Jacqueline Howard

An Introduction to *The Orphans of Llangloed*

Like *Lusignan, or The Abbaye of La Trappe* (June 1801), *The Orphans of Llangloed,* published in September 1802 by the same anonymous author, seems the work of a well read and seasoned Gothic romance writer attempting something different. Self-styled "*A Modern Tale*", it unfolds in epistolary form the stories of a Welsh heiress, Lady Juliana, Countess of Glendower, and her cousin, Louisa Morgan, both young, beautiful and virtuous orphans, who are launched from their sheltered existence at rural Llangloed into the perils of London society, and, in the case of Louisa, also the snares of exile in Catholic Lisbon.

Certainly the utilisation of the eighteenth century's ubiquitous orphan as title and plot device was not new.[1] Nor, for that matter, was the focus on the fortunes of a Welsh heiress. Until near the end of Charlotte Smith's *Emmeline, the Orphan of the Castle* (1788), her eponymous heroine is deprived of her home, income and social status as the rightful owner of Mowbray Castle in Pembrokeshire, south west Wales. Likewise, Anna, of Agnes Maria Bennett's successful *Anna: or, Memoirs of a Welch Heiress* (1785), suffers the nefarious withholding of her inheritance. Moreover, a demographic quirk in the latter part of the eighteenth-century amongst the traditionally robust Welsh landed gentry may well have fuelled this novelistic focus. According to Welsh historian Geraint H. Jenkins, one of the most popular topics of conversation in drawing rooms and salons was "the prevailing biological defect which rendered Welsh landowners barren of male heirs", and the resulting "proliferation of Welsh heiresses" who were snapped up in marriage.[2] Perceived in these contexts, and with its initial focus on the genealogy of the diminishing Glendowers, *The Orphans of Llangloed* has the narrative trajectory of a domestic, sentimental and, to a limited extent, Gothic romance. However, the early introduction of an avowed guardian angel does bring something quite new to the tale, which also departs from romance conventions by its critical focus on the self-serving values of the late eighteenth century *beau monde,* the affectations and vulgarities of a middling order of shop-keepers, and the pretensions of "upper class" servants. In short, *Llangloed*'s epistolary mix of elements of the fantastic with moral didacticism, satire, social commentary, and comedy of manners, make it more rewardingly considered as an early transitional novel of the Romantic era.

As Charlotte Smith herself commented in a letter in 1801, the times for authors at the turn of the century were "woeful".[3] There was a marked drop in the number of novels published in 1802.[4] Publishers were wary. The peace reached with France in March was tenuous, and protracted wartime conditions had led to a shortage of paper and rise in the already high cost of book production, making novels much less affordable. While this downturn favoured the already widespread and popular practice of renting fiction from circulating libraries, the triumph of conservatism and anti-Jacobinism amongst British reviewers and critics had also brought the reputation of the novel to its lowest ebb. From the late 1790s, authors and publishers had been exceptionally harried by critical comments from reviewers, conduct book writers and conservative members of the public about the perceived immorality of novels and romances, and the supposed "pernicious" effects of their excesses of sentimentalism on the imaginations and sensibilities of young women. For example, the anonymous reviewer of *The Picture of the Age* in *The Monthly Review* for August 1801 wrote that

> it exhibits vicious characters, dressed out in the most amiable and attractive colours which the author's pencil can supply: temptation is with him an excuse for crime, and all his personages have a most accommodating sympathy for other's frailties. This is truly the spirit of some modern novelists, who delight in palliating error, and in reconciling their readers to false and extravagant delineations of character and conduct.[5]

Conduct book writer Thomas Gisborne considered that novels were "addictive", secretly corrupting

the heart, and that circulating libraries were extremely harmful, their worst effects being evident on the female mind.[6] Again, evangelical reformer Hannah More claimed that “novels, which used to be chiefly dangerous in one respect, are now become mischievous in a thousand”, and are “one of the most universal as well as most pernicious sources of corruption amongst us”.[7]

Gothic romances, which had burgeoned in the 1790s, and still constituted approximately a third of novelistic output in the very early years of the nineteenth century, were particularly stigmatised. Part and parcel of what was deemed “the terrorist system of novel writing”,[8] they were now often treated as unworthy of specific notice by the literary journals. Arguably, the genre survived in these years because of popular circulating library demand, with new volumes brought to borrowers' notice by being catalogued and shelved alphabetically by title keyword, a practice which, according to Edward H. Jacobs, “disposed customers to read the neighbours of any book as indicators of the kind of reading experience it afforded.”[9] However, the main circulating library owners, such as William Lane and Thomas Hookham, were also book publishers, (the latter having brought Ann Radcliffe to her initial success), and the close interdependence, in terms of expectations and offerings, that existed between the publishing/renting sectors and their customers affected the texts themselves. Existing authors, consciously, or by default, appear to have complied to a considerable extent with what publishers deemed to be successful genres, subject matter, styles, techniques, and ideologies, and both groups obviously sought and valued favourable critical notice and reviews.[10] For example, three of Minerva's advertisements, printed with a list of recent publications in the back pages of *The Orphans of Llangloed*, feature snippets of favourable comment from the *Anti-Jacobin Review* and the *Critical Review.* To be accepted for publication in the inimical climate of these years, it seems that any fictional experiments on the part of authors could not venture too far beyond what literary historians call “the horizon of expectations”, the shared set of assumptions about novelistic value which could be attributed to the prevailing generation of readers.[11] Thus, the novel started to undergo some rehabilitation only gradually, branching out generically along regional, moral-domestic, moral-evangelical, national, and historical paths, and showing, as Peter Garside claims, “a movement from a subjective sentimentalism to one based on social concerns.”[12] Set partly in Wales, and abundant in social critique, as well as in forms of moral and religious precept, *The Orphans of Llangloed* has obvious leanings in these different directions.

Llangloed's ostensible bid for respectability and literary rectitude is made via its already mentioned subtitle (eschewing the word, “novel”) and its Shakespearean title page epigraph:

> To shew
> The very age and body of the times,
> Its form and pressure.[13]

That this broad emphasis on contemporary actuality had efficacy is suggested by the critical attention the work received. Despite being an anonymous Minerva Press publication, and offering what might be thought a reformist critique of the British landed aristocracy, *The Orphans of Llangloed*, was singular in obtaining the approval of *The Critical Review* for February 1803:

> These volumes will not be an unwelcome present to the circulating library: the style is sprightly and the events pleasing.[14]

The 1803 *Monthly Magazine*’s “Retrospect of Domestic Literature —Novels and Romances” also listed it as “a modern tale of considerable merit”, and the *New Annual Register* as “one of the best in the present annual catalogue.”[15] Prompted to poetic praise, Anglican clergyman, Edward Pearson B.D., Master of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and later Rector of Old Saints at Rempstone, went further. His 'Verses written on a blank Leaf of the “Orphans of Llangloed”', published in *The Orthodox Churchman's Magazine*, lauded the putative female author's successful realisation of her intention, together with the tale's moral probity:

> True to life's changing scenes, fair moralist,
> Thy pencil here pourtrays the human lot;

> Nor is the lesson of inferior worth,
> That saves the guiltless suff'rer from despair.
> What, tho' Louisa's innocence seem guilt;
> Or virtue, like Glendower's lie oppress'd;
> Providence, still mindful of its vot'ries,
> Thus tries their virtues, and exalts their joys.
> As the fair face of Heav'n still fairer seems,
> The storm o'erpast, which late its glories veiled,
> So virtue brightens at Misfortune's frown;
> And bliss, succeeding woe, is doubly felt.[16]

Obviously also happy with *Llangloed*'s narrative rectitude, the reviewer for the *Critical* even engaged with the its style, commenting on its "easy language" and extensive vocal range, in particular the way in which its author was "perfectly at home in what is supposed to be the character of an Irish fortune-hunter". When the wily Irish rogue O'Shallaghan abducts Juliana, his clumsy attempt at reassuring her was felt to be entirely convincing:

> and now, honey, you may breathe then; I would not, by Jasus, hurt your sweet face, not for the world! (Vol. II, Letter XV)[17]

The anonymous author's abandonment of the distancing effect of *Lusignan*'s historical setting and third person omniscient narration, in favour of a contemporary domestic situation and first person letters, had enabled a freedom in the creation of a range of epistolary "voices".

Llangloed's Epistolary Structure

Although the popularity of the letter-novel had waned from the late1780s, and shown little sign of recovery and innovation, successful and highly respected precedents such as Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa* (1747-8) and *Sir Charles Grandison* (1753-4), Tobias Smollett's *Humphrey Clinker* (1771), and Frances Burney's *Evelina* (1778) had widely demonstrated its capacities and familiarised readers with its conventions. Letters, with their assumed interpersonal bonds and anchorage in the present, could produce a sense of immediacy, of expectancy or nostalgia, give colour to characters, and allow the reader access to events, conflicts, and uncertainties in a character's consciousness. In line with *Llangloed*'s stated intent, letters could also lead naturally to realistic, if subjective, descriptions and commentary regarding the details of everyday life, while the story itself could appear to evolve spontaneously.

Of the seventy-two letters that comprise *The Orphans of Llangloed*, some are extremely long, incorporating slabs of family history or implausibly verbatim accounts of dialogue, but as in *Evelina* this can be overlooked for the sake of the story. Occasionally there is also a Chinese box effect produced by the incorporation of someone else's letter, or a long explanatory tale, as it has been recounted to the letter writer. Apart from supplying necessary plot details, these recountals pad out the final volume, protract suspense, and delay the ending. The first, Mrs. Phillips/Sister Angelica's confessional account to Louisa of her role in the suicide of her husband in Ireland, and her subsequent fall from virtue in London and Lisbon, is not only a moral or cautionary tale about the perils of excessive sensibility, parental indulgence, and profligate men. It also provides an occasion for critical commentary on the zealously unscrupulous policies and practices of the Church of Rome in taking advantage of impoverished and afflicted women, especially "heretical" Protestants. Although the penitent Angelica's hasty vestment at St Cecilia's is self-directed, the abbess and nuns of the Lisbon convent are depicted as bigoted and without scruple. Even short term pensioners, such as Louisa, are threatened with conversion to a cheerless religious life inimical to genuine piety. The St Cecilia episodes thus recall the author's similar, ideologically driven representation of female Catholic religious at the convent of St Clair in *Lusignan*. The second tale, also a first person account, describes Captain Morton's adventurous entanglements while in the service of the Austrian army, with the British wife and daughter of the phlegmatic and despotic

Baron de Walstein. Memorable for its chapel scene, Brontëan *avant la lettre*, in which the gallant Morton exposes an already married Mr Fairfax who is about to wed Walstein's daughter, it also reworks briefly another major theme of *Lusignan*: the tyranny and power of Continental fathers in disposing of their daughters, either in marriage or to the Catholic Church. Despite these Gothic digressions, however, and the apparent discontinuities caused by frequent changes in writer and addressee, for the most part the two romance plot lines about Juliana and Louisa move reasonably quickly. The linear and intersecting threads are deftly woven, and create an interesting contrast between the worlds of male and female correspondents. The polyphonic structure is thus used to good effect in the juxtaposition of viewpoints and episodes, as well as in the creation of suspense, social comedy, and satiric commentary on the manners, trends, and practices of the day in late eighteenth-century London.

While Burney's *Evelina* has only three correspondents, with a few inset letters from two other characters, and is largely the narration of the eponymous heroine herself, *The Orphans of Llangloed* has seventeen correspondents, and a more sophisticated epistolary structure in terms of the disposition of the letters. Seven of the correspondents write only one letter each, and four write only two or three, but all of the letters reveal the writer's character and aspects of his or her feelings and moral dilemmas. They also either highlight a feature of the society of the novel or forward the plot or both. For example, the short spate of correspondence in volume two between Juliana's aunt, the mendacious and self-aggrandizing Lady de Ligne and her corrupt lawyer, Mr Jefferson, reveals collusive and criminal intentions that affect the lives of all the main characters, and quickly take effect in the plot. Again, Edward Betterton's one letter, written from Lord Callington's estate at West Cliff to his friend Henry Morton, despairingly contrasts the beauty and purity of Juliana with his own regretted history of dissipation, and reveals the ominous suicidal misery that has resulted from his addiction to the popular upper-class pastime of gambling. Although by far the most prolific correspondent is Juliana herself with her penning of twenty-four letters, her motherly governess Mrs Middleton writes ten, her cousins Charles de Ligne and Louisa Morgan each seven, and Juliana's would-be lover Henry Morton five. Juliana's close friend Lucy Lloyd, daughter of Pastor Lloyd at Llangloed, is one who writes only three letters, all of which occur in Volume I. However, because early in that volume Juliana chooses to confide in and discuss with Lucy a momentous secret — that she receives visitations from a monitoring guardian angel — following this exchange Lucy remains an occasional, if largely passive, confidante-addressee for Juliana. Likewise, Mrs Middleton's substantial letters occur only in Volumes I and III; but as the trusted mother figure and mentor of Juliana and Louisa, she, too, is an important recipient of news throughout the novel. Like Madame de Menon in Ann Radcliffe's *A Sicilian* Romance, she has had a long association with the Glendower family, having been the early governess and close friend of Juliana's mother. Entrusted with the care of Juliana and Louisa by the former Lady Glendower, again like Madame de Menon, she has raised them with maternal care, giving them what Charles de Ligne perceives to be a fine education in English, French and Italian literature, drawing and music. When both young women leave Llangloed to enter "the world", and experience the vulgarities and dangers of London society and culture, Mrs Middleton is their constant sounding board.

An authoritative voice, Mrs Middleton also plays a pivotal role late in the novel. Apart from providing the Glendower family history that constitutes the novel's exposition, she reports and comments on important details regarding the care and well being of the grief-stricken and mentally deranged Juliana at its denouement. The poetic *gravitas* and penchant for landscape composition revealed in Mrs Middleton's opening letter, where she describes Llangloed Castle and its remote setting in South Wales overlooking the Bristol Channel, are notably Radcliffean in manner, combining elements of the sublime, beautiful and picturesque with an idyll of harmonious community. She even seeks to forestall the type of criticism commonly made by late eighteenth-century reviewers of Radcliffe's scene painting by adding defensively, "this situation […] far from being embellished by description, is, I assure you, not done justice to" (Vol. I, Letter I).

Mrs Middleton's opening letter, followed "in continuance" by three more, is addressed to her

long absent friend, Mrs Irwin, who remains throughout the novel her entirely passive and trustworthy addressee, “the depository of her most secret thoughts”. Her thoughts thus obviously directed to the novel’s reader as much as their named recipient, the opening four letters form a compositional unit that Mrs Middleton refers to as “my melancholy tale”. Structurally, they supply the foundational elements of a sentimental/Gothic romance, by carrying first the description of Llangloed, and then the exposition of the tragic events that had erupted there fifteen years previously.

While Mrs Middleton locates and values Llangloed as entirely homely, an ancestral or Gothic castle and pastoral domain uncontaminated by cultural change, the emphasis she gives to the family's traditionally reclusive lifestyle and paucity of offspring provides a credible determinant in her subsequent portrayal of Lord Arthur Glendower's complex psychology. His benevolent oversight of his domain, his high moral standards, and antipathy for London society, including the relatives of his wife, had led him to “to exclude, without reserve, all her connexions from his house”. Those who opposed his intentions he had simply ignored. However, “like a miser zealous of his treasure”, his sincere love for her, coupled with his irrational fears and anxieties about the loss of his conjugal felicity, had added possessiveness to insularity. Following his forbears, he had taken great pride in his Welsh pedigree, and it had been his largely indiscriminate adherence to his ancestors' moral code that had driven the actions leading to his ill-judged crime: that of duelling to the death in Ireland with an honourable friend he had quite wrongly believed to be his wife's lover and the father of his unborn child. Duelling, though officially a crime in England and Wales, and much condemned by the Anglican church and non-conformist sects, was still very common amongst the upper classes in the late eighteenth century, while the honour culture driving it was actually condoned in Ireland, where a code of practice to regulate it had been drawn up in 1777. In sum, Mrs Middleton's approbations and criticisms regarding her Welsh home and the Glendowers set up the novel’s prevailing, middle-class moral and aesthetic values, along with its muted romantic fatalism. For example, when she informs her reader of the true instigators of the deceased Lord and Lady Glendower's tragic situation, she also discourses on the evils of calumny and political chicanery, affirming, like the narrator of *Lusignan*, the certainty of retribution for evildoers.. She is also the most self-conscious of the letter writers in terms of anticipating and shaping the effect of her words on her reader. Her narrative style, in foreshadowing a disastrous turn of events for Captain Morton and the Glendowers, is after that of Ann Radcliffe's omniscient narrator:

> The hilarity and comfort of this happy circle was soon, too soon, alas! to be destroyed forever! (Vol. I, Letter III)[18]

The same claim can be made of her method in rendering the moral consciousness of Lady Glendower:

> Conscious of her own integrity, the Countess could attach no form to her fears; yet a dread presentiment took possession of all her faculties, and she had scarcely strength to open the fatal writ. (ibid.)[19]

In all, the substance and distribution of Mrs Middleton's letters function as a frame, and her insights, moral precepts, and poetic and elegiac descriptions mark her as a mouthpiece for the author.

Inset Tales, Versions of Masculinity, and the Decentred Hero

Because it is impossible to discuss character without revealing the plot, readers may wish to skip this section, and the next, until after they have read the novel.

As in *Lusignan*, depictions of male characters in *The Orphans of Llangloed* are more interestingly diverse than those of female characters. In both novels, some of these depictions are rendered by a device used only rarely by Ann Radcliffe in her romances: the insertion of first person tales which,

while remaining under control of the author's thematic and moral intent, construct character.[20] In Radcliffe's *The Romance of the Forest* (1791), for example, Adeline recounts to Madame La Motte how, having lost her mother when she was seven, her father had virtually abandoned her in a convent until she was twelve, before removing her to another convent where the Abbess had only too willingly obliged in attempting to force her to take the veil. As Adeline describes her resistance to the wiles of the Abbess, and her reaction to her father's later cruelties, Madame La Motte is moved by Adeline's own "little traits of character" which her tale illustrates.[21] Both *Lusignan* and *Llangloed* include first person tales of monachization that also reveal traits of character, but in each case the narrative is related by an adult, repentant nun who, having fallen from virtue, now views a return to secular life as too fraught with social and financial problems, and so chooses to remain cloistered, despite her acknowledgement of the unhealthy regulations and iniquities of convent life. Their anti-Catholicism aside, these tales are cautionary ones for women in relation to love, sensibility, and libertinism.

They also amplify the dangers of so-called "French philosophy" or "new philosophy" to affective relations between individuals in society, as manifested in the institutions of marriage and familial duty and devotion, a subject also implicit in the representation of the hedonistic and usurping Marquis de Montalt in *The Romance of the Forest*.[22] In *The Orphans of Llangloed*, Mrs Phillips/Sister Angelica's depiction of John Jefferson may seem simply a version of the traditional rake. However, Jefferson's devious and unscrupulous behaviour, together with his impertinent insistence that, in choosing Charles as her betrothed, Louisa and her father are

> blinded by prejudice, family connexions, the pride of ancestry, so common in [Wales] – and a thousand such unimportant trifles, (Vol. II, Letter XXXI)

suggest that his "liberal sentiments" could easily morph into a rejection of marriage altogether. In the tale told by the wronged and repentant nun, Julia d' Ermancy, in *Lusignan,* this is precisely the discursive path given to the irredeemable libertine, D'Aubignac:

> 'Marriage, my Julia,' said he, 'is the link of slaves, the tie of vulgar souls, an unmeaning ceremony to bind discordant minds: love, far more free, unites us in his gentle fetters; hearts truly congenial, like ours, need no foreign aid to cement their union; love and liberty are inseparable. Human ties can form only an honourable servitude, a legal prostitution! Why should we, who have overcome the prejudices of custom, again involve ourselves in the labyrinth of vulgar error? What is the world to us, or honour, that glittering bauble, invented for the use of fools? No my Julia; secure in our affections, let us not seek, by extraneous bonds, to weaken the more lasting charms of love."[23]

However, in *Llangloed* the author rehabilitates the Welsh Jefferson by having him become "truly penitent", a move necessary to the resolution of Charles and Louisa's estranged relationship. Jefferson not only confesses to Charles all his libertine offences against Mrs Phillips and Louisa in Lisbon, convincing him of Louisa's innocence, but attempts reparation by offering to marry the as yet unprofessed Sister Angelica, so that he can "atone" by devoting his life to her happiness. The moral emphasis on repentance and reformation in both novels' cautionary tales registers British reaction against the perceived views of William Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft on free love, marriage, and *de facto* partnership, the former's indiscreet publication in 1798 of his wife's *Memoirs* having scandalised the nation. But this emphasis also absolves *Lusignan* and *Llangloed* from accusations such as Hannah More's, about the "pernicious" influence of Rousseau's *Nouvelle Éloïse* on the depiction of affective relations between the sexes in contemporary novels:

> Sometimes [novels] concentrate their force, and are at once employed to diffuse destructive politics, deplorable profligacy, and impudent infidelity. Rousseau was the first popular dispenser of this complicated drug, in which the deleterious infusion was strong, and the effect proportionably fatal. For he does not attempt to seduce the affections but through the medium of principles. He does not paint an innocent woman ruined, repenting, and restored; but with far more mischievous refinement, he annihilates the value of chastity, and with pernicious subtlety attempts to make his heroine appear almost more amiable without it.[24]

In *Llangloed*, the Protestant Louisa is able to forgive Mrs Phillips/Sister Angelica, find her amiable,

and discover her “perfections” only because of the latter's Christian principles and anguished sense of guilt and repentance. When we take leave of this “fair penitent”, she is convinced of her dead husband's blessing, and has begun to find tranquillity in convent life by atonement in “offices of charity or devotion”.

In contrast to the inset tales of victimised and fallen females, those related by male adventurers in *The Orphans of Llangloed* and *Lusignan* are outward-looking and concerned more broadly with social responsibility. They construct a type of chivalric heroism that throws into relief the self-centred failings of the main protagonists, and offers by contrast a more admirable version of masculine virtue. In *Lusignan* the inset narrative of returned traveller Edward Dorville, related at two sittings, invites readers' attention not only for its narrator's reflections on the injustices of slavery and the depredations of British and European traders in northern Africa, but also for the masculine qualities of enterprise, courage, endurance, compassion and loyalty of Dorville that emerge from his narration of events.[25] Dorville also contrasts favourably with the eponymous hero. For all Lusignan's impetuous gallantry and spirited defiance of his tyrannical father, over the long haul he is even more ineffectual than Ann Radcliffe's similarly impetuous and defiant Vincentio Vivaldi in *The Italian.* Both are lovelorn, feminised characters on a collision course with parental and church authority. When Lusignan is imprisoned by his father at Belleisle Priory, the author even has him acknowledge that he feels “emasculated”. The late, extended development in *Lusignan* of the worthiness of a third male character, Dorimond, has the effect of providing further critique of Lusignan's indulgence in a languishing life of feeling, and his rejection of familial and public responsibility as his deceased father's successor. A somewhat similar pattern occurs in *The Orphans of Llangloed*, in that the real hero is not, as we might expect, the heroine's lover, but again a character whose sphere of action is that of a helper or supporter. Although Henry Morton's gallantry and benevolence are without question, his character is only partially developed, and for most of the novel he looks set to duplicate the history of his uncle, Captain (Frederic) Morton, in being denied marriage to the woman he loves. Moreover, the depiction of Henry's character is actually overshadowed by the tale of his uncle's courage, resilience and achievement in the face of disappointment and grief in love.

Yet, like Dorville and Dorimond in *Lusignan*, Captain Morton is absent for most of the novel's action. His strength of character, which is tied to his self esteem as an Englishman, in the main emerges via the late, first person account of his life, throwing into relief the consequences for their masculine virtue of Arthur Glendower's and Charles de Ligne's too great a susceptibility to pride, love, and jealousy. Early in *Llangloed*, Captain Morton's singular charm consists not only in his “urbanity of manners, elegance of person, and intrinsic merit”, but also his possession of “the talent of reconciling the Earl to his species”, from which the latter had been alienated by the depravity he had observed in London. Glendower had “felt a pleasure, a confidence in [Morton's] company which no other could yield”. Morton had also behaved with the utmost respect to Glendower's wife, “never betray[ing] the satisfaction he felt in beholding her”, despite having paid his addresses to her during her first season in London, prior to her introduction to Glendower, and becoming attached to her “to a romantic excess”. His chivalric attitude of restraint is further elaborated by Mrs Middleton:

> Captain Morton, grateful for Lord Glendower's evident partiality towards him, resolved to merit it by the strictest propriety of conduct, and by suppressing every latent wish injurious to his peace. To see the Countess in a domestic circle, and not feel love, esteem, and veneration for a character so faultless, was impossible; but Morton now saw her only in the light of a highly valued friend, and could enjoy her society without fearing that the Syren Delight should injure her future happiness. (Vol. I, Letter III)

Morton's own modest account, reproduced verbatim in a letter to Mrs Middleton by Glendower himself, does not occur until Volume III. This narrative reveals not only the Captain's valour and chivalrous protection of women, but also his patriotism, compassion, and generosity in forgiveness. On his recovery after his reluctant duel with the delusional Glendower, Morton had not sought to make his self defence and survival known and vindicate himself. Though deeply

regretting having “inadvertently endangered the peace and happiness of the woman [he] certainly adored,” he had resolved without any hesitation on his “plan of life”:

> the profession of arms had always been my favourite study, and to that I had recourse for subsistence in a foreign land (Vol. III, Letter X)

The “great honours” he had received subsequently in the service of Austria for apparent “intrepidity and unexampled valour” he attributes to “temerity inspired by despair”. But after eighteen campaigns, Morton had exhibited his disinterested concern for others in twice saving the daughter of Baron de Walstein: first from a bigamous marriage to a fellow British officer, and then from confinement by her father in a monastery. As he states in regard to the latter event:

> Though the age of chivalry is past, I could not, as an Englishman, refuse to offer assistance at such an hour to a fellow-creature in distress. (ibid.)

Morton's loyalty to his English identity is also conveyed in his ironic observations about the feudal Baron and the woman Walstein had married while an attaché at the Court of St James:

> The district in which I was quartered belonged to the Baron de Walstein, one of those Barons who in Germany are sovereign Princes, though their territories are limited to a few acres of unfertile land, which a private gentleman in England would consider as a slender patrimony. This man … had married an English lady, who deceived, perhaps, by the adventitious hopes of becoming a sovereign Princess, preferred an old castle on the frozen banks of the Danube, a phlegmatic German husband, with the divided command over a few wretched peasants, to the far more enviable distinction of occupying a private station in her own country. (ibid.)

His sarcasm in observing that Madame de Walstein had soon discovered that she “enjoyed no other pre-eminence over her subjects than that of being the slave of highest rank in her despotic husband's dominion” is softened by his sense of compatriotism. Once convinced of her “fatal error”, regretting the loss of her former life, and “retaining all her native prejudices”, Madame de Walstein had ensured that her only daughter was carefully educated “according to the British system”. It is also his consciousness and assertion of his rights as a British subject that had enabled Morton to escape wrongful imprisonment at the hands of his resentful and corrupt Austrian colonel, and return to England, “his ever beloved and lamented land”. Once back on home soil, his battle scars and disfigurement had assisted his disguise in his visits to his brother's tenants, and he had learnt with joy the degree to which his loss had been lamented by them and his family. His approval of his nephew's character thus carries weight. In the garb of a beggar he had interacted with Henry, “to try if mature age had justified in him the blooming promises of childhood”, and had found that his compassion and “benevolence, unmixed with ostentation” made him “a worthy descendent of the Mortons”. The Captain's last minute rescue of Glendower from the scaffold, though a reciprocating, Providential rescue, underlines his generosity, capacity for forgiveness, and sense of justice. The restoration of Glendower to his family being coterminous with Morton's own, his timely intervention also removes the main barrier to the marriage of his nephew to Juliana, while making possible his own happiness in a companionate marriage to the repatriated widow of Baron de Walstein. His motives for marrying, he informs his brother initially, “are divested of passion”, and “originate in solid action”:

> in the season of declining life, and in the moment of sickness, we require and most particularly value the endearing solace of female society; domestic comforts are then all that remain to us: female softness corrects the acerbities of our nature; its attraction wards off the approach of spleen , too frequently the attendant on old age, which, deprived of enjoyment, envies all who yet possess the vigour it has lost. (Vol. III, Letter XIII)

However, it had been his joy in beholding and conversing again with Madame de Walstein, their “parity of years, and congeniality of mind”, which had suggested to him the idea of proposing to be “her protector through life”. This development of Captain Morton's down to earth humanity suggests the obsolescence of Radcliffe's passionate and effeminate romance heroes. Indeed, in the depiction of the chivalry of her last hero in *Gaston de Blondeville*, Hugh Woodreeve, a married merchant of Bristol, Radcliffe herself had obviously moved on.[26]

Fantastic Elements: Juliana's "Mysterious Monitor" – a Radcliffe Experiment?

The most obviously experimental feature of *The Orphans of Llangloed* is the author's staging of the heroine's encounters with a supposedly supernatural figure, a "mysterious monitor" who, without any conventional signs of etheriality, claims to be her guardian angel, St Arvon, returned to the form of a mortal being. While there is certainty for Juliana that what she sees is real, that St Arvon's precepts are virtuous, and that he has advance knowledge of events in her life, his status for her as an instance of the marvellous is initially in doubt, and then left in abeyance as her circumstances change. When Juliana is away from Llangloed, he recedes as a character, except for a memorable incident at a masquerade in London early in Volume II, when the identity of the sternly moralising black domino who has fixed himself at Juliana's side is obvious to the reader but not detected by Juliana. By giving her a limited point of view, and then having her encounter another black domino, a masquerade figure so enigmatic in its effacement of character that Juliana not only mistakes the second for the first but ripostes with him, the author creates a comic scene suffused with irony while enhancing the mystery of St Arvon's identity.

Despite the many twists and turns of fortune in the lives of Juliana and Louisa, this mystery lies at the heart of the novel, and is finally resolved part way through Volume III when Juliana is called upon to visit St Arvon at Newgate where she is astonished to find him much changed from the tutelary figure from "ethereal heights" she has come to accept. In this way the novel offers a different, tragic-comic take on the explained supernatural for which Ann Radcliffe had become renowned in the 1790s.

Moreover, in light of the early extended discussion between Juliana and Lucy Lloyd regarding the status of St Arvon, it seems possible that Radcliffe herself is the author of this variant. Because Juliana focuses on her visitor's avowed purpose, and is unprepared to question further his unconventional attire and appeal to the authority of Heaven, a gap opens up between her limited point of view in evaluating what she sees, and what the reader of the novel perceives must be the case. One aspect of this gap is that Juliana's dilemma of belief, in deciding whether the visitor really is her guardian angel, is attributed to her anxieties about her own presumption":

> What think you, Lucy, of this strange adventure? I cannot credit my senses; yet certainly all this did happen. Should I not be very presumptuous to imagine Heaven, for my sake, would invert its laws, who am the most humble of its creatures? Yet I fear to disbelieve it, lest that also should be presumptuous. (Vol. I, Letter VII)

There is a notable parallel here with the technique of Radcliffe, whose fiction on occasion features similar consciously created gaps due to insistence on the heroine's impeccable morality.[27] However, this gap takes on a further dimension with Lucy's reply. Juliana has said nothing in her letter about "departed spirits", and there is no necessary connection between guardian angels and departed spirits. Yet Lucy conflates the two categories in her interpretation of Juliana's dilemmas regarding St Arvon's demand of "religious silence" about his visits, and whether he really is her guardian angel or an impostor. Lucy reports having asked her father, not about guardian angels and their tutelary role, as we might expect, but "whether he thought it likely that souls once translated to immortality were ever permitted to return, for the purpose of watching those they loved, or warning them of danger". She then relays verbatim to Juliana all of Pastor Lloyd's allegedly Johnsonian reflections:[28]

> It would be presumptuous […] for any person to think or declare that departed spirits can no more return to earth: a system which in all ages, and amongst all peoples, has been credited, more or less, cannot be entirely devoid of foundation. I can therefore not doubt that Providence, for great and wise purposes, may sometimes invest ethereal beings with a mandate from heaven. […] I do not believe that any person now living will aver that they have seen apparitions; yet few dispute the possibility of such. But I repeat to you, that such a miracle can only happen on some extraordinary and pressing exigence.' (Vol. I, Letter VIII)

Lucy's slippage recalls Radcliffe's penchant in her romances for the idea of a departed relative keeping watch over a loved one.[29] That the appeal of these notions continued to drive Radcliffe's

reflections is evident from her essay, “On the Supernatural in Poetry”, in which she has her theoretical traveller Willoughton state, in a manner similar to Pastor Lloyd, the circumstances under which such a spirit might appear:

> I do not absolutely know that spirits are permitted to become visible to us on earth; yet that they may be permitted to appear for very rare and important purposes, such as could scarcely have been accomplished without an equal suspension, or momentary change, of the laws prescribed to what we call *Nature* — that is, without one more exercise of the same CREATIVE POWER of which we acknowledge so many millions of existing instances […] cannot be impossible, and, I think, improbable.[30]

St Arvon’s own assertion to Juliana, that Heaven may permit an “inversion of the order of Nature” is also consonant with this statement by Willoughton.

A further curiosity is that, in both her essay and the Introduction to her posthumously published *Gaston de Blondeville*, Radcliffe has Willoughton and Mr Simpson debate ideas regarding the appropriate costuming of supernatural beings[31] a question pertinent to the theatrical habit of St Arvon, whose girdled long white robe, long, ringletted silver beard and tonsured head signify a hermit monk, except for the ivory wand he carries. In Western art, a wand is not a common accoutrement of a monk, an angel, or a saint, being rarely seen except in a few paintings of the angel Gabriel and St Peter; but it is read in various contexts as a symbol of supernatural power and authority, qualities St Arvon claims for himself.

Situational Comedy, Satire and Social Comment

Mrs Middleton's quip in her opening letter about the one guinea powder tax (passed by the British government in 1795 as a wartime revenue raiser) effectively sets *Llangloed* in the closing years of the eighteenth century. At this time, the common prejudice amongst Londoners against Wales and the Welsh was still marked. For example, it drew ironic comments from Hester Thrale Piozzi who was herself very proud of her Welsh ancestry and spent much of her life after her marriage to Gabriel Piozzi at Brynbella, a house she and her husband had built on Hester's Bach y graig estate, in the Vale of Clywd, south of nearby Tremeirchon.[32] Despite English xenophobia, however, in the wake of late eighteenth-century successful tour-writing by Thomas Pennant, William Gilpin, and Francis Grose, the beauties and antiquities of the Welsh countryside had become more widely acknowledged and valued.[33] Swansea, mentioned by Mrs. Middleton as a “a place of considerable resort for the idle”, had become a seaside Bath-like destination for the wealthy, and the well-known story of the self sufficient Ladies of Llangollen had also made evident rural Wales' suitability as a place of affordable and “romantic” retirement.

The author has Mrs Middleton capitalise on this latter interest in her loving description of Llangloed, which lays the foundation for the contrast that incrementally builds the novel’s social and cultural critique:

> The castle, the village, and the lovely plain of Llangloed, are enclosed by some of those verdant hills which abound all over Wales, and seem excluded by them from all intercourse with the world beyond. Indeed, this appears to me the only retreat into which conceptions of fashion have not been able to penetrate: here the same purity of manners and morals still exists which distinguished the ancient Britons in earlier ages. (Vol. I, Letter I)

Again, in choosing the name “Glendower”, for the family which have owned the castle and its demesnes for centuries, the author is obviously trading on the cachet of the legendary Owain Glyndwr who in 1400 in his mountain retreat in Glyndyfyrdwy, was proclaimed Prince of Wales by a small group of followers, including the Bishop of Asaph. His revolt against the English rule of Henry IV became a popular uprising, not defeated until well into1408, though Glyndwr himself was never captured and became the stuff of myth, always associated with native liberty and enduring vigour. In Shakespeare’s *Henry IV*, for example, Glyndwr famously asserts his powers by saying “I

can call spirits from the vasty deep". Mrs Middleton's passing mention of historical battles, conducted by "powerful barons" from the castle walls against "Princes and Kings", further suggests a distinguished lineage for the Glendowers that goes back even earlier to the time of the battles between Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, the first Prince of Wales, and Kings Henry III and Edward I of England. This is confirmed by her description of the liveries of Lyulphus Glendower's servants which, as replicas of "those worn by their last Prince Llewellyn ap Griffiths", had been adopted by the Glendowers when they became subjects of England.

However, more to the author's narrative purpose than Mrs. Middleton's witty comment about Lyulphus's preoccupation with his "long pedigree, which required a Welch head to unravel", is her affirmation of the survival, unchanged into modern times, not only of the castle itself, but also of the worthy customs and practices of his noble family. Irrespective of their titles, over time its members had become "only country gentlemen":

> the noblest distinction, in my opinion, that can now be possessed, since it is retained only in a few old and reputable families, who have discernment enough not to think of themselves ennobled by superficial honours, which money, and not merit, so frequently purchase. (Vol. I. Letter I)

When Lyulphus Glendower had acceded to the castle and its surroundings twenty-five years earlier, he had found it virtually the same as his remote ancestors had bequeathed it to their heirs. Like his father, he had eschewed introduction of "the absurdities of modern times" as "impious", and so the furniture of the house remained "perfectly Gothic", while the casements were still "so small that even the prospect was not discernible from them". Mrs. Middleton's extended, drily humorous comments about the timeless occupations of the Glendowers emphasise their lack of aggrandisement, and "purity of the manners and morals", as exemplary for the present. Their homespun virtues of caring and providing for their servants and indigent tenants in their domain, further emphasised by St Arvon in his guidance of Juliana, remain important for the moral contrasts with urbanised members of the English landed aristocracy that emerge later.

If the antiquarian detail and humour in this opening letter are reminiscent of parts of the Introduction to Radcliffe's *Gaston de Blondeville,* there is the further matter in *Llangloed* of the frequent use of quotation from prior literary texts, particularly poetry and plays by Shakespeare. While in *Lusignan* the author follows Radcliffe in making unfailing use of such quotations as chapter epigraphs to suggest or illustrate ideas or themes, in *The Orphans of Llangloed* quotations inserted in letters by a number of correspondents perform this function. For example, the forbidden love theme from *Romeo and Juliet* is exploited in Henry Morton's account to Colonel Singleton of his fortuitous rescue of Juliana from Charles de Ligne's flimsy curricle as it had bolted down Charmouth Hill. Despairing of "the malicious net fortune has spread for [him]", Morton, like Romeo, is dismayed by the name of the woman to whom he has lost his heart:

> Her name—I scarcely dare mention it—her name is Glendower! Sure that name is destined to be fatal to our race. I tremble when I recollect how inveterate my father is against hers. (Vol. I. Letter. XX)

The parallel with Shakespeare's play is made even more explicit when, in praise of Juliana's eyes, Morton quotes Romeo's initial panegyric on the beauty of Juliet. His concern about Juliana's name also finds an echo in Juliana's own contradictory emotions, expressed in a letter to Mrs Middleton, about the possibility that the second domino to address her at a masquerade had been the nephew of the late Captain Morton, the man killed sixteen years previously by her father in a duel:

> Why does the name Morton first occur to me? Why do I seem to wish, yet dread it should be him? (Vol. II, Letter IV)

This literary context gives legitimacy to the masquerade scene as the appropriate occasion for the masked Henry Morton to declare his love, and for Juliana to realise the strength of her own feelings for him.

The author also contrives to place quotation in the service of satire, and not without a modicum of malice or mischievous pleasure. An example occurs in Juliana's report of the occasion

when the mean-spirited and arrogant Miss Isabella Munt had outdone her mother, Lady de Ligne, in rudely asserting their perceptions of Wales as a veritable backwater, and its inhabitants as "every wit as Gothic" or as antiquated and unfashionable harp-playing "rustics". After Miss Munt had refused Juliana's offer to show her around Llangloed Castle, and then had dismissed every other regular pastime with disdain, Juliana's "evil genius" had prompted her to observe that Miss Munt "had perhaps some work in hand". This had put Isabella "in quite a pet", and, for someone who "could not endure reading", her response had been spectacularly theatrical and poetic:

> She pulled off her glove, and displaying a very white arm, covered with bracelets, she exclaimed, inspired I suppose at that moment by the Muses—
>
> "Are these fingers, at whose touch even age would glow—
>
> "Are they of use for nothing but to sew?"
>
> and then burst into a loud laugh, either at my folly, or her own cleverness. (Vol. I, p. 119-20)

Those contemporary readers familiar with George Lyttelton's "Soliloquy of a Beauty in the Country" would have enjoyed the irony here. Miss Munt may well laugh at her own wit in reciting his couplet. However, in aligning herself with the poem's soliloquising female, she is quite insensible to her own overweening vanity in suggesting that she is a youthful beauty whose charms are wasted in the country, whereas in town, where she can be seen, all pay their homage, with every eye fixed on her alone. Subsequently, the author mines Lyttelton's poem for further ironic parallels, with Miss Munt unconsciously completing the parody in her outburst at the lack of admiration accorded her "fashionable" appearance by the faithful parishioners at Glenfield church, whom she terms "brutes".

Such satirical notes are taken up again *con brio* early in Volume II, where we learn that Isabella is all of thirty four, and herself deemed an "antique" by her occasional flirt, Colonel Singleton. Juliana ventriloquizes for Mrs Middleton the malicious wit of Miss Le Whoop, who in revealing Isabella's true status in Town, also lets slip the real reason for her wearing of variously coloured wigs:

> Miss Munt is what we call a veteran beauty: she has been seen in every place about Town any time these last twenty years; during which time she has neglected no pains to attract a husband; but alas, without success! She is now at what Town calls her last prayers—that is, she flirts with every man who will condescend to flirt with her; and these are so ungrateful, that though she has grown grey in their service, they neglect her old age. (Vol. II, Letter I)

With such exaggerated comedy, *The Orphans of Llangloed* frequently targets affectation, false pride, vulgarity, and meanness of spirit. But Isabella Munt is also characterised by her spiteful remarks, such as her insensitive revelations about the situation of Louisa's father, and her insinuation that Louisa's affection for Juliana is improper. Delineated by their hypocritical comments about equals who have received them with courtesy and friendship, such as Lady Melmont and her daughter, and by nasty insinuations made to those whom they consider their inferiors, Miss Munt and her mother are not too distant from Radcliffe's satiric vignettes of Madame Cheron in *The Mysteries of Udolpho*. Likewise, in his support of his young female relatives against the "pettishness" and unkind fault-finding of his mother and Isabella, the witty and urbane Charles de Ligne, though a more fully developed character, is reminiscent of Henri de Villefort in *Udolpho*.[34] Charles's delight in the "rustic life" at Llangloed and the natural beauty, manners, and accomplishments of Juliana and Louisa, is such that he doubts he shall be "ever fit for polished society again". As he writes to his amiable sister, Augusta, "[he'd] back [his] little Welsh fillies against a whole race of thoroughbred mares at the Court of St James's" (Vol. I, Letter XII).

When the author satirizes a section of London's shopkeeping class, it is via the "mortifications" suffered by the unassuming and gentle Louisa as a result of the vulgarity and familiarity exhibited by the daughters and friends of her newly discovered relative, Mr Bowen. Because Bowen has supported her father with daily necessities since the latter's unjust imprisonment in King's Bench, and Bowen and his daughters act "without acrimony or design",

Louisa initially finds the frequent embarrassments they cause her "far less insupportable than the malignant and always intended slights of Lady de Ligne". She is even quietly amused by the *parvenu* pretensions of the Fustians, touted by the Bowens as "genteel" drapers, when Mrs Fustian, dressed in the extreme of fashion, affects "*haut ton* negligence" while seemingly unaware of the straw she has trailed in from the Hackney coach in which she and her husband have arrived. However, Louisa is far from amused when, during a walk in Kensington Gardens, the tastelessly beribboned dress and loud behaviour of Bowen's daughters attract the rude and contemptuous "quizzing" of Miss Munt and Colonel Singleton who call them "Cockneys". The escalation of the situation due to the querulous self-importance of the girls' companion, Mr Figgens, a prosperous grocer, exposes her still further to the contempt of Lady de Ligne. For all her charitable intentions, within the fortnight of her sojourn with her relatives, Louisa's forbearance is taxed to the hilt by the confident advances and vulgarity of Figgens, and by the officious presumptions of the benevolent Mr Bowen himself.

Being caught between her sense of gratitude and duty towards Bowen, and her distaste at the vulgarity of his family and friends, arouses in Louisa a sense of discomfiture, vexation, and shame, particularly in the presence of her generous suitor, Charles de Ligne. Her feelings are ones that Ann Radcliffe herself may well at some time have experienced. As the daughter of a Holborn haberdasher, she would have been well acquainted with Bowen's occupation and status as a prosperous Fleet Street haberdasher. Having been raised for lengthy periods in the household of her wealthy uncle, Thomas Bentley, a Unitarian with varied intellectual interests and a distinguished social circle, Radcliffe's own refined manners and cultural pretensions apparently led her to conceal the twenty-one years spent by her father as a haberdasher, and represent him to others as a Bath bookseller.[35]

Regarding the darker aspects of London society, Louisa's visits to King's Bench prison, which she describes as "a labyrinth of horrors", make her acutely aware not only of the plight of those like her father, rendered penniless by outright fraud, but also of the the ruin of "poor tradesmen's families" by "the licentious extravagance of the rich" who deliberately avoid payment for goods and services. She further laments the fate of "such crowds of disconsolate prisoners" whose potentially valuable services are thus lost to their country. Juliana, in turn, on her hasty return alone from Westcliff to London by commercial carriage, suffers first the insolent slander and affectations of a former servant of Lady de Ligne, and then the noise and confusion of streets "crowded with rabble", in which idle persons insult her "with their gross familiarity". Her porter having made off with her luggage, she is further persecuted by inappropriate offers from "gentlemen" who presume she is seeking male company.

Llangloed's critique of the morals and practices of an unreformed aristocracy is also given mostly to Juliana. Far from making her a "votary of fashion", her experiences of the manners and behaviour at assemblies, balls and the opera convince her of "the profligacy of modern times". She is shocked by "the depravity of those wretched females who haunt all public places" to decoy "victims" and "insult modest women", and by the boorish table manners and male disrespect for women, as exhibited by the supper behaviour of the guests at the home of the elderly Lady Portmain. The laxity of sexual mores evidenced by the "fashion for *Cicisbeos*" and gossip about whose case is soon to be heard in "Drs' Commons", the prevalence of gambling, dissipation, and unpaid debts, not to mention the husbands who "wink at" and rely on their wives' affairs to discharge their own debts, all confirm her belief in the value of life at "her dear old castle" in Wales amidst its agrarian community:

> Oh, how gladly would I remain for ever a rustic on my native mountains, rather than witness or for a moment give sanction to the degeneracy of polished morals! (Vol. I, Letter XXIII)

Even her new friend, the virtuous and charming Lady Callenberg, who is atypical in being a model wife and devoted to the education of her children, is married to a man "deeply infected with the contagion of fashion". In spite of being "possessed of vast talents", Lord Callenberg has perverted

his gifts and “plunge[d] into the deepest vortex of modern licentiousness”, taking pride in the duping of tradesmen in order to avoid paying his debts. The dialogue driven example of his outwitting of his carriage repairer, Mr Brandon, as recorded by Juliana in a letter to Lucy Lloyd, reads like a comic scene for the stage. Moreover, Lord Callenberg’s country estate at West Cliff is as much a home to hangers-on given to gambling, intoxication, flirtation, and “quizzing the natives” as his residence in London. It is at West Cliff that Juliana observes at first hand the suicidal depression caused by “deep play”, and is threatened by the advances of Lord Westville, the dissolute son of Lord Callenberg by a former marriage, before being abducted by the upstart Irish manservant, O'Shallaghan..

With such satire, caricature and critique, and with coordinates of realism in the geography and culture of London, *The Orphans of Llangloed* at times veers towards the comedic genre of the novel of manners. However, the recurring threats to the safety of both heroines, as well as the lingering of unresolved mysteries, and occasional passages of lyricism, and moral reflection and devotion, also maintain the conventions of Radcliffe’s style of Gothic romance. In Volume III, the Gothic gains ascendancy with the intensification both of Lady de Ligne’s scheme to deprive Juliana of her inheritance of Llangloed in favour of the impecunious Louisa, and of the vengeful attitude of Lord Falkington, father of Henry Morton. After the removal of Louisa and her father to Lisbon, and the villainous interventions there of Jefferson’s son to remove Louisa from her father, Charles, and any possibility of British consular assistance, her story takes a much darker turn, as does that of Juliana in London following her “*eclaircissement* to all [her] doubts” at Newgate prison. Along with the “smoke and confusion” of London, the “relentless walls” of the prison become briefly for her the locus of bleakness and threat, while for the re-orphaned Louisa it is the cheerless refuge and inhumanity of a convent in Lisbon. The move to Gothic melodrama is most marked in the abandoned Louisa’s prescient but horrifying dream of death, and the portrayal of Juliana’s emotional and mental collapse, both events recalling the author’s depiction in *Lusignan* of psychological extremes.

If the ending of *The Orphans of Llangloed* returns the emotionally battered heroines and their aspiring lovers to health, happiness and their pastoral ideal, it is not before the surfacing of truth about past events involving a supposedly dead parent, and the restoration of family equilibrium by Providential events. In these features, too, we can find the mark of Ann Radcliffe, whose romances are mischievously and reflexively singled out for mention in Volume I, when Juliana reports that Miss Isabella Munt had looked curiously over the books in the library at Llangloed before asserting that

> she could not endure reading, unless it was some of Mrs Radcliffe’s Romances; and they were too modern to have found entrance here. (Vol. I, Letter XIII)

In their temporal setting, of course, unlike *Llangloed*, Radcliffe's romances are far from modern. Moreover, given Isabella’s avowal she has “no taste for antiquities”, her contempt for anything “Gothic”, and her perception of Llangloed Castle as “a wretched, dull-looking place … the very worst extremity of the habitable globe”, it is most unlikely she would have any real liking for, much less appreciation of, Radcliffe’s fiction. She is seemingly unaware of its long descriptive passages devoted to sublime and picturesque landscapes and Gothic architecture. For her, Raddliffe's romances are “modern” merely in the sense of being recent, acclaimed publications, fashionable titles to mention as a conversational gambit, just as they are, in part, for the flighty, undiscerning Isabella Thorpe, in Jane Austen’s *Northanger Abbey*. Juliana's ironic observation of Miss Munt's vacuous disdain again chimes with a remark in the “Introduction” of Radcliffe's posthumously published *Gaston Blondeville*. When the author's mouthpiece,Willoughton, is admonished by his friend Simpson as a “painful antiquary” for wishing to extend their viewing of Kenilworth Castle, Willoughton replies:

> these picturesque visions, in which the imagination so much delights … render antiquity, of all studies, the least liable to the epithet dry, though dull and dry people so liberally bestow it.

Radcliffe's own genuine fascination for, and love of, antiquities is confirmed in her travel writing, particularly the journal entries inserted in Talfourd's *Memoir* prefixed to *Gaston*. Indeed, at the outset of his biographical comments, Talfourd states that "[Radcliffe's] romances, forming a class apart … wore a certain air of antiquity, and scarcely seemed to belong to the present age".

The Question of Authorship

It is certain that Ann Radcliffe did not stop writing after publication of *The Italian* in early 1797. As Talfourd states, "she took an eager interest in the work of composition", and in the winter of 1802—3 was occupied in writing *Gaston de Blondeville or The Court of Henry III Keeping Festival in Ardenne*.[36] With its pseudo-medieval diction and plethora of antiquarian detail to authenticate the time and place of its postulated "trew chronique", *Gaston* seems an experimental work which attempts to raise the respectability of the late eighteenth-century Gothic romance. Likewise, while they maintain remarkable stylistic affinities with Radcliffe's romances in the reworking of her themes and motifs, *Lusignan, or The Abbaye of La Trappe* and *The Orphans of Llangloed* are experimental variants on the genre.

Given the possibility that Ann Radcliffe could have written these two works, why might she have resorted once more to anonymity in order to publish? Confident after the success of *The Romance of the Forest* which, like her two previous works, she had published with circulating library publisher, Thomas Hookham, she had dropped her anonymity and moved on to acknowledging her authorship with more "established" booksellers. G. G. and J. Robinson had published *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, and T. Cadell and W. Davies *The Italian*, in each case paying her a large sum for the copyright. So why, at the height of her career, would she choose to publish for small remuneration with Lane's highly successful, but much maligned, Minerva Press?

Possible answers can be found in the British political and cultural climate of the late 1790s and early 1800s mentioned at the outset, in particular the ascendancy of anti-Jacobinism and conservatism amongst reviewers riding on the wave of success of the quarterly, high church *British Critic: A New Review*, and monthly, ultra-Tory *Anti-Jacobin Review and Magazine, or, Monthly Political and Literary Censor* (1798 – 1821). For example, in a long review in early 1800, *The British Critic* had savaged William Godwin's generic experiment, *St Leon, A Tale of the Sixteenth Century* (1799), accusing it of condoning prostitution, misusing words, lacking in religious sentiment and originality, and showing "a total ignorance of the manners and customs of the period the writer professes to describe".[37] Apart from the assault on her work in "Terrorist Novel Writing" which had appeared in *Spirit of the Public Journals for 1797* in 1798, Ann Radcliffe had received in the main critical praise for her novels by reviewers. But she did not escape the scourge of *The Anti-Jacobin Review*. In a belated and condescending review of *The Italian* in September 1800, she was issued with a warning which seems more pointedly personal than its general admonition to female writers of novels and romances:

> It was the reputation of ['the Mysteries of Udolpho'] which, at length, induced us to *honour* Mrs. Radcliffe's 'Italian' with our attentive perusal … For we, grave Reviewers, very seldom look into novels or romances for any other purpose, than to discover and point out their moral tendency, and offer to the sex our serious admonitions; which, we fear, are, for the most part unavailing.[38]

Although praising "her delineation of guilt; tracing its various progress in the soul", the reviewer considered her "portraits of virtue and innocence" to be invariably failures, and "the mysterious horror of many situations and events in Mrs R." to be "German rather than English". Her descriptions are frequently "overcharged", their images of sunset and sunrise, though diversified, are too recurrent. The real hero is the villain, the depraved, seemingly supernatural Schedoni, while the ostensible hero and heroine are "indistinctly portrayed", and compared to those of Mrs d' Arblay (Frances Burney), sink into insignificance." Vivaldi's pleadings with Ellena to accept his hand in

marriage in defiance of his family are “vapid”. The faithful servant Paolo is “well drawn”, but he is too much a philosopher, and his language not that of “a menial servant”. Her detailed descriptions of scenery are not only “laboured and tedious”, but also the perception of these scenes is attributed to characters whose distressed states would have indisposed them to such accurate attention. In closure, to these “strictures” is added the ultimate put down: “in point of style and language (as well as every other requisite to good composition) 'the Italian' is inferior to most of Mrs. Radcliffe's other compositions”.[39]

No doubt this scurrilously unbalanced onslaught would have outraged and mortified Radcliffe, whose most cherished ideal about her work seems to have been that its “traits of sentiment and feeling” and “moral excellencies” had legitimised a new type of powerfully enchanting romance “for the delight and benefit of her species”.[40] That she wrote for the edification of readers is evident in her closing sentence of *The Mysteries of Udolpho*:

> And, if the weak hand, that has recorded this tale, has, by its scenes, beguiled the mourner of one hour of sorrow, or, by its moral, taught him to sustain it – the effort, however humble, has not been in vain, nor is the writer unrewarded.

The insinuation that the ambience of her work was “German rather than English”, a claim more aptly descriptive of Matthew Lewis's *The Monk*, would have been particularly upsetting.[41] Lewis's novel *was* significantly indebted to German folk tales and ballads, and its excesses of anti-clericalism, impiety, sensuality and supernatural horror had strong inter-textual relations with the coarse materiality of German convent tales and novels in circulation in England from the mid 1790s. Radcliffe's literary influences had always been primarily English and French, and the decorum and propriety of her fiction were beyond reproach. Moreover, discerning critics would have perceived that *The Italian* was in many respects a measured response to *The Monk*'s excesses. Some modern critics have argued that Radcliffe's depiction of Schedoni owes something to Friedrich Schiller's creation of the mysterious Armenian (who turns out to be Catholic priest) in his fragmentary novel, *Der Geisterseher* (1789), which was first published in English in London in 1795, and was probably inspired by the German illusionist, occultist and freemason, Johann Georg Schröpfer. However, Radcliffe's story is her own, and it seems more likely that she was influenced by widely reported, sensational accounts of the Italian rogue magician, Guiseppe Balsamo. Known throughout Europe and Britain by his counterfeit name, (Count) Cagliostro, he was captured by the Roman Inquisition in 1789, dying in custody in August 1795.

Nevertheless, with James Boaden's bold dramatisation of her novel as *The Italian Monk*, which opened in London in August 1797, it was evident that the popular success of her depiction of the evil Schedoni had in fact created a problem for Radcliffe which she would have needed to address in any future romance. This was the invention of a more enterprising and manly virtuous male hero than her Valancourt and Vivaldi who, although depicted as courageous and honourable men of sensibility, also prove to be largely ineffectual. As discussed earlier, both *Lusignan* and *The Orphans of Llangloed* feature flawed male protagonists, and pointedly offer an alternative and more admirable model of virtuous masculinity in a character whose chivalrous heroism is exercised in the role of helper. Radcliffe might have decided that only by a return to anonymity could she feel confident or secure in experimenting with structure, style, and character depiction in response to the surging tide of hostile criticism of novels and female novelists. At this time she and her husband were comfortable financially; she did not need to write for money. Moreover, the economic scene in relation to the book trade had changed. Lee Erickson points out that by 1800 most copies of a novel's edition were sold to circulating libraries, which were flourishing in every major city and town throughout England.[42] Readers were not buying novels and romances, but renting them, and there was a need to raise the standard of circulating library fare. As Charlotte Smith put it in 1799, “literature was never at so low an ebb”, and “booksellers complain they have no sale for anything”.[43] Contrary to our expectations, the best option could have been to write for a successful circulating library publisher known to welcome and foster anonymous female writers, one with whom Radcliffe had not had any previous business, and from whom her real identity could be

concealed.[44] In spite of the denigrations of reviewers and critics, Minerva publications continued to be very widely read and enjoyed by all classes of society, but they were mostly not reviewed, and her authorship was unlikely to be suspected or detected.

A number of critics, not least fellow novelist Charlotte Smith, have observed that Radcliffe frequently returned to, and reworked, her own story lines and themes. At heart, the plot of *Gaston de Blondeville* is a reworking, transposed to British soil, of the inserted third person "Provençal tale" read by Ludovico in the supposedly haunted chamber at Chateau-le-Blanc in *The Mysteries of Udolpho.*[45] *Lusignan*, *or The Abbaye of La Trappe,* in its adaptation of Madame de Tencin's *Mémoires du Comte de Comminge*, the final scene of which was appropriated by Radcliffe in the story of the dying nun, Cornelia, in *A Sicilian Romance*, also reworks events, themes and motifs from Radcliffe's other romances. Notably, in view of the criticism of Schedoni, *Lusignan's* clerical villain is no gliding, black-cloaked monk with penetrating eyes, but a scheming and casuistic old *abbé de cour*. His lucrative and influential position at his patron's court, together with his underlying worldliness and hypocrisy, render him merely contemptible, and any description of his appearance is actually eschewed. The central protagonists, more spiritedly philosophic recreations of Radcliffe's duty-bound Emily and Ellena, and defiant, overly susceptible Vivaldi, are seriously flawed by their excesses of sensibility, love, grief, and despair, and are effectively killed off at the novel's conclusion. In this respect, *Lusignan* can perhaps be viewed as an attempt to address Mary Wollstonecraft's criticism of *The Italian* in the *Critical Review*, that "the passions of fear, pride, anger, and ambition, with their numerous train, are more happily delineated, than those of love, grief, or despair".[46]

Lusignan was published by Lane in June 1801, and was not reviewed. That its melancholy story of the lovers, Emily and Lusignan, stirred at least one upper-class English woman, however, is clear from a long romantic poem in two cantos based on the novel. Called simply "The Abbaye de la Trappe", and written in 1803 by Lady Elizabeth Bulwer-Lytton (mother of the later novelist, Edward Bulwer-Lytton), it was privately printed for a coterie audience in 1806.[47] As described at the outset, the *Orphans of Llangloed* fared much better in terms of critical notice, especially for a Minerva publication. Its introduction of an unusual device, the supposed return to earth of a guardian angel in human form, again offers a remarkable correspondence with Radcliffe's references to an afterlife in her romances, as well as to her remarks on the supernatural in the essay originally written as part of the Introduction to *Gaston*. In his *Memoir,* Talfourd portrays Radcliffe as a cultured, retiring woman, with a sincere religious faith, and a marked dislike of "the familiarity of modern manners", frequently the author's target in *Llangloed*. The tale's mischievous humour and malice are possible developments, too, of the satiric humour of which Radcliffe was obviously capable, but which are seen only on occasion in her novels and her journal entries.[48] While her style of devotional landscape description is kept to a minimum,[49] the tale's didactic elements can also be viewed as developments, for a more conservative cultural climate, of what Talfourd called Radcliffe's "moral excellencies".

Apart from the death of Ann's father and mother in mid 1798 and early 1800 respectively, the merger of William Radcliffe's newspaper in 1802, and their sight-seeing trips recorded by Talfourd, very little is known of what was occurring in the Radcliffes' private life. We do not know, for example, whether or not another antiquarian William Radcliffe, who was appointed in March 1803 to the Heralds' College as Rouge Croix Pursuivant by George III was a cousin, relation or acquaintance of Ann's husband.[50] Unlike her contemporaries Hester Piozzi and Charlotte Smith, Ann Radcliffe shrank from writing about herself, and her husband appears to have been more than discreet about his own background. This has left literary critics puzzled by Ann's authorial silence after *The Italian* (1797), published at the height of her creative powers, and the withholding from publication of G*aston de Blondeville* until three years after her death. Likewise, much has been made of the antiquarian direction and diminution of her powers in the latter work which, in my view, may simply have failed to find favour with a publisher in 1803.[51] Richard Crosby & Co, after all, did not publish Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey* despite having paid £10 for the copyright in

that year. A comparison of her romances alongside an examination of their reception reveals that Radcliffe heeded criticisms of her work, and attempted to hone her narrative style accordingly.[52] During the fraught period of economic uncertainty in publishing and diminished reputation of the novel at the turn of the century, she may have felt uncertain of direction, and been quietly trying her hand at adaptation, then at the epistolary mode and satire, and finally, at the historical novel. If *Lusignan* and *The Orphans of Llangloed* were not written by Radcliffe, they were most certainly written by an admiring close reader of her output, seeking to rework her themes, ideas and motifs, and emulate her style. In that case, this "fair moralist" can be said not only to have approximated "Radcliffe" to a much greater extent than any other of her long recognised imitators, but also to have experimented with different structures and directions in the writing of romance.

Radcliffean Romance

NOTES

1 In the eighteenth century more than fifty per cent of all children had lost at least one parent by the age of 21, and it was not uncommon for orphans of the landed classes to be involved in Chancery Court cases concerning their inheritance. See Cheryl L. Nixon, *The Orphan in Eighteenth-Century Law and Literature: Estate, Blood, and Body* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2011). From Eliza Haywood's *The Distress'd Orphan* (1726) to Charlotte Smith's E*mmeline, the Orphan of the Castle* (1788), many popular eighteenth-century novels also featured the designs of guardians and others on wealthy female orphans.

2 Geraint H. Jenkins, "Wales in the Eighteenth Century", in H. T. Dickinson ed., *A Companion to Eighteenth Century Britain* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), p. 393.

3 Letter to Rev. Joseph Cooper Walker, quoted by Alan Dugald McKillop, "Charlotte Smith's Letters", *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 15, 3 (May, 1952), 237 – 255, p. 254.

4 There were 81 new titles in 1800, dropping to 61 in 1802. Peter Garside, "The English Novel in the Romantic Era" in P. D. Garside, J. Raven, and R Schöwerling (eds) *The English Novel, 1770 – 1829: A Bibliographical Survey of Prose Fiction Published in the British Isles*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), I, p. 38.

5 *The Monthly Review* (2nd series, 35, 429 - 30), p. 430.

6 Thomas Gisborne, *An Enquiry into the Duties of the Female Sex* (London, Cadell & Davies, 1797), p. 119.

7 Hannah More, *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education*, 2 vols. (London: T. Cadell Jr. & W. Davies, 1799; repr. edn. (New York: Garland, 1974), vol. I. p. 32, 191. Regarding the influence of the novel on young women, she wrote "Another class of cotemporary (sic) authors turned all the force of their talents to excite *emotions*, to inspire *sentiment*, and to reduce reduce all mental and moral excellence into *sympathy* and *feeling.* These loftier qualities were elevated at the expence of principle; and young women were incessantly hearing unqualified sensibility extolled as the perfection of their nature, till those who really possessed this amiable quality … began to consider themselves as deriving their excellence from its excess; while those less interesting damsels, who happened not to find any of this amiable sensibility in their *hearts*, but thought it creditable to have it somewhere, fancied its seat was in the *nerves*; and here indeed it was easily found or feigned." (ibid., p. 73)

8 See Anon., "Terrorist Novel Writing", *Spirit of the Public Journals for 1797*, vol. I (London, 1798), pp. 223 – 25, reproduced in *Gothic Documents A Sourcebook 1700 – 1820* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 182 – 184, a review which attacked even Ann Radcliffe's romances. See also "Letter to the Editor", "The Terrorist System of Novel Writing", *Monthly Magazine*, August 1797, p. 102.

9 Edward H. Jacobs, "Buying into Classes: The Practice of Book Selection in Eighteenth-Century Britain", *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 33, 1 (Fall 1999), p. 54

10 M. O. Grenby in *The Anti-Jacobin Novel British Conservatism and the French Revolution* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 173 -74, states that "the publisher was the gatekeeper of literary success, and consequently, if fiction was to pass into the corporeal world of the booksellers and circulating libraries, authorial volition had to be circumscribed by their judgement. This judgement was almost always securely based on the laws of the market, which, as effectively as any parliamentary statute, curtailed the freedom of expression of novelists". Once published, a further control emerged in the opinions of reviewers, which were important for both authors and publishers in bringing novels to public attention. "Not even William Lane at the Minerva Press could manage the market for novels without the assistance of reviewers."

11 The term (German, *Erwartungshorizont*) was originally devised by reception theorist, Hans Robert Jauss. For adoptions of his concept by literary historians, see William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp.284 – 85, and M. O. Grenby, op. cit., pp. 174 – 75.

12 Garside, op. cit., p. 55.

13 *Hamlet*, III. ii. 22 – 24.

14 *Critical Review*, 2nd. Series, 17 (Feb. 1803, 237 – 8), p. 237.

15 *Monthly Magazine, or The British Register*, 15, Pt. I for 1803, p. 639; *New Annual Register*, *or General Repository of History, Politic and Literature for the Year 1802* (London: G. and J. Robinson, 1803), p. 322.

16 *The Orthodox Churchman's Magazine and Review*, 10, (March 1806), p. 233.

17 *Critical Review*, op. cit., p. 237.

18 Cf. Ann Radcliffe, *The Italian or the Confessional of the Black Penitents*, ed. with an introduction and notes by Robert Miles (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2000), vol. I, ch. I, p. 18: "Unhappy young man, he knew not the fatal error, into which passion was precipitating him!"

19 Cf. Ann Radcliffe, *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, ed. with an introduction and notes by Jacqueline Howard (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2001), vol. I, ch. X, p. 107: "Emily made no effort to interrupt Madame Cheron a second time, grief and the pride of conscious innocence kept her silent… ."

20 For Adeline's first person narration, see *The Romance of the Forest*, ed. with an introduction and notes by Chloe Chard (New York: Oxford World's Classics, 1999) Ch. III, pp. 37-43. Another first person story, that of the Chevalier du Pont in *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, op. cit., Vol. III, Ch. IX, pp. 421, 430-32, is occasionally punctuated by brief questions and responses from Emily St Aubert.

21 *The Romance of the Forest*, op. cit., p. 39.

22 On "new philosophy", which by 1802 was conceived by anti-Jacobin conservatives as an attack principally on marriage and the family rather than on political institutions, see Grenby, op. cit., pp. 85 – 92. *Romance of the Forest*, op. cit., pp. 156 – 164; 222.

23 *Lusignan, or the Abbaye of La Trappe*, (Richmond, Virginia: Valancourt Books, 2014), Vol. III, Ch. V. The phrase "legal prostitution" was used of marriage by Mary Wollstonecraft in *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman with Strictures on Political and Moral Subjects* (Boston: Peter Edes for Thomas and Andrews, 1792; repr. edn. New York & London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1974), p. 259.

24 Hannah More, op. cit., p. 32.

25 *Lusignan,* op. cit., vol. II, ch. II. As the worthy suitor of Caroline de Montfort, Dorville's character is a marked contrast to that of her father, Henri, who had also been in trade, but proudly deemed himself to be above working as a *roturier* (commoner), even to provide for his family, and who, finally overwhelmed by debt and despair, had taken his own life.

26 Angela Wright, in "The Fickle Fortunes of Chivalry in Eighteenth-Century Gothic", *Gothic Studies* 14, 1 (47-56), pp. 52-54, argues that *Gaston de Blondeville* "becomes a work that is intimately concerned with interrogating the duties of chivalry."

27 An example occurs in *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (op. cit., p. 58) when Emily St Aubert finds that one of her books has been replaced by a volume of Petrarch's sonnets belonging to Valancourt, and the author-narrator comments that Emily "hesitated in believing, what would have been sufficiently apparent to almost any other person, that he had purposely left this book, instead of the one she had lost, and that love prompted the exchange".

28 For Samuel Johnson's views, see James Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, ed. by R. W. Chapman, rev. by J. D. Fleeman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp. 287-88, 462, 900,

29 Radcliffe has the ailing St Aubert, in *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, (op. cit., Vol. I, Ch. XI, p. 66-67) express quite emphatically to La Voisin his fervent wish that "disembodied spirits watch over the friends they have loved". See also *A Sicilian Romance* (op. cit., chpt. II, p. 36), for Madame de Menon's belief that "unembodied spirits" can appear "only by the express permission of God, and for some very singular purposes". In *Lusignan* Vol. III, Ch. I, the heroine, Emily de Montalte, also contemplates watching over her Lusignan as "a guardian angel"

30 "On the Supernatural in Poetry" in *Gothic Documents A Sourcebook 1700-1820*, ed. by E. J. Clery and Robert Miles (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 167. This piece, which originally formed part of the Introduction to *Gaston de Blondeville*, and for some reason was separated from it, was published as a discrete essay in *New Monthly Magazine* 16 (1826), pp. 145-52.

31 *Gaston de Blondeville* (Chicago: Valancourt Books, 2006), p. 12

32 "Bishop Horsley has the low people's natural Prejudice in disfavour of Wales — They always hate any place 300 miles from London." Also "*Another* happier consequence to Country Rustics like *us* will be reconcilement to quieter scenes and far more tranquil pleasures." Hester Lynch Piozzi, *Thraliana: the Diary of Mrs. Hester Lynch Thrale (later Mrs. Piozzi) 1776-1809* ed. by Katharine C. Balderston, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1942), II,

p. 1036 (entry for July 1803); and *The Intimate Letters of Hester Piozzi and Penelope Pennington 1788-1821* ed. By Oswald G. Knapp (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1914), p. 240 (letter by Mrs Piozzi dated 2nd June, 1802).

33 Thomas Pennant, *A Tour in Wales* (London: Henry Hughes, 1778 – 83). Gilpin. *Observations on the River Wye, and several parts of South Wales, etc. relative chiefly to picturesque beauty; made in the summer of the year 1770* (London: R. Blamire, 1782). Francis Grose, *The Antiquities of England and Wales*, 4 vols. (London: Hooper, 1773 – 76).

34 For satirical depictions of Madame Cheron, see *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, op. cit., Vol. I, Ch. X, pp. 105-08, Ch. XII, pp. 115-16, 119-33; Vol. II, Ch. III, pp. 194-95. For Charles de Villefort and his mother , see Vol. III, Ch. X, pp. 440-41, 445, and Ch. XI, pp. 448, 452. In contrast to his mother, the Countess, Henry does not consider Chateau-Le-Blanc a "barbarous spot", but is receptive to "the surrounding country, and mode of life". Although he indulges in some light-hearted teasing of Mademoiselle Bearn, his mother's fashionable companion from Paris, he is "disgusted" by her "conceit and insensibility". Radcliffe lightly satirizes both her ennui, and the Countess' s interest in reading sentimental novels on "fashionable systems of philosophy … especially as to *infidelity"*.

35 See Rictor Norton, *Mistress of Udolpho: The Life of Ann Radcliffe* (London and New York: Leicester University Press, 1999), pp. 23-24, 136.There is also the curious coincidence that the Holborn haberdashery premises, which William Ward had occupied on his own account for seventeen years, were taken over by Wm. Bower & Co., becoming by 1774 Bower & Mellersh, Haberdashers. In *The Orphans of Llangloed*, at first mention, Bowen is called "Bower" by the author. William Ward later worked for Josiah Wedgwood and Thomas Bentley in their porcelain shop in Bath.

36 Thomas Noon Talfourd, 'Memoir of the Life and Writings of Mrs Radcliffe', anonymously prefixed to Anne Radcliffe, *Gaston de Blondeville or The Court of Henry III*, half title, *The Posthumous Works of Mrs. Radcliffe*, 4 vols. (London: Henry Colburn, 1826), vol. I, pp. 8, 89.

37 *The British Critic*, XV (January, 1800), pp. 47 – 52.

38 *Anti-Jacobin Review and Protestant Advocate; or, Monthly Political and Literary Censor from September* [1800] *to January* [1801] *inclusive*, vol. VII (London: 1801), 27 – 30, p. 27.

39 Ibid., p. 30.

40 Talfourd, op. cit., p. 4.

41 See Peter Mortensen, *British Romanticism and Continental Influences: Writing in an Age of Europhobia* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004) for discussions of the perceived threat to Britain's moral and political health posed by the burgeoning popular interest of the late 1790s in German plays, ballads and fiction.

42 Lee Erickson in "The Economy of Novel Reading: Jane Austen and the Circulating Library", SEL 30, 4 (1990) 573 – 590, p. 573.

43 Letter to the Rev. Joseph Cooper Walker, Jan 9, 1799, quoted in McKillop, op. cit., p. 245

44 On the fostering of anonymous female authors by circulating library publishers in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, see Edward H. Jacobs, "Eighteenth-Century British Circulating Libraries and Cultural Book History", *Book History*, 6, (2003) 1 – 22, p. 5.

45 This tale, about a chivalrous English knight, Sir Bevys of Lancaster who, while returning from the crusades, is ambushed and murdered in a forest in Bretagne, and whose ghost appears in human form to ask for assistance from a baron living in a castle nearby, seems largely Radcliffe's own creation. Rictor Norton (op. cit., pp. 99 - 100) suggests that she was inspired by passages in Thomas Warton's *History of English Poetry,* Vol. I, but these make only the briefest mention of Sir Guy of Warwick and Sir Bevis of Hampton in relation to the Provençal troubadours.

46 *Analytical Review*, XXV (May 1797), 516-20, p. 516).

47 Jane Preston, *That Odd Rich Old Woman: The Life and Troubled Times of Elizabeth Barbara Bulwer-Lytton of Knebworth House 1773 – 1843* (Dorset: Plush Publishing, 1998), p. 128. The poem carries the date 1803, and appropriates the names of *Lusignan*'s protagonists.

48 See note 33 above for satirical depictions of Madame Cheron in *Udolpho*. One example of satire from Radcliffe's

journals occurs in an anecdote about the bad service Ann and her husband had experienced at an inn in Portsmouth. Another is a recount of a conversation with the old housekeeper at Penhurst, who had affected status in the *old days* as the servant to *Lady* Perry, a title her mistress did not have. See Talfourd, op. cit., pp. 74 – 75; 84 – 86;

49 A long example from the pen of Juliana occurs in Vol. II, Letter XX, with her account of Louisa and her father setting out in a small boat for the ship to Lisbon, beginning "It was about the hour when there seems a contrast betwixt night and morning: …", and ending with a simple devotional comment: "I recommended my Louisa to her God, and almost forgot the dangers she might encounter on the stormy element, or foreign shore, when I admitted the delightful idea that we, no less than every object around, are the peculiar care of him, without whose command not a sparrow shall fall." Cf. Radcliffe's comments in her Journal entries for July 1800, Talfourd, op. cit, pp. 34, 36. 39.

50 Originally from Barnsley in Yorkshire, this William Radcliffe was the proprietor of a confectionery shop in Oxford Street in London during the 1790s until 1799 when he gave up the business to study heraldry and genealogy at the Heralds' College. In March 1820 he was convicted of having committed fraudulent acts in 1801 in order to prove his descent from the family of the Earls of Derwentwater, the Radclyffes of Dilston, an old English Catholic family. Not only had he made an insertion in a marriage register in St James Church at Ravenfield in South Yorkshire in 1801 (a forgery attested to early in 1802 by the incumbent rector, Thomas Radford), but in 1801 he had also fraudulently derived and registered a Radclyffe pedigree for himself with the College of Heralds in order to promote his own interests. On William Radcliffe Rouge Croix, (his father was Edward Radcliffe of Barnsley, Yorkshire, who in 1797 married his third wife, Sarah Hall), see "Rex v. Radclyffe" in Sir Anthony Wagner's *Heralds of England* {London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1967), pp. 450 – 68.

51 See Norton (op. cit., pp. 152 -53; 193-94) for his speculations about the non-publication of *Gaston.* In my view, it may have been rejected because the marked focus on aesthetic and literary theory in the "essay" (which was at some later point extracted from the lengthy Introduction), exceeds the boundaries of appropriate material for the framing of an historical romance. Even without the extracted material, the 1826 Introduction takes on an interesting life of its own. Furthermore, the framing apparatus does not end here. The old "boke" containing the "trew chronique", is presented to the reader as "a modernized copy", but its avowed embellishments, the drawings of a tapestry-like scene at the head of each chapter, are not simply omitted. They are rendered in prose there as dramatic tableaux. If these devices retard readers' immersion in the plot, yet further impediments are posed by both the detailed antiquarianism of the narrative and early interruptions to the story, first by the insertion of a ballad, and then a long, thirty-two verse troubadour's song. By contrast, a straightforward narrative, *The Black Knight. An Historical Tale of the Eighth Century*, published in 1803, "though published in mean form and at a small price", was deemed by the *British Critic* to be "an interesting Tale, and not ill told". To put it another way, with its excessive literariness and antiquarianism, *Gaston* can be said to fall outside of "the horizon of expectations" of regular publishers and readers of romances and novels of the time.

52 Jacqueline Howard "Merely an Imitator? The Preponderance of 'Radcliffe' in *Lusignan, or The Abbaye of La Trappe* and *The Orphans of Llangloed*", *Romantic Textualities*, 20 (Winter 2011), pp. 53, 65. On line: http://www.romtext.org.uk/