

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

ProQuest Information and Learning
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
800-521-0600

UMI[®]

ANCHOR OR ANCHORITE?
THE BATTLE FOR THE MEANING OF MONASTICISM
IN BRITISH LITERATURE, 1770-1850

by

MICHAEL PINO

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in English
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

2004

UMI Number: 3115282

Copyright 2004 by
Pino, Michael

All rights reserved.

UMI[®]

UMI Microform 3115282

Copyright 2004 by ProQuest Information and Learning Company.
All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest Information and Learning Company
300 North Zeeb Road
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

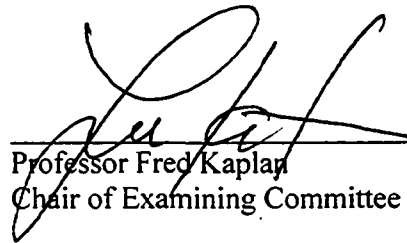
© 2004

MICHAEL PINO

All Rights Reserved

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in English in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

12/9/2003
Date

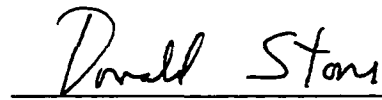


Professor Fred Kaplan
Chair of Examining Committee

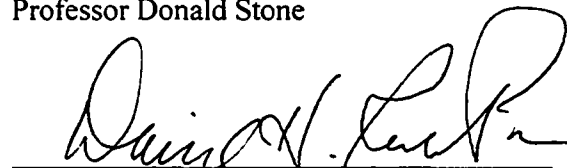
12/9/03
Date



Professor Joan Richardson
Executive Officer



Professor Donald Stone



Professor David Richter

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Abstract

ANCHOR OR ANCHORITE? THE BATTLE FOR THE MEANING OF
MONASTICISM IN BRITISH LITERATURE, 1770-1850

by

Michael Pino

Adviser: Prof. Fred Kaplan

This study illustrates how British writers during William Wordsworth's lifespan participated in redefining English words describing asceticism in a period when there were less than four dozen monks in Great Britain. The reasons for this change include the development of British historiography, the rise of antiquarianism, the growth of the public taste for Gothic fiction and drama, the marooning of French monastics on English soil during the French Revolution, the rise of the historical novel, the politicized responses to church history in the height of the Catholic Emancipation movement, and impulses directed by the Oxford Movement and the Cambridge Camden Society, among others. Their cumulative effect was to foster approximately ten patterns to describe the ascetic and the religious life, as discerned from a review of no less than six hundred works from Hume and Gibbon, to Wordsworth and Scott, through Browning and Tennyson. The significance of this study to the analysis of British literature, besides correcting some mistaken readings of "hermit," is twofold: it provides a guide that shows how writers in this period were responsible for redefining words of religious retreat, and it serves to contextualize these lexical battles over monasticism's meaning, connecting them to the religious battles that would come to a head in Britain during the 1840s. The struggle over the meaning of monasticism reveals the shifting perceptions of religious devotion, of the way in which Georgian gentlemanly churchmanship yielded to the earnestness of Victorian religious sentiment. The lexical shift is a record of that struggle.

Table of Contents

Introduction		1
Chapter 1	<i>"This is no business for monks": History, Romance, and the Definition of Monasticism to 1791</i>	8
Section 1	Thomas Chatterton's Rowley, Thomas Warton, and the Rise of the Antiquarian Society	15
Section 2	David Hume's <i>History of England</i> (1754-62) and Edward Gibbon's <i>The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire</i> (1776-88)	29
Section 3	Horace Walpole's <i>The Castle of Otranto</i> (1764), Humphrey Repton's "The Friar's Tale" (1788), and Ann Radcliffe's <i>The Romance of the Forest</i> (1792)	42
Chapter 2	<i>"The principal merit of a monastic institution": Experimental Poetry, the Gothic, and Their Reception to 1803</i>	69
Section 1	Matthew Lewis's <i>The Monk</i> (1796), Ann Radcliffe's <i>The Italian</i> (1797), and Gothic plays and fiction	83
Section 2	William Wordsworth's and Samuel Taylor Coleridge's <i>Lyrical Ballads</i> (1798), Thomas Dudley Fosbrooke's <i>The Economy of Monastic Life</i> (1795), William Blake's <i>Jerusalem</i> (1804) and "The Grey Monk" (1803?) and their milieu	102
Chapter 3	<i>"My Imagination is a Monastery and I am its Monk": Early Nineteenth-Century British Writers on Cenobitism, 1803-1819</i>	125
Section 1	Percy Bysshe Shelley's <i>The Revolt of Islam</i> (1817) and <i>St. Irvyne</i> (1810), Mary-Anne Radcliffe's <i>Manfroné</i> (1809), Byron's <i>Manfred</i> (1816), and Sir Walter Scott's poetry	130
Section 2	Malthus's Population Theory and its Critics	147
Section 3	Edward Gibbon's <i>Memoir of My Life</i> (1814), Anna Laetitia Barbauld's <i>Essays</i> (1813), Thomas Dudley Fosbrooke's <i>British Monachism</i> (1802; 1817), John Keats's poetry and letters, William Wordsworth's <i>Poems</i> (1815)	152
Chapter 4	<i>"That hospitality banished for ever from the land": Nineteenth-Century Writers on Monasticism, 1820-1833</i>	166
Section 1	Sir Walter Scott's <i>The Abbot</i> (1820) and <i>The Monastery</i> (1820), Mary Shelley's <i>The Fortunes of Perkin Warbeck</i> (1830) and Robert Maturin's <i>Melmoth the Wanderer</i> (1820)	168
Section 2	William Wordsworth's <i>Ecclesiastical Sketches</i> (1822) and John Keble's <i>The Christian Year</i> (1827)	183
Section 3	The Response to Robert Southey's <i>The Book of the Church</i> (1824)	193

Chapter 5	<i>"A most feeble bog-grass of Dilettantism all the crop we reap from it": The Use of Monasticism by Early Victorian Writers, 1833-1850</i>	210
Section 1	Thomas Carlyle's "Signs of the Times" (1829), <i>Sartor Resartus</i> (1834), <i>Heroes and Hero-Worship</i> (1841) and <i>Past and Present</i> (1843)	216
Section 2	William Makepeace Thackeray's <i>Pendennis</i> (1848-50) and <i>The Newcomes</i> (1853-55), Charles Dickens' <i>Nicholas Nickleby</i> (1838-39), Charlotte Brontë's <i>Villette</i> (1853), Benjamin Disraeli, Charlotte Mary Yonge, and Anna Jameson's <i>Legends of the Monastic Orders</i> (1850)	230
Section 3	Alfred, Lord Tennyson, Charles Kingsley's <i>Saint's Tragedy</i> (1847), Mary Botham Howitt, Robert Montgomery, James Montgomery, Richard Barham's <i>The Ingoldsby Legends</i> (1840), Edward Bulwer-Lytton's <i>The Duchess of Vallière</i> (1836) and <i>Richelieu</i> (1839), and Robert Browning	241
Conclusion		257
Notes		
Chapter 1		262
Chapter 2		290
Chapter 3		304
Chapter 4		314
Chapter 5		330
Appendix 1	Comparison of Definitions from Dictionaries, 1708-1780	340
Appendix 2	Excerpt from Charles Kingsley's <i>The Hermits</i> (1864)	344
Works Cited		345

ANCHORET, -ITE (æ • ŋkōret, -eit). Forms: 5 **ancorite**, 6-7 **anachorete**, 6-8 **-it(e)** 7-8 **-et**, 7 **anch'rit(e)**, **anachirete**, (9 *arch.* **ankret**) 7- **anchoret**, **-ite**. [The forms *anachoret(e)*, *anachorit(e)* were a. Fr. *anachorète* and L. *anachōrēta* med. L. *anachōrīta*, ad. Gr. *ἀναχωρητής* n. of agent f. *ἀναχωρέειν* to retire, retreat f. *ἀνά* back + *χωρέιν* to give place, withdraw. Under infl. of the earlier Eng. *ancre*, *anker* (Anchor *sb?*), this has been modified to *anchrit*, *ancorite*, *anchoret*, *anchorite*, of which the last two are now equally common. Appeared c. 1450, and superseded ANCHOR c. 1600.]

A person who has withdrawn from the world; usually one who has done so for religious reasons, a recluse, a hermit.

CŒNOBITE, CENOBITE (sī • nobeit, se • nobeit) [ad. late L. *cœnobīta* f. *cœnibium*; see below. Cf. F. *cénobite*. (In this word and its cognates, English usage prefers *cœ-* to *ce-*)].

A member of a religious order living in community; opposed to an *anchoret*, who lives in solitude.

EREMITE (e rī meit). Forms: 3 **æremite**, 3-7 **heremite**, **-yte**, 5 **herimyte**, 3- **eremite** [ad. late L. *erēmīta* (med. L. *herēmīta*, ad. eccl. Gr. *ἐρημικός*, f. *ἐρημ*, a desert, f. *ἐρήμος*, uninhabited. In OF. the regular phonetic descendant of late L. *herēmīta* was (*h*)*ermite* with loss of the middle syllable (see HERMIT); but the L. word was also adapted in OF. as (*h*)*eremite*, and this was taken into ME. Originally *h*)*eremite* and *h*)*ermit(e)*, HERMIT, were employed indiscriminately; but from about the middle of the 17th c. they have been differentiated in use, *hermit* being the ordinary and popular word, while *eremite* (always spelt without the unetymological *h*) is used either poet. or rhetorically, or with special reference to its primitive use in Gr.].

1. One who has retired into solitude from religious motives; a recluse, a hermit. Said *esp.* of the Christian solitaries from the 3rd cent. onwards, as distinguished from the cœnobites, who, though withdrawn from the world, lived as members of a community.

FRIAR (freir, frei • er), *sb.* Forms 3-6, 9 *arch.* **frere**, 3-5 **frer**, 5-6 **freer(e)** Sc. **freir**, (**freyr**), 6-8 **frier**, **fryar**, 9. Sc. *dial.* **freer**, **freir**, 5-7 - **friar**. [ME. *frere*, a. OF. *frere*, mod.F. *frère*) earlier *fredre*: -Lat. *frātre*, BROTHER. In Fr. and Pr. the words for brother and friar are the same; in other Rom. languages, they are different. It. *Frate* (as a prefixed title *fra*) is ad. L. *frāter*; Sp. *fraile* (as prefix *fray*), earlier *fraire*, is ad. Pr. *fraire*, regularly repr. L. *frātre*: Pg. has *frei* from the Sp. *fray*. For the change of *frere* into *friar*, cf. *quire* (=choir) from *quere*, *briar* from *brere*, *entire* from *entere*].

1. BROTHER, in fig. applications, *esp.* in OFr. phrase *beu frere* 'fair brother' *Obs.*
2. In the *Roman Cath. Ch.*: A brother or member of one of certain religious orders founded in the 13th c. and afterwards, of which the chief were the four mendicant orders: the Franciscans (*Friars minors*, *Minorites*, or *Grey Friars*); the Augustines (*Austin Friars*); the Dominicans (*Friars Preachers*, *Black Friars*); and the Carmelites (*Frirs carims* = F. *frères carmes*; *White Friars*)

HERMIT (he · rmit), *sb.* Forms: α. 3 **armite**, 4-5, **ermyt(e)**, 4-6 **armyte**, **armet**, 4-7 **ermite**, 7, **ermit**. β. 4-6 **hermyte**, 4-8, **-mite**, (5 **-mett**), 6- **hermit**. γ. 3-7 **heremite**, 4-5 **-myt(e)** 6. *Sc.* **-meit**, 6-7 **-mit**. See also EREMIT. [ME. *hermite*, *ermite* a. OFr. (*h*)*ermite*, L. *erēmīta* (*med.L.* also *herēmīta*), *ad. Gr.* ἐρημῖς, f. ἐρημῖ, a desert. Besides the forms immed. from Fr. ME. had *heremite* after Med.L.; modern Eng. has also EREMIT, q.v.]

1. One who from religious motives has retired into solitary life; esp. one of the Christian recluses. See EREMIT 1.

b. *transf.* A person living in solitude.

MONK (munjk), *sb.* Forms: 1-3 **munuc**, (**munec-**) 2-3 **munec**, **-ek** 3 **munuch**, 3-4 **monek(e)** 4 **monok**, **munc**, **mun(c)k**, , 4-6 **monke**, **munke**, 5 **mongke**, 6 **moonke**, *Sc.* **mounche**, **moun(c)k(e)**, **mwn(c)k(w)**, 5-6 **monkc**, 3- **monk** [OE. *munuc*:--pre-historic **muniko-* as. Popular L. **monicus* for *monachus*, a. late Gr. μοναχός adj. Single, solitary, f. μόνος, alone. Cf. OFris. *munek*, *-ik*, *monik*, (MDu. *monic*, *monc*, *mun, i c*, Du. *monnik*, *munnik*,) MLG. *mon n ik*, *monk*, OHG. *munih*, (MHG. *mun (i) ch*, *mün (e) ch*, G. *mönch*), ON. *múnkr* (Da. Sw. *munk*); also the Rom. Forms, F. *moine*, Pr. *monge-s*, Sp. *monje*, I'g. *monge*, (:Rom. Type **moni*) It. *Monaco*.

In accordance with its etymology, *monachus* originally meant a religious hermit or solitary, but was for an earlier period applied to cœnobites, and this became the ordinary use.

1. A member of a community or brotherhood of men living apart from the world under the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, according to a rule (characteristic of a particular order), and devoted chiefly to the performance of religious duties and the contemplative life. The different orders of monks are distinguished by habits of various shapes and colours (cf. b).

In England, before the reformation, the term was not applied to the members of the mendicant orders, who were always called *friars*. From the 16th c. to the 19th c., however, it was usual to speak of the friars as a class of monks. In recent times the distinction between the terms has been carefully observed by careful writers. In Fr. and Ger. the equivalent of monk is applied equally to 'monks' and 'friars'.

--from *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2 ed

Introduction

In the preface of his *Dictionary*, Samuel Johnson paraphrases Samuel Madden's

Boulter's Monument, explaining "that words are the daughters of the earth, and that

things are the sons of heaven"(n. pag; par. 7). In many respects, this study is an attempt to

illuminate how writers in the late eighteenth century rediscovered, and in some ways rewrote, the “daughters” absent from sight but not mind, that is, words that referenced religious retreat. Using the works of representative authors drawn across seven decades, I will show how within the span of one lifetime, writers and their audiences came to understand that “friars” and “monks” were distinct from one another, and both words defined a species quite different than a “hermit,” a point made clear in the citations above from the *OED*. Such a study will inevitably substantiate Abram Smythe Palmer’s claim “man is an etymologizing animal. He abhors the vacuum of an unmeaning word. If it seems lifeless, he reads a new soul into it, and, often, like an unskilful necromancer, spirits the wrong soul into the wrong body” (xiv). It may also give textual support to Tennyson’s pithy claim

[Truth] is like a word that comes from olden days,
And passes thro’ the peoples: every tongue
Alters it passing, till it spells and speaks
Quite other than at first (*Queen Mary* 3.5.20-23)

Ultimately, however, the aim of this project is to uncover important nuances of texts that analyze, interpret, represent, or consider retirement from the world, by restoring to these texts theological issues that may have been hidden from a modern scholar’s perspective because of the drift in meaning.

One instance in which a reading of the passage has been missed because scholars and readers have not considered how these words were considered at the moment of their publication should help indicate how significant an issue it is. In *Lines Composed a Few Miles above Tintern Abbey, on Revisiting the Banks of the Wye during a Tour. July 13,*

1798, William Wordsworth mentions hermits in passing, a fact that has been discussed often in criticism:

Once again I see....
wreaths of smoke
 Sent up, in silence, from among the trees!
 With some uncertain notice, as might seem
 Of vagrant dwellers in the houseless woods,
 Or of some Hermit's cave, where by his fire
 The Hermit sits alone.

These beautiful forms,
 Through a long absence, have not been to me
 As is a landscape to a blind man's eye:
 But oft, in lonely rooms, and 'mid the din
 Of towns and cities, I have owed to them
 In hours of weariness, sensations sweet,
 Felt in the blood, and felt along the heart (ll. 14, 17-28)

Memory and observation are intertwined within this poem, casting what is fact in doubt. Because it is unclear whether the poem is Wordsworth's memory of a former tour (and Wordsworth suggests elsewhere a tour he made in 1793) or a quixotic reverie in the present one, these lines require a reader to ponder what part of this poem is present "reality" and what part is idealized past. The repeated observation of the smoke in these woods ("Once again I see") followed by a clear indication of supposition ("as might

seem”) presents one part of the difficulty encountered in understanding this poem: why does Wordsworth state that the smoke’s source might be either “vagrant dwellers in the houseless woods / Or of some Hermit’s cave”? And what does it mean that such beings are of “uncertain notice”? And why does the possibility of smoke from the woods (among other aspects of the landscape) serve as “sensations sweet” in “hours of weariness”? The distance between what is observed and what is supposed renders such questions unresolved and perhaps unresolvable; maybe it is for this reason that scholars have been so troubled by the very fact that Wordsworth peopled his forest with hermits. What is not asked, however, is what Wordsworth and his immediate audience would have understood to be the meaning and connotations of the very word “hermit.”

In her study *Wordsworth and the Question of “Romantic Religion”* (1996) Nancy Easterline identifies the hermit as a species of vagrant, which “suggest[s] a correlative isolation of vagrants and hermits” (70). Though Easterline concludes the discussion of this passage with the not incorrect observation that “Searching the scene for a meditational focus, the poetic imagination leads not out of isolation but into doubts about the efficacy of personal alienation itself,” she has precluded with her secular observation the possibility that Wordsworth draws upon the theological significance of hermits to evoke his poetic point (70). In another analysis, the religious connotation of hermit is missed not in one poem but two. Pamela Woof’s recent analysis, in *Towards Tintern Abbey: A Bicentenary Celebration of ‘Lyrical Ballads’, 1798* (1998), identifies in this passage thematic echoes of Milton’s “Il Penseroso,” particularly in the concluding lines. As Woof explains, “Wordsworth’s hermit, though alone, has not loneliness, such loneliness as the poet has known in ... ‘Tintern Abbey’s’ next paragraph” (51). “Hermit”

here is once again rendered in a secular sense, thus terminating the pre-Reformation Christian significance of the passage. Woof undercuts her own argument, however, by eliding Milton's ensuing line ("The Hairy Gown and Mossy cell"), which provides a strong thematic connection between the two poems and their consideration of anchorites. By reading the "hermit" as a dweller in the woods and not as "one who from religious motives has retired into solitary life" (see above *OED* citation), scholars presuppose that Wordsworth's relationship to the landscape is less "conventional" than "animistic." Missing the possibility that Wordsworth may be recalling the historical past of the space, a past in which the Christian church supported a retreat from the world (symbolically related to Wordsworth's retreat from the city), scholars reconstruct the episode along Marxist or Eco-critical lines, missing the fact that elsewhere in *Lyrical Ballads* and other poems of this period both Wordsworth and Coleridge recognize a hermit in Christian terms (cf. *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* ll. 552-55; also "The Voice from the Side of Etna" l. 5). Simply put, the failure of modern critics to recognize the contemporary meanings of such words has led to some significant misreadings of Romantic prose and poetry.

I hope to illustrate two points over the course of this study: first, that writers in this period were responsible for redefining words of religious retreat, and, second, that these lexical battles over monasticism's meaning prefaced and presaged the religious battles that would come to a head in Britain during the 1840s. It is not enough to say that Wordsworth's hermit was a type of monk; for this point hardly merits extensive elaboration. Alternating between shrill censure of monastic voluptuousness (cf. *Ecclesiastical Sketches* [1822] 2.20) and dewy-eyed endorsement of monastic solitude

(cf. *The Prelude* [1850] 6.430-71), Wordsworth's struggle over church-supported religious retreat serves to indicate how contentious the role of the church in the nation became to early Victorian British writers. Wordsworth's struggle was by no means singular: most of the ways available to criticize and to emulate the ways of medieval anchorites and cenobites had been defined by the time Wordsworth considered his sonnet series on the history of the Anglican church. This fact, as I hope to show, can be attributed to the coincidental rise of English historiography and antiquarianism alongside the increasing popularity of Gothic works in the late eighteenth century, which resulted in a flood of monks, friars, and hermits in the literary marketplace.

Chapter 1

"This is no business for monks"

History, Romance, and the Definition of Monasticism to 1791

Writers since the Glorious Revolution of 1688 had initially and generally neglected the topic of religious retreat. When they did treat it, often it was to dismiss such a way of life as spiritually arrogant, socially wasteful, and otherwise antithetical to the dictates of reason, the commands of scriptures, and the impulses of the heart. In pressing their arguments, however, they were gradually, almost insensibly, led to distinguish between varieties of austerity. From the beginnings of the period, writers had presumed that a healthy disdain for the cenobitic life would serve as a *prima facie* condemnation. With a gesture to some well-known Protestant polemicist, such writers dismissed both scriptural support and patristic assertions of sanctioned asceticism as tenuous.¹

By the centennial celebration of the Glorious Revolution, and in spite of the resurgence of anti-Catholic sentiment during the Gordon riots of 1780, callous disparagement of asceticism was no longer accepted at face value. In conservative polemics against deists; by the presence of the increasingly fashionable hermit as a stock character in verse and prose; through the republication and canon-formation of early British writers (such as Chaucer, who clearly distinguished a monk from a friar); in the increasingly detailed analyses of monasticism's role in British history; with the development of and fad for English-style landscape gardening (which inevitably concealed somewhere a hermitage among the asymmetric, naturalistic setting); and with the culture's rage for the medieval, the earlier writers' shrill voice found itself resolved in a descant of voices, expressing qualified recognition of merits alongside the practiced negligence and scorn of religious retreat.²

The first steps in displaying the shift in attitude toward monastic retreat must be a careful exposition of terminology and some consideration of the stakes for both writer and audience.³ Fortunately, because this age witnessed the dawn of lexicography and etymology, we can refer directly to contemporary dictionaries in order to establish a baseline against which to measure the shift. As explained in M. M. Matthews's *Survey of English Dictionaries*, a work that traces the development of lexicography from Cawdry's *Table Alphabetical* (1604) to the *OED*, the dictionaries produced in the decades surrounding Johnson's *Dictionary* (1756) displayed greater comprehensiveness and etymological acuity than ever before. Matthews notes Nathan Bailey's *Dictionarium Britannicum* (1730), Johnson's *Dictionary*, and Thomas Sheridan's *General Dictionary* (1780) as being highly influential during the century following their publication (28-31). In the chart provided in Appendix A, I have excerpted definitions from these dictionaries, all of which were readily available during the time of the Gordon riots. These definitions reveal that, across the century (and even earlier, as hinted by the quotations chosen by Johnson), speakers of English generally did not observe the differences between a friar and a monk. In fact, even in the decades immediately following the dissolution of the monasteries, the distinction between a monk and a friar was not maintained, and as the monastic houses fell into ruin so too did the appreciable lexical differences. According to the *OED*, "friar" was not lexically separated from "monk" until the nineteenth century, though the *OED* is imprecise as to exactly when such a distinction was noticed among English speakers.⁴ Although it might puzzle a modern audience that a predominantly Protestant nation would feel compelled to reestablish the boundaries between these words, such a lapse is really not all that surprising considering that early nineteenth-

century Anglican scholarship tended toward rediscovering the Catholic aspects of Anglicanism that were not denied by the Thirty-nine Articles, such as the orders of itinerant preachers and religious recluses.⁵ Furthermore, the increasingly more vocal objections to Catholic Disabilities in late eighteenth-century Britain focused attention again to the central tenets of the state-supported church.

To complicate matters further, most eighteenth-century writers (and, by default, most dictionaries of this period) failed to recognize the difference between religious orders of monks and friars and the "unordered" hermits. All three words were considered synonyms, and all three words connoted a disparaging, paradoxical view of religious recluses: monastic "work" was an anti-social retreat from the world that was a drain upon the society's resources. This *mélange* of religion and secularism (or, in today's terms, confusing anyone who willingly sought church-sanctioned solitude with those whose vows and corporate seclusion were undertaken for religious salvation) served as Protestant shorthand for the errors of the Popish church and as the antithesis of one's proper role in society. Evidently, as asceticism and English Catholics were recast politically in late-eighteenth century Britain, the very terms by which people talked about the "popish" relic of monasticism were in flux — and it would seem that the two phenomena were neither independent nor exclusive of one another.

Various formulations of asceticism appear in printed works available between the Gordon "No popery" riots of 1780 and the passing of the second Catholic Relief Act in 1791 (31 Geo. III. c. 32). Before presenting evidence that illustrates how authorial analysis and treatment of monasticism instigated greater discrimination, it is necessary to state two initial caveats, along with some explanation as to how I will proceed from them.

First, as recent scholars of the period have shown, contemporary perspectives of history and religion were as colored by region as by the moment in which they were uttered. To generalize away these particulars would be to collapse regionalism and history, yet a narrative that accounts for regional nuances and particular circumstances cannot be easily constructed. Second, the aforementioned, somewhat artificial boundaries focus attention solely upon the shifting attitudes toward English Catholics and the removal of some anti-Catholic restrictions, neither of which adequately account for the persistence of popular prejudices and for the inconsistencies occasioned by peculiar historical circumstances (such as a localized response to a sheriff who was not prosecuting Papists because his relationship to the family).⁶ While it may be tempting to connect the gradual re-establishment of these terms with the Catholic political emancipation movement in Britain, such a connection would be imprecise: the anti-Popish sentiments behind the Gordon riots were a frenzied and markedly regional response to the toleration granted to Catholics, a toleration incorrectly assumed to counter the Settlement Act and to operate against the popular (and culturally unifying) anti-Papal sentiments.

At first glance, reaction against toleration and its accompanying rhetoric could neatly serve to account for the renewed interest in the medieval and Catholic elements of England's past. Though it obscures the history leading up to the riots, yoking the lexical process of differentiation with the interaction of popular and fervent anti-Catholicism and politically expedient acts of toleration helps frame the issues at stake. The decade before the Gordon riots was one in which Parliament extended small measures of increasing tolerance toward both the Catholic and Dissenting minorities — a toleration that developed in part out of the permissive culture of the Enlightenment. The increasing

toleration toward Catholics, however, did nothing to restore monasteries or provide for colleges or novitiates; instead, parliamentary acts merely allowed a relaxation of judicial prejudices.

It is in this distinction that a premature urge to connect linguistic change with an overgeneralized sentiment of toleration falls apart. For instance, Parliament's passing of the Quebec Act of 1774 set a precedent for tolerance in permitting the existing forms and modes of law to continue in this colony (e.g., French rather than English common law, a legislative council rather than an elected assembly, ownership of property by Catholics rather than the harsh restrictions existing in England). This act extended and formally permitted the existence of Roman Catholicism in the former French colony. Yet the Quebec Act in itself did not instill a need to reformulate differing modes of asceticism: indeed, the act met with popular outcries in London as well as colonial Philadelphia. The superficial evidence that could be used to support a cause-effect relationship between British toleration and the redefinition of monastic terms could just as easily be used to refute it. The role of toleration, therefore, cannot be considered *the* catalyst or *the* agent in the process of linguistic change. Toleration, limited as it was, was neither a British innovation nor a valued export. Too strong an emphasis upon proactive toleration overlooks other possibilities, such as a decreased anxiety over Roman Catholicism on account of the perceived waning of the Catholic Church's power throughout Europe. Three significant developments signaled the decline of the papacy's influence in Europe: (1) Clement XIV's decision to suppress the Jesuits in 1773; (2) Catholic concessions made in Spain and Portugal regarding power and papal authority (such as Carlos III's restrictions on religious orders in the 1770s); and (3) a nationalizing movement, begun

with the publication of Justinus Febronius's *De statu ecclesiae et legitima potestate Romani pontificis* in 1763 (especially potent under Joseph II in the 1780s).⁷ These examples of the diminishing power of the Pope over European affairs call into question any claim that the historical moment itself occasioned the emerging Protestant anxiety over a most decidedly Roman Catholic institution. At bottom, neither toleration nor Roman Catholicism's perceived decline adequately accounts for the reconsideration of asceticism's place in a modern, enlightened society.

For these reasons I do not offer any single explanation for the increased interest in and anxiety about asceticism. It is my belief that ultimately no single cause adequately accounts for the changes, and it is my aim to uncover the results rather than the causes of such forces at work. Consequently, I will examine literary responses and presentations to help demystify and broadly characterize how this society depicted England's Catholic past and how it perceived monasticism; I will not, however, define what caused it to happen. When studied in this way, these very representations, each of which modestly altered the perception of asceticism, reveal the process by which monastic terms become distinct. Perhaps no one will dispute that the words "monk," "friar," and "hermit" came to refer to radically different conceptions of asceticism, or that this process of semantic differentiation began in the latter half of the eighteenth century. That the modification happened during a period of British history in which Catholic religious orders in Britain were all but extinct, or became so, is one of history's telling ironies.⁸ Not enough attention, however, has been paid to the consequences of the lexical discrimination, consequences suggesting that some amount of revisiting the past occurred for the meaning of monastic terms to become more precise.

By carefully tracing the gradual shift in meaning of these terms, I hope to raise — and shed light upon — some problems of interpretation occasioned by the change in meaning. In other words, the fact that hermit may refer either to someone who retreats from the world under the auspices of religion or to one who lives as a recluse apart from society may alter the way we comprehend the significance of works of fiction that date from the earlier part of this period. The redefining of asceticism — and, by extension, the recasting of history and religious sensibilities — not only occurs with some frequency in literary works of this period, but it also provides a vantage point to glimpse the complex interaction between factionalism and patriotism, and, more specifically, the interplay among politics, religion, antiquarianism, and nationalism. Put within the context of 1780s England, a time when monasticism is not understood fully, British writers modify its meaning to corroborate or to supplement larger movements within the culture, movements ranging from a rise in Evangelism to a change in the landscape of England as a consequence of commercial growth. For the sake of clarity in my exposition, I have chosen to isolate what I consider to be representative examples — episodes, if you will — in which the stakes of the debate over monasticism's meaning are set forth in broad strokes by writers of this era. Some of these works are canonical; some have not been studied with much rigor. By carefully selecting representative writings from a variety of generic categories written for different audiences, I hope to present some of the key issues of the battle over the meaning of asceticism and to avoid issues arising from collapsing history and region or focusing too intently upon historical trends (such as the increasing toleration granted to English Catholics). The principles of the selection I have used are: prevalence based upon publication history, significance gauged by critical

response within the society upon publication, and impact determined by epigones and imitations.

In late eighteenth-century writing, the beginnings of this battle over meaning happened primarily in three literary forums: (1) antiquarian research, particularly the flourishing of the Antiquarian Society, fueled in part as a response to the challenges presented by Chatterton's Rowley; (2) new developments in history writing (in particular, the scientific approaches advocated by Hugh Blair); and (3) literary responses to the reinvigoration of Anti-Popish prejudices through propaganda and republication of classic Reformation texts (such as Fox's *Book of Martyrs*).⁹ Though each literary work ultimately presents a different perception of the monk, taken collectively they reveal how pervasive the debate over the image of monasticism was. As a whole, each of these inquiries into the medieval past helps illustrate the gradual process of lexical differentiation in which writers and speakers contribute to the meaning and context (i.e., the connotation) of seemingly indistinct — or perhaps forgotten distinctions between — monastic terminology. Yet each of these episodes illustrates a different problem regarding the way in which these writers perceived and conceived the medieval past. Identifying how writers reconstituted the past and by presenting what they considered to be important about that past reveals how the perception of a Catholic institution, one which was nearing extirpation, provided a fertile field to test social, political, and spiritual conceptions relevant to the society as a whole.

-1-

The story of the rise and progress of the Society of Antiquaries, officially reconstituted by George II in 1751 and composed initially of hobbyists and enthusiasts who sought to preserve British antiquities, follows the trajectory of many well-intentioned but

misinformed efforts to preserve the past. Purchasing manuscripts out of rubbish dealer's shops and preventing the destruction of artifacts, members preserved for posterity much material that might have served as fish wrapping, fireplace tinder, rags, or patches. Their methods for preserving the past, however, were hardly codified and somewhat unscientific. For instance, many members of the society asserted the authenticity of James Macpherson's discovery and translations of Ossian, naively accepting them on word without examining the source material (which would have confirmed that Macpherson at least tripled the amount of material he had).¹⁰ Nevertheless, however misguided, guileless, or unsophisticated, these amateurs and their efforts to preserve the past stimulated discussions and galvanized factions that reconstituted the meaning of that past. And their debate sparked many reconsiderations in poetry of the life of a medieval monk, such as those found in the Poet Laureate Thomas Warton's technically accurate and surprisingly generous depictions.

One event in the early history of the society particularly helped to improve the methods and the approaches toward manuscripts and materials — at the same time engaging a British reconsideration of monastic history and practice both by amateur antiquarians such as Horace Walpole and professional scholars such as Thomas Warton. The Rowleian controversy, as it is now called, roughly spans the period between 1768 and 1784, at which time many well-respected writers, antiquaries, and scholars weighed in judgment the authenticity of the "discovered" manuscripts by Thomas Chatterton, the sixteen-year-old legal scribe from Bristol.¹¹ Much work has been done regarding the controversy and its impact upon conceiving what is authentic. What is not often discussed is how important the definition of medieval monasticism was to the outcome.

The unfolding of the controversy bears witness to this extraordinary change. Initially, the argument activated many literary luminaries to pronounce judgment. Samuel Johnson, for instance, described the manuscripts as spurious and saw no value in them whatsoever (even compared to another forgery, James Macpherson's *Ossian*): "For Ossian there is national pride ... for Chatterton there is nothing but the resolution to say again what once has been said" (Boswell *Life* IV. 163).¹² The terms of the debate eventually led to a carefully assembled edition of his known "transcriptions," something that even Shakespeare lacked at the time (Rawson 29). Part of the debate "called for linguistic analysis of Chatterton's English, enormously in excess of the hard work Chatterton himself put into the business. Learned men like George Steevens and Thomas Tyrwhitt were stopped in their tracks, not initially certain of themselves as they embarked on the heavy labors of refutation" (Rawson 29). Besides the linguistic study and the examination of the internal evidence, the controversy also centered on the historical accuracy of Chatterton's representation of monks. In short, each aspect of the controversy over the alleged existence of a fifteenth-century Bristol monk who wrote alternately scandalous, sentimental, and grotesque verse forced a discussion of monasticism in the history of England by a society unfamiliar with monks, initiated a remarkably well-informed discourse of England's medieval and Catholic past by the erudite of the Church of England, and sparked a debate in which none of the participants could be entirely objective or disinterested. The fact that Chatterton's production helped energize the way in which scholars considered the past — setting one camp to explode the dominant myths and the other to reaffirm their validity — presents both the stakes and the disputants clearly. Defending or unmasking Chatterton was not the focus of the debates. Instead,

they centered on the portrayal of Britain's medieval past and its relevance to the present and on the tropes and sources informing these portrayals of the medieval. It was when the antiquarians quibbled over the defining characteristics of fifteenth-century monasticism that the controversy became most heated.

The history of the debate is complicated, and it is important to understand how it affected (and continues to affect) the reception of the poems. The controversy began when Chatterton, who sought benefactors and patrons, sent an unsolicited manuscript to Horace Walpole, who was then working upon the subject of medieval art. Walpole, who had recently unmasked himself as the writer of the Gothic novel *The Castle of Otranto* (1764) and who had just completed another Gothic work, *The Mysteries of Mother* (1768), was well known at the time for his antiquarian interests and for his lavish tastes (as any visitor to his "castle" Strawberry Hill was sure to remark). In the letter that Chatterton sent to him in 1769, he claimed to have discovered some material that Walpole might find useful in his continuation of George Vertue's study of the history of painting. By this time, Chatterton was quite practiced in his forgeries and perhaps equally brazen on account of his successes, brazen beyond what one might expect from a precocious, thirteen-year-old student. Assuming the mask of a fictitious priest (alternately, monk) of the fifteenth century named Thomas Rowley, through which he would write of life in Bristol during the time of Edward IV, Chatterton convinced many local Bristol dignitaries of the validity of his discoveries.¹³ In one instance, he forged an account of the mayor's first passing over the old bridge in thirteenth-century Bristol, published before the inauguration of the new bridge in 1768. He also supplied convincing works to bibliophile, amateur antiquarian, and manuscript hunter George Catcott; Chatterton had

mastered the technique of fabricating documents and affecting obsolete orthography.

In the first letter that Chatterton sent Walpole (hoping to ingratiate himself and be rewarded monetarily), he enclosed a "transcription" of a short manuscript attributed to his alias, Thomas Rowley, discussing the rise of painting in Bristol (Walpole *Correspondence* 25 16:101). Within the manuscript, Chatterton introduces another alias, Abbot John (styled "Johne Seconde Abbate of Seyncte Austyns Mynsterre," inducted as abbot in the year 1186) who is introduced by his alter ego Rowley as "the greatest Poet of the Age, in which he lived" (Walpole *Correspondence* 25 16:101). In his letter to Walpole, Chatterton claims to have discovered Rowley's translations of Abbot John's verses from Greek into English (Walpole *Correspondence* 16:115), thus imputing the errors in transmission to the fictitious Rowley. Upon reception, Walpole brought the manuscripts to his friends, the medieval scholar William Mason and the poet Thomas Gray, who informed Walpole of the poem's forgery, "the language and metres being totally unlike anything ancient" (Walpole *Correspondence* 16:126). Although Walpole returned the manuscripts to Chatterton, documentation of their final exchanges, and particularly Chatterton's letters (for we only have reports of Walpole's letters), are coldly acerbic. In the period that followed this exchange with Walpole, Chatterton crafted a suicide note, which upon its discovery ended his apprenticeship as a law clerk. Shortly thereafter he died of arsenical poisoning (it is currently debated whether it was an act of suicide or rather an accidental overdose of a venereal disease antidote).¹⁴ Because of the uncertain state of the "original" manuscripts that Chatterton "transcribed," the controversy gathered momentum, and enlisted advocates and dissenters from various quarters, including the well-known Thomas Warton, who was then conceiving a history

of English poetry.

"The controversy was not primarily, or at all, about Rowley," as a modern scholar affirms (Grazia Lolla 153). Though writers such as Samuel Johnson, Alexander Chalmers, William Wordsworth, and Robert Browning entered the discussion to some degree, many of the controversialists during the height of the debate expended less effort in legitimizing the authenticity of Rowley's poetical efforts than in disparaging the means by which historical inquiries are conducted. As one scholar explains, "rather than proving the ignorance and naiveté of early scholars, the controversy fostered research, provided an outlet for the massive amount of information accumulated by antiquaries over the decades and polarized scholars into two groups who, while ostensibly arguing for or against Rowley, promoted conflicting views of the past" (Grazia Lolla 153). Instead, the principal issue of the stillborn controversy was the methods and principles of those conducting scholarship into the medieval past.

Recent scholarship identifies quite effectively that the anti-Rowleians generally considered taste and style when refuting the works, establishing scholarly principles based upon trends in medieval poetry. In one instance of this trend, Horace Walpole expresses his anger about what he considered the apparent lack of substance to the claims of authenticity:

How incredible it is that Rowley, a monk of a mere commercial town, which was all Bristol then was, should have purified the language and introduced a metre more classic than was known to that polished courtly poet, Lord Surry; and this in the barbarous turbulent times of Henry VI and that the whole nation should have relapsed into the same barbarism of style and versification, till Lord Surry, I

might also say, till Waller, arose. (*Correspondence* 16:126-27)

Here Walpole appeals to historical fact surrounding the provenance of the Rowley manuscripts, claiming that a monk in such a remote location could never have had the polish required to write in an ostensibly courtly meter. In this way, internal evidence became the byword of anti-Rowleian analyses.¹⁵ Thomas Warton and many anti-Rowleians saw no need to base their claims against authenticity upon careful research into external evidence, such as

the complexion of ink or of parchment, from the information of cotemporaries [sic], the tales of relations, the recollections of apprentices, and the prejudices of friends ... pedigrees in the herald's office, armorial bearings, parliamentary rolls, inquisitions, indentures, episcopal registers, epitaphs, tomb-stones, and brass-plates.... (Warton *An Enquiry* xii)

Nonetheless, this emphasis upon internal evidence itself is a consequence of the controversy rather than the "aristocratic disdain for the lower classes and their acquired knowledge" (Grazia Lolla 160).¹⁶ For instance, the original manuscripts presented to Bishop Thomas Percy had been lost. As one anti-Rowleian put it, "I really see very little prospect of coming at any certainty in this curious question. Dr. Percy very peremptorily pronounces the small fragments of the original parchments put into his hands to have been a bungling forgery, but unfortunately by the carelessness of Mr. Chambers ... these supposed originals were lost, so that nobody else can sit in judgment on them" (Walpole *Correspondence* 16:131). In this way, the controversy was further complicated, and the focus of the debates had to be restricted to internal textual evidence.¹⁷

The heated dispute over the details and facts of monasticism is a long overlooked

aspect of the "internal evidence" controversy.¹⁸ The controversy instituted a reconsideration of monasticism and was marked by a challenge to the received wisdom regarding it. Chatterton himself staked out the battleground of this reexamination of contemporary prejudice against medieval monasticism. In February 1769, he wrote to the London publisher James Dodsley, "The Motive that actuates me to do this [translate Rowley's play *Aella*] is, to convince the World that the Monks (of whom some have so despicable Opinion) were not such Blockheads, as generally thought and that good poetry might be wrote, in the dark days of Superstition as well as in these more enlightened Ages" (Chatterton *Complete* I.172).¹⁹

By characterizing monks in this way, Chatterton reverses two important prejudices of his time: (1) the prejudice of history, in that the "dark days" of the medieval period do not consequently preclude the possibility of individual genius rising above the constrictions of his era to produce lasting monuments of poetry or drama; and (2) the prejudice of religious conviction, in that Chatterton recognizes "monkish superstition" does not necessarily prevent a writer from producing insight that would be relevant to one who is enlightened and thus freed from the blunders of that superstition.

Furthermore, this particular quotation not only indicates Chatterton's personal stake in the controversy but also reveals how the monk's significance, indeed the very meaning of monasticism, is yoked to the eighteenth-century debate over the influence of a culture upon an artist, with Chatterton anticipating a position similar to Coleridge's conception of the individual genius articulated a half century later. Yet Chatterton's remarks should be considered in light of the fact that the Inquisition was a present-day reality and that all its cruelties were most often carried out by monks. Indeed, we should also recall that, in

England, monks had long been associated with various other cruelties, all of which were recorded (and even reprinted in inexpensive editions for the benefit of children!) in gory detail in Fox's *Acts and Monuments*.

Chatterton seems to dismiss the simmering religious politics and the latent anti-Catholicism of his era in order to controvert the received wisdom that monks were dull and lacked sophistication. But even Chatterton was not entirely one-sided in favor of medieval monasticism, a fact with which Rowleians had to contend. In the carefully assembled edition of "Rowley's" corpus, three poems in particular are fraught with the religious stereotyping that he seemed to impugn, especially regarding monasticism. In "Theere was a Broder of Orderys Whyte" and its companions "There [sic] was a Broder of Orderys Blacke" and the fragment "In the merry merye Vale" Chatterton depicts (with a wink toward his audience) a gluttonous Carmelite and a lecherous Dominican (or perhaps Austin friar), two stereotypes of monks that require little expansion. In the "merye Vale" he "may have had a Robin Hood sort of poem in mind with a Cistercian Friar Tuck" (Chatterton *Complete* II. 819). Nonetheless, Chatterton's impulse to defend the genius of his persona by depicting monks in such a favorable light and by affirming, "Monks were not such Blockheads," lays bare the chief issue of the controversy: whether the traditional understanding of monasticism was misleading or overstated.

The internal evidence of the poems, however, was of such a fugitive nature that verifying the facts challenged (and continues to challenge) the authority of the citations, especially when it comes to monasticism. For instance, in Rowley's "A Brief Account of William Cannings Onn oure Ladies Chirch," the first work presented to Barrett and Catcott following the publication of the "Bridge Narrative," the monastery mentioned

cannot be placed in the English countryside, not because it didn't exist but because the records are ultimately inconclusive as to *which* monastery in the vicinity it is supposed to be. "The Minster of our Ladie and Saincte Godwyne" mentioned in line 17 (as well as in "An Excelente Balade of Charitie") can be connected to no less than three saints, and could be associated with monasteries in Walsingham or Durham (Chatterton *Collected* II. 841). Indeed, Chatterton's very practice of naming reveals how ahistorical references can correspond to historical ones; in the second part of "The Battle of Hastings," for instance, the mention of Aderedus is nonhistorical but it corresponds to a King of England.²⁰

The historicity of monastic presentation not surprisingly became the center of the internal evidence debate. Walpole, for instance, heavily annotated several works of those who supported the authenticity of Rowley's poetry; these interlinear commentaries offer ways in which he is forced to focus upon the historical reality of monks in medieval England. In one of them — a work by a fellow member of the Antiquarian Society, Jeremiah Milles, called *Poems, Supposed to have been written...by Thomas Rowley...with a Commentary in which the Antiquity of Them is Considered, and Defended* — Walpole exposes the deceptiveness of an ambiguous term:

Milles asserts on page 24, "[Thomas Warton has observed] that on the revival of literature in England after the Norman conquest, many classics were transcribed for the use of monasteries ..."

Horace Walpole responds in the margin, "Query, which? Was Theocritus?"
(*Correspondence* 16:335)

The unavailability of classical Greek texts in English monasteries, a fact not yet

established by contemporary scholarship, energized antiquarian research to support and defend judgments about monks (especially because several Rowleian poems echo Theocritus and other classical Greek tragedians). In other words, the amount and type of knowledge that the medieval monastery housed and preserved served as a point of controversy. In the received wisdom, the medieval period was one in which knowledge of the classics was limited if not insubstantial.

At the same time that Walpole upholds the dominant myth regarding medieval monasticism, he disputes the trope of the "Dark Ages" in his annotations of another Rowleian and member of the Antiquarian Society, Jacob Bryant:

On page 166, Jacob Bryant writes, "But though the monks of the times may have confined themselves to these [religious] subjects; it does not follow, that people of more learning, and genius, were limited in the same manner."

To which Walpole writes, "But the monks, at least the clergy, were the only persons who had any learning at that time." (*Correspondence* 16:352)

Both Bryant and Walpole investigate here the validity of the myth of monkish ignorance, a product of the Reformation and culturally reinscribed across the two centuries following Wittenberg. Bryant's point that, though monks might be ignorant of subjects outside of religious matter, it does not follow that everyone else in the era would be likewise restricted serves as Walpole's point of attack, in which he affirms the unenlightened nature of the period as a whole.

Positions often centered on how the medieval and Catholic past ought to be considered, though. Much like the controversy between the ancients and the moderns that

James Levine has so carefully studied in *The Battle of the Books* and *Between the Ancients and Moderns*, both sides were often inconsistent, lapsing into various degrees of contradiction. In one instance, Walpole, attacking the Rowleian Jeremiah Milles, subverts the myth of the lecherous monk:

Milles quotes the second stanza of "Epistle to Mastre Canynge on Aella":

Perchaunce yn Vyrtnes gare rhym mote be thenne,

Butte efte nowe flyeth to the odher syde;

In hallie preeste apperes the ribaudes penne,

Inne lithie moncke apperes the barronnes pryde:

But rhym wuthe somme, as nedere without teethe,

Make pleasaunce to the sense, botte maie do little scathe.

Walpole responds, "Is this the language of a monk in the 15th century? Can any man living believe this?" (*Correspondence* 16:341)

Here Walpole's attention to the bawdy, uncouth language appeals to the sentiment that monks would not have tendered so worldly a position in claiming that pride marks both monks and barons and that priests facilely compose ribald works. Still, though the two sides of the controversy may have at times alternated between dismantling and defending the received wisdom and dominant myths, Chatterton's production nevertheless catalyzed a careful consideration of the medieval past. At a certain point in the debate, the issue was no longer whether a monk named Rowley wrote these poems but what constituted life in the fifteenth century and how that life was important to the eighteenth century.

When the preeminent scholar on English poetry weighed in on the subject, the

controversy gained another nuance. For though Warton weighed in on the side of the anti-Rowleians, his subsequent election to the post of Poet Laureate and publication of poetry that was sympathetic toward medieval monasticism complicates the debate and highlights further its impact upon the direction of verse and writing thereafter. Warton's involvement took the form of a short digression in the second volume of *The History of English Poetry* and a book-length refutation of Chatterton's poetry based on the internal evidence of the poetry (as mentioned before, focusing on meter, forms, and content, and treating historical allusions only in passing). Before pronouncing judgment, Warton sought the opinion of other scholars, such as Thomas Percy, to whom he wrote, "As to Chatterton, I have considered the subject pro and Con, not professing to enter *minutely* into the Controversy, but just as much as the *general* nature of my work properly required. I own, I lean to the side of the forgery: but if you could send me *only one capital* argument in favour of the genuineness of Rowlie's poems, I should accept it most thankfully" (Warton *Correspondence* 368).²¹ Warton's pronouncements upon the Rowleian controversy focus upon fifteenth-century poetics, with scattered tangents regarding monasticism; however, Warton also published shortly thereafter a series of poems that take issue with the dominant myths of medieval monasticism. In his "Ode Written at Vale Royal Abbey in Cheshire," published in 1777, Warton highlights the principal stereotypes of monastic life, following it with an indulgent display of sympathy, evoking "soft Pity's sigh ... [and] Candour's modest plea" (ll. 39-40, Warton *Poetical I.* 134). The following stanzas display this sympathy towards monasticism:

Here ancient Art her daedal fancies play'd

In the quaint mazes of the crisped roof;
 In mellow glooms the speaking pane array'd,
 And rang'd the cluster'd column, massy proof.

Here Learning, guarded from a barbarous age,
 Hover'd awhile, nor dar'd attempt that day;
 But patient trac'd upon the pictur'd page
 The holy legend, or heroic lay. (Warton *Poetical* I. 136-37)

Warton indicates his sentimentality about Gothic architecture and medieval learning in his allusion to his favorite poet, Milton. That the Gothic columns were "massy proof" summons forth Milton's suggestively (and ambiguously) sympathetic delineation of melancholy draped in the monastic habit ("Il Penseroso" l. 158, Milton 76).²² Nonetheless, Warton, unlike Milton, ends his poem with two stanzas that celebrate the advances of modern civilization:

From these deserted domes new glories rise;
 More useful institutes, adorning man,
 Manners enlarg'd, and new civilities,
 On fresh foundations build the social plan.

Science, on ampler plume, a bolder flight
 Essays, escap'd from Superstition's shrine;
 While freed Religion, like primeval light

Bursting from chaos, spreads her warmth divine. (Warton *Poetical* I. 139)

That Warton recapitulates the myth of social advance and the improvements of science is not unusual for the era. That Warton calls monasteries guardians against a barbarous age, however, undoubtedly raised not a few eyebrows, no matter how much he tempered the thought with his reflections upon the advances of modern civilization. In like fashion, the redefinition of monasticism occurs in part when antiquarians such as Warton reflect upon the medieval and, de facto, Catholic period. By expressing a need to preserve this past and by arguing over the way in which to consider the past, antiquarians set the parameters of this nationalizing pastime. Inevitably, the antiquarian interests of this era overlapped other forms of historical research, and the two pursuits mutually encouraged a collection of artifacts as well as a narrative by which to make sense of the past. In short, the growing interest in the medieval — capitalized upon by antiquarians endeavoring to unmask medievalism — sparked and responded to the development of a more scientific history writing encouraged by the Enlightenment.

-2-

Unlike those involved in the Rowleian controversy, which energized the development and improved the methods of the Society of Antiquaries while openly questioning the dominant tropes of medieval monasticism, most historians of this period represented historical monasticism as an institution that promoted indolence, superstition, and folly. In this regard, both David Hume's *The History of England* (1754-62) and Edward Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776-88) serve to illustrate how historians constructed and disseminated such antipathetic images of monasticism, especially concerning the celibate life.²³ Monasticism, for both Hume and

Gibbon, served as an emblem of an unenlightened society — and, in this way, their work dovetails with the Protestant rejoinders against the impure religiosity of the papacy, especially as found in its monasteries. As Stephen Paul Foster points out, "monasticism thus represented for Hume and Gibbon both the culmination point of Christianity's corruption by otherworldly preoccupations and the counterpoint to a morality based on human nature and derived from common life experience centering on enterprises that are useful and agreeable" (211). Nonetheless, the two works by these writers also illustrate a subtle change in the tenor of the predominant anti-Catholic register of the time.²⁴

Hume's accessible and eventually popular *History of England* has not usually been discussed in the context of prejudicial history because early responses to the first volume (published now as the concluding volume) highlighted its secular treatment of religious matters and found Hume's discussion of religion shockingly impartial and disinterested.²⁵ But such disinterested analysis of religion often itself reflects a bias, and particularly during the century that produced many freethinkers and deists. Not surprisingly, by 1789 both Gibbon and Hume were associated with infidelity. As one reviewer (signed "Probus") in *The Theological Miscellany* put it, they "poisoned the streams of history with their prejudiced insinuations, and basely bewildered their readers with their officious reflections" (as qtd in McCloy 129).

These contemporary reviews, though, also point out Hume's sophistication in presenting history. A reviewer in the *Annual Register* of 1761 claims,

Our writers had commonly so ill succeeded in history ... the Italians, and even the French, had so long continued our acknowledged superiors, that it was almost

feared that the British genius, which had so happily displayed itself in every other kind of writing, and gained the prize in most yet could not enter into this. The historical work that Mr. Hume has published discharged our country from this opprobrium. (as qtd in Hicks 197-98)

Nevertheless, the work is far from the type of post-Rankean analysis that modern audiences expect in a work of history.²⁶ Hume organizes his history around a belief that "the problem of preserving civilization in England lay in protecting the constitution from the ignorance and folly of a factious people who were only able to rise above their tribal party loyalties when aroused by xenophobia and religion" (Phillipson 17-18). Hume's study of English history is thus political in nature, tracing the way in which parties or factions interceded or interfered with the operation of evolving constitutional liberties. Although political in nature, it is not partisan (or, more appropriately, it is more in the spirit of Addison and Steele's *Spectator* than Bolingbroke's contributions to the *Craftsman*).²⁷ Nor is the history whiggish because it very evidently does not celebrate the present as the advancement upon and refinement of the past. Within the *History*, for example, Hume distinguishes four constitutions and then traces the development of their progress (4.355 ff.), carefully noting the changes (which are not improvements because they are not always for the best) and pointing out that these constitutions each are modern negotiations of post-Norman society. This position, contrary to contemporary politics, reveals Hume's disregard for the "present power, interest, and authority, and the cry of popular prejudices" and indicates the reason for the *History's* initial unpopularity (*My own* viii).

Similarly, Hume's analysis of Catholicism, though superficially anti-Catholic, offers a reflection upon the historical and political motivations from a vantage point that looks neither to celebrate the advancement of the present nor accommodate the prejudices of his audience. In this way, his analysis is both prejudiced and unprejudiced, depending on the criteria one sets. At the beginning of chapter 29, Hume decides to precede his analysis of Henrican politics with a discussion of the Reformation. In this preface labeled a "digression concerning the ecclesiastical state," he discusses religion as though it were part of the gross national product, making the argument that preachers ought to be paid by the state in order to maintain an order and a discipline which serves both the "true" religion and the state itself:

No regard will be paid to truth, morals, or decency in the doctrines inculcated [in every religion "except the true"]. Every tenet will be adopted that best suits the disorderly affections of the human frame. Customers will be drawn to each conventicle by new industry and address in practising on the passions and credulity of the populace. And in the end, the civil magistrate will find, that he has dearly paid for his pretended frugality, in saving a fixed establishment for the priests; and that in reality the most decent and advantageous composition, which he can make with the spiritual guides, is to bribe their indolence, by assigning stated salaries to their profession, and rendering it superfluous for them to be farther active, than merely to prevent their flock from straying in quest of new pastures. And in this manner ecclesiastical establishments, though commonly they arose at first from religious views, prove in the end advantageous to the political

interests of society. (Hume *History* 3.29.136)

Here Hume defends Erastianism as a suitable means for political stability — and this digression is excerpted from a passage in which he discusses and arguably upholds Reformation principles. Later in this same chapter, he recounts how the Pope, operating under these same Erastian principles, allowed Cardinal Wolsey to suppress monasteries in order to create two colleges: "The execution of this project became the less difficult for him, because the Romish church began to perceive, that she overabounded in monks, and that she wanted some supply of learning, in order to oppose the inquisitive, or rather disputative, humour of the reformers" (Hume *History* 3.29.150). Hume equates the practice of monasticism with the suppression of learning and the obstruction of individual inquiry. Indeed, he produces a litany of errors for which the monks were responsible:

The great encrease of monasteries, if matters be considered merely in a political light, will appear the radical inconvenience of the catholic religion; and every other disadvantage, attending that communion, seems to have an inseparable connexion with these religious institutions. Papal usurpations, the tyranny of the inquisition, the multiplicity of holidays; all these fetters on liberty and industry were ultimately derived from the authority and insinuation of monks, whose habitations, being established every where, proved so many seminaries of superstition and of folly. (Hume *History* 3.31.227)

The connection between sloth and monasticism is traditional, hearkening back to the Reformation itself (and echoed by the medieval Catholic church throughout its various attempts to reform monastic practice). Hume does not seem to be advancing any new

position; indeed, his narration and trajectory of Henry's gradual suppression of the monasteries generally follows preconceived Protestant notions of monasticism — which considered such institutions to be a drain upon society's potential resources. In this analysis, though, Hume does not distinguish between the orders of itinerant and mendicant friars and the religious communities of monks.²⁸ The evils of the Inquisition and the disquisitions supporting the beatification of Christians are therefore unquestionably attributed both to monks and friars, and the marshalling of further charges against monasticism is therefore no surprise. After highlighting the frauds by which monks used to "encrease the devotion and liberality of the people," Hume mentions that such is to be expected "in an order founded on illusions, lies, and superstition," a remark that would have had no shock value for contemporary readers (Hume *History* 3.31.229).

In other passages Hume exhibits considerable restraint toward monks — signaling guarded sympathy and qualified respect. He first points out that much of the historical records regarding the monstrosities occurring in monasteries are biased and not to be trusted:²⁹ "During times of faction, especially of the religious kind, no equity is to be expected from adversaries; and as it is known that the king's intention in this visitation was to find a pretence for abolishing monasteries, we may naturally conclude, that the reports of the commissioners are very little to be relied on" (Hume *History* 3.31.228). Here one notes Hume's attempt at an even-handed assessment of matters. And though Hume would return to the Protestant vantage point (perhaps out of habit or a consideration of his audience) he does so only after exhibiting a carefully worded left-

handed compliment to monasticism:

The supine idleness also, and its attendant, profound ignorance, with which the convents were reproached, admit of no question; and though monks were the true preservers, as well as inventors, of the dreaming and captious philosophy of the schools, no manly or elegant knowledge could be expected among men, whose lives, condemned to a tedious uniformity, and deprived of all emulation, afforded nothing to raise the mind or cultivate the genius. (Hume *History* 3.31.229)

Of course, Hume's recognition of the important role monks have played in preserving ancient learning comes with a jab at the narrow-minded and specious disputation practiced by the medieval Scholastic philosophers. This passage, nonetheless, signals the dawn of a new, more informed discussion of monks: the possibility of an unbiased reconsideration of monasticism rather than the blind, unquestioning belief in the shorthand stereotypes advanced by earlier Protestant writers.

This reconsideration is not wholesale, however. For instance, Hume suggests that the exaggerations recorded by the Henrican commissioners could have been blamed upon misrepresentations and exaggerations, the result of institutionalized and asocial psychology in a monastery: "The cruel and inveterate factions and quarrels, therefore, which the commissioners mentioned, are very credible among men, who, being confined together within the same walls, never can forget their mutual animosities, and who, being cut off from all the most endearing connections of nature, are commonly cursed with hearts more selfish, and tempers more unrelenting, than fall to the share of other men" (Hume *History* 3.31.229). In another passage, Hume points out that post-Reformation

society had failed to foster any institution that replaced monastic largesse in its kindness toward the abject and its hospitality towards the mendicant aristocracy:

The monks lived in a hospitable manner; and besides the poor, maintained from their offals, there were many decayed gentlemen, who passed their lives in travelling from convent to convent, and were entirely subsisted at the tables of the friars. By this hospitality, as much as by their own inactivity, did the convents prove nurseries of idleness; but the king, not to give offence by too sudden an innovation, bound the new proprietors of abbey lands, to support the ancient hospitality. But this engagement was fulfilled in very few places, and for a very short time. (Hume *History* 3.31.256)

Of course the emphasis naturally falls upon the proclamation that the monastery was the nursery of idleness, and in this fashion Hume can hardly be said to respect the practice of monasticism. Nonetheless, this passage's rhetoric also suggests a note of nostalgia for the hospitality shown to the poor and the wayward. In contrast to the centuries of anti-Catholic accounts of English history and the founding of the Anglican church, Hume's portrayal of monks reveals not merely a degree of disinterest and a more sophisticated awareness of the nuances of Henrican politics but also a new and more just perspective on one of the easiest political targets of institutional Protestantism.

Gibbon's depiction of monasticism, however, is not as "generous" as Hume's. Like Hume, he took care to examine monasticism from outside the interested position of Protestantism.³⁰ Unlike Hume, Gibbon's discussion does not conflate or confuse monks with hermits or friars — and he is one of the earliest writers, if not the first in eighteenth-

century Britain, to recognize the distinction. Gibbon couples this careful historicity with a rabid anti-Catholicism, strongly condemning monks and the Catholic church even to the point at which, in the thirty-seventh chapter, the insularity of monks serves as the antithesis of the sociability of classical Romans.³¹ His portrayal of monasticism in *The Decline and Fall* is thus both representative and singular in that it follows the precedents of Protestant and deistic writers but intersperses their positions with his own assessments, producing a new species of historical writing in England (Phillips 342).³²

Gibbon's analysis of asceticism occurs mainly in the thirty-seventh chapter of the fourth volume, written mainly during the Gordon riots of 1780 (Craddock *Luminous* 146, 148).³³ Here Gibbon associates religious recluses with barbarians, pointing out that the conversion of the northern tribes to Christianity and the flourishing of monasticism were important to both the decline of the Roman empire and the "final triumph, and the gradual corruption of Christianity" (*Decline* IV.37: 62). That Gibbon composed this chapter during a historical moment he was later to describe as "marked by a dark and diabolical fanaticism, which I supposed to be extinct, but which actually subsists in Great Britain perhaps beyond any other Country in Europe" (*Letters* 2:245), suggests a contemplation of historiography — that he considered the similarities between the Protestant mob's attack on popery and the invasion of the Germanic tribes, which colors Gibbon's analysis of Christianity and Catholicism. Though Gibbon was unharassed by the mobs of early June — he claimed that "my known attachment to the Protestant Religion has probably saved me" (*Letters* 2:242) — his position in society was precarious and could potentially have been disastrous had the facts regarding his conversion to

Catholicism been generally known among the rioters (as it would become some four years after the riots). Based on these circumstances, Gibbon's yoking of monasticism and barbarism written as the fires burned distilleries and Newgate was under siege requires further inquiry into his assessment of the "unenlightened" and its relationship to those professing vows of poverty and chastity for their religion.

Gibbon associated monasticism with all that he detested in religion. As Foster points out, "Monks are in Gibbon's estimation effete barbarians.... The monk represents Christianity in its most extreme posture of otherworldliness, and Gibbon excoriates him for repudiating those virtues that are linked to success in this world" (201).³⁴ Gibbon regarded the unsocial nature of monks as serious and sinister: "These unhappy exiles from social life were impelled by the dark and implacable genius of superstition... and each proselyte, who entered the gates of a monastery, was persuaded that he trod the steep and thorny path of eternal happiness" (*Decline* IV.37: 67-68). He footnotes this clause, adding with characteristic irony that

Chrysostom ... has consecrated three books to the praise and defence of the monastic life. He is encouraged, by the example of the ark, to presume that none but the elect (the monks) can possibly be saved. Elsewhere indeed he becomes more merciful and allows different degrees of glory, like the sun, moon, and stars. In his lively comparison of a king and a monk he supposes (what is hardly fair) that the king will be more sparingly rewarded, and more rigorously punished. (*Decline* IV.37: 68, n. 25)

The parenthetical response to Chrysostom reveals Gibbon's impertinent but circumspect

captiousness. Gibbon here disparages Chrysostom for his claim of salvation for monks and for his infelicitous comparison between a king and a monk — in that Chrysostom's supposition is hardly appropriate (i.e., Chrysostom does not sit in judgment in Heaven) and that the analogy denies the agency of good works to monarchs.

Gibbon is hardly so circumspect when it comes to discussing monks. For instance, he often points out the fanatical element of their piety and obedience: "several saints, or madmen, have been immortalised in monastic story by their thoughtless and fearless obedience" (*Decline* IV.37: 70). As a consequence, he often metaphorically equates their unquestioning obedience and scanty diet with bestial characteristics: "of monks, who had the appearance of goats and satyrs" (*Decline* III. 27: 179); "the monks and the hermits, who descended in swarms from the mountains" (*Decline* III.27: 180); "a swarm of fanatics, incapable of fear, or reason, or humanity" (*Decline* IV.37: 70); "[Orestes'] chariot was assaulted by a band of five hundred of the Nitrian monks; his guards fled from the wild beasts of the desert" (*Decline* V.47: 116); "a troop of savage and merciless fanatics" (*Decline* V.47: 117); even "the numerous sect of Anachorets derived their name from their humble practice of grazing in the fields of Mesopotamia with the common herd" (*Decline* IV.37: 78-79). By presenting monks as subhuman, Gibbon asserts that a society's progress ought to be measured by its affinity and display of sociability; because the founding of orders of friars did not occur until much later, Gibbon's aspersions toward monks (who, fleeing one society, joined a group of similarly minded recluses) are most pronounced when compared to the social order. As a consequence, any celebration of antisocial behavior was, to Gibbon, backwards —

especially if this behavior cloaked itself in self-proclaimed holiness or if it went contrary to the biological laws of man's nature (McCloy 41). Like Hume, Gibbon believed that "monkish morality, a morality which bases itself on pleasing a divine being, gives rise to a devotional industry with stultifying effects on the natural virtues" (Foster 208).

Gibbon also denounced the irrational component of monasticism, as witnessed in the demand for unconditional obedience and the use of unnecessarily cruel punishment. In another characteristic instance of irony, Gibbon mentions in his footnote,

The rule of Columbanus, so prevalent in the West, inflicts one hundred lashes for very slight offences.... the abbots indulged themselves in mutilating their monks, or putting out their eyes: a punishment much less cruel than the tremendous *vade in pace* (the subterraneous dungeon, or sepulchre), which was afterwards invented. See an admirable discourse of Mabillon, who, on this occasion, seems to be inspired by the genius of humanity. (*Decline* IV.37: 71 n. 37)

Gibbon's ironic compliment of Mabillon as one who is "inspired by the genius" of monasticism (in its improvements upon torture) — it should be noted that Mabillon's work generally praises monasticism — illustrates the nature of Gibbon's bias. Gibbon would later point out that "a prince who should capriciously inflict such tortures would be deemed a tyrant; but it would surpass the power of a tyrant to impose a long and miserable existence on the reluctant victims of his cruelty" (*Decline* IV.37: 80), that ultimately this self-imposed punishment system dehumanizes — though he quickly points out that to use the name of "man" in connection to such methods of torture is to

"abuse that name" (*Decline* IV.37: 79). Unlike subjects of a king, monks have the opportunity to choose whether to take the vows and to which order to profess those vows. Gibbon elides this point, thus erring in a way similar to Chrysostom's comparison of kings and monks. This bias, though, is couched in a careful historicity. For instance, after letting slip the comparison between a tyranny and a self-chosen torture, he reminds his audience of the present day realities of the Inquisition: "A cruel unfeeling temper has distinguished the monks of every age and country: their stern indifference, which is seldom mollified by personal friendship, is inflamed by religious hatred; and their merciless zeal has strenuously administered the holy office of the Inquisition" (*Decline* IV.37: 80).

Gibbon tempers his animus toward monasticism in one important way. In considering monasticism's indispensable propagation of classical knowledge, he writes, the monastic studies have tended, for the most part, to darken, rather than to dispel, the cloud of superstition. Yet the curiosity or zeal of some learned solitaires has cultivated the ecclesiastical, and even the profane, sciences: and posterity must gratefully acknowledge that the monuments of Greek and Roman literature have been preserved and multiplied by their indefatigable pens. (*Decline* IV.37: 74)

Perhaps, as Owen Chadwick notes, Gibbon included this observation in order to present a less biased portrait, that this "need to preach tolerance was an important part of Gibbon's sense of detachment from the Protestant tradition" (228). Indeed, McCloy points out that Gibbon "makes exception ... [for] the learned Benedictines of St. Maur. These, though

not entirely free from bigotry, win his high commendation" (26). Gibbon's recognition, however, that certain monks had a degree of education and learning does not mean that he considered the institution as a bastion of either. As he points out later in the same chapter, "study is the resource of solitude; but education had not prepared and qualified for any liberal studies the mechanics and peasants, who filled the monastic communities. They might work; but the vanity of spiritual perfection was tempted to disdain the exercise of manual labour, and the industry must be faint and languid which is not excited by the sense of personal interest" (*Decline* IV.37: 78). Monks are unmanly, "oppressed with their craven, superstitious, and otherworldly ways [which] were, in Gibbon's view, precisely those that had made the Roman empire the pinnacle of civilization. Gibbon's hostility to monasticism waxed so intense because it was the monks who had cultivated those 'virtues' antithetical to those of classical Rome." (Foster 202). In short, though both Hume and Gibbon were fierce critics of institutionalized Christianity and of monasticism, neither was so biased that they could not recognize some of the merits of these institutions. Because of this attempt at evenness, both historians contributed to a reconsideration of monasticism, albeit one still tainted (by twenty-first century standards) by religious bigotry and one marked by an increasing awareness of historical circumstance. It was this effort at parity that distinguished how eighteenth-century historians considered monasticism, a parity that signaled a new way to consider the past.

-3-

Eighteenth-century historians and antiquarians were intent upon applying the "light" of empiricism to their work in an effort to recast the past by collecting, investigating, and

attempting to synthesize voluminous and often disparate detail. Although much present day scholarship has attempted to recapitulate this effort in much the same manner, no exhaustive work has mined the interpenetration of these eighteenth-century disciplines or their direct effect on the cataloguing and republication of medieval ballads and the rise of Gothic fiction. Furthermore, no study has successfully illustrated how monasticism, a facet common to most work of imaginative literature classified as "Gothic," arose from this increasing popularity with revisiting the past.³⁵ Part of the difficulty today's audience faces when encountering works of Gothic fiction is the connotations of that tradition developed in the cinema of Boris Karloff and Bela Lugosi and in mass-market paperbacks of Anne Rice. The staying power of twentieth-century works often urges scholars to embrace an epistemology wedded to a presupposed teleology. Just as eighteenth-century antiquarians misunderstood what a hermit was or how a monastery functioned in medieval England, so too do modern scholars import an understanding of "Gothic" that intrudes upon connotations registered by an eighteenth-century audience. As writers of Gothic fiction contended with the past, they were also involved in transforming the idea of a religious recluse. The task of differentiating the congeries of terms is bound in part by writers' various understandings of the generic context to which they added conventions and subsequently transformed. Hence, the genesis of Gothic romance is closely related to the redefining of monasticism and its meaning.

In April 1765, merely four months after its initial publication, Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* went into a second edition, in which the title page was significantly altered from, "THE / CASTLE of OTRANTO, / a / STORY. / Translated by WILLIAM

MARSHALL, Gent. / From the Original ITALIAN of / ONUPHRIO MURALTO, / Canon of the Church of St. NICHOLAS / at OTRANTO." to "THE / CASTLE of OTRANTO, / A GOTHIC STORY." With the addition of the word "Gothic" — and the rewriting of the preface — Walpole helped to set in motion the ensuing efflorescence of sensational and sentimental narratives.³⁶ For today's audiences, familiar with a horror tradition manifesting itself as *The Mummy's Tomb* (1942) to *Interview with a Vampire* (1976), the insertion of the word "Gothic" conjures up much of the work that was to follow *The Castle of Otranto* and its immediately contemporary descendants — tales of grotesque horror and supernatural terror. Walpole's audience, however, obviously did not have such a context, a fact that establishes this impulse as premature and historically inaccurate. E. J. Clery adds this point:

This notion of *The Castle of Otranto* as a tear-jerker, cherished by Walpole and apparently shared by some of the contemporary audience, should serve as a warning against the assumption that its significance is all openly accessible to the modern reader.... To view *Otranto* primarily as a founding text is to conclude that it is a failure or at best an indication of things to come. (Clery xxii, xxiii)

It is true that tagging a work of fiction as the seminal work in a tradition often accomplishes little except to draw more attention to a preconceived corpus of that tradition. And our understanding of gothic as an epithet for a certain type of imaginative literature does not generally coincide with that of Walpole's audience, who might possibly have referred to James Buchanan's definition of Gothic: "1. Of or belonging to the Goths. 2. Rude, rustic, out of taste" (Buchanan n. pag.).³⁷ Nevertheless, the title

page's revision, and the inclusion of the word "gothic," does seem to open the floodgates for a new tradition, one which was to develop and explore more fully the distinctions among the various religious orders of monks and friars. For in the early romances and tales that either called themselves or have since been classified as "Gothic," one of the chief agents within that fiction, and often the force against which the protagonist struggles, is monasticism or a member of a religious order.³⁸ By engaging so centrally with an idea or cultural symbol fraught with ambiguity, writers of Gothic fiction began to distinguish the equivocal terms of monasticism.

Critics have long quibbled over religion's place in Gothic fiction. Some argue, for instance, that the focus upon Catholicism is perfunctory at best — that "it is the incidental vestments, not the doctrine of Catholicism, that serve as the source of terror" (Varma 219). Others claim that "the rhetoric of the horror novel is demonstrably theological in character (Sage xvi).³⁹ However Gothic may be defined — and all the definitions involve some admixture of medievalism, supernaturalism, and sentimentalism — the fact remains that the writers who depicted these religious rites and orders had a limited opportunity to observe them firsthand. Of course these writers could refer to the flood of material being published in the latter half of the eighteenth century, materials ranging from travel narratives describing people and sites (and, in numerous digressions, reflecting upon their customs and religious beliefs) to the republication and theatrical renditions of classic works of British literature. In these works, the tonsured and discalced are portrayed in an arguably unfavorable light. One need only recall that the devious Cardinal Montecelso in Webster's *The White Devil*, or the plotting Duke

Vincentio in Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure*, even the scheming Friars Jacomo and Barnardine in Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* (cf. 3.3.31-82, 4.1.22-206), clearly outnumber the good intentioned (but perhaps ineffectual) representatives such as Friar Lawrence in *Romeo and Juliet* or Chaucer's Monk.⁴⁰

With this material becoming so widely available, writers of Gothic fiction could tailor their presentation as the need arose, drawing upon the wealth of pregnant (though generally inaccurate or inadequate) delineations of the cloistered life to suit the theme or plot as they saw fit. That is, the writers could have their cake and eat it too because they could depict "the attractiveness of Catholic ceremonial and the allure of Catholic practices without stopping to examine their *raison d'être*" (Tarr 43). Nonetheless, as more Gothic texts appeared, and as more writers took great liberty in depicting aspects of monasticism foreign to their audience, they began to distinguish a friar from a monk and a hermit from both. Often this process happened as writers fictionalized history. In slaking the thirst for the foreign, for the vaguely historic, for the Gothic, these writers also distinguished a life in which one retreats from society to lead a reclusive life in a cave (i.e., a hermit) to be different from a life spent devoted to a religious vow. This vow could entail a departure from society to enter a community of like-minded individuals leading a Christian life according to the Gospel's counsel (i.e., a monk), or it could mean denying oneself earthly gain in order to serve actively in the community through itinerant preaching, spiritual ministrations, and works of charity (i.e., a friar). The evolution of such distinctions in these works, however, is hardly linear or progressive. In works of Gothic fiction — exemplified by Horace Walpole's *Castle of Otranto* (1764), the oft-pirated and

republished "The Friar's Tale" (1788), and Ann Radcliffe's *The Romance of the Forest* (1792) — the inclination to recognize differences between types of asceticism was in part motivated by a fascination with the Catholic past, moderated by the narrator's vantage point (some were obviously not Protestant while yet giving lip service to anti-Popish prejudice), and made possible in part because of the decline of the Catholic church's power in Europe. These three works vary widely both in presentation and in sympathy; all of them, however, reveal a gradual recognition of monastic terminology roughly between the Gordon riots and the passing of the second Catholic Relief Act in 1791.

In the original preface to the first edition of *Otranto*, Walpole, masquerading as William Marshal, claims that this "translated" text from the twelfth century is one of the superstitious tales that the Reformation sought to discredit:

Letters were then in their most flourishing state in Italy, and contributed to dispel the empire of superstition, at the time so forcibly attacked by the reformers. It is not unlikely that an artful priest might endeavor to turn their own arms on the innovators; and might avail himself of his abilities as an author to confirm the populace in their ancient errors and superstitions. If this was his view, he has certainly acted with signal address. Such a work as the following would enslave a hundred vulgar minds beyond half the books of controversy that have been written from the days of Luther to the present hour. (Walpole *Otranto* 5)

By framing *Otranto* with this introduction, Walpole dismisses any elements his Protestant audience would consider irrational as characteristic of Catholic superstition.

The introduction also demonstrates Walpole's haphazard use of monastic terminology — which, as Appendix 1 reveals, is a commonplace of eighteenth-century Britain rather than any indication of his ignorance. "William Marshal" continues,

Here the interest of the monk plainly gets the better of the judgment of the author.

However, with all its faults, I have no doubt but the English reader will be pleased with a sight of this performance. The piety that reigns throughout, the lessons of virtue that are inculcated, and the rigid purity of the sentiments, exempt this work from the censure to which romances are but too liable. (Walpole *Otranto* 7)

That Marshal/Walpole called Onuphrio Muralto a "monk" in one instance and a "priest" in another might seem of little consequence, except that it reveals a lack of knowledge concerning monastic practice of the twelfth century. Similarly, the alternate appellation of Jerome as a "friar" and a "monk" (cf. Walpole *Otranto* 49, 63), and of the monastery at Otranto as a "monastery" and a "convent" (Walpole *Otranto* 63) further reveals that monastic terms had not yet become distinct in English. More remarkable, though, is that Marshal, presented as an English gentleman on the title page, presents as worthy the lessons to be culled from Muralto, a Catholic writer of medieval Italy.

The discrepancy regarding how a Catholic medieval writer might instruct a Protestant English audience is reconciled by the fact that many of the noble characters, such as Theodore, act in a manner more compatible with an English sitting room than an Italian castle, more like the medievalism inherent in a fictional delineation of the chivalry than of the historical aspects of nobility in medieval Italy. Theodore is forced to retreat to the forest — against his desire to square off against the overwhelming force of his enemy

— and he accedes mainly because these are the wishes of a respectable lady. Within the cave, he is depicted with the insistent self-certainty that Walpole associates with his highborn but undisclosed nobility:

he roved insensibly to the caves which had formerly served as a retreat to hermits, and were now reported round the country to be haunted by evil spirits. He recollected to have heard this tradition; and being of a brave and adventurous disposition, he willingly indulged his curiosity in exploring the secret recesses of this labyrinth. He had not penetrated far before he thought he heard the steps of some person who seemed to retreat before him. Theodore, though firmly grounded in all that our holy faith enjoins to be believed, had no apprehension that good men were abandoned without cause to the malice of the powers of darkness. He thought the place more likely to be infested by robbers, than by those infernal agents who are reported to molest and bewilder travelers. (75)

The slipshod framing device of William Marshal translating Onuphrio Muralto furnishes us with some interesting insights into the novel's relation to Catholicism: does the slippery possessive pronoun "our" refer to Onuphrio Muralto and his Italian readers (thus claiming that twelfth-century Catholicism is the "holy faith") or does it refer to William Marshal's slapdash handling of the translation (or, more accurately, Walpole's oversight of this aspect of his novel in relation to the constructed translation frame), thus meaning the "holy faith" is Protestant? Other similar instances of sloppiness suggest the latter.

This same passage also presents another glimpse of the religious life. In this cave, used previously as a "retreat" by hermits, we have the presence of several species of

ascetics: within the cave of ancient hermits, Theodore awaits the arrival of his father, Abbot (and nobleman) Jerome Falconara, who will bring him to the sanctuary of the monastery. As previously discussed in this chapter and exhibited fully in Appendix 1, the word "hermit" during this time was considered to be synonymous with monk. Walpole himself elsewhere shows the lack of distinction when he narrates the moment when the Marquis of Vicenza comes upon the apparition of the Palestinian recluse: "And then the figure, turning slowly round, discovered to Frederic the fleshless jaws and empty sockets of a skeleton, wrapped in a hermit's cowl.... Remember the wood of Joppa! Art thou that holy hermit? Cried Frederic trembling — can I do aught for thy eternal peace?" (Walpole *Otranto* 106, 107). In this passage, we witness a muddle of monastic terms, with the monastic "cowl" appearing as an ornament for a "hermit."

Obviously, the fact that the skeleton haunts an altar does *not* portend holiness. Likewise the fact that Walpole suggests that the hermit's cave (where Theodore awaits the arrival and protection of monks) is haunted alternately by ghosts and thieves adds to the claim, as ghosts and thieves are not generally associated with piety. Because at this time "hermit" does not necessarily denote a secular recluse to Walpole or his audience (but had been employed secularly in Thomas Amory's *John Buncl* (1756-66) and Charlotte Lennox's *The Female Quixote* (1752), to name two instances) a modern scholar is left with the enigma of what to make of this use of "hermit." In spite of this potential slipperiness of intention and reception and because context suggests otherwise, we may presume that Walpole meant to double the monastic figures, to present two epochs of monasticism (preceding and following the reformation of Benedict of Nursia's rules and

the creation of new religious orders) for scrutiny.⁴¹ Determining why Walpole chose to double the monastic figures in such a fashion is less accessible. The most recent editorial notes to this passage assert that he meant to depict Theodore's refuge in a hermit's cave merely to "draw upon the multiple symbolism of caves" as a haven from persecution and as a place for melancholic retreat, offers limited insight — and suffers from the importation of a twentieth-century understanding of "hermit" to the eighteenth century (Walpole *Otranto* 123).⁴² Beyond recognizing that Walpole did not distinguish between a "hermit" and a "monk," I would also suggest that Walpole used the two historical species of cenobites as a way in which to make conspicuous the difference between Abbot Jerome and the world-fleeing hermits who sought refuge in this cave: Jerome, it seems, was meant to inspire our respect.

Indeed, Walpole's presentation of the religious life is surprisingly positive. He crafts a text in which monastic figures are admirable, though his admiration is not indiscriminate. In one episode, he censures the celibate life — a criticism that recurs several times in this novel — in which the domestic servant Bianca chastises Matilda for her undue reverence, her desire to enter the convent, and her ambition to be considered saintly (Walpole *Otranto* 40-41). Bianca's injunction to seek the protection of the institution of marriage invokes the traditional response to monasticism as being against the natural order of life in that most prominent Protestant and Anglican writers upon the subject considered the vow of chastity a violation of scripture. This episode in which the celibate religious life is denounced, however, is overshadowed by Providence depicted as working through the hand of the holy hermit of Palestine (directing Frederic, Marquis of

Vicenza to his destiny). Furthermore, Walpole establishes Abbot Jerome as a character who commands our respect. For instance, Jerome resists the schemes of his lord Manfred, and his actions are accompanied by Walpole's obvious admiration:

— Father, interrupted Manfred, I pay due reverence to your holy profession; but I am sovereign here, and will allow no meddling priest to interfere in the affairs of my domestic.

My lord, said the holy man, I am no intruder into the secrets of families. My office is to promote peace, to heal divisions, to preach repentance, and teach mankind to curb their headstrong passions. I forgive your highness's uncharitable apostrophe: I know my duty, and am the minister of a mightier prince than

Manfred. Harken to him who speaks through my organs. (Walpole *Otranto* 48)

Walpole initially presents Jerome as a figure of unflappable integrity. Then, in an interesting character development, he humanizes Jerome within the next several pages as we learn he has had a child out of wedlock; in spite of this fact, Jerome still elicits veneration because Walpole shows him to be morally upright, as made evident by the tenor of his reproach of Manfred:

The will of heaven be done! said the friar. I am but its worthless instrument. It makes use of my tongue to tell thee, prince, of thy unwarrantable designs.... By me thou art reprimanded for thy adulterous intention of repudiating [Hippolyta]: by me thou art warned not to pursue the incestuous design on thy contracted daughter.... Even I, a poor and despised friar, am able to protect her from thy violence. — I, sinner as I am, and uncharitably reviled by your highness as an

accomplice of I know not what amours, scorn the allurements with which it has pleased thee to tempt mine honesty. I love my order; I honour devout souls; I respect the piety of the princess — but I will not betray the confidence she reposes in me, nor serve even the cause of religion by foul or sinful compliances — But forsooth! the welfare of the state depends on your highness having a son.

Heaven mocks the short-sighted views of man. (Walpole *Otranto* 50-51)

Around the same time that Hume excoriates monasticism, Walpole depicts a friar worthy of praise and earnestly devout to his faith.

The representation of this honorable and effectual "friar," however, is colored by Walpole's sense of the dignity of nobility. It is significant that Walpole's holy monk is given both noble birth and an acceptable justification for his taking of orders, the abduction of his beloved by Algerian corsairs who also ruined his castle. In this way, a shift in representation occurs, with the monk safely portrayed as being a highly principled nobleman. Indeed, the nobility of Jerome seemingly detracts from his sanctity. When Jerome broaches the folly of earthly existence — pretty standard sermonly stuff — Manfred retorts about Jerome's nobility interfering and canceling his religious office: "But alas! My lord, what is blood? what is nobility? We are all reptiles, miserable sinful creatures. It is piety alone that can distinguish us from the dust whence we sprung, and whither we must return," to which Manfred responds, "Truce to your sermon ... you forget you are no longer friar Jerome, but the count of Falconara" (Walpole *Otranto* 58). Having Manfred chortle such a denouncement allows Walpole to call into question Jerome's piety. That Walpole places the charge on the lips of the despicable and greedy

Manfred, however, effectively diminishes the truth to the claim. What remains is the image of an abbot who commands our admiration not because of his office but because of his nature (which Walpole associates with nobility).

Walpole hardly bothers himself with the particulars of monasticism itself. Not only is he inaccurate concerning certain "details" (such as the fact that friars had not yet been established during the period in which the novel is set) but he also seems to be ignorant of the religious conventions that would have held Jerome's justification for taking holy orders to be invalid. Rather, he manipulates the trappings of monasticism to distinguish the pious from the rapacious. On a larger scale, the novel is an extended sermon upon the workings of providence and the sin of greed; ironically, when Frederic, Marquis of Vicenza, threatens the Castle, Manfred commands Jerome, "Retire, father; this is no business for monks: I will meet this presumptuous man myself" (Walpole *Otranto* 61). The irony lies in the fact that Manfred usurps the authority of the very man whose affairs should be most directly involved with the fate of the kingdom, a monk whose son is the rightful heir to Otranto. At bottom, both Abbot Jerome's monastic office and the Holy Hermit's ghostly interference are little more than narrative activants and ornaments; as the agents of providence in this novel, however, they impress with their piety and are imbued with apparent favor in Walpole's eyes. Draping his characters in monastic robes, Walpole does little to uncover the reality behind the cowl. Nevertheless, this hasty and perhaps ill-conceived portrayal of monasticism set in motion a renewed interest in Catholic religious orders that would eventually lead to a better understanding of monks, friars, and hermits.

The story of the differentiation is in part explained by the popularity of *Otranto*, which by dint of its machinery engaged an imaginative reconsideration of the life of a religious recluse. As talented authors and hack writers alike cranked out the hundreds of works of Gothic fiction between the Gordon riots and the passing of the second Catholic Relief act, the meaning of monasticism became differentiated. Accelerating this differentiation was the rise of historical investigation based upon scientific principles and the increasing sophistication of antiquarian pursuits recovering Britain's history (aided in part by the interest in travel narratives of the Grand Tour and by the recognition of the ebbing of the Catholic church's perceived power). The publication of *Otranto*, combined with the contemporary interest in British medieval history, fathered many imitations: a flood of Gothic fiction appeared in journals and magazines in the two decades after its publication.⁴³ Many of these tales are no longer extant, though a list of several thousand titles (some of which we have recovered as republications because many of the popular works were extracted and reprinted) has survived, among these "The Friar's Tale," which was first published in a series of essays by the famous botanist, Humphry Repton.⁴⁴ Although the work is not purported to be by Humphry Repton and so remains listed "Anonymous," the internal evidence suggests either someone familiar with travel narratives in northern Italy or someone who had traveled to the Alpine region. Excepting "The Monks and the Robbers," "The Friar's Tale" was one of the more frequently reprinted (often semi-legally) works of magazine fiction during this period.

"The Friar's Tale" offers a startling portrait of religious orders and a religious life:

humility, piety, the offer of refuge for the dejected, and the respect the Protestant narrator gives to an exemplary religious life led by the Friar himself. It also recounts the traditional aversion to monasticism, in that the vow of chastity seems to controvert the Biblical exhortation to be fruitful and multiply. Characteristic of many Gothic works of this period, the tale also offers a foil — and the foil of the Friar in this work is the scheming, manipulative Sister Theresa, abbess of the order to which Matilda has been placed for her willful interest in the destitute Albert as a husband (and on the basis of the word of her cousin Conrad, who stands to receive the entire inheritance if Matilda does not marry). Or, as our anonymous Protestant narrator, who is being told the story by the Friar, relates:

In all this time, Matilda passed her days in wretchedness and persecution. The abbess of the convent, sister Theresa, who, to the disgrace of her profession, and our holy church, disguised the disposition of a devil in the garment of a saint, became the friend and minister of Conrad's wicked purposes, and never ceased to persecute Matilda by false reports concerning Albert, urging her to turn her thoughts from him to that heavenly spouse to whom she was about to make an everlasting vow. (Anonymous "Friar's" 13)

Again, like *Otranto*, the multiple telling of the tale confuses the referent for "our." It may refer to the friar and his Catholic coreligionists, the Protestant auditor and his British audience, or even the friar considering the narrator and perhaps the audience as members of the Christian faith. Furthermore, the fact that a nun's habit is here described as "the garment of a saint" calls into question the anti-Catholicism of the text and of the unclear

narrator — for though the text is clearly spoken by the Friar (and safely couched within the auspices of his religion), the retelling of the tale by the Protestant narrator destabilizes the otherness of Catholicism by suggesting that such avenues are still available to Protestants.

The machinations of Sister Theresa and Conrad continue to plague the innocent Matilda until she utters sighs of protest and the expected Protestant protestations against the celibate religious life:

"Why," said she, "why are these massy gates permitted to exist; why are these hated walls, sad prisons of innocence and youth, where fraud and cruelty have power, and to torture and confine the helpless? — Religion is the plea; Religion should bring peace, and not affliction to its votaries; then surely that religion which justifies these gloomy dungeons must be false, and I will abjure it...."

(Anonymous "Friar's" 14)

In this narrative, unlike *Otranto*, the few denunciatory remarks about monasticism are spoken by the youthful Conrad and Matilda, and are immediately followed by passages in which the distinction between habit and person restores the dignity of the profession of a religious life (or, more appropriately, the narrator simultaneously reminds the English auditor and the reader that the shortcomings of Theresa should not serve to denounce the institution as a whole). In this quotation, though, the attack is not upon monasticism but on religion itself — and the remarks appear more in line with Shaftesburian ethics than with either Protestant or Catholic theology.⁴⁵ In a mirror passage, Albert denounces the strictures of religion because it separates rather than joins people in love:

But this happiness was of short duration, for at that time I received a letter from the abbess Theresa, demanding back the fugitive, whose retreat she had discovered. The requisition I knew I must obey; and giving the letter to Albert, I was going to explain the necessity of my compliance, when he burst out in bitter execrations against this and all religious houses; cursing their establishment as a violation of the first law of nature, which commands an intercourse between the sexes. (Anonymous "Friar's" 20)

Both Albert's and Matilda's response to the vows of a religious life are in tune with the dominant anti-Catholic note of the period. Their impassioned, though perhaps misinformed, attacks seem to resound with the popular distrust of Popery that inspired the Gordon riots some half a dozen years before this tale first appeared in print.

The tale is remarkable, however, in that these less than circumspect censures of the religious life appear alongside positive examples of the piety possible through a life of devotion. For instance, in the Friar's response to Albert's diatribe, he provides humane (and human, for even the Friar is shown to lose control of his "resentment") and well-meaning words of advice for the seemingly star-crossed lover:

Having heard with a mixture of patience, pity, and resentment, all that his rage or disappointment could suggest, I answered ... 'My son, blame not the pious institutions of our holy church, sanctified by the observance of many ages; nor impiously arraign the mysterious decrees of providence, which often produces good from evil. This sacred edifice has been consecrated like many others by our pious ancestors, for purposes honourable to heaven, and useful to mankind; these

hospitable doors are ever open to distress; and the chief object of our care is to discover and relieve it. This holy mansion has long been an asylum against the oppression of human laws, which drove thee from thine home; and, but a few days since thou thyself blessed an institution which saved the wretched Matilda, perishing with madness. Nay, at this very moment, its mercy shelters from the hand of justice, a murderer! yet thy presumption dares deny its general use, from thine own sense of partial inconvenience, and execrates monastic institutions, because by separation of the sexes, lewdness and sensuality are checked: but know, short sighted youth, that the world will not remain unpeopled, because a few of its members consecrate their lives to holy meditation; nor shall the human species become extinct, because Albert and Matilda cannot be united to propagate a race of infidels and murderers.’ (Anonymous "Friar's" 20)

The traditional bugbear of monasticism — the specter invoked by Protestants who attacked it as an atrocity unto God and a violation of nature — revolved around the vow of chastity. In this passage, however, the Friar presents a cogent explanation for the practical reason of celibacy (i.e., to check lewdness and sensuality) and produces several reasons for the importance of monastic institutions, and, perhaps the most audacious defense for its time, that monasteries are "honourable to heaven, and useful to mankind."

That in an evidently popular work such a sentiment exists might raise an eyebrow. That it seems to be the dominant note of the narrative highlights an important aspect of the British reading public and its developing appetite for Gothic fiction: writing about the Catholic past (or the Catholic present in another country) was not simply a forum to

assert traditional Protestant cant about the error of monasticism but also served as a proving ground about the life of a religious recluse and could potentially capture the imagination about the benefits of a culture that encouraged a life of religious devotion. The concluding sentences of this tale support the claim that it displays a sincere respect for monasticism, that "The Friar's Tale" blurs the distinctions between the branches of Christianity in order to promote the idea of an identical order within the Anglican church:

He then briefly hinted arguments in favour of monastic institutions; yet liberally allowing that the religion of his country might in certain points be wrong, and knowing me to be a protestant, I suppose he acknowledged more than I ought in justice to his candour to relate. For this reason I have purposely suppressed the name and situation of his convent; but I shall ever remember these words with which he finished this discourse. 'True religion (said he) howsoever it may vary in outward ceremonies, or articles of faith, will always teach you to do good, to love and help each other; it will teach you that no sin, however secret, can long remain concealed; and that when the world and all its vanities have palled the sated appetite, you must seek refuge in conscious innocence, or a sincere repentance.' (Anonymous "Friar's" 20-21)

It remains unclear whether the Protestant narrator also liberally admitted the errors of his church, or even whether the reason to suppress the name of the friary had to do with any other dialogue that also was suppressed. Nonetheless, the fact that this narrator admires the Friar cannot be denied, and perhaps this text presents that desire within the culture if not to reunify the various branches of the Christian faith then to find aspects to admire in

the other.

At the time when "The Friar's Tale" was being republished throughout Britain, Ann Radcliffe prepared her first two attempts at Gothic fiction. At her disposal while composing was fifteen years worth of machinery — effects and flourishes ranging from the plot-driving prophecies, gloom-inspiring subterranean passages, rapacious tyrants and the overt, unexplained supernaturalism of *The Castle of Otranto* (1764) to the scheming nuns, the menace of the dread monastic vow, and the realistic (and sympathetic) consideration of monasticism in "The Friar's Tale" (1788). In the works that intervened, writers depicted various cenobitic species, though often their anchorites were merely draped in a cowl, classified with less than Linnaean specificity, and set in the plot to foil or aid the young protagonist's (usually female) struggle. With the publication of the second of these works, *The Romance of the Forest* (1792), Radcliffe established herself as a noteworthy writer not merely of Gothic fiction but of fiction in general.⁴⁶ In part this reputation, indeed her fame, rested on her depiction of the remains of a deserted monastery — and her reader's pleasure in being terrified by such a depiction.⁴⁷ In this novel, Radcliffe realized the fecundity of the image of a cowled man and the potency of a ruined monastery, that their capacity to inspire terror in her readers came from yoking vague connections to the past with modern prejudices toward the institution of monasticism. As Radcliffe further modified the machinery of Gothic fiction, she likewise manipulated the meaning of monasticism to connect to the theme of avoiding selfishness (whether exhibited by retreating from the world or luxuriating in the dissipated life).

Radcliffe depicted the monastery as a place through which the past persisted and

affected actors in the present. For instance, when the shaken La Motte family approaches the monastery (after damaging their carriage wheel), her initial description evokes the past as though it were present, thus establishing the melancholic mood by recalling scenes of monastic penance:

Above the vast and magnificent portal of this gate arose a window of the same order, whose pointed arches still exhibited fragments of stained glass, once the pride of monkish devotion. La Motte, thinking it possible it might yet shelter some human being, advanced to the gate and lifted a massy knocker . He entered what appeared to have been the chapel of the abbey, where the hymn of devotion had once been raised, and the tear of penitence had once been shed; sounds, which could now only be recalled by imagination — tears of penitence, which had been long since fixed in fate. (Radcliffe *Romance* 15)

Initially, what is imagined is not a group of novitiates, brothers, and abbots following the prescription of their order toward personal sanctification; nor does Radcliffe expand upon a theme of the holy and pure — or wholly impure, for that matter — aspects of monasticism. Instead, she fixates upon features of the cloistered life: the devotional hymn and the penitential tear (which is mentioned twice in scarcely three lines), both of which recall the outward signs of a profession of guilt and of recognition of the Godhead. These outward signs of devotion are hardly restricted to Catholic religious orders of some past epoch. And this devotion, which might imply sincere and internal reflections upon divinity, is qualified by the previous claim that the stained glass is the pride of that experience, as though the art of staining glass were the *sine qua non* of monastic

observance. Instead, the monastery initially serves to evoke scenes of penance, of irrational religiosity.

After restoring several of the rooms of the monastery, the edifice becomes less terror-inspiring. Indeed, Madame La Motte, as the third-person narrator suggests, finds peace within this ruined sanctuary:

As habit and effort strengthened the fortitude of Madame La Motte, the features of misfortune appeared to soften. The forest, which at first seemed to her a frightful solitude, had lost its terrific aspect; and that edifice, whose half demolished walls and gloomy desolation had struck her mind with the force of melancholy and dismay, was now beheld as a domestic asylum, and a safe refuge from the storms of power. (Radcliffe *Romance* 34)

The asylum that the La Mottes seek is from their creditors (and the full story, including La Motte's dissipation and criminal activity, is not revealed until the episode of the criminal trial in the third volume). In a narrative filled with adventure and travel across the Republic of Savoy, through the various Swiss cantons, over the Italian Alps, on the Mediterranean, and finally to Paris, the ruined monastery offers refuge and stasis. Its removal from society, in a sense, provides the romance of the forest.

Also part of this romance is the opportunity to reflect upon mortality, for both the ruins themselves as well as the tombs and vaults provide the characters a chance to consider the transient nature of society and the world. Indeed, the ruins serve as a mirror for the audience to observe the inner nature of the characters. For the upright Louis La Motte, these tombs occasion a tirade regarding superstitious religiosity:

In advancing, he perceived the ruins of a small building, which, from the traces that remained, appeared to have been a tomb. As he gazed upon it, 'Here,' said he, 'are probably deposited the ashes of some ancient monk, once an inhabitant of the abbey; perhaps, of the founder, who after having spent a life of abstinence and prayer, sought in heaven the reward of forbearance upon earth. Peace be to his soul! But did he think a life of mere negative virtue deserved an eternal reward? Mistaken man! Reason, had you trusted to its dictates, would have informed you, that the active virtues, the adherence to the golden rule, "Do as you would be done unto," could alone deserve the favour of a Deity, whose glory is benevolence.' (Radcliffe *Romance* 73)

In this fashion, Louis La Motte articulates what is to become a leitmotif throughout the novel: the business of life in this world is not to turn inward and deny earthly pleasures (or seek a surfeit of them) but to look outward and practice the precepts of charity. The monk, in this instance, serves as the antithesis to the active life, illustrating that self-absorbed "negative virtue" does not result in personal sanctity but a divorce from the common bonds of humanity.

These common bonds are not to be sought for their own sake; for the characters who abandon themselves recklessly to the pleasures of the world also discover a different lesson in the ruins of the monastery. For Monsieur La Motte, who has suffered the ignominy of retiring from the world to escape his debts, the ruins serve to highlight the sorrows of a self-imposed exile:

La Motte, in his then depressed state of mind, thought them the burial places of

the monks, who formerly inhabited the pile above; but they were more calculated for places of penance for the living, than of rest for the dead. (Radcliffe *Romance* 54)

That La Motte cannot see that these subterranean catacombs are not tombs but former sites of bodily mortification and torture suggests that he cannot yet seek repentance for the sins he has formerly committed. La Motte's perspective on the monastery changes, however, when he performs a feat of qualified bravery and dubious selflessness (ambiguous in that his arrangement for the escape of Adeline, thus disobeying the Marquis de Montalt's command to murder her, is colored by self-interest rather than genuine feelings of pity or remorse). Not surprisingly, the sinister and scheming Marquis de Montalt views the ruined monastery in the same manner as La Motte does, suggesting that his distaste for the abbey (and by extension, the religious life) stems from its removal from society: "'Your condition, La Motte, is unhappy; this abbey is a melancholy residence for a man like you fond of society, and like you also qualified to adorn it'" (Radcliffe *Romance* 218). Thus, perspectives on asceticism in this novel are colored by the degree of worldly dissipation of the character whose perspective is employed.

Like *The Castle of Otranto* and "The Friar's Tale," Radcliffe's novel offers several mirroring oppositions, but the contrast between the ruined monastery and the Marquis de Montalt's property, between the absent self-denying monks and the seeming omnipresence of the self-indulgent Montalt, offers the clearest display of Radcliffe's presentation of monasticism in this work. For in the temptation episode (the episode in direct contrast to the discovery of the "ancient manuscript," telling of the destruction of

Adeline's father, Henry Marquis de Montalt), Radcliffe conjures up the image of the worldly hedonist through the mention of the frescos from Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*, the busts of the wine-loving Anacreon, and the dissipated Petronius Arbiter. Often, as we have seen previously, the mutual properties of these diametric episodes (and locales) appear in some fashion. In this instance, Montalt is likened unto the monks through a single word, collation — except his collation is hardly a light meal suitable for religious observance but a sumptuous spread meant for a glutton.⁴⁸

Though Radcliffe does not present any living examples of monks in this work, excepting of course the ones suggested by the ruined abbey and the tomb, she superimposes the hypercorporeality of the luxuriant Marquis de Montalt, with his dining table of earthly delights and his antechamber of hedonism over the self-denying ascetics and their light repast. In this way, Radcliffe yokes together both extreme self-denial and self-gratification as the temptations Adeline must face and overcome on her quest to assert her noble lineage. In this novel, one of the few examples of a Radcliffe novel without monks as agents and main characters in the plotting, the monks serve to illustrate the error of extreme self-denial and, by contrast, the error of self-indulgence. Clearly, though, Radcliffe's presentation of monasticism is not simply a censure against religious orders or the celibate life. Adeline must deny herself pleasures in order to become worthy of her name, and Adeline is one who finds the romance of the forest, particularly the abbey, to be a comfort — despite the fact that she initially finds, after leaving the convent, the world outside the cloister filled with "gloomy" countenances and "melancholy faces," causing her to wonder "is this a part of the world I have so fondly

contemplated" (Radcliffe *Romance* 40). Adeline's quest to reclaim her name and discover her place in the world is one in which she must strike a balance between abstinence and indulgence, and this balance must occur after being tempted, not merely by rejecting either way.

Radcliffe's understanding of monasticism provides a succinct summary of the general pattern regarding its literary presentation between the first two Catholic relief acts — a period marked by nascent nationalism (which might explain the growing interest in England's medieval past), the development of scientific history writing, an interest in canon formation, empire building with its colleague world war, and the general decline of Roman Catholic power in Europe. Her presentation, similar to many other presentations of monasticism during this period, registers the traditional Protestant misgivings regarding monasticism, and especially its injunctions of chastity and poverty. Her novel is characteristic of the widespread Protestant anxiety over celibacy, arguing that it is an unnatural state. Yet there also seems to be a greater interest in the possibilities of a life devoted to religion and an awareness of the piety and the sanctity of such a life. Most accounts of monasticism in this era contain a wealth of misinformation about the particulars of Catholic asceticism; yet numbers of popular writers contributed to the creation of a more balanced, if not ultimately positive, portrait of the monk. The very ambiguity of monastic terminology, which served as machinery in popular imaginative fiction, helped spark numerous revisions of meaning. Due to the increasing scrupulosity of the historian, the greater interest in accuracy by dilettante antiquarians, and the widening scope of imaginative possibility occasioned by new genres, the

meaning of the religious recluse began to be re-determined.

Chapter 2

"The principal merit of a monastic institution" *Experimental Poetry, the Gothic, and Their Reception to 1803*

Throughout most of the eighteenth century, the meaning that writers and their audiences assigned to asceticism generally highlighted Protestant stereotypes of the cloistered life, reiterating claims of the ignorance, superstition, and theologically ineffectual principles professed by various species of religious recluses and their regimens of austerity. Monks, friars, and hermits evoked an authorial response to traditional Roman Catholic modes of religious life — and this response was generally in line with two centuries of Reformation writers. Notwithstanding the renewed interest in Gothic architecture and the romantic aspects of medievalism, the taste for the medieval in eighteenth-century culture had little to do with an impulse to restore the ancient religious practices of England: the ruined abbeys of England's countryside charmed less for their spiritual significance than for their forlorn habitude and their architectural opposition to French neo-Palladianism.

Nonetheless, a perceived waning of Rome's hold over Southern Europe, a renewed interest in historical and antiquarian research, and a growing taste for the unrefined relics of antiquity mitigated the repugnance for Britain's medieval — i.e., "monkish" — heritage and led to a more nuanced understanding of monasticism. The general interest in the medieval or Gothic aesthetic can be measured by (1) the popularity of pre-Reformation poetic forms such as the ballad; (2) the swell of publications that engaged with medieval history; and (3) the numerous tour books depicting Roman Catholic nations or ruined abbeys, each of which considered the cultural attributes and meanings of that bygone past and some of which were written as though to point out, by contrast, how modern and advanced British politics and culture were. Politics also

intervened. Forced in part by the maintenance of increasingly untenable laws that had been infrequently invoked and enforced, politicians who debated the laws and those charged with enforcing them unwittingly promoted a reexamination of Protestant stereotypes.¹ Acts of political expedience and generous gestures alike affected British cultural attitudes. Yet the Gordon riots of 1780 reminded legislators and society that old prejudices die hard; similarly, the unlikely political alliances yoked together in the debate for and the reaction to the second Catholic Disabilities act of 1791 may have affected temporal policy but these alliances were not influential enough to effect widespread social change. In Parliament, demagogues and unlikely confederates sought to innovate and improve a legal system, a government, and a country challenged by the recent political experiments in France and menaced by a growing and more vocal radical element within its own frontiers.² These political efforts, however, did not often correspond with the sentiments of the legislated.

A thoroughgoing exposition of the increasingly liberal attitude toward English Catholics in the late 1780s is beyond the scope of this study. Nor should this liberality be connected to the "Gothic" craze of the late eighteenth century or be used to claim that a literary movement led either to the emancipation of English Catholics or to the restoration and reinstitution of monasteries in the Anglican communion. Gothic fiction writers did not intend or effect the liberation of English Catholics; however, they were responsible for the redefining of "hermit" and for the rediscovery of the difference between a "monk" and a "friar." In obliging the tastes of their audiences, entertaining notions of social and religious renewal, contrasting the struggles of an industrializing nation with those of a former age, dusting the vilified institution of the past in order to

note some characteristics that spoke to the needs of present society, or perhaps responding in Grub Street fashion to market interest in cowed characters, writers at the end of the eighteenth century scrutinized the life of a religious recluse. These efforts led to a reconstruction of signification, a redefining of the term "hermit" and a rediscovery of the distinctions between "friar" and "monk."

The decade between the passing of the second Catholic relief bill and the refusal of Great Britain to cede Malta to the French Republic in 1803 was a period of great political and social upheaval, particularly in France, where the progress of the revolution (and then, Napoleon's seemingly invincible army) was the cause of much anxiety. Though initially the progress of the revolution promised political reform, its violent turns confirmed the suspicions and fears of British legislators, who reacted to the unrest of the discontented British populace with acts of political repression: the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act (1794-1802), the introduction of the Treasonable Practices bill (4 Nov. 1794), the Seditious Practices bill (10 Nov. 1794), and the Corresponding Societies bill (19 Apr. 1799) — which suspended public meeting, free speech, and free press. The last of these was a direct response to the perceived threat of the United Irishmen and the several abortive attempts at rebellion.³ It was a period of failures of the British army, expensive victories by the navy, and successive seasons of drought and poor crop yield.⁴

It was also a period that witnessed the massive reconfiguration of French society, which included the elimination of the monastic estate: a law passed in February 1790 (1) legally freed monastics from their vows, (2) suppressed the religious not directly engaged in education or works of charity, (3) prevented the introduction of new religious

communities, and (4) granted a pension for those cast out to the world.⁵ This law, and others following it, swept away monasticism and left nothing in its place. As Wordsworth wrote in *The Prelude*, "yet, they were powers, / Like earthquakes, shocks repeated day by day, / And felt through every nook of town and field" (1850, Book IX, ll. 178-80). In Great Britain between 1791 and 1796, the influx of some 64,000 French clergy fleeing France to escape the massacre of the Reign of Terror was yet one more element contributing to the overall catastrophe (*Gentleman's Magazine* Mar. 1794: 244).⁶ Some took refuge in the English countryside, seeking succor and protection from the increasingly hostile ambitions of the nascent republic. Among them were hundreds of religious, including secluded monks and itinerant friars, who within a decade restored a former aspect of the English countryside — the presence of monasticism.⁷

The return of large numbers of Roman Catholic monastics during this decade intensified the inquiry into the historical meaning of monasticism and generated a respect for what appeared to be the French clergy's unflappable integrity and sincere faith. One aspect of this inquiry took the form of a contest occurring in pamphlets and treatises. Edmund Burke in his *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790) incited a critical skirmish over the meaning of monasticism when he asserted the social and cultural importance of monks several times over the course of his work.⁸ In one noteworthy passage, Burke makes the claim that the dissolution of the monasteries in France was ill-calculated: "it seems to me, that the idle expenses of the monks are quite as well directed as the idle expenses of us lay-loiterers. When the advantages of possession and of the project are on a par, there is no motive for a change" (*Works* 1839: 3.189). Though Burke does not defend monasticism per se, he finds the reasons for the alienation of monastic

lands to be as morally suspect as monasticism itself: "These atheistical fathers have a bigotry of their own; and they have learnt to talk against monks with the spirit of a monk" (*Works* 1839: 3.124). Burke's defense of monasticism, however, surprised not a few in that he saw it as a *lesser* evil, one not infringing upon the public good:

If...a prudent man were obliged to make a choice of what errors and excesses of enthusiasm he would condemn or bear, perhaps he would think the superstition which builds, to be more tolerable than that which demolishes — that which adorns a country than that which deforms it — that which endows, than that which plunders — that which disposes to mistaken beneficence, than that which stimulates to real justice — that which leads a man to refuse to himself lawful pleasures, than that which snatches from others the scanty subsistence of their self-denial. Such, I think, is very nearly the state of the question between the ancient founders of monkish superstition, and the superstition of the pretended philosophers of the hour. (*Works* 1839: 3.187-88)

Here Burke steers the discussion of public policy-making along Machiavellian lines, as he upholds the principle that public utility is of more considerable merit than abstract morality.⁹

It is upon this very point that Joseph Priestley attacks Burke in *Letters to Edmund Burke* (1791), published at the same time as two other radical reactions to Burke's *Reflections* — Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man* (1791) and James Mackintosh's *Vindiciae Gallicae* (1791). Unlike those other radical responses to Burke's open letter, Priestley's tone is initially conciliatory, agreeing that monasticism served an important social function in France's culture and history. Priestley, however, notes that the utility of the

institution has passed. Monasticism now serves to cripple "true" religion: "the very *principle* upon which monachism is founded, is false and delusive. It is that men, capable of performing the duties of life, may become fit for heaven by solitary meditation and prayer, without mixing with the world at all" (*Letters* 108). Priestley's equation of solitary retreat from the world with almost certain disqualification from Heaven's grace has a long history in Reformation polemic writings. By marching behind the banner of high Protestantism, Priestley takes a unique position against Burke, one that imputes religious laxity to him on account of his apparent defense of monasticism.

The pamphlet wars over monasticism's meaning continued with new vigor as the polemicists responded to Priestley's *Letters* (1791). One noteworthy defense of Burke was written by Thomas Goold, published for distribution less than three months after the appearance of Priestley's epistolary enterprise. In his conclusion, Goold discredits Priestley's eleventh letter — the letter centered on monasticism in Burke's *Reflections* — by establishing that Priestley deliberately misconstrued the premise of the *Reflections*:

In no one part of Dr. Priestley's work, does he discover such weakness, and misconception as in his remarks on Mr. Burke's reasoning, concerning monastic institutions; but more particularly on the meaning of the word '*power*'.... Mr. Burke, we see, supposes in the monastic institutions, a *power* or *purchase*.... Dr. Priestley's idea of power, is as different from this, as any two ideas can be. It means nothing more or less than *authority*, as may be manifestly seen from the *chosen* instances he has given, for his illustration. (Goold 130, 131)

Goold's distinction between the public utility of an institution and its proper regulation undercuts Priestley's charge of "encourag[ing] superstition... at the expence of true

religion" (Priestley *Letters* 107). Goold portrays Burke as championing not the indiscriminate conservation of institutions but the defense and proper mediation of historic institutions that were themselves the expression of a nation and its principles. As these few excerpts suggest, the violent dissolution of monks and monasteries in the French republic provoked a spirited, though hardly consistent, defense of monasticism. The plight of the alienated monks also energized startling pronouncements upon Roman Catholicism. Bishop Horsley, for instance, wrote several pamphlets regarding the emigrant French clergy in which he claimed that they were "more near and dear to us in truth by far, than some, who affecting to be called our Protestant brethren, have no other title to the name of Protestant, than a Jew or a Pagan" (Horsley *Circular Letter* viii). Thus, as a *cause célèbre*, the plight of the emigrant French clergy attracted public debate at a time when scholarly historians, dilettante antiquarians, and writers were amassing details and attributing meaning to the practice of monasticism in Britain's medieval period.

Part of this public debate has been preserved on the pages of journals such as the *Gentleman's Magazine*, in which letters to the "editor," Sylvanus Urban, responded to the expulsion of the French clergy. The features of the debate preserved in the journals betrays inconsistencies and, to twentieth-century audiences, seemingly incompatible theological and doctrinal positions in which hair-splitting arguments were advanced to defend analogous English attacks on monasticism in the sixteenth century. One such writer, who styled and signed himself "A Detester of Anarchy and Injustice," used the occasion of the pitiable state of the emigrant French clergy to note that the sudden

dissolution of the monasteries without sufficient means of support was a crime upon civilization (in this way rendering Henry VIII's analogous act immaterial):

In France, it was a complete subversion, not only of the national church, but of religion in general, by a stroke of thunder, and justice and humanity have suffered the shock.... Once more, let us not hesitate a moment to make the case our own; and that charity which has been so liberally exerted in relief of distress, domestic or foreign, will press forward to comprehend these miserable objects. No person can perish for want in this Christian, this Protestant country. We shall lose the professions, and the characters in the men; and while we feel the woes and wrongs of the most distant of our kind, we shall stretch forth the arm of Christian charity to those who, from the nearest shore, are barbarously driven into them.

(Gentleman's Magazine Supplement 1793: 1167).

This writer, and the tone in which he writes, is in accordance with no less than a dozen other letters in the magazines of this momentous year.¹⁰

Of course, the tenor of the discussion fluctuated dramatically, shifting with the various levels of virulent anti-Catholicism and the stock each individual letter writer took in the idea that emigrant priests were conspiring against British institutions. One response to the "Detester" confirms the intense and sustained disagreement among the letter-writers:

As I have no doubt the needy Emigrants, who have already by their false representation misled a generous nation, would be happy to share our ecclesiastical revenues, or to throw us into confusion.... but worse than Gothic ignorance must overspread this land before *we* can make the least retrograde

movement to Popery. Superstition has had its day. Popery has always led to atheism; and as the resolute highwayman is more respectable than the private thief, so much is Atheism, with all its horrors, superior to Popery. (*Gentleman's Magazine* Aug. 1794: 696).

The evident anti-Roman Catholic tenor of this letter requires no elucidation. What is underscored, though, is the Protestant conviction that Roman Catholic practice, perhaps on account of its externalization, lacks the sincerity expressed in the truly devout, and hence it is but one step removed from skepticism. That this writer resorts to hyperbole suggests that Englishmen who espoused the staunch Protestant position perceived the threat of "thieves" at the gate (and this opinion is seconded by no less a writer and orator than Coleridge in the *Lectures on Revealed Religion*). Such opinions may have been encouraged by paranoia, a frenzy of the sort witnessed during the Gordon riots. Many "Another Presbyterian of the Church of England" expressed misgivings and distress over the intentions of the alienated clergy and the use of government funds to support their cause. More importantly, though, the expulsion of the clerics from France led to a dramatic encounter between two competing religious convictions: a reactionary anti-Catholicism and a conciliatory Christianity.¹¹

From the onset, this discussion also raised the prospects of uniting the English and Gallican churches. On February 15, 1794, one writer who signed himself R. P. mentioned that the "view to effect a reconciliation between those venerable bodies, must give infinite pleasure to all true Christians who understand the nature and constitution of the Holy Catholic Church, and have its welfare sincerely at heart" (*Gentleman's Magazine*

Mar. 1794: 204). About a dozen correspondents over the next year entered this controversy, ranging from dismay to horror:

For God's sake, Mr. Urban, what are you doing! Have you not seen enough of the spirit of reformers! Are you not sufficiently read in the intrigues of Popery! An union between the Churches of England and Rome! As well may oil and water unite. (*Gentleman's Magazine* Aug. 1794: 696)

Others perceived the proposed union to be beneficial to the Christian church, and a particularly urgent question when one recalls that *philosophes*, deists, and avowed atheists were at the helm of the French republic and had taken many actions against their established church — indeed, the practice and presence of religion itself. For instance, one writer who signed himself "A Presbyter of the Church of England," asserts:

Sentiments of esteem have been mutually cultivated: *we* have admired their firmness and constancy; *they* have received our bounty. Although the Romish Church has delighted in a grand and pompous exterior, yet we are happy to discover meekness, patience, and resignation, in her members.... All must agree that an union is most desirable; nothing but evil can result from division: and these evils of animosity, calumny, suspicion, and contempt, have too long existed. Why should the members of Christ's mystical body be divided? Why should his seamless garment be torn asunder? (*Gentlemen's Magazine* June 1794: 510).

Here, the "Presbyter" uses the proposal to introduce the unchristian elements of what he considers an artificial division, one contrary to the ideal operation of Christianity. Similar sentiments were echoed by others, such as "Ciprian" who claimed, "All good men of the Established Church in England have ever lamented the separation of Churches so nearly

allied as this and the Roman Catholic is" (*Gentlemen's Magazine* June 1794: 511).

Besides the desirability of merging what had been torn asunder by differences in religious interpretation, many of these writers appealed to historical church records to call to attention the way time alters discipline and ceremony: "As to what is termed Discipline in both Churches, every one the least intelligent in Church History knows it is alterable; so are Ceremonies, except some which I shall not trespass on your readers to name at present" (*Gentlemen's Magazine* June 1794: 511).

Many of these correspondents did not specifically introduce the issue of monasticism but treated it under the general rubric of Roman Catholicism; when monasticism was mentioned in passing, however, many of these correspondents took the tone of former Protestant controversialists:

It is not commonly heeded; but nothing is more certain, that where truth is supported by error, whenever the error is detected, truth itself will probably fall with it. This happened in the case under consideration. The people of France had been taught to obey the religion of Christ and to venerate his ministers; but they had been instructed, not by him, but by comments on his instructions; not his example, but those of monks and anchorites, had been held up to them; his ministers had claimed authority not from his mission, but from the decrees of Popes and Councils (*Gentlemen's Magazine* Jan 1795: 27-28).

The beginning of the distinction between modes of austerity (i.e., discovering the essential difference between a "hermit" and a "monk/friar") begins roughly during this decade, though it is hardly codified and universally accepted for some decades to follow.

Note here that the writer connects anchorites with monks but chooses not to mention friars or any other religious orders that do not remove themselves from society. Further, the choice to restrict monks and anchorites as examples seems to be in the context of their retreat from the world — not from their active instruction or itinerant preaching.

This discussion of asceticism was not restricted merely to the various anonymous correspondents to the journals; the journals themselves took part in discovering the utility of, or at least the present injustice against, the practice of monasticism — and in defending monasticism, they took part in discovering types of asceticism to be above reproach.¹² While evaluating the merit of a sermon preached by George-Henry Glasse, Rector of Hanwell, the reviewer in *Gentleman's Magazine* guardedly finds the institution of monasticism to possess certain virtues:

Yet to condemn these unfortunate men to indiscriminate censure, because they were once the inhabitants of a convent, would be unjust — to refuse them relief, when the iron hand of Oppression is crushing them to pieces, would be inhuman. Among them were many whose exemplary virtues gave a lustre to the contemplative life they had embraced — many who were not a set of drones; reveling, in idle luxury, on the fruits of others' labour.... There were others, whose zeal, however misguided, claims our reverence — who embraced the profession from motives merely conscientious — devoting themselves to the service of God by a life of austerity, abstinence, and severe mortification. There were yet others, who, having once mixed in the world, and having shared its sin, and drunk deeply of its sorrows, found relief in bringing the oblation of their contrite hearts to the altar of divine mercy. (*Gentleman's Magazine* Aug. 1793: 731)

Though the reviewer ultimately finds the contemplative and ascetic life to be distasteful, he is not so doctrinaire that he cannot recognize or admire those who pursue such a life with noble intentions (though he does question that impulse's source).

A review of Dr. Zimmerman's treatise on the origin of monachism similarly uses the occasion to air contemporary opinions on the subject. In a passage that points out how Zimmerman does not add to the study anything further than what Mosheim's rabidly Protestant perspective of ecclesiastical history had introduced on the subject at the beginning of the century, the reviewer illustrates a tendency developing during the 1790s: a suspension of previously held Protestant beliefs regarding the office of cenobites rather than its facile dismissal. That is, in this decade, writers began the process of distinguishing the terms of asceticism by examining its practice in earnest — if, though, still finding it repellent. Curiously, the reviewer adds some words of respect for asceticism:

Dr. Zimmerman has been more sedulous to point out the errors and follies of ascetics and monks, than to do justice to that desire of inward purity which seeks shelter from temptation in retirement and self-mortification, and the heroic constancy and fortitude with which so many of the Roman Catholic religion carry their resolves into execution. These resolves, though voluntary and unnecessary, are not sinful; though erroneous, perhaps: not as he would represent them, either odious or contemptible. (*English Review*, Vol. 23, Jan. 1796: 17-18)

This reviewer even equates the ritualized acts of mortification, the self-imposed curbs on sexual appetite, and the chanting of hymns in an ill-lighted nave of an abbey church with the practice of marching ten paces and firing a pistol at a disputant (dueling then still an

accepted though checkered vestige of chivalry). Suggesting that a type of respectable manliness is to be located in the monastery, this reviewer makes clear that religious retreat requires attributes found in any well-bred English gentleman. If his readers would not concede that point, the reviewer points out that, at the very least, "invincible courage and fortitude, that can shield even the absurdity of dueling from ridicule and contempt, ought also to protect from scorn the self-mortification of the anchorite, [which is a type] less unreasonable" (*English Review*, Vol. 23, Jan. 1796: 18). Ultimately, this reviewer even calls into question the Protestant distaste for religious retirement: "We cannot acquit our ingenious Professor of a tincture of atrabilarious bigotry. He glances much more frequently at the folly and vitiating and degrading tendency of monachism than was at all necessary to his subject" (*English Review*, Vol. 23, Jan. 1796: 18).

The vehemence of the debate itself and the dispute over the Crown's indulgent financial support of expelled monks during an economic downturn sustained a decade-long examination and protracted an acrimonious controversy over the social importance of monasticism. The traditional Protestant distaste for a life of religious austerity itself was threatened by the admiration for the fidelity of the expelled monks. In granting concessions to the other side of the debate, writers made even finer distinctions between modes of austerity. Yet, just as the various correspondents to the journals were not consonant with one another, the reconsideration and reevaluation of monasticism was certainly not consistent within the covers of the journals. In a review of Dr. Bernard Hodson's blank verse poem, "The Monastery. A Poem on the Building of a Monastery in Dorsetshire, 1795," the reviewer seizes the occasion to launch an invective against Roman Catholic institutions and against the ill-considered allegiance oath that was

revised for English Catholics in 1786.¹³ This reviewer agrees with Hodson's reactionary conviction regarding the danger of importing and restoring monasteries:¹⁴

And we may add that, whatever oaths of allegiance have been lately framed for Catholics already among us, we may doubt their effect on the newly-imported religious of that persuasion.... The poet states, that half the people of Lulworth are already turned, and the parish-clerk among them, by the splendor and parade of the ceremonies.... (*Gentlemen's Magazine* Apr. 1796: 317).

The paranoid suspicion that had instigated the Gordon riots was still widespread some fifteen years later. As the threat of foreign invasion loomed, as the gradual defeat of continental armies signaled the possibility of renewed wars, the security of hearth and altar was also under siege. Ironically, the threat of siege did not mitigate the ardor of the debate over monasticism; instead, the perception of monasticism became an ever more popular topic as the decade progressed.

In the shadow of this turmoil and amid the reconsideration of the meaning and suitability of Roman Catholic practice, Gothic works of fiction and drama found a new expression and vigor. Influenced by the German *Sturm und Drang* movement of several decades before, developing out of the robust romance tradition of the mid-eighteenth century, and often following a distinct course determined by the author's presentation of the supernatural, Gothic literature frequently made plot devices out of the nuances of monastic practice.¹⁵

-1-

The modern reception of Gothic fiction has been mediated by the critical fashion to identify "subversion, transgression, fragmentation" (Mullan 7). Such categories, though

helpful in noting often unrecognized and serendipitous correspondences, overshadow unfashionable concerns of literature, such as a writer's intention or an audience's reception. As one critic affirms, "it is a vocabulary that cares nothing for the artfulness of novelist, playwright — or critic. It is also a vocabulary that defeats all opposition" (Mullan 7). Correlating the horrors of the French Revolution with the popular taste for punitive tragedies depicting the demise of the dissolute and for melodramatic narratives resulting in the eventual recompense of the virtuous, modern critics claim that a political message informs and drives Gothic fiction.¹⁶ It is indeed a tempting notion that the historical backdrop of the French revolution circumscribed and defined the Gothic plot, for the British response to the implementation of social and political innovations and the demolition of historic institutions took hold in the dark recesses of the contemporary imagination. The marching of hundreds to the guillotine at the same time as thousands of citizen soldiers marched across the low countries of Europe obviously inspired fear and concern. Modern critics have thus come to identify the Gothic villain's unchecked aristocratic tyranny, oppressive machinations, unprincipled and unchallenged power, and dissolution as a concrete representation of the abstract communal fear of the terrors ushered in by French republicanism. The correlation of the threat of the guillotine and French cannonballs with the terror depicted in Gothic fiction results has produced the claim that contemporary readers identified the Gothic villain, captured within red morocco covers or flimsy blue paper, with the zealous enthusiasm of self-proclaimed patriots, bloodthirsty guillotines, and the slogan "liberty, equality, fraternity." In short, modern criticism asserts that the antagonists of Gothic fiction represent the French threat to Britain's stability.

Such contemporary readings of the Gothic assign political and psychological complexities to admittedly haphazard productions, overemphasizing the political meaning at the expense of contemporary reception. That same British audience which could discern the sans culottes hidden in a monk's robe could also perceive under a cowl the perukes of equally oppressive British ministers who enacted despotic measures, suspended traditional freedoms, and relentlessly pursued radicals under the pretense of supposed infractions of ambiguous sedition laws.¹⁷ Recently, critics have begun to dismiss these facile correspondences between the antagonists of popular fiction and the real-life villainy descried in the newspapers:

Richter's insistence that we read the gothic and its popular reception as part of "a tendency rather than a revolution" leads him to question more political readings of gothic — particularly those of critics like Ronald Paulson and Paula Backscheider, who have argued that gothic's obsession with tyranny and "authority...gone mad" explore the larger-than-life anxieties created in the last years of the eighteenth century by the recurring madness of George III and by the French Revolution. Such political readings, Richter concludes, are "attractive but empty" because the reviews themselves contradict them: "Any simplistic notion of the gothic as a metaphor for the French Revolution runs aground on the ways in which critics during the most exciting phases of the revolution fail to make such conscious connections." (Gamer *Romanticism* 30)

Though Gamer discovers several exceptions to the "conscious connections" of the Gothic and political events, he notes that Richter's hypothesis is generally valid: popular Gothic writing, estimated to account for upwards of forty percent of the novels printed in this

decade (Richter *Progress* 101), infrequently and, by virtue of the open-ended nature of the narrative, obliquely focuses upon social or historical events of the day.¹⁸ Hence, the charge that writers of Gothic fiction had ulterior political motives — such as a radical condemnation of British policy regarding the French threat or an equally radical critique of family politics — is borne out in neither the critical writings of the era nor in the contemporaneous private writings of author and audience.¹⁹

Consequently, any study of Gothic fiction needs to examine the extant contemporaneous records in order to make claims regarding intention and reception. These sources reveal that Gothic fiction was neither read nor attended to with the same rigor as other literature.²⁰ Still, these works help reconcile our various conjectures about late Hanoverian reading culture, a culture that "experienc[ed] exploding literacy rates accompanied by an increasingly bewildering and diverse collection of reading audiences (Gamer *Romanticism* 32).²¹ Within these constraints, an examination of Gothic fiction — enormously popular, hastily written, and clearly cannibalized to the point of plagiarism — has much to say about the superficial perceptions of the life of religious retirement.²²

As expressed in Gothic fiction of this decade, two distinct conceptions of religious retirement developed: one considered religious seclusion to be a noble endeavor though a bit misguided, and the other considered the cloistered life to be the breeding grounds for cravenness, superstition, and other anti-social and socially detrimental behaviors. These two conceptions are epitomized in two Gothic novels (and two novelists) that were in dialogue with one another: Matthew G. Lewis's *The Monk* (1796) and Ann Radcliffe's *The Italian* (1797).²³ Both were noteworthy for the period, not only in the ways that are generally discussed but also because they spawned hundreds of

imitations in the form of shilling-chapbooks, serialized tales in magazines, operatic melodramas, theatrical productions, and years of critical debate by the self-appointed arbiters of good taste who invariably inveighed against the former and begrudgingly praised the latter in their state-funded magazines.²⁴

Matthew Lewis's *The Monk* squares off against religious retirement from its introductory paragraph. The anti-clerical tone is fully established as Lewis ironically comments upon the hypocrisy of the throngs of Madrid who have come to witness the famed monk Ambrosio's sermon:

Scarcely had the abbey-bell tolled for five minutes, and already was the church of the Capuchins thronged with auditors. Do not encourage the idea, that the crowd was assembled either from motives of piety or thirst of information. But very few were influenced by those reasons; and in a city where superstition reigns with such a despotic sway as in Madrid, to seek for the true devotion would be a fruitless attempt. The audience now assembled in the Capuchin church was collected by various causes, but all of them were foreign to the ostensible motive.

(*The Monk* 1.1.35)

Though perhaps moderated by its setting in Madrid during an unspecified moment of the Inquisition, the unmistakably antagonistic presentation of the clergy and the sneering insinuation regarding the sincerity of the churchgoers smacks of freethinking, especially in the context of 1790s Britain. Lewis's anti-clerical exposition, though ostensibly levied only against Roman Catholics living in Madrid during the Inquisition, was perceived by some of his British audience as an attack upon established institutions.²⁵ Throughout the novel, Lewis continues to take pot shots at monasticism — using the narrator or another

mouthpiece to deliver scoffing sarcasm upon the misguided religious principles. In an early passage, Lewis undercuts the respectable (and honorary Protestant by the end of the novel) Don Christoval's praise of Ambrosio with a cheap attempt at levity:

"In truth, the singular austerity of his life gives some countenance to the report. He is now thirty years old, every hour of which period has been passed in study, total seclusion from the world, and mortification of the flesh. Till these last three weeks, when he was chosen superior of the society to which he belongs, he had never been on the outside of the abbey-walls. Even now he never quits them except on Thursdays, when he delivers a discourse in this cathedral, which all Madrid assembles to hear. His knowledge is said to be the most profound, his eloquence the most persuasive. In the whole course of his life he has never been known to transgress a single rule of his order; the smallest stain is not to be discovered upon his character; and he is reported to be so strict an observer of chastity, that he knows not in what consists the difference of man and woman. The common people therefore esteem him to be saint."

"Does that make one a saint?" enquired Antonia. "Bless me! then am I one."

(*The Monk* 1.1.43-44)

The irony of Antonia's comment is not initially apparent; instead, in a fashion more reminiscent of Molière than Walpole, Lewis uses this exchange early in the novel to establish Antonia's naiveté and to wink knowingly at the reader.

In some ways, Lewis's contribution to the presentation and understanding of different kinds of asceticism is little more than changing the color of the habits and superficially altering the monastery. In *The Monk*, as in "The Friar's Tale" or *The Castle*

of *Otranto*, the distinction between a "friar" and a "monk" is not recognized. Within the space of one paragraph in the first chapter, Ambrosio is called a "friar" and then a "monk." Indeed, this lack of discrimination continues throughout the novel:

But the licentious *monk* heeded not her prayers: he persisted in his design, and proceeded to take still greater liberties. Antonia prayed, wept, and struggled: terrified to the extreme, though at what she knew not, she exerted all her strength to repulse the *friar*.... Alarmed at some of the *abbot's* speeches, which Antonia had innocently repeated, Elvira resolved to ascertain the truth of her suspicions. She had known enough of mankind, not to be imposed upon by the *monk's* reputed virtue.....'Tis true, that when she entered the room, he had already abandoned his prey; but the disorder of her daughter's dress, and the shame and confusion stamped upon the *friar's* countenance...." (*The Monk* 2.7.261; my emphasis)

That the novel employs the office to describe the man more often than the character's name probably reveals more about the novel's lack of character development than a deliberate political agenda on Lewis's part to vilify monastic orders.²⁶

Nonetheless, Lewis generally presents monasticism as dehumanizing, implying that the retreat from the world is what is to be deplored in monasticism. In the embedded narrative, "The History of Don Raymond, Marquis de las Cisternas," Lewis presents two complementary and equally disparaging views of the cloistered life. In one, Marguerite recounts her banditti marriage:

I became the property of the infamous Baptiste. A robber, who had once been a monk, pronounced over us a burlesque, rather than a religious ceremony: I and

my children were delivered into the hands of my new husband, and he conveyed us immediately to his home. (*The Monk* 1.3.138)

No narrative reason exists to include the detail that the robber who married Marguerite to Baptiste had originally been a monk, for even if he were an ordained minister it would still not legitimize the marriage. As this narrative continues, we are introduced to another aspersed anchorite. Through the mediation and incantation of the Wandering Jew, we discover that Beatrice de las Cisternas is the Bleeding Nun, wandering the earth until she is properly buried. Again, Lewis goes out of his way to point out that Beatrice de las Cisternas "scoff[ed] at her monastic vows" and led a dissolute life after eloping from the convent with Baron Lindenberg, whom she killed for the sake of his younger brother who in turn slew her, implying perhaps that the conventual life dehumanizes to the point at which one can no longer determine what is moral (*The Monk* 2.4.182).

Indeed, the dissolution of Beatrice de las Cisternas is designed to mirror Ambrosio's descent. As Ambrosio becomes further marked by sin, Lewis presents his inability to repent as a consequence of his having been brought up in a monastery. Furthermore, Lewis charges monasticism with dehumanizing and contracting manliness, a point then being debated in the journals of the era (*The Monk* 2.6.237-39). The narrator faults monasticism for nurturing cravenness and for contracting Ambrosio's innate magnanimity, suppressing his generosity and thwarting his leonine, commanding presence. Through terror, superstition, and the narrowing of his perspective, the monks succeed, according to Lewis, in rooting out the many virtues Ambrosio initially exhibited — and this success is because monasticism, as Lewis presents it, prevents one from becoming broadened by worldly experience. As the narrator relates, monasticism's retreat

from the world is antithetical to manliness: "Had his youth been passed in the world, he would have shown himself possessed of many brilliant and manly qualities" (*The Monk* 2.6.237).

This sentiment, echoed elsewhere in the novel, is not far removed from the anti-monastic polemic of the German Lutheran Johann Lorenz von Mosheim's *Institutionum historiae ecclesiasticae libri IV* (1726; tr.1764). Lewis conveniently taps into this traditional Protestant mistrust of the religious retreat in a variety of ways, the least of which is to cast his heroine in a more Protestant light — ranging from Antonia's praying not to the Virgin or the saints but to Heaven for deliverance (*The Monk* 3.11.365, 368) to her nightly reading of the Bible (*The Monk* 2.7.258). Indeed, Lewis's discussion of the Bible incited some controversy. The passage in which Lewis claimed that the Bible "too frequently inculcates the first rudiments of vice, and gives the first alarm to the still sleeping passions" (*The Monk* 2.7.258) drew from Samuel Taylor Coleridge's pen the charge of blasphemy. Lewis's publisher validated Coleridge's charge by calling for the removal of this passage from the third edition so as to avoid the public trial of a Member of Parliament on the charge of blasphemous libel.²⁷ Nonetheless, the casting of the heroes as honorary Protestants helps establish the relentlessness of Lewis's assault upon monasticism, for at the end of the novel, during the St. Clare procession, Lorenzo's bitter deprecations of monasticism unite the various unflattering portraits of anchorites:

Conscious that among those who chaunted the praises of their God so sweetly there were some who cloaked with devotion the foulest sins, their hymns inspired him with detestation at their hypocrisy. He had long observed with disapprobation and contempt the superstition which governed Madrid's inhabitants. His good

sense had pointed out to him the artifices of the monks, and the gross absurdity of their miracles, wonders, and superstitious reliques. He blushed to see his countrymen the dupes of deceptions so ridiculous, and only wished for an opportunity to free them from their monkish fetters. That opportunity, so long desired in vain, was at length presented to him. He resolved not to let it slip, but to set before the people, in glaring colours, how enormous were the abuses but too frequently practiced in monasteries, and how unjustly public esteem was bestowed indiscriminately upon all who wore a religious habit. He longed for the moment destined to unmask the hypocrites, and convince his countrymen, that a sanctified exterior does not always hide a virtuous heart. (*The Monk* 3.10.334-35)

Such presentations of monasticism are generally two-dimensional and direct: according to Lewis, monasticism and the urge to retire from the world in a convent is a rejection of humanity and a sanctimoniousness that hardly could be twisted to seem flattering.

What *The Monk* does contribute to a study of monastic terms is an expansion on the distinction between monasticism and the hermitic life. Though it is unclear ultimately whether Lewis considered hermits religious or distinctly secular recluses, it is clear that Lewis regards monasticism as something distinctly different from the hermit's retreat into the wilderness. Within the poem "Inscription In An Hermitage," Lewis emphasizes the she-devil Rosario/Matilda's misanthropy and Ambrosio's defense of monasticism as a social institution:

"Were it possible," said the friar, "for man to be so totally wrapped up in himself as to live in absolute seclusion from human nature, and could yet feel the contented tranquillity which these lines express, I allow that the situation would

be more desirable, than to live in a world so pregnant with every vice and folly.

But this can never be the case.... Man was born for society. However little he may be attached to the world, he can never wholly forget it, or bear to be wholly forgotten by it...."

"You amaze me, father! Suppose that circumstances condemned you to solitude; would not the duties of religion, and the consciousness of a life well spent, communicate to your heart that calm which — "

"I should deceive myself, did I fancy that they could. I am convinced of the contrary, and that all my fortitude would not prevent me from yielding to melancholy and disgust. After consuming the day in study, if you knew my pleasure at meeting my brethren in the evening! After passing many a long hour in solitude, if I could express to you the joy which I feel at once more beholding a fellow-creature! 'Tis in this particular that I place the principal merit of a monastic institution. It secludes man from the temptations of vice; it procures the leisure necessary for the proper service of the Supreme; it spares him the mortification of witnessing the crimes of the worldly, and yet permits him to enjoy the blessings of society." (*The Monk* 1.2.76-77)

Lewis invests this exchange with apparent irony because it happens at a point in the novel in which Ambrosio is presented as admirable, above sin and reproach. For in this passage Ambrosio defends monasticism as a blessing and an aid through its promotion of virtue and the "proper service of the Supreme." Through the contrast of a solitary recluse, who removes himself from society in order to purify and sanctify himself, with the community of like-minded recluses, Lewis distinguishes "hermit" from "friar/monk," illustrating that

the anti-social aspects of the hermit who seeks God in the desert is different from the idea of a community of cenobites, anchored in the common bonds of humanity, who discover sanctity in mutual support.

Whereas Lewis's *The Monk* presents unrepentant and unredeemable evil, Radcliffe's *The Italian* humanizes the face of unrepentant evil in the character of Schedoni. Furthermore, while Lewis uses his characters and narrator to condemn the institution of monasticism, which by its very nature is hypocritical, Radcliffe distinguishes between the office and the person, locating the evil not in the institution but in the individual. For instance, the narrator draws attention to the fact that Schedoni's fellow monks question his integrity and methods:

The elder brothers of the convent said that he had talents, but denied him learning; they applauded him for the profound subtlety which he occasionally discovered in argument, but observed that he seldom perceived truth when it lay on the surface; he could follow it through all the labyrinths of disquisition, but overlooked it when it was undisguised before him. In fact he cared not for the truth, nor sought it by bold and broad argument, but loved to exert the wily cunning of his nature in hunting it through artificial perplexities.... (*The Italian* 1.2.34)

Framing the charge thus, Radcliffe suggests that the character of Schedoni and not the cowl and habit are to be held in low repute.²⁸ This is not to say that Radcliffe discovers merit in monasticism; for Schedoni's brethren in the fictitious order of Black Penitents are also noted to be jealous and suspicious:

Ambition, it has already appeared, was one of his strongest motives of action, and he had long since assumed a character of severe sanctity, chiefly for the purposes

of lifting him to promotion. He was not beloved in the society of which he was a member; and many of the brotherhood, who had laboured to disappoint his views, and to detect his errors, who hated him for his pride, and envied him for his reputed sanctity, now gloried in the mortification he had received, and endeavoured to turn the circumstance to their own advantage. They had not scrupled already to display by insinuation and pointed sneers, their triumph, and to menace his reputation; and Schedoni, though he deserved contempt, was not of a temper to endure it. (*The Italian* 1.10.109)

In this way, Radcliffe's presentation of monasticism is neither charged with a peremptory anti-Catholicism nor an indiscriminate defense of institutionalized asceticism.

Radcliffe, nonetheless, peppers her text with positive remarks about religious retirement. In one passage, as Vincentio di Vivaldi chases after the Ellena di Rosalba and her kidnappers, the narrator remarks that Vivaldi was surprised at the hospitality found in remote monasteries (*The Italian* 1.10.113). Here Radcliffe contrasts refined manners and wild Romantic landscapes, thus idealizing the monasteries and their "dependent hamlet[s]." What is not resolved in this passage, however, is whether Vivaldi registers his surprise to such courtesy because they are *monks* or because they are civilized monks *in such wild environs*. By overlooking this distinction, Radcliffe does not appear to have a fully articulated vision of asceticism.²⁹

When Radcliffe, however, uses her narrator to condemn a character, her language is quite deliberate. In one instance, in which Vivaldi appeals to the abbot of the monastery of San Stefano, the narrator explains that the shortcoming of this abbot is his moderate and agreeable attitude, qualities that deny him force or power:

Vivaldi, on quitting her apartment, had no other resource than an application to the *Abate*, whose influence, at least, if not his authority, might assuage the severity of her power. In this Abate, a mildness of temper, and a gentleness of manner were qualities of less value than is usually and deservedly imputed to them; for, being connected with feebleness of mind, they were but the pleasing merits of easy times, which in an hour of difficulty never assumed the character of virtues, by inducing him to serve those, for whom he might feel. And thus, with a temper and disposition directly opposite to those of the severe and violent abbess, he was equally selfish, and almost equally culpable, since by permitting evil, he was nearly as injurious in his conduct as those who planned it. (*The Italian* 1.11.121)

What is castigated is not this particular abbot's gentleness but rather his excessive permissiveness: his self-centered prudence and his self-serving passivity are liabilities and are not to be admired. Vivaldi perceives this essential difference and is provoked to a passionate outburst of righteousness: "Is it morality to obey where the command is criminal?" (*The Italian* 1.9.121). Similarly, when the narrator reveals the disjuncture between Schedoni's outward display of sanctity and his inward hypocrisy, there is virtually no ambiguity or equivocation: "as he was destitute of generous feeling, and of sound judgment, he had not that loftiness of soul, which is ambitious of true grandeur. On the contrary, he was satisfied with an ostentatious display of pleasures and power, and, thoughtless of the consequence of dissipation..." (*The Italian* 2.9.226). Radcliffe's ambiguity, it seems, is deliberate, and her depiction of monasticism is designed to rebuke the man in the habit, not the practice of asceticism.

Radcliffe, like Lewis, uses monastic terms without distinguishing a "monk" from a "friar." In one instance, during Ellena and Vivaldi's escape from the monastery of San Stefano, they continue within the labyrinth, aware that they have been deceived and trapped by the disreputable monk Jeronimo. Cornered in a tomb-like chamber (the same one used to imprison a nun for years until she expired), they encounter a man kneeling in prayer in the corner of the room. The man is alternately addressed as a "monk" and a "friar," as if the two words were synonyms (*The Italian* 2.1. 141).³⁰ As in *The Monk*, Radcliffe evidently does not distinguish between these terms of monasticism: one seems equivalent to the other. Schedoni is called both a "monk" and a "friar" throughout this novel, though clearly he is not a mendicant, i.e. a "friar," but a member of an order owning communal property, or a "monk" as now commonly understood.

Radcliffe's portrait, however, makes clear that a habit neither sanctifies nor diminishes the man who wears it. When Ellena, kidnapped for the second time and dragged to a distant castle in Apulia, spies a monk on a distant shore, she regards the habit neither with fear nor excessive devotion, though she again asserts her faith in the sanctity of holy orders (*The Italian* 2.8.220). The irony of the moment, known to the reader but not to Ellena, is that the man she sees is her uncle Schedoni and what she calls his "worthy musings" are deliberations on her destruction. The dramatic irony of this scene substantiates the claim that Radcliffe's depiction of asceticism tends to be impartial and her incomplete effort to distinguish among various orders — Carmelites, Dominicans, Ursalines, Benedictines — manifests her intention to treat the subject as fully as she can. For her, the proper forum for vilifying the monk is the carnival pantomimes, not the romance:

See! Signor, there is Punchinello, see! how he eats the hot macaroni! And look there, Signor! there is a juggler! O! good Signor, stop one moment to look at his tricks. See! he has turned a monk into a devil already, in the twinkling of an eye!

(*The Italian* 3.1.274)

Radcliffe thus presents monasticism unencumbered by the polemic shorthand of several centuries. Her view of monasticism, instead, requires her hero and heroine to hold it in esteem on account of the earnestness of the devotion, a respect forfeited upon exposure to a monk's hypocrisy.

Though early renditions of Gothic fiction and drama generally registered sentiments closer in tone to the dismissive Protestant polemicists of the seventeenth century than either the respectful Catholic apologists or the derisive Enlightenment essayists, the degree to which a writer criticized or condemned monasticism gradually was mitigated and replaced by a recognition of its virtues. For instance, the introduction to Elizabeth Inchbald's *A Simple Story* (1791) — a semi-autobiographical novel anatomizing her psychology and politics — idealizes the active preaching of Catholic religious orders by contrasting the retreat from the world:

Dorriforth, bred at St. Omer's in all the scholastic rigour of that college, was by education, and the solemn vows of his order, a Roman Catholic priest — but nicely discriminating between the philosophical and superstitious part of that character, and adopting the former only, he possessed qualities not unworthy the first professors of Christianity — every virtue which is was his vocation to preach, it was his care to practise; nor was he in the class of those religious, who,

by secluding themselves from the world, fly the merit they might have in reforming mankind. (*Simple Story* 1.1.3)

Inchbald makes clear her respect for the active mission to turn outwards and preach; furthermore, her use of litotes to connect Dorriforth with the first apostles of Christ undercuts Protestant denunciations regarding Roman Catholic teaching. Because one can find such wide variation in the presentation of monasticism of this period, it is not surprising to discover the range of critiques, which detailed the flaws in form, the inconsistent and haphazard characterization, the lapses in fact and judgment, and the attacks upon "venerable establishments" (Watt *Contesting* 92). Generally speaking, however, neither works of fiction (such as Inchbald's and Radcliffe's) nor the censures by critics were written in the spirit of Jacobin radicals.

Outright disdain for religious orders, however, was to be found in the theater of the age, both in the legitimate works of the patent royal theaters and the "lesser" theaters (which by law were forced to produce some combination of opera, pantomime, equestrian displays, and nautical shows). Because a cowl is a costume that is immediately recognizable, and because the 1790s witnessed the popularization of the spectacle, the success of Gothic works in the theater should not be a surprise.³¹ As Richard Cumberland explained regarding his play *The Carmelite* (Drury Lane, 1784), the Romantic vistas of rocky shores responsible for shipwreck, the castles and convents suggesting at once history and containment, and the easily identifiable costumes of nobleman and monastic could be exploited in a theater of such dimensions, attributes, and acoustics, a theater suited more for visual than verbal gymnastics (Evans *Gothic Drama* 72):

Since the stages of Drury Lane and Covent Garden have been so much enlarged in their dimensions to be henceforward theatres for spectators rather than playhouses for hearers, it is hardly to be wondered at if their managers and directors encourage those representations, to which their structure is best adapted. The splendour of the scenes, the ingenuity of the machinist and the rich display of dresses, aided by the captivating charms of music now in a great degree supercede the labours of the poet. (as qtd in Cox *Seven Gothic* 9)

One need only peer into the "pathetic ballad" of J.C. Cross's spectacle, *Julia of Louvain; or Monkish Cruelty* (Royal Circus, May 15, 1797), to witness one instance in which the cloistered life is characterized as a hopeless prison sentence and a threat to the helpless heroine:

Hark! Yon solemn awful bell
 Commands you bid the world adieu;
 With lonely solitude to dwell,
 No ray of hope, no change in view!

Sad victim! Prisoner forlorn!
 By the taper's dying light,
 The Nun's sad bosom pants for morn,
 While grief prolongs her tedious night.

Hard penance rigid zeal must prove,

Pale poverty her steps attend;
 Religion quench the flame of love,
 And death alone appear a friend. (Cross *Julia* 144)

In general, the presentation of monasticism was unflattering; the common trope of this theatre was to dress a villain in a cowl, clearly identifying the antagonist or marplot. For instance, in *The Castle Spectre* (Drury Lane, Dec. 14, 1797), Lewis defines the costuming of Father Philip — a character Bertrand Evans has described as "a combination of Falstaff and Juliet's nurse made into a friar" (Evans 134) — to consist of a "Friar's grey gown, with Falstaff's belly, a cord round the waist..." (Lewis *Castle* 13).

Similarly, in other Gothic presentations of monasticism, the cowl serves as shorthand for sanctimony, hypocrisy, superstition, and, ultimately, the irreligion that the Reformation sought to redress. One example serves to illustrate the most numerous by far of Gothic productions, the bluebooks or shilling-shockers — flimsy, cheaply produced pamphlets in blue covers that contained lurid tales often cribbed or plagiarized outright from novels or magazine tales. In "The Monk of Horror, or the Conclave of Corpses," a tale from a collection entitled *Tales of the Crypt — in the Style of The Monk* (1798), a pre-Reformation skeptic-monk in Kreutzberg undergoes a "conversion" experience during his sinister, midnight investigation of decaying bodies. As the narrator relates the skeptic-monk's encounter with a hell-tortured monk, who suffers for the pain he inflicted upon the innocent while he yet lived, the emphasis of the tale switches from elaborating the skeptic-monk's spiritual shortcomings to asserting the importance of religious devotion while on this earth:

From thenceforth he eschewed vain philosophy, says the legend, and devoting his time to the pursuit of true knowledge, and the extension of power, greatness, and glory of the Church, died in the odour of sanctity, and was buried in that holy vault, where his body is still visible. (Anonymous "Monk" 116)

The monk as a figure in shilling shockers generally draws a comment from the narrator regarding the lack of sincerity, earnestness, or morality. In this rendition, the monk's near-atheism is not enough to overcome cowardice: "It was a sight to petrify the stoutest heart; and the monk's quailed before it, though he was a philosopher, and a sceptic to boot" (Anonymous "Monk" 114). This very monk, like many other representations of asceticism in the grotesque shilling shockers, alternates between being a freethinker and a superstitious Papist who can be redeemed only by striving to become an honorary Protestant. For it is when he turns inward and prays sincerely to Heaven that he discovers the error of his ways: "In this moment of doubt and fear he bethought him of a prayer, and as he proceeded he felt himself becoming possessed of a confidence he had before unknown" (Anonymous "Monk" 115). Invariably, works of Gothic fiction, whether on stage or in print, expended much energy and effort to design and define monasticism — as a practice contrary to the command of Jehovah, as a pursuit that narrows and dehumanizes, as a calling hostile to the ambitions of true religion. In these portraits, though, appear subtle distinctions between monks, friars, and hermits, which, though not pursued and invested with any taxonomic precision, revealed the effort to take the practice of religious seclusion seriously and earnestly if only to condemn it in the end.

-2-

Alongside the fictional portraits of asceticism in Gothic works and simultaneous with the increasing interest paid to the expelled French monks, monasticism underwent discussion

and further definition in the poetry of the 1790s.³² In the works of poets of this decade, whether immediately recognizable to posterity (such as William Wordsworth, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and William Blake) or not (such as Mrs. Hannah Cowley ["Anna Matilda"] and Thomas Dudley Fosbrooke), the terms "monks," "friar," and "hermit" underwent recontextualization, refining and adding to the connotations already in circulation. Weekly newspapers and monthly journals published scores of poems that, in addition to experimenting with mixed forms and patterns, also depicted the life of religious austerity — and the motivations behind the generally forgettable verse diverge as widely as their apparent opinions on the subject. No small portion of the periodical verse reflects upon and is occasioned by popular works of fiction (which hardly had a uniform or unequivocal stance on cenobitism). In Robert Burns's "The Hermit," for instance, a hermit is depicted as a respectable Protestant who has become disillusioned with the decline of noble and chivalrous sentiments (the hermit's voice is tellingly engraved upon marble in a Scotch nobleman's estate):

I saw mankind with vice incrusted;
 I saw that Honour's sword was rusted;
 That few for aught but folly lusted;
 That he was still deceived who trusted
 To love or friend;
 And hither came, with men disgusted,
 My life to end. (ll. 14-20)

The hermit is presented as a Romantic paragon, one who mourns the passing of chivalry and who, Werther-like, cannot face the cruelties of the modern world. Hermit in this

context implies a type of noble and melancholic figure, highly principled and idealistic but not necessarily connected with a parish or supported by congregants, as the word then denoted. Burns could easily have been influenced by poets from Pope to Johnson and novelists from Sterne to Burney. In this very decade, a search of the Chadwyck-Healy Literature Online database provides a hundred examples of such a type of recluse that is not necessarily retreating from the world for religious purposes. T. J. Mathias in *The Pursuits of Literature* (1794) uses the stock figure of a hermit to poke fun at modern literary and poetic enterprises:

Is it for me to creep, or soar, or doze,
In modish song, or fashionable prose?
To pen with garreteers obscure and shabby,
Inscriptive nonsense in a fancied Abbey;
Or some Warkworthian hermit tale endite,
Such ditties as our gossip spinsters write? (ll. 91-96)

The point is not the frequent use of the hermit as a stock figure. The point is that this stock figure served as shorthand for writers; over time, it gathered so many adjectives that two competing constellations of attributes were available by the end of the century. The first was the venerable, pious, peaceful, unadorned paragon of religious conviction. The other resembled Burns's: a brooding, melancholic, lonely, hoary, grisly, cold, shaggy, antisocial type who fled society's charms and hypocrisy. A hermit in a mossy cell at the end of the century might or might not tell his beads but most certainly would tell a reader of seclusion and withdrawal from society. Clara Reeve's hermit in *The Old English Baron* (1777) is a type of monk; James Beattie's hermit in "The Hermit" (1776) is a

Romantic crooner who denounces the folly and vanity of mankind. In T. J. Matthias's and Robert Burns's hands, the hermit does not fast and pray in a cave: he retreats from the world in order to write poetry in forlorn, Romantic locations.

In many ways, the influence of and the audience's taste for the Gothic — if it did not sway a poet to consider and portray monasticism — encouraged publishers to select and reward monetarily works of poetry that gratified this taste.³³ For instance, "The Voice from the Side of Etna or, The Mad Monk," a poem attributed to Coleridge and printed in the *Morning Post and Gazetteer* on October 13, 1800, seems to have been written solely with an eye to the marketplace, especially considering its subtitle, "An ode, in Mrs. Ratcliff's [sic] manner."³⁴ Coleridge obviously builds his poem upon Radcliffean Gothic, particularly her technique of personifying and dramatizing the landscape in order to draw out the sublime from the picturesque. The poem's frame is the report of a traveler who experiences an unexplained song "haunting" the Sicilian countryside, a song which terrorizes him and culminates in the observation, "That night there was no moon!!" The echoing song of the jealous lover who stabs his beloved Rosa itself is one that both mourns the loss and acknowledges the hallucinations of a guilt-riddled conscience:

It is the stormy clouds above,
 That flash so red a gleam
 On yonder downward trickling stream;
 'Tis not the blood of her I love.
 The sun Torments me from his western bed!
 Oh let him cease for ever to diffuse
 Those crimson spectre hues! (Coleridge "Voice" ll. 38-44)

Following the Gothic prescription, this voice issues forth from a monastic; Coleridge does not stray too far from the formula: "A Hermit, or a Monk, the man might be" (Coleridge "Voice" l. 5). Coleridge's collapsing of (or alternately, his lack of recognizing a difference between) these two modes of austerity serves to heighten the mystery of this plaintive song. Were the guilt-ridden person a monk, his absence from a monastery and his retreat into a cave surely would signify something different than would the sole recluse, the hermit. Of course, one might also rebut that the phrase may have been inserted mainly to maintain the cadence and meter of the iambic pentameter. Nonetheless, the readers of the *Morning Post*, familiar both with Radcliffe's works and Gothic fiction, may have possibly recognized that the two words are indeed distinct — and that one, hermit, did not evoke the same response as the other.

Other contemporary poets went to great lengths to establish the distinction between various kinds of religious austerity. One noteworthy work from a relatively minor poet reveals the extent to which the accurate depiction of monasticism became an obsessive pursuit in this decade.³⁵ A twenty-three year old orphaned poet whose stepfather had dissipated his fortune and whose guardian, who sponsored him at Pembroke College, Oxford, died without a will (launching the case into Chancery), Thomas Dudley Fosbrooke took it upon himself to establish his own fortune through his scholarship. Having at his disposal the records at Gloucester and noting an absence of any British history of the medieval monastic life, Fosbrooke established himself as a serious scholar of the monastic traditions as they existed in medieval Britain. His *British Monachism* (1802), which collated various sources on monasticism, was the authoritative reference work for about three decades. He first attempted, though, to achieve fame and

prosperity through poetry. In 1795, he unleashed the unwieldy and generally unpoetic work, *The Economy of Monastic Life*, which, though notably written in perfect Spenserian stanzas, offers little to posterity except its careful depiction of monastic life as had then been established.³⁶ Generally disregarded in the critical reviews of the period, the work achieved no lasting notoriety. Its struggle with the meaning of monasticism, however, helps identify more easily the various conceptions and misconceptions about the ascetic life. In the introductory "dissertation" preceding *The Economy of Monastic Life*, Fosbrooke sounds the requisite staunch Protestant distaste for monasticism (especially required for someone seeking subscriptions to defray the cost of publishing):

On the absurdity of Monachism, on the gluttony, the avarice, the ignorance, and other crimes of the monks, history has been illiberally copious. Let us however, who apprehend no danger of the revival of their institution, charitably apply a trite remark of Horace. The preservation of learning, and a beneficial operation on the savage, warlike temper of the feudal ages, may be tributes now rendered to a system, which still interests the fancy. The ceremonial routine of Monkery was indeed puerile, and the celebrated author of the History of the Jesuits has observed, that the tendency of the Monastic institution, like that of all corporate bodies, was to narrow the human mind. Candour however prescribes a reference, not to the refinement of modern times, but to the manners of the middle ages; and if it was not absolutely impossible, would it not have required a very improbable concurrence of circumstances, to have promoted a general enlargement of the mind amidst the influence of the same manners, and the absence of the art of printing? (Fosbrooke *Economy* 16)

Safely couched in the acceptable deprecations of an institution that neither should be revived nor could improve or augment an enlightened society, the poem's apparent position on monasticism could not be mistaken.

Fosbrooke divides his poem into three parts; the first describes an idealized monastery's architecture (interior and exterior) and depicts the intellectual climate of the Middle Ages. The second and by far the shortest — or as explained in a footnote, "This part is necessarily short, because the greatest part of the day was consumed in religious services" (Fosbrooke *Economy* 2:59) — portrays a sample of the inhabitants of the monasteries. The third part itemizes some of the customs and habits of monks that Fosbrooke considers ignoble. Carefully delineating various monastic types, Fosbrooke is not as careful to specify rule, although he does set the locale as the dissolved Cistercian Netley Abbey in Southampton. His first distinction is to change the perspective from Netley Abbey to the "sloping ground above" the abbey (one wonders whether Wordsworth read this poem before composing his "Lines...above Tintern Abbey..."). By setting hermits here, Fosbrooke clearly distinguishes between the unorganized hermits in their cells of nature and monks:

Some hermits were, who dwelled within a rock

Hollow, indented in a sloping ground,

Above, an ancient tree's inclining stock[.] (Fosbrooke *Economy* 1:82-84)

Moving the perspective back down to the monastery, Fosbrooke describes monks busily telling their beads, bells breaking the silence of the cloister, and various rituals and ceremonies. He breaks up the monotony of the survey with Romantic flourishes and attempts at syntactic inversions, such as "...in scrawls and figures quaint, / And letters

black, that legendary lore, / Monks loved to tattle of their valued saint, / They not forgot
 along the neighb'ring wall to paint" (Fosbrooke *Economy* 1:204-7). Still, he maintains the
 Protestant distaste for the cloistered life:

There too, before the monkish cowl was worn,

Two hoary pedagogues tyrannic reign,

(Soon as his youthful locks were closely shorn),

Tutored the novice to a life of pain[.] (Fosbrooke *Economy* 1:280-83)

In the remaining stanzas of this first part, Fosbrooke describes an initiation ritual at which
 a young novice pronounces his vows. Unlike the writers of Gothic fiction of the period,
 Fosbrooke is aware that these vows were not forced upon the unwilling (though he does
 call into question the merit of such vows and their relevance to Heaven).

Besides distinguishing hermits from the Cistercians who would be found at
 Netley Abbey, Fosbrooke also reveals the chief distinction between monks and friars,
 thus disentangling the often-confused terms. Following an attempt to depict an
 excommunication ceremony, a failure that signals not only his poetic inexperience but
 also his Protestant preconceptions, Fosbrooke moves from the subjunctive mode to the
 historical:

Such were the customs of our days of old,

For not those days the sun of science cheered;

Our song historical must now unfold

More mournful tales; when holy Henry steered

The bark of state, a novel race appeared,

Who rules to preach and proselyte obeyed,

Though for their home a proper fane was reared,
 No annual bounty to the fane was paid,
 For all the friar race were mendicants by trade.

(Fosbrooke *Economy* 3:703-11)

If Fosbrooke is unkind to monks, he is disrespectful of friars, whom he equates with street hustlers and "jugglers" (3:722). Fosbrooke, though, treats the despoilers of the monasteries with even more scorn, describing them metonymically as "grinning Scorn," "false Zeal," "talon'd Sacrilege," "erasing Envy," "snatching Violence," and "scrambling Rapine" (Fosbrooke *Economy* 3:750-52, 754-56). Denouncing the destruction of the monasteries and the progress of the French Revolution, Fosbrooke aligns himself with Burke.

The concluding stanzas of the poem represent the poet's attempt to discover the historical facts of monasticism useful to posterity. Each of these points comes in a soft reproach to personified figures, Commerce and Learning. His apostrophes to Commerce and Learning help section off the poem, dividing the passage from the ruined Netley Abbey of the eighteenth century to the idealized medieval past in order to witness the progress of monasticism to the present. Though Fosbrooke does turn a wistful eye toward the passing of the institution, he believes that the persistence of history and its hold upon the imagination will certainly fire other youth who come fresh upon the ruined abbey and mentally reconstruct it:

Shades of past fame, farewell! The glooms ye cast!
 The melancholy pleasure ye have bred!
 There are, who fain would fly into the past,

And where I but a weeping pilgrim tread,
 As cowed monks hide for aye the aching head
 (Fosbrooke *Economy* 3: 865-69)

Immediately following Fosbrooke's poem is an appendix of original, unpublished manuscripts each of which supports and augments Fosbrooke's depiction, and marks Fosbrooke as a serious scholar of monasticism.

In general, though, the poets of this decade did not seek to produce historically accurate representations of the life of a religious recluse. The most noteworthy examples open and close the *Lyrical Ballads* of 1798. In "The Rime of the Ancyent Marinere, in Seven Parts" and in "Lines Written a Few Miles above Tintern Abbey, on Revisiting the Wye during a Tour, July 13, 1798," Coleridge and Wordsworth each portray a hermit with little emphasis upon the hermit's historical and sanctioned office. Coleridge's well-known hermit appears to the Ancyent Marinere's eyes shortly after he witnesses a "seraph-man" lead a band of seraphs out of the flat, lifeless corpses on the ship's deck (Coleridge "Rime" 7:547). It is to this figure that the Marinere seeks to confess and be absolved of his sin.³⁷ In Coleridge's hands, the hermit resembles the ancient Catholic recluse who retreats into the wilderness in order to praise God and prepare his soul for salvation.

He kneels at morn and noon and eve —
 He hath a cushion plump:
 It is the moss, that wholly hides
 The rotted old Oak-stump. (Coleridge "Rime" 7: 552-55)

Yet the chief characteristic of this hermit is not his sanctity expressed in his retreat but his harmonious existence in the world, brought on in part by his acceptance and celebration of life within death. Unlike the pilot, the hermit does not fear death but faces with equanimity and prayer the catastrophic and inexplicable destruction of the ship.

Unlike Coleridge's, Wordsworth's hermit is apparently neither engendered with special spiritual significance nor physically embodied. Instead, he exists as a figment of Wordsworth's imagination, as a possible explanation for the "wreaths of smoke / Sent up, in silence, from among the trees, / With some uncertain notice" (ll. 17-19). Gazing through the lens of New Criticism, some scholars have overlooked any connection of this hermit in the woods to monasticism and religious retreat; instead, they read the fictive hermit in his cave alongside the hypothetical "vagrant dwellers in houseless woods," as though both situations are perfectly synonymous.³⁸ Unlike Fosbrooke, Coleridge and Wordsworth do not explicitly portray the religious office of monasticism or eremitism. Coleridge designs a holiness contingent upon harmony with the world; Wordsworth imagines a quaint cave-dweller whose presence in the landscape serves to restore the poet when he's "in lonely rooms, and mid the din / Of towns and cities" (Wordsworth "Lines" ll. 25-26).

Wordsworth's and Coleridge's audience might well have received the verses with an eye towards Catholic practice or medieval history, especially considering the preponderance of hermits in contemporary works of British history, Gothic fiction, on the London stage, and in magazine articles and letters. Instead, many scholars render "hermit" in the late nineteenth-century sense, discarding the possibility that Wordsworth's imagined hermit, like the ruined abbey that would have sheltered Cistercians, was in a

church sanctioned retreat provided for by tithes and parish monies. For instance, Harold Bloom's reading of "Tintern Abbey" in *Poetry and Repression* (1976) ingeniously uncovers Miltonic allusions. Tracing the source of the poem to Wordsworth's "Michael" fragment, Bloom conflates the hermit of "Tintern Abbey" with the later mentioned blind man, arriving at the conclusion that the hermit stands "through the fixation of a primal repression, for the blind contemplative Milton" (70). While examining this hermit, Mary Jacobus discovers a doubling of figures (i.e., that the hermit is Wordsworth), but then chooses to identify the source of the hermit as William Gilpin's popular travel book on the river Wye (*Observations on the River Wye, and several Parts of South Wales, &c. relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty* 1782), in which Gilpin remarks that "a man of warm imagination, in monkish times, might have been allured by the scene to become an inhabitant of it" (as qtd in Jacobus "Tintern" 368).

Other scholars also base their readings upon this late nineteenth-century understanding, one that was by no means the more frequent use of the word by Wordsworth or his immediate audience. For example, the critic Robert Brinkley defines a hermit as a secular fixture of the landscape, going so far as to write, "A semi-industrial landscape becomes a landscape in a poem, deeply interfused by the presence of the hermit, it is smoke from his fire that transforms what the poet beholds into 'forms of beauty'" (Brinkley "Vagrant and Hermit" 128). In *Wordsworth's Great Period Poems* (1986), Marjorie Levinson extends Brinkley's point, making the bold claim, "Monks seek the thing they love and they seek it in the company of their fellows. Hermits are in flight from a dreaded reality, a social way of life felt to oppose interiority . . . By 1798, Wordsworth's hermit was something of a stage prop the debased servant of a business

class seeking to collapse spiritual and aesthetic functions into one vicarious experience" (34). Despite the learned disquisition on the history of monasteries in England, Levinson's distinction between "monk" and "hermit" completely avoids any discussion of religion or organization within the medieval church. Though Levinson is not incorrect in suggesting that Wordsworth may have conceived the hermit in the same way as did Burns or Mathias, she does not produce evidence to support this claim. Divorcing "hermit" from the religious significance of Tintern Abbey, she seems to disregard Wordsworth's construction of the poem's movement toward a renewed personal religious conviction, and she removes the poem from its context within *Lyrical Ballads*, which begins with a religious understanding of hermit. It is more likely that the hermits Wordsworth imagined in the shadow of Tintern's ruins would evoke the Catholic history for his contemporary readers than a Marxist/Eco-Critical critique of industry or as an idealized image of self and nature.

Noting the apparent absence of the historical realities of religion in the analysis of "Tintern Abbey," some scholars have pointed out potential sources for the hermit of "some uncertain notice" (Wordsworth "Lines" l. 19). Focusing on "the central religious drama of the poem," Brian Barbour rightly notes the difficulty in identifying Wordsworth's religious principles, which were a "gentle mixture of Deism and sentimentalism" grafted onto his accommodating Christian upbringing (Barbour "Between" 149, 150). For Barbour, however, Wordsworth decorates the hermit with "ornaments of the twenty-third Psalm, and of the poetry of the classical world" (Barbour "Between" 158). By missing the opportunity to note how "hermit" might have been understood by Wordsworth and his audience, Barbour errs on two counts: the claim that

"Wordsworthian morality, like Wordsworthian religion, has no need of the supernatural" (Barbour "Between" 166) denies the seemingly indelible memory of the place and its spiritual significance, which grants Wordsworth the ability to explain to his sister that the basis of "our chearful faith" is the unity in communal sentiments derived from personal responses and reflections. Second, the echo between "hermit" early in the poem and "anchor" later would much more convincingly support Barbour's claim that "Religious faith, of a new sort, has been reestablished and rendered secure on the rock of moral benevolence and mystical intuition" (Barbour "Between" 167). In another attempt to restore religion as central to the poem, Damian Walford Davies suggests that Wordsworth may have alluded to a mytho-historical Welsh King Tewdrig. According to legend and history, he gave up his kingdom to his son to live a hermitic life in Tintern, only to be called out of retirement to defend his country, a parallel that adds weight to "hermit" in this poem:

Far from figuring the "private" poet, the man "in flight from a dreaded reality" which Levinson portrays, this hermit embodies political duty and "the still, sad music of humanity" of "Tintern Abbey" with all its "solitude, or fear, or pain, or grief." The hermit, then, is a more complex self-projection than Levinson suggests. (Davies "Some" 424)

In Davies' and Barbour's efforts to restore reception (i.e., what Wordsworth's immediate audience may have understood the hermit to be) and intention (i.e., how Wordsworth meant hermit to be understood in the shadows of Tintern Abbey), both writers seize upon the critical neglect of historical and personal religion, which arguably directs and organizes the progress of the poem. But both overlook the contemporary connotations of

the foregrounded "hermit," a type of religious recluse that no longer seemed to signify the same sort of knee-jerk reaction that "monk" or "friar" did.

A few critics have seized upon this idea, though much work remains to be done regarding Wordsworth's idea of religious retreat. In *The Poetry of Relationship: The Wordsworths and Coleridge, 1797-1800* (1997), Richard E. Matlak contrasts the hermit of "Tintern Abbey" with the wind harp in Coleridge's "Eolian Harp," claiming that Wordsworth was responding directly to the "threat" of Coleridge's poetry and theology. According to Matlak, Wordsworth found "vocational direction and confidence in a dialogic and competitive interplay with Coleridge as a rival poet and lover" (Matlak *Poetry* 139). This rivalry over Dorothy Wordsworth's religious beliefs and sentiments resulted in a similar formal construction of the two poems, the adaptation of "the parts of a classical oration to its allegedly 'effusive' development" (Matlak *Poetry* 124). Bridging the gap between the *exordium* and the *propositio*, the "hermit" plays a significant role in Matlak's interpretation:

The associations that the hermit arouses are as central to the movement of *Tintern Abbey* as the wind harp is in "Eolian Harp." The Abbey of the poet's title suggests that a hermit is the new monk of nature, living outside traditional religious structures, within a primitive wood of holiness. (Matlak *Poetry* 126)

Despite his otherwise compelling argument, Matlak divorces the historic office of "hermit" from its Catholic practice and tradition, preferring instead to cloak the hermit as Nature's priest of animism. The immediate audience of *Lyrical Ballads*, however, was saturated with representations of hermits and monks, and often found the solitary retreat of the former for religious reflection preferable to the errors committed by the latter.

Wordsworth's "hermit," particularly important to "Tintern Abbey" especially in its placement of the poem, presents a problem to some readers of Wordsworth's poetry who wish to present him as a pantheist who later tried to incorporate Christianity into his animism. It seems the early Wordsworth grappled much more than is acknowledged with Christian tradition and practice, though perhaps not in as overt a fashion as he would later in the *Ecclesiastical Sketches*.

Coleridge's "hermit" in *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* likewise complicates our understanding of the admittedly sinuous development of his beliefs and somewhat unsystematic theology during this moment of his literary career. For though Coleridge's antipathy toward Roman Catholicism is well documented in passages as early as his Friday, 5 June 1795 lecture on the "corruptions of Christianity," his conception of "hermit" prior to the *Ancient Mariner* is not so obvious.³⁹ And Coleridge's insistence upon the living quality of words in language draws the importance of the contest between word and image:

For as words are learnt by us in clusters, even those that most expressly refer to Images & other Impressions are not all learnt by us determinately; and tho' this should be wholly corrected by after experience, yet the Images & Impressions associated with the words become more and more dim.... Words therefore become a sort of Nature to us, & Nature is a sort of Words (Coleridge *Collected Letters* 2. 698)

For Coleridge, the road between words and things is paved by the personal mediation and intervention of thought.

Coleridge thought little, when he did, of monks. His distrust of monastic orders can be seen in the virulence of an annotation of Blaise Pascal's *Lettres Provinciales* (1684), written approximately 21 Sept. 1803:

There can be no doubt, that the Jesuits only *accomodated* [sic] their doctrines to the manners & opinions of the Catholics — this indeed Paschal confesses — these horrid opinions therefore & their utter subversion of moral feelings & notions must have been the fruit of the essentials of the Catholic Church / yes! & truly is so at this very day. Other orders may not have *written* as openly as the Jesuits; but they really *act* on the same principles. — <this I *know*.> (Coleridge *Collected* 12:4 33)

Coleridge, however, discovered sanctity in a hermit where he perceived a "lust of domination" in monks (Coleridge *Collected* 12:5 167). His original composition and his editing of Southey's work in the first half of *Joan of Arc* (1796) points to this very contrast, a contrast that was quite popular by then in the Gothic literature of the time. The cowl for Coleridge signifies blind obedience, ferocity, superstition, and servility: "Obedient first, fierce servant of fierce Lord, / Cowl'd SUPERSTITION comes" (Southey and Coleridge *Joan of Arc* 2.158-59). Earlier, though, the hermit Bizardo is equated with all the qualities that one would associate with the ideal Christian: compassion, reverence, virtue, sanctity (Southey and Coleridge *Joan of Arc* 1.168-78). What becomes evident in both Bizardo and "This Hermit good lives in that wood" (Coleridge "Rime" Part 7. l. 547) is Coleridge's depiction of both as Christian recluses who are invested with sacerdotal capacity, such as Bizardo's administering of funeral rites and the pilot's belief that the hermit can shrive him. And the hermit in both Coleridge and Wordsworth becomes an

aspect of a spiritual dialectic: both poets use the hermit to consider the "movement into solitude and the return to community" (Barth "Spring" 79) in explicitly religious terms, and both decidedly agree that both modes are essential to life.

Unlike Fosbrooke, Wordsworth, and Coleridge, William Blake portrays monasticism in a positive light. Several reasons might be offered for his apparent regard for monasticism, although none can be recognized as central or even fully satisfactory: (1) Blake's profound respect for the ancient Britons (cf. "Greek Philosophy (which is a remnant of Druidism)" *Jerusalem* 52); (2) Blake's interest in illuminating manuscripts (and his Illuminated Works, by this theory, would be a response to the monastic practice); and (3) his recognition of the interpenetration of religion, art, language, and work.⁴⁰ Blake's most direct depiction of monasticism occurs in two passages — one of which was engraved for sale, the other written in a private notebook to be discovered by the pre-Raphaelite Rossetti. The first verbal depiction is found in a stand-alone plate between the second and third chapters of *Jerusalem. The Emanation of the Giant Albion* (c. 1804) and is couched within an execration of "natural religion," which according to Blake is nothing more than "Self-Righteousness, the Selfish Virtues of the Natural Heart" (Blake *Jerusalem* 52). Denouncing Rousseau, Gibbon, Hume, and Voltaire, Blake notes that true Christianity is marked by forgiveness of sin, that "The Glory of Christianity is, To Conquer by Forgiveness" (Blake *Jerusalem* 52). At this point, Blake controverts Hume's and Gibbon's positions on monasticism:

But you also charge the poor Monks & Religious with being the causes of War:
 while you acquit and flatter the Alexanders & Caesars, the Lewis's & Fredericks:
 who alone are its causes and actors. (*Jerusalem* 52)

Blake's denunciation of Enlightenment thought is often glossed as an attack upon rationalism. Harold Bloom comments,

Blake's defense of "a Monk or a Methodist" here certainly does not mean that he was in full sympathy with either figure, but only that he was resolved to defend Enthusiasm or even superstition against every "enlightened" attack, for Enthusiasm was an analogy of his own imaginative stance. (*Complete Poetry* 939)

Bloom's reading resolves the thorny issues of Blake's unusual vindication of monasticism: for Blake — after pointing out that Whitfield, unlike Rousseau, is less a hypocrite because his confessions are in earnest — makes no further mention of Methodism in this passage. Thus, Bloom provides a convenient reduction of Blake's generally disordered thought. In the poem immediately following this passage, Blake depicts a Franciscan (whom he styles a "Grey Monk") bound, wounded, with blood freely running from stigmata, tortured, and martyred by Voltaire and Gibbon:

I saw a Monk of Charlemaine
 Arise before my sight
 I talkd with the Grey Monk as we stood
 In beams of infernal light

 Gibbon arose with a lash of steel
 And Voltaire with a wracking wheel

The Schools in clouds of learning rolld
 Arose with war in iron & gold.

Thou lazy Monk they sound afar
 In vain condemning glorious War
 And in your cell you shall ever dwell
 Rise War & bind him in his Cell.

The blood red ran from the Grey Monks side
 His hands & feet were wounded wide
 His body bent, his arms & knees
 Like to the roots of ancient trees [.] (ll. 1-16)

Blake's position in the poem immediately calls into question the historical sequence of events; for the literal torturing of this monk (and the intimation that Blake is indeed next in line) happens with no explanation of how or why — whether the schools mentioned in line seven are led to conduct war in iron and gold or are removed in mazy abstraction, an ivory tower of sorts, which incapacitates them from preventing such war. The nature of the verse, with its asyndeton and its disordered verbal tenses, obscures the sequence of events sufficiently to confuse linearity. Instead, we are left to ponder whether the binding of the monk and the menacing rack and lash of Enlightened thinkers led to the monk's prostration, as though the recasting of the monk through the history written by the Enlightenment was indeed the cause of the monk's retreat (imprisonment) in his monastic cell.

The second depiction of monasticism — which apparently is related to the "Monk of Charlemaine" passage in *Jerusalem*, although the exact nature of the relationship is still debated — occurs in a notebook poem. According to the editorial work of G. Bentley and D. Erdman, this poem was composed around the same time as the "Monk of Charlemaine" passage in *Jerusalem*. "The Grey Monk" offers no easy moral. Its subversion of grammar provides multiple possibilities, presenting no uncomplicated resolution of four loosely connected visions. In attempting to reconstruct his syntax, a reader must determine the connection between four disparate visions — (1) the image of a starving mother juxtaposed to the cruciform image of a martyred monk, (2) the monk's recounting of God's command, (3) a father who gathers an army to fight, and (4) a brother who vows to avenge wrongs — with the concluding meditation upon these visions. In this poem, as in "I saw a Monk of Charlemaine," Blake thwarts easy conclusions by having the vision subvert itself: for though "The Hermits Prayer & the Widows tear / Alone can free the World from fear" we are also presented with the converse, retributive justice and God-caused suffering:

When God commanded this hand to write

In the studious hours of deep midnight

He told me the writing I should prove

The Bane of all that on Earth I lov'd. ("The Grey Monk" ll. 13-16)

The cyclical nature that characterizes violence in this poem also reflects the fallen perspective that conceives a God who causes suffering for a higher purpose.

For our study of monastic terms, though, Blake offers us the same confused mass, lumping the carefully chosen Franciscan with monks and hermits. Nonetheless, the

biographical circumstances surrounding the composition of the poem — Bentley's claim that this poem was written in a Franciscan friary while on trial in Sussex — may also be seen as a deliberate conflation of what, metaphorically, the religious recluse has to offer in Blake's cosmos. Blake's Grey Monk is secluded like a hermit, dressed like a monk, and actively serving society as a friar (and his evident poverty connects him to the starving mother with her children). Ultimately, though, we cannot conclude with authority whether Blake did or did not maintain such distinctions. As much as the passage suggests an awareness of the qualities of monasticism, this analysis is built upon the premise that Blake both recognized the difference between a monk and a friar and subverted his contemporary readers' (of which there were few) understanding of the terms.

At the beginning of the 1790s, the terms of religious retreat were undefined, lumped together in a congeries of historical connotations and Protestant traditions. By the end of the decade, however, the terms had undergone considerable differentiation. The causes for this lexical discrimination, though various, each point to a growing need to rediscover what Coleridge deemed "outness": "Language & all *symbols* give *outness* to Thoughts/ & this the philosophical essence & purpose of language" (Coleridge *Collected Notebooks* 1:1387). For instance, though Gothic novels used "factual" aspects of monasticism to derive plot twists and thus expended vast amounts of ink describing monasticism as it was in the dusty annals of some medieval cloister or in the distant and exotic South, poets distinguished among forms of religious retreat and between those who retreated to seek spiritual purity and those whose retreat manifested antisocial notions. Despite the fact that these three words — monk, friar, and hermit — had been

historically distinguished at one point and that, over time, they had become confused by the anti-Catholic prejudice and a lack of historical perspective, writers and their audiences participated in remapping the meaning of these words. In redrawing the boundaries, writers and critics loaded "hermit" with connotations of spiritual purity and ever-diminishing allusions to medieval Catholic practice, while "monk" and "friar" were only marginally understood to be different from one another.

Chapter 3

*"My Imagination is a Monastery and I am its Monk":
Early Nineteenth-Century British Writers on Cenobitism, 1803-1819*

Marooned on the shores of England, French monastics played an important role for the English writers who would come to rediscover the differences in religious modes of austerity. In March of 1796, for instance, a small Roman Catholic community of French Trappist monks was established in a proper monastery erected for them on Thomas Weld's estate, about a half a mile up the road from Lulworth Castle in Dorset. Though the number of monks on the estate never reached beyond a dozen, the monastery received much attention from poets and scholars, newspaper writers and dignitaries. Their very presence attracted hundreds of visitors, from the young curate of Horsley who would later become synonymous with scholarly assessment of Anglican religious orders, Thomas Dudley Fosbrooke, to King George III and the royal family. The Trappists' celebrity status, and the increased numbers of foreign ascetics on England's shores, occasioned a dialectic that inevitably negated many of the romanticized notions of religious solitaires made popular through Gothic fiction, antiquarian works, popular ballads, and the pantomimes and productions of the royal theatres. One writer would later recall that the monastery in Dorset "was admirably calculated for prayer, meditation, and heavenly stillness" (as qtd in Anson *Build* 15). In stark contrast to the ornamental hermits paid to inhabit noblemen's estates or the plaster casts of anchorites employed when suitable staff could not be procured to fill this role, the flesh-and-blood immediacy of the French monastics obliged writers and their audiences to confront the idealized abstractions common in the sentimental poetry of the mid-eighteenth century and still popular at the turn of the century.

The literary wrangling over the meaning of monasticism took its most important turn as these French exiles captured the attention of English writers. For scholarly curates like Fosbrooke, the dozen Trappist monks in Dorset at first served to illustrate the errors of the Roman Catholic Church. In *The Economy of Monastic Life* — discussed in the previous chapter — Fosbrooke could awkwardly quip, "The monk not knew within his bounded heart, / The scope of feeling for our general race" (Fosbrooke *Economy* 3.727-28). Nonetheless, perhaps either out of a desire for equity or with an eye to the taste of a reading public immersed in monks on stage and the printed page, he spends several stanzas discussing monastic contributions to commerce and learning (Fosbrooke *Economy* 3.793-837).¹ It was probably no coincidence that the only positive review of this poem that I have been able to locate, in the 1795 Supplement of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, was placed typographically after a review of a pamphlet on the Trappist monks in Dorset (vol 65. part 2. 1099). Were John Nichols and the other Tory editors who assumed the voice of Sylvanus Urban in *Gentlemen's Magazine* aligning these texts to encourage more serious contemplations of them? Were they responding to the pressures of ever-fickle readers and popular sentiment? We cannot answer such questions. Nonetheless, as this instance demonstrates, the comforting portrait of Gothic chambers in which the cowl both masked hypocrisy and stood for deviousness began to be supplanted by a careful analysis of the role of austerity in modern society.

The Trappists at Dorset indeed became shorthand for sincere austerity, practiced with the highest ambitions of religiosity in mind, to the point at which they served as the corrective to wanton libertinism. The Irish poet and wit Thomas Dermody (who also

wrote under the pseudonym Marmaduke Myrtle) exploited the contrast in his satire of Matthew "Monk" Lewis's novels and plays:

Wilt thou bestow some Chatterton his bread,
 And bid one drooping genius lift his head:
 Or rather, to renew the holy game,
 A Covent-garden sisterhood reclaim;
 New nuns elect, debarr'd from wanton wiles,
 Or friars of the order of St. Giles;
 Refit old abbeys mouldering in decay,
 With wooden crosses plant the public way,
 Encowl at once each pocket-picking chap,
 And proudly raise at Holborn a La Trappe?
 (Dermody "More Wonders!" ll. 184-93)

Dermody's contemporaries no doubt recognized the abrasiveness of the satire; its suggestion that Covent Garden prostitutes be outfitted as nuns and that Holborn thieves be dressed as monks juxtaposes the salacious and the iniquitous with the chaste and holy. The satire would be ineffective if the intended audience would have considered Trappist monks with the same disdain that Edward Gibbon did. Dermody confirms this fact by comparing La Trappe with one of the most poverty-ridden neighborhoods of London (made infamous by Defoe's *Moll Flanders*), known for its high incidence of crime and its proximity to Newgate.²

The continuing impact of the Trappists upon the imagination of early nineteenth-century writers is likewise notable in the hundreds of allusions to them in the poems,

plays, novels, romances, and newspaper articles of the period. The order and its history provided material for everyone. The romantic tale of their reformation by the famous Abbot Armand Jean de Rancé's in 1662, evidently inspired to join the Cistercians upon the death of his beloved yet denied Cominge, was retold a dozen times (once by Isaac Disraeli in his unimaginatively titled "Cominge" (1803), a narrative poem of interest only to students of melodrama's rapid propagation). Straining after sententiousness, George Dyer treats the Trappists' bone-chilling ritual of preparing their own grave in "Ode II. To Melancholy" (1801):³

Then haste thee, Queen of Woe, from mortal eye;

Thy mansion fix within some lonely cell,

Where pale-ey'd Superstition loves to dwell,

Wearied of life, and lingers but to die:

As the sand streams to mark the fleeting hour;

As the death's head reminds thee of thy doom;

As the spade sinks thy future grave-bed lower.

I, too, will learn to die, sad pilgrim at thy tomb! (Dyer "Ode II. To Melancholy" ll. 41-48)

The poet and playwright Edward Jerningham — noteworthy for his "Elegy Written among the Tombs in Westminster Abbey" (1762) and his popular *The Siege of Berwick* (1794) — portrays the Trappists with suitably romanticized moments of lachrymose intensity; many a tear must have stained the page when it came to fair Leonora's plight at losing Arabert in "The Funeral of Arabert, monk of La Trappe, a Poem" (1806). Here the historically accurate tale of Rancé and Cominge is reversed, and Leonora disguises

herself as a monk in order to take part in Arabert's funeral. Maria Edgeworth and Sir Walter Scott also alluded to the Trappists in *Ormond, A Tale* (1817) and *The Black Dwarf* (1816) respectively.

Perhaps the lengthiest prose work on the order, and quite a popular work at the time, was W. D. Fellowes' *Visit to the Monastery of La Trappe in 1817*. Fellowes, like so many of his countrymen, regarded the particular circumstances of the Trappist order as worthy of respect, as though former sentiments of Protestant dismay were displaced by those of religious awe for their Leonidas-like perseverance, despite overwhelming odds. In his introduction, Fellowes even dismisses his own craft as a writer, explaining

My book can scarcely demand the serious attention of the critic....I hope therefore I shall be excused for attempting some description, slight and unskillful as it may be, of places and scenery where the human mind has exhibited some of its most curious and powerful features, and which awaken reflections of the deepest interest — I allude particularly to the monastery of *La Trappe*. (Fellowes *Visit to...La Trappe* (1817) viii)

In the introduction, Fellowes carefully places the emphasis not on the historical and religious significance of the monastery but upon the less controversial romantic aspects of its situation. He follows the first description of the monastery with typical romantic transport: "Perhaps there never was anything in the whole universe better calculated to inspire religious awe than the first view of this monastery" (Fellowes *Visit to...La Trappe* 9). His romanticized notions become tempered later in this narrative; Fellowes makes much more pointed comments about the plight of the exiled Trappists, who had just recently returned from Dorset to Normandy:

How indeed could men, whose whole existence was passed in solitude and penance, and who never conversed even among themselves, have been dangerous to those turbulent spirits who had overturned the government and all the religious institutions of their country! (Fellowes *Visit to...La Trappe* 26)

With the thorough defeat of Napoleon and the restoration of the French crown, Fellowes takes an opportunity to jab at the long dead specter of the Jacobins who caused the monks to flee France in the first place.

Each of these works points to the palpable change in which British writers and audiences understood monasticism at the turn of the nineteenth century, a change marked by an evident respect for the institution itself and for its contributions to society and less colored by Protestant stereotypes. Evidently, by having to confront examples of monasticism, the comfortable yet empty stereotypes begin to be replaced by a much more critical — and complete — understanding of the differences in modes of austerity.

-1-

The presence of monks on England's shore transformed both the presentation and significance of ascetics in fiction, drama, and poetry. With the reading public's admiration for the French monks' perseverance and constancy, the seventeenth-century Protestant equation of monasticism with spiritual torpor, cravenness, and other manifestations of misdirected religious zeal became untenable. The change did not occur overnight, however; nor did it happen suddenly, allowing one to pinpoint the exact moment of change. Nonetheless, one way to gauge the actual difference of public opinion is by graphing the increased number of works that begin to show a much finer

discrimination of asceticism, by noting the increased amount of energy spent distinguishing between heroic actions of the faithful while maintaining the prescribed Protestant distrust of forms and display to indicate spiritual virtue and moral uprightness.

One solution to this theologically loaded issue was to separate an individual who was clearly beyond reproach from the group. In works of Gothic literature, for instance, a hero who happened to be a monk was invariably defined in this fashion as being a worthy representative of Protestant faith:

Although Calini was reared up in the principles of the *Romish* church, that did not hinder him from seeing some of its absurdities; and therefore, while some of the votaries placed the essence of their religion in a gaudy exhibition of pompous ceremonies, his consisted in a steady, uniform system of good actions; an undeviating rectitude of conduct, prompted by the motive of his present and everlasting interest, as well as by the intrinsic beauty of benevolence. (Crookenden "Vindictive Monk" 51)

Crookenden, a relatively obscure hack writer whose most successful work was the imaginatively titled collection of Gothic short stories *Romantic Tales*, was not the first writer to present a monk as a sheep in wolf's clothing — such renditions were available decades before *Romantic Tales* graced the booksellers' stalls on Grub street. Nonetheless, the numbers of works in which these distinctions were made increased dramatically between 1803 and 1819, at the same time as the virulence of the obloquies against the institution was waning. These distinctions between instructive and destructive models of Christian devotion fueled the drive to distinguish between terms of asceticism, as writers began to classify a hermit as a species entirely different from a monk and friar.

Thomas Dermody's *The Retrospect* (1807) is one example of a hermit quite clearly contrasted with a monk. Early in the poem, in which Dermody casts a sidelong glance at the progress of civilization in a pointedly Tory fashion, the hermit is little more than a desert-dweller, wide-eyed at society's advancements and improvements:

In climes least favour'd by benignant skies,
The white sails flap, and stately bulwarks rise;
Commerce and patient Industry achieve
What Sloth and Opulence untempted leave.
Soon the dry wilderness is seen no more;
Huge cities shine where deserts lay before:
Mid the deep glen amaz'd the hermit views
The long canal, the garden's vernal hues;
Or by the mountain's rough but sheltering side,

The newly-risen hamlet's rustic pride. (Dermody *The Retrospect* ll. 27-36)

Dermody seems uninterested in presenting the hermit in a religious light. Even a willful and deliberately contrary interpretation that claims Dermody may be suggesting that society's ascetic impulse is connected to sloth and opulence rather than commerce and industry holds little sway in light of the entire poem. Dermody depicts here a hermit who apparently has no connection to monasticism, a hermit whose asceticism is not a part of organized religion.

Dermody is much more explicit about his misgivings over monasticism later in the poem. His distaste for the cowl, and what it represents in terms of "gloom" and

"gaud," is barely different from the type of virulence to be found in seventeenth-century tracts:

Grant me, oh! God, immensely good and wise,
That quiet cell where true religion lies,
Where modes of faith, and bigot strife aside,
Conscience itself the generous act will guide;
The monkish cowl, the drear monastic gloom;
The saintly gaud and consecrated tomb,
Despis'd; let instinct, each revolving hour,
In every part embrace the Sovereign Pow'r! (Dermody *The Retrospect* ll. 607-14)

Nor is his sentiment different throughout his two-volume collection of poetry, *The Harp of Erin*, which he expresses his reactionary stance toward monasticism: "Not real penance claim'd them here; / Nor lowliness with melting tear: / But Superstition, fiend deform" (Dermody "Ruminations on a Decayed Monastery" ll. 17-19). The deliberate bookending of *The Retrospect* with two disparate images of asceticism — one as representative of a past that would gawk incredulously at modern progress, the other as a milepost that signals society's spiritual advancement — is one case in which a writer differentiates ascetic retreat, divesting "hermit" of its religious connotations as a byproduct.

Of course, one did not have to be as politically reactionary as Thomas Dermody, an Irish poet attempting to distance himself from the Wolfe Tone uprising, to make a distinction between a hermit and a monk. In an early work of juvenilia, the popular poet Felicia Dorothea Hemans treated the hermit as a recluse who was inspired to retreat for

"love of solitude" and to "calm the sorrows of his breast"; though Hemans identified the poet as "pious," she also hinted that his "resignation" was less than spiritual (Hemans "Inscription for a Hermitage" ll. 10, 14, 9, 15). And the Tory clergyman Richard Polwhele, known to posterity for his collection of poems by writers in Devonshire and Cornwall and for his amateur history of Devonshire, poked fun at the contemporary romanticization of hermits:⁴

In this lone cot, miscall'd the Hermit's cell,
 No Hermit ever is design'd to dwell.
 To spread his sallad on the maple stool,
 To catch the clear stream in his beechen bowl

 To lift his soul in rapturous prayers on high,
 Feel his fine spirits mounting to the sky;
 And see at times the angels, hovering o'er,
 Fling wide their robes, and blazon all the bower. —

For such high ends this cell was not design'd:
 It owns a genius of a gentler kind.
 Here a fine Lady from Park-lane retires,
 And blends the Hermit's and the Courtier's fires (Polwhele "A Poetical
 Address to a Widow" ll. 9-12, 15-22).

For Polwhele, by 1806, the whole concept of a hermit had been so subsumed by the Georgian culture's fascination with landscape gardening that the role of a hermit was little

more than someone who retreats from the city. Winking at the reader, Polwhele pokes fun at this aspect of the culture, with a series of chiasmic verses meant to highlight the discontinuity:⁵

The Hermit's beads around her neck she wears;
The Hermit's bowl in China's earth appears;
His maple board mahogany supplies;
And, for his sallad, tea and coffee rise. (Polwhele "A Poetical Address to a Widow" ll.27-30)

His disdain for the widow's affecting a hermitage without a hermit begs the question, "Without a Hermit, what's a hermitage?" (Polwhele "A Poetical Address to a Widow" l. 34). It is clear that Polwhele recognizes the meaning of a hermit as something other than retired gentility with a silver tea service. The poem's humor plays off the difference between the religious retreat and the well-to-do's elaborate make-believe hermitage.⁶

Some radical poets of the late eighteenth century, nonetheless, still considered the hermit to be little more than a species of monk, and a species to be reviled equally with the monk. For instance, in a poem published after his imprisonment and trial for treason — "On leaving the Bottoms of Gloucestershire; where the Author had been entertained by several families with great hospitality" (1805) — the radical poet John Thelwall apparently conceives a hermit to be a type of monk:

(From your romantic scenes, and sylvan haunts—
Tho sylvan, yet not solitary) to hear
The distant hum, that, as from nectar'd hives
Stor'd with the fragrance of your thymie banks,

Came whispering on the breeze: for not to gloom
 Lethargic, or the hermit's inward prayer
 Of visionary silence, are your haunts
 (As erst, perchance, in Superstition's day)
 Consign'd, and pious inutility—
 Once holy deem'd. Here holier Industry,
 Even from the dawning to the western ray,
 And oft by midnight taper, patient, plies
 Her task assiduous (Thelwall "On leaving the Bottoms" ll. 23-35)

Here Thelwall conceives of the hermit as a wasteful species, figuratively antithetical to the bees in line 25 and therefore diametrically opposed to the natural industriousness of the Gloucestershire cottagers and villagers. Similarly, the publisher and Bristol radical Joseph Cottle also presented a hermit as a type of monk in the seventeenth book of his *Fall of Cambria* (1811), though without Thelwall's antipathy toward religious retreat. One might also examine John Hookham Frere's "Lines Written After Visiting the Monasteries at Catania" (1821) to witness the confusion of terms ("Friar" is used as a synonym and end rhyme with "Prior," for instance).

As Shelley's poetry attests, however, not all radicals considered a hermit to be nothing more than a monk. For instance, in Shelley's *The Revolt of Islam* (first titled *Laon and Cythna*, 1817, 1818), the sunburnt, delirious Laon calls the old man who frees Laon a hermit (Shelley *Revolt* 3.28.1356-3.29.1368). But Laon's liberator is more avuncular than spiritual, more at one with nature than with religion (though not wholly divorced from either pole):

That hoary man had spent his livelong age
 In converse with the dead, who leave the stamp
 Of ever-burning thoughts on many a page,
 When they are gone into the senseless damp
 Of graves; — his spirit thus became a lamp
 Of splendour, like to those on which it fed:
 Through peopled haunts, the City and the Camp,
 Deep thirst for knowledge had his footsteps led,
 And all the ways of men among mankind he read. (Shelley *Revolt*
 4.8.1477-85)

Shelley's "hermit" in *The Revolt of Islam*, like many of his questing figures, earns his moral authority by his dedicated study and careful application of principles to action. In no way, however, does Shelley intimate that this authority comes from spiritual purity or religious austerity; "his spirit thus became a lamp" points more to the devoted pursuit of knowledge than to the attempt to overcome personal imperfections. Though that "hoary man" is responsible for Laon's deliverance, he is Laon's disciple, kowtowing to Laon's superior spiritual purity and evident austerity. This juxtaposition of a nominal liberator and the leader of an uprising is not unique in Shelley's poetry; Shelley often highlights true sanctity found in deliberate defiance of tyranny (in whatever form) by comparing it to the superficial, hypocritical or otherwise unsavory elements of monasticism and religious austerity. For instance, in his early work of Gothic fiction, *St. Irvyne; or, The Rosicrucian: A Romance* (1810), he allows the unpalatable Alpine banditti to scorn the requiem-chanting monks who happened upon the hero Wolfstein:

you who feed upon the strength of the country, in idleness and luxury, and have compelled many of our noble fellows, who otherwise would have been ornaments to their country in peace, thunderbolts to their enemies in war, to seek precarious subsistence as Alpine bandits? If you wish for mercy, therefore, deliver unhesitatingly your joint riches (Shelley *St. Irvyne* 8).

As the monks flee — unburdened of their goods by the banditti, of course — Wolfstein's courage is marked by "stern severity and unyielding loftiness," terms more stereotypically used in Gothic fiction to depict the same monks who had intended to assist Wolfstein (Shelley *St. Irvyne* 9). As if to signal a departure from the Gothic formulas, Shelley follows the bandit's nose-thumbing of the monks with an equally contemptuous ballad. In Steindolph's ballad, sung on the night that the bandit-chief Cavigni is to marry the orphaned Megalena, a tormented dark monk is exposed as a hypocrite who follows the advice of fiendish voices, abandons his prayers of contrition, and disinters his dead lover, the nun Rosa — acts that confirm his damnation. Shelley's obvious antagonism toward the empty formalism of religious austerity leads him to abandon the traditional Gothic formulations of monasticism: he uses the easily targeted cowl to serve as a warning against religious retreat in general.

Gothic fiction's formulations were nonetheless responsible for coloring the reception of monasticism's meaning and for seizing upon substantive differences (even if fictionalized) between monks, friars, and hermits. These nearly standard formulations, as well as the hackneyed requisite features of the terror-novel triple-decker, are readily apparent in Mary-Anne Radcliffe's *Manfroné, or the One-Handed Monk* (1809), popular

enough to have gone through three editions. The novel packs the standard terror fiction fare into the three sets of gilded red morocco covers, overcoming the obstacles of generous margins and extravagant leading.⁷ Besides episodes of isolation, iniquity, and imprisonment, Mary-Anne Radcliffe's *Manfroné* also sets about explicating the business of monks (a suitable phrase to lift from Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto*) by distinguishing between two cowed representatives. Rosalina, for instance, reacts to the fictional narrative of Manfroné-disguised-as-monk-Grimaldi by pointing out the inconsistencies between the profession of a monk and the actions of this particular representative, for she is shocked that he:

liv[es] so retired and apart from those whom it was his business to instruct....[she] shuddered at the dreadful revenge he took of his inveterate enemy, which she thought ill agreed with his pious intentions of devoting himself to religion; for the heart which aspires to the service of Heaven must be free from all worldly passions — must be endued with charity, benevolence, and philanthropy. (Radcliffe *Manfroné* 2.8.131)

In this instance, the fusion of attributes consistent with a preacher — a role that is more in line with our contemporary conception of a friar — is merged with traits more often associated with a monk; the novel suggests that the business of monks was to serve as instructors who devote themselves to religion by retiring within a community of like-minded instructors. In this way, the office of a monk is one that inspires admiration in the bold commitment to turn aside worldly passions in the service of religion, not by *retiring* from society but by *joining* a group "in monastic seclusion" that serves society to that end (Radcliffe *Manfroné* 2.7.35). And in the two occasions in which the cowl serves to

disguise a character's intentions, the narrator makes certain to draw attention to this fact: "the mysterious conduct of the monk will be related, who, it will seem, did indeed only assume the religious habit he wore, as a cloke [sic] to the forwarding of unfathomable schemes" (Radcliffe *Manfroné* 3.13.97). Yet even in Mary-Anne Radcliffe's apparent admiration for monasticism, she also adds lines about the difficulties of the irrevocable vows of seclusion, claiming that "a life of religious retirement does not give happiness to all: some are formed for the active scenes of life, for social duties; to them the seclusion of the convent would be a continual torment" (Radcliffe *Manfroné* 4.17.14). In this way, *Manfroné* resembles most of the works of Gothic fiction examined in this study: the spiritual business of monks is worthy of notice, despite the theologically questionable elements and the unseemly representatives who maraud under protection of the cowl's sanctity.

Mary-Anne Radcliffe's use of the cowl not only to shroud but also to reveal a character's motives is recycled from nearly two decades of similar applications on both stage and printed page. That the cowl served as a disguise for both sanctity and sanctimony illustrates not merely the paradoxical nature of such haphazard Gothic productions but also the Gothic formula's reliance upon a metaphor with one vehicle and competing tenors. That is, at the turn of the nineteenth century the cowl no longer simply evoked the traditional anti-Catholic Guy Fawkes effigies; it also brought to mind the esteemed French exiles. The unquestioned anti-Catholicism of the early eighteenth century (re-affirmed during the Jacobite uprising) was slowly relaxed for a host of reasons, which meant that the pat formula that asceticism led to cravenness no longer went unquestioned.

The plays produced in these decades, for instance, offer many examples in which the cowl is used to disguise villains and heroes alike; or, in the case of the multiple translations of August von Kotzebue's *Die Spanier in Peru* (1798), to add significance to an otherwise minor detail in the original German. Kotzebue's play puts both Rolla and Alonzo underneath a monk's cowl. In the two productions at Drury Lane (Thomas Dutton's and Richard Brinsley Sheridan's translations) and in the four subsequent translations — Robert Heron (1799), Anne Plumptre (1799), Charles Smith (1800), and Benjamin Thompson (1801) — these episodes are invested with additional significance on account of the Gothic presentations of monasticism — magnifying the heroism and the villainy of each character — mainly because the British reading public had become used to theatrical productions that used the cowl for such an effect. The cowl in these plays, as well as William Sotheby's *Julian and Agnes; or the Monks of the Great St. Bernard* (1801), *The Confession* (1814), Joseph Hutton's *Venoni, or the Maid of Savoy* (1812), and William Bulloch Maxwell's *The Mysterious Father* (1807), function as a self-reflexive foil, a symbol that can only be understood in the narrow context of the moment in which it is presented (and not in the larger context of the play, which often has contradictory presentations of religious retreat). The cowl is a stage prop, full of sound and fury but signifying nothing beyond its immediate application.

Though a good number of plays produced in the first two decades of the nineteenth century have such ambivalent presentations of asceticism, not all plays did — especially those that merely touch upon religious retreat. In Percy Shelley's *The Cenci* (1819; not publicly performed until 1922), for instance, dramatic irony is used to underscore Count Cenci's monstrous and execrable nature. Through a speech delivered to

cardinals come from Rome to extract remuneration for yet another godless act of torture and murder, Shelley illustrates Count Cenci's bloodless hypocrisy with the ironic choice of religious terms:

I have too long lived like an Anchorite,
And in my absence from your merry meetings
An evil word has gone abroad of me (Shelley *Cenci* 1.3.4-6)

Similar to Thomas Dermody's "Heroic Epistle to M. G. Lewis," the ironic use of "anchorite" resonates only if it is understood as a type of religious recluse worthy of admiration. Byron uses the same technique in the third act of *Manfred: A Dramatic Poem* (1816; 1817), having the Faustian Manfred debate salvation with the Abbot of St.

Maurice:

Manfred. Proceed,—I listen.
Abbot. 'Tis said thou holdest converse with the things
Which are forbidden to the search of man;
That with the dwellers of the dark abodes,
The many evil and unheavenly spirits
Which walk the valley of the Shade of Death,
Thou communest. I know that with mankind,
Thy fellows in creation, thou dost rarely
Exchange thy thoughts, and that thy solitude
Is as an Anchorite's—were it but holy. (Byron *Manfred* 3.1.33-42)

Despite Byron's virulence toward monasticism — even setting aside the juvenile Newstead Abbey series, one need look no further than his lengthy note on Boccaccio in

Childe Harold's Pilgrimage — the abbot of the oldest abbey in Switzerland contrasts Manfred's infernal solitude with an anchorite's.⁸ Unlike Shelley, however, Byron abridged the dramatic irony of this moment by casting the abbot in a positive light, removing the abbot's overt materialism from the manuscript.⁹ Shelley's and Byron's plays each reveal how attuned the reading public was to matters of monasticism, for a verse that now requires extensive editorial apparatus for the glazed-over undergraduate needed nothing more than but a scant line of dramatic poetry. Theirs was an audience that was quite familiar with monks, friars, hermits, and anchorites — though they sometimes used the words interchangeably.

The delineation of religious retreat was not solely the province of Gothic romance and theatre during these decades. The confluence of wildly popular Gothic fiction with the rapidly improving antiquarian efforts and historical scholarship spawned a new type of romance, one filled with minutiae against which Francis Jeffrey remonstrated, citing "the insufferable number, and length, and minuteness of those descriptions of antient dresses and manners, and buildings; and ceremonies, and local superstitions" (Jeffrey rev. of *Marmion*, *Edinburgh Review* 12:23 (April 1808) 28). Sir Walter Scott, known both to his era and ours as the progenitor of this genre, treated the ascetic life at some length over the course of his literary career. For instance, in "The Gray Brother, A Fragment" — one of his first published poems, a ballad fragment that was included in Matthew Lewis's *Tales of Wonder* (1801) — Scott treated the Baron of Gilmerton's murder by arson-revenge on the Abbot of Newbattle, who seduced his only daughter. The ballad is marked by no shortage of melodramatic gusto, though it is fortified with a well-informed sense of medieval pilgrimages and St. Peter's day pardons. Seeking absolution and haunted by the

tolling of the convent bell and the vespers to the Virgin, Lord Albert returns to the scene of the crime and comes upon a Franciscan who promises "to absolve a foul, foul crime, / Done here 'twixt night and day" (Scott "Gray Brother" ll. 130-31). In this poem and "The Eve of St. John" (another ballad published in Lewis's *Tales of Wonder*), Scott maintains the distinction of friars from monks, hinting at the peculiar characteristics of each. One notes in this new species of fiction the absence of the rabid anti-Catholic tone of Protestant polemicists and the equally vitriolic political debates in the fortnight following Lord Howick's introduction of the Roman Catholic Army and Navy Service Bill (introduced March 5, 1807).

Scott's poetry, especially his extremely popular *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805) and *Marmion: A Tale of Flodden Field* (1808), offers a few glimpses into a new way of understanding the distinctions of religious asceticism. In *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, the monk of St. Mary's isle is presented as a worthy sage who fought in one of the crusades alongside the wizard Michael Scott. In Scott's *Christabel* meter, the monk is imputed with neither sanctimoniousness nor hypocrisy, but is instead presented as a character worthy of the protagonist's admiration: "Before the cross was the body laid, / With hands clasp'd fast, as if still he pray'd. (Scott *Lay of the Last Minstrel* 2.23.9-10). Likewise, Scott's two descriptions of the Melrose Abbey (1.31 and 2.1) each reveal a profound respect for the life of a cenobite.¹⁰ With the antiquarian's interest in presenting a vista of a bygone era, Scott expends fifteen stanzas contrasting the life of the hearty knight William of Deloraine with that of the hair shirt attired monk, mainly by describing the grounds of a monastery with a good degree of accuracy and admiration.

Although Scott's *Marmion* presents the religious life — particularly a friar's — with less dignity, he is yet careful to maintain the difference between a monk and a friar. Discussing with Lord Heron a suitable guide for his ride into Scotland, Lord Marmion mentions a need for a "friar, sworn in peace to bide; / Or pardoner, or traveling priest, / Or strolling pilgrim, at the least" (Scott *Marmion* 1.20.14-16). The coarse Lord Heron mentions the equally vulgar Friar John as a possibility:

Friar John of Tillmouth were the man;
 A blithesome brother at the can,
 A welcome guest in hall and bower,
 He knows each castle, town, and tower,
 In which wine and ale is good,
 'Twixt Newcastle and Holy-Rood. (Scott *Marmion* 1.21.21-26)

Though the portrait of this friar can hardly be seen as flattering, it nonetheless demonstrates Scott's comfort with the distinction between a monk and a friar (and perhaps also his familiarity with Chaucer — whose *Canterbury Tales* were being recovered from obscurity by antiquarians and historians of English poetry).¹¹ Besides his comfort with the difference between a mendicant itinerant and a cenobite, Scott displays in the second canto of *Marmion* his knowledge of a Benedictine monastery and convent at some length and in the manner of a trained antiquarian. In this canto, a blind, worthy abbot weighs in judgment Constance's heroism and vow breaking. Though they fall short of their vows, Scott's cenobites are not a gesture to the Protestant ascendancy; they are human and admirable in the same way that many of Scott's minor characters are. In Scott,

the variety found within a life of religious retreat is richer and fuller than that found in Gothic literary works (as Francis Jeffrey reluctantly admitted).¹²

Whatever the motive for writers to treat the subject of religious austerity — respect for the French exiled monastics, renewing a commitment to elevate religious living, or catering to the public's interest in the Gothic (which, invariably, involved monks and hermits) — writers in the first two decades of the nineteenth century had clearly made a distinction between types of religious austerity. The major change was the disregard of the historical connection of "hermit" to monasticism. The prolific poet and royal mistress Mary Darby Robinson treated the hermit as a religious recluse who practiced a type of austerity quite different from that practiced by monks and friars in poems such as "Anselmo, The Hermit of the Alps," "Solitude," and *The Progress of Liberty*.¹³ Keats, likewise, treated the hermit as a specifically religious recluse in poems such as *The Eve of St. Agnes* (1818) and in the untitled thirty-first sonnet written on a blank page in Shakespeare's Poems, facing "A Lover's Complaint." (1820).¹⁴ Hermit had not lost its religious connotations by the end of the Napoleonic wars; the religious tone associated with hermit, nevertheless, was thoroughly romanticized over the course of the first two decades, as Scott's *Marmion* and Wordsworth's "Inscriptions Supposed to be Found in and near a Hermit's Cell" (1818) attest. To these poets, the hermit was more like a priest of nature than a church-authorized solitary; for these poets their hermits, rather than operate within the range of a church that would support the religious retreat, took solace among the rocks and trees which served as their "church or abbey" (Wordsworth "Inscriptions" 2.12). Charlotte Smith's "Saint Monica" (1806) suffers the same deliberate commingling of religious sentiment and inspirational landscape, as though Burke's

sublime could be achieved by abandoning society for a devotional retreat. In this way, writers associated "hermit" more with nature than with religious practice — distinguishing the "hermit" from a "monk" or a "friar," terms which also started to be more finely differentiated. Nonetheless, though many writers of this era began to discriminate much more carefully within the varieties of the ascetic impulse, many instances exist in which monk, friar, and hermit are still used interchangeably, such as in Keats's fragment "The Castle Builder" (undated), in the Woodhouse manuscript version of *The Eve of Saint Agnes* (1819) or in his unfinished *The Eve of St. Mark* (1819).¹⁵ In short, the first two decades of the nineteenth century saw the beginning of this lexical discrimination, though it would take much longer for its effects to be witnessed and frozen in the formal definition of a dictionary.

-2-

As the Minerva Press cranked out title after title of titillating Gothic horror transpiring in subterranean passages, bedeviled by cowed evil, and suffering the same stale expressions and oft-repeated suggestive phrases, and as the French juggernaut advanced on the Italian peninsula, annexing feckless principalities and ill-prepared kingdoms along the way, British philosophers contemplated the ramifications of population growth. It was not that this topic was particularly new: Sir Walter Raleigh treated it in *Historie of the World* (1652) and William Paley considered the dangers of superfluity and fecundity in his *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy* (1785). Nonetheless, Thomas Malthus' reply (1798) to Godwin's *Enquiry concerning Political Justice* (1793, 3 ed. 1798) secured him a foothold to fame as his reply resoundingly dealt a blow to Godwin's critique of contemporary society and his promulgation of enlightened self-interest. As one of its

byproducts, this controversy made bedfellows of liberals and monasticism as polemicists touched upon the peculiar Catholic institution as a means to subvert Malthus' position on moral restraint.

Monasticism's involvement in the debate develops out of the premise that Malthus presented in the introduction to the second edition of his *Essay on the Principle of Population* (1803):

Impelled to the increase of his species by an equally powerful instinct, reason interrupts his career, and asks him whether he may not bring beings into the world for whom he cannot provide the means of support. If he attend to this natural suggestion, the restriction too frequently produces vice. If he hear it not, the human race will constantly be endeavouring to increase beyond the means of subsistence. (Malthus *Essays* 6)

Though monasticism was not mentioned by name — indeed, Malthus carefully avoided discussing the merits and the liabilities of the cloistered life altogether, despite his attention both to history and to European cultures — the implicit assumption that celibacy leads to vice was one of the many for which other writers took issue with Malthus. William Hazlitt, for instance, used his characteristic irony to extend the idea to its absurd conclusion:¹⁶

In such a cruel necessity, must there be a law to restrain marriage? Must multitudes of women be shut up in cloisters like the ancient vestals or modern nuns? To keep a ballance between the two sexes, must a proportionate number of men be debarred from marriage? Shall the Utopians, following the wicked policy of superstition, forbid their priests

to marry; or shall they rather sacrifice men of some other profession for the good of the state? (Hazlitt *A Reply* [1807] 1.191-92)

Malthus' unusual argument that not only vice and misery but also moral restraint serve as checks to excessive population growth encouraged his opponents to make much of Malthus' logical fallacies: their responses came in the form of *ad hominem* attacks (as Malthus was an Anglican minister), *argumentum ex silencio* assertions (that there indeed was a limit to the Earth's bounty of food), pronouncements of *non sequitur* reasoning (it does not follow that population growth in itself is evil), dismissals of *argumentum ad captandum vulgis* (in that the reason for food riots and corn shortages may be a consequence of immorality), and disclosures of *argumentum ad ignorantiam* (in that Malthus suggested the doom of redundant population when it may just as easily be said that excessive growth produces its own antidote). Among all of these critics, each of whom advanced pet causes ranging from a defense of the Poor Laws to an attack on complacency regarding the distribution of wealth, the historical example of monasticism served both to defend and reject Malthus' argument. Hazlitt, quoting Milton's famous description of Satan's passage through the Limbo of Vanity in *Paradise Lost* 3:474-75, asks whether

Mr. Malthus would go so far as to say that ... all those mischiefs and enormities of which religion has been made a tool, whether the martyrdom of the first christians [sic] the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the fires of Smithfield, the expeditions to the holy land, the Gunpowder Plot, the Inquisition, the long Parliament, the Reformation and the Revolution, — Popery, Protestantism, 'monks, eremites, and friars, with all their

trumpetry' were the offspring of the principle of population. (Hazlitt *A Reply* [1807] 5.263)¹⁷

As their champion in their efforts to dismantle the Poor Laws, Malthus may have had the ascendant Tories' support, while Whigs such as Hazlitt found themselves resorting to various maneuvers to thwart, outflank, or otherwise undermine the Tory attack on the Poor Laws. As this example reveals, the already politically charged meaning of monasticism provided ample ammunition for the purpose.

When Godwin — whose *Political Justice* (1793) inspired young Malthus — weighed in, he used monasticism to undermine the potent formulation of moral restraint as a means to population control. In one particular passage in his massive response *Of Population* (1820), Godwin dismantles Malthus' concept of moral restraint with a careful allusion to the history of monasticism:

I visit the ruins of our ancient monasteries in a very different spirit, from that in which I can suppose Mr. Malthus to visit them. These were the great scenes of 'moral restraint.' However mistaken might be the principle of the virtue practised by their inhabitants, I have learned to love virtue under every form it can assume. When I consider these noble edifices as the great preservers of all that is admirable in the literature of ancient Greece and Rome, when I recollect that wonderful class of men, known by the name of the Schoolmen, their patient labours, their voluntary self-mortification, their generous love of truth, and of a fame, pure, however limited in its circumference among their contemporaries, their disdain of the inticements and splendours of the world, their exquisite subtlety of

thought and accuracy of deduction in questions almost beyond the bounds of human enquiry, I feel myself under no temptation to arraign the sincerity of their moral professions, or to believe that, amidst their more than human labours, they were victims to the lowest sensuality and debauchery. (Godwin *Of Population* 6.2.535-36)

Godwin does not take satisfaction in merely addressing the various orders and their variegated methods of purification and ritualistic piosity; he also makes certain that the long-dismissed philosophical pursuits of the Medieval scholastics are squarely associated with monasteries as well. Certainly the unsuspecting reader of Godwin's earlier writings would have suspected a snare in this spirited approval of monastic institutions:

I am thankful indeed, that I am impelled to 'consider man too much in the light of being purely rational,' not to expose myself to Mr. Malthus's censure and opprobrium. I know that these glorious institutions fell into degeneracy. I know that their professions of morality were too high, not to make it impossible but that some individuals should become faint in the way. I know that these establishments have had their use and their day; and I am contented that they should be abolished.

At the same time nothing, I believe, is more certain than that numerous professions, and large bodies of man, have passed their lives in as great chastity and reserve, as the most exemplary women." (Godwin *Of Population* 6.2.536)

In contrast to the generally insipid prose found in Godwin's dismantling of Malthusianism, his prose here pulsates with uncharacteristic vitality and verve; his

astonishing endorsement of monasticism, furthermore, does not mark him as a proselyte of Roman Catholicism but rather as an astute critic of Malthus' cagey allusions to history. By calling to mind how monks practiced moral restraint, as Malthus described, and did not generally fail at remaining chaste, Godwin struck at one of the plinths of Malthusianism: that vice attends excessive moral restraint. Controverting Malthus, as both Godwin's and Hazlitt's essays demonstrate, required a dogged attack upon such a narrow understanding of moral restraint and an equally tenacious assault upon the principle of population as an inflexible rule across cultures and history. The protean and adaptable example of monasticism helped dislodge Malthusianism — which ultimately colored the way in which social critics would come to reconsider the role of organized asceticism and diagnose society's ills.

-3-

From the debates over celibacy to the concern over historical accuracy, the meaning of religious retirement began to command a larger portion of the public's attention and interest. The sheer number of pages devoted to monasticism is a remarkable statistic in light of the fact that fewer than several dozen monks could be counted on British soil. For instance, the liberal Tory journal *The Quarterly Review* ran a several page article on the Benedictines in December 1811. And John Nichols, the learned printer of the *Gentleman's Quarterly* and the legendary editor of *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* (1812-15), certainly acted upon the public's thirst for all things monastic by issuing from his press the much enlarged second edition of Fosbrooke's *British Monachism* (1802; 2 ed 1817). During these two decades, the number of writers who

weighed in on the different types of religious retirement was proportional to the number of opinions about its merits and shortcomings.

Then Poet Laureate Robert Southey, for instance, planned a five-volume study of the history of monasticism, connecting it with that same evangelical impulse that he associated with the rise of the Methodist field preachers. Suggested by Coleridge, this project seems to have been begun by January of 1803, or so he mentioned in a letter to the statistician and friend to the Lambs, John Rickman.¹⁸ Southey's letter to Rickman is characteristically playful; beginning in earnest with the declaration, "I am about my first chapter on monachism — a favourite subject," his proposed study quickly degenerated into a series of jests, ranging from the disreputable elements of the medieval church to the reigning family in England:

It came not exactly like the house of Hanover — but *due east*, and was grafted on the radical Manicheism of Xtianity, at the period when my history begins. It had ripened into a good comfortable college sort of system. S. Bernard (oh, well remembered, put him in the box, a huge folio without a title) he was a great man and not over honest — but I like him for the Crusades. S. Bernard gave a sort of Jesuitical unity to the monks, and taught wise men to renounce the world if they chose to govern it.

(Southey *New Letters* [19 Jan. 1803] 1:303-304)

Were Southey to have undertaken such a study of the rise of monasticism using such frolicsome prose, he may have had a bit of explaining to do to the government censors (who may have objected to the coarse comparison of the Hanoverians to Eastern ascetics). Like Richard Polwhele's poem on the modern "hermit" (e.g., "Here a fine Lady

from Park-lane retires, / And blends the Hermit's and the Courtier's fires"), Southey's barbs concern the nascent sentimentality with which the public had started to recast monasticism. He continues in the same vein throughout this letter:

Of course this called out new fanaticism and the same process of decay went on a second time, till the spread of heresy alarmed and indeed shook the Romish hierarchy. Then begins a third period with Francisco and Domingo. The former's life I have written, and a most curious and important life it is. The fourth period is that of Loyola and Luther. The Catholics have no fifth — but we shall have from John Wesley, mark you that Posterity! and put me down for a prophet. (Southey *New Letters* [19 Jan. 1803] 1:304)

In his own way, Southey was something of a prophet, though it is contestable that the rise of Methodism was the reason that the Church of England refounded monasteries and convents in the 1840s and 1850s.

At the end of his life, Gibbon too recognized the sea change of public opinion toward the cloistered life, though he continued to treat it with the same disdain. In his posthumously published *Memoir of My Life* (March 1796; 1814), Gibbon held true to his conviction that monasticism was a bane upon the history of western civilization. In documenting his distaste for the English university system, Gibbon dismisses its efforts as being too steeped in monastic practice to be of any consequence for the education of modern scholars:

Perhaps in a separate annotation I may coolly examine the fabulous and real antiquities of our sister universities, a question which has kindled such

fierce and foolish disputes among their fanatic sons. In the mean while it will be acknowledged, that these venerable bodies are sufficiently old to partake of all the prejudices and infirmities of age. The schools of Oxford and Cambridge were founded in a dark age of false and barbarous science; and they are still tainted with the vices of their origin. Their primitive discipline was adapted to the education of priests and monks; and the government still remains in the hands of the clergy, an order of men whose manners are remote from the present world, and whose eyes are dazzled by the light of philosophy. (Gibbon *My Life and Writings* 48-49)

Gibbon's association of monks with clerics and philosophers may have raised a few eyebrows; his disdain for the undue influence of the clergy in power and his combative assertions — along with his tacit admission that his university education brought on his brief conversion to Roman Catholicism — caused quite a stir in the journals and reviews.

This jaundiced view of the waywardness of the English university system does not quit with the condemnation of its medieval roots but continues with the perception that his former professors were "monks":

Our colleges are supposed to be schools of science, as well as of education; nor is it unreasonable to expect that a body of literary men, devoted to a life of celibacy, exempt from the care of their own subsistence, and amply provided with books, should devote their leisure to the prosecution of study, and that some effects of their studies should be manifested to the world.... If I inquire into the manufactures of the monks of Magdalen, if I extend the inquiry to the other colleges of Oxford and

Cambridge, a silent blush, or a scornful frown, will be the only reply.

(Gibbon *My Life and Writings* 52)

Gibbon's double affront, calling his professors monks and unproductive ones at that, took on a life of its own, and became an easy target for humorists. William Combe lampoons the under-taxed Oxford professors at some length in the sixth canto of *The Tour of Doctor Syntax in Search of the Picturesque* (1817). When the servants trip over each other and upturn their roasts, fish, and turkeys, along with scalding sauce, Dr. Syntax's childhood friend — the Provost of the university — manages to quell the Dons' dissatisfaction at having to dine elsewhere, quipping, "We are but ten: and sure there's plenty; / I've ordered full enough for twenty...To-day, I think, we shall not starve" (Combe *Tour of Dr. Syntax in Search of the Picturesque* 6.133-34, 143).¹⁹

One does not need to dip too far into *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* to witness Gibbon's antipathy toward monks. His narrative of his brief conversion to Roman Catholicism prior to becoming the foremost scholar of the late Roman Empire caused a bit of a stir, particularly because he came to his belief in the primacy of the Roman Catholic Church through his Oxford program. As Gibbon explains, his belief in the workings of the early church — including the rise of monasticism — was quite sincere, in spite of the lessons of Protestant polemicists:

I still revered the character, or rather the names, of the saints and fathers whom Dr. Middleton exposes; nor could he destroy my implicit belief, that the gift of miraculous powers was continued in the church, during the first four or five centuries of christianity. But I was unable to resist the weight of historical evidence, that within the same period most of the

leading doctrines of popery were already introduced in theory and practice: nor was my conclusion absurd, that miracles are the test of truth, and that the church must be orthodox and pure, which was so often approved by the visible interposition of the Deity. The marvellous tales which are so boldly attested by the Basils and Chrysostoms, the Austins and the Jeroms, compelled me to embrace the superior merits of celibacy, the institution of the monastic life, the use of the sign of the cross, of holy oil, and even of images, the invocation of saints, the worship of relics, the rudiments of purgatory in prayers for the dead, and the tremendous mystery of the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ, which insensibly swelled into the prodigy of transubstantiation. (Gibbon *My Life and Writings* 61-62)

Despite his rather ungracious jabs at monasticism in *The Decline and Fall* (see the thirty-seventh chapter in the fourth volume), Gibbon admits that he fell under the spell of monasticism and its principles, even if for a short period of his life. Such a tacit admission, even posthumously delivered, created no small stir in the presses, and it led to a outcry against Roman Catholicism and monasticism's danger to young scholars.

Whether considered a threat to young, impressionable Oxonians or regarded as the champion of learning in the dark ages, Catholic asceticism did not suffer from a lack of an identity; rather, it seemed during the turn of the nineteenth century to have supernumerary signification. For staunch Protestants like Anna Laetitia Barbauld, the monastery had much to offer Protestants:²⁰

And let not the good protestant be too much startled if I here venture to insinuate that the monasteries were schools of some high and respectable virtues. Poverty, chastity, and a renunciation of the world, were certainly intended in the first plan of these institutions; and though, from the unavoidable frailty of human nature, they were not always observed, certain it is, that many individuals amongst them have been striking examples of the self-denying virtues. (Barbauld "On Monastic Institutions" 39-40)

In this loosely organized essay, Barbauld reminds her Protestant readers that monasticism had in the past — and continued to have — an important religious role. Considering the example of the Trappists at Lulworth Castle, she writes, "to a heart torn with remorse or oppressed with sorrow, the gloomy severities of La Trappe are really a relief" (Barbauld "On Monastic Institutions" 43).

Tracing the history of monasticism, Barbauld clearly identifies the hermit as an important species in the propagation and the profession of Christian faith particularly because he was hardy enough to withstand the early pressures placed upon Christians (Barbauld "On Monastic Institutions" 40). Furthermore, her historical detachment sympathetically assesses monasticism both as developing out of the philosophic traditions of the Stoics and Cynics and as being responsible for training those people responsible for the Reformation itself. Indeed, the essay is an extended piece on the importance of taking a larger perspective regarding the importance of monasticism to modernity; the very introduction takes issue with the outright dismissal of monastic institutions:

I happened the other day to take a solitary walk amongst the venerable ruins of an old abbey. The stillness and solemnity of the place were favourable to thought, and naturally led me to a train of ideas relative to the scene; when like a good protestant, I began to indulge a secret triumph in the ruin of so many structures which I had always considered as the haunts of ignorance and superstition (Barbauld "On Monastic Institutions" 31)

Barbauld's fluid prose recalls the ease of *The Spectator* (such as 264, on the pleasure of solitude), though with the addition of a Romantic sensibility and a taste for the sublime. The essay goes to great lengths to list ways "in which those who devoted themselves to a monastic life might be supposed useful to society" (Barbauld "On Monastic Institutions" 36).

In the first two decades of the nineteenth century, it was not uncommon to find writers debating the merits of monastic institutions, whether to dispute or defend the received Protestant opinion. Like Barbauld's essay, the content did not often shed new light on either the office of monasticism or its contributions to British history but instead centered on what lessons might be gleaned from the role of organized asceticism — intimating that were monasticism extricated from its roots in the dark ages it might be useful to contemporary society. When writers challenged the meaning of monasticism, their political stances often were predictable — Tory journals took the party-line position that such institutions are no longer valid in a modern, scientific society; liberal journals would recall the benefits that the institution offered society. The polemics, though, were tempered by the politics of the marketplace. The *Edinburgh Review* treated Mosheim's

polemic position not once but twice, in 1813 and 1815, presenting his rabid Protestantism with reservations. Even Fosbrooke's revisions for the second edition of *British Monachism* (1802; 1817) showed evidence that the staunch Protestant opinion he had expressed in 1802 now required considerable qualification:

It has been said that the Monks have been too unfavourably represented: but here again the Author is misconstrued. Although he is sufficiently vindicated by Dr. Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, he begs to observe, that he treats Monks, according to that character, not simply as men; and that he gives materials, as he finds them. As those, which refer to the morals of the Religious are the charges of contemporaries, and appear in the solemn statutes of General Chapters, he cannot violate the fidelity of an Historian, or the integrity of a Protestant Clergyman, by unnecessary, perhaps dangerous, and silly palliations of gross inconsistency in Religionists, professedly most rigid. (Fosbrooke *British Monachism* vi).

Fosbrooke's apology for bearing down upon the "gross inconsistency" of medieval monasticism and his protest that he had to do it in order to be a faithful historian and honest clergyman fall flat. His backpedaling, however, is limited to these few glosses, in which he meant to alert his readers that the condemnation against the monastic institutions came from the monk's peers, not his pen.

Fosbrooke's most substantial changes to the second edition included the addition of a new preface and the massive revision of the first and last chapters. In his preface, he responds to the change of opinion regarding monasticism by qualifying his overt

polemical tone. One passage is particularly salient because it offers a glimpse into his perception of the received opinion of monasticism:

Although many Monks were truly *good Monks*, men of high spiritual abstraction, yet their virtue was negative, except in acts of charity; although many things were only culpable, as deviations from the Order, still it ought not to be dogmatized, that the austere Monastic System is possible, in an universal view, to be correctly exhibited in union with riches. (Fosbrooke *British Monachism* vii).

Fosbrooke's defensive gesture is evident in his labeling of monks as "men of high spiritual abstraction."²¹ Nonetheless, his few gestures toward toning down his bilious prose are just that, especially in his chapter on "The Principles of Monachism," in which he catalogues (citing historical evidence) various medieval fatuities, from a belief in the healing powers of the "hairs of a Saint's beard dipped in Holy water" to a belief that thunder "in November, or the Winter...was thought to foretell famine, mortality, or some dreadful evil" (Fosbrooke *British Monachism* 14; 10). Wrapping up seventeen folio-sized pages of contemptible displays of superstition and ignorance, Fosbrooke concludes that the rise and proliferation of organized asceticism can be explained away as the fruits of "[r]ude ideas, barbarous society, Egyptian superstitions, and the Roman Catholic religion" (Fosbrooke *British Monachism* 18). Even in this chapter, however, he reveals that beneath the obvious contempt lies a respect for the spiritual impulse behind the institution.

Despite Fosbrooke's evident disregard for the various types of religious ascetics, motivated in part by his politics and his efforts to supplement his living as an Anglican

minister, his work drew clear boundaries between the hermits and anchorites of the first centuries of Christianity, the rise of cenobites and monks thereafter, and the introduction of itinerant and mendicant orders. His care about the preservation of such distinctions is significant as his work represents the first full-length scholarly effort of its kind.

Furthermore, his generally accessible prose style, along with John Nichols' marketing efforts to establish the work as essential to all gentlemen scholars, ensured that a greater portion of the well-to-do were also aware at least in theory of the differences between a hermit, a monk, and a friar. However inaccurate Fosbrooke's sources were, and in spite of his frequent citation of clearly polemical authors (like Mosheim), he expended considerable effort to detail the architectural, organizational, religious, social, and consuetudinal realities of monks, from tracing the introduction of cloisters (and their supplanting of the cell and anchor-hold) to summing up the chief difference between anchorites and hermits.²² Fosbrooke's chapter on modern British monasticism, likewise reveals the sincerity of his study. In his discussion of "The modern introduction of Monasticks, owing to the Political Surgery of the French Revolutionary Charlatans, who amputated limbs with hatchets, and drew teeth with blacksmith's pincers, " he discusses at length the Trappist monks at Lulworth, showing deference to what had become a cause célèbre and a remarkable amount of research (including contemporary accounts of ceremony and customs by the various visitors to St. Susan's monastery). His hand-drawn portraits of their habits combined with his discussion of the nuances of the Cistercian order provide no small support to this claim (Fosbrooke *British Monachism* 398).

Religious politics also affected the way in which poets treated monasticism's meaning, especially those who continued to rely upon patrons. Wordsworth's series of

poems written about the grounds of Coleorton — "Inscription in the Grounds of Coleorton," "Written at the Request of Sir George Beaumont, and in His Name, for an Urn," "Inscription for a Garden of the Same," and "For a Seat in the Groves of Coleorton," all written in October 1811 and published in the Inscriptions section of the *Poems* (1815) — touch upon the religious life in various ways. For instance, in "For a Seat in the Groves of Coleorton," Wordsworth paid homage to the then-ruined monastery of Grace Dieu (the first monastery to be rebuilt and refounded after the Reformation in England). Writing to Lady Beaumont on Nov. 20, 1811, Wordsworth explains that since:

Grace Dieu is itself so interesting a spot, and has naturally and historically such a connection with Coleorton ... I could not deny myself the pleasure of paying it this mark of attention. (Wordsworth *Letters* 519)

The lines of poetry in question connect the sanctification of the area by the presence of monks to the genesis of "honourable Men of various worth" (Wordsworth "For a Seat" 8).²³ What is remarkable about the connection Wordsworth makes between the Beaumont family's genius and his choice of a ruined monastery as the focus of a poem has little to do with the picturesque qualities that the ruined monastery afforded.²⁴ That association, by 1811, was worn out and openly ridiculed. The illustrator Thomas Rowlandson parodied it by having the ruined Gothic monastery on the title page of William Combe's *The Tour of Doctor Syntax in Search of the Picturesque* (1817) spell out "Pic."

Wordsworth's two letters to the Beaumonts in November 1811 point to the association between meditation and morality. In both letters, Wordsworth alludes to a revision of one of his earlier poems, "For the Spot Where the Hermitage Stood on St Herbert's Island, Derwent-Water" (1800; revised 1815). His revision of the first seventeen lines is

astonishing; hardly two remain untouched, and most of the poem has been revised, turning attention away from the poet and toward the consideration of religious retreat as a divine calling worthy of the current attention and reverence paid to the hermit's cell.²⁵ Here, as in "Tintern Abbey," the office of a hermit is understood to involve serious religious contemplation, a type of monk found outside of a rule and a monastery.²⁶

The first two decades of the nineteenth century offered a dozen somewhat contradictory ways to consider monasticism, and to consider various types of monastics. Writers mined monasticism's terminological and political ambiguity in the service of many causes — though the potency of these terms of religious retreat points to various cultural issues, such as the determination of religious sincerity, the virtue of celibacy, and the proper Protestant service due to God. By the sheer amount of published space devoted to discussing the various aspects of monasticism and distinguishing among the various forms — especially since French monastics were sheltered in England during the French Revolution and preceding the dissolution of the Directory — writers began the lexical discrimination between types of ascetics, rudimentary as it was. Though the period saw the publication and expansion of the only modern English study of monasticism, the authorial confusion can be measured by the terminological confusion that writers exhibited when discussing various types of ascetics, such as hermits, anchorites, friars, and monks — let alone the way in which a good Anglican, or Church-and-King advocate, would be expected to look back upon the rise and fall of English monasticism. The line between what might be considered overly zealous and too forgiving became blurred to the point at which monasticism could be either lambasted by staunch Tories or defended by well-known liberals. During one of his many epistolary exchanges with Thomas

DeQuincey regarding the publication of his *Convention of Cintra* (1809), Wordsworth could relay how his Tory landlord supported Napoleon's invasion of Spain for its destruction of monasticism (Wordsworth *Letters* 306).²⁷ Dorothy Wordsworth, however, could write to Lady Beaumont that she did not think Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* ought to have been published (Wordsworth *Letters* 101). Outside of religious politics, too, monasticism took on a meaning of its own, as Keats's August 16, 1820 letter to Shelley attests. Criticizing Shelley for a lack of discipline, he explains that his own poetic response to the critical failure of *Endymion* was in the process of becoming much more organized: "I am pick'd up and sorted to a pip. My Imagination is a Monastery and I am its Monk" (Keats *Selected* 298).

Chapter 4

"That hospitality banished for ever from the land"
Nineteenth-Century Writers on Monasticism, 1820-1833

The death of Shelley's "old, mad, blind, despised, and dying King" on January 29, 1820, meant more than a change of titular monarchs: it signaled shifting alliances and thus potentially explosive political change (Shelley "Sonnet: England in 1819" l.1). One scheme around which various minority groups coalesced was both Rockingham's (1783) and Pitt's (1801) undelivered promise of Catholic Emancipation — which entailed the relaxation of centuries-old restrictions and disabilities and against which much of George III's hidebound domestic policies were directed. He had taken quite literally the clause in his coronation oath concerning the maintenance of the supremacy of the Church of England.¹ Though originally a concession to minimize the political complications of Britain's occupation of and union with Ireland during the colonial and Napoleonic wars, by 1820 Catholic Emancipation became a notorious cause. Writers of all persuasions confronted its constitutional, religious, social, and political implications. The debate came to its head in a dubious crescendo by the late 1820s, with the repeal of the Test and Corporation acts and the passage of the Act for the Relief of His Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects in April 1829. Catholic Emancipation would be followed by demonstrations by disillusioned radicals; a rural laborers' revolution in 1830; and the extension of the franchise from approximately 2% to roughly 5% of the population, a move that signaled the increasing importance of popular opinion (Pirie 517).

The turbulence of this decade — which began with the passing of the notorious six acts of November and December 1819 in a feckless attempt to bolster a discredited government by suppressing public demonstrations of protest — was marked by bread

riots, bank failures, agitation against economic protectionist tariffs (the Corn Laws), advances in public transportation (the opening of the first steam locomotive line between Stockton and Darlington in 1825), public hysteria over Queen Caroline's trial for infidelity in 1820-21, urban emigration, the abolition of slavery in the British empire in 1833, and a series of European and South American rebellions and revolutions following Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo. One item almost completely absent in the British landscape of the 1820s, however, was monasticism. The total number of monks, though obscured by dismal records and centuries-old law that forbade religious habits, was insignificant, perhaps below fifty in England and Scotland (and even in Ireland its foothold was meager during this decade). Nonetheless, or perhaps on account of, the paucity of religious recluses, monasticism provided social critics of this era with a suitable test case to prove or disprove their pet theories. And the 1820s proved a fertile bed for agitators and self-proclaimed social engineers. The Tory standard of preserving institutions based solely on custom was under fire; and with the coincidental intersection of two fateful events — the "amendment" of the poor laws and the relaxation of Catholic disabilities — the gradual change in political power found its expression in disparate and now unlikely works of the period. Sir Charles Lyell's *Principles of Geology* (1830-33) and Henry Hart Milman's *History of the Jews* (1829), for instance, each undermined the literal interpretation of the Bible, in part by discrediting the centuries-old calculation of the world's creation according to the widely accepted Biblical chronology drawn up by Archbishop Ussher.

Agitation over the favored position of the Church of England also came from other unlikely sources. The chance discovery of Milton's *de doctrina Christiana* (1825)

among a packet of materials in the Public Record Office in London and its translation by Charles Richard Sumner led to a brief but important flurry of debate regarding Milton's religious beliefs — a debate that dealt both with his pamphlets, such as *Of True Religion* (1673), which argued for religious toleration for all but the Roman Catholics, and with a reexamination of his major works of poetry.² Milton's massive doctrine presented many challenges to its translation: for instance, the grounding of the prose in Scriptural allusions, its position on the divinity of Christ, and its insistence on hermeneutics over received opinions each required a type of philological scholarship that had just cut its eye teeth in England.³ Teetering between the toleration of sectarian opinions and the judgment that Roman Catholicism was an invalid form of Christian faith, Milton's work challenged its first readers, who themselves were grappling with the proper relation of Church to State.

-1-

The clarion call to arms against the Roman Catholic threat to the union of Anglican Church and State mobilized groups that taken together mirrored the various complexities, anxieties, and ambiguities inherent in the discussion of the Catholic question during the 1820s. The response to it was manifold in the period's fiction, which was undergoing a major change from scenes of moldering dungeons on the verge of collapse, of innocence in distress, and of dusky passages where the almuce cloaks the supernatural, toward a newer type of historical fiction that returned to character development. As the reforming Whigs and Irish nationalists pressed their case for the removal of institutionalized restrictions against dissenters and Catholics alike, the pages of fiction teemed with all varieties of monastics. The works of the 1820s stand in stark contrast to those published

merely half a decade earlier, as the public's fascination with smoky torch melodrama was replaced by a craze for hazy conceptions of individuals defining the progress of history.

Sir Walter Scott's historical novels were wildly popular and significantly altered the course of British, and for that matter Western, literary history. Applying his antiquarian training to narrative fiction, Scott tucked religious sensibility into a well-crafted tale of adventure and romance. This religious sensibility, as William Hazlitt noticed, expresses itself by "reconciling all the diversities of human nature to the reader. He does not enter into the distinctions of hostile sects or parties, but treats of the strength or the infirmity of the human mind, of the virtues or vices of the human breast as they are found blended in the whole race of mankind.... Sir Walter is a professed *clarifier* of the age from the vulgar and still lurking old-English antipathy to Popery and Slavery" (Hazlitt "Spirits of the Age" *New Monthly Magazine* [April 1824]: 10:300). Scott's medieval church also contains examples, as John Henry Newman noticed, of "Catholic truth" on which generations of British Protestants were raised. Within the pages of the High church Anglican organ *British Critic*, Newman claimed that Scott led many young men toward the quest for Catholic truth:⁴

During the first quarter of this century a great poet was raised in the North, who, whatever were his defects, has contributed by his works, in prose and verse, to prepare men for some closer and more practical approximation to Catholic truth. The general need of something deeper and more attractive than what had offered itself elsewhere, may be considered to have led to this popularity; and by means of this popularity he re-acted on his readers, stimulating their mental thirst, feeding their hopes, setting before them visions, which when once seen, are not

easily forgotten, and silently indoctrinating them with nobler ideas, which might afterwards be appealed to as first principles. (Newman "State of Religious Parties" *British Critic* [Apr. 1839] 25: 414)

It is in this dichotomy noted by Newman and Hazlitt — the sympathy to the old religion tempered by a high-minded sentiment of personal liberty and by an antipathy toward religious intolerance — that Scott's impact upon the debate about monasticism's meaning is tangible.

Monks, friars, and hermits are found in nearly every Waverly novel, and Scott's importance in popularizing the distinctions between various orders of monk and friar is unquestionable.⁵ Nonetheless, even Scott could not rescue the hermit from its semantic shipwreck. Though his notion of hermit is clearly "an unorganized cenobite; a monk not belonging to an order or following a prescriptive rule," the romanticized notion of "a simple dweller in the wilderness," divorced from ancient Catholic Church tradition and expunged of the sense of retreating for purposes of religious purification, clearly became the common specie of the marketplace during the same decade that Scott's novels were bought and consumed to the point of nearly becoming a line item in the gross domestic product. As a scholar in his own right, Scott referred to reputable sources to distinguish between monks, friars, and hermits, and as a popular historian Scott mastered the art of developing memorable characters out of the types associated with them — characters who, though on the periphery of history, affect the outcome of major social and political events.⁶ The art of his characters, which continues to charm an audience nearly two centuries distant, eclipses their historicity — to the point at which details of monarchs seem trivial against heroines and heroes of obscure birth whose choices compel the well-

told tale. This is not to say that critics have not noticed Scott's gaffes and solecisms; instead one needs to remember what is not mentioned enough in literary criticism: his popularity as a writer could not help but leave his readers with an idiosyncratic and Tory perspective on the troubles of the Tudors and the rise of the Stuarts. While depicting quotidian life in the midst of seismic changes, Scott also presented the case for a Britain in which the Church was not only part of daily life but also was the keystone of social order, guided and defined by a healthy union of Church and State.⁷

Scott's presentation of monasticism can readily be seen in two of his less popular — and less successful, as critics charged — novels, *The Monastery* (1820) and *The Abbot* (1820). The reviewer in *Edinburgh Review*, for instance, gloated over the failures of both of these novels.⁸ Perhaps energized by the recent controversy between the *Edinburgh's* favored Byron and one of the *Quarterly Review's* notables (Robert Southey), this writer pounced upon Scott's least successful works, grouping the five published after *Ivanhoe* (1819) and reviewing them as derivative and formulaic, hinting that "there is no instance of any such experiment being long continued with success" ("The Fortunes of Nigel" *Edinburgh Review* [June 1822] 37: 204). What is instructive about the Whiggish writer's response to Scott's decidedly less popular works is what the author considered inferior:

their descent into an alabaster cavern, and the seizure of a stolen Bible from an altar blazing with cold flames, is a fiction of more ignoble stock, and looks like an unlucky combination of a French fairy tale and a dull German romance....But, notwithstanding these gross faults, and the general flatness of the monkish parts — including that of the Sub-prior, which is a failure in spite of considerable

labour — it would be absurd to rank this with common novels. ("The Fortunes of Nigel" *Edinburgh Review* [June 1822] 37: 205)

The reviewer stopped short of suggesting that Scott was faltering compared to the other great Scottish historical novelist of this period — the *Edinburgh's* darling John Galt.⁹ Nevertheless, the appended clause on Scott's "monkish" parts at once illustrates how familiar the reviewer thought most of his audience was with the particulars of monasticism and how charged a topic it was at the time.

It is precisely in these novels' shortcomings when compared to Galt's works — implausible events, supernatural beings, forgettable characters, and the claustrophobic restriction of the setting to the environs of an abbey found in an otherwise unremarkable Border town — that Scott's crafting of a perspective on monasticism becomes apparent. In *The Monastery* (1820), two school-fellows who now find themselves divided by the very religion they studied together are brought together. The nearly heathen Border rider Christie of the Clinthill brings the captured dissenting preacher Henry Warden (also known as Henry Wellwood) to the Sub-prior Father Eustace (also known as William Allan), who is still in charge of the halidome. Under his power, Warden confers with Father Eustace who responds sternly to Warden's Protestant views:

"The errors which I combat are like those fiends which are only cast out by fasting and prayer. Alas! not many wise, not many learned are chosen; the cottage and the hamlet shall in our days bear witness against the schools and their disciples. Thy very wisdom, which is foolishness, hath made thee, as the Greeks of old, hold as foolishness that which is the only true wisdom."

"This," said the sub-prior sternly, "is the mere cant of ignorant enthusiasm, which appealeth from learning and from authority, from the sure guidance of that lamp which God hath afforded us in the councils and in the fathers of the church, to a rash, self-willed, and arbitrary interpretation of the Scriptures, wrested according to the private opinion of each speculating heretic." (Scott *Monastery* 31.297-98)

The scene is then reversed as Warden arrives at the Monastery of St. Mary while it is under siege by Protestant forces who are about to lay it to ruin. Again, Warden and Father Eustace argue about the Catholic and Protestant positions but this time disputing the nature of church discipline in the primitive church (Scott *Monastery* 37.357).¹⁰ In these two exchanges, Scott symbolically presents the changing fortunes of the two interpretations of Christian doctrine in the characters of two former friends. In the character of the monk, the admirable virtue of forgiveness and his generosity in freeing his prized captive are tempered by his petulance in his wounded response to Warden.

Scott would later improve upon the encounter between comrades divided by religion in the sequel to *The Monastery*, *The Abbot* (1820). In this novel, the abbot of the title encounters his swashbuckling knight-brother Sir Herbert Glendinning when Sir Herbert is charged with securing and seizing the nearly ruined monastery of St. Mary's. Abbot Ambrosius (Edward Glendinning) greets his brother with the legendary hospitality of the monastery, despite its nearly devastated status:

"You need not fear, my brother, that your zeal for restoring the primitive discipline of the church will on this occasion, be offended with the rich profusion of a conventual banquet. The days of our old friend Abbot Boniface are over; and

the superior of St. Mary's has neither forests nor fishings, woods nor pastures, nor cornfields; neither flocks nor herds, bucks nor wild-fowl, granaries of wheat nor storehouses of oil and wine, of ale and of mead. The refectory's office is ended; and such a meal as a hermit in romance can offer to a wandering knight is all we have to set before you." (Scott *Abbot* 15.135)

The symbolic reference to a hermit's fare presents a type of irony that may be intended by Edward Glendinning (and a self-reflexive historical irony intended by Scott): while mentioning the reformers' zeal to restore discipline, he intimates the type of hospitality that soon would be but a legend in that part of Scotland, a legend fit for Scott's framing tale of the novel, in which an ex-Benedictine relates Kennaquhair's monastic contributions to the learned local antiquary, Captain Clutterbuck.¹¹

Though Scott, as Newman noted, portrayed Catholic sensibilities with great sensitivity, his respect for monastic orders, witnessed through his painstaking efforts to represent them accurately, must not be confused with ambiguity concerning matters of Catholic emancipation.¹² In some passages, for instance, Scott's tone appears more like Gibbon's distaste than Barbauld's respect; for instance, in this aside of the narrative, Scott's opinion is clear and direct:¹³

To men of any rank the esteem of their order is naturally most dear; but in the monastic establishment, cut off, as the brethren are, from other objects of ambition, as well as from all exterior friendship and relationship, the place which they hold in the opinion of each other is all in all. (Scott *Monastery* 9.76-77).

In many cases, however, the source of invective towards Roman Catholicism and monasticism in Scott's novels comes from the voice of a character rather than either the

narrator or the framing device's narrator.¹⁴ For instance, Christie of the Clinthill, the Border rider of questionable religion, utters the proverb "never friar forget feud" at the very point when the Sub-Prior frees him, as if to suggest that Father Eustace's generous act has strings attached (Scott *Monastery* 10.79-81). Similarly, the duplicitous crypto-Catholic Magdalene Graeme exacts only one demand of the Lady of Avenel who has requested her grandson to serve as a page: "But especially swear, he shall not lack the instruction of the godly man who hath placed the Gospel truth high above those idolatrous shavelings, the monks and friars" (Scott *Abbot* 2.15).¹⁵

Nonetheless, Scott's narration often includes signposts signaling important lessons for his own audience. In *The Abbot*, for instance, Scott describes the importance of sense impressions to religious sentiment in Roland Graeme's response after seeing the recent destruction of a centuries old shrine:

Such dilapidated buildings, after the lapse of years, during which nature has gradually covered the effects of violence with creeping plants and with weather-stains, exhibit, amid their decay, a melancholy beauty. But when the visible effects of violence appear raw and recent there is no feeling to mitigate the sense of devastation with which they impress the spectators; and such was now the scene on which the youthful page gazed, with the painful feelings it was qualified to excite. (Scott *Abbot* 7.67)

In the event that his audience might overlook this narrative aside, Scott underscores its importance by drawing the parallel between the sumptuous Castle of Avenel and the devastated cell of St. Cuthbert in Roland's initial disorientation upon awakening:

His first feeling was that of surprise; for instead of looking forth from a turret window on the waters of the lake of Avenel, which was the prospect his former apartment afforded, an unlatticed aperture gave him the view of the demolished garden of the banished anchorite. (Scott *Abbot* 9.75)

The spoliation of religious shrines, with regards to both the medieval banishment of St. Cuthbert and the Reformation shrine-sacking, was not merely a personal disappointment to the antiquarian Scott but a source of indignation toward the spoilers whom he considered the thieves of posterity.

Other writers continued to tinker with historicity within the novel, indulging their teleological assumptions of history's progress and eliding any complicating fact or mitigating circumstance that might disturb its order. Some were more successful than others in hiding the fictional footpath within the larger movement of history. Perhaps encouraged by the success of her first historical novel set in medieval Italy, *Valperga, or the Life and Adventures of Castruccio, Prince of Lucca* (1823), or perhaps driven by the need to support her recently "orphaned" son, Mary Shelley set her sights on another historical episode, the wanderings of the York pretender, in her novel *The Fortunes of Perkin Warbeck, A Romance* (1830). Taking issue with Hume's bloodless account of this adjunct to the Wars of the Roses, Shelley saw the potential of the tale: "On studying it, I became aware of the romance which his story contains, while, at the same time, I felt that it would be impossible for any narration, that should be confined to the incorporation of facts related by our old Chronicle to do it justice" (Shelley *Perkin Warbeck* 1.v).¹⁶ Unlike John Ford's play *Perkin Warbeck* (1634) or Shelley's literary rival Alexander Campbell's *Perkin Warbeck, or the Court of James the Fourth of Scotland* (1830), her novel presents

a much broader sweep of Warbeck's travels across Europe, relying heavily upon research into the geography and customs of fifteenth-century Flanders, Spain, Ireland, Scotland and France. Shelley's partial research results in the error of diverting Warbeck through Spain (not Portugal); her lack of research into monastic orders contributes to the persistence of the romanticized hermit distinct from a monk or a friar.

Shelley's presentation of monasticism begins almost immediately in the novel when she introduces the obscure birth of the hero through a conversation between a travel-weary knight and a Benedictine monk who hardly seems a cenobite. His apartment is not attached to a monastery, and his well-worn sword is hung proudly above a portrait of the Virgin Mary over a mantle. Nonetheless his hospitable offer of quarter to this guest draws attention to the obvious discrepancies between his outward appearance and his gestures: "This invitation was that of worldly courtesy, rather than the rustic welcome of a recluse monk. The Cavalier thanked him cordially, adding, that he must first provide food and water for his horse, and that afterwards he would gratefully accept his host's invitation" (Shelley *Perkin Warbeck* 1.1.10). In this portrait of a battle-worn Benedictine — for it turns out the peace of his monastic vow came only after several particularly bloody campaigns — Shelley also makes little effort to distinguish between mendicant and cenobite, preferring that her monks and friars be warriors instead. The image of Trangmar Meiler is curious, to say the least:

His coarse brown Franciscan dress, belted in by a rope; the cowl thrown back, displaying the monkish tonsure; the naked feet; these were symbols of humility and Christian virtue in strong contrast with the deep lines of his face, and the glare of his savage eyes: he met the glance of his victim, and became confused, while

the Prince in wonder hastened to ask what strange thoughts occupied him,
 painting his visage with every sign of fierce passion. (Shelley *Perkin Warbeck*
 2.13.263)

The narrator here loses track of the distinction between a monk and friar; the slip, however, is more revealing when Trangmar, a proud Franciscan friar, loses track of which orders he had taken and which rule he vowed to follow, and calls himself a "monk" (Shelley *Perkin Warbeck* 2.13.263).¹⁷ Shelley's lack of interest in this aspect of the history is not much of a surprise: she has a general disdain for monasticism (and religious restraint in general): "Richard was no whining monk to lament the inevitable, and tamely to await the result. To see an evil was to spur him to seek a remedy: he had given up every expectation of reigning, except such as sprung from his right, and faith in the justice of God " (Shelley *Perkin Warbeck* 3.13.184).

Shelley's conception of a hermit is likewise peculiar to her sensibilities and to her sense of history. When the Pretender withdraws to the woods with a wounded comrade, he chances upon a skilled physician, described initially as "the holy man [who] was a hermit " (Shelley *Perkin Warbeck* 3.11.164). The hermit tried first to be a monk but, like the honorary Protestant in many works of Gothic fiction, found that "the stone walls of a monastery are little better than those of a prison; so I betook me to the woods" (Shelley *Perkin Warbeck* 3.11.165). Nevertheless, despite her neglect of the distinctions between monks, friars, and hermits, Shelley did not cast a jaundiced eye on the character of late medieval Catholicism, as exemplified in this description of a scene outside the monastery's chapel:

Richard's companions were rough-suited, vulgar-minded; but they were Catholic and religious men, and were awe-struck by this voice from heaven reaching them thus in their desolation; a voice promising safety and repose to their harassed, wearied bodies. A few steps carried them to the very spot; the bell was rung, the gate was opened, sanctuary was claimed and afforded. (Shelley *Perkin Warbeck* 3.13.167-68)

Shelley's description of the York Pretender's sanctuary in the church after being abandoned by his allies in the field is doubly charged at the height of the Catholic Emancipation controversy.

The same cannot be said for Charles Robert Maturin, author of the blistering anti-Catholic and grotesque Faustian novel *Melmoth the Wanderer* (1820). Sometimes considered the last of the British Gothic novels, *Melmoth* combines noteworthy elements of earlier popular fiction: lush description of sublime settings in the style of Ann Radcliffe; disturbing supernatural characters who menace by their incorrigible evil, as pioneered by Matthew Lewis; and historical backdrops that are partly shaped by the choices of the protagonist, as developed by Maturin's friend, Sir Walter Scott. Maturin's blend did not achieve even a fraction of the success of any one of his models. Instead, it lumbers on as a hodge podge of a half dozen narratives stretching across continents and centuries, loosely organized around the quest of a damned tempter who trades his soul for the lifespan of an antediluvian patriarch and who now seeks another to trade with him. The novel's lack of coherence, particularly in its lengthy narrative subtitled "Tale of the Spaniard," provides another witness, by virtue of its presentation of monasticism, to the hysteria over Catholic Emancipation. As a resident Anglican curate of a predominately

Catholic parish in western Ireland, Maturin perhaps considered the Emancipation movement as incredibly disruptive to the British way of life. No matter what the true motivations, his description of dehumanized and degraded cenobites at the height of the recently revived Inquisition as well as his depiction of Alonzo di Monçada's harrowing descent into and escape from the clutches of the Dominican black friars and scarlet inquisitors alike reveal the interconnection between his conception of monasticism and the struggle over relaxing Catholic disabilities.

Just as in the novel's nested narratives, however, Maturin does not reveal his point with the distance of a confident third person narrator but through the juxtaposition of setting and situation, forcing his audience to make these connections from the unreliable sources of his various tales.¹⁸ In this way, the apostate ex-monk Alonzo di Monçada, and not Maturin, tells of the unwholesome elements of Roman Catholicism and of monasticism:

On the fourth day, (as I reckoned by the visits of the monk), he placed my bread and water on the block of stone as usual, but hesitated for some time before he departed. In fact, he felt a repugnance at delivering an intimation of hope; it was not consonant either to his profession, or the office which, in the wantonness of monastic malignity, he had accepted as penance. You shudder at this, Sir, but it is nevertheless true; this man thought he was doing service to God, by witnessing the misery of being incarcerated amid famine, darkness, and reptiles. (Maturin *Melmoth* 2.6.147)

Though the virulence comes from a voice clearly distinguished from Maturin's, the onslaught of anti-monasticism polemic almost defies description. For example, Maturin,

stripping monastic life of "the richness of the tissue, or the splendour of the embroidery, that renders the surface so rich and dazzling," depicts it as a "mixture of exhaustless malignity and curiosity, which are the inseparable twins of monastic birth" (Maturin *Melmoth* 1.5.76; 2.6.151).¹⁹ Despite describing in gory detail the entombment and cannibalism of a young monk and his lover in the catacombs (Maturin *Melmoth* 2.9.204-13), Maturin resorts to paraleipsis to suggest that even more atrocious facts about monasticism may be found in Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History* (1765): "Vide Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History for the truth of this part of the narrative. I have suppressed circumstances in the original too horrible for modern ears" (Maturin *Melmoth* 2.6.157). It is as though Maturin believed that the point about monasticism's monstrosity could not be detailed enough: "The genius of monasticism seemed to wield a two-edged sword, and to lift it between and against time and eternity. The blade bore a two-fold inscription — on the side next the world was written the word 'suffer,' — on that opposed to eternity, 'despair'" (Maturin *Melmoth* 1.5.113).²⁰

The strident denunciation of all things monastic does not end with the interruption of Alonzo's tale. Nor is it restricted merely to Alonzo's order of monks. Twice in *Melmoth the Wanderer* Maturin mentions the fact that friars quibbled over which order would assure salvation; in one instance, Melmoth introduces the pure-hearted and, at this point in the narrative, heathen Immalee (who is later known as Isidora di Aliaga) to the shortcomings of her recent encounter with Christianity:

Doubtless their language is not always melody, particularly when they address each other on controverted points in religion. Indeed, I can conceive nothing less a-kin to harmony than the debate of a Dominican and Franciscan on the respective

efficacy of the cowl of the order, to ascertain the salvation of him who happens to die in it. (Maturin *Melmoth* 3.20.352)

Later on in Adonijah's manuscript, Donna Clara di Aliaga also frets about the efficacy of cowls and orders that procure salvation (Maturin *Melmoth* 3.22.368). In fact, only two Catholic monks appear in *Melmoth* who do not support the claim that "Truth is rarely heard in convents, and therefore its language is equally emphatical and portentous" (Maturin *Melmoth* 2.6.163): The good monk Fra Jose, who serves as Immalee's confessor, and the bishop who tries to restore order and preserve Alonzo di Monçada.²¹ One might also add the holy hermit who marries Melmoth to Immalee in the ruined monastery because the audience learns with Immalee, after the passing of twelve chapters, that the hermit had died the night before she was married and so his performance of the unholy nuptials is an instance of Melmoth's devilry (Maturin *Melmoth* 4.24.387-89; 4.36.526).

Maturin's presentation of the horrors accompanying monasticism — petulance, superficiality, deception, animosity, malignity, parochialism, faithlessness, savagery — diverges sharply from his mentor Sir Walter Scott's; yet both expend considerable energy citing their sources and maintaining distinctions of which many of their readers would have had limited, if any, recognition or awareness. In this way, the Catholic Emancipation movement participates as backdrop in the fiction of the period, encouraging expectations or providing insight into the author's views on the issue. What has changed, though, with the rise of greater attention to historicity in fiction, is that Maturin can simply write Dominican or Franciscan in his text, apparently confident that his audience is at least vaguely aware of the context of twelfth-century religious politics.

Of course other instances of this reaction to the political contingencies of Catholic Emancipation and the coincidental public enthusiasm for the medieval can be found in this period's fiction, not only in works of historical fiction and Gothic romance but also in works of humor found in the journals.²² Twelfth-century religious politics, nonetheless, overshadowed fifth- and sixth-century distinctions, and the recognition that hermits, or eremites, were a type of religious recluse, as in Maturin, was being displaced by the romanticized image, sans religion, of someone who abandons society to dwell in the wilderness, as in Mary Shelley.

-2-

While writers of fiction depicted ascetics with greater attention to historical accuracy, poets and dramatists continued to present monasticism with increasingly more license. For instance, the Northamptonshire agricultural laborer and poet John Clare uses the word "hermit" devoid of religious overtones: for example, bees, morehens and even violets deserve it as a substantive, as in "hermit flowers of Solitude" (Clare "[Violet]" [1820] 11). When he does mention a human as a hermit, that person resembles Wordsworth's Leech-Gatherer rather than a religious recluse (Clare "Winter Snowstorm (II)" [1825] 1).²³ Like Clare, Letitia Elizabeth Landon (also known as L.E.L.) totally overlooks or avoids the religious connotations of "hermit," as can be seen in the benevolent wilderness dwellers of "The Falcon: The Lay of the Norman Knight." So too does George Croly's depiction of a gentle hermit in *May Fair* (1827). And the stage provides even further instances of the word's semantic drift: James Hogg's *The Profligate Princes* (1817), Robert Eyres Landor's *Count Arezzi, A Tragedy in Five Acts* (1824), and

Thomas James Serle's *Raffaello Cimaro, A Tragedy in Five Acts* (1819) each introduce a hermit who has little to do with religious retreat.

This is not to say that the poets and playwrights of this decade did not bother to note that a hermit, historically speaking, was a religious recluse. Richard Cobbold's "The Hermit" (1827) provides a Cavalier lesson to a lady who denies love to the speaker by pointing to the example of a hermit:

Deep in the shade, obscured from life,
 The pious Hermit kneels,
 Disgusted with the world and strife,
 Devotion all he feels;
 From morn to eve, the fervent prayer,
 Is all his pleasure and care.
 Say, has the Hermit charms for thee?

In solitude and peace [...] (Cobbold "The Hermit" ll. 1-8)

Cobbold's hermit, unlike Clare's or Landon's, retains his sense of religious retreat. This instance, like several others, suggests that the writers who tend to maintain the religious attributes of hermits do so apparently out of an awareness of medieval history and culture.²⁴ In "The Cavern of the Shore" (1815), for example, travel book writer and historical memoirist Louisa Stuart Costello presents a hermit with an awareness of his Christian roots, perhaps because of her familiarity with French troubadour poetry. The connection of hermits to early Christianity was also not missed by the narrator of Jeremiah Holmes Wiffen's *Aspley Wood* (1819), who claims not to envy "The cowed

monk's scapulaire or hermit's gown / Woven of sackcloth" (Wiffen *Aspley Wood* 1.27.238).²⁵

Nonetheless, many of these poets and dramatists, like their fiction-writing peers, were concerned with the issues raised by the Catholic Emancipation movement, and their religious politics shaped their presentation of religious retreat. In the case of Wordsworth's largest poetic production in the period, few could argue otherwise: his sonnet series initially titled *Ecclesiastical Sketches* (1822) and dedicated to the ecclesiastical history of Britain champions the Anglican church's triumphant struggle to preserve faith, freedom, and unity; or, as he put it in the advertisement,

It was one of the most beautiful mornings of a mild season — our feelings were in harmony with the cherishing influences of the scene; and such being our purpose [the choosing of a site for a new church], we were naturally led to look back upon past events with wonder and gratitude, and on the future with hope.... The Catholic Question, which was agitated in Parliament about that time [December, 1820], kept my thoughts in the same course; and it struck me that certain points in the Ecclesiastical History of our Country might advantageously be presented to view in Verse. (Wordsworth *Ecclesiastical Sketches* 117)

Wordsworth, approaching this theme enthusiastically, buoyantly celebrates England's ecclesiastical history in several poems preceding this venture, including an extended address "to the spiritual fabric of her Church; / Founded in truth; by blood of Martyrdom cemented; by the hands of wisdom reared / In beauty of holiness" (Wordsworth *Excursion* 6.8-11). His direct attention to the Catholic Question, however, in the 103

sonnets of the first edition of *Ecclesiastical Sketches* bears testimony to how important a cause he saw it.

The poem's structure highlights how knotty the position of the Anglican church had become, as well as illustrates Wordsworth's concept of historical movement. Broken into three sections of roughly the same number of sonnets (38-37-28 in 1822, 39-46-47 in 1845), each part recounts the rise and fall of tyranny endured and overcome by the Anglican church: the first being the abuse of Papal power; the second a period of "monastic voluptuousness" and Puritan "terrible excess" (Wordsworth *Ecclesiastical Sketches* 2.20, 2.44.9); the third moves philosophically from the time-bound churches to the eternal, staking the claim that the Anglican church is not a "perishable home" for "England's overflowing dead" but is blessed by "Infinity's embrace" (Wordsworth *Ecclesiastical Sketches* 3.45.1, 14, 10). Wordsworth's incredible restraint and sometimes forced parity in his history hints at the Anglican Church's difficult position, besieged by discontented Irish Catholics, Dissenters, Methodists, and pundits in turn. The progress of Wordsworth's history, unlike many of the Church histories that preceded his, progresses metaphorically, trading the detailed biographies of influential characters for Biblical imagery, such as a fruit-bearing tree (Wordsworth *Ecclesiastical Sketches* 2.10), the eagle and dove (Wordsworth *Ecclesiastical Sketches* 2.7), and the progress of living waters (Wordsworth *Ecclesiastical Sketches* 3.47). In this abstraction, and his admitted reliance upon the reader's awareness of British history, Wordsworth's series requires attention to themes, such as the proper place for monasticism, and "to thy domination, Roman See, / Though miserably, oft monstrously abused, / By blind ambition, be this tribute paid" (Wordsworth *Ecclesiastical Sketches* 2.2.12-14).²⁶

In the *Ecclesiastical Sketches*, Wordsworth varies between two positions on monasticism: one of mistrust that warns, "Woe to the Crown that doth the Cowl obey!" (Wordsworth *Ecclesiastical Sketches* 1.29.1), and one of unguarded respect for the cenobites who "teach the intrepid guardians of the place — / hourly exposed to death, with famine worn, / And suffering under many a perilous wound" (Wordsworth *Ecclesiastical Sketches* 2.6.10-12).²⁷ In fact, one scholar has noted that Wordsworth's balance for monasticism is even more noteworthy when one compares his bias "uncorrected by any subsequent or compensatory praise for the benefits of Norman rule in England (Wordsworth *Ecclesiastical Sketches* 239). Wordsworth expresses the benefits of the medieval church and its monasteries, in which "Justice and Peace through her uphold their claims; / And Chastity finds many a sheltering bower" (Wordsworth *Ecclesiastical Sketches* 2.2.7-8); the monks are shown taming the lands, advising princes in peace and war, and by virtue of their ruins, impressing holiness and the lessons of toleration.²⁸ Following poems that stress the benefits of Cistercian monasteries and the monks and schoolmen, however, are poems detailing the abuse of monastic power and monastic voluptuousness, in which "Bacchus, clothed in semblance of a Friar, / pours out his choicest beverage high and higher" (Wordsworth *Ecclesiastical Sketches* 2.20.4-5) and "cloistered Avarice scruple not to wrong / The pious, humble, useful Secular" (Wordsworth *Ecclesiastical Sketches* 2.19.6-7).²⁹ Wordsworth contrasts the monk "who lives/ For self, and struggles with himself alone" with the example of a minister "the dictate of whose inward sense / Outweighs the world," preferring the latter's service to the former's solipsism; nonetheless, Wordsworth himself notes that judgment on those matters ought to be reserved for heaven alone (Wordsworth *Ecclesiastical Sketches*

2.19.9-10; 3.6.12-13; 3.16.12-13). Like "ivy round some ancient elm," Wordsworth explains, monastic life "strangle[s] without mercy" at the same time that it brings — "For recompense" — a "perennial bower" (Wordsworth *Ecclesiastical Sketches* 1.21.13,14).³⁰

The hermit, however, does not sustain the same bifurcated criticism or keen concern for balance in the politically charged arena of Catholic Emancipation. Immediately following his sonnet on the tendency of Saxon kings, Wordsworth personalizes the succeeding sonnet to contrast the monastic life with that of a hermit: "Methinks that to some vacant hermitage / My feet would rather turn — to some dry nook / Scooped out of living rock" (Wordsworth *Ecclesiastical Sketches* 1.22.1-3). The comparison was one Wordsworth exploited in several of his poems, including *Lines Composed a Few Miles above Tintern Abbey* (1798), "Glen-Almain; or the Narrow Glen" (1807), *The Excursion* (1814), "Inscriptions Supposed to be Found in and near a Hermit's Cell" (1818), "Suggested by a Beautiful Ruin upon One of the Islands of Loch Lomond, a Place Chosen for the Retreat of a Solitary Individual, from Whom this Habitation Acquired the Name of The Brownie's Cell" (1820). In this poem, however, Wordsworth does not make explicit that the hermit is a religious recluse. Instead, his hermit in the *Ecclesiastical Sketches* resembles the romanticized figure that Richard Polwhele mocked in "A Poetical Address to a Widow" (1806).³¹ Wordsworth's hermitage in the forest is remarkable in that it has no visible symbols of religiosity. The hermitage appears in sylvan simplicity, replete with the "bustling rage" of a brook (which at a certain point, "for my sight" is tempered "in the soft heaven of a translucent pool"), cool forest arches that are haunted by shapes whose glorious equipage "throng my dreams," a hooting owl as "night-watch," and a crested fowl who would never tire of the world when sounding

matins (Wordsworth *Ecclesiastical Sketches* 1.21.5,6,9,12). Or does he? Though Wordsworth generally is not known for irony, the ironic inversion of monastic and religious terms for this forest retreat is quite striking, especially within the context of the work. The situation, furthermore, is similar to the moment in *The Excursion* in which the Wanderer meets the Solitary, and together they come upon his retreat where "it could not be more quiet" and in which the votaries are "uncalled to pay / the common penalties of mortal life, / Sickness, or accident, or grief, or pain" (Wordsworth *The Excursion* 2.364, 367-69). At first the retreat appears divorced from religion, until the Solitary's "holy strains" fill the valley (Wordsworth *The Excursion* 2.385). Whether indeed Wordsworth meant the twenty-second sonnet to be ironic is open to debate; that Wordsworth felt no need to temper the hermit's experience — which he had associated closely with monasticism in other poems — cannot be questioned.

While Wordsworth was preparing the *Ecclesiastical Sketches* as the third volume of his five-volume collection of poems (1827), an unassuming collection of poems appeared on bookseller's stands. Published June 1827, *The Christian Year: Thoughts in Verse for the Sundays and Holy-Days Throughout the Year* would become one of the nineteenth-century's most reprinted volumes of English verse. More than 158 editions (not counting the pirated ones) had been published by the time the author, John Keble, died in 1866.³² Though the work has long since been forgotten by most, its widespread popularity in the period garnered Keble fame, the professorship of poetry at Oxford, and numerous admirers, including a group that would later be associated with the Oxford movement of 1833-45. Though the work was not published directly as a result of the struggle over Catholic Emancipation but instead at the behest of his father, Keble's

poems, with their guileless charm and soothing gravity, focused upon dates and festivals in the Anglican calendar, could not help but stir church feeling.

From the very beginning of the collection, Keble identifies the challenges that life presents as a "road / To bring us, daily, nearer God" (Keble "Morning" *Christian Year* 55-56). The life of a religious recluse is quite contrary to this scheme; Keble makes this point clear, too, in the first poem of *The Christian Year*: "We need not bid, for cloister'd cell, / Our neighbour and our work farewell" 49-50). No monks or friars appear in *The Christian Year* besides this one stray reference to a cloistered cell, except if one interprets an anchor in another poem as both "anchorite" and its nautical meaning: "No anchor but the Cross / might hold" (Keble "Fifth Sunday after Trinity" *Christian Year* 26-27). Nonetheless, the romanticized image of the hermit makes its appearance throughout the collection. Keble's use of the word "hermit," however, suggests his ambivalence regarding both a religious retreat and a religious engagement with the world. In some cases, "hermit" is used as a noun-substantive: "but soft and deep/ Around the awful arches sweep / Such airs as soothe a hermit's sleep" (Keble "Trinity Sunday" *Christian Year* 22-24); "the fitful sweep / Of winds across the steep, / Through wither'd bents — romantic note and clear, / Meet for a hermit's ear" (Keble "Twentieth Sunday after Trinity" *Christian Year* 13-16); "Each in his hidden sphere of joy or woe / Our hermit spirits dwell, and range apart, / Our eyes see all around in gloom or glow — / Hues of their own, fresh borrow'd from the heart" (Keble "Twenty-Fourth Sunday after Trinity" *Christian Year* 5-8). In these four instances, Keble's hermit neither instills a sense of religious retreat nor inspires emulation. Simply put, "hermit" connotes a solitary individual participating in nature though removed from society.

In three significant passages from *The Christian Year*, however, the figure of the "hermit" carries deeper symbolic reference and consequently appears to be more than merely some random forest dweller. Were the first instance the sole exception, any claim of significance would be implausible; for when the rhododendrons on the western shore of Lake Gennesaret are said to be "like hermits watching still / Around the sacred hill, / Where erst our Saviour watch'd upon his knees," the post-positive use of the adverb "still" calls into question whether their worship is being modified as a quality or as a reference to time (Keble "Third Sunday in Advent" *Christian Year* 10-12).³³ Later in *The Christian Year*, Keble turns his gaze upon his own lot in life, implying that when he was younger he chafed at the collar, so to speak:

I thought it scorn with Thee to dwell,
A Hermit in a silent cell,
While, gaily sweeping by,
Wild Fancy blew his bugle strain,
And marshall'd all his gallant train
In the world's wondering eye.

(Keble "First Sunday after Easter" *Christian Year* 19-24)

By connecting the role of a minister with a hermit's lot, Keble certainly would have raised some eyebrows at this unexpected personal confession. The third instance of "hermit" used as a noun is a direct allusion to the temptation of Christ in the wilderness:

In that first strife, whence Satan in despair
Sank down on scathèd wing:
Alone He fasted, and alone He fought;

And it fits me

well!

(Newman "Monks" 77-80)³⁵

Newman exercises his admiration for the cowl for the first time in print, recognizing that there are monks "who in sloth are sunk, / They have forfeited the name" (Newman "A Hermitage" 15-16). Such failures, however, confirm the feat of those who preserve their vow and the "Fasts to keep and tears to shed / Vigil hours and wounded knees" (Newman "A Hermitage" 10-11). With emancipation as a lightning rod of sorts, Newman's admiration for the true hermit's religious piety provides another of the many and varied nineteenth-century responses to a life of religious retreat. The eventual revival of Anglo-Catholic sentiment had begun to find its richest expressions.

-3-

Societal change is a type of Brownian movement — concessions, adjustments, modifications, and reforms may be conspicuously directed by legislation, but often environmental pressures lie behind desultory advances and retreats. Of course, the science behind social change is almost as difficult to explain *ex post facto* as it is to predict it, but certain progressive measures and events act as mileposts if not catalysts or causes. For instance, the several-decade political contest over the necessity of loosening centuries-old restrictions placed upon Catholics can be presented as a struggle of individual personalities — Anglo-Irish statesmen Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, and George Canning — and of the growing strength of Daniel O'Connell's Catholic Association. Yet the struggle over Catholic Emancipation was also driven by the competing demands of economic hardships, political expediency, wavering public

opinion, internecine political strife caused by untimely deaths, burgeoning national debt, free trade reform oversights, international contentions over Greek and South American independence movements, among other pressures upon an unpopular King's cagey and conservative administrators. The political struggle between Tories and Whigs in this period points toward the gradual return of populist positions at the same time that the ascendant Tory's cult of personality imploded.³⁶ Simply put, the success of the Catholic Emancipation bill of 1829 signals as much the end of the effectiveness of the luminaries of the Tory party and the rise of Liberal politics as it signals the pertinacity and vigor of the forces behind the Catholic Emancipation movement.

The political crisis occasioned by citizens who felt alienated from their government arose from a foul synergy of inopportune events: a series of poor harvest yields and their counterproductive political "solutions" (such as the revision of the Corn Laws and the six acts of November - December 1819); soaring interest payments on a national debt contracted through the Napoleonic wars (and protracted, some claimed, by the switch to paper money); the accession of a profligate prince who sued for divorce from his popular queen-consort Caroline; political assassinations; and a post-war cotton manufacturing slump. These events, combined with the social and political impulse that contested and then approved a relaxation of Catholic disabilities, also left their residue upon the redefinition of monastic terms. One particular work of nonfiction, Robert Southey's historical study *The Book of the Church* (1824) and the manifold responses to it will illustrate how increased attention to historicity led to finer gradations of these monastic terms.

The historical context of the connotations and thus overlapping definitions for monastic terms is readily apparent in most of Robert Southey's works of this period. Southey, who initially envisioned a history of monachism, filled several pages of his commonplace books with the history of monastic orders and the provisional definition of words describing them. His reading and quotations, for instance, point to a comfort with the historical distinctions between the mendicant orders of friars, the rules defining monastic orders, and even the distinction of hermits: the quotations he copied from Linguet's *Histoire Impartiale des Jesuites* (1768) and their placement among Protestant sources likewise confirm his even-handedness and his fidelity as a historian (*Common-Place Books* 3.372). This section of the commonplace books actually contains the first paragraph of an abandoned project on the "Rise, Progress, and Decline of the Monastic Orders."³⁷ Under other headings in the commonplace books, such as the rubric "Ecclesiastical Biography," Southey quotes John Strype's *Memoirs of Cranmer* (1694), selecting passages that show a recognition of his source's biases toward the mendicant friars and storing up illustrative anecdotes to employ at some later date.³⁸ Southey drew on such material from his commonplace books in a review of the expanded second edition of Thomas Dudley Fosbrooke's *British Monachism* (1817), in which Southey traces the growth of monasticism, from unordered hermit to organized cenobite through reformed mendicant friar, and in each stage of his narrative he maintains a degree of respect for the institution, despite his unmistakable aversion to "monkery" (Southey "British Monachism" *Quarterly Review* 22:43 (July 1819): 78).³⁹

Similarly, Southey's even-handedness when treating monastic orders — and his recognition of their merits — is evident in two slight footnotes to *The Life of Wesley, and the Rise and Progress of Methodism* (1820). In one, he claims that Archbishop Leighton thought the great and fatal error of the Reformation was, that more of those houses, and of that course of life, free from the entanglements of vows and mixtures, was not preserved; so that the Protestant churches had neither places of education, nor retreat for men of mortified tempers. (Southey *Life of Wesley* 272)⁴⁰

He also quotes from Gilbert Burnet, a writer whose work is not often associated with Roman Catholic sympathies:⁴¹

Burnet himself, also saw the good which the Romish Church derived from these orders, notwithstanding the villainous impostures and loathsome trash with which they were polluted: ... ["the whole body of Protestants"] is much superior to ["the Church of Rome"] in wealth and in force, if it were animated with the zeal with which the monastic orders, but chiefly the Jesuits, spread through their whole communion...." (Southey *Life of Wesley* 272)

Moreover, the thrust of Southey's history connects Wesley's second reformation of the Church of England with an apparent if not nominal restoration of monastic establishments: "Wesley had now proposed to himself a clear and determinate object. What had from time to time been effected in the monastic families of the Romish establishment, when the laws of those institutions were relaxed and the spirit evaporated, he wished to do upon a wider theatre and with a nobler purpose" (Southey *Life of Wesley* 265).

A pragmatic philosopher though a somewhat reactionary political thinker, Southey directed most of his energy toward the material and spiritual betterment of the British poor and working classes by opposing the democratic (which he considered anarchic) elements in society and producing accessible works of history (Southey *Life and Correspondence* 380). He filled most of what he wrote in the 1820s with some of the same obsessions about the effect of enthusiasm on the popular conscience — be it Methodist, Evangelical, or Roman Catholic — as he did when he wrote to Coleridge from Portugal, March 28, 1801, "I have heard the people complain of monastic oppression, and distinguish between the friars and the religion they profess. I even fear, so generally is that distinction made, that popery may exist where monkery is abolished" (Southey *Life and Correspondence* 143). Southey's paradox regarding the impossibility of a Roman Catholicism divorced from religious orders is instructive: in these works, as in his letter to Coleridge, monasticism's meaning plays an important role in the social analysis.⁴² In fact, it was so infused in these works that detractors such as Thomas Babington Macauley seized upon it to criticize his work: "His mode of judging is monkish; it is exactly what we should expect from a stern old Benedictine, who had been preserved from many ordinary frailties by the restraints of his situation.... His descriptions of [love] are just what we should hear from a recluse, who knew the passion only from the details of the confessional" (Macauley "[Review of *Sir Thomas More*]" *Edinburgh Review* (Jan. 1830); as qtd in Southey *Critical Heritage* 345-46).

Of course not everyone who read Southey in this period was so quick to diagnose his emotional dyslalia. Indeed, in the twenty-six months following the publication of Southey's *Book of the Church* (Feb. 1824), a series of impassioned works (almost entirely

published by the same shrewd publisher, John Murray) comprised the recrudescence of the Catholic question controversy.⁴³ And at the core of this controversy, among other subjects, was the proper way in which to understand the legacy of monasticism in the western branch of the Christian church. As a bibliophile, Southey emitted the customary sigh of regret regarding the wholesale destruction of monastic muniments and manuscripts: "their contents served the ignorant and careless for waste paper. In this manner, English history sustained irreparable losses, and it is more than probable that some of the works of the ancients perished in the indiscriminate and extensive destruction" (Southey *Book of the Church* 13:280).⁴⁴ After attempting to present the facts as evenly as possible, Southey comes off as decidedly Tory, narrowly Protestant, and peculiar in his lack of citation.⁴⁵ But his bias is not without reason; as Southey understood the political climate, "Considering the connection of infidelity with disaffection in all its grades, and the alliance for political purposes between Catholics, Dissenters, and unbelievers, I think with you that a tremendous convulsion is very likely to be brought about; but I am not without hope that it may be averted...." (Southey *Life and Correspondence* 426). Like Wordsworth in regard to his *Ecclesiastical Sketches* (1822), Southey considered his history of the Anglican church a breastwork against the siege of "Catholics, Dissenters, and unbelievers."⁴⁶

Notwithstanding the evident agenda in Southey's *Book of the Church*, it is both a pleasant read and incredibly succinct in its summation of Anglican Church history. Cranmer's advice to root out the corruptions of the church, for instance, is presented in a manner sympathetic to the aims of the Reformers while laying the blame of monastic devastation at the foot of greedy, shortsighted mercenaries:

Therefore Cranmer advised the dissolution of the monasteries as a measure indispensable for the stability of the Reformation; and that out of their revenues more bishoprics should be founded, so that, dioceses being reduced into less compass, every Bishop might be able to fulfil the duties of his office. And to every Cathedral he would have annexed a college of students in divinity, and clergymen, from whom the diocese should have been supplied.... After a certain number of monasteries had been thus disposed of, others should have been preserved for those purposes of real and undeniable utility connected with their original institution; some as establishments for single women, which public opinion had sanctified, and which the progress of society was rendering in every generation more and more needful; others as seats of literature and religious retirement. Reformed convents, in which members were bound by no vow, and burthened with no superstitious observances, would have been a blessing to the country. (Southey *Book of the Church* 12.242)

The lack of citation in this passage, as in many others, discomfited even his ardent supporters, such as Dr. Howley, Bishop of London, who wrote, "I could have wished for references to the original writers, more especially as Lingard [author of an eight-volume *A History of England* (1819-1830)] has made such a display of his authorities" (Southey *Life and Correspondence* 421). Consequently, the ensuing controversy caused by various responses to Southey had at least one aspect in common, the exacting labor to quote authorities — sometimes questionable authorities, sometimes questionably selected. The consequent hair-splitting helps illustrate how important monasticism's reception was to each faction.

The nephew of Catholic hagiologist Alban Butler (whose popular *Lives of the Saints* (1756-59) underwent numerous reprints during this decade) launched one of the more reputable broadside salvos. Charles Butler's *The Book of the Roman-Catholic Church* (1825) took issue with Southey's lack of citations, and in characteristically urbane prose, employed suggestion and intimation to drive his point home: "for, were not monasteries, the only schools? and was not knowledge most liberally communicated in them?" (Butler *Book of the Roman-Catholic Church* 73). Southey's response, like much of *Vindiciae Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (1826), is a curious type of backpedaling aggression, dressed in red velvet sleeves, over tea and a well-thumbed folio: "Those schools indeed have been of infinite service to mankind... of such service that their beneficial consequences have far outbalanced all the evil, great as that has been and is, of the institutions with which they were connected" (Southey *Vindiciae Ecclesiae Anglicanae* 7.278-79).⁴⁷ Seemingly reeling, Southey returns fire later in the work, when he writes, "I thank God that long conversance with monastic writers has neither blunted my sense of such impieties, nor abated my abhorrence for the system of imposture and wickedness which has been raised and supported by such means" (Southey *Vindiciae Ecclesiae Anglicanae* 10.484). Southey's volleys came from a cannon he traveled to Holland to retrieve, a rare copy of the *Acta Sanctorum*.⁴⁸ From this work, he presents the curious case of Alain de la Roche, the Dominican Friar noteworthy for his introduction of the Rosary as a practice; according to the *Acta Sanctorum*, the Virgin Mary appeared to this brother and disciple of Dominic and "blessed him with her virgin lips...and she fed him at her holy bosom!!!" (Southey *Vindiciae Ecclesiae Anglicanae* 10.487). Continuing his attack upon Alain de la Roche, he writes, "Alain, according to a practice common in his

day among monastic writers, had referred to certain imaginary manuscripts as his authorities" (Southey *Vindiciae Ecclesiae Anglicanae* 10.487).

Others took part in the controversy, each of whom weighed in on the importance of monasticism as they alternately defended and attacked (as was their position) the constitutional connection between the monarchy and the Church of England and its right to maintain Catholic disabilities.⁴⁹ Amid his various efforts to harbor Latin American insurrectionists and Spanish Liberals, recent Anglican convert Joseph Blanco White published twice on the topic.⁵⁰ His points of contention with Butler were chiefly on matters of state — perhaps Blanco White took the hint from his friend Coleridge, who pointed out that Roman Catholicism was "oppugnant to the great principles of a *State*" (Coleridge *Notebooks* 4.5263). Indeed, despite Coleridge's eventual support of the bill for Catholic Emancipation in 1829, the controversy drew him down from his perch on Highgate hill; Coleridge's response came in the form of letters to Blanco White, marginalia to all of the works of the controversy, several entries on the "Monachomanichaeon Ethics" (i.e., the monastic dualism in Roman Catholic principles that Coleridge denounced) in his notebooks, and the rollicking poem *Sancti Dominici Pallium* (Coleridge *Notebooks* 4.5370).⁵¹ William Cobbett relented long enough on his attack on the government's fiscal irresponsibility regarding paper money to prepare material for this controversy, including the blistering assault on church tithes (compared to monastic benevolence) in *The Poor Man's Book of the Church* (1832). And Southey himself retorted to Charles Butler that the defining principle of a church was similar to the working of the British constitution:

It is not there, Sir, that we must look for that Church to which the promise was made, nor for the head of that Church who made it. That church is neither to be found under the Eastern Patriarch, nor the Western Pope. It existed among the Pyrenees and the Alps...where the Abigenses have been destroyed with fire and sword, and where at this present day the Vaudois in patience and in poverty bear testimony to the Gospel. It existed in Bohemia and Britain; wherever two or three were gathered together in their Saviour's name, wherever the covenant of grace was accepted in meekness and in truth. It existed even among heretics and monks and friars,..[sic] more erring than all heretics. (Southey *Vindiciae Ecclesiae Anglicanae* 9.397)

In each of these responses, monasticism played a role to the greater debate over the principles of Church and State.

The debate launched by Southey's slender *Book of the Church* drew forth one of the most feared writers of the period: William Cobbett. Cobbett was no stranger to contemporary controversy.⁵² Prosecuted several times for libel and menaced with prison for most of his writing life, he made a career of character assassination. Along the way Cobbett also mastered the practice of justifying the prejudices of his audience (a group that is sometimes difficult to separate from his relentless parade of self-promotion, egotism, and sometimes transparent ambitions bugle-blasted across his hundred volumes of periodical contributions), and he bolstered flimsy political arguments with reductive slogans, what appeared to be common sense, and memorable epithets of his opponents. His political positions varied much across his career, from the rabid anti-French federalism he espoused against Benjamin Franklin Bache in the 1790s to the equally

frothy radical agitation he employed against Church and State during the post Napoleonic wars; he was a writer capable of most sanguinely abusing Paine's politics and then, within two decades, literally dragging his bones across the ocean to sing his praises. The only constants in his career were his heartfelt attachments to varying causes and his forcible prose.

By 1819, Cobbett's populist politics became tainted by political ambition. Seeking to serve in the House of Commons for Coventry, he pressed the issue for a decade before he stood for Oldham. Nevertheless, his pursuit of political office did not mitigate his increasingly vigorous defenses of the working class. From *Paper against Gold* (1815) to *Noble Nonsense! or, Cobbett's Exhibition of the Stupid and Insolent Pamphlet of Lord Grenville* (1828) through *Cobbett's Poor Man's Friend, or, A Defence of the Rights of Those who Do the Work and Fight the Battles* (1830), Cobbett attacked the status quo, defending sailors, soldiers, laborers, manufacturers, and the poor against repressive taxes and acts.⁵³ In advocating a populist ideology, Cobbett took increasingly radical positions. In "On the Duties of Parsons and the Institution and Object of Tithes," for example, he points out the hypocrisy apparent in the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge — and, by extension, the Anglican — position on tithes:

But, above all things, when our parsons bid us look at the piety of our ancestors in this article of tithes, we ought to bear in mind, that the parson of our ancestors *remained always with his flock*; that he was allowed to hire *no substitute*; that he could have but *one living*; that he could *never change from one to another* but must remain *for life* with the church to which he was first appointed. (Cobbett *Cobbett's Sermons* 279)

Cobbett's venom toward non-residence and plurality certainly would have been chargeable for contempt were it not for the fact that the repressive Six Acts of a few years earlier and the recent disorder resulting from the Queen Caroline trials had fomented such mob violence that many of those in a position to raise their hackles at such attacks upon the establishment chose to ignore it in the courts.

Remarkably, Cobbett's appeal to history chipped away at the stereotypic associations that misinformed much of his readership's ideas of monasticism via illustrated chapbooks of Foxe's martyrs, broadside ballads of "The Friar and his Boy," for instance, or the pantomimes, blue-books, and tales of Gothic horror. As Cobbett became more emphatic in his Radical populist rhetoric — which had been temporarily moderated upon his return from America, Tom Paine's bones and all — he became more sanguine in his attack upon the Established Church's position on monasticism. Monasticism presented Cobbett the opportunity to make two critiques: the failure of Tudor monarchs to replace the contributions of monasteries with any enduring social policy excepting the Poor Laws, and the recognition that even monasticism preserved a more equitable distribution of wealth than modern banking and Anglican establishments had. Furthermore, Cobbett considered the ironic connection between Reformation writers on monastic celibacy and Parson Malthus's exhortation of the merits of moral restraint too rich to leave alone:⁵⁴

This is a fact notorious in every part of the world whither the sound of the words *Catholic* and *Protestant* has reached. Well, then, if this objection to the Catholic church were well founded, what becomes of the powers of that "*moral restraint*," which these speakers of "lies in hypocrisy," have now, all of a sudden, discovered

for the use of the whole body of the labouring classes of this kingdom? (Cobbett *Cobbett's Sermons* 262)

Cobbett couples the defense of monasticism with his assault on Whiggish and Liberal politics, constantly championing ancestral wisdom. The battle over the poor laws, for instance, provided an occasion to excoriate Elizabethan statutes — and reached further back into England's history to illustrate a well-ordered society.⁵⁵

Cobbett by no means received monastic history uncritically; nor did he gloss over its more disagreeable elements. His cogent prose maintains its potency for not only its immediacy but also its bare display of facts, no matter how impassioned the exposition. Curiously, Cobbett's studies led him to consider the hermit a type of church-supported religious recluse:

The Hermits, the Monks, the Nuns, and all the endless impostors of ancient times who indulged in laziness at the expence of the industrious, affected peculiar devotion to God, dedicated, as they termed it, their bodies to the Lord....The fanatics of our day are, only in another form, the successors of the Hermits, the Monks, and the Nuns; and, they are still more mischievous inasmuch as their teaching tends to produce *sluggishness* in others as well as to maintain it in themselves. (Cobbett *Cobbett's Sermons* 122-23)

What is more remarkable in Cobbett's writings from this period is his insistence that the economic failures following Wellington's victory at Waterloo and the societal failures to provide for the poor are inextricably linked to Henry VIII's dissolution of the monasteries and the subsequent stopgap measures passed in the attempt to relieve the poor and the working class.

As Cobbett became more convinced of this fact, he brought his formidable energies to bear upon Reformation history. As he was preparing for print *Cobbett's Poor Man's Friend; or, A Defence of the Rights of Those who Do the Work and Fight the Battles* (1824), he was simultaneously publishing *A history of the Protestant "reformation," in England and Ireland; showing how that event has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people in those countries* (1824), which he amended and expanded twice.⁵⁶ Cobbett was quite careful in explaining that his history was meant to show the social consequences of the Reformation in England, which he deemed "pauperism established by law" (Cobbett *History of Protestant Reformation* 11.332.274).⁵⁷ In one passage, for instance, he reminds his supposed retractors that:

Those who pretend to answer these contentions only rail against the personal character of priests and cardinals and popes, and against rites and ceremonies and articles of faith and rules of discipline, matters with which I have never meddled, and which have very little to do with my subject, my object, as the title of my work expresses, being to show that the "Reformation" has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people of England and Ireland. (Cobbett *History of Protestant Reformation* 12.350.289)⁵⁸

Cobbett makes the obviously absurd claim that the dissolution of the monasteries single-handedly led to the long-term ruin of the country; his understanding of monasticism becomes central as he details "the various ways in which they were greatly useful to the community; and I shall especially show how they operated in behalf of the labouring and poorer classes of the people" (Cobbett *History of Protestant Reformation* 2.54.30).

Perhaps out of consideration for his audience or perhaps out of consideration for the intricacies of sustaining an argument which maintains them, Cobbett deliberately chooses to ignore monastic distinctions. The various orders of monks and friars, he writes, "had different rules for their government and mode of life, and were distinguished by different dresses. With these distinctions we have here, however, little to do; for we shall, by-and-by, see them all involved in one common devastation" (Cobbett *History of Protestant Reformation* 2.56.31). Cobbett here also recognizes hermits as distinct — mainly because of the historical development of rules and orders:

This mode of life began by single persons separating themselves from the world and living in complete solitude, passing all their days in prayer, and dedicating themselves wholly to the serving of God. These were called hermits, and their conduct drew towards them great respect. In time, such men, or men having a similar propensity, formed themselves into societies, and agreed to live together in one house and to possess things in common. (Cobbett *History of Protestant Reformation* 2.58.32)

Cobbett's retention of the religious connotation of hermit is not singular, though in light of the narrative of the natural history of monastic terms it certainly appears to be giving way to the Romantic (and romanticized) notion of solitude. His recommendation of monasticism as an emollient for the blisters of society, however, is unusual, to say the least; for in his assessment of the progress of society, he continually points to the government's failures to supply the services provided by the monasteries:⁵⁹

A monastery was the center of a circle in the country, naturally drawing to it all that were in need of relief, advice and protection, and containing a body of men or

of women having no cares of their own, and having wisdom to guide the inexperienced and wealth to relieve the distressed. And was it a good thing then, to plunder and devastate these establishments: was it a reformation to squander estates thus employed upon lay persons, who would not, who could not, and did not, do any part or particle of those benevolent facts and acts of public utility which naturally arose out of the monastic institutions? (Cobbett *History of Protestant Reformation* 5.152.113)

Cobbett's distillation of Reformation politics, reductive as it is, lays bare his equally contentious assumptions about monasticism and its social utility.

Regarding the modern detractors of monasticism, Cobbett squares off most strongly against Hume and his *History of England* (1776). Associating Hume with various apologists of the reformation — citing Gilbert Burnet's "vile pen" (Cobbett *History of Protestant Reformation* 3.83.53) — Cobbett quotes one particularly vitriolic passage from Hume's *History of England* (1776), reading it as the vindication of the monastic "plunderings" during the reign of Henry VIII (Cobbett *History of Protestant Reformation* 4.129.95).⁶⁰ Cobbett controverts Hume by undermining his sources. In quoting Bishop Tanner's *Notitia Monastica* (1695), whom Hume also cites, Cobbett addles Hume "and all the revilers of monastic life" (Cobbett *History of Protestant Reformation* 4.135.101).⁶¹ For in Hume, who presented the history of Henry VIII's reign as producing good out of suffering (cf. Cobbett *History of Protestant Reformation* 16.478.400), Cobbett found a way in which to contrast the supposed prosperity of the present with the apparent plenty in the past: the "half-warmed and half-lighted" modern inn complete that provides a reception "precisely proportional to the presumed length of

your purse" versus the generous monastic "hospitality banished for ever from the land"
(Cobbett *History of Protestant Reformation* 5.156.116).

Chapter 5

*"A most feeble bog-grass of Dilettantism all the crop we reap from it":
The Use of Monasticism by Early Victorian Writers, 1833-1850*

As a measure to secure the state against the growing discontent within its borders, Wellington's gambit of Catholic Emancipation — like many political concessions guided by appeasement — failed to deliver its promise of harmony. The clamor over Catholic Emancipation did not cease after the fateful weekend from Friday, April 13 to Monday, April 16, 1829, when King George IV permanently altered the character of the coronation oath (and its promise to maintain the supremacy of the Church of England) by signing the bill into law: the radicals, led by Daniel O'Connell, felt the bill but a minor step; the twenty bishops in the House of Lords who voted against its third reading unwittingly drew popular criticism; and most Irish Catholics saw few direct improvements by a law that disenfranchised a portion of their number. Each party believed the concessions it made were unfair, elevating other interests above its own. Instead of securing nearly one third of the population in a union defined by broad equality before the law, this act generated more discontent and agitation, suggesting to radicals, such as those agitating for Irish home rule, that strong-arm measures with the threat of mob violence would be effective. As a consequence, the months and years that followed the passing of the act saw far-reaching additional reforms that, in turn, galvanized a strong defense of the Church of England's privileges.

The struggle in the aftermath of the bill's passing seemed apocalyptic — the first locomotive accident at the opening of one of the first locomotive lines, continued Irish agitation, rick-burnings, machine riots, a cholera epidemic, farm labor riots, glossolalia at Edward Irving's chapel, crop failures, and another French revolution. During the crisis

and reform of this decade, self-appointed prophets interpreted these signs to whoever would listen and sketched out half-baked schemes detailing the straight and narrow that Parliament, the Whig ministry of Lord Grey, the Crown, or the British people must follow in order to avoid national disaster. The groups who gathered around these oracles united against the chaos following George IV's death, and William IV's coronation reinforced the sense of a world turned upside down: religious dissenters broke bread with liberal Whigs, trade unionists combined with both farmers and merchants, and dissipated aristocrats saw eye-to-eye with bishops and conservative Tories. The forebodings of doom drove politicians to action. Parliament observed a national day of fasting and humiliation in January 1832, passed a drastic reform of the political system (which extended suffrage, among other things) in June 1832, emancipated all slaves within the British empire in August 1833, rewrote the operation of poor laws in August 1834, and phased out the centuries-old church tithe system in 1836. Yet even these immoderate measures were not enough to slake the public's thirst for change.

Few would disagree that institutional change was needed. Indeed, if social criticism of the nation's condition was not a gross domestic product in the 1830s, it must only be so because of competition from foreign critics like Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. In general, social critics fomented class antipathies and identified pet theories about why British industry underwent the unprecedented economic slump of 1837-1842. The causes identified by the critics all pointed to some failure of an institution. Radicals from trade unions exposed the government's inefficiencies in responding to the rapid growth of manufacture — accompanied by massive migration, population change, and periodic unemployment (or, in the terms of the time, over-population) — in the northern

cities. Chartists focused on six oversights of the Reform Bill of 1832, and connected economic distress with the lack of political representation. Agitation by religious dissenters in the 1820s exposed administrative inefficiencies and fiscal irresponsibility at Oxford and Cambridge, raising the stakes during the public debate over the coincidental founding of two new universities in England. The most notable of these provocations came from self-appointed prophets who could not help but notice, like the Tudor barons three hundred years earlier, the wealth of the established church. Clamor over the condition of the poor laid bare the presence of medieval tithes, disordered church rates, and mismanagement of ecclesiastical records. The ensuing political battle over the meaning of a national established church further segmented the British people.

One of the responses in defense of the Anglican church came from a small but vocal cabal of ministers associated with Oxford University. Neatly packaged as the Oxford Movement, the parties barely coalesced for any substantial period. Following John Keble's July 14, 1833 assize sermon, in which he stridently declaimed Parliament's dissolution of two Irish bishoprics as an act of Erastianism that signaled national apostasy, some dozen theologians at Oxford initially banded together to thwart the Prime Minister's ambitions. Many privately agreed with John Keble's protégé John Henry Newman in his September 9, 1833 *Tract for the Time*: "There is an unexceptional sense in which a clergyman may, nay, must be *political*. And above all, when the Nation interferes with the rights and possessions of the Church, it can with even less grace complain of the Church interfering with the Nation" (Newman "Tract 2: The Catholic Church" *Tracts for the Times* 22). Clerics and students gathered arm-in-arm to square off against the newly reformed Parliament. Nonetheless, their unity was short-lived; the

Oxford Movement splintered off in various directions — High Church Anglicanism, Anglo-Catholicism, ritualism, and, eventually, Roman Catholicism.¹

The movement produced bitter fruits. Besides sundering the traditional connection between the Tory party and the Anglican ministers, it lead dozens of young, energetic divinity students to convert to Roman Catholicism when Lord John Russell's policies regarding Bishop Hampden and Mr. Gorham made it untenable to maintain Anglo-Catholic positions on sacramental grace in the late 1840s. Furthermore, the ministers of the "Oxford Movement," such as Bishop Wilberforce, nearly destroyed the state church when they contemplated the secession and creation of a Free Episcopal Church out of the ashes of the failing established one. The movement, however, did not begin with such destructive impulses; as a High Church reaction to evangelicalism, its beginning captivated the imagination of a generation of curates by reinvigorating devotional, romantic, and pastoral traditions. What few could see was the disruption, dismay, and desolation that lay in its wake. Initially inspired by John Keble's sacramental and romantic *The Christian Year* and his demonstration therein of the innate connection between poetry and theology, the Oxonians of this persuasion ruffled so many feathers in the various colleges that it led to political battles over university positions (preventing, for instance, the religious poet Isaac Williams from assuming Keble's mantle as Oxford's Professor of Poetry in 1841). Influenced by Pusey's devotional sermons, advocating earnestness in fasting, pastoral celibacy, and "high sacramental language about the Real Presence" (Chadwick *Victorian Church* 1.205), the followers who remained in the Anglican communion after the Gorham decision were tethered and mistrusted by miter and crown alike. Roused by Newman's voluminous writing for the *British Critic*, *The*

Tracts for the Times, and the several publication projects he oversaw (such as *Lives of the Saints*), they found themselves trapped between the Scylla of Newman's compelling Catholic interpretation of the Thirty-Nine Articles and the Charybdis of the redoubled No-Popery response at the discovery of Newman's monastic experiment at Littlemore (1842-45).

The movement had a significant impact upon the popular understanding of monasticism, directly and indirectly coloring many of its literary treatments during the first decade of Victoria's reign.² Professor of Poetry John Keble, Regius Professor of Hebrew Edward Pusey, and Oriel Fellow and St. Mary's Vicar John Henry Newman each espoused Catholic sentiments in their polemical tracts aimed at curbing Socinian, liberal, and bourgeois tendencies found in their communion. They sought to rouse the heart to action, to remind their flock that their church maintained the teachings and practice of the apostles and the pre-Nicene council early Christians. In bringing the struggles of the fourth-century church to the foreground, they aimed to remind their communicants of the grandeur of their church's history, embracing celibacy, fasting, dogmatic hierarchy, and, to the horror of dissenters and Evangelicals alike, monasticism:

Now someone has told me that, in defending monasticism, I have become peculiar. I can but throw myself in answer upon the general Church and avow (as I do) that if any one will show me any opinion of mine which the Primitive Church condemned, I will renounce it. (Newman as qtd in Kollar 9)³

As an Anglican, Newman characteristically deferred to the primitive church, replete with its self-flagellating hermits, emaciated pillar-saints, and anchorites, as a means of defending the Church of England's claim of catholic and apostolic succession.

While the Whig reformers in Parliament continued to rework the very fabric of Britain's institutions, these shepherds of a new High Church embraced the principles of asceticism and sought to restore the Church's medieval glory. The Oxonians were not a lone voice in the wilderness, however; other groups were swept up in the ebullience of Britain's medieval religious heritage. Two groups stand out: the group of Cambridge undergraduates led by John Mason Neale who instituted the Camden Society (later the Ecclesiological Society) to study and define church architecture, and the group of junior Tory politicians led by Benjamin Disraeli known as Young England.⁴ Besides these groups, which drew notice and sometimes ridicule from various periodicals, the Oxford Movement's rise in notoriety coincided with several other significant developments. Roman Catholic convert A. W. N. Pugin published his exposition on the decay of taste in *Contrasts; or a Parallel between the Architecture of the 15th and 19th Centuries* (1836), encouraging Sir George Gilbert Scott, G. E. Street, and William Butterfield to revive Gothic architecture. Alongside the construction of Gothic-inspired churches and civic buildings came the resurrection of religious orders. In 1837, Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle — well-known as the Catholic translator of Montalembert's *The Chronicle of the Life of St. Elizabeth of Hungary* (1836; trans. 1839) — funded Pugin's design and construction of Mount St. Bernard, a working Cistercian monastery at Charnwood Forest, Grace Dieu in Leicestershire (1837).

With the founding of Mount St. Bernard, the revival of monastic orders in Great Britain began anew. Yet new orders were not merely restricted to the Roman Catholic orders resurrected in Britain: Trappists, Rosminians (1835), Passionists (1841), and

Redemptorists (1843); High Churchmen who subscribed to Tractarian beliefs found in the monastic ideal a means

by which Catholic feelings are to be detained, secured, sobered, and trained heavenwards...[to] make the Church more efficient — more suitable to the needs of the heart, more equal to the external pressures.... [to provide] more services — more vestments and decorations in worship. (Newman to H.E. Manning, Sept. 1, 1839, as qtd in Ker 178-79)

Anglican brotherhoods came and went quickly, including Newman's Littlemore (April 25, 1842-October 9, 1845), fellow Tractarian F. W. Faber's Society of Saint Joseph in Elton, Rutlandshire (1843-Nov. 1845), and Scotsman Alexander Penrose Forbes's Guild of St. Mary the Virgin (1844-1845).⁵ Southey's dream of Anglican sisterhoods would have much more success, despite their limited numbers, than any of the Anglican monasteries, drawing satire from the pundits at *Punch* and an inspection bill from the House of Commons.⁶ In short, after an absence from the British landscape of nearly one hundred and fifty years, monastic orders for both men and women became part of British society and the Anglican communion, growing rapidly until Pope Pius IX restored Roman Catholic bishops in Great Britain in 1849, and violent No-Popery sentiment, virtually absent since the Gordon riots of 1780, once again emerged in public.

-1-

The most emphatic prophet of the economic gloom between 1837 and 1842 was a mathematics tutor named Thomas Carlyle. Raised in the bosom of strict Calvinistic Presbyterianism, Carlyle approached monasticism with an ingrained antipathy to religious orders; yet his development as social prophet in the abyss of the 1830s brought

with it a recognition of monasticism's lesson to his times. Unlike the Tractarians, Carlyle approached the benefits of monasticism from its social organization not its historical meaning, mainly because the issues that concerned Carlyle were primarily contemporary social issues, not the characteristics of the early church and its institutions. This is not to say that Carlyle divorced the spiritual aspects of leadership from the practical ones.

Indeed, Carlyle's clearest presentation of the "Monastic Ideal" — as witnessed in his *Past and Present* — is really a presentation of the "Monastic Real," a way of organization which unites both the spiritual and the visible, a celebration of leadership which is both spiritually grounded and practically focused. The monk gave Carlyle a pattern to attack the materialism of Jeremy Bentham, David Ricardo, and the Utilitarians.

Carlyle's focus on social order was quite distinct from that of the Utilitarians, and he made this point early in "Signs of the Times" (1829), in which he distances himself from the materialist position by uniting the external and the spiritual under the rubric of dynamics, and then denigrating the reductive mechanics by comparison:⁷

This is not a Religious age. Only the material, the immediately practical, not the divine or spiritual, is important to us. The infinite, absolute character of Virtue has passed into a finite conditional one; it is no longer a worship of the Beautiful and Good; but a calculation of the Profitable. Worship, indeed, in any sense, is not recognised among us, or is mechanically explained into Fear of pain, or Hope of pleasure. Our true Deity is Mechanism. It has subdued external Nature for us, and we think it will do all other things. (Carlyle "Signs of the Times" (1829) 478-79)

With this distinction, Carlyle sought to illustrate that the recent repeal of the Test Acts and the Catholic Emancipation Bill were misguided efforts because they revealed a lack

of living religion: such social reforms were considered merely from a utilitarian vantage point by Whig statesmen resembling Pecksniffs in their short-sighted bourgeois outlook. To illustrate this point further, Carlyle quips, "In like manner, among ourselves, when it is thought that religion is declining, we have only to vote half-a-million's worth of bricks and mortar, and build new churches" (Carlyle "Signs of the Times" 468). Carlyle's point, simply put, is that contemporary thought abounded in materialism and lacked living faith — that "it is no longer the moral, religious, spiritual condition of the people that is our concern, but their physical, practical, economical condition, as regulated by public laws" (Carlyle "Signs of the Times" 472).

In this early example of diagnosing society's ills, Carlyle focuses primarily upon the distinction between what is temporal and material and what is eternal and intangible. In this essay Carlyle has not located his paradigm for noble and true social improvement; instead, his essay alternates between epigonic lament and a guarded, if not articulated, optimism:⁸

To judge by the loud clamour of our Constitution-builders, Statists, Economists, directors, creators, reformers of Public Societies; in a word, all manner of Mechanists, from the Cartwright up to the Code-maker; and by the nearly total silence of all Preachers and Teachers who should give voice to Poetry, Religion and Morality, we might fancy either that man's Dynamical nature was, to all spiritual intents, extinct, or else, so perfected that nothing more was to be made of it by the old means; and henceforth only in his Mechanical contrivances did any hope exist for him. (Carlyle "Signs of the Times" 477-78)

Though it may seem here that Carlyle laments the lack of "dynamical" nature — something our contemporary mind would liken to spiritual nature — he points out elsewhere that it is only through the "right co-ordination" and "vigorous forwarding" of both dynamical and mechanical natures that effective social change is to occur: "Undue cultivation of the inward or Dynamical province leads to idle, visionary, impracticable course, and especially in rude eras, to Superstition and Fanaticism, with their long train of baleful and well-known evils" (Carlyle "Signs of the Times" 478).

Carlyle's sole mention of asceticism within this essay occurs when he compares the modern newspaper editors to mendicant friars:

The true Church of England, at this moment, lies in the Editors of its Newspapers. These preach to the people daily, weekly; admonishing kings themselves; advising peace or war, with an authority which only the first Reformers, and a long-past class of Popes, were possessed of; inflicting moral censure; imparting moral encouragement, consolation, edification; in all ways diligently 'administering the Discipline of the Church.' It may be said too, that in private disposition the new preachers somewhat resemble the Mendicant Friars of old times: outwardly full of holy zeal; inwardly not without stratagem, and hunger for terrestrial things. (Carlyle "Signs of the Times" 482)

In this quotation, Carlyle seems to uphold the strict Scotch Presbyterian assessment of monasticism, as a spiritually-diseased and hypocritical species of Roman Catholics.⁹

What may seem to be a blanket condemnation of asceticism is better understood as Protestant shorthand for spiritual abuses for worldly gain. Carlyle is attacking the lack of spiritual leadership from the established church more than the institution of monachism.

If anything, Carlyle's precision regarding the distinction — something not quite rigorously observed in his period — lends credence to the thought that he was still contemplating a monk's role in the world.¹⁰

When Carlyle next approaches the issue of monasticism, he uses the distancing technique of a fictitious doctor of things-in-general to articulate ideas closely aligned with monasticism. Herr Teufelsdröck claims, for example, "Obedience is our universal duty and destiny; wherein whoso will not bend must break" (Carlyle *Sartor Resartus* 75). Such a statement, as it implies, is not far from Benedict's rule regarding self-renunciation (v. *Regula Benedicti*, 5). Indeed, Herr Teufelsdröck's spiritual progression from the "Everlasting No" to the "Centre of Indifference" to the "Everlasting Yea" is met with a subsequent understanding of the importance of self-annihilation: "*Selbsttödtung* ... the first preliminary moral Act, Annihilation of Self" (Carlyle *Sartor Resartus* 141). Here, Carlyle makes an attempt to express the way in which the "dynamic" forces he addressed in "Signs of the Times" might be established.¹¹ As in Benedictine monasticism, the success of the order depends upon the individual's discipline to renounce his will to obey authority. Put another way, self-centeredness eventually leads to ennui — and eventually to its most degraded state, *s'ennuyer*, or, satiated self-boredom — because the center is located within the self. Carlyle, through Teufelsdröck, explains,

Man's Unhappiness, as I construe, comes of his Greatness; it is because there is an Infinite in him, which with all his cunning he cannot quite bury under the Finite. Will the whole Finance Ministers and Upholsterers and Confectioners of modern Europe undertake, in jointstock company, to make one Shoeblack HAPPY? They

cannot accomplish it, above an hour or two; for the Shoeblack also has a Soul quite other than his Stomach.... (Carlyle *Sartor Resartus* 143)

Carlyle again castigates the dominant empirical philosophies of his time, noting that the impulse to renounce oneself is sometimes a radical, and perhaps an essential, way to form a society.¹²

Renunciation is not only a means to improve a society but also a way to improve one's life:

So true is it, what I then say, that the fraction of Life can be increased in value not so much by increasing your Numerator as by lessening your Denominator. Nay, unless my Algebra deceive me, Unity itself divided by Zero will give Infinity. Make thy claim of wages a zero, then; thou hast the world under thy feet. Well did the Wisest of our time write: 'It is only with Renunciation (*Entsagen*) that Life, properly speaking, can be said to begin.' (Carlyle *Sartor Resartus* 144)

Carlyle's above repackaging of Richter's Germanic Idealism dovetails with an aspect of early nineteenth-century society, the struggle between moral and proper self-sacrifice and the point at which that pursuit became a perversion of itself in its navel-gazing egotism. Carlyle cuts the Gordian knot of this dilemma by proclaiming *Entsagen* an exercise in liberation from the selfhood; in other words, should one direct his life toward something beyond the scope of what he can perceive (and even beyond what he can conceive), he would benefit from the practice by removing the barriers imposed by his own being.

The crux of the issue that Carlyle has not resolved, though he hints at it in *Sartor Resartus*, is the connection between self-renunciation and community-building. In the previous quotation, he suggests that unity — which may mean alternately within oneself

and within one's world — can lead to godly infinitude only through this renunciation. What he has not explained, at least not in *Sartor Resartus*, is how one can be part of a societal improvement through self-renunciation. He had not yet worked out the connection in print, though he would soon seize upon the monk as the paradigm to suit his purpose. Though he does not focus upon monastic principles per se in *Sartor Resartus*, he discovers that the meditative retreat might be the only way to avoid spiritual and personal destruction:

To look through the Shows of things into Things themselves he is led and compelled. The 'Passivity' given him by birth is fostered by all turns of his fortune. Everywhere cast out, like oil out of water, from mingling in any Employment, in any public Communion, he has no portion but Solitude, and a life of Meditation. The whole energy of his existence is directed, through long years, on one task: that of enduring pain, if he cannot cure it. Thus everywhere do the shows of things oppress him, withstand him, threaten him with fearfullest destruction: only by victoriously penetrating into Things themselves can he find peace and a stronghold. (Carlyle *Sartor Resartus* 155)

Though Carlyle has not cast his idea of self-improvement in the trappings of a monk, his claims in this passage suggest that he is struggling at this point to discover a symbol that would unite the spiritual and the material.

In the six lectures that comprise *Heroes and Hero-Worship*, Carlyle provides many examples of what heroism is, without developing fully the social ramifications of the hero. Once again, Self-Annihilation is posited as the true example of heavenly behavior: "Islam means in its way Denial of the Self, Annihilation of the Self. This is yet

the highest Wisdom that Heaven has revealed to our Earth" (Carlyle *Heroes and Hero Worship* 292). We also are told, in a manner that evokes his earlier proclamation on self-improvement as ideal, "The meaning of life here on earth might be defined as consisting in this: To unfold your *self*, to work what thing you have the faculty for" (Carlyle *Heroes and Hero Worship* 449). Still, we come across the same vagueness regarding the distinction between Mechanic and Dynamic (or Moral) forces:

In one of [Goethe's] Delineations, in *Meister's Travels* it is, the hero comes upon a Society of men with very strange ways, one of which was this: 'We require,' says the Master, 'that each of our people shall restrict himself in one direction,' shall go right against his desire in one matter, and *make* himself do the thing he does not wish, 'should we allow him the greater latitude on all other sides.' There seems to me a great justness in this. Enjoying things which are pleasant; that is not the evil: it is the reducing of our moral self to slavery by them that is (Carlyle *Heroes and Hero Worship* 309)

As this quotation implies, heroism is being able to choose a course of action against self-motivated and self-serving desires. Still, Carlyle does not make clear what truly separates one's personal whims from what is morally right:

What is the chief end of man here below? Mahomet has answered this question, in a way that might put some of *us* to shame! He does not, like a Bentham, a Paley, take Right and Wrong, and calculate the profit and loss, ultimate pleasure of one and of the other; and summing all up by addition and subtraction into a net result, ask you, Whether on the whole the Right does not preponderate considerably? No, it is not *better* to do the one than the other; the one is to the

other as life is to death, — as Heaven is to Hell. (Carlyle *Heroes and Hero Worship* 309)

Carlyle clearly rejects thinking of morality in empirical terms; he seems repulsed by moral flowcharts or delineated principles. Nonetheless, his profession that one is "*better*" than the other itself calls forth a degree of rational comparison — even if he catalogs it using subjective headings such as heaven and hell, or life and death. That is, Carlyle wants to be able to present (or at least maintain) a certain degree of moral certitude, but he is not yet able to provide a clear sense of how one would initiate this heroic life.

Like Coleridge's poet-as-genius in *Biographia Literaria*, Carlyle's hero is motivated by something beyond the self; but unlike Coleridge's isolated figure, Carlyle's hero is a product of a healthy religious spirit operating within a particular tradition, and perhaps directed by a community of believers:

It is a calumny on men to say that they are roused to heroic action by ease, hope of pleasure, recompense, — sugar-plums of any kind, in this world or the next! In the meanest mortal there lies something nobler.... They wrong men greatly who say he is to be seduced by ease. Difficulty, abnegation, martyrdom, death are the *allurements* that act on the heart of man. Kindle the inner genial life of him, you have a flame that burns-up all lower considerations.... Not by flattering our appetites; no, by awakening the Heroic that slumbers in every heart, can any Religion gain followers. (Carlyle *Heroes and Hero Worship* 304-5)

Surely Carlyle is aware that "abnegation" is not an "allurement" acting on man in any widespread sense. In addition, the phrasing is rather suspect in its certitude: men follow heroes and proceed religiously when such an impetus fires the moral aspect of one's soul

— and here Carlyle links these elements with principles that most Protestants would equate with Roman Catholic abuses of religiosity.

Because Carlyle has linked the heroic with struggle and has glorified renunciation, it follows logically that he would consider the monk as an emblem of that characteristic he finds lacking in his times. Carlyle does so in his next lecture, which focuses upon the man of letters. Though he is quite certainly avoiding the celebration of the Roman Catholic monk, for all of the obvious reasons of audience, he identifies the struggle of the author with monasticism:

Who knows but, in that same 'best possible organisation' as yet far off, Poverty may still enter as an important element? What if our Men of Letters, Men setting-up to be Spiritual Heroes, were still *then*, as they now are, a kind of 'involuntary monastic order;' bound still to this same ugly Poverty, — till they had tried what was in it too, till they had learned to make it too do for them! (Carlyle *Heroes and Hero Worship* 395)

With all the caveats Carlyle has made regarding monasticism — such as the abuses of the mendicant friars, the errors of the monks on Mt. Athos, and the "religious reticence" found in many monastic works — he still arrives at an idea, that is one of the formal principles at the basis of monasticism (Carlyle *Past and Present* 60).¹³ In other words, Carlyle suggests here that the struggles of an individual to maintain vows against his will are struggles uniting each in a common brotherhood of spiritual heroism.

When Carlyle places monasticism at the center of his discussion, it is found within his diagnosis of contemporary societal ills, and he uses the portrait of Abbot

Samson as a contrast and as a paradigm. Once again, he clearly notes that monasticism in practice typically compromised the ideals it held as central:

It is true, in three centuries much imperfection accumulates; many an Ideal, monastic or other, shooting forth into practice as it can, grows to a strange enough Reality; and we have to ask with amazement, Is this your Ideal? For, alas, the Ideal always has to grow in the Real, and to seek out its bed and board there, often in a very sorry way. . . . Ideal monasteries, once grown real, do seek bed and breakfast in this world, do find it more and more successfully, do get at length too intent on finding it, exclusively intent on that. They are then like diseased corpulent bodies fallen idiotic, which merely eat and sleep; *ready* for 'dissolution,' by a Henry the Eighth or some other. (Carlyle *Past and Present* 57-58)

Besides the suggestion that the "diseased" institutions should be eradicated when they no longer serve their purpose, Carlyle — again — makes it clear that no wishful reconstruction of the past will serve to improve modern problems:

Know that 'religion' is no Morrison's Pill from without, but a reawakening of thy own Self from within: — and, above all, leave me alone of thy 'religions' and 'new religions' here and elsewhere! I am weary of this croaking for a Morrison's-Pill religion; for any and for every such. I want none such; and discern all such to be impossible. The resuscitation of old liturgies fallen dead; much more, the manufacture of new liturgies that will never be alive: how hopeless! (Carlyle *Past and Present* 232)

Perhaps directing his address to the Oxonians, Carlyle explains that reconstituting older institutions will only draw attention to their inadequacy.¹⁴ The immediate impulse one

has when discovering an ideal, such as the medieval ideal espoused by writers ranging from John Mason Neale to F. W. Faber, fails when the change in context is not given due consideration. What Carlyle sees as the key to excavating the past is to establish the ideal, being careful to distill those elements that are universal.¹⁵

In Carlyle's dusting and examining of Abbot Samson, we witness several aspects of monasticism that, before *Past and Present*, Carlyle had associated with heroism: intolerance with spiritual or material "rubbish," wisdom being informed by having developed morals (which he elsewhere associates with religiosity and with dynamic human nature), a renunciation of the individual will in favor of obedience to higher principles, and a balance between man's mechanic and spiritual nature. Of the intolerance to societal wrongs, Carlyle points out one of Abbot Samson's first actions in office:

But we have to record also, with a lively satisfaction, that spiritual rubbish is as little tolerated in Samson's Monastery as material. With due rigour, Willelmus Sacrista, and his bibations and *tacenda* are, at the earliest opportunity, softly yet irrevocably put an end to. The bibations, namely, had to end; even the building where they used to be carried on was razed from the soil of St. Edmundsbury....

Drunken dissolute Monks are a class of persons who had better keep out of Abbot Samson's way. (Carlyle *Past and Present* 93)

That Abbot Samson understands the burden of such degradation is apparent. But Carlyle is not content with leaving such a decision to be made simply through rational appeal. For, if he did, he would be advocating the empirical positions of rationalists and utilitarians — both of whom he considered to be wrong-headed because they had divided the dynamic, or spiritual, nature from the material. Instead, Carlyle adds, "That he was a

just clear-headed man, this, as the basis of all true talent, is presupposed. How can a man, without clear vision in his heart first of all, have any clear vision in the head?" (Carlyle *Past and Present* 97).

That Carlyle finds Abbot Samson to be such a paradigm says much about both what he considers to be the proper relation of leader to society as well as what he deems essential to the proper workings of a society in general. As a monk who rises to abbot, Samson exemplifies twofold the primacy of obedience in a leader. Carlyle writes,

Had not this Samson served, in his way, a right good apprenticeship to governing; namely, the harshest slave-apprenticeship to obeying! Walk this world with no friend in it but God and St. Edmund, you will either fall into the ditch, or learn a good many things. To learn obeying is the fundamental art of governing.... He that cannot be servant of many, will never be master, true guide and deliverer of many; — that is the meaning of true mastership. Had not the Monk-life extraordinary 'political capabilities' in it; if not imitable by us yet enviable? (Carlyle *Past and Present* 88-89)

In Carlyle's idealized society, leaders would first recognize their service to be of greater significance than their command. Further, to rise within the ranks to such status because of one's merit — and Carlyle does not hesitate to explain the Greek etymology of aristocracy as government by the "fittest, wisest, bravest, best" (Carlyle *Past and Present* 82) — presupposes an internal mechanism for determining fitness.

Elsewhere, though, Carlyle claims that a culture's success in selecting effective leaders is a reflection upon its fitness:

Given the men a People choose, the People itself, in its exact worth and worthlessness, is given. A heroic people chooses heroes, and is happy; a valet or flunky people chooses sham-heroes, what are called quacks, thinking them heroes, and is not happy. The grand summary of a man's spiritual condition, what brings out all his herohood and insight, or all his flunkyness and horn-eyed dimness, is this question put to him, What man dost thou honour? Which is thy ideal of a man, or nearest that? (Carlyle *Past and Present* 75-76)

As it seems, Carlyle has interwoven the struggle of an individual with the struggle of a culture so tightly that it is impossible in his terms to create a better society without having widespread self-improvement; nevertheless, one cannot have an improvement in an individual without having a society whose values predispose it to produce heroes, because heroes and heroic aspects of a culture motivate individuals to act heroically.

Carlyle's position predisposes his reader to join in the bewailing of personal and societal shortcomings, yet it offers little in the way of clear instructions to bring about internal and cultural improvement. It was a stance that Carlyle developed further in *Past and Present*, as witnessed in the recurring jeremiads over the spiritual wasteland of his time:

Monachism itself, so rich and fruitful once, is now all rotted into *peat*; lies sleek and buried, — and a most feeble bog-grass of Dilettantism all the crop we reap from it! That also was frightful waste; perhaps among the saddest our England ever saw.... The fifth part of our English soil ... lay consecrated to 'spiritual uses,' better or worse; solemnly set apart to foster spiritual growth and culture of the

soul, by the methods then known: and now — it too, like the four fifths, fosters what? (Carlyle *Past and Present* 99)

Not everyone agreed with Carlyle's stridently expressed criticism. *Blackwood's* William Henry Smith, who claimed

Mr. Carlyle censures our poor century for its lack of faith; yet the kind of faith it possesses, which has grown up in it, which is *here* at this present, he has no respect for, treats with no manner of tenderness.... The whole parallel which he runs between past and present is false — whimsically false. At one time we hear it uttered as an impeachment against our age, that everything is done by committees and companies, shares and joint effort, and that no man, or hero, can any longer move the world as in the blessed days of Peter the Hermit. (215, 217)

No doubt one reason *Past and Present* met with such remarks — especially considering that William Henry Smith had given *Sartor Resartus* a warm review — was that, with its emblemizing of Abbot Samson's monasticism, it smacked of latent Catholic sympathies.

-2-

Carlyle's posture — at turns strident, earnest, impatient, and derisive — was perhaps encouraged by the equally heady and impetuous editor of *Fraser's Magazine*, William Maginn. As yet another self-proclaimed arbiter of good political sense during the 1830s, *Fraser's* doled out heaping portions of self-righteous mirth at the expense of contemporary politics, diverting fillips disguised as book reviews and theatre notes, and flippant parodies of popular verse and prose. Its first issue included two caustic attacks upon the popular devotional poet Robert Montgomery.¹⁶ Under Maginn's seemingly

effortless direction, and from a stable of contributors, including Carlyle, Coleridge, Thackeray, Thomas Jefferson Hogg, and John Galt, *Fraser's* was one of the first political magazines not aligned with any party. Its writers enjoyed an anonymous and independent forum in which to rouse, amuse, and expose the deceptions practiced by would-be reformers and the complacency of those who could have staved them off. Carlyle's Herr Teufelsdröckh and Francis Sylvester Mahony's Father Prout each made their appearance in *Fraser's*, and John Wilson's legendary "Noctes Ambrosianae" may have brought readers from *Blackwood's* to *Fraser's* when Maginn made the switch between the two magazines. Even for such a topical, politically-oriented journal such as *Fraser's*, the meaning of monasticism found its way into signatures — such as George Wightwick's pseudonym Blue Friar or Octavian Blewitt's pseudonym Brother Peregrine — and articles, such as John Abraham Heraud's "Fanaticism and the Natural History of Enthusiasm" (July 1831, 9:159ff.), pieces on the Church of Ireland (attributed to Rev. Mortimer O'Sullivan), essays on medieval culture by the famed antiquarian Thomas Wright, and treatments of orders by the author of *The Church of Christ in the Middle Ages* (1845), Robert Benton Seely, who mentioned them obliquely in "Political Conduct of the Clergy" (Feb. 1831, 4:641ff.). The humorous pieces and the political satires often relied upon images of monasticism, long in circulation in the culture.

The frequency with which monasticism was alluded to or was a subject of discussion in *Fraser's* was small in comparison to the huge numbers of squibs, jabs, and illustrations found in the humor magazine *Punch, or the London Charivari*. The theatricality and restoration of ritual in Anglican services by ministers who followed the lead of Edward Bouverie Pusey lent itself to the type of satire on which *Punch* made its

name. Irish Catholic Richard Doyle's class-conscious "Convent of the Belgravians," for instance, took issue with the substance-less spectacle of these orders, quipping that "no austerities calculated to injure the health or personal appearance will be permitted at this Convent" and speculating about when the matching monastery at Pimlico, site of high-society's horseracing track, would be founded (*Punch* (Apr 1850) 19:189).¹⁷ In *Punch*, as in *Fraser's*, monasticism became a code for overwrought sensibilities parading as religious devotion and earnestness but thinly covering egocentric posturing and ostentation. In Nov. 1850, a cartoon illustrating the latest fashions took the opportunity to clothe the fashionable elite of Belgravia in cowls and tonsures ("Fashions for 1850; or, A Page for the Puseyites" (Nov. 1850) 19:226-27). A mock advertisement for a Sunday sermon at St. Barnabas reads more like a playbill: "Mock-Matins; or Monks in Masquerade...The Service in Disguise" (*Punch* (Oct. 1850) 19:215). John Leech's bogus advertisement for a bankruptcy sale clubbed Anglican monasticism with black humor, claiming that the hair shirts and holy artifacts made to order for this "Shop ... established to supply the British Public with Real Popery" were for sale at fire prices because the Anglo-Catholic ministry had already supplied the need ("Selling Off!" *Punch* (Aug. 1850) 20:77).

In most of *Punch's* parodies, monasticism merely stands for capricious or superficial elements of Anglo-Catholic sentiment, seen as instigated and inspired by the restoration of ancient practice, custom, and ritual. Some of these parodies, however, coupled the dissonance between practice and conviction with grim forebodings for Britain's future — rendering the monk not as a symbol of spiritual renewal but as an ominous signal of moral decay. For instance, in Thackeray's "Dream of Whitefriars," the

friar Father Barefoot makes a pilgrimage to Charterhouse "where our monks were murdered by your Protestants." This friar, however, had to be reminded that adjacent to Charterhouse was Smithfield, where "our Protestants were murdered by your monks" (*Punch* (June 1850) 19:184-85).¹⁸ In each of these pieces, though, as with those found in *Fraser's*, very little care was taken to distinguish orders, and hermits did not enter the comedic equation.

This is not to say that Thackeray, or any of the other writers in *Punch*, as a rule overlooked the historical aspects of monastic history merely to make a quick joke. During the same months that Thackeray mocked the futuristic friar in *Punch*, he was busy more seriously dismantling Anglo-Catholicism in his serial novel *The History of Pendennis. His Fortunes and Misfortunes, His Friends and His Greatest Enemy* (1848-50). For instance, he belittles Pendennis's tutor Smirke and the high Anglican church he had constructed out of the legacy his mother (a devout Clapham evangelical) had left him: "a pretty little church, of immense antiquity — a little Anglo-Norman *bijou* built the day before yesterday, and decorated with all sorts of painted windows, carved saints' heads, gilt Scripture texts, and open pews" (Thackeray *Pendennis* (Sept. 1850) 63.818-19). Smirke, though "in the cloister himself ... heard of Arthur's reputation [as a famous novelist]," a point as a denunciation of the sincere sacrilegiosity of Anglo-Catholic monastic orders (Thackeray *Pendennis* (Sept. 1850) 63.821). In later chapters set during the same era, Thackeray also takes aim at Roman Catholic monastic orders when he compares the former glory of Lady Lorraine's familial estate, ironically called Abbots-Lorraine, with a Trappist monastery: "Abbots-Lorraine, that used to be the noblest house in the county, is turned into a monastery — a regular La Trappe. They don't drink two

glasses of wine after dinner, and every other man at table is a county curate...."

(Thackeray *Pendennis* (Nov. 1850) 67.872).

The ascetic life acts almost as a motif within the novel, and Thackeray's recognition of the distinction between orders and the history of monasticism is apparent throughout.¹⁹ While simultaneously finishing the last number of his novel *Vanity Fair* in November 1848, Thackeray compared Pendennis's miserly frugal mother to an anchorite: "There was a very blank anchorite repast when Pen dined from home: and he himself headed the remonstrance from the kitchen regarding the deteriorated quality of the Fair Oaks beer." (Thackeray *Pendennis* (Nov. 1848) 3.34) Pendennis' estate Fair Oaks is later compared to a hermitage, where he might have escaped dissipation at Oxbridge: "Temptation is an obsequious servant that has no objection to the country, and we know that it takes up its lodging in hermitages as well as in cities; and that in the most remote and inaccessible desert it keeps company with the fugitive solitary" (Thackeray *Pendennis* (July 1849) 27.344). As Thackeray suggests, Pendennis's struggle is to assert himself in the shadow of his domineering mother, to become a man of the world. Major Pendennis, recognizing his nephew's obstacle, warns Pendennis' mother about interfering with his amorous relationships (two of which had, at that point, been disastrous): "The most unhappy mother in the world, because your son is a man and not a hermit! Have a care, my dear sister" (Thackeray *Pendennis* (June 1850) 54.688). And if the reader has forgotten Helen Pendennis's efforts to cast her son into a sort of evangelical ascetic at Fair Oaks, he or she need only flip back to the opening panel of the number, where Thackeray literally sketched Pendennis as a barefooted friar, complete with religious text and tonsure, and emphasized

Helen's wonder and interest at the Béguine convents [a Roman Catholic order of nuns, almost unique in that, as a lay order, it allows marriage] which they visited, or the almost terror with which she saw the black-veiled nuns with outstretched arms kneeling before the illuminated altars, and beheld the strange pomps and ceremonials of the Catholic worship. Bare-footed friars in the streets, crowned images of Saints and Virgins in the churches before which the people were bowing down and worshipping, in direct defiance, as she held, of the written law; priests in gorgeous robes, or lurking in dark confessionals, theatres opened, and people dancing on Sundays...." (Thackeray *Pendennis* (July 1850) 56.715, 716)

This motif — thematically antithetical to young Pendennis's development as a novelist and a man of the world — might be profitably associated with Thackeray's contributions to *Punch*. It reveals just how significant the uses of monasticism had become to early Victorian culture.

Thackeray would return to this same motif in his sentimental panorama of the rise and fall of the erstwhile artist Clive Newcome, Arthur Pendennis's schoolfellow at Grey Friar's, in *The Newcomes: Memoirs of a Most Respectable Family* (1853-55). Early in the novel, Clive Newcome's uncle, the Anglican curate Charles Honeyman, bemoans the abject state of the county curate in a protracted letter on the sufferings of a servant of God:

What is a curacy, but a synonym for starvation? If we accurse the Eremites of old of wasting their lives in unprofitable wildernesses, what shall we say to many a hermit of Protestant, and so-called civilised times, who hides his head in a

solitude in Yorkshire, and buries his probably fine talents in a Lincolnshire fen?

(Thackeray *Newcomes* (Nov. 1853) 3.38)

Thackeray's movement from eremite to hermit, lexically speaking, matches the symbolic movement from Catholic ascetic to Protestant recluse; Thackeray's palpable sarcasm at a squeamish rector too urbane to tend to flocks in Yorkshire comes through as dramatic irony that supposes his audience sufficiently acquainted with monastic history to understand the distinction between "eremite" and its recently orphaned cousin "hermit."²⁰ *Pendennis's* narrator is not content to leave Honeyman a lone hermit ululating in the desert; later in the novel, he describes Honeyman's loss of favor with the evangelicals at Clapham:

Honeyman has a right to speak of persecution, and to compare himself to a hermit in so far that he preaches in a desert. Once like another hermit, St. Hierome, he used to be visited by lions. None such come to him now. Such lions as frequent the clergy are gone off to lick the feet of other ecclesiastics. (Thackeray *Newcomes* (May 1854) 25.320)

Again, the comparison between the legendary St. Jerome among literal lions is transformed into the comparison to Honeyman — the sham Jerome — and his loss of favor with the "lions" of England.

Thackeray is both aware of the drift of "hermit" from its religious roots and comfortable with the distinctions between the mendicant and monastic religious orders; he grants a similar awareness of these distinctions to his narrator and to several of his characters.²¹ In one noteworthy passage from a letter describing his experiences during his brief residence on Via Gregoriana in Rome, Clive Newcome addresses the difference

between the mendicant orders in attendance at St. Peter's and the fifth-century monks who destroyed the Roman statues of pagan gods (Thackeray *Newcomes* (Aug. 1854) 35.465,466). In another passage, Thackeray's ironic verbal rendering of Rev. Charles Honeyman as a modern mendicant (specifically, San Pedro de Alcantara, founder of the order of Discalced Franciscans whom St. Theresa of Avila sought for spiritual advice) works directly against what his friend and former colleague at *Punch*, Richard Doyle, illustrated in the woodcut at the head of this chapter (which also was set as the frontispiece of the second volume of the two-volume 1854 edition). Thackeray's jabs at Honeyman's sincerity are unmistakable:

I fancy St. Peter of Alcantara, and contrast him with such a personage as the Incumbent of Lady Whittlesea's chapel, May Fair [Rev. Charles Honeyman]. His hermitage is situated in Walpole Street, let us say, on the second floor of a quiet mansion, let out to hermits by the nobleman's butler, whose wife takes care of the lodgings. His cells consist of a refectory, a dormitory, and an adjacent oratory where he keeps his shower-bath and boots — the pretty boots trimly stretched on boot-trees and blacked to a nicety (not varnished) by the boy who waits on him. The barefooted business may suit superstitious ages and gentlemen of Alcantara, but does not become May Fair and the nineteenth century. If St. Pedro walked the earth now with his eyes to the ground he would know fashionable divines by the way in which they were shod.... (Thackeray *Newcomes* (Jan. 1854) 11.146-47)

Thackeray's distinction between the order of Discalced Franciscans of sixteenth-century Spain and the "hermits" (as Honeyman laughably considered himself) of nineteenth-century Britain assumes that his reader will know of St. Pedro's order of friars — perhaps

associating this order with others in *The Newcomes*, who are also presented as bare-footed — and to recognize yet again the religious connotations of "hermit." The verbal portrait in the text, however, works against the woodcut preceding the chapter's comparison between Honeyman and San Pedro. Richard Doyle's woodcut "J.J. in Dreamland" presents J.J. Ridley, Clive Newcome's working-class friend and confidante, as a Franciscan friar.²² Doyle's reading and rendering of the text becomes, instead of an ironic comparison between Honeyman and San Pedro, a comparison between the integrity of San Pedro and J.J.²³

Of course, not every writer paid such close attention to the distinctions between religious orders. In an early number of *The Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby* (1838-39), Charles Dickens introduces a short metanarrative titled "The Five Sisters of York," a tale apparently unrelated to the larger narrative, which bounces between Dotheboys Hall in Yorkshire, Madame Manatlini's shop in London, the Crummles theatre company in Portsmouth, and the Cheeryble brothers office in London. This sub-narrative — told as the coach travelers await assistance for their overturned coach at a pub near Grantham — focuses upon a monk and his efforts to seize the dowry of five orphaned sisters in fifteenth-century England (Dickens *Nicholas Nickleby* (May 1838) 6:64-73). Though many scholars have pointed out the thematic connections between the grey-haired narrator's tale of familial love enduring the loss of parents and the larger narrative of Nicholas's self-improvement and the reunification of his family, few have pointed out the narrator's alternation between "monk" and "friar" to describe the sanctimonious "black monk of Saint Benedict," his "eyes bent upon the earth, and his lips moving *as if* in prayer" (Dickens *Nicholas Nickleby* (May 1838) 6:65, 69). The slippage between

religious orders (between Dominican friar and Benedictine monk) is of no significant consequence to the larger narrative, except that Dickens' use of it confirms the persistence of Gothic images of cowled sanctimony, by then a facile stage prop and convenient plot device.²⁴

The romanticized hermit characterized by his solitary life apart from society's degradations and divorced from Christian ascetic roots — casually found in late seventeenth-century British poetry and appearing with more frequency as the century progressed — was not eclipsed by this growing interest in historical accuracy.²⁵ For instance, in Charlotte Brontë's *Villette* (1853), Lucy Snowe is portrayed as the hermit of La Terrasse:

Those who live in retirement, whose lives have fallen amid the seclusion of schools or of other walled-in and guarded dwellings, are liable to be suddenly and for a long while dropped out of the memory of their friends, the denizens of a freer world. ... Always there are excellent reasons for these lapses, if the hermit but knew them. Though he is stagnant in his cell, his connections without are whirling in the very vortex of life. ... The hermit — if he be a sensible hermit — will swallow his own thoughts, and lock up his own emotions during these weeks of inward winter. (Brontë *Villette* 24:348)

On the basis of this one short excerpt, one might suppose Lucy Snowe to be the victim of some binding vow forced upon her, a heroine reminiscent of many Gothic novels. The tantalizing suggestiveness of the novel's elusive ending and other passages of tell-tale aporia, however, call into question her reliability as a narrator (and her judgment of her condition). On the other end of the religious spectrum, Tractarian Charlotte Mary

Yonge's ignoble Philip Morville, who is disparaging his brother Guy in order to dispossess him of the inheritance, describes his own father as a hermit:

'There was a calm, deep melancholy about the old man, added to the grand courtesy which showed he had been what old books call a fine gentleman, that made him suit his house as a hermit does his cell, or a knight his castle; but breaking in on this pensive scene, there was Guy....' (Yonge *Heir of Redclyffe* 1.1.10)

Like Brontë's, Yonge's hermit appears divorced from his religious background, conjuring up Romantic associations of the bygone past, and proving a facile image in the hands of a novelist.²⁶ During much of the nineteenth century, the image of a hermit romantically removed from society's ills proved much more enduring and significant to many writers and speakers of English than that of a recluse who leaves society for religious purposes.

As the concept of the hermit as a religious recluse waned, a greater degree of precision was applied in reference to organized religious orders. Early Victorian Britain was much more aware of the differences between religious orders than was the Regency, and one does not have to look much further than its fiction to see evidence of this sea change. It was a culture that produced several multi-volume series of saint's biographies, reprinted medieval texts that dealt with religious politics, founded companies devoted to the reproduction of medieval artifacts, and funded multi-volume series that could be used by art enthusiasts, travelers, and religious laity when encountering Christian shrines, monuments, and other artifacts of Christian antiquity. Anna Jameson's *Legends of the Monastic Orders as Represented in the Fine Arts* (1850), for example, was meticulously researched and carefully assembled with hundreds of her own engraved illustrations. Its

immense popularity (it passed through ten volumes in less than a decade) indicates this trend in taste. Mrs. Jameson herself believed the attraction to monastic legends arose from a gloomy, contemporary search for the numinous:

It seems to me, that in this movement [the introduction of the Mendicant orders, destabilizing the "strong line of demarcation between the active and contemplative life"] of the thirteenth century there was something analogous to the times through which we of this present generation have lived. ... A generation sprang up, physically predisposed to a sort of morbid exaltation, and powerfully acted upon by the revelation of a hitherto unseen, unfelt world of woe. (Jameson *Legends* xxi)

The Victorian ideal of self-sacrifice, which would be embodied in countless plays, essays, and short stories, was being pressed into service. And what Mrs. Jameson wrote of Sir James Stephen's *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography* (1849) can be equally said of her, as well as of the dozens of writers in the period who looked into the history of the religious orders to recognize "the enthusiasm [with] which everywhere welcomed [the mendicant orders], or with the immediate and visible result of their labours": "If an earnest English Protestant could thus write of them in the nineteenth century, we may be permitted to look with some sympathy and respect on the effigies which commemorated what they were...what Southey pleasantly calls their 'bread and water' expression" (Jameson *Legends* 235).²⁷

-3-

During the early Victorian period, interest in medieval life and its blurring of sacred and profane continued to increase. The writers of the Oxford Movement saw in the medieval

Anglican church a calling for greater austerity and sincerity in religious practice and devotion, dramatized the glories of Anglo-Catholic communion in several hundred novels and novellas.²⁸ Hymnist and Camden Society co-founder John Mason Neale — well known to posterity for "Jerusalem the Golden" and "Art Thou Weary, Art Thou Languid," — added another wrinkle to the early Victorian debates by criticizing the writers of the Oxford Movement for "blinding themselves to the principle of aesthetics," that is, to the "decoration, ritual, the structure and seating of churches, because these affect the way in which men worship" (Chadwick *Victorian Church* 1.213). Satirists had a field day ridiculing both the Oxford Movement and the Cambridge Camden Society and their competing conceptions of the medieval church — especially as they executed various projects that indulged their expensive tastes while millions of Irish were starving during the potato blight of 1845. Playwrights capitalized on the novelty of medievalism, adding cowled preachers and tall, dark paladins to their sentimental melodramas. Enterprising entrepreneurs founded companies dedicated to taking advantage of the public's thirst for the medieval, producing gargoyles, stained glass, and imitation medieval bric-a-brac.

In the decade immediately preceding Victoria's coronation (1837) and ending with John Henry Newman's conversion to Roman Catholicism (1845), hundreds of plays and poems mentioned, if not centered on, the varieties of asceticism. Tennyson, for instance, depicted one of the Egyptian ascetics of the sort that Hume and Gibbon looked down upon who recognizes that his followers focus more on his gruesome mortifications than their sacred meaning:

O Lord, thou knowest what a man I am;

A sinful man, conceived and born in sin:

'Tis their own doing; this is none of mine;

Lay it not to me. (Tennyson "St. Simeon Stylites" ll. 119-22)

Others sought to discern whether one could "Beatify the ascetic's savagery / To heavenly prudence," whether monks, "making a gain of godliness, swim upon the first of the flood [from the "spring-tide of religion"], till it cast them ashore on the firm beach of wealth and station," or whether such orders as the Third Minors "by which 'worldlings' were enabled to participate in the spiritual advantages of the Franciscan rule and discipline without neglect or suspension of their civic and family duties" could possibly be seen as a positive institution (Kingsley *Saint's Tragedy* 2.1.123-24; 2.2.133-35; 188).

Despite the mass literary production of recluses, there was virtually no new presentation of asceticism. Carlyle's observation that the steam engine served as the principal symbol of the age can also be applied to illustrate how poets and playwrights of the early Victorian era applied boilerplates of recycled images in their presentation of the monastic. Ten patterns emerged from the eighteenth century until Victoria's ascension: (1) Hume's and Gibbon's dismissive conflation of all varieties of asceticism as self-serving, superstitious, and socially destructive; (2) romanticized constructions of the hermit as a figure uncorrupted by civilization's charms, as depicted by writers from Alexander Pope to Robert Burns through Felicia Dorothea Hemans; (3) the Gothic member of religious orders, in which the strictures of the vow inevitably shroud fathomless perfidy and depravity, a point thrown in stark contrast by the appearance of the admirable, though reclusive, hermit; (4) Burke's and Bishop Horsley's visions of monasticism as an institution meriting conservation because of its historic benefits and

principles of self-denial, conscientiousness, service to God, and sincerity; (5) Coleridge and Wordsworth's holy hermits, both of whom restored the religious component to the romanticized recluse; (6) Fosbrooke's hermits as an unorganized ascetic, distinct from, as he saw them, the world-removed monks and the street-hustling friars; (7) Percy Shelley's liberating hermit, granted moral agency by his retreat from society, and Byron's holy anchorite *in absentia*; (8) the increasing discrimination in the taxonomy of religious orders in writers such as Scott, Southey, and Maturin; (9) the heroic virtues of monks in their engagement with temporal politics in the pursuit of self-denying and spiritual ends, as depicted by Newman and Carlyle; and (10) endless combinations of these, such as the romanticized notion of the hermit combined with self-abnegating religious devotion, expressed à la Thackeray in the distinction between "hermit" and "eremite."

Poets and playwrights of the early Victorian period had at their disposal literally hundreds of ways to depict asceticism, and, more often than not, their depiction is connected to their politics. Mary Botham Howitt's "hermit" clearly retains its religious origin in her collections of poems *Ballads and Other Poems* (1847) as well as in one of her works of popular natural history, *Birds and Flowers and Other Country Things* (1838):²⁹

"Now who is he that rules this land?"

A holy hermit cried;

"Who is the lord of this greenwood,

Where I would fain abide?"

.

'Twas joy to hear the hermit's hymn

Come from his mossy cell,
To see the fearless traveller

Drink at the wayside well. (Howitt "The Forest Lord" 3.1-4, 37-40; 200, 202)

Similarly, the Oxford poet Robert Montgomery, famous for his *Omnipresence of the Deity* (1828) (which went through eight editions in less than eight months), described John the Baptist as an eremite in *Sacred Meditations* (1847). This fact is in itself of minor significance in devotional poetry of the period, except that in conflating the biblical texts of Matthew 11:7-19 and Luke 7:24-35, Montgomery implied that the message of this unheeded prophet in the wilderness had special significance to an age in which the truth of science is bound by "no moral sway" and modern martyrs and laurelled heroes are a mockery or shadow of their former meaning:

As though the Truth were man's derisive fiend,
And Falsehood found an angel in disguise.
Thus He, that Eremite, whose piercing voice
Pealed like a tocsin to the godless earth,
"Repent ye! for the promised kingdom comes."

(R. Montgomery "John the Baptist" ll. 24, 38-42; 213)³⁰

Montgomery's application of eremite to describe John the Baptist, though it may be said to be anachronistic, is instructive as to what lengths Protestant writers had gone to recover the image of the ascetic without implying Catholic orders: in this poem, the poet laments the absence of a prophet, a paragon of Christian heroism, in the muddle of the contemporary world.³¹

Sheffield hymnist, poet, and editor James Montgomery was likewise no stranger to the use of monastic imagery for the promotion of Protestantism.³² In his poem *Thoughts on Wheels* (published in his four-volume collection *Poetical Works* in 1841), he recycles the staunch Protestant claim of Rome's perversions by singling out "Priestcraft, — in form a giant monk, / With wine of Rome's pollutions / Like captive Samson, bound and blind, / In chains and darkness of the mind" (J. Montgomery "The Inquisition" *Thoughts on Wheels* 3.5-8). Another instance of a poet recycling anchoritic imagery in an ascetic-saturated literary marketplace occurs in William Cox Bennett's sonnet called "Luther." Bennett revisited the well-worn image of the Augustinian Eremitic Luther squaring off against the notorious Medici pope, Leo X:

Not from the mighty of the earth, O Lord,
 Dost Thou choose forth the doers of great deeds.
 He who, writ in the fate of nations, reads
 Thy wondrous will, he knows that Thou, O God,
 Hast, from the lowliest by whom earth is trod,
 Called men to rear on high, or shatter, creeds;
 Hast raised men, from those whom the earth nought heeds,
 To hurl to dust those who the world o'erawed.
 No sceptred king, whose nothingness grows great,
 Seen through the mist time-honoured custom flings
 Around his form, — no thing of courts and state
 Was he who humbled Rome's cowed Kings of Kings.
 The monk went forth — his arms, Thy Word: — Before

Those gods of earth the nations bowed no more. (Bennett "Luther" 1-14)

Luther's brave act — here depicted as a monk humbling "Rome's cowed King of Kings" — has special significance during the apex of the controversies following Catholic Emancipation and the developments of the Oxford Movement. Robert Montgomery, for instance, agreed with Bennett's triumphant portrait of Luther, pointing out that the current age's inability to appreciate heroism or to recognize spiritual triumph is part of its depravity:

Luther had faults, — but can this feeble Age

When forms heroic, such as olden Life

Admired and moulded, are to faith and fact

No more;

.

"Luther had faults!"---but, oh! ye little Minds,

Less in your faith, and lesser still in deeds

Which make the Hero, or the Man unfold

In full-souled daring, — while the outer life

Ye ponder, have ye pierced the core within? (R. Montgomery "Christian Heroism

Falsely Appreciated "*Sacred Meditations* 1-4, 24-28; 244, 245)

Reminding their audience that Luther was an Augustinian monk, both of these poets are able to have their cake and eat it too: they seize upon the image of spiritual heroism currently in circulation, while diminishing the cowl itself representing any interior struggle toward greatness.

At the same time that Robert Montgomery and Bennett made concessions to the dominant cultural identification of the cowl with spiritual heroism, some poets parodied the whole business of medievalism. For instance, Richard Harris Barham's depictions of monasticism and his comic treatment of medieval legend in *Bentley's Monthly Miscellany* were immensely popular. Known by the pen name Thomas Ingoldsby, Barham applied his vast antiquarian learning to a series of grotesque metrical tales that were eventually collected as *The Ingoldsby Legends* (1840), passing through a half-dozen editions (illustrated by well-known engravers such as Cruikshank, Leech, and Tenniel) before his death in 1845. His depiction of monasticism varies widely, and is generally contingent upon what would offer the finest moment of mirth. For instance, the "Lay of St. Nicholas" depicts the dinner party of Abbot Simon, Prior Peter, Friar Francis, and Monk Roger with the devil, who happens to be masquerading as a noblewoman looking to take the veil at St. Nicholas's Abbey. The chance appearance of St. Nicholas disguised as a Palmer unmasks and drives out the devil:

The fiend made a grasp, the Abbot to clasp;

But St. Nicholas lifted his holy toe,

And, just in the nick, let fly such a kick

On his elderly namesake, he made him let go (Barham "Lay of St. Nicholas" ll. 201-4)

The whole of the poem seems to be built around this cumbersome pun on "nick," and has very little to say about the religious life. After being rescued by the miraculous appearance of the guardian saint of the order, Barham leads the four monastics out of the monastery to become hermits and "pious recluse[s]" who died "in the odour of sanctity"

(Barham "Lay of St. Nicholas" ll. 228, 241). Generally speaking, when Barham mentions a "friar," it's because he rhymes it with "prior"; and the only distinctive action of an "abbot" is to possess a "mitre and ring" (Barham "Netley Abbey" l. 22).³³

There was little difference between the poet's and the playwright's use of ascetic imagery in the first decade of Queen Victoria's reign. Edward Bulwer-Lytton, for instance, used the vehicle of historical drama to produce two unpleasant presentations of Catholic religious orders in *The Duchess de la Vallière* (1836) and *Richelieu; Or The Conspiracy* (1839). Late in *The Duchess*, he employs the clichéd theatrical device of the disguised hero. The Marquis de Bragelone returns to the Duchess de la Vallière's palace as a Franciscan friar — and, true to the device, the garb scarcely hides his noble mien from her servant: "My lady is too lavish of her bounty / To these proud shavelings: yet, methinks, this friar / Hath less of priest than warrior in his bearing" (Bulwer-Lytton *Duchess de la Vallière* 4.2.7-9). For the sake of dramatic convention, however, the Duchess does not discover her long-lost lover in the cowl until after she retires to a convent, though before she has taken her vow.³⁴ At this point in the narrative, Bragelone delivers the standard Gothic dismissal of the cloistered life:

To peace — ah, let me deem so! — the mute cloister,
 The spoken ritual, and the solemn veil,
 Are nought themselves; — the Huguenot abjures
 The monkish cell, but breathes, perchance, the prayer
 That speeds as quick to the Eternal Throne!
 In our own souls must be the solitude;
 In our own thoughts the sanctity! — 'Tis then

The feeling that our vows have built the wall
 Passion can storm not, nor temptation sap,
 Gives calm its charter, roots out wild regret,
 And makes the heart the world-disdaining cloister.
 This — this is peace! but pause, if in thy breast
 Linger the wish of earth. Alas! all oaths
 Are vain, if nature shudders to record them (Bulwer-Lytton *Duchess de la Vallière* 5.3.64-79)

Bulwer-Lytton's overworked diatribes diminishing the "mute" cloister compared to the interior hermitage of conscience smacks of Gothic convention, as does Bragelone's Franciscan disguise, worn almost the entire time he's on stage. Evidently the theatre-going audiences expected or appreciated these formulas and conventions; Bulwer-Lytton's handful of dramas played to packed houses.³⁵

Charles Kingsley likewise rehashes Protestant polemics in his presentation of asceticism in *The Saint's Tragedy* (1847). Unlike Bulwer-Lytton's plays, Kingsley's varied from the standard Protestant formulas in one regard: dismayed over the sanitized portraits of the medieval period, Kingsley took the opportunity in *Saint's Tragedy* to depict the coarseness and misery of the period.³⁶ In the process of dismantling popular medievalism, Kingsley also took issue with Victorian portraits of domesticity, by depicting a self-sacrificing St. Elizabeth quite distinct from the tales published for use in the newly founded Sunday schools. It is a portrait of St. Elizabeth that also raises questions about the relationship of marriage to personal salvation. Kingsley's presentation of monasticism is at best ambivalent. Twice in the play, for instance, he resorts to the

Gothic convention of monks chanting in Latin off-stage to dramatize the protagonist's struggle. In 1.4, the earnestness and persistence of their chants drives Elizabeth to seek Conrad of Marpurg. In this passage, Kingsley gives the chant the final word, so to speak; the Latin phrases serve as the antiphony to the empty formula sung by the court minstrel and the equally barren sarcastic poetry of the court jester:

Minstrel: How gaily smile the heavens,

The light winds whisper gay;

For royal birth and knightly worth

Are knit to one to-day.

Fool (drowning his voice). So we'll flatter them up, and we'll cocker them up

Till we turn young brains;

And pamper the brach till we make her a wolf,

And get bit by the legs for our pains.

Monks (chanting without).

A fastu et superbia

Domine libera nos. (Kingsley *Saint's Tragedy* 1.4.1-10)

The minstrel's fawning lyrics in honor of Elizabeth and her husband to-be is succeeded on stage by the proleptic sarcasm of the jester who predicts that all this puffing will result in their future discomfort — to which the off-stage chant and its humble request that God help them overcome pride and arrogance reminds the affianced and the audience of the appropriate response. Kingsley's ambivalence towards organized asceticism literally is produced on stage, for the same technique in which the monks are shown to be holy is repeated in 4.1, but this chant instead produces a dramatic irony, drawing attention to

Elizabeth's descent into madness and despair, calling into question, at least superficially, whether she is of her mind.

Kingsley's presentation of religious orders is ultimately unflattering, despite the apparent ambivalence. Throughout the play, onstage monks are presented as craven materialists, perhaps to draw a contrast to the sincere spiritual struggle of Elizabeth. The old monks in the first scene of the fifth act, while endeavoring, ironically, to catch flies to feed a lizard, discuss Elizabeth's canonization, hoping that their order, of which Conrad is a member, will receive honor (and material wealth). Likewise, the first physical description of Conrad comes from the rugged, honest Count Walter, who exposes the artifice between Conrad's exterior spirituality and interior materialism in phrasing that recalls Chaucer's description of the Pardoner: "I have seen such an eye in men possessed — with devils, or with self: sleek, passionless men, who are too refined to be manly, and measure their grace by their effeminacy" (Kingsley *Saint's Tragedy* 2.2.210-13).³⁷

Despite his antipathy to religious orders in general and to the romanticizing of the medieval period, Kingsley saw in the Franciscan Third Minor, the lay order that Elizabeth joined, a type of asceticism that was worth reviving. In his notes to the play, he expands upon his respect for the order:

The order of the Third Minors of St. Francis of Assisi was an invention of the comprehensive mind of that truly great man, by which "worldlings" were enabled to participate in the spiritual advantages of the Franciscan rule and discipline without neglect of their civic and family duties. But it was an institution too enlightened for its age The order was persecuted and all but exterminated by

the jealousy of the Regular Monks, not, it seems, without papal connivance.

(Kingsley *Saint's Tragedy* 188)

In this note, as in his depiction of the ascetic life, Kingsley added a "new" wrinkle to the discussion of organized asceticism, by combining a respect for the honest devotion to God with the Protestant position that devotion to the service of God does not necessitate renouncing the world, but worldliness.

Robert Browning similarly depicts of monastics as smug villains, petty thieves, and hopeless egotists in *Dramatic Lyrics* (1842), *Dramatic Romances and Lyrics* (1845), and *Men and Women* (1855). One sees Browning's contribution to the understanding of asceticism in poems such as "Johannes Agricola in Meditation" (1845). The smug confidence of the speaker, and his faith in the inherent goodness of God as based on His foreknowledge, is slowly corroded by doubt. In his extended reflection, Johannes Agricola begins to think about the failures of former, earnest efforts to strive toward God by "Priest, doctor, hermit, monk grown white / With prayer, the broken-hearted nun, / The martyr, the wan acolyte" (Browning "Johannes Agricola" ll. 51-53). To the speaker's way of reasoning, God must punish those whom He foresaw would strive toward His love or tried "at least to keep His anger in" by following monastic regimens, is a bargain requiring Johannes Agricola to assent to their eternal punishment if he wishes to maintain His inherent goodness (Browning "Johannes Agricola" l. 49).³⁸

In several famous poems, Browning presents monasticism merely as a profession of the all-too human characters he depicts. The tragic dissonance between what they must profess outwardly to be in accord with their human institution and what they inwardly feel often generates the tension of the poem. For instance, in the "Soliloquy of the

Spanish Cloister," the seething, repressed hatred the monk has for his superior — for which he is willing to consider making a deal with the devil (with a "flaw in the indenture," of course) in order to get ride of him — is antithetical to his vow of obedience (Browning "Soliloquy of Spanish Cloister" l. 67). As if to suggest a correlation, Browning adds another level to the dissonance between the monk's profession and his inward "calling" when the monk chastises his superior for his ignorance of the talismanic rituals:

When he finishes refection,

Knife and fork he never lays

Cross-wise, to my recollection,

As do I, in Jesu's praise.

I the Trinity illustrate,

Drinking watered orange pulp —

In three sips the Arian frustrate;

While he drains his at one gulp. (Browning "Soliloquy of Spanish Cloister" ll.

33-40)

These two details are introduced by Browning in this soliloquy in such a way that suggests the monk's debased spirituality and perverse sense of justice (as well as the poet's understanding of monastic trivialities).

Browning returns to this theme again, enlarging upon the struggles of monastics and the discontinuity between their profession and their way of being, in poems such as "Fra Lippo Lippi" (1855), "Andrea del Sarto" (1855), and *Sordello* (1840). Yet these Browning poems, do not explore let alone bring new information or insight to the on-

going Victorian dialectic with the history and conception of monasticism. Browning incorporates the trappings of monasticism to serve, as Alice Chandler puts it in her study of nineteenth-century medievalism *A Dream of Order*, as "a foil for the author's own attitudes and emotions [as compared to Scott, Coleridge, Carlyle, Ruskin, and Morris who were] using the Middle Ages as a symbol of the creative universe in which human energy can manifest itself freely, purposefully, generously" (Chandler 233). Though not a direct response to the turmoil of the period — the challenges from the Oxford writers, the Chartist agitators, the starving Irish peasants, the newly-restored Catholic bishops in England, the failures of the reforms of 1833, and the cacophony of self-appointed prophets and their various cures for society's ills — Browning's presentation of asceticism, like those of many early Victorian writers, participated in the Victorian quest for a direct, earnest, and deep spirituality that would be consistent with present-day needs and that would revivify the Anglican church.

Conclusion

Within William Wordsworth's lifespan British writers began to distinguish terms of asceticism much more finely than in the decades preceding his life; they observe distinctions among types of Roman Catholic religious orders while, ironically, they abandoned the religious connotations of the word "hermit." The causes for this lexical change are manifold and complementary. For instance, developments in antiquarianism and historiography, which, in turn, led to greater concern for the accurate representation of the past, happened at the same time that popular interest in the medieval period encouraged publishers to slake the demand by mass producing countless historically-oriented travel books and works of Gothic fiction. Similarly, the immigration of French monks — victims of the French Revolution who garnered the respect of many Anglicans and Protestants for their courage — encouraged popular debates over the social relevance of the orders; just as these debates began to wane, the political struggle over Catholic disabilities encouraged critics to compare the shortcomings of modern, Protestant, capitalist Great Britain with an agrarian, medieval, monastic society. This spurred reformers like Robert Owen to try their hands at experimental social communities based loosely on monastic regimen. Even the dismantling of the Church of England's privileges may have had an impact upon this lexical change, as factions seeking to conserve the Anglican church's historic position reconstituted the monastic ideal, applied medieval symbology to church-building, and discovered religious orders to be an acceptable outlet into which to channel their energies toward service and self-sacrifice.

Were it merely historical circumstances such as those mentioned above, the gradual shift in meaning could be favorably compared to Nicholas Steno's seventeenth-century stratigraphic principles: provided with an index of the dates that identify their

use, we thus would be able to date a text's provenance (or at least its composition) relatively. That is, if a newly discovered text showed evidence of confusing monks and friars, though it preserved the religious connotations of hermit, we might be tempted to approximate the date as turn of the nineteenth century. Yet just as no paleontologist worthy of his profession would date a fossil by the strata in which it was found, we *should exercise due caution when arguing for the historical record's impact upon the meaning of a word* — mainly because this quickly becomes a circular argument in which the evidence to support the claim serves as the deduction from the claim itself. What cannot be denied, however, is that writers took evident care to distinguish these terms, especially considering that England knew less than four dozen monks in the five decades before the Reform Bill of 1832. Not only did these writers take care not to alternate between monk and friar indiscriminately, they also began to rely upon increasingly more subtle allusions to the garb of various orders, inserting not simply a cowl but a grey one and trusting that their readers would identify the person as a Franciscan friar. The allusion to Franciscans, in turn, would build upon a growing cluster of associations, made all the more dramatic by the fact that Englishmen would not see the different outfits of various orders until after 1837, when the law against the public display of cassocks and cowls was repealed.

The struggle over the meaning of monasticism thus serves *prima facie* as a record of the shifting perceptions of religious devotion, of the way in which Georgian gentlemanly churchmanship yielded to the earnestness of Victorian religious sentiment. Our distance from this period, however, makes it difficult to appreciate the textures of these various struggles in the transformation. Moreover, modern scholarship guided by

postmodern theories has devalued any such inquiry that wanders too near the contemplation of an author's intention.

The blind spot of contemporary scholarship towards authorial intention seems to be an inevitable consequence of such sentiments. One struggles to find scholars of Wordsworth's poems who recognize that he credited a hermit's retreat to be directed by religious motives. Indeed, reputable scholars have claimed that Wordsworth's hermits — his "vagrant dwellers" in the shadow of ruined Tintern Abbey — illustrate a sort of secular retreat from the din of the fulling-mills. Perhaps these critics have confused the central religious quest in that poem with the dozens of travel books and narratives of Wordsworth's *readers* undertaking this secular pilgrimage, in which some enterprising ne'er-do-wells played the role of the vagrants, and, for a fee, led the tourists up the Wye river valley. Wordsworth's struggle to find meaning in monasticism and to articulate the role of the church to society, furthermore, can be found elsewhere, such as in the famous passage through Switzerland in Book 6 of *The Prelude*, in which Wordsworth once again hears Nature's voice crying out against the French revolutionaries, "Stay, stay your sacrilegious hands!" (Wordsworth *Prelude* [1850] 6.430). In the 1805 manuscript, this passage, as well as the next seventy lines, are not to be found, suggesting that, at least in drafting the earlier manuscript, Wordsworth had not considered St. Bruno's Carthusians to be the same heroes as he does in the later poem:

be the house redeemed
With its unworldly votaries, for the sake
Of conquest over sense, hourly achieved
Through faith and meditative reason, resting

Upon the word of heaven-imparted truth,

Calmly triumphant (Wordsworth *Prelude* [1850] 6.456-61)

To develop the internally consistent myth of Wordsworth the Nature Poet, modern critics patently avoid discussing any poem he wrote after 1815, gesturing to a critical commonplace that his dwindling poetic powers and imaginative force are not to be witnessed in these works. The shame of it is that in secularizing Wordsworth's nature, such passages as the Trans-Alpine receive short shrift.

The persistence and the relevance of the argument over asceticism's meaning — religious, medieval, or political — continued well past Wordsworth's death. Charles Allston Collins' exhibition of *Convent Thoughts* at the Royal Academy in 1851, a painting in which a novice fingers a missal page on the Annunciation while contemplating a Passion Flower, had its share of controversy over its meaning and relevance. Similarly, critics took issue with the presentation of monasticism in George Eliot's only historical novel, *Romola* (1863-64), a novel that embodied austere Victorian strictures on selfhood through the detailed unfolding of Girolamo Savonarola's Florence — an intrigue replete with bankers, mercenaries, Augustines, Franciscans, and even a hermit. It is an image that persists even in our own era of Thomas Merton and Ellis Peters' Brother Cadfael series, though perhaps without triggering the crises of conscience of the early nineteenth century. Writers in Wordsworth's lifetime grappled with the meaning of monasticism, and whether to consider the ascetic life positively: a retreat

from the world or a symbol of indomitable faith, an anchor against being set adrift in the storms of doubt. The lexical shift records their struggle.

Notes To Chapter 1

1. Texts used to support monasticism were Matt. 19:12-13 ("For there are some eunuchs, which were so born from *their* mother's womb; and there are some eunuchs, which were made eunuchs of men: and there be eunuchs, which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake. He that is able to receive *it*, let him receive *it*") and Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians 7:7-9 ("For I would that all men were even as I myself...I say therefore to the unmarried and widows, It is good for them if they abide even as I. But if they cannot contain, let them marry: for it is better to marry than to burn"). A twentieth-century audience may misunderstand the translation of "eunuch." Unlike the Hebrew word *ṣārāph*, which is related literally to the act of castration and used in the first chapter of Daniel, the Greek word εὐνοῦχος (*eunouchos*) derives from εὐνή (*eune*), which literally means "bed." By figurative extension, a eunuch in the Greek use of the word is someone without bed, hence an impotent or unmarried man; by implication it can be applied also to a state officer / chamberlain.

Ante-Nicene Fathers cited include Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Origen, Cyprian, and Tertullian. For instance, Tertullian glosses the Matt. 19 as follows:

This passage I would treat in such a way as to maintain the superiority of the other and higher sanctity — preferring self-control and virginity to marriage. However, I would by no means prohibit the latter. For my hostility is directed against those who are for destroying the God of marriage, not against those who follow after chastity.

Other fathers follow this same principle, highlighting that chastity is what both Paul and Jesus taught.

2. Some instances in which the Hermit appears as a central character in works of fiction include Henry Fielding's *Tom Jones* (1749), Samuel Johnson's *Rasselas* (1759), James Beattie's *The Minstrel, or the Progress of Genius* (1771), William Collins's "Ode to Simplicity" (1747), Thomas Parnell's "The Hermit" (1720), and Oliver Goldsmith's *The Hermit, or Edwin and Angelina* (1764), to name a few.

3. Once one understands the inchoate use of such terminology, one can avoid equally inchoate readings of literary works. Sister Mary Muriel Tarr offers commentary about hermits in Gothic fiction that suggests her lack of awareness:

The hermit is most important among the characters who reveal secrets in Gothic fiction. The following advertisement from a book catalogue, which is pasted inside the back cover of the first volume of *Grasville Abbey*, examined during the course of this study, describes once and for all the role played by the seven all-knowing hermits met with in this survey. It reads as follows:

Grasville Abbey: A Romance Containing the Sufferings of the Maserini Family: by which the horrors of superstition are fully exposed, as was explained by Father Peter, the Hermit who was found concealed in a cell.

The hermit, as a rule, is a kindly character. Benevolent and possessing a gentleness that is the fruit of much personal suffering patiently borne, he is the good religious character *par excellence* in Gothic fiction. Truly a figure of medieval times in England, the hermit could also still be met with on the

Continent during the eighteenth century, as well as in much English poetry of the period. (107-8)

Though her work relating the use of Catholic materials in Gothic fiction is otherwise well-founded, this instance reveals that she considers the hermit in a secular sense rather than with the religious connotations that Dr. Johnson ascribes to "hermit."

4. . "In England, before the Reformation, the term [monk] was not applied to the mendicant orders, who were always called *friars*. From the 16th c. to the 19th c., however, it was usual to speak of the friars as a class of monks. In recent times the distinction between the terms has been carefully observed by well-informed writers" (Murray et al. IX 1003).

5. The census of 1767 reported 69,376 Catholics in England and Wales, and the figures for 1780 show little by way of increase. These numbers, however, have been disputed, and the variance is as much as 30,000. See Colin Haydon's fifth (esp. p. 190) and sixth chapter for an account of the disparity of the figures and how the reporting and manipulation of these numbers became part of the contemporary response as well as part of the historical misrepresentation of the Gordon riots.

The Act of Settlement, which reaffirmed the Catholic Disabilities Act (20 Cha. II c) and the Elizabethan Act of Supremacy, notably pushed the religious character of the *via media* closer to the Protestant pole, as the anti-Catholic language most clearly demonstrates:

It hath been found by experience that it is inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this Protestant kingdom to be governed by a popish prince, or by any king or queen marrying a papist, the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons do further pray that it may be enacted, that all and every person and persons that is, are or shall profess the popish religion, or shall marry a papist, shall be excluded and be for ever incapable to inherit, possess or enjoy the crown and government of this realm and Ireland and the dominions thereunto belonging or any part of the same, or to have, use or exercise any regal power, authority or jurisdiction within the same; and in all and every such case or cases the people of these realms shall be and hereby absolved of their allegiance; and the said crown and government shall from time to time descend to and be enjoyed by such person or persons being Protestants as should have inherited and enjoyed the same in case the said person or persons so reconciled, holding communion or professing or marrying as aforesaid were naturally dead; and that every king and queen of this realm who at any time hereafter shall come to and succeed to the imperial crown of this kingdom shall on the first day of the meeting of the first Parliament next after his or her coming to the crown, sitting in his or her throne in the House of Peers in the Presence of the Lords and Commons therein assembled, or at his or her coronation before such person or persons who shall administer the coronation oath to him or her at the time of his or her taking the said oath (which shall first happen), make, subscribe and audibly repeat the declaration mentioned in the statute made in the thirtieth year of the reign of King Charles the Second entitled, *An Act for the more effectual preserving the king's person and government by disabling papists from sitting in either House of Parliament*.

This act of Parliament rendered it impossible for Roman Catholics to participate in the governance of the land. Further acts increased their "disabilities" to the following: (1) unable to play a role in public affairs, locally or nationally; (2) unable to matriculate at Oxford or be admitted to degrees at Cambridge; (3) unable to hold commissions in the army or the navy (and were often prevented from entering the ranks of the army); (4) unable to pass on property intact to Catholic heirs. But beside these legal impediments, English Catholics often had to face down prejudice on many levels, finding their religion to be a bar to ordinary employment, to be a cause for their business to be boycotted, and to be a reason for the termination of friendships and for family feuds over education (Haydon *Anti-Catholicism* 14).

6. In the period under study, British writers recognized the distinction between the people who professed a faith and the faith itself. Writing about popery in 1778, Henry Venn explained, "pernicious errors must be treated as they deserve; always remembering, the man who is deceived, must be pitied and loved" (vii-viii). With this example in mind, I will be careful to distinguish between the structure of the religion (using terms such as Romanism, popery, and papist) and those who professed the religion (using terms such as Catholicism, Catholic, or English Catholic). Colin Haydon offers this point:

The distinction drawn between the threat of *Popery* and those individuals known as Catholics on a day-to-day basis is reflected in the rigour of the penal code. Had they hated and feared the Papists under their jurisdiction, the laws would have allowed the J.P.s to harass them remorselessly. But as Professor Kenyon, writing of the late seventeenth century, has observed: "it is clear that justices of the peace and sheriffs, even though they might vociferously support the persecution of 'papists' in general terms, or papists in other parts of the country, were afflicted by a sudden infirmity of purpose when it came to prosecuting men who were neighbors, friends, even relations by marriage (*Popish Plot* 6)." This picture holds good for Georgian times. (*Anti-Catholicism* 12).

In this vein, Haydon produces one startling example from the records of the Gordon riots. Quoting from W.H. Reid's *The Rise and Dissolution of Infidel Societies* (1800), he explains that sometimes Popery seemed wholly divorced from its human adherents. During the

Gordon Riots, some of the crowd were "called upon to go to such a house, as there were *Catholics* there. They replied 'What are Catholics to us? We are only against *Popery*!'" (13)

I will also restrict "Anglo-Catholic" to the period of the Oxford Movement to distinguish between Anglicans following the teachings of Pusey and pre-conversion Newman from those who professed or converted to Roman Catholicism.

7. Febronianism proposed that the Pope is subordinate to the universal church, to the will and the decrees of councils, which may overturn papal decisions.

8. Some key points need to be stated here. Monasticism had been a facet of Anglicanism into the Stuart reign, at which time the undissolved orders seemed to have disappeared, and monasticism would not return until the middle of the nineteenth century during the Tractarian controversy. Roman Catholic monastic missions in England, however, saw a

brief increase in membership in the middle of the eighteenth century, followed by a gradual and obvious decline. Most historians of Roman Catholic monastic orders in England point out the general trend of their diminishing size, presence, and influence.

Tracing the extirpation of English Carmelites (with the death of Francis Willoughby Brewster in 1849, until their reformation in June 1862), B. Zimmerman writes, "The decline of the Carmelite Mission is best shown by the following figures: In 1773 there were two fathers in London; in 1803 Bishop Milner says in his report that he has two Carmelite priests in the Midland district. In 1818 there is but one in the Midland and none at all in the London district" (385). Raymund Devas outlined the same trajectory for the Dominicans: though new missions were established (Leeds and Leicester, 1777, and Hinckley, 1765), they lost their initiative when the English novitiate established in Bornhem, Flanders (1658) was driven away from there by the French Revolution. Further, the failed attempt at establishing a College and novitiate in Hinckley (1806-1814) led to the diminishing numbers of English Dominicans, in which merely nine fathers were all that remained in 1850 (59). Bede Jarrett, however, notes that

in 1814 the chapter met at Leicester, and as by now Carshalton had ceased to be in Dominican hands, the novitiate was formally transferred to Hinckley, where since 1765 a mission had been established. Here in 1822 another provincial chapter was held, which now so far believed in its own prospects of final settlement as to protest violently to the Master-General against the proposed amalgamation of England and America in one province. (198)

The diminishing numbers of Franciscans also has been preserved by their records; Francis Borgia Steck claims,

During the first half of the eighteenth century, the province prospered perhaps as never before or after. In 1756 it counted about 100 members, of whom, in 1758, at least 40 were active in England . . . Thus the Franciscans were enabled to rebuild some of their friaries, notably those at White Hill and York. In the latter place and at Edgbaston they conducted a school for boys; while the one at Osmotherly was soon restored to its former flourishing condition . . . The decline of the Second English Province became noticeable about the year 1770 . . . In 1813, the province numbered only twenty-one members, and, in 1838, but nine were left to attend the chapel held at Clifton" (330, 332, 333).

David Lunn, synthesizing Benedictine records, writes,

Two centuries after the morning star of English Benedictine revival arose, the French Revolution swept the communities into prison, though four of them survived and settled in England. The congregation retained its Counter-Reformation flavour, remaining largely untouched by new ideas, until mid-nineteenth century. (221)

To this bleak assessment of the Benedictines of the period between the Gordon riots and the Second Catholic Relief Act, Geoffrey Scott offers another perspective of the Benedictines in his recent analysis *Gothic Rage Undone*. Scott, noting the decline of the English Benedictine missions (the English Benedictine convents were located on the continent, particularly at Douai, Dielouard, and Lambspring), remarks,

A change in attitude between simplicity and ceremony, between the old type of Benedictine missionary and the new breed, can be pinpointed accurately in the 1780s, that is between the Relief Acts of 1778 and 1791. The 1785 General

Chapter forbade missionaries from introducing singing or music into their chapels without permission, and insisted that only the type of singing which increased piety be allowed. (126)

Directing attention to the change in Benedictine policies of this period, Scott intimates that despite the obvious decrease in the number of monks, the impact of the few were substantial enough to merit intervention. Besides the basis upon policy changes, Scott also produces accounts of lampoons from Bath and Bristol newspapers and journals dating from April 1778. The increase in Benedictine missionary presence and influence (in the countryside and in London) was the exception rather than the rule of Roman Catholic monastic orders in England.

What may be safely asserted is that most orders of monks and friars were slowly disappearing from the English landscape, ironically at the same time that writers in literature and history focused upon the meaning of asceticism.

9. See Mark Salber Phillips' *Society and Sentiment*, particularly the first chapter, for a discussion of the development of new approaches to historical composition. This chapter is an excellent introduction to the lectures of Hugh Blair in 1759 and 1760. Though Blair is more generally remembered for his *Lectures on Rhetoric*, which he published in 1783, and for his five volumes of sermons (published between 1777 and 1782), the lectures he gave in the early 1760s called for a more scientific approach to the presentation and analysis of history. Ironically, he then later defended the authenticity of Macpherson's *Ossian* in his *Dissertation* (1763).

See Victor Sage's preface for an excellent discussion of Protestant works, from various periods and sects, and their reinscription in Georgian culture. In particular, the republication history of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* serves to illustrate the waxing of anti-Catholic sentiment and fervor, particularly in 1780-84, 1791-94, 1800-5, 1815-19, 1825-33, 1837-42, 1850-54.

An investigation of November Fifth sermons would help illuminate the variety of Protestant responses (and comparing the virulence of these sermons to the republication history of Fox's *Acts and Monuments* offers a startling portrait of the cyclical nature of anti-Catholicism in Britain). A short listing of a few lurid titles here might sketch the point:

- [Anonymous] "Enquiry into the policy of the laws. An inquiry into the policy of the penal laws, affecting the popish inhabitants of Ireland. In which the history and constitution of that country, and the rights of colonies and planters are briefly considered."
- [Anonymous] "Pious memorials, a public good: a sermon, delivered in the Cathedral-church of St. Paul, before the ... Lord Mayor, ... on November 5, 1790."
- Caleb Evans's "British Freedom Realized. A Sermon, preached at Broadmead, Bristol, November 5, 1788, Being the Hundredth Anniversary of the Glorious Revolution."
- Caleb Evans's "The Remembrance of Former Days. A Sermon, preached at Broad-Mead, Bristol, November 5, 1778."
- Joseph Priestley's "The Conduct to be Observed by Dissenters in order to Procure the Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, Recommended in a Sermon,

preached before the Congregations of the Old and New Meetings, at Birmingham, November 5, 1789."

- Joseph Priestley's "The Importance and Extent of Free Inquiry in Matters of Religion: A Sermon, Preached Before the Congregations of the Old and New Meeting of Protestant Dissenters at Birmingham. November 5, 1785. To which are added, Reflections on the Present State of Free Inquiry in this Country."
- Abraham Rees' "The Obligation and Importance of Searching the Scriptures, as a Preservative from Popery. A Sermon Preached at Salters-Hall, November 5, 1779. to that Society, that Support the Lord's-day evening-lecture at that place."
- Henry Venn's "The perfect contrast: or the entire opposition of popery, to the religion of Jesus the son of God. A Sermon on James iii. Xvii. Preached at Clapham on Sunday November 5, 1758."

10. E.H.W. Meyerstein's *A Life of Thomas Chatterton* argues that — based on the models of James Macpherson's *Ossian* (which actually comprises three works purportedly translated from the Gaelic of a poet named Ossian, *Fragments of Ancient Poetry*, 1760, *Fingal*, 1762, and *Temora*, 1763), Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* (1764), and especially the first edition of Bishop Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765) — Chatterton was delighted by these antiquities and sought a way to capitalize on his interest and his recognition that many others felt likewise. He then suggests that the Bluecoat poet with his tonsure might well fancy himself a friar among his classmates at Colston's Charity, and possibly could have been inspired by the fact that he slept on the site of a Carmelite house. That Colston Hospital sat upon the site of the Carmelite friary has led Donald Taylor to connect the Carmelite friars who supposedly produced the play *The Parlyamente of Sprytes* with this biographical fact (Chatterton *Complete* II. 877). This idea that Chatterton's imagination and interest in the medieval led to his adoption of forged antiquities as his medium is also developed by A. Watkin-Jones in "Bishop Percy, Thomas Warton, and Chatterton's Rowley Poems (1773-1790)" and Nick Groom in "*Fragments, Reliques, & MSS: Chatterton and Percy.*"

Here I should mention that "Walpole! I thought not I should ever see," a sonnet ascribed to Chatterton and first printed in 1834, is one of the few extant holographs establishing Chatterton as the forger (and not scribe) of Rowley. Lines six and seven read: "Say, didst thou ne'er indulge in such Deceit? / Who wrote Otranto?" (Chatterton *Complete* I. 341). Donald Taylor conjectures that it might not be Chatterton's hand who wrote this sonnet, however: "I am not absolutely certain that B20930 is in C's hand. If it is not, it is written by someone who studied his hand" (Chatterton *Complete* II.986).

On a side note, Macpherson did not make the manuscripts readily available initially. As Boswell quotes Johnson in *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* (first published in 1785),

If the poems were really translated, they were first written down. Let Mr. Macpherson deposit the MS in one of the colleges at Aberdeen where there are people who can judge, and if the professors certify the authenticity, then there will be an end of the controversy. If he does not take this obvious and easy method, he gives the best reason to doubt, considering too how much is against it *a priori*. (*Journal of a Tour* 67)

Boswell elsewhere comments on Johnson's pronouncement, revealing that the originals had not been exhibited:

Why is not the original deposited in some public library, instead of exhibiting attestations of its existence? Suppose there was a question in a court of justice whether a man be dead or alive. You aver he is alive, and you bring fifty witnesses to swear it; I answer, 'Why do you not produce the man?' This is an argument founded on one of the first principles of the law of evidence.... That *Fingal* is not from beginning to end a translation of the Gaelic, but that *some* passages have been supplied by the editor to connect the whole, I have heard admitted by very warm advocates for its authenticity. If this be the case, why are not these distinctly ascertained? Antiquaries and admirers of the work may complain they are in a situation similar to that of the unhappy gentleman whose wife informed him, on her death-bed, that one of their reputed children was not his; and when he eagerly begged her to declare which one of them it was, she answered, "*That you shall never know,*" and expired, leaving him in irremediable doubt as to them all. (*Journal of a Tour* 380-81)

Johnson's comments upon the spuriousness of Rowley came close on the heels of his rejection of Ossian in *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (Jan. 1775). Johnson's legendary response to Macpherson — "what I have heard of your morals disposes me to pay regard not to what you shall say, but what you can prove" (*Letters* II. 169) — parallels his response to Hester Thral about Thomas Tyrwhitt and George Steevens (who were then gathering the Rowley materials for publication): "[George Steevens] came very anxiously to know the result of our enquiries, and though he says, he always thought them forged, is not quite pleased to find us so fully convinced" (*Letters* II. 332).

11. See, for instance, Bridget Keegan's "Nostalgic Chatterton: Fictions of Poetic Identity and the Forging of the Self-Taught Tradition" or Peter Ackroyd's fictionalized narrative *Chatterton*; Michael F. Suarez's "What Thomas Knew: Chatterton and the Business of Getting into Print" and his "'This Necessary Knowledge': Thomas Chatterton and the Ways of the London Book Trade."

The controversy did not continue full steam throughout the course of the nineteenth century. For instance, in the new edition of Chatterton's poems (1794), the editor prefaced the poems with these explanations:

The controversy concerning the authenticity of the Poems ascribed to Rowley, has called forth the abilities of the most competent judges; and has been free from the rancor and animosity which too often disgrace the page of the controversialist. Truth, and not just victory, appears to have been the aim of each party, but no decision, which can be regarded as final, has hitherto been given, upon this truly curious and important subject.... Many years have elapsed since the controversy subsided: to revive it is by no means the intention of the present Editor.
(Chatterton *Rowley* v)

Nevertheless, as W. Macneile Dixon explained in the Warton Lecture on English Poetry in 1930, "for long, indeed, scholars debated the authenticity of the Rowley poems as hotly as they debated the Ossian originals. Nor was the matter finally set at rest until the publication of his Essay on the Rowley Poems by Professor Skeat in 1891" (Dixon 15).

12. It would be misleading to suggest that Johnson was absolutely acerbic about literary forgery. He was, however, almost obsessive about telling the truth; as Boswell points out repeatedly throughout the *Life*, Johnson loathed lies. As Paul Baines puts it, "Indeed, Ossian is in many ways the exception rather than the rule as far as Johnson's supposed authority and mastery goes, for it is the one literary forgery which really provoked Johnson to a combative answer" (183).

Johnson's claim about Chatterton was first sent as a private letter to Edmond Malone, dated March 7, 1782. In it, Johnson made the claim that "In Ossian there is national pride, which may be forgiven, though it cannot be applauded. In Chatterton there is nothing but the resolution to say again what has once been said" (*Life* IV. 163). While Boswell was compiling the *Life*, he received from Malone this explanation of the letter from Johnson:

This note was in answer to one which accompanied one of the earliest pamphlets on the subject of Chatterton's forgery, entitled *Cursory Observations on the Poems attributed to Thomas Rowley, &c.* Mr. Thomas Warton's very able *Inquiry* appeared about three months afterwards; and Mr. Tyrwhitt's admirable *Vindication of his Appendix* in the summer of the same year, left the believers in this daring imposture nothing but 'the resolution to say again what had been said before.' (*Life* IV. 163)

By the time Boswell's life of Johnson was published in 1791, Johnson's (and Boswell's) pronouncements within served as a coda for the debate:

On Monday, April 29, [1776] he and I made an excursion to Bristol, where I was entertained with seeing him enquire upon the spot, into the authenticity of 'Rowley's Poetry,' as I had seen him enquire upon the spot into the authenticity of 'Ossian's Poetry' We called on Mr. Barret, the surgeon, and saw some of the *originals* as they were called, which were executed very artificially; but from a careful inspection of them, and a consideration of the circumstances with which they were attended, we were quite satisfied of the imposture, which, indeed, has been clearly demonstrated from internal evidence, by several able critics Johnson said of Chatterton, 'This is the most extraordinary young man that has encountered my knowledge. It is wonderful how the whelp has written such things.' (*Life* III. 58, 59)

13. By the time Chatterton committed suicide — an act that is, to this day, contested by biographers such as Louise J. Kaplan who support Meyerstein's claim of accidental overdose of venereal disease medication — he had assumed more than a dozen masks of personae who lived across five centuries, all before he reached the age of seventeen. Alternately, in his own voice he would comment upon his persona's work, assuming an antiquarian's knowledge of architecture, music, literature, and history.

Chatterton alternated between calling Rowley a monk or a priest. For instance, in his initial letter to Horace Walpole, March 25, 1769, he calls Rowley a priest (perhaps in reference to the work he did in October 1768 in the creation of "from the Life of Thomas Rowlie Preeste"), a title he would repeat in the head notes to "An Excelente Balade of Charitie" on July 4, 1770. In a letter written to *Town and Country Magazine* on March 4, 1769, merely three and a half weeks before his initial contact with Walpole, Chatterton called Rowley a monk. If Chatterton presented Rowley as a Dominican, (and it is unclear

whether he really sought that fine a distinction) Rowley could historically alternate between these two roles without being contradictory. See *The Complete Works*, pp. 51-56, 252, 259, and 645.

14. The early history of the controversy immediately following Chatterton's death is excellently summarized by Groom in his "*Fragments, Reliques, & MSS: Chatterton and Percy*." This article presents much of the early terms of the debate and recounts the history of the (then) known extant "manuscripts" — with obvious emphasis placed upon Bishop Percy's role in the controversy. As Groom puts it, "Percy's entire reputation — his career — was at stake in the Rowley controversy. Attacks on his integrity ranged from snide insinuation to outright libel" (201). Indeed, his involvement is checkered: "By delaying publication [of his Rowley manuscripts] for four years, losing a brace of parchments, and contributing to Warton's immediate riposte [in *The History of English Poetry*], Percy had probably done enough damage already, and he had also been prevailed upon by James Dodsley to publish a third edition of *Reliques* in 1775, presumably to capitalize on the burgeoning Rowley fashion" (202).

15. The epithet "Rowleian" does not do justice to those who argued against Warton and Walpole.

Their assault was not to claim "authenticity" per se but to reconsider the way in which historical inquiry and textual analysis was conducted on antiquarian material. Perhaps the better term for the disputants would be the style camp (those who asserted that the poetic meter, rhyme scheme, and phraseology was not of the era based upon their extensive knowledge of poetry — and this camp would include Warton) and the substance camp (those who asserted that the phraseology is similar enough to warrant a complete investigation of all manuscripts of the period and region — and this camp would include Milles). I shall continue, however, to use the previously articulated names in my discussion of the debate.

16. In an otherwise excellent analysis, Grazia Lolla has oversimplified the controversy to a mere conflict between the forces of self-appointed Augustan cognoscenti and unsophisticated (though not incapable) antiquarian enthusiasts. This classist argument is accurate only to a degree, especially considering that Warton's *History of English Poetry* is neither linear nor celebratory of the achievements of Augustan poets, as Grazia Lolla suggests. Indeed, much of the latter coolness between Johnson and Warton relates to this very point. David Fairer, the editor of Warton's *Correspondence*, refers to this point by stating:

During its writing the *History* began turning round on itself, pursuing the retrospect rather than the official pattern of improvement and progress. The key to what is only an apparent contradiction lies in the notion of the recovery of the past, a process of literary archaeology, or unlayering, in which personal conviction combined with a deep knowledge of the remains of former ages in an attempt to locate and reanimate hidden sources of poetic inspiration. This aim set Warton at variance with his great contemporary, Dr. Johnson. Their principles of literary value were opposed and their canons incompatible.... (as qtd in Warton *Correspondence* xix)

Fairer further develops Warton's position by contrasting him to Percy: "Where Percy worked to accommodate his ballad material to the present by a kind of gentrification that adapted the past to the polite sensibilities of his own age, Warton's material somehow always resisted accommodation, and in spite of his occasional gestures towards smoothness and elegance, it is usually the curious or exotic that stirs his interest" (as qtd in Warton *Correspondence* xxii). Had Grazia Lolla restricted this classist argument to Walpole, she would have had more substantiation, as Walpole considered the medieval period as one in marked by "the muddy poetry of three or four centuries that never had a poet" (Walpole *Correspondence* 28:385).

Thomas Tyrwhitt, in 1777, explains why the argument must rest over the internal evidence in the first preface to *Poems, Supposed to Have Been Written at Bristol, by Thomas Rowley, and Others, in the Fifteenth Century*:

Whatever may have been his part in [the controversy]; whether he was the author, or only the copier (as he constantly asserted) of all these productions; he appears to have kept the secret entirely to himself, and not to have put it in the power of any other person, to bear certain testimony either to his fraud or to his veracity.

The question therefore concerning the authenticity of these Poems must be now decided by an examination of the fragments upon vellum, which Mr. Barrett received from Chatterton as part of his original MSS. and by the internal evidence which the several pieces afford. If the Fragments shall be judged to be genuine, it will still remain to be determined, how far their genuineness should serve to authenticate the rest of the collection, of which no copies, older than those made by Chatterton, have ever been produced. On the other hand, if the writing of the Fragments shall be judged to be counterfeit and forged by Chatterton, it will not of necessity follow, that the matter of them was also forged by him, and still less, that all the other compositions which he professed to have copied from the antient MSS. were merely inventions of his own. In either case, the decision must finally depend upon the internal evidence. (Chatterton *Rowley* xi-xii)

Tyrwhitt, in his notably impartial preface, laid the basis of the controversy to rest upon a thorough examination of the internal evidence.

17. Indeed, Warton's point that the external evidence did not need to be examined, which comes from *An Enquiry into the Authenticity of the Poems Attributed to Thomas Rowley* (1782), appears alongside this one:

It may seem matter of surprise, that the venerable Gothic vaulting of the antient muniment-room in Redcliffe church had no charms to draw me to Bristol, in the united character of critic and antiquary! That I was inexorable to the many pressing invitations of Mr. George Catcott! ... The truth is, the internal proofs had always appeared to me so convincing ... as to supersede the expediency of collecting facts, and of attending to any external arguments. (as qtd in Walpole *Correspondence* 456)

Some of the "original" manuscripts did exist, and one in particular — *The Acconte of W. Canynges Feast* — was engraved and printed with the 1777 edition of the Rowley poems. The discrepancy to be noted on this page was spotted by Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, who forwarded it to Thomas Warton along with a witty repartee concerning the

inability of antiquarians to consider the alphabetical features of Middle English (in this instance the presence of the character "þ") during the controversy:

It is not strange that Antiquaries, who generally deal in bad prose, should have no ear for Poetry, & be incapable of discerning between the rhymes of one age & another. But what surprises me is that Canninge's *Fac simile* should not have purged their eye-sight. it [sic] is not the writing of any particular age; it has not so much as an alphabet. & you may observe, in the last line but two, a modern hand peeping out at 'thank'. (Warton *Correspondence* 606)

18. For further insight into the controversy, see the recently published six-volume set, which is prefaced with an excellent overview of the material.

19. This was not the only time that Chatterton would defend monasticism; see also his letter to Walpole on April 14, 1769 (Chatterton *Complete* I. 272).

20. Pursuing this further, Donald Taylor has discovered a connection with one of Chatterton's known historical sourcebooks: "Aldhelme is praised in *Britannia*, p. 86, as 'the first Saxon that ever wrote in Latin, and the first that ever taught the Saxons the method of composing Latin verse'. In fuller, century eight, paragraph four, this man is called Adelme and Fuller adds, 'He wrote many Works. . . And about this time [c. 705], the Libraries of Monasteries began to be replenished with Books, many being written in that Age.' All of this would have interested C in the name" (Chatterton *Complete* II. 859).

21. Within several months of this letter, his second volume went to press, including a substantial section of twenty-five pages devoted to Rowley, in which he concludes "It is with regret that I find myself obliged to pronounce Rowlie's poems to be spurious" (*Correspondence* 343).

22. Despite Roy Flannagan's efforts to undercut Milton's presentation of the Roman Catholic orders of monasticism, "Il Penseroso" is ambiguous where Flannagan's glosses imply more certainty. For instance, Flannagan claims that the "studious Cloysters pale" of line 155 is "probably not the cloister of a Roman Catholic monastery but the cloister of a university college, as at Cambridge, where chapels usually are present in each older college," neglecting to mention — or perhaps not making explicit — that Cambridge itself once housed monasteries (Milton 77). Further, when Flannagan glosses the ending lines of the poem, "And may at last my weary age / Find out the peacefull hermitage, / The Hairy Gown and Mossy Cell, where I may sit and rightly spell" (ll. 167-70), he asserts,

in view of Milton's later career as antiprelatical and Anti-Roman Catholic pamphleteer and as the author of Sonnet 18, "Avenge O Lord," the image in "Il Penseroso" of the author in his projected old age as a hermit wearing a hair shirt and living in a mossy monastic cell seems regressive, as does the author's reverence for nuns, cloisters, stained glass, dark chapels, and anthems. (Milton 77)

Milton's uncharacteristic sympathy for monasticism is further evinced by the fact that "hermit" in the seventeenth century was not distinguished from "monk." Warton, in his poem, also presents the same ambiguity.

23. One Hume quotation from *Enquiries Concerning Human Understanding and Concerning the Principles of Morals* should suffice in illustrating the extent to which the anti-Catholic tenor was sounded:

Celibacy, fasting, penance, mortification, self-denial, humility, silence, solitude, and the whole train of monkish virtues; for what reason are they everywhere rejected by men of sense, but because they serve to no manner of purpose; neither advance a man's fortune in the world, nor render him a more valuable member of society; neither qualify him for the entertainment of company, nor increase his power of self-enjoyment? (270)

I quote this passage in order to qualify the point that, though Hume advanced some unfashionable sentiments concerning Catholics, he generally considered the Catholic faith from a detached and pragmatic position and found fault with the irrational focus on otherworldliness. Like Gibbon who was a "mirror ... of Hume" (Foster 202), he considered monasticism to be contrary to the advancement of morality. In this regard, Foster's analysis of the Hume and Gibbon attack on Christianity is important — though with one crucial caveat not mentioned by S. P. Foster: Hume conflated the notion of monasticism with eremitism, missing the community-serving orientation of friars' vows. Gibbon, however, at times recognized such a distinction:

The monks were divided into two classes: the *Coenobites*, who lived under a common and regular discipline; and the *Anachorets*, who indulged their unsocial, independent fanaticism. The most devout, or the most ambitious, of the spiritual brethren renounced the convent, as they had renounced the world. (*Decline* IV.37: 78)

Despite the obvious sarcasm behind the words, Gibbon does make a distinction between varieties of monasticism. Perhaps out of custom, however, he often did not make it a habit to distinguish habits:

the Ascetics fled from a profane and degenerate world to perpetual solitude or religious society.... [they] assumed the names of *Hermits*, *Monks*, and *Anachorets*, expressive of their lonely retreat in a natural or artificial desert. They soon acquired the respect of the world, which they despised; and the loudest applause was bestowed on this DIVINE PHILOSOPHY, which surpassed, without the aid of science or reason, the laborious virtues of the Grecian schools. (*Decline* IV.37: 63)

24. Anti-Catholicism was not a dominant chord among writers throughout the eighteenth century. As Peter Ghosh notes, "English anti-Catholicism in the eighteenth century was a trivial, not a mainstream, pursuit" ("Conception" 291). Nonetheless, as Haydon points out in his study, *Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England*, anti-Catholicism "was bound up in its function of social bonding.... It encouraged a sense of patriotism, projecting 'un-English' attributes on to foreigners.... Anti-Catholicism could also bind the nation together when ideological or political tensions were marked" (253).

On another note, scholars often recognize that Enlightenment historians' bias against the medieval period (and by extension, monasticism and the papacy) to be a consequence not of a belief in perfectibility (or social progress) but of a reasoned critique of superstition (cf. Porter's *Enlightenment* and J.G.A. Pocock's *Barbarism and Religion*, vol. 1). J.G.A. Pocock, however, notes that Hume considered England's medieval past to provide conditions much more conducive to Enlightenment ideals (cf. *Barbarism and Religion*, vol. 2).

For an alternate, though similar, view of monasticism, consider Samuel Johnson's third sermon (written for John Taylor, Prebendary of Westminster, as a reflection upon *Proverbs* 28:14):

Under the terrors which this prospect of the world has impressed upon them, many have endeavored to secure their innocence, by excluding the possibility of crimes; and have fled for refuge, from vanity and sin, to the solitude of deserts; where they have passed their time in woods and caverns; and after a life of labour and maceration, prayer and penitence, died at last in secrecy and silence.

Many more, of both sexes, have withdrawn, and still withdraw themselves, from crowds and glitter, and pleasure, to monasteries and convents; where they engage themselves, by irrevocable vows, in certain modes of life, more or less austere, according to the several institutions; but all of them comprizing many positive hardships, and all prohibiting almost all sensual gratifications. The fundamental and general principle of all monastic communities, is celibacy, poverty, and obedience to the superiour. In some, there is a perpetual abstinence from all food that may join delight with nourishment and solitude; — to suffer, to watch, and to pray, is their whole employment.

Of these, it must be confessed, that they fear always, and that they escape many temptations, to which all are exposed, and by which many fall, who venture themselves into the whirl of human affairs; they are exempt from avarice, and all its concomitants, and by allowing themselves to possess nothing, they are free from those contests for honour and power, which fill the open world with stratagems and violence. But surely it cannot be said that they have reached the perfection of a religious life, it cannot be allowed, that flight is victory; or that he fills his place in the creation laudably, who does no ill, *only* because he does *nothing*. Those who live upon that which is produced by the labour of others, could not live, if there were none to labour; and if celibacy could be universal, the race of man must soon have an end.

Of these recluses, it may, without uncharitable censure, be affirmed; that they have secured their innocence, by the loss of their virtue; that to avoid the commission of some faults, they have made many duties impracticable; and that lest they should do what they ought *not* to do, they leave much *undone*, which they ought to *do*. They must however be allowed, to express a just sense of the dangers, with which we are surrounded; and a strong conviction of the vigilance necessary to obtain salvation; and it is our business to avoid the errors, and imitate their piety.

He is happy that carries about with him in the world the temper of the cloister; and preserves the fear of doing evil, while he suffers himself to be impelled by the zeal of doing good.... (*Sermons* 32-33)

Johnson obviously presents the monastic life as a retreat from the struggles of the earth, or to borrow the terms of the parable of talents (Matt 25:14-30, Luke 19:2-27), as a burying of one's talents. By calling attention to the fact that monks are living off the labor of others, Johnson echoes many Protestant and Anglican writers on the topic. Where he is different, and resembles both Gibbon and Hume, is that he recognizes some benefits of monasticism; in Johnson's case, (as opposed to Gibbon and Hume who find historical benefits of monasticism) their boon is their impulse to piety, their desire to lead a faultless life (though this boon is entwined with their error of retreat rather than engagement with the world's woes). Johnson's evident lack of distinction between orders that retreat from the world and those that engage with it illustrates yet again the imprecise nature found in the definition of "monk" and "friar."

Elsewhere Johnson draws out the claim that monasticism's error is in this removal from the world. For instance, in his second sermon, he writes,

To false notions of repentance many nations owe the custom, which prevails among them, of retiring in the decline of life to solitudes and cloysters, to atone for wickedness by penance and mortifications.....That particular state which contributes most to excite and stimulate our inordinate passions, may be changed with very good effect; but any retirement from the world does not necessarily precede or follow repentance, because it is not requisite to reformation. (*Sermons* 21, 22)

Thus Johnson asserts that the cloistered life does not improve one spiritually, not only because of its removal from temptation but also because it does not come with a genuine interest in active reform of character. In *Rasselas*, Johnson offers an extended reflection upon the monastic life in the forty-seventh chapter recognizing its merits as valid but not the greater good:

Do you think...that the monastick rule is a more holy and less imperfect state than any other? May not he equally hope for future happiness who converses openly with mankind, who succours the distressed by his charity, instructs the ignorant by his learning, and contributes by his industry to the general system of life...?

is...is a question which has long divided the wise, and perplexed the good. I am afraid to decide on either part. He that lives well in the world is better than he that lives well in a monastery. But, perhaps, every one is not able to stem the temptations of publick life; and, if he cannot conquer, he may properly retreat. Some have little power to do good, and have likewise little strength to resist evil. Many are weary of their conflicts with adversity, and are willing to eject those passions which have long busied them in vain....In monasteries the weak and timorous may be happily sheltered, the weary may repose, and the penitent may meditate. Those retreats of prayer and contemplation have something so congenial to the mind of man, that, perhaps, there is scarcely one that does not purpose to close his life in pious abstraction with a few associates serious as himself.

(*Rasselas* 143-44)

Through the learned discourse of Imlac, Johnson describes the monastic life as lesser than one of active works of charity and the proper use of one's talents. Still, Johnson does not excoriate the religious recluse, because he recognizes that not everyone is suited to overcome temptations and conquer passions. This sentiment — that the restraint of

temptation may lead to virtue despite the fact that virtue does not necessarily come from self-denial — recurs in the *Rambler* (compare also the extended discussion of solitude and the religious recluse in the 126th *The Adventurer*). For instance, in number 110, he recalls Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* to claim that "austerity is the proper antidote to indulgence....[but]that austerity which fails to rectify our affections [is] vain and unavailing" (*Rambler* IV. 225). In number 202, he expands this idea:

The same fallacy has conciliated veneration to the religious orders. When we behold a man abdicating the hope of terrestrial possessions, and precluding himself by an irrevocable vow from the pursuit and acquisition of all that his fellow beings consider as worthy of wishes and endeavors, we are immediately struck with the purity, abstraction, and firmness of mind, and regard him as wholly employed in securing the interests of futurity, and devoid of any other care than to gain at whatever price the surest passage to eternal rest.

Yet, what can the votary be justly said to have lost of his present happiness? If he resides in a convent, he converses only with men whose condition is the same with his own; he has from the munificence of the founder all the necessities of life, and is safe from that "destitution, which" Hooker declares to be "such an impediment to virtue as, till it be removed, suffereth not the mind of man to admit any other care." All temptations to envy and competition are shut out from his retreat.... (*Rambler* V. 290)

Johnson here asserts that the historical practice of monasticism tended to breed a type of idleness or laxity on account of its removal from temptation. He also considered the practice of self-denial to be tainted by such instances in which the regularized practice diminishes its significance (especially when removed from significant sources of temptation or forces against which to struggle); as he later wrote in the fifty-second *The Idler* "but the doctrine of self-denial is not weakened in itself by the errors of those who misinterpret or misapply it" (162).

Boswell portrays Johnson equivocating when it comes to monasticism. In one instance, he claims that religious retirement is idleness: "all severity that does not tend to increase good, or prevent evil, is idle" (*Life* II. 498). Quoting a letter from Johnson to Joseph Baretti of 1761, Boswell highlights Johnson's disregard for the monastic life because it illustrates human weakness: "Men will submit to any rule, by which they may be exempted from the tyranny of caprice and of chance. They are glad to supply by external authority their want of constancy and resolution, and court the government of others, when long experience has convinced them of their own inability to govern themselves" (*Life* I. 422). On a journey with Boswell to St. Andrew's, however, Boswell quotes Johnson's admiration of the monastic life: "I never read of a hermit, but in imagination I kiss his feet; never of a monastery, but I could fall on my knees and kiss the pavement. But I think of putting young people there, who know nothing of life, nothing of retirement, is dangerous and wicked" (*Life* V. 70).

As this study proposes, the definition of monasticism became clarified when writers recognized the difference between those who actively served in the world and those who retreated from it. The process begins in the mid-eighteenth century when writers and historians reconsidered monasticism beyond the pale of Protestant criticism. In the examples produced above, Johnson, like Gibbon and Hume, assigned value to monasticism. My point, however, is not to emphasize that writers of this period extolled

the benefits of monasticism, or revealed a profound respect for religious retirement (which overstates and confounds the plain truth). Instead I find that the reconsideration instigated a larger cultural movement to redefine the virtues and vices of the religious life. For instance, Johnson's guarded justification for monasteries reveals this reconsideration: "If convents should be allowed at all, they should only be retreats for persons unable to serve the public, or who have served it. It is our first duty to serve society, and, after we have done that, we may attend wholly to the salvation of our own souls" (*Life* II. 11-12). Johnson redefines religious retirement to be a station housing those who have or cannot serve society and thus should attend to their own salvation — and this sentiment (first made public in 1791) parallels Hume's and Gibbon's equally guarded recognition of monasticism's benefits. As this study will disclose, the reconsideration eventually and earnestly defined three interchangeable words — "monk," "friar," and "hermit" — and led to the establishing of monastic orders in a church that began its life with the dissolution of those very same institutions.

25. My use of the term "popular" should not elide the fact that Hume's *History* raised many objections, and initially was not very successful. In "My own Life" Hume succinctly traces the public's response to his first volume (on the Stuarts):

I was, I own, sanguine in my expectations of the success of the work. I thought that I was the only historian that had at once neglected present power, interest, and authority, and the cry of popular prejudices; and as the subject was suited to every capacity, I expected proportional applause. But miserable was my disappointment: I was assailed by one cry of reproach, disapprobation, and even detestation; English, Scotch, and Irish, whig and tory, churchman and sectary, freethinker and religionist, patriot and courtier, united in their rage against the man who had presumed to shed a generous tear for the fate of Charles I and the Earl of Strafford; and after the first ebullitions of their fury were over, what was still mortifying, the book seemed to sink into oblivion. Mr. Miller told me, that in a twelvemonth he sold only forty-five copies of it. (viii)

As indicated in the preceding quotation, some of the initial objections to the work revolve around the politics of historical presentation.

Despite these objections, Hume's work could be recognized as balanced (if not currying favor with the dominant powers) even by those whose beliefs were denounced as narrow. Geoffrey Scott quotes the recollection of Andrew Lumisden, assistant secretary to the Pretender in France, of Abbot Augustine Walker on Hume's recently published *History of England*: "I think Hume himself totally unprejudiced. I think this opinion [i.e., Hume's being prejudiced] gained ground in England from jealousies and disputes..." (as qtd in Scott *Gothic* 75).

The *History of England* went through several dozen editions, with no one edition established as the standard. As a consequence, the pagination and placement of chapters and appendices vary from edition to edition. Current scholarship seems to prefer the Liberty Classics edition, which is based upon the deathbed edition (though published 1777-78) and incorporates his final changes. Duncan Forbes highlights these changes in *Hume's Philosophical Politics* (New York: Cambridge, 1975), most of which can be found between pages 233-324. The interesting publication history is discussed by the

standard biography, Ernest Cambell Mossner *The Life of David Hume*, 2 ed. (New York: Oxford UP, 1980) on pages 301-318.

When I cite from this edition, I shall provide the book and chapter number before the page number.

26. By Rankean, I do not mean to imply Haydon White's reductive analysis of Leopold von Ranke's work to the criteria of the "organicist argument" — that White posits in *Metahistory* (in short, the assertion is that Ranke understood history as a process that can be reduced to laws of development, out of which an integrated entity — a narrative which is more significant than any of the facts individually — can and ought to be discovered and explained). Instead, I hold von Ranke as the champion of a certain kind of historical analysis, one that is based upon careful archival research and supported primarily by written record and documentation. For further consideration of this point, see Keith Windschuttle's seventh chapter in *The Killing of History: How a Discipline is Being Murdered by Literary Critics and Social Theorists* (Paddington, Australia: Macleay, 1996).

27. I am indebted to this consideration of polite and refined albeit political positions of Georgian essayists to Nicholas Phillipson (pp. 53 ff), I. Kramnick, and Quentin Skinner.

28. Hume's conflation of "friar" and "monk" can be witnessed in this passage:

In several places, particularly in the county of Oxford, great interest was made to preserve some convents of women, who, as they lived in the most irreproachable manner, justly merited, it was thought, that their houses should be saved from the general destruction. There appeared also great difference between the case of nuns and that of friars; and the one institution might be laudable, while the other was exposed to much blame. The males of all ranks, if endowed with industry, might be of service to the public; and none of them could want employment, suited to his station and capacity. But a woman of a family, who failed of a settlement in the married state, an accident to which such persons were more liable than women of lower station, had really no rank which she properly filled: and a convent was a retreat both honourable and agreeable, from the inutility and often want, which attended her situation. But the king was determined to abolish monasteries of every denomination; and probably thought, that these ancient establishments would be the sooner forgotten, if no remains of them, of any kind, were allowed to subsist in the kingdom. (Hume *History* 3.31.252)

Hume's antipathy toward monks — for he most clearly refers both here and elsewhere to their retreat from the world as a strain upon economy — can be attributed to what Max Weber would later term the "Protestant work ethic." Though Hume was skeptical of Scotch Presbyterianism, it most clearly influences him (as it would influence Thomas Carlyle some two generations hence).

29. Some of these monstrosities he decides to name:

Monstrous disorders are therefore said to have been found in many of the religious houses: Whole convents of women abandoned to lewdness: Signs of abortions procured, of infants murdered, of unnatural lusts between persons of the

same sex. It is indeed probable, that the blind submission of the people, during those ages, would render the friars and nuns more unguarded, and more dissolute, than they are in any Roman Catholic country at present: But still, the reproaches, which it is safest to credit, are such as point at vices, naturally connected with the very institution of convents, and with the monastic life. (Hume *History* 3.31.228)

Hume's return to the present here is most interesting and instructive. As Hume puts it, friars and nuns in eighteenth-century Europe were less likely to commit such monstrosities because they can no longer rely on "the blind submission of the people," thus rendering them more circumspect and careful. This is not to say, however, that Hume is even slightly interested in advancing the causes of monasticism in the world. Instead, he points out that retreating from the world into self-contained enclaves necessitates an abandonment of some principal attributes of humanity and inevitably encourages the vices long associated with monasticism.

30. As one writer notes, Gibbon criticized the rise of Protestantism with the expression "'the nature of the tiger was the same,' though he qualifies the statement by adding that he had been 'gradually deprived of his teeth and fangs'" (as qtd in McCloy 30). McCloy points out the ironic connection Gibbon suggests between medieval monasticism and early Protestantism, in that they both considered the "deity as 'a cruel and capricious tyrant'.... The monks he condemns for practically the same thing: 'The folly of the monks is extreme, in thinking that God took pleasure in the sufferings of his creatures'" (30). By condemning Protestantism and monasticism, Gibbon presents a new (if not completely unbiased) presentation of the history of monasticism, which, like Hume, weighed against monasticism for its abuses and its lack of human sympathy (a trait he would confirm in the humanists of classical Rome). Another scholar notes, "Still Gibbon was too interested in bias — as we call it — in prejudice — as he called it — to think himself capable of an absolute freedom: occasionally he allowed, half-humorously, that his own detachment might be imperfect" (Chadwick 224).

31. Craddock is quick to point out that Gibbon revised or excised many vitriolic passages from the earlier volumes of *The Rise and Fall*, a fact that she associates with his awareness and response to his readership. David Womersley adds, "Gibbon's desire for literary celebrity led him to lace chapters 15 and 16 with some sophisticated, but inessential, irreligious and deistical language.... For the second edition, therefore ... some of the most egregiously misjudged instances of tone and language were removed or moderated" (214).

32. Current scholarship disagrees whether Gibbon's anti-Catholic (and anti-Christian, for that matter) expressions were a consequence of his conversion and renunciation of Catholicism in his youth. Patricia Craddock, for instance, analyzes the fifteenth chapter's rhetoric to support her position that a "personal grievance" motivated the tenor and tone of his commentary (61). Owen Chadwick muses,

Gibbon stabbed at Baronius to amuse, but so often that the reader begins to ask whether the motive was only amusement, and to wonder whether it mattered, deep down in his historical attitude, that once Gibbon was converted to Catholicism, and whether the onslaught grew to excess because the historian needed to reassure

himself about a youthful past which so long ago he thought himself to have exorcised. (230)

Chadwick's position has a long history associated with it, one which first appears in print in *The Theological Miscellany* in 1784 by an anonymous author who relates the facts of Gibbon's conversion to Catholicism (McCloy 128). Womersley, however, asserts that to ascribe Gibbon's tone to personal and biographical detail is to support the early and misguided hostile analyses of Gibbon:

One popular explanation of these chapters [i.e., chapters 15 and 16] — that Gibbon was taking revenge on Christianity for the sufferings he had endured after his conversion to Catholicism — I find quite discountenanced by the evidence of the revisions to the first three editions of volume I. This interpretation seems to have arisen with Porson, to have attracted Sainte-Beuve, and most recently to have ensnared Patricia Craddock. (216)

33. The standard scholarly edition of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* is Bury's seven-volume second edition, published between 1909-14. This edition offers, in brackets, editorial remarks on Gibbon's accuracy (with page numbers, volumes, or dates) as well as appendices, which bring Gibbon's scholarship more in tune with research done since his death. Recently, its general availability has diminished. Consequently, whenever I cite from this work, I shall offer the volume number (in roman numerals), followed by the chapter number (in Arabic numerals), followed by the page number.

For those interested in studying the revisions to the first three editions of *The Decline and Fall*, Craddock's succinct article "Gibbon's Revision of the *Decline and Fall*" offers an overview of the editions (a list of which appears in Bury's edition of *The Decline and Fall*) and some introductory remarks about these editions and the alterations. Womersley offers additional insights, focused primarily on the first volume and its three primary authorial revisions in "Gibbon and the 'Watchmen of the Holy City': revision and religion in the *Decline and Fall*."

34. Though Foster's study of Hume and Gibbon, *Melancholy Duty*, gathers many felicitous comparisons, it sometimes lapses on account of ambiguous language and unsubstantiated claims (see, in particular, his unsupported — and untenable in the volume of *Decline and Fall* that he mentions — position that Gibbon compares monks to bugs in this same chapter). The merit and scholarly rigor by which he advances his thesis — that Hume's and Gibbon's assaults on Christianity were based more upon humanist principles regarding the utility of a society and the progress of humanity than upon a renunciation of contemporary religious and theological perspectives — significantly overshadows these few lapses and oversights.

35. See, for instance, Maggie Kilgour's *The Rise of the Gothic Novel*. In this work she develops the thesis that the emergence of the Protestant bourgeois culture, which became fascinated with Britain's past, encouraged Gothic recreations and reconsiderations of history and religion:

The Gothic is symptomatic of a nostalgia for the past which idealises the medieval world as one of organic wholeness.... This retrospective view of the past

serves to contrast it with a modern bourgeois society made up of atomistic possessive individuals.... (11)

36. Literary historians often quibble about the seminal works of any genre, and Gothic fiction is no exception. For those interested in pursuing the quest for primacy, to determine whether Gothic fiction began with Walpole or by another English writer or by a European writer, refer to Punter's succinct (though somewhat tendentious) first two chapters. Consider Haggerty's Foucauldian analysis, which dismisses as unproductive the point that

Various literary historians have attempted to pinpoint the origins of the Gothic novel. Antiquarian interest in Gothic architecture, changing popular tastes, frustration with 'reason,' new concepts of subjectivity and emotional response, including theories of 'pleasurable terror' or the 'sublime,' the politics of individualism, the French Revolution — all these things have been posited, more or less successfully, as explanations for the emergence of the Gothic novel in the later eighteenth century. (221)

Alongside this claim, one may want also to refer to Sister Tarr's review in her unsurpassed analysis of Catholic materials in Gothic fiction:

When, however, Walpole changed the wording on the title page of his second edition to read 'A Gothic Story,' he set in motion a current of criticism that has not yet exhausted the possibilities of defining and describing the qualities peculiar to Gothicism. In the article in which he explains how the word *Gothic* progressed from its original status as a term designating a barbarous people, through service as a synonym for *barbarous*, into its function as a cliché in criticism, Alfred Longueuil makes clear that Walpole meant simply to classify *The Castle of Otranto* as a *medieval* story when he wrote *Gothic* into his title. Since his medieval, or Gothic, story was so thoroughly saturated with the supernatural, however, the word *Gothic* took unto itself the connotation of *ghostly*; and *medieval*, *ghostly*, and *Gothic* became one. As writers tended to over-emphasize the supernatural, *Gothic* gradually strengthened its connection with *ghostly* at the expense of weakening its affiliation with *medieval*. (4, 5)

Tarr adds that

Gothic fiction, according to the definition set forth in this study, is an outgrowth of sentimental fiction and shares with it as basic content a story of love and adventure. There are marks of Gothic fiction, however, distinguishing it from sentimental fiction and serving to identify it as a specific kind of literature. The first of these, melodramatic sentimentality, is an extension and intensification of the emphasis on sensibility notable in all sentimental fiction. The second, an element of terror, supernatural in origin or not, as the case may be, serves to induce melodramatic sentimentality. The third mark is medievalism, the utilization of materials out of a vague past or a present, remote in place. (88)

37. In this context, we may profitably examine Richard Hurd's use of "Gothic." In *Letters on Chivalry and Romance* (1762), he writes

The greatest geniuses of our own and foreign countries, such as Ariosto and Tasso in Italy, and Spenser and Milton in England, were seduced by these barbarities of

their forefathers; were even charmed by the Gothic Romances. Was this caprice and absurdity in them? Or, may there not be something in the Gothic Romance peculiarly suited to the views of a genius, and to the ends of poetry? (Hurd 4)

In this instance, "Gothic" connotes the barbarities of an unrefined and ancient civilization — as compared to the classically ornate and refined of post-Renaissance Europe. Yet Hurd also avers such peculiarities have the ability to charm and seduce in a way that discovers their untutored genius. Thus, Gothic here, though located in a past, unenlightened age, entices reader and writer alike with the possibility of the sublime.

Neither Samuel Johnson nor Thomas Sheridan defines Gothic in their respective dictionaries. John Kersey's definition focuses solely upon architecture.

More contemporary attempts at defining the word have offered alluring leads, but not a satisfying and comprehensive definition. For instance, Mark Madoff presents the case that the term is bifurcated in that it signifies both the rational (Reeve's *The Old English Baron*) and the wildly violent (Lewis's *The Monk*). Longeuil's work offers some insight into the pejorative sense of Gothic during this period.

38. For a pithy discussion of the meanings of Gothic, I refer the reader to David Punter's *The Gothic Tradition*, especially pp. 16-18.

39. Again, Sister Tarr offers a succinct consideration of the theology in Gothic fiction by noting,

The reasoning faculty of the characters in Gothic fiction functions unimpeded to examine the teachings of the Catholic Church, but their emotions sweep rationalistic evaluation aside when they are confronted with Catholic practices. Held as though spellbound by strains of solemn chant and the glow of candles seen through incense-laden air, they are willing to yield to the attractiveness of Catholic ceremonial and the allure of Catholic practices without stopping to examine their *raison d'être*. Catholic ceremonial and practice, in the Gothic novel, are divorced from dogma. The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and the administration of the sacraments are functions of a vague religiosity that gratify the senses but never change the status of the soul. The tenets of 'monkish superstition,' as translated into action by the characters of Gothic fiction, become a prolific source of scenes and situations conducive to arousing 'pious terror' and 'solemn yet delightful emotion.' (43)

Through the citation of several dozen instances of Catholic ceremony, Sister Tarr adds the weight of evidence to support her claim that engagement with Catholic dogma is not at the heart of Gothic fiction. Instead, as she so ably demonstrates elsewhere, Catholic practice is more often used to heighten the sentimentality of a passage, is more often used to generate scenes of melodrama — requiem masses, deathbed scenes requiring extreme unction, hastily arranged marriage sacraments, and midnight processions by mixed congregations of religious orders — noting that some of these instances are not only denied by the prescripts of Catholic practice but also defy a general sense of religiousness).

Defining Gothic fiction upon the spectrum of religious sensibility, as being either nondenominationally motivated to assert the numinous or hyperfocused upon the doctrine and dogma of a particular sect or branch of Christianity, has been the general and

reductive approach many scholars have taken. For instance, Devendra Varma writes that "The rise of the Gothic novel may be connected with depravity, and a decline of religion" (Varma 210), and that "Monastic life was no longer believed in, but at least it recalled the Ages of Faith and the alluring mystery of their discipline" (Varma 211). Obviously, Varma's approach to Gothic fiction is a focus upon the religious and quasi-religious aspects in which the past served as an example and a paradigm to the late eighteenth-century freethinking and rationalist society. He continues in this vein by summarizing what indeed Gothic novels sought:

Primarily the Gothic novels arose out of a quest for the numinous.... They were moving away from the arid glare of rationalism towards the beckoning shadows of a more intimate and mystical interpretation of life, and this they encountered in the profound sense of the numinous stamped upon the architecture, paintings, and fable of the Middle Ages. (Varma 211)

Of course, such open-ended phrases as "numinous" offer little but a glimpse at the Derridean concept of the prisonhouse of language. Further, Varma's quasi-religious approach glosses over contemporary presentations of positive and negative aspects of religion. Gothic works often present both an acceptable character of religiosity (sometimes a hermit, sometimes a pastor who tends his flock so well that he commands both its and our respect) and a character of the perversity that comes of certain types of religiosity (and one need not look any further than Lewis's well-known Ambrosio or Radcliffe's equally remembered Schedoni).

More useful is Chris Baldick's introduction to Gothic fiction, in which he offers a concise approach to defining Gothic (based upon how Walpole would have wanted the word to be understood) by claiming that

The early literary sense of Gothic is founded upon this usage, denoting, as in the subtitle of Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto: A Gothic Story* (1764), a tale concerned with the brutality, cruelty, and superstition of the Middle Ages. The assumed superiority of specifically classical culture then tends to be eroded by the challenge of the Romantic Movement, but there remain other terms of opposition — the modern, the enlightened, the rational — which serve to hold the pejorative sense of Gothic in its place. Unlike 'Romantic', then, 'Gothic', in its literary usage never becomes a positive term of cultural evaluation, but carries with it (even among antiquarian enthusiasts for medieval art, such as Walpole, the Aikins, and their followers) an identification of the medieval with the barbaric. A Gothic novel or tale will almost certainly offend classical tastes and rational principles, but it will not do so by urging any positive view of the Middle Ages. (Baldick xii-xiii)

In Baldick's approach, then, one would not expect to find any positive or wistful reproduction or depiction of any medieval institution. As a general principle this point may suffice, but it hardly covers the farrago of contemporary fictional and nonfictional approaches to the past. For instance, in "The Friar's Tale," monasticism is hardly seen to be a burden of the past; in fact, it even seems to suggest an interest in restoring if not religious orders then the piety that accompanies them.

Victor Sage offers a historical analysis of Gothic fiction — which he prefers to call "horror literature" — and places it in the larger context of the Glorious Revolution. He writes, "horror is not a literary genre, in the narrow sense, at all. It is a cultural

response, which implies a broad series of relationships with the whole of the culture in which it is produced" (Sage xiii). This idea that Gothic literature is unavoidably determined by the cultural moment in which it was produced is an important caveat, and one which is hardly stressed by Punter. Yet Sage defines the most significant of these relationships as a Protestant reaction to works of horror: "it seems obvious that the penetration of Protestant theology into every aspect of English culture since the Settlement acts as a most intimate, and at the same time most objective, conditioning factor in both popular belief and literary culture" (Sage xiii). Here, the restriction to a political and cultural event as the spark (or the cold finger) behind horror fiction focuses less upon authorial intention than upon the web of reader response (and potential reader response) to the work at hand. By transferring the onus of the definition upon the culture itself rather than the artists who determine the plotting and thematic concerns of the text produced, Sage dismisses authorial intervention and intention. Though his approach is not rendered inconsequential by the focus upon the culture, the definition neglects the possibility that a writer, such as the one who produced "The Friar's Tale," could consider the merits of monasticism from outside of the Protestant-circumscribed haven. That work in particular reveals another aspect of Gothic fiction, often overlooked, in which monasticism can be portrayed in a positive light. Between the narrator's positive characterization of the friar and his silence in responding to the obvious proselytization at the end — by allowing the Catholic dogma be the final words of the narrative — "The Friar's Tale" exhibits the kind of reconsideration of monasticism that I maintain led to the careful redefining of "friar," "hermit," and "monk." In engaging with the machinery of Gothic fiction (ghosts, castles, gloom, menacing evil, and particularly monasticism), the writers plotted their stories in a way that not only captivated readers (or capitalized on their taste for such elements) but also distinguished, in true melodramatic flourish, good from evil (which effected a differentiation of types of religious seclusion).

For Sister Tarr, what defines the Gothic is not so much a scientific interest in the past, or even an interest in examining the credos of a now foreign religion; instead, as she notes (supplementing her words with direct quotations from Gothic novels),

Characters in Gothic fiction, for the most part, consider religious life as contrary to 'natural good sense' and the religious house as a 'proud monument of monkish superstition' where mistaken piety had placed her abode' and where 'prejudice, not reason, suspended the influence of the passions; and scholastic learning, mysterious philosophy, and crafty sanctity, supplied the place of wisdom, simplicity, and pure devotion.' (44)

For her, the idea of the Gothic has little to do with either history or religion, in the strictest sense. Instead, history, religion, and geography combine to set a mood and establish the distance of the text:

Obviously, there is more to be considered in the formulation of a definition of Gothic Fiction than its medieval-supernatural-terror content . That it is pitched in a higher emotional key than is the average sentimental novel, however, is immediately apparent to the reader. This higher emotional key has as its tonic a note of terror, not necessarily supernatural in origin, and as its dominant, a note of melancholy. Sentimentality becomes melodramatic in Gothic fiction. It is not so much a question as to whether the materials which make the story be linked with times remote and places near at hand, or drawn from places far away and times

more recent. To the eighteenth-century writer of fiction the Middle Ages connotes a vague period of the past in which mysterious deeds are enacted in picturesque settings by strange characters. Whether they employ these actions, settings, and characters in novels, romances, tales, or stories matters little, ultimately. That they have first seen them through the haze of the past is the important factor. The eighteenth-century writer of Gothic fiction relates the medieval, not so much to an objective epoch in history, as to a subjective state of mind. A work of Gothic fiction, then, becomes an adventure-love story, of melodramatic sentimentality, containing elements of terror, not necessarily supernatural in origin, and of medievalism, in the eighteenth-century connotation of that term. (16)

Because the interest in the medieval is to establish a subjective state of mind rather than an objective focus upon the past's facts, the source of most of the inaccuracies regarding observances and practice of the Catholic church derive from a less historical interest in resurrecting the past (and more from a concern with plotting and themes). Still, her approach does not engage with works that have researched Catholic practice, such as Maturin's *Melmoth the Wanderer* (1820). Further, her definition precludes the examination of eighteenth-century lexicography, and thus overlooks important points regarding lexical overlap during this period (cf. endnote #3, above).

Each of these studies also overlooks the possibility that in the late eighteenth century "medieval" did not merely connote the period before the Renaissance. Indeed, the medieval included, as shown elsewhere, history through the Glorious Revolution — perhaps akin to the way that many current scholars stretch modernism to include the Renaissance. As a consequence, Sophia Lee's epistolary novel *The Recess, Or a Tale of Other Times* (1783-85) is often not discussed in the context of Gothic fiction because of its focus upon Queen Elizabeth's early court intrigues (especially by the threat of Mary). Nonetheless, its treatment of chastity, through the ambivalent presentation of the Virgin Queen herself, and its treatment of religion complicate the definition of Gothic with the sense of what literary scholars now call the historical novel. Punter's treatment of *The Recess* is sensitive to these complications (but we also need to remember that Punter argues for the beginning of Gothic fiction with Radcliffe, not Walpole):

Thus far, it might be said that *The Recess* is, after all, not a Gothic but a historical novel, in so far as such a line can be drawn; but within the frame of history, the themes which attract Lee's attention are those which are going to become peculiarly the property of the Gothics.... The world of *The Recess*, even more explicitly than the world of Radcliffe's novels, is one in which women are in constant danger, almost regardless of their rank and historical importance, a world in which men as protectors pass almost naturally from kindness to rape.... The endpoint of these interlocking dangers is madness.... Much is made of the emotional power of gloomy surroundings.... And, above all, *The Recess* is Gothic in being a novel of suspense, a suspense sustained through four volumes at an intensity which would have been inconceivable a mere ten years earlier. (Punter 52)

Punter's suggestion that our definition of Gothic may restrict our considering texts is not a lost lesson; as a consequence, I have chosen to focus on texts of this period — generally considered Gothic — but to allow the texts themselves to address the meaning of Gothic. I make the assumption, though, that what unifies Gothic fiction into a genre is its

common attributes, in particular its machinery (ghosts, castles, gloom, menacing evil, and particularly monasticism) that each succeeding writer inherits and modifies for the benefit of his or her tale.

40. Of course, these characters out of Elizabethan and Jacobean theatre, or, more generally, from the pages of English literature, were reappearing in new editions as a consequence of copyright law modification. After the relapse of the Licensing Act in 1694, Parliament set parameters to the perpetual copyright owned by the presses and booksellers. This act established machinery to protect their rights: despite its two famous sections — one which established the sole right and liberty of printing a book for twenty-one years to the bookseller after which the right would fall back upon the author (if living) for a period of fourteen years, and the other reserving the right of all unpublished material to a living author for the period of fourteen years — booksellers assumed the Act of 1709 to continue the Licensing Acts' perpetual copyright established in the sixteenth century. In 1769, however, the perpetual copyright claimed by booksellers was upheld only narrowly in the case of *Millar v. Taylor* (over Thomson's *Seasons*). On the heels of this suit was *Donaldson v. Beckett* (1774), which overturned the ruling by finding for the defendant and his "unauthorized edition." The aftermath of the overturn of 1769's *Millar v. Taylor*, by a vote of six to five in the House of Lords, enabled the republication of famous works of English literature by booksellers who would not have to fear legal consequences or repercussions from reprinting works older than the period stipulated. The 1770s onward therefore saw the republication of many authors who had been out of print for decades if not centuries (and allowed for the development of a canon of works by English authors).

41. As the patriarch of Western monks, Benedict reformed the order of monasticism in the fifth century. The Rule of St. Benedict, generally known for its discretion (i.e., it was neither particularly strict nor austere when compared to the practice of his era), is remarkable for establishing the rule and role of the abbot.

42. It is unfortunate that the otherwise excellent notes by E.J. Clery in the most recent edition of Oxford University Press's *The Castle of Otranto* fail to mention the possible overlap in meaning. Instead, the note to the cave incident reads,

In this brief episode Walpole manages to draw on the multiple symbolism of caves. In the romance genre, caves feature as a refuge from persecution; Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* is a notable example. The melancholic recourse to caves and forests is another tradition dating from the Renaissance period. In the eighteenth century caves and grottoes, natural and artificial, became a popular feature of garden design, and 'hermits' were sometimes hired to inhabit them and enhance the Gothic effect. The mysterious darkness of the cave can be seen as a figure for the allure of fictional terrors. (Walpole *Otranto* 123)

43. Though not reviewed in this study, many other Gothic tales published in the periodical presses illustrate the wanton disregard for copyright regarding republication — especially when the republication was at some geographic distance from the periodical in which it was first published. Two instances that show outright literary piracy and suggest

the growing interest in tales of the cloistered life suffice: the two installments of "The Story of a Nun" first appeared in *Sentimental Magazine, or General Assemblage of Science, Taste, and Entertainment* (London) in October and November of 1775. Within one month, the entire tale was lifted word for word and republished under the same title in *Dumfries Weekly Magazine* (Dumfries) on December 5 and December 12, 1775. "The Mischief of Superstition and Infidelity: The History of Fidelia" first appeared in *The Adventurer* (London) between July 21 and August 7, 1753. It was subsequently republished as "The Happiness Arising from Revealed Religion, Exemplified by the History of a Lady, Related by Herself" in *The Weekly Miscellany, or Instructive Entertainer* (Sherborne) between January 3 and 10, 1774. It was then republished as "Fidelia, a Tale; or the Insufficiency of Morality, without Religion, for Attaining Real Happiness" in *The Edinburgh Repository for Polite Literature* in 1793 and *The Weekly Miscellany, or Agreeable and Instructive Entertainer* — these two journals, as Robert Mayo notes, were "obviously affiliated periodicals" (Mayo 675). These instances, along with the several hundred others that Robert Mayo mentions in *The English Novel in the Magazines, 1740-1815*, reveal not merely a growing market for Gothic tales of monasticism's horrors but also the widespread availability for such works in the market.

44. Chris Baldick, in the notes to *The Oxford Book of Gothic Tales*, merely notes "The Friar's Tale" appeared anonymously in three instalments in *The Lady's Magazine* in 1792" (527). However, Robert D. Mayo notes the republication history of this tale in much more depth:

Appearing first in *General Magazine and Impartial Review* (London) in two installments (July and August 1788) this tale was "offered as an extract from *Variety, A Collection of Essays, Written in the Year 1787* — a volume of essays by Humphrey Repton (1788)." (498)

He then traces the republication through two installments in *Walker's Hibernian Magazine* (Dublin) appearing August and September 1788. It then was republished as two installments in *Aberdeen Magazine, Literary Chronicle, and Review* (Aberdeen) on December 31, 1788 and January 14, 1789. Then, it was republished as three installments in the *Weekly Miscellany of Instruction and Entertainment* (Glasgow) in numbers 88-90, February 23 – March 9, 1791. This version was then republished in the *Lady's Magazine, or Entertaining Companion for the Fair Sex* (London) claiming its provenance "From a Collection of Essays, Entitled *Variety*," appearing June, July, and August 1792. The three-installment version was simultaneously republished in the *Universal Magazine and Review, or Repository of Literature* (Dublin) in July, August and October of 1792. The three-installment version was also simultaneously republished as "The Friar's Tale" (without the provenance data) the *Sentimental and Masonic Magazine* (Dublin) also in July, August, and October 1792. Meanwhile, the *Edinburgh Magazine, or Literary Miscellany* (Edinburgh) published this tale as two installments bearing the title "The Friar and His Dog, a Tale" in July and August, 1792. It then was republished in the series "Memoirs of Love and Gallantry," titled "Albert and Matilda" and as a two-installment version, for the *Britannic Magazine, or Entertaining Repository of Heroic Adventures and Memorable Exploits* (London) in the 85th and 86th number. Its final appearance is in one installment bearing the provenance information and titled "The Friar's Tale" in the

second volume of *Gleaner, or Entertainment for the Fireside, consisting of Tales, et c.* (Salford) in 1806. (498).

45. By "Shaftesburian" I mean the 3rd earl, known for his religiously heterodox opinions (not to be confused with his well-known great-grandson, the 7th earl and noteworthy Victorian philanthropist and supporter of Catholic emancipation). In particular, I would recommend the three-volume *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, and Times* (1711) as an example of a type of religious writing is preeminently religious yet scarcely orthodox by any stretch of the imagination. Shaftesbury's work is usually offered as an instance of hostility toward organized religion; he is often, therefore misunderstood as a *philosophe*, a label that isolates his arguments from the context of his debate with the divines of that era. In short, I mean "Shaftesburian" to stand for the type of religious sentiment founded upon sober judgment and high principle, though potentially out of line with the orthodox teaching or traditional doctrine of a religious organization.

46. As David Rivers wrote for *Literary Memoirs of Living Authors of Great Britain* in 1798,

They have all been very generally read and admired, especially, the *Romance of the Forest*, and the *Mysteries of Udolpho*. Her powers of pleasing, in this line of composition, are very singularly great; and the happy combination of various talents which her pieces display, entitles their author to rank among the first novel-writers of her age; while the beautiful verses interspersed among her tales, must raise her highly in the estimation of every poetic genius. (as qtd in Rogers 93-94)

In another preface to a work of canon-building, Anna Laetitia Barbauld expressed even higher praise for her literary merit, especially evident in *Romance of the Forest*:

Though every production which is good in its kind entitles its author to praise, a greater distinction is due to those which stand at the head of a class; and such are undoubtedly the novels of Mrs. Radcliffe, — which exhibit the genius of no common stamp. The first production of this lady, in which her peculiar genius was strikingly developed, is *The Romance of the Forest*, and in some respects it is perhaps the best. (as qtd in Rogers 96-97)

47. Despite the fact that the religious orders of sisterhoods are invoked in this narrative (indeed, Adeline's life in the convent becomes the point of comparison for her life with the La Motte family in the ruined monastery), I have chosen to restrict myself to monasticism; for those interested in pursuing further the figure of the convent in Radcliffean fiction or Gothic narratives, I would refer them to studies such as Kate Ellis's *The Contested Castle*.

48. The *OED*, in defining "Collation" offers as its eighth sense

Extended to the light repast or refection taken by the members of a monastery at the close of day, after the reading or conference mentioned in 7. (Many quotations combine senses 7 and 8.) Hence, in modern R. C. usage, A light repast made in lieu of supper on fasting days.

Ordinarily, one would not resort to the later sense of collation, when it might also be simply understand in its ordinary sense as a collection. Nonetheless, the OED also mentions the use of the eighth sense by Radcliffe some five years after *Romance of the Forest*: "1797, Mrs. Radcliffe *Italian* xi, The lady-abbess, gave a collation to the padre abbate and such of the priests as had assisted at Vesper-service." On account of her evident awareness of this meaning, I have based my reading of collation to suggest the inverse relationship between the monastic house he's ruined by neglect and the great house he has sullied by murdering his brother.

The confusion over the proper use of this term, similar in fact to the confusion of ascetic terms being studied in the present work, likewise is reinscribed by writers who pick up on the term and use it outside of its narrow religious context.

Notes To Chapter 2

1. I have used a bit of shorthand here; the reconsideration of public policy was (and is) never so simplistically a reaction of what is proper as much as what is politically more advantageous. The reconsideration of Catholic emancipation occurred in the midst of the numerous difficulties that had arisen in Ireland, and the case was influenced most urgently by the outbreak of war, again, with France.

2. Here a bit of caution is necessary: the political landscape since the failure of the Rockingham Whigs in 1784, the gradual rise of the unpopular Pitt as minister, and the withdrawal of George III from an active involvement in government policy (especially at the onset of his dementia—the modern diagnosis—in 1788) forced opposition parties into alliance behind the leadership of Charles Fox. This alliance was tenuous at best, and often policy was more a consequence—as it has generally been—of political expedience than of carefully designed long-term planning.

3. My focus here upon the draconian measures of the British government is not to diminish the case of suitable cause. Indeed, the attacks upon the monarchy were quite real, resulting in an unsuccessful assassination attempt of George III in 1796. To a large sector of British society, their culture and institutions were under direct fire, resulting in reactionary measures and a swell in patriotic cheers for the Church and King.

4. It was also the period which saw the introduction in 1802 of the first in a series of many acts aimed at improving working conditions in factories.

5. On the heels of this "liberal" gesture were additional similar measures by the French republic: by a decree of August 26, 1791, any priest who refused to take the oaths prescribed on December 26, 1790 or April 17, 1791 was ordered to leave France within 15 days or be deported to French Guiana. On August 18, 1791, the republic passed a decree in which the clergy were no longer allowed to appear in public in their habitual dress.

6. Though the actual number has been disputed, the reported number of emigrant French clergy was a matter of public record in the journals of the day. Furthermore, the perception of a large number of French refugees had more impact upon the British attitude and response than the historically accurate number.

7. Peter Anson in his introduction to *The Call of the Cloister* associates the change of the English attitudes toward monasticism with the displacement of the French Roman Catholic religious in late 1792:

the monastic invasion of England which was the result of the French Revolution.... must have reminded people that such institutions were lacking in the Church of England. The fact that so many of these monks and nuns had suffered great hardships, even imprisonment in some cases, where they had witnessed the deaths of their companions in misfortune, before they finally reached this country, roused universal sympathy. (Anson 25).

I should also mention as a reminder to our era of instantaneous information that the circulation of news in the eighteenth century was hindered by the difficulties of inland travel (with the gradual improvements of steamships and canals speeding up the dissemination of news) and weather—as well as political intrigue and funding.

8. Burke's position articulated in *Reflections* was one that was more in accordance with Pitt's Tory politics—that the chief issue threatening the safety of the British Constitution was the populace, not the encroachments of the Crown into government. As Lucyle Werkmeister puts it,

The *Reflections* had marked no change in Burke's political philosophy, for Burke had always regarded the British state as an equilibrium of forces, but it had marked a radical change in his politics, for whereas he had previously thought that the equilibrium was threatened by the Crown, he now thought that it was threatened by the people. (Werkmeister 7)

Burke's *volta face* on this issue came as he considered the wholesale destruction of French society, a reflection that was initially criticized on account of its reactionary nature, but which history, posterity, and a mere five years all cooperated to convince him if not all of his audience of the nature of unchecked fanaticism in politics.

9. Burke continues this discussion of public utility elsewhere in *Reflections*:

In the monastic institutions, in my opinion, was found a great *power* for the mechanism of politic benevolence. There were revenues with a public direction; there were men wholly set apart and dedicated to public purposes, without any other public ties and public principles; men without the possibility of converting the estate of the community into a private fortune; men denied to self-interests, whose avarice is for some community; men to whom personal poverty is honour, and implicit obedience stands in the place of freedom. They seemed, some of them unserviceable, some noxious, some no better than a sport to children; until contemplative ability, combining with practic skill, tamed their wild nature, subdued them to use, and rendered them at once the most powerful and the most tractable agents, in subservience to the great views and designs of men. Did fifty thousand persons, whose mental and whose bodily labour you might direct, and so many hundred thousand a year in revenue, which was neither lazy nor superstitious, appear too big for your abilities to wield? Had you no way of using them but by converting monks into pensioners. (*Works* 1839: 3.185, 186)

10. Compare the Magazine correspondent's position with that of the pillar of the Evangelicals, Hannah More:

And let the more scrupulous, who look for desert as well as distress in the objects of their bounty, bear in mind, that if these men [the emigrant French clergy] could have sacrificed their conscience to their convenience, they had not now been in this country. Let us shew them the purity of *our* religion, by the beneficence of our actions. (More *Remarks* ix)

11. Sometimes this conflict was not so simply between two different modes of religious sentiment, but between political sensibilities as well. Burke's letter to Earl Fitzwilliam,

dated 5 October 1792, suggests just that in his extended tirade against those who refuse to extend a hand to help the French émigrés out of fear of violating neutrality:

It is some consolation to find such baseness and atrocity [as Priestley's and Paine's considering it an honor to be declared a French citizen] contrasted with much benignity and Hospitality which has been shewn with regard to the French Clergy who have been persecuted in a manner so savage, by the brutal part of their own countrymen..... but my greatest dread of all, is from the Conduct of the Kings Servants;—who when the very being and principle of the Christian Religion in every Nation, the existence of Monarchy in every state in the world, and the whole body of Laws, institutions, manners and morals, as well as the very groundwork of the publick Law, which held all States, as well as all Societies together are attacked at once, and by the wickedest and most perilous of all Hostilities—think themselves bound to so strange a Neutrality, that they will not suffer these Systems and practices to be condemned in publick, and will not give a shadow of publick countenance even to the National Hospitality—which is exercis'd [sic] in that Committee to which I have given rise, though an opportunity is offer'd [sic] by it, which cannot be bought at too great a price, to excite a general indignation against the assassinating, proscribing, atheistical principles of the several French revolutions. (6: 230, 232)

12. In a review of Thomas Rennel's University of Cambridge sermon "Ignorance productive of Atheism, Faction, and Superstition," a footnote establishes at once the change in tone to near hysteria from the humanitarian magnanimity of the early 1790s:

If we cannot without regret observe the public establishment of monasteries for both sexes among us since the emigration of so many Catholic clergy to the kingdom, tolerated by the lenity of the Government, and at most only connived at; how much is that regret increased by what we hear and see going forward within 30 miles from the capital, in the populous and opulent county of Hertford. (*Gentleman's Quarterly* June 1799: 496).

13. This is not quite the building of a new monastery, but the relocation and the groundbreaking of a new chapel for Trappists who, on account of the progress of the French armies, left the low country and sought refuge in Lulworth castle under the protection of one Mr. Weld. The monastery was a nondescript building, christened St. Susan's. Because of the visit by King George III, this building became the subject not merely of a rather dreadful poem but of several travel narratives—besides being engraved by Mr. Basire. Indeed, the relocation of this same monastery is discussed in later travel narratives, such as William Dorset Fellowes' *A Visit to the Monastery of La Trappe in 1817: With Notes Taken during a tour through La Fergue, Normandy, Bretagne, Anjou, Le Bocage, Touraine, Orleans, and the Environs of Paris*, published in London by William Stockdale, in 1818 (going through three editions in less than 16 months).

Furthermore, as John Milner, the notorious Roman Catholic observes, this work can hardly be considered a poem (because of its obvious stylistic defects) and probably is not written by Hodson:

I pass, Mr. Urban, from your Essays to your Review; p. 317, where I find a work, intituled, "The Monastery," improperly noticed as *a poem*, whereas it Contains no

one ingredient of poetry except its fiction. Your Reviewer also must certainly have been misinformed, when he ascribes these anonymous lines to a divine of a university which has immortalized itself by its humanity and liberality to those conscientious sufferers the exiled Clergy of France. Could I be of this opinion, I should think it necessary to enquire into the history of an author (if I did not think proper to take notice of the work) who could assert at the present day, that

..... Rome

With unrelenting zeal inculcateth

This dreadful lesson, 'Protestants, my sons,

Are objects of God's hatred; he, who most

Annoyeth them, gains highest place in heaven.

The publick will agree with me, that such language as this, be it prose or be it verse, must have escaped from the port-folio of the late unfortunate Lord George Gordon, and must have been written previously to the month of June, 1780.

(*Gentleman's Magazine* June 1796: 470-71).

The readers of *Gentleman's Quarterly*, especially a few noteworthy correspondents, often did not agree with Milner; he was often the target of criticism against Roman Catholics (often being lumped together with other Roman Catholic writers with whom Milner did not agree, such as Joseph Berington). In one particular example, in which Milner is called to task for his questioning the authenticity of the Declaration and Protestation of English Catholics in 1789, he was insultingly called "Dr. Needleholes and the diplomatic J.M." (in reference to his claim that, based upon evidence of diplomatic criticism and suspicious marks, the document was a fabrication). Indeed, a worthy barometer of general opinion toward English Catholics might be constructed out of reviews of Milner's work and mentions of his name.

14. The review found in the *British Critic*, and *Quarterly Theological Review* was terse and less forgiving than that of the *Gentleman's Magazine*:

This author's orthodoxy seems to have taken a precipitate and unnecessary claim at the asylum afforded to some female emigrants of a religious order in Dorsetshire. We dispute not the goodness of his intentions, but we are compelled to condemn his verses as very dull and prosaic. (*British Critic* May 1796: 550)

15. The two approaches to the Gothic, as coined by Todorov (Radcliffe, for instance, distinguished between Lewis's and her styles as "terror" and "horror" writing), revolve around how the author portrays evil and the supernatural. As the recent biographer of Lewis notes,

Radcliffe's uncanny or explained supernatural tends to be bathetic; it is focused on the ending of the story, where the mysteries of Udolpho are solved, but the solutions are inevitably less interesting than the mysteries themselves. The marvellous or unexplained supernatural, by contrast, focuses on the middle of the story, where the marvels unfold, but provides no way to organize them. (MacDonald 111)

16. Besides the psychological and the social-historical analyses, some scholars have invested the Gothic with gendered significance, dividing works between Male and

Female gothic. This definition builds on the work of Ellen Moers's *Literary Women* (1977), Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar's *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination* (1979), Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (1985), George Haggerty's "Literature and homosexuality in the late eighteenth century: Walpole, Beckford and Lewis" (1992), and Clara Tuite's "Cloistered Closets: Enlightenment pornography, the confessional state, homosexual persecution and *The Monk*" (1997). As Robert Miles expresses it,

the point here is not that the male Gothic was a uniformly 'queer' genre, but that the early male Gothic witnesses the confluence of several things: its main practitioners were upper-class Englishmen (Walpole, Beckford, Lewis) whose homosexuality was either an open secret or one much speculated upon; although their class granted them license, it was in the context of a more general homosexual persecution; and the work of all three displays a recurrent interest in theatricality, with 'camp', pastiche, role-playing, excess and androgyny—in other words, with a self-dramatizing self-fashioning. (Miles "Ann Radcliffe" 45).

Thus, the Male Gothic, as certain scholars define it, centers on disrupting the legitimacy of normative gender patterns (Miles "Ann Radcliffe" 45).

The Female Gothic, as Miles points out, exists in a binary opposition to the Male Gothic—reifying a series of related binaries: "terror/horror; sensibility/sensation; poetic realism/irony; explained/unexplained supernatural" (Miles "Ann Radcliffe" 45). What defines the Female Gothic is issues of class and gender:

it is only when we add the specificities of class and gender that we arrive at what is (I am willing to hazard) a defensible generalisation. And that is that the early female writers of the Gothic are primarily interested in rights for their class, for their sex, and often both together.... (Miles "Ann Radcliffe" 45)

Whether such a term is ultimately useful is beyond the scope of this study. One does not hazard much, however, in noticing the self-realizing nature of the categorizations — in order to understand the category, you need to import a theoretical framework, and what the category then helps to support is that theoretical framework:

The writers of the female Gothic, then, were primarily absorbed in the struggle for sexual and political rights, together with cash [sic], which is where the two issues generally come together, whereas the male Gothic aimed to disrupt the legitimacy of normative gender patterns. In other words, the trajectories of the two strands take us, critically, to feminism and queer theory. (Miles "Ann Radcliffe" 45).

17. A short list of modern critics who have pursued this association is as follows: Marilyn Butler's *Romantics, Rebels and Reactionaries. English Literature and its Background 1760-1830*, Michael Gamer's *Romanticism and the Gothic: Genre, Reception, and Canon Formation*, Howard Mumford Jones's *Revolution and Romanticism*, Gary Kelley's "Social Conflict, Nation and Empire: From Gothicism to Romantic Orientalism," Vijay Mishra's *The Gothic Sublime*, and Ronald Paulson's *Representations of Revolution (1789-1820)*. It would be a fruitful enterprise to itemize the seemingly innumerable remarks in articles and studies connecting the two, such as Julie Carlson's quotation of John David Moore regarding the politically questionable aspects of Coleridge's *Remorse* (1813): "Moore follows Ronald Paulson in stressing the

convenient ambiguities of Gothic form. "The Gothic villain [is] easily transformed from the tyrant aristocrat of the old order into the great upstart of the new order—Napoleon" (Carlson 100).

18. Indeed, it seems as though the Marquis de Sade's political interest in the Gothic novel, proclaiming the works of Radcliffe and Lewis to be two polar responses to the events of the French Revolution and the progress of the European wars, has influenced more of our critics than other writings of that era. See Sade's *Idée sur les romans* (1800) for his analysis of Gothic fiction.

19. I do not make this claim to invalidate recent scholarship, such as Ronald Paulson's, which displays an awareness of the tenuousness of the evidence (that, *prima facie*, does not substantiate the claim that the Gothic novel was an expression of historical circumstances). Nonetheless, the counterpoint regarding publication during an era of repression often does not make such potentially actionable sentiments apparent is well taken. The facile connection between events of the day and their expression in works of creative fiction here, however, should be reproved as tendentious and unscholarly.

20. The passage to which I refer is as follows:

It has therefore appeared to me, that to endeavor to produce or enlarge this capability [i.e., to produce poetry that excites the mind without resorting to violent stimulants or situations] is one of the best services in which, at any period, a Writer can be engaged; but this service, excellent at all times, is especially so at the present day. For a multitude of causes, unknown to former times, are now acting with a combined force to blunt the discriminating powers of the mind, and, unfitting it for all voluntary exertion, to reduce it to a state of almost savage torpor. The most effective of these causes are the great national events which are daily taking place, and the increasing accumulation of men in the cities, where the uniformity of their occupations produces a craving for extraordinary incident, which the rapid communication of intelligence hourly gratifies. To this tendency of life and manners the literature and theatrical exhibitions of the country have conformed themselves. The invaluable works of our elder writers, I had almost said the works of Shakespeare and Milton, are driven into neglect by frantic novels, sickly and stupid German Tragedies, and deluges of idle and extravagant stories in verse. (Wordsworth *Lyrical Ballads* (1800) xix)

Another problem we have is the limited number of private reading journals that address the topic. As Michael Gamer has expressed: "Our sense of the dynamics of this standoff is somewhat limited by the scant direct knowledge we have about the actual readers of gothic fiction and drama....The little evidence that does exist, moreover, pointedly contradicts the portrait of gothic readers drawn by critics and historians for over two centuries" (Gamer *Romanticism* 30-31).

21. For more on literacy and readership in this period, consult Lucy Newlyn's recent work, *Reading, Writing, and Romanticism: The Anxiety of Reception*.

22. By way of suggesting a context, I offer Martin Tropp's assessment of the 1790s literary marketplace:

At first, those who wrote Gothic fiction had presumed a traditional British reading audience—leisured, small, largely upper class and well-to-do.... For the vast majority of the newly literate [, however,] horror tales were the first imaginative fiction read, shaping attitudes not only to literature, but to the act of reading it as well.... Unable to afford books like those of Mrs. Radcliffe, these millions of new readers had to get their thrills through cheaper sources, in ways that blurred the traditional identification of a specific story with a particular book. A whole new industry arose to serve them by mass marketing the Gothic fiction (14).

Though examples might be produced that associate the horrors of a world dominated by absolute power and moral decay, a world of possibilities as hidden as the labyrinths described within its covers and of terrors as gloomy as the castles and catacombs invariably found across its pages with the very real terrors of Robespierre and the threat of foreign invasion by a seemingly unbeatable army, the mechanistic reproduction of these tales and their relatively careless exposition (in which narrative plots and devices are haphazardly added or removed as some embellishment to the tale) invariably complicates this facile connection.

Another modern representation of the 1790s literary marketplace highlights the competing interests upon the inchoate and unsegmented (as disparate groups to be marketed) readership:

the fiction market of the 1790s was polarised by a range of contradictory social and political factors—by methodism, by female emancipation, by political radicalism, by anti-Catholicism and by anti-Jacobinism, to name a few of the strongest lobbies. A romance launches on this stormy sea was likely to be attacked or supported from all sorts of unexpected quarters. (Sage *Gothick* 13)

The undefined reader and the conscientious critical apparatuses—journals, magazines, newspapers, the self-proclaimed arbiters of taste and suitability—of this period describe a culture far from the easy association of its imaginative literature with its political and cultural struggles.

23. As the recent biographer of Lewis expresses it,

The Mysteries of Udolpho—rather than the Schauerromane—inspired Lewis to finish *The Monk*, but it inspired him to answer it, not simply to imitate it, just as *The Monk* itself inspired Radcliffe to answer it with *The Italian* (1797). The two authors were immediately recognized as the most sharply differentiated exponents of the two alternative modes of Gothic fiction: the explained and the unexplained supernatural... (MacDonald 110).

Despite what one may think of MacDonald's use of Todorov in this context, the documentary evidence substantiates MacDonald's claim against scholars such as Syndy Conger, who assert the primacy of Germanic materials in Lewis's production.

24. In writing about the *Morning Post's* contributions to published verse, Judith Pascoe underscores a point that defined the economy of newspaper publication (and publication in general, a point still valid three centuries later): "if the selection and presentation of poems published in the *Morning Post* managed in a small way to define the poetic taste

of this audience, it is also true that to an even greater extent the maverick desires of the audience determined this selection and presentation" (168).

25. For instance, *The European Magazine* "denounced the novel as 'an oblique attack on venerable establishments': 'the presses of the Continent teemed with compositions of this character while the Revolution was preparing in France; yet what have the infidels who produced it substituted in the place of the religion they have banished?'" (as qtd in MacDonald 129).

26. Similarly, Lewis's unsophisticated use of foreshadowing in the first chapter diminishes the novel's quality. Lewis follows this passage with dramatic irony in the form of extensive praise by Don Lorenzo:

Ambrosio's character is perfectly without reproach; and a man who has passed the whole of his life within the walls of a convent, cannot have found the opportunity to be guilty, even were he possessed of the inclination. But now, when, obliged by the duties of his situation, he must enter occasionally into the world, and be thrown into the way of temptation, it is now that it behoves him to show the brilliance of his virtue. The trial is dangerous; he is just at that period of life when the passions are most vigorous, unbridled, and despotic; his established reputation will mark him out to seduction as an illustrious victim; novelty will give additional charms to the allurements of pleasure; and even the talents with which nature has endowed him will contribute to his ruin, by facilitating the means of obtaining his object. (1.1.47-48)

In the event that this would not be enough, Lewis provides us with a dream in which Lorenzo witnesses a beast destroying Antonia, and she replies that they will meet above. And if this isn't enough, a gypsy fortuneteller predicts her destruction in verse. These three events happen within the space of two chapters.

27. Coleridge's review of *The Monk*, in the February 1797 issue of *The Critical Review*, has this to say about the matter:

If it be possible that the author of these blasphemies is a Christian.... But if he be an infidel, he has acted consistently enough with that character, in his endeavours first to inflame the fleshly appetites, and then to pour contempt on the only book which would be adequate to the task of calming them. We believe it not absolutely impossible that a mind may be so deeply depraved by the habit of reading lewd and voluptuous tales, as to use even the Bible in conjuring up the spirit of uncleanness. (198)

For more on the legal aspects of the charge, consult André Parreaux's *The Publication of the Monk*, especially pp. 92-114.

Victor Sage also points out that, besides the charge of blasphemy, Lewis also had to contend with the charge of radicalism (an equally dangerous charge in 1790s Britain):

To make matters worse, *The Monk* was reviewed sympathetically (probably by the painter Fuseli) in the pages of the *Analytical Review*: a paper regarded in Government circles as a dangerous nest of Jacobins, feminists and radicals, whose editor was eventually arrested in 1799. (*Gothick* 14)

André Parreaux's seminal study of the publication of Lewis's *Monk* imputes the rigor of the attacks in the journals (such as Thomas J. Mathias in his third edition of *The Pursuits of Literature*) to Lewis's political alliances. James Watt ably disputes this point:

Even if Parreaux were correct, though, it is hard to claim that Lewis was consistently an opposition writer, since his desire to maintain his profile as a literary *enfant terrible* ultimately overrode any concern with more direct political intervention. (Watt *Contesting* 99)

28. Here I diverge from Victor Sage—who otherwise has done an invaluable service to future studies of Gothic fiction—because I consider Radcliffe's use of fellow-monk's testimony regarding Schedoni's character not to be "ironic" but to be inseparable from her castigation of the man and not the office, in contrast to Lewis's *The Monk* (Sage *Horror Fiction* 33).

29. Another instance of this deliberate ambiguity occurs in the fifth chapter, early in the first part of the work. The chapter follows the hostile interview between Vivaldi and Schedoni, in which Vivaldi all but accuses Schedoni of foul play at the Villa Altieri (being an accessory to the poisoning of Ellena di Rosalba's guardian, Signora Bianchi)—and Radcliffe moderates this affront by noting that the noble and conscience-stricken Vivaldi "began to accuse himself of having condemned him with passionate rashness, and gradually became shocked at the indecorum of his conduct toward a man of Schedoni's age and sacred profession" (*The Italian* 1.4.52). At the head of the fifth chapter is an epigraph from Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, which picks up on the "poison" mentioned by Vivaldi: "What if it be a poison, which the friar / Subtly hath ministered." In this way, Radcliffe lends credibility to Vivaldi's charges, audacious as they had been when delivered. She immediately undercuts this point, however, by repeating, in the first sentence, the sentiment of the former chapter: "Vivaldi, when his first feelings of pity and compunction for having insulted an aged man, the member of a sacred profession...." (*The Italian* 1.5.54).

30. Elsewhere in the novel, Radcliffe is quite aware of certain monastic practices and terms, and makes use of them. For instance, she twice uses the term "collation" (*The Italian* 1.11.124; 2.1.130, 134), though in both cases she seems to regard it (just as she did in *The Romance of the Forest*) as a synonym for a feast, similar to how she used the term in *The Romance of the Forest* and *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, though quite different than another sense of the term used contemporaneously: "Our readers will be pleased to hear that five monks, the poor remains of the silent order of La Trappe, are sheltered among us in utmost silence....They eat at half past two their only meal: from Easter to September they are allowed a *collation* of herbs and fruit, with a small portion of cheese, and 4 ounces of bread" (as qtd in a review of "Some Account of *British Subjects* who have Suffered by the *French Revolution*" in *Gentleman's Magazine* Supplement 1795: 1099; my emphasis). Thomas Dudley Fosbrooke adds this nuance to collation: "Ceremonies nearly similar to those of dinner, attended their evening repasts, called collations, after which the Complin commenced, and on conclusion of this service they were not to speak till the Prime of next day" (Fosbrooke *Economy* 15).

Nevertheless, she dresses ecclesiastics in the fine linen worn by Anglican bishops. Her use of the term "lawn," evoking a sense of high birth as well as the office of an Anglican bishop, suggests that she may be drawing attention to the contrast between holiness and generosity. The two passages in which the term "lawn" appears are when Ellena is concealed behind the thin veil of her mother Olivia's habit (*The Italian* 2.1.130) and the moment at which Schedoni is about to drive a poniard into his niece Ellena's chest but happens to notice, beneath the lawn covering her bosom, a miniature that establishes her birth and relation to the Count of Marinella/Schedoni (*The Italian* 2.9. 234-35).

Whether one can safely assume that Radcliffe intended the narrative to suggest such connections is unclear; the novel suffers from certain factual inconsistencies (such as the plural form of palmeto, 3.1.261, or the claim that Spalatro's sentence ("she sleeps"), which would have used the Italian verb *dorme*, would make a hissing sound, 2.7.214). Whether her audience would have understood these distinctions is subject to further debate.

31. Drury Lane reopened on April 21, 1794 to accommodate 3,611 spectators, and Covent Garden was rebuilt in 1792, increasing its size by 20% to accommodate 3,013 spectators (Booth et al. *Revels History* lii., liii).

Besides the change in size of the theater (and perhaps because of it), acting styles became notably exaggerated (perhaps in response to the competing noise by the increasingly rowdy, riotous gallery audience), techniques of the pantomime and light opera were imported into the legitimate stages (placards announcing scenes or underscoring the dramatized struggles thus effecting a dumb-show of sorts), and other aspects of the stage revealed what Michael Booth has termed "a coarsening of taste...a new vulgarity...an obvious appeal to sensation and spectacle...a greater delight in low comedy and outrageous costume" (Booth et al. *Revels History* 31).

The 1790s also witnessed the rise of Charles Dibden's and Charles Hughes's Royal Circus, in which the traditional pit of the English stage was replaced ironically by a circus ring which played host alternately to equestrian shows, pantomimes, translated German tragedies, and other spectacles.

32. The widely diverging sentiments regarding the housing of emigrant French clergy seem to follow the progress of the Revolution. Early on, especially at the excitement of the Reign of Terror, the dominant sentiment was characterized by royal largesse, in that a committee was formed to help clothe and support the monks, and George III donated the use of one of his country houses at Winchester to support some seven hundred. This sentiment was quickly replaced by suspicion as the French juggernaut annexed Holland and menaced the security of Great Britain, a view expressed in Mathias's *Pursuits of Literature* and in correspondents to journals, such as "Member of the Church of England" (*Gentleman's Magazine* Mar. 1798: 202-5).

The continued presence of monastics, as well as the increased hostility of the Irish Roman Catholics, led to increasing suspicion. One need only mention the several motions brought before Parliament to cease to permit the presence of such institutions, as it was contrary to the law of the land. Sir Henry Mildmay, on May 23, 1799, stated, that to permit such institutions to multiply was contrary to the existing law, and to the principles of wisdom and policy handed down from our ancestors. The

national humanity had, in fact, been abused in this instance; and he thought that the House would act wisely in adopting the measure, which was pursued when the Catholic province of Canada became an appendage to the territory of Great Britain. It was then determined that we should protect as many of these institutions as then existed, but that we should not suffer any to be established.

(*Gentleman's Quarterly Supplement* 1800: 1243).

Pitt denied these motions, claiming they did not "trench upon the principles of toleration" (*Gentleman's Quarterly Supplement* 1800: 1244).

33. A good deal of poetry published (and republished) in this period, poetry which centers on monasticism, does not truly feel the draw of the Gothic. One example ought to suffice: Thomas Paine's "The Monk and The Jew." Though first written and published under his pseudonym Atlanticus in 1770 (and 1775), it underwent republication in corresponding societies in the 1790s. Here, the seditious and anti-clerical tone was received as a clarion to reform French society. Nonetheless, as the concluding stanzas show, neither the Gothic nor an urge to grapple with the meaning of history is at stake in this poem:

"No, not an inch without Amen
That seals the whole"—"Vell, hear me den,
I here renounce for coot and all
De race of Jews both great and small;
'Tis de vurst trade peneath the sun,
Or vurst religion; dat's all von.
Dey cheat, and get deir living py't,
And lie, and swear the lie is right.
I'll co to mass as soon as ever
I get to toder side the river.
So help me out, dow Christian friend,
Dat I may do as I *intend*."

"Perhaps you do intend to cheat,
If once you get upon your feet."
"No, no, I do intend to be
A *Christian*, such a one as *dee*."
For, thought the Jew, he is as much
A Christian man as I am such.
The bigot Papist joyful hearted
To hear the heretic converted,
Replied to the *designing* Jew,

"This was a happy fall for you:
You'd better die a Christian now,
For if you live you'll break your vow."
Then said no more, but in a trice
Popp'd Mordecai beneath the ice.
(Paine, "Monk" ll. 41-66)

34. *The Morning Post* was an opposition newspaper owned in part by the Prince of Wales and managed by Daniel Stuart (himself known to posterity through Charles Lamb's portrait from "Newspapers Thirty-five Years Ago" and from his questionable practice with his brothers of forging documents to influence stock market activities) until the expiration of the Tattersall-Weltje lease in 1795, gambling debts, and historical serendipities allowed Stuart to gain a controlling share of the newspaper in late 1797 (Werkmeister 333-7). Transforming the newspaper, Stuart used his connections to enlist the pens of young and promising literary lions—Robert Southey, William Wordsworth, Samuel Taylor Coleridge—to secure the periodical's position as a progressive newspaper with noteworthy literary contributions.

35. In addition to Fosbrooke's *British Monachism* (1802), other book length studies of monasticism appeared across the decade which varied greatly in their approach to the monastic life. For instance, Peter Newcome's *History of the Abbey of St. Alban* (1793, 1795) had this to say about the dissolution:

Had Henry been a man susceptible of prudent counsels, and wishing to see his people happy, easy, and prosperous, he would have preserved these institutions, as being works of more public utility than any other; and which (together with the colleges founded for teaching those sciences wherein abbies were defective) were most conducive to public benefit; and the crimes and irregularities charged on them, if they had been proved, might have been corrected, and the ancient discipline restored, had they been placed under the inspection of the bishops, and made subject to their visitation. (Newcome *History* 537)

The mere suggestion that monasteries might have served to the public's benefit (a point in which Newcome echoes Burke) was often too much for staunch conservatives, such as this reviewer in the *British Critic*:

With these extracts, which in the main, do so much honour to Mr. Newcome as a man, a scholar, and a reasoner, we take our leave of him; and though we do not exactly see how monastic institutions could have been made consistent with reformation, nor even wish that they could, we think they might have been abolished gradually, with less violence, and without injustice. (*British Critic* May 1796: 511)

Here, the outrage is mitigated by the progress of the French Revolution and the expulsion and guillotining of monastics who, like Abdiel in Milton's *Paradise Lost*, were "faithful found,/Among the faithless, faithful only hee;/ Among innumerable false" (Milton *Paradise Lost* 5. 896-98). Though the critic does not find a lesson in the dusty annals of medieval monasticism relevant to the eighteenth century, he softens his attack upon monasticism in light of the French Revolution. As the ambitions of the French Republic, and their successes, increased, this mitigation was forgotten, perhaps because of the expense of maintaining the foreign clergy, or because of the suspicions of the emigrants' ambitions, or because of some combination of reasons. This review of Fosbrooke's *British Monachism* reveals the change in response:

The vices and crimes of Monachism may be kept out of the sight of reasoning men, with whom the *absurdity* of their profession will outweigh every consideration; the rest is for the vulgar, who would gape at their hypocritical

parade, and be shocked at their secret enormities; enough of which are here, p.117 & seq. ... (*Gentleman's Magazine* Feb. 1802: 137)

36. Only two notices were registered regarding this poem, a puff by *Gentleman's Magazine* and a short notice in *British Critic*:

That the author of this production is a studious and well-informed antiquary, every line of his dissertation will evince. With exemplary care and correctness, he has gathered from all sources whatever could be applicable to his purpose; and in digesting his materials, he has been careful, in every instance, to refer to his authorities.... It is impossible to give equal commendation to the poetry. Antiquarian exactness is perhaps hardly compatible with the enthusiasm of poetry; nor does the ear of the author appear to be either formed or exercised to judge of poetic melody. Mr. Fosbrook [sic], though he does not write in an antiquated style, is fond of obsolete and uncommon words and phrases.... We should conceive that, among the respectable subscribers to this poem, many, if consulted, would have told the author that those things, which occur perpetually, are blemishes, instead of ornaments, to his poem; and should all have been removed. (*British Critic* Sept. 1796: 302, 303)

Compared to reviews of this period, the tone of this one was not dramatically caustic, but it was perhaps sufficiently caustic to set Fosbrooke's focus upon prose and scholarly analysis rather than poetry to earn his keep and make his name (though Fosbrooke, in the second edition of *British Monachism* (1817) unleashed at least three more effusions upon his audience).

37. The equally well-known review of *Lyrical Ballads* by Robert Southey in the *Critical Review* of 1798, contains this critique:

In a very different style of poetry, is the Rime of the Ancyent Marinere; a ballad (says the advertisement) "professedly written in imitation of the *style*, as well as the spirit of the elder poets." We are tolerably conversant with the early English poets; and can discover no resemblance whatever, except in antiquated spelling and a few obsolete words. This piece appears to us perfectly original in style as well as in story. Many of the stanzas are laboriously beautiful; but in connection they are absurd or unintelligible... We do not sufficiently understand the story to analyse it. It is a Dutch attempt at German sublimity. Genius has here been employed in producing a poem of little merit.

To this review, Charles Lamb, Coleridge's school mate and lifelong friend, responded to Robert Southey:

If you wrote that review in the *Critical Review*, I am sorry that you are so sparing of praise to the *Ancient Marinere*. So far from calling it as you do, with some wit, but more severity, a "Dutch Attempt," &c., I call it a right English attempt, and a successful one, to dethrone German sublimity. You have selected a passage fertile in unmeaning miracles, but have passed by fifty passages as miraculous as the miracles they celebrate. I never so deeply felt the pathetic as in that part,

"A spring of love gush'd from my heart,
And I bless'd them unaware."

It stung me into high pleasure through sufferings.

38. In an article to be published in *Studies in Romanticism*, Charles Rzepka takes Marjorie Levinson (and by extension Ian Ousby in his recent work *The Englishman's England: Taste, travel and the rise of tourism*. New York: Cambridge UP, 1990) to task for reading into these lines a social commentary upon the destruction of Tintern. Citing William Gilpin's *Observations on the River Wye, and Several Parts of South Wales &c. Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty; Made in the Summer of the Year 1770* (1782), Ousby claims that Gilpin was mildly disappointed with the Gothic ruins for two reasons: "The first problem his eye encountered was the iron works, still smoking busily away within sight of the abbey church. Even more objectionable were the 'shabby houses' of its workers which had grown up near by....they [the "down-and-outs" who sprung up around the abbey] clustered around, openly begging or making some show of selling their services as guides" (118, 120). Rzepka openly questions this account, producing numerous other accounts that are silent on the matter. To his list, I add Charles Shepard Jr.'s account of a tour taken in 1796, published serially as "A Tour through Wales and the Central Parts of England" in *Gentleman's Magazine* (Shepard reaches Tintern in the Dec. 1799 issue, pp. 1036-41). One also could profit from examining John Byng's account of his 1781 tour (published as *The Torrington Diaries*). One may note that Byng mentions a series of mills found within several miles of Tintern ("To this succeeded the incessant thump of furnace hammers...a noble foundry of cannon" Vol. 1. p. 23). In a later tour, Byng is silent upon the subject of mills and merely mentions that "every turn of the river produces a village, or a nest of cottages" Vol. 1, p. 271).

39. Coleridge's rabid assault of Bishop Horsley in this lecture has been well documented by Lewis Patton and Peter Mann in *The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge: Volume 1: Lectures 1795 On Politics and Religion*. Bishop Horsley, in his controversial Circular Letter of 1793, called upon his communicants and clergy to support the emigrant French priests and monks, whom he considered "more near, and dear to us in truth by far, than some, who affecting to be called Protestant brethren, have no other title to the name of Protestant, than a Jew or a Pagan" (as qtd in Coleridge *Collected* 1. 210).

40. Although it has now been discredited, a theory then in fashion (and one attacked both by Thomas Warton and Thomas Fosbrooke) was that the ancient druids were a Celtic form of monasticism that was supplanted with the arrival of St. Patrick to Ireland. The theory held that the practices of the druids became associated with Christianity's form of monasticism.

Notes To Chapter 3

1. One such instance of Fosbrooke's unusual respect can be witnessed when he warns against those who mock scholasticism, for, according to Fosbrooke, the Scholastics introduced precision to philosophy:

Learning, this lore is deem'd of nought to be,
Unlovely we from this sad trial attest,
Yet hence the scornful Nymph Philosophy,
In robe succinct for loosely-floating vest,
Was by the matron strict Precision drest;
And had not hooded superstition flung
On speech o'er vulgar wont her high behest,
The sluggard schoolboy ne'er had lisped the tongue,
That Tully chastely spoke, and Maro chastely sung. (Fosbrooke *Economy* 3.828-837)

It should at least be mentioned, nonetheless, that as an active Mason, Fosbrooke found the consideration of these medieval institutions as foolish and dangerous, which, in part, explains some of the comments in his introduction to *British Monachism*.

2. This point should not be taken to mean that Dermody was sympathetic towards monasticism. Dermody would hardly have been one to be unambiguous in his contempt for the ascetic life. For instance, he writes at the end of his poem *The Retrospect* (1807):

Grant me, oh! God, immensely good and wise,
That quiet cell where true religion lies,
Where modes of faith, and bigot strife aside,
Conscience itself the generous act will guide;
The monkish cowl, the drear monastic gloom;
The saintly gaud and consecrated tomb,
Despis'd; let instinct, each revolving hour,
In every part embrace the Sovereign Pow'r! (ll. 607-14)

His disdain for what he considered "gaud" and hypocrisy, however, did not meliorate his invective against Monk Lewis.

3. Although Dyer, Charles Lamb's eccentric friend, includes a footnote to line 47, he chastises the ignorance of readers who need to turn to it by writing, "It is scarcely necessary to acquaint the reader, that this verse contains an allusion to the customs of the monks in the late monastery of La Trappe, in Lower Normandy." Likewise, in "Ode VIII. On Peace" (1812), George Dyer juxtaposes the Trappists daily rituals against the "mad ambition, pomp, and war" of the previous stanza when he writes

And see! a rev'rend form arise,
With beck'ning hands and streaming eyes.
Where La Trappe's silent votaries weep,
Or virgins midnight vigils keep,
The Gothic cloyster's length'ning gloom,
Breaks the dark distance of the tomb.
Ah, thither, restless rover, flee!

And there sweet Peace shall lodge with thee.
 Vain boast of bigot zeal, and phrenzied prayer,
 The sighs of discontent, and musings of despair. (ll. 17-26)

In both instances, the view of the Trappists is touched neither with the guarded compliments of Hume nor the contracted praise of Warton, but with an unabashed respect for austerity (though not validating the act itself).

4. Richard Polwhele has enjoyed a renewed interest in his poetry as of late, as contemporary scholars have discovered a suitable straw-man in a dreadful piece of periodical and polemical poetry, "The Unsex'd Female." The poem's tenor, in attacking equally dreadful poetry written by women, has been taken as *prima facie* evidence of Polwhele's reactionary stance toward such bastions of late eighteenth-century culture as other equally forgettable poets.

5. Polwhele's poem recalls several Georgian poems, such as Pope's *Imitations of Horace* (particularly the "First Epistle" and "Sixth Satire"), in which a hermit is represented without the clear allusion to religion (i.e., comparing the poet to a hermit in the *First Epistle*, ll. 198-200). Nonetheless, it appears in his *First Epistle* that Pope intends a religious sense (or at least a self-sanctifying at the expense of others) of the hermit when he lumps the hermit with the tyrant and the bandit in order to show how each of these "ways" do not advance the good of all (ll. 33-44).

6. Elsewhere, Richard Polwhele shows some amount of terminological confusion. In the ninth section of the second book of *The Fair Isabel of Cotehele, A Cornish Romance* (1815), Polwhele presents a hermit as a Franciscan friar, donned in the traditional gray and carrying on "quiet rosary love."

7. Here's a short list of such features: the faithful servants who selflessly assist the heroine in her quest, despite the obvious danger it represents to them; the dreaded lurking figure invariably dressed in the foreboding black of the Dominicans or the Austin friars (or perhaps in the equally ominous gray of the Franciscans or Carmelites); the series of sighs and entreaties to the "Ruler of the Universe" or the equally non-denominational "Heaven" without the trappings of superstition or empty formalism; a narrative marked by nightmarish evil and a clearly defined structure of morality so that the heroine, and by extension the reader, can trust "in that All-seeing, All-beneficent Power, who, watchful over his creatures with unceasing care, protects them from the dark plots and base machinations of the wicked" (Radcliffe *Manfroné* 1.3.112-13); the half uttered and inchoate prophecy-curses dooming the heros to ponder their obscurities in the face of avenging some real or imaginary wrong; the evil, dissipated father of the motherless heroine known by a "settled smile of inveterate malice," hypocrisy, and unmentionable perversity (Radcliffe *Manfroné* 4.21.141); troops of banditti lurking in the wilds of some mountain pass; embedded narratives of Turks and Moors enslaving poor helpless victims to serve in a harem while knights and vassals make hand-to-hand combat and display their martial "prowess in the sanguine plains" (Radcliffe *Manfroné* 1.1.26); moments of melancholy pleasure accompanied on harp, lute, or some other appropriate instrument for young ladies of good breeding; assassins with stilettos creeping down an echoing corridor

on their way to a chamber that seems more a prison cell; foreign soldiers who display cowardice in a battle that has significance to the discovered and partly illegible manuscript; the failure of nobility to "record to posterity those virtues which dignify human nature, which exalt the mind of the reader, and teach him to emulate whatever is praiseworthy" (Radcliffe *Manfroné* 2.9.165); the qualities which debase young ladies, such as prying into secret conversations, not suffering pangs of conscience when disobeying parents, and following the impulses of passion rather than the dictates of reason; subterranean passages within an ancient castle leading toward horror chambers, secret prisons, or the neighboring convent; a preponderance of hastily assembled adjectives bobbing in a sea of misplaced adverbs, dangling modifiers, and undulating clauses; but, most particularly, monasteries described as "monuments of departed worth" and filled with both uncompromised portraits of spiritual sagacity "devoted to the service of Heaven" and savage villains concealed in a monk's robes with the awareness that "religion was not the motive that had made [them] take [their] residence in that monastery" (Radcliffe *Manfroné* 1.2.30; 2.10.195; 2.11.226).

8. In the passage in question, Byron first laments the unfavorable reputation with which posterity has received Boccaccio:

the man who exhausted his little patrimony in the acquirement of learning, who was amongst the first, if not the first, to allure the science and the poetry of Greece to the bosom of Italy;—who not only invented a new style, but founded, or certainly fixed, a new language; who, besides the esteem of every polite court of Europe, was thought worthy of employment by the predominant republic of his own country, and, what is more, of the friendship of Petrarch, who lived the life of a philosopher and a freeman, and who died in the pursuit of knowledge. (Byron *Childe Harold* 4.58.514, note 42)

After building up Boccaccio's reputation, Byron points out that it was the very honest and realistic portrait of hypocritical monks that led to the ultimate demise of Boccaccio's reputation:

The true source of the outcry against Boccaccio, which began at a very early period, was the choice of his scandalous personages in the cloisters as well as the courts; but the princes only laughed at the gallant adventures so unjustly charged upon queen Theodelinda, whilst the priesthood cried shame upon the debauches drawn from the convent and the hermitage; and most probably for the opposite reason, namely, that the picture was faithful to the life. (Byron *Childe Harold* 4.58.514, note 42)

In one particular early poem, "The Monk of Athos," Byron shows uncharacteristic respect for monasticism. Written in carefully measured Spenserian stanzas on a tour of Southern Europe, the poem relates the heroic attempts by the inhabitants of this promontory in their efforts to liberate themselves from the Turks in the fourteenth century and the Turks and Russians in the eighteenth. Though Byron believes that the struggle for independence (and to affirm their ancient glory) makes their lives holy, he expresses unusual respect for the life of religious retreat:

And deep embosomed in his shady grooves
Full many a Convent rears its glittering spire
Mid scenes where heav'nly Contemplation loves

To kindle in her soul her hallowed fire;
 Where Air and Sea and Rocks and Woods conspire
 To breathe a sweet religious calm around,
 Weaning the thoughts from every low desire;
 And the wild waves that break with Murm'ring Sound
 Along the rocky shore proclaim it Holy Ground.

Sequestered shades where Piety has given
 A quiet refuge from each Earthly care,
 Whence the rapt Spirit may ascend to Heaven
 In holy strains of Penitence and Prayer—
 Oh ye, condemn'd the ills of life to bear,
 As with advancing age your woes increase,
 What bliss amidst these solitudes to share
 The happy foretaste of Eternal Peace,
 Till Heaven in mercy bids your pains and sorrows cease. (Byron "Monk of Athos"
 64-81)

Byron's stay at the Capuchin convent in Athens evidently impressed upon him the sanctity of their way of life. McGann, in his notes to this poem, points out that it contains verbal echoes of the second canto of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (Byron *Collected* 2.424).

9. It is probably no small detail that his publisher, familiar with the fickleness of the public, advised Byron to remove this passage. Agreeing with his publisher's advice, Byron radically revised this scene. In the original manuscript of *Manfred*, the Abbot of St. Maurice demands all Manfred's lands as a sign of his repentance. Summoning the demon Ashtaroath, Manfred has this abbot conveyed to a mountaintop in order to "gaze and know / He ne'er again will be so near to heaven" (McGann *Byron Complete Works* 2. 468), to which the demon asks whether the whole convent also ought to be transported. The demon's exit song likewise demonstrates Byron's distaste for monasticism:

A prodigal son—and a maid undone—
 And a widow re-wedded within the year—
 And a worldly Monk—and a pregnant Nun—
 Are things which every day do appear. (McGann *Byron Complete Works* 2. 469)

10. Scott's description of the abbey at Melrose in canto 1, stanza 31, of *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* blends the antiquarian's impulse to preserve integrity with the poet's urge to embellish:

And far beneath, in lustre wan,
 Old Melros' rose, and fair Tweed ran:
 Like some tall rock with lichens grey,
 Seem'd dimly huge, the dark Abbaye.
 When Hawick he pass'd, had curfew rung,
 Now midnight lauds were in Melrose sung.
 The sound, upon the fitful gale,
 In solemn wise did rise and fail,

Like that wild harp, whose magic tone
 Is waken'd by the winds alone.
 But when Melrose he reach'd, 'twas silence all;
 He meetly stabled his steed in stall,

And sought the convent's lonely wall. (Scott *Lay of the Last Minstrel* 1.31.3-15)

Many critics have justly critiqued Scott's narrative device of opening and closing each canto with a shift to a historical present while pointing out the successes of his verse, accentual rather than rhyming, energetic and unadorned rather than polished and opaque. For instance, Scott treats the same view of the now ruined abbey of Melrose in canto 2, stanza 1, in a tone compatible with the romanticized and lachrymose admiration for ruined monasteries found in the popular poetry of the turn of the nineteenth century:

If thou would'st view fair Melrose aright,
 Go visit it by the pale moonlight;
 For the gay beams of lightsome day
 Gild, but to flout, the ruins grey.
 When the broken arches are black in night,
 And each shafted oriel glimmers white;
 When the cold light's uncertain shower
 Streams on the ruin'd central tower;
 When buttress and buttress, alternately,
 Seem framed of ebon and ivory;
 When silver edges the imagery,
 And the scrolls that teach thee to live and die;
 When distant Tweed is heard to rave,
 And the owlet to hoot o'er the dead man's grave,
 Then go---but go alone the while---
 Then view St. David's ruin'd pile;
 And, home returning, soothly swear,
 Was never scene so sad and fair! (Scott *Lay of the Last Minstrel* 2.1.1-18)

See also *Marmion* 2.10.

11. The passage continues, adding to Friar John's gluttony charges of incontinence:

But the good man, as ill befalls,
 Has seldom left our castle walls,
 Since on the vigil of St. Bede,
 In evil hour he crossed the Tweed,
 To teach Dame Alison her creed.
 Old Bughtrig found him with his wife;
 And John, an enemy to strife,
 Sans frock and hood, fled for his life.
 The jealous churl hath deeply swore,
 That if again he ventures o'er,
 He shall shrieve penitent no more. (Scott *Marmion* 1.21.27-37)

12. Francis Jeffrey objected to the whole scene of Constance's condemnation, pointing to the Gothic machinery that was generally unnecessary:

The subterranean chamber, with its low arches, massive walls, and silent monks with smoky torches,—its old chandelier in an iron chain,—the stern abbots and haughty prioresses, with their flowing black dresses, and book of statutes laid on an iron table, are all images borrowed from the novels of Mrs. Ratcliffe and her imitators. The public, we believe, has now supped full of this sort of horrors; or, if any effect is still to be produced by their exhibition, it may certainly be produced at too cheap a rate, to be worthy the ambition of a poet of original imagination. (Jeffrey rev of *Marmion* *Edinburgh Review* 12:23 (Apr 1808) 28)

Nonetheless, Jeffrey admitted the difficulties inherent in understanding the scenery, and elsewhere criticized Scott for the overabundance of antiquarian detail regarding monasticism.

13. Mary Darby Robinson was known to her age for the series of semi-autobiographical historical novels and to posterity for her mastery of the Romantic ode and sonnet form as well as her pseudonymous Godwinian essay *Thoughts on the condition of women in England, and the injustice of mental subordination* (1799).

14. In *Eve of St. Agnes* (1818), Keats compares the lover's zeal to the hermit's:

These delicacies he heap'd with glowing hand
On golden dishes and in baskets bright
Of wreathed silver: sumptuous they stand
In the retired quiet of the night,
Filling the chilly room with perfume light.---
"And now, my love, my seraph fair, awake!
"Thou art my heaven, and I thine eremite:
"Open thine eyes, for meek St. Agnes' sake,
"Or I shall drowse beside thee, so my soul doth ache." (Keats *Eve of St. Agnes* 31.271-79)

Keats's thirty-first sonnet—and most likely the last poem he wrote—was, according to his friend Joseph Severn, written on the Dorsetshire coast, near Lulworth Cove (and several miles from the monastery at Lulworth Castle). The volta in which he discloses his desire to be "unchangeable" like the star comes at the expense of "Nature's patient, sleepless Eremite," who watches "with eternal lids apart" the "moving waters" (Keats ["Bright star"] [1826?] ll. 9, 4, 3, 5).

15. In "The Castle Builder," Keats not only does not distinguish between a monk and a friar, but he also inadvertently confuses Covent Garden as "Convent Garden."

16. Throughout his epistles in reply to Malthus, Hazlitt unleashes his barbed wit upon the principles of population as they are related in Malthus' third edition. In a particularly salient passage, Hazlitt imagines a visitor's surprise at the number of prostitutes found in modern towns (tucking in an allusion to his favorite poet, Cowper) answered by a smug disciple of Malthus:

If a stranger, on entering a large town, London for example, should be struck with that immense number of prostitutes, 'who elbow us aside in all our crowded streets,' and not well knowing how to account for this enormous abuse, should

apply to a disciple of the modern school for some explanation of it, he would probably be told with great gravity, *That it was a necessary consequence of the progress of population, and the superior power of that principle over the increase in the means of subsistence.* (Hazlitt *Reply* [1807] 279)

17. Hazlitt's inaccurate allusion to Milton's *Paradise Lost* suggests Hazlitt's redaction of Milton's implicit meaning in the relevant passage (*Paradise Lost* 3.474-75). Milton's lines read, "Embryo's and Idiots, Eremites and Friars / White, Black and Grey, with all thir trumperie" and continue at length to associate the abuses of medieval Catholicism with other various human vanities, such as Empedocles's ill-timed leap into Etna to prove his immortality and the miscegenation of the Sons of God (fallen angels) with the Daughters of Men to produce the Giants of the Earth (cf. *Gen.* 6:4). Hazlitt recalls not only the itinerant preachers who sold indulgences, relics, dispenses, and pardons but also adjoins monks—a group conspicuously absent from Milton's satire.

18. I have been unable to locate any letter or note to substantiate O'Dell Travers Hill's claim, in the preface to his *English Monasticism: Its Rise and Influence* (1867), that
 A complete history of the monastic orders in England would be a great acquisition to literature. This want, felt by Coleridge, who advised Southey to write such a work, still exists.... (Hill *English* vii)

There is good reason to trust the source; the scholarship otherwise is quite painstaking.

19. Unlike Combe's Dons, Gibbon was not too self-important to recognize his own shortcomings as a scholar. In another passage, he includes himself in his swipe at the rather unsavory aspects of Oxford scholars' jaunts about town:

The irksomeness of a cloistered life repeatedly tempted me to wander; but my chief pleasure was that of travelling; and I was too young and bashful to enjoy, like a Manly Oxonian in Town, the pleasures of London. (Gibbon *My Life and Writings* 59)

20. Well known for her *Hymns in Prose for Children* (1781), Anna Laetitia Barbauld was quite important for her prescient experiments in re-fashioning children's literature in a way that would be called "Victorian" but for the fact that most of it was written some two to three decades before Victoria ascended the throne.

21. Fosbrooke takes umbrage at many of the critics who attacked his work as a historian, to the point at which he bitterly remarks on his former and less successful literary enterprises:

When this gentleman knows that the Author studied Archæology eight hours a day for eighteen years; has published a County History; has various volumes of collections; has classified a Dictionary of Arms, including the whole second volume of Edmondson, besides other works; and finished an Encyclopædia of Antiquities, general and local, of about 20,000 articles, measuring two feet of quarto MS. in height, only one third of which was printed, and a heavy pecuniary loss sustained, through the bankruptcy of the contracting bookseller; when this gentleman knows all this, perhaps he may think, that a literary veteran, crippled

by severe wounds, does not regard the scratch of a pin. (Fosbrooke *British Monachism* viii)

22. Fosbrooke distinguished hermits from anchorites as follows:

The distinction between Anchorets and Hermits was quite different in the succeeding ages. The former were persons who passed their whole lives in cells, from which they never moved. The latter were indeed solitary persons, but wandered about at liberty. (Fosbrooke *British Monachism* 489)

He distinguished monks from friars with characteristic disdain for the piosity of the friars:

Of pious harlotry (for the Scriptures designate false worship by the term Fornication), the most successful agents in the middle age were the Friars. They differed only from Monks, in being by profession beggars. This voluntary mendicity, to a certain extent infringed, produced, of course, the practice of mean arts. (Fosbrooke *British Monachism* 232)

23. The first eight lines of the poem, as published in the 1815 *Poems*, directed a stranger's gaze from the grounds at Coleorton to a distant ruin:

Beneath yon eastern ridge, the craggy bound,
Rugged and high, of Charnwood's forest ground,
Stand yet, but Stranger! Hidden from thy view,
The ivied Ruins of forlorn GRACE DIEU;
Erst a religious House, which day and night
With hymns resounded, and the chanted rite:
And when those rites had ceased, the Spot gave birth
To Honourable men of various worth (Wordsworth "For a Seat" 1-8)

24. On a side note, the Grace Dieu priory underwent rebuilding under the supervision of the most prominent name associated with Neo-Gothic architecture, A. W. Pugin, in 1833. Ambrose Lisle March Phillipps de Lisle supported the rebuilding project, and helped make the Grace Dieu priory the first monastery refounded in England since the dissolution. William Wordsworth visited this monastery in 1841. See the introduction to chapter 5 for more.

25. The passage in the 1800 edition of *Lyrical Ballads* reads,

If thou in the dear love of some one Friend
Hast been so happy that thou know'st what thoughts
Will sometimes in the happiness of love
Make the heart sink, then wilt thou reverence
This quiet spot; and, Stranger! not unmoved
Wilt thou behold this shapeless heap of stones,
The desolate ruins of St. Herbert's Cell.
Here stood his threshold; here was spread the roof
That sheltered him, a self-secluded Man,
After long exercise in social cares
And offices humane, intent to adore

The Deity with undistracted mind,
 And meditate on everlasting things.
 In utter solitude. — But he had left
 A Fellow-labourer, whom the good Man loved
 As his own soul. And, when with eye upraised
 To heaven he knelt before the crucifix. (Wordsworth "For the Spot" ll. 1-17)

In the letter Wordsworth wrote to Sir George Beaumont on November 16, 1811, he revised the passage to read:

This Island guarded from profane approach
 By Mountains high, and Waters widely spread,
 Is that Seclusion which St. Herbert chose;
 After long exercise in social cares
 And offices humane, intent to adore
 The Deity with undistracted mind
 And meditate on everlasting things.
 Hither he came in life's austere decline:
 And, Stranger!, this blank heap of stones and earth
 Is revered as a Vestige of the Abode
 In which, through many seasons, from the world
 Removed, and from the affections of the world,
 He dwelt in Solitude.—But he had left
 A Fellow-labourer whom the good Man loved
 As his own soul. And, when within his Cell
 Alone he knelt before the Crucifix (Wordsworth *Letters* 518)

Still not satisfied with the revision, Wordsworth "retouched" the first seventeen lines and sent them off a few days later to Lady Beaumont (November 20, 1811). This passage focuses on the reasons for St. Herbert's retreat, in such a way that seems to hold forth a sort of life goal for Wordsworth:

This Island guarded from profane approach
 By mountains high and waters widely spread,
 Gave to St. Herbert a benign retreat,
 Upon a staff supported, and his Brow
 White with the peaceful diadem of age,
 Hither he came—a self-secluded Man,
 After long exercise in social cares
 And offices humane, intent to adore
 The Deity, with undistracted mind
 And meditate on everlasting things.
 Behold that shapeless Heap of stones and earth!
 'Tis revered as a Vestige of the Abode
 In which, through many seasons, from the world
 Removed, and the affections of the world;
 He dwelt in solitude. But he had left
 A Fellow-labourer whom the good Man loved
 As his own soul. And, when within his Cell
 Alone he knelt before the crucifix (Wordsworth *Letters* 520)

26. Wordsworth's presentation of organized cenobites, indeed of religious retreat, has a good deal of uniformity within these two decades. His comments to the Catholic Emancipation supporter Archdeacon Francis Wrangham on June 15, 1808, help illuminate the connection between religious retreat and piety:

My meaning is, that piety and religion will be best understood by him who takes the most comprehensive view of the human mind, and that, for the most part, they will strengthen with the general mixture of direct and indirect nourishment and discipline. For example, *Paradise Lost* and *Robinson Crusoe* might be as serviceable as *Law's Serious Call*, or *Melmoth's Great Importance of a Religious Life*; at least, if the books be all good, they would mutually assist each other. (Wordsworth *Letters* 249)

27. Wordsworth's letter, dated March 29, 1809, offers this vignette to DeQuincey, who was knee-deep in *Cintra* proofs:

Mr. Crump, my Landlord, called here this morning; he did not stay much above two hours, and as soon as he had heard of the dismal tale of the chimneys and the cellars, he began to crow; and over what, think you? The inert, the lazy, the helpless, the worthless Spaniards, clapping his wings at the same time in honour of Buonaparte—this was the truth, though he perhaps was not aware how his wings were employed. Mr. Crump introduced the subject and his words were 'Well, Mr. W., is there no good to come of this? What do you say to rooting out the Friars—abolishing the Inquisition—sweeping away the feudal tenures—' in short, though he did not mean to defend Buonaparte, 'Oh no, on no account! yet certainly he would be a great Benefactor to the Spaniards: they were such vile slaves.' (Wordsworth *Letters* 306)

Notes To Chapter 4

1. Nor was he alone in this regard; Samuel Taylor Coleridge agreed with this interpretation in *On the Constitution of Church and State* (1830) as did Henry Phillpotts (later Lord Bishop of Exeter) in his *Letter on the Coronation Oath* (1826).

2. The favorite of George IV, Charles Richard Sumner would later be consecrated the Bishop of Llandaff (1826) and then Bishop of Winchester (1827). His status at the time of translating Milton's largest Latin treatise (which is undergoing a re-translation in our own period based upon serious questions as to its authenticity) was not a bishop, contrary to the preface in the recent *Riverside Milton* (1998).

3. Some 9300 direct quotations compared to Calvin's lengthier *Institutes*, which has merely some 5500, statistics cited in "Introduction: Heretical Milton" by Stephen B. Dobranski and John P. Rumrich (Dobranski and Rumrich *Milton and Heresy* 11).

Sumner's famous charge of "Arianism" was made in this introduction, and it was he who first enlisted earlier Milton scholarship, notably Newton, Todd, and Warton, to support his claim.

Many able scholars have since noted that this tactic undercut the pejorative label of heresy; for a recent example, please refer to the collection of essays in *Milton and Heresy*.

4. He would later claim in *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* (1864) that these were "the last words which I ever spoke as an Anglican to Anglicans" (Newman "From 1839-1841" *Apologia* 3:94). Please note that chapter 5 in the tract form became chapter 3, here cited, in volume form.

5. See among other memorable monks and friars in the Waverly novels, Prior Adhemar in *The Antiquary* (1816); the confessor Aldrick in *Peveril of the Peak* (1823); Brother Ambrose in *Ivanhoe* (1819); Father Ambrose (Edward Glendinning) the namesake in *The Monastery* (1820) and *The Abbot* (1820); Prior Anselm in *The Fair Maid of Perth* (1829); Prior Aymer in *Ivanhoe* (1819); Brother Bartholomew in *Anne of Geierstein* (1828); Father Boniface in *The Monastery* (1820), *The Abbot* (1820), *Quentin Durward* (1823), and *The Fair Maid of Perth* (1829); Bonny Prince Charles as Father Buonaventure in *Redgauntlet* (1824); Father Clement Blair and his difficulties with the Dominicans in *The Fair Maid of Perth* (1829); Brother Cyprian in *The Fair Maid of Perth* (1829); Father Diggory in *Ivanhoe* (1819); Father Einion in *The Betrothed* (1825); Father Eustace in *The Monastery* (1820); Father Fatsides in *A Legend of Montrose* (1818); the worthy Friar Francis in *Quentin Durward* (1823); the scheming Dominican Father Francis in *The Fair Maid of Perth* (1829); Father Francis in *The Talisman* (1825); Friar Tuck in *Ivanhoe* (1819); the Carmelite Arthur Geierstein in *Anne of Geierstein* (1829); Father Gratian in *Anne of Geierstein* (1829); Father Jerome in *Castle Dangerous* (1831); Father Thickscull in *The Fair Maid of Perth* (1829); Abbot Waldimir in *The Antiquary* (1816); Abbot Waltheoff in *The Fair Maid of Perth* (1829); Abbot Wolfram in *Ivanhoe* (1819); and Father Zachary in *The Bride of Lammermoor* (1818).

6. For instance, Scott referred to Fosbrooke's *British Monachism* (1802; 1817) in several of his novels, including *The Monastery* (1820), in which he mentions it both in the text and in extended endnote 16 (*Scott Monastery* 16.142).

7. These were not always well meaning temporal figures, as seen in his sketches of rapacious earls in *The Abbot* (1820).

8. The anonymous reviewer in *The Edinburgh Review* noted that the Author of *Waverly* — for Scott did not admit publicly that they were his works until nearly a decade after *Waverly* (1814) and two decades after *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805) — was showing signs of falling off as a writer because of these two novels, because

They [both *The Abbot* and *The Monastery*] are certainly the least meritorious of the whole series, either subsequent or preceding; and while they are decidedly worse than the other works of the same author, we are not sure that we can say, as we have said of some of his other failures, that they are better than those of any other recent writer of fiction. ("Review of *The Fortunes of Nigel*" *Edinburgh Review* (June 1822) 37:204-5)

More significantly a charge against *The Abbot* comes from the very journal that Walter Scott founded in response to *The Edinburgh Review*. The anonymous reviewer in *The Quarterly Review* charged Scott with sophistry and moral laxity:

But, when he [Roland Graeme, the hero of *The Abbot*, a boy raised Roman Catholic and who suffers a crisis of religious affiliation, becoming a Protestant after breaking vows both to the Protestant Earl of Murray who assigns him to guard Mary Stuart and to his Catholic grandmother and to the Abbot] proceeded on his office, after a full explanation from the person who entrusted him with it, of the duties to which he is attached, it is mere jesuitism to say, that he was not bound by its conditions, because he had given to them only a tacit consent; or that he could be released from them, after having acquired, by a long apparent acquiescence, the means of defeating them, by any declaration even to his principal, much less to a subordinate agent. We do not deny, that his situation was one of extreme difficulty, that to have refused Murray's trust would have been immediate ruin, and that every motive which can soften, and subdue, and delude, the firmest principle and the clearest perception, was accumulated to induce him to betray it. In real life, all would forgive, some even would admire his conduct; but a writer of fiction has no right to dress, what is fundamentally wrong, in a covering to attract sympathies or admiration. *He* is not exposed to the same difficulties as his heroes, and has no right to make their reward *depend* on that part of their conduct which does not deserve unmixed approbation. Still less has he a right to sanction a parley between duty and passion, and to countenance the sophistry that attacks the understanding through the heart. ("Novels, by the Author of *Waverly*" *Quarterly Review* (Oct. 1821) 26: 141)

9. Known to posterity for his novels *The Ayrshire Legatees; or the Pringle Family* (1820-21), *The Annals of the Parish, or the Chronicle of Dalmailing, during the Ministry of the Rev. Micah Balwhidder* (1821); *The Provost* (1822); *The Entail; or the Lairds of Grippy* (1823); for his biographies of Byron (1830), Benjamin West (1816-1820), George III

(1820), and Cardinal Wolsey (1812); and for his contributions to the history of the British Navy (1813), British theatre (1814-15), and Canada (1832), John Galt was voluminous and likewise important to the defining of the realistic novel.

10. Despite their attempts at amicability, both monk and minister find it impossible to maintain their former warmth toward one another: "'Wellwood,' he said at length, 'we can no longer be friends. Our faith, our hope, our anchor on futurity is no longer the same'" (Scott *Monastery* 31.298).

11. The pun on Kennaquhir — i.e., "ken nowhere" — fooled Ruskin for decades, as he tells it in *Praeterita* (*Works* 42.3.4.543).

12. Of course, not everyone subscribed to Newman's claim. John Ruskin, for instance, is surprised that anyone could conceive of Scott having Catholic sympathies:

I cannot but regard with continually increasing surprise, the offence which was taken by the more zealous members of the Scottish Church, at what they imagined Scott's partiality to Catholicism. The fact really is that every heroic, graceful, and intelligent virtue is attributed by him at every period of the Reformation to the sincere disciples of Presbyterian doctrine, but that, on the contrary, he has been content to portray the Catholic faith only in its corruption or depression. (Ruskin, "Mending the Sieve: Or, Cistercian Architecture" *Works* 33.2.228)

13. For more on Gibbon, see the second section of the first chapter, and for a comparison of Barbauld and Gibbon, please refer to the third section of the third chapter.

14. Sometimes these shortcomings are voiced by a character whose speech ought not to help guide a reader to see them. For instance, in the case of a doddering old Cistercian who has not come to terms with the Protestant attack on ancient customs, we are witness to Scott's point that the change from Catholicism to Presbyterianism in Scotland was also remarkable in that the new preachers were the former monks, and that the prejudices found in the one were similar in tone (but not orientation) to the other:

"But the church hath her ministers to gloze and to expound the same unto her faithful congregation; and this I say not so much, my beloved brethren — I mean, my beloved sister (for the sacristan had got into the end of one of his old sermons) — this I speak not so much of the rectors, curates, and secular clergy, so called because they live after the fashion of the *seculum* or age, unbound by those ties which sequester us from the world; neither do I speak this of the mendicant friars, whether black or gray, whether crossed or uncrossed; but of the monks, and especially of the monks Benedictine, reformed on the rule of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, thence called Cistercian, of which monks, Christian brethren — sister I would say — great is the happiness and glory of the country in possessing the holy ministers of St. Mary's, whereof I, though an unworthy brother, may say it hath produced more saints, more bishops, more popes, — may our patrons make us thankful! — than any holy foundation in Scotland." (Scott *Monastery* 5.36)

15. One might argue that Magdalene Graeme's duplicity was defensive, a means to preserve her and her grandson's secret religious beliefs. Roland also practices this sort of dissimulation. In one comic instance of this trait, Roland flatters the egomaniacal Doctor Luke Lundin: "O, sir," said the page, who was no stranger by report to the character of this original, "the cowl makes not the monk, neither the cord the friar: we have all heard of the cures wrought by Doctor Lundin." (Scott *Abbot* 26.272).

This dissimulation is not merely a facet of the Catholic characters in the text. The Knight of Avenel's steward Mr. Wingate shows the same type of duplicity in a conversation with the lady-in-waiting Lilius Bradbourne:

"I have often noticed that the boy had strange observances which savored of Popery, and that he was jealous to conceal them. But you will find the Catholic under the Presbyterian cloak as often as the knave under the friar's hood...." (Scott *Abbot* 6.54)

The exchange with Lilius continues until Wingate explains how the political uncertainty of the Stuarts, and its concomitant religious affiliation, creates suspicion in his longtime friend. As the narrator puts it:

Master Wingate was somewhat dismayed at perceiving that the details which he had given of his far-sighted political views had produced on his hearer rather suspicion of his fidelity than admiration of his wisdom.... (Scott *Abbot* 6.56)

16. She continues in this vein: "The principal thing that I should wish to be impressed on my reader's mind is, that whether my hero was or was not an impostor, he was believed to be the true man by his contemporaries" (Shelley *Perkin Warbeck* 1.vi). Nonetheless, her contemporary reviewers, rather the handful who bothered to notice the novel, took issue that an author of Gothic fiction should presume to encroach upon subjects of much more importance: "so little confidence have we that a tolerable story, merely historical, concerning persons actuated by the common feelings and aspirings of mortals, can come from her hands" ("[Review of Perkin Warbeck]" *Monthly Magazine* (Oct. 1830) 10: 470).

17. The argument between the Duke and Trangmar also illustrates Shelley's tendency to resort to reductive distinctions:

"When danger is near, I can meet it as a man of courage," said Trangmar; "When it is far, I can avoid it like a prudent one."

"A good clerical distinction, fit for a monk," replied the Duke; "but I, who am a Cavalier, Father, love rather to meet danger, than to avoid it like a woman or a priest."

"Insulting boy!" cried Meiler; "dare you taunt me with cowardice? That I was a soldier ere I was a monk, some of your race dearly rued!"

Before these words were fully uttered, Trangmar recollected himself; his voice died away, so that his last expression was inaudible. The Duke only beheld his burst of passion, and sudden suppression of it, and said gently: — "Pardon me, Father, it is my fault that you forgot the respect due to me. I forgot the reverence meet from youth to age, most meet from a sinful boy to a holy monk."

"I thank your Highness," said the Friar, "for recalling to my memory a truth that had half escaped it. Henceforth be assured that I will not forget that you are the undoubted offspring of the Earl of March—of Edward of England." (Shelley *Perkin Warbeck* 2.13.263-65)

18. There are two noteworthy exceptions that I have found in which Maturin enters the narrative (excepting, of course, the preface). In one instance, he compares the Melmoth menial's meals with those served by his great grandfather, the Dean of Killala (Maturin *Melmoth* 1.1.12); in another, he claims to have attended the confession of a dying monk (Maturin *Melmoth* 2.9.200), both of which he was criticized by Croker in *The Quarterly Review*:

but to tell it *suo periculo*, is to say that he, the reverend author, was present when his *great grandfather* hired the turbot-abjuring servants; which, as that must have taken place a century ago, can hardly be true, unless indeed Mr. Maturin be Mr. Melmoth himself.

....Now, what is the *fact* which he thus solemnly attests? that a clergyman of the Church of England was present at the confession of a Roman Catholic penitent? Impossible! — or perhaps he uses the privilege of a romancer, and speaks of *himself* in the character of a monk? — *mutato nomine fabula narratur*, — the story, even with this interpretation, must be false: for how could a Protestant minister ask for such a confession as is here described. ("Art. II *Melmoth the Wanderer*" *Quarterly Review* 24 [Jan. 1821]: 308)

19. He also describes monastic life as "a period of life [in which] abstinence, privation, and solitude are particularly agreeable" (Maturin *Melmoth* 1.5.81); and as being marked by "artificial humiliation" (Maturin *Melmoth* 1.5.83), where the "virtues of nature are always deemed vices in a convent" (Maturin *Melmoth* 1.5.107) and which "substitutes external severities for internal amendment" (Maturin *Melmoth* 1.5.129).

20. Monasticism's brutality is drawn into further relief when Alonzo first undergoes torture at the bidding of his Superior:

I had heard much of the terrors of convents, — of their punishments, often carried to the infliction of death, or of reducing their victim to a state in which death would have been a blessing. Dungeons, chains, and scourges, swam before my eyes in a fiery mist. The threatening words of the Superior appeared emblazoned on the darkened walls of my cell in characters of flame. I shuddered, — I cried aloud, though conscious that my voice would be echoed by no friendly answering tones in a community of sixty persons, — such is the sterility of humanity in a convent. (Maturin *Melmoth* 2.6.141)

21. See particularly the sixth chapter of the second volume, p. 166.

22. Thomas Love Peacock's *Crotchet Castle* (1830) contains several passages poking fun at Southey, Coleridge, Bentham and Ricardo. Using the pseudonym Mr. Chainmail to satirize the medieval impulse in writers like Southey and that of Mr. Macquedy to poke fun at economists like Ricardo, Peacock exaggerates their dinner conversation to show both position's shortcomings:

"I wonder to hear you, Mr. Chainmail, talking of the religious charity of a set of lazy monks, and beggarly friars, who were much more occupied with taking than giving; of whom, those who were in earnest did nothing but make themselves, and

every body about them, miserable, with fastings, and penances, and other such trash; and those who were not, did nothing but guzzle and royster, and, having no wives of their own, took very unbecoming liberties with those of honest men. And as to your poetry of the twelfth century, it is not good for much."

"It has, at any rate, what ours wants, truth to nature, and simplicity of diction. The poetry, which was addressed to the people of the dark ages, pleased in proportion to the truth with which it depicted familiar images, and to their natural connexion with the time and place to which they were assigned. In the poetry of our enlightened times, the characteristics of all seasons, soils, and climates, may be blended together, with much benefit to the author's fame as an original genius. The cowslip of a civic poet is always in blossom, his fern is always in full feather; he gathers the celandine, the primrose, the heath-flower, the jasmine, and the chrysanthemum, all on the same day, and from the same spot; his nightingale sings all the year round, his moon is always full, his cygnet is as white as his swan, his cedar is as tremulous as his aspen, and his poplar as embowering as his beech. Thus all nature marches with the march of mind; but, among barbarians, instead of mead and wine, and the best seat by the fire, the reward of such a genius would have been, to be summarily turned out of doors in the snow, to meditate on the difference between day and night, and between December and July. It is an age of liberality, indeed, when not to know an oak from a burdock is no disqualification for sylvan minstrelsy. I am for truth and simplicity." (Peacock *Crotchet Castle* 10: 175-77).

23. Clare uses "hermit" in this fashion in no less than thirty poems.

24. Other examples would include Robert Bloomfield's *May-Day with the Muses* (1822), which contrasts a monk's retreat and a hermit's cell. Similarly, Amos Simon Cottle, brother of the Bristol publisher Joseph Cottle and the translator of the *Edda of Saemund*, treated the difference between hermits and monks in two facing sonnets published in *Malvern Hills, with Minor Poems* (1829): "Inscription for a Cell in St. Vincent's Rocks, Near Bristol" and "To Poverty."

John Hookham Frere—known for his contributions to the *Anti-Jacobin*, his fatal error in judgment regarding Napoleon's march toward Madrid (1808), his co-founding of the *Quarterly Review*, and his translations of Aristophanes—treated monks and friars with some accuracy in the mock-romantic Arthurian poem *Prospectus and Specimen of an Intended Rational Work, by William and Robert Whistlecraft, of Stow-Market, in Suffolk, Harness and Collar-Makers, Intended to Comprise the Most Interesting Particulars Relating to King Arthur and His Round Table* (1817-18).

25. The passage in which those lines are excerpted reveal the romantic retreat to nature alongside an awareness of the varieties of asceticism:

But well its shade would please the anchorite;
There might he build him his monastic dome,
Arch, cell, cave, cloister, altar, minaret,
And moan and patter in that Gothic home
O'er creeds of o'erpast centuries: but to roam

Yon dell with moorland fragrance overspread
 In the sweet summer tide would ill become
 His ashy cheek, and heart to pleasure dead,
 For him that heathy couch were far too soft a bed.

But I thereon in the warm luxury
 Of an Italian sky will fling me down
 Unscrupulously, lightly envy I
 The cowed monk's scapulaire or hermit's gown
 Woven of sackcloth, and a bed of down
 I scorn as lightly; but on Nature's breast,
 Mid flowers, and ferns, and freshness all her own,
 And soft airs giving sweetness sweeter zest,
 O who could slight such charms, who shun so pure a rest!
 (Wiffen *Aspley Wood* 1.26.226-34, 1.27.235-43)

26. In his April 16, 1822 letter to Richard Sharp, Wordsworth wrote: "The *Ecclesiastical Sketches* labour under one obvious disadvantage, that they can only present themselves as a whole to the reader who is pretty well acquainted with the history of this country."

27. The perspective on monasticism sometimes changed when one crossed the borderlands. William Tennant's "Papistry Storm'd; or The Dingin' Down o' the Cathedral" (1827) matter-of-factly recounts the storming of a monastery, unflatteringly painting the monks as helpless:

And ilka monk wi' grane and gaunt
 Made a heart-rendin' mulligrant,
 And pat on claith o' sack;
 As throughout Scotland there was joy,
 And gladness at that spulyie-ploy,
 Sae throughout a' the Papal lands,
 Was noucht but grief and wringin' hands,
 And sichan' 'mang the monkish bands,
 Allace me! and Allack!
 (Tennant *Papistry Storm'd* ll. 4283-91)

28. Not everyone felt about ruined monasteries as Wordsworth did. Thomas Gordon Hake's "Elegy, Written in the Ruins of the Priory of St. Pancras" (1828), employs the topos of *Ubi Sunt* to evoke the transitory nature of life through the failures of monasticism:

And where are now those golden prelacies,
 Which danc'd before the Abbot's greedy eyes?
 And what avail them now those papacies,
 Which haughty Bishops hunted as a prize?
 (Hake "Elegy" 7.25-28)

The monastery itself too bears witness to the passing of sentiment:
 Ye slimy walls, the Norman artist's boast!

Now a mere Chaos of neglected state,
The sordid remnant of the Clunic host,
Which now religion scarce can venerate.
(Hake "Elegy" 12.45-48)

29. I have not encountered any comment noting that Wordsworth denounced the lack of secular ministers in the medieval church which was at the heart of the controversies surrounding the Catholic Question or the various Anglican skirmishes with Dissenters and Methodists in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

The revisions of these poems sometimes hide Wordsworth's bias; for instance, lines 6 and 7 of 2.19 initially read, until 1827, "And robs the People of his daily care, / Scorning their wants because her arm is strong" — a couplet that Wordsworth thought to soften to "And rob the people of his daily care, / Scorning the world whose blindness makes her strong," returning part of the onus of monastic abuse to those who did not check it when they could.

30. As elsewhere throughout these sonnets, Wordsworth's emendations reveal the hand of both a careful poet and a politician. The penultimate verse in the sonnet changed from 1822 to 1837: "Yet while they strangle without mercy bring," becoming "Yet, while they strangle, a fair growth bring," a dramatic change toward the balance he sought to impose on this sonnet sequence.

31. See Chapter 3, pages 133-34.

32. If one wants to restrict the count merely to the copyright holder, the publisher J. Parker, it was 72 editions, most of which were actually stereotypes from the thirty-first edition in 1845. More accurately, these should not be called editions but rather imprints. Nonetheless, the sheer number of imprints of *The Christian Year* itself is a record of its importance in Victorian Britain: most of the imprints were bound in fine morocco and handsomely printed, making it probably the first gift book — as Charlotte Mary Yonge recorded in her journal *The Monthly Packet of Evening Readings for Younger Members of the English Church* (Jan. 1851).

33. This trick Keble may have picked up from Wordsworth or Coleridge: for instance, Wordsworth's "The Old Cumberland Beggar" ll. 18, 30, 53, 60, 69 (particularly ll.18 and 53), and *The Excursion* Book 1, l. 852 each play off the possibilities off of the post-positive use of the adverb "still."

34. The synoptic Gospels present these tales as follows: Mt. 4:1-11; Mk. 1:13; Lk. 4:1-13.

35. Newman finds the strength of the monastic life in the following verses:

Grey his cowlèd vest,
Whose strong heart has
pledged his service

to the cloister

blest.

(Newman "Monks" 65-70)

36. The ministry to which I refer is Robert Banks Jenkinson, Lord Liverpool's powerful cabal of Canning, Castlereagh, Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington, and William Huskisson.

37. It is a common belief that these notes may be connected with a projected study that he mentioned to John Rickman in January of 1803. He used part of these notes for the article on monasticism that he wrote for the *Quarterly Review* in 1819. Besides these several pages in his commonplace books, Southey also gathered material on monastic history and conventions in preparation for his projected History of Portugal, another unrealized work (except when he rifled through them for articles in the *Quarterly Review*).

38. His distinction between friars and monks becomes one of the driving metaphors in *Book of the Church*, as he claims (but also recognizes the historical Protestant bias) that the source of most papal abuses can be traced to the mendicant orders:

Reclusion, for the purpose of religious meditation, was the object of the earlier religious orders; his followers [mendicants, or Franciscan friars] were to go into the streets and highways to exhort the people. The Monks were justly reproached for luxury, and had become invidious for their wealth; the Friars were bound to the severest rule of life, they went barefoot, and renounced, not only for themselves individually, but collectively also, all possessions whatever....

(Southey *Book of the Church* 11:176-77)

39. Southey makes striking pronouncements on the utility of monastic orders (and their historical importance), such as, "were the present age divested of all that it owes to the patient and humble labour of the Benedictines, we should be poor indeed" (Southey "British Monachism" *Quarterly Review* 22:43 [July 1819]: 76). After detailing the impious frauds practiced by Dominicans and Franciscans, Southey deplores the equally disgraceful perfidy that accompanied the dissolution of monastic orders:

But it is not to be supposed that there was no good connected with monachism even in its most flagitious age, nor that the guilt of the foul practices which have been here exposed attaches itself to the individuals of these orders indiscriminately. The number of dupes, as in all cases, was far greater than that of knaves; and the political advantages which arose out of these institutions would not have been overlooked at the Reformation had it not been for the rapacity by which that event was forwarded and disgraced. (Southey "British Monachism" *Quarterly Review* 22:43 [July 1819]: 88)

Southey's article does assign monasticism certain social virtues — tending the sick, housing the insane, providing for travelers, serving a growing population's religious needs, offering retirement for the elderly and the unmarried, harnessing zeal and enthusiasm toward the improvement of society, and providing alternative forms of punishment. To this list of social virtues, he appends a disquisition on his review on the

necessity of Anglican convents, tracing the history of the abortive efforts to establish them:

In the wholesale extirpation of monastic institutions, the nunneries were swept away. The good which would have resulted from converting them into protestant establishments is so obvious, that few persons can have regarded the present state of society in these kingdoms as it affects women, without regretting that an opportunity for alleviating so much evil should have been neglected. (Southey "British Monachism" *Quarterly Review* 22:43 [July 1819]: 90)

Quoting Richardson and pointing to the successful experiment conducted by the Queen in 1816, Southey finds much in the monastic life to recommend it.

40. Coleridge would later mine Archbishop Leighton's works in *Aids to Reflection* (1825).

41. Coleridge also used Burnet's *History of His Own Time* (1724) in his third aphorism on spiritual religion found in *Aids to Reflection* (1825). The loss of Coleridge's volume of Burnet's *History of His Own Times* is to be lamented as he took so central (yet so little published) a role in the controversy over Southey's *Book of the Church*: Coleridge helped Joseph Blanco White prepare volumes against Charles Butler (and Burnet would have been fresh in his mind as he filled his notebooks and *Aids to Reflection* with numerous quotations from Burnet's works).

And it was doubly painful a loss as Burnet's *History* was one in which Coleridge turned to over the course of many decades. George Whalley, editor of the Princeton edition of *Coleridge's Marginalia*, notes that Coleridge checked it out from the Bristol library in April 1795, quoted from it twice in a *Courier* article of Sept. 1811, and even noted in *Table Talk* how valuable a work it was (*Coleridge Marginalia* 1.830).

Robert Southey also treated Burnet's *History of His Own Time* for the *Quarterly Review* 29.58 (April 1823) 165-213.

42. See also Southey's review of six works on the besieged nature of the Church of England, in which he wrote:

We have upon former occasions adverted to the service which the monastic orders formerly rendered in aid of the church in this country. While they existed the church had in itself a principle of growth which kept pace with the growth of cities, the general increase of population, and the necessities of society. it would have been difficult, or perhaps impossible, to reform them upon their original foundation, because so much audacious and blasphemous imposture was connected with their history. But it is on many accounts to be regretted that the revenues of these orders, instead of being so scandalously and sacrilegiously squandered, had not been applied to the foundation of institutions, such as might easily have been devised, retaining all that was good in the former establishments without any of the alloy. (Southey "New Churches" *Quarterly Review* 23:46 [July 1820]: 552-53)

43. John Murray published works both pro and contra on the question, sparked initially by Southey's *Book of the Church*. Besides *Book of the Church* and Southey's *Vindiciae*

Ecclesiae Anglicanae (1826), other works included: Charles Butler's *The Book of the Roman-Catholic Church: In a Series of Letters Addressed to Robt. Southey, Esq. LLD. on His "Book of the Church"* (1825); Joseph Blanco White's *The Poor Man's Preservative Against Popery: Addressed to the Lower Classes of Great Britain and Ireland* (1825); Joseph Blanco White's *Practical and Internal Evidence Against Catholicism: With Occasional Strictures on Mr. Butler's Book of the Roman Catholic Church: In Six Letters Addressed to the Impartial Among the Roman Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland* (1826); Henry Phillpotts, Lord Bishop of Exeter, and Charles Earl Grey's *Letters to Charles Butler, Esq.: On the Theological Parts of His Book of the Roman Catholic Church* (1826); Henry Phillpotts, Lord Bishop of Exeter's *A Supplemental Letter to Charles Butler, Esq.: On Some Parts of the Evidence Given to the Irish Roman-Catholic Bishops, Particularly by Dr. Doyle, Before the Committees of the Two Houses of Parliament, in the Session of 1825; And Also on Certain Passages in Dr. Doyle's "Essay on the Catholic Claims"* (1826); George Townsend's *The Accusations of History Against the Church of Rome: Examined in Remarks on the Principal Observations in Mr. Charles Butler's Work, "Book of the Roman Catholic Church": With a Supplemental Letter to Mr. Butler Containing a Reply to his "Vindication" of that Work, Point by Point, Throughout* (1826); Charles Butler's *Vindication of "The Book of the Roman Catholic Church" Against the Reverend George Townsend's "Accusations of History Against the Church of Rome:" with Notice of Some Charges Brought Against "The Book of the Roman Catholic Church," in the Publications of Doctor Phillpotts, The Rev, John Todd, M.A., F.S.A. the Rev. Stephen Isaacson, B.A., the Rev. Joseph Blanco White, M.A. B.D. and in Some Anonymous Publications....With Copies of Doctor Phillpott's Fourth Letter to Mr. Butler, Containing a Charge against Dr. Lingard; and of a Letter of Doctor Lingard to Mr. Butler, in Reply to the Charge* (1826); Joseph Blanco White's *A Letter to Charles Butler, Esq. on His Notice of the "Practical and Internal Evidence Against Catholicism"* (1826).

44. Perhaps one should compare Southey's statement with the following quotation from his reply, in order to temper the presentation adequately:

But surely, Sir, the Popes were at one time as much the enemies of learning, as they were the patrons at another; and when we call to mind, what works of the ancients have been obliterated by the monkish transcribers, and what the writings are which were transferred to the vellum in their stead, something must be set off against the debt which literature owes to the monastic institutions. (Southey *Vindiciae Ecclesiae Anglicanae* 9.371-72)

And to confirm the point, compare this statement, too:

For the Benedictines, to whom civilization in their earlier, and literature in their later ages, have been so deeply beholden, used to vie with the Mendicant Orders in bringing forward extravagant legends, and introducing new practices of superstition to gratify and to delude the people (Southey *Vindiciae Ecclesiae Anglicanae* 10.507)

45. The lack of citations was explained in a letter to John May, a month after its publication in February, 1824:

Both [the Bishop of Durham and the Bishop of London] regret that I have not supplied my authorities — an omission which appears to be generally thought

injudicious. The truth is, that when I began the book it was with an expectation that it would not exceed a single duodecimo volume; and that even when enlarged it is still a mere epitome for the most part, to which I feel that a display of authorities was out of place. (Southey *Life and Correspondence* 422)

46. In a letter to Grosvenor Charles Bedford on April 15, 1821, Southey indicates that his work and Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Sketches* (1822) are mutual in sentiment:

Wordsworth was with me last week. Oddly enough, while I have been employed upon the Book of the Church, he has been writing a series of historical sonnets upon the same subjects, of the very highest species of excellence. My book will serve as a running commentary to his series, and the one will materially help the other; and thus, without any concerted purpose, we shall go down to posterity in company (Southey *Life and Correspondence* 395).

47. As evidence of Southey's urbane tone in *Vindiciae Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (1826):

It is just possible, Sir, to be decorous while exhibiting some of the extravagances and follies which have arisen from the morality of the Cloister and of the Romish Church; but it is not possible to be grave....Can there be a stronger proof of the diseased state of mind which such morality produces, than in the rule which Cassian prescribes for the Coenobite, that if at any time the remembrance of his mother or sister comes across him, he must instantly repel it as a suggestion of the Devil, who, by thus introducing a thought of the female sex, would lead him on to think of other women, and so induce evil imaginations and desires? (Southey *Vindiciae Ecclesiae Anglicanae* 7.341-42)

Southey even takes umbrage at his opponent's claim that he deliberately obscured the facts in his history:

Having always endeavoured in my historical writings to render honour where honour is due, and always allowed full weight to those motives by which men are deceived, or seek to deceive themselves, when they are acting ill, I had in this place almost expected from Mr. Butler, an admission that no Protestant could represent Becket, on the whole, more favourably. (Southey *Vindiciae Ecclesiae Anglicanae* 9.360-61)

48. The *Acta Sanctorum* was not merely coveted by religious writers in England. In a letter from John Adams to Thomas Jefferson late in 1815, Adams with his characteristic ebullience writes about this seventeenth-century work of scholarship, "What would I give to possess in one immense mass, one stupendous draught, all the legends, true and false" (Cappon, Lester J., ed., *The Adams-Jefferson Letters* Chapel Hill: U North Carolina P, 1959, 429).

49. George III interpreted the Constitution to require Catholic disabilities, a view supported by Tories and various constitution scholars, including Samuel Taylor Coleridge.

50. Joseph Blanco White is now principally remembered as a theologian and poet, but he was known in the first quarter of the nineteenth century as a self-imposed exile from

Spain who renounced Roman Catholicism, entered the Anglican Church (studying theology at Oxford with Matthew Arnold, John Henry Newman, Hartley Coleridge, and Richard Whately), and edited *El Español*, a monthly Spanish magazine published in London. His editorial work gained him influence over Britain's involvement in the South American independence movement, the gathering of Spanish and Latin American luminaries in London, and his receipt of a civil list pension of £250.

51. Coleridge wrote:

What think I *now*? Ev'n what I thought before.
 What MILNER boasts, though BUTLER may deplore,
 Still I repeat, *Words* lead me not astray
 When the shewn *Feeling* points a different way.
 Smooth Butler can say Grace at Slander's feast
 And bless each Haut-gaut cook'd by Monk or Priest;
 Leaves the full lie on Milner's Gong to swell,
 Content with half-truths, that do just as well;
 But duly decks his mitred Comrade's Flanks,
 And with him shares the O'GORMAN Nation's Thanks!

So much for you, my friend! who own a church,
 And would not leave your mother in the lurch.
 But if a Liberal asks me what I think;
 Scared by the soot and blood of Cobbett's ink,
 And Jeffrey's glairy phlegm and Connor's foam,
 In search of some safe parable I roam:
 An emblem sometimes may comprize a tome. (Coleridge "Sancti Dominici Pallium" ll. 34-50; as qtd in *Marginalia* 1.832)

52. In an April 5, 1818 letter to John Rickman, Robert Southey mentions how many journalists and writers were reluctant to square off against William Cobbett and his slanderous pen, preferring instead to hide their heads in the sand and hope his readership and sales would fall along with public interest:

I have a chance letter from [Daniel] Stuart [editor of *The Morning Post* and *The Courier*]: he says Cobbett has fallen one third in sale, and all such publications are declining, but the anarchists are as active as ever, and new opportunities will occur for bringing their venom into life. 'These wretches,' he continues, 'are effecting their purposes by libeling; they are driving off the ground every man than can oppose them; they are conquering by scandal, and ministers wish as many others to keep out of the way. Unless this spirit of scandal is put down, unless the licentiousness of the press be restrained, certainly it will effect a revolution—restrained, I mean, by new laws and new regulations. It is altogether, as at present practiced, *a new thing*, not older than the French Revolution. I can perceive every one shrinking from it—you, me, Wordsworth, Coleridge, &c. Every one about the press dreads Cobbett's scandal; and thus, when a man throws off all consideration of character, he has all others in his power. Even the

ministry, too, and their friends, I think, shrink from those who fight their battles, when covered from filth in the fray.' (Southey *Life and Correspondence* 362)

53. Cobbett also had much to say about the condition of slaves in the West Indies (cf. Cobbett's *Exposure of the Practices of the Pretended Friends of the Blacks* [1830]).

54. Cobbett also touches upon this point in *A History of The Protestant Reformation* (1824):

Like all other wild schemes and cruel projects relative to the poor, we trace this at once back to the "Reformation," that great source of the poverty and misery and degradation of the main body of the people of this kingdom. The "Reformation" despoiled the working classes of their patrimony; it tore from them that which nature and reason had assigned them; it robbed them of that relief for the necessitous which was theirs by right imprescriptible, and which had been confirmed to them by the law of God and the law of the land. It brought a compulsory, a grudging, an unnatural mode of relief, calculated to make the poor and rich hate each other instead of binding them together as the Catholic mode did, by the bonds of Christian charity. (Cobbett *History of Protestant Reformation* 4.127.93)

55. This defense of monasticism takes Cobbett into labyrinths of tortured logic. For instance, Cobbett later points out that if the monks, a small proportion of the population who were trained and expected to uphold chastity for religious purposes, were incapable of practicing celibacy according to Protestant historians, then how can any parson or Member of Parliament expect the majority of the population in the working classes to be chaste for moral reasons:

If men, few in number, educated for the purpose of the ministry, bound by the most solemn vows of chastity, jealous to the last degree for the reputation of their order, practicing fasting and abstinence, early and late in their churches, visiting constantly the sick, superstitious in their minds, having the awful spectacle of death almost daily under their eyes, and clothed in a garb which of itself was a deep mortification and an antidote to passion in their beholders; if such men could not contain; if it was deemed *impossible* for such men to restrain themselves; and if this impossibility was one of the grounds for overturning a church that had existed amongst our fathers for six hundred years, what hypocrites must the reformers of this church have been! or, what hypocrites are those who now pretend, that mere "*moral restraint*" is, under a prohibition to marry, of sufficient force to preserve the innocence of farmers' men and maids. (Cobbett *Cobbett's Sermons* 262-63)

56. Cobbett's *A History of the Protestant Reformation* (1824-27) serves as a litmus test of English Catholic publication history (and of nineteenth-century American Catholic publication history, for that matter). Other Catholic London publishers include Charles Clement, H. Stemmen, and the Catholic Publishing and Bookselling Company (and in America, P.O. Connolly, Joseph R. A. Skerrett and M. Fithian in Philadelphia; J Myers in

Baltimore; J. Mortimer, J. Doyle, and G. Pardow & W. Denman in New York; Eichbaum & Johnston in Pittsburgh among others).

57. Cobbett numbers his paragraphs in this work; when citing from it, I will include chapter number followed by paragraph number followed by page number.

58. This passage was written after the dismissive review of the first ten letters in Southey's preferred journal, the *Quarterly Review* (which appeared in Vol. 33, Dec. 1825):

It is some consolation, however, to find that such a writer, indefatigably supplied with information by his employers, has made at last so miserable a case; it is a still more favorable sign of the times, that by his own inconsistent and unprincipled conduct, the best mob-writer of this or any day, the man who, with strong powers of his own, has more successfully than any other person, studied how to address himself to the common intellect of the people, should so entirely have lost his hold on the public mind. (*Quarterly Review*, 33:65 [Dec. 1825] 9)

59. Cobbett maintains that many of the evils endemic to modern British culture, including poverty, starvation, and class struggle, are consequences of Henry VIII's dissolution of the monasteries; indeed, by representing the destruction of the monastic orders as being synonymous with (and not merely one effect of) the English Reformation, Cobbett goes so far as to claim that had not a single stone of an abbey been dislodged, Hanoverian England would not have any need for a standing army:

For, before the "Reformation," England never knew and never dreamed of such a thing as a standing soldier; since that event she has never, in reality, known what it was to be without such soldiers; till at last, a thundering standing army, even in the time of profound peace, is openly avowed to be necessary to the "preservation of our happy constitution in Church and State"! (Cobbett *History of Protestant Reformation* (1824) 3.90.59)

60. This passage comes from the notorious thirty-first chapter, which I treat in the first chapter on page 30 (*vide supra*).

61. Cobbett is unforgiving and relentless in his attacks upon Hume's *History*. After summarizing Tanner's *Notitia Monastica* (1695), Cobbett has this to say about Hume:

Now then, malignant Hume, come up and face this Protestant bishop, whose work you have quoted more than two hundred times, and who here gives the lie direct to all and every part of your description. (Cobbett *History of Protestant Reformation* 4.134.100)

Cobbett at various points in his discussion returns to Hume with increasingly more caustic and sarcastic epithets: "malignant and selfish" (Cobbett *History of Protestant Reformation* 5.149.109); "this calumniator of Catholic institutions" (Cobbett *History of Protestant Reformation* 7.211.168); "this man seems, like Adam Smith, and indeed like almost every Scotch writer, to have a notion that there may be great public good though producing individual misery" (Cobbett *History of Protestant Reformation* 7.211.168); and

"observe how tender-hearted Hume is upon this subject" (Cobbett *History of Protestant Reformation* 8.225.184).

Notes To Chapter 5

1. The lack of unity within their efforts is curiously and ironically denied by the singular form of the noun *Movement*, though the other labels for this decade-long struggle to preserve Anglicanism also prove inconvenient. The alternate label *Tractarianism* — referring to the ninety *Tracts for the Times* that John Henry Newman, John Keble, Edward Pusey, Richard Hurrell Froude, and nine other Oxonians privately (and, at first, anonymously) printed between 1833 and 1841 — obscures the fact that dozens of curates were shocked by these tracts but were nonetheless associated with the movement. Each of the other names for this movement also suffer from the same reduction: *Puseyism* or *Puseyite*, after Edward Pusey, points more toward those Anglicans who sought to restore some of the rituals of the historic English church without devolving into Roman Catholicism (especially when the term is used to describe the movement after 1842); *Newmanism*, the term that pundits preferred, literally focused on the period of 1833-1842 when Newman was still active in the Anglican ministry; and *Anglo-Catholicism* presents the sentiment of recovering the Catholic aspects of the historic English church, but at the expense of confusing liturgical revisions and claims of apostolic succession with Roman Catholicism. Other even less enduring and endearing terms arose such as *Tractator* and *Tractite*.

For the sake of clarity, I will retain Oxford Movement, bearing in mind that the term refers to the few points of commonality among the various groups, such as the impulse to check Parliament's church reforms and the defense of the Church's authority by appealing to its history. The Movement was an unprecedented response by British ecclesiastics to advance the primacy of ecclesiastical matters over temporal measures. As Geoffrey Faber put it,

the nation was a part of Christ's Church, and bound, in all her legislation and policy, by the fundamental laws of the Church. If public opinion denied this, then the nation was in a state of apostasy; and, whatever the consequence, such a direct disavowal of the sovereignty of God must be implacably resisted. By human law [the Anglican church] was the Establishment. By divine law, and by right of interrupted succession, she was the Apostolical Church of Christ in England — and in Ireland. To deprive her of her worldly goods was...an act of sacrilege, not to be justified by any argument of expediency.... [The movement's supporters] were afraid for the future — if candlesticks in Ireland could be so lightly put out, what might not happen in England? Their fears were intelligent fears.... The Tractarians possessed all the moral earnestness and religious emotion of the Evangelicals; but combined them with an intellectual power of analysis and exposition, to a degree long unknown in England. (Faber *Oxford Apostles* 319, 324).

Because the struggle proceeded on many different fronts, I will not use Oxford Movement to include the more controversial views and those not held in common on matters ranging from discipline to doctrine. Instead, it will refer to the vague notion that the concept of establishment as defined by seventeenth-century concords, acts, and interpretations was abrogated by the Whig parliamentary measures. In my use, Oxford Movement refers to Anglicans who subscribed to the codified theory of the church as the *Via Media* between the two extreme and erroneous poles of Roman Catholicism and

Protestantism, but who did not necessarily align themselves with the renewed and eager restoration of ancient Church customs.

2. As Owen Chadwick notes in *The Victorian Church*, "The Tractarians revived monasteries and nunneries. The feat was astonishing and almost unique among Protestant churches. In the long run they thus changed the colour and complexion of Anglican devotion" (Chadwick *Victorian Church* 1.505).

3. Newman wrote to J. W. Bowden in January 1838:

Your offering towards the young monks was just like yourself . . . it will be most welcome. As you may suppose, we have nothing settled, but are feeling the way. We should begin next term; but since, however secret one may wish to keep it, things get out, we do not wish to commit young men to anything which may hurt their chances of success at any college in standing for a fellowship. (Newman *Letters* 2.249)

4. The Young England party perhaps followed the lead of other similar groups founded by European statesmen who found commonality in Romantic and nationalist longings for an idealized past.

5. Ironically, only Forbes remained an Episcopalian after dabbling with ascetic orders, while Faber and Newman both ended their experiments upon being accepted into the Roman Catholic communion.

6. For more on *Punch* and the Anglican sisterhoods, please refer to Anson's *Building Up the Waste Places*, pp. 30-38.

7. I have deliberately avoided tracing the influence of the German writers and philosophers — such as Kant, Fichte, Schiller, Goethe, Werner, Novalis, Fouqué, F. Schlegel and Richter — mainly because it falls outside the scope of this study. Such an act, however, is not only essential in appreciating a full development of Carlyle's thought but it is also quite profitable. The richness of such interconnections has been explored in studies such as Ikeler's *Puritan Temper and Transcendental Faith* and Vida's *Romantic Affinities: German Authors and Carlyle* — not to mention such standards as Hill Shine's *Unfinished History of German Literature*, Harrold's *Carlyle and German Thought*, and Wellek's *Immanuel Kant in England, 1793-1838*. The Germanic influence upon Carlyle is, as this short list reveals, quite intense. Further, an argument can be made — as Ikeler has done in his work, v. pp. 72-104 — that Carlyle's readings of Kant *et al.* were responsible for the direction and form of his thought. Vida makes this point even further through side-by-side quotations of German writers and Carlyle.

8. Though Carlyle may not have idealized any one type of person as an exemplum of a great leader, he clearly took a position on what he deemed essential to any effective societal improvement:

The Reformation had an invisible, mystic and ideal aim; the result was indeed to be embodied in external things; but its spirit, its worth, was internal, invisible,

infinite. Our English Revolution too originated in Religion. Men did battle, in those old days, not for Purse-sake, but for Conscience-sake. Nay, in our own days it is in no ways different. The French Revolution itself had something higher in it than cheap bread and a Habeus-corpus act. Here too was an Idea; a Dynamic, not a Mechanic force. It was a struggle, though a blind and at last an insane one, for the infinite, divine nature of Right, of Freedom, of Country. (Carlyle "Signs of the Times" 476)

Carlyle's view of the French Revolution here — merely fifteen years after the defeat at Waterloo — is radical for its time, though it does not appear to have met with any harsh disapproval.

9. Carlyle himself periodically wrote for journals at the time, adding a level of irony to the interpretation of this passage.

He would not be wrong in his assessment. Certainly the friars he refers to — those orders which are not associated with any house but, instead, are obligated to earn their wages by doing "God's work" (God's work understood loosely as preaching the gospel but later understood as begging alms) — eventually slipped from serving their community to feeding upon it. Not only were friars unaffiliated with any monastery but some friars were also *forbidden* to set foot in a monastery. According to c. 11 of the *Regula Bullata* ratified by Honorius III on 29 November, 1223, one of the rules of a Franciscan friar was that he was not allowed within a monastery.

Still, any survey of the history of monasticism — especially of the Christian variety — would be incomplete without the broad sketch of its genesis from the solitude in the Egyptian desert, to the stable foundation for the rebirth of civilized life in the fourth century, to the decline of monasteries and the rise of friar's orders in the thirteenth century, to the condemnation of the entire institution in the sixteenth century, and eventually to its rebirth and renewal in both Roman Catholic and Anglo-Catholic settings. For more on the rise of religious order, see David Knowles' *The Monastic Order in England* and Herbert Workman's *The Evolution of the Monastic Ideal*. The *Oxford English Dictionary* notes that "In England, before the Reformation, the term [monk] was not applied to the mendicant orders, who were always called *friars*. From the 16th c. to the 19th c., however, it was usual to speak of the friars as a class of monks. In recent times the distinction between the terms has been carefully observed by well-informed writers" (Murray *et al.*, IX, 1003).

10. This same distinction appears in *Sartor Resartus*:

There is no Church, sayest thou? The voice of Prophecy has gone dumb? This is even what I dispute: but in any case, hast thou not still Preaching enough? A Preaching Friar settles himself in every village; and builds a pulpit, which he calls Newspaper. Therefrom he preaches what most monumentous doctrine is in him, for man's salvation; and dost thou not listen, and believe? Look well, thou seest everywhere a new Clergy of the Mendicant Orders, some bare-footed, some almost bare-backed, fashion itself into shape, and teach and preach, zealously enough, for copper alms and the love of God. (Carlyle *Sartor Resartus* 189-90)

Once again, Carlyle maintains the distinction between monk and friar and, in so doing, he suggests a deeper focus and reflection upon monasticism.

In another instance in *Sartor Resartus*, however, Carlyle decries the lack of spiritual leadership by making a comparison between journalists and the Monks on Mt. Athos:

It is true, certain of the English Journalists, men generally without sense for the Religious Principle, or judgment for its manifestations, speak, in their brief enigmatic notices, as if this were perhaps rather a Secular Sect, and not a Religious one; nevertheless, to the psychologic eye its devotional and even sacrificial character plainly enough reveals itself. . . .(for human Error walks in a cycle, and reappears at intervals) a not-inconsiderable resemblance to that Superstition of the Athos Monks, who by fasting from all nourishment, and looking intensely for a length of time into their own navels, came to discern therein the true Apocalypse of Nature, and Heaven Unveiled. To my own surmise, it appears as if this Dandiactal Sect were but a new modification, adapted to the new time, of that primeval Superstition, *Self-worship* (Carlyle *Sartor Resartus* 207)

As Carlyle will make note of in *Past and Present*, the abuses and the errors of certain monks are in no way a dismissal of their principles — and it is these principles he locates there as being representative of heroism. Furthermore, Eastern monasticism differs greatly from Western monasticism mainly in this self-focused and fanatically individualistic aspect.

Thus, when Carlyle approaches the historical shortcomings of monks, he is quick to point out that some of the shortcomings are to be found in the exigencies of their world (and some of them are to be located in the person who wags the finger). He writes in *Past and Present*:

One of the things that strike us most, throughout, in Jocelin's *Chronicle*, and indeed in Eadmer's *Anselm*, and other monastic Books, written evidently by pious men, is this, That there is almost no mention of 'personal religion' in them; that the whole gist of their thinking and speculation seems to be the 'privileges of our order,' 'strict exaction of our dues,' 'God's honour' (meaning the honour of our Saint), and so forth. Is not this singular? A body of men, set apart for perfecting and purifying their own souls, do not seem disturbed about that in any measure; the 'Ideal' says nothing about its idea; says much about finding bed and board for itself! How is this?

Why for one thing, bed and board are very apt to come to speech: it is much easier to *speak* of them than of ideas; and they are sometimes much more pressing with some! Nay, for another thing, may not this religious reticence, in these devout good souls, be perhaps a merit, and sign of health in them? Jocelin, Eadmer, and such religious men, have as yet nothing of 'Methodism'; no Doubt or even root of Doubt. Religion is not a diseased self-introspection, an agonising inquiry: their duties are clear to them, the way of supreme good plain, indisputable, and they are travelling on it. . . .Is not serene and complete Religion the highest aspect of human nature; as serene Cant, or complete No-religion, is the lowest and miserablest? Between the two, all manner of earnest Methodisms, introspections, agonising inquiries, never so morbid, shall play their respective parts, not without approbation. (Carlyle *Past and Present* 60)

Not only were some monks to be faulted but the fallen perceptions of those who suffer "diseased self-introspection" are also.

11. In "Signs of the Times," Carlyle explains that "undue cultivation of the outward [*i.e.*, Mechanical forces], again though less immediately prejudicial, and even for the time productive of many palpable benefits, must, in the long-run, by destroying Moral force, which is the parent of all Force, prove not less certainly, and still perhaps more hopelessly, pernicious" (Carlyle "Signs of the Times" 478). In other words, the ontology of action begins with a Moral force; the loss of such force — or the willful destruction of such force — is an entropy bound toward hopelessness and self-bound, earth-bound logical systems. According to this work, we are not certain where "Moral" force, or Dynamic force, begins. In *Sartor Resartus*, however, he appropriates the German writers' terms to locate the source of that force.

12. In one poignant example, Carlyle lashes out at this philosophy and its inherent selfishness:

Call ye that a Society . . . where there is no longer any Social Idea extant; not so much as the Idea of a common Home, but only of a common over-crowded Lodging-House? Where each, isolated, regardless of his neighbour, turned against his neighbour, clutches what he can get, and cries 'Mine!' and calls it Peace, because, in the cut-purse and cut-throat Scramble, no steel knives, but only a far cunninger sort, can be employed? Where Friendship, communion, has become an incredible tradition; and your holiest Sacramental Supper is a smoking Tavern Dinner, with Cook for Evangelist? Where your Priest has no tongue but for plate-licking: and your high Guides and Governors cannot guide; but on all hands hear it passionately proclaimed: *Laissez faire*; Leave us alone of *your* guidance, such light is darker than darkness; eat your wages, and sleep! (Carlyle *Sartor Resartus* 174)

13. Carlyle makes even more of this issue when he ends his discussion of the past and brings his discussion to the present:

— The old Pope of Rome, finding it laborious to kneel so long while they cart him through the streets to bless the people on *Corpus-Christi* Day, complains of rheumatism; whereupon his Cardinals consult; — construct him, after some study, a stuffed cloaked figure, of iron and wood, with wool or baked hair; and place it in a kneeling posture. Stuffed figure, or rump of a figure; to this stuffed rump he, sitting at his ease on a lower level, joins, by the aid of cloaks and drapery, his living head and outspread hands: the rump with its cloaks kneels, the Pope looks, and holds his hands spread; and so the two in concert bless the Roman population.

...

What, in the name of God, *does* he believe God to be? — and discerns that all worship of God is a scenic phantasmagory of wax-candles, organ blasts, Gregorian chants, mass-brayings, purple monsignori, wool-and-iron rumps, artistically spread out,—to save the ignorant from worse. . . . In a Time otherwise too prone to forget, he keeps up the mournfulest ghastly memorial of the Highest, Blessedest, which once was; which, in new fit forms, will again partly have to be.

Is he not as a perpetual death's-head and cross-bones, with their *Resurgam*, on the grave of a Universal Heroism, — grave of a Christianity? Such Nobleness, purchased by the world's best heart's-blood, must not be lost; we cannot afford to lose them, in what confusions soever. To all of us the day will come, to a few of us it has already come, when no mortal, with his heart yearning for a 'Divine Humility,' or other 'Highest form of Valour,' will need to look for it in death's-heads, but will see it round him in here and there a beautiful living head. (Carlyle *Past and Present* 138, 139)

14. Carlyle's attempts at levity in *Past and Present*, particularly with respect to this comparison of contemporary religion as a form of Morrison's Pill, may have in part been inspired by Richard Harris Barham's "A Lay of St. Guengulphus" published first in *Bentley's* as an installment to *The Ingoldsby Legends* in 1839. In this poem, Barham writes,

They [the lady's handmaidens] were telling their mistress the wonderful deeds
Of the new Saint, to whom all the town said their orisons:
And especially how, as regards invalids,
His miraculous cures far outrivall'd Von Morison's.
(Barham *Ingoldsby Legends* ll 196-200)

15. What Carlyle sees of contemporary history/myth-making is quite telling:
To predict the Future, to manage the Present, would not be so impossible, had not the Past been so sacrilegiously mishandled; effaced, and what is worse, defaced! The Past cannot be seen; the Past, looked at through the medium of 'Philosophic History' in these times, cannot even be *not* seen: it is misseen; affirmed to have existed, — and to have been a godless Impossibility. . . . For in truth, the eye sees in all things 'what it brought with it the means of seeing.' A godless century, looking back on the centuries that were godly produces portraits more miraculous than any other. (Carlyle *Past and Present* 239)

16. These attacks did not have any impact upon the sale of *The Omnipresence of the Deity* (1828), which went through nearly 30 editions before Montgomery died in 1855. Also, these attacks paled in comparison to Macauley's severe handling of the poem in the *Edinburgh Review* (Apr. 1830) vol. 51.

17. Richard Doyle would later leave *Punch* within the year because of its increasingly more strident declarations against Roman Catholicism.

18. Thackeray used this same combination in *The Newcomes* (1853-55), in which "one of the Newcomes was represented as going cheerfully to the stake at Smithfield, surrounded by some very ill-favoured Dominicans, whose arguments did not seem to make the least impression upon martyr of the Newcome family" (Thackeray *The Newcomes* (Mar 1854) 18:230).

19. Thackeray scholarship is filled with debates as to how much of this novel — or for that matter, most of his serialized novels — was preplanned.

20. This distinction also can be added to the *OED*'s notice that writers made use of the two variant forms to comment on the drift from the primitive stylites to the modern recluses: "*hermit* being the ordinary and popular word, while *eremite* ... is used either poet. or rhetorically, or with special reference to its primitive use in Greek" (Murray *et al.*, VI, 842). The reductive claim that "*hermit*" had its popular use since the seventeenth century cannot be maintained without adding a caveat such as "popular, but not universally adopted until much later in the nineteenth century."

21. For instance, at Mrs. Newcome's party, which was set in the late 1830s, Mrs. Newcome's understanding of the interest in monastic orders is depicted as a matter of course:

He is talking with Mr. Palmer, one of our most delightful young poets, and with Desmond O'Tara, son of the late reverend bishop of Ballinafad, who has lately quitted ours for the errors of the Church of Rome. ... I heard talk of one I knew in better days — of one who was the comrade of my youth, and the delight of Oxford — poor Pidge of Brazenose, who got the Newdegate in my third year, and who, under his present name of Father Bartolo, was to have been here in his capuchin dress with a beard and bare feet; but I presume he could not get permission from his superior. (Thackeray *Newcomes* (Dec. 1853) 8.107)

22. Doyle's woodcut, however, depicts J.J. shod impossibly in sandals; the portrait of J.J. as a friar can only operate if one considers the sandals *zoccoli*, thus allowing a conflation of Dominican and Franciscan orders.

23. In two other passages, Thackeray returns to the running motif of monasticism, and both are notable in that they have little to do with asceticism. In the first instance, Thackeray's narrator pokes fun at Clive Newcome's bourgeois conception that owning artist materials will somehow transform him into an artist:

If painting boxes made painters; if sketching-stools would but enable one to sketch, surely I would hasten this very instant to Messrs. Soap and Isaac! but alas! these pretty toys no more make artists than crows make monks. (Thackeray *Newcomes* (June 1854) 27.341)

In the other, Thackeray's narrator pokes fun at Madame la Duchesse d'Ivry's inventiveness:

She hesitates at nothing, like other poets of her nation: not profoundly learned, she invents where she has not acquired: mingles together religion and the Opera; and performs Parisian pas-de-ballet before the gates of monasteries and the cells of anchorites (Thackeray *Newcomes* (July 1854) 31.405)

24. Like Dickens, Benjamin Disraeli touches upon monasticism in the political novel *Coningsby; or The New Generation* (1844). When Harry Coningsby falls under the spell of the electrifying polymath Jew Sidonia at his grandfather Lord Monmouth's ball in Paris, Edith Millbank describes her brother Oswald, Harry's lifelong friend, as "a devotee of Oxford; quite a monk" (Disraeli *Coningsby* 3.6.2.282).

Elsewhere in the novel, Disraeli has his narrator wax eloquent on the topic of Carlylean heroism, finding it possible to be a monk and a hero:

And what is a great man? Is it a Minister of State? Is it a victorious General? A gentleman in the Windsor uniform? A Field Marshal covered with stars? Is it a Prelate, or a Prince? A King, even an Emperor? It may be all these; yet these, as we must all daily feel, are not necessarily great men. A great man is one who affects the mind of his generation: whether he be a monk in his cloister agitating Christendom, or a monarch crossing the Granicus, and giving a new character to the Pagan World. (Disraeli *Coningsby* 1.3.2.123).

25. Though I connect this notion of the hermit as distinct from religious traditions to Romantic poetry of the late 18th century, I have also shown that the concept stretches back before the early 18th century, and appears in writers such as Pope and the Cavalier poet Richard Lovelace.

26. In another passage, Yonge takes it even further, by having the Byronic hero Guy — who has yet to be reformed by Amy Edmonstone — compare the saintly Mary to a Franciscan sister because of her grey gown:

'And here comes the 'friar of orders grey,' to tell you so,' exclaimed Guy, as Mary, in her grey dress, came on them.

'Oh, that is right, dear good friar!' cried Amy.' (Yonge *Heir of Redclyffe* 1.12.202)

Here, Yonge's obvious recognition of religious orders serves as comedic relief, during a scene of Guy and Amy's courtship among the flowers.

27. Anna Jameson, however, walked a careful line of sincerity, especially in deference to her clear bias toward Protestantism. In introducing the influence of the Benedictine orders in England and Germany, she finds reason to nod to the Puritans of the seventeenth century for their integrity, writing, "the Puritans were at least religiously in earnest; and if we cannot sympathise with them, we can understand their stern hatred of a faith, or rather a form of a faith, which had filled the world with the scandal of its pernicious abuses" (Jameson *Legends* 39).

28. Charlotte Mary Yonge's *Dictionary of Christian Names* remained in print for a hundred years, cataloguing and collating Tractarian saints' lives, reinforcing onomastics. Indeed, a truly powerful essay is yet to be written that highlights the use of the St. Francis legend, for instance, in character names such as Fanny and Frank in novels of the 1840s.

29. Among Mary Botham Howitt's works — which number over a hundred works of children's literature, poetry, fiction, natural history, and translations of Swedish writers, which do not include the dozens of works she co-wrote with her husband the poet and travel book writer William Howitt — is *Ruined Abbeys and Castles of Great Britain*, written in two series and released between 1862-64 (including separate works on Yorkshire, the Wye, and the Border). This joint production of Mary Botham Howitt and William Howitt reveals their Broad Church and Scott-influenced appreciation of English history.

30. In another interesting anachronistic application of the term hermit, Robert Montgomery applied the phrase "an eremite of weeping prayer" to St. Paul in the poem "The Conversion of St. Paul" (1855).

31. As a recent convert to Roman Catholicism, John Henry Newman also applies the image of the holy hermit in "St. Philip in Himself (A Song)" (1850) and *The Dream of Gerontius* (1866).

32. James Montgomery may be remembered by his inclusion with William Wordsworth as one of the two important religious poets of the last generation in John Wilson's essay on "Sacred Poetry" (Chapters 1 and 2) from *The Recreations of Christopher North* (Edinburgh, 1842, 3 vols).

33. Richard Harris Barham, however, applied his ridicule to the Church of England as well for not providing some forum for its worthies (in particular, he mentions by name several members of the Oxford Movement). He writes in "The Lay of the Old Woman Clothed in Grey. A Legend of Dover"

As since then the breed Of Saints rarely indeed
With their dignified presence have darken'd our pew doors.
— Hence the late Mr. Froude, and the live Dr. Pusey
We moderns consider as each worth a Jew's eye;
Though Wiseman and Dullman combine against Newman,
With Doctors and Proctors, and say he's no true man. (Barham "Lay of Old Woman" ll. 54-59)

In this passage, Barham's ridicule of the Middle Ages is extended to the current age, which he sees as equally contemptible.

34. In a passage that recalls numerous other scenes in the poems and essays on the French monastics in Dorsetshire mentioned in Chapter 3, in which the monastic figure is given a degree of moral authority and admiration for defying the temporal power. In this play, Bragelone defies King Louis XIV with the requisite synecdoche:

'Tis true, this garb of serge
Dares speech that daunts the ermine, and walks free
Where stout hearts tremble in the triple mail.
But wherefore? — Lies the virtue in the robe,
Which the moth eats? or in these senseless beads?
Or in the name of Priest? The Pharisees
Had priests that gave their Saviour to the cross!
No! we have high immunity and sanction,
That Truth may teach humanity to Power,
Glide through the dungeon, pierce the armed throng,
Awaken Luxury on her Sybarite couch,
And, startling souls that slumber on a throne,
Bow kings before that priest of priests — the Conscience!
(Bulwer-Lytton *Duchess de la Vallière* 4.4.46-58)

Bulwer-Lytton in his typical bombast continues in this strain, having the Franciscan Bragelone criminally insult King Louis XIV (though, of course, this point is overlooked):
For pious hopes hail superstitious terrors,
And seek some sleek Iscariot of the church,

To sell salvation for the thirty pieces! (Bulwer-Lytton *Duchess de la Vallière* 4.4.71-73)

35. Bulwer-Lytton's *Richelieu; Or, The Conspiracy: A Play, in Five Acts* (1839) suffers from the same formulaic approach, and the same circumscribed presentation of monasticism, for in the very character of Richelieu's confidante, the scheming Capuchin monk Joseph, the trope of the honorary Protestant is put into effect. One need refer to this clunking passage to see the Gothic machinery being applied to historical drama: "Between this innocent youth / And that intriguing monk there is, in truth, / A wide distinction" (Bulwer-Lytton *Richelieu* 5.1.118-20).

36. Perhaps the reason for the complete commercial failure of Kingsley's *The Saint's Tragedy* was its variation from the expected formula. It passed through two publisher's hands and both thought that the scenes in which the sadistic Conrad mortifies Elizabeth, and Elizabeth's own flagellations on her wedding night to be distasteful.

37. Chaucer writers of the Pardoner in the General Prologue of *The Canterbury Tales*:

Swiche glarynge eyen hadde he as an hare.

A voys he hadde as smal as hath a goot.

No berd hadde he, ne nevere sholde have.

As smothe it was as it were late shave.

I trowe he were a geldyng or a mare. (Chaucer *Canterbury Tales* 1.684, 688-91)

38. Browning's Johannes Agricola recalls Tennyson's earlier "St. Simeon Stylites," a pole-saint who questions God's plan, and asks a question that would trouble many later Victorians,

O Jesus, if thou wilt not save my soul,

Who may be saved? who is it may be saved? (Tennyson "St. Simeon Stylites" ll. 45-46)

	John Kersey's <i>Dictionarium Anglo-Britannicum</i> (1708)	Samuel Johnson's <i>Dictionary</i> (1755)	James Buchanan's <i>Lingua Britannicae Vera Pronunciatio</i> (1757)	Thomas Sheridan's <i>General Dictionary</i> (1780)
ANCHORET (N.B., Johnson, Buchanan, and Sheridan add ", or Anchorite")	A Hermit or Monk that leads a Solitary Life in a Desart.	A recluse; a hermit; one that retires to the more severe duties of religion. "His poetry indeed he took along with him; but he made that an anchorite as well as himself. " <i>Sprat</i> . "You describe so well your hermitical state of life, that none of the ancient <i>anchorites</i> could go beyond you, for a cave in a rock, with a fine spring, or any of the accommodations that befit a solitary life. " <i>Pope's Letters</i> .	A hermit, or one who leads a solitary life in a desart for the sake of devotion, and to be out of reach of temptation.	A recluse or a hermit.
CENOBITICAL	----	Living in community. "They have multitudes of religious orders, eremitical and <i>cenobitical</i> , and nuns. " <i>Stillingfleet</i> .	----	Living in community.
EREMITE	----	One who lives in a wilderness; one who lives in solitude; an hermit; a solitary. "Antonius the <i>eremite</i> findeth a fifth commodity not inferior to any of these four. " <i>Raleigh's History of the World</i> . "And many more too long, / Embryoes and idiots, <i>eremites</i> and friars, / White, black, and grey, with all their trumpery. " <i>Milton</i> .	The same with hermit.	One who lives in a wilderness, an hermit.
EREMITICAL	Belonging to a Desart, or leading a Hermit's life.	Religious solitary; leading the life of an hermit. "They have multitudes of religious orders, <i>eremitical</i> and <i>cenobitical</i> . " [sic] <i>Stillingfleet</i> .	----	Religiously solitary.
FRIAR	Monk or Religious Person; in <i>Printing</i> , a Sheet or Page so ill worked off at Press, that it can be hardly read.	A religious brother of some order. "Holy Franciscan friar! brother! hol " <i>Sh. Rom and Jul</i> . "All the priests and friars in my realm, / Shall in procession sing her endless praise. " <i>Shakesp. H. VI</i> . "He says he's a friar, but hes big enough to be a pope. " <i>Dryden's Spanish Fryar</i> . "Many Jesuits and friars went about, in the disguise of Presbyterian and Independent ministers, to preach up rebellion. " <i>Swift</i> . "A friar would needs shew his talent in Latin. " <i>Swift</i> .	A common name for the monks of all orders.	A religious, a brother of some regular order.

	John Kersey's <i>Dictionary Anglo-Britannicum</i> (1708)	Samuel Johnson's <i>Dictionary</i> (1755)	James Buchanan's <i>Lingua Britannicae Vera Pronunciato</i> (1757)	Thomas Sheridan's <i>General Dictionary</i> (1780)
FRIARLIKE	----	Monastick; unskilled in the world. "Their friarlike general would the next day make one holy-day in the Christian calendars, in remembrance of thirty thousand Hungarian martyrs slain of the Turks. " <i>Knolles's History</i>	----	Monastick, unskilled in the world
FRIARLY	----	Like a friar, or man untaught in life. "Seek not proud riches, but such as thou may'st get justly, use soberly, distribute cheerfully, and leave contentedly; yet have no abstract nor friarly contempt of them. " <i>Bacon's Essays</i>	----	Like a friar, a man untaught in life.
FRIARY	----	<i>n.s.</i> A monastery or convent of friars. <i>adj.</i> Like a friar. "Francis Cornfield did scratch his elbow when he had sweetly invented to signify his name, St. Francis, with a friary cowl in a cornfield. " <i>Camden's Remains.</i>	----	A monastery or convent of friars.
HERMIT	A solitary Monk; also a kind of Fish.	1. A solitary; an anchorit; one who retires from society to contemplation and devotion. "A wither'd <i>hermit</i> , fivescore Winters worn,/ Might shake off fifty looking in her eye. " <i>Shakespeare.</i> "You were pleased to lay this command upon me, to give you my poor advice for your carriage in so eminent a place: I humbly return you mine opinion, such as an <i>hermit</i> rather than a courtier can render." <i>Bacon's Advice to Villiers.</i> "He had been duke of Savoy, and, after avery glorious reign, took on him the habit of a [sic] <i>hermit</i> , and retired into this solitary spot. " <i>Addison on Italy.</i> "Come, inspiration, from thy <i>hermit</i> seat,/ By mortals seldom found. " <i>Thomson's Summer.</i> 2. A beadsman; one bound to pray for another. Improper. "For those of old,/ And the late dignities heap'd up to them,/ We rest your <i>hermit</i> . " <i>Shakespeare's Macbeth.</i>	A person that lives in a desert [sic] and feeds upon the roots, &c. which nature bestows without culture.	A solitary, an anchorit, one who retires from society to contemplation and devotion; a beadsman, one bound to pray for another.

	John Kersey's <i>Dictionarium Anglo-Britannicum</i> (1708)	Samuel Johnson's <i>Dictionary</i> (1755)	James Buchanan's <i>Lingua Britannicae Vera Pronunciatio</i> (1757)	Thomas Sheridan's <i>General Dictionary</i> (1780)
MONACHAL	belonging to Monks, Monkish	Monastick; relating to monks, or conventual orders.	Monkish, or belonging to a monk.	Monastick, relating to monks, or conventual orders.
MONACHISM	the State or Condition of Monks	The state of monks; the monastick life.	1. The state or condition of the monk. 2. The monks themselves.	The state of monks, the monastick life.
MONASTERY	a Covent [sic] or Cloister; a College of Monks or Nuns	House of religious retirement; convent. It is usually oronounced and often written, <i>monastery</i> . "Then courts of kings were held in high renown; / There, virgins honourable vows receiv'd, / But chaste as maids in monasteries liv'd." <i>Dryden</i> . "In a monastery your devotions cannot carry you so far toward the next world, as to make this lost the sight of you." <i>Pope</i>	A convent, a solitary place, a cloister of monks or nuns.	House of religious retirement, convent.
MONASTICK MONASTICAL (N.B., Kersey uses "or" to connect, Johnson uses a brace to connect these two terms, Buchanan uses "monastic" and connects using "or" and Sheridan follows Johnson's example)	Belonging to Monks, or Monasteries	Religiously recluse; pertaining to a monk. "I drave my suitor to forswear the full stream of the world, and to live in a nook merely monastick." <i>Shak. As you like it</i> "The silicious and hairy vests of the strictest orders of friers derive the institution of their monastick life from the example of John and Elias." <i>Brown's Vulgar Errors, b.v.</i> "When young, you led a life monastick, / And wore a vast ecclesiastick; / Now in your age you grow fantastick." <i>Denham</i>	Belonging to a monastery, or solitary life.	Religiously recluse.
MONASTICALLY	----	Reclusely; in the manner of a monk. "I have a dozen years more to answer for, all monastically passed in this country of liberty and delight." <i>Swift</i>	----	Reclusely, in the manner of a monk.

	John Kersey's <i>Dictionarium Anglo-Britannicum</i> (1708)	Samuel Johnson's <i>Dictionary</i> (1755)	James Buchanan's <i>Lingua Britannicae Vera Pronunciatio</i> (1757)	Thomas Sheridan's <i>General Dictionary</i> (1780)
MONK	one that lives in <i>Common in a Monastery under a Vow to observe the rules establish'd by the Founder, et c.</i>	One of a religious community bound by vows to certain <i>observances.</i> "Two'd prove the verity of certain words, / Spoke by a holy monk. " <i>Shakespeare's Henry VIII.</i> "Abdemeleck, as one weary of the world, gave over all, and betook himself to a solitary life, and became a melancholy Mahometan monk." <i>Knolles's Hist. of the Turks.</i> "The dronish monks, the scorn and shame of manhood, / Rouse and prepare once more to take possession, / And nestle in their ancient hives again. " <i>Rowe.</i> "Monks, in some respects, agree with regulars, as in the substantial vows of religion; but in other respects, monks and regulars differ; for that regulars, vows excepted, are not tied up to a strict rule of life as monks are. " <i>Aylisse's Parergon.</i>	1. One who lives in a monastery under a vow to observe the rules of the founder. 2. A fish.	One of a religious community bound by vows to certain observances.
MONKERY	the Profession Temper or Humour of Monks	The monastick life. "Neither do I meddle with their evangelical perfection of vows, nor the dangerous servitude of their rash and impotent votaries, nor the inconveniences of their monkery." <i>Hall</i>	----	The monastick life.
MONKISH	----	Monastick; pertaining to monks; taught by monks. "Those publick charities are a greater ornament to this city than all its wealth, and do more real honour to the reformed religion, than redounds to the church of Rome from all those <i>monkish</i> and superstitious foundations of which she vainly boasts. " <i>Atterbury's Sermon's.</i> "Rife, rife, Roscommon, see the Blenheim muse, / The dull constraint of <i>monkish</i> rhyme refuse." <i>Smith.</i>	Belonging to monks.	Monastick, pertaining to monks.

Appendix 2

From Charles Kingsley's *The Hermits* (London: Macmillan, 1864), pp. 14-15.

Throughout the whole Roman Empire, in the course of a century, had spread hermits (or dwellers in the desert), anchorites (retired from the world), or monks (dwellers alone). The three names grew afterwards to designate three different orders of ascetics. The hermits remained through the Middle Ages those who dwelt in deserts; the anchorites, or “ankers” of the English Middle Age, seem generally to have inhabited cells built in, or near, the church walls; the name of “monks” was transferred from those who dwelt alone to those who dwelt in regular communities, under a fixed government. But the three names were at first interchangeable; the three modes of life alternated, often in the same man. The life of all three was the same,—celibacy, poverty, good deeds towards their fellow-men; self-restraint, and sometimes self-torture of every kind, to atone (as far as might be) for the sins committed after baptism: and the mental food of all three was the same likewise; continued meditation upon the vanity of the world, the sinfulness of the flesh, the glories of heaven, and the horrors of hell: but with these the old hermits combined—to do them justice—a personal faith in God, and a personal love for Christ, which those who sneer at them would do well to copy.

Works Cited and Consulted

- Abrams, M. H. "On Political Readings of *Lyrical Ballads*." *Romantic Revolutions: Criticism and Theory*. Eds. Kenneth R. Johnston et al. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1990. 320-49.
- Altick, Richard D. *Punch: The Lively Youth of a British Institution, 1841-1851*. Columbus: Ohio UP, 1997.
- [Anonymous]. "The Friar's Tale." *The Oxford Book of Gothic Tales*. Ed. Chris Baldick. New York: Oxford UP, 1992.
- . "The Monk of Horror, or The Conclave of Corpses." *Tales of the Crypt—in the Style of The Monk*. London: [n.p.], 1798. *Gothic Tales of Terror: Classic Horror Stories from Great Britain, Europe and the United States, 1765-1840*. Ed. Peter Haining. New York: Taplinger P, 1972.
- . *Remarks and Observations on the speeches delivered in the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale on the Popish Bill, which met in November 1778*. Edinburgh: [n.p.], 1779.
- . *Enquiry into the policy of the laws. An inquiry into the policy of the penal laws, affecting the popish inhabitants of Ireland. In which the history and constitution of that country, and the rights of colonies and planters are briefly considered*. London: G. Robinson, 1775.
- . "[Review] Art VIII. *An Essay on the Principle of Population*. By. T. R. Malthus, A.M. Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. Second Edition, greatly enlarged. 4to 11. 1s. 6d. Johnson. 1803." *British Critic* 23 (Jan 1804): 59-69 and 23 (Mar 1804): 233-45.
- . "The Ruins of the Abbey of Fitz-Martin." *The Oxford Book of Gothic Tales*. Ed. Chris Baldick. New York: Oxford UP, 1992. 31-50.
- Anson, Peter F. *Building up the Waste Places: The Revival of Monastic Life on Medieval Lines in the Post-Reformation Church of England*. Leighton Buzzard, Bedfordshire, England: Faith P, 1973.
- . *The Call of the Cloister: Religious Communities and kindred bodies in the Anglican Communion*. London: SPCK, 1955.
- Aspinwall, Bernard. "Changing Images of Roman Catholic Religious Orders in the Nineteenth Century." *Monks, Hermits and The Ascetic Tradition: Papers Read at the 1984 Summer Meeting and 1985 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History*

- Society*. Ed. W. J. Sheils. London: Basil Blackwell, 1985. 351-64.
- Austin, Dobson. "The Gordon Riots." In *Twentieth Century Essays and Addresses*. Ed. William A.J. Archbold. 1927. Reprint, New York: Books for Libraries P, 1970.
- Baines, Paul. "Chatterton and Johnson: Authority and Filiation in the 1770s." In *Thomas Chatterton and Romantic Culture*. Ed. Nick Groom. New York: St. Martin's, 1999.
- Baldick, Chris, and Robert Mighall. "Gothic Criticism." *A Companion to the Gothic*. Ed. David Punter. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2000.
- , ed. *The Oxford Book of Gothic Tales*. New York: Oxford UP, 1992.
- Barbauld, Anna Laetitia. "On Monastic Institutions." *Works*. 1825. 2 vols. London: Routledge/Thoemmes P, 1996. 2: 195-213.
- Barbour, Brian. "'Between Two Worlds': The Structure of the Argument in 'Tintern Abbey.'" *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 48:2 (Sept. 1993): 147-68.
- [Barham, Richard Harris]. *The Ingoldsby Legends, Or Mirth and Marvels*. Artists' edition. Illus. George Cruikshank, John Leech, and John Tenniel. New York: Scribner and Welford, 1843.
- Barth, J. Robert. "'A Spring of Love': Prayer and Blessing in Coleridge's *Rime of the Ancient Mariner*." *The Wordsworth Circle* 30:2 (Spring 1999): 75-80.
- Bellenger, Dominic Aidan. "'A Standing Miracle': La Trappe at Lulworth, 1794-1817." *Monks, Hermits and The Ascetic Tradition: Papers Read at the 1984 Summer Meeting and 1985 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*. Ed. W. J. Sheils. London: Basil Blackwell, 1985. 343-50.
- Ben-Israel, Hedva. *English Historians on the French Revolution*. New York: Cambridge UP, 1968.
- Bennett, William Cox. "Luther" *My Sonnets*. Greenwich: Henry S. Richardson, 1843. 9
- Betty, J.H. *Church & Community: The Parish Church in English Life*. New York: Harper & Row, 1979.
- Bhalla, Alok. *The Cartographers of Hell: Essays on the Gothic Novel and the Social History of England*. New Delhi: Sterling, 1991.
- Birkhead, Edith. *The Tale of Terror: A Study of the Gothic Romance*. London: Routledge

and K. Paul, 1921.

Black, J. B. *The Art of History: A Study of Four Great Historians of the 18th Century*. London: Methuen, 1926.

Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine. Edinburgh: William Blackwood; London: T Cadell and W. Davis, 1817-1905.

Blanco White, Joseph. *A Letter to Charles Butler, Esq. on His Notice of the "Practical and Internal Evidence Against Catholicism"*. London: John Murray, 1826.

---. *The Poor Man's Preservative Against Popery: Addressed to the Lower Classes of Great Britain and Ireland*. London: John Murray 1825.

---. *Practical and Internal Evidence Against Catholicism: With Occasional Strictures on Mr. Butler's Book of the Roman Catholic Church: In Six Letters Addressed to the Impartial Among the Roman Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland*. 2 ed. London: John Murray, 1826.

Blake, William. *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake*. New ed. Ed. David V. Erdman. New York: Anchor Books, 1988.

Blomfield, Charles James. *A Letter to Charles Butler, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, In Vindication of English Protestants from His Attack upon Their Sincerity in the "Book of the Roman Catholic Church"*. London: R. Clay, 1825.

Bloom, Harold. *Poetry and Repression: Revisionism from Blake to Stevens*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1976.

Bloomfield, Robert. *The Poems*. 3 Vols. London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, Baldwin, Craddock, and Joy, 1827.

Bond, Harold. *The Literary Art of Edward Gibbon*. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1960.

Booth, Michael et al, eds. *The Revels History of Drama in English*. Vol. 6 1750-1880. 8 vols. General Eds. Clifford Leech & T.W. Craik. London: Methuen, 1975.

Boswell, James. *Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL. D. 1773*. New ed. Eds. Frederick Pottle and Charles H. Bennett. New York: McGraw Hill, 1961.

---. *Boswell's Life of Johnson, including Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides and Johnson's Diary of a Journey into Northern Wales*. Ed. George Birbeck Hill. 6 vols. New York: Harper & Bros., 1891.

- Brinkley, Robert A. "Vagrant and Hermit: Milton and the Politics of 'Tintern Abbey'." *The Wordsworth Circle* 16:3 (Summer 1985): 126-33.
- Brontë, Charlotte [Currer Bell]. *Villette*. 1853. New York: Penguin, 1979.
- Buchanan, James. *Linguae Britannicae Vera Pronunciatio*. 1757. Facsimile. Ed. R.C. Alston. Menston, Eng: Scholar P, 1967.
- Bulwer-Lytton, Edward. *The Duchess de la Valliere. A Play in Five Acts*. London: Saunders and Otley, 1836.
- . *Richelieu; Or The Conspiracy, A Play in Five Acts*. New York: Dodd, Mead, & Co., 1896.
- Burgess, Miranda J. "Domesticating Gothic: Jane Austen, Ann Radcliffe, and National Romance." *Lessons of Romanticism: A Critical Companion*. Eds. Thomas Pfau and Robert F. Gleckner. Durham: Duke UP, 1998.
- Burke, Edmund. *The Correspondence of Edmund Burke*. 10 vols. Eds. Alfred Cobban and Robert A. Smith. Chicago: U Chicago P, 1967.
- . *The Works of Edmund Burke*. 10 vols. Boston: C.C. Little & J. Brown, 1839.
- . *The Works of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke*. 8 vols. London: F. & C. Rivington, 1803.
- Burns, Robert. *The Complete Works of Robert Burns. Including his correspondence, etc. With a memoir by William Gunnyon*. London: W.P. Nimmo, 1874.
- Butler, Charles. *The Book of the Roman-Catholic Church: in a Series of Letters Addressed to Robert Southey, Esq., LL.D., on His "Book of the Church"*. London: John Murray, 1825.
- . *Historical Memoirs Respecting the English, Irish, and Scottish Catholics, from the Reformation to the Present Time*. London: John Murray, 1821.
- . *Vindication of "The Book of the Roman Catholic Church" Against the Reverend George Townsend's "Accusations of History Against the Church of Rome:" with Notice of Some Charges Brought Against "The Book of the Roman Catholic Church," in the Publications of Doctor Phillpotts, The Rev, John Todd, M.A., F.S.A. the Rev. Stephen Isaacson, B.A., the Rev. Joseph Blanco White, M.A. B.D. and in Some Anonymous Publications....With Copies of Doctor Phillpott's Fourth Letter to Mr. Butler, Containing a Charge against Dr. Lingard; and of a Letter of*

- Doctor Lingard to Mr. Butler, in Reply to the Charge*. London: John Murray, 1826.
- Butler, James A. "Wordsworth, Cottle, and *Lyrical Ballads*: Five Letters, 1797-1800." *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 75 (1976): 139-53.
- Butler, Marilyn. *Romantics, Rebels and Reactionaries. English Literature and its Background 1760-1830*. New York: Oxford UP, 1981.
- Byng, John, Fifth Viscount Torrington. *The Torrington Diaries. Containing the Tours Through England and Wales of the Hon. John Byng Between the years 1781 and 1794*. Ed. C. Bryn Andrews. 4 Vols. 1934. New York: Barnes & Noble, 1970.
- Byron, George Gordon, Lord. *Complete Poetical Works*. Ed. Jerome McGann. 7 vols. New York: Oxford UP, 1980.
- Carlson, Julie A. *In the Theatre of Romanticism: Coleridge, Nationalism, Women*. New York: Cambridge UP, 1994.
- Carlyle, Thomas. *Past and Present*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1867.
- . *Sartor Resartus. On Heroes and Hero Worship*. New York: E.P. Dutton, 1954.
- . "Signs of the Times." *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays, Collected and Republished (First time, 1839; Final, 1869)*. Vol 13 of *Carlyle's Complete Works*, Parchment Edition. 20 vols. Boston: Dana Estes and Charles E. Lauriat, 1884.
- Chadwick, Owen. "Gibbon and the Church Historians." In *Edward Gibbon and 'The Decline and Fall of The Roman Empire'*. Eds. G. W. Bowersock, John Clive, and Stephen R. Graubard. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1977.
- . *The Victorian Church*. Vols 7 and 8 of *An Ecclesiastical History of England*. Ed. J. C. Dickinson. 3 ed. London: Adam & Charles Black, 1971.
- , ed and trans. *Western Asceticism*. The Library of Christian Classics. Vol 12 of 26. Eds. John Baillie, John T. McNeill, Henry P. Van Dusen. Philadelphia: Westminster P, 1958.
- Chandler, Alice. *A Dream of Order: The Medieval Ideal in Nineteenth-Century English Literature*. Lincoln: U Nebraska P, 1970.
- Chatterton, Thomas. *The Complete Works of Thomas Chatterton*. Eds. Donald S. Taylor and Benjamin B. Hoover. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1971.

- . *The Rowley Poems. 1794. Revolution and Romanticism, 1789-1834. A Series of Facsimile Reprints Chosen and Introduced by Jonathan Wordsworth.* New York: Woodstock, 1990.
- Chaucer, Geoffrey. *The Complete Poetry and Prose of Geoffrey Chaucer.* 2 ed. Ed. John H. Fisher. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1989.
- Clare, John. *Early Poems.* Ed. Eric Robinson. New York: Oxford UP, 1989.
- . *Later Poems.* Ed. Eric Robinson. New York: Oxford UP, 1984.
- . *Poems of John Clare.* Ed. J. W. Tibble. New York: Orion, 1935.
- Clay, Rotha Mary. *The Hermits and Anchorites of England.* London: Methuen, 1914.
- Clemens, Valdine. *The Return of the Repressed: Gothic Horror from The Castle of Otranto to Alien.* Buffalo: State University of New York P, 1999.
- Cobbett, William. *Cobbett's sermons on hypocrisy and cruelty, drunkenness, bribery, oppression, unjust judges, the sluggard, murder, gaming, public robbery, the unnatural mother, forbidding marriage, parsons and tithes.* London: Printed and published by C. Clement, 1822.
- . *A History of the Protestant Reformation in England & Ireland. Written in 1824-1827 By William Cobbett.* 1827. New ed. Ed. Francis Aidan Gasquet. New York: Benziger Brothers, 1897.
- . *History of the Regency and Reign of King George the Fourth.* London: Printed by Mills, Jowett, and Mills, published by W. Cobbett, 1834.
- . *The Protestant "Reformation," Part Second: Containing a List of the Abbeys, Priories, Nunneries, Hospitals, and Other Religious Foundations, in England and Wales, and in Ireland, Confiscated, Seized on, or Alienated, by the Protestant "Reformation" Sovereigns and Parliaments.* London: W. Cobbett, 1827.
- Cobbold, Richard. *Valentine Verses; or, Lines of Truth, Love, and Virtue. By The Reverend Richard Cobbold.* Ipswich, England: E. Shalders, 1827.
- Coleman, D. C. *Myth, History and the Industrial Revolution.* Rio Grande, OH: Hambleton P, 1992.
- Coleridge, Samuel Taylor. *Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge.* 8 vols. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1969-2000.

- . *Dramatic Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*. Ed. Derwent Coleridge. London: E. Moxon, 1852.
- . *Lectures 1818-1819 on the History of Philosophy*. Ed. J.R. de J. Jackson. *Collected Works* Vol. 8. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2000.
- . *Marginalia*. Ed. George Whalley. 5 vols. Princeton UP, 1980.
- . *Notebooks*. Ed. Kathleen Coburn. 3 vols. New York: Pantheon, 1957.
- . *On the Constitution of Church and State*. Ed. John Colmer. Princeton UP, 1976.
- . *Osorio; a tragedy, as originally written in 1797 by Samuel Taylor Coleridge; now first printed...by the author of "Tennysonianana."* Ed. Richard Shepherd Herne. London: John Pearson, 1873.
- [---.] "The Voice from the Side of Etna or, The Mad Monk." *Morning Post and Gazetteer* 13 Oct. 1800: 3.
- . *The Watchman*. Washington, DC: Woodstock Books, 1998.
- Collins, A. S. *The Profession of Letters: A Study of the Relation of Author to Patron, Publisher and Public, 1780-1832*. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1929.
- [Combe, William.] *The Tour of Doctor Syntax in Search of the Picturesque*. New York: D. Appleton, 1903.
- Conger, Syndy M. *Matthew G. Lewis, Charles Robert Maturin and the Germans: An Interpretive Study of the Influence of German Literature on Two Gothic Novels*. Romantic Reassessment, Vol. 67. Ed. Dr. James Hogg. Salzburg, Austria: Institut für Englische Sprache und Literatur, 1977.
- Costello, Louisa Stuart. *The Maid of Cyprus Isle, and Other Poems*. London: Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, Sharpe, Walker, Harper & Co., R. Rees, and Lloyd, 1815.
- Cottle, Joseph. *Fall of Cambria*. 2 ed. 2 vols. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown. 1811.
- . *Malvern Hills, With Minor Poems, and Essays*. 4 ed. 2 Vols. London: T Cadell, 1829.
- Cox, Jeffrey, ed. *Seven Gothic Dramas, 1789-1823*. Athens: Ohio UP, 1992.
- Craddock, Patricia. *Edward Gibbon: A Reference Guide*. Boston: G. K. Hall, 1987.

- . *Edward Gibbon: Luminous Historian, 1772-1794*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins UP, 1989.
- . "Gibbon's Revision of the *Decline and Fall*." *Studies in Bibliography* 21 (1968): 191-204.
- Crawford, Robert. *The Scottish Invention of English Literature*. New York: Cambridge UP, 1997.
- Crookenden, Isaac. "The Vindictive Monk, or The Fatal Ring." *Romantic Tales*. Clerkenwell: S. Fisher, 1802. *Tales from the Gothic Blue Books*. Ed. Peter Haining. Chislehurst, Kent, England: The Gothic Society at the Gargoyle's Head P, 1978. 15-24. *The Oxford Book of Gothic Tales*. Ed. Chris Baldick. New York: Oxford UP, 1992. 51-59.
- Cross, John Cartwright. "Julia of Louvain; or, Monkish Cruelty. A Dramatic Spectacle from a Paragraph in a Newspaper during the French Revolution." Royal Circus, 15 May 1797. *Seven Gothic Dramas, 1789-1823*. Ed. Jeffrey M. Cox. Athens: Ohio UP, 1992. 140-47.
- Croly, George. *May Fair. In Four Cantos*. London: William M. Ainsworth, 1827.
- Cunningham, Allan. *The Maid of Elvar, A Poem. In Twelve Parts. By Allan Cunningham*. London: Edward Moxon, 1832.
- Davies, Damian Walford. "'Some Uncertain Notice': The Hermit of 'Tintern Abbey'." *Notes and Queries* 43:241 (Dec. 1996) 4:422-24.
- De Coetlogon, C. E. *Pious memorials, a public good: a sermon, delivered in the Cathedral-church of St. Paul, before the...Lord Mayor,...on November 5, 1790*. London: J.F. and C. Rivington; R. Faulder; and J. Mathews, 1790.
- Delamotte, Eugenia C. *Perils of the Night: A Feminist Study of Nineteenth-Century Gothic*. New York: Oxford UP, 1990.
- De Quincey, Thomas. *The Collected Writings of Thomas De Quincey*. New ed. 14 vols. Ed. David Masson. New York: AMS P, 1968.
- Dermody, Thomas. "More Wonders! An Heroic Epistle to M. G. Lewis, Esq. M.P." *The Harp of Erin*. 2 vols. London: Richard Phillips, 1807. 1.110-24.
- . *The Retrospect. The Harp of Erin*. 2 vols. London: Richard Phillips, 1807. 2.31-58.
- . "Ruminations on a Decayed Monastery." *The Harp of Erin*. 2 vols. London: Richard

- Phillips, 1807. 1.191-93.
- Devas, Raymund. *The Dominican Revival in the Nineteenth Century: Being Some Account of the Restoration of the Order of Preachers throughout the World under Fr. Jandel the Seventy-third Master-General*. London: Longmans, Green, 1913.
- Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield. *Coningsby, or the New Generation*. 1844. London: John Lehmann, 1948.
- Disraeli, Isaac. "Cominge." *Narrative Poems*. London: John Murray, 1803. 23-41.
- Dixon, W. Macneile. *Chatterton*. Warton Lecture on English Poetry, from the Proceedings of the British Academy. Vol 16. London: Humphrey Milford, 1930.
- Dyer, George. "Ode II. To Melancholy" *Poems*. London: Longman and Rees, 1801. 5-8.
- . "Ode VIII. On Peace." *Poetics*. 2 vols. London: J. Johnson and Co, 1812. 2. 123-30.
- Dobranski, Stephen B. and John P. Rumrich, eds. *Milton and Heresy*. New York: Cambridge UP, 1998.
- Easson, Roger B. "Blake and the Gothic." *Blake in His Time* Eds. Robert N. Essick and Donald Pearce. Bloomington, IN: Indiana UP, 1978. 145-54.
- English, Mark. "'Recognitions Dim and Faint': The Hermit of 'Tintern Abbey' Again." *Notes and Queries* 44: 242 (Sept. 1997) 3:324-25.
- Evans, Bertrand. *Gothic Drama from Walpole to Shelley*. Berkeley: U California P, 1947.
- Evans, Caleb. *British Freedom Realized. A Sermon, preached at Broadmead, Bristol, November 5, 1788, Being the Hundredth Anniversary of the Glorious Revolution*. Bristol: William Pine, 1788.
- . *The Remembrance of Former Days. A Sermon, preached at Broad-Mead, Bristol, November 5, 1778*. Bristol: William Pine, [1780?]
- Faber, Geoffrey. *Oxford Apostles: A Character Study of the Oxford Movement*. London: Penguin Books, 1954.
- Fellowes, W. D. *Visit to the Monastery of La Trappe in 1817*. London: W. Stockdale, 1818.
- Feuchtwanger, Edgar. *Disraeli*. New York: Oxford UP, 2000.

Fisher, Sidney. "A Miltonic Parallel in Coleridge." *Notes and Queries* 29:227 (June 1982) 3:204.

Forbes, Duncan. *Hume's Philosophical Politics*. New York: Cambridge UP, 1975.

Fosbrooke, Thomas Dudley. *British Monachism: or, Manners and Customs of the Monks and Nuns of England*. 2 Vols. London: By J Nichols and Son, for J. Nichols and Son; T. Payne; F. and C. Rivington, 1802.

---. *British Monachism: or, Manners and Customs of the Monks and Nuns of England. To which are added, I. Peregrinatorium Religiosum; or, Manners and Customs of Ancient Pilgrims. II. The Consuetudinal of Anchorets and Hermits. III. Some Account of the Continentes, or Persons who had Made Vows of Chastity. IV. Select Poems in Various Styles: (1) Economy of Monastic Life (Spenser), (2) Triumph of Vengeance, An Ode (Gray), (3) The Red Man, or Address of Buonaparte's Familiar Demon (Gray and Collins), (4) An Epitaph (The German Manner)*. New Ed. London: John Nicols, Son, and Bentley, 1817.

---. *The Economy of Monastic Life, (as it Existed in England), A Poem, with Philosophical, and Archaeological Illustrations from Lyndwood, Dugdale, Selden, Wilkins, Willis, Spelman, Warton, &c. and Copious Extracts from Original Mss.* Gloucester, England: by R. Raikes, for R. Faulder; Fletcher and Hanwell; Hough, 1795.

Foster, Stephen Paul. *Melancholy Duty: The Hume-Gibbon Attack on Christianity*. Vol. 154 of the International Archives of the History of Ideas Boston: Kluwer Academic P, 1997.

Fowler, Alastair. "Leavis of the North: The Role of Hugh Blair in the Foundation of English Literary Studies." *The London Times Literary Supplement* (14 Aug. 1998): 3-4.

Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country. London: Longmans, Green, 1830-1869.

Frere, John Hookham. *The Works of John Hookham Frere in Verse and Prose: Now First Collected with a Preface by His Nephews W.E. and Sir Bartle Frere*. 2 Vols. London: Basil Montague Pickering, 1872.

Gamer, Michael. "Authors in Effect: Lewis, Scott, and the Gothic Drama." *English Literary History* 66 (1999): 831-61.

---. *Romanticism and the Gothic: Genre, Reception, and Canon Formation*. New York: Cambridge UP, 2000.

- Ghosh, P. R. "The Conception of Gibbon's *History*." In *Edward Gibbon and Empire*. Eds. Rosamond McKitterick and Roland Quinault. New York: Cambridge UP, 1997.
- . "Gibbon's Dark Ages: Some Remarks on the Genesis of the *Decline and Fall*." *Journal of Roman Studies* 73 (1984): 1-23.
- Gibbon, Edward. *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Ed. J. B. Bury. 7 vols. London: Methuen, 1909-1914.
- . *The Letters of Edward Gibbon*. Ed. J. E. Norton. 3 vols. London: Cassell, 1956.
- . *Memoirs of My Life*. Ed. G. A. Bonnard. London: Thomas Nelson, 1966.
- Gilpin, George H. *Critical Essays on William Wordsworth*. Boston: G. K. Hall, 1990.
- Godwin, William. *Of Population: An Enquiry Concerning the Power of Increase in the Numbers of Mankind, Being an Answer to Mr. Malthus's Essay on That Same Subject*. 1820. Reprints of Economic Classics. New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1964.
- . *Political and Philosophical Writings of William Godwin*. 7 vols. Ed. Mark Philp. London: William Pickering, 1993.
- Goodson, A.C. *Verbal Imagination: Coleridge and the Language of Modern Criticism*. New York: Oxford UP, 1988.
- [Goold, Thomas]. *A vindication of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke's Reflections on the Revolution in France, in answer to all his opponents*. London: for J. Debrett, 1791.
- Grazia Lolla, Maria. "'Truth Sacrificing to the Muses': The Rowley Controversy and the Genesis of the Romantic Chatterton." In *Thomas Chatterton and Romantic Culture*. Ed. Nick Groom. New York: St. Martin's, 1999.
- Groom, Nick. "Fragments, Reliques, & MSS: Chatterton and Percy." In *Thomas Chatterton and Romantic Culture*. Ed. Nick Groom. New York: St. Martin's, 1999.
- Haggerty, George E. "The Gothic Novel, 1764-1824." *The Columbia History of the British Novel*. Ed. John Richetti. New York: Columbia UP, 1994.
- Haining, Peter, ed. *Gothic Tales of Terror: Classic Horror Stories from Great Britain, Europe and the United States, 1765-1840*. New York: Taplinger, 1972.

- Hake, Thomas Gordon. *Poetic Lucubrations; Containing The Misanthrope and Other Effusions. By T. Gordon Hake*. London: Hunt and Clarke, 1828.
- Harrold, Charles Frederick. *Carlyle and German Thought: 1819-1834*. Hamden: Archon, 1963.
- Haydon, Colin. *Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England, c. 1714-80: A Political and Social Study*. New York: St. Martin's, 1993.
- . "The Gordon Riots in the English Provinces." *Historical Research* 63: 152 (1990): 354-9.
- Hazlitt, William. *The Complete Works of William Hazlitt*. 21 vols. Ed. P.P. Howe. New York: AMS P, 1967.
- . *Lectures on the Literature of the Age of Elizabeth, and Characters of Shakespeare's Plays*. 1820. London: Bell & Daldy, 1870.
- . *The Spirit of the Age: Or Contemporary Portraits*. London: for Henry Colburn by S. and R. Bentley, 1825.
- Hemans, Felicia Dorothea Browne. "Inscription for a Hermitage." *Poems*. Liverpool: G. F. Harris, 1808. 69.
- Hill, O'Dell Travers. *English Monasticism: Its Rise and Influence*. London: Jackson, Walford, and Hodder, 1867.
- Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence Ranger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition*. New York: Cambridge UP, 1983.
- Hogg, James. *Dramatic Tales; By the Author of "The Poetic Mirror."* 2 Vols. Edinburgh: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1817.
- Holmes, Richard. "Forging the Poet: Some Early Pictures of Thomas Chatterton." In *Thomas Chatterton and Romantic Culture*. Ed. Nick Groom. New York: St. Martin's, 1999.
- Horsley, Samuel, Bishop of Rochester. *The Welsh Freeholder's Farewell Epistles to the Right Rev. Samuel Lord Bishop...of Rochester; in which the Unitarian Dissenters, and the Dissenters in General, Are Vindicated from Charges Advanced Against Them in His Lordship's Circular Letter, on the Cause of the Emigrant French Clergy: With a Copy of That Letter*. London: J. Johnson, 1794.

- Howard, Seymour. "Blake: Classicism, Gothicism, Nationalism." *Colby Library Quarterly* 21:4 (Dec. 1985): 165-87.
- Howitt, Mary Botham. *Ballads and Other Poems*. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1847.
- . *Birds and Flowers and other Country Things*. London: J. Green & Co., 1838.
- Hicks, Philip Stephen. *Neoclassical History and English Culture: From Clarendon to Hume*. New York: St. Martins P, 1996.
- Hume, David. *Enquiries Concerning Human Understanding and Concerning the Principles of Morals*. Ed. L. A. Selby-Bigge. 3 ed. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1975.
- . *The History of England, from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688*. 1776. 6 vols. Ed. W. B. Todd. New York: Liberty Classics, 1983.
- . *The Letters of David Hume*. Ed. J. Y. T. Greig. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1932.
- . "My own Life." *The History of England, from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688*. Vol. 1. 6 vols. Boston: Little, Brown, 1854. iii-xiii.
- Hurd, Richard. *Letters on Chivalry and Romance*. 1762. Reprint. Ed. Hoyt Trowbridge. Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library University of California, 1963.
- Hutton, Joseph. *Venoni, or the Maid of Savoy*. Leisure Hours; Or Poetic Effusions. Philadelphia: Hellings and Aitken, 1812. 16-49.
- Ikeler, A. Abbott. *Puritan Temper and Transcendental Faith: Carlyle's Literary Vision*. Columbus: Ohio State UP, 1972.
- Inchbald, Elizabeth. *A Simple Story*. Ed. J. M. S. Tompkins. New York: Oxford UP, 1967.
- Jacobus, Mary. "'Tintern Abbey' and Topographical Prose." *Notes and Queries* 18 (1971): 366-69.
- Jameson, Anna. *Legends of Monastic Orders as Represented in the Fine Arts. Forming the Second Series of Sacred and Legendary Art*. 1850. 4 ed. London: Longmans, Green, 1867.
- . *Letters and Friendships (1812-1867)*. Ed. Mrs. Steuart Erskine. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1915.

- Jarrett, Bede. *The English Dominicans*. London: Burns, Oates, Washbourne, 1921.
- [Jeffrey, Francis]. "Review [of *Marmion*]." *Edinburgh Review* 12 (Apr. 1808): 1-35.
- Jerman, B. R. *The Young Disraeli*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1960.
- Jerningham, Edward. "The Funeral of Arabert, monk of La Trappe, a Poem" *Poems and Plays*. 4 vols. 9 ed. London: Luke Hansard, 1806. 1.85-103.
- Johnson, Samuel. *Dictionary of the English Language in which the words are deduced from their originals, illustrated in their different significations by examples from the best writers. To which are prefixed, a history of the language and an English grammar*. Facsimile. New York: Arno, 1979.
- . *The History of Rasselas, Prince of Abissinia*. Ed. D. J. Enright. New York: Penguin, 1985.
- . *The Idler and The Adventurer*. Eds. W. J. Bate, John M. Bullitt, and L. F. Powell. Volume II of *The Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1963.
- . *The Letters of Samuel Johnson*. 5 vols. Ed. Bruce Redford. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1994.
- . *The Rambler*. Eds. W. J. Bate and Albrecht B. Strauss. Volumes III, IV, and V of *The Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1969.
- . *Sermons*. Eds. Jean Hagstrum and James Gray. Volume XIV of *The Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1978.
- Johnston, Judith. *Anna Jameson: Victorian, Feminist, Woman of Letters*. Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1997.
- Jones, Howard Mumford. *Revolution and Romanticism*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1974.
- Jordan, John E. *Why the Lyrical Ballads? The Background, Writing, and Character of Wordsworth's 1798 Lyrical Ballads*. Berkeley: U California P, 1976.
- Kaplan, Fred. *Dickens: A Biography*. New York: William Morrow, 1988.
- . *Thomas Carlyle: A Biography*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1983.
- Kaplan, Louise J. *Thomas Chatterton: The Family Romance of the Imposter-Poet*.

- Berkeley and Los Angeles: U California P, 1989.
- Keane, John. *Tom Paine: A Political Life*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1995.
- Keats, John. *The Poems of John Keats*. Ed. E. de Sélincourt. 5 ed. London: Methuen, 1926.
- Keble, John. *The Christian Year: Thoughts in Verse for the Sundays and Holydays throughout the Year*. London: Frederick Warne, 1868.
- Keegan, Bridget. "Nostalgic Chatterton: Fictions of Poetic Identity and the Forging of a Self-Taught Tradition." In *Thomas Chatterton and Romantic Culture*. Ed. Nick Groom. New York: St. Martin's, 1999.
- Kelly, Gary. "Social Conflict, Nation and Empire: From Gothicism to Romantic Orientalism." *Ariel* 20:2 (Apr. 1989): 3-18.
- Ker, Ian. *John Henry Newman: A Biography*. New York: Oxford UP, 1990.
- Kersey, John. *Dictionarium Anglo-Britannicum*. 1708. Facsimile. Ed. R.C. Alston. Menston, Eng: Scolar P, 1967.
- Keynes, Geoffrey. *The Library of Edward Gibbon: A Catalogue*. 2 ed. London: St. Pauls, 1980.
- Kilgour, Maggie. *The Rise of the Gothic Novel*. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Kingsley, Charles. *The Hermits*. London: Macmillan, 1864.
- . *Poems by Charles Kingsley*. Vol 1 of *The Works of Charles Kingsley*. 14 vols. New York: J. F. Taylor, 1899.
- Knowles, Dom David. *The Monastic Order in England: A History of its Development from the Times of St. Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 943-1216*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1950.
- Kollar, Rene. *A Universal Appeal: Aspects of the Revival of Monasticism in the West in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries*. San Francisco: International Scholars, 1996.
- Kramnick, I. *Bolingbroke and his Circle: The Politics of Nostalgia in the Age of Walpole*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1968.
- Landor, Robert Eyres. *The Count Arezzi, A Tragedy, in Five Acts*. London: John Booth, 1824.

Lay Member of the University of Oxford. *Two Letters Addressed to the Author of the "Book of the Roman Catholic Church": Upon Certain Passages in His Book: And Shewing from His Own Exposition of the Roman Catholic Creed, the Inadmissibility of Roman Catholics into the Legislature and Government of Protestant England.* London: J. Hatchard, 1825.

Lefebvre, Molly. "A Mystic Peregrination – The Ancient Mariner." *Charles Lamb Bulletin* 65 (Jan. 1989): 8-26.

LeKai, Louis J. *The White Monks: A History of the Cistercian Order.* Okauchee, WI: Cistercian Fathers, 1953.

Levinson, Marjorie. *Wordsworth's Great Period Poems.* New York: Cambridge UP, 1986.

Lévy, Maurice. *Le roman gothique anglais, 1764-1824.* Paris: Albin Michel, 1995.

Lewis, Matthew G. *The Castle Spectre.* London: John Cumberland, n.d.

---. *The Monk. Romance.* 1 ed. London: J. Bell, 1796. Ed. Louis F. Peck. New York: Grove P, 1993.

Lewis, Paul. "The Atheist's Tragedy and *The Castle of Otranto*: Expressions of the Gothic Vision." *Notes and Queries* 25 (Feb. 1978): 52-54.

London Magazine. London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1820-24.

London Magazine. New series. London: Hunt and Clarke, 1825-1829.

Linker, R. W. "English Catholics in the Eighteenth Century: An Interpretation." *Church History* 35 (1966): 288-310.

Longueil, Alfred. "The Word 'Gothic' in Eighteenth-Century Criticism." *Modern Language Notes* 38 (Nov. 1923): 453-60.

Lunn, David. *The English Benedictines 1540-1688, from Reformation to Revolution.* New York: Barnes and Noble, 1980.

Macdonald, D. L. *Monk Lewis: A Critical Biography.* Buffalo: U Toronto P, 2000.

Madoff, Mark. "The Useful Myth of Gothic Ancestry." *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* Vol. 8. Ed. Roseann Runte. Madison: U Wisconsin P, 1979.

- Malthus, Thomas Robert. *On The Principle of Population*. 2 vols. Everyman's Library. Philosophy and Theology 692. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co, 1933.
- Matlak, Richard E. *The Poetry of Relationship: The Wordsworths and Coleridge, 1797-1800*. New York: St. Martin's P, 1997.
- Mather, F. C. "Georgian Churchmanship Reconsidered: Some Variations in Anglican Public Worship, 1714-1830." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 36 (Apr. 1985): 255-83.
- [Mathias, Thomas J.] *The Pursuits of Literature: a satirical poem in four dialogues. With the citations translated and with a complete index*. London : For T. Becket, 1808.
- Matthews, M. M. *Survey of English Dictionaries*. 1933. Reprint. New York: Russell and Russell, 1966.
- Maturin, Robert. *Melmoth the Wanderer*. Ed. Douglas Grant. Oxford World's Classics. New York: Oxford UP, 1989.
- Maxwell, William Bulloch. *The Mysterious Father; A Tragedy in Five Acts*. Savannah: Everett & Evans, 1807.
- Mayo, Robert D. *The English Novel in the Magazines, 1740-1815*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern, 1962.
- McCloy, Shelby T. *Gibbon's Antagonism to Christianity*. Chapel Hill: U North Carolina P, 1933.
- McGann, Jerome J. "The Meaning of the Ancient Mariner." *Spirits of Fire: English Romantic Writers and Contemporary Historical Methods*. Eds. G. A. Rosso and Daniel P. Watkins. Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson UP, 1990. 208-39.
- McKitterick, Rosamond. "Gibbon and the early Middle Ages in Eighteenth-Century Europe." In *Edward Gibbon and Empire*. Eds. Rosamond McKitterick and Roland Quinault. New York: Cambridge UP, 1997.
- McNulty, John Bard. "Wordsworth's Tour of the Wye: 1798." *Modern Language Notes* 60:5 (May 1945): 291-95.
- Mellor, Anne K. "A Novel of Their Own: Romantic Women's Fiction, 1790-1830." *The Columbia History of the British Novel*. Ed. John Richetti. New York: Columbia UP, 1994.

- Mighall, Robert. *A Geography of Victorian Gothic Fiction: Mapping History's Nightmares*. New York: Oxford UP, 1999.
- Miles, Robert. *Gothic Writing 1750-1820: A Genealogy*. London, New York: Routledge, 1993.
- Miller, Eugene F. "Hume on Liberty in the Successive English Constitutions." *Liberty in Hume's History of England*. Vol. 130 of the International Archives of the History of Ideas. Eds. Nicholas Capaldi and Donald W. Livingston. Boston: Kluwer Academic P, 1990.
- Milner, John. *Supplemental Memoirs of English Catholics, Addressed to Charles Butler, Esq., Author of the Historical Memoirs of English Catholics*. London: Keating and Brown, 1820.
- Milton, John. *The Riverside Milton*. Ed. Roy Flannagan. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998.
- Mishrah, Vijay. *The Gothic Sublime*. Albany: State U of New York P, 1994.
- Montgomery, James. "Thoughts on Wheels: No. III. The Inquisition." London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1850. 159.
- Montgomery, Robert. "The Conversion of St. Paul." *The Sanctuary*. London: Chapman and Hall, 229-32.
- . "John the Baptist." *Sacred Meditations*. 3 ed. London: Fisher, Son & Co., 1847. 212-19.
- . *Luther: Or, Rome and the Reformation*. from *The Poetical Works* (1854). 181-283.
- . "The Majesty of Christian Principle." *Sacred Meditations*. 3 ed. London: Fisher, Son & Co., 1847. 161-64
- . *The Messiah*. (1832) from *The Poetical Works* (1854). 455-513.
- . *The Poetical Works of Robert Montgomery, Collected and Revised by the Author*. London: Chapman and Hall, 1854.
- . *Shadows of Death*. (1829) from *The Poetical Works* (1854). 547-58
- Moore, John David. "Coleridge and the 'Modern Jacobinical Drama': *Osorio, Remorse*, and the Development of Coleridge's Critique of the Stage, 1797-1816." *Bulletin of Research in the Humanities* 85 (1982): 443-64.

- Moore, Thomas. "Fable V. Church and State." *The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore, Collected by Himself*. 10 vols. London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longmans, 1840-41. 7.238-245.
- More, Hannah. *Remarks on the Speech of M. Dupont, made in the National Convention of France, on the Subjects of Religion and Public Education*. London: for T. Cadell, 1793.
- Mossner, Ernest Cambell. *The Life of David Hume*, 2 ed. New York : Oxford UP, 1980.
- . "Was Hume a Tory Historian? Facts and Reconsiderations." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 2 (1941): 225-36.
- Mullan, John. "Ha, Reginald!" Rev. of *Seven Gothic Dramas: 1789-1825* by Jeffrey Cox; *Gothic Writing, 1720-1820, A Genealogy* by Robert Miles; *A Sicilian Romance* by Ann Radcliffe (ed. Alison Milbank); *Dracula* by Bram Stoker (ed. Maurice Hindle); *Our Ladies of Darkness: Feminine Daemonology in Male Gothic Fiction* by Joseph Andriano; *In a Glass Darkly* by Sheridan Le Fanu (ed. Robert Tracy); and *The House by the Churchyard* by Sheridan Le Fanu (ed. Thomas Kilroy). *London Times Literary Supplement* 24 Dec. 1993: 7.
- Murray, James A. H., Henry Bradley, W. A. Cragie and C. T. Onions, eds. *Oxford English Dictionary*. 2 ed. 20 vols. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1989.
- Newcome, Peter. *The History of the ancient and royal Foundation, called the Abbey of St. Alban, in the county of Hertford, from the founding thereof in 793 to its Dissolution in 1539, exhibiting the Life of each Abbot, and the principal Events relating to the Monastery during his Rule and Government. Extracted from the most faithful Authorities and Records, both printed and manuscript*. 2 Parts. London: Hooper, 1793 (Part 1); 1795 (Part 2).
- Newlyn, Lucy. *Reading, Writing, and Romanticism: The Anxiety of Reception*. New York: Oxford UP, 2000.
- Newman, John Henry, Cardinal. *Apologia pro Vita Sua: Being a History of His Religious Opinions*. Vol. 2 of *The Works of John Henry Cardinal Newman*. 41 vols. New York: Longmans, Green, 1913.
- . *Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman during his life in the English church, with a brief autobiography*. Ed. Anne Mozley. 2 vols. New York: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1890.
- . *Verses on Various Occasions*. Boston: Patrick Donahoe, 1868.

- Norman, E. R. *Church and Society in England, 1770-1970: A Historical Study*. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1976.
- Norton, Rictor. *Gothic Readings: the First Wave, 1764-1840*. New York: Leicester UP, 2000.
- Noxon, James. "Hume's Concerns with Religion." In *David Hume: Many-sided Genius*. Eds. Kenneth R. Merrill and Robert W. Shahan. Norman: U Oklahoma P, 1976.
- Ousby, Ian. *The Englishman's England: Taste, Travel and the Rise of Tourism*. New York: Cambridge UP, 1990.
- Paine, Thomas. *Life and Writings of Thomas Paine, Containing a Biography by Thomas Clio Rickman, and Appreciations by Leslie Stephen, Lord Erskine, Paul Desjardins, Robert G. Ingersoll, Elbert Hubbard and Marilla M. Ricker*. 10 vols. Ed. Daniel Edwin Wheeler. New York: Vincent Parke and Co., 1908.
- , pseudonym "Atlanticus." "The Monk and the Jew: A Tale." *Sussex Weekly Advertiser; or Lewes Journal*. (26 Mar. 1770). "The Tale of the Monk and the Jew Versified." *The Pennsylvania Magazine; or American Monthly Museum* (Mar. 1775). "The Monk and the Jew." *Life and Writings of Thomas Paine*. Ed. Daniel Edwin Wheeler. Vol. 10: 331-33. 1908.
- Parreaux, André. *The Publication of The Monk: A Literary Event, 1796-98*. Paris: Librairie Marcel Didier, 1960.
- Pascoe, Judith. *Romantic Theatricality: Gender, Poetry, and Spectatorship*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1997.
- Paulson, Ronald. "Gothic Fiction and the British Revolution." *English Literary History* 48 (1981): 532-54.
- . *Representations of Revolution (1789-1820)*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1967.
- Peacock, Thomas Love. *Crotchet Castle*. London: T. Hookham, 1831.
- Phillips, Mark Salber. *Society and Sentiment: Genres of Historical Writing in Britain, 1740-1820*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2000.
- Phillipson, Nicholas. *Hume*. New York: St. Martins P, 1989.
- [Phillpotts], Henry, Lord Bishop of Exeter. *Letters to Charles Butler, Esq.: On the Theological Parts of His Book of the Roman Catholic Church*. 2 ed. London: John

Murray, 1826.

---. *A Supplemental Letter to Charles Butler, Esq.: On Some Parts of the Evidence Given to the Irish Roman-Catholic Bishops, Particularly by Dr. Doyle, Before the Committees of the Two Houses of Parliament, in the Session of 1825; And Also on Certain Passages in Dr. Doyle's "Essay on the Catholic Claims."* London: John Murray, 1826.

---, and Grey, Charles, Earl Grey. *On the Insurmountable Differences Which Separate the Church of England from the Church of Rome: Letters to the late Charles Butler on the Theological Parts of His Book of the Roman Catholic Church.* London: John Murray, 1866.

Pino, Michael. "Blake's 'The Grey Monk': Syntax and Voice(s) As a Means of Subjective Mimesis." (forthcoming) *Language and Style: An International Journal*.

Pirie, David B., ed. *The Penguin History of Literature: The Romantic Period*. Vol. 5 of 10 vols. New York: Penguin, 1994.

Pocock, J. G. A. *Barbarism and Religion: The Enlightenment of Edward Gibbon, 1737-1764*. Vol. 1 of 2 vols. New York: Cambridge UP, 1999.

---. *Barbarism and Religion: Narratives of Civil Government*. Vol. 2 of 2 vols. New York: Cambridge UP, 1999.

---. "Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* and the World View of the Late Enlightenment." In *Virtue, Commerce, and History: Essays on Political Thoughts and History, Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century*. New York: Cambridge UP, 1985.

---. "Superstition and Enthusiasm in Gibbon's History of Religion." *Eighteenth-Century Life* n.s. 8 (Oct. 1982): 83-94.

Porter, Roy. *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*. New York: Penguin, 1982.

---. *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World*. New York: Penguin, 2000.

Polwhele, Richard. *The Fair Isabel of Cotehele, A Cornish Romance*. London: J. Cawthorn, 1815.

---. "A Poetical Address to a Widow." *Poems, Chiefly by Gentlemen of Devonshire and Cornwall*. 2 vols. London: T. Cadell, 1806. 2.188-90.

Priestley, Joseph. *The Conduct to be Observed by Dissenters in order to Procure the*

Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, Recommended in a Sermon, preached before the Congregations of the Old and New Meetings, at Birmingham, November 5, 1789. Birmingham: J. Thompson, 1789.

---. *The Importance and Extent of Free Inquiry in Matters of Religion: A Sermon, Preached Before the Congregations of the Old and New Meeting of Protestant Dissenters at Birmingham. November 5, 1785. To which are added, Reflections on the Present State of Free Inquiry in this Country.* Birmingham: M. Swinney, 1785.

---. *Letters to the Right Honourable Edmund Burke, occasioned by his Reflections on the Revolution in France, &c.* 2 ed. Birmingham, England: by Thomas Pearson for J. Johnson (London), 1791.

Punch; or the London Charivari. London: R. Bryant, 1841-1991.

Punter, David. *The Literature of Terror: The Gothic Tradition.* 2 ed. Vol. 1. New York: Longman, 1996.

Quarterly Review. London: John Murray, 1809-1967.

Radcliffe, Ann. *The Italian, or the Confessional of the Black Penitents. A Romance.* 3 vols. London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1797. Ed. Frederick Garber. New York: Oxford UP, 1998.

---. *The Romance of the Forest: Interspersed with Some Pieces of Poetry.* 3 vols. London: T. Hookham and Carpenter, 1791. Ed. Chloe Chard. New York: Oxford UP, 1998.

Radcliffe, Mary-Anne. *Manfroné, or The One-Handed Monk.* 1809. New York: Arno, 1972.

Rawson, Claude. "Unparodying and Forgery: The Augustan Forgery." In *Thomas Chatterton and Romantic Culture.* Ed. Nick Groom. New York: St. Martin's, 1999.

Rees, Abraham. *The Obligation and Importance of Searching the Scriptures, as a Preservative from Popery. A Sermon Preached at Salters-Hall, November 5, 1779. to that Society, that Support the Lord's-day evening-lecture at that place.* London: H. Goldney, [1779?].

Richey, William. *Blake's Altering Aesthetic.* Columbia: U Missouri P, 1996.

Richter, David H. *The Progress of Romance: Literary Historiography and the Gothic*

- Novel*. Columbus: Ohio State UP, 1993.
- Robinson, Mary Darby. *The Progress of Liberty. Poetical Works*. 3 vols. London: Richard Phillips, 1806. 3.2-52.
- Rogers, Deborah D., ed. *The Critical Response to Ann Radcliffe*. Critical Responses in Arts and Letters, 7. Westport, CT: Greenwood P, 1994.
- Ruskin, John. *The Works of John Ruskin*. 42 vols. Eds. E.T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn. New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1908.
- Sabor, Peter, ed. *Horace Walpole: The Critical Heritage*. New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987.
- Sack, James J. *From Jacobite to Conservative: Reaction and Orthodoxy in Britain, c. 1760-1832*. New York: Cambridge UP, 1993.
- Sage, Victor. *The Gothick Novel: A Casebook*. London: Macmillan, 1990.
- . *Horror Fiction in the Protestant Tradition*. New York: St. Martins, 1988.
- Schaffer, E. S. "Myths of 'High' and 'Low' in the Lyrical Ballads, 1798-1998." *Comparative Criticism: An Annual Journal* 21(1999): 35-57.
- Scott, Geoffrey, O.S.B. *Gothic Rage Undone: English Monks in the Age of Enlightenment*. Bath, England: Downside Abbey, 1992.
- Scott, Walter. *The Abbot*. 1820. Waverly Novels. Vol. 14 of 24 vols. New York: The Waverly Book Co., 1898.
- . *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*. 1805. New York: Woodstock Books, 1992.
- . *Marmion: A Tale of Flodden Field. A Poem, in Six Cantos*. 1808. Chicago: The Henneberry Co., [n.d.].
- . *The Monastery*. 1820. Waverly Novels. Vol. 13 of 24 vols. New York: The Waverly Book Co., 1898.
- . *The Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott, Complete in One Volume*. Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 1841.
- . *Scott: The Critical Heritage*. Ed. John O. Hayden. New York: Barnes & Noble, 1970.
- Serle, Thomas James. *Rafaelle Cimaro, A Tragedy, in Five Acts*. London: John Chappell,

1819.

Shelley, Mary. *The Fortunes of Perkin Warbeck, A Romance*. 3 vols. London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830.

Shelley, Percy Bysshe. *Shelley's Poetry and Prose*. Eds. Donald H. Reiman and Sharon B. Powers. Norton Critical Edition. New York: Norton, 1977.

—. *St. Irvyne; or the Rosicrucian: A Romance*. London: J. J. Stockdale, 1811.

Shepard, Charles, Jr. "A Tour Through Wales and the Central Parts of England." 6 parts. *Gentleman's Magazine*. 69(85) (June 1799): 452-56; 69(86) (Sept. 1799): 755-58; 69(86) (Oct. 1799): 851-55; 69(86) (Nov. 1799): 932-35; 69(86) (Dec. 1799): 1036-41; 69(86) (Supplement 1799): 1099-1102.

Sher, Richard B. *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment: the moderate literati of Edinburgh*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1985.

Sheridan, Thomas. *A General Dictionary of the English Language*. 1780. Facsimile. 2 vols. Ed. R. C. Alston. Menston, Eng.: Scolar P, 1967.

Shine, Hill, ed. *Carlyle's Unfinished History of German Literature*. Lexington: U Kentucky P, 1951.

Simpson, David. *Wordsworth's Historical Imagination: The Poetry of Displacement*. New York: Methuen, 1987.

Skinner, Quentin. "The Case of Bolingbroke versus Walpole." *Historical Perspectives: Studies in English Thought and Society in Honour of J. H. Plumb*. Ed. Neil McKendrick. London: Europa, 1974.

Smith, Kenneth. *The Malthusian Controversy*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1951.

Sotheby, William. *The Confession*. London: John Murray, 1814.

—. *Julian and Agnes; or The Monks of the Great St. Bernard*. London: J. Wright, 1801.

Southey, Robert and Samuel Taylor Coleridge. *Joan of Arc: An Epic Poem*. New York: Woodstock Books, 1993.

Southey, Robert. *The Book of the Church*. 1824. New Ed. Chandos Library. London: Frederick Warne, 1869.

—. *Essays, Moral and Political*. 2 vols. 1832. Photolithographic Facsimile. Shannon:

Irish UP, 1971.

---. *The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey*. Ed. Charles Cuthbert Southey. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851.

---. *The Life of Wesley and the Rise and Progress of Methodism, by Robert Southey with Notes by Samuel Taylor Coleridge and remarks on the life and character of John Wesley by Alexander Knox*. Ed. Maurice H. Fitzgerald. London: Oxford UP, 1925.

---. *New Letters*. Ed. Kenneth Curry. 2 vols. New York: Columbia UP, 1965.

---. *Robert Southey: The Critical Heritage*. Ed. Lionel Madden. Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972.

---. *Robert Southey: The Story of His Life Written in His Letters*. Ed. John Dennis. London: George Bell & Sons, 1894.

---. *Southey's Common-Place Book*. 1849. 4 vols. Ed. John Wood Warter. London: Reeves and Turner, 1876.

---. *Vindiciae Ecclesiae Anglicanae. Letters to Charles Butler, Esq. Comprising Essays on the Romish Religion and Vindicating the Book of the Church*. London: John Murray, 1826.

Spector, Robert Donald. *The English Gothic: A Bibliographic Guide to Writers from Horace Walpole to Mary Shelley*. Westport, CT: Greenwood P, 1984.

Steck, Francis Borgia. *Franciscans and the Protestant Revolution in England*. Chicago: Franciscan Herald P, 1920.

Stillinger, Jack. "The Multiple Versions of Coleridge's Poems: How Many Mariners Did Coleridge Write?" *Studies in Romanticism* 31:2 (Summer 1992): 127-46.

Suarez, Michael F. "'This Necessary Knowledge': Thomas Chatterton and the Ways of the London Book Trade." In *Thomas Chatterton and Romantic Culture*. Ed. Nick Groom. New York: St. Martin's, 1999.

---. "What Thomas Knew: Chatterton and the Business of Getting into Print." *Angelaki* 1.2 (1993/1994): 85-86.

Summers, Montague. *The Gothic Quest: A History of the Gothic Novel*. London: Fortune P, 1938.

- Tarr, Mary Muriel. *Catholicism in Gothic Fiction: A Study of the Nature and Function of Catholic Materials in Gothic Fiction in England (1762-1820)*. Washington, DC: Catholic UP, 1946.
- Taylor, Matthew. *England's Bloody Tribunal; or Popish Cruelty Displayed*. London: J. Cooke, 1773.
- Thackeray, William Makepeace. *The History of Pendennis: His Fortunes and Misfortunes, His Friends and His Greatest Enemy*. 1849. New York: Oxford UP, 1994.
- . *The Newcomes: Memoirs of a Most Respectable Family*. 1853. New York: Oxford UP, 1995.
- Thelwall, John. "On leaving the Bottoms of Gloucestershire; where the Author had been entertained by several families with great hospitality" *Poems, Chiefly Written in Retirement*. Hereford: W. H. Parker, 1801. 136-39.
- Thrall, Miriam M. H. *Rebellious Fraser's: Nol Yorke's Magazine in the Days of Maginn, Thackeray, and Carlyle*. New York: Columbia UP, 1934.
- Townsend, George. *The Accusations of History Against the Church of Rome: Examined in Remarks on the Principal Observations in Mr. Charles Butler's Work, "Book of the Roman Catholic Church": With a Supplemental Letter to Mr. Butler Containing a Reply to his "Vindication" of that Work, Point by Point, Throughout*. London: John Murray, 1826.
- Tropp, Martin. *Images of Fear: How Horror Stories Helped Shape Modern Culture (1818-1918)*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 1990.
- Urban, Sylvanus. *Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*. London: John Nichols, Jan. 1731- Sept. 1907.
- Varma, Devendra P. *The Gothic Flame, Being a History of the Gothic Novel in England: Its Origins, Efflorescence, Disintegration, and Residuary Influences*. 1957. Repr. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow P, 1987.
- Venn, Henry. *Popery a perfect contrast to the religion of Christ. Proved in a sermon preached at Clapham, November 5, 1758*. London: S. Crowder, E. and C. Dilly, and J. Matthews, 1778.
- . *The perfect contrast: or the entire opposition of popery, to the religion of Jesus the son of God. A Sermon on James iii. xvii. Preached at Clapham on Sunday November 5, 1758*. London: E. Withers and J. Townsend, 1758.

- Vida, Elizabeth M. *Romantic Affinities: German Authors and Carlyle: A Study in the History of Ideas*. Toronto: U Toronto P, 1993.
- Walpole, Horace. *The Castle of Otranto. A Gothic Story*. Introduction and Notes by E. J. Clery. Ed. W. S. Lewis. New York: Oxford UP, 1998.
- . *Correspondence*. Ed. W. S. Lewis et al. Vols. 2-42. New Haven: Yale UP, 1937-80.
- Warren, Murray. *A Descriptive and Annotated Bibliography of Thomas Chatterton*. New York: Garland, 1977.
- Warton, Thomas. *The Correspondence of Thomas Warton*. Ed. David Fairer. Athens: U Georgia P, 1995.
- . *The Poetical Works of the Late Thomas Warton*. 5 ed. 2 vols. Ed. Richard Mant. Oxford: Hanwell, Parker and Rivington, 1802.
- Watkin-Jones, A. "Bishop Percy, Thomas Warton, and Chatterton's Rowley Poems (1773-1790)." *PMLA* 50 (1935): 769-84.
- Watt, James. *Contesting the Gothic: Fiction, Genre and Cultural Conflict, 1764-1832*. New York: Cambridge UP, 1999.
- Watt, William Whyte. *Shilling Shockers of the Gothic School; A Study of Chapbook Gothic Romances*. New York: Russell & Russell, 1967.
- Wellek, René. *Immanuel Kant in England, 1793-1838*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1931.
- Wesley, John. *Popery Calmly Considered*. London: R. Hawes, 1779.
- Wexler, Victor G. *David Hume and the History of England*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1979.
- Wiffen, Jeremiah Holmes. *Aonian Hours; and Other Poems*. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Brown, 1819.
- Williams, Anne. "Coleridge and the Mysterious (M)Other." *Approaches to Teaching Coleridge's Poetry and Prose*. Ed. Richard E. Matlak. New York: MLAA, 1991. 147-57.
- Wilkinson, Sarah. "The Mysterious Novice, Or Covent of the Grey Penitents." London: John Arliss, 1809. *Tales from the Gothic Blue Books*. Ed. Peter Haining. Chislehurst, Kent, England: The Gothic Society at the Gargoyle's Head P, 1978.

26-53.

Wilt, Judith. *Ghosts of the Gothic: Austen, Eliot and Lawrence*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1980.

Winch, Donald. *Malthus*. New York: Oxford UP, 1987.

Womersley, David. "Gibbon and the 'Watchmen of the Holy City': revision and religion in the *Decline and fall*." In *Edward Gibbon and Empire*. Eds. Rosamond McKitterick and Roland Quinault. New York: Cambridge UP, 1997.

Wordsworth, William. *The Ecclesiastical Sonnets of William Wordsworth. A Critical Edition*. Ed. Abbie Findlay Potts. New Haven: Yale UP, 1922.

---. *The Fourteen-Book Prelude*. Ed. W. J. B. Owen. Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1985.

---. *Letters of Dorothy and William Wordsworth, arranged and Edited by Ernest de Selincourt*. 8 vols. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1967.

[Wordsworth, William and Samuel Taylor Coleridge]. *Lyrical Ballads, with a few other poems*. London: J. & A Arch, 1798. New York: Woodstock Books, 1990.

[--- and ---]. *Lyrical Ballads, with a few other poems*. Bristol: Biggs and Cottle for T. N. Longman, 1798. New York: Payson & Clarke, 1927.

[--- and ---]. *Lyrical Ballads. 1800. Revolution and Romanticism, 1789-1834: A Series of Facsimile Reprints Chosen & Introduced by Jonathan Wordsworth*. Washington, DC: Woodstock Books, 1997.

---. *The Poems*. 2 vols. New York: Penguin, 1977.

---. *The Prelude 1799, 1805, 1850: Authoritative Texts, Context and Reception, Recent Critical Essays*. Eds. Jonathan Wordsworth, M.H. Abrams, and Stephen Gill. New York: Norton, 1979.

---. *The Prelude: The Four Texts (1798, 1799, 1805, 1850)*. ed. Jonathan Wordsworth. New York: Penguin, 1995.

---. *The Prose Works of William Wordsworth*. Eds. W. J. B. Owen and Jane Worthington Smyser. 3 vols. New York: Oxford UP, 1974.

Wu, Duncan. "The Ancient Mariner: A Wordsworthian Source." *Notes and Queries* 38:236 (Sept. 1991)3: 301.

---. "Lamb's Reading of Lyrical Ballads (1800)." *Charles Lamb Bulletin* 92 (Oct. 1995): 224-25.

Yonge, Charlotte Mary. *The Heir of Redclyffe*. 2 vols. London: John W. Parker and Son, 1853.

Zimmerman, B. *Carmel in England: A History of the English Mission of the Discalced Carmelites, 1615 to 1849. Drawn from the Documents Preserved in the Archives of the Order*. London: Burns and Oates, 1899.