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CLARA REEVE’S GOTHIC BACKGROUND

by

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INTRODUCTION

This study is an attempt to clarify the critical comments on Clara Reeve’s Old English Baron. This "Gothic story" was first published in 1777 with the title, The Champion of Virtue. The critical reviews were favorable and its popularity was evident in its being reprinted some thirteen times from 1777 to 1786. The importance of this work lies in its being the first full-length imitation of Walpole’s Castle of Otranto (1765) and in its prompting the rise of the Gothic novel in English literature. Although Horace Walpole’s Gothic novel was immensely popular, it inspired no immediate imitation of any significance. Miss Reeve was greatly interested in Walpole’s creation of a new genre, the "Gothic story", and her attempt to write such a type of literature reawakened interest in Walpole’s work with subsequent imitations by other writers.

Her debts to Walpole’s earlier Gothic story have been frequently pointed out; I feel, however, that Walpole’s influence on Miss Reeve’s work is less than supposed. Her Gothic story contains a definite historical background, something which is lacking in The Castle of Otranto. Furthermore, her handling of similar material, particularly the supernatural, is different in purpose and use. It is my belief that Clara Reeve was influenced by her knowledge of the old romances and the theories concerning their origin.
and character. I base this approach to her Gothic story on her critical comments in *The Progress of Romance* (1785), which also contains many references to contemporary study of the romance. Although *The Old English Baron* was written some eight years before this work, it is obvious that much of Clara Reeve's study of prose romance was done before 1777. Her main authorities on the romance were Richard Hurd, Thomas Warton, Paul Henri Mallet, and Thomas Percy. Their work, so important for Miss Reeve's theories, was written within the years 1754 to 1770.

Furthermore, several references to Miss Reeve's literary theories are found in her preface to *The Old English Baron*; one is her statement, "Fictitious stories have been the delight of all times and all countries, by oral tradition in barbarous, by writing in more civilized ones; and although some persons of wit and learning have condemned them indiscriminately, I would venture to affirm, that even those who so much affect to despise them under one form, will receive and embrace them under another." The implied criticism of the romance on the part of classical scholars is ridiculous because such men "admire and almost adore the epic poems of the ancients, and yet despise and execrate the ancient romances, which are only epics in prose". These remarks are repeated and expanded in *The Progress of Romance*; it is significant that Miss Reeve had known such theories when she wrote her Gothic
story. The first part of this quotation refers to the theory that the early literature of primitive people is oral and becomes written as its people become literate. Miss Reeve paraphrases this theory in her preface to *The Progress of Romance* thus: "Romances may not improperly be called the polite literature of early ages, and they have been the favourite amusements of later times. In rude and barbarous ages, they resided in the breath of oral tradition, in civilized nations they were of course committed to writing; and in still more polished periods, they have varied their forms, and have appeared either in prose or verse, according to the genius of the writers, or the taste of the times."

In effect, romance and epic differ from one another in form only since their background and characteristics are the same. The long history of this theory in the eighteenth century will be discussed in Section II. The main purpose of my thesis, therefore, will be to correlate Clara Reeve's study of the romance and her application of this study in *The Old English Baron*.

I have also included a short biography for the purpose of pointing out several unknown facts about Miss Reeve and her long, uneventful and studious life. Also, an important autobiographical source has been found in the *Monthly Magazine*, XXIV (Jan., 1808); it contains a letter written by Miss Reeve in 1792. This letter has been quoted by Mrs. Barbauld and Sir Walter Scott but neither they nor the
following biographers have indicated their source. Since information about Miss Reeve is so very scarce and sparse, I have felt justified in adding these minor contributions to the subject.
I

BIOGRAPHY

Clara Reeve was the eldest of eight children born to William Reeve, a clergyman whose family had been settled in Ipswich for many years. Her mother was the daughter of William Smithies, goldsmith and jeweler. William Reeve apparently gave his children's education some attention despite the large size of his family. One of his sons became a vice-admiral; another entered the church's service as his father and grandfather had before him. We have definite proof of his influence upon his daughter's ideas and reading tastes. Many years after his death, Clara Reeve wrote of her early training thus: "My father was an Old Whig, from him I have learned all that I know, he was my oracle; he used to make me read the parliamentary debates while he smoked his pipe after supper; I gaped and yawned over them at the time, but unawares to myself, they fixed my principles once and forever. He made me read Rapin's History of England, the information it gave, made amends for its dryness. I read Cato's letters by Trenchard and Gordon, I read the Greek and Roman Histories, and Plutarch's Lives; all these at an age when few people of either sex can read their names. My opinions have never altered since I was twenty-one years of age, and now I am nearer sixty than fifty." This important autobiographical information appears in the Monthly Magazine's obituary for this writer.
She was twenty-six when her father died in 1755. His widow and three daughters (including Clara) moved to Colchester, a town near Ipswich. While living there, Miss Reeve published her *Original Poems on Several Occasions* (1769), *The Phoenix*, a translation of Barclay's *Argenis* (1772), *The Champion of Virtue*, better known as *The Old English Baron* (1777), *The Two Mentors*, an epistolary novel (1783), and *The Progress of Romance* (1785).

By February of 1786 (and perhaps earlier) Miss Reeve had moved back to Ipswich, where she spent the rest of her life. She continued to write; we hear of an attempt to repeat her success, *The Old English Baron*, with another "ghost novel", *Castle Connor*. This work was never printed; Miss Reeve explains, "In the month of May, 1787, this work was sent to London by the Ipswich blue coach; it was lost either on the way or at the inn, for, it seems, that it was never received by the person to whom it was sent...

How it was lost, and into whose hands it has fallen, she is wholly ignorant; but on one point, she is determined, that if it ever appears in print during her life, under whatever form, or with whatever alterations, she will lay claim to it; and if it lies within her power, will detect the piracy, and expose the pirates to view; and she uses this opportunity to let them know so much." This threat was printed in the preface to her novel entitled *The Exiles, or Memoirs of the Count de Cronstadt* in 1789. Apparently she
succeeded in frightening the would-be pirates because the novel has never come to light.

Nothing daunted, Miss Reeve continued to publish; The School for Widows, a Novel, appeared in 1791 followed by Plans of Education, with Remarks on the System of other Writers (1792), The Memoirs of Sir Roger de Clarendon, an historical novel, (1793), Destination, or, Memoirs of a Private Family (1799), and Edwin, King of Northumberland (1802). The last named work was intended for school children and it relates the early history of Northumberland when Edwin was heir to the throne. The material is taken from the Venerable Bede. This modest little book was advertised as Miss Reeve's in the Gentleman's Magazine, XIV (1802); the Critical Review praised it, and it was listed under Clara Reeve's works in J. D. Reuss' Alphabetical Register of All the Authors etc. Since Miss Reeve's death, it has been completely forgotten.

The scarceness of biographical details is a natural result of Clara Reeve's obscure and retired life. We look in vain for any connection with the literary circles of the time. There is a slight connection with Samuel Richardson's family for she knew his daughters, Martha and Anne. Miss Reeve had dedicated the 1780 edition of The Old English Baron to Martha, then Mrs. Edward Bridgen. She was on an intimate footing with Anne. Samuel Richardson gives us a glimpse of this daughter's personality and aptitudes when
she was about eighteen years old. He writes, "She has a
worthy a grateful Heart: Great Sensibility: A great Reader,
& digests well, & remembers w't. she reads. We reckon her a
fine Needle-woman too: Has Patience, Perseverance; & when
much Younger than she is, I saw ye Seeds of Judgment begin
to germinate, & have often to try her, desired her to give
me her Opinion of Passages, w'ch. she has observ'd upon in
my Writings, unbiased and free from partiality to a Father:
& I have always had Reason to be pleas'd with her."
Making all due allowance for a father's estimate, we never¬
theless find many interests and characteristics common to
Anne Richardson and Clara Reeve. We do not know how or when
they met but it is significant that Anne moved to Stratford,
a small town near Ipswich, after her mother's death in 1773.
I believe her move was prompted by a desire to be near her
good friend, Clara Reeve. Miss Reeve gives us a picture of
their intimacy in a letter dated February 10, 1786; she
writes, "I have lived many years in intimate friendship with
a daughter of Mr. Richardson, the only one now living, a
lady of superior understanding, sound judgement, great
reading, and uncommon modesty and humility. Through her I am
known to many others of that respected family...I have
shewed most of my writings to this dear lady; I have asked
her opinion of them, and often, very often, have preferred
her judgement to my own. She saw the "English Baron" in
every stage of it, from first to last. She saw likewise
9. every sheet of the "Progress of Romance" before it went to press." This is a charming and evidently sincere description of their friendship. Both Samuel Richardson and Clara Reeve valued Anne's literary criticism; their estimate of her character is similar also. It is pleasant to think of these two women, spinsters both, enjoying mutual books and friends until Anne's death in 1803.

Miss Reeve, we are told, had "an elegant and curious collection of shells", a very respectable hobby, to be sure! This interesting bit of information is furnished by a member of the Monthly Mirror's staff who had met Miss Reeve through Edward Bridgen. The writer was impressed with Clara Reeve's "very strong, clear, and well-cultivated understanding". We are given a dark glimpse of her later years with this brief sentence: "She had long suffered a painful and lingering illness: and in the early stages of it retained her literary perseverance." Her seventy-eight years of life on this earth were terminated in December 1807. She was buried in the church-yard of St. Stephens, Ipswich, near a close friend, a Reverend Mr. Derby.

Miss Reeve commented on her work to a friend thus: "I have been all my life straitened in my circumstances, and used my pen to the best of my knowledge, on the side of truth, virtue, and morality, and I have endeavoured to use my talents, so as not to undervalue the gifts of heaven, nor overrate my own abilities." This modest self-appraisal
indicates financial difficulties as well. When we consider the many handicaps of Clara Reeve, we are surprised by her achievements, and more than willing to overlook her deficiencies. Whatever we may think of her work, we must admire her determined, if humble, scholarship.
THE ROMANCE AS A GENRE

Perhaps the most striking aspect of *The Progress of Romance* is its varied but related material. This work is a survey of prose fiction from its beginning in the Greek romance to its contemporary form in the novel. Clara Reeve was an avid reader; her retired and peaceful existence provided the leisure for study. Her reading included the critical and literary studies of the time as well as the various types of fiction, domestic and foreign. Her literary and historical theories were selected from her sources, synthesized into a fairly consistent whole and applied to the fiction she read.

We see this process under way in Clara Reeve's discussion of the romance. Miss Reeve stresses its universality because all primitive and civilized nations delight in oral or written romances. The romance is not particular to any one people nor does it belong to any one period of society. Miss Reeve's knowledge of foreign literature provided her with the material to back up her theory. She defends her position thus: "In answer to some objections, made by a learned writer, whose friendship does me honour, to my account of the antiquity of Romance-writing; I was led to ask him, why the fictions of the Aegyptians and Arabians, of the Greeks and Romans, were not entitled to
the appellations of Romances, as well as those of the middle ages, to which it was generally appropriated? I was answered by another question;— What did I know of the Romances of those countries?— Had I ever seen an Aegyptian Romance? I replied, yes, and I would shortly give him proof of it. I accordingly compiled and methodised the 14.

History of Charoba queen of Aegypt." She got the story from a translation from the French called The History of Ancient Aegypt according to the Traditions of the Arabians by M. Vattier. Curiously enough, Vattier comments on the story thus: "I little thought to find in an Arabian writer a story so nearly resembling the fables of the Greek and Latin poets. While I was writing, it frequently reminded me of the 4th book of the Odyssey, and of several parts of Ovid's Metamorphoses." Miss Reeve follows the same approach by comparing similarities found in Homer and the Arabian Nights. She says, "If you will take the trouble to read the story of Sindbad the Sailor, in the first volume, you will think that either the genius of Homer was transfused into the writer, or else that he was well acquainted with his works; for he certainly resembles Homer in many particulars. In the boldness of his imagination, in the variety of his characters, and in the marvellous adventures he relates. In the history of Sindbad, we have most of those that Ulysses meets with in the Odyssey: insomuch that you must be convinced the likeness could not be accidental."
Perhaps the likeness that Miss Reeve noticed was the episode in Sinbad's third voyage. He and his men encounter a one-eyed giant who eats men, raw or roasted! Several of the men are eaten before Sinbad thinks of blinding the giant with red-hot spits. The episode has many close resemblances to the Cyclops story in the Odyssey. As we can see, there is a tendency to classify literature according to its qualities or characteristics, rather than by its form alone.

Such a tendency influenced Clara Reeve's definition of romance, as well. She points out that the term "romance" had been applied loosely to many types of writing in the past. She consults the dictionaries and quotes the definitions which are given. Ainsworth and Littleton define romance as "Narratio ficta,- fabulosa heroicorum facinorum historia.- Scriptum eroticum- splendida fabula". Boyer says briefly "un fable- une conte- un mensonge". Old Dyche and Bailey are as brief, "a fiction, or a feigned Story". Dr. Johnson defines it "a military fable of the middle ages.- A tale of wild adventures of war and love". Miss Reeve prefers to base her definition upon that of the Latinists and defines romance as "an Heroic fable,- a fabulous Story of such actions as are commonly ascribed to heroes, or men of extraordinary courage and abilities.- Or if you would allow of it, I would say an Epic in prose".

A previous writer on the subject of the romance differs
sharply from Miss Reeve. Huet, in his **Traitte de l'origine des Romans**, defines romances as "Fictions of Love Adventures, writ in Prose with Art, for the delight and Instruction of the Readers". According to him, "Love ought to be the principal subject of a Romance". Although Miss Reeve had read Huet's treatise, she ignores the element of love found in the romance and emphasizes the heroic or military element. It is this emphasis which makes the romance akin to the epic. Miss Reeve is influenced by the previous English scholars whom we will consider; she is familiar with all the writers discussed in this section.

Theories about the epic and the epic writer must be considered as part of Clara Reeve's heritage. Thomas Blackwell's *Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer* (1735) was the most influential work on this subject. Blackwell studied the background and society of Homer in an attempt to understand his genius and work, assuming that there was a certain period of civilization most favorable to the production of an epic. Of necessity, the country must be half-civilized to give rise to real poetry. He explains his theory thus: "Neither indeed does it seem to be given to one and the same Kingdom, to be thoroughly civilized and afford proper Subjects for Poetry. The *Marvellous* and *Wonderful* is the Nerve of the Epic Strain; But what marvellous Things happen in a well-ordered State?"
is while society is disorganized and credulous that epic poetry is composed. The marvellous events related by the poet are believed easily by the listeners, whose superstitious minds accept improbable or unexplained events. Certainly adventure is not found in a highly organized society. Everything is regulated by law and discipline which lessens the individual's freedom. On the other hand, a simple state of society fosters a warlike, honest and free spirit which is an ideal in epic poetry.

The heroic attitude is explained in such a society:
"In effect, Arms at that time was the honoured Profession, and a publick Spirit the courted Character: There was a Necessity for them both...Love of Liberty, Contempt of Death, Honour, Probity and Temperance, were Realities. There was, as I said, a Necessity for those Virtues." The people's national and private character would obviously affect their literature.

Blackwell continues, "While a Nation continues simple and sincere, whatever they say has a Weight from Truth: Their Sentiments are strong and honest, which always produce fit Words to express them: Their Passions are sound and genuine, not adulterated or disguised, and break out in their own artless Prose and unaffected Stile." The most successful writer, therefore, is one who expresses universal passions and truths in natural, strong language which has not been watered down or become too obscure. A highly deve-
loped diction or style is felt to be a handicap to a poet rather than an aid to writing an epic.

All the above influences shape the mind and work of an epic poet. The necessary standards and conditions for the production of epic literature which Blackwell sets up are accepted by the later critics. There is also a tendency to compare historical, social and literary conditions of other periods with those of Homer's.

What Blackwell did for Homer, Warton attempted to do for Spenser in his Observations on the Faerie Queene (1754). Clearly he is following Blackwell's method in theory according to this quotation: "In reading the works of an author who lived in a remote age, it is necessary, that we should look back upon the customs and manners which prevailed in his age; that we should place ourselves in his situation and circumstances; that so we may be the better enabled to judge and discern how his turn of thinking and manner of composing were bias'd, influenc'd, and, as it were, tinctur'd, by very familiar and reigning appearances, which are utterly different from those with which we are at present surrounded." When Spenser is read by a modern reader, he is all too frequently thought absurd for his descriptions of medieval life. Warton continues, "For want of this caution, too many readers view the knights
and damsels, the turnaments and enchantments of Spenser with modern eyes, never considering that the encounters of Chivalry subsisted in our author's age, as has been before hinted; that romances were then most eagerly and universally read,—and that thus, Spenser from the fashion of his age, was naturally dispos'd to undertake a recital of chivalrous achievements, and to become, in short, a 22. Romantic Poet." Spenser, although an Elizabethan, was influenced by chivalric trappings and literature. Warton's study fostered a general belief that the Elizabethan era was medieval and chivalric in character.

As for actual references to contemporary life, Warton 23. notes the popular belief in witches, the growing influence 24. of the Puritans, fondness for hawking, and the singing of the old metrical romances by "cantabanqui", a custom 25. which descended from the ancient bards. On the whole, one feels that the social background of Spenser's age is reported inadequately; Warton concerns himself mainly with literary influence.

Warton emphasizes the influence of the romances upon Spenser's work. He cites the entertainments at Kenilworth Castle as an instance of the Elizabethans' fondness for the old romance, Morte Arthur. Warton quotes from "A letter, wherein part of the entertainment untoo the queens majesty at Killingworth-Castl in Warwick-sheer in this soomers
progress, 1575, is signified": "...the Ladie of the Lake (famous in King Arthur's Book) with too nymphes wayting upon her, arrayed all in sylkes, attented her hignes comming, from the midst of the pool, whear upon a moveable island bright-blazing with torches she floting to land, met her majesty with a well-penned meter..." From this and other evidence which Warton presents, it is evident that Spenser, like others of his age, knew many of the old romances.

On the whole, Warton considered the romances a bad influence on Spenser's art and imagination. He sums it up thus at the end of section II which deals with Spenser's imitations of the old romances: "And if there should be any readers, who, disgusted with the ideas of knights, dragons, and enchanters, should, after perusing the Faerie Queene, address the author of it, as cardinal d'Este did Ariosto, after reading his Orlando, 'Dove, Diavolo, Messer Lodovico, avete pigliate tante coglionerie?' 'Where the Devil, did you pick up all these lies?' I beg those gentlemen will look upon this section as a sufficient answer to that question." Warton obviously had little sympathy with the marvellous found in romance.

It was Richard Hurd's enthusiastic approach to the age of chivalry and Elizabeth in the third of his Moral and Political Dialogues (1759) which glorified the past and its institutions. What is even more important, Hurd compares the age of chivalry with the age of Homer, and
gives the preference to the chivalric era; its customs, institutions and morals are an improvement over those of the ancients and moderns. Further, the age of chivalry includes the Elizabethan era and its writers, such as Spenser and Shakespeare. Hurd's dialogue was influential in determining the eighteenth century acceptance of the medieval nature of Elizabeth's age.

Among other things, Hurd praises the hospitality, courtly shows and entertainments of the Elizabethans. His most interesting comments on chivalry refer to the jousts and the idealistic relation between the sexes. He says, "...the Gothic Tilts and Tournaments exceeded, both in use and elegance, even the Graecian gymnastics. They were a more direct image of war, than any of the games at Olympia. And if Xenophon could be so lavish in his praises on the Persian practice of hunting, because it had some resemblance to the exercise of arms, what would he not have said of an institution, which has all the forms of a real combat?"

He continues, "the whole contest was ennobled with an air of gallantry that must have had a great effect in refining the manners of the combatants. And yet this gallantry had no ill influence on morals; for...it was the odd humour of those days for the women to pride themselves in their chastity, as well as the men in their valour." Surely the homage paid to women in chivalric ages was unknown to classical societies. Hurd then turns to the literary effects
such a spectacle produced: "No wonder then the old poets and romance-writers took so much pains to immortalize these trials of manhood. It was but what Pindar and Homer himself, those old masters of romance, had done before them... And I am even ready to believe that what we hear censured in their writings, as false, incredible, and fantastic, was frequently but a just copy of life, and that there was more of truth and reality in their representations than we are apt to imagine." The important point to notice in this quotation is the connection between medieval life and literature. The romance cannot be considered purely as the free use of the writer's imagination. It embodies the writer's society and customs as well. In connection with this, Hurd recognizes many similarities between the heroic and chivalric society.

The same remarks are repeated and expanded in Hurd's *Letters on Chivalry and Romance* (1762). However, there is a more extensive and impassioned defense of "the spirit of Romance", in other words, of the marvellous in literature. Hurd asks, "...may there not be something in the Gothic Romance peculiarly suited to the views of a genius, and to the ends of poetry? And may not the philosophic moderns have gone too far, in their perpetual ridicule and contempt of it?" Poetry's main appeal is to the imagination of the reader. The strange and impossible things which the writer describes are accepted for what they are. The reader is
"best pleased when he is made to conceive (he minds not by what magic) the existence of such things as his reason tells him did not, and were never likely to exist."

The epic poet, in particular, has the liberty of multiplying and enlarging his impostures at pleasure in proportion to the easiness and comprehension of the imagination. It is on this basis that Hurd defends Ariosto, Spenser and other poets who used "the Faery way of writing". Hurd admits that some ages are unable to write epic poems because there might not be a widespread belief in supernatural agencies and the imagination of the people is confined and unexercised. He states, "Without admiration (which cannot be affected but by the marvellous of celestial intervention, I mean, the agency of superior natures really existing, or by the illusion of the fancy taken to be so) no epic poem can be longlived." Homer and the romance writers made use of supernatural elements and beliefs which were believed in by their contemporaries; at one time every village in England had its ghost.

It is evident that Hurd's relativistic approach to literature is in a direct line with Blackwell and War ton's approach. He is also influenced by two French writers, Jean Baptiste de la Curne de Sainte-Falaye and Jean Chapelain. Chapelain's dialogue, De la Lecture des Vieux Romains was printed in 1728 and Sainte-Falaye refers to it enthusiastically in his own Mémoire concernant la
Lecture des Vieux Romans de chevalrie. It is Mr. Hamm's belief that Hurd knew Chapelain's dialogue. He bases this claim on three things in common between Chapelain and Hurd; 1. a relativistic approach to literature and criticism, 2. comparison of the "Gothic" with "Heroic" manners, often to the advantage of the former, and 3. a preference for the Gothic marvellous. Be that as it may, Sainte-Palaye echoes Chapelain's ideas and his influence upon English criticism was much more important. Sainte-Palaye's works were not only known in the original but they were translated by Susannah Dobson.

Mrs. Dobson published The Literary History of the Troubadours in 1779. As we might expect, the troubadours' compositions are compared to Homer's thus: "Such pieces as these will be always interesting; rough as is the simplicity with which they are marked, they paint the manner of the age as naturally as the conversations of Homer; and of an age comparable in many instances to the heroic periods of Greece; and the poet being himself the actor in them, gives a particular value to these monuments of antiquity." Sainte-Palaye's comparison between these two literatures furthered the same tendency in eighteenth century scholarship.

In Mrs. Dobson's preface to her translation of Sainte-Palaye's Memoirs of Ancient Chivalry we find a similar claim for the medieval romance writers. Mrs. Dobson
says, "In one striking point of view, the ages of Chivalry do indeed bear a strong resemblance to children. Those who described them (which were chiefly the old romance writers) described simply what they saw; and have always been in accord with historians of the greatest authenticity. Their principal object was, to represent the characters, duties, and humane offices of the noble lords and ladies of the age in which they lived, and those who composed their courts, castles, and domains; and they referred even sovereigns themselves to the awful tribunal of divine justice. In this light, they are as highly to be prized as the ancient poets so justly were, in the times of the Greeks and Romans." Mrs. Dobson's insistence upon the historical accuracy of the romances is based upon the work of the French scholars. She names Favin, Galland, Le Fevre, Le Laboureur and Chapelain as the writers who have studied the historical accuracy of the romances. She concludes, "Furnished with such respectable authorities, there requires little apology for classing the ancient romance writers with the historians of those times: the source from whence they formed their romances, being the relations of the knights errant made on oath, the compositions of the heralds, and the recitals of the Troubadours: and nothing but disgrace could be gained by a misrepresentation of places, characters, customs, and manners well known."
The relativistic approach to literature was also strengthened by the primitivists who emphasized the simple, heroic and barbarous civilization which produced epic literature. Thomas Blackwell may well be considered the founder of the influential Scottish school of primitivists which included such writers as James Beattie, Hugh Blair, James Macpherson, William Duff and John Gregory. I will single out Gregory for discussion because Clara Reeve had read his *Comparative View of the State and Faculties of Man with those of the Animal World*. Gregory echoes Blackwell's theory thus: "There is a certain period in the progress of society, in which mankind appear to the greatest advantage. In this period they possess the bodily powers and all the animal functions in their full vigour. They are bold, active, steady, ardent in the love of liberty and their native country. Their manners are simple, their social affections warm, and though they are much influenced by the ties of blood, yet they are generous and hospitable to strangers. Religion is universally regarded among them, though disguised by a variety of superstitions. This state of society, in which Nature shoots wild and free, encourages the high exertions of fancy and passion, and is therefore particularly favourable to the arts depending on these..." Such a society produced Ossian, the epic bard of the Highlands, just as it had produced Homer. The importance
of this statement, and the theory behind it, consists in its generality. It can be applied to many societies and literatures such as the American Indians, Scandanavian tribes, Eskimos, etc.

Mallet's *Histoire du Dannemarc* (1755) was translated under the title *Northern Antiquities: or, A Description of the Manners, Customs, Religion and Laws of the Ancient Danes, And other Northern Nations; Including those of Our own Saxon Ancestors* (1770). Thomas Percy, its translator, is a key figure in the study of eighteenth century English scholars. An important connection between the Teutonic and the chivalric ideals is pointed out in this work. It is Mallet's belief that the "swarms from the North" carried the germs of chivalry to Europe; the surviving traces of the invaders are reflected in many ways. Mallet argues that "Most of the present nations of Europe derive their origin either from the Celts or Goths, and the sequel of this work will show, perhaps, that their opinions, however obsolete, still subsist in the effects which they have produced. May not we esteem of this kind (for example) that love and admiration for the profession of arms, which was carried among us even to fanaticism...? May we not refer to this source, that remarkable attention and respect which the nations of Europe have paid to the fair sex, by which they have been so long the arbiters of glorious actions, the aim and reward of great exploits,
and that they yet enjoy a thousand advantages which every where else are reserved for the men? Can we not explain from these Celtic and Gothic Religions, how, to the astonishment of posterity, judiciary combats and ordeal proofs were admitted by the legislature of all Europe; and how, even to the present time, the people are still infatuated with a belief of the power of Magicians, Witches, Spirits, and Genii, concealed under the earth or in the waters, etc.? In fine, do we not discover in these religious opinions that source of the marvellous with which our ancestors filled their Romances, a system of wonders unknown to the ancient Classics, and but little investigated even to this day..." In this quotation, many of the notable features of chivalry are traced back to a Teutonic origin. More important for our study is the theory that the early bards of the Celts and Goths influenced the later literature, i.e., the medieval romance. The literary history of the romance, therefore, can be pushed back to a primitive and heroic origin.

The early and primitive literature of the Celts and Goths is described as being different from contemporary standards: "The most affecting and most striking passages in the ancient northern poetry, were such as now seem to us the most whimsical, unintelligible and overstrained: So different are our modes of thinking from theirs. We can admit of nothing but what is accurate and perspicuous.
They only required bold and astonishing images which appear to us hyperbolical and gigantic." Such literature is akin to Blackwell's description of epic poetry.

The bard plays an important part in this primitive society because he preserves the tribal history. Mallet says, "The Scalds or bards were employed to compose odes or songs, which related all their most shining exploits, and sometimes the whole history of their lives... The praises which these poets gave to valour, the great care men took to learn them from their infancy, being all of them the natural effects of the ruling passion of this people, served in their turn to strengthen and extend it."

Again we find an important similarity between Homer and the scalds which implies literary affinity as well. Mallet's work provided one more instance of an heroic people, producing heroic literature to inspire and commemorate heroic deeds.

Mallet pleads for an interest in all literature, an understanding for previous civilizations. He says, "We must study the languages, the books, and the men of every age and country, and draw from these the only true sources of the knowledge of mankind. This study, so pleasant and so interesting, is a mine as rich as it has been neglected."

Possibly Mallet's plea for an interest in the past encouraged Percy's antiquarian studies. At any rate, Percy printed his Reliques of Ancient English Poetry in 1765. An
interesting essay, "On the Ancient Metrical Romances" was included. Percy follows up Mallet's theory that chivalry sprang from the Gothic nations by concluding that romance grew from the Gothic tribes also. Percy believes that the old romances of chivalry are derived from the ancient historical songs of the Gothic bards. He bases his theory on the Gothic taste for romantic fiction which is influenced by their belief in the existence of giants, dwarfs, and fairies, in the efficacy of spells and enchantments, and a fondness for inventing combats with dragons and monsters. This same taste appears in the chivalric romance.

With a specific example of literary growth, Percy is enabled to theorize about literature in general.

Percy traces the rise of literature among all barbarous people in much the same way Mallet traces it in the Teutonic tribes. Interest in primitive peoples extends naturally to an interest in their literary composition, and theories about the rise of literary genres can be formulated. Percy believes that "The first attempts at composition among all barbarous nations are ever found to be poetry and song. The praises of their gods, and the achievements of their heroes, are usually chanted at their festival meetings. These are the first rudiments of history. The ancient Britons had their Bards, and the Gothic nations their Scalds or popular poets, whose business it was to
record the victories of their warriors, and the genealogies of their princes, in a kind of narrative songs, which were committed to memory and delivered down from one reciter to another." These historical songs became embellished with fictitious events, such as dragon fights, which increased their popularity. The metrical romance was the result of this evolution.

Percy is convinced that the metrical romance is a rude kind of epic song. Like the epic, the metrical romance was usually based on historical events or characters. He gives a thorough summary of an old metrical romance, Libius Sisconius, which he feels should be considered as an epic poem, if the epic is defined as "A fable related by a poet, to excite admiration, and inspire virtue, by repre¬senting the action of some one hero, favoured by heaven, who executes a great design, in spite of all the obstacles that oppose him." After he completes the summary, he adds, "Such is the fable of this ancient piece: which the reader may observe, is as regular in its conduct, as any of the finest poems of classical antiquity. If the execution, particularly as to the diction and sentiments, were but equal to the plan, it would be a capital per¬formance; but this is such as might be expected in rude and ignorant times, and in barbarous unpolished language."

Percy is familiar with the previous work of Sainte-Palaye. In addition, he had read many of the old metrical
romances, and of course, would know the classics well. Knowing the characteristics of classical and romantic poetry, Percy was capable of seeing their points of similarity; further knowing the historical background of these periods, he could see the similar conditions and effects of such poetry. In brief, the similarities between the classical epic and the medieval metrical romance are:

1. The poet pictured as a bard who wanders about and recites to any audience, who sings of his tribe's heroes and thus preserves the early history of his people. The blind Homer, the scalds and the medieval minstrels all fit this description. Hurd had also noted the heroic and chivalric passion for adventures attended by a desire of praise and glory; the bards were encouraged as the preservers of such deeds.

2. Such poetry inspires the audience to deeds of emulation. Mallet had pointed out this effect of the scalds; Percy notes that the minstrels sang before battle to inspire the knights' valor.

3. Both epic and metrical romance were the products of barbarous people. Blackwell had pictured Homer's age which corresponded with the medieval.

Percy, aware of these analogies, naturally classes the metrical romance as an epic song. Nevertheless he realizes its inferiority and appears to blame it upon the age of chivalry. He says, "Many of them exhibit no mean
attempts at epic poetry, and though full of the exploded fictions of chivalry, frequently display great descriptive and inventive powers in the bards, who composed them. They are at least generally equal to any other poetry of the same age."

Other writers were more enthusiastic than Thomas Percy about the primitive literature. Mrs. Dobson was quick to apply the theory of primitive genius to the work of the troubadours. She says, "With respect to the writings of the Troubadours, a rustic simplicity, joined with lively and sometimes sublime images, are distinguished in their productions. The uncultivated mountains of Scotland, the forests of America, and the frozen deserts of Lapland, have yielded fruits of genius which even now excite our admiration." Mrs. Dobson's inclusive list is similar to Gray's in his note to his Pindaric ode, The Progress of Poesy (1757); Gray cites the Erse, Norwegian, and Welsh fragments, the Lapland and American songs as examples of the "extensive influence of poetic genius over the remotest and most uncivilized nations." We should note that Mrs. Dobson includes the primitive bard, Ossian, as a well-known example of epic genius. To give James Macpherson his due, he provided his Scottish Homer with the most approved trade marks and society of the bards!

An indication that such theories were in circulation appears from a letter printed in the Gentleman's Magazine
for October 1783. Its author discusses the medieval bard and his position in society. He says, "The minstrel in former ages was the companion of the monarch and the hero. In peace, his song amused them in their hours of festivity, and in war, animated them to the fight...Their employment was to recite the great actions of their patrons in a sort of metrical verse, which they sometimes sung and accompanied with their harps." The minstrel also ennobled and refined the passion of love; "Animated to heroism by the united powers of poetry and music, they braved every peril to approve themselves and their valour in the eyes of their mistress, whom they adored, and they thought themselves amply rewarded for the most hazardous toils by their smiles."

The writer gives some well-known instances of the bards' services. He mentions the battle of Hastings at which the Normans were inspired by the heroic deeds of Rollo sung by their minstrels. Blondel rescued his king from captivity. Edward I commanded all the Welsh bards to be put to death because they would "keep alive the glowing flame of liberty, by reminding the vanquished of the great deeds of their ancestors". Gray had already used this tradition in his ode, The Bard (1757). The letter continues, "Ossian, a doubtful character, sung the heroic exploits of his father Fingal: his voice was the only record of the great actions of that hero; and oral tradition
has handed down his songs to us, from race to race, for upwards of 1400 years." He concludes, "we are much indebted to the labours of these minstrels. History owes to them all her information on the manners and customs of their countries. Witnesses of the usages of their respective places, they have transmitted to us the manners and customs of their time, pure and unmixed".

His reference to the historical conditions is very much in line with Hurd's remarks on the subject. He says, "We cannot take a view of these uncultivated ages without a regret mingled with veneration. Courage, chastity, hospitality, and generosity were the characteristics of those times; they wanted nothing but that softness of manners which distinguishes the present age, to render them complete."

His remarks on the system of chivalry are also revealing. He notes that the Goths introduced it into Europe when they overran the Roman empire; "We behold with astonishment the unlettered Goth, the foe to science and literature, giving birth to a system of manners and refinement unknown to the polished ages of Greece and Rome." 51.

The literature of this age is "grand and striking, although rude and destitute of ornament". Sure enough, we find it compared to the classic epic thus: "Nothing can afford a more pleasing amusement to an enquiring mind than the contrast of manners between the ancient Goths, the
Saxons, the Germans, and the Francs, and those described by Homer. The parallel between the heroic times sung by the Grecian bard, and the domestic scenes described by our minstrels, shall make the subject of a future paper, which shall contain an investigation of the principles which gave them birth." Apparently this promise was not kept.

Clara Reeve, of course, would know this letter, as well as the earlier books we have discussed. Obviously her definition of the romance is based upon Percy's remarks on the metrical romance. The difference in form, i.e., prose or poetry, is not very important. She points out that romances have been written in verse, such as Spenser's Faerie Queene, and epics in prose, such as Fenelon's Telemachus and Ossian's Fingal.

Furthermore, the epic and romance are thought to have sprung from the same source, early tribal history. On the whole, Miss Reeve follows Percy's theory about the origin of fiction; she says, "In the earliest accounts of all nations, we find they had traditional stories of their most eminent persons, that is of their Heroes, to which they listened in raptures, and found themselves excited to perform great actions, by hearing them recited;—they had their war-songs— and they had also their prose narratives. From the prose recitals sprung History,—from the war-songs Romance and Epic poetry." This is a more radical
theory than Percy's; the romance and the epic are the twin progeny of tribal song. Miss Reeve emphasizes their oneness thus: "They spring from the same root, they describe the same actions and circumstances, they produce the same effects, and they are continuously mistaken for each other." Miss Reeve's theory is a natural outcome of her correlation between Percy's account of the historical background of the romance and Blackwell's of the epic.

With epic and romance placed on more equal footing, their respective literary merits are seen in a different light by Miss Reeve. She comments on the usual criticism thus: "It is astonishing that men of sense, and of learning, should so strongly imbibe prejudices, and be so loth to part with them. That they should despise and ridicule Romances, as the most contemptible of all kinds of writing, and yet expatiate in raptures, on the beauties of the fables of the old classic Poets, on stories far more wild and extravagant, and infinitely more incredible." Although the literary supremacy of the epic is challenged, Homer retains the respect and veneration previously granted him. Miss Reeve values his "bold imagination, his knowledge and judgement in marking his characters, and above all things, the consideration that the world owes to him, in a great measure, the knowledge of the History and Manners of the times in which he wrote, and of some ages before him". Homer's supremacy is explained: "If we may
believe Dr. Blackwell, there was a wonderful concurrence of circumstances, that elevated him to this high station; circumstances unlikely, perhaps impossible, to happen again to any other Poet, or at least improbable, as to find another Poet equally capable of using the same advantages."

With all this to his credit, Homer is nevertheless the "parent of Romance; where ever his works have been known, they have been imitated by the Poets and Romance writers". The marvellous or supernatural element is found in Homer and his imitators as in the poets of all primitive societies.

Miss Reeve owes much to previous scholarship but surely we can credit her with applying the literary theories to the prose romance and championing its merits.
The spectacle of an elderly and somewhat staid spinster writing a Gothic novel has amused many critics. That Clara Reeve should criticize *The Castle of Otranto* and attempt to write a more perfect Gothic novel seems even more ridiculous to them. What seems to have been forgotten is Clara Reeve's independent study of literary genres and her awareness of their individual characteristics.

Her debt to Walpole has been pointed out in that plot, theme, supernatural elements and Gothic setting are all imitated from the earlier novel. Within certain limits, there is some truth to be found in this approach but there is less dependence than is supposed. I will attempt to correlate Clara Reeve's theories in *The Progress of Romance* and her practice in *The Old English Baron*.

It is necessary to recall Miss Reeve's specific acknowledgement of indebtedness to Walpole in her Gothic novel: "This story is the literary offspring of the Castle of Otranto, written upon the same plan, with a design to unite the most attractive and interesting circumstances of the ancient Romance and modern Novel, at the same time it assumes a character and manner of its own, that differs from both..." Miss Reeve considers the Gothic story
a new literary form, a combination of the romance and novel. Walpole had pointed out the hybrid nature of his Castle of Otranto thus: "It was an attempt to blend the two kinds of romance, the ancient and the modern. In the former, all was imagination and improbility; in the latter, nature is always intended to be, and sometimes has been, copied with success." Walpole's "modern romance" is the novel, of course. Clara Reeve's real debt to Walpole was his formation of a new genre rather than any particular imitation of its elements.

As I have attempted to show in the previous section, there were very definite ideas about the elements which make up the romance. Clara Reeve was well-acquainted with such ideas and included these characteristics of the romance in her part-romance, part-novel. The outstanding traits of the medieval romance are chivalry, religion, history and the supernatural. We might ask if Miss Reeve knew any of these medieval romances; her list of them included in The Progress of Romance indicates a knowledge of extant prose works. The old favorites, such as Guy, Earl of Warwick, Sir Bevis of Southampton, Morte Arthur, etc. were popular enough to be reprinted in the eighteenth century. That old editions remained in circulation also may be surmised by a bookseller's catalogue for 1777 which Miss Reeve quotes; it lists Tristan Chevalier de la Table Ronde (1548 ed.) and Le Romaunt de la Rose (1409 ed.) for
sale. From such evidence, it is safe to credit Miss Reeve with a first-hand knowledge of medieval romances.

Furthermore, a critical understanding of the literary genres is shown in Miss Reeve's clearcut definition of the romance and the novel found in *The Progress of Romance*. She says, "The Romance is an heroic fable, which treats of fabulous persons and things—The Novel is a picture of real life and manners, and of the times in which it is written. The Romance in lofty and elevated language, describes what never happened nor is likely to happen. The Novel gives a familiar relation of such things, as pass every day before our eyes, such as may happen to our friend, or to ourselves; and the perfection of it, is to represent every scene, in so easy and natural a manner, and to make them appear so probable, as to deceive us into a persuasion (at least while we are reading) that all is real, until we are affected by the joys or distress, of the persons in the story, as if they were our own." We may compare this to her remarks on *The Castle of Otranto* in noting that it is an attempt to combine the two genres. The elements necessary to obtain this end are "a sufficient degree of the marvellous, to excite attention; enough of the manners of real life, to give an air of probability to the work; and enough of the pathetic to engage the heart in its behalf". Obviously, the marvellous is a characteristic of the romance, the manners of real life is a characteristic of the
novel, and the pathetic may well be considered an element of the romance and novel both. From this general approach we will study the particular elements of Clara Reeve's Gothic story.

The main plot of The Old English Baron is relatively simple. Edmund Twyford, the supposed son of a peasant, is brought up as a companion of Lord Fitzowen's sons and trained in knightly skills. He incurs the enmity of two kinsmen and Robert Fitzowen, eldest son of that family. After Edmund distinguishes himself on a campaign, he is maligned more than ever by them. Although Edmund retains the love of Father Oswald, Joseph, an old retainer, Lord Fitzowen, William and Emma Fitzowen, he is put in a deserted wing of the castle to prove his courage to his benefactor. This wing has mouldered away for the last twenty years but it holds the secret to Edmund's birth. As we might have guessed, he is the son of the former Lord Lovel, one-time owner of the castle. Lord Lovel had been basely murdered; wife and child had supposedly died. Sir Philip Harclay, an amiable man and old friend of Lord Lovel, learns the truth from Edmund and challenges the present Lord Lovel to trial by combat. All is revealed when the trial by combat results in Sir Phillip's victory and Edmund's subsequent establishment in Lovel Castle.

Since Walpole's Castle of Otranto is frequently cited as the plot source for Clara Reeve's story, I will briefly
note its events. Theodore, a peasant, comes to Otranto from a neighboring village on hearing of the mysterious death of Conrad, Manfred's only son. He is accused of causing his death and Manfred imprisons him in the giant helmet which crushed out the life of the young heir. Theodore escapes in time to help Isabella, Conrad's betrothed, escape the importunities of Manfred who wishes to marry her after putting away his present wife. Isabella reaches shelter but Theodore is recaptured. The jealous Manfred is about to have the young man beheaded when a birthmark on his neck is recognised by Father Jerome, formerly Count Falconara. Theodore is his long lost son. At this point, Isabella's father comes to claim her and the Otranto holdings. Frederic bases his claim on closer kinship to the former owner, Alfonso the Good, who died without issue. As we might have guessed, however, Alfonso married secretly three months before his death. His daughter later married Count Falconara, making their son the real heir. This development is related by the count at the very end of the story after Manfred had slain his own daughter and fulfilled the old prophecy.

To an unprejudiced reader, the two plots have little in common, other than the general theme of the discovery of a rightful heir. I am very much inclined to doubt that Clara Reeve owed this theme to Walpole. The motif of the "secret son" is a stock element of the medieval romance.
Such heroes as Arthur, Tristan, Palmerin and Amadis, to name a few, were unaware of their real identity. And we may be sure, Miss Reeve knew these stories. It is far more likely that she, as well as Walpole, used this theme because of her familiarity with the romances. Surely she would recognize and value the theme in Walpole's story with a critic's discernment for its appropriateness. We should rather stress the difference in handling this theme between the two writers. Clara Reeve's Edmund takes an active part in unraveling his identity; Walpole's Theodore learns of his identity with no effort on his part.

Although Clara Reeve has not been accused of copying the plot in *Longsword*, *Earl of Salisbury*, it is undoubtedly the source for the secondary plot of *The Old English Baron*. Arthur Lord Lovel was called away on an expedition after twelve months of marriage. His wife was expecting a child when he left. Arthur's kinsman, Sir Walter Lovel, came to the castle ostensibly to await his return and comfort his lady during his absence. His real purpose is to seize his relative's wife, land and title. He hires messengers to keep in touch with Arthur's whereabouts and hopes for his death on the battlefield. Unfortunately for his hopes, Arthur survives and starts home. Walter then tells his wife that Arthur is dead and offers himself as a consolation prize. She refuses to think of marriage and is confined to a wing in the castle. Meanwhile, Walter sends
two assassins to waylay Arthur on his return from the campaign. Since Arthur is riding ahead of his men, it is easy to kill him; his body is hidden in the castle and Walter begins to enjoy his possessions. Arthur's wife, however, has nothing to do with Walter, and escapes the night she gives birth to their son. She is drowned while trying to find help but her son is found and taken care of by the Twyfords. Up until the deaths of Edmund's parents, the plot follows Longsword closely. The characters of Arthur and his wife correspond to Longsword and his Ela. Longsword leaves his family to support his king's claims in France. A rumor of his death spreads, whereupon Raymond and his followers take up residence in the earl's castle. Raymond uses every means in his power to persuade Ela to marry him, but she steadfastly refuses. Messengers inform Raymond that the earl has returned from France and is hastening home. Raymond determines to intercept him and sends one of his men to poison the earl. At this point, the two plots part company because Longsword escapes the trap and regains his wife and infant son whom he has never seen. In all fairness to Miss Reeve, her secondary plot is related briefly and ties in perfectly with her main plot.

We have already pointed out Miss Reeve's awareness of the heroic or epic strain in the romance; Percy's definition of the epic included a hero "favoured by heaven, who exe-
cutes a great design, in spite of all the obstacles that oppose him. Miss Reeve seems to have followed the above design in her Gothic story. We may quibble about the greatness of Edmund's discovery and exposal of his father's murder but surely our hero is favored and led by heaven; indeed Edmund himself recognizes it by saying, "Never man had so many benefactors as myself; but both they, and myself, have been only instruments in the hands of Providence to bring about its own purposes." This idea is expressed often throughout the story and it is concluded by Clara Reeve saying that the story furnishes "a striking lesson to posterity, of the over-ruling hand of Providence, and the certainty of Retribution".

The romance's idealization of character was naturally thought to be didactic also. The romance was commonly thought to incite men to virtuous and valorous deeds in emulation of the hero's character. John Gregory had explained the didactic effect of this idealization thus: "Notwithstanding the ridiculous extravagance of the old Romance in many particulars, it seems calculated to produce more favourable effects on the morals of Mankind, than our modern Novels. If the former did not represent men as they really are, it represented them as they ought to be;... the latter represent Mankind too much what they are..." This passage is quoted by Miss Reeve in The Progress of Romance and on the whole, expresses her opinion. She refers
to the romance's good effects on its readers thus: "...the examples of the Heroes of Romance and Epic poetry, might have excited the youth...to copy exploits universally re-
warded by praise and admiration." Her hero is a s morally impeccable as Sir Galahad or Arthur. Edmund's good qualities (his courage, trust in God, purity) should inspire emulation by giving eighteenth-century youth something to admire.

Although we may not care for the moral impeccability of Edmund or the sententious remarks scattered throughout the story, yet Clara Reeve considered them legitimate and necessary elements of her "romantic" story.

The Old English Baron is purportedly a manuscript written by two men in the fifteenth century. At the end of the story, Clara Reeve informs us, "Sir Phillip Marclay caused the papers relating to his son's history to be collected together; the first part of it was written under his own eye in Yorkshire, the subsequent parts by Father Oswald at the castle of Lovel." Miss Reeve takes advantage of the supposed form to indicate passage of time and verify the manuscript's existence. Perhaps the best example of her methods is the second interpolation by the "editor": "From this place the characters in the manuscript are effaced by time and damp. Here and there some sentences are legible, but not sufficient to pursue the thread of the story. Mention is made of several actions in which the young men were engaged...The following in-
cidents are clear enough to be transcribed; but the beginnings of the next succeeding page is obliterated:
however we may guess at the beginning by what remains." This is a fairly skillful use of the literary form; the convention was adapted ingeniously by Henry Mackenzie in The Man of Feeling (1771). Mackenzie pretends the story is in manuscript form; his disjointed sketches are excused on the basis that the manuscript has been torn and rolled into wads for the curate's fowling-piece! Miss Reeve was apparently influenced by his methods.

It should be pointed out that Walpole's Gothic story is supposedly in manuscript, but except for Walpole's preface, the reader would be unaware of its form. Obviously Clara Reeve is not influenced by Walpole's use of the manuscript. Furthermore, The Castle of Otranto is dramatic in technique and intention.

Miss Reeve's narrative is simple and plain. The diction is neither archaic nor modern, although it is stately and homely by turns, according to the characters' station. Sir Walter Scott says, "In the Old English Baron...all parties speak and act much in the fashion of the seventeenth century; employ the same phrases of courtesy; and adopt the same tone of conversation. Baron Fitzowen, and the principal characters, talk after the fashion of country squires of that period, and the lower personages like gaffers and gammers of the same era."
Personally, I find Clara Reeve's varying diction effective. We may compare the different style of Margery Twyford, the peasant woman, and her educated foster son, Edmund, in describing the same events. Margery tells of Edmund's infancy thus: "Just one-and-twenty years ago...I lost my first-born son: I got a hurt by over-reaching myself, when I was near my time, and so the poor child died. And so, as I was sitting all alone, and very melancholy, Andrew came home from work: see, Margery, said he, I brought you a child instead of that you have lost...The poor infant was cold, and it cried, and looked up at me so pitifully, that I loved it; besides, my milk was troublesome to me, and I was glad to be eased of it." This homely relation is contrasted to Edmund's high-sounding description of his adoption when presenting his foster parents. He says, "These are the good people to whom I am, under God, indebted for my present happiness; they were my first benefactors; I was obliged to them for food and sustenance in my childhood, and this good woman nourished my infancy at her own breast." Walpole's diversified speech between peasant and noble in *The Castle of Otranto* is probably responsible for Miss Reeve's technique.

Sir Walter Scott's comment on the seventeenth-century language in *The Old English Baron* is interesting but needs to be qualified. I believe Miss Reeve's language
represents a deliberate effort to avoid both archaic and modern style. In her translation of John Barclay's Argenis, she explains her use of a particular style. Miss Reeve informs her readers that the translator "has endeavoured to reform the language, without destroying the simplicity of the style, and has aimed at a language suitable to the subject, believing that a medium between the former antiquated one, and the present fashionable one, would best answer that purpose...in other words, she is of opinion that our language has not gained any advantages by the innovations that have been made in it within the last twenty years; that it has lost more in strength and conciseness, than it has gained in sweetness and elegance." Miss Reeve had consulted two English translations of Argenis by Sir Robert le Gryrs and Thomas May (1629), and by Kingsmill Long (1636). Her translation is for modern readers so she changes the obsolete diction of these earlier writers. At the same time, she admires Sir Robert le Gryrs' style for its simplicity. Surely Miss Reeve adapted the same style in her romance as being more suitable to its subject than either Walpole's archaic Elizabethan diction in The Castle of Otranto or the modern style in the contemporary novels.
We have already pointed out the important connection between history and romance. Percy's theory that the romance was an outgrowth of early tribal history was well-known and applied to the later romances. The French scholars, especially Sainte-Palaye, had emphasized the historical element in the medieval romance so that it was generally accepted as a basic ingredient. The historical elements in the medieval romances consisted of references to actual events or personages and manners of the times in which they were written.

Clara Reeve had followed Percy's theories about the growth of romance and epic from tribal history. Of course she realized there was no real history as such until the advent of written records. But there had been stories passed down from father to son which included semi-historical information about earlier heroes. The medieval romance was influenced by "the ancient Historical songs of the Gothic bards and scalds" and the semi-historical works of Turpin and Geoffrey of Monmouth.

A closer relation between history and romance is evident in such medieval romances as Richard Coeur de Lion, Le Brut d'Angleterre and others, which are based on histories of real persons; Miss Reeve points out that
many of these works were taken from prose histories.

The French heroic romances were pointed out as using history also. These books were rather notorious for their methods of handling such material. Warburton had attacked their misleading use of history in the preface to the first edition of Richardson's *Clarissa*; he says, "The avoiding these defects (i.e., use of marvellous events) gave rise to the Heroical Romances of the French; in which some celebrated Story of Antiquity was so stained and polluted by modern fable and invention as was just enough to shew, that the contrivers of them neither knew how to lye, nor speak truth." Miss Reeve agrees with Warburton's criticism wholeheartedly. At the same time, she includes references to actual events, personages, and manners of the period in which she set her Gothic story. All of these references are correct according to her knowledge of the period. Thanks to her carefulness in using actual events, we can assign *The Old English Baron* to a definite era of history.

The story opens with the return of Sir Phillip Harclay to England, after an absence of thirty years, in the minority of Henry VI, when John, Duke of Bedford was Regent of France and Humphry, Duke of Gloucester was Protector of England. This may be dated approximately between 1432-1433 from the following details. Sir Phillip was Lord Fitzowen's guest shortly after his
return to England, and met Edmund for the first time.
There is a four year interval in the story after this
meeting. Then it continues with Edmund (twenty years of
age) and the young Fitzowens being sent to France to serve
under the Duke of York, Regent of France. At this
time, the English were fighting against the French forces
of Charles VII in the latter part of the Hundred Years
War. The Duke of Bedford had died in 1435; the Duke of
York was appointed in his place but did not get to France
until 1436. Since the regency was taken away from him in
1437, Edmund must have served under the Duke of York within
these years. The opening date of the story is derived by
subtracting four years from Edmund's service; 1432 or
1433 is the only possible date which is consistent with
the historical facts which Miss Reeve mentions.

Edmund's birth would necessarily have been about
1416, and here Miss Reeve seems to have slipped up
because she tells us Edmund’s father had left his pregnant
wife to fight under Henry IV in Wales. Since the king
died in 1413, we have a three or four year discrepancy in
Edmund's age. This is a minor fault, however, since Miss
Reeve avoided giving definite dates for historical events
and the Arthur Lovel background is sketched in rapidly.
Clara Reeve hardly expected her readers to sit down and
carefully date the aforementioned events!

The last reference to an historical personage is a
word of explanation about Walter Lovel's life after he was forced to restore Edmund's title and holdings. We are told he served under "John Paleologus" (John VI or VII) who lived from 1390-1448. The downfall of Constantinople and the Greek empire is foreseen by Zadisky, a minor character, who withdraws from the coming disaster.

On the whole, Clara Reeve was guided fortunately in her handling of historical events since she was free to relate an exciting but improbable plot placed in a definite era which lent credence to the events she relates. There is just enough reality in the background to gain willing belief. Of course, the theories on the romance were important in influencing Miss Reeve's inclusion of history. It is doubtful that this alone prompted her practice however. Horace Walpole had avoided any reference to a specific event in his Castle of Otranto. The story supposedly takes place sometime between 1095 and 1243. Miss Reeve's familiarity with the earlier French pseudo-historical novels and the unique Longsword Earl of Salisbury influenced her methods in The Old English Baron.

Miss Reeve refers specifically to Penelope Aubin, Madame d'Aulnoy's Histoire d'Hypolite, Comte de Douglas, and Frévost's Cleveland. These novels make use of well-known historical personages, imaginary and quasi-historical characters, and a few definite events of the past.
Miss Reeve gives no list of Mrs. Aubin's novels but she might have read *The Life and Adventures of the Lady Lucy* (1726), a story of the Irish Rebellion. The heroine's father dies fighting under James II; the battle of the Boyne is included with the result that the heroine is forced to leave her home. Mrs. Aubin's real interest lies in adventure and love, which comprise the major part of her book.

Madame d'Aulnoy's novel enjoyed a long popularity, both in the original French and English translations. The earliest translation appeared in 1708 entitled *Hypolitus Earl of Douglas*; another version appeared in 1773 which Miss Reeve probably read. The story concerns itself with the love affair between Julia, daughter of the Earl of Warwick, and Hypolitus. The Earl of Warwick, an ardent Catholic, was forced to flee from Henry VIII and his native England. Hypolitus later encounters the Earl on a pirate ship; in answer to his query about conditions in England, Hypolitus tells him of Queen Mary's attempts to restore the kingdom to Catholicism. This information fixes the supposed era of the book in the same way Clara Reeve's reference to historical events does in *The Old English Baron*.

Cleveland had the least influence on *The Old English Baron* since Miss Reeve was not tempted to follow its methods; its distinctive appeal is the use of intimate and private
interviews with "big names" and the supposed reality of
Cromwell's illegitimate son, Cleveland. Cromwell is
pictured as the cruel and heartless father, full of deceit
and hypocrisy, who drives Cleveland and his mother into
hiding for many long years. The exiled Charles II
contributes to Cleveland's unhappiness by trying to force
him to marry against his wishes. The reality of Cleve¬
land's person is carefully built up with a supposed
manuscript which Prévost possesses relating Cleveland's
experiences. This practice of making fictitious characters
important figures among famous personages was used by the
French heroic romancers. It just was not cricket according
to Miss Reeve; she relates an anecdote about a susceptible
reader of these romances. It seems the reader believed
there was an actual person named Statira who mingled with
such people as Alexander the Great, and Darius; this belief
was the result of reading Calprenede's Cassandra! Miss Reeve
deplores this method by saying that these romances,
"by taking for their foundation some obscure parts of true
history, and building fictitious stories upon them,
truth and fiction were so blended together, that a common
reader could not distinguish them.." This remark could
well be applied to Prévost and his followers; The Recess
is a very fine example of this method in English literature.
Miss Reeve, however, has no sympathy with such goings-
on; she prefers to subordinate historical events to the
plot in much the same manner Madame d'Aulnoy follows.

Clara Reeve gives unqualified approval to the modern historical romance, *Longsword, Earl of Salisbury*. This work shows its debt to Madame d'Aulnoy and others of her kind in that it uses historical coloring and events to reproduce a particular era. The author avoids the temptation to falsify such material, thus winning Miss Reeve's whole-hearted endorsement. She quotes the *Monthly Review*’s criticism: "In this agreeable Romance, the truth of History is artfully interwoven with entertaining fictions, and interesting episodes." This romance includes many of the medieval trappings so dear to the hearts of Gothic enthusiasts. Perhaps the only element of the romance it fails to include is the use of supernatural or terrifying events.

On the whole, Clara Reeve was able to adapt these various trends successfully in her Gothic story. She refers to well-known events and personages without distorting them for any reason. At the same time, such material remains subordinate to the plot and evokes the past. Her desire for historic accuracy is praiseworthy; such works as Rapin's *History of England* furnished her with the information she used.

The manners of the times are reflected in the feudal customs and religious beliefs of the middle ages. The chivalric atmosphere was embedded in the medieval
romances; Leland, Walpole, and Reeve utilized these elements to color their medieval stories, thus attempting to use the same technique of the romance writers. I am inclined to credit Miss Reeve with the most thorough-going exploitation of the chivalric trappings.

An interesting use of such material occurs in her description of the training given Edmund and the Fitzowens. We are told Lord Fitzowen "keeps in his house a learned clerk to teach them languages; and as for all bodily exercises, none come near them; there is a fletcher to teach them the use of the cross-bow; a master to teach to ride; another the use of the sword; another learns them to dance; and then they wrestle and run, and have such activity in all their motions, that it does one good to see them." Chaucer's Squire lacked a few of these skills; he apparently failed to study languages, wrestle (a low sport) or use the bow. We might well ask where Miss Reeve got her notions on knightly training! A probable source is *The Life of Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury* (1764), published by Horace Walpole. Lord Herbert was an Elizabethan worthy who left a diary containing many events in his life, as well as his opinions on many subjects.

It is Lord Herbert's education and training which prompted Clara Reeve's educational program for the incipient knights. Lord Herbert was an excellent linguist.
and knew French as well as English. He particularly recommended exercise as a means of keeping the body supple and healthy. Riding, fencing, and dancing are indispensable parts of a man's education. He adds, "I do much approve likewise of Shooting in the Long Bow, as being both an healthful Exercise and usefull for the Wars." Clara Reeve stages an archery match between the young men to show us the good old sport in full swing.

In the Advertisement, Walpole informs his readers that Lord Herbert's "chivalry was drawn from the purest founts of the Fairy Queen." This is another, if minor, example of the medieval coloring applied to the Elizabethan period. In the third of his Moral and Political Dialogues, Richard Hurd, as we have seen, had emphasized the chivalric ideals in the age of Elizabeth.

Clara Reeve certainly thought of the Elizabethan age as chivalric. She has an enthusiastic passage in The Progress of Romance which begins, "Give me leave to introduce to you a set of men all of whom read, and some of them wrote Romances: - men who, as all the world allows, had no small portion of Romance in their composition, and were excited by a strong and enthusiastic thirst of glory, to actions honourable to themselves, and advantageous to their country. Such were the heroes of Queen Elizabeth's court; and I might reckon the Queen
herself as an Heroine, worthy to command such men."

Among the famous Elizabethans she names is Lord Herbert, "a Hero worthy of Romance". Lord Herbert refers to "Amadis de Gall" and the "Knight of the Sun" which would certainly prove his familiarity with the old romances. Miss Reeve is led to believe that the Elizabethan romances were written as a result of such reading.

Miss Reeve devotes a great deal of space to the trial by combat. Sir Phillip Harclay decides to prove Lord Lovel's guilt in this way rather than complain to the king or demand a public trial. Edmund is eager to avenge his father personally, but Sir Phillip reminds him of his peasant background. Lovel would never accept Edmund's challenge on the grounds that he was basely born and no knight. Lord Lovel is compelled to accept Sir Phillip's challenge in order to uphold his name and honor. A piece of ground is enclosed for the lists, field judges appointed and a day named for the combat. I would like to quote Miss Reeve's description of the event to demonstrate her delight and interest in the medieval trial by combat. She begins,

The first that entered the field was Sir Phillip Harclay, knight, armed completely, excepting his head-piece; Hugh Rugby, his esquire, bearing his lance; John Barnard, his page, carrying his helmet and spurs; and two servants in his proper livery...

At a short distance came the Lord Clifford, as judge of the field, with his esquire, two pages, and two livery servants...he also
brought a surgeon of note to take care of the wounded.

The Lord Graham saluted them; and by his order they took their places without the lists, and the trumpet sounded for the challenger. It was answered by the defendant, who soon after appeared, attended by three gentlemen his friends, with each one servant, besides his own proper attendants.

A place was erected for the Lord Clifford, as judge of the field; he desired Lord Graham would share the office, who accepted it, on condition that the combatants should make no objection; and they agreed to it with the greatest courtesy and respect...

They appointed a marshal of the field, and other inferior officers, usually employed on these occasions. The Lord Graham sent the marshal for the challenger, desiring him to declare the cause of his quarrel before his enemy...

Accusation, denial and combat are then described at length. Sir Phillip unhorses his opponent, injures him, and takes his sword as a sign of his surrender. This is the most extensive and authentic description of medieval custom in The Old English Baron. The medieval romances were full of such combats from which Miss Reeve probably drew her information. A more recent use of the combat is found in Longsword when Lord William challenges Lord Mal-leon. There are fewer details of the crucial situation, however, and the actual fight does not take place.

The chivalric virtues were conveniently reduced into four main qualities, courage, chastity, hospitality, and generosity. Hurd enumerated them first in his Letters on Chivalry and Romance; by 1783, these four had become catch-words since they were used by the correspondent
writing to the Gentleman's Magazine. We have a plentiful supply of these virtues in The Old English Baron which seems to indicate that Miss Reeve purposefully kept them in mind while writing about her chivalric characters and their actions.

Courage is inherent in Edmund and his benefactor, Sir Phillip. Both had served under their king in supporting the war in France. One suspects the episode of Edmund's service in France is for the sole purpose of exhibiting the hero's courage in battle; the episode certainly has nothing to do with the plot. After Edmund has disrupted a French convoy, the regent singles him out as standing "first in the list of gallant men in this engagement". But for his base blood, the regent would have knighted him then and there. Lord Fitzowen tries Edmund's courage by asking him to sleep three nights in the haunted wing of the castle. Edmund is just as brave in the face of supernatural danger as he was in fighting mortal foes.

Hospitality is freely offered to all travelers. Lord Fitzowen offers lodging to Sir Phillip although he had never seen the knight before his arrival. Such invitations are extended throughout the story. Lord Clifford makes his guest welcome with "the pleasures of convivial mirth and hospitable entertainment". Lord Graham asks everyone to go home with him after the trial by combat; he assures his guests they are no trouble at all although they
number some thirty people!

The respectful complaisance and homage paid to the women in chivalric times were evoked by their chastity. The knight was his lady's servant and hers alone. Edmund assures Emma's father that he has loved her and will always love her, even if there can be no marriage.

Edmund treats Lady Emma with all the courtesy and respect due to her position. He dares not reveal his love while he is thought a peasant. His parting interview with her before leaving the Fitzowens is a peculiar combination of chivalric gallantry and eighteenth century sentimentality. After Edmund is acknowledged as Lovel's heir, he and Emma, loving one another, "behaved with solemn respect to each other, but with apparent reserve". Edmund permits himself the pleasure of kissing Emma's hand, but this is the only "liberty" he takes before their marriage.

Miss Reeve pointed out that the romance "taught the young men to look upon themselves as the champions and protectors of the weaker sex;— to treat the object of their passion with the utmost respect;— to avoid all improper familiarities, and, in short, to expect from her the reward of their virtues". Edmund is an exemplary model who imbibes this chivalric behavior found in the heroes of medieval romance.

Generosity is frequently translated into eighteenth century benevolence and charity, so dear to the hearts of all the novelists. The most amusing illustration is Sir
Phillip's "old soldiers' home" for maimed and disabled veterans. Sir Phillip provides for them thus: "There is another house on my estate that has been shut up for many years; I will have it repaired and furnished properly for the reception of my old men; I will endow it with a certain sum to be paid annually, and will appoint a steward to manage their revenue..." Bounty to the poor is also very much in evidence. When Sir Phillip returned from France and settled at his home, "he then looked round his neighborhood for objects of his charity; when he saw merit in distress, it was his delight to raise and support it; he spent his time in the service of his Creator, and glorified him in doing good to his creatures."

This knight is a Sir Charles Grandison in armour! It is only natural that Clara Reeve should illustrate these chivalric virtues with contemporary examples.

Religion was thought to be an integral part of the medieval romance. Warburton found the combination of nonsense and religion in the romance was the result of "the nature of the subject, which was a religious War or Crusade: 2ndly, The quality of the first Writers, who were religious Men: And 3rdly, The end in writing many of them, which was to carry on a religious purpose".

Miss Reeve admits that "Religion and virtue, were so blended with fanaticism and absurdity, that the lustre of the former principles, concealed the blemishes of the latter". Fanaticism and absurdity are banished from
her Gothic story; she writes only of the good side found in medieval religion.

Obviously the religion of fifteenth century England was Roman Catholicism. Miss Reeve includes many references to Catholic customs and ceremonies in the course of her story. Masses for the dead are recited (although not described), a paternoster is said, the sign of the cross is used in times of danger, and a rosary is carried by Father Oswald. Much importance is attached to the sacrament of penance when Lord Lovel is proven guilty of robbing Edmund of his birthright. Miss Reeve appears familiar with the necessity of restitution in order to obtain forgiveness of sins, yet she is unaware that absolution cannot be given when the priest knows that condition has not been complied with. Walter Lovel apparently confesses to a priest before he decides to make restitution to those he has wronged. Nevertheless, Miss Reeve's use of Catholicism is markedly restrained and correct when compared to the Gothic novelists who followed her. The religious elements in The Old English Baron are matter-of-fact and specific. They are related for the purpose of historical reality. Horace Walpole, on the other hand, is fascinated by the superstitious elements found in medieval Christianity; he stresses their devotion to St. Nicholas and the miraculous appearance of this saint in the last chapter of The Castle
of Otranto. The later Gothic novelists (Sophia Lee and Mrs. Radcliffe, among others) falsified and exaggerated Catholic ceremony and institutions to make an emotional appeal to their readers.

Clara Reeve's Gothic story attempts to mirror Gothic customs and religion; opinions may differ as to its success or failure but Miss Reeve should be credited with a conscious effort to reproduce what she considered the chivalric and medieval background.
THE SUPERNATURAL

In her preface to The Old English Baron, Clara Reeve expresses her theories about the use of the supernatural. She criticizes The Castle of Otranto's supernatural effects judiciously, in my opinion, as follows: "...the machinery is so violent, that it destroys the effect it is intended to excite. Had the story been kept within the utmost verge of probability, the effect had been preserved, without losing the least circumstance that excites or detains the attention." Walpole's ghost and enchanted helmet and sword meet with her approval, but their gigantic size is a definite fault. She also objects to a picture that walks out of its frame and a skeleton ghost in a hermit's cowl which destroy the effects Walpole was striving for. She wishes to avoid these defects in her story by a more credible use of supernatural events. Many critics have failed to understand Clara Reeve's intention and methods in her Gothic story. Ernest A. Baker says she attempts "to provide the requisite Gothic elements of awe and dread without resorting to the supernatural". B. G. MacCarthy, Edith Birkhead, and K. K. Mehrotra all agree that Miss Reeve's methods of handling the supernatural are flat, in spite of her good intentions. One gets the impression from these critics that the author's common sense and rationality prompted her criticism
of Walpole's work and prevented her own attempts from being successful.

Perhaps the reason for this attitude is the assumption that Miss Reeve included the supernatural unwillingly in her story because Walpole used it. What seems to be forgotten is her acceptance of the romance and its favorable criticisms by her contemporaries. As we have shown, the supernatural was considered by Blackwell, Hurd and others a necessary element of any real epic poem. The metrical romance had been recognized by Percy as a rude kind of epic song because of its supernatural and historical elements.

John Gregory devotes a great deal of time to a discussion of the supernatural in literature. He comments on the belief in invisible agents or ghosts thus: "Many events were supposed to happen out of the ordinary course of things by the supernatural agency of these spirits who were believed to be of different ranks, and of different dispositions towards mankind. Such a belief was well adapted to make a deep impression on some of the most powerful principles of our Nature, to gratify the natural passion for the marvellous, to dilate the Imagination, and to give boundless scope to its excursions." All of this agrees with the usual theory that semi-primitive people believed in ghosts and for that reason, included such beings in their stories. Gregory continues,
"In those days the old Romance was in its highest glory. And though a belief of the interposition of these invisible powers in the ordinary affairs of Mankind has now ceased, yet it still keeps its hold of the imagination, which has a natural propensity to embrace this opinion."

A justification for the use of such agents in modern literature is clear in the following quotation, and a method for its use is offered: "The Imagination willingly allows itself to be deceived into a belief of the existence of beings, which reason sees to be ridiculous; but then every event must take place in such a regular manner as may be naturally expected from the interposition of such superior intelligence and power. It is not a single violation of truth and probability that offends, but such a violation as perpetually recurs." Miss Reeve is clearly guided by Gregory's theories in her use of the supernatural and her criticism of Walpole's methods. Miss Reeve, then, applied a theory rather than a personal prejudice in her use of the supernatural in The Old English Baron.

The most obvious use of such material in Clara Reeve's Gothic story is the ghost of Edmund's father. This ghost "inhabits" a deserted wing of the castle which has been closed up for many years. Miss Reeve sets the scene with skill by describing the moth-eaten chamber and crumbling furniture which became so popular in later Gothic
Miss Reeve is usually given credit for her contribution of the deserted wing in Gothic literature. After Edmund enters the deserted suite, he sees two doors on the further side of the room; one of them leads to a dining room which Edmund explores with impunity. The story continues,

He recollected the other door, and resolved to see where it led to; the key was rusted into the lock, and resisted his attempts; he set the lamp on the ground, and exerting all his strength, opened the door, and at the same instant the wind of it blew out the lamp, and left him in utter darkness. At the same moment he heard a hollow rustling noise, like that of a person coming through a narrow passage...he approached the door from whence the noise proceeded; he thought he saw a glimmering light upon a staircase, when he heard several knocks at the door by which he first entered the room; and, stepping backward, the door was clapped to with great violence.

Edmund returns to the main entrance of the suite and discovers Joseph with some firewood and a flagon of beer. It is obvious that Joseph's appearance does not explain the rustling noise or glimmering light. Many critics have been misled by this passage in crediting Miss Reeve with a Radcliffian explanation of the mystery, but a careful reading will prove the falsity of this notion. At the same time, I would like to point out the clever contrast between the mysterious supernatural and the ordinary, cheerful provisions brought in by Joseph.

The ghost groans on the second evening of Edmund's
stay; Joseph and Father Oswald are witnesses of this strange phenomenon. However, the ghost does not put in an appearance until Markham and Wenlock are forced to spend the night in this chamber. The two villains fall to quarreling when left alone. Suddenly, they hear three dismal groans from the room beneath. Petrified with fear, "they staggered to a seat, and sunk down upon it, ready to faint; presently, all the doors flew open, a pale glimmering light appeared at the door, from the staircase, and a man in complete armour entered the room: He stood with one hand extended, pointing to the outward door; they took the hint, and crawled away as fast as fear would let them; they staggered along the gallery, and from thence to the baron's apartment, where Wenlock sunk down in a swoon, and Markham had just enough strength to knock at the door." This is the first and last appearance of the ghost in the story.

Clara Reeve's ghost differs from Walpole's in nature and handling. To begin with, Walpole's Alfonso is a gigantic figure with huge sword and helmet. It rattles around and frightens its beholders by its very size. Its last appearance is accompanied by a tremendous clap of thunder as it pushes over and rises from the castle walls into heaven! Walpole's other spectre steps from a pic-
ture and leads Manfred away from Isabella, but there is no description of its person. The skeleton in hermit's clothing is gruesome; it warns Frederic to have nothing to do with Manfred's line. None of these ghosts affect the plot.

Miss Reeve's picture of a supernatural being is entirely different. I am inclined to credit Shakespeare's Hamlet senior as Clara Reeve's model for a ghost. He appears in stained armour to reveal the truth to his son just as Edmund's father comes in a dream to speak to his son. Both ghosts groan from beneath their hearers' feet. Both Shakespeare and Miss Reeve emphasize the fear that the ghost's appearance evokes. Perhaps Shakespeare's influence would explain the difference in handling between Reeve and Walpole. Of course, Walpole reflects his influence in The Castle of Otranto; dramatic construction, comic use of the servants at grave moments, characterization of Manfred as hero-villain, and Elizabethan diction are all evidences. But Walpole's ghost was never on the Elizabethan stage. Furthermore, it contributes nothing to the plot development; his ghosts are for the purpose of frightening his readers by the emotions of awe and fear. Clara Reeve's ghost leads Edmund to discover foul play and revenge his father's murder, both important contributions to the plot. The ghost's actual appearance is for the sole purpose of frightening the
the evil characters in the story. It is Clara Reeve's deliberate failure to appeal to the reader's fears which critics find disappointing. The awe-inspiring reference to the other world in Hamlet senior's first speech prevents this ghost from appearing prosaic. But who can be terrified by his last appearance in his former queen's boudoir?

Clara Reeve uses mysterious and prophetic dreams to add to her supernatural atmosphere. The first use of the dream occurs when Sir Phillip Harclay spends his first night in the Lovel neighborhood. The dream is symbolic and prophetic; it suggests Arthur Lovel's murder and the future trial by combat. Edmund dreams the first night he sleeps in the haunted wing. His parents appear to claim him as their own and prophesy his coming happiness. Both Sir Phillip and Edmund attribute their dreams to suggestive remarks made earlier, but Miss Reeve does not rationalize the mysterious truth of the future events found in these dreams. This use of the dream was a fairly commonplace literary device; it is interesting to note, however, that both Prevost and D'Arnaud used this device in their novels.

A comparison of the supernatural effects in The Castle of Otranto and The Old English Baron indicates a certain amount of plagiarism on Miss Reeve's part. The clanking of armour, the mysterious slamming of doors are
identical effects in both Gothic stories. At the same time, it is obvious that these direct imitations are few and far between in The Old English Baron. Walpole's real contribution is his evocative and suggestive effect on his followers. A good example of his influence on Clara Reeve's imagination is her picture of the heir's return. In The Castle of Otranto Frederic and his followers approach the castle which is rightfully theirs. Manfred throws open the doors to receive them and the plumes on the giant helmet wave in welcome. This episode played on Miss Reeve's imagination with the result that upon Edmund's approach to the castle, all the doors fly open of their own accord to receive him and his company. This mysterious omen is taken as a sign of recognition from heaven itself. Another instance of Clara Reeve's adaptation is her use of Walpole's description of Isabella's flight. Isabella is escaping from Manfred through a secret passage. Suddenly, she sees someone opening a door before her; she holds up her lamp but the person retreats. Isabella starts forward to discover his identity, when suddenly her lamp is extinguished by a gust of wind! Terrified at first, she soon discovers that it is Theodore in the next room. Miss Reeve's description of Edmund's near discovery of the ghost in the haunted wing is clearly patterned after this episode. Edmund's experience is more trying than Isabella's
because the person on the other side of the door is his father's ghost. In both these instances, Clara Reeve's use of the supernatural goes much further than Walpole's.

It is clear that Miss Reeve valued the supernatural element and recognized its place in the romance. She cannot be considered a servile imitator; her handling and tone differs from Walpole's deliberately and, in my opinion, to good effect.
CONCLUSION

Clara Reeve was a student of literature. Her varied knowledge of romance and novel is evident in *The Progress of Romance*. Like many students, she imitated other writers and applied certain literary theories in her work. *The Old English Baron* is one of the best examples of her methods.

The awakening interest in things medieval and Gothic played an important part in Miss Reeve's work. Scholarship extended a sympathetic interest to primitive genius and literature. Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare and Milton found new admirers who valued their original genius and simplicity. In critical studies on the above-mentioned poets, it was frequently pointed out that the romance had influenced the imagination, if not the form, of these poets. Spenser's knowledge of the romance was responsible for much of the *Faerie Queene*; Warton's half-hearted acceptance of its "Gothic" form was obsolete after Hurd's enthusiastic praise. Hurd also praises Shakespeare's use of "Gothic enchantments" in *Macbeth*; the playwright owes much to the romancers who worked up these terrible prodigies.

Miss Reeve was fully aware of such theories; she agrees that the spirit of chivalry, fostered by the romances, was calculated "to elevate and warm a poetic
imagination". She continues: "Chaucer, and all our old writers, abound with it; - Spenser owes perhaps his immortality to it, it is the Gothic imagery, that gives the principal graces to his work, and without them we should soon grow tired of his Allegories, - but we have a yet stronger instance in our divine Milton, whose mind was so deeply impressed by them, and his imagination so warmed, that he frequently recurs to them..." In addition, Miss Reeve was familiar with the scholarship of Hurd, Warton, Percy and Mallet, all of whom discussed the romance, its effects and its characteristics.

The literary theories concerning primitive genius prompted contemporary imitation. James Macpherson was told to find a Highland epic; he eventually produced Fingal and Temora (1761, 1765 respectively) which exhibit the heroic background of a primitive people. The style is bold, simple and grand; ghosts, battles and pseudo-history are plentiful. All of these qualities were thought to be inherent in primitive literature. Clara Reeve classifies Fingal as a romance although she is puzzled by its form, which is neither prose nor verse for all she can discover.

Thomas Leland seems to have been familiar with the old romances since his "Historical Romance" is based upon them. Longsword, Earl of Salisbury contains chivalry, love, religion and a small amount of history, all basic
elements of the medieval romance. It was the first piece of fiction to appeal to the "Gothic revival" in eighteenth century England.

The Castle of Otranto was mainly inspired by Walpole's interest in Gothic architecture. What this type of architecture meant to him is clear in this statement: "The latter ("Goths") exhausted their knowledge of the passions in composing edifices whose pomp, mechanism, vaults, tombs, painted windows, gloom and perspectives infused such sensations of romantic devotion..." In other words, the strong emotional appeal of the Gothic is Walpole's chief interest. Dreaming in his imitation castle, Walpole was inspired to write a work which reflected Gothic atmosphere and gloom perfectly.

Clara Reeve's Gothic story is a judicious blend of the various elements found in the above works. Miss Reeve, guided by a previous study of the romance, uses the English plot location and general historical background found in Longsword. To this, she adds the supernatural element which plays such a conspicuous part in The Castle of Otranto and then sprinkles the whole with medieval trappings and virtues. Miss Reeve's outspoken admiration for the Gothic way of life is a distinctive personal trait in her work.

Contemporary readers recognized the character of The Old English Baron; one critic pointed out that Miss
Reeve "had imitated with tolerable success, the style and manner of ancient romance". Although we cannot claim a great deal of originality for our author, we can credit her with a successful combination of literary theory and practice. The Old English Baron has a distinctive character of its own, which is partly the result of Clara Reeve's assimilation of various sources, and partly her intention to include the main qualities found in the medieval romance.
NOTES


2. The Progress of Romance (Colchester, 1785), I, iii.


4. For a different opinion, see John K. Reeves, "The Mother of Fatherless Fanny", ELH, IX (1942), 225.

5. XXXIX (1803), 477.

6. II (1804), 242.

7. Quoted by Alan D. McKillop, Samuel Richardson, Printer and Novelist (1936), 192.


13. Progress of Romance, I, iii.

14. Ibid., xii-xiii.

15. Quoted by Miss Reeve, xiv.

16. Ibid., 22-25.

17. Ibid., 13.


20. Ibid., 53.
21. Ibid., 55.


23. Ibid., 267.

24. Ibid., 291.

25. Ibid., 289.

26. Ibid., 36 n.

27. Ibid., 22.

28. Ibid., 44.


30. Ibid., 171-172.


32. Ibid., 196.

33. Ibid., 300.

34. Ibid., 313.


38. Ibid., xvii-xvii.

39. a new ed., 1793; v-vi.

40. Ibid., II, vii-x.

41. Ibid., I, 394.

42. Ibid., I, 223-224.

43. Ibid., II, xxxix.

49. LIII, 839.
55. Perhaps the most exaggerated account of Miss Reeve's debt to Walpole is K. K. Mehrotra's *Horace Walpole and the English Novel* (Oxford, 1934).
60. *Ibid.*, 111.
62. See above, II, 29.
70. The Phoenix (London, 1772), I.
72. Ibid., 33-39.
73. Ibid., 44.
74. London; 1748, IV, iii.
75. Progress of Romance, I, 17.
76. Ed. cit., 27-34.
77. Ibid., 37.
78. Ibid., 173.
80. Ibid., II, 60.
81. Ibid., I, 123.
82. Histoire d'Hypolite, Comte de Duglas (Amsterdam, 1759), I, 128-129.
83. Progress of Romance, I, 65.
84. Ibid., II, 32.
85. See above, I, 5.
86. Ed. cit., 16-17.
88. Paul Hentzner’s Journey into England, in the year 1598 was another of Clara Reeve’s sources on Elizabethan life.
89. Progress of Romance, I, 97-98.
90. Ibid., 71.
93. See above, II, 33.
95. Ibid., 103.
96. Ibid., 142.
97. Ibid., 74-78.
98. Progress of Romance, I, 68.
100. Ibid., 25.
102. Progress of Romance, I, 52.
104. Ibid., 59.
105. Ibid., 78.
106. Ibid., 59.
107. Ibid., 116.
108. Ibid., 139.
113. The Tale of Terror (London, 1921), 27.
115. See above, II.
116. Ibid., 29.
118. Ibid., 215.
119. Ed. cit., 47.

120. Ibid., 38.

121. For a general discussion of the Elizabethan drama's influence on the Gothic novels, see Clara F. McIntyre, "Were the "Gothic Novels" Gothic?", PMLA, XXXVI (1921), 644-667.


123. Ibid., 49-50.


127. See above, III, 68.


129. Progress of Romance, I, 53-54.

130. Ibid., II, 67.


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