott promotes a shared cultural currency amongst the nations of the British Isles, demonstrating how a Scot can successfully capture England's unique cultural identity. In accounting for Radcliffe's exploration of 'Englishness,' on the other hand, I will pay specific attention to how *Gaston de Blondeville* anticipates

Ivanhoe in its use of antiquarian narrative themes and narrative structures. I will explore the relationship which Radcliffe presents between landscape and its textual reconstructions, how these reconstructions play into cultural identity, and the antiquary's related impulse to recuperate national memory. Above all, then, this chapter will be concerned to follow up Susan Manning's claim that *Ivanhoe* can just be glimpsed 'lurking in the wings' of Radcliffe's *Gaston de Blondeville,* in order to bring the aesthetic and thematic overlap of these two works into the light (68).

2. In Search of England's Past

At the conclusion of the frame narrative to *Gaston de Blondeville,* which introduces the fictional antiquarians Mr. Willoughton and Mr. Simpson on a tour of Warwickshire, Willoughton discovers a manuscript in black-letter script, which purports to be a 'Trew Chronique of what passed at Killingworth, in Ardenn…at the marriage of Gaston de Blondeville…in the yere MCCLVI (1256)' (Radcliffe 27). As he begins to read and translate the manuscript into a 'modernized' version of the text, Willoughton muses on the 'thraldom of superstition' to which the people of medieval Britain were so susceptible, smiling at the 'artless absurdities' of the manuscript, with 'its abundance of abbreviations and contractions' (26). Yet Willoughton is soon swept away by the incantatory power of his surroundings and the 'Trew Chronique.' As Willoughton and Simpson approach Kenilworth Castle through the Forest of Arden, he is 'sunk in reverie…no longer in the living scene, but ranging over worlds of his own' (4). The antiquarian mediation of text and place is experienced by Willoughton as both a sublime reconstructive process, and an overtly self-conscious mode of historical recovery--tensions which began to be debated in response to the mid-eighteenth century forgeries

of James Macpherson's *The Works of Ossian* (1765) and Thomas Chatterton's Rowley Poems (1777). The ensuing controversies which these texts precipitated challenged the authenticity of their 'translations,' raising questions over the relationship between landscape, cultural memory, the validity of oral tradition, and authorial prerogative. These were issues which were likewise brought forward in Thomas Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765), Thomas Warton's *History of English Poetry* (1774-81) Joseph Ritson's *Ancient Songs and Ballads from Henry the Second to the Revolution* (1790), and George Ellis's *Specimens of the Early English Metrical Romances* (1805). In *Gaston de Blondeville*, then, we arrive at one of the key concepts which this study attempts to track in Radcliffe's post-1797 works, and which helps us to chart the thematic reciprocity which these texts initiate with Scott's historical fiction. In her last novel, Radcliffe engages with these controversies in what I term a new, 'post-forgery' context, offering up a skeptical retrospect on the narrative processes of historical reanimation, while also acknowledging the powerful temptation faced by the historical author or researcher to attempt such a reconstruction.

I use this 'post-forgery' context to signify several pivotal differences between mid-eighteenth-century forgeries and *Gaston de Blondeville* and *Ivanhoe*. Unlike Macpherson and Chatterton, Radcliffe and Scott move away from an individual textual mediator, such as Ossian or Rowley. Instead, their texts feature antiquarian dialogues, whose interlocutors can be mapped onto differing ideological positions regarding the representation of the past. In *Gaston de Blondeville*, for instance, the dialogue between Willoughton and Simpson combines a naïve impulse to recuperate the past (Willoughton), and an ironic acknowledgement that such a recuperation is impossible

(Simpson). Radcliffe appears to have been influenced in her introduction by Richard Hurd's 'On the Age of Queen Elizabeth' in *Moral and Political Dialogues* (1759), which uses the viewing of Kenilworth as a catalyst for the rehearsal of such differing approaches to the nation's past, embodied in a dialogue between Dr. Arbuthnot and Mr. Addison. In adopting Hurd's structure, Willoughton's gullible acceptance of the 'Trew Chronique's' authenticity, coupled with his unreliability as a mediator between the textual modes of the thirteenth century and his own apocryphal 'translation' of the text, are repeatedly and ironically foregrounded by Radcliffe. In the conclusion to the novel, Radcliffe suggests that 'long before [Willoughton] had finished [translating the manuscript], he had some doubts as to its origin,' and that 'one better versed in antiquities would have found out, that several of the ceremonies of the court here exhibited, were more certainly those of the fourth Edward than the third Henry…' (205). Willoughton's frustrated intimacy with Kenilworth's past, tantalisingly visible in the ruins of the castle, ultimately eludes his attempts at narrative reconstruction, collapsing into anachronism and historical conjecture in his 'modernisation' of the 'Trew Chronique.' Radcliffe's text, then, is, in Katie Trumpener's words, 'preoccupied with [conjoining] Ossian's integrative vision…with a Johnsonian skepticism, as it…points up the conjectural aspects of historical reconstruction' (101). For Radcliffe, there can be no harmonious 'reconciliation' between the antiquary's contrary capacities for rational investigation and imaginative impulse. Here, Radcliffe also playfully engages with her own primary source material for the novel, provided in the lengthy antiquarian notes appended to the text, including Thomas Madox's *History of the Exchequer* (1711), Samuel Pegge's *Curalia* (1782-91), and Francis Douce's essay in the Society of Antiquaries' journal, *Archaelogia,*

on the nationality of Marie de France.[4] Radcliffe not only inserts deliberate historical anachronisms into her text, but she also straightforwardly exposes them to her readers, positioning the 'Trew Chronique' as a purposefully faulty experiment in the recuperation of national historical memory.

Another key aspect of Radcliffe's and Scott's 'post-forgery' stance in these works is how the physical sites of their landscapes are closely bound up with the textual sources which depict them. Radcliffe and Scott belatedly capture the earlier 'bardic modes' of writers such as Macpherson, yet they ultimately place a different cultural emphasis on this relationship between text and place. Instead of straightforwardly articulating a cultural loss, as Macpherson does in *Ossian*, Radcliffe and Scott gesture towards the ways in which such sites (and their literary analogues) can be incorporated into a national consciousness through Romantic tourism. Willoughton's viewing of the landscape surrounding Kenilworth is mediated and influenced throughout by his inextricable association of the Forest of Arden with Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, and the landscape which Willoughton contemplates 'becomes in [itself] a backdrop for the recollection of Shakespeare' (Wright 119). Radcliffe's novel registers the antiquary's conflicting notions of historical association between 'bardic reverie' and 'antiquarian debate,' illustrated in the recurring 'slippages between landscape and text' which Trumpener identifies in the later-eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century novel (Trumpener 105). Thus, as Willoughton makes his way through the forest, he surveys the ground 'which his dear Shakespeare… made classic' (Radcliffe 3). Radcliffe's

[4] These notes draw from *The Household Book of Edward IV* and *The Royal Household Ordinances of Henry VII*, both of which were published in a collection by the Society of Antiquaries entitled, *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household, Made in Divers Reigns from King Edward IV to King William and Queen Mary* (1790).

characterisation of the Forest of Arden as 'classic' ground, which, for Willoughton, has been 'canonized' within Shakespearean literary tradition, is indicative of Radcliffe's subtle positioning of Shakespeare and his works at the head of a specifically English literary tradition, defined and structured by native authors. Here, Radcliffe follows Thomas Percy's early championing of an indigenous national literary tradition in his *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765), which, in Percy's words, will 'throw light on our earlier classical poets' (xxxviii). Radcliffe re-orientates the 'classic' away from the literature of the Greco-Roman world towards an indigenous conception of a definitive English literary canon. She draws on previously established modes of critical writing on Shakespeare's texts, which worked to reformulate classical imagery and vocabulary in order to construct and claim just such an indigenous literary tradition. Elizabeth Griffiths, for instance, in the preface to *The Morality of Shakespeare's Drama Illustrated in Two Volumes* (1777), builds on Elizabeth Montagu's assertion that Shakespeare is 'our great English Classic' in her *Essay on the Writings and Genius of Shakespeare Compared with the French and Greek Dramatic Poets* (1769) (1). Like Montagu, Griffiths crowns Shakespeare with the classical victory laurel in her critique of his work, raising Shakespeare to the status of a state-sponsored poet, a 'classic, and contemporary of all ages,' whose work will be forever remembered and revered, as long as 'sense, taste, and the natural feelings of the heart shall remain among the characteristics of this nation… (1: v). For Griffiths, then, Shakespeare is rendered 'classic' through the way in which she understands his writing to be an organic expression of the fundamental characteristics of the English nation. In her depiction of Willoughton's highly emotive relationship to Shakespeare and his works, Radcliffe not only utilises Montagu and Griffith's conception

of Shakespeare as a personal and public cultural asset, demonstrated through their use of personal pronouns such as 'our' or 'my,' but also as a poet whose works embody the character and geographical make-up of the English nation (x).[5] Willoughton, then, understands the geographical site of Arden to be the physical embodiment of Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, imaginatively conflating the region with Shakespeare's textual representation of the forest in his play.

For Willoughton, Kenilworth and the Forest of Arden bear the 'physical traces' of the successive historical events which have taken place there, such as Simon de Montfort's rebellion in 1264 or Dudley's famous entertainment of Elizabeth I in 1575 (Janowitz 3). It serves as a physical palimpsest, or 'accretive national annal' of a broader cultural memory and constituent identity (Trumpener 53). This 'memory' is composed not only of the historical events which occurred there, but also of every textual reconstruction of those events which has since been written in folk tales, ballads, antiquarian studies, historiographies, and medieval chronicles. Radcliffe's novel takes part in an open and continuous dialogue with a range of written, oral, and material sources, both ancient and contemporary. Radcliffe makes several explicit allusions to William Dugdale's *The Antiquities of Warwickshire* (1656), for instance, in her description of Kenilworth and the surrounding Forest of Arden.[6] Indeed, as Frances Chiu has noted, the central plot of Radcliffe's novel appears to be taken from Matthew Paris's *Chronica Majora*, written during Henry III's reign at St. Albans Abbey (the setting of

[5] 'Shakespeare is not only my poet, but my philosopher' (Griffiths, x).
[6] Radcliffe draws on Dugdale's record of the thirty-fourth year of Henry III's reign in the opening to Willoughton's frame narrative, remarking, the Forest of Arden was 'so much the terror of the traveler, that it had been found necessary, on this very road, to clear the ground for a breadth of six acres on each side…' (3). See Dugdale: 'the constable of Kenilworth had command to cut down six acres of the forest…for the security of passengers (1: 161).

Radcliffe's longest narrative poem, discussed in the next chapter) (222).[7] Other modes which mediate the relationship between text, history, and landscape are thrown into this dialogue of collective national memory, including works of historical fiction and Gothic novels, such as Sophia Lee's *The Recess* 1783, in which Kenilworth Castle lurks on the sidelines of the action as the seat of Robert Dudley.

Upon first surveying the landscape of Arden and Kenilworth, Willoughton reacts with disappointment. He complains that 'not even a grove appeared, through whose deep vista the traveler might fancy that he caught…a glimpse of the wandering Rosalind…' (Radcliffe 3). Instead, Willoughton laments to Simpson that such an 'enchanting vision is no more to be found, except in the very heart of a populous city…by the paltry light of stage lamps' (4). Willoughton is similarly disappointed by the castle itself, where he mourns the encroachments and improvements of the modern age, as a result of which 'the tower…was no longer accessible to curiosity, nor could gratify it by any traits of the customs of former times…' (6). Willoughton's first views of Arden and Kenilworth are heavily influenced by the textual associations which they bear, and his sense of disappointment reveals the often conflicted relationship which a national landscape and its history bears to its textual representations. For Willoughton, this discrepancy is expressed by a personal sense of loss which is quickly translated into the familiar, stylized melancholy of contemporary ruin sentiment. This popular mode of conceptualising landscape invites Willoughton to utilise his antiquarian studies as a platform from which to juxtapose the haunting absence of Kenilworth's past inhabitants with his own presence

[7] In 1249, Matthew Paris writes that two merchants from Brabant petitioned Henry III to punish the 'freebooters and robbers' who attacked them, and who, they believed to be men of Henry III's court (2: 294).

at the castle, acknowledging the essential transience of human life and the inevitably of his own eventual death. He is lulled into a deep reverie by the sounds of Kenilworth's countryside, which, as he listens, are subtly anthropomorphized into the 'warning murmurs of one, who, in his mortal state had lived within [Kenilworth's] walls, and now haunted the scene where it had once reveled, or perhaps suffered' (23).

Willoughton's approach to the past is deeply influenced by a 'sense of the national landscape as a site simultaneously of historical plentitude and historical loss' (Trumpener 45). As an antiquary, he must continually strive to recover a national past, which, in Radcliffe's text, is repeatedly foregrounded as beyond the reach of recuperation. Antiquarian practice, then, which yearns to recuperate such loss, is reenacted by Radcliffe in *Gaston de Blondeville*. The dialogic structure of the frame narrative in the novel, in which Willoughton and the pragmatic Simpson spar back and forth over Willoughton's hyper-affective responses to Kenilworth and its landscape, rehearses this tension. While Simpson displays an antiquarian interest in the structural detail of the castle, he does not appear to possess the same affective enthusiasm as Willoughton, who continually corrects Simpson's observations on the castle's history, particularly in his observations on the duty of medieval yeomanry (Radcliffe 8). Simpson, however, displays a detached skepticism concerning the authenticity of the 'Trew Chronique' which Willoughton credulously purchases from an old village man they meet at Kenilworth. Radcliffe sets Simpson apart as a more rational counterpart to Willoughton's emotional engagement with antiquarian study. Whereas 'Willoughton is poetically inclined and particularly susceptible to the atmosphere of the places they visit; his companion is consistently more skeptical.' (Trumpener 103). Thus, when Willoughton and Simpson convivially dispute

the true nature of the antiquary, they recognise that between them they represent the two sides of an antiquary: the sentimental reconstructor of the past and the dispassionate researcher (Radcliffe 17). Through this structure, Radcliffe is able to entertain plural perspectives within the text, slipping back and forth between the impassioned, creative impulse of Willoughton, who emphatically argues that 'antiquity is the favourite region of poetry,' and the rational observations of the antiquarian-cum-tourist Simpson, without identifying her own depiction of England's past with either approach (17).

Instead, Radcliffe ironically enacts the self-conscious anxiety which Willoughton and Simpson rehearse over which types of attitudes and methods constitute a legitimate approach to historical study and the construction of historical narrative, just as Scott addresses the Reverend Jonas Dryasdust as Laurence Templeton in his Dedicatory Epistle to *Ivanhoe*, directly engaging with contemporary caricatures of the antiquary. More specifically, *Gaston de Blondeville* filters Willoughton's appraisal of Kenilworth through a specifically *English* re-purposing of an Ossianic longing for a national past which is no longer discernable in the English landscape from whence it came, and which is now only available through textual, or dramatic representation. His initial disappointment, then, upon first traveling into the Forest of Arden--the geographical embodiment of Shakespeare's fancy--is recast by Radcliffe in Ossianic terms. Katie Trumpener argues that, in the wake of debates over the authenticity of *Ossian*, 'some early-nineteenth-century novelists trace the path of bardic or antiquarian travelers, describing the way that their circuit of performance or observation gathers together the disparate locales of the nation…while others work along more strictly Ossianic lines, to reanimate the ruined landscapes and object traces of the past' (103). *Gaston de Blondeville* inhabits both

traditions at once. Thomas Chatterton composed a string of seven Ossianic imitations, beginning with *Ethelgar: A Saxon Poem* (1769), in which he relocated Ossianic sentiment away from the Highlands of Scotland to the remnants of medieval Bristol and the Severn (Lamoine 37). Like Chatterton's earlier desire to create an imagined historical narrative which sets Bristol at the centre of medieval English cultural output, providing textual proof of a pre-Norman English literary tradition, complete with mythical cycles and artistic patrons such as William Canynge, Radcliffe engages in a similarly localized construction of an imaginary history of Kenilworth Castle and its environs in her novel. *Gaston de Blondeville* contributes to and literally provides English readers with physical evidence of an ancient literary-historical tradition in the decades immediately following the signing of the Magna Carta. The manuscript of the 'Trew Chronique,' then, to which the reader is privy through Willoughton's 'translation'--though not aged with ochre like Chatterton's Rowley documents--acts as an English literary artefact within the text, enhanced by Radcliffe's use of black-letter script in the title page to the 'Chronique' and her textual descriptions of the illuminations within the manuscript. A close comparison of the methods which Radcliffe employs in her last novel to achieve the medieval pastiche of the 'Trew Chronique' suggests that Radcliffe was heavily influenced by Chatterton's project in his Rowley documents to construct a fictional, alternative medieval history for his hometown of Bristol. Like Chatterton, Radcliffe pays particular attention to the material texture of the past, minutely evoking the heraldic insignia of Henry III's court at Kenilworth, when a mysterious woman causes the shield of the Baron de Blondeville to be removed from the great hall as an accusation of his guilt (158).

Henry III's meticulously described procession to Kenilworth castle, as well as the final tournament scene at the conclusion of the novel, illustrates Radcliffe's concern to fastidiously detail the intricacies of medieval court custom, just as Chatterton takes similar pains in his description of Edward IV's procession to Bristol Castle in 'The Bristowe Tragedy' (1769) to outline the order of procession by rank and title (1: 1-3). The most convincing evidence of Radcliffe's creative debt to Chatterton, however, is to be found in his 'Brief Account of William Canynge,' included in 'The Life of Thomas Rowley,' which contains an interpolated narrative of an artist-monk named Blondeville, who falls in love with an ill-fated young woman who bears him a son (Taylor 106). Although the characters bear little resemblance to each other in their respective texts, the ersatz medievalism of the Blondeville name had already been established in Chatterton's Rowley works before Radcliffe's last novel. Radcliffe's use of the name, then, engages in a post-forgery exploration of late-eighteenth-century historical narratives, which deliberately punctuates the illusion of the medieval pastiches of Chatterton and Macpherson.

Radcliffe applies the 'rhetorical power of localized nostalgia' popularised by Macpherson to stimulate a uniquely English national pride in *Gaston de Blondeville* (Santesso 109). By evoking Macpherson's poetic expression of a communal national Scottish identity embodied in the figure of the bard, serving as a repository for a collective national memory, and whose song 'reanimates the national landscape made desolate…by conquest,' Radcliffe's last novel stages a similar longing for a narrative of 'Englishness,' but ultimately undercuts such a possibility through her depiction of the nation's inherent heterogeneity (Trumpener xii). She re-focuses bardic longing away from the literary

tradition of the Celtic Fringe, and inserts it into an English landscape and national past. In doing so, Radcliffe in *Gaston de Blondeville* explores the contours of an *English* national landscape, whose cultural specificity has become confused and diminished through its absorption of other countries and cultures into its imperial confines. Therefore, the 'highly localised English identities' Radcliffe attempts to construct within the novel are destabilized, pointing instead to the underlying 'hybridity and porousness' of English national character (Higgins 3). Radcliffe's Henry III, for instance, stands at the head of a largely foreign, Norman ruling class--a source of political unease which seethes under the surface of the tale. Other characters represent the cultural minorities which made up thirteenth-century England, such as Aaron the 'Jew of Lincoln,' who acts as a witness in Gaston de Blondeville's trial. Indeed, while Linda Colley argues that 'Britishness' was eventually 'superimposed over an array of internal differences' in the British Isles during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (6), many in England understood the very Hanoverian royal family as an alien ruling force, providing a real-life contemporary parallel for Henry III's court in Radcliffe's text. As a result, Radcliffe's adoption of Ossianic longing to an English locality can never be straight-forwardly enacted. It is stymied by the way in which, in the words of David Higgins, the 'local might be best seen as a paradox rather than a refuge' for the English citizen, 'a concept that offers to place the self, but that often leads to its displacement' (4). *Gaston de Blondeville* rehearses this tension between alterity and localised identity, resulting in an incomplete formulation of national identity which is never quite resolved.

This unresolved tension perhaps reflects a related sense of disappointment among mid-eighteenth century English literary antiquaries over the unsophisticated level of

aesthetic development in medieval English writing. Donald S. Taylor posits that Chatterton's epic poems on the Battle of Hastings resulted from a perceived gap in cultural output on the subject, arguing, 'though the battle shaped a nation's history, no large body of myth or even of historic fact had been accrued' (91). Joseph Ritson's writings in 'Observations on the Ancient English Minstrel' (1790) express a similar disappointment: '… all the minstrel songs which have found their way to us are merely narrative; nothing of passion, sentiment, or even description is to be discovered among them…' (xxiv). *Gaston de Blondeville* stands in for *actual* textual sources which might disprove Ritson's assertion. Despite what appears to have been a lack in cultural narratives (both contemporary and medieval) which worked to construct and monitor a specifically English national identity in comparison to the literary output of the Celtic Fringe, it is important not to overstate contemporary conceptions of England's supposed cultural underdevelopment. Shakespeare's oeuvre, despite often being appropriated to support a 'British' cultural identity by authors such as Scott, was, I have shown, consciously harnessed during the period by English authors such as Radcliffe concerned with exploring their cultural inheritance. Like Richard Hurd's *Letters on Chivalry and Romance* (1762), which argued for a revised critical assessment of Britain's medieval romances considered apart from their Classical counterparts, these authors situated Shakespeare's work, along with Milton and Spenser, at the head of a national literary tradition that was not only peculiarly their own, but that depicted, memorialised, and embodied English history. In 1807, for instance, Francis Douce, an antiquary whom Radcliffe cites as a source in *Gaston de Blondeville*, published *Illustrations on Shakespeare and Ancient Manners*. As Marilyn Butler highlights in *Mapping*

Mythologies (2015), this publication became embroiled in a heated debate among English literary antiquarians such as Joseph Ritson and George Steevens over the proper way in which to collate and edit an edition of Shakespeare's work--a controversy which attests to the national and cultural importance these scholars attached to Shakespeare's authorship (Butler 125).

While *Gaston de Blondeville* can be read as a belated response to the popular cultural revivals of the Celtic Fringe, it is also indebted to the counter-revolutionary literary tradition of the 1790s, which celebrated English medieval defeats of the French in battles such as Agincourt and Crecy, as in works such as Helen Leigh's 'Battle of Agincourt,' published in *Miscellaneous Poems* (1788). Like Radcliffe's novel, these works were concerned to reconstruct the deep English past, and many of them were primarily focused on even earlier epochs in England's history, such as the reign of Alfred the Great, who, although a somewhat contested figure in the eighteenth century, came to be represented as one of the seminal historical embodiments of English national character. The anonymously published *Bonaparte's Reverie: A Poetical Romance* (1800), for instance, unfavorably contrasts Napoleon with Alfred--'the noblest character in England's page'-- as Napoleon contemplates his next battle (47). However, Radcliffe's turn to Henry III's reign in 1256, almost a full decade before the most famous event in Henry III's reign--Simon de Montfort's rebellion-- signals her attempt to reconstruct a period of English history which had typically been overlooked in favour of the more momentous events of the Barons' War, and which, being sandwiched between the reign of his father, the infamous King John, and Edward I, the 'hammer of the Scots,' had been

neglected.[8] Radcliffe centres her last novel on the historical retrieval of a formative period in England's history, in which the monarchical strictures put in place by Magna Carta were being tested and solidified into common practice. In depicting Henry III's reign, Radcliffe most likely drew on Hume's *History of England* (1778). Hume describes the 'caprices and weaknesses of so mean a prince as Henry,' paying particular attention to the fraught negotiations which occurred between Henry and his barons over the enforcement and limitations of Magna Carta. He notes how 'Henry…in the course of his reign, gave frequent occasions for complaint with regard to his violations of the Great Charter' (174). Unlike works such as *Bonaparte's Reverie*, which worked to instill Alfred as a key character in a collective (and celebrated) narrative of English history, Radcliffe's text works to complicate such texts' use of historical narrative as a straightforward celebration of national heritage. Instead, following Hume, Radcliffe depicts Henry III as a feeble king, easily manipulated by his advisor, the Prior of St. Mary, into unjustly imprisoning the innocent merchant Woodreeve, and blindly trusting in the moral integrity of Gaston de Blondeville. Here, as Frances Chiu points out, Radcliffe appears to directly follow Hume in depicting Henry III's judicial system as utterly corrupted (225). As a result, according to Hume, 'travelers were continually exposed to the dangers of being robbed…and murdered,' the perpetrators '[escaping] with impunity, because the ministers of justice were in a confederacy with the robbers' (4: 245). In examining this period of England's history, Radcliffe encourages her readers to be circumspect in their

[8] James Thomson, one of Radcliffe's favourite poets, composed the play *Edward and Eleanora* (1739), which may have influenced Radcliffe's interest in Edward I and Henry III's reign.

reading of England's medieval past and to appreciate England's feudal inheritance as a complex, ambiguous realm of study, open to any number of interpretations.

In foregrounding this complexity, Willoughton's role within the frame narrative of *Gaston de Blondeville* mirrors that of Macpherson's Ossian, the son of the Scottish chieftain, Fingal. The narrative of Fingal's epic battle with Swaran, a Scandinavian war lord, is filtered through Ossian's melancholy contemplation of the loss of his community and its culture. Throughout his retelling of this confrontation, Ossian knowingly foregrounds the narrative processes of memorialization, frequently interrupting his tale to ask, 'how can I give to the song the death of so many spears,' and self-reflexively calling attention to Macpherson's own project (134). Even as he positions the song of Fingal in organic relation to the physical landscape in which the actions of his narratives occurred--and in which 'the hills, the rocks reply'--he is ultimately left with a song which pales in comparison to the reality of the past (2). It is this frustrated fantasy of identification with the national past that constitutes Radcliffe's understanding of the 'bardic mode' which Willoughton experiences as he travels to Kenilworth; and ultimately, it is the transience of time and the ensuing loss of this intimacy with the past which Ossian and Willoughton both mourn. Consequently, Ossian reminds his readers, 'we shall pass away like a dream…the hunter shall not know the place of our rest' (195), while Willoughton fancies he can hear the walls of Kenilworth speaking to him as he walks through its ruined halls, whispering, 'generations have beheld us and passed away, as you now behold us and shall pass away…' (9).

Willoughton's journey through the Forest of Arden is frustrated by his inability to connect aurally with the landscape around him. He worries that he cannot 'even catch

the last faint echo of [Rosalind's] song,' in a scene so different from the one his fancy had presented to him (Radcliffe 3-4). As Willoughton travels deeper through the forest to reach Kenilworth, however, he becomes more adept at utilising this 'bardic mode' of viewing to experience the landscape around him. He 'stands for some minutes in silence, looking up at the ruin and listening, as the breeze rushed by, to the shivering ivy, that overhung it,--all the shining leaves trembling in the moonlight' (23). Through his antiquarian tour of the castle's ruin, Willoughton becomes privy to the lost, or suppressed voices of England's cultural tradition-- exemplified by Woodreeve in Radcliffe's novel-- wrapped up in a landscape which 'echoes and reverberates' with its unique collective memory (Trumpener 15). Willoughton, then, experiences the landscape of Arden as a topography which is organically imbued with Rosalind's, or Shakespeare's 'song,' just as Ossian hears the voice of Fingal's bard, Carril, whose memory is recalled to Ossian by the 'rustling winds' (Macpherson 184). Radcliffe reformulates Montagu and Griffith's signification of Shakespeare as a national 'classic' within an Ossianic, or bardic context, and Shakespeare becomes England's national bard. Like Ossian, then, Willoughton's primary purpose within Radcliffe's text is to reanimate Arden with its forgotten cultural tradition.

Radcliffe builds on Macpherson's use of a frame narrative set during the present day, allowing her to construct a fluid temporality within her last novel which is Ossianic in its complex negotiation of past and present. Through the introductory frame narrative—operating in the true spirit of the antiquary-cum-bard— Radcliffe 'invokes and mourns [Kenilworth's] epic past,' in order to prepare her readers to recede back in time (Manning 75). Willoughton takes on the recuperative role of the bard, as he attempts

to restore England's cultural memory, which scholars such as Trumpener have argued became lost or diluted through Britain's imperial, expansionist project. However, in a reflection of *Gaston de Blondeville's* 'post-forgery' context, this invocation of the national past is self-consciously destabilized by his antiquarian anxiety over its narrative reconstruction. Willoughton, therefore, worries over his 'modernization' of the text, in which, '[he] endeavoured to preserve somewhat of the air of the old style, without its dryness… [and] was often compelled to regret that much of the effect of the story was lost…' (Radcliffe 27).[9] Radcliffe self-consciously re-presents to her readers the anxiety over this reconstruction of the past which Willoughton experiences in the text, foregrounding the frustrated fantasy of identification which motivates Willoughton to 'modernize' the 'Trew Chronique.' *Gaston de Blondeville*, then, is dogged by the unreliable presence of the contemporary narrative perspective of Willoughton, through which we, as readers, ultimately experience the 'history' of Henry III. Readers of the 'Trew Chronique' are forced to recognise that despite Willoughton's attempted adherence to a rational recording of historical fact, he 'yearns…to believe that [his] own conjectural reconstructions follow a bardic tradition' of historical recovery (Trumpener 118). At the heart of this desire is the 'tendency [of antiquarian writing] to drift into various degrees of forgery' (118).

3. Fictional Antiquarians and Antiquarian Fictions

Radcliffe emphasises this tendency by emphasising Willoughton's gullible acceptance of the authenticity of the 'Trew Chronique,' which Simpson challenges by

[9] Radcliffe's association of 'dryness' with antiquarian practice anticipates Scott's invention of Dr. Dryasdust in the Dedicatory Epistle to *Ivanhoe*.

asking, '…Can you really hold…that these books were found in the manner related, and that any of them…ever belonged to the library of the priory?' (Radcliffe 22). By depicting Willoughton as gullible, Radcliffe interrogates the way in which the antiquary was often gendered as feminine and associated with research practices which resulted in the emasculation of the improperly socialised man of the period. Antiquarian activity was seen to emasculate its practitioners by virtue of its association with social and intellectual uselessness. According to Mike Goode, the discipline 'unmans men because their pursuits among the dead replace or offer an antidote to their heterosexual attachments among the living' (77). Scott himself engaged with these same notions in his journal of 1826, where he attempts to separate himself and his works from contemporary antiquarian practice by asserting its perverse femininity, arguing that antiquaries are unduly concerned with 'antiquarian old-womanries, which, like knitting a stocking, diverts the mind without occupying it' (2: 140). Revealingly, in his discussion of *The Italian* in his memoir of Radcliffe (1824), Scott represents Radcliffe as a 'careless knitter,' who had 'forgotten to tie up her loose stitches,' thereby associating the gendered act of knitting with an incompetence related to narrative composition (10: xvi). Scott suggests an implicit connection, then, between the work of female authors such as Radcliffe, and the publications of the antiquary, whose historical discourse was often associated with unreliable old wives' tales. Radcliffe's representation of the affective relationship which Willoughton bears to Kenilworth's past engages with these popular satirical depictions of the antiquary. When, for example, Simpson is 'discomposed' by Willoughton's ecstatic 'note of admiration and curiosity' upon approaching the ruin, it is implicitly suggested that Willoughton's antiquarian curiosity has perverted his physical appetites,

resulting in abnormal sexual arousal (Radcliffe 5). Radcliffe, however, turns such representations to her own advantage, signaling a dramatic change in creative trajectory in her later work, by marking a more sophisticated engagement with contemporary culture-- specifically male-centred, intellectual culture-- than in her Gothic romances.

As a female author, Radcliffe's representation of Willoughton as an antiquarian man of leisure, with a naïve desire to re-imagine England's medieval past, is particularly cunning and playful. She inverts popular representations of the feminised antiquary, adopting the antiquarian personae of Willoughton and Simpson through which to filter her own antiquarian observations. An examination of the notes which Radcliffe took on her visit to Kenilworth with her husband in 1802, published in Talfourd's prefatory biography, demonstrates that portions of the introductory section in the novel are directly paraphrased from her own observations. Willoughton's particular fascination with the great hall, with its 'arched doorway, so appropriately and elegantly sculptured with vine leaves,' is in fact an echo of Radcliffe's personal observations. She comments that the room 'forming the third side of the court, is the most picturesque remainder of the castle…where three beautiful pointed window-frames are there still,' and the 'arch of a gothic door' is 'elegantly twined with vine leaves' (Talfourd 37). Radcliffe deftly lays claim to an area of intellectual pursuit traditionally associated with men, couching this appropriation in terms of what appears to be a familiar, and socially accepted exploration of 'proper' male historical feeling. It is through Radcliffe's assumption of Willoughton and Simpson's antiquarian, leisured male personae, that Radcliffe is able to legitimate her depiction of her first supernatural ghost--Reginald de Folville--on which the plot of *Gaston de Blondeville* turns. In doing so, Radcliffe displaces associations of superstition

and rampant emotion onto the figure of the male antiquary and his practice, away from the female novel reader or writer, and related charges of sexual impropriety.

Through the way in which Radcliffe aligns antiquarian practice with the credulity of the improperly socialised antiquarian, we are invited to regard Willoughton's version of 'The Trew Chronique' as necessarily unreliable. We must question, as Ritson did with Percy in his 'Observations,' how far Willoughton 'prefers truth to hypothesis, and the genuine remains of [England's medieval past], however mutilated or rude, to the indulgence of his own poetic vein, however fluent or refined' (xxxviii). Scott enacts a similar tension between a staged romantic naïveté and an ironic self-awareness in his depiction of the tournament at Ashby-de-la-Zouche in *Ivanhoe*. Scott punctures the romantic aura of the tournament and revels in a temporally distanced, satirical summing up of the events at Ashby:

> Thus ended the memorable field of Ashby-de-la-Zouche, one of the most gallantly contested tournaments of that age; for although only four knights, including one who was smothered by his armour, had died upon the field, yet upwards of thirty were desperately wounded…Hence it is always mentioned in the records, as the Gentle and Joyous Passage of Arms of Ashby (149).

The reader is left to ponder how the minutely-described tournament, replete with 'magnificent pavilions' (88) and 'young maidens…gaily dressed in fancy habits of green and pink… (90),' is unexpectedly exposed as nothing more than an episode of senseless, barbaric violence, merely dressed up with a 'tinsel and tushery medievalism' (Duncan ix). It is through this double vision of England's medieval inheritance that Scott positions *Ivanhoe,* like Radcliffe in *Gaston de Blondeville*, within its 'post-forgery' context. As

Jerome McGann argues, 'the world of *Ivanhoe* aspires to a Brechtian transparency,' in which Scott demonstrates an 'ironic awareness…that forbids him from turning his tale into a form of worship' (128-9). At the conclusion to the tournament at Ashby, Scott reveals *Ivanhoe* to be an ironic staging of England's medieval past, which rehearses the same affective and pragmatic approaches to historical enquiry which Willoughton and Simpson represent in Radcliffe's text. These positions are respectively taken up by the fictional antiquaries Laurence Templeton and the Reverend Dryasdust in the 'Dedicatory Epistle' to *Ivanhoe*. The character of Dryasdust works in much the same way as Simpson in Radcliffe's text. He is the severer, rational counterpoint to Templeton, who attempts to reconstruct 'Old England' through a careful blending of modern and ancient romance.[10] Dryasdust, in contrast, is intent on the systematic study and recording of antiquarian documents and physical objects, purely in order to contribute to the greater antiquarian body of knowledge. However, in highlighting the essential unreliability of Willoughton's manuscript, Radcliffe's novel goes to great lengths to sustain a far more determined pastiche of the medieval manuscript than Scott's *Ivanhoe,* with no concern to amuse potential readers. Indeed, it is the very experimental nature of *Gaston de Blondeville*, noted by Kim Michasiw (344-345), which renders Radcliffe's tale less accessible to readers than Scott's *Ivanhoe.* Radcliffe's text, with its lumbering pace and minute attention to medieval custom (her description of the ritual of the pouring out of Henry III's wine, or 'voide,' runs on for two pages) risks alienating her readers from her emphatically 'English' literary offering, consequently failing to achieve the popular

[10] Although Dryasdust argues that 'the very office of the antiquary…employed in grave research…incapacitates him from successfully compounding an [historical romance],' Templeton replies by citing Walpole's 'goblin tale,' the second edition of which argued for the way in which his novel constitutes an experiment in attempting to combine ancient and modern romance (17).

impact of *Ivanhoe,* despite presenting her readers with an impressively researched depiction of Henry III's court (Radcliffe 47-9). Scott's romance was subsequently more accessible to readers--even becoming absorbed into early nineteenth-century accounts of medieval England-- while Radcliffe's incisive sending up of the conjectural aspects of historical narrative in *Gaston de Blondeville* has been comparatively ignored.[11]

Scott's Waverley novels, as Ann Rigney argues, came to 'provide stable points of reference in calibrating collectively held values' and national identities across not just the British Isles, but the far-flung reaches of the empire, and indeed the entire Anglophone world (13). The cultural pervasiveness of Scott's *Ivanhoe* as a unifying 'memory site' can be traced to Scott's ability to recognise and 'present a hybrid model of nationality in the Middle Ages' within an easily accessible narrative 'template' which allows his readers to 'imagine and articulate the story' of how Norman France and Anglo-Saxon England became Britain, or, the way in which 'one nation emerged from two' (85). In *Gaston de Blondeville,* Radcliffe does not attempt to provide the same narrative structure for her readers. Instead, they are presented with a depiction of a nascent British identity which is fragmented, and where England is governed by an essentially alien (French) ruling class. Therefore, despite the way in which Edward I '[binds] up the wounds of his country,' after the civil disruption of Henry III's reign, Radcliffe fails to locate Edward I, as Scott does with Richard I, as the royal figurehead of a collective national unity based on Britain's fundamental pluralities of national inheritance (Radcliffe 169). Edward I is at best a tangential figure within the novel, inspiring intermittent praise from the author of

[11] Clare Simmons has traced the historical tradition of Prince John as an 'unsympathetic Norman, and Richard I…as having a stronger sense of identity with his English subjects' directly to *Ivanhoe* (76), while she argues that Augustin Thierry's depiction of the racial characteristics of the Normans and the Saxons in his *Norman Conquest* (1825) is likewise influenced by Scott's text.

the ‘Trew Chronique,’ while Richard plays a formative role within Scott’s text, and his return from the Crusades sparks the main action of the narrative. Michasiw has argued that ‘without a faith like Walter Scott’s, in history as positive progression, Radcliffe could go no further with the historical novel as a form in *Gaston de Blondeville*’ (346).

Despite the differing receptions of their works, and the degree to which their respective texts offer unifying points of collective national identity, the strikingly similar techniques which Radcliffe and Scott employ in re-presenting the processes through which historical narratives are constructed, help to more sharply define the ‘silent conversation’ which Radcliffe initiates with Scott’s works after 1797. Through Willoughton, Simpson, Templeton and Dryasdust, Scott and Radcliffe enact similar dialogic structures in their respective frames in order to interrogate, define, and ultimately defend, their own creative praxis, in which they derive literary inspiration, even as they distance themselves from antiquarian study. Unlike Radcliffe’s frame narrative, Templeton’s epistle is explicitly mediated by a third figure: the shadowy ‘Eidolon,’ or ‘Author of Waverley,’ variously depicted in numerous prefaces to the first editions of Scott’s Waverley Novels. In Templeton’s epistle, he is referred to by Dryasdust as the ‘Scottish Magician,’ possessed of the power of ‘resuscitation,’ able to revive Scotland’s past through his historical romances (15). The Author himself, however, provides opposing opinions on the intellectual propriety of the historical romance. In the preface to *Tales of the Crusaders* (1825), the Author disavows the practice of imaginatively reconstructing the nation’s past declaring: ‘I will vindicate my fame with own right hand…In a word, I will write HISTORY’ (xii). However, in his preface to *Peveril of the Peak* (1822), the Author defends historical romance, remarking ‘the stores of history are

available to everyone, and are no more exhausted or impoverished by the hints thus borrowed from them [in my romances], than the fountain is drained by the water that we extract…' (xvii). Like Radcliffe, then, albeit on a grander scale, Scott takes advantage of the plurality of authorial voices within his frame narratives in order to avoid aligning himself with any one position, in effect embodying the persona of the severe antiquary, Dryasdust, and the imaginative Templeton, all at the same time.

In making use of these prefatory dialogues, *Gaston de Blondeville* and *Ivanhoe* are introduced and framed by the ironic re-functioning of familiar authenticating devices of earlier historical-Gothic romances, which tend to present a single antiquarian editor who mediates between the reader and the 'discovered manuscript.' Scott elevates the device of the found manuscript to new heights, constructing a complex network of prefatory narratives which explore different questions of authority, authenticity, and verisimilitude, taking on the various forms of letters, newspaper articles, and recorded minutes to joint-stock company meetings. He utilises his frames to transform his 'separate volumes into a totality in which real authorial figures like the Author of Waverley and Walter Scott join company with imaginary figures who recur from one volume to the next…' (Mayer 117). While Radcliffe does not take her fictional antiquarians so far in terms of constructing a self-reflexive network of alternate literary personae in subsequent works, both Radcliffe and Scott call attention to the fictionality of their antiquarian mediators and their medieval texts. They exploit the ambiguity which arises in the composition of historical romance between historical truth and authorial invention by presenting readers with purposefully

fictive authenticating devices and antiquarian editors, foregrounding their inherent unreliability.[12]

Gaston de Blondeville and *Ivanhoe* can be distinguished from earlier texts which foregrounded such issues by their related impulse to take on the elaborately fictionalized personae of the antiquarian editor rather than the medieval poet or bard, such as Chatterton's Rowley or Macpherson's Ossian. For Radcliffe and Scott, the figure of the antiquarian editor works to register the conflicting impulses of the literary antiquary to produce fiction and history. Thus, one of Scott's antiquaries facetiously remarks that the Author of Waverley, in the preface to *Tales of the Crusaders*, 'is the greatest liar since Sir John Mandeville, [though he is] not the worst historian for that, since history you know is half fiction' (xxiv). Through their respective use of paratexts commonly associated with contemporary non-fictional works, *Gaston de Blondeville* and *Ivanhoe* draw attention to the essential 'literariness' of their enterprises, presenting their readers with an endless parade of seemingly authentic antiquarian editors and manuscripts, which are subsequently undercut or exposed (Duncan ix).[13] Like Willoughton, Templeton directly hints at the fictiveness of his work by alluding to Chatterton and Macpherson by name (Scott 19), later asserting that he does not 'pretend to the observation of complete accuracy' in his narrative, and that 'it is extremely probable' that he may have 'introduced during the reign of Richard I circumstances appropriated to a period either considerably earlier, or a good deal later than that era' (21).

[12] The only other text in which Willoughton and Simpson appear is Radcliffe's essay 'On the Supernatural in Poetry,' published in the *New Monthly Magazine* after her death in 1826.
[13] Radcliffe's novel is appended with eleven pages of endnotes, while *Ivanhoe* contains twenty-one.

Templeton's epistle relates the imagined narrative of *Ivanhoe's* original source material, the Anglo-Norman manuscript Wardour MS, to another of Scott's fictional antiquaries: Sir Arthur Wardour, a close friend of Jonathan Oldbuck from *The Antiquary* (1816). In including his earlier novel in the imagined history of the Wardour MS, Scott playfully recalls Oldbuck's passionate denunciation of the authenticity of Macpherson's Ossian poems, alerting his readers to the fictiveness of the Wardour MS. Templeton relates the way in which he received permission from Wardour to view the manuscript during a visit to Scotland, from which he subsequently compiled the tale of *Ivanhoe*, which he sends to Dryasdust for his opinion and revisions (22). Even before the reader has begun to read the main narrative, we know the manuscript has already passed through two authorial mediations. The version of the 'Trew Chronique' which Willoughton translates is dated 1256 by a monk named Grimbald, who, later in the manuscript, compares the splendour of Henry III's time with 'our own King Richard's days…the second of his name,' implicitly positing the existence of multiple authors in the composition of the 'Trew Chronique,' the first author being an anonymous Norman monk at Henry III's court (Radcliffe 77).[14] Radcliffe's *Gaston de Blondeville*, then, re-examines what Claude Rawson terms 'the curious mid-century flowering of pre-Romantic forgery,' anticipating the way in which Scott popularised his Waverley novels by foregrounding their essential fictiveness through his elaborate prefatory material almost twenty years after the composition *Gaston de Blondeville* (15).

[14] In her creation of Grimbald, Radcliffe may have been influenced by the way in which Chatterton positions a fictional medieval monk named Turgot as the author of his *Battle of Haystings* poems (Taylor 58).

4. Radcliffe's Return to Britain: *Gaston de Blondeville* and the Historical Gothic

The Monthly Review explained away Radcliffe's historical setting by characterizing the text as a 'monument of mental decline,' composed by a writer of 'dimmed and fallen faculties' (280). Similarly, *La Belle Assemblée* asserted that *Gaston de Blondeville* 'is without the lofty pretensions of some of Mrs. Radcliffe's earlier productions, and [is] incapable of exciting an equal intenseness of interest…' (303). The majority of modern assessments of the text appear to be inordinately influenced by these early reviews.[15] Sue Chaplin, for instance, considers the text to be a 'strangely supplemental work' in relation to Radcliffe's other texts, privileging her earlier work over her last novel (120), while EJ Clery presents the novel as a 'strange and contradictory work' (111). Diana Wallace, however, comes closest to approaching the underlying 'difficulty' which critics of *Gaston de Blondeville* have commented upon, arguing that it 'fits neatly into none of the usual generic categories, being neither a Gothic or an historical novel as we usually understand them' (197). Perhaps the way in which the novel has struck both nineteenth-century and contemporary critics as inherently odd or contradictory can be accounted for by the way in which *Gaston de Blondeville* looks backwards for inspiration, drawing heavily on earlier experimental works from the latter half of the eighteenth century, which did not fit comfortably within the generic categories of either the historical romance or the Gothic.

[15] The *New Monthly Magazine* and *Scots Magazine* are two of the only favourable contemporary reviews that *Gaston de Blondeville* received.

These were the seminal texts of both genres, such as Thomas Leland's *Longsword, Earl of Salisbury* (1762) Clara Reeve's *The Old English Baron* (1777) and Anne Fuller's *Alan Fitz-Osborne* (1787), inaugurating a 'series of imitations…[which] eventually split into two separate but related generic cycles: the historical novel and the Gothic' (Stevens 76). *Gaston de Blondeville*, then, can be understood as a backward-looking text, both in terms of the contemporary literary market in which it appeared, and also in terms of its literary inspirations and antecedents. It is a text which, in its post-forgery context, draws attention to the various methods of textual mediation which earlier authors of the Gothic and historical romance employed in their attempts to authentically depict the nation's past. *Gaston de Blondeville* purposefully utilises familiar rhetorical structures and tropes which explicitly recall earlier proto-Gothic texts, such as the generic, stock opening of the historical romance, which works to establish a specific historical context. The opening to *Gaston de Blondeville* strikingly recalls Thomas Leland's opening to *Longsword, Earl of Salisbury* (1762) not only in its use of the same historical epoch—the reign of Henry III—but also in its word-for-word re-formulation of Leland's introduction, asserting, 'It was at the feast of St. Michel, that King Henry, the third of his name…came to keep court at Kenilworth (Radcliffe 28).

The ghostly presence of Reginald de Foleville, dressed in a full suit of armour, who periodically appears to the court at Kenilworth during the celebration of Gaston de Blondeville's wedding, 'pointing with his sword to the Baron de Blondeville,' (94) echoes the use of supernatural armour imagery in Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* (1764), which depicts the bizarre and sudden appearance of a giant helmet which falls from the sky and kills Manfred's sickly son, Conrad, on his wedding day (Walpole

5). Similarly, a ghostly suit of armour which had belonged to Lord Lovel haunts the abandoned apartments of Lovel Castle in Reeve's *The Old English Baron*. It appears to two men of the castle, 'in complete armour...with one hand extended, pointing to the outward door,' just as Radcliffe's apparition appears to the Baron de Blondeville (Reeve 114). Radcliffe blatantly lifts Walpole's use of blood imagery as a symbol of incontrovertible guilt when Blondeville's robe becomes inexplicably 'covered…with crimson,' after three drops of blood which had previously fallen on the Barons' mantle as he walked by the ghost of Foleville spread across his garment (Radcliffe 52-3). This is taken directly from Walpole's text, in which 'three drops of blood fall from the nose of Alfonso's statue,' revealing Manfred's guilt (Walpole 193). The appearance of the supernatural within these texts, embodied by ghostly suits of armour, or unexplainable drops of blood, is figured as evidence of divine retribution, and acts as the catalyst which unveils the secret machinations of characters within each novel who have perverted the course of justice. As George Dekker argues, 'crude though they may appear, [these] materializations of divine justice' work to '[authenticate] the story as the product of a bygone age of gothic superstition' (54). Radcliffe's decision, then, to depict her first truly supernatural spirit is sanctioned by the morality of Reginald de Foleville's cause, and also by the literary precedent of similar spectres depicted in earlier works of the 'Historical Gothic,' which 'used strikingly similar…plots which dealt with the exorcism of corruption and the restoration of property to legitimate heirs' (Watt 64). Radcliffe's theme of supernatural retribution is carried to its conclusion at the end of the novel, when Gaston

de Blondeville falls from his horse as a 'dead weight' at the lists at Kenilworth after being confronted by the armoured appearance of Reginald de Foleville (Radcliffe 185).[16]

Radcliffe's treatment of the miscarriage of justice plot from earlier Historical Gothic novels is likely influenced by Anne Fuller's *Alan Fitz-Osborne* (1787), set ten years later than *Gaston de Blondeville*, in the midst of Simon de Montfort's rebellion. Alan's maternal grandfather in the novel is Hubert de Burgh, Henry III's justiciar (a Norman administrator of justice) who became embroiled in a bitter political dispute with Henry III over his lack of success in subduing the attacks of Llewellyn of Wales, a dispute which is implicitly referred to by Radcliffe in connection to Henry III's loss of a 'precious ring' which made its wearer impervious to the dangers of battle (Radcliffe 152). Radcliffe follows Fuller in highlighting this episode as a particular example of the poor judgement of Henry III, whom Fuller describes as not only 'weak and apprehensive,' but the victim of corrupt advisors (159). As the offspring of Hubert's familial line, Fuller's hero, Alan, comes to embody the 'sword of justice' in a multi-generational blood feud between the descendants of the de Burghs and Henry III's followers-- Radcliffe appears to have borrowed this phrase from Fuller's novel, in which he is designated as the divine 'avenger' of his blood-line (60).

As Radcliffe appears to have been substantially influenced by the themes of Fuller's text in *Gaston de Blondeville,* an examination of Fuller's treatment of Simon de Montfort and Edward I is helpful in shedding light on the ambiguous politics of Radcliffe's novel. Along with Chatterton, Fuller's novel may have influenced the naming

[16] Fiona Robertson has noted the similarity between Blondeville's death and the demise of Brian de Bois-Guilbert in *Ivanhoe* (88).

of Radcliffe's villain by referring to the Earl of Chester, of the family name of Blondeville (21)--a fact which is verified by Dugdale in his entry on Ranulph de Blondeville in the first volume of his *Antiquities of Warwickshire* (1: 125).[17] Fuller makes the straightforward creative decision to set her narrative during the tumultuous events of Simon de Montfort's rebellion, the most decisive period of Henry III's reign, which Radcliffe side-steps in *Gaston de Blondeville*. This decision constitutes one of the greatest mysteries of her last novel. Instead of attributing this creative choice to her waning ability as an author, it is important to recognise that *Gaston de Blondeville* is not the final offering of a senile author at death's door. Radcliffe lived another twenty years after its composition, during which time she composed a substantial body of work which continued to explore the themes and concerns set forth in *Gaston de Blondeville*. In choosing to set her narrative ten years before the Second Barons' War, Radcliffe purposefully signals her readers to expect a novel which does not offer a straightforward, allegorical reading of contemporary politics as Chiu argues in her edition of Radcliffe's text. Thus, while Chiu is right to acknowledge how *Gaston de Blondeville* internalizes radical paranoia generated by the 'surveillance culture' of the 1790s, recycling the literary trope of the legal trial utilised in novels such as Godwin's *Caleb Williams* (1794), Radcliffe is more interested in highlighting the cultural plurality of Britain's Gothic inheritance, and the often conflicted notions of England's heritage.[18]

[17] Ranulph de Blondeville played an important part in the reign of Henry III, serving as his advisor during his minority, and then as the head of Henry's royal army in his attempts to regain his lost lands in Normandy (Soden 73).

[18] I am particularly indebted in this argument to Deborah Russell's thesis, *Domestic Gothic: Narrating the Nation in Eighteenth Century Women's Gothic Fiction*, submitted to the University of York in September 2011.

Radcliffe and Scott are at pains in *Gaston de Blondeville* and *Ivanhoe* to reconcile the dual nature of England's feudal age as both a formative period in England's history, and a political era which allowed gross injustice to be perpetrated on its citizens. Radcliffe is particularly influenced by Fuller's subtle depiction of Edward I in her attempts to resolve this tension. In Fuller's narrative, Edward I is painfully aware of his father's shortcomings as a ruler. When Henry cruelly imprisons Simon de Montfort's wife at Winchester, Edward asks Alan, 'can my father and my king commit an action which would disgrace his dignity and violate the rights of humanity? (143). Despite his father's corrupt system of governance, however, Edward still considers himself bound to Henry's cause out of filial and institutional duty. Such a depiction of Edward I appears to have been common throughout the century, and was earlier put forward by James Thomson, in his tragedy *Edward and Eleanora* (1739), which Fuller and Radcliffe follow in its characterisation of Edward as 'England's promised glory,' (Thomson 19), 'saving [his] father from his foes' (Thomson 3). His greatness as a ruler lies in his ability to forgive the Earl of Gloucester for siding with the barons during the rebellion, placing his duty to restore the equilibrium of England's government over personal retribution (Thomson 6). Thomson's political depiction of the Second Barons' War is far from straightforward, privileging Edward's fidelity to England's ideal administration of government, despite its temporary corruption. Radcliffe, therefore, had a literary precedent in Thomson and Fuller's works in *Gaston de Blondeville,* helping her to depict the politically complexity of civil war, rather than presenting her readers with a reductive reading of a straightforwardly 'good' or 'bad' side in the rebellion. Simon de Montfort, on the other hand, despite voicing valid objections to Henry's rule, is depicted by Fuller as crucially

lacking in loyalty to the institution of the crown which Edward demonstrates. Through her depiction of the leadership of Edward, who remains loyal to an English system of governance as it is meant to be administered, Fuller promotes a patriotic stance towards Simon de Montfort's rebellion, at the same time that she entertains the legitimacy of de Montfort's justifications for his uprising. Radcliffe utilises Fuller's dual vision of Simon de Montfort's rebellion in *Gaston de Blondeville,* ultimately condemning the Second Barons' War as the result of de Montfort's 'ingratitude,' while she celebrates Edward I as 'the restorer of general order' (Radcliffe 169). Despite her disapproval of the Second Barons' War, however, Radcliffe allows the radical notions of the barons to remain active as a destabilising force within the text.

Radcliffe's decision to distance her novel from the events of the Second Barons' War, should be seen as a statement of intent for her later work, clearly setting her apart from contemporary female Gothic writers such as Mary Hays and Mary Wollstonecraft whose work, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was becoming heavily politicized. Wollstonecraft's *Maria: or, The Wrongs of Woman* (1798), for instance, openly criticizes late-eighteenth century patriarchal marital laws, allowing George Venables, Maria's husband in the novel, to commit his wife to an insane asylum without appeal. *Gaston de Blondeville,* on the other hand, eschews the most central figure in her Gothic romances--the persecuted heroine--and decentralizes the familiar plight of the female character, setting a clear boundary between *Gaston de Blondeville* and other contemporary writers of the 'female Gothic.' Radcliffe's likely desire to distance herself from these female authors, and her re-privileging of the historical themes, settings, and narratives of earlier historical- gothic romances, should not simply be characterised as

Radcliffe's attempt to shy away from politically engaging with her readers. Instead, her savvy handling of Simon de Montfort's rebellion, along with her co-opting of the supposedly effeminate male antiquary, demonstrate that Radcliffe was adept at engaging with political themes in a way which registered their complexity without reducing them to a 'radical' or 'conservative' stance.

Radcliffe's text explicitly registers the barbaric 'otherness' of Britain's own ancestral history, relocating the feudal and Catholic tyrannies of her continental Gothic romances to Britain, and acknowledging '[England's] divided and contaminated cultural heritage' (Duncan xi). While an anti-Catholic reading can be applied to *Gaston de Blondeville*-- the Prior of St. Mary is indeed a venal accessory to Gaston de Blondeville's machinations-- Radcliffe utilises a double vision of the medieval church, similar to her multi-faceted depiction of the Second Barons' War. The excess and impiety of the Prior of St. Mary (who anticipates the vanity of Scott's Prior of Jorvaulx Abbey in *Ivanhoe*) is counterbalanced by the Archbishop of York, who Radcliffe aligns with wisdom and rationality: he was 'inclined somewhat to the cause of [Woodreeve], and…he was no friend to the Prior of St. Mary's' (Radcliffe 113). The Archbishop recognises the promise which Edward I represents for the English monarchy, and looks forward to his reign as a period in which the constitutional balance of powers between the monarchy, the church, and the state will be restored (202). In her 'counter-balancing' depiction of the Archbishop of York and the Prior of St. Mary, Radcliffe draws on contemporary debates over religious toleration for Protestant dissenters and Catholic emancipation, exploring the historical 'propriety' of the establishment of the church reaching back into England's feudal past (R.J. Smith 105). Joseph Priestley, for instance, who was acquainted with the

dissenting Unitarian minister Dr. John Jebb, Radcliffe's maternal uncle (Norton 17), published *An Essay on the First Principles of Civil Government,* which indicted England's medieval feudal system of government for prioritising 'the secure endowment of the clergy, a comfort not good for their moral fibre, or for the temporal power of the papacy…' (R.J. Smith 105). In contrast, Joseph Barrington, a prominent cisalpine reformer of the period, argued that the Catholic Church had 'progressed with the development of society,' and had outgrown its feudal excesses (R.J. Smith 106). Radcliffe engages with these debates, aligning Henry III and the Prior of St. Mary with the feudal extravagances of an unreformed church and its corrupt influence over the monarchy. They are confronted in the novel by the Archbishop of York and Edward I, who represent a modernized interaction between the church and England's temporal powers, which support each other but operate through separate spheres of influence.

5. Radcliffe, Scott, and Romance

Through their examinations of Britain's feudal legacy, Radcliffe and Scott explore the nation's medieval inheritance through the lens of national romance and the cultural heterogeneity which it inherently reflects. *Ivanhoe* 'rehearses the Gothic novel's medieval setting,' in 'its scenery of castles and monasteries, its stock figures of despondent barons, corrupt and fanatical prelates, and persecuted maidens…' (Duncan x). Scott's text marks a 'ceremonial return to the Gothic,' or a 're-Gothicization of historical fiction' (x). Here, the respective novels of Radcliffe and Scott demonstrate clearer correspondence with each other, whereby Radcliffe's *Gaston de Blondeville* attempts to re-historicise the Gothic, while Scott's text strives to inject a sense of the early Gothic romance back into

the historical novel. In *Ivanhoe,* Scott characterises Richard I as England's 'sword of justice' (173), directly borrowing, as we have seen, from a familiar phrase in the early Historical Gothic, which Radcliffe also uses to depict the ghost of Reginald de Foleville (195). *Ivanhoe* is the first of Scott's Waverley novels to bear the subtitle, 'a Romance,' while in Radcliffe's text this label is effectively down-played by the plurality of the text's titles--*Gaston de Blondeville, or The Court of Henry III Keeping Festival in Ardenne, a Romance,* to which is appended a secondary title, *St Alban's Abbey: A Metrical Tale; with some Poetical Pieces.* Francis Jeffrey commented in *The Edinburgh Review* that 'it is impossible not to feel that we are passing in a good degree from the reign of nature and reality, to that of fancy and romance' in *Ivanhoe* (Jeffrey 81). The publication of Scott's text, then, marked a significant moment in Scott's career, in which he explicitly acknowledges the genre of romance as a source of inspiration, just as Radcliffe attempts the opposite in foregrounding historical discourse in Gothic fiction in *Gaston de Blondeville*.

Scott effects a similar excavation of his literary influences within his first explicitly *English* romance which, like Willoughton's conception of Kenilworth, is constructed from a palimpsest of deeply literary associations of 'merry England,' from Shakespeare's *As You Like It* to Ritson's Robin Hood ballads (Duncan xii). Through the respective medieval English settings, both *Gaston de Blondeville* and *Ivanhoe* construct an ironic rifacimento of the English medieval romance, re-constructing the development of England's cultural identity by reviving English oral traditions and popular ballads within their texts. *Gaston de Blondeville* contains a host of allusions to such legends, including Guy of Warwick, Sir Eglamore and the Dragon, Chaucer's *The Knight's Tale,*

and, 'the famous lay of Richard the Lion Heart' (which informs Scott's depiction of Richard I as a black knight at the tournament of Ashby) (Radcliffe 86).[19] Radcliffe and Scott situate the cultural legacy of Robin Hood and the 'greenwood' of Shakespearean comedy as central tropes--even metonyms-- of English national identity (86). Indeed, Judith Wilt, in her study of Scott's representation of the great forest in *Ivanhoe,* argues that Scott's novel should be read as 'the definitive treatment of the national myth of Robin Hood' (38). Like Radcliffe's frame narrative, Scott opens his novel with a meditation upon the literary construction of 'merry England,' which centres on 'a large forest…the remains [of which] are still to be seen…around Rotherham,' where the 'fabulous dragon of Wantley' stalked for his prey, and where 'a gallant band of outlaws' resided, 'whose deeds have been rendered so popular in English song' (25). For Scott, then, as for Radcliffe, the greenwood bears the intermingled physical traces of England's cultural and political past, coalescing around the figure of Robin Hood. Like Radcliffe, Scott draws on Shakespeare's depiction of the Forest of Arden in *As You Like It,* situating his dramatic representations of the English landscape as the textual embodiment of the nation's literary-historical past. Radcliffe and Scott both draw specifically from Charles' speech at the opening of the play:

> They say [the Duke] is already in the Forest of Arden, and many a merry men with him; and there they live like the old Robin Hood of England. They say many young gentlemen flock to him every day, and fleet the time carelessly in the golden world (I.i.111).

[19] This lay was translated and published by George Ellis in his *Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances* (1805).

The greenwood 'provides…a festive space of freedom in disguise and role-playing' (Duncan xviii), where Radcliffe and Scott draw attention to the inherent performativity of their texts, which self-reflexively enact the literary-historical culture which they represent to their readers. Henry III holds a 'court of pleasure' in Arden, where 'three-hundred foresters, [feign] to be… Robin Hood and his company…' (Radcliffe 107-109). The forest represents a democratic space, or an 'ancestral common economy'--illustrated by Locksley's overtly civil governance over his men in *Ivanhoe*-- which has been 'violated by Norman forest laws' (Duncan xvii), obliquely recalled by Radcliffe's depiction of the 'Lord Warden of the Forest' who accompanies Henry and his retinue on their hunting expedition (Radcliffe 107). Indeed, it is amongst Locksley's merry men that Richard I comes to understand the customs of his Anglo-Saxon subjects, and Friar Tuck teaches him indigenous English ballads, 'so that he can…henceforth be a true king of the English people...' (Duncan xvii). Paradoxically, however, it is in these very woods that Reginald de Foleville is murdered in Radcliffe's novel and Rebecca is kidnapped in *Ivanhoe*. The physical site of the forest dually comes to represent the violent underbelly of the feudal period, at constant risk of degenerating into barbarism and tyranny.

6. Reviving England's Past and Laying it to Rest

Despite their similar projects to re-construct a unique sense of an English cultural identity through popular legend and ballad culture, Radcliffe and Scott differ greatly in their depictions of transitional (and often violent) moments in England's medieval past. In *Romantics, Rebels, and Reactionaries* (1982), Marilyn Butler argues that 'Scott presents a

politically divided…medieval England in order to draw the dynamics of compromise' (Butler 149-50), while Ian Duncan asserts Scott 'was perhaps the most influential author in the cultural formation of a modern British nationalism' during the period (xiv). The same claims, however, cannot be made of Radcliffe's cultural influence as an author, or of her authorial intent in depicting the years of Henry III's reign leading up to Simon de Montfort's rebellion. Rather than orienting her novel towards a politics of compromise between England's cultural inheritances which looks forward to a unified Britain in the early nineteenth- century, Radcliffe's text foregrounds the possibility of such unification, while simultaneously undercutting it. It presents a far less straightforward, more fragmented representation of the cultural identities which contributed to England's contemporary national make-up than Scott's *Ivanhoe*. However, there remains a significant overlap between Radcliffe and Scott through their common interest in 'compromise' amongst England's constituent national identities, at the same time that they leave the potential for rebellion open within theirs texts through their respective depictions of the uprising at Front-de-Beouf's castle and the Second Barons' War. Thus, Radcliffe allows the potential for cultural and political unification to remain active within *Gaston de Blondeville,* while Scott implicitly leaves the possibility of cultural division open in *Ivanhoe*. It is this potential for national (dis)union which haunts the final scenes of Scott's text, in which the shadow of Ivanhoe's foregrounded union with Rebecca disturbs the marriage of Wilfred and Rowena.

Gaston de Blondeville and *Ivanhoe* reformulate the marriage plot device of the national tale, where marital union is read allegorically as the cultural and political unification of nations. The marriage of the Saxon Princess Rowena and Ivanhoe, a Saxon

who has become fully assimilated into the culture and political life of the conquering Normans, works to affirm the process of political reconciliation between the Saxons and the Normans which Scott charts throughout *Ivanhoe*, marking the 'marriage of [the] two individuals as a pledge of the future peace and harmony betwixt two races' (Scott 498). In *Gaston de Blondeville*, it is the marriage of the Provençal Gaston de Blondeville to the Norman noble, Barbara of Huntingdon, which serves to catalyse the main events of the narrative. For Radcliffe, then, unlike Scott, who utilises the marriage plot of the national tale much more straightforwardly, it is the very potential for national and cultural union which exposes the corrupt and brutal underbelly of England's government under the inheritors of the Norman throne. Radcliffe's novel implicitly asks readers to consider the long-term political and moral effects of the Norman Conquest, with its imposition of a foreign ruling class on England's system of governance, and on the subsequent ability of England's rulers to deliver justice and fair arbitration to its citizenry. The innocent merchant Woodreeve is unjustly imprisoned by the machinations of the manipulative Prior of St. Mary, who works upon the prejudices of Henry III, exposing the underlying cultural tensions between the Norman elite and the general populace. When Gaston de Blondeville appears in the King's procession to Kenilworth, Grimbald, the supposed original author of the manuscript remarks, 'yet there were some in the court, men of English ground, who liked him not; it may be because he was a stranger in our land…' (Radcliffe 29). The widespread distrust of Henry III's alien French court, and his perceived favouritism towards his Norman relations, underpins the hostility leading up to de Montfort's rebellion. Radcliffe's novel, then, intriguingly anticipates Scott's *Ivanhoe* through the way in which it foregrounds the supposed colonial antipathy between the

Normans and the Saxons two centuries after the Norman Conquest--a historical inaccuracy which Ian Duncan figures as the 'most notorious of the historical sins of *Ivanhoe*' (Duncan xiv). Here, Radcliffe, like Scott in *Ivanhoe* (whose Saxon vassals literally wear metal collars) engages with the radical tradition of the 'Norman yoke,' which associates the foundation of English liberty with early Anglo-Saxons parliamentary assemblies and common law, destroyed by the Norman Conquest and their imposition of feudalism (Hill 57). In this representation, Scott draws on earlier historical dramas, most notoriously John Logan's *Runnamede* (1783).

These imagined acts of political union, then, are necessarily belied (and disturbed) by an underlying assertion of the inherent heterogeneity of England's cultural inheritance, and the potential violence within the nation which such unions occasion or uncover. Radcliffe's text presents thirteenth-century England as a 'mixed nation,' in which Aaron the Jew of Lincoln, who anticipates Scott's more fully-drawn Isaac of York, appears side by side in the text with the Saxon-named monk Ewdwyn[20] (Duncan xiii). Ivanhoe's marriage to Rowena is effected by a conscious erasure of Ivanhoe's romantic attachment to the Jewish Rebecca, and, by extension, a purposeful muting of the role of the Jewish people more broadly in England's medieval history. Unlike earlier representations of Jewish or Islamic heroines, who often play a part in a trajectory of Christian conversion, Rebecca heroically refuses to rescind her faith.[21] Instead, her parting words in Scott's novel hint at the cyclical pattern of conquest and ensuing violence which persists in England's ancestral past, asserting that 'the people of England are a fierce race,

[20] This monk's name anticipates the title of Radcliffe's narrative poem, *Edwy* (1812-1815).
[21] See Zulima in *Alan Fitz-Osborne* (1787) and Daraxa in *Edward and Eleanora* (1739).

quarrelling ever with their neighbours or among themselves…ready to plunge the sword into the bowels of each other' (499). Rebecca's words destabilize the unifying potential of the national marriage plot put forward by Scott. In their representations of Jews and women, then, Radcliffe and Scott ruminate over the limits of cultural nationalism in *Gaston de Blondeville* and *Ivanhoe*, implicitly suggesting the multitude of unofficial histories which they represent (Duncan xx).

While Radcliffe approaches her romance of England's cultural origins from the perspective of an *English* writer, situated at the imperial centre of the British Empire (London), Scott's text emerges from an emphatically different national orientation: the Lowlands of Scotland, assimilated into Britain with the Act of Union in 1707. Since the appearance of Scott's *Waverley* in 1814, Scott had been cast in the role of Scottish cultural liaison to English readers, and his works were seen, in the words of Francis Jeffrey in the *Edinburgh Review* to 'open up' to 'the gaze of the English' the 'glens of the central highlands' (209). Thus, by the time that *Ivanhoe* was published in 1820, Scott's works were popularly understood by readers to carry cultural and political weight rendering the respective customs of Scotland and England more familiar to each other. The role of Scott's works as a cultural bridge between the constituent cultures of Britain during the period reflects the way in which Scots' patronage took a leading role in the expansion of the Empire, 'to the extent that empire became the primary field of advancement for ambitious Scots, while the curricular formation of "English" in the academy and the poetic invention of British national literature were both Scottish national projects'

(Crawford xx).[22] Scott is the most successful of the 'scotch novels' which penetrated contemporary English literary culture during the period, such as Jane Porter's *Scottish Chiefs*, published four years before *Waverley*, although Scott's novels undoubtedly served to solidify the trend. Despite its English setting, then, Scott's first readers would have readily approached *Ivanhoe* with the assumption that Scott was once again taking up his role as Britain's cultural diplomat, this time from an English perspective, thereby laying the groundwork for Scott's successful re-construction of England's cultural heritage before they even opened the novel. Scott harnesses English literary culture to his own advantage in *Ivanhoe*, appropriating its customs and traditions by emphasising the 'synthetic style' of the novel…concocted from the literary ingredients' of England's most famous authors (Duncan xviii).

Despite setting *The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne* (1789) in the Highlands of Scotland, Radcliffe's opinions on Scotland's union and Britain's growing Empire, however, are difficult to pin-point. However, Radcliffe's foregrounding of the essential fragmentariness of the cultural identities which comprise Henry III's court in *Gaston de Blondeville* perhaps obliquely comments on Britain's contested inheritances and the cultural implications of its growing empire. Unlike Richard I in *Ivanhoe*, whose trajectory within Scott's text brings him to a fuller understanding of the customs of his Anglo-Saxon subjects, Henry III comes to no such understanding in *Gaston de Blondeville*. Instead, his imprisonment of Woodreeve and his determined blindness regarding Blondeville's guilt, are represented by Radcliffe as the result of his prejudice in favour of the French element

[22] Linda Colley outlines how this was largely due to the way in which those from the Celtic Fringe were usually from far less affluent backgrounds than their English counterparts, who were able to find more comfortable job prospects on the British mainland (128-9).

of his court. It is only when the spectre of the murdered Reginald de Foleville frightens Henry III into acknowledging Woodreeve's innocence that he releases him from prison. Henry III's 'justice' appears to be nothing more than a weak attempt at self-preservation. Examined alongside each other, then, the Gothic centres of *Gaston de Blondeville* and *Ivanhoe* anticipate the 'silent conversation' which Radcliffe's text initiates with Scott's historical fiction, positing the possibility of a violent continuation of conquest and brutality, even as each novel endorses the potential of union.

In placing an emphasis on Edward I as a true 'administrator of justice,' Radcliffe implicitly asks her readers to contemplate England's early imperial actions under its Anglo-Norman kings. According to Krishan Kumar, these early imperial actions 'reached [their] apogee' during the reign of Edward I, who violently subdued Wales, became the Lord of Ireland, and the 'hammer of the Scots' (47). Thus, as the novel looks forward to Edward I's reign as a period which 'bound up the wounds of his country' (Radcliffe 137), it also invites readers to recall the violence with which he did so, and perhaps to explore the parallels between England's first 'empire of the British Isles' and its later manifestations of imperial expansion (Kumar 47). Consequently, Radcliffe not only positions the King's credulous trust in Blondeville as a prelude to the greater political ramifications of Montfort's rebellion, but she also sets the historical 'stage' in her last novel for the future recurrence of cultural division and ensuing national violence. Radcliffe's signaling of this potential for the future continuance of such cyclical violence would have appeared very relevant to her contemporaries had the novel been published in 1802--the year of the Treaty of Amiens--which occasioned an uneasy and temporary lull in Britain's war with France. Similarly, *Ivanhoe,* written just five years after the Battle

of Waterloo, rehearses the possibility of--or the near escape from-- a second French conquest, recalled by Scott's re-formulation of the radical Norman Yoke theory as a colonial divide between England's native Saxons and their Norman overlords. In inviting readers to question and explore contemporary assumptions regarding Britain's cultural development, we can see how Radcliffe's *Gaston de Blondeville* anticipates Scott's *Ivanhoe*. To a greater extent than Scott's novel, however, Radcliffe's text refuses to lay England's violent medieval past to rest.

Chapter Two: From Kenilworth to St. Alban's: National Verse Narrative and *St. Alban's Abbey: A Metrical Tale* (1808-9)

1. Radcliffe's St. Alban's Abbey: A Metrical Tale

St. Alban's Abbey follows *Gaston de Blondeville* in Radcliffe's four-volume, posthumously published collection. It is her longest narrative poem, divided into ten cantos. It centres on the events surrounding the First Battle of St. Alban's in 1455, the opening conflict of the Wars of the Roses, in which the Lancastrian Henry VI was captured by the forces of Richard, Duke of York. Her narrative tells the tale of the monks of the Abbey, who offer protection to the Lancastrian wounded, and, in particular, a fictional Lancastrian knight, Baron Fitz-Harding, whose wife, Lady Florence, bravely journeys to the Abbey disguised as a pilgrim in order to discover the fate of her husband. In *St. Alban's Abbey*, the structuring of the latter part of her romance around Lady Florence and Baron Fitz-Harding may have been influenced by Chatterton's 'Elinour and Juga,' a short poem which originally appeared in *Town and Country Magazine* in 1769. The poem depicts two Yorkist women who lament the absence of their husbands in St. Alban's during the Wars of the Roses. These ladies travel to 'Ruddeborne' (an antiquated name for a river near St. Alban's), only to find that 'both their knights were slain' in battle (2: 29). *St. Alban's Abbey* runs to 350 pages of stanzas of an irregular length and rhythm, to which are appended 61 pages of endnotes. It concludes with the capture of Henry VI and the reunion of Lady Florence and Baron Fitz-Harding. My discussion in this chapter will aim to redress the complete lack of critical attention given to the poem by putting it in its contemporary poetic context. The first section of this chapter, then, will highlight

how Radcliffe's *St. Alban's Abbey* is a poem which dynamically responds to the popular success of Scott's first two verse narratives, *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805) and *Marmion* (1808). Her generic shift from the medieval manuscript pastiche of *Gaston de Blondeville* to her Scott- inspired verse narrative in 1808 reflects the powerful hold which Scott's metrical romances exerted on the contemporary literary imagination, at a time when Britons collectively turned to their various cultural inheritances. Radcliffe adopts Scott's division of the metrical romance into cantos, his use of antiquarian endnotes, his careful 'distancing' of his readers from the violence of feudal warfare, and his central figuration of the minstrel or bard as representative of a collective (and actively preserved) national memory. While Scott tends to contain his depictions of national violence within carefully demarcated sections of his verse narratives, only, for instance, assigning the final canto in *Marmion* to the action of Flodden Field, the battle of St. Alban's provides Radcliffe with her main focus. Each canto is titled according to the phase of the battle's action: The Night Before the First Battle,' 'The Day of the First Battle,' The Night After the Battle.' Such a structure gives the poem an annalistic rhythm (recording the action of each day and night of the battle) which recalls Radcliffe's 'Trew Chronique' in *Gaston de Blondeville*.

In choosing to focalise her metrical romance around a Gothic site which is not straightforwardly a ruin, and which is still able to play a dynamic role in the construction of national narratives of identity, Radcliffe complicates Scott's more straightforward representation of the Gothic Abbey, and his use of Melrose and Lindisfarne as important 'set-pieces' or asides to the main action of his plots. The second section of this chapter will highlight how Radcliffe's depiction of the Abbey differs from Scott's representation

of Melrose and Lindisfarne, and I will argue that Radcliffe centralises St. Alban's Abbey as the main site of the violent action of the narrative, troubling contemporary notions of ruin sentiment which tended to absorb the Gothic ruin within the natural landscape. In contrast, Radcliffe returns to the earlier chronicle ruin poem, rehearsing a tension between historical particularity and 'picturesque' generality which Scott interrogates in his own depictions of Gothic Abbeys. Unlike Scott, who resolves this tension through his representation of the 'last minstrel' as a figure who comes to represent the assimilation of Scotland's cultural past and its present, cleverly situating his own narrative as an innovative form of 'modern antique' romance, Radcliffe uses the Bardic voice, or her 'spirit of ancient days,' in order to interrogate the process of creative inspiration which arises from the viewing of the Gothic Abbey, taking on the memorialising role of the bard. Ultimately, Scott's skillful simulation of generic 'newness,' coupled with the fact that Radcliffe's verse narrative was not published until 1826, when Scott's Waverley Novels had transformed the contemporary literary market, rendered Radcliffe's *St. Alban's Abbey* far less consumable to her readers than Scott's verse narratives.

Radcliffe's verse narrative grapples with questions of contested cultural inheritance and the implications of Britain's violent (Catholic) feudal past. In the third and final section to this chapter, I will examine how *St. Alban's Abbey* actively responds to Scott's mediation of these same themes in his own poems. While Scott leaves the potentially disruptive implications of Britain's feudal past open in *The Lay* and *Marmion,* he generally attempts to absorb these uncomfortable questions within broader narratives which gesture towards cultural and political cohesion in early nineteenth-century Britain. Radcliffe's *St. Alban's Abbey* does not offer any kind of narrative framing. She

memorialises the dead of the First Battle of St. Alban's, and gestures towards the central role which the Abbey itself plays as a structure which records and preserves the memory of the nation's dead, yet she does not insert her rehearsal of this memorialisation within any straightforward reading of the nation's past, or indeed its present. Thus, in their handling of Britain's feudal past, the verse narratives of Radcliffe and Scott move in opposite directions. While *St. Alban's Abbey* moves from a recognition of the battle's nameless dead, to a rehearsal of their specific identification in Canto X, entitled 'Among the Dead,' which is dedicated to the explicit ritual of their naming, Scott, in contrast, opens *The Lay* and *Marmion* with his representation of his Gothic Abbeys. As a result, Scott's poems shift from an initial representation of specific historical 'naming,' towards a collective, national 'namelessness.' Thus even Marmion, at the conclusion of the narrative, is left in an unmarked, forgotten grave near Flodden Field. This movement from naming to namelessness ultimately facilitates Scott's broader vision of a national, British cohesion. Instead, Radcliffe leaves us in *St. Alban's Abbey* with a recovered list of the 'mighty dead,' yet she provides us with little indication of the greater significance of their death in contemporary constructions of Britain's past. Here, the very specificity of her naming disrupts her readers' conception of any straightforward narrative of nationhood, leaving us with questions rather than conclusions.

2. Lurking in the Shadow of Scott: Radcliffe and the Historical Narrative Poem

In his 1824 biography of Radcliffe published in *Ballantyne's Novelists Library*, Scott tells his readers, 'we have reason to believe that arrangements were at one time almost concluded between Mrs. Radcliffe and a highly respectable publishing house,

respecting a poetical romance, but were broken off in consequence of the author changing or delaying her intention of publication' (xvi). It appears likely that Scott refers here to *St. Alban's Abbey*. He looks forward to its eventual publication, hoping that 'the world will not be ultimately deprived of what undoubtedly must be the source of much pleasure whenever it shall see the light' (xvi). Scott's eagerness to read Radcliffe's metrical romance would, probably, have been seen by William Radcliffe as the ultimate endorsement of his wife's foray into narrative poetry, a form which she had toyed with in *Gaston de Blondeville*, but never fully embraced.[1] We can speculate that Scott's comments on Radcliffe's 'poetical romance' were a persuasive factor in William Radcliffe's decision to publish the poem in his collection of Radcliffe's posthumous works two years after Scott's 'Life of Mrs. Radcliffe' appeared. However, no edited versions exist of Radcliffe's poetical romance, and Rictor Norton, one of the only Radcliffean scholars to comment on the work, dismisses it, unhelpfully characterising the rhythm of the poem as 'turgid and morbid' (200).

If we compare the trajectories of their literary output, we can see that Radcliffe ended her career with her narrative poetry, while Scott, conversely, began his with his verse narratives, launching his life-long literary celebrity, which only increased after 1814, with the publication of his Waverley novels. Scott's first narrative poem, *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805), sold over 11,000 copies by 1807, encouraging his publishers to offer Scott a 1,000 guinea advance on *Marmion* (Lumsden 35). In light of his success, Scott garnered a reputation as the 'founder' of historical fiction, much to the detriment of

[1] Radcliffe's short narrative poem, 'The Bridal,' appears in *Gaston de Blondeville*, sung by Eleanor of Provence's Norman minstrel, Pierre (50-64).

female authors such as Radcliffe who had helped to establish earlier conventions of the genre. Thus, as I argue in my introduction, Scott's narrative poetry, adapting generic tropes of the Gothic and historical romance, marginalised the works of earlier authors such as Anne Fuller, Sophia Lee, and Clara Reeve, ensuring that Radcliffe's forays into narrative poetry would be undertaken in the forbidding shadow of Scott's work. The success of his narrative poems was not only compounded by Scott's deft handling of his 'feminine' literary inheritance, but also by the critical consensus of his contemporaries that these works represented another striking innovation in the literary market. In 1805, for instance, *The Critical Review* notes the structural parallels between Scott's *The Lay* and James Beattie's *The Minstrel; or The Progress of Genius* (1771)--a favourite poem of Radcliffe's--noting that both works centre on the reveries of 'a minstrel and highlander during the middle ages' (225). However, the review stresses the way in which Scott has more successfully captured 'sentiments…congenial to [the minstrel's] cast,' also '[framing] a good ditty to the harp, a virtue that was never seen in the minstrel of Dr. Beattie' (225). For his contemporaries, then, his imitations of ancient metrical romance were rendered excitingly 'new.'

Radcliffe's *St. Alban's Abbey* achieved nowhere near the level of success which Scott's verse narratives garnered. The poem, like *Gaston de Blondeville,* no doubt suffered from its late release. Instead of being published during the height of the narrative poem's popularity, established by the success of *The Lay* and *Marmion*, Radcliffe's metrical tale made a belated claim on readers' attention. In the interim, Scott had moved onto his Waverley Novels, which proved even more successful than his poetry, and Radcliffe's offering of a poetical tale in the vein of Scott's verse would most likely have

appeared passé to a contemporary audience. In addition, contemporary critics of Radcliffe's posthumous work tended to devote almost their entire attention to *Gaston de Blondeville* as the last of Radcliffe's novel-length works, resulting in the marginalisation of Radcliffe's narrative poetry which scholars today have still not overcome. *The Monthly Review*, for instance, contains one of the only contemporary responses to Radcliffe's poetry, arguing:

> [*Gaston de Blondeville*] was the last work of magnitude which she undertook; during the subsequent years of her life she chiefly occupied her leisure hours in the composition of small poems, from which a large selection has been inserted into these volumes, most injudiciously in our opinion, as they are in every respect unworthy of Mrs. Radcliffe's talents. In the brightest period of her intellect she could hardly be said to have succeeded in poetry…Her lines almost universally want rhythm, and the language…is not of a poetical dialect… (2: 280).

If we compare these sentiments to arguments put forward in *The Critical Review* concerning Scott's *Lay*, we can see how Scott's narrative poems were credited with greater historical accuracy and stylistic accessibility than previously seen in similar works of historical verse romance. In *The Lay* and *Marmion* (and indeed in his other narrative poems) Scott shrewdly exploits Romantic interest in Britain's 'primitive' origins, often figured under general representations of 'Northness,' while deftly evading the charges of fabrication or forgery which dogged Macpherson and Chatterton forty years before, through his overt display of his own antiquarian practice. It is the ease with which Scott openly uses his textual and antiquarian sources that is the key to his accessibility as a

writer of historical verse narratives, and it is precisely through this self-awareness that we can understand Scott's historical fiction within the 'post-forgery' context I have previously identified. His verse narratives do not simply imitate ancient metrical romance. Scott's 'use of the form of metrical romance is not a genuine investment in the consequences of that form. He is not repeating the form of the metrical romance: he is not precisely imitating it either. He is authoring a new-old romance, where he asserts his authorial self and diffuses it at the same time' (Murphy 145). In *Marmion*, Scott occasionally steps out of his tale, taking on the voice of a nineteenth-century narrator consciously positioned as a 'modern voice' which exists outside his feudal tale. For instance, in his enumeration of the history of Crichton Castle owned by the Earl of Hepburn, Scott remarks upon the future disgrace associated with the castle, after the Earl of Bothwell married Mary, Queen of Scots, and 'shamed [the Bothwells'] fame' (54). Here, Scott speaks directly to his readers, acting as a mediator between past and present. In acknowledging an infamous historical event which took place after the action of the poem, Scott forges a knowing 'bond' between himself and his readers to which the characters in *Marmion* are not privy. Thus, his readers can revel in their more complete knowledge of the events of the poem, while taking pleasure in the intimate 'asides' which Scott provides as confidential 'in-jokes.' Through taking up this careful narrative position, Scott ensures that he is always 'on the side' of his contemporary readers, easing their transition into his potentially alienating world of Britain's medieval past.

In rendering his medieval world more accessible to his 'modern' audience, Scott draws on two familiar generic strands. His decision to include an allusion to Bothwell's marriage to Mary, Queen of Scots, and their possible collusion to murder Mary's second

husband, Henry Darnley, recalls the popular historical accounts of the affair given in Hume, Robertson, and Goldsmith. Goldsmith, for instance, depicts Mary's marriage to Bothwell as a 'fatal alliance,' 'the people now being wound up by the complication of [the Queen's] guilt, to pay very little deference to her authority' (162). Secondly, Scott's allusion to this episode recalls Sophia Lee's *The Recess* (1783), which tells the fictional tale of Mary Stuart's ill-fated daughters. In *Marmion*--the most 'Radcliffean' of all Scott's poetic narratives--containing a persecuted heroine (Lady Clara), a tyrannical anti-hero (Marmion) and a murderous sub-plot recalling that of Signora Laurentini in *The Mysteries of Udolpho,* in which a nun is buried alive, such a Gothic allusion can hardly go unnoticed. In drawing on the analogues of popular history and early Gothic fiction popularised by female authors, Scott skillfully recycles plot tropes and themes in *Marmion* which had already proven popular with contemporary audiences; glossing his own tales with details from his ballad collection, antiquarian study, and, technical innovations on the narrative poem which imitated ancient romance. According to Murphy, 'Scott's singular skill is…to use the already invented with the skill of the inventor,' in which 'the reader perpetually discovers the discovered' (159). Scott, then, repeatedly simulates novelty in his narrative poems, and this is the key to their essential accessibility to his readers, despite their antiquarian subject matter and lengthy endnotes.

Despite the ways in which Radcliffe's *St. Alban's Abbey* engages with key tropes, structures, and themes of Scott's poetry, it failed to achieve Scott's level of readerly consumability. Following on from *Gaston de Blondeville*, Radcliffe's major departure in her poem from her last novel is her abandonment of medieval pastiche--a major effect of Scott's influence on *St. Alban's Abbey*. Indeed, it might be thought that Radcliffe's move

from medieval pastiche to a 'modern' imitation of ancient romance might prove more accessible to readers. While the distinction between a 'pastiche' and an 'imitation' is very subtle, I would like to argue here that the difference between Radcliffe's 'pastiche' of a medieval manuscript in *Gaston de Blondeville* and her 'imitation' of ancient romance in *St. Alban's Abbey* lies in the level of commitment which Radcliffe displays in attempting to mimic the appearance and form of medieval orthography. Readers of *St. Alban's Abbey* no longer had to contend with the alienating syntax and spelling of *Gaston de Blondeville*. Instead, the poem, like Scott's verse narratives, uses the tropes and irregular plot structures of medieval romance as a model through which to 'fuse' the conventions of ancient romance with 'modern' poetic sensibility. Despite adopting Scott's more reader-friendly version of the medieval poem, *St. Alban's Abbey,* published in the long wake of Scott's success, failed to simulate the sense of novelty or accessibility for its readers which Scott's poems so deftly constructed. We can speculate that this was also, at least in part, due to her choice of subject. Radcliffe situates her romance during the first conflict of the Wars of the Roses rather than its historically agreed upon conclusion: the Battle of Bosworth. Radcliffe leaves her readers, then, as she does in *Gaston de Blondeville*, at the very beginning of a generational civil war which dominated thirty years of England's medieval past, with no end in sight. Thus, unlike Scott's poems, whose plots are structured around pivotal historical events, such as the Battle of Flodden Field in *Marmion*, a decisive English victory over the Scots, Radcliffe ambiguously situates *St. Alban's Abbey* with no obvious point of retrospect from which the poem can be made sense of. She tantalizes her readers with the suggestion of a straightforward reading of

England's Wars of the Roses, without actually providing them with any coherent narrative of the events she depicts.

Notwithstanding the ways in which Radcliffe's metrical romance presents a virtual guide to St. Alban's Abbey, building on Scott's offering of the historical sites in his verse as opportunities for picturesque tourism, Radcliffe's poem also failed to incite the popular wave of tourism which Scott's narratives ushered in. Scott shrewdly courted this new industry in an effort to fan the growing popularity for his verse narratives, '[colluding] with the invention of the locality as a tourist draw' (Watson 94). He even provided his own notes to John C. Schetky's *Illustrations of Walter Scott's Lay of the Last Minstrel: Consisting of Twelve Views on the Rivers Bothwick, Ettrick, Yarrow, Teviot, and Tweed* (1808). In 1835, Washington Irving published his own account of his literary tour to Scotland, in which he visited Abbotsford and met, in his words, 'the Minstrel of the North' (Irving 4). He was guided through the abbey by John Bower, the custodian of the abbey, who, Irving describes, 'pointed out everything in the abbey that had been described by Scott in his *Lay of the Last Minstrel,* and would repeat, with broad Scotch accent, the passage which celebrated it' (11). The failure of Radcliffe's poem to create her own 'Radcliffe-inspired' wave of literary tourism, can of course, be partly attributed to the fact that she did not intend these poems for publication during her life time. However, it cannot be denied that Radcliffe's later imagination reflects how 'literary works over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, became progressively and differentially locked to place' (Watson 1). In their depiction of each of their abbeys, Radcliffe and Scott draw on early nineteenth-century touristic discourses, attempting to edit and guide their readers' responses to such sites, by inserting these

viewing experiences into contemporary commentaries on the romantic antiquarian's appreciation of the Gothic abbey, as evident in such works as Thomas Gray's *Journal* (1775), Thomas West's *Guide to the Lakes* (1778) and William Gilpin's essays on the discourse of the picturesque. Rictor Norton points out that Radcliffe took a copy of Gray's *Journal* (1775) with her on her Northern tour with her husband, thus helping to inform and guide her own romantic viewing of the sites which she visited (119). Starting with *Gaston de Blondeville,* and continuing with *St. Alban's Abbey,* Radcliffe anticipates, and then responds to, Scott's shrewd positioning of the Scottish Borders as a 'topographical index' of his own writing. Radcliffe's depiction of the Forest of Arden and St. Alban's Abbey serves a similar purpose as the representations of such sites in Scott's works. They are physical analogues, or palimpsests, of England's cultural, historical, and literary past. Thus, in her poem, Radcliffe imagines the haunting of the cathedral by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester and Margaret of Anjou, and she adopts Shakespeare's characterisation of 'the good Duke Humphrey' and the violent, transgressive queen in *Henry VI*. For Radcliffe, Shakespeare's *Henry VI* offered the most influential mediation of the Wars of the Roses, and Radcliffe pays homage to Shakespeare's depiction of the battle in her poem, in which she pays particular attention to the death of Somerset, whose demise is prophesied by the Duchess of Gloucester (*2 Henry VI* 1.4.35). Radcliffe alludes to this prophesy in her poem as Somerset approaches St. Alban's: 'Fearless he sought the battle hour; /Here he beheld not castle tower/And well he knew the prophecy/that under castle he must die' (3: 161).

Few of Radcliffe's contemporaries wrote on the conflict. Despite this, Sir Walter Scott himself is often credited with coining the term 'the Wars of the Roses' in his novel

Anne of Geierstein (1829) (Wagner 294). However, Scott sidesteps any serious depiction of the conflict, and the novel centres on a Lancastrian general, John de Vere, 13th Earl of Oxford, who travels on a secret mission to request aid from the Burgundian duke Charles the Bold and Louis XI of France in restoring Henry VI--an episode which Shakespeare also includes in *3 Henry VI*. Radcliffe alludes to the death of Richard de Vere, John's brother, at the First Battle of St. Alban's (4: 19). Most of the action, then, is set on the Continent rather than in England. Here, we can see another example of the overlap between Radcliffe post-1797 works and Scott's fiction. While Scott tangentially includes the Wars of the Roses in *Anne of Geierstein*, he chooses instead to shift the focus away from England's civil conflict to the Burgundian Wars with the Swiss Confederation, perhaps in an effort to down-play the role which violent civil conflict played in Britain's formative history. Radcliffe's narrative, on the other hand, works to produce a heterogeneous mythology of England's past, allowing the implications of the nation's varied heritage and civil violence to remain unreconciled.

Scott's influence on Radcliffe's positioning of the Abbey as an architectural 'anthologisation' of England's cultural past is reflected in the footnotes to the poem, which double in size from *Gaston de Blondeville*, and which pick up on otherwise obscure aspects of the Abbey's history, taken from antiquarian sources such as Browne Willis's *Mitred Abbies* (1718-9), Peter Newcombe's *A History of the Ancient and Royal Foundation of the Abbey Called St. Albans, in the County of Hertford* (1793), and Thomas Warton's and Francis Grose's *Essay on Gothic Architecture* (1808). By engaging with such sources, the experience of reading *St. Alban's Abbey* comes close to readers' experience of Scott's verse narratives, in which they must continually interrupt their

consumption of the main text in order to consult the endnotes, which supplement the main text with additional poetry and antiquarian detail. This process serves to cement the relationship between topography and text, and the endnotes become the textual parallel, or index, to the historical sites which they elucidate. In a striking example of the creative dialogue which even their endnotes bear out, Radcliffe and Scott both allude to the medieval 'Boar's Head' Christmas carol in *St. Alban's Abbey* and *Marmion*, a song which was sung at Christmas feasts when the boar's head was brought to the table. Radcliffe refers to the 'boar's head at the merry-tide' (3: 111), while Scott recalls the words to the carol itself, describing the boar 'crested with bays and rosemary' (314). Radcliffe's poem also introduces an element of Scott-like 'narrative simultaneity' within her poem, routinely shifting perspective during the battle by adopting different 'viewing stations' from within and outside the Abbey. In canto VI, 'The Evening After the Battle,' for instance, the view-point quickly switches from Florence to a monk named Clement, who utters a frightened prayer, believing a ghost to be advancing towards him (3: 264-6). According to Anne H. Stevens, Scott introduced a new level of 'socio-historical complexity' through this 'narrative simultaneity,' and, instead of focusing on the perspective of one protagonist, was able to 'shift his focus among several simultaneous and interconnected plots, and into the minds of a number of characters' (160). By adopting Scott's technique, Radcliffe gives her readers a strong sense of the simultaneous occurrences of battle, and, more broadly, of the historical process itself. Radcliffe is also influenced by Scott's mediation of medieval warfare, effected through a careful distancing of her readers from the graphic action of the battle itself. Her representation of battle shifts between a depiction of violence, which, like Scott's *Marmion*, 'zooms' out

of the action of the battle to avoid depicting the gore too closely, and a graphic depiction of the slaughter. Here again, we can see the movement between irony and naiveté which Radcliffe and Scott employ (albeit differently) in their depictions of Britain's feudal past. They are able to mediate Britain's necessarily violent history, at the same time that they temper this violence by keeping readers at a distance from the reality of medieval warfare.

In exploring these themes, Radcliffe adapts Scott's central plot-structure and his focus on violent civil strife depicted against a carefully localized background, using the Gothic cathedral and the minstrel figure as guardians of national memory. *The Lay,* for instance, tells the tale of a sixteenth-century Border conflict between the Scotts of Buccleuch and Lord Dacre, a Northumbrian Lord who is angered by the Scotts' continual ravaging of his land and people. This encounter, however, is depicted alongside the regional Border feud between the Scotts and Kerrs; a result of the murder of the head of the Scott family: Sir Walter Scott (recalling the 'Wizard of the North' himself). Indeed, Scott's focus in the majority of *The Lay* is taken up with the history and depiction of this Border conflict: only the last two cantos deal exclusively with the resolution of the English-Scottish conflict. Scott's verse narratives, then, deal with the negotiation between regional belonging and a broader national identification, exploring how Scottish identity can coincide with a wider British context. Scott's depiction of Melrose Abbey plays an integral part in this negotiation, because it is a site which physically embodies the regional history and culture of the Scottish Borders, at the same time that it serves as a crossroads for regional and national identity. Thus, Melrose Abbey houses the mysterious tomb of the wizard, Michael Scott, famed amongst Border peasantry, while it also plays host to the body of the Second Earl of Douglas, killed during the Battle of Otterburn against the

English in 1388 (Scott 257). In setting his first two poems in the Border regions, presented as a continually contested area between England and Scotland, Scott explicitly invites his readers to consider the cultural relationship between the two countries, and the ways in which 'English' and 'Scottish' national identity are bound up with each other, and might be subsumed under a collective notion of 'Britishness.' Although he does not emphasise the violence of Britain's feudal history the same way as Radcliffe, Scott notes the violence of Border warfare in his notes to Canto IV of *The Lay*, in which he quotes from a letter to Henry VIII from the Duke of Northumberland, 'so that the reader can estimate the nature of the dreadful war occasionally waged upon the Borders, sharpened by mutual cruelties…' (217). Here, as he does in the tournament scenes of *Ivanhoe*, Scott lifts the veil of his romantic representation of Border warfare, exposing its brutal underbelly. By acknowledging the violent reality of the national conflict between England and Scotland, Scott carefully locates it in the past by ironically foregrounding the 'wildness' of the Scottish Borders in the sixteenth century, compared to Scott's own 'civilised' contemporaries. Implicitly, then, Scott's *Lay* suggests that such divisions can no longer threaten the much-needed solidarity of a Britain at war with Revolutionary France.

By 1808, with the publication of *Marmion*, Scott's representation of such solidarity becomes much more overt. In his advertisement to the poem, Scott tells his readers that 'any historical narrative, far more an attempt at epic composition, exceeded his plan of a Romantic tale; yet, he may be permitted to hope, from the popularity of *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, that an attempt to paint the manners of feudal times, upon a broader scale…will not be unacceptable to the public' (v). From the outset of Scott's tale of Flodden Field, then, Scott offers a wider national focus than *The Lay*, depicting

substantial parts of the romance in both Northern England and the Scottish Borders extending to Edinburgh. His introductory letters to each of the six cantos of the poem, addressed to Scott's coterie of literary friends and confidants, contains Scott's most overt political comments on the state of the nation to be found in any of his verse narratives. In his introductory letter to Canto I, dedicated to William Stewart Rose, Scott mourns the deaths of Nelson at the Battle of Trafalgar (1805), William Pitt the Younger, and his Whig rival, Charles Fox. In praising their memory, Scott appeals to his readers collectively as 'Britons' in the midst of war, exclaiming, 'Deep graved in every British heart/Oh never let those names depart!' (7).[2] He encourages his readers to do away with political partisanship, urging, 'If ever from an English heart/Oh here, let prejudice depart/and partial feeling cast aside/Remember that Fox, a Briton died' (11). Here, in his conflation of 'English' and 'British identity, Scott looks forward to the brief formation of Grenville's Ministry of all the Talents (1806-7) in the wake of Pitt's death, which actively put aside political division in order to unite against Napoleon's threat of invasion. In *Marmion*, then, we can see the effects which Britain's victory at the Battle of Trafalgar had on Scott's conception of his presentation of national unity, here expressed in a more urgent patriotic voice.

There is no comparable promotion of national unity in Radcliffe's *St. Alban's Abbey*. Radcliffe has her own national project in her poem which differs from Scott's in his narrative verse. Through her representation of the Abbey, she engages in a literary 'excavation' of the national past. The antiquarian details which Radcliffe uses to support

[2] All citations from *Marmion* excepting the introductory epistles are taken from the British Library's re-print of the 1868 edition of the poem, which does not include the introductory epistles. Where I cite from the epistles, I am quoting from the original 1808 edition.

her poem point to the essential plurality of England's cultural heritage, constituted as it is by Germanic, Norse, and Norman invasions. Thus she figures the construction of the Abbey as an architectural 'map' of Britain's cultural inheritances, 'from rude Saxon wrought/or Norman William's earliest train' (3: 269). The destruction which the battle wreaks on the Abbey and its inhabitants--the 'guards' of the nation's past--is figured by Radcliffe as an impious obliteration of the national past itself. She writes, 'blood that hallowed pavement stained/and blood the shrine of peace profaned' (3: 133). For Radcliffe, civil war represents the self-destruction of the nation's physical traces of the past. For, 'when hostile brothers of the land/meet face to face and hand to hand…./to breathe each other's dying breath,' they only end in destroying themselves and the physical symbols of their own national identity, such as the Abbey and the tombs and shrines which tell the tale of Britain's cultural development (3: 133). As the poem continues, the self-destructive violence of civil war spills out from the Abbey and into the city, threatening St. Alban's heritage sites further afield. When Yorkist forces finally break through the walls of the city, they attack Henry VI's camp near Eleanor's Cross, built by Edward I in memory of his wife, Eleanor of Castille. As with the Abbey, Radcliffe figures this move as a profanation of the nation's memory. The soldiers force their way to the cross, destroying the reverend silence which usually surrounds its 'solemn ward' (3: 188).[3] While Radcliffe laments the ravages of civil war, she uncovers the results of her 'excavation' of England's past without cataloguing her findings, and she does not offer a parable of unity for the present in the wake of the Battle of Trafalgar.

[3] During her visit to Mentz *in A Journey Made in the Summer of 1794, through Holland and the Western Frontier of Germany* (1795), she is particularly touched by the near-total destruction of the cathedral there, which suggestively, lies near a Franciscan church known as the chapel of St. Alban's (209).

Radcliffe's and Scott's differing approaches to contemporary notions of British union is reflected in their representation of the minstrel or bardic figure in these poems. The entirety of *The Lay* is told through the song of a wandering minstrel over a hundred years after the events of the poem take place; he re-tells his song to the current Lady of Branksome in praise of the daring exploits of her ancestors. Through this frame narrative, Scott adopts the mouthpiece and function of the ancient minstrel, taking up the task of recording and preserving Scottish Border culture in the early nineteenth century. Scott positions himself as the early nineteenth-century reincarnation of the Scottish bard, which not only 'embodied Scott's own sense of his family's ancient prestige' (Watson 93), but also allowed him to re-purpose the nationalistic connotations of the figure, which, in the mid-eighteenth century, came to be representative of the defiant cultural pride of Britain's Celtic nations.[4] Scott's minstrel, however, comes to be embedded within a partially Ossianic framework, in which the minstrel mourns the passage of time and lost Border tradition, while he simultaneously finds a comfortable place for himself in the 'presentness' of *The Lay* (Murphy 168). Through his transformation of Macpherson's bard, Scott shrewdly devises a narrative construct in which he can mourn an irrevocable national past at the same time that he can look forward to a progressive national future. While Scott attempts to situate the bard within a narrative of national progress, Radcliffe is interested in the creative impetus which inspires the bardic voice, thus she addresses 'the spirit of ancient days' in her short preface to the poem. This preface situates the Gothic Abbey as a material embodiment of the creative 'spirit,' which fires the bard's

[4] Scott repeatedly inserts his own family history into the historical fabric of his tales. Scott dedicates *Marmion*, for instance, to Henry, Lord Montagu, a descendent of the Buccleuch Border family depicted in *The Lay*. Thus, Scott builds a self-reflexive network of allusions to his own family in his texts, which helps to construct a sense of a shared Scottish genealogy.

song. She does not, however, attempt to embody this 'spirit' as a character within the poem, as Scott does with his minstrel. The next section of this chapter further explores how Radcliffe responds to Scott's presentation of the site of the Gothic abbey as a central poetic landmark within *The Lay* and *Marmion*, considering how Radcliffe's representation of the national Bardic voice differs from that of Scott's early narrative poetry in *St. Alban's Abbey*, through her careful re-formulation of contemporary ruin sentiment and the earlier chronicle ruin poem.

3. Radcliffe, Scott, and the Storying of the Gothic Abbey

In this section, I adopt the distinction which Anne Janowitz draws between contemporary ruin sentiment and the earlier chronicle ruin poem, in her study *England's Ruins: Poetic Purpose and the National Landscape* (1990), using this framework to better understand how Radcliffe depicts St. Alban's Abbey as both ruined and 'un-ruined,' thereby rehearsing a tension between the historical particularity of the chronicle ruin poem and the 'picturesque' generality of contemporary ruin sentiment. In certain ways, Radcliffe's evocation of the Abbey is continuous with the practice of ruin sentiment poems, which work to naturalize the gothic structure within a vague, homogenous landscape of national 'pastness.' This process of naturalization, effected by embedding the Gothic ruin within the discourse of the picturesque, serves to 'manipulate the image of the ruin to turn the threat of the encroachment of nature upon culture into proof of the authenticity of the nation itself' (Janowitz 54). For instance, an anonymous poem which appeared in *The Monthly Magazine* entitled 'Lines Written at Kenilworth Castle, Warwickshire,' written in the year in which *St. Alban's Abbey* was composed, succeeds in subordinating the violent history of the castle during the Second Barons' War to an

appreciation of the castle's aesthetic beauty: 'many a ruined tower/gives kindly shelter to a ruined flower/and many a child, escaped from school to play/pursues its gambols in the sunny ray' (456). Such poems neutralized inevitable anxieties about violence, decline, and decay which such ruins (the remains of past sites of authority) inevitably carried. In situating the Abbey as an integral location within England's topography, Radcliffe's text explicitly adopts the ruin poem's close linking of landscape to national history. In the aftermath of the battle, for instance, a wounded Lancastrian soldier dies alone in the woods surrounding the Abbey, where no one but 'the woodlark shall his requiem sing,' as 'glow worms with their watch-torch…wait mutely round his grassy bier' (3: 229). For Radcliffe, the body of the soldier himself becomes entombed within the landscape, literally imbuing the land around the Abbey with the physical remains of England's violent past, the implication being that the soil of the landscape is, on the particle-level, constituted by the bodies of England's dead. Here, Radcliffe introduces a recurring motif of the nation's soil--a motif which she develops further in *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge*. Unlike in Scott's narrative poetry, further excavation is required to assign meaning to these physical traces of the past in Radcliffe's poem. The past and the present are connected more straightforwardly in *The Lay* and *Marmion*, while Radcliffe's *St. Alban's Abbey* offers no such comparable frame.

Radcliffe uses the tropes of the contemporary ruin poem to juxtapose the 'stillness' of the gothic ruin absorbed into the natural landscape with the particular civil strife often attested to in the chronicle ruin poem. Francis Drake's poem, 'On the Ruins of Pomfret Castle' (1750), published in Benjamin Boothroyd's *History of Pontefract* (1807) is an example of the latter kind of poem, which singles out the specific (and rather

obscure history) of the castle's original ownership. Thus Drake records how 'for many an age/the Lacey's noble race/with arms and arts adorned the splendid place…' (313). Such poems act as 'temporal pageants,' outlining the major conflicts and battles which took place on the ruined site. The chronicle ruin poem thus presents Britain as a 'nation born out of a set of struggles…It is the poetry of a nation authenticating itself by describing its pre-history to itself' (Janowitz 58). Radcliffe's specific attention to the events of the First Battle of St. Alban's and its principal personages serves to minutely 'enumerate the events of the ruin's past,' where the 'quarrels and battles that constitute the history of the emergent nation are central thematic materials' (58). She revels in this attention to detail in *St. Alban's Abbey*, taking almost ten pages to relate the names and ancestral history of each knight who rides in Henry VI's retinue as he approaches the Abbey. The third canto of the poem entitled 'The First Day of the Battle,' opens with a detailed procession of Henry VI's troops into the city. Here, Radcliffe's poem offers a detailed record of the Lancastrian soldiers who took part in the battle. The Duke of Somerset is followed by 'fiery' Jasper Tudor, who is in turn succeeded by 'High Northumberland' and then the Cliffords, 'sire and son/…more of truly noble fire ne'er glowed than in that hoary sire' (3: 164).

In turning to the chronicle ruin poem's 'temporal pageant' approach in *St. Alban's Abbey*, Radcliffe explores how traditional ruin-sentiment can be re-purposed to focus not on the loss or decay of such sites, but on the active roles which functioning Gothic buildings still play in the 'guarding,' recording and editing of the nation's history. In forging this link between landscape and history, we can see how Radcliffe uses the site of St. Alban's Abbey (including its shrines, tombs, and memorials) in order to explore

what Janowitz calls the 'difficult emergence of the idea of the unified British nation' (54). Her introduction of a specific historical site, along with a particularised depiction of the historical events which took place there interrupts the naturalization process which ruin poems such as 'Lines Written at Kenilworth Castle, Warwickshire' set up. Instead, Radcliffe's narrative rehearses a tension between historical generality, embodied through her periodical insertion of the Abbey into the discourses of the picturesque or the sublime, and historical localization, which emphasises the specific events and personages associated with the site. This tension reflects Radcliffe's questioning of Britain's various cultural inheritances, and their contribution to the make-up of the modern nation. In shifting between these two historical approaches, Radcliffe can entertain notions of an idealised, or uniform pastness, allowing for the 'ideological homogenization' of the nation, by 'promoting a coincident mythologization of the past,' while also examining specific historical events at the Abbey, and the ensuing challenges of reconciling England's past civil division with contemporary constructions of a unified Britain (Janowitz 59). This shifting perspective reflects Radcliffe's 'uncatalogued' representation of the past. She puts forward two competing representations of England's history--focalised through Janowitz's distinction between contemporary 'picturesque' ruin sentiment and the more historically specific chronicle ruin poem--without explicitly aligning herself with either one.

Radcliffe's gravitation to the chronicle ruin poem's structure in *St. Alban's Abbey* goes against the 'contemporary grain,' or the direction in which the literary world was tending at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Janowitz notes that the homogenous ruin poem grew more popular in the years just after 1800, as 'the course of the eighteenth-

century increasingly involved Britain in a set of international interests demanding the presentation of a unified nation, while the Acts of Union…also demanded images of a coherent British polity' (59). Radcliffe's attention to historical particularity in the face of pressures to promote a conception of a more homogenous British past, of the kind Scott provides in *Marmion*, suggests that Radcliffe is more interested in *St. Alban's Abbey* to complicate notions of a national, 'uniform pastness,' than to present a straightforwardly mythologised version of the Wars of the Roses. One of the ways that Radcliffe promotes her vision of a heterogeneous mythology is to complicate the image of the ruin in *St. Alban's Abbey*, which in fact, is not strictly a 'ruin.' Unlike in other, more straightforward contemporary 'ruin' poems, Radcliffe's representation of St. Alban's Abbey moves ambiguously between sentimental contemplations of the ruined outbuildings of the medieval monastery, destroyed during the Dissolution of the Monasteries in 1539, and the continuously intact cathedral which was originally built to enshrine the relics of St. Alban in 793. The first canto of the poem, entitled 'The Abbey,' foregrounds the height of its medieval splendour by contemplating the ruined buildings of the abbey, in what was for Radcliffe its 'present' nineteenth-century state.[5] In this canto, Radcliffe meditates on the sheer span of historical time which the Abbey encompasses. Introducing the ruined Abbey to her readers, Radcliffe exclaims, 'bold is this abbey's front and plain/the walls no shrined saint sustain/but broadly sweeps the Norman arch/where once in brightened shadow shone/King Offa, on his pilgrim march…' (3: 95). Here, Radcliffe engages with

[5] In his prefatory biography to Radcliffe's posthumous work, Talfourd relates that Radcliffe was 'much attached' to the cathedral at St. Alban's, 'the antiquities of which she explored with unwearied zeal' (1: 61). Radcliffe elaborates on Talfourd's comments in her endnotes to *St. Alban's Abbey*, noting that during her 1808 excursion to the cathedral she was shown a damask helmet at St. Peter's Church which greatly interested Radcliffe, and which she included in her poem as the 'golden damasked helmet' of Fitz-Harding's father (3: 380).

what appears to be the familiar ‘mutability of time’ topos often employed in the contemporary ruin poem. She re-peoples the halls of the abbey, ‘where kings and heroes…were guests/in stately halls at solemn feasts,’ lamenting the loss of such grandeur, where now ‘no dais, nor halls remain…’ (3: 98). Radcliffe’s representation of the ruined abbey is interrupted by her jarring tendency to conflate such ruins with the intact structure of the cathedral. Thus despite being entitled ‘The Abbey,’ the opening lines of the first canto in fact refer to the Cathedral, asking the reader, ‘know ye that pale and ancient choir/whose Norman tower lifts its pinnacled spire?/where…battled roof o’er roof ascends/cornered with buttresses, shapely and small/that sheltered the Saint in canopied stall…’ (3: 93).

This is a common pattern in the poem, where, without warning or preamble, Radcliffe moves from mourning the loss of the abbey’s ruined monastery, where now ‘no fragment of a roof remains,’ to describing the Cathedral’s ‘long aisles whose holy gloom/still mourns and veils the martyr’s tomb’ (3: 98). The effect of this movement from ruined abbey to preserved cathedral is to cast a sense of ruin, over the entire structural compound. Even in the cathedral of the abbey, the monks and the Lancastrian soldiers they harbour appear to be passing away before the readers’ eyes, embodying the ‘mutability of time’ topos in contemporary ruin poems. As the Abbot rests in his private cloister, Radcliffe figures him as a marble sarcophagus on a tomb, ‘so still his form, so fixed his look...he seemed some shade that loved to dwell where late its mortal substance fell...’ (3: 109). At the conclusion of the battle, with many dead and wounded, Radcliffe notes how ‘...every tomb and lowly grave and altar slab and dim shrine near, was now a warrior’s bleeding bier’ (3: 330). Radcliffe troubles her readers’ notion of a ‘ruin,’

interrogating the creative impulses and historical approaches applied to the Gothic structures which were so central to ruin sentiment in contemporary poetry. At the same time Radcliffe elsewhere re-purposes key tropes from the chronicle ruin poem, presenting the cathedral as a representative site of England's Gothic heritage which is still dynamically rallied around, participating in contemporary rituals of memorialisation and nation-building. [6] Thus, the cathedral is depicted as a 'living structure,' with a 'living look' and a 'saintly grace' (3: 94).

It is the Abbey's status as a guardian of the English past which feeds into Radcliffe's conception of the national Bardic voice, serving in the poem as a source of creative transport. Radcliffe's preface and conclusion to the text characterise the visionary power of her Bardic voice as fundamentally sublime, directly inspired by the affecting air of antiquity which the Abbey exudes, and which is emphasised by Radcliffe's figuring of the Abbey's bewildering vastness, stretching to undefined and mysterious bounds, 'almost to lowly Ver's old bed' (3: 334-5). She delineates a process of deep communion with the structure and corresponding history of the Abbey--the central creative impetus behind her poem. Thus, she asks 'the spirit of ancient days' to 'descend/and touch [her] heart with [its] own fire/and nerve [her] trembling fancy to aspire to the dread scenes that [it] hast witnessed here' (3: 93). This air of sublimity is

[6] The Abbey was severely damaged in a storm in 1797, causing large parts of the Cathedral and Abbey ruins to fall into dilapidation (Roberts 189). When Radcliffe first visited in 1802, 'efforts were being made to repair and preserve the Cathedral, sparked by the publication of the earliest detailed description of the abbey church by Edward Brayley in volume VII of his *Beauties of England and Wales*, published in the same year as Radcliffe's composition of her poem (Roberts 189). Radcliffe herself laments the sad state of nearby St. Peter's Church, where she was shown an ancient damask helmet by the caretaker which figures in the poem as Fitz-Harding's father's helmet, remarking, 'It is painful to see a place once dedicated to sacred purposes, once the site of a Christian altar, preserved with so little reverence' (4: 105).

translated by Radcliffe into her use of the unexplained supernatural in the poem, whose instances of ghostly encounters exceed *Gaston de Blondeville*-- at least three instances of straightforward haunting occur. Most memorably, the spectres of Margaret of Anjou and Henry Beaufort stalk the aisle of Duke Humphrey's grave, where 'at such an hour/was sometimes seen/veiled in thin shadowy weeds of woe/the image of a stately queen/near the cold marble, pacing low' (3: 124). In depicting the various spectres which haunt the Abbey, Radcliffe constructs a vision of the site as a physical palimpsest of the nation's history, embodying its Roman, Anglo-Saxon, and Norman 'layers,' complementing her depiction of the Lancastrian wounded lying on the ancient biers of centuries-old warriors. In foregrounding this palimpsest, Radcliffe takes on the role of 'poet-speaker figured as a historian-bard,' in which the voice of the 'historian-bard' is the embodied social memory of the nation as history, legend, and genealogy' (Janowitz 83). Radcliffe does so, however, in the spirit of the 'post-forgery' context in which her post-1797 works are situated, self-consciously rehearsing a tension between the 'ordering' which such a 'pageant' implies, and the resistance which the poem displays towards providing a broader narrative concerning the national significance of the Wars of the Roses. This tension is embodied in the 'faux-naïve' voice which Radcliffe adopts in the introduction to the poem, reveling in the sublime transport to the nation's past which the Abbey offers. In the ultimate Radcliffean move, she side-steps attempts at narrative organisation in *St. Alban's Abbey*, preferring instead to 'memorialise the internal complexity of the political nation' (Janowitz 85). Thus, Radcliffe both revels in the creative transport which the Abbey provides, and she bears witness to the national violence which has encompassed it. No aspect, then, of Radcliffe's poem is narratively straightforward. Henry VI is

depicted as weak king, who is unfit to rule. When, for instance, Henry VI falteringly advances to meet the Duke of York, Radcliffe imagines that 'had our sovereign Lady, Dame/Margaret, the Queen, been here/her cheek had crimsoned o'er with shame/ to view her husband's fear' (3: 196-7). However, Richard of York is still figured as an impious usurper, 'stalking' through the Abbey without removing his battle-casque (3: 213). Similarly, the Catholic monks dine extravagantly in the Abbot's banquet hall with 'massive plate' and 'rare inventions,' while they also serve as the moral protectors of the Abbey, guiding Baron Fitz-Harding to his wounded father (3: 111).

Through adopting the voice of the historian-bard in *St. Alban's Abbey,* Radcliffe takes part in what Janowitz calls the collective 'Britishing' of the Bardic figure, a process in which Scott's *Lay* and *Marmion* also take part, and which I address later on in this chapter (66). Janowitz traces how, 'for a long time…the term did not shake its local [Celtic] origins,' however, by the eighteenth century, the term began to be 'domesticated;' a process which 'should be understood…in the light of the Acts of Union of 1707 and 1801' (66). These developments, as Janowitz argues, 'demanded the incorporation of disparate, and potentially disruptively nationalistic cultures into an overarching British culture' (66). Radcliffe's invocation of the Bardic voice mediates this 'Britishing' of the Bardic figure within an English context. She justifies her imitation of medieval romance forms over Classical verse, arguing for the incongruity of such regular rhyme schemes with her subject: 'As Grecian Goddess, placed in Saxon choir/ is the false union of the cadenced rhyme/and measured sweetness of the tempered lyre/with subjects darkened by the shroud of time…' (3: 92). Radcliffe's justification of her imitation of Gothic poetry relocates readerly conceptions of literary 'classical ground' away from the ancient literary

works of Greece and Rome, situating them within Britain itself. I have adopted Janowitz's term of 'Britishing' rather than 'Englishing' on purpose, in order to capture the way that we can see Radcliffe's conception of 'Englishness' broadening from *Gaston de Blondeville* to *St. Alban's Abbey.* While, as I argue in chapter one, *Gaston de Blondeville* explores what Trumpener has referred to as an 'underdeveloped' sense of Englishness, in which she appropriates Ossianic literary tropes in order to evoke England's own unique past, *St. Alban's Abbey* moves towards a conception of 'Englishness' which understands itself as synonymous with 'Britishness,' a trajectory which becomes even more pronounced in *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge,* as I discuss in chapter three. Thus, when Radcliffe first depicts the shrine of St. Alban, she describes it as 'the first British martyr's bier' (3: 97). For Radcliffe, 'Britishness' here is understood in inclusive, unifying terms, as it is in the introductory epistles in Scott's *Marmion*.

Unlike Radcliffe, Scott only depicts straightforwardly ruined Gothic abbeys, which do not interrupt the familiar conventions of the contemporary ruin poem, placing the violent conflict and varied national inheritances of these sites squarely in the nation's past. Scott emphasises that his representations of Melrose and Lindisfarne Abbeys are the poetic monuments, or textual analogues of each physical structure. Scott's verse narratives more successfully define his role as the premier 'preserver-poet' of the nation's history, re-defining and updating the role of the ancient bard in an overtly British context. Scott situates his own family history within a carefully constructed and subtly emphasised genealogy of the Scottish Borders. Scott's first end note to Melrose Abbey's history in the poem, for instance, advertises the patronage which the Scotts of Buccleuch gave to the Abbey, noting that 'as early as Robert II, Robert Scott…gave to the monks the lands

of Hinkery in Ettrick Forest…,' citing an ancient Scottish land-grant, the Chartulary of Melrose (246). Scott's depiction of Melrose Abbey in *The Lay* opens by situating the Abbey within a picturesque landscape familiar to the Romantic tourist, serving to naturalise the site among the flora and fauna of the Scottish Borders, and away from its violent past as a site of Border warfare.[7] It stands at its most picturesque in the evening, Scott claims, telling his readers

> If thou would'st view fair Melrose aright/go visit it by the pale moonlight/…when the broken arches are black in night/and each shafted oriel glimmers white/when the cold light uncertain streams on the ruin's central tower/when buttress and buttress/ alternately seemed framed/of ebon and ivory/…when distant Tweed is heard to rave… (43).

Here, as in *St. Alban's Abbey*, Scott playfully evokes the familiar situation of the ruin poem, in which a lone poet-viewer revels in the sublimity of the ruin's antiquity, enhanced by the melancholy beauty of evening light. Just as Radcliffe invites her readers to view the abbey as a Romantic tourist ('Now if this cloister/fallen and gone/ ye fain would view/as once it shone/pace ye, with reverend step…/the grass-grown and forgotten way') (3: 99), Scott treats romantic ruin appreciation with an ironic note, perhaps hinting at his awareness of contemporary ruin sentiment as a clichéd poetic form used to contemplate the ruin's purpose within narratives of national identity. His ironic tone subtly lends an air of innovation to his handling of the picturesque ruined abbey. Here,

[7] Melrose Abbey was the site of the Battle of Melrose in 1526; one of a set of earlier conflicts not depicted in *The Lay* which sparks the blood feud between the Scotts and the Kerrs (Scott 220).

again, we can see how Scott's *The Lay* and *Marmion* took part in a project which foregrounded their own carefully-forged sense of newness, as Peter Murphy has argued.

Like Radcliffe, however, Scott does not straightforwardly follow the pattern which Janowitz identifies, whereby the landscape-oriented, more historically homogenous ruin poem came to be the more popular form of ruin text in the early nineteenth-century. Through his profusion of historical detail regarding Melrose Abbey in Canto II of *The Lay*, supplemented by his 145 pages of explanatory notes, some of which outline events throughout the Abbey's history up to its dissolution, Scott's representation of the Abbey ends in emphasising its varied cultural pasts, resisting the model of contemporary cultural assimilation set forth in the poem's main text. As the watch-monk leads William Deloraine, a retainer of the Lady of Branksome, to the location of Michael Scott's hidden tomb, they pass numerous memorials to heroes of the Scottish Borders, rehearsing national rituals of memorialisation which the site of the Abbey foregrounds. As they approach the tomb of Alexander II, Scott alludes to Scotland's Norse heritage, noting how the monk pauses, watching the Northern Lights 'streaming' in the sky above the Abbey, and '[knowing] by the streamers that shot so bright/that spirits were riding the Northern light' (46). Likewise, Scott's narrative regarding the exhumation of the tomb of Michael Scott gestures towards an Eastern strain within Scottish folklore, derived from Scotland's medieval participation in the Crusades, an inheritance outlined by the watch-monk of Melrose Abbey, who tells Deloraine the tale of how he met Michael Scott, who taught him his magical secrets: 'I was not always a man of woe/for paynim countries I have trod/and fought beneath the Cross of Gold' (51).

Scott's use of the supernatural in these poems, as evident from Lord Cranstoun's 'Gilpin Horner' in *The Lay* and the 'Elfin-Knight' which Marmion battles on his way to Edinburgh, showcase his expansive knowledge of British folklore and balladry. His depiction of 'Gilpin Horner,' for instance, is taken from an anonymous, oral Border source, and told to Scott by 'a gentleman of that country' (265), while Scott's Elfin-Knight in *Marmion* is attributed to Gervase of Tilbury, who told a tale concerning a similar 'fairy-knight' (120). Scott uses such supernatural instances to insert entire ballads within his end-notes, shrewdly constructing a network among his own writings which situates him as the preserver, or minstrel, of national folklore and oral tradition. His use of the supernatural, then, is sanctioned by his intellectual pursuit, not to mention by his self-proclaimed project, laid out in the preface to *The Lay*, to 'illustrate the customs and manners which anciently prevailed on the borders of England and Scotland' (v). Thus, Scott's use of the supernatural is carefully justified as a necessary tool used to depict the 'superstition' of Britain's feudal age. Scott's self-assigned 'minstrel-role' is paralleled by characters in *The Lay* and *Marmion*, such as the watch-monk who over-sees Deloraine's exhumation of the tomb of the wizard, who takes on the role of the abbey's guardian, or preserver, a role which, as we have seen, Radcliffe assigns to the monks of St. Alban's Abbey. Thus, he tells Deloraine, 'I swore to bury his Mighty Book/that never mortal might therein look' (62). Here, the monk's role as the preserver of Scottish Border history is conflated with the physical structure of Melrose Abbey as the stone-and-mortar guardian of the nation's past, a role which Scott emphasises in his depiction of Lindisfarne Abbey in *Marmion,* which takes on a martial air through its positioning at the tip of England's Northumbrian coast. He writes: 'In Saxon strength that Abbey

frowned/with massive arches broad and round/that rose alternate, row and row/on ponderous columns short and low' (23). Indeed, Scott implicitly emphasises his Abbeys' 'strength' by foregrounding the heterogeneity of their materials. When we consider the central action which takes place within Scott's abbeys, for example the exhumation of Michael Scott's tomb in *The Lay*, and the shocking burying alive of Marmion's lover, Constance de Beverley in *Marmion*, Scotland's differing strands of cultural inheritances are literally layered on top of each other, forming the foundations on which both abbeys rest. Through this depiction, we can see Scott's influence on Radcliffe's elaborate depiction of St. Alban's Abbey as a palimpsest of English national history in her own poem. However, Scott's representation of Scotland's varied cultural inheritances, emblematized by Melrose Abbey, works to a different effect in *The Lay* and his other verse narratives than in Radcliffe's *St. Alban's Abbey*.

In situating his abbeys as set-pieces which play a marginal role in the broader plots of his poems, Scott's emphasis on the plurality of Britain's cultural identities is subsumed within a wider narrative which looks towards a culturally unified Britain. Thus, at the conclusion to *The Lay*, Lord Dacre's English army cordially feasts with Lady Branksome and the gathered Border clans, and Scott resolves Dacre's grievance against Buccleuch's Border raiders by single-combat, rather than a pitched battle, containing and minimizing the effects of national conflict within a recognisably 'ancient' romance trope for his early nineteenth-century readers. Here, Scott carefully encloses national conflict within a past romance form which confines such a threat to Britain's feudal past. In *St. Alban's Abbey*, Radcliffe transforms Scott's representation of the Gothic abbey as a palimpsest, representative of the plurality of Britain's cultural pasts. In rendering St.

Alban's Abbey the central site of violence during battle--a positioning of the Gothic abbey which Scott is careful to down-play--Radcliffe ensures that readers cannot ignore the contested national inheritances which the structure of St. Alban's Abbey structurally foregrounds. Scott's assimilation of cultural difference in *The Lay*, effected through his use of tropes borrowed from ancient romance locating such divisions in the national past, contributes to his clever construction of his authorial identity as contemporary Britain's 'minstrel,' or preserver of folkloric tradition. Scott's focalization of his tale through the mouth-piece of an aged and hoary minstrel--the 'last of all the bards'--allows Scott to imitate early romance forms in service of this authorial role (11). Scott's 'last minstrel,' then, is in actuality a thinly veiled projection of his own literary project. In this way, Scott's construction of his authorial identity as Britain's modern 'minstrel' is closely tied to questions of imitation, or, more specifically, the impulse to imitate ancient romance forms. These questions, inherently bound up with related negotiations of authorial authenticity, borrowed or re-appropriated texts, and modes of pastiche are of course, ones which Radcliffe wrestled with in *Gaston de Blondeville*, anticipating Scott's mediation of these themes in his verse narratives.

Radcliffe and Scott, then, are both concerned in these 'post-forgery' works to examine (and foreground) the tension between an attempt to revivify the national past through imitation or pastiche, and the unavoidable truth that such attempts at 'revivification' are, of course, belated, or inauthentic. An imitation of a medieval British ballad can never, in fact, be truly medieval, just as an imitation of a medieval ballad will never literally revivify Britain's past historical epochs. Indeed, in his essay 'Imitations of Ancient Ballads,' included as a preface to *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, Scott

identifies this central frustration for the modern poet attempting to capture something of Britain's ancient past:

> A modern poet engaged in such a task, is much in the situation of an architect of the present day, who, if acquainted with his profession, finds no difficulty in copying the external forms of a Gothic castle or abbey; but when it is completed, can hardly by any artificial tints or cement, supply the spots, weather stains, and hues of different kinds, with which time alone had invested the venerable fabric which he desires to imitate (1: 21).

Scott betrays a complex dual vision of the 'modern' poet attempting to imitate, or revive medieval poetic forms--a project in which he was, of course, deeply invested. He acknowledges that it is a task which is ultimately futile. Using the metaphor of the Gothic abbey--a metaphor which is particularly apt within the context of this chapter--Scott argues that even if a poet can faithfully recreate the unique machinery and stylistic detail of the mediaeval ballad, the finished product will still lack the inimitable essence (or 'ancientness') of true medieval poetry. Of course, this does not deter Scott from trying his hand at his own 'imitations.' In the remainder of his essay, he exonerates his own popular brand of imitation--his narrative poetry--by drawing a distinction between poetic imitations which lay false claim to their own authenticity, and those, such as Scott's, which operate under no pretense to antiquity. Instead, he puts forward a mode of open, unapologetic imitation, composed in order to 'obtain the credit due to authors as successful imitators of the ancient simplicity, while their system admits of a considerable infusion of modern refinement' (21). Scott justifies his mimicry of the ancient metrical romance in an assertion which resonates with Radcliffe's argument for her adoption of

romantic, rather than classical literary forms: his decision was purely driven by stylistic expediency, ‘as the description of scenery and manners was more the object of the author than a combined and regular narrative’ (16).

Scott’s adoption of open, straightforward imitation in his verse narratives is his ‘stroke of literary genius,’ which ensured his popular success, and ultimately separates his verse narratives from Radcliffe’s *St. Alban’s Abbey*. In attempting to present readers with a simulation of antiquity, Scott ended in producing a form of literary imitation which was entirely new, essentially creating the popular form of what Peter Murphy terms the ‘new-old romance’ (Murphy 149). It is this new genre which Radcliffe reworks in her own poetical romance, even as she looks back to earlier explorations of the Gothic ruin in the chronicle ruin poem. Although Scott developed the ‘new-old’ romance through his recycling of tropes and themes from ancient romance forms, such as an irregular poetic structure and plot points centred on the Crusades, tournaments, pilgrimages, and disguised heroines, Scott’s ‘creation’ of this new form clearly expresses the fascination which Radcliffe and Scott shared in uncovering Britain’s various national pasts (149). Here, ‘imitation slides into the real thing’ (146), and questions of originality, authorial identity, and literary precedence become blurred and ambiguous realms of speculation. It was Scott and not Radcliffe, however, whose verse narratives successfully presented themselves as something excitingly ‘new,’ leading Patrick Fraser Tyler to call Scott ‘the last and greatest of minstrels’ in his *Lives of Scottish Worthies* (1839) (1: 96).

4. Feudal and Religious Conflict in Radcliffe's *St. Alban's Abbey* and Scott's *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* and *Marmion*

St. Alban's Abbey continues Radcliffe's working-through of her own double-vision of England's national inheritance, exploring the implications of England's perceived medieval 'barbarism,' and how a recognition of this violent past might be reconciled with contemporary narratives of civility, unity, and national progress. It is a testament to the contemporary influence of Scott's verse narratives that Radcliffe is able to trouble readers' notions of the nature of their feudal origins in *St. Alban's Abbey* by using the very aesthetic techniques which Scott puts forward in his own texts. Here, we can see how Scott's metrical romances 'played a crucial role in mediating conflict to a nation at war' during a period in which popular conceptions of warfare were in flux (Bainbridge 120). As Bainbridge argues, the Napoleonic Wars were the first example of 'total war,' in which the conflict became 'not simply the province of specialised soldiers,' but also the 'business of the people' (124). This 'massification' of war, to use the words of Neil Ramsey and Gillian Russell, provoked a questioning of the ontology of war itself (1), in which war came to be understood--in the words of Mary Favret-- as an 'epistemological uncertainty' (4). In response to this 'uncertainty,' the Romantic period was inundated with writing on war, which saw 'significant generic experimentation in the field of battle poetry…' (Ramsey and Russell 3). Radcliffe's *St. Alban's Abbey* should be contextualised alongside these exploratory works. By working through the shifting conceptions of modern conflict, Scott's works provided a popular aesthetic 'vocabulary,' which Radcliffe absorbed into her own narrative 'tool-kit' in her depictions of past national conflict--despite the greater emphasis Radcliffe places on Britain's varied cultural heritage, and the violence which underwrote the nation's feudal development.

Anna Letitia Barbauld's review of *The Lay* in *The Annual Review* in 1805 recognises Scott's tracking of Britain's societal development from a feudal to a 'modern' society (601), citing Scott's depiction of this progression as a key reason behind his popularity. Barbauld notes how Scott uses his tales of feudal warfare to contrast 'the half-civilised times' of the early sixteenth century with the 'civil' society of the early nineteenth century, in which 'fighting is undertaken by the professional soldier' (601). In *Marmion*, for example, Scott draws a careful distinction between the 'antique' battle he is depicting at Flodden Field, and the 'modern' warfare conducted against Napoleon. As the English advance on James IV's army, Scott notes the cannon fire did not come in 'a close successive rattle/that breathes the voice of modern battle/but slow and far between' (103). In her discussion of this distinction which proved so powerful among readers, Barbauld comments that 'War is always the most picturesque where it is least formed into a science: it has most variety and interest where the prowess and activity of individuals has most play…and a raid of the Scotts or the Kerrs to drive cattle… [is] far more captivating to the imagination than a park of artillery and battalions of drilled soldiers' (601). Here, according to Bainbridge, Barbauld understands Scott's narrative poetry as a reflection of how the changing nature of nineteenth-century warfare was understood as the result of social progress (122). Indeed, Scott elaborates on his understanding of organised, modern warfare in his *Life of Napoleon Buonaparte* (1827), arguing that as a society moves from a 'savage' to a 'civilised state,' the 'character of the soldier begins to be less familiarly united with that of the citizen,' while 'it is gradually discovered that the principles of tactics depend on mathematical and dependable science…' (2: 4-5). Thus, Scott's illustration of a time period in Britain's history in which the division between

'soldier' and 'civilian' was more fluid, facilitated the rekindling of martial spirit amongst his own 'civilian' readers, who may themselves be called to participate in volunteer militias being formed throughout the country. Simultaneously, in drawing a self-conscious distinction between the feudal period of warfare in which *The Lay* and *Marmion* are located, and his nineteenth-century readers' own period of systematic French campaigns, Scott deftly consigns the violence of the conflicts he depicts to Britain's feudal state of social development. His verse narratives, then, allow his readers to securely revel in one of Britain's more 'barbarous ages,' while simultaneously taking pride in the advancements of their own 'modern' and progressive age.

While Scott leaves the potential for cultural or national division open in these verse narratives, he is careful to negotiate the possibility of conflict by situating these 'potentialities' within narratives which neutralise such threats. Scott represents various side conflicts which underwrite the central feud between the Scotts and the Kerrs, but they are ultimately absorbed through the marriage of Lady Margaret and Lord Cranstoun, and the resulting union of the warring clans.[8] Indeed, one of Scott's most explicit representations of Britain's varied cultural heritage comes during the wedding feast of Lady Margaret and Lord Cranstoun, in which an Orcadian minstrel sings alongside a bard of Norman extraction (193). Their songs of Britain's Norse and Norman history are assimilated into Scott's own 'song' of cultural and marital union. Here, then, Scott implicitly rehearses the pattern of cyclical violence and conquest which Radcliffe emphasises in *St. Alban's Abbey*, while he diffuses the implicit threat of future conflict

[8] A particularly good example of these 'side-conflicts' in *The Lay* is Scott's outlining of the feud between the Scotts of Eskdale and one of their vassal families, the Beattisons,' over the ownership of a horse (122).

by inserting these patterns of conquest within a narrative construct which puts a definitive end to such feuds.

For all of Scott's skillful attempts at neutralizing the carnage of Flodden Field through his picturesque depiction of the battle in *Marmion*, the fundamental truth of the conflict as a 'landmark' in Anglo-Scottish medieval conflict, ending in the total decimation of the Scottish nobility, cannot be erased. At the conclusion of the battle, Scott mourns the Scottish loss at Flodden Field, once again taking up the mantle of the Ossianic bard exclaiming, 'Tradition, legend, tune, and song/shall many an age that wail prolong/…where shivered was fair Scotland's spear/and broken was her shield' (111). However, Scott imputes this loss to the superiority of English weaponry, figuring the Scottish loss at Flodden Field as a terrible inevitability in the nation's progress towards a peculiarly 'British' unity. As Marmion inspects James IV's ranks on his way into Edinburgh (a scene which is tinged with the Scottish and English armies' mutual admiration of their respective armaments), Scott injects his own sorrowful reflection on the unevenly matched Scottish army: '…but O!/ Short was the shaft, and weak the bow/to that which England bore' (68). Scott is careful in *Marmion*, then, to inflect his lamentation of Scotland's loss at Flodden with an overriding sense of its unavoidable nature, a point which is driven home by his representation of a ghostly voice which rings out from Dun-Edin's cross the night before the battle, where 'thunder'd forth a roll of names/the first…unhappy James!' (82). This incident is attributed by Scott to Pitscottie, who speculates that this supposedly supernatural incident was contrived by those who did not support James IV's war against England, such as Earl Douglas, in order to deter the king from taking his 'vain purpose and wicked enterprise' in what might ultimately be an

unnecessary war (126). Here, Scott follows contemporary chroniclers such as Edward Hall, in presenting James IV as a 'quixotic, mercurial figure, who rushed head-long to his doom, and left his army leaderless when the fight was most desperate' (Sadler 410). The primary underlying cause which Scott invokes to explain James IV's rash handling of his dispute with England and his 'auld alliance' with France is largely his guilt over the part he played in the overthrow and murder of his father, James III, an episode which, from the very beginning of James IV's career as King, calls his powers of judgement and loyalty to the Scottish crown into question (70). In a note to Canto V, Scott depicts James IV as an emotionally unstable ruler, prone to fits of obsessive penance for his father's death and subsequent periods of licentiousness, giving himself up to the 'tides of pleasure' (123). Indeed, his propensity for pleasure is well represented by Scott, who suggests that his romantic dalliance with the Queen of France allows him to be duped into championing the French cause on Flodden Field (71).

When all of these factors are taken together, Scott's mourning of the Scottish loss in *Marmion* is ultimately tempered by his figuring of their defeat as not only unavoidable, but as a stepping-stone towards the state of political and cultural unity which Scott understood to be demanded of Britain in the face of the Napoleonic Wars. Thus, Scott displays the same national impartiality in the poem as he does in his 'introductory letters,' urging his readers not to judge Marmion too harshly: 'If ever in temptation strong/thou left'st the right path for the wrong/…dread thou to speak presumptuous doom/on noble Marmion's lowly tomb' (113). Significantly, this spirit of impartiality closes the poem, in which Scott directly addresses the 'statesmen grave' of Britain, urging them towards 'a sound head, clean hand, and piercing wit, /and patriotic heart--as Pitt' (114). Here,

Scott reflects the political role of the ancient bard as an advisor to future rulers, inspiring their exertions through a love of just and equal rule. We do not see such an explicit patriotic function of the bardic voice in *St. Alban's Abbey*. Radcliffe makes no mention of contemporary politicians such as Pitt or Fox, and she avoids inserting her tale within the overtly nationalistic narrative within which *Marmion* operates. Radcliffe and Scott's representation of national and feudal conflict differs, then, in the extent to which they overtly situate their depictions of feudal warfare within a coherent narrative of national progress. Radcliffe merely gestures towards such a narrative through her ambiguously 'ruined' Abbey as a site which still actively memorialises conflict, whereas Scott inserts his metrical romances (and the abbeys within them) into a more straightforward patriotic trajectory.

Radcliffe follows Scott's representation of battle from a distance, often from the point of view of a character who occupies a station situated above the action, such as Lady Clara in *Marmion*, who watches the events of Flodden Field 'by a cross of stone/that on a hillock, standing lone/did all the field command' (103). For Scott, such episodes of violence are marked out by their collective motion, and individual soldiers on the battlefield are rarely identified, only coming into narrative focus once they have separated themselves from the action of battle. In *Marmion,* the violence at Flodden Field is likened to a sea-wave: 'the plumed crests of chieftains brave/floating like foam upon the waves/but not distinct they see/wide ranged the battle on plain/spears shook, and falchions flashed amain/…crests rose and stooped, and rose again/wild and disorderly' (105). Scott pays particular attention to how light blazes off the battlefield. The sun's rays glint against this sea of spears as 'the Scottish host drawn out appears/…flashing on the

hedge of spears/ [where] the eastern sunbeam shines,' as their front, 'now deepening, now extending' moves forwards into battle' (100). Lady Clara's view of the battle is obscured here, and it is only when the dying Marmion is pulled out of action by his squire that he returns specifically to the battle's focus in order to meet his heroic, and ultimately redeeming end, exclaiming 'my last thought is England's!' (108). For Radcliffe, the First Battle of St. Alban's is largely mediated from the viewing-station of the battlements and turrets of the Abbey. As the battle commences, all the monks' rush to the 'gallery-tower/to scan the enemy's dread power/o'er the wide fields advancing round/…arrayed in many a gleaming row' (3: 168). Here, Radcliffe adopts Scott's picturesque light-play from his narrative verse. As in Scott's metrical romances, Radcliffe's representation of the conflict is mediated by varying perspectives throughout *St. Alban's Abbey*, an example of the 'narrative simultaneity' which Scott introduces into his narrative verse. The day before the battle, for instance, a beacon-light, raised from the top-most tower of the Abbey, flashes alternately on 'a cowled monk's sable head,' before glancing 'on the Abbey-Knight beside' (3: 138). Like Lady Clara's perspective of Flodden Field, the monks' view of battle is repeatedly obscured. For instance, Clement, the watch-monk who aids Baron Fitz-Harding in finding his father among the wounded of the Abbey, must 'mount on a turret-way,' and 'through narrow loop/begin to spy/the varying struggles of the day' (3: 165). However, he is unable to see the action as his view is 'crowded with heads,/ Like leaf on tree' (3: 179). The effect of these techniques is to distance the reader from the reality of the violence of the conflict, a reality which is only briefly represented in Scott's depiction of the Battle of Flodden, when Lady Clara goes to fetch water for the

dying Marmion from a stream, where ‘oozing from the mountain’s side/where raged the war/a dark-red tide/was curdling in the streamlet blue’ (108).

In her careful management of these representations, Radcliffe appears to follow Scott, largely distancing the main action of the poem from moments of graphic blood-shed in *St Alban’s Abbey* by viewing them from the perspective of a looker-on, or by sharply turning away from the moment of a violent death by eliciting a change of perspective. Thus, at the instant when Richard of York slays the Lancastrian knight De Clifford, Radcliffe ‘zooms out’ of the action and away from the actual depiction of his death. Instead, the contest between York and De Clifford is lost from view, ‘where eye not now may De Clifford trace’ (3: 183). However, Radcliffe includes more instances of gore in her battle-narrative than Scott does in his verse, often lingering on particularly violent moments of battle. During the Yorkist advance, for instance, Radcliffe draws her readers’ attention to highly particular depictions of the ravage of battle, where the soldiers’ armour ‘[streams] red,’ and ‘down the charger’s panting side/ [Clement] marks the gushing slaughter-tide’ (3: 186). In depicting these starkly visual moments, Radcliffe troubles Scott’s distancing of his verse narratives from moments of closely-depicted gore. The most striking example of Radcliffe’s complication of Scott’s ‘distancing’ technique is witnessed, once again, through the eyes of the watch-monk Clement, where, as the violence of the battle reaches its pitch, his view of the battle is suggestively obstructed this time, by ‘human blood in streams below’ (3: 184). Here, then, although Clement’s view of the battle is ultimately blocked, Radcliffe ensures that the reader is unable to ignore the carnage of feudal warfare: the cause of visual impairment is the gore of battle itself.

Radcliffe's emphasis on the violence of the nation's feudal past should not be read allegorically, however, or as straightforward evidence of a 'radical' outlook on Britain's war with France. Notwithstanding Radcliffe's condemnation of civil war, she resists straightforwardly allying her narrative with any one political interpretation of the 'cousin's war' which can be overtly mapped onto a reading of contemporary politics. Instead, Radcliffe merely laments the destruction which civil conflict brings to sites representative of national heritage such as the Gothic abbey. In centering her poem on an abbey which is not straightforwardly ruined, Radcliffe rehearses the physical and cultural destruction resulting from civil war (and which destroyed many Gothic sites throughout Britain) without actually imposing it on St. Alban's Abbey. Here, then, we might speculate that Radcliffe's central positioning of the Abbey promotes its preservation as a site of national inheritance (albeit contested) amidst threats of French invasion, or even more insidious, revolution at home. Such damage is criticized by Radcliffe as a figuration of both national and religious transgression, as the Abbey is a site in which the religious and the national coincide. Thus, in her depiction of Prior Delamere's chapel, she hopes that 'it long be spared the fate/of other sad memorials near/torn ruthlessly from reverend bier/of Abbot, knight, of prince, and peer' (3: 277).

In initiating a conversation concerning religious transgression, Radcliffe similarly resists any straightforward religious reading of England's medieval Catholic Church in *St. Alban's Abbey*. Her depiction of St. Alban's monks is tinged with her 'double-vision' of the nation's medieval Catholic inheritance. The poem foregrounds the struggle for political dominance between the monarchy and England's medieval church, depicting several tense discussions between Richard of York and Abbot Wheathampstede as

Richard attempts to force the Abbot to surrender the Lancastrian soldiers taking refuge within the Abbey's walls, a request which the Abbot heroically refuses: 'the church must shelter those who sought sanctuary/at her side, not mock the laws she always taught/however high the temporal cause' (3: 294). Here, then, Radcliffe appears to uphold the protective role of the church during the battle, feeding into her idealisation of the Gothic Abbey as a site of cultural preservation which undermines the apparent hypocrisy with which the medieval Catholic church was so often charged by her contemporaries. Instead, the Abbey is figured as a site of great learning, boasting of such illustrious inhabitants as Matthew Paris and Roger of Wendover, the authors of *The Chronica Majora*. Earlier in the poem, Radcliffe's allusion to Matthew Paris is tinged with distinct Protestant disapproval. Despite being 'pious, learned, wise, and good,' Matthew Paris is also sinisterly depicted as being 'shrouded in a bigot's hood' (3: 102). Thus, while England's medieval Catholic Church is a source of great national pride and fascination for Radcliffe in *St. Alban's Abbey* as an institution which served as one of the only medieval beacons of rationality and learning, it cannot ultimately escape the charges of hypocrisy and superstition which the Catholic Church often carried in her Gothic romances of the 1790s. In reflecting the uneasy duality with which she holds the Church throughout the poem, Radcliffe routinely slips into the more recognisably familiar 'Radcliffean' mode of her Gothic romances, in which, for instance, a ghastly-visaged 'charnel-monk' guides Baron Fitz-Harding through the aisles of the Abbey, warning him, 'Beware! The earth is heaped around/the graves are open on this ground' (3: 327).

Scott's similarly ambivalent handling of Britain's religious hierarchy in Canto II of *Marmion* draws directly on this representation of the feudal Catholic Church in the

Radcliffean Gothic. The horrifying live interment in Lindisfarne of the novice Constance de Beverley, Marmion's crazed lover, is suggestive of moral corruption within the Church, which, nevertheless plays a constitutive (and in this case physical) role in Britain's sites of religious heritage, literally embedded in the accretive layers of Britain's medieval past. Scott inserts the most damning, Protestant condemnation of the Catholic Church into Constance's mouth before her death. She characterises her judges as the 'vassal slaves of bloody Rome,' looking towards a time when 'some traveller…shall find my bones/whitening amid disjointed stones/and ignorant of priest's cruelty/marvel such relics here should be' (32-3). This moment is perhaps one of the most elegantly self-reflexive scenes which Scott constructs in *Marmion*, rehearsing the explosive excavation of the national past which his verse narratives and Radcliffe's *St. Alban's Abbey* differently attempt. In uncovering Britain's feudal past, Radcliffe and Scott must necessarily unearth (and mediate) the violent underbelly of early nineteenth-century notions of British cultural and national unity in the face of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. In the next chapter, Radcliffe looks even further back to Britain's Druid past in her excavation of the nation's contested inheritances in *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge.*

Chapter Three: West from St. Alban's: Mapping England's Ancient Cultural Heritage in Ann Radcliffe's *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge* (1801-1815) and Sir Walter Scott's *Harold the Dauntless* (1817)

1. A Deeper Return to the Past in Radcliffe's *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge* and Scott's *Harold the Dauntless*

Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge is the first work to appear in the final section of the fourth volume of Radcliffe's posthumous work entitled 'Miscellaneous Poems.*'* It is a much shorter poem than *St. Alban's Abbey*, consisting of sixty-six stanzas which vary in length from a sestet to over twenty-lines, many of which have an irregular rhyme scheme (Leuner pars. 5).[1] Although it is not structured in traditional ballad form, Radcliffe's use of repetition, the strong narrative drive of the plot, and her direct addresses to the reader by an unspecified narratorial voice rehearse many elements of the traditional ballad. Her adoption of the written ballad exploits its status as both text and spoken word, harkening back to the Druids' pre-literate society. The poem tells the tale of the 'first of the Druid race,' an unnamed hermit living on Salisbury Plain chosen by Odin, the leader of the Norse pantheon of gods, to defeat a tyrannical wizard, Warwolf the Bold, who is challenging Odin for spiritual dominion over Salisbury Plain with the help of the malevolent Norse God Loki and his daughter Hela, goddess of the underworld.[2] Odin instructs the Druid, who possesses the 'spell of minstrelsy' (4: 117), to journey to Warwolf the Bold's lair, where he is to extract the physical source of Warwolf's power:

[1] The second stanza of the poem, for instance, is only six lines (4: 109), while the eighth stanza is twenty lines (4: 113).

[2] While there is no specific mythological precedent for Radcliffe's Warwolf the Bold, Norse mythology tells of several werewolves. 'Warwolf' appears to be a variation of the term. Thomas Percy's *Northern Antiquities* (1770) contains several myths concerning the werewolf Fenris, the evil offspring of Loki (1: 85). It appears probable the Radcliffe had Fenris in mind as inspiration for her evil wizard.

his ‘one hundred and forty teeth,’ layered in ‘triple rows’ (4: 121). Once this task is completed, Odin tells the Druid to ‘bury the fangs nine fathom deep’ in Salisbury Plain, thereby containing the force of the wizard’s evil spells. When he does so, the Druid discovers not only that the malevolent force of Warwolf’s magic has blasted the Plain into a barren ‘desert,’ but also that his fangs have magically dilated in size, rising out of the ‘teeth-sewn’ ground to form ‘a lofty and motionless giant-band’ of stone, or Stonehenge, as we know it today (4: 149). In exchange for his aid in defeating Warwolf the Bold, Odin offers spiritual sway over Salisbury Plain to the Druid. At the conclusion of the poem, however, the Druid’s power and protection gives way to the rise of Christianity, and the spires of Salisbury Cathedral ‘watch and ward’ over the Plain (4: 149). Radcliffe’s poem, then, is a work deeply concerned with the foundations, or physical traces, of national origins. Yet it is also a narrative which repeatedly emphasises that attempts to pin down the origin points of national culture are liable to be frustrated, or lost ‘in the midnight of time/where shadowy guessings alone remain’ (4: 109). It ruminates on the ‘irrecoverability’ of the nation’s past, at the same time that it offers up a potentially progressive narrative, tracing the development of Protestant British culture from its Druidic and Norse antecedents. Such ‘progress,’ however, is obstructed by Radcliffe’s depiction of the necessary interrelationship of Britain’s constituent cultures, illustrated by the antiquarian notes which Radcliffe uses to elucidate the nation’s past. Such detail pulls readers in contrasting directions, substantiating the argument of David Simpson, in his observations on early nineteenth-century annotated poetry, that ‘recourse to notes is the symptom of an uncertainty or anxiety about the remote, the foreign, the unfamiliar, or the strange’ (111). In attempting to untangle the nature of Britain’s ancient

cultural inheritances, then, Radcliffe's poem actually ends in emphasising the inherent 'otherness' of Britain's own primitive peoples, providing readers with supplementation in her endnotes which is not straightforwardly explicatory, interrupting a straightforward depiction of Britain's progress towards a unified nation.

In exploring this aspect of Radcliffe's text, Scott's last (and shortest) narrative poem, *Harold the Dauntless* (1817), provides us with an illuminating counter-work since it is likewise concerned with the establishment of an ancient aetiology of British national culture. Divided into six cantos, yet only running to ninety-nine pages, Scott's poem centres on the defiant Viking Harold, whose family has settled in Northumbria after the Viking invasion of York in 866. Despite pressures from his father, Count Witikind, who has converted to Christianity in order to cement his land-holdings near Durham, Harold refuses to abandon the Norse religion of his forefathers, in which he was 'rocked in a buckler and fed by a blade' (6: 16). His forceful rejection of Christianity results in his exile with his faithful page, Gunnar (later revealed to be the beautiful daughter of Harold's nursemaid, Eivir), until the death of Harold's father and his desire to marry kindles his determination to regain the lands reclaimed by the Church after his father's death, a goal which ultimately leads to Harold's conversion to Christianity. Unlike Radcliffe's poem, Scott's text is a rehearsal of a more straightforward conversion plot, charting the major events of Harold's assimilation into an early Christian culture. It is a poem interested in modelling the relationship between the cultural, economic, and religious forces of national assimilation for an early nineteenth-century readership preoccupied with the cultural implications of Britain's ever-expanding empire, which 'saw the greatest expansion of British imperial dominion since the creation of the colonies

of settlement in Ireland and America in the seventeenth century' (Bayly 100). *Harold the Dauntless*, then, provides readers with a stronger 'template' than Radcliffe's narrative with which to map anxieties regarding contemporary notions of the 'British nation.' Thus, while it foregrounds the violence of Britain's Norse and Druidic ancestry, *Harold the Dauntless* tells a more overtly progressive story.

Located in the middle of the last volume of her posthumous works, *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge* has received no critical attention, nor is it even mentioned by Norton in his otherwise thorough biography.[3] This chapter will begin to redress this critical imbalance, by highlighting how Radcliffe's poem, like Scott's *Harold the Dauntless*, takes part in a mediation of early nineteenth-century 'Britishness,' which, in the words of Linda Colley, began to reflect an understanding 'that the unit called "Britain" constituted…an umbrella…under which various groupings and identities could…congregate' (xi). In particular, this chapter will examine how far Radcliffe and Scott look forwards to the establishment of a specifically Protestant nation in these poems, analysing Radcliffe's situation of the Druid figure in her text as the cultural progenitor of a unique British liberty, and Scott's re-formulation of Harold's 'dauntlessness' by the end of his poem within a 'Christian Warrior' context, which plays on earlier allegorical, Protestant 'quest narratives' such as John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (1678-84).

In *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge*, assuming that Radcliffe wrote the poem after *St. Alban's Abbey,* we can speculate that Radcliffe shifts away from the structure of Scott's

[3] Kristyn Leuner gave a paper entitled 'De-Fanging Ann Radcliffe's *Salisbury Plains*: The Unexplained Supernatural, Myth, and History' at NASSAR in 2011, 'Romanticism and Independence,' held in Park City, Utah.

verse narratives. Not only, as I have already noted, is the poem far shorter than *St. Alban's Abbey*, whose ten-canto structure is modelled on Scott's narrative poetry, but Radcliffe also eschews an introductory frame narrative and lengthy antiquarian end-notes (there are only four pages of explanatory detail). It is impossible, however, to know the exact year of the poem's composition, and thus the precise relationship which the poem bears to Scott's poetry. Talfourd's inclusion of Radcliffe's travel journal from 1801 in his prefatory memoir dates her first excursion to Salisbury in October 1801, after a trip to the Southampton, Lymington, and the Isle of Wight' (29). On 13 October, Radcliffe writes, 'Left Southampton for Salisbury…. gained the summit of a high ridge, with the… lofty spire of Salisbury in front…Saw as we passed the moonlight shining through the windows of the aisles, and touching aslant the lofty spire' (35-6). At the end of this section of Radcliffe's journal, Talfourd writes, 'after an attempt to visit Stonehenge, which was frustrated by a violent storm, Mr. and Mrs. Radcliffe…returned to London' (36). Perhaps, then, Radcliffe's poem on the origins of Stonehenge reflects her own personal frustration at being prevented from seeing the site by the inclement weather in 1801. In this case, the poem would actually pre-date the beginning of Scott's career in narrative poetry by four years. In his biography, Norton notes of this 1801 trip, 'they stopped at Steephill, at the foot of St. Boniface Downs. They would return to this site eleven years later' in 1812 (190). Alternatively, then, we can posit that Radcliffe began her poem in 1812 upon her second visit to the region, prompting her to remember her first views of Salisbury Cathedral and its spire, which would come to play the important role of fending off the evil forces of Warwolf the Bold.

If we take this to be the case, we can perhaps situate Radcliffe's turn away from the structure of Scott's verse narratives in *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge* as a response to Scott's own shift from narrative poetry towards the historical novel in 1814 with *Waverley*. This is a creative shift in which the composition history of *Harold the Dauntless* is implicitly involved. The poem was Scott's last attempt at narrative verse. By the time of its composition in 1816, Scott had already published *Waverley, Guy Mannering,* and *The Antiquary,* a novel whose ironic depiction of the figure of the antiquary and his erudite pursuits appears to have influenced the tone and structure of *Harold the Dauntless.* It is a poem in which Scott abandons the heavily-annotated structure of his previous verse narratives. In *Harold the Dauntless,* then, we see, for the first time in one of his verse narratives, Scott overtly distancing himself from his antiquarian source material. At the conclusion of the poem, he releases his readers from the supposedly onerous task of attending to his narrative, a composition which he attributes to drowsy ennui in the introduction to the first canto, remarking 'I will not borrow to try thy patience more/one anecdote from Bartholine, or Edskiold, or Snorro/then pardon thy minstrel, who hath wrote a tale six cantos long/yet scorned to add a note' (88). Here, in characteristic fashion, Scott ends his poem by both showcasing his obviously wide-ranging knowledge of Norse literature and history, and rejecting the traditional scholarly provision of explanatory notes.[4] In the last of his narrative poems, Scott attempts in *Harold the Dauntless* to separate himself from the antiquarian research

[4] Thomas Bartholin was a Danish antiquary, who published one of Norse literature's foundational studies in 1689, Antiquitatum Danicarum de Causis Contemptae a Danis adhuc Gentilibus Mortis ("Danish Antiquities Concerning the Reason for the Pagan Danes' Disdain for Death"). Johan Perinskjold translated the *Heimskringla*, the best known of the Old Norse Kings' Sagas into Swedish from Snorri Sturluson's manuscript of the same name in 1697. In the thirteenth century, Sturluson also authored the *Prose Edda,* 'a bipartite treatise on myth and on skaldic diction…' (O'Donoghue 9).

which underpins the plot of his Viking tale, a move which takes on a double significance. Firstly, in 'scorning' to add a note to his poem, Scott signifies an overt decision to move away from a structural pattern (his copious use of endnotes) which had come to define the formal appearance and readerly experience of his verse narratives. Secondly, his adoption of a more ironic stance towards his source material signals his move towards his Waverley novels, in which his playful mediation of the antiquarian research which informed his works is repeatedly foregrounded.

Scott's move away from narrative poetry can in part be attributed to the shifting climate of the field of narrative poetry, irrevocably changed by Lord Byron. During the period, Byron became the rising star in contemporary verse narrative with the publication of *Childe Harold* (1812-18). His scandalous personal life, coupled with his representation of the younger generation's disillusionment with the ongoing conflict with Revolutionary France, contributed to his gradual eclipsing of Scott as the most successful British author in the field. *Harold the Dauntless,* then, was pitted against Lord Byron's works. In a letter to the Countess of Purgstall in 1821, later published by Lockhart in his *Memoirs,* Scott admits he '[had] given up poetry,' linking his declining success in the genre with the popularity of Lord Byron's poetry, arguing that he 'felt the prudence of giving way before the more forcible and powerful genius of Bryon' (2: 254). While he presents his retirement from the genre as a dignified withdrawal in his letter to the Countess, his prefatory note to *Harold the Dauntless* in the Magnum Opus edition of *The Lord of the Isles* (1830),[5] betrays an embarrassed awareness of the poem's inferior position in relation to the popular success of Byron's *Childe Harold*. He writes, 'I am still astonished at my

[5] I have taken this and the next quotation from the 1843 edition of *Harold the Dauntless* already cited.

having committed the gross error of selecting the very name which Lord Byron made so famous' (6: 6). The 1830 preface to *Harold the Dauntless* not only reflects Scott's sense of the changing nature of the field of narrative poetry, but also points to his own serious reassessment of his once established place in the genre. In order to gain an unbiased sense of the direction in which 'popular taste' was tending, Scott published *Harold the Dauntless* anonymously, which not only encouraged significant confusion as to the identity of its author, but was also continuous with Scott's ongoing experiment with authorial identity as the 'Author of Waverley.' Remembering the circumstances of the poem's composition in the 1830 preface to the poem, Scott writes:

> Upon another occasion, I sent up another of these trifles, which, like a school boy's kite, served to show how the wind of popular taste was setting…It encountered rather an odd fate. My ingenious friend, Mr. James Hogg, had published about the same time, a work called *The Poetic Mirror*, containing imitations of the principal living poets. There was in it a very good imitation of my own style, which bore such a resemblance to *Harold the Dauntless*, that there was no discovering the original from the imitation, and I believe that many who took the trouble of thinking upon the subject, were rather of the opinion that my ingenious friend was the true Simon Pure… (6: 6).

Scott's own encouragement of the misidentification of his poem's authorship resulted in most contemporary reviews believing it to be an imitation of Scott's work, and, as such, they generally thought it to be inferior to Scott's previous narrative poetry. A review of the poem in The *Critical Review* (1817) sarcastically comments that it is

'romantic enough to satisfy all the parlour-borders of ladies' schools in England,' complaining that 'not enough attention is paid to historical detail. Mr. Scott, being a skillful antiquary, is extremely careful in niceties of this sort' (384). Ironically, it is Scott's self-conscious distancing of his poem from its antiquarian source material, resulting in a shorter, less 'scholarly' structure in *Harold the Dauntless*, which leads the review to disavow the work as one penned by Scott. Instead, regarding it as a text which playfully appears to eschew the erudite, male discourse of antiquarian study, the review understands it to belong to a generic classification below that of Scott's 'true' verse narratives, situating it within that class of 'romance,' primarily suited for female 'parlour-borders.' Here, as I have already noted, we see Scott nimbly straddling the boundary between 'masculine' and 'feminine' romance. Drawing on earlier male authors such as Horace Walpole in his antiquarian representation of history and the supernatural, Scott's works necessarily resulted in defining a 'feminine opposite' to his own brand of historical fiction. Such 'feminine' romance, in the words of Michael Gamer, came to be recognised for its 'restrained, realist Gothic fiction by authors like Radcliffe and Clara Reeve, in which seemingly supernatural events are explained by natural causes' (60). Radcliffe's *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge* continues her deft negotiation of the perceived 'norms' which Scott's handling of gendered historical romance established. *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge*, with its unflinching use of the supernatural which underpins the entirety of the plot. At the same time, however, as in her earlier posthumously-published works, we can see Radcliffe attempting to legitimate her use of the supernatural in her poem through her appropriation of some of the same scholarly sources on Old Norse myth which Scott makes use of in *Harold the Dauntless*. In particular, we can see Radcliffe and Scott

drawing heavily in their depictions of Old Norse culture and mythology on Thomas Percy's 1770 translation of Paul-Henri Mallet's study entitled, *Northern Antiquities: A Description of the Manners, Customs, Religions and Laws of the Ancient Danes, and other Northern Nations, including those of our Saxon Ancestors,* which contained some of the first translations in English from the Poetic *Edda*. They are also greatly influenced by Percy's earlier publication of *Five Pieces of Runic Poetry Translated from the Islandic Language* (1763), containing a translation of 'The Complaint of Harold,' which appears to have been particularly influential in Scott's naming of his titular hero, and in certain plot-points in *Harold the Dauntless*.[6]

Despite the commercial failure of *Harold the Dauntless* in comparison to Scott's earlier poems, it has become absorbed in a greater narrative of creative success, perpetuated by the lasting impact which his Waverley novels had on contemporary readers. In his *Memoirs,* Lockhart facilitates this conception of Scott's career by citing *Harold the Dauntless* as a significant turning point in the expression of his literary abilities. He is careful to disassociate the poem from the embarrassment which Scott himself admits to in his 1830 preface, arguing instead for the creative precedence of *Harold the Dauntless*, noting that it was in fact written 'several years' before the publication of Byron's poem, with 'part of it' being 'actually printed before the appearance of *Childe Harold'* (2: 224). Here, Lockhart attributes Scott's embarrassed comments in his preface to the poem as a mere slip of 'the author's remembrance when he penned in 1830, his introduction to *The Lord of the Isles*' (2: 224). He does, however,

[6] In the 'Complaint of Harold,' published in Percy's *Five Pieces of Runic Poetry*, the speaker indignantly rails against his rejection by a 'ruffian maid,' despite his array of impressive victories in battle (77-9), just as Harold in Scott's poem is driven to madness by the rejection of his suit to marry the greenwood maiden, Metelill.

acknowledge that although *Harold the Dauntless* achieved 'considerable success' in the literary market, 'the confusion and harsh transitions of the fable, and the dim rudeness of characters and manners, seem sufficient to account for its inferiority in public favour' (2: 224). In conceding that *Harold the Dauntless* never achieved the popularity of Scott's earlier poems, Lockhart uses the retrospective success of Scott's Waverley Novels to gloss over the poem's lack of popularity, arguing that 'it is not surprising that the author should have redoubled his aversion to the notion of any more serious performances in verse' (2: 224). However, Scott had built his literary reputation on his 'modern' treatment of feudal customs and manners in his verse narratives. The 'dim rudeness' of Harold's character in the poem, then, was simply more of the same from Scott's pen. Notwithstanding, Lockhart is quick to situate the relative failure of *Harold the Dauntless* as the catalyst for Scott's adoption of the novel as 'an instrument of wider compass,' more fit for what Lockhart considers Scott's impressive talents, a form through which he could truly '[throw] off his fetters' and revel in the 'native elasticity of his strength' (2: 224). Scott's next novel, *Rob Roy,* published in December 1817, sold over 10,000 copies in its first run, reinforcing Lockhart's position in his *Memoirs* (259). However, as The *Critical Review* indicates, Scott's abandonment of his scholarly apparatus left readers feelings uncertain as to the poem's intended readership. Perhaps this is the 'confusion of the fable' which Lockhart refers to in his discussion of the poem, and it is the narrative's 'confused' state, mixing Scott's new novelistic techniques with his old form of verse, which ultimately damaged its commercial success.

Radcliffe's *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge,* on the other hand, did not become absorbed into narratives of creative revival in Radcliffe's literary career. Instead, it has

lain unread and unstudied since its publication in 1826, buried amongst Radcliffe's other 'miscellaneous poems.' The next two sections of this chapter will explore how *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge* marks a subtle but important moment in Radcliffe's posthumously-published writing. Unlike *Gaston de Blondeville* and *St. Alban's Abbey*, it is a narrative which offers more directly applicable parallels to contemporary readers in its tracing of the origins of the early nineteenth-century 'British nation' and its supposedly unique system of justice and liberty. This indigenous 'liberty' is exemplified by Radcliffe's ancient Druid priesthood, in whose depiction she is influenced by a range of earlier literary works, particularly William Mason's *Caractacus* (1759). Radcliffe's charting of Britain's religious and cultural progress invites--but does not ultimately offer-- allegorical readings which align contemporary narratives of progress and Protestantism with the ancient foundations of the British nation. *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge* imagines an interrelationship between Britain's constituent nations which is stronger than Scott's conception of the nation in *Harold the Dauntless*. These poems, then, exemplify different relationships between the nation's past and its present. For Radcliffe, the traces of Britain's past cultures--exemplified by Stonehenge--are inescapable reminders of the questions which an examination of the past raises. Scott's poem, on the other hand, goes further than Radcliffe's narrative in attempting to provide readers with straightforward answers regarding the nation's ancestors, and their assimilation into a recognisably 'British' culture. Before we turn to a specific examination of the ways these works engage with these themes, let us first explore how Radcliffe and Scott variously construct their depictions of Druid and Old Norse culture out of earlier literary representations, antiquarian studies, and contemporary religious debates.

2. Negotiating Britain's Ancient Contested Inheritances in *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge* and *Harold the Dauntless*

In contextualising *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge* alongside *Harold the Dauntless*, it is helpful to first examine how earlier eighteenth-century texts used the figure of the Druid and the Norseman to offer readers ways of thinking about Britain's ancient past which negotiated anxieties surrounding the perceived 'barbarity' of Britain's own indigenous peoples, the nation's early nineteenth-century imperial status, and the relationship which such a status had with Britain's incipient democratic tradition. Some texts figured the Druids as Britain's 'freedom-fighting' progenitors, attempting to establish a continuity between these ancient 'freedom-fighters' and contemporary Britons, in order to reconcile themselves to the processes of colonial expansion with which Britain became engaged during the Romantic period. In his *Gallic Antiquities* (1780), for example, John Smith argues that the Druids discovered gun-powder, establishing a genealogy of British military prowess which reached back to the Druid priesthood (1: 73).[7] However, in using Druidical and Norse historical frameworks to explore the processes through which the Protestant 'British nation' came to be defined, these poems inevitably open up a potentially dangerous space for readers to question the particularity of the nation's 'founding' cultures, inviting readers to define 'Britain' not against its non-Protestant others (Catholic France or the its colonized peoples), but by its own specific constitutive elements. Such readings might end in a recognition of not only the essential cultural and religious plurality of Britain's ancient progenitors, but also of

[7] Most of the material which British eighteenth century historians and authors turned to for historical accounts of the Druids was taken from the classical records of the Druids in Gaul, most notably Julius Caesar's *Commentaries on the Gallic War* (Owen 15).

the potential barbarity of Britain's ancient peoples. In turning to the Druids and the Norsemen in their respective works, Radcliffe and Scott engage with a subject of literature which is already occupied and contested. Indeed, the very title of Radcliffe's poem exemplifies the fraught nature of her subject, demonstrating how authors throughout the eighteenth century were unable to reach a consensus regarding the title of the geographical site which she depicts. Unlike Wordsworth's appellation of the region as the singular 'Salisbury Plain' in his poem of 1793-4, Radcliffe refers to the setting in the plural: 'Salisbury Plains.' The plural of the name, however, seems to have had some currency throughout the eighteenth-century. Daniel Defoe refers to 'Salisbury Plains' in his work, *A Plan of the English Commerce, Being a Complete Prospect of the Trade of this Nation, as well the Home Trade as the Foreign* (1749), while the anonymous author of the anti-Wollstonecraftian work, *Robert and Adela; or The Rights of Women best Maintained through the Sentiments of Nature* (1795), refers to the region in the plural as well. Both forms, then, appear to have been used during the period.

Earlier eighteenth-century depictions of the Druids and the Vikings illustrate how they were often used to depict contrasting visions of the origins of the nation, in which they appear as both blood-thirsty barbarians and founders of Britain's unique system of justice. The Scottish historian, Robert Henry, for example, argued that Druid 'superstition' served as the foundation of the Catholic Church, asserting that 'its practitioners had lived in colleges with their leader, the Archdruid, dwelling in great splendour' and living in luxurious excess off 'rich endowments of land' (1: 91-2). Such negative representations were reflected in literary works throughout the Romantic period, such as in Robert Southey's 'The Death of Odin' (1795). Before his death, Odin addresses

his people and looks towards their future conquest of the British Isles, prophesying how 'the Druid throng shall fall away/and sink beneath your victor sway/ No more shall nations bow the knee/Vanquished Taranis, to thee;/no more upon the sacred stone,/Tentates, shall thy victims groan' (108).[8] For Henry and Southey, then, the Druids are a despotic force who deny Britons their natural right to liberty through human sacrifice. Such associations had been current since Aylett Sammes' 1676 history of Ancient Britain, where he outlines their tyrannical and violent rule over Britain with an illustration of a victim-filled wicker man (Sammes 105). On the other hand, other eighteenth-century authors such as William Cowper located the Druids as 'champions of national rights' and 'visionary legislators of the nation' (Simmons 13). In his poem *'Boadicea: An Ode'* (1782), Cowper positions the Druid as a prophet of Britain's imperial future (Owen 152). Before Boadicea heroically rushes to her death in battle against the Romans, her Druid priest foretells Britain's future, declaring, 'Regions Caesar never knew/thy posterity shall sway/where his eagles never flew/none as invincible as they…' (172). Cowper's Druid, then, is a figure who combines notions of heroic defiance with imperialist pride, establishing an ancient historical example of Britain's unique liberty-loving spirit as the impetus behind Britain's expansionist policies.[9] Through Cowper's poem, British imperial rule could be understood as a process which did not result in the violent subjugation of colonial peoples, but rather, as a system which sets them free.

[8] The First century Roman poet Lucan alludes to these Celtic gods in his account of Caesar's conquest of Gaul (*Pharsalia* 1. 444-6). He makes reference to the way in which Taranis and Tentates were often appeased through human sacrifice (Aldhouse-Green, 473).

[9] While Cowper was a strong critic of the East India Company, and indeed empire itself, his *Ode* bears a clear imperialistic fervour: '…Empire is on us bestowed/shame and ruin wait for you!' (172).

However, destabilising resonances of inherent 'barbarism' haunt these earlier representations of Druid and Norse cultures, just as they do in *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge* and *Harold the Dauntless*. In her travel journal from 1801 recorded by Talfourd, Radcliffe notes how on 6 October of that year, she made an excursion to Undercliff on the Isle of Wight and then walked five miles to Steephill, which she describes as 'a Druid scene of wildness and ruin' (1: 33). Here, as she does in *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge*, Radcliffe associates the figure of the Druid with the sublimity of a mystery which cannot ever be fully uncovered. Her linking of the Druid with 'wildness,' nevertheless, carries an undertone of the threat of violent savagery associated with paganism. The violent connotations of the Druid's pagan rituals are further emphasised in an earlier extract included by Radcliffe in *Journey of 1794*, detailing her visit to a stone circle in Castlerigg near Keswick. Upon seeing the megalith, Radcliffe comments that 'here at moonlight, every Druid...might assemble [to] celebrate a midnight festival by a savage sacrifice (446). Radcliffe's entry in her travel journal displays a suspicious attitude towards Druidic culture which is markedly different from the allure of the benevolent, patriotic protectors and legislators which she depicts sixteen years later in *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge*. Scott, likewise, displays the same inconclusive vision of the Druids, often doubting the extent to which various standing stones in the British Isles can be attributed to their design. In his introduction to *The Border Antiquities of England and Scotland* (1814), Scott argues, 'Of the worship of the Northern Britons we have no distinct traces, but we cannot doubt that it was Druidical…The circles of detached stones, supposed to be proper to that mode of worship, abound in various places on the Border…Although there is good reason to doubt whether the presence of these

monuments is in all other cases to be positively referred to the worship of the Druids' (1: xii-xiii). Here, Scott's assessment of the origin of stone circles is conflicted, and he is unable to definitively consign their erection to the efforts of the Druids. By 1822, when Scott provided an entry on the Druids in *The Edinburgh Encyclopedia*, they had fallen even further in his estimation. He writes, '…respecting them and their religion…many opinions have been indulged which…are totally unsupported by any authority or evidence. [The Druids] were ignorant, and extremely barbarous in their manners, and gloomy and cruel in their superstitions' (7: 767). He emphasises his point by claiming that there are no verifiable connections with the Druids, biblical patriarchs, and megalithic monuments, as earlier antiquarians such as John Aubrey or William Stukeley suggest (7: 767).[10] In the same year, Scott published his novel *The Pirate,* set on the island of Orkney. In his notes to the novel, he discusses the Standing Stones of Stenness which play a part in the narrative, commenting 'the Stones furnish an irresistible refutation of the opinion of such antiquaries that hold that the circles usually called Druidical were peculiar to that race of priests. There is every reason to believe that the custom was prevalent in Scandinavia…and as common to the mythology of Odin as to Druidical superstition' (2: 273). These arguments are directly contradicted in *Ivanhoe,* however, in which Scott aligns stone circles with 'Druidical superstition' in the opening chapter of the novel (28).

Radcliffe's and Scott's opinions of Druidical and Viking culture and religious practices, and their place in the history of the modern British nation are ultimately

[10] John Aubrey was the first antiquarian to claim that the Druids had constructed Stonehenge (Owen 108). Influenced by Aubrey's arguments, William Stukeley published his study, *Stonehenge,* in 1740, arguing that the Druids had first erected the stone circle.

unstable. In making sense of their own conceptions of these cultures, their poems signify a self-reflexive 'sifting through' of earlier literary and antiquarian source material, in different ways seeking to make sense of Britain's threads of tangled cultural inheritances, and their places in early-nineteenth-century British national identity. These texts are also self-consciously literary, employing Druidical and Norse tropes, taken from earlier poetry, such as Joseph Sterling's *Poems* (1782), John Ogilvie's *The Fane of the Druids* (1787), Thomas Gray's 'Norse Odes' (1768), and Frank Sayer's *Dramatic Sketches of the Ancient Northern Mythology* (1790), to name just a few. Thus, like Sayer's depiction of his Druids in *Starno: A Tragedy in Two Acts*, who are 'white robed priests,' bearing mistletoe in 'snowy vests' (136), Radcliffe dresses her Druid in 'a robe and beard of snow' (4: 126). The poet who proved most influential to Radcliffe in her representation of the Druids, however, was William Mason, whose *Caractacus: A Dramatic Poem, Written on the Model of the Ancient Greek Tragedy* (1759), serves as Radcliffe's biggest source of inspiration in *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge*. Indeed, *Caractacus* is quoted no less than six times throughout Radcliffe's 1790s' romances (Norton 119). Mason's tragedy appears to have provided Radcliffe with key elements for her own plot in *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge*. In the opening lines of *Caractacus,* a defiant Druid denounces 'impious Rome' (2) for intruding on the sacred ground of their fane. Their temple is constructed of 'mighty piles of magic-planted rock' which 'mark the place where at times of holiest festival/the Druid leaves his train' (2). This depiction of an unnamed circle of standing stones is strikingly similar to Radcliffe's mystic tale of Stonehenge's construction, and we can likewise imagine that the 'druid wands,' dipped in an herbal mixture of vervaine, and used to control magical spirits in Mason's poem,

suggested Warwolf the Bold's 'branch of spectres' to Radcliffe (Mason 10). Mason's representation of a network of subterranean caves in *Caractacus,* where the Druids perform their secret rites 'done…in the central womb of the earth,' anticipates Radcliffe's recurring representation of the nation's organic landscape as an emblem for the accretive, or palimpsestic layers of Britain's historical past (Mason 11). This past is represented in *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge* by the very soil and stones of Stonehenge which physically contain the malevolent power of Warwolf the Bold. As in *Caractacus*, Radcliffe's Druid lives in a hidden cave, apart from the inhabitants of the Plain, just as the central action of the poem--the de-fanging of Warwolf the Bold--takes place underground in Warwolf's subterranean recess. In entering the wizard's domain, the Druid is exposed to the power of Hela, the Norse goddess of death who oversees the Underworld. The motion of the poem, then, tends even further underground, into the very depths of hell itself.

Radcliffe also draws heavily on Mason in her representation of the Druid priesthood as an elite imbued with what Radcliffe refers to as 'the spell of minstrelsy,' the primary source of her Druid's mystical power in the poem (4: 117). Indeed, the first time that Radcliffe's Druid makes use of his harp to call up the 'spirits white of Odin's band,' appears to have been directly influenced by Mason's opening scene, in which Caractacus's bards, 'skilled in nature's lore' (2), leave their secluded dwellings, and 'descend…hymning mortal strains…The spirits of air, of earth, of water, nay of heaven itself do listen to their lay: and oft 'tis said, in visible shapes dance they a magic round to the high minstrelsy' (6). These Druids, like Radcliffe's, possess the divine power of song, capable of invoking spiritual aid with their music, and we can speculate that Radcliffe based her own Druid's 'spell' on Mason's depiction of his Druids' spiritual communion

in *Caractacus*. It is also worth noting here that Radcliffe was no doubt also influenced in her association of the Druid and the harp by her admiration for James Thomson's works, commemorated by Collins in his 'Ode on the Death of Mr. Thomson' (1749): 'In yonder grave a Druid lies/…where…his airy harp shall now be laid' (Collins 449). Similarly, in her discussion of *Harold the Dauntless*, Heather O'Donoghue points out how 'there is a light-heartedness and inventiveness about Scott's allusions to Norse myth which has a 'comic book quality,' which exemplifies the antiquarian irony which runs through Scott's verse narratives (126). She notes, for instance, how 'the motifs of Ragnarok are the common parlance of the Norse characters,' and Harold's pageboy, Gunnar, complains about a thunderstorm during the poem, commenting that it is 'As if Lok, the destroyer had burst from his chain!' (126). Indeed, Harold's ferocity, '[quaffing] the blood of his victims' savours of the 'comic book quality' to which O'Donoghue refers. Here, the evidence of Scott's literary and antiquarian study of Old Norse is embedded within the narrative of *Harold the Dauntless,* rather than appended to the poem in the form of endnotes, as in his earlier verse narratives; this is another technique which he uses in the poem to distance himself from his antiquarian source material. Indeed, the very register of his 'dauntlessness' is taken from earlier English poems on Norse themes. Percy's 'The Dying Ode of Regner Lodbrog,' for instance, characterises the ideal Norse warrior as 'dauntless in the clash of arms' (39).

The 'double vision' with which Radcliffe and Scott viewed the Druid and the Norseman in these texts--both as relics of a barbaric national past and progressive forefathers of British culture-- reflects nationalist antiquarian controversy regarding the origins of British megaliths. For instance, with his publication of *The Pirate,* written five

years after *Harold the Dauntless*, Scott begins to reinforce his attempt to define a Scottish national particularity in relation to the rest of the British Isles, situating the Vikings, and not the Druids, as Scotland's original cultural progenitors (Hutton 290). We can trace the beginnings of this nationalist-antiquarian streak in *Harold the Dauntless*, in which he coyly avoids depicting a single example of a stone circle and pointedly situates the Druid Castle of the Seven Shields, the mystical site of Harold's conversion, in an undisclosed location in Northumbria, emphatically not Scotland. He does, however, include a representation of a 'rocking stone' in Canto II of the poem. Jutta, a witch who worships the Eastern European God Zernebrock, uses the rocking stone in order to seek advice regarding Harold's proposal of marriage to her daughter, Metelill (6: 32). Here, Scott explicitly avoids aligning the rocking stone with Druid culture, as Mason did in *Caractacus* and Blake did in *Jerusalem* (1804), choosing instead to ambiguously associate it with Zernebrock. Jutta chants, 'From thy Pomeranian throne/hewn in rock of living stone/where to thy godhead faithful yet,/bend Estonian, Finn, and Lett,/and their swords in vengeance whet/that shall make thy altars wet/wet and red for ages more/with the Christians hated gore/hear me! Sovereign of the rock/hear me! Mighty Zernebrock!' (6: 32).[11] Scott also includes Zernebrock in *Ivanhoe,* worshipped by the defiant Saxon Ulrica. He appears to have used Jutta's invocation of Zernebrock in his composition of Ulrica's song in *Ivanhoe*, published two years after *Harold the Dauntless*, and the two women's fierce refusal to assimilate to a Christian culture parallel each other. In *Ivanhoe*, for instance, 'ravens croak' in Ulrica's song (340). While, in *Harold the Dauntless*,

[11] Compare to Ulrica's song in *Ivanhoe*: '--'Whet the bright steel/Sons of the White Dragon/Kindle the torch, daughter of Hengist…Whet the steel, the raven croaks! Light the torch, Zernebrock is yelling…' (340).

'ravens croak' during, and in the lead up to Jutta's call to Zernebrock, and both women figure the deity as a god of war and revenge (*Harold the Dauntless,* 6: 32). O'Donoghue identifies Zernebrock as 'Chernobog,' a Slavic deity whose name means 'Black God' (126). In ancient Eastern Europe, he was considered 'the epitome and personification of evil, darkness, and death…' (Dixon-Kennedy 52). There is no note on the nature or origin of Zernebrock in *Harold the Dauntless,* but Scott did comment on his inclusion of this obscure deity in *Ivanhoe*, noting that 'it will readily occur to the antiquary, that these verses are intended to imitate the antique poetry of the scalds--the minstrels of the old Scandinavians…The poetry of the Anglo-Saxons, after their civilization and conversion, was of a different and softer character, but in the circumstances of Ulrica, she may be supposed to return to the wild strains which animated her forefathers during the time of paganism and untamed ferocity…' (517).[12] At least from the publication of *Ivanhoe,* then, we can deduce that Scott associates Zernebrock with the ancient poetry and culture of the Scandinavians, and, although the deity is not explicitly aligned with Norse culture in *Harold the Dauntless*, we can deduce, from Jutta's corresponding position to Harold as a religious and cultural exile due to her refusal to convert to Christianity, that Scott may have associated her worship of Zernebrock with Harold's adulation of Odin. Indeed, Odin's appearance at the climax of Harold's conversion accords with Scott's earlier representation of Zernebrock as a vengeful deity of battle. Harold addresses him as a 'warrior-god' (6: 84) and, similar to Zernebrock, Scott similarly describes Odin as 'the semblance of evil power' (6: 82).

[12] There is a reference to the Slavic deity 'Zernebog' in Thomas Nugent's *The History of Vandalia. Containing the ancient and present state of the country of Mecklenburg; Its Revolutions under The Vandals, the Venedi, and the Saxons* (1766), which Scott perhaps read. Nugent associates the god with the Teutonic tribe of the Vandals (1: 53).

Radcliffe responds to these various theories of national inheritance in the text of her poem, asserting, 'some stories say a Druid never bent/ at Odin's shrine; and others may have told/ the self-same tale which here for truth I hold...' (4: 118). Here, Radcliffe directly contrasts Scott's careful positioning of British megaliths within Old Norse culture, clearly aligning herself with earlier English antiquaries such as Stukeley, associating her foundational myth of Stonehenge with the 'Druid race.' In making this assertion, Radcliffe intertwines the religious practices of the Druids and the Vikings, a tactic which Scott also employs (albeit differently) in *Harold the Dauntless*. In Radcliffe's poem, the Druid's power is inextricably linked to Odin's. He retires each evening 'in the hour of deepest shade,' to his 'forest-glade…of grey oaks in a gloomy hollow,' where, when he plays his harp, '[calling] forth a certain sound/pale shadows would stand in his presence round/these were the spirits white of Odin's band' (4: 118). Indeed, she makes the spiritual connection between the Druid and Odin clear in the very structure of the poem, in which there are two rival chains of command at the beginning of the narrative: Odin, who instructs the Druid, and Loki, who lends his power to Warwolf the Bold so that he might do his bidding. By the end of the poem, one of these chains of command must be broken by the other. Radcliffe makes it clear that Odin is an obviously benevolent force in the poem. Like the Druid, he is specifically associated with a love of liberty and peace over tyranny, denouncing the Warwolf's thwarting of his 'song of peace,/ that hushes and bids the wild winds cease' (4: 115). Radcliffe's charting of the ebb and flow of religious dominance in Salisbury Plain allows the spiritual force of previous cultures and belief systems to reside within new doctrines and structures of worship, putting forward a fluid, palimpsestic vision of Britain's cultural and religious

progress. Scott's co-mingling of Druidical and Norse spiritual practices is effected in order to execute his more straightforward conversion story, which understands Druidism and Norse spiritual practice in opposition to Christianity, and which ultimately positons both systems of belief under the same generalised umbrella of paganism.

Scott's association of British megaliths with the nation's Norse ancestors is only one of a wide range of arguments made during the period regarding the provenance of Britain's standing stones. A seventeenth-century English antiquary, Edmund Bolton, argued in 1624 that Stonehenge was the burial ground of the ancient tribal queen, Boadicea (Beard 151). Later, in 1655, Inigo Jones asserted that British megaliths were erected by the Romans (Piggot 86). Welsh antiquaries such as Edward Williams, better known by his bardic name of Iolo Morganwg, 'not only asserted that the original teachings of the Druids had been passed on in an unbroken sequence from generation to generation of bards in Wales, but that he had documentary proof of his claim,' exhibited in the supposedly ancient poetry of the bard Taliesin (Owen 194). Although these works were scandalously exposed as forgeries, his theories, in which he developed his own bardic alphabet, proved highly influential amongst Welsh antiquaries, culminating in the first 'Gorsedd' of the Bards held in London on Primrose Hill in 1791, which came to play a role in the pageantry of the national Eisteddfod of Wales (197). Not only did rival antiquarian theories play into competing notions of British nationalisms, but they also worked in dialogue with related scientific and religious debates over the ancient settlement of the British Isles, concerned with establishing a spiritual narrative of a 'chosen' British people-- a narrative which, as I have already noted, *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge* and *Harold the Dauntless* are concerned to investigate. These theories served

to mediate anxieties over the budding scientific fields of geology, paleontology, and archeology.

Despite these early movements towards a geological understanding of the earth's development, the early nineteenth century was the 'last period in Western history in which biblical fundamentalism was the dominant means of interpreting the human past' (Hutton 219). This fundamentalism, however, became increasingly undermined throughout the first decades of the century, and the Druids became implicated in far-fetched biblical theories used to deflect dawning scientific discoveries which suggested that the earth was far older than originally thought (219). Drawing on earlier patriarchal theories of Britain's settlement which traced Britain's original settlers back to Noah's Ark, a theory put forward in Camden's *Britannia*, David Jones's *Antiquities of Nations* (1706) argues that the Druids were descended from Noah's grandson, Gomer, who carried an undiluted form of the original Christian faith to Britain. His arguments are re-worked by William Stukeley, who similarly admired the Druids for their connections to an original Christian orthodoxy in his study *Stonehenge* (1740) (Owen 118). Authors such as Stukeley used these theories to assert the supremacy of the Church of England, arguing that Christianity was the 'natural religion of humanity,' and that the 'true' form of Christianity, embodied in the Church of England, had been 'presaged by the Druid and Hebrew patriarchs,' to which 'Roman Catholicism was a mere interruption' (Hutton 183). As a result of these arguments, Druids became implicitly associated with biblical stories which depicted the erection of stone monuments such as Moses, who erected stone pillars for each of the tribes of Israel on Mount Sinai (220). Jones' work, a translation of Abbé Pezron's French study, also put forward theories regarding the settlement of the British Isles which 'treated

Greek myths as if they were the fanciful versions of true events' (69). In his *Northern Antiquities*, Percy applies a similar mode of thinking to his discussion of Odin, in which he understands him to be an historical king of Scythia, 'who enjoyed great authority and had even divine honours paid him (1: 50). He outlines how Odin, the chief priest of his tribe, assisted by other pontiffs or 'diars, a kind of Druid' (1: 52), fled Scythia from the Roman Emperor Pompey, 'conquering parts of the North and West of Europe' (1: 53).

If we consider Percy's theories regarding Odin, in which he understands the head of the Norse pantheon of gods to be an actual historical personage, we can perhaps trace Radcliffe's tale of Stonehenge's magical origins to the Greek myth of Cadmus and the foundation of the city of Thebes, in which a row of dragon's teeth is buried in the ground, magically giving rise to a set of dangerous warriors (Ovid 78).[13] While Warwolf's teeth, sown in a circle around an ancient oak by Radcliffe's Druid do not arise as warriors as they do in Ovid's foundational myth, we can see the influence of the tale in Radcliffe's 'lofty and motionless giant-band,' which guards the plain from Warwolf the Bold's malign magic (4: 148). Indeed, Stukeley's assertion in *Stonehenge* of the possibility that the 'Old Britons [called] Stonehenge, *choir gaur,* which some interpret as *chorea gigantum*, the giant's dance' appears to have given rise to later associations of Stonehenge with mythical giants, a theme on which Radcliffe no doubt draws in her own poem (7). In Chapter 3 of *Jerusalem,* in which Blake imagines the Druids reveling in their rituals of human sacrifice, he writes: 'So sang the spectre sons of Albion round Luvah's stone of trial…rejoicing in giant dance' (217). In his *Salisbury Plain* (1793-4), Wordsworth

[13] This myth was popularised during the eighteenth century by the translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* written by Pope, Congreve, and Addison (1717). I have taken my account of the myth from this translation.

similarly imagines a Druid sacrifice, where, '…the great flame utters human groans/While warrior spectres of gigantic bones…/Wheel on their fiery steeds amid the infernal gloom' (11). Scott's own diction when referring to Britain's megaliths appears to allude to these traditions, referring to the Standing Stones of Stenness in his notes to *The Pirate* as 'immense blocks of stone, like the phantom forms of antediluvian giants' (2: 411). He also describes Jutta's rocking stone in *Harold the Dauntless* as 'living stone' (6: 33), resonating with the 'living' quality of Warwolf the Bold's teeth in *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge*.

The differing ways in which Radcliffe and Scott knit Norse and Druid lore together in these poems reflect a broader history of the mythological conflation of these two British ancestral cultures in literature on Druid and Norse themes. We can perhaps speculate that this tendency resulted from the confusion regarding the national provenance of Britain's earliest ancestors, reflected in the hotly contested antiquarian, scientific, and religious debates already discussed. Much more was known during the period regarding the mythology of the Vikings, while relatively little was understood about the specific practices of the Druids. Indeed, most of what was known about the Druids during the Romantic period was taken from Caesar's account of their culture, observed during his conquest of Gaul and transcribed by Pliny (Owen 15). The Druids in Britain, however, are only mentioned briefly by name in Caesar's *Gallic Wars*, in which he asserts that 'it [was] believed that [the Druids] rule of life was discovered in Britain and transferred thence to Gaul...and today those who would study the subject journey...to Britain to learn it' (103). Romantic authors can often be found lamenting this lack of historical evidence. In the advertisement to his poem entitled *The Fane of the Druids*

(1787), James Ogilvie comments on the difficulty of representing the Druids in a literary work, writing that the Druids had a 'well-known aversion to written records, which has deprived us of genuine and authentic relations supported by the evidence of history' (v). His comments anticipate Radcliffe's 'shadowy guessings' about the Druids in *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge*, noting the 'difficulty in conducting any research in so dark and complicated a subject' (vi). Romantic authors interested in depicting the Druids, then, became implicated in a history of cultural co-mingling, and we can perhaps understand why authors of the Romantic Period turned to another ancient British progenitor (the Vikings) in filling in the gaps of the Druids' little-known religious practices. Indeed, the contemporary awareness of the inherent 'difficulty' of literary representation of Britain's ancient ancestors plays a part in the self-conscious literariness of *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge* and *Harold the Dauntless*. Radcliffe and Scott approach their ancient subjects with a knowing eye, aware that their depictions of contemporary Britain's ancestors can only be constructed from the literary works of earlier historians and poets. They exploit this awareness to its fullest extent in these poems, openly making use of popular 'Druidisms' and 'Norsisms' in their poetry, as I have already noted above.

Percy's conception of Norse mythology in *Northern Antiquities* is tinged with 'Druidical' undertones, and Radcliffe's conflation of Druid and Norse sources can perhaps be traced back to her engagement with Percy, her primary source. Radcliffe adopts Percy's intermingling of Druidical and Norse mythology in her depiction of Warwolf the Bold, described as '[living] under oaks of a thousand years' whose roots reach 'down to the caves where the earthquake slept' (4: 112). Here, the wizard bears both Druidical and Norse qualities. He rides on the back of a wolf holding a bridle of

snakes, chases ghosts down the 'road of the dead,' and angers Odin for 'usurping his form' (4: 113-15). Radcliffe's depiction of the wizard living under a grove of oak trees directly alludes to the Druid veneration of the oak, while her reference to the earthquake which dwells beneath the roots of the trees refers to the Norse God Loki, who is known in Norse myth as an evil force, or principle. According to legend, he was imprisoned by his wife, Sigyn, who fastened a poisonous snake over Loki's bound body so that the poison dripped over his face, causing him to 'struggle so fiercely...that the whole earth shook with his strivings which are now called earthquakes' (Bellows 172). Radcliffe's depiction of Warwolf the Bold riding a wolf led by a bridle of live snakes, particularly draws on the twenty-eighth fable in the *Poetic Edda* concerning the death of Odin's son, Balder, at the hands of Loki, who pierces him in the heart with a sprig of mistletoe, known as the 'branch of spectres,' and the subsequent attempts made by the Norse Gods to recover Balder from the underworld (2: Percy 107). She appears to have taken her inspiration for Warwolf's snake-bridle from Percy's re-telling of Balder's death, who writes, 'But when the Gods wanted to launch [Balder's funeral pile] into the water…, they could never make it stir: wherefore they caused to come from the country of the giants, a certain sorceress, who was mounted on a wolf, having twisted serpents by way of a bridle…' (2: 105). Here, Percy is making reference to Hyrrokkin, a giantess who arrives at Balder's funeral, riding a wolf with a bridle of snakes (Lindow 196). Radcliffe even includes the 'branch of spectres' as Warwolf the Bold's magical wand in *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge,* another clue as to his affiliation with Loki (4: 122). Her allusion to the wand in one of her endnotes to the poem, taken largely from Percy, links the spiritual efficacy of the mistletoe to both Norse and Druid systems of belief, asserting 'This plant,

particularly such of it as grew upon the oak, hath been the object of veneration, not among the Gauls only (as has been advanced on just grounds) but also among all the Celtic nations of Europe' (4: 159-160).

We can track a similar tendency in *Harold the Dauntless*. As we have already seen, Scott demonstrates this same inclination towards the conflation of the spiritual practices of Britain's ancient peoples in his depiction of the witch Jutta, who, as I have argued, is primarily associated by Scott with Norse mythology. If we look once more at Scott's references to Zernebrock in *Ivanhoe*, however, we can trace a more complex co-mingling of Scott's sources, and his ancient Norse themes. When Ulrica reveals her true identity to Cedric the Saxon, she tells him of her premonitions regarding her fate: 'Better had I turned to Woden, Hertha, and Zernebrock--to Mista and Skogula, the gods of our as yet unbaptized ancestors, than endure the dreadful anticipations which have late haunted my waking and my sleeping hours' (279). Hertha is identified by Turner in his *History of the Anglo-Saxons* as a Germanic goddess,[14] often understood as 'mother earth.' Scott's allusion to Mista appears to be taken from Gray's invocation of the Valkyries in 'The Fatal Sisters', described as 'black, terrific [maids]' (Gray 58). Finally, Ulrica's reference to Skogula appears to derive from the Valkyrie 'Scogul' (battle) named in Turner's translation of the Volupsa from the *Poetic Edda*.[15] Thus, despite presenting readers with a more straightforward progression towards a recognisably 'British' society, we can see the same impulse to conflate the mythological beliefs of Britain's ancient peoples that Radcliffe displays in *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge*. Hertha, for instance, is

[14] Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons* (1: 219).
[15] Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons,* (1: 244)

not a goddess typically associated with the pantheon of the Norse gods, and Scott takes a certain liberty in grouping the goddess with his already eclectic consortium of generically 'Pagan' British gods. Turner explicitly associates Hertha with the Angles, asserting that, 'the Angles had a goddess whom they termed Hertha…[Tacitus] says that in the ocean there was a grove, within which was a vehicle covered with a garment, which it was permitted to the priest alone to touch. The goddess was presumed to be within it, and was carried by cows with great veneration' (Turner 16). There is something in the venerated 'vehicle,' residing within a hidden grove, which not only suggests Jutta's 'rocking stone' in *Harold the Dauntless*, but which also calls the sacred groves of the Druids to mind.

These poems, then, are shot through with hidden, and often contrasting ancient cultural resonances, and it is here that the distinctive experience of reading these works lies. The reader is pulled in different directions by Radcliffe's and Scott's exploration of Britain's ancient past in *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge* and *Harold the Dauntless*, which at different times refer to the Druids, the Vikings, the Anglo-Saxons, the Gauls, and the obscure religions of ancient Slavic states. The endnotes to Radcliffe's poem, for instance, are entirely composed of supplementary information on the Norse mythological references included in the text, containing information on Loki's offspring, and the Branch of spectres (4: 158-161). Based on the fact that the narrative's main protagonist is a Druid, the absence of any specific footnotes to Druidical cultures is striking, drawing readers' attention to the poem's Norse antecedents rather than its Druidical sources. *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge* and *Harold the Dauntless* invite readers to make sense of these knotted cultural inheritances, or to distill these disparate national pasts into one conception of a 'modern' British nation. Radcliffe's endnotes, then, '[invites] [us] to lift

our eyes off the page' (Simpson 112). The difficulty of these poems lies (even in Scott's more straightforward *Harold the Dauntless*) in avoiding becoming distracted by the compelling representations of these progenitors, ultimately diverting us away from the progression towards cultural unity which these poems, with varying levels of success, ultimately tend.

3. 'The First of all the Druid Race:' Conversion, Progress, and the Development of the Nation

Let us now turn to a more specific discussion of how Radcliffe and Scott use the figures of the Druid and the Viking in order to complicate contemporary notions of Britain's progress towards an early nineteenth-century conception of a Protestant 'British nation.' Radcliffe and Scott 'interrupt' this progress in different ways, and I will argue that Radcliffe's poem takes on a more skeptical stance in its depiction of Britain's cultural progress than Scott does in *Harold the Dauntless*. The Glorious Revolution of 1688 served to cement such sentiments, its events understood by many to have signaled an end to 'the divine rights of kings,' as an expression of divine providence and the people's will (Colley 48). The overthrow of the Catholic James II in favour of William and Mary was seen by those who supported the revolutions as a political transfer of power which established a contract between Britain's king and its people, in which 'the people's allegiance was conditional on his abiding to the constitution,' rendering Briton's 'peculiarly free' (49). Such narratives continued to be drawn upon in the early nineteenth century by those who claimed that Britons would 'civilise and improve the physical and spiritual condition of the peoples whom they conquered' (Hutton 229). Thus, according to Linda Colley, 'eighteenth-and early nineteenth-century Britons…saw themselves and

their world' as intimately bound up with 'protestant world-view' (43). Patriotic identity during the Romantic Period, then, was inherently 'yoked to religion' (Colley 46), and colonial expansion produced a 'sense of mission at home and abroad' (Hutton 228). Radcliffe is very aware of this sense of mission in her journals, commenting on her brief acquaintance with a merchant captain on his way to the Mediterranean, who was transporting 'several hundred copies of the New Testament in the modern Greek to be distributed under the direction of the British and Foreign Bible society' (1: Talfourd 49). In examining how Radcliffe and Scott interrogate contemporary notions of cultural and scientific 'progress' in Romantic Britain, underpinned by narratives of Britain as a Protestant nation, we can also identify how they use these notions of 'progress' within their works to evaluate contemporary attitudes towards racial and religious belonging, and how these perceptions interacted and conflicted with ideas of a cohesive, early nineteenth-century 'British' nation.

In her brief paper on Radcliffe's poem, Kathryn Leuner puts forward a reading of Radcliffe's poem which explicitly links it to such themes, suggesting that the text 'tells a deeper tale that directly references events surrounding the Glorious Revolution' (pars. 9). Leuner reads the poem as Radcliffe's attempt to 'locate the beginnings of Parliamentary and Protestant rule under William III, as well as of the defeat of the French monarch, Louis XIV' (pars. 9). While Leuner's reading of the poem is perhaps too allegorical--she interprets Radcliffe's Druid as an allegorical representation of William III and Warwolf the Bold as Louis XIV[16]-- her reference to Stonehenge and Salisbury Plain as a national

[16] Leuner references Charles Spenser's *Blenheim: Battle for Europe* (2004), which alludes to a painful tooth extraction the French king underwent in 1685 (34).

landmark in William III's campaign for the throne shrewdly reflects the ways in which images of Stonehenge, Druids, and Salisbury Plain could play important emblematic roles in defining Britain's Protestant 'sense of mission.' Contemporary depictions of the Druids which inform Radcliffe's text implicitly invite readers to consider this sense of mission, as is the case with Frank Sayers' *Starno* (1790), which, in outlining preparations for the human sacrifice of the Norse Kelric, punished for falling in love with the Celtic Daura, asks readers to recall the 'pagan' practices of recently colonised peoples. In setting his poem in ancient Britain, Sayers also calls on readers to consider the moral role which Britain itself played in 'civilising' such peoples, considering their own pagan past. As exemplified by such works, then, late-eighteenth and early nineteenth-century authors used the figures of the Druids and the Vikings in order to explore and question narratives which understood the expansion of the Empire as a means through which Britain could guide the peoples of its new territories from 'barbaric paganism' to Protestant civility. Such themes are similarly reflected in contemporary political campaigns. In the decades immediately following the composition of *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge*, the British government began a series of well-publicized movements to stamp out the 'barbaric' human practices of suttee, human sacrifice, and ritual suicide in India (228).[17] In memory of these campaigns, a mural was displayed on the walls of the Palace of Westminster in 1841, which depicted the 'moral progress' of Britons by presenting a painting of Druid human sacrifice next to an illustration of British officials intervening in a ritual observance of suttee (Hutton 229). British imperialism, then, was necessarily bound up

[17] The depiction of Moina's death in Sayer's *Sketches,* as she is buried alive with her Viking husband Harold, would no doubt, have recalled the Indian ritual of suttee to contemporary British readers (Sayers 81).

with ideas of societal progress, which 'viewed history as a progression towards greater knowledge, power, comfort and compassion,' and which 'naturally privileged later periods of time over the earlier' (Hutton 231). Radcliffe's poem, however, does not depict such straightforward 'protestant' progress, and this section will outline the specific ways in which Radcliffe's poem does not offer easily interpreted emblematic representations of Stonehenge, the Druids, and the Vikings.

Instead, *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge*, and, to a lesser extent, *Harold the Dauntless*, foreground Britain's own ancient history of brutality and violence as it moved toward an early-nineteenth-century conception of modernity. In presenting their readers with depictions of Britain's 'primitive peoples,' whose cultures carried associations of brutality in the minds of contemporary readers, Radcliffe and Scott ensure that the shadow of such originary violence is never far away from the central plots of their narratives. By evoking the figures of the Druids and the Norsemen, they implicitly depict the birth of the British nation as a violent occurrence. This idea began to gain currency during the 1790s. Tom Duggett charts how Druidical culture and perceptions of Britain's societal development became conflated with the French Revolution and subsequent Revolutionary Wars, arguing how radical opinion in the 1790s tended to associate Britain's prosecution of war against France with a cultural regression, often depicted in the popular imagination as a 'druidical reversion' (70), in which 'the horror of the ancient British past…seemed to have returned upon Britain' (71). Duggett points out, for instance, how Thomas Paine and Richard Price characterised the demise of the ancien regime as the end of government led by 'priestcraft,' evoking a vocabulary which had been used to describe Druidical culture since John Toland's *History of the Druids*

(Duggett 70). Although it would be misleading to characterise *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge* or *Harold the Dauntless* as 'radical,' Radcliffe and Scott use their narratives to obliquely remind us of the less palatable moments of British history, inviting readers to question narratives of 'Protestant progress,' even as they appear to endorse such societal development.

For Radcliffe in *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge*, then, such 'progress' is simultaneously asserted and denied, and the poem moves towards the foundation of Protestant Britain, at the same time that it undercuts such development. The poem concludes, for instance, with the construction of Salisbury Cathedral, anticipating Britain's Protestant future. In concluding her text with the cathedral's construction, Radcliffe's text takes on a 'stadialist' structure, charting the ascendancy of Druidism in Britain, its demise, and the establishment of Christianity. Radcliffe writes: '[the Druids] ruled from age succeeding age' (4: 151), until the last Druid dies away, and Warwolf the Bold's power begins to gather strength over the Plain: 'And this is the cause why…Salisbury steeple was built so high/… like a sunny shore o'er a stormy main…' (1: 155). This is the light of progress ushered in by the adoption of Christianity over Salisbury Plain. Significantly, the Cathedral famously houses one of only four original copies of Magna Carta, brought to the cathedral in the days after Runnymede (Linebaugh 38). While Radcliffe does not mention the Magna Carta explicitly in her journal recording her visit to the Cathedral, she appears to have had it in her thoughts during the composition of *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge*. Thus, her poem concludes with the construction of the Cathedral, which houses (and therefore protects) the founding document of the English constitution, establishing the free-born rights of every Briton.

Equally, however, the steeple of Salisbury Cathedral appears throughout Radcliffe's poem as an elusive destination point. Here, Radcliffe draws very closely on Wordsworth's own *Salisbury Plain* (1793-4). In the opening to the poem, like Wordsworth, she imagines a traveller who trudges across the Plain's 'waste,' empty as the 'ocean's shipless flood,' and extending as far as 'old ocean's southern sands' (4: 112). It is a region which offers no shelter, or any of the comforts of civilization, such as a 'blazing fire' with 'brown ale blest' (4: 111). For Radcliffe, as for Wordsworth, the Plain is 'unhallowed' land, devoid of the civilising influence of Christianity. As we journey across the Plain in Radcliffe's poem, we are transported back in time to Britain's pagan pre-history, 'before the church bells had learned to chime'--regressing away from rather than progressing towards a Protestant conception of early- nineteenth-century Britain (4: 112). As Radcliffe imagines a traveller crossing the Plain, the spire of Salisbury Cathedral appears 'now here, now there/Like a will-o'-the-wisp in the evening air' (4: 111).[18] Here, the progress which Radcliffe's poem marks towards the development of Britain as a free, Protestant nation, is decidedly interrupted. The potential for such progress is literally shadowed by the darkness of Salisbury Plain, which has failed to become assimilated into the unity of the modern British polity. Salisbury Plain, then, is a region which is potentially troubling for Radcliffe, as it was for Wordsworth. The Plain is inherently symbolic of the nation's societal and religious development, but it evades attempts to assimilate it within definitive accounts of the nation's origins by a dearth of historical records, and by its association with Britain's pagan ancestors, reflected in the way in

[18] Compare to Wordsworth's *Salisbury Plain (1793-4*): 'O'er Sarum's Plain the traveller with a sigh/Measured each painful step/The distant spire that fixed at every turn his backward eye/was lost, though still he turned in the blank sky' (24).

which Radcliffe imbues the region with contradictory textual cues for the reader in her endnotes. The inescapable association of the Plain with its pagan past is demonstrated by Radcliffe's carefully chosen diction in her description of the fiery serpent-hair of Warwolf the Bold, which '[rises] up and began to twine/…till it curled on fire/in many a spire' (4: 133). This image weirdly foreshadows the construction of Salisbury Cathedral's spire and its illumination by the morning sun at the end of the poem. Here again, then, we can see how Radcliffe's text pulls her readers in opposite directions. Like the elusive landmark of Salisbury Cathedral's spire, *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge* appears to suggest a progressive reading, while it ultimately avoids attempts to impose such an overt parable on its narrative. The mysteries of the material traces of Britain's deep past remain inescapable, and, unlike Scott's *Harold the Dauntless*, which offers a more straightforward relationship between Britain's past and its early nineteenth-century present, such traces require further excavation in Radcliffe's text.

Radcliffe's positioning of Salisbury Plain as a region which evades straightforward narratives of national progress resonates with contemporary concern over the moral and political 'health' of the nation, often figured in depictions of Salisbury Plain. Hannah More depicts a region in stark contrast to Radcliffe's brooding expanse in 'The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain,' a tale from her popular *Cheap Repository Tracts* (1795-8) (Skedd par. 23), written to promote the '...piety, good sense, industry, and self-denial' of Britons during the French Revolutionary Wars (More 52). For More, the plain is an area of pastoral community, in which a shepherd lives in perfect moral and spiritual harmony with his family despite his apparent poverty. She resolutely excludes any mention of the plain's ancient Druidical history, and there is no allusion to Stonehenge,

although it is one of the region's most distinguishing attractions. Through this omission, More places Salisbury Plain soundly within the bounds of an exemplary Christian discourse, redeeming the region from its pre-Christian connotations. Tom Duggett links the desolation of Wordsworth's Salisbury Plain and its pagan history to its controversial contemporary status as a 'rotten borough; a constituency which continued to be unfairly represented in parliament despite its lack of constituents until the Reform Act of 1832' (65). While such readings potentially resonate with *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge*, Radcliffe's Plain does not straightforwardly stand in for the modern nation. Here, then, it is revealing to return to the idea of the 'occupied literary territory' which Radcliffe traverses, offering a host of varying depictions of Salisbury Plain which Radcliffe pointedly does not take up in her poem. Instead, she allows such readings to jostle together within the narrative, foregrounding the difficulty of assigning definitive historical significance to the Plain, more broadly signaling the potential irrecoverability of Britain's deep past.

Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge also exemplifies another type of early nineteenth-century 'progress'--a growing scientific interest in the field of geology. Like Charlotte Smith's *Beachy Head* (1807), which muses on the successive stages of geological and historical time, and the palimpsestic nature of earth's layers, which contain 'fossil shells…thrown among the embedded calx' of Beach Head, the forgotten remains of 'the pirate Dane,' and the remains of a 'huge unwieldy elephant…from Afric's forest glooms,' Radcliffe's text similarly muses on geological concepts of time (C. Smith 132). In doing so, Radcliffe anticipates theories which would be put forward in the 1850s by Sir Daniel Wilson, who introduced the term 'prehistoric' to the British vocabulary, also initiating

the idea of temporal stages within the earth's history (Hutton 292). Radcliffe strikingly recalls Smith's *Beachy Head* as she ruminates over the geological development of Salisbury Plains, and observes, '…scarcely will it be, I fear, believed/ that beetling cliffs did ever rear the head/o'er lands as wavy now as ocean's bed' (4: 125). Here, Radcliffe employs not only the same diction used by Smith such as her description of 'beetling' cliffs at Beachy Head (C. Smith 124), but also Smith's broader depiction of an over-hanging cliff rising above an ancient body of water (C. Smith 124). Radcliffe builds on Smith's palimpsestic structuring of earth's geological composition--embedded with fossils and relics which reflect the heterogeneity of Britain's past-- by centralising her depiction of Warwolf's teeth as the 'stones' of Stonehenge. Like the discovered bones of a Norman esquire found near Hastings and alluded to in Smith's poem, Warwolf's teeth come to signify the physical 'bones' of Britain's cultural and geological history. They are an artefact of a newly developing sense of pre-historic time. Viewed in this context, the 'rescued memorable ground' of Salisbury Plain becomes saturated with another level of geological meaning. Radcliffe's poem attempts to 'rescue' the 'recorded memory' of Salisbury Plain by recognising that a site as ancient at Stonehenge--built by a pre-literate Druidical society--is beyond the reach of traditional methods of historical recovery (C. Smith 124). Instead, Radcliffe's poem gestures towards the potential for the site's re-assimilation into progressive narratives of Britain's societal development through the techniques of scientific enquiry. However, even this method of recovery is overshadowed in Radcliffe's poem by the sheer ancientness of Stonehenge, shrouded by the mysteries of its 'dusky time' (4: 112). This is a tension which Smith also rehearses in *Beachy Head,* in which she emphasises the essentially speculative nature of scientific study: '…from

whence/ these fossil forms are seen is but conjecture,/ food for vain theories or vague dispute…' (C. Smith 132). For Radcliffe, then, Stonehenge stands in as a physical guarantor of Britain's nationhood, at the same time that its purpose and the nature of the culture which constructed it, are ultimately irrecoverable.

Radcliffe's representation of a 'benevolent' Druid race, defined by an indigenous liberty, expressed through their organic, bardic song, looks back to earlier eighteenth-century works. Ronald Hutton broadly notes how late-eighteenth-century representations of British Druids often (though not always) depicted them as the 'relics of a lost primeval paradise,' putting forward an image of the priesthood as a people who thrived during a 'Golden Age' in which 'humanity lived in harmony with nature' (227). However, Hutton argues that as such contact with 'primitive' peoples increased, 'revealing aspects of their culture which repulsed the English,' attitudes towards these societies negatively shifted,'[effecting] attitudes to primitive societies in general--including those of ancient Britain' (227). Thus, in 1799, Edward King called Stonehenge a 'slaughter stone,' using Captain Cook's reports of human sacrifice in Tahiti to argue that, as a result of the similarity between the social development of the Tahitians and the Druids, it was most likely that Roman accounts of Druid human sacrifice in Gaul and Britain were true (229). Hutton's arguments are reflected in contemporary works such as Blake's *Jerusalem* (1804), in which the Druids are imagined as a ghastly priesthood, delighting in the ritual of human sacrifice: 'mocking and deriding the writhings of their victims on Salisbury' as their 'golden knife/ [riots] in human gore' (217). Scott's malevolent depiction of the Druids in *Harold the Dauntless*, represented by the supernatural Castle of the Seven Shields, is, as we shall see, in keeping with this general movement.

First though, let us consider how Radcliffe's poem goes against this broader trend in basing her mystical Druid on earlier, more benevolent representations of the British Druids in her examination of ancient Britain's progress towards a rational, civilised society in the early nineteenth century. Radcliffe is indebted to earlier works such as James Ogilvie's *The Fane of the Druids* (1784), in which the Druid priesthood exists in a state of harmony and communion with the natural world and is led by a venerable sage, who has a 'long beard and robe of purest white' and lives in a 'dell with leaves of oak' (5). His Druids are Britain's earliest 'progenitors,' depicted in an 'infant state of society' (vi). They are 'sons of nature,' and Ogilvie imagines Britain's Druids in a comparable state of society to the newly discovered peoples of the Pacific Islands which Captain Cook wrote about in his *Voyages* (1771-1779), likening the Druids to natives of 'Tahitian groves' (49). Their close association with the natural world is, as in Radcliffe's text, linked to their bardic tradition, which Ogilvie locates as the essence of their temporal power as mystical seers (5). This bardic power is also bound up with what Ogilvie depicts as an organised system of assembly and legislation, led by the Druid's high priest (8). The assembly which Ogilvie represents in his poem leads to a collective decision to construct an unnamed circle of standing stones (possibly Stonehenge). Here, then, we can see how earlier works such as Ogilvie's influenced Radcliffe's own representation of Druidism, Stonehenge, and Salisbury Plain, by locating the region as the ancient crux of Britain's cultural and religious development. Radcliffe's situating of the Druids as the mystic constructors of Stonehenge unites a sense of Britain's ancient historical rights with the very soil and topography of the nation, imaginatively situating the 'origins of English law through landscape and a supposed inheritance to the ancient Druids' (Simmons 12).

In keeping with this vision of the Druid priesthood as Britain's early legislators, Radcliffe, like Ogilvie, totally avoids associating her Druids with human sacrifice, opting instead to locate the Druids as a unifying force within ancient Britain, acting as the protectors of Britain's liberty. Thus, at the end of *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge*, Radcliffe praises the Druid, whose 'patient wisdom, a wide land saved' (4: 150),[19] looking towards the future foundation of Britain's empire.

Ultimately, it is the Druid's power of 'minstrelsy' which enables him to defeat Warwolf the Bold. When the Druid travels to the wizard's cave in order to de-fang Warwolf and rend him of his power, he plays his harp with 'skill so true' that he silences the evil spirits who lurk in the wizard's forest, as if his harp is the 'very seraph of peace' (4: 124). Upon the Druid's arrival at the cave, he enchants his harp to play a 'solemn strain' which lulls the wizard and his evil fiends to sleep (4: 127). The tune is drawn from the natural winds of his native country, which blow the strings and produces the magic which contends with the evil powers of Warwolf the Bold. Here, Radcliffe represents her own image of the Aeolian harp, as the winds of ancient Britain 'call out its sweet and magic strain' (4: 128). Indeed, the Druid's 'spell of minstrelsy' and his status as the founder of not only the Druid, but also the British 'race' are inherently bound up together. The important role which the harp plays as the source of her Druid's power illustrates yet another example of her appropriation of recognisably 'Celtic' imagery in her posthumous work, in which Radcliffe adopts such representations in order to explore (the lack of) England's specific cultural heritage. In *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge*, English and Celtic

[19] Ogilvie side-steps the question of the Druids' violent practice, situating the poem before the Druid's began to make such offerings, when, 'as yet…no altar rose to smoke with victim's blood' (7).

inheritances become entangled with each other, symbolised in the image of the Druid's harp, and Radcliffe looks to Mason's representation of the Druid bards in *Caractacus* in order to reconcile these two cultural threads of British national identity. Here, we see Radcliffe legitimating her own representation of the *English* bardic Druid by drawing on Mason's literary precedent, attempting to situate Britain's Celtic inheritance, not as a divisive national identification, separating Britain's 'Celtic' peripheries from England--the nerve centre of Britain's growing empire--but as a unifying inheritance. Such attempts played on the ancient existence of Celtic Druids in England in order to suggest a shared Celtic ancestry among all of Britain's constituent nations, not just Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. Radcliffe appears to have followed Mason, then, through her definition of this shared Druid ancestry, by situating it as the origin of a shared British liberty. Before Caractacus mounts his forces against the Romans, he addresses his people declaring, 'Hail British born! Who, last of British race/hold your primeval rights from nature's charter, not at the nod of Caesar' (12). It is this depiction of an indigenous heroism, constitutive of a British 'race' and its natural rights, drawn from the very soil of the British nation, which Radcliffe plays on in *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge*. Thus her own Druid oversees a priesthood whose purpose is to gather at Stonehenge 'in triumph for the demon fled,' singing 'with nameless rites their mystic lays/here on this rescued memorable ground' (4: 119).

In looking back to Mason and Ogilvie in her location of the Druids as a Celtic people who are the ancestral forebears of both English and British nationhood, we can see Radcliffe moving towards an examination of collective British identity rather than a specifically English one, something which, I have argued, we do not see in *Gaston de*

Blondeville or *St. Alban's Abbey*. Radcliffe's benevolent Druid stands in as the founder of a unique British spirit, despite the ways in which, as we know, the Druids were tinged throughout the Romantic period with both barbarity and native liberty. Here again, we are provided with yet another example of the ways in which Radcliffe's posthumous works are purposefully 'difficult.' *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge* provides readers with the closest semblance to a straightforward, allegorical narrative of British nationhood of any of her other posthumous works. However, in taking inspiration from earlier eighteenth century works which depict the Druids as the 'founding fathers' of British liberty, Radcliffe's 'difficulty' actually lies in her apparent attempt to gloss over the charges of priestcraft and brutality associated with the Druids. In depicting a 'good' Druid who saves Salisbury Plain from Warwolf the Bold, Radcliffe's poem implicitly calls up a national ancestry whose origins and role within contemporary constructions of British nationhood were deeply contested, begging the question, were Britain's Druids really good? As a result, the underlying 'double vision' of Britain's ancient ancestors which haunts *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge* shadows any straightforwardly progressive narrative.

If Radcliffe's narrative complicates any allegorical reading of Britain's Druid history, Scott's *Harold the Dauntless* offers readers a more straightforward Protestant conversion narrative in his charting of Harold's adoption of Christianity, tracking the developmental progress of British nationhood in the aftermath of the Viking invasions of Northern Britain. Lockhart refers to the narrative as a 'fable' in his remarks on *Harold the Dauntless* in his *Memoir* (2: 254), and it is certainly a poem which solicits allegorical interpretations from its readers. It uses 'stock' allegorical imagery from famous Protestant

religious narratives, such as the 'light' of rationality and civility versus the 'darkness' of barbaric paganism found in John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, imagery which is exhibited in Bunyan's narrative at the cave of the Valley of Shadow of Death, guarded by the giants Pope and Pagan (109). Thus, Harold is depicted at the outset of the poem as a dark and shadowy figure. When he is first introduced, he stands defiantly before his father and a train of St. Cuthbert's monks at his father's estate in Northumbria, where 'his shaggy black locks on his brow hung low…/at his back a she-wolf and her wolf-cubs twain/in the dangerous chase that morning slain' (6: 15). Odin, likewise, is characterised as an inherently 'dark' figure, clothed in 'gloomy radiance' (6: 82). Harold's defiant adherence to his Norse faith is also reflected by Scott's explicit association of Harold's appearance and demeanour with animalistic qualities, serving to align Harold with the barbaric pagan belief systems of the Druids and the Vikings. When he rudely challenges his father concerning his recent conversion to Christianity, Count Witikind tells him, 'Why speak I to thee of repentance and truth/… Hence to the wolf and the bear in their den/these are thy mates and not rational men…' (6: 15). Here again, Scott draws on specific Protestant allegorical language in the poem, mirroring Bunyan's depiction of purely sensual creatures in *Pilgrim's Progress* such as Animal-Life, 'an old sot, that 'minded nothing else but eating, drinking, and sleeping…' (61).

However, as Harold makes his journey towards Christianity, his countenance lightens, and he gradually adopts recognisably 'Christian' language in the poem, speaking to Gunnar of repentance and forgiveness as they make their way to the Druid Castle of the Seven Shields, which serves as the site of Harold's final conversion to Christianity in the poem, and his assimilation into an early, yet recognisably 'British' Protestant culture.

Scott depicts Harold's conversion as a stadial process, largely effected by Harold's page, Gunnar (the Danish maid Eivir in disguise), who acts as the agent of his conversion. When Harold is persuaded by Eivir to refrain from killing Metellil's new husband in a fit of wild jealousy, 'instant his eye hath human light/less red, less keen, less fiercely bright/…the fatal mace sinks gently down…/ and fierce Witikind's son made one step towards heaven' (6: 71). In keeping, then, with Scott's adoption of the language of religious allegory, Harold relinquishes his dark, animalistic features as he progresses towards his adoption of Christianity. Upon the completion of Harold's conversion, he leaves the Druid Castle of the Seven Shields in the bright light of dawn as an 'altered man,' and, for the first time, Scott refers to his hero as 'Lord Harold,' indicating how the landed rights of British property-holders are inextricably derived from their national Protestant identity. Thus, Harold's conversion initiates him into the civilised strata of British society, providing him with a personal stake in the nation's well-being. Scott depicts this initiation as a re-birth, presaging Harold's baptism at the conclusion of the poem. Harold leaves the Castle of the Seven Shields as a child, seeing and processing his surroundings for the first time through his newly-adopted Christian framework. He 'trembles' and struggles to speak, 'for words, save those of wrath and wrong/till now were strangers to his tongue' (6: 87). It is not until his conversion to Christianity that he can see the world as it truly is, when Harold is finally able to recognise Eivir for her true self, condemning his own 'blindness' in not guessing at Gunnar's identity (6: 86).

Harold's assumption of Christianity is accomplished through his acceptance of a challenge from Aldingar, the Bishop of Durham, to spend a night in the pagan remains of the Druid Castle of the Seven Shields in order to regain his father's lands. The mysterious

origins of the castle are related as a ballad at the end of Canto IV, in which Scott depicts the Druid faith as a form of black magic, whose practitioners are devoid of morality. The ballad tells the tale of the Druid Urien, whose seven daughters are explicitly in league with the 'Arch-fiend,' whose power leads Urien's daughters to debauchery, excess, and murder (6: 54). Harold's acceptance of such a mission draws on the plot structures of religious allegories such as Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, in which 'Protestant Britons learnt that particular kinds of trials, at the hands of particular kinds of enemies, were the necessary fate and eventual salvation of a chosen people. Suffering and recurrent exposure to danger were a sign of grace, and, if met with fortitude and faith, the indispensable prelude to victory under God' (Colley 29). In presenting Harold with the terrifying challenge of surviving a night in the Druid castle, the Bishop of Durham provides Harold with just such a religious trial, resulting in Harold's confrontation with Odin, his denial of his Norse faith, and Scott's re-formulation of Harold as a 'dauntless' Christian warrior, whose trials and tribulations will lead to the eventual establishment of a British, Protestant liberty.

Scott's depiction of Harold's cultural and religious assimilation in *Harold the Dauntless,* then, forcefully repudiates Britain's pagan religious faiths. Radcliffe does not go so far in *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge*. Odin's transferal of religious 'sway' over Salisbury Plain is negotiated peacefully and willingly to Radcliffe's Druid in thanks for his aid in defeating Warwolf the Bold. Moreover, despite the ways in which Radcliffe looks towards the foundation of a nineteenth-century Protestant national ethos in the construction of Salisbury Cathedral, Radcliffe's Druid never converts to Christianity, but merely establishes the Druid priesthood in Britain, until the Druids die out, making way

for the region's adoption of Christianity. Each succeeding religious faith takes 'sway' in a peaceful response to the last, leaving the reader with a sense that the religious and cultural development of Protestant Britain was not an isolated or straightforward process, but one marked by fluid processes of adoption, assimilation, and integration, in which past cultural and religious influences still linger in the dominant spiritual doctrines of the day. Stonehenge, constructed from Warwolf the Bold's fangs, in which his potentially destructive power is still latent, serves as the ultimate emblem of the interconnection of these spiritual processes which Radcliffe describes in *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge*, challenging narratives such as Scott's *Harold the Dauntless*, which ultimately suggests a more homogenous view of the development of British nation.

Chapter Four: Re-Writing Radcliffe: Sir Walter Scott's 'Memoir of Mrs Radcliffe (1824) and Thomas Noon Talfourd's 'Memoir of the Life and Writings of Mrs Radcliffe' (1826)

1. Ann Radcliffe's Biographers: Consolidating a Life into Myth

This chapter will argue that the critical marginalisation of Radcliffe's later work runs deep within Radcliffean scholarship as reflected in the earliest critical attempts to characterise and account for Radcliffe's life and literary career in the years after her unexplained retirement from the literary scene in 1797. In making this argument, I will focus on two of the most influential accounts of Radcliffe's life and works: Walter Scott's 'Memoir of Mrs Radcliffe,' published in 1824 for the *Ballantyne's Novelist's Library* edition of Radcliffe's 1790s' romances, and Thomas Noon Talfourd's biographical preface to *Gaston de Blondeville and St. Alban's Abbey, A Metrical Tale; with some poetical pieces (*1826). Before a more specific discussion of these two works, I will first situate the memoirs of Scott and Talfourd in their contemporary context, considering Radcliffe's reputation as a female author who, in the words of Ina Ferris, came to be associated with the 'proper novel,' largely free from the serious charges of immorality, sexual corruption, and Jacobinism which dogged many of her female contemporaries, such as Mary Wollstonecraft, Mary Hays, and Charlotte Smith (35).[1] As a result of the lack of biographical information available regarding Radcliffe's life, her authorial persona became particularly susceptible to myth-making, resulting in a process through

[1] I have adopted the distinction of the 'proper' and the 'ordinary' female novel from Ina Ferris, who argues that contemporary reviews 'tended to cohere in beginning their organization of novelistic discourse by dividing contemporary fictional practice into two kinds of novel under two different female signs: that of female reading, which is identified as the origin of the "ordinary novel"; and that of feminine writing, which is credited with generating the superior, morally edifying mode of the "proper novel' (35).

which, in the words of Robert Miles, Radcliffe's 'fiction and her life became consolidated into myth' (25). In tracking this process, I will provide a brief analysis of how Talfourd's memoir, the most 'official' biography of Radcliffe which had appeared to date-- 'authorised' by Radcliffe's husband, William-- was implicated in a history of falsely attributed 'posthumous' works. Following on from this discussion, I will examine Scott's and Talfourd's works chronologically, in order to track the process through which Radcliffe's status as a female author of romance played into the formation of a recognisable set of images, metaphors, and narrative constructs, which were gradually used to consolidated the 'myth' of Radcliffe's life. I will attempt to understand the specific motivations which influenced Scott and Talfourd to undertake these prefatory memoirs. In doing so, I examine how these memoirs work to preface the larger collections they introduce, arguing for the way in which these prefatory introductions to Radcliffe's works play a particularly important role in early summations of her Gothic romances, by allowing authors such as Scott and Talfourd to negotiate their own responses to Radcliffe's particular brand of romance and contemporary 'Gothic taste.'

Briefly, it is important to draw attention to the ways in which Anna Letitia Barbauld's 'Mrs. Radcliffe' should be seen as a forerunner to the later critical biographies of Radcliffe by Scott and Talfourd. Barbauld's preface offers us a unique opportunity to contextualise Radcliffe's life and work through the mediating view-point of another female author.[2] Her discussion of Radcliffe's works appears in the tenth volume to *The British Novelists*, written when Barbauld was sixty-seven, and which eventually ran to

[2] It was not until 1882 that another woman writer, Christina Rossetti, would try her hand at Radcliffe's biography for John H. Ingram's *Eminent Women Series* (Norton 4). After a fruitless search for adequate primary source material, Rossetti regretfully gave up the commission, writing to Ingram on 17 September 1882: '…Someone else, I daresay, will gladly attempt the memoir, but I despair and withdraw' (5).

fifty volumes. Published by Longman and Cadell, *The British Novelists* was Barbauld's last 'big commission' of her literary career, containing her prefatory remarks on a range of popular novelists of the day, including Fielding, Smollett, Burney, Walpole, More, Inchbald, and Smith (McCarthy 423). Barbauld's collection represents one of the first attempts to critically assess the new genre of the English novel, and in doing so, Barbauld's inclusion of Radcliffe in *British Novelists* situates her Gothic romances within a representative collection of novels which is self-consciously British. Not only does Barbauld's collection implicitly claim a specifically feminine literary authority for herself and for her fellow woman writers, consciously inserting them within a national literary tradition, but her preface on Radcliffe's Gothic romances also anticipates Scott's and Talfourd's critical assessments of Radcliffe in certain key ways.

First, Barbauld's preface powerfully inscribed certain critical mores regarding Radcliffe's life which Scott and Talfourd later draw on. For instance, despite her acknowledgement of *The Mysteries of Udolpho* as Radcliffe's most popular work, Barbauld's singling out of *The Romance of the Forest* as the first of Radcliffe's romances to display the full potential of her literary ability asserts a critical judgement which is echoed, first by Scott, and later by Talfourd. They reassert Barbauld's opinion regarding *The Romance of the Forest* in their own prefaces, arguing that in terms of its plotting and structural organisation, it is the most logically structured of all Radcliffe's works. According to Scott, 'her fancy, in [*The Romance of the Forest*] was more regulated, and subjected to the fetters of a more regular story' (43: iv), while Talfourd writes that *The Romance of the Forest* was the first work in which Radcliffe 'learns to control and fix the wild images which move around her' (1: 78). Scott and Talfourd also follow Barbauld in

identifying *The Mysteries of Udolpho* as the most popular of Radcliffe's romances. Likewise, Barbauld follows Nathan Drake's comparison of Radcliffe's descriptive powers to the paintings of Salvator Rosa, first made by Drake in *Literary Hours* (1798). In doing so, Barbauld invites visual representations of the scene from *The Italian*, in which, just prior to her murder, Father Schedoni discovers his true paternal relationship to Elena (43: i). Barbauld writes that Schedoni is a 'striking figure for the painter to transfer to the canvas,' speculating that perhaps 'some picture might have originally suggested it' (43: vi). Scott 'recycles' Barbauld's assertion, quoting at length from this scene in his own 'Memoir,' commenting, that it is 'well fitted to be actually embodied on canvas by some great painter' (10: xii).

Significantly, Barbauld's preface is the first to situate Radcliffe as the 'head of a class' of romances--a label which Radcliffe attempts to throw off with her post-1797 works. Barbauld's 'compliment' of situating Radcliffe as the 'head of a class,' however, is deceptively double-edged, and it is through Barbauld's pattern of apparently bestowing compliments on Radcliffe which, in actuality, work to emphasise Radcliffe's position at the head of a second-rate genre of fiction, that we can see the deeper influence which her preface had on Scott and Talfourd, who variously adopt this strategy in their own critical biographies of Radcliffe. Barbauld sets Radcliffe's romances apart from other novelistic genres by associating them explicitly with terror and the physical sensation experienced by readers: 'She seems to scorn to move those passions which form the interest of common novels: she alarms the soul with terror… [and]… agitates it with suspense…' (43: i). For Barbauld, then, the experience of reading a Radcliffe romance is one which is overwhelmingly allied to physical sensation, in which the reader undergoes the 'stings

and throbs' of curiosity (43: iv). Here, we can see Barbauld implicitly drawing a distinction between earlier female novelists of the 1770s and 1780s such as Burney, whose novels '[had] observed human nature, both in high and low life, with the quick and penetrating eye of genius' (38: x), and the romances of Radcliffe, which Barbauld argues, merely stimulate readers' baser emotions.

In section two of this chapter, I will use my analysis of Scott's 'Memoir to bring the relationship between Radcliffe's later works and Scott's historical fiction into sharper focus, arguing that Scott uses his 'Memoir' of Radcliffe to perform his own sense of literary authority over the novelistic field, and to illustrate the implicit contrasts between Radcliffe's Gothic romances and his own superior brand of historical fiction. As Ina Ferris has so influentially argued in *The Achievement of Literary Authority: Gender, History and the Waverley Novels* (1991), Scott's 'authority' was fundamentally based on the perceived 'manliness of Scott's fiction,' which 'depended centrally on its difference from the 'proper female novel,' with which Radcliffe was associated (Ferris 252). In contrast to Scott's historical fiction, the 'proper novel' with which Radcliffe's work came to be associated in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, was critically characterised as a corrective to the 'disease' of the 'ordinary novel,' the reading of which 'precipitated' a disorder of 'an extravagant degree of love' according to a reviewer for the *Scots Magazine* in 1802 (Ferris 471-72). Authors such as Thomas Mathias in his *Pursuits of Literature* (1798), excluded Radcliffe and her works from the 'whining or frisking' common in 'ordinary novels' which, according to Mathias, '[turn] girls' heads wild with impossible adventures' (14).

The third and final section of this chapter will focus on Talfourd's 'Memoir of the Life and Writings of Mrs. Radcliffe,' the only one of Radcliffe's biographical prefaces to take her posthumously-published works into account. Born in 1795, a year after the publication of *The Mysteries of Udolpho,* Talfourd would be the first of Radcliffe's biographers who did not personally remember the sensation with which her Gothic romances gripped the nation in the 1790s (Hall pars. 1). Talfourd is a literary figure who straddles the Georgian and Victorian eras, rising to prominence as an author and as a celebrated literary host in the 1830s. He reached the apex of his literary success with his tragedy, *Ion,* which premiered at Covent-Garden in 1836 to great popular and critical acclaim (Hall pars. 9). A great friend of Charles Dickens,[3] Talfourd would have been a young author on the rise when he was commissioned by William Radcliffe to undertake the prefatory memoir to his four volume-collection of his wife's later works in 1826. Heavily edited by William, we can speculate that the main motive for including this biographical preface to Radcliffe's posthumously published works was to set the record straight concerning the rumours of madness, false death notices, and spuriously attributed posthumous works and gothic novels, which dogged Radcliffe's literary reputation in the years after 1797. It also appears to have been commissioned by William Radcliffe in order to provide clarity regarding several matters of what were apparently sources of great personal anxiety to Radcliffe herself: the widely circulated belief that Radcliffe authored Joanna Baillie's *Plays on the Passions*, first published anonymously in 1798, and her

[3] Dickens dedicated *Pickwick Papers* (1837) to Talfourd (Hall pars. 4).

possible slighting of Elizabeth Carter, who wished to be introduced to Radcliffe in Bath in 1799.[4]

In clearing up these rumours and anxieties, Talfourd carefully curates an image of Radcliffe as an idealised 'lady-author,' which resonates with Mathias' delineation of Radcliffe as a 'proper' female novelist. Talfourd presents an image of a genteel, humble, and retiring female author--but above all, a rational and sane one-- by presenting the reader with strategically chosen excerpts from Radcliffe's travel journals which demonstrate her powers of observation and analytical description well after she had retired from the literary scene. The 'Life' is a piece of writing which is the product of interaction between William Radcliffe and Thomas Noon Talfourd, and, as such, it is impossible to identify which parts of the 'Life' were primarily suggested by Talfourd, and which were suggested by William Radcliffe. Thus, I will contextualise my discussion of Talfourd's 'Memoir' by considering this complex relationship between Talfourd and William Radcliffe, who appears to have carefully edited Talfourd's 'Memoir,' anxious to protect the memory of his wife. According to a letter written by Talfourd's friend, Mary Russell Mitford, Talfourd complained that 'the trouble of drawing up this life, under the jealous supervision of Mr. Radcliffe, exceeds anything that can be imagined; it is worse than drawing up an affidavit, from the fidgety scrupulousness he shows about things of no matter or consequence' (Mitford 221). In constructing his account of Radcliffe's life, then, the scope and material on which Talfourd was allowed to draw was greatly curtailed by William Radcliffe--particularly when it came to addressing the rumours of Radcliffe's

[4] William Radcliffe includes an explanation of these same anxieties in his comments in the *Annual Obituary and Biography* of 1824.

unstable mental state. Talfourd, however, in the words of Rictor Norton, was a 'skillful user of words, and managed to convey intimations of the truth,' which '[allowed] his readers to infer that his subject was in some respects eccentric and neurotic' (248). As we can see, it is evident from the comments of Mitford, that Talfourd felt frustrated by the jealous watch which William Radcliffe kept over his wife's literary reputation. As Norton suggests, then, William Radcliffe's meticulous guarding of his wife's posthumous memory forced Talfourd into a careful management of the language which he used to represent Radcliffe.

At times, we can see Talfourd presenting Radcliffe's 'official' literary persona as a female author of the 'proper novel,' at the same time that he suggests the secret 'truths' behind this 'official' representation, concerning Radcliffe's mental health at the time of her death, and her earlier anxieties with regard to her supposed authorship of Baillie's *Plays on the Passions* and her supposed 'snubbing' of Elizabeth Carter. Given William's supervision of Talfourd's memoir, we must be careful not to assume that Talfourd's description of Radcliffe's supposedly acute anxiety over such incidents can be straightforwardly attributed to Radcliffe herself and not to her husband. Although we can only speculate on these matters since Radcliffe never commented on these events herself, it appears probable that William--who had proven himself to be a careful manager of his late wife's reputation through his comments in *The Annual Obituary and Biography* in 1824--would have encouraged Talfourd to situate such incidents within a wider narrative of Radcliffe's essential morality and propriety as a female author. In doing so, Talfourd's 'Memoir' of Radcliffe generally tends to suppress any direct discussion of *Gaston de Blondeville* and Radcliffe's later work, despite acting as an introductory preface to

Radcliffe's post-1797 texts. In light of the shift in creative trajectory which these works demonstrate, Talfourd appears unsure of how to assimilate them within a straightforward narrative of Radcliffe as a rational author of respectable fiction. As a result, he does not engage with these works on a critical level. We can, perhaps, take Talfourd's apparent unwillingness to provide an analytical account of Radcliffe's later works as evidence of the peculiar power of earlier critical representations of Radcliffe's authorial persona based upon her 1790s' romances, which represented Radcliffe as an author who reaffirmed contemporary social norms and guarded against the corruption of her female readers. As I have tried to show in this study, the creative tendency of Radcliffe's post-1797 texts is markedly different from that of her 1790s' Gothic romances, and we can understand Talfourd's 'Memoir' as a troubled attempt to present Radcliffe's later work to readers, ultimately serving, however, to re-establish the critical norms surrounding Radcliffe's oeuvre put in place during the 1790s. As the only contemporary critical account of Radcliffe's later texts, then, Talfourd's 'Memoir' has served to cement the critical marginalisation of Radcliffe's posthumously published work to the present day.

As James Watt, argues, it was initially Radcliffe's seeming 'distance' from political comment in her 1790s' works which served to align her with Ferris's 'proper novel' described above (Watt 123). Despite her entertainment of the more terrific or sensational aspects of Gothic romance, Radcliffe's famous (and often criticized) use of the 'explained supernatural' in her novels of the 1790s' served to set her apart from her contemporaries. Radcliffe appears to rehearse the perceived 'dangers' which the romance novel held for its female readers, first arousing terror and superstition, and then purposefully disappointing their expectations, prompting readers, in the words of

Barbauld, to be 'ashamed of [their] feelings' at the conclusions of Radcliffe's Gothic romances (43: vii). The *Monthly's* review of *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, for instance, praised Radcliffe:

> …without introducing intro her narrative anything supernatural, Mrs Radcliffe has contrived to produce so powerful an effect as if the invisible world had been obedient to her magic spell; and the reader experiences in perfection the strange luxury of artificial terror without being obliged for a moment to hoodwink his reason, or to yield to the weakness of superstitious credulity… (15: 280).

Thus, notwithstanding the criticism levelled against Radcliffe's works for their use of the 'explained supernatural,' criticized by Scott himself in his 'Memoir,' where he argues that readers 'are at once angry with [their] senses for having been cheated, and with [their] reason for having acquiesced in the deception' (10: xxvi), Radcliffe's 'rational explanation' for her supposedly supernatural machinery was seen as a 'chastening reminder…about the dangers of becoming consumed with plot…' (Watt 115). The perfunctory conclusions which Radcliffe constructed for her Gothic romances, likewise, appeared to reinstate traditional orders of rationality and domesticity which encouraged critics and readers to take Radcliffe's 1790s' romances as affirming contemporary moral and social norms. After conducting her heroines through a harrowing, and usually life-threatening succession of terrifying events, each of Radcliffe's romances ends with the marriage of the novel's heroine and her lover. In *The Romance of the Forest* (1791), for instance, Adeline's tale ends with her marriage to Theodore La Luc in a secluded villa on the banks of Lake Geneva, where 'their former

lives afforded an example of trials well endured--and their present of virtues greatly rewarded' (363). Her heroines are rewarded for their moral virtue in the face of great distress, and, their reward is retirement, or even seclusion, from the busy world in which they are thrown in the course of the novels.

Regardless of Radcliffe's contemporary association with the proper novel, however, it is important to recognise the inherent difficulty of identifying Radcliffe's political leanings in her Gothic romances with either a straightforward radical or conservative ideology. As I have discussed above, her heroines are depicted as paragons of feminine modesty and morality, yet they occupy the pages of a novel not only penned by a woman--a potentially transgressive act in itself--but by a woman whose novels achieved unprecedented sums for their publication (£500 for *Udolpho* and £800 for *The Italian*) (Miles 8). The undeniable popularity of Radcliffe's Gothic romances made it more difficult for contemporary critics 'to belittle the efforts of literary women more generally' (Norton 171), and her very success implicitly bolstered the status of contemporary female authorship. Her furtherance of female authorship, nevertheless, remained within the bounds of what we might call 'implicit' support for contemporary women's writing, and, when we compare her works to those of Mary Hays, Mary Wollstonecraft, and even Charlotte Smith, who were more overtly political in their depiction of proto-feminist themes, Radcliffe's work may appear less challenging in comparison.[5] Despite this, as Watt notes, Radcliffe's novels clearly 'negotiated with

[5] See James Watt discussion on Radcliffe's congeniality for conservative critics in *Contesting the Gothic: Fiction, Genre, and Cultural Conflict 1764-1832*, pp.107-110.

contemporary constructions of femininity,' since 'writing for Radcliffe…was a way of earning attention without overtly seeking it' (109).

While, in her 1790s' romances, she ultimately shies away from the representation of anything truly otherworldly, *Gaston de Blondeville*, which, as we know, depicts the spectre of the murdered merchant, Reginald de Foleville, represents a dramatic shift in Radcliffe's use of the supernatural. As I have emphasised throughout my study, Radcliffe's later works represent a 'throwing off' of the supernatural constraints which she had imposed upon her 1790s' romances. In interpreting this move, it is tempting to assign a potentially radical, or reformist motive to Radcliffe's sudden adoption of the supernatural, as Frances Chiu has argued in her recent introduction to *Gaston de Blondeville*. In attempting to make such arguments, we must remember, however, that Radcliffe's decision to withhold her later works from publication during her lifetime does not fit neatly within narratives of a new political overtness in these later texts. As I have argued in chapter one, if she was wishing to usher in a new creative era in these later works, in which she boldly makes use of the supernatural in order to convey an allegorical political message, why did she decide never to make these works public, as writers such as Hays and Wollstonecraft did? Her decision was perhaps based upon an anxiety regarding the public and critical reception of a collection of works which, with their new representation of the supernatural, overt interest in antiquarianism, and the representation of Britain's national past, blatantly did not adhere to the Radcliffean 'formula' of the 1790s, praised by critics for its avoidance of political issues and apparent acknowledgment of conservative anxieties over female reading. In Radcliffe's post-1797 texts, we can see how Radcliffe turned this unique position to her advantage. Instead of

being pigeonholed by the ideologies of the 1790s, Radcliffe composed novels which were 'free floating.'

As I noted at the beginning of this chapter, Radcliffe, on the whole, managed to skillfully avoid associating her work with the supposedly 'morally corrupt' authors of works that were thought to be 'seductive and inflaming' to the female reader (Ferris 40). She avoided alienating her readers, at the same time that she put forward texts whose political leanings were consciously ambiguous. In light of this successful evasion, Norton characterises Radcliffe's position in the contemporary literary field, as a peculiar 'anomaly.' In his vehement poem entitled 'The Unsex'd Females' (1798), written in response to Mathias' work mentioned above, Richard Polwhele distinguishes Radcliffe from overtly political female authors of the day, aligning her instead with a particular brand of 'female' genius, exhibited by earlier women writers such as Elizabeth Carter, and contemporaries such as Fanny Burney and Hannah More (45). Scott and Talfourd both call attention to Mathias's praise of Radcliffe in their memoirs, serving to reaffirm Polwhele's separation of Radcliffe from the 'unsex'd females' of her day. They also draw on Mathias's representation of Radcliffe in *Pursuits of Literature* as an author whose texts are 'otherworldly,' divorced from reality and the contemporary world. In drawing on Mathias's representation of Radcliffe and on earlier critical appraisals of Radcliffe's romances, Scott and Talfourd perpetuate the formulation of Radcliffe as a 'confined' author, consigning her works to another world which offers no political reflection of contemporary life. They represent Radcliffe as an author whose readers are able to cozily retreat from everyday anxieties when they read one of Radcliffe's texts.

It was, however, in the safety of the very 'transport' that her novels offered that Radcliffe was able to open up a space in which she could implicitly explore late eighteenth-century conceptions of feminine authorship without threatening contemporary social mores. In avoiding such associations, Radcliffe's 1790s' romances skillfully balance the more sensational aspects of her texts with her perceived 'conservative' endings and use of the 'explained supernatural' described above. In his discussion of Radcliffe's landscape description, Daniel Cottom argues that 'Radcliffe's representation of landscape is marked by great complexity' (37), and in this 'complexity' we can see how Radcliffe shrewdly makes use of contemporary aesthetics--such as her integration of Burke's emphasis on the importance of the 'obscurity' of the sublime in her depiction of landscape--in order to bolster the artistic value of her novels. Indeed, as Watt and others have noted, she does the same with her chapter epigraphs, taken from canonical English writers, such as Shakespeare, Milton, Collins, Gray, and Thomson (Watt 114). Radcliffe's 1790s' romances, then, strike a balance between on the one hand potentially probing the limits of female authorship, and on the other reaffirming accepted notions of morality and domesticity. Radcliffe carries this 'balancing act' forward in *Gaston de Blondeville*, in which, as I discuss in chapter one, she adopts the male voice of two male antiquaries, Mr. Willoughton and Mr. Simpson, as mouthpieces, through which she filters her own antiquarian observations on Kenilworth Castle, recorded in her own travel journals.

By the time that Radcliffe's later works were finally published alongside Talfourd's 'Memoir' in 1826, earlier critical accounts of Radcliffe's 1790s' Gothic romances had begun to coalesce into speculative narratives surrounding Radcliffe's

personal life, in which she was repeatedly characterised as reclusive and mentally unstable. Such speculation was bolstered by her unexplained retirement from publication after *The Italian*, resulting in a slew of highly imaginative-- though completely unsubstantiated-- rumours and publications which attempted to account for her sudden retreat from the literary market. In many of these narratives, Radcliffe took on the more extreme characteristics of her persecuted heroines. In 1810, for example (during the period in which Radcliffe was probably composing *St. Albans Abbey*), Charles Wheelwright included an allusion to Radcliffe's supposed madness in a poem entitled 'Ode to Horror' (Norton 211). In the poem, which personifies horror as a 'goddess of insanity, pursuing her victims to the grave' (211), Wheelwright writes: 'As the pale spectres cross her way/ Lo! RADCLIFFE shudders with dismay, and vainly struggling to be free, /Flies to the grasp of death, from Madness and from thee' (Wheelwright 275). Wheelwright provides further explanation in a note to his poem, asserting how 'Mrs Ann Radcliffe, the ingenious authoress…is reported to have died under that species of mental derangement, known by the name of *the horrors'* (275). In Wheelwright's poem, we can see how two of the most pervasive rumours surrounding Radcliffe's later life came to be reflected in works which attempted to imagine her post-1797 retirement, and speculated over her supposed death, often becoming linked in the popular imagination with madness. As early as 1803, *The Mysteries of Udolpho* was reissued, with a new edition of *The Romance of the Forest* published in 1806 (Norton 204). The re-publishing of Radcliffe's romances led to the popular belief that she had died. On 28 February 1809, an obituary published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* served to erroneously affirm these rumours. The

notice however, was actually written for Mrs. Deborah Radcliffe, Ann Radcliffe's mother-in-law (Norton 204).

Shortly after the appearance of this obituary, falsely attributed posthumous works began to appear. In 1815 a novel bearing Radcliffe's name was published in Paris, entitled *L'Hermite de la tombe mysteriuse, ou le fantome du vieux chateau* (Norton 204).[6] The novel's true author, the Baron de La Mothe-Langon, posed as the translator of the work, claiming that he obtained the manuscript from a wounded Scottish soldier who was a distant relative of Radcliffe herself (Norton 205). Here, then, we can see how famous plot structures from Radcliffe's romances, such as the found manuscript pastiche, began to be consolidated into the 'legend' of 'Mrs. Radcliffe's' life. In 1833, a short story appeared in *The New Mirror*, 'translated from the French,' entitled 'The Literary Pirate Foiled: An Incident in the Life of Ann Radcliffe' (Norton 181). Another perfect example of the process through which Radcliffe's life became consolidated into myth, it imagines Radcliffe herself as a character in the story, outlining her efforts to block the publication of *The Grave*, a novel which her old publishers, Cadell and Davies, wish to publish under her name in order to reap the financial benefit of her popularity (Norton 182). In 1809, Elizabeth Isabella Spence published her travel book, *Summer Excursions*, which recorded her travels through the Peak District and Derbyshire. It is in this work that a reference to Radcliffe's supposed insanity appears for the first time (Norton 206). After her visit to Haddon Hall, Spence, who had heard rumours concerning Radcliffe's temporary stay there, laments 'that a lady whose original genius…[has] insured her immortal fame,

[6] See Jane Stabler's essay in *Ann Radcliffe, Romanticism and the Gothic* (2014) on an unauthorised 'posthumous' collection of Ann Radcliffe's poetry published in 1816. These poems are collected from the poetry interspersed through Radcliffe's romances of the 1790s (186).

should have been obliged to retire to a remote part of Derbyshire under the most direful influence of…incurable melancholy' (1: 164-5). Through Spence's work, Haddon Hall became enduringly linked in the popular imagination with Radcliffe's post-1797 life.

2. 'The Wizard of the North' on 'The Mighty Enchantress:' Sir Walter Scott's 'Memoir of Mrs. Radcliffe' in *Ballantyne's Novelist's Library* (1824)

This section will examine how Scott uses his 'Memoir' of Radcliffe to re-affirm his own literary authority in relation to Radcliffe's 1790s' Gothic romances, considering the specific ways in which Scott makes use of familiar critical vocabulary found in commentaries on the 'ordinary' and 'proper' novel in order to situate Radcliffe's romances as a 'lower' form of literary entertainment compared to his own poetry and fiction. Engaging in a closer analysis of the language and arguments which Scott uses in his 'Memoir' provides us with an opportunity to 'listen in' on Scott's powerful and persuasive establishment of his own creative relationship to Radcliffe's work. Scott's memoir of Radcliffe appears in the tenth volume of *Ballantyne's Novelist's Library*, published from 1821-4, running to thirty-eight pages. Broadly, Scott moves from outlining the biographical details of Radcliffe's life, to a chronological analysis of each of her works, concluding with a series of brief refutations concerning the rumours of madness surrounding Radcliffe's later years and her travels on the Continent. This conclusion contains a somewhat negative account of Radcliffe's poetic ability, which Scott gives through his analysis of her poem 'Ode to Melancholy,' from *The Mysteries of Udolpho*. We can speculate that the reissuing of Radcliffe's novels in *Ballantyne's Novelist's Library* came as an attempt to memorialise Radcliffe, who had died only a year earlier, in February, 1823. This appears probable, as Scott quotes extensively from *The Annual Obituary and Biography* entry on Radcliffe. It is from this entry that Scott seems

to have culled his biographical information on Radcliffe's life, quoting at length from the *Obituary* in his comments on Radcliffe's family and her personal appearance (she apparently resembled her father) (10: ii). Recognising Scott's use of the *Obituary* in his memoir allows us to see how William Radcliffe's fastidious handling of his wife's reputation, starting with his authoring of at least part of the *Obituary*, begins to determine attempts to write Radcliffe's biography even before the publication of Talfourd's memoir in 1826.

As Ferris argues in her account of Scott's complex construction of literary authority, like the Godwinian novel 'the Waverley Novels opened up the novel to male readers, establishing novel writing as a literary activity and legitimating novel reading as a manly practice' (79). This, indeed, is a project which Scott continues to establish in his critical biography of Radcliffe. As I argue above, in validating his own brand of historical fiction in relation to Radcliffe's Gothic romances, Scott draws heavily on critical assumptions regarding the 'proper novel,' which, according to Ferris, 'typically functioned less as a sign of rationality than as a sign of feminine virtues…' (55). Often in such reviews, the guiding light of the 'feminine virtue' displayed in the proper novel is typified by 'restraint,' and reviewers often praised female authors of the 'proper novel' for 'staying within accepted bounds of gender' (55). Scott's construction of Radcliffe's 'genius' is inherently restricted to the lesser genre of romance in comparison with the novel, and his 'Memoir' presents Radcliffe as a similarly 'constricted' author--an idea which is inextricably linked with contemporary notions surrounding the gendered attributes of the female writer of the 'proper novel.' Thus, Scott opens his 'Memoir' by emphasising Radcliffe's retirement from the literary scene, just as Talfourd does in his

own work two years later. Here, Scott writes: ‘The life of Mrs. Ann Radcliffe, spent in the quiet shade of domestic privacy, and in the interchange of familiar affections and sympathies, appears to have been retired and sequestered, as the fame of her writings was brilliant and universal’ (10: i). Through this characterisation, Scott sets up a construction of Radcliffe’s creative life in which her very ‘retirement’ from the literary mêlée of London literary society appears to have been an essential prerequisite for the composition of her romances. If we examine Scott’s depiction of Radcliffe within the context of contemporary perceptions of female authors of the ‘proper novel,’ we can see how his characterisation of Radcliffe ‘implicitly [endorses] the view that confinement or removal from society made possible a specifically “feminine” kind of writing,’ and that ‘romances by women writers were similarly liable to be restricted in their scope’ (Watt 139). In constructing this careful depiction of the inherent ‘confinement’ of female authors, both in their personal lives and in their literary productions, Scott was able to ‘clear a space in which [he] could intervene, and which he could eventually make his own,’ by constructing a historical novel which encouraged an imaginative commerce between the reader and the public sphere (Watt 139). Scott uses this construction in his ‘Memoir’ of Radcliffe, then, to reaffirm his own superior literary position in relation to Radcliffe’s romances, and to fit her 1790s’ fiction snugly within the restricted niche to which he worked to consign them. Thus, what appears as straightforward praise of Radcliffe’s ability is in fact a carefully-hedged negotiation of Scott’s own position as novelistic innovator, and in the end, Radcliffe is assigned the honour of ‘first poetess’ of romantic fiction (Watt 137).

From the outset of his 'Memoir,' Scott characterises Radcliffe as a feminine author, whose family, upbringing, and education conform to the most superior model of a 'proper' female novelist. Scott specifically addresses rumours of Radcliffe's supposed madness in his memoir, taking up the position of 'protector' of Radcliffe's memory and literary reputation. He overtly denounces such rumours in his 'Memoir,' arguing that '…many of Mrs Radcliffe's admirers believed, and some are not yet undeceived, that, in consequence of brooding over the terrors which she depicted, her reason had at length been overturned, and that the author of *The Mysteries of Udolpho* only existed as the melancholy inmate of a private mad-house' (10: xvi-xvii). Regarding the rumours of Radcliffe's supposed authorship of Baillie's *Plays on the Passions*, Scott writes: 'Mrs Radcliffe was much hurt at being reported capable of borrowing from the fame of a gifted sister, and the late Miss Seward would probably have suffered equally, had she been aware of the pain she inflicted by giving currency to a rumour so totally unfounded' (10: xvii). Scott uses his role as the 'protector' of Radcliffe's reputation in order to reinforce his own position as a literary authority. Importantly, such a role allowed Scott to appear to be the chivalric champion of Radcliffe's as a virtuous 'lady-author,' thereby serving to implicitly reinforce the gendered construction of Radcliffe as a 'confined' female writer. Scott bases his characterisation of Radcliffe on an analysis of the ways in which her Gothic romances reflected Radcliffe's 'feminine virtue.' As part of this project, Scott characterises Radcliffe's novels as working within an 'economy of prudence,' seen to 'depend not simply on [female authors] working within certain bounds, but on placing bounds on [their] own talent and imagination' (Ferris 56). Scott's comments implicitly suggest that Radcliffe, in her scrupulous attention to her own propriety as a 'lady,' could

not openly discourage these rumours herself, an act which would take her too far into the public sphere. Scott defends Radcliffe's caution here, taking advantage of the way in which his authority is bolstered by his reputation as an author of 'manly' novels, promoting social converse and community (Ferris 98).

Quoting at length from Radcliffe's obituary in the *Annual Obituary and Biography,* published earlier in 1824, Scott emphasises the innate gentility of Radcliffe, whose parents, 'though engaged in trade, were nearly the only two persons of their families not living in handsome or easy independence' (10: i). Not only does Scott re-emphasise the attractiveness of Radcliffe's physical appearance-- she had a 'figure exquisitely proportioned' with a 'beautiful complexion'-- but Scott also makes sure to include the *Obituary's* account of Radcliffe's education (10: ii). In his quotation of the *Obituary,* Scott emphasises the role which her personal piety plays in her literary work: '…her principal object in her work is to 'contemplate the glories of creation' (10: ii). He also quotes the *Obituary's* claim that she had not been educated in the classics, traditionally the preserve of contemporary male education: 'She had…a gratification in listening to verbal sounds, and would desire to hear passages repeated from the Latin and Greek classics, requiring at intervals the most literal translation which could be given…' (10: ii). The prudence of her education is likewise reflected for Scott in Radcliffe's use of the explained supernatural. Characterising Radcliffe's use of 'supernatural machinery' in her romances, Scott likens the plot trajectories and narrative twists of her novels to a recognisable formula, in which Radcliffe '[breaks] off her [narratives] at the point of being most interesting;' thus, he argues, 'shadowy forms and half-heard sounds of woe, were resources which Mrs. Radcliffe has employed with more effect than any other writer

of romance…' (10: xxiv). Scott qualifies this praise, however, by stating: 'it must be confessed, that in order to bring about these situations, some art or contrivance of the author is rather too visible…' (10: xxiv). Here, Scott implicitly draws attention to the artificial nature of Radcliffe's 'formula' for her Gothic romances. Indeed, later in in the 'Memoir,' we see Scott return once again to such an idea, when he suggests that the extraordinary nature of Radcliffe's creative 'genius' lay in her ability to 'bring back her readers with fresh appetite to a banquet of the same description' (10: xxii).

Scott's emphasis on the repetitive nature of Radcliffe's romances echoes the critical discourse on the 'ordinary' novel, often characterised by contemporary reviews in terms of its 'repetition of the same adventures, the same language, and the same sentiments' (Ferris 43). Such reviews often presented the supposedly repetitive, or formulaic, nature of the 'ordinary novel' as a result of mass production: 'over and over again, the ordinary novel is depicted as stamped out by machines, produced not by authors but by printing presses' (Ferris 43). The *Gentleman's Magazine*, for instance, hyperbolizes the apparent repetition of such novels, constructing a metaphor in which female writing is churned out in a literary factory in a 'regular supply of sameness' (78: 882-85). In emphasising the formulaic nature of Radcliffe's romances, Scott gestures back to such critical tropes. The 'confined nature' of Radcliffe's writing, he suggests, ultimately works to limit female romance to a finite combination of plot patterns and narrative structures, resulting in what for Scott, is a potentially stultifying repetitiveness. Despite the way in which Scott generally aligns Radcliffe's fiction with the proper feminine novel of Mathias' distinction, he gestures towards negative critical tropes of the 'ordinary novel' so that he might present himself as the 'leader' of a reformed novelistic

genre, using a literary vocabulary derived from critical reviews which his astute readers might recognise. At certain moments in his 'Memoir,' then, Scott's analysis of Radcliffe collapses the distinction between Mathias' 'proper' and 'ordinary' novel, in order that he might re-shuffle critical perceptions concerning generic hierarchy. Through this 'collapse,' Scott simplifies such a hierarchy in which he stands at the head, by presenting female writing as a less stratified field. In doing so, he reinforces the new sense of the novelistic genre which his Waverley Novels transformed, characterising the field by two opposing types of fiction: his own brand of superior 'manly' historical fiction, and a more generalised grouping of inferior feminine novels. Scott's harnessing of such critical vocabulary is likewise reflected in the epithets which he uses to characterise or qualify Radcliffe's talent, by which, she is both a 'mighty enchantress,' 'bewitching' her readers away from '[scenes] of solitude' (10: vii), and 'a careless knitter, who has neglected to tie up her loose stitches' (10: xiv). These epithets make use of familiar critical imagery used to characterise feminine writing. According to Ferris, this imagery 'presents a curious collapsing of text, writing, and reading into female body' (42). Here, Scott makes use of two opposing gendered images of Radcliffe as a female author, both of which are connected to the 'collapse' which Ferris identifies through the way in which Scott uses them to engage with critical notions of 'fertility' and feminine authorship.

Scott explicitly makes use of the conceptual linking of female fertility and novel writing in his assessment of Radcliffe's creative ability. In characterising the progress of Radcliffe's 'genius' in *A Sicilian Romance* (1790), Scott argues that the work 'displays the exuberance and fertility of imagination, which was the author's principal characteristic' (10: iv). Here, Scott positions the 'fertility' of Radcliffe's imagination as

her most distinctive quality as a female author. In doing so, however, Scott uses this vocabulary to associate Radcliffe, once again, with the 'formula' of a creatively restricted author. In *A Sicilian Romance*, 'adventure is heaped upon adventure' in 'quick and brilliant succession,' revealing the plotting of 'an unpractised author,' whose characters are 'hastily sketched, being cast in the mould of ardent lovers, tyrannical parents, domestic ruffians, guards and others who had wept, or stormed through the chapters of romance without much alternation…for a quarter of a century before Mrs. Radcliffe's life time' (10: iv). For Scott, then, Radcliffe's romances offer enchanting plots and characters to readers, which, nevertheless, present nothing innovative in their delineations or actions. It is as a result of this fundamental repetition, that Scott introduces a contradictory epithet which makes a different use of critical notions surrounding 'fertility' and female writing. Examining a scene in *The Italian*, for instance, Scott notes how Schedoni starts at a story told by a peasant, inducing the reader to expect some further explanation of the tale only to be let down, as Radcliffe never provides an explanation for Schedoni's apparent astonishment. Scott condescendingly attributes Radcliffe's omission to forgetfulness, which he likens to that of a 'careless knitter' who has 'neglected to tie up her loose stitches' (10: xvi). Here, Scott metaphorically associates the gendered act of knitting and the process of narrative composition. If Radcliffe's status as the 'Mighty Enchantress' is linked to her fertile imagination, then evidence of Radcliffe's occasionally incompetent plotting, linked to the formulaic nature of her romances, can be equated with the opposite of such creative fecundity: infertility. Notwithstanding the inherent contradictoriness of these two metaphors--one represents an image of a female author in full command of her abundant art, while the other suggests an author whose imagination cannot escape

repetition--the tension between them structures Scott's account of Radcliffe as a 'confined' female author, which Scott uses to his advantage in affirming his own literary authority.

For Scott, Radcliffe's romances enter untold realms of fancy, yet they are ultimately unable to transcend the limits which Radcliffe herself places upon them as a female author of Mathias' 'proper' novel. The apparent 'fertility' of Radcliffe's imagination is unable to overcome the eventually dull 'formula' which her novels offer up, resulting in a creative 'drying up' of the imagination. Radcliffe's later work, however, is proof that her imagination had done just the opposite in the years after 1797. Through Scott's use of this critical language, we can discern the faintness of Scott's praise for Radcliffe. While Scott's appreciation of Radcliffe in his 'Memoir' is based upon her feminine attention to the boundaries of her own creative propriety, it is this fundamental limitation in Radcliffe's work which ultimately precludes her from the higher literary status afforded the male novelist. Scott's recurrent emphasis on this limitation allowed him to widen the bounds of the genre as the 'Author of Waverley,' by synthesising history and romance. Indeed, part of the irony which this study attempts to elucidate is that Radcliffe herself does something comparable in her post-1797 romances. Like Scott's novels, Radcliffe's later works attempt to expose and colonise new territory through this synthesis, expanding the scope of her fiction in a way which critics have not fully acknowledged.

Ballantyne's Novelist's Library was a project first conceived by Scott's close friend, publisher, and literary agent, John Ballantyne. In 1820, Ballantyne proposed his idea for his *Novelist's Library*, inviting Scott to write the biographical prefaces, and 'Scott

contributed free of charge a set of introductions…which began publications from February 1821 onwards' (Sutherland 244). By June, 1821, however, Ballantyne had died of tuberculosis, leaving Scott to complete the rest of the series on his own. Amid these concerns, Scott's was named in 1821 as a secret financial backer to The *Beacon,* a vehemently Tory literary journal. James Gibson, a Whig who had been slandered in the journal's pages, actually threatened Scott with a duel, which never came to pass (246). Scott would have been working on *Redgauntlet*, published the same year as Radcliffe's memoir, which John Sutherland classifies as 'the last great novel Scott wrote,' arguing that Scott's 'next works went consciously down market' (270). Scott's writing of these introductions, then, was undertaken at a time in which he would have been particularly alert to the safe-guarding and maintenance of his professional reputation, rendering his re-affirmation of his literary authority in his 'Memoir' of Radcliffe, closely bound up with his own creative relationship to romance, particularly meaningful. In teasing out Scott's mediation of his relationship to Radcliffe, romance, and the Gothic it is helpful to turn to Scott's concluding statement on Radcliffe's literary ability in his memoir. He writes

> It may be true that Radcliffe rather walks in fairy-land than the region of realities, and that she had neither displayed the command of the passions…nor the observations of life and manners, which recommend authors in the same line. But she has taken the lead in a line of composition…appealing to a latent sense of supernatural awe…and it is at least certain that she has never been excelled, or even equaled… (10: xxxviii).

This is a 'mixed bag' compliment at best. Like Barbauld, Scott understands Radcliffe's fiction to be based on the manipulation of her readers' most visceral instincts of terror: '[Radcliffe's romances] do not appeal to the judgement by deep delineation of human feeling… [They] attain [their] interest…by an appeal to the passion of fear…' (10: xxiii). Scott sees Radcliffe's characters as 'subordinate' to the 'external incident' of her novels. They are only partially drawn, and borrowed from the 'stock' characters of romance (10: xxiii). Because Scott understands her romances to operate upon the 'baser' levels of human emotion rather than on reason, he argues that they can never compete with 'rational' novels, and must occupy a literary status below that of such works which strive to 'delineate human feeling.'

However, despite Scott's success in relegating Radcliffe's novel to the second-rate genre of feminine romance, Scott's relationship to the Radcliffe as an innovator of the Gothic is more complex than it may first appear, and for contemporary critics, 'it was… the proper novel… that was placed in definitive opposition to Scott's historical mode, even as his historical mode…performed much of the same work as that of prudent feminine novelists' (Ferris 252). In cultivating his reputation as the 'sole origin' of historical fiction, Scott uses Radcliffe as a counter-example in order to distance his work from the feminine 'proper novel.' Scott's co-opting of feminine romance forms in his historical fiction is marked by a certain hybridity, characterised by 'disruptions in form and tone,' occurring in response to the 'changing conceptions of the subject matter and stylistic conventions deemed appropriate to the novel as a distinct literary genre' (Robertson 15). As we have seen in chapter one, Katie Trumpener makes a similar argument in *Bardic Nationalism* concerning Scott's relation to the national tale,

suggesting that the examination of 'a more agitated fiction, previous and parallel to Scott's own, can suggest what…the "Scott legend" attempts to conceal' (157). According to Robertson, critics of Scott's work have, in the process of '[legitimizing] the nineteenth-century novel, imposed a stultifying homogeneity on the Waverley Novels,' as well as a 'single voice to its author' which has resulted in a general failure of critics to properly register the ways in which Scott draws on the narrative structures, imagery, and character types of Gothic romance in his own historical fiction (15). The previous chapters of this study have, I hope, helped to shed further light not only on the ways in which Radcliffe's posthumously published works creatively respond to Scott's historical fiction, but also how such an engagement helps to illustrate the arguments laid out by Robertson: namely, that Scott both profoundly influenced, and was profoundly influenced *by* Gothic romance. Scott's 'Memoir,' then,--the only text authored by Scott which exclusively focuses on a specific analysis of Radcliffe's life and works-- is particularly important in providing a better understanding of how Scott defined his own use of vocabulary, plot structures, and tropes from Gothic romance against Radcliffe's own fiction and the genre which she came to represent. In tracking this process, we can better understand how Scott uses his 'Memoir' of Radcliffe to define his own works against Gothic romance--a significant distinction which Scott uses to cultivate his literary authority throughout Radcliffe's 'Memoir.' While Scott's fiction was heralded by contemporaries as the 'triumph of real life over romance, surely hastening the decline in critical favour of writers such as Radcliffe, the uncertain tone and identity of Scott's novels and their proximity to the category of romance nonetheless provided the grounds for later critics to conflate the Waverley Novels with the works that he had much earlier patronised' (Watt 131). The

techniques which Scott uses in his 'Memoir' of Radcliffe to distance his historical fiction from the conventions of Gothic romance actually end, however, in suggesting how Scott's fiction actively worked to digest romance structures into his own oeuvre.

In the first chapter of *Waverley* Scott is careful to establish his own wide-sweeping, authorial knowledge of the field, and its 'novelistic genres and conventions' (Ferris 109), at the same time that he works to demarcate a boundary between his own historical fiction, and previous experiments in historical fiction (4). Here, he playfully considers the importance of choosing an 'uncontaminated' title for his new work, where he draws a clear distinction between *Waverley* and Radcliffe's romances:

> Had I, for example, announced in my frontispiece, 'Waverley, A Tale of Other Days,' must not every novel reader have anticipated a castle scarce less than that of Udolpho, of which the eastern wing had been long uninhabited and the keys either lost or consigned to the care of some aged butler or housekeeper, whose trembling steps, about the middle of the second volume, were doomed to guide the hero or heroine to the ruinous precincts? (1: 5).

At the very outset of Scott's Waverley Novels, then, he displays a desire to particularly distinguish his own works from Radcliffe's romances. Scott 'performs' his literary authority by demonstrating the ways in which his own works, while potentially co-opting certain tropes and vocabularies from earlier romances--such as his use of a historical setting--ultimately transcend Radcliffe's novelistic model through his innovative handling of historical themes. Scott continues this project in his 'Memoir' of Radcliffe, where he praises her as the 'first poetess of romantic fiction' (10: iv), and the 'founder'

of a 'peculiar style of composition, affecting powerfully the mind of the reader, which has since been attempted by many, but in which no one has attained the excellencies of the original inventor' (10: xvii). His praise, however, is shrewdly calculated to confine Radcliffe within the gendered bounds of a feminine writer of *romance*, a lesser cousin to what Scott's situates as the more culturally important novel. In doing so, Scott's 'Memoir' widens the distance between his own work and that of Radcliffe. However, as I will go on to argue, an analysis of Scott's 'Memoir' of Radcliffe is particularly revealing when examined within the context of Radcliffe's later work.

In his review of *Marmion* for the *Edinburgh Review* (1808), Francis Jeffrey makes some of the same objections to Scott's adoption of romance to represent Britain's deep past that Scott makes for Radcliffe's Gothic romances. Jeffrey writes:

> But though we think this last romance of Mr. Scott's about good as the former, and allow that it affords great indications of poetical talent, we must remind our readers, that we never entertained much partiality for this sort of composition, and ventured on a former occasion to express our regret, that an author endowed with such talents should consume them in imitations of obsolete extravagance… We object to the extreme and monstrous improbability of almost all the incidents which go to the composition of this fable (23: 3).

In 1820, Jeffrey's review of *Ivanhoe* in the *Edinburgh Review* echoes these earlier sentiments, in which he comments that Scott's new novel shifts 'from the reign of nature and reality, to that of fancy and romance' (33: 8). Jeffrey's arguments in his reviews of *Marmion* and *Ivanhoe*, written over ten years apart, demonstrate a fundamental 'disquiet'

amongst Scott's critics, which persisted throughout his career, regarding the uncertain position of Scott's works in relation to what Ian Duncan calls 'respectable historicism' and the 'sub-literary genre' of romance (x). Scott negotiated this position very strategically, and, when examined in this context, Scott's 'Memoir' of Radcliffe becomes particularly important in analysing the methods which Scott makes use of in order to distance himself from romance and the Gothic on which his own works so clearly drew.

One of the main ways in which Scott negotiates his creative relationship to romance is to locate it safely within the past, even as some of his novels still incorporate Gothic elements. In his 'Imitations of Ancient Ballads,' Scott writes of his passion for German literature and balladry as a youthful fancy: 'In early youth I had been an eager student of ballad poetry, and the tree is still in my recollection beneath which I lay and first entered upon the upon the enchanting perusal of Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English poetry*…' (53). Likewise, he also works to provide an account of his creative relationship with Matthew Lewis, and his contribution of several annotated works to Lewis's *Tales of Wonder* (1801) as a long-concluded collaborative relationship. In his 'Essay,' as Watt notes, Scott 'admitted to writing in the style which had raised the profile of Lewis,' while he also 'projected his early involvement with German literature firmly in the past, and distinguished the nature of his interest from that of all the other translators and imitators by incorporating such a youthful dalliance into an account of his formative literary education' (132). In his 'Memoir' of Radcliffe, Scott represents himself as a knowledgeable authority on Gothic romance--a representation which is further bolstered by his critical biographies on Clara Reeve and Horace Walpole also included in *Ballantyne's Novelist's Library*--at the same time that he positions himself as an author

who has transcended the sub-genre. In providing his critical analysis of Radcliffe's works, Scott boldly displays his wide-ranging literary knowledge of the genre, comparing Radcliffe's power of description to Charlotte Smith's, arguing: 'The landscapes of Mrs. Radcliffe are far from equal in accuracy to those of…Charlotte Smith., whose sketches are so very graphical that an artist would find little difficulty in actually painting from them' (10: xxx). Likewise, Scott makes reference to Horace Walpole's overt use of the supernatural in comparison to Radcliffe's romances, stating that he 'boldly avows the use of supernatural machinery' (10: xxv). These claims implicitly assert Scott's command of the history and development of the genre which he critiques in Radcliffe's 'Memoir,' and, in openly making reference to the works of other female authors of Gothic romance such as Smith, Scott demonstrates his powerful position as the 'Author of Waverley,' who can avow his creative engagement with Gothic romance without being at risk of associating his own work with the 'lowly' sub-genre. Here, we see Scott 'performing' his literary authority, and, in doing so, Scott attempts to negotiate the criticism put forward by Jeffrey, who expressed concern over the generic boundary-crossing which Scott's works effected between history and romance.

Scott uses Radcliffe's 'Memoir' to systematically address the critical concerns expressed over his own historical fiction, and he strategically adopts the critical vocabulary used to critique his works in the reviews. Jeffrey's review uses critical language associated with the analysis of romance which Scott himself appears to recycle in his discussion of Radcliffe's plotting of *The Italian,* in which he writes that 'many of the incidents are improbable, and some of the mysteries are left unexplained' (10: xii). Furthermore, Scott writes, 'on reconsidering the narrative, we indeed discover that many

of the incidents are left imperfectly explained…' (10: xii). In his comments here, Scott not only rehearses objections commonly levelled against contemporary romances concerning their inherent improbabilities in plot, but he also gestures towards the supposed narrative 'irregularity' of the genre, reaching back to the ancient ballads which, according to Scott's 'Imitations of Ancient Ballads,' he read with avidity in his youth. The 'irregularity' of the ancient ballad is a theme which Scott takes up in his preface to *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (as I discuss in chapter two of this study), in which Scott positions himself as a modern 'refiner' of ancient poetry. By adopting the critical vocabulary used by critics such as Jeffrey to examine Scott's own works in his 'Memoir' of Radcliffe, Scott sets himself up as a competing critical authority, and, in drawing attention to the 'irregularity' of romance, Scott refers back to his project of innovation in his own works such as *The Lay*, which attempted to correct the narrative inconsistencies of ancient romance forms. Scott also uses Radcliffe's 'Memoir' to make specific claims about his use of romance as a register through which to depict historical process. As the 'Author of Waverley,' Scott had been credited with depicting 'history' as a process of change, which, according to Ferris, understood 'history' as 'the painful replacement of one cultural order by another' (112). Scott's 'Memoir' of Radcliffe works out these representational concerns in terms of Scott's own creative project, recalling Reverend Laurence Templeton's Introductory Epistle in *Ivanhoe,* concerned with the use of the supernatural and the level of historical 'accuracy' demanded of an author of the genre. Through an examination of these concerns, we come closest to uncovering a direct, rather than a 'silent' engagement with Radcliffe on Scott's part.

If we examine Scott's strategies in his 'Memoir' for negotiating his creative relationship to romance and the Gothic in the context of Radcliffe's posthumously published works, we can uncover the crux of the dialogue which Radcliffe's post-1797 texts initiate with Scott's historical fiction which this study attempts to elucidate. Through their different representations of Britain's past, Radcliffe and Scott are concerned with the intersections between romance and history, and the appropriate methodology through which to represent the past. James Kerr understands Scott's Waverley Novels as a 'counterfiction to the Gothic,' in which, according to Robertson's summation, 'literary structures and conventions of the Gothic are preserved only to be dismissed' (Robertson 50). Kerr writes:

> To grasp properly the place of Scott's fiction in literary history, we must see his novels as a countergenre to the Gothic, in which the forms of the Gothic are taken up and rendered as the conventions of an obsolescent literature, and at the same time, persevered and modified. The forms of Gothic romance are represented in Scott's writing in order to be defamiliarised and then historicised (5-6).

As Fiona Robertson has shown, the perceived 'newness' of Scott's historical fiction not only based itself upon the widely perceived 'feminine' form of the novel, but also on images, narrative structures, and vocabulary from Gothic romance--think of Constance de Beverley's live interment in *Marmion,* the corrupt Prior Aymer in *Ivanhoe,* and, later on, the supposedly incestuous Glenallan plot in *The Antiquary*. Alexander Welsh has also noted how 'incidents of the plot do not befall the passive hero so much as threaten him, recalling the tentative aspect of Gothic fiction' (127). This is a project which is reflected

in Scott's 'Memoir' of Radcliffe. Through his discussion of Radcliffe's Gothic, Scott sets up his own oeuvre as a collection of works which, through their appropriation of Gothic vocabulary and narrative structures, ultimately offer up an innovative and historically 'valuable' representation of Britain's past which transcends the Gothic. In doing so, Scott once again takes charge of the critical vocabulary often levelled against romance: 'It was the cry of the period…that the romances of Mrs. Radcliffe…were evil signs of the times, and argued a great and increasing degradation of the public taste, which…was now coming back to the fare of the nursery, and gorged upon the wild and improbable fictions of an overheated imagination' (10: xx). In appropriating the critical language of contemporary reviews of Gothic romance, such as the representation of female reading as 'an act of the body rather than the mind,' Scott sets up a critical base-line from which to implicitly defend his use of romance through the discussion of Radcliffe's Gothic (Ferris 37).

Here, Scott deftly constructs an argument for and against the readerly consumption of romance which allows him to have it both ways. Likening the reading of Radcliffe's romances to 'the use of opiates, baneful when habitually and constantly resorted to, but of most blessed power in those moments of pain and languor, when the whole head is sore and the whole heart is sick,' Scott complicates readers' notions of the moral effects of novel-reading, presenting the genre as potentially harmful in large quantities, yet beneficial in small 'doses' (10: vii). He acknowledges the morally threatening effects of romance, thereby establishing a clear distinction between his own historical fiction--praised for its 'public spirit' and its claims to historical authority--and Radcliffe's work, while defending its consumption at the same time. In making this

argument, Scott asserts 'that the real and only point is, whether, considered as a separate and distinct piece of writing, that introduced by Mrs. Radcliffe, possesses merit and affords pleasure…these premises being admitted, it is as unreasonable to complain of the absence of advantages foreign to her style…as to regret that a peach tree does not produce grapes, or vine peaches' (10: xx). This is a skillful handling of the criticism which his own work invited, echoing Richard Hurd's argument in *Letters on Chivalry and Romance* (1762) in support of contemporary Gothic taste, which suggests that ancient romance should be read according to its own merits, instead of according to a set of poetical standards derived from classical poetry. This is a key moment for Scott in his 'Memoir,' in which he argues for the legitimacy of romance forms, tropes, and structures if they are embedded within their proper historical context--a tenet which Scott relies upon again and again throughout his historical fiction, and particularly in his narrative poems. This argument is particularly important for Scott in his broader discussion of the proper use of the supernatural in romance--a topic which Radcliffe also broaches in the introduction to *Gaston de Blondeville* and in her essay 'On the Supernatural in Poetry' (1826). Through his discussion of Radcliffe's 'explained supernatural' which, Scott admits, she has not carried out with 'uniform success,' he implicitly justifies instances of the supernatural within his own fiction by appealing to the historical foundation of these incidents. Thus, he makes the same argument which he does in his Dedicatory Epistle to *Ivanhoe*, arguing, 'It would seem no great stretch on the reader's credulity to require him, while reading of what his ancestors did, to credit for the time what those ancestors devoutly believed in' (10: xxv). Scott's 'Memoir' of Radcliffe serves as an important vehicle through which Scott mediated his own relationship to romance, at the same time that he used the

composition of her critical biography to reestablish his literary authority over Radcliffe's fiction, and more broadly, the 'feminine' novel. While his construction and performance of this authority effectively transformed the early nineteenth-century novelistic field, as Ferris, Robertson, and Trumpener have so ably argued, we should nevertheless acknowledge how Scott treats Radcliffe--dubbing her the 'first poetess of romantic fiction'--with a distinct sense of his own literary superiority in his 'Memoir.' Unbeknownst to Scott, however, he was only engaging with half of Radcliffe's entire oeuvre, and, by the mid nineteenth-century, Scott, like Radcliffe, came to be taken as a writer of romance rather than history. By the middle of the century, historians defined their works against Scott's historical fiction.

3. Drawing Aside the Veil: Thomas Noon Talfourd's 'The Life and Writings of Mrs. Radcliffe' (1826)

Thomas Noon Talfourd's 'The Life and Writings of Mrs. Radcliffe' is the longest prefatory memoir written on Radcliffe's life. Introducing the four volumes of Radcliffe's posthumously published works, which contained *Gaston de Blondeville*, *St. Alban's Abbey*, and *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge* (1826), it runs to ninety pages. Unlike the works of Barbauld and Scott, it claims to offer a 'behind-the-scenes' look, both at Radcliffe's early and later life. As I have already noted, Talfourd's memoir is the only biography of Radcliffe which was editorially sanctioned by William Radcliffe. As such, Talfourd's memoir claims a special authority as the only 'definitive' account of Radcliffe's life and writings, and it is through his position as Radcliffe's 'official' biographer that Talfourd constructs his own authority. Talfourd's 'Memoir' offers the most complete account of her childhood, which, we can speculate, fleshes out the shorter biographical notice which

William Radcliffe provided in *The Annual Obituary and Biography* in 1824. In the opening pages of his memoir, Talfourd delineates the ancestry and parentage of Radcliffe: 'her parents, though engaged in trade, were persons of great respectability' (1: 4).[7] Talfourd attests to the 'respectability' of Radcliffe's relations by including a list of Radcliffe's more distant ancestors already reported in the *Obituary*--the DeWitts of Holland, the famed surgeon William Chesleden, Dr. Samuel and Richard Jebb, Dr. Halifax, Bishop of Gloucester, and (another) Dr. Halifax, physician to the King (1: 4). For the first time, however, Talfourd also includes Radcliffe's maternal uncle-in-law, Thomas Bentley, Josiah Wedgewood's business partner, and it would seem, a favourite uncle of Radcliffe's, who 'was exceedingly partial to his niece, and invited her often to visit him at Chelsea, and afterwards at Turnham Green, where he resided' (1: 4). Talfourd's memoir also pays particular attention to Radcliffe's life after she retired from publication in 1797, giving lengthy, never-before-seen extracts from her travel journals, written between 1797 and 1812, which give details of the frequent trips which Radcliffe took with her husband, mainly to the Isle of Wight and the south-east coast of England. Broadly, the 'Life' moves from outlining Radcliffe's ancestry to a brief delineation of the publication history of her 1790s' Gothic romances, before moving to the largest section of the memoir-- excerpts from Radcliffe's travel journals-- spanning forty pages. After the inclusion of these excerpts, Talfourd returns to a closer chronological analysis of Radcliffe's 1790s' works, which in terms of critical opinion, largely follows Barbauld and Scott.

[7] Radcliffe's parents, William and Ann Ward, ran a Wedgewood showroom in Bath (Norton 24).

As I note in my introduction to this chapter, William Radcliffe's overbearing editorial eye forced Talfourd to assume a 'doubleness' of language in his 'Memoir,' allowing him to suggest different readings of Radcliffe's persona as a female author of the 'proper novel' and her supposedly stable mental state. Despite this 'doubleness', Talfourd, like Scott, 'officially' understands Radcliffe to be a 'confined' female author, characterised by Ferris's 'prudence of economy,' in which, despite her depictions of terror and suspense in her romances, she remains in complete creative control of her literary imaginings. In emphasising the 'control' which Radcliffe commands over her own imagination, Talfourd makes use of Scott's formulation of Radcliffe as a 'mighty enchantress' in order to construct a sense of Radcliffe's particular brand of romance which separates her from her contemporaries: 'her 'name [is] felt as a spell' to her readers (1: 3), and her ability to 'curdle' the 'life-blood' of her readers sets her 'apart from all that had gone before' (1: 3). In situating her at the head of a 'class,' however, Talfourd is careful to relativize this praise, making it clear that, notwithstanding her position in the words of Nathan Drake, as 'the Shakespeare of romance writers,' she occupies the foremost position in an inferior genre compared to the novel (Drake, 1: 361-2). Thus, despite Talfourd's repeated allusions to Shakespeare, Milton, and Wordsworth, which appear to make 'strong claims for the philosophical seriousness of Radcliffe's accomplishment…while emphasising its natural artistry' (Baker 174), Talfourd is in fact carefully qualifying his praise of Radcliffe as a writer of romance, whose attention to morality is understood to be reflected in her characteristic creative restraint. Radcliffe's 'restraint' is also reflected for Talfourd in his repudiation of Radcliffe's rumoured madness:

> Mrs. Radcliffe was amazed at an absurd report that, haunted by the images of fear with which she had thrilled her readers, she had sunk into a state of mental alienation. A more unphilosophical foundation for an untruth was never imagined, for it is obvious, that through all her works, she holds entire mastery over the terrors which she employs, and even sedulously prepares the means of explaining them by natural causes… (1: 60).

As I have previously discussed, Talfourd follows Scott in positioning Radcliffe's use of the 'explained supernatural' as evidence of Radcliffe's status as a 'confined' female author who lived her life 'secluded from the world' (1: 57). He presents her as an author whose concern to preserve her reputation as a 'proper' female novelist reigned paramount over her art, thus, 'nothing could tempt her to publish herself, or to sink for one moment, the gentlewoman in the novelist' (1: 9). In promoting an 'official' representation of Radcliffe as a 'proper' female author, Talfourd writes that Radcliffe's 'piety was deep and sincere' (1: 9), and that she 'declined entering into the society which she was so well calculated to adorn' (1: 9). Here, Talfourd presents Radcliffe's mysterious retirement from the literary scene as an act of propriety on Radcliffe's part, strategically preferred in order to protect her reputation as a 'gentlewoman.' In support of this explanation, Talfourd also presents Radcliffe as an ideal wife and housekeeper, who was, according to his memoir, '…minutely attentive to her household affairs…' (1: 9). As in Scott's 'Memoir', we are told she was not educated beyond the traditional bounds of a contemporary female education: 'She was instructed in all womanly accomplishments…but was not exercised in the Classics' (1: 5). In keeping with this image, Talfourd also plays down the financial success of Radcliffe's romances, asserting

that Radcliffe did not compose her novels out of a monetary motivation, but was rather 'incited by the intellectual recompense' (1: 7). Radcliffe is 'officially' depicted by Talfourd, then, as a woman author, educated within traditional female bounds, who was more concerned with being a good wife and housekeeper than pursuing a financially successful literary career.

In taking on this role of 'official protector' of Radcliffe's literary reputation as a female author, Talfourd is perhaps even more insistent than Scott in quelling rumours surrounding Radcliffe's life, probably a result of William Radcliffe's personal interest in Talfourd's 'Memoir.' He devotes four entire pages to the refutation of such gossip relating to Baillie's *Plays on the Passions*, Elizabeth Carter's attempts to establish an acquaintance with Radcliffe in 1799, and Radcliffe's supposed incarceration in Haddon Hall. Concerning Miss Seward's claim that Radcliffe had authored *Plays of the Passions*, Talfourd writes:

> Secluded as Mrs Radcliffe was from the world, she was tremblingly alive to every circumstance which could, by the remotest possibility, raise an inference injurious to the personal character she valued far above literary fame; and as nothing could induce her to appear before the public in any sort of contention, everything of this nature preyed long upon her mind (1: 57).

Talfourd interprets Radcliffe's long silence on these subjects not as a tacit acknowledgment of the truth of such rumours, but as a result of Radcliffe's painstaking sense of feminine modesty and decorum. He then goes on to refute each of these rumours

in great detail and point-by-point, quoting at length from Miss Seward's letters, in which he follows the course of the rumour through to its eventual conclusion, in which Seward acknowledged that she had been mistaken in assigning Radcliffe as the author of *Plays of the Passions* (1: 58). Such an acknowledgement, however, was not enough for Radcliffe according to Talfourd. He details how Radcliffe attempted to track down a Mrs. Jackson through her publishers, a friend of Miss Seward who had apparently been the original informant in the matter (1: 58-9). After concluding his refutation by asserting 'the prayer of the poet, "O grant an honest fame or grant me none" as Radcliffe's guiding motto during her literary career (1: 58), he continues his project of rumour-debunking by providing a similarly detailed repudiation of speculations which asserted that Radcliffe had been committed to a mental asylum in Derbyshire.[8] In doing so, he argues that 'a more unphilosophical foundation for an untruth was never imagined,' stating that Radcliffe had in fact only been to Derbyshire on two occasions after her marriage 'for a few days each' and 'never saw Haddon House at all' (1: 60). Talfourd constructs his own particular authority as a literary biographer here which differs slightly from Scott's 'Memoir.' Talfourd, who cannot base his authority on being the celebrated 'Author of Waverley' instead rests his 'power' as a biographer upon providing concrete and never-before-corroborated details of Radcliffe's life.

Despite Talfourd's refutation of these rumours, he subtly inserts a suggestion that Radcliffe may have been acquainted with prominent blue-stocking authors of the day, remarking how, 'at [Bentley's] house, she enjoyed the benefit of seeing some persons of literary eminence' (1: 5) such as 'Mrs. Piozzi, Mrs. Montague, and Mrs. Ord' (Norton

[8] From Alexander Pope's *The Temple of Fame* (43).

11). In noting her possible acquaintance with such female authors, understood as the overtly 'intellectual women' of their day (Eger 1), Talfourd potentially destabilizes his representation of Radcliffe as an author who was more interested in retaining her position as a private gentlewoman than as a public author. He also implicitly hints at Radcliffe's Unitarian family background, which has been well documented by Rictor Norton. His inclusion of the Jebb family branch of Radcliffe's relations implicitly emphasises Radcliffe's Dissenting background--her uncle, John Jebb was close friends with Joseph Priestley (Norton 27). Talfourd, however, does not linger over these connections; he relies instead on the power of implication to lead his readers to a less 'confined' interpretation of Radcliffe's life.

At other moments in his narrative, Talfourd's representation of Radcliffe as an author who is highly sensitive to the maintenance of this reputation slides into suggestions of neuroticism, or even paranoia. For instance, in his lengthy defense of Radcliffe's efforts to rectify the rumours that she had written Joanna Baillie's *Plays on the Passions*, Talfourd writes how 'the subject, which was always painful to her, is…alluded to as an instance of the singular apprehensiveness of her moral sense, than as at all required for the vindication of her character' (1: 59). Talfourd's insistence on Radcliffe's 'singular' apprehensiveness arguably carries a hidden connotation that there was perhaps something unusual about the level of Radcliffe's anxiety surrounding these rumours. Similarly, his insistence that his lengthy and detailed account of the incident had nothing to with the 'vindication of her character,' but was written rather to demonstrate her almost preternatural attention to propriety, appears disingenuous. There is something fundamentally unstable about Talfourd's representation of Radcliffe here, and we can

perhaps speculate that this insecurity arises from Talfourd's efforts to account for what he may have seen as Radcliffe's abnormal oversensitivity. Read this way, Talfourd's formulation of Radcliffe as 'secluded' from the world can perhaps suggest an 'unofficial' characterisation of Radcliffe's true mental state, presenting an author who retired from the world due to her nervous temperament, and, as a result, was strongly 'affected by circumstances which would have passed unheeded in the bustle of the world' (1: 67-8).

In engaging in such a reading, however, we must remember the strong editorial presence within Talfourd's 'Memoir' of William Radcliffe, who was perhaps more concerned to emphasise his wife's attention to propriety as a 'confined' female author than Radcliffe was herself. Although we can never know the truth behind the competing motivations which resulted in what has been handed down to us as Talfourd's 'Memoir,' it is important to recognise their presence in its composition. Perhaps Radcliffe herself truly was concerned with her reputation as a female author of the 'proper novel.' Or alternatively, we can speculate that William's concern to preserve his wife's reputation came from a desire to separate her romances from the perceived obscenity and excess which had come to typify the Gothic after Matthew Lewis's publication of *The Monk*. If we take the latter to be the case (based on Mitford's comments regarding William Radcliffe's interference in Talfourd's composition of his biography) there are sections in the 'Memoir' in which Talfourd appears to embrace William Radcliffe's 'official' representation of his wife, going so far as to blatantly paraphrase from William Radcliffe's earlier contribution to the *Annual Obituary and Biography*. Talfourd's description of Radcliffe's death, for instance, which he characterises as ultimately peaceful, is lifted from William Radcliffe's own words in the *Obituary*: 'She tranquilly

expired at between two and three o'clock in the morning on the 7th of February, in the fifty-ninth year of her age' (1: 65). Compare to William Radcliffe's words in the *Obituary*: '…she tranquilly expired between two and three o'clock in the morning of the seventh of February 1823…Her countenance after death was delightfully placid, and continued so for several days' (8: 98). At other moments, however, Talfourd undercuts such 'official' representations. Just a paragraph after his serene depiction of Radcliffe's death, he suggests an entirely different account of Radcliffe's final days: '…a few days before her death, an account of a shocking murder, recently perpetrated, pressed on her memory…to produce a temporary delirium' (1: 65).[9] Here, then, Talfourd fundamentally complicates his previous assertion of Radcliffe's supposedly 'peaceful' death, intimating that she in fact suffered bouts of mental derangement in the final hours of her life. Thus, despite providing an actual account of Radcliffe's death written by her physician, Dr. Scudamore, who asserts that 'Mrs. Radcliffe enjoyed a remarkably cheerful state of mind,' arguing that 'no one was farther removed from "mental desolation," as has been so improperly described of the latter part of her life,' Talfourd's own account of Radcliffe's mental instability at the end of her life appears to implicitly reinforce the rumours about Radcliffe's madness which his 'Memoir' repudiates (1: 66).

Relatedly, Talfourd presents Radcliffe's decision not to publish *Gaston de Blondeville* as evidence of her status as a 'confined' author, more concerned with feminine decorum than the furtherance of her literary career. However, Talfourd's 'Memoir' largely avoids Radcliffe's posthumously published work. In the brief allusions

[9] Norton speculates that the crime she read about may have been published in The Times on 4 February 1823, 'under the headline "CHILD MURDER," describing the grisly details of a seventeen year old girl's murder of her newborn infant…' (244).

to *Gaston de Blondeville* which Talfourd does make in what is supposed to be a 'preface' introducing her last novel and her unpublished poetry to readers, he argues that Radcliffe's first use of the 'unexplained supernatural' in her last novel precluded it from being published, as it violated the rules of rationality which reinforced her previous Gothic romances. Thus, in *Gaston de Blondeville*, Talfourd, writes, 'Mrs. Radcliffe, not intending to publish, gratified herself by the introduction of a true spectre…' (1: 74). Repeatedly, the composition of *Gaston de Blondeville* is characterised as being undertaken in an enclosed, private space. Talfourd writes that it was written chiefly to '[amuse] herself and her husband,' and, after a time, Radcliffe 'laid the volume aside, so disinclined has she become to publication' (1: 57). 'After this,' Talfourd writes, 'she undertook no work of magnitude, but occasionally employed her leisure in composing poems, from which a selection has been made in these volumes…' (1: 57). Oddly, this is one of only two allusions to Radcliffe's poetry in Talfourd's preface. He makes no attempt to provide a critical account of any of her narrative poems in his account of Radcliffe's work. Indeed, the last reference which he makes to her post-1797 works occurs towards the end of his 'Memoir,' in which he writes: 'Of the tale and the poems now first presented to the world, it would scarcely become us particularly to speak' (1: 83). This is a cryptic remark, and it is one which potentially invites a number of speculative interpretations. What we can concretely deduce from such a comment is Talfourd's fundamental disinclination to assimilate *Gaston de Blondeville* within a narrative of Radcliffe's creative trajectory. Instead, he falls back into a familiar pattern in his 'Memoir,' providing a chronological assessment of all of Radcliffe's 1790s' Gothic romances from *The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne* to *The Italian*.

Talfourd avoids providing a specific critical assessment of Radcliffe's post-1797 texts, by repeatedly linking her particular literary ability to her powers of physical description, as well as the landscapes or antiquarian landmarks which she carefully describes in her travel journals. In some ways, Talfourd's memoir acts as a 'sights-to-see' list for the Romantic traveller interested in Britain's Gothic past. Not only did Radcliffe visit Kenilworth Castle and St. Alban's Abbey, but she also travelled to Canterbury Cathedral, Winchester Cathedral, Penshurst Place, Arundel Castle, and Blenheim Palace, to name a few. Indeed, Samuel Baker notes how Talfourd 'uses spatial allegories to chart the progress of Radcliffe's fiction, and in doing so, crystallizes the medium of landscape with her literary art' (173). Here Baker describes the extended metaphor which Talfourd uses in his discussion of Radcliffe's creative development as an author, where he links the loco-descriptive aspects of Radcliffe's imagination to her Gothic romances of the 1790s. For instance, in his discussion of *A Sicilian Romance*, he writes that Radcliffe at this point begins to obtain 'a bird's eye view' of the region of romance and 'enchantment,' 'but is as yet unable to introduce the reader individually into the midst of the scene' (1: 7). Here, we can see Talfourd as a biographer who is implicitly preparing his readers for the attention which Radcliffe gives to the antiquarian landscapes which she depicts in *Gaston de Blondeville, St. Albans Abbey,* and *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge*. However, notwithstanding this, Talfourd's 'Memoir' ultimately fails to assimilate *Gaston de Blondeville* and Radcliffe's narrative poetry into her critically accepted canon. Through this omission, Talfourd's 'Memoir,' along with Scott's critical biography, has shaped Radcliffean scholarship to this day, because Radcliffe's post-1797 works are still largely ignored. As a result, scholars have failed to take into account the ways in which

Radcliffe's later texts demonstrate a new phase in Radcliffe's creative development, in which, through her interest in antiquarian sites, source materials, and narrative structures, she initiated an exploration into the possibilities and parameters of her own authorship. The 'Radcliffe' put forward by Scott and Talfourd in their 'Memoirs,' then, is only half the story, and it is my hope that my study has helped to shed further light on Radcliffe's oeuvre as a whole.

Conclusion: Gaston de Blondeville and Beyond

In my examinations of *Gaston de Blondeville*, *St. Alban's Abbey*, and *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge,* I have attempted to widen the bounds of Radcliffe's accepted literary canon, traditionally made up of her five Gothic romances written in the 1790s. I have attempted to suggest ways in which we might re-think our critical notions surrounding her *oeuvre* through a critical analysis of her little-studied posthumously published works. My study of Radcliffe's last novel, along with her two lengthiest narrative poems, has revealed Radcliffe to be an author deeply engaged with Britain's national past. Like Mr. Willoughton in *Gaston de Blondeville*, she was an enthusiastic antiquarian traveller, whose experience of visiting the castles, landscapes, and ruins of Britain was inextricably tinged with the Romantic viewing techniques of Gilpin's Picturesque and Burke's Sublime. These works effect a 'return' to the Gothic romances of the 1760s, 1770s, and 1780s, such as Thomas Leland's *Longsword, Early of Salisbury* (1762), Clara Reeve's *The Old English Baron* (1777), and Anne Fuller's *Alan Fitz-Osborne: An Historical Tale* (1787). In looking back to these works, Radcliffe re-privileges a specifically English historical setting after locating her five most popular Gothic romances in Southern Europe. This 'return' to Britain also coincides with Radcliffe's first use of the 'unexplained supernatural' in *Gaston de Blondeville*, sanctioned by the literary precedent of earlier authors' use of ghostly visitation as a natural consequence of the 'ruder,' more 'superstitious' medieval period in which such tales were situated.

These 'returns' reflect Radcliffe's broader project to interrogate Britain's national origins in the face of Britain's expanding empire at the turn of the nineteenth-century. More particularly, Radcliffe engages in an exploration of a specifically *English* national

identity in these works, carving out a unique cultural tradition for England (the nerve-centre of the Empire), amidst contemporary anxieties that England's sense of its own past had become, in the words of Katie Trumpener, 'underdeveloped,' compared to Britain's Celtic peripheries (15). In interrogating the nature of 'Englishness,' Radcliffe is interested to examine how such readings play into concepts of a broader British identity, a concern which we see Radcliffe exploring in *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge.* As we have seen, Radcliffe posthumous works carve out specific cultural and literary landmarks in Southern England, largely effected in *Gaston de Blondeville* and *St. Alban's Abbey* through her association of Kenilworth Castle and the Cathedral with their Shakespearean associations. Radcliffe builds up a regional mythology in these texts, then, which Scott effects more successfully for his own Border region in his narrative poems and Waverley Novels. Radcliffe continues this project in *Edwy* (1812-15), a fairy poem set at Windsor Castle, the last full-length narrative poem published among her posthumously published works, a text, which I have not included in my study, but which itself merits serious critical attention, and which I would like to look at further. In *Edwy*, Radcliffe depicts the landmarks which surround Windsor Castle and its Park, such as Windsor Terrace, the Long Walk, and Virginia Water. Divided into a three-part, masque-like structure, *Edwy* sees Radcliffe interrogating the very landscape of Britain's royal power. As in *Gaston de Blondeville*, *St. Alban's Abbey*, and *Salisbury Plains: Stonehenge*, Radcliffe represents Windsor and its environs as Britain's 'classical' ground, where 'oaks Plantagenet still frown/ Great Edward's tree e'en each appears…the spectre of five hundred years' (4: 272). The poem centres on the enchanted procession of Windsor Park's fairy court, overseen by Edwy, a young man, who wishes to capture Eda, the love-fay. Complete with

their own powerful navy, with boats made of pearl shells, the fairy court invites comparison with that of George III and Queen Charlotte. Drawing on earlier landscape poems, such as Pope's *Windsor Forest* (1713), Radcliffe uses the landscape of Windsor's environs to explore England's unique national culture through its fairy lore, situated within a recognisably Shakespearean imaginative tradition: Radcliffe draws particularly on *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. In gesturing towards an interrogation of the court of George III and Britain's navy, however, Radcliffe, is interested once more, as she is in all of the works discussed in my study, in understanding the ways in which England's peculiar national identity relates to a broader 'Britishness.'

This is a project which, in itself, looks back to the burgeoning interest in 'Gothic taste' (Miles 30), which took place in the 1760s and 1770s in Britain, in response to the cultural developments of the Seven Years' War. This 'Gothic taste' saw a revival in antiquarian interest which came to constitute a 'nationalist movement' (30), in which the Gothic came to signify 'not just the Middle Ages, but the racial past that gave birth to Englishness' (30). It is through Radcliffe's 'return' in her later works to earlier explorations concerning the national connotations of the Gothic, that we can start to identify and track the 'silent conversation' between Radcliffe's posthumously published works and Sir Walter Scott's first two narrative poems and *Ivanhoe*, a conversation that this thesis has attempted to draw attention to, in hopes that such an examination will allow us to re-frame our notions of Radcliffe as an author after 1797. Scott, too, was deeply invested in exploring the implications of Britain's national origins, and I have attempted to show how Radcliffe and Scott represent periods of national violence in Britain's past in order to consider how such conflict played into contemporary notions of the British

nation. Scott, more generally tends to situate such disruptive violence in the nation's past, while Radcliffe's approach to the depiction of national conflict is not so straightforward, often gesturing towards narratives of national progress, or unity, while also applying significant 'stumbling blocks' for the reader in the construction of such a narrative.

Finally, I would like to conclude this study by offering up some final thoughts on Radcliffe's commonplace book, 'the only detailed primary source documentation of her life which exists…' (Nixon 355). As I noted in my fourth chapter, Radcliffe's commonplace book represents the only source on Radcliffe's life which remains unmediated by biographers. It is highly important, then, in drawing critical conclusions concerning her state of mind at the end of her life, and indeed, the directions in which her literary imagination was tending before she died. This little-studied source, held at the Boston Public Library, offers invaluable insight into Radcliffe's later creative activity, and thus it is particularly significant in any study of Radcliffe's posthumously published works. [1] Despite being called a 'commonplace book' it is mostly taken up with Radcliffe's obsessive recording of her last illness, in which she makes entries detailing doctor visits, including word-for-word transpositions of her prescriptions (some of which have been actually pinned into the leaves of the book). As Cheryl Nixon notes, only the first five pages retain the traditional form of the commonplace book (358), and Radcliffe appears to have used these pages of the book to record snatches of creative inspiration.[2] It is these

[1] Deborah Rogers's *Ann Radcliffe: A Bio-Bibliography* (1996) is the only contemporary critical work to offer a brief account of Radcliffe's commonplace book. Rogers uses the commonplace book to argue that Radcliffe stopped publishing in later life due to ill health. This does not take into account, however, the way in which the commonplace book only records the last year of Radcliffe's life. As I have been attempting to illustrate in my thesis, Radcliffe clearly continued to write from the time of her retirement from the literary world in 1797.

[2] The commonplace book also contains three saved letters from her mother, Ann Ward.

quotations that I am most interested in, and which would help to further inform my research in this study, both in terms of Radcliffe's later imagination, and indeed, in bringing to light the 'silent conversation' between Radcliffe's later works and Scott's novels and narrative poems. Significantly, the first quotation which Radcliffe includes in her commonplace book is taken from one of Scott's own works, his 'Life of Dryden' (1808), published by James Ballantyne, in which she appears to be primarily concerned with Dryden's conversion to Catholicism. Here, then, we can see that Radcliffe's creative interest in Scott's work endured right up until her death, and that, as evidenced in her later works, she shared a mutual interest with Scott in interrogating Britain's Catholic past. She quotes directly from Scott's attempts to account for Dryden's conversion, in which he writes, 'Neither have we to reproach him that, grounded and rooted in a pure Protestant creed, he was foolish enough to abandon it for the more corrupted doctrines of Rome' (270). While Radcliffe's inclusion of this quotation provides us with some tantalising evidence of the types of material Radcliffe was reading and pondering over in her later life, we unfortunately have little else to go on but conjecture. Unfortunately, she did not annotate her quotation from Scott with any of her own thoughts on Dryden's conversion. Once again, in typical Radcliffean fashion, we are left with another highly suggestive 'stumbling block.'

One of the more suggestive sources which Radcliffe quotes from in her common place book is William Coxe's *Memoirs of John, Duke of Marlborough* (1818), containing a collection of the Duke's original correspondence. Radcliffe had visited Blenheim, the family seat of the Dukes of Marlborough, in 1802--the same trip in which she visited Kenilworth and Warwick Castles--which so vividly influenced Radcliffe's setting in

Gaston de Blondeville. Of Blenheim, she writes, 'it is in the superior colours and the expressive drawing of the tapestry that Blenheim chiefly excels' (Talfourd, 1: 41). Radcliffe appears to have been deeply taken with these tapestries. She particularly notes one which was presented to the Duke on a visit to Brussels, depicting a different siege or battle in each panel: 'the Duke is always on horseback, and has the same air of countenance: attentive and eager' (1: 48). Perhaps Radcliffe had this 1802 visit in mind when she quoted from Coxe's *Memoirs* in her commonplace book. We can also speculate that her ekphrastic attention to the illustrations of the 'Trew Chronique' and indeed the tapestries which adorn Kenilworth Castle under Henry III in *Gaston de Blondeville*, recalls Radcliffe's interest in the tapestries at Blenheim. She includes six quotations from Coxe's *Memoirs*, all related to the Duke of Marlborough's famed involvement as a general during the Wars of the Spanish Succession (1701-14). Radcliffe is particularly interested in the fraught political situation at home during the Wars, quoting from Coxe's collection of Marlborough's letters, in which the Duke expresses his anxiety over the nation's obstructive factionalism. On the recto side of the fifth page of her commonplace book, Radcliffe records part of a letter written by the Duke to Lord Godolphin in 1710:

> The French will certainly be so heartened by our unaccountable proceedings in England, that whatever their difficulties may be, they will not think of peace while they have hopes of us running into confusion… (3: 292).

Here again, as in *Gaston de Blondeville* and *St. Alban's Abbey*, Radcliffe displays her peculiar interest in examining the history of Britain's civil conflict, and the effect which such political partisanship has had on the nation's unity, both in Britain's distant and more

recent past. Marlborough's denunciation of the destructive partisanship of the Tories and the Whigs in 1710, hampering war efforts against the French, resonates with the conciliatory language which Scott uses in his first introductory epistle to *Marmion*, written almost one hundred years later, in the midst of the French Revolutionary Wars. In 1822, of course, Britain had triumphed over Napoleonic France, but, Radcliffe's interest in such themes does not seemed to have waned. In fact, we may even speculate that Radcliffe's interest in Coxe's *Memoirs* signals the preliminary stages of research for a new work based on the Duke of Marlborough and his exploits during the Wars of the Spanish Succession. The last quotation from Coxe which Radcliffe includes in her commonplace book is taken from the third volume of Coxe's *Memoirs*, in which Coxe quotes the Marquis de Torcy, Louis XIV's Minister of Foreign Affairs, who, in negotiating the treaty which sparked the Wars of the Spanish Succession, famously said, 'what we lose in Flanders we shall gain in England…' (303). Twenty years after Radcliffe recorded this quotation in her commonplace book, William Makepeace Thackeray wrote *The History of Henry Esmond, Esq., A Colonel in the Service of her Majesty Q. Anne* (1852), detailing Esmond's experiences during the Wars of the Spanish Succession. Radcliffe's interest in Marlborough and the Wars, then, appears to have anticipated later Victorian novels, which venerated the Duke of Marlborough as a British hero.

Radcliffe's prescient interest in this period of Britain's history resonates with her uncanny anticipation of the antiquarian and 'national' themes which Scott was to make famous in his narrative poems and Waverley Novels, particularly in his negotiation of national and transnational British identities. Despite her retirement from publication, her creative mind appears to have been dynamically in tune with the literary tides of the day,

particularly when it came to Britain's literary 'return' to the past which takes place from the mid-eighteenth century onwards. However, in typical Radcliffean fashion, the quotes which she selects from Coxe's *Memoirs* highlight the ambiguities of war, not its glories. The letters of the Duke of Marlborough present the troubled personal musings of one of Britain's most famous generals, who presents a fraught image of Britain's early eighteenth-century factionalism, which contributed to its prolonged conflict with France in the Wars of the Spanish Succession. And, while we might never be able to establish the exact motives which Radcliffe had in recording these quotations from Scott's 'Life of Dryden' and Coxe's *Memoirs*, we can be sure that their further contextualization will continue uncovering Radcliffe's complex relationship with Britain's deep historical past, and the dynamics of the 'silent conversation' which her later works initiate with Scott's fiction.

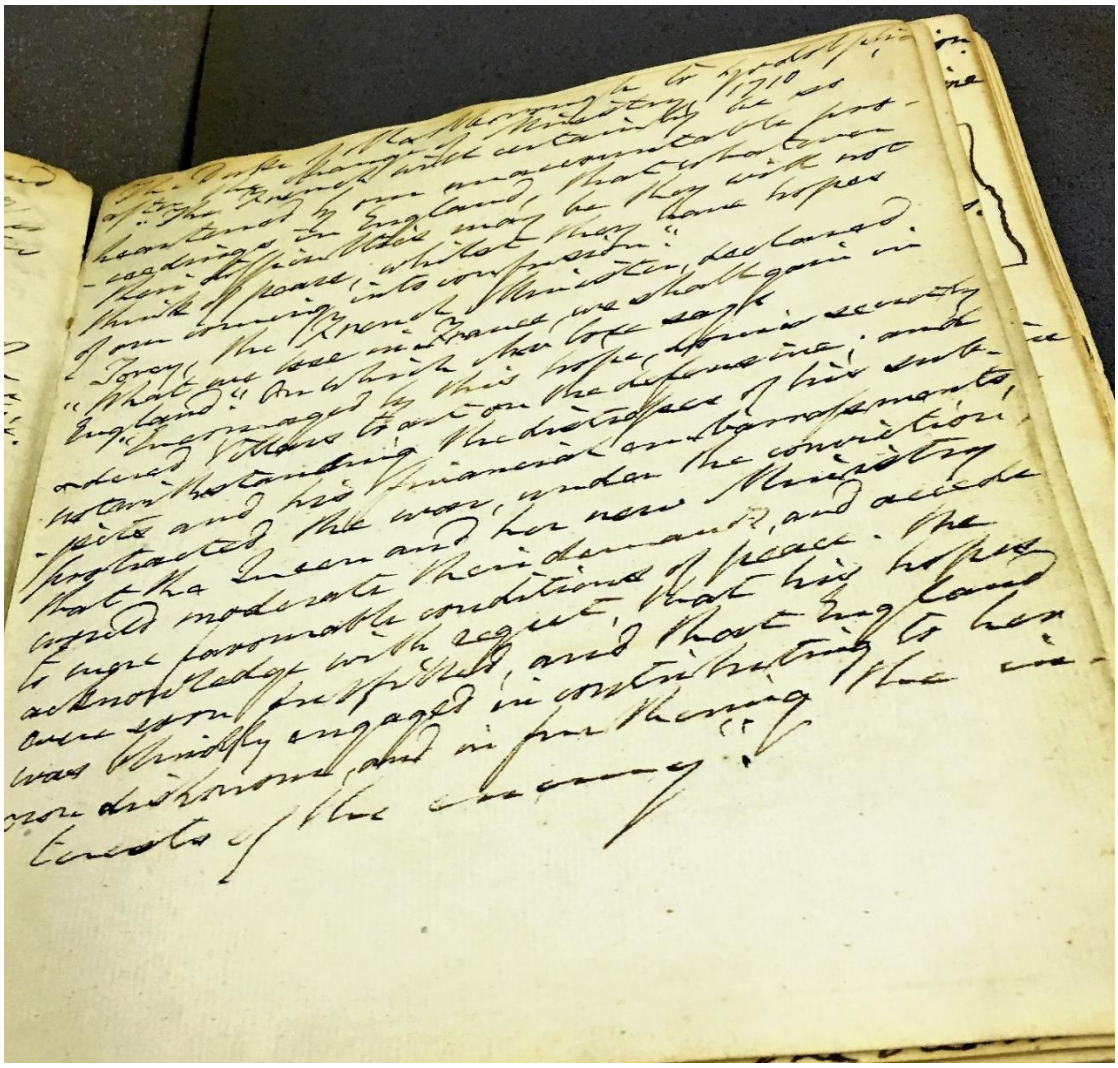

Figure 1. Letter from the Duke of Marlborough to Lord Godolphin, 1710. Ann Radcliffe, "Commonplace Book," Boston Public Library. Courtesy of the Trustees of the Boston Public Library/Rare Books.

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