GWINN

Contributions of Horace
Walpole to Romanticism

English
A. M.
1910

CONTRIBUTIONS OF HORACE WALPOLE TO ROMANTICISM

BY

ALTA GWINN

A. B. University of Illinois, 1907

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

IN ENGLISH

IN

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

1910

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

May 12 1910

I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION BY

ALTA GWINN

ENTITLED Contributions of Horace Walpole to Romanticism

BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE

DEGREE OF Master of Arts

Stuart P Sherman In Charge of Major Work

C N Greenough. Head of Department

Recommendation concurred in:

Stuart P Sherman
C N Greenough.
Edward Fulton

Committee
on
Final Examination

CHAPTER I

HORACE WALPOLE'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO ROMANTICISM

Horace Walpole, dilettante in literature and art, antiquarian, connoisseur, virtuoso, brilliant letter writer, picturesque historian, genealogist, petty politician, imperialist, man of quality, wit, and dandy, held a peculiar place in the Romantic movement both because he stood in an interesting relation to mediaeval life and because he was in many respects a typical eighteenth century man. Belonging to the "Voltaire School of Literature" and a professed admirer and imitator of its most important representatives in England, he did not share their contempt for the Middle Ages. Knowing their opinion of these ages, however, when he published his _Castle of Otranto_ in 1764, he felt obliged to disguise its authorship, and to make some apology for offering a work, imitating the romances of former centuries, to a public who would pronounce it "Gothic" according to the usual standards of judgment and sense,--criteria applicable even in the department of the so-called work of the imagination. Nor is it strange that his attitude toward mediaevalism was apologetic; it was remarkable that he had such a taste at all. Half a century later, on the other hand, Sir Walter Scott, who drew his inspiration and materials from the Middle Ages, could be sure that the"Gothic" of his novels would be greatly admired.

An attempt is made in the following pages to trace,

first, the source of Walpole's Romanticism,-particularly the origin of his mediaeval predilections; second, to determine what Romantic traits are exemplified in Walpole's life and writings; and third, to suggest Walpole's influence in the Romantic movement, through which the love of "Gothic," shared by Walpole and his coterie, gradually extended to the people at large and became the highly popular "Gothic" of Scott.

SOURCES OF WALPOLE'S ROMANTICISM

The well-known phrase of one of our greatest poets, "that the child is father of the man" seems especially true in Horace Walpole's case, because many of the traits that he manifested in the prime of his life are seen in embryo in his childhood. Certain romantic tendencies have their beginnings at Eton and Cambridge, and before his twenty-fifth birthday he has acquired romantic habits of thinking and feeling which operate upon a lively imagination and an active penetrating mind; he has formed tastes for art which, together with a "predilection in favor of birth and rank"[1] dictate his studies and connect them with history and antiquities.

His pride in family was most natural. "The Walpoles of Houghton in Norfolk . . . were an ancient family tracing their pedigree to a certain Reginald de Walpole who was living at the time of William the Conqueror."[2] His father, it is hardly necessary to say, at the time of his son's birth, and for more than twenty years afterwards, was the foremost Englishman. It is not to him, however, that we look to find most of the influences of heredity and environment that formed Horace Walpole's mind and shaped his character, although he had, no doubt,--from his father, a marked peculiarity of temper, which perhaps sharpened his sagacity, and brightened his wit."[3]

---

1. Scott's *Prefatory Memoir to Walpole*. Ballantyne's Novelists, London, 1823, p.LXIII
2. Austin Dobson's *Horace Walpole*, London, 1893, p.3
3. Littell's *Living Age* Vol.30 pp.577-90.

On the other hand, "There was......something feminine in the manner and to a great degree in the tastes of Horace Walpole. As a boy, as a youth, and as a man, his character bore but faint traces of masculine impress."[1] His temperament was of an impulsive, self-conscious, whimsical, impressionistic cast which corresponded well with the capricious, vain glorious disposition that his mother, Catherine Shorter,[2] manifested in society. Like her, he was sociable, affectionate, and sympathetic. The delicacy of his constitution was such as required her constant and tenderest care which accounts for the greater impress of her mind, the indulgence received at her hands, and the warm regard that he always had for her.

One of his childish whims is worthy of mention. Naturally, in the Walpole family, there was much mention of his majesty, George I, to which talk there was added all the glowing accounts of his mother's domestics. Filled with pictures of visionary splendor, an imaginative trait that characterized Walpole throughout his life, he was seized with an overmastering desire to kiss the king's hand, an episode[3] that was the beginning of his career as a courtier and man of quality which some times gave a bias to his opinions and colored his literary judgments.

At this time, Walpole had already entered Eton[3] and at this school the important friendships that partially determined

---

1. E. Warburton's Memoirs of H. Walpole, London, 1852.
2. Eldest daughter of John Shorter of Bybrook, an old Elizabethan red-brick house near Ashford in Kent. His father was Mayor of London under James II.
3. Walpole's Works Reminiscences London 1798, Vol.IV. P.275
4. Walpole entered Eton April 2, 1727. See Short Notes of My Life.

his subsequent career, were begun. Among these friends there was William Cole, the future antiquarian, with whom he corresponded for about twenty years, and at that time a "quiet, studious boy, whose love of books with quaint frontispieces and still quainter text, Walpole shared."[1] There were his cousins, Lord Hereford and Henry Conway, his future statesman and military hero; and Charles and George Montagu, with whom he formed the "triumvirate." Of most importance, however, in this list of friendships was the "quadruple alliance" consisting of Richard West, a boy with a talent for poetry; Thomas Ashton, afterwards Fellow of Eton College and Rector of St. Botoph, Bishopsgate; and the last and warmest friend, Thomas Gray, future antiquarian poet, and scholar. All of these boys had delicate constitutions, had aesthetic tastes, had a literary turn of mind, and their growing love of pastoral scenery was evidenced by their sauntering over the meadows about Eton, walks which are mentioned often in Walpole's later letters and to which there is a suitable tribute in Gray's Warburton I p.66[1]

ODE ON A DISTANT PROSPECT OF ETON COLLEGE [1].

Walpole's appreciation for these scenes was, however, deepened by an influence quite outside the association with these youths. The scenes were the Pierian spring of a former Etonian and the illustrious poet, Waller, whose "occasional verses," commemorating the pastoral scenery about Eton, which he peopled with milk maidens who were beauties of the court, excited a similar sympathy in Walpole and drew him to this

---

[1] Warburton, Vol. I, p.66.

kind of composition.[1] These playing fields were for him food for all manner of flights. At first, he was content with tending a visionary flock while sighing some pastoral name to the echo of the cascade under the bridge. He wished that he had a kingdom only for the pleasure of being driven out of it, and living disguised in an humble vale. When later he read Virgil and Clelia,[3] he found himself transported from Arcadia to the garden of Italy, and saw Windsor Castle in no other view than that of the "Capitoli immobile saxum."[2] The beginnings of his Roman history were spent in Egeria's hallowed grove not in thumping and pummeling King heardsmen."[4]

It was evident that he was, as he himself said," never quite a school boy."[4]. He was, in fact, very much of a school

---

Life by Horace Walpole in Letters of Horace Walpole. Ed. by H. Toynbee London, 1905, Vol. 1, p.24.

[1] Warburton Vol.I pp.61-62

[2] Letter to George Montagu, May 6, 1736, Vol. I, p.12.

[3] Clelia was one of the dull folio works of Madame Scuderi, the introduction of which the prevailing taste for French Literature under Charles II had dictated. They were between the ancient tales of chivalry and the novels of the time of Sir Walter Scott, containing both the unnatural and extravagant turn of incident of ancient romances, and the sentimental langour and flat love-intrigue of novels. In the early part, and in the middle of the eighteenth century, among women, such books were popular. Chesterfield, who represented the attitude of the Classicists toward them, advised his son not to read them; he told him, however, that he might read one in order not to be ignorant of them in the drawing room.

[4] To G. Montagu, May 20, 1736, Vol.I, p.13

girl; sociable, affectionate, sympathetic, of refined tastes and gentle manners; and although such qualities unfitted him for rough field sports, they cultivated habits of importance to him as suggested in the following extract:-"He had qualifications out of the pale of even an Etonian territory....cultivating inclinations for romance and sentiment with his fellow associates. He had more taste for romance than for either declarations of war or treaties of peace....His path led rather toward the temple of the Muses than the House of Commons. But with the poetic Gray for the dearest of his friends, and the poems of Waller for his study, nothing could be more natural than the tendency of his intellect to imagine visions more Utopian than any connected with the career of public life.[1]

Walpole's career at King's College, Cambridge, which he entered in March, 1735, followed to a great extent the tendencies that he manifested at Eton. Cole and the Conways were in the same school, and Gray was a fellow commoner at Peterhouse. His poetical bent attributed to the landscape at Eton, Waller's poetry, and his former companions, found pleasing associations in the beauty, the venerable structures, and the haunts of former poets at Cambridge. Still influenced by Gray's point of view and method and with no natural talent for mathematics and philosophy, he developed a fondness for languages and literature and an interest in art.[2] His point

---

1. Warburton p.70.
2. Horace Walpole, Dic. of Nat. Biog. Vol.XX, p.628.

of view as well as the character of his studies at this time are suggested in the following letter: "I have been so used to the delicate food of Parnassus that I never condescend to apply to the grosser studies of Alma Mater.....'tis thrashing, to study philosophy in abstruse authors. I am not myself against cultivating these studies, as they certainly are useful; but then they neglect all polite literature, all knowledge of this world. Indeed, such people have not much occasion for this later, for they shut themselves up from it and study till they know less than any one. Great mathematicians have been of great use, but the generality of them are quite unconversible; they frequent the stars, *sub pedibusque vident nubes* but they can't see through them."[1] Indeed Walpole had no use for an education not of cultural value to a man of quality,-for any thing that would not give him a greater knowledge of the world, and make him more conversable. Although he was interested in the same subjects as Gray, his purpose and methods were very different. At Cambridge, as well as subsequently, he was not disposed to apply himself to any task after it became laborious, and only to those for which he had a particular liking.

Several tendencies of minor importance in themselves, but significant when considered in the light of Walpole's future development as a Romanticist, manifested themselves while he was at Cambridge. In consequence of his study of the French language, in which he made considerable progress, he sent a translation of some verses to George Montagu,

---

1. To R. West Aug. 17, 1736 Vol. I p.20

accompanied by these remarks:--"You will excuse this gentle nothing, I mean mine, when I tell you, I translated it out of pure good-nature for the use of a disconsolate wood-pigeon in our grove, that was made a widow by the barbarity of a gun. She coos and calls me so movingly, 'twould touch your heart to hear her. I protest to you it grieves me to pity her. She is so allicholly as anything. I'll warrant you now she's as sorry as one of us would be. Well, good man, he's gone, and he died like a lamb. She's an unfortunate woman, but she must have patience. 'tis what we must all come to."[1] It is written in Walpole's characteristic vein. It is tinged with sentimentalism, but one easily recognizes beneath it the expression of that sympathy and love for all animals which is seen in Cowper and Coleridge.

At this same period at Cambridge, resulting from the study of Milton, in whom he was evidently more interested as the Latin Secretary of Cromwell than as the author of Paradise Lost, his references[2] to the execution of Charles I, and the treason which menaced the life of his father, exhibited republican sentiments of liberty.[3] It was the same note which was sounded more distinctly in his Epistle to Thomas Asheton and his Inscription for the Neglected Column in the Place of St. Mark, and was heard at intervals all through his life.

The following year, 1736, he visited Oxford and saw

---

[2] To Richard West Nov. 9, 1735, Vol. I, p.8.
[3] Warburton, Vol.I, p.209.
[1] To Montagu, May 30, 1736, Vol. I, p.17

the country seat of the Duke of Kent, on his way to, and Easton Weston and Althorp, on his way from, that place. His mention[1] of these places and his criticism of statues and pictures not only showed symptoms of incipient connoisseurship but also suggested the interest that he afterwards took in old mansions and country seats when he had developed his passion for Gothic architecture. At Althorp, he saw a portion of the collection of the Earl of Arundel, the nobleman of that age most distinguished for the importation of treasures of foreign art. When he beheld, as he told Montagu, "a vast many pictures; some mighty good; a gallery with Windsor beauties"[2] it is possible that he laid the germ for collecting objects of <u>vertu</u>, which lasted upwards of half a century.[3]

A little later we have, perhaps his first expression, of an inclination to like scenes of nature that border on the Romantic. It is in a letter to Lytleton the substance of which is given in the following extract:- "I am returned again to Cambridge and can tell you what I never expected, that I like Norfolk......which a little from Houghton is woody, and full of delightful prospects. I spent my time at Houghton almost alone; we have a charming garden all wilderness; much adapted to my romantic inclinations."[4]

Throughout Walpole's career at Cambridge, there was a gradual development in the direction of modern letters and

---

[1] To George Montagu May 20, 1736 Vol. I, p.13
[2] " " " " 20, 1736 Vol. I, p.13
[3] Warburton, p.210. His interest in pictures, no doubt, had its origin in those of his home in Arlington street.
[4] To Charles Lyttelton No date Vol. I, p.19

polite arts, and away from mathematics and the classics.[1] The outcome was important for our purposes. During his last year at the University 1738-39, he was seized with an ardent desire to travel. He had two years before unwillingly declined an invitation from George Montagu and Lord Conway to join them in a visit to Italy;the inevitable finishing touch to the education of an aristocrat before he appeared in society. His acquaintance with continental letters made him desirous of a broader knowledge of the authors of France and Italy. His taste for art to which such venerable structures as King's College Chapel[2] had added a taste for antiquities, could find satisfaction in no other place than Italy, the Holy land of *virtu*. The means were supplied by the income from three sinecure offices[3] to which he had recently been appointed by his father, and Walpole, accompanied by Gray, set sail on the "Grand Tour," March 11, 1739.[3]

Unfortunately while in France, Walpole had not yet developed his passion for letter writing and much which we should expect to have attracted his attention and to have elicited his impressions, such as the cathedral city at Rheims,was passed over in silence. Gray's letters give us some information, and there are a few letters from Walpole to West of importance because of the light which they give us on the sources of his

---

1. Austin Dobson's *Horace Walpole* London, 1893, p.30
2. To Cole, Aug. 31, 1777. Vol.X, p.100
3. Short Notes of My Life, Letters of H. W. Vol. I, p.XXXV.

love of Romantic scenery. To him Versailles seemed forced and constrained; the general taste of the place was petty and artificial.[1] There was a peculiar charm about the convent of the Chartreux. All the "adaptments" were settled there that melancholy, meditation, selfish devotion would require,[2] and this uncouth horror, the gloomy chapel, and the narrow cloister had a fascination for the Gothic soul of the future author of the Castle of Otranto.[3] His slight intimation of an appreciation of Romantic scenery in regard to Norfolk is confirmed by his outburst over the wild picturesque beauty of scenery in recounting to West his excursion to the Grande Chartreuse:--"But the road, West, the road! winding round a prodigious mountain, and surrounded with others, all shagged with hanging woods, obscured with pines, or lost in clouds! Below, a torrent breaking through cliffs, and tumbling through fragments of rocks! Sheets of cascades forcing their silver speed down channelled precipices, and hasting into the roughened river at the bottom! Now and then an old foot-bridge, with broken rail, a leaning cross, a cottage, or the ruin of an hermitage! This sounds too bombast and too romantic to one that has not seen it, too cold for one that has. If I could send you my letter post between two lovely tempests that echoed each other's wrath, you might have some idea of this noble roaring scene."[4]

---

1. To West 1739 Vol. I, p.29
2. To West 1739 Vol. I, p.30
3. Dobson p.36
4. To West Sept. 28-Oct. 2, 1739 Vol. I. p.38

The wild and picturesque in nature had a charm for him, but there were other aspects to which he was susceptible and the effect of which he analyzed in the following:--

"Our little Arno is not boated and swelling like the Thames, but 'tis vastly pretty, I don't know how, being Italian, has something visionary and poetical in its stream."[1] In all his descriptions of landscape, he had his eyes fixed upon the objects immediately before him and he was not slow to observe that Addison had traveled through the poets and not through Italy, since all his descriptions were borrowed from descriptions and not from the reality.[2] From such occasional references in Walpole's letters to the beautiful scenes in nature, many of which were Romantic, it may be concluded that the newness of the scenes stimulated his imagination. By finding new pleasure in these unfamiliar landscapes his appreciation for nature which had its fountain head at Eton, was deepened.

At the beginning of walpole's stay in Italy he was, like Gray, absorbed with a passion for antiquities; everything struck him and he wrote its history. He believed that Herculaneum was the noblest curiosity that had ever been discovered, and saw that great lights might certainly be collected from that resevoir of antiquities if only a man of learning had the inspection of it.[3] It was soon evident, however, that with his love for antiquities he was fast

---

1. To H. S.Conway March 6, 1740, p.52.
2. To West Oct. 2, 1740 Vol. I, p.88
3. To West June 14, 1740 Vol. I, p.71

developing a kindred passion for mere curiosities. "How I like the inanimate part of Rome" he wrote to West, "you will soon perceive at my arrival in England. I am far gone in medals, lamps, idols, prints, etc., and all the same commodities to the purchase of which I can attain; I would buy the Coliseum if I could."[1]

Great as had been his eagerness at first for objects of vertu, by October[2] of 1740, instead of being in the liberal arts and in the galleries every morning, as Gray was, Walpole had entered into all the idleness and amusements of the town. Nor is it strange that the son of the great prime minister, entertained at that time[3] at the Casa Ambrosio, the pleasant villa of Horace Mann, should be welcomed into Florentine society, and by the English people centered there. With a ground floor to himself, a gallery overlooking the Arno, two fine bridges on either side, Italian music and Romantic moonlight, and, above all else, with congenial society, Walpole was in paradise. He was fast developing into the fine gentleman, who found so much delight in the society life at London upon his return.

One interruption, however, to this round of pleasure came when, Clement the Twelfth dying, Walpole and Gray went to Rome at the end of March 1740, to see the election of a new

---

1. To H. S. Conway April 23, 1740 Vol. I p.60
2. To R. West Oct. 2, 1840 Vol. I, p.86
3. Walpole went to Florence the Christmas 1439 and except for an interval of three months remained for fifteen months at the home of the British Minister, Horace Mann.

Pope.[1] They remained there for about three months, but not enjoying the life at Rome, the heats coming on, and disgusted by the discord in the Conclave[2] they returned to Florence early in June. During their stay in Rome, Walpole became acquainted with the corruption of the church at first hand; he had already seen its effect on Italy. Deeply impressed by these conditions, deriving an advantage from his constant association with Gray, and once more in a congenial environment at the home of Horace Mann, he turned his attention to poetry.

His wooing of the muse, at this time, resulted in the most radical arraignment of the church and monarchy that Walpole ever uttered. The composition, a satire in imitation of Dryden, was in form of an Epistle to Thomas Ashton, his former school friend at Eton and King's College, and, at this time, a tutor to the earl of Plymouth. The extreme character as well as substance of the poem is suggested by the four following lines:--

> The greatest curses any age has known
> Have issued from the temple on the throne
> Extent of ills from kings at first begins,
> But priests must aid and consecrate their sins.[3]

His denunciation on the Royal Unction shows a spirit of freedom that must have run very high to induce him to write

---

1. Short Notes of My Life, Walpole's Letters, Vol. I, P.XXXV.
2. To Thomas Ashton May 14, 1740 Vol.I, p.64
3. Walpole's Works Vol. II, p.8-9

such lines as these:--

Such sanction gives the prelate to such kings[1]
So mischief from those hallowed fountain springs
But bend your eye to yonder harassed plains
Where king and priest in one, united reigns;
See fair Italia mourn her holy state,
And droop oppressed beneath a Papal weight;
Where fat celibacy usurps the soil,
And sacred sloth consumes the peasant's toil;
The holy drones monopolize the sky,
And plunder by a vow of poverty;
The Christian cause their lewd profession taints,
Unlearned, unchaste, uncharitable saints.

They seem all the more surprising and sincere when we remember that Walpole from his birth had breathed the atmosphere of a court, and that these verses were addressed to one who was about to take orders in the church of England. His environment in Italy was a formative element which gave him a strong bias toward Republicanism, a bias that he never afterwards lost although he was later often influenced by caste and opinion.

We have not evidence to prove that Walpole paid much attention to Gothic architecture during his stay in Italy, but he referred occasionally in his letters to Gothic buildings. As early as 1735 he called Gray's attention to one in England [2]

---

1. Walpole's Works, Vol. II, p.8-9
2. Warburton 279

in planning his tour of Italy.[1] Five years later he criticised Mr. Addison's opinion of the "wonderful Gothic nicety of the dome"[2] of a building at Sienna, Italy, because it was inferior to several that he had seen, perhaps referring to those at Rheims, the cathedral city of France. It would be difficult to say to what extent we can consider his stay in Italy a source of his devotion to Gothic architecture even indirectly through his antiquarianism, but that it had some effect was indicated in a letter to Mann in 1761 in which he refers to the time spent in Italy: "I was hoarding ideas for a future Strawberry even in those days of giddiness, when I seemed to attend to nothing."[3]

However congenial this stay in Italy was to Walpole, and however important its formative influence on Walpole's subsequent Romanticism, it was brought abruptly to a close in 1741 by the trouble threatening with Spain.[4] During his travels, his appreciation for wild nature had been deepened: He had visited "the native land of all virtu",[5] and having with Gray delved into antiquities for a time, he had developed a kindred interest in all sorts of curiosities. He had seen oppression in the church and observed the effect of the corruption which emanated from it into the state until his principles were

---

1. To Gray 1735 Vol. I, p.5
2. To H. S. Conway March 6, 1740 Vol. I, p.51
3. To Horace Mann Jan. 27, 1761 Vol. V. p.21
4. Warburton 291
5. Introduction to Aedes Walpolianae. Walpole's Works Vol. II, p.225.

republican in their ardent love for freedom.[1] He had seen many specimens of architecture and he had experienced the delights of society. At the end of his "grand tour" he was more of an antiquarian than a poet and more of a virtuoso than scholar, which subsequently brought him into the Romantic movement.

There were certain elements in Walpole's environment following his return from Italy that should not be omitted in considering formative influences. The house in Arlington street to which Robert Walpole, now Lord of Orford, had moved from the ministerial residence in Downing street,[2] had a "wonderful collection of pictures brought together by years of judicious foraging in Italy and England. This collection was to Walpole not only an object of enduring interest, but a prolongation of that education as a connoisseur which the grand tour had begun."[3] Walpole's love of building was associated with Houghton, for he had seen his father, who had the same passion, extend the house of the old country seat of the Walpoles into a beautiful mansion. The garden at Houghton was likewise perhaps, the source of his preference for the unconventional in nature, since it was one of the first gardens in England to be planted in the simple, though still a formal style. In this garden, moreover, there was an exhibition of

---

1. In the same anti-monarchial spirit Walpole wrote an <u>Inscription for the Neglected Column in the Place of St. Mark.</u> Walpole's Works Vol. I, p.17
2. Short Notes of My Life Letters, Vol. I, P.XXXVI.
3. Dict. of Nat. Biog. H. Walpole Vol. XX, p.628

rare plants and herbs akin to the curiosities that were found at Strawberry Hill at a later time.[1]

Not long after Walpole's return to England his tastes exhibited an unusual characteristic, a love of Gothic, which was a specialized development of his antiquarianism and virtuosity.[2] The fact, however, that there were many antiquarians of the first half of the eighteenth century who never had the ardent enthusiasm for Gothicism that Walpole manifested, leads us to consider his personal tastes that gave him this bias. If we recall the kind of boys that he chose for friends at Eton we are not surprised that he loathed the "mountains of roast beef"[3] that surrounded his father's board at Houghton. While at Cambridge, he sighed to be in France where he might be polite without being thought awkward for it.[4] Although his love of pleasure and his father's influence caused him to take part in the gay social life, he shrank from its coarseness. He was disgusted with politics through his father's downfall, and he was besides, constitutionally unfit for a political career. He liked literature, but its tediousness, his social position, and the venality of literary men[5] kept him from adopting literature as a profession

---

1. Essay on Gardening. Walpole's Works. Vol. II, p.535.
2. Beers, A History of English Romanticism in the Eighteenth
3. To John Chute Aug. 20, 1743. Vol. I, p.372
4. To George Montagu. May 20, 1736, Vol. I, p.22
5. To Rev. W. Mason May 13, 1773. Vol. VIII, p.279

(2)(continued) Century, London, 1899, p.256

The prosaic realism of the artistic literature of the time, exemplified in Henry Fielding, afforded him no escape.[1] On the other hand, his fortune secured to him at the age of twenty by the sinecure offices mentioned previously, made it unnecessary for him to exert any effort in that direction. He had money and leisure to indulge his taste for collecting, the outcome of the antiquarianism communicated to him by Gray. While his father lived, as has been indicated before, Walpole assisted him in adding pictures and statues to the collection at the house in Arlington street and afterwards in fitting up the great gallery at Houghton which was partially filled by taking pictures from the former place. After his father's death and the purchase of the little cottage of Strawberry Hill,[2] he continued his habit of collecting and ultimately modeled the house into a repository for objects of virtu, a veritable museum.[3] The building was developed into a Gothic castle as an object of curiosity[4] to which there was gradually added an atmosphere of antiquity. The taste for Gothic once formed, it was fed from various sources and developed rapidly. His visionary propensity and natural aristocratic tendencies led him to be interested in anything that had a legend connected with it--anything that was associated with nobility.[5]

---

1. L. Stephen's Eng. Thought in the Eighteenth Century, London, 1881, p.380
2. Short Notes of My Life Walpole's Letters Vol.I, p.XXXVIII
3. Walpole wanted a house in which his own peculiar taste might be indulged(Preface to A Description of Strawberry Hill, Walpole's Works p.397), and his heterogeneous collection might be collected without appearing out of

His Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors,[1] 1758, which is concerned with authors after the Norman conquest, and his Historic Doubts on the Life and Reign of Richard III,[2] 1768, in which he tried to vindicate Richard from his traditional character, were the results of his interest as an antiquarian and genealogist, combined with his predilection for rank. His Anecdotes of Painting, 1760,[3] and Engravers,[4] evinced marks of his favorite pursuits. His studies in each case, led him to a knowledge of Gothic history and antiquities.[5] In the latter work, he used the material collected by the laborious antiquarian Vertue,[6] and in the Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, although his obligations to manuscripts is not very

---

place. Littell's Living Age. 1876. Vol.131, p.486

4. "It was probably this eccentricity (love of the "odd") of taste, combined with his fondness for Mediaeval ~~love~~ which induced him to imitate, in the design of his own dwelling, a style of architecture which by this time had fallen into almost universal contempt."

5. Eastlake p.43.

---

[1] Walpole's Works Vol.I, pp.243-463
[2] " " Vol. II, pp.103-185
[3] " " Vol. III
[4] " " Vol. IV pp.1-17
[5] Ballantyne's Novelists, p.LXIII
[6] Short Notes of My Life. Walpole's Letters p.XLV

obvious, it is believed that he drew his material from industrious miners in forgotten history.[1] It was necessary for him to obtain information in history, as early as 1066, and in archaeology, as 1298, and in this reading he acquired his historical knowledge of the Middle Ages, imperfect as it was.[2] He became acquainted with the mediaeval knight and was attracted by him. The personality of the historical knight, as well as the times in general, was colored, in Walpole's mind, by reading old romances, fairy tales, and sometimes Spenser.[3] In their noble birth, their chivalrous honor and the stirring life that they lived; he had found a reality that did not disappoint him, and henceforth lived, to a considerable extent, in his imagination. He did not, however, take leave of the language of common life but by these Romantic associations relieved it of its tediousness.[4] Hence, it is his aesthetic taste that caused his antiquarianism to develop into a love of Gothic and his imaginative mind that caused him to find a source of pleasure in these heavy materials.[5]

---

1. Warburton, 197
2. L. Stephen, p.447 Walpole's Letters to Dr. Ducarel, to Sir David Dalrymple, to Dr. Robertson, to Dr. Birch and Gray, in Vol. IV are full of inquiries in regard to historical and literary materials on this early period.
3. a. Advertisement to Life of Edward Lord Herbert, Walpole's Works, Vol.I, p.232 "As a knight, his chivalry was drawn from the purest founts of the Faery Queen."
   b. To Cole, Feb. 28, 1765, Vol. VI, p.198. Walpole does not make specific references to old Romances but the chivalrous vein in which some of his letters are written, especially those to Lady Mary Coke, exhibit his familiarity with them. In one of June 9, 1771, he says "There is not an instance in romance of such neglect." (Vol.III, p.39. Walpole's fable of the

If we are correct in believing that Walpole caught the contagion of antiquarianism from Gray, it seems as probable that his taste for the Romantic element in literature, particularly in poetry, was due to Gray. The close connection existing between them, Walpole's genuine admiration for Gray's literary talent, and the personal interest that he takes in Gray's poetry, provided for the exertion of an unconscious influence so that as Gray's Romanticism developed Walpole's did also.

The Elegy, published in 1751, was communicated to Walpole in 1750, and he was one of the first to quote from it.[1] He described the old castle at Tunbridge with which he was particularly pleased as the "ivy mantled tower."[2] The fact that Gray, in one of the most famous stanzas of his Elegy,[3] changed the Latin names Cato, Tully, and Caesar to those of Hampden, Milton, and Cromwell is pointed out as a fact highly significant because it marked his transition from Classicism to Nationalism.[4] Corresponding to this, Walpole, thinking an English name more suitable for an English gentleman, preferred to write his name "Horace Walpole," instead of "Horatius Walpole," the name by which he was christened.[5] In the same way, he

---

Magpie and her Brood, in Walpole's Works. Vol.I, pp.34-37, was based on Les Novelles Recreations de Bonaventure des Periers, Valet de Chambre to the Queen of Navarre, as suggested in Short Notes of My Life, Vol.I, p.XLVIII of his letters. He also makes a specific reference to Madame Danois' Fairy Tales, in a letter to Cole, March 9, 1765, Vol.VI, p.297. Such specific references are not numerous).

[4] Littell's Living Age Vol.114 1892, p.3-14.

[5] Eng. Thought in the Eighteenth Century. p.446. To Countess of Ossory, Aug. 15, 1782 Vol.VII, p.309.

[1] Note 18 to letter 353. Walpole's Letters, Vol.III, p.112.

sounded a note of nationalism when he advised Mr. Eckardt, a painter of the time, to choose his models from Britain instead of from Greece:

> In Britain's isle observe the fair
> And curious choose your models there;
> Such patterns as shall raise your name
> To rival sweet Correggio's fame.
> Each single piece shall be a test,
> And Zeuxis' patchwork but a jest;
> Who ransacked Greece, and cull'd the age
> To bring one goddess on the sage.
> On your each canvas we'll admire
> The charms of the whole hea'vnly choir.[1]

Walpole announced the publication of Gray's Odes, The Progress of Poesy and The Bard, poems which exhibited further development of Gray's Romanticism, to Horace Mann as follows: "I send you two copies of a very honorable opening of my press--two amazing Odes of Mr. Gray; they are Greek, they are Pindaric, they are sublime! consequently, I fear a little

---

2. To R. Bentley Aug. 5, 1752 Vol.III, p.110.
3. Gray's Poetical Works, J. Bradshaw, London, 1905, p.45.
   Some Village Cato with dauntless Breast
   The little Tyrant of his Fields withstood;
   Some mute inglorious Tully here may rest;
   Some Caesar, guiltless of his Country's Blood."
4. Phelps The Beginnings of the Eng. Romantic Movement, Boston, 1904, pp.159-160.
5. Nat. Dic. of Biography Vol.XX, p.627.

[1] The Beauties, An Epistle to Mr. Eckhardt, the Painter, Walpole's Works, Vol.I, p.19. Gray's Elegy had been begun in 1742 and it was completed by June 12, 1750, as shown by a letter from Gray to Walpole bearing that date The date of Walpole's poem in 1746. This suggestion

obscure; the second particularly, by the confinement of the measure and the nature of prophetic vision, is mysterious."[1] His appreciation of the poems was attributed to the fact that they were Gray's, and his subsequent criticism of them showed that he was sharing Gray's taste for the Romantic element in poetry. The stanzas that he liked best[2] were those that asserted the Romantic spirit most boldly; they were the wildest and most extravagant parts of the poems and exhibited more fire and imagination than the other parts. Of the two _Odes,_ he preferred the _Bard,_ which contained more Romantic scenery than the other poem, and he considered the three first stanzas and a half equal to anything in any language that he understood.[3] The second stanza will suggest their character:

On a rock whose haughty brow,
Frowns o'er old Conway's foaming flood;
Robed in the sable garb of woe,
With haggard eyes the Poet stood;
Loose his beard, and hoary hair
Streamed, like a meteor, to the troubled air
And with a Master's hand, and Prophet's fire,
Struck the deep sorrows of his lyre.

'Hark how each giant oak and desert cave,
'Sighs to the torrents awful voice beneath!

---

of Nationalism in the two men occurred at about the same time.

[1] To H. Mann Aug. 4, 1757, Vol. IV, p.78

[2] The _Progress of Poesy_, the last three stanzas; the _Bard_, the first three stanzas and a half

[3] To Charles Lyttleton Aug. 5, 1757, Vol.IV, p.87.

'O'er thee, oh King! their hundred arms they wave,
'Revenge on thee in hoarser murmurs breathe;
'Vocal no more, since Cambria's fatal day,
'To high born Hoel's harp, or soft Llewellyn's lay.[1]

(Note-- "It is interesting to note that at this time Walpole did not share Gray's taste for the terrible which he himself became very fond of in his Castle of Otranto and his Mysterious Mother. This is indicated in a letter to Horace Mann. "Gray is in love to distraction with a figure of Melancholy, which Mr. Bentley has drawn for one of the Odes and told him he must have something of his pencil. Mr. Bentley desired him to chose a subject--He chose Theodore and Honoria--# don't mention this for we are shocked.--It is loving melancholy till it is not strong enough and he grows to dram with Horror!" #Fable from Dryden, imitated from Boccaccio. Aug. 28, 1752).

When we come to Gray's most Romantic period,-- the period in which he was extremely interested in Norse mythology, Walpole's correspondence shows how closely he was following the course of contemporary literature, and that, at first, he was carried along by Gray's enthusiasm. He was first to communicate to Gray the fragments[2] of Ossian, and suggested his approbation in the following: "They are poetry, and resemble that of the

---

[1] Walpole liked the epithet Orient 1 120, in The Progress of Poesy; 1.75 and 76, in the Bard because of their allusiveness. He even excused the obscurity in the Bard which made the age reject it, and called Dr. Johnston's criticism of the Odes, "a most wretched, dull, tasteless verbal criticism." To H. Mann, Jan. 27, 1781, Vol.IX, p.374

[2] The fragments of ancient poetry, collected in the Highlands and translated from the Gaelic or Erse language, published in July, 1760, were sent to Walpole by Sir David Dalrymple before Feb. 1760, Vol.IV, p.349.

East, that is, they contain natural images and natural sentiment elevated before rules were invented to make poetry difficult and dull....I like particularly, the expression of calling Echo, 'Son of the Rock.'"[1] Gray's interest in these Erse fragments led Walpole to inquire for more information in regard to them.[2] In the following year he seemed equally enthusiastic over Fingal. "It surprised one," he said, "how the bard could strike out so many shining ideas from a few so very simple objects as the storm, the sea, and the breath."[3] He did not, however, in 1768, [4] like Gray's more purely Romantic work as suggested in the following: "Gray has added to his poems three ancient Odes[5] from Norway and Wales. The subject of the two first are grand and picturesque, and there is his genuine vein in them; but they are not interesting, and do not, like his other poems, touch any passion. Our human feelings which he masters in his former pieces are here not affected. Who can care through what horrors a Runic savage arrived at the joys and glories they could conceive, the supreme felicity of boozing ale out of the skull?"[6] In this last sentence, quoted, Walpole exhibits the taste of a typical eighteenth century man who was interested only in the faithful portrayal of human nature, such as was observed in the life with which he was

---

1. To David Dalrymple. Feb. 3, 1760, Vol. IV, p.349.
2. " " " April 14, 1760, Vol.V, p.50.
3. Walpole's Letter to Mason, May 20, 1776, indicates that he was especially fond of the Descent of Odin, and in a letter to the same person, Feb. 2, 1784, he said that one of its merits is the art of conjuring up the most forceful feelings, as Gray has done, in a subject in which there

familiar, and conventionalized by the conditions of the times. He cared little about the characteristics of human nature that were shared by people in all classes of society, and in barbarous as well as civilized states. Walpole shows, however, that he has observed one highly romantic characteristic of Gray,--the power of putting extraordinary emotion into poetry which makes it seem to us that we experience the feelings that he expresses.

A further discussion of Gray's influence on Walpole leads us too far into the question whether or not his own tastes were Romantic, a subject which belongs properly in the following chapter on Romanticism Exemplified in Walpole. The consideration of the subject thus far leads us to certain conclusions. Walpole's personal interest in Gray caused him to read Gray's poetry and to observe characteristics such as imaginative power, freedom in meter, melancholy, appreciation of wild and romantic scenery, and his portrayal of emotion.

---

is so much of the terrible.

4.

5. Fatal Sisters; Descent of Odin and Principles of Owen

6. To G. Montagu, March 12, 1768.

By studying Gray's poetry he entered into its spirit and came to like the romantic parts. Hence, it is reasonable to believe that Gray's romanticism helped to cultivate a taste in Walpole for the romantic element in literature.

To trace the influence on Walpole of other writers who contributed to the Romantic movement in literature, is much more difficult and much less satisfactory than in the case of Gray, because Walpole's literary tastes were often governed by his social position and personal connections so that through spite, he often condemned poetry and critical writing that supported his own opinions about poetry and prose. His own literary habits, his connection with the Antiquarian Society, first of England and afterwards of Scotland, and his friendship with literary men such as Dalrymple, Joseph Warton, Mason, Dr. Percy, Cole, and Gray, led him to follow with close attention the contemporary literature which exhibited a growing taste for ancient literature and a change of literary standards.[#] His list of reading included books highly important in the Romantic movement. In this list is included *Histoirie de Dannemarck* by P. H. Mallet,[1] Percy's Reliques,[2] Joseph Warton's *Essay on Pope*,[3] *Thomas Warton's History of English Poetry*,[4] Warburton's *Canons of Criticism*[5] and Hurd's *Letters on Chivalry*.[6] On account of the importance that these works had in the Romantic

---

[1] To George Montagu, Feb. 19, 1765, V.1, p.193
[2] To Cole, March 9, 1765, Vol.VI, p.196
[3] To Mason, May 23, 1772, Vol.VIII, p.162
[4] To Mason, March 23, 1774, Vol.VIII, p.303; April 7, 1774, Vol. VIII, p.440; April 18, 1778, Vol.X, p.223. To Countess of Ossory. March 27, 1773. Vol.VIII, p.438.
[5] To Mason Feb. 19, 1781, Vol.XI, p.402.
[6] To Rev. Hen. Zouch, Feb. 4, 1760, Vol. IV, p.350. # History

movement,[1] and the fact that many of the critical views expressed in them correspond with subsequent views of Walpole, as indicated in the following chapter, we would expect his criticisms of them to show that he regarded them favorably. On the other hand, except in the case of Percy's Reliques,[2] he condemned them, for the most part, as suggested in the following letter: "As if writing were come to perfection, Warburton and Hurd are going back again, and since commentators, obscurity, paradoxes, and visions have been so long exploded; aye, and pedantry too, they seem to think that they shall have merit by renewing what has happily forgotten."[3] In spite of this Johnsonian criticism it does not seem probable, in the light of Walpole's future development, but that he was unconsciously influenced by them. They were books that helped to change the taste of the age, and Walpole's delettante character[4] in literature fitted him to be quite susceptible to such an influence.

---

of Eng. Thought in the Eighteenth Century, p.446.

[1] Phelps , p.172, p.110.

[2] To Rev. William Cole, Vol.VI, p.196

[3] To Henry Zouch, Feb. 4, 1760, Vol. IV, p.350
He says Warton has resuscitated "more nothings and more nobodies" To Mason May 9, 1772, Vol.VIII, P.162

[4] Among that intermediate class of people who take delight in adopting the latest mode in clothing and manners, who through financial condition, familiarity, and political position are much attended to, are those who would be leaders of fashion in thought as well as dress. To be leaders, they seek for novelty which, though different from genuine originality, often leads them to take the initiative in movements and occasionally to hit upon originality. Walpole has a foremost place in this class. While he has dabbled in antiquarianism, literature, and art, he did not go deeply into any one of these so that he was easily affected by symptoms toward a change in taste and readily adopted the new mode. He served, in

In the preceeding pages, the sources of Walpole's Romanticism has been traced from its first faint manifestations until it has reached its zenith in the Castle of Otranto in 1764. It is evident that a great many formative elements have been at work in accomplishing the result. There was his early environment that gave him an emotional temperament, aesthetic and aristocratic tastes. At Eton, there were his poetical friends, the pastoral scenery, the poetry of Waller, all of which combined in awakening in him an interest in scenes of nature, and in furnishing him food for romantic flights. His studies at Cambridge increased his predilection for literature and languages; the venerable associations of the University created a taste for art and antiquities, and his study of Milton gave him sympathy with republican principles. His travels and the influence of Gray formed his taste for fine arts, and made him an antiquarian; his stay in Italy deepened his republican sentiments, brought his connoisseurship, a development from his antiquarianism, to a fever heat, and led him to experience the delights of being a social lion. On his return to England, his career as a connoisseur was continued by collecting objects for his father; and later, for himself, at Strawberry Hill. His studies, pursued through his interest, in art, gave him a knowledge of Gothic history and antiquities. From such studies, from his love of the odd, and from his aesthetic tastes, sprang his love for the architecture as well

---

a way, as a sensitive barometer to foretell a change of opinion. Formed by the influences of the Classicists of the age of Queen Ann who dreaded being bored, he embraced new ideas in architecture and literature to avoid tediousness. A summary of an article in Littell's Living Age, 1872 Vol.114, pp.3-14

as for the manners, and characters of former centuries, particularly, the Middle Ages. Gray's tastes for Romantic literature influenced Walpole's taste. Finally, his attitude toward literature, the attitude of an aristocrat and man of fashion, caused him to be easily influenced by the contemporary changing taste in literature.

ROMANTICISM EXEMPLIBIED IN WALPOLE.

The study of romantic traits exhibited in Walpole's life and writings is not only interesting but valuable to the history of Romanticism. One of the cleverest men of his time, he was the foremost man in the revival of Gothicism. This alone gives him an important place in the Romantic movement because of the part that the Gothic revival had in it, but he is interesting in other respects. He is the beginning of many romantic tendencies in literature that culminate in the last of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, and he exemplifies other Romantic tendencies in politics and religion, as well as in literature, that began during his life. His letters, his romancé, his tragedy, and his miscellaneous writings suggest many of these.

As was suggested in the study of the sources of Walpole's romanticism, one trait that distinguished him as an antiquarian, as a connoisseur, and as a virtuoso, was a love for novelties, a taste that developed into an insatiable love for the <u>odd</u>, which is one of his most important romantic traits. He said frequently in his letters that he naturally loved curiosities.[1] He preferred that his private printing press at Strawberry Hill should publish only that which was "historic, new, and curious."[2] In offering to the public his <u>Catalogue</u> of <u>Royal</u> and <u>Noble Authors</u> he "piqued" himself that he was giving the people a present of some curiosity, though perhaps of no great value,[3]

---

1. To Lady Hervey. Feb. 3, 1766. Vol VI. p. 413.
2. To Cole. June 17, 1732. Vol. I. p. 238.
3. Walpole's Works. Vol. I. p. 247.

for there was "an infinite quantity of new and curious things about it."[4] He was interested in Chatterton's poems, in the Chinese tale, *Han Kion*,[5] and, to some extent, in *Ossian* and *Percy's Reliques*, because they were novelties. In one of his papers for the *World*,[6] he clearly suggests the basis of his collection at Strawberry Hill: "The notion I have of a museum is a hospital for everything that is singular, whether the thing has acquired singularity from having escaped the rage of time, from any natural oddness in itself, or from being so insignificant that nobody ever thought it worth their while to produce any more of the same sort. Intrinsic value has little or no property in the merit of curiosities."[7] His love of the odd is plainly evident in this, and Walpole manifested more enthusiasm over a curious gift for this museum than over almost anything else. The same taste is observed in the approbation that he gave to various men. He advised Robert Jephson in his tragedies to follow Shakespeare by seeking some very new and peculiar style.[8] Kent was important in Walpole's mind, because he had the genius to strike out a new and great system in gardening.[9] This queer taste was in fact exhibited in all that Walpole did: in his buildings, in his furnishings, in his collections, in his writings, in his gardening; it influenced him in fine arts, in literature, and public affairs. It was this

[4] To George Montagu. Nov. 24, 1760. Vol. V. p. 5.
[5] To Sir D. Dalrymple. Nov. 30, 1761, Vol. V p. 146.
[6] The essays that Walpole contributed to the *World*, a periodical paper by Mr. E. Moore (Vol.I p. 146, note (1)) were in the nature of Addison's Essays for the Spectator.
[7] Walpole's Works. Vol. I. p. 132.
[8] *Thoughts on Tragedy*, Walpole's Works. Vol. II p. 309.
[9] *Essay on Modern Gardening*, Vol. IV, p. 517.

prominent characteristic that Macaulay emphasized when he said that Walpole, judged by Akenside's classification of the pleasure of the imagination, had nothing to do with the Sublime and the Beautiful, but that the third province, the Odd, was his peculiar domain.[1]

Walpole may be considered romantic according to Walter Pater's idea of the meaning of the term, who thought that the romantic character in art and literature consisted in the "addition of strangeness to beauty" and that the "essential elements of the romantic spirit were curiosity and love of beauty."[2] Works conceived in the spirit of the Middle Ages were romantic only because, in their overcharged atmosphere, there were unworked sources of romantic effect, of a strange beauty to be won by strong imagination out of things unlikely or remote.[3]

Curiosity was a significant characteristic of Walpole's mind. He said, himself, that his curiosity to see everybody and everything was insatiable,[3] and the keen observations that he made in his letters on the political and social life in England,[4] and

---

1. Macaulay's Essay on H. Walpole, Edinburgh Review. Oct. 1833. 227-258. Macaulay's Essay shows an entire lack of sympathy and appreciation for Walpole:

"The faults of Horace Walpole's head and heart are sufficiently glaring....;none but an unhealthy and disorganized mind could have produced such literary luxuries as the works of Walpole..... To decorate a grotesque house with pie-crust battlements,--to procure rare engravings and antique chimney boards,--to match odd guantlets,--to lay out a maze of walks within five acres of ground;--these were the grave employments of his long life. In fine arts, in literature, and in public affairs, he was drawn from the great to the little, and from the useful to the odd." p.228.

2. H. A. Beers, History of the English Romantic Movement in the Eighteenth Century. N. Y. 1799. p. 8.
3. To G. A. Selwyn. Dec. 2, 1765. Vol. VI. p. 367.
4. Letters to H. Mann.

on the government and people in France[1] show that he made use of this curiosity. This same trait led him to read through many a book which was tiresome to him, such as Histoire de Dannemark,[2] and Thomas Warton's History of English Poets.[3]

His love of beauty is manifested in his appreciation of art and the picturesque in nature, referred to in Chapter I. His imagination, moreover, "won a strange beauty" from existing institutions, as well as from those of the Middle Ages, that filled him with dreams and visions. One or two passages quoted from his letters will suggest this:

"I like popery.... as I like chivalry and romance. They all furnish one with ideas and visions..... A Gothic church or a convent fills one with romantic dreams."[4] "Your partiality to the pageantry of popery, I do approve and I doubt whether the world would not be the loser(in its visionary enjoyments) by the extinction of that religion, as it was by the decay of chivalry and the proscription of the heathen deities."[5] "The beauty of King's College Chapel penetrated me with a visionary longing to be a monk in it."[6] One letter, a somewhat long one I fear, illustrates clearly the visionary enjoyment that he derived from clothing ordinary events of life, as well as not unusual objects, with romantic associations. "Yet methinks you would make an excellent Robin Hood reforme with little John your brother. How you would

1. To G. A. Selwyn. Dec. 2, 1765. Vol. Vi. p. 367.
2. To G. Montagu, Feb. 19, 1765. Vol. Vi. p. 193.
3. To Mason, Mar. 9, 1781. Vol. XI. p. 412
4. To Cole, Jan. 19, 1778. Vol. S. p. 281.
5. To Mary Berry, Jan. 30, 1789. Vol. 14. p. 139.
6. To Cole May 22. Vol. X. p. 53.

carol Mr. Percy's old ballads under the greenwood tree! I had rather have you in my merry Sherwood than at Greatworth and should delight in your picture drawn as a bold forester in a green frock, with your rosy hue, grey locks, and comely belly.... Visions, you know, have always been my pasture, and so far from growing old enough to quarrel with their emptiness, I almost think there is no vision comparable to that of exchanging what is called the realities of life for dreams; old castles, old pictures, old histories, and the babble of old people make one live back into the centuries that cannot disappoint one. One holds fast and surely what is past....you have opened a new landscape to my fancy, and my Lady Beaulieu [3] will oblige me as much as you, if she puts the long bow into your hands. I don't know but the idea may produce some other Castle of Otranto." [2]

The sincerity of Walpole's belief in visions is, moreover, attested by the fact that he tried to realize just such a vision by building Strawberry Hill.[4]

---

1. The country seat of George Montagu.
2. To G. Montagu Jan. 5, 1766. Vol. Vi. p. 387.
3. Lady Beaulieu appointed G. Montagu, Deputy Ranger of Rockingham Forest 1766. (Note 1 of Walpole's letters, Vol. VI. p. 387.)
4. Preface to <u>Description of Strawberry Hill</u>. Walpole's works, Vol. II. p. 398.

For other examples of the strange beauty that Walpole's imagination derived from such things, see:
Letter to Cole, May 22, 1777. Vol. X, p. 33.
Letter to Mason, April 13, 1776. Vol. IX. p. 350.
Letter to G. Montagu, Aug. 12, 1768. Vol. VI. p. 279.

Considering Walpole's eccentricity of taste, his love of the odd; the elements of his romantic temperament, curiosity and love of beauty; and his imagination that derived visionary enjoyment from his environment, it is not strange that he was one of the first to see beauty, solemnity, and a "venerable barbarism" [1] in such old buildings as Westminister Abbey, York Minster, Winchester and Netley Abbeys, and Newstead,[2] at a period when Gothic had sunk to its lowest in the history of architecture.[3] They were impressive witnesses for the civilization that had built them[4] and their charm for Walpole, because they were old, odd, and beautiful, naturally awakened an interest in the age that produced them which combined itself with his antiquarian studies in giving him a predilection for Gothicism.

This predilection for Gothicism, in respect to architecture began to receive expression about 1750 when he set about enlarging a little cottage called "Chopped Straw Hall" [5] on the banks of the Thames, about ten miles from London. He had leased it from Mrs. Chevenix sometime shortly before, or in 1747, and bought it from its owners the following year.[6] The same year he began to turn the place into a charming villa, and in July 1749, as one of his letters suggests, he began to think of building a Gothic castle.[7] In company with Mr. Chute,[8]

---

1. To Mann, April 27, 1753. Vol. III. p. 151.
2.. To. R. Bentley. Sept. 18, 1753. Vol. III. p. 112
3. Eastlake's, His. of Gothic Architecture. p. 42.
4. Beers. Vol. I. p. 231.
5. To. H. Mann. June 5, 1747. Vol. II. p. 278. note 3.
6. Walpole's Works. Vol. II. p. 393.
7. To Mann. July 1748. Vol. II. p. 329.
8. To. G. Montagu. Sept. 28, 1749. Vol. II. p. 412.

he went on an expedition to visit some ruins of old Gothic castles, and occasionally he found ideas which he desired to use at Strawberry Hill. In the piteous fragments of a house, belonging to the Duke of Bedford, there were windows with beautiful arms in painted glass, which he believed would make a most magnificent showing in his house. Already he had begun to think of "battlements" and found a text in Deuteronomy to authorize them. [1]

The idea of a castle developed in his mind and the next year he informed H. Mann of his intention. "I am going to build a little Gothic castle at Strawberry Hill. If you can pick me up any fragments of old painted glass, arms, or anything, I shall be excessively obliged to you." [2] The work was soon begun and in 1753, Walpole said it was growing near a termination. [3] The castle, however, was only temporarily finished, for at intervals he was seized with the building fever, and he added cloister, bed chamber, round tower, battlements, gallery, cabinet, until he had modeled a Gothic castle to suit his taste. [4]

What a Gothic castle was in Horace Walpole's opinion, we shall see. In his earliest references to the castle he mentioned battlements, painted glass windows, charming irregularities approaching the Sharawaggi, or the Chinese want of symmetry.[5] He partially defined his idea in attempting to explain the meaning of "Gothic" to Horace Mann, who had lived so long amidst true taste that he did not understand "venerable barbarism."[6]

---

1. To H. Mann Sept. 28, 1749. Vol. II. p. 412.
2. To H. Mann Jan. 10, 1750 Vol. II. p. 423.
3. To. H. Mann Mar. 22, 1753. Vol. III. p. 150
4. Walpole's Work. Vol. II. p. 398.
5. To H. Mann. Feb. 25, 1750. Vol. II. p. 433

He told him that Gothic was simply architecture, and that it consisted "in imprinting the 'gloomth' of abbeys and cathedrals one one's house."[1] To give this "gloomth," Walpole amassed such quantities of painted glass that he could have illuminated every window in the castle with it.[1] To make the castle seem "monastic," he decked the hall with long saints in lean arched windows and taper columns.[1] The "most particular and chief beauty of the castle"[2] he pictured thus: "Imagine the walls covered with (I call it paper but it is really paper painted in perspective to represent) Gothic fretwork; the lightest Gothic balustrade to the staircase, adorned with antelopes (our supporters) bearing shields; lean windows fattened with rich saints in painted glass, and a vestibule open with three arches on the landing-place, and niches full of trophies of old coats of mail, Indian shields made of rhinoceros's hides, broadswords, quivers long bows, and spears."[3]

Later students of Gothic architecture have found Walpole's ideas of Gothic, as Walpole had found Horace Mann's, very indefinite and incorrect.[4] Their opinion of it, in general may be

---

1. To. H. Mann. April 27, 1753. Vol. III. p. 151.
2. To G. Mann June 11, 1753. Vol. III. p. 163.
   This letter gives the most complete description of Strawberry Hill that is given in his letters.
3. To. H. Mann June 12, 1753. Vol. III. p. 165.
   Elaborate illustrations and ground plans of Strawberry Hill are given in Walpole's Works. Vol. II. pp. 395-516. A technical account is given in C. L. Eastlake's <u>History of the Gothic Revival</u>. Chap. III.
4. Horace Mann surprised Walpole by asking if his garden was to be Gothic as well as his house. To. H. Mann. April 27, 1753. Vol. III. p. 151.

judged from Eastlake's description of the interior of Strawberry Hill, which was "just what one might expect from a man who possessed a vague admiration for Gothic without the knowledge necessary for a proper adaptation of its features; ceilings, screens, arches, etc, are all copied, or rather parodied, from existing examples, but with utter disregard for the original purpose of the design. To Lord Orford, Gothic was Gothic and that sufficed. He would have turned an alter-slab into a hall table or made a cup-board of a piscina, with the greatest complacency, if it only served his purpose. Thus we find that in the north bed chamber, when he wanted a model for his chimney piece he thought he could not do better than adopt the form of Bishop Dudley's tomb in Westminster Abbey. He found a pattern for the piers of his garden gate in the choir of Ely Cathedral." [1]

Since Walpole's efforts resulted in producing a "parody" of Gothic architecture rather than a"copy" of it, they have been much ridiculed. They brought valuable results, however, as will be pointed out in the following chapter, and he seems to deserve

---

1. East Lake His. of Gothic Architecture.
quoted from Beers His. of Eng. Romantic Movement. Vol. I. p. 232.
Professor Beers, himself, says that Strawberry Hill was an odd blend of ecclesiastical and castellated Gothic applied to domestic uses, containing some Gothic elements such as a cloister, a chapel, a round tower, a gallery, a refectory, a stair turret with Gothic balustrade, stained windows, mural scutcheons, and Gothic paper hangings p. 230.
James Fergusson points out, as the main Gothic elements of Strawberry Hill, the "nicked parapets and the windows in form of a cross." James Fergusson's History of the Modern Styles of Architecture. London. 1865-76. See. Beers. Vol. I. p. 233.

ridicule less if the fact is considered that he never pretended to set up a model of Gothic architecture according to scientific principles. When his contemporaries criticized his house he told them that he never intended it should be Gothic to the exclusion of conveniences and modern refinements in luxury. He built it to please his own taste and to realize his own visions.[1] Desiring that there should be a more serious study of Gothic architecture, he tried to induce Cole to write a history of it, and suggested that there should be three divisions, first "plates"; second, "observations on the art proportions and method of building"; and third; "chronological period of each building." Walpole promised to give financial aid, and to seek the king's assistance in the project.[2]

The foregoing descriptions of Strawberry Hill gives Walpole's idea of the externalities of Gothic, as he portrayed it in objects, and what later writers have thought of Strawberry Hill objectively, but it was much more to him. It was something subjective. While creating a material Gothic environment about himself, he was, at the same time, forming associations in his mind between these objects and the age to which they belonged, until in many respects, he lived himself back into that age. In regard to this, Eastlake said, "It is impossible to peruse either the letters or the romances of this remarkable man without

---

1. Edinburgh Review, Oct. 1833.

2. Walpole's Works. Vol. II. p. 398.
3. To Cole. Aug. 12, 1769. Vol. VII. p. 305.

being struck by the unmistakable evidence which they contain of his mediaeval predilections.[1] In his fancy, he created Mr. Chute, *King at Arms at Strawberry*;[2] the armory bespoke the ancient chivalry of the lords of the castle.[2] He feared that he might be accused of fickleness, and of having a slight regard for the castle of his ancestors because he spent much time in London. He excused himself by saying that he was indulging another Gothic passion, his passion for squabbles in the Witagemot.[3] He liked to imagine himself a knight performing deeds of valour, through devotion to the lady he loved, or for a maiden in distress.[4] He expressed Spenser's idea of the "spring of action" being "ladies' love to urge" when he said that "the lustre of the British arms under George II was singly and entirely owing to the charm of Lady M. Coke."[5] He saw Conway in his military career, as a hero of a romance always involved in daring adventures and miraculous escapes.[6] His expeditions to see various ruins were usually recounted as pilgrimages to the "holy land of abbeys and Gothic castles."[7] Many of his letters indicate that he realized his ideals in the strong emotion, the stirring life and

---

1. Eastlake p. 42.
2. To. G. Montagu, Aug. 26, 1749. Vol. II. p. 407.
2. " " " June 11, 1753. Vol. III. p. 164.
3. To. G. Montague. June 11, 1753. Vol. III. p. 163.
4. To Lady Mary Coke Dec. 27, 1759 , Vol. IV, p.335
5. To H. S. Conway. July 6. 1754. Vol. III. p. 247.
6. To. G. M. June 2, 1747. Vol. III. p. 285.
7. To. R. Bentley. Aug. 5, 1752. Vol. III. p. 108.

action, the chivalrous honor, high birth, and the solemnity of superstition, characteristic of the Middle Ages.

The climax of Walpole's Gothic passion, the casual outgrowth of his architectural amusements,"[1] may be said to have been reached on that night when he went to bed with his head crammed full of Gothic story and the scenes of his "fantastic habitation"[2] and dreamed that he was in an ancient castle, where he saw a gigantic hand in armor on the uppermost banner of a great staircase. By this dream, he was inspired to write the *Castle of Otranto,* the child of Strawberry Hill, the particulars of which writing he later recounted to Cole: "In the evening I sat down, and began to write, without knowing in the least what I intended to say or relate. The work grew on my hands and I grew fond of it--in short, I was so engrossed with my tale which I completed in less than two months, that one evening, I wrote from the time I had drunk my tea about six o'clock, till half an hour after one in the morning when my hand and fingers were so weary that I could not hold the pen to finish the sentence, but left Matilda and Isabella talking in the middle of a paragraph."[4]

A limited edition of the work, the origin of which has just been recounted, was published, December 24, 1764 with the following title: "The *Castle of Otranto, a Story translated by William Marshal, Gent, from the original Italian of Onuphrio,*

---

1. Beers Vol. I. p. 236.
2. Walpole's Works. Vol. II. p. 398.
3. To Cole. Mar. 9, 1765. Vol. VI. p. 195.
4. To Cole. Mar. 9, 1765. Vol. VI. p. 193.

Muralto, Canon of the Church of St. Nicholas at Otranto."[1] The edition was given a preface designed to mislead the public which contained many critical points the significance of which in the Romantic movement will be pointed out later. The plot of the story is not unusual. At the beginning, Manfred is lord of Otranto, a grandson of Ricardo who had killed Alphonso, the former lord of Otranto, and forged a will in which he became lord instead of the rightful heir. Mindful of a prophecy that he should rule in Otranto until the rightful heir should be too large to inhabit the castle, he hopes to obtain an heir through marrying his son to Isabella, daughter of Marquis of Vicenza, but just as the ceremony is to take place a gigantic helmet, falling from no where, it seems, into the court, crushes the son. Then Manfred desires to put aside his faithful wife, Hippolita, and to make Isabella his wife. Colossal armor is seen repeatedly in the castle and Manfred, aware of the wickedness that he is contemplating, is haunted by supernatural portents, until Alphonso, dilated to an immense magnitude, throws down the walls, and pronounces his son, Theodore, who is identified by the bloody arrow imprinted on his shoulder, the rightful lord of Otranto. Theodore and Isabella, Matilda's beloved companion, through the melancholy association of grief over the death of Matilda, Manfred's daughter, are united in marriage.[2]

The Gothic setting and characters are the novel features

---

1. A. Dobson's Horace Walpole. p. 165.

2. Walpole's Works. Vol. II. pp. 1-91.

of the romance. The ancient castle of the story is in the kingdom of Naples; the time is the Middle Ages. The castle has the usual features of the mediaeval structures; turrets, dungeons, drawbridge, moat, trapdoors, subterranean passages. There are haunted chambers, solemn corridors, doors with secret springs "wind whistling through the battlements," [1]and awful silences,[1] tapestries waved by an unnatural draught, blasts of wind that shake the doors,[2]gratings on rusty hinges, labyrinths of darkness, moonlight that aids in finding the secret spring[2]when the candle is suddenly extinguished by a gust of wind, gloomy vaults, and hollow groans. The Gothic characters of the romance are the feudal tyrant Manfred, monster and savage lord of the castle,[3] the beautiful, forlorn, but virtuous maidens, Matilda and Isabella;[4]the venerable ecclesiastics, Father Jerome and the friar, who, with unscrupulous shrewdness, try to be more cunning than Manfred;[5]knights who are champions of the maidens in distress;[5] and the lover, Theodore, who tremblingly abases himself before his lady, Matilda, and is a model of fidelity in love.[6] He is the "lovely young prince," according to Bianca, Matilda's maid, "with large black eyes, a smooth white forehead, and manly curling locks, like jet," who was so long the hero of poetry. [7]

[1] *Castle of Otranto*, Ballantyne's Novelists. London, 1823. Vol. V. p. 568.
[2] p. 584.
[3] p. 569.
[4] p. 597.
[5] p. 577.
[6] p. 584.
[7] Preface to *Castle of Otranto*. Ballantyne's Novelists. Vol. V. p. 539.

The introduction of the marvelous was the feature that Walpole was most desirous of emphasizing, as a new element, in the Castle of Otranto. He said, in his preface to the first edition, "The principal incidents are such as were believed in the darkest ages of Christianity..... Belief in every kind of prodigy was so established in those dark ages, that an author would not be faithful to the manners of the times, who should omit them. "It[1] was, therefore, necessary to make use of as large an element of the supernatural, such as miracles, visions, necromancy, dreams, and superstitions, as the design of the story would justify. Walpole, evidently, thought that a considerable amount of supernatural elements was suitable as is suggested by the frequency of their employment. The gigantic hand in armor that is laid on the bannister of the staircase,[2] the colossal helmet that falls into the court yard,[3] the sable plumes,[3] the mailed foot that appears in one of the apartments,[3] the sword brought in on the shoulders of a hundred men,[4] the skeleton that appears to Frederic, Isabella's father, in the oratory of Hippolita,[2] the picture of Manfred's grandfather, that utters a deep sigh, heaves its breast, quits its panel and with a grave and melancholy air descends to the floor,[3] the tremendous size of Alphonso, who appears and pronounces Theodore, his son, are examples of his use of supernatural phenomena.[5] They are a part of the machinery

---

1. Preface to Castle of Otranto, Ballantyne's Novelists, Vol.V.p.559.
2. Castle of Otranto, Ballentyne's Novelists. Vol. V. p. 599.
   3. p. 567.
   4. p. 581
   5. p. 598

of terror which he said was his "chief engine to prevent the story from languishing."[1]

Walpole's Tragedy of the Mysterious Mother[2] also had a part in the Gothic revival because of its Gothic machinery, but is of very much less importance than the Castle of Otranto. It had not the novelty of being the first book with Gothic setting and characters,[3] and its subject was so repulsive that it was never suitable for the stage.[4] It failed, therefore, in the original purpose of all plays, and receives little attention in literary history. Its setting and characters follow very much the same plan as that laid down in the Castle of Otranto. The Chatelaine of Nabonne,[5] who is the heroine of the play, is a new element. She is the type of the high born penitent dame who retires from the world in expiation of sins which are not explained until the general unraveling of clews, in the end of the Gothic romance. Such a vivid portrayal of human passions,[6] as is exhibited in the tragedy was, however, an element unusual in the literature of that time.

Some of the characteristics of the tragedy and the elements of it that had an influence in literature may be suggested

---

1. Castle of Otranto, Ballantyne's Novelists. Vol. V. p. 559.
2. Walpole's Works. Vol. I. pp. 37-131.
3. Tragedy was begun Dec. 1766 & published Mar. 1768. Dobson, p. 192.
4. To J. Henderson. April 16, 1781. Vol. XI. p. 429.
5. Mysterious Mother. p. 74.
6. "I saw too that it would admit of great situations, of lofty characters and of those sudden and unseen strokes which have a singular effect in operating a revolution in the passions." Postscript to Mysterious Mother. p. 125.

by a few criticisms given by later writers. Lord Byron attracted perhaps by the depth of the crime and the great horror, said, that it was a tragedy of the highest order.[1] As an imaginative work, Warburton regarded it as Walpole's greatest production.[2] Dobson acknowledged its imaginative qualities,[3]and said that the _Mysterious Mother_ was very somber and powerful, but unpleasant.[3]

From the consideration of Walpole's services in the Gothic revival through his castle, Strawberry Hill, his Gothic Romance, the _Castle of Otranto_, and the _Mysterious Mother_, a tragedy employing some Gothic machinery, we are led naturally to his romanticism exemplified in his reaction against literary conventions. It was in connection with these productions that we find him disparaging classical conformity to rules.

It is against the prosaic realism exemplified in Richardson, Smollett, and Fielding,[4] that Walpole's reaction is most pronounced. In attempting to combine the marvelous of ancient romances with the natural of modern novels, his purpose set forth in his preface to the second edition of the _Castle of Otranto_, he created a new species of fiction. "In the modern romances," he said, "the great sources of fancy have been dammed up by strict adherence to common life. In the old romances," all was imagination and probability."[5]

---

1. Byron's _Preface to Marino Faliero_, Complete Poetical Works. Boston and New York. 1905. p. 499.
2. Warburton p. 220
2. Dobson. p. 195.
3. Dic. of Nat. Biog. 1909. Vol. XX. p. 631.
4. Fielding stands at the center of the realistic literature of the eighteenth century. His purpose, like that of the dramatists and poets, was to give a faithful picture of human nature. Walpole gives us a good idea of what is meant. "It is drawing _refined_ or _affected_ nature... where affectation, politeness,

(See next page)

He tried to create more interesting situations[1] than those of either the old romances or new novels in a narrative of the most improbable and absurd adventures,[2] by describing what heroes of modern sentiments and language would do in extraordinary circumstances. He attempted to give a true picture of human nature, and flattered himself that he had touched an effusion of the heart[2] in the passage in which Matilda owns her passion for Theodore to her mother.[3]

Walpole denounced French dominance over English literature and conformity to rules in defending the innovation that the Castle of Otranto made in eighteenth century literature. A letter

---

fashion, art, interest, and attentions exacted by society, restrain the sallies of passion, colour over vice, disguise crimes, and confine man to an uniformity of behavior, that is composed to the standard of not shocking, alarming, or offending those who profess, the same rule of exterior conduct. Good breeding conceals their sensations, interest their crimes, and fashion legitimates their follies,---Thoughts on Tragedy. Walpole's Works. Vol. II. p. 317.

5. Preface to Castle of Otranto. pp. 560-561.
1. Preface to Castle of Otranto. p. 561.
2. To Elie De Beaumont, Mar. 18, 1765. Vol. VI. p. 200.
3. Castle of Otranto. p. 591. Walpole, in this, had in mind a similar passage of the Letters of the Marquis of de Roselle by Madame de Beaumont, whom he called the "mistress of the passions." He says, also, that he should have considered that passion had disappeared from literature were it not for her book.

to Elie de Beaumont gives his authorities in support of the visionary scenes and actions in the romance. "But you must remember, Sir, that whatever good sense we have, we are not yet in any light chained down to precepts and inviolable laws. All that Aristotle or his superior commentators, your authors, have taught us, has not yet subdued us to regularity; we still prefer the extravagant beauties of Shakespeare and Milton to the cold and well disciplined merit of Addison and even to the sober and correct march of Pope. Nay, it was but t'other day we were transported to hear Churchill rave in numbers less chastised than Dryden's, but still in numbers like Dryden's."[1] In this he shows the liberty of taste into which England had fallen, part of which he shared as is manifested by other instances in which he expressed his disgust with rules and French criticism. "Genuine invention in poetry" became one of his pet theories. [2] "Poetry can create, paint, or call from the grave and the less solidity there is in the vision, the more enchanting are its hues, but if truth presents itself, the rainbow disappears."[3] In his Thoughts on Tragedy, he advised Robert Jephson to make "some new channel in poetry," [4] and, as in the letter to Elie de Beaumont, Milton and Shakespeare are his quoted authorities for imaginative and creative power. "The majesty of Paradise Lost" he said, "would have been less imposing if it had been in the style

---

1. To Elie de Beaumont. Mar. 18, 1765. Vol. VI. p. 200.
2. To Countess of Upper Ossory. Jan. 12, 1775. Vol. IX. p. 126. Walpole's Works. Vol. II. p. 310, Letters: Vol. IV. p. 349. Vol. XII. p. 44.
3. To Countess of Upper Ossory Jan. 15, 1735. Vol. IX. 138.
4. Thoughts on Tragedy, Walpole's Works, Vol. I. p. 309.

of the Essay on Man.... What French criticism can wound the ghost of Hamlet or Banquo? Scorn rules that cramp genius and substitute delicacy to imagination in a barren language. Shall we not soar because the French dare not rise from the ground?"[1] In his own tragedy, the Mysterious Mother he was "desirous of striking a little out of the common road and introducing novelty" on the stage by portraying the English, as distinguished from the French genius and cast of thought, in depicting human passion.[2] The Hieroglyphic Tales were written with a similar purpose: "to vary the stale and beaten class of stories and novels" which, though works of invention, were almost always devoid of imagination.[3] He expressed a genuine appreciation of genius and originality quite opposed to the classical view, in his instruction to Mary Berry: "You should admire all bold and unique essays that resemble nothing else; the 'Botanic Garden' the 'Arabian Nights,' and 'Kings Chapel,' are above all rules and how preferable is what no one can imitate, to all that is imitated, even from the best models.[4]

The renaissance of wonder and enthusiasm and the quest of the strange and the terrible are among the reactionary influences that began to make themselves felt about the middle of the eighteenth century. The writings of such men as Joseph Warton and Young had started a reaction in literature along certain lines, and

---

1. Thoughts on Tragedy, Walpole's Works, Vol II. p. 310
2. Postscript to the Mysterious Mother, Vol. I. p. 129.
3. Postscript to Hieroglyphic Tales. Vol. IV. p. 352.
4. To Mary Berry. June 30, 1789.

Walpole's writings are so placed in point of time that they were affected by these early influences and, at the same time, they manifest reactionary tendencies not observed in them. His Castle of Otranto, which was an epoch making book in many respects, inaugurated the renaissance of wonder, concerning which much has been said in the previous discussion of the book. To him it was a play thing, a part of his literary amusements, but he distinguished this play thing by putting feeling and enthusiasm into it. Its conception in a dream suggests the strong way in which the subject appealed to his mind.[1] The inspiration from the subject caused him to write the story with enthusiasm and to give it that quality of vivacity which, according to modern literary standards is, perhaps, its chief merit.[2]

Walpole's comments on his literary moods suggest the enthusiasm that was creeping into literature at that time.[3] He never could write well unless inspired.[4] In regard to his tragedy, "The Mysterious Mother, he said, "I write I neither know how nor why, and I always make worse what I try to mend.[5] This enthusiasm that he felt when he was writing he observed in the writings of others. An appreciation of an extraordinary emotion in poetry is manifested in his essay, "Detached Thoughts:"

---

1. To Cole March 9, 1765 Vol.VI, p.195
2. Beers Vol. I, p.238
3. Enthusiasm, as a characteristic of literature was manifested in Joseph Warton, Thompson, Collins, and Gray.
4. Vol. IV, p.328 Vol. VII, p.162; Vol. VIII, p.84
5. To Mason May 11, 1769, Vol. VII, p.279

A Gothic cathedral strikes one like the enthusiasm of poetry; St. Pauls like the good sense of prose.[1] "In his opinion on "orthodoxy" he suggests the enthusiasm in religion which has its foundation in the same emotional temperament which is the basis of enthusiasm in literature:" Old or new opinions are exactly of the same authority, for every opinion must have been new when first started, and no man has, nor ever had, more right to dictate than another, unless inspired."[2] In his letters he often exhibited the spirit which we call enthusiasm. The wild aspects of nature observed on his excursion to the Grande Chartreuse [3] excited admiration and wonder in his mind such as was later powerfully portrayed in the poems of Byron. Enthusiasm, as a characteristic of Walpole's romanticism, need not be much emphasized but the coldness of his heart is exaggerated, and the enthusiasm seen in his writings is suggestive of that which developed as the heart instead of the head found a place in literature, a movement to which Shelley and Wordsworth gave an impetus.

Walpole exemplifies the "quest of the strange," which became a whim in romanticism in his fantastic collections at Strawberry Hill, in the romantic cast that he attempted to give the structure,[4] in the Gothic setting of the *Castle of Otranto* and the strange out-of-the-way places mentioned in the Hieroglyphic Tales,[5] he characterized as "*A New Arabian*

---

[4] Walpole's Works Vol. II, p.398
[5] " " Vol. IV, pp.321-355; Vol.X, p.366
[1] Walpole's Works Vol.IV, p.368
[2] To Cole, July 7, 1781, Vol. XII, p.37
[3] To West, Sept. 30, 1739, Vol.I, p.38

Part of 5.
"I have some strange things in my drawers, even wilder than the *C* of *O* and called *Hieroglyphic Tales*."

Night's Entertainment. The places described, Hirgonquin, Larbidel, Damascus, Milesia and China, were chosen because they were unfamiliar Walpole in these tales described characters and places so strange that they could have existed nowhere outside his imagination, and he made them the most extravagant of his writings. This same taste for the "exotic" is exhibited in the faint interest that he manifested in the Orient. His "Letter from Xo Ho, a Chinese Philosopher at London, to his friend Lien Chi at Peking is perhaps the first example of this in his writings.[1] In this, he satirized the "late political revolutions" and the inconstant disposition of the English Nation.[2] A little later in this same year, 1757, he commented on the term "Orient" in a line from Gray's "The Progress of Poesy" as follows: "I can even like the epithet Orient, as the east is the empire of fancy and poesy. I would allow its livery to be erected into color."[3] Still more does he seem to have comprehended the rich luxuriant character of the east in a description of odours: "I am just come out of the garden in the most oriental of all evenings, and from breathing odors beyond those of Araby. The acacias, which the Arabians had sense to worship, are covered with blossoms, the honeysuckles dangle from every tree in festoons, the seringas are thickets of sweets, and the new cut hay of the field in the

---

1. Short Notes of My Life, Walpole's Letters Vol. I, p.xli
2. Walpole's Works. Vol. I, p.205: To Hon. G. Grenville
   May 13, 1757, Vol. IV, p.53
3. To Lord Lyttelton Aug. 25, 1757, Vol. IV, p.84

garden tempers the balmy gales with simple freshness, while a thousand sky-rockets launched into the air at Renelagh or Marybone illuminate the scene and give the air of Haroun Alraschid's paradise."[1]

Walpole's use of the "Terrible" in the Castle of Otranto and his tragedy, the Mysterious Mother was the beginning of its employment in the Romantic movement. In the former, he used it as the chief means of keeping up the interest of the reader.[2] Manfred's plans are continually thwarted through the interception of supernatural powers, and Isabella's distressing situations are occasioned by the malicious designs of Manfred.[2] Terror is employed in the latter because Walpole considered it one of the deepest springs of tragedy.[3] The most horrible subjects had a peculiar fascination for him and when he found that it was easier to depict the terrible than the tender,[4] he satisfied himself by "accumulating horror upon horror" in his tragedy.[5] We can hardly suppose that Walpole understood the nature of the terrible as Burke explained it in his essay, An Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful,[6] but Walpole comprehended in some degree the profoundness of the emotion of terror. In praise of Gray's ode, the Bard,[7] which was

---

[1] To Lord Lyttleton, Aug. 25, 1757, Vol. V, p.85
[2] Castle of Otranto, Ballantyne's Novelists, p.559.
[3] Walpole's Works Vol. 1, p.125
[4] To R. Jephson Vol. II, p.313
[5] Dobson's Horace Walpole, p.292.
[6] Burke's Works, London 1852, Vol. II, p.585. Burke said that whatever is in any sort terrible is a source of the sublime.
[7] Gray's Poetical Works, London, 1907, p.25

founded on the tradition that Edward I had all the Welsh bards put to death, he said that no one but Gray, Salvator Rosa, and Nicolo Poussin could paint up to the expressive horror and dignity of it.[1] His taste for such subjects showed a development. In 1752, he did not like the Descent of Odin,[2] and in 1776, he "loved" this as much as he loved any of Gray's works, and more because it was a "subject in which there was so much of the terrible."[3] It is queer that he should have been fascinated by such a subject but it furnished a shudder which helped to relieve the tediousness of the life that he was always seeking to escape.

From the consideration of the renaissance of wonder and enthusiasm, and the quest of the strange and the terrible,--four romantic traits exemplified in Walpole,--we come to certain sentiments expressed by him that manifest a "return to nature" spirit in the sense in which later romanticists used that phrase. It was exhibited in his appreciation of wild and picturesque scenery, which "has a close kinship with the Romantic movement in literature; for the same emotions are at the foundations of each."[4]

Walpole's appreciation of romantic scenery is remarkable considering how early in the eighteenth century it appeared; for at that time mountains were considered, as we learn from Addison's letters, "wild, barbaric, useless excrescences."[5]

---

1. To R. Bentley, Sept. 18, 1755, Vol. III, p.341.
2. To G. Montagu, March 12, 1768, Vol. VII, p.174
3. To Mason, May 20, 1776, Vol. IX, p.363; Feb. 2, 1784, Vol. XIII, p.124
4. Phelps, p.166
5. Phelps, p.167

While Walpole was on his "grand tour" in 1739, he first expressed the wonder and admiration excited in his mind by mountain scenery. With an artist's emotion awakened by one of these scenes, he exclaimed: "Precipices, mountains, torrents, wolves, rumblings, Salvator Rosa!" --which he recorded in a letter to West.[1] His early letters, recounting his visits to ancient castles, show that he found romantic scenes in England. Take one short quotation from these descriptions. It is interesting simply to show what attracted his attention: "But the savageness of the scene at Wharncliffe Lodge would charm your Alpine taste; it is tumbled with fragments of mountains, that look ready laid for building the world."[2]

He also loved nature in its modest aspects. He had a taste for country life[3] and he derived an aesthetic pleasure from farmlike scenes; in his semi-retirement at Strawberry Hill, he imbibed the beauties of nature with which he was surrounded. During the early part of his residence there, he led a quiet rural existence in planting, sheep shearing, and hay-making[4] of which he tells in an incident that suggests the pleasure he derived from it: "And I have been making hay, which is not made, because I put it off for three days, as I chose it should adorn the landscape when I was to have company and so the rain is come and has drowned it."[5] He liked a broad landscape spotted with gardens and arbor, with stretches of lawns and river diversified by

---

1. To West, Sept. 28, 1739. Vol. I, p.36; See also Vol. I, p.38
2. To Richard Bentley, Aug. 1756, Vol. III, p.445
3. Letters showing delight in rural life:
    To G. Montagu, Oct. 20, 1748. Vol. II, p.346
    To H. Conway, Oct. 6, 1748, Vol. II, p.344
    To Countess of Ossory, June 13, 1782, Vol. XII.
4. To G. Montagu, June 27, 1748. Vol. II, p.293
5. To Conway, June 30, 1776. Vol. IX, p.384

moving objects."[1] From the elevated position of Strawberry Hill he could follow the natural slope of land terminated by the river, to him "the most beautiful landscape on the earth."[2] In his garden he wanted nothing but the"riant and gaiety" of nature."[3] So infatuated was he with his little Garden of Eden that no allurements could make him "resign lilac-tide, nightingales, and the month of May at Strawberry Hill;[4] nor June, when it was "in the heighth of its greenth, blueth, gloomth, honeysuckle and sering ahood."[5]

Walpole's delight in nature was, in a considerable degree, merely sensuous, but sometimes, especially in later life, he interpreted the face of nature with a deeper significance in human experience.[6] Like Edward Young, he became a votary of the moon, and had he been as gifted a poet as he was letter writer, he could have done honor to it. A description suggests this: "Look at yon sinking beams; his gaudy reign is over, but the silver moon above the elm, succeeds to a tranquil horizon, and seems to enjoy the serenity of the evening, with more passionate thought, with fewer admirers! If she gilds no objects she scorches none."[7] He recognized nature as a companion when he said that the season seemed to sympathize with his decay;[8] and sometimes, he approached Wordsworth's view

---

1. G. E. Woodberry, Nation, Vol.38, p.260
2. To Mason, Oct. 13, 1781, Vol. XI, p.301
3. To H. Mann, April 27, 1753, Vol. III, p.151
4. To G. Montagu, March 26, 1765, Vol. VI, p.207
5. To G. Montagu, June 8, 1754, Vol. III, p.243
6To Countess of Ossory, June 13, 1782, Vol. XII, p.266

of nature, as in the following: "One man, one great man we had, on whom nor education, nor custom could impose their prejudices; who on evil days though fallen and with darkness and solitude compassed round, judged that the mistaken and fantastic ornaments he had seen in gardens were unworthy of the almighty hand that planted the delights of Paradise."[1]

Walpole was by no means the first man in England to dislike artificiality in gardening, but he was one of those that did most to cultivate the taste of others for freedom in that art. When in Italy, he noticed that the villas of Tuscany were "laboured by their unnatural regularity and art to destroy the romanticism of the situations."[2] He observed the freedom in his father's garden at Houghton, and carried out, the same ideas, in a more radical way, at Strawberry Hill.[3] Mason was constantly encouraged by Walpole to publish his "Observations on Modern Gardening," a didactic poem condemning regularity and artificiality.[4] Finally, Walpole published a similar work in prose, an Essay on Gardening,[5] giving a history and an elucidation of the art from earliest times. In it, there is considerable that reminds one of Wordsworth's advice. "And in that part of his estate devoted to park and pleasure ground, let him keep himself as much out of sight as possible; let Nature be all in all, taking care that everything done by man shall be in the way of being adopted by her."[6]

---

1. Walpole's Works Vol. II, p.527. He refers to Milton in this . Note to p. 528.
2. To Mann, Aug. 2, 1750. Vol. III, p.4
3. To Mann, April 27, 1753, Vol. III, p.151
4. To Mason, Feb. 14, 1774, Vol. VIII, p.422
5. Walpole's Works. Vol. II, pp.519-545. Published at his own press, 1785. For (6) see next page

Take for example two extracts from Walpole's Essay in which he praises Kent, a "monarch of landscape."[1] These words are interesting simply as showing what Walpole liked: "He leaped the fence and saw that all nature was a garden;"[2] "Freedom was given to the form of trees; they extended their branches unrestricted."[3]...Again, describing the excess of Kent's desire to make the gardens natural: "he planted dead trees to give an air of truth to the scene."[4]

If Walpole's appreciation of nature was not as keen or genuine as Gray's, as critics observe, he had a real and thorough enjoyment for the "modest charms of English scenery"[5] quite different from that artificial cant in the Augustan Pastorals. His Essay on Modern Gardening has a more genuine ring about it than is often found in his writings." He said a great deal in his letters about the "rich blue prospect of Kent, the Thames-watered views in Berkshire, and the magnificent scale of nature in York."[6] At the bottom of his heart, he loved the scenery about Strawberry Hill; almost uninterruptedly he spent his springs and summers there;[7] and he exhibited his love for it, in his letters just as later writers, whom we call "nature poets," expressed their delight in the Lake Country, in their poetry. Though his admiration may not have been as deep as theirs, it was remarkable for having appeared so early in the eighteenth century.

---

6. English Landscape Gardening, Prose of Wordsworth by W. Knight, London, 1893, p.35.
1. To Countess of Ossory, Feb. 8, 1783, Vol. XII, p.401.
2. Walpole's Works Vol. II, p.536; (3) p537; (4) p.536
5. L. B. Seeley's Horace Walpole and His World, London, 1884, p.262.

In addition to the "return to nature" movement, in English literature, there was also an individualistic tendency which was creeping in as a part of the general reaction against eighteenth century standards. The Augustan ideal was to be like other men in religion, politics, morals and manners. In Queen Anne's time, eccentricity was considered unpardonable; an original man was regarded as a crank. A couplet from Pope's <u>Essay on Criticism</u>[1] suggests the happy mean that the monarchs of literature were striving to make apply to everything:

> Avoid extremes; and shun the faults of such,
> Who still are pleased too little or too much.[1]

Judged by such standards, it is evident that Walpole's personal individualism was marked; Macaulay considered it a disease.[2] Although we now judge this, too radical a judgment, Walpole is generally considered eccentric by critics. He showed originality by reviving Gothic architecture and heralding a departure in fiction. His refinement which caused him to be disgusted with the coarseness of society; his sensitiveness which made him shrink from the venality and harsh criticisms of literary men; his humaneness which was the source of his dislike for sports because they were an image of war, were not traits that distinguished Englishmen, in general, at that time.

---

1. British Poets. London, 1795. Vol. 8, p.37. L.384-5
2. Macaulay's Essay. Edinburgh Review, Oct. 1833, p.227.

"It has been the fashion to represent him as an indolent and cynical skeptic whose toleration and serious opinion was merely the toleration of indifference,"[1] but the examination of many of his letters show he was sincere in his opionions,[2] a romantic quality, that lifted his mind above the narrowness of orthodox creeds,[3] the servility of politics,[4] the grandeur of courts,[5] honors, and ambitions in general.[6] He had a pride in virtue and a desire to respect himself. Although he received his living from patent offices, he did not allow his personal opinions or his politics to be governed by them. From his youth, he did not share the political ambition of his father. When he saw Mann worried by changes in the ministry or eager for some mark of distinction, he often wished him the possessor of a Strawberry Hill also; it would have made him look on grandeur and mortifications of grandeur with the same unconcern as Walpole.[7] In reality, he was a thorough worshiper of artificial distinctions but he always had the good sense not to place his peace of mind on courts and honors that gave only momentary joy.[8]

---

1. Fortnightly, Sept. 1, 1909, p.490.
2. To Mason, April 17, 1774, Vol. VIII, p.477
3. To Cole, July 12, 1778, Vol. X, p.280
4. To Th. Pitt, June 5, 1764, Vol. VI, p.76. "I would fling up my patent tomorrow, if it were capable of making me do one servil act." See also Vol. VI, p.339.
5. To H. Mann, Nov. 2, 1765, Vol. VI, p.339
6. To H. Mann, Nov. 30, 1765, Vol. VI, p.365
   An article entitled Some neglected aspects of Horace Walpole by N. Pearson. Fortnightly Review, Sept. 1909, pp. 482-95 gives the noblest traits of Walpole's character.
7. To H. Mann, Nov. 2, 1765, Vol. VI, p.339
8. To H. Mann, Nov. 30, 1765, Vol. VI, p.365

His moral standards were much higher than those required by the decorum of the pseudo-classical period. His private life was a record of honesty in a dishonest age, and he was strictly temperate in society when intemperance was common. He had a careful regard for the decencies of life. The warmth and sincerity of his friendships were serious qualities; his regard for his mother, his affection for his nieces, his platonic friendship with Madame Du Deffand, Hannah More, Lady Mary Coke, and the Countess of Ossory; and his regard for the two Miss Berrys show a chivalrous honor. His morals were, indeed, individual in a peculiar way.

His personal individualism was the basis of his political individualism, and was manifest in it. In his career in the House of Commons, he rarely happened to think with the majority,[1] and he was usually with a small minority. The time that he was actively engaged in politics was brief,[2] and of little importance unless he may have exercised an unobtrusive influence through friends. "He was undoubtedly disgusted with politics as he observed them at the very entrance of his political career, a time rife with animosities of faction and restless spirit of intrigue against his father."[3]

In his early life he expressed decidedly republican sentiments although from birth he had breathed the"incense of a court."[4] While at Cambridge, through his study of Milton,[5] and while on his grand tour" his republican spirit ran

---

[1] To Mann. March 5, 1777, Vol. X, p.33.
[2] At the Dissolution of parliament in 1768, he refused to serve again. Letters Vol. I., p.xlix.
[3] Warburton, Vol. I, p.351. For (4) see next page.

high, as was evidenced by his *Inscription on the Neglected Column of St. Mark* and his *Epistle to Thomas Ashton*, from which an extract was quoted in the first chapter.[1] His unorthodox and antimonarchical principles, expressed in these poems, were adopted in behalf of liberty, and Walpole was consistent in his devotion to political, religious, literary, and personal liberty throughout his life.

His zeal for liberty justified the execution of Charles II. He hung the *Magna Charta* on one side of his bed and the warrant for King Charles's execution, which, he called *Major Charta* on the other, saying "without the latter, the former by this time would be of no importance."[2] He rejoiced over the repeal of the *Stamp Act* because it paved the way to "liberty."[3] With the minority, he espoused the side of the colonies who represented the just cause of freedom. In regard to this, he said: "I am what I always was, a zealot for liberty in every part of the globe, and consequently, I most heartily wish success to Americans.......If England prevails, English and American liberty is at an end.[4] In the same way, he denounced the slave trade because it was inconsistent with principles of English liberty: "If all the black slaves were in rebellion, I should have no doubt in choosing my side."[5] Actuated by the same principle, he advocated freedom of the press by

---

[4] Warburton Vol. I, p.279
[5] " " I, p.209
[1] Chapter 1, page 15
[2] To G. Montagu, Oct. 14, 1756, Vol. IV, p.1.
[3] To H. Mann, March 8, 1766, Vol. VI, p.446
[4] To Mann, Sept. 27, 1775, Vol. IX, p.244
[5] To Mann, Feb. 14, 1774, Vol. VIII, p.422

opposing the persecution of Wilkes, who was accused of writing seditious libels against the government, on the grounds that such persecution was an infringement on the liberty of the press.[1]

In theory, if not in practice, he exhibited a liberal spirit in the field of literature, as one of his opinions in this regard suggests:--"No authority under the devine, is too great to be called in question and, however venerable monarchy may be in a state, no man ever wished to see government of letters under any other than that of a republic."[2] He constantly expressed his dislike for Johnson which was a result of the dissimilarity in taste and social position of the two men, and also of Johnson's somewhat tyrannical position as a literary monarch. This same spirit of liberty made Walpole's frequent attacks of the gout unsupportable; his behavior when fettered by this malady shows that he was consistent when he said: "Bodily liberty is as dear to me as mental.....my Whiggism extending as much to my health as to my principles, and being as willing to part with life, when I cannot preserve it, as your uncle Algernon (G. Montagu's uncle) when his freedom was at stake."[3] Even on questions of social politics, he was far in advance of his time,[4] and sometimes shows considerable liberality of feeling: "Last Saturday night, my men took their leave, made

---

[1] To Earl of Hereford, Feb. 15, 1764, Vol. VI, p.6
The question before the House of Commons in regard to Wilkes, editor of the North Briton, and a radical opponent of the ministry at that time, was: "That a general warrant for seizing the author and printer of a seditious libel is not legal."

[2] Walpole's Works Vol. I, p.249

[3] To Montagu, July 28, 1765. Vol. VI, p.270

[4] Seeley, p.23

their bow and left me up to my knees in shavings.....The poor fellows whose all labour is, see their masters advance their prices every day and think it reasonable to touch their share."[1]

Walpole's love of liberty often led him to express opinions that anticipated Godwin and Paine, and that were tinged with Rousseau's ideas. These are radical utterances for 1783: "In short, it is necessary they should be checked as much as those it controls; for one man, or a multitude, are men and consequently not fit to be trusted with unlimited power."[2] Again, in regard to kings, "What a dreadful thing it is for such a wicked little imp as man to have absolute power."[3] I am sorry to say that hereditary and bad are almost synonymous."[4]

His hatred of tyranny in the church was as pronounced as his hatred of tyranny in government. The Roman Catholic religion although its externalities were beautiful was an intolerant religion, and Walpole's denouncement of it suggests Paine's <u>Age of Reason</u>: "Church and presbytery" he writes are human nonsense, invented by knaves to govern fools. Church and kirk are terms for monopolies....There is nothing sublime but devinity. Nothing is sacred but as his work. A tree or a brute stone is more respectable as such than a mortal called an Archbishop, or an edifice called a church which are puny and perishable productions of men."[5] He condemned protestanism in the same way: "Calvin and Wesley had just the same views as

---

1. To Mann, July 1, 1762. Vol. V, p.220
2. To Countess of Ossory, Jan. 22, 1783, Vol. XII, p.391
3. To Conway, July 8, 1778, Vol. X, p.391
4. To Dr. Robertson, March 4, 1759, Vol. IV, p.244
   Other letters showing antimonarchical tendencies are found in Vol. VI, pp.43 and 455; Vol. XI, p.149
5. To Cole, July 12, 1778. Vol. X, p.280-1.

the Popes; power and wealth their object....the Church in the abstract, is a jargon that means nothing or a great deal too much, and I reject its apostles from Athanasius to Bishop Keene."[1] "Religion has often been the cloak of injustice, outrage and villiany."[2] Even though these opinions just quoted were harsh criticisms, his skepticism was of a rather indolent kind; he did not quarrel with people who disagreed with him; nor did he try to make converts.[3] "I expect, and claim," he said "to enjoy my own opinions and other people may enjoy theirs. It is my Bill of Rights. If a religious system be inspired by heaven itself, what human effort can injure it? Intolerance is, ipso facto, a proof of falsehood."[4] He even thought it was illiberal in a very moral man to be shocked at Atheism.[5]

The genuineness of Walpole's liberty-loving principles enummerated in the preceding pages has often been doubted. Macaulay called his cry for liberty " mere cant."[6] Warburton was disposed to call in question the sincerity of the republicanism which Walpole some times affected, while in his mind and heart he was a thorough worshiper of artificial distinction.[7] He was accused of being frightened into being a Tory and a fanatical Royalist, by the French Revolution which was a

---

1. To Cole, July 12, 1778, Vol. X, p.280-1
2. To Earl of Strafford, June 12, 1780, Vol. XI, p.219
3. To Cole, July 12, 1778, Vol. X, pp. 280-
4. p.281
5. To Mason, May 16, 1777, Vol. X., p.151.
6. Edinburgh Review, Oct. 1833, p.229
7. Warburton, Vol. I, p.279

practical application of the principles for which he stood. Miss Mary Berry's explanation has helped to free him from these charges: "The horrors of the French Revolution made him a Tory, while he always lamented as one of the worst effects of its excesses that they must necessarily retard to a distant period the progress and establishment of civil liberty."[1] Walpole never wholly subscribed to Burke's support of monarchy expressed in his Reflections on the French Revolution[2] although he agreed with Burke in believing the American colonists were representing the just cause of liberty in their struggle. Walpole lacked the enthusiasm that animated the revolutionary spirits of Wordsworth, Shelley, Coleridge, Southey, and Byron in the early part of their lives; but even his slight contribution helped to strengthen a cause which later became vital. As Walpole said, as long as the question was agitated, people could not shut their eyes to it, and among his friends he never ceased to talk and write about it.[3] However much he opposed tyranny in the Roman Catholic religion or in the government, his humaneness caused him to condemn a power that sacrificed life to its design.[4] His horror of the French Revolution did not make him love liberty less.

Walpole's feeling for human suffering gave him a strong vein of cosmopolitanism. If England was involved in war he was

---

1. Seeley, p.22
2. To Miss Mary Berry, Nov. 8, 1790, Vol. XIV, p.314
3. To H. Mann, Aug. 1762, Vol. V, p.338
4. To Mann, Nov. 8, 1784, Vol. XIII, p.210

imperialist enough to have pride in the success of his country, but he always preferred peace that gave happiness to many, to war that gave fame to a few.[1] With his predilection for chivalry, he did not imbibe the war-like spirit of the Middle Ages; nor did his chivalrous fidelity to the king, on account of which it has been said that Walpole would have made a good "gentleman usher," make him forget the interests of mankind. His letters furnish numerous instances of his recognition of the brotherhood of man. The following extracts suggest a cosmopolitan spirit.

"As a man, I feel my humanity more touched than my spirit,--I feel myself more an universal man than an Englishman... I would not purchase another Duke of Marlborough at the expense of one life."[2]

"I pray for an end to the woes of mankind: in one word, I have no public spirit, and don't care a farthing for the interests of merchants. Soldiers and sailors are knocked on the head, and peasants plundered or butchered, are to my eyes as valuable as a lazy luxurious set of men, who hire others to acquire riches for them; who would embroil all the earth, that they may heap or squander;......every age has some ostentatious system to excuse, the havoc it commits. Conquest, honour, chivalry, religion, balance of power, commerce, no matter what, mankind must bleed, and take a term for a reason. 'Tis shocking!"[3]

---

1. To H. Mann, Oct.13,1762, Vol. V, p.259.
2. To H. Mann, March 22, 1744, Vol. II, p.14
3. To H. Mann, May 11, 1762, Vol. V, p.216
   See also Vol. V, p.10; Vol. XI, p.212

The longer he lived the more was he convinced of the infallibility of his principles that no government or religion was justified in risking the blood of a single individual. He praised Voltaire, who preached the doctrine of peace and amity, and called him his "countryman du cote coeur".[1]

Walpole's cosmopolitansim, just as his republicanism, was largely theoretical; for, removed from the arena of public affairs, he took little active part, and hence put few of his theories in practice. In whatever degree his cosmopolitanism was sincere, he had the romantic spirit which anticipated the ardent enthusiasm of Shelley for the brotherhood of man. His opinions are important as representatives of influences that were at work which produced such men as Rousseau in France and Paine in England, men filled with a desire to benefit mankind.

Reviewing briefly the romantic traits exemplified in Walpole's life and writings that have been enumerated in the preceeding pages, we find several prominent qualities that characterized later Romanticists. His love of the odd, curiosity, and love of beauty, are elements of the romantic spirit. His imagination found a strange beauty in the Middle Ages; his predilection for mediaevalism was manifested by his Gothic castle of Strawberry Hill, his Gothic romance, the *Castle of Otranto*, and his tragedy, the *Mysterious Mother*. In connection with his *Castle of Otranto*, by which he desired to relieve the prosaic realism of the novels of the time, he developed certain reactionary theories in regard to literature. He denounced adherence to rules; favored genuine invention and imaginative qualities in poetry; inaugurated the renaissance of wonder;

---

1. To Voltaire, July 27,1768, Vol. II, p. 207.

exhibited considerable enthusiasm in his writings, and found a peculiar fascination in the strange and terrible. He manifested the "return to nature spirit" of later Romanticists in his appreciation of romantic scenery and rural life. His personal individualism and political individualism, characterized by his uncompromizing love of liberty were marked traits. Though an imperialist he exhibited considerable cosmopolitan felling.

On the whole, he furnishes a good example of the influences that were at work, during the time that Agustan ideals were still dominant in English literature, to overthrow their standards, and strengthen the Romantic movement which had its beginnings before the middle of the eighteenth century.

WALPOLE'S INFLUENCE IN THE ROMANTIC MOVEMENT

The fact that Walpole's most important writings were of a romantic rather than a classical character, caused him to give an impulse to the Romantic movement rather than to perpetuate classical standards. But before proceeding to the discussion of this, a word on his literary tastes is necessary. He is usually considered very much of an Augustan at heart;[1] his romanticism is regarded as a thin veneering, beneath which there was a man of the eighteenth century.[2] There is considerable foundation for this idea of Walpole. Pope was his favorite poet,[3] whose poetry he imitated in matter and manner; he was fond of the eighteenth century wits; he called Chesterfield one of our first writers,[4] and wrote his own letters in a light satirical vein. His own works are polished like those of Voltaire whose literary tastes he shared. In his letters he makes fun of Spenser, Joseph Warton, Thomson, Young, Mallet, and Macpherson,--all men of importance in the Romantic movement. On the other hand, there is so much romantic spirit manifested in his letters and other writings, and so many criticisms of classical standards, some of which have been enumerated in the preceding chapter, that the usual conception of Walpole's literary tastes scarcely gives his romanticism sufficient importance.

---

[1] Phelps. p.111.
[2] Beers, Vol. I, p.235.
[3] To H. Mann, June 4, 1749, Vol. II, p.389
[4] Seeley, p.25

His manifold inconsistencies, in this respect, make it useless to attempt to determine very accurately his literary tastes; but one fact is usually conceeded,--his main influence was in the field of Romantic literature.

His influence in the Romantic movement was felt, first, in the interest that he awakened in Gothic architecture. While he, with the help of Mr. Chute[1] and Mr. Bentley,[2] was gradually developing his little cottage into a small castle" with its gimcracks, its pasteboard battlements, and stained paper carvings,"[3] his letters were full of references to Gothic. He made numerous visits to old castles and abbeys such as Ragley,[4] Bayham Abbey,[5] and Hurst Monceaux[5] to study Gothic architecture, and to get ideas to be used in working out his own plans. To his own coterie, his enthusiasm for Gothic was soon communicated. Conway at Ampthill,[6] Chute at the Vine[7] and Joseph Warton surrounded themselves with Gothic associations, to such an extent that Gray protested against an excess of Gothic.[8] The hero of Culloden paid it a visit; Walpole entertained the Bedford court and they praised it. It was visited by various members of the Royal family. Strawberry Hill, indeed, became the "puppet show" of the time.[8] Travelers and guests walked through its salons and viewed its collections of curiosities

---

1. An intimate friend of Mann whom Walpole met on his Italian tour, 1741.
2. A skilled artist whom Walpole employed to draw designs for Strawberry Hill.
3. Littell's Living Age, 1872, pps. 3-4.
4. To G. Montagu, July 22, 1751, Vol. III, p.63.
5. To R. Bentley, Aug. 5, 1752, Vol. III, pp.113-116
6. Conway's Country Estate.

For 7 and 8 see next page.

until Walpole, who naturally loved much attention, became weary of visitors.[1] The example set by the Lord of Strawberry Hill was eagerly followed, and such was the rage for improvements in the new taste, it threatened a complete change in the aspect of country houses.[2] Talk of the house, although not favorable was heard in France.[3]

The castle, the "play thing house," at that time caused a "furor of mediaevalism" which is often ridiculed since the more serious study of the principles of Gothic architecture has enabled architects to work in the spirit of the art.[4] With all the abuses and corruption of the style, however, Strawberry Hill heralded the revival of Gothic taste in architecture which has occasioned the restoration and preservation of many of the finest cathedrals, colleges, and ancient Gothic, and conventional buildings.[5] It was the lineal ancestor of the law courts, and its service in ecclesiastical architecture deserves a kindly thought from manufacturers of painted glasses, modern decorators, the Ritualists, and the High Church Party.[6]

Walpole's second service in the revival of mediaevalism was the revival of interest in mediaeval life and Gothic fiction. A statement in regard to this is included in Eastlake's accurate and concise description of Walpole's influence in the Gothic revival from which the following extract is taken:-- "An author appeared," about 1750, the period in which Gothic

---

7. Seat of the Chutes
8. Beers. Vol. I, p.179; 447
1. To G. Montagu, Sept. 3, 1763. Vol. V, p.369.
2. Warburton, Vol. II, p.17
3. To H. Mann, June 8, 1771, Vol. III, p.37
4. Pugin's <u>Principles of Gothic Architecture</u>, 1841

(For 5 and 6 see next page)

had sunk to its lowest in England, " to whose writings and to whose influence as an admirer of Gothic art we believe may be ascribed one of the chief causes which induced its revival..... His Castle of Otranto was perhaps the first modern work of fiction[1] which depended for its interest on incidents of a chivalrous age, and it thus became the prototype of that class of novel which was afterward imitated by Mrs. Radcliffe and perfected by Sir Walter Scott....The position which he occupied with regard to art resembles in many respects that in which he stands as a man of letters. His labours were not profound in either field. But their result was presented to the public in a form which gained him rapid popularity as an author and a dilettante....As a collector of curiosities, he was probably influenced more by a love of old world associations than any sound appreciation of artistic design.....But among these relics he acquired much that was valuable.....the nucleus of which promised to become an important mediaeval museum......" Walpole's Gothic, in short, "as exhibited in his castle at Strawberry Hill," tho far from reflecting the beauties of a former age, or anticipating those which were destined to proceed from a redevelopment of the style, still holds a position in the

---

5. Lord Dover's Preface to Life of Horace Walpole quoted in Warburton, Vol. II, p.28.
6. Littell's Living Age, 1872, pp.3-14.
1. Longsword; an Historical Romance by Thomas Leland was published in 1712. It did not, however, give the impetus to the modern romances of chivalry that Walpole's Romance gave.

history of English art which commands our respect; for it served to sustain a cause which had otherwise been well-nigh forsaken.[1]

In this extract from Eastlake, it is pointed out that Walpole's Castle of Otranto to which must also be added the Mysterious Mother,[2] were the progenitors of the Gothic romances. The statement is, however, not inclusive enough to suggest the broad influence exerted by his two books. Certain elements of romantic prose and poetic fiction, introduced at this time, are seen in the poetry of Byron, Coleridge, and much later in the stories of Poe and the romances of Hawthorne. Walpole set up types in characters, setting, costumery, scenery, and action

---

[1] Eastlake's History of Gothic Architecture. London, 1872. pp.42ff. Walpole suggested the low esteem with which Gothic architecture was regarded in the preface to his own Description of Strawberry Hill. Walpole's Works, Vol. II, p.399. "A farther view succeeded: that of exhibiting specimens of Gothic architecture, as collected from standards in the cathedrals and chapel tombs, and showing, how they may be applied to chimney pieces, ceilings, windows, balustrades, loggias, etc. The general disuse of Gothic architecture and the decay and alteration so frequently made in churches, give prints a chance of being the sole preservative of that style."

Walpole's place in the Gothic revival is treated in : L. A. Beer's, A History of English Romantic pp.229-252; W. L. Phelps, The Beginnings of the English Romantic Movement, pps. 102-111; J. Ferguson, History of Architecture; Leslie Stephen, Hours in a Library, 2d. Series; E. Gosse, History of Eighteenth Century Literature, pp.301-302; T. S. Perry, English Literature of Eighteenth Century, p.106; Works of Walpole, Vol. II, pps.395-516 and H. J. Nickol, Landmarks of English Literature, Chapter VI.

[2] Walpole's Works, Vol. I, pp.37-131

which is developed later in prose; from it, much of the same spirit and coloring passed into poetry.

A discussion of the elements of fiction which developed from those which Walpole introduced can, at this time, only be incomplete, but it will perhaps ~~help to~~ suggest authors, who are indebted to Walpole, an examination of whose works would help to determine Walpole's influence more definitely.

Walpole had conceived a type of fiction to which Sir Walter Scott's subsequent definition of a romance applies, a story "in which the interest turns chiefly on marvelous and uncommon incidents,"--a wild romantic tale, somewhat after the fashion of the old school of Romances,[1] which Clara Reeve in her critical series Progress of Romance defined as a tale in lofty and elevated language that describes what never happened or is likely to happen, "An heroic fable".[2]

The supernatural element in the Castle of Otranto was the first element imitated by contemporary writers. Clara Reeve used it in her story of the Old English Baron; but perceiving the extravagance of Walpole's conceptions:-- "the gigantic hand and helmet, the violent fiction, a walking picture, and a ghost in a hermit's cowl,"[3] she attempted to administer only a mild dose of the marvelous in what Walpole called an "awkward attempt at a ghost or two."[4] The heroes of

---

[1] Ellis's Early English Metrical Romances, London, 1848.
[2] Progress of Romance, Clara Reeve, London 1785. See Beers, p.243-4.
[3] Introduction to The Old English Baron, H. Morley, London, 1894, p.7.
[4] To Cole, Aug. 2, 1778, Vol. X, p.302.

Mrs. Radcliffe's novels were the haunted buildings; Monk Lewis, in the *Castle Spectre,* followed the same example. Walpole's use of the supernatural anticipated the *Sturm* and *Drangzeit*[1] in Germany which later came back into England in a powerful stream, and influenced Coleridge, in regard to which Walter Pater says....."The Ancient Mariner......is a romantic poem impressing us by bold invention, and appealing to the taste for the supernatural; that longing for"le frisson," a shudder, to which the Romantic School in Germany and its derivations in England and France directly ministered.[2]

Walpole gave to romantic literature types of characters that were developed later. Manfred, the feudal tyrant and villain of the *Castle of Otranto* are followed by Lord Lovel[3] in the *Old English Baron,* and Osmond in *The Castle Spectre;*[4] dark browed, crime stained villains are numerous in Mrs. Radcliffe's novels. Matilda, Isabella, and Adeliza,[5] beautiful, romantic maidens, sensitive and melancholy, are imitated in the characterization of Lady Emma[6] and the distressed damsels of Mrs. Radcliffe. Theodore, the "lovely young prince, with large black eyes, a smooth white forehead, and manly curly locks like jet, "the description of whom has already been quoted," corresponds in appearance to Mrs. Radcliffe's heroes, and Byron's idea of a prince.[7] The monks, Father Jerome, and the

---

[2] Walter Paper's *Appreciations,* London. 1823, pp.96-100.

[1] "This spawn of the *Sturm and Drangzeit* had been anticipated in England by Walpole's *Castle of Otranto.*" Beers, Vol.I, p. 401. Coleridge's *Osorio* which was set in the prevalent style of the School of Terror was influenced by "Die Räuber."

[3] *Old English Baron,* Ballantyne's Novelists, Vol. V, p.645.

[4] Beers, Vol. I, p.414.

[5] *Castle of Otranto,* (6) p.584 (For 7 see next page.)

friar have counterparts in Father Oswald[1] and succeeding ecclesiastics; the domestics of the Bianca type are numerous in Mrs. Radcliffe, of whom Motley, the jester, is representative in Castle Spectre. It becomes tedious to compare these characters minutely, but sufficient likeness has perhaps been indicated to suggest their source in Walpole.

The mediaeval setting of the Castle of Otranto, discussed at length in the preceding chapter, appears in the succeeding Gothic romances. In all of them, there is the ancient castle "with its moats and drawbridges, its gloomy dungeons and solemn corridors "[2] with their unnatural sights and sounds. The same kind of thing is observed in poetry.

> The waving banner, and the clapping door
> The rustling tapestry, and echoing floor,[3]

hark back to Walpole. Again for Scott's novels the Castle of Otranto furnished the type of setting which he used to better profit.

Following the literature of the nineteenth century to somewhat later time, we find that Poe who was full of the

---

[7] Don Juan, Byron's Poetical Works. New York and Boston, 1905, p.792; Lara, p.69, XI; The Corsair, p.34, IX. Byron's heroes resemble both Manfred and Theodore.

[1] Old English Baron, p.645

[2] ~~Eastlake, p.42.~~

[3] Lara, Byron's Poetical Works, N. Y. and Boston, 1905, p.370

ultimate romantic spirit, chose a setting for his stories that resembles Walpoles. He wanted strange out-of-the way surroundings for his heroes;[1] he took an old abbey and furnished it with a queer collection of things brought from all parts of the earth following out the idea of Walpole whose insatiable love of the odd, manifested in his castle at Strawberry Hill and in the Castle of Otranto, had become a cult with the later romanticists. By Poe, the same idea was transmitted to the French romantic poets, who show the relation of fantastic oddities to the Romantic movement.

Walpole also revived much of the mediaeval scenery and costumery, as well as modes of thought and feeling. He liked the spirit of chivalry, and attempted to portray the mediaeval knight with his high sense of honor, love of bold enterprise, and service of dames.

The immediate result of the Castle of Otranto was to revive mediaevalism of a peculiar character.[2] Walpole knew very little about the Middle Ages historically, hence he necessarily confused fiction and realities, and gave us an odd mixture of ancient and modern. Leslie Stephen says his "performance begins that business of buff-jerkins and mediaeval costumery which offends us in the inferior parts of Scott's writings." However that may be, Walpole stimulated a growing taste for ancient literature, evidenced by Ossian, 1762,

---

1. Ligeia and The Fall of the House of Usher.
2. English Thought in the Eighteenth Century, Vol. II, p.447, Leslie Stephen.

Percy's Reliques, 1765, which was observed by Chatterton and resulted in his forgeries. The ultimate result of his efforts was the reproduction of mediaevalism according to the true historical sense which is exemplified in Scott's historical novels.

The great importance that the Castle of Otranto had in the Romantic movement, and its popularity at the time of its publication, are hard to realize at a time when the greatest literary merit which we can assign to it is that it is a clever piece of work and never dull; but the appreciation that it received by such writers as Warburton, Gray, Byron, and Scott, helps us to understand its influence. One extract from the writings of each of these has been chosen to suggest their opinions of it. Warburton called it "a masterpiece in the Fable and a new species likewise.....The scene is laid in Gothic chivalry; where a beautiful imagination, supported by strength of judgment, has enabled the reader to go beyond his subject, and effect the full purpose of ancient tragedy."

Gray told Walpole, in a letter, on receipt of a copy of the book: "It makes some of us cry a little, and all in general afraid to go to bed o'nights.[1] Byron called it "the first romance in our language."[2]

Scott said in regard to it:[3] "The actors in the romance are strikingly drawn, with bold outlines becoming the age and

---

1. Beers, Vol. I, p.238; Gray to Walpole, Dec. 30, 1764.
2. Preface to Marino Faliero, Byron's Poetical Works, N. Y. and Boston, 1905, p.499.
3. Scott's Prefatory Memoir to Walpole. Ballantyne's Novelists, pp.lxxvi and lxxviii.

nature of the story. Feudal tyranny was perhaps never better exemplified than in the character of Manfred.....The applause due to clarity and precision of style, to a happy combination of supernatural agency with human interest, to a tone of feudal manners and language sustained by characters strongly drawn; and well discriminated, and to unity of action, producing scenes alternately of interest and grandeur, --the applause, in fine, which cannot be denied to him who can excite the passions of fear and pity--must be awarded to the author of the Castle of Otranto." For these qualities, he assigned it high literary merit: "This Romance has been justly considered not only as the original and model of a peculiar species of composition, attempted and successfully executed by a man of great genius, but one of the standard works of our lighter literature."[1]

The fame of the book did not stop with England. It was translated into the French language in 1767,[2] and excited in France much admiration and attention. Baron de Grimm in his Historical and Literary Memoirs and Anecdotes mentioned it favorably: "A series of supernatural appearances put together under the most interesting form imaginable."[3] Walpole's story was known to Goethe as was suggested by his quatrain.

---

1. Prefatory Memoir to Walpole, by S. W. Scott, Ballantyne's Novelists, LXVII.
2. Short Notes of My Life, Walpole's Letters, Vol. I, p.xlviii.
3. Historical and Literary Memoirs and Anecdotes, Vol. III, p.292. opus cite Warburton, Vol. II, 217-8.

" Sind die Zimmer sämmtlich besetzt der Burg von Otranto:
Kommt, voll innigen Grimmes, der erste Riesenbsesitzer
Steickweis an, und verdrängt die neuen falschen Bewohner
Wehe! den Fliehenden, weh! den Bleibenden also geschiet es.[1]

There was also an Italian translation: Il Castello di Otranto, Storica gotica stampato sotto L'Ispezione di Giov. Sivrac, Londra Moline, 1795[2]

If Walpole exerted any other influence on the Romantic movement of noticeable importance, it was by cultivating a taste for natural scenery, exemplified in what Peers calls *The Landscape Poets*.[3] Such a taste did not influence Romantic literature directly, but there was an analogy between the predilection for Gothic in architecture, romanticism in literature, and appreciation of the unconventional on nature, which was based on the same taste, and an influence in one field had no slight effect in the other.

Walpole's *Essay on Gardening*, 1785. as well as his garden at Strawberry Hill did considerable to further a reaction against the formal style. As has been suggested before, he constantly encouraged Mason in the composition and publication of his *The English Garden*, 1757, a didactic poem in blank verse which ridiculed the French style. The result of the combined efforts of these and of earlier reformers in the art of gardening was the destruction of many of the Queen Anne gardens in England.[4]

---

1. Goethe's *Die Burg von Otranto*, 1837, opus cite. Peers, Vol. I, p.255
2. Allibone's *Biog.* Dic. of Authors, Vol. 3. p. 2554.
3. Peers, Vol. II. p. 102.
4. Peers, Vol. I. p. 124.

In France, Walpole's *Essay*, alone, was effective in bringing about a change. It was translated by the Duke De Nivernois, one of Walpole's friends, with the following result: "*Le jardin a l'Anglaise* became the rage; many beautiful gardens were destroyed in France and elsewhere, and Scotch and English gardeners were in demand all over Europe to renovate gardens in the English manner."[1]

Without consciously attempting revolutionary leadership, Walpole's influence on the Romantic movement was undoubtedly great. Much of it was indefinite. His personal individualism, indicated by his eccentricity and originality; his political individualism, distinguished by his love of liberty; his cosmopolitan sympathies; and unorthodox religious principles; were characteristics which probably had some effect on the tendencies of thought of the time. The principal ways in which he made himself felt in the movement can be stated more definitely: (1) His home and collections at Strawberry Hill made Gothicism popular. (2) The *Castle of Otranto* was the original and model of a peculiar type of fiction perfected by Sir Walter Scott. (3) His insatiable love of the odd, exemplified in Strawberry Hill and the *Castle of Otranto*, his predilection for the terrible, manifested in the *Castle of Otranto* and the *Mysterious Mother* became cults with the Romanticists. (4) His garden at Strawberry Hill, and his *Essay on Gardening* gave an impetus to the "return to nature movement" of the Romanticists by stimulating a taste for natural scenery.

---

1. *The Formal Garden in England*. 2nd. ed. 1892, p.86: opus cite in Dobson's appendix, p.313. Walpole attributed the change of the French taste in gardening to Rev. T. Whateley's "*Observations on Modern Gardening*. 1770. To Mason, Aug. 11, 1771. Vol. VIII, p.69.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HORACE WALPOLE

I. WORKS

UNLESS INDICATED, THE PLACE OF PUBLICATION IS LONDON.

1. Aedes Walpolianae: A Description of the Collection of Pictures at Houghton Hall in Norfolk, the Seat of Sir R. Walpole, Earl of Orford, 1747, 1752, 1767.

2. Letter from Xo Ho, a Chinese Philosopher at London, to his Friend Lien Chi at Pekin, 1757.

3. Fugitive Pieces in Verse and Prose, Strawberry Hill, April 1758, 8 Vo. pp 192.

4. Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England with Lists of their works, Strawberry Hill 1758, two volumes; London 1759; Dublin 1759 two volumes in one; Strawberry Hill 1787; Edinburgh 1792; London 1796; Edingurgh 1796. Enlarged and Continued to the Present time by Thom. Park F. S. A. with 150 Portraits London 1806 five volumes. Postscript to C. of R. and N. A., Strawberry Hill 1786.

5. Anecdotes of Painting in England, with some Account of the Principal Artists and Incidental Notes on other Arts collected by G. Vertue, and now digested and published from the Original M S S., with a Catalogue of Engravers, Strawberry Hill 1762-71-63 five volumes; 1765-71; London, 1782, 1786; 1826-28 with Additions and above 150 portraits and plates; with India proofs; Revised with Additional Notes by Ralph N. Wornum, Esq. 1839, three volumes; 1849 three volumes; 1862 three volumes. Bohn's English Gentleman's

Library. The Catalogue of Engravers who have been born or resided in England; digested from M. S. S. of Mr. George Vertue: To which is added an account of His Life and Works, published separately, Strawberry Hill, 1763, 4 to; 1765, 4 to; London 1782, Sm, 7 vo; 1764, 8 vo; is also published as volume V. of the uniform editions enumerated above.

6. Castle of Otranto. A Story translated by William Marshal, Gent., from the original Italian of Onuphrio Muraltoe, Canon of the Church of St. Nicholas at Otranto (December 24, 1764) 1765, 8 vo; Second edition with a sonnet to Mary Coke, signed H. W., and a second preface (April 11, 1765) 8 vo; 1766 8 vo; 1786 Sm. 8 vo; edition Parma, by Bodoni for J. Edwards, London 1791, 8 vo, 1 p. r. 8 vo, 1 r Sm, 4 to; Christies 1804; Edwards; London 1766 8 vo; 1845 12 mo.; Philadelphia 1854 12 mo; Edinburgh 1858, 12 mo; London 1859 Sm. 4 to; 1860 8 vo; 1861 8 vo.
Castle of Otranto N. Y. 1886; in Ballantyne's Novelists Edingurgh, 1823 volume five; (H. C. Baird) Philadelphia. 1854 "Sketch of the Life of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford. By the Right Hon. Lord Dover."; With a memoir of the Author. Joseph Thomas, 1840.

7. An Account of the Giants lately Discovered; in a letter to a Friend in the Country, 1766 8 vo.

8. The Mysterious Mother; a Tragedy, Strawberry Hill, 1768 8 vo; London, 1781; Dublin 1791, 8 vo; a surreptitious edition.

9. Historic Doubts on the Life and Reign of King Richard III. London 1768, 8 vo. and 4 to, Two editions in one year.

10. Miscellaneous Antiquities, Strawberry Hill, 1772, 4 to. Numbers one and two.

11. Description of the Villa of H. W. at Strawberry Hill, 1772, 4 to; second edition, 1774, 4 to; 1784, 4 to; an illustrated copy in Lilly's Catalogue, 1857. p. 30.

12. Letter to the Editor of the Miscellanies of Th. Chatterton Strawberry Hill, 1779, 8 vo. pp 55.

13. Hieroglyphic Tales, Strawberry Hill, 1785, 8 vo.

14. Essay on Modern Gardening, with a Translation in French by the Duke de Nivernois, Strawberry Hill, 1785, 4 to; Republished at end of Dalleway's and Wornum's edition of Anecdotes of Painting. With introductory note by A. M. Earle, Canton, Pennsylvania, 1904.

15. Hasty Productions, by L. Orford, Norwich, 1791, 8 vo. Political tracts:

Walpole Horace, Fourth Earl of Orford. The grand question, whether war or no war with Spain, impartially considered; in defense of the present measures against those that delight in war. London, 1739 32 P. Number three in a volume of miscellaneous pamphlets on trade lettered 1739.

Walpole, Horace, Fourth Earl of Orford. A counter address to the public on the late dismission of a general officer J. Almon, 1764.

Essays contributed to World. Volumes VI, VIII, XIV, XXVIII,

CIII, CZX and CXCV and the concluding World Extraordinary, containing the character of Henry Fox, afterwards Lord Holland, and was the author of some poetical pieces in Dodsley's Collections.

16. Horatio Walpole Earl of Orford. Edited by Robert Berry, 1798, five volumes, 4 to. For contents and notices of this edition see London Monthly Review, 1798, II (XXVI) 323 III, (XXVII) 31, 171, 271.

VOLUME II.

On Historic Doubts on the Life and Reign of Kind Richard the III.

1. Reply to the Observations of the Rev. Dr. Milles.

2. Short Observations on the Remarks of the Rev. Dr. Masters.

A. Sermon on Painting.

Nature will prevail, a Moral Entertainment.

Thoughts on Tragedy, in three letters to Robert Jephson, Esq.

Thoughts on Comedy.

Detection of a late Forgery, called Testament Politique du Chevalier Robert Walpole.

Life of the Rev. Thomas Baker of St. John's College, Cambridge .

Account of my conduct relative to the Places I hold under Government.

VOLUME IV.

Advertisement relative to the Papers left for Publication on the subject of Chatterton.

An Ode modernized from Chatterton. Lord Orford's last declaration respecting Chatterton

Remarks on a letter signed Scrutator.

1. Advertisement to Paul Hentzner's Account of England.
2. Advertisement to Lord Whitworth's Account of Russia.
3. Advertisement to the Mistakes, a Comedy.
4. Advertisement to the Life of Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury.
5. Advertisement to a Catalogue of the Collection of King Charles I!sCollection.
6. Advertisement to a Catalogue of the Collections of G. Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.

Walpole, Horace Fourth Earl of Orford. Notes on the poems of Alexander Pope, by Horatio, Earl of Orford. Contributed by Sir. W. A. Fraser from a copy in his possession 1871.

II. BIOGRAPHY

Walpole's Memoirs and Journals.

1. Memoirs of the Last Ten Years (1751-1760) of the Reign of King George III. Edited by Lord Holland 1822, (some 1828) two volumes, r 4 to; edited with Preface and Notes 1846 (some 1847) three volumes 8 vo.

Memoirs of the Reign of King George III., (from his accession to 1771) Edited with Notes, Sir Denis Le Marchant. Bart 1845 (some 1847) four volumes, 8 vo; Philadelphia, 1845 two volumes, 8 vo; Second edition, 1851, four volumes, 8 vo.; re-edited by C. F. R. Baker, 1894.

Walpole, Horace, Fourth Earl of Orford.
Journal of the Reign of King George III from the year 1771-1783 now first published from the original M S S, Edited by Dr Doran 2 v por. 1859.

Reminiscences written in 1788 in R. Berry. Edited 1798; 1805 fol., privately printed from 1798 Edition Illustrated with 200 portraits; Reminiscences and Walpoliana, Boston 1820, 12 mo.; In Cunningham's Edition of Walpole's Letters, volume one , pp LXXXVII, CXLV; Chiswick, England 1830.

. Walpole's Letters Published from the Originals

2. The Works of H. Walpole, Earl of Orford. Edited by R. Berry 1798, volume two, 13 letters; volume four, 25 letters; volume five, 338 letters.

2. Letters from the Hon. H. Walpole to G. Montagu, Esq., 1736-1770, 4 to.

3. Letters from Hon. H. Walpole to the Rev. William Cole, and others, 1745-1782, London 1818, 4 to.

4. Letters from the Hon. H. Walpole, to the Earl of Hertford, during his Lordship's Embassy in Paris, to which are added Mr. Walpole's letters to the Rev. Henry Zouch. 1825, 4 to.

5. Private Correspondence of H. Walpole, Earl of Orford. Now first collected, 1820, 8 vo, 4 volumes.

6. Letters of H. Walpole, Earl of Orford to Sir Horace Mann, British Envoy at the Court of Tuscany Memoir edited by Lord Dover, 1833, 8 vo, three volumes.

7. Correspondence of H. Walpole with G. Montagu, Esq., Hon. H. S. Conway, Rev. W. Cole, Lady Hervey, Richard West, Esq., Gray the Poet, Countess of Ailesbury, Rev. Mr. Birch, Hon. G. Hardinge, Earl of Strafford, John Chute, Esq., David Hume, Esq., Lady Craven, Rev. W. Mason, Mrs. Hannah More, etc. New edition in three volumes, 1837 (Identical with the edition of 1820 as far as the letters are concerned, save for certain omissions.)

8. The Letters of Horace Walpole, edited John Wright, 1840. Re-edited The letters of Horace Walpole, Philadelphia 1842.

9. The letters of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford, 1840. Containing upwards of one hundred letters, most of them to the Miss Berrys not contained in former editions.

10 Letters of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford, to Sir Horace Mann, his Britannic Majesty's Resident at the Court of Florence from 1760-85, London 1844, 4 volumes.

11. Letters addressed to the Countess of Ossory, from the year 1769-1797. By Horace Walpole, Lord Orford. Edited with notes, by the Hon. R. Vernon, 1848, 8 vo, two volumes.

12. The Correspondence of H. Walpole, Earl of Orford, and the Rev. W. Mason. Edited, with notes, by the Rev. J. Mitford, 1851, 8 vo, two volumes.

13. The letters of H. Walpole Fourth Earl of Orford. Edited by Peter Cunningham. Now first chronologically arranged, 1857, 8 vo, nine volumes (ninth edition 1891).

14. Some Unpublished Letters of H. Walpole. Edited by Sir Spencer Walpole, London, New York and Bombay, 1902, 8 vo.

15. The best letters of H. Walpole, edited with an introduction by Anna B. McMahan, Chicago, 1890.

16. Letters of H. Walpole, Edited by Mrs. Paget Toynbee, Oxford, 1903-05, 16 volumes.

SHORT NOTES OF MY LIFE, by H. Walpole, Earl of Orford.

1. Letters to Sir H. Mann, London 1844, two volumes.

2. Letters of Horace Walpole, Edited by Mrs. Paget Toynbee London 1903. Vol. I.

BIOGRAPHY

Dictionary of National Biography, 1899, vol. 59, p. 170-76.

Dobson, Austin.- Horace Walpole: A memoir, 1893; with an Appendix of Books printed at the Strawberry Hill press (cf Mr. H. B. Wheatley in Bibliographica) May 1896.

Lord Dover's Memoir of H. Walpole Letters to H. Mann 1833.

Sketch of the life of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford. By the Right Hon. Lord Dover, in Castle of Otranto, Edited H. C. Baird, Philadelphia 1854.

Hawkins, L. M.- Anecdotes of H. Walpole 1822.

Scott, Sir Walter.- Biographical Notices of Eminent Novelists. Horace Walpole. His Life of Clara Reeve, 1825 Paris, 1821 Edinburgh. (In Ballentyne's Novelists).

Memoirs of Horace Walpole, Edited by E. Warburton, 1872, two volumes.

Dublin University Magazine 52: 525. Same Article Littells Living Age, 59: 915, Old Age of Horace Walpole.

Quarterly Review 27: 178, (C. F. Adams) North American Review 62: 269, edited P. 92; 683. Same Article Littells Living Age, 32:241.

Littell's Living Age, July 6, 1872, 114, 3-14, 25, Nov., 1876, 131: 477-499. 23 June, 1894, 201: 740-48. Person and Character of Walpole.

III. CRITICISM

I. WORKS.

Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors. A new History of Painting in Italy, from the second to the Sixteenth Century, by J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselli, Authors of The Early Flemish Painters (December 1856, p. 8 vo) 1864-66, three volumes, 8 vo.

Observations on the account given of the Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors of England. Critical Review, No. XXV, December 1758 1759 Article VI, London Gentleman's Magazine, May 1835.

The Catalogue of Engravers. London Gentleman's Magazine, 1828, I 431.

Edinburgh Review LIX, 53.

London Monthly Review XXV, 30, 37, 64.

Fugitive Pieces in Verse and Prose, London Quarterly Review, April 1853, Article III.

An account of the Giants lately Discovery, London Monthly Review 1766, II p. 240.

Criticisms on the Life and Reigh of King Richard III.

An Answer to Mr. H. Walpole's Historic Doubts Etc., on an Attempt to confute him from his own Arguments, by F. W. G(uidickins), 1768, 4 to, Commended by London Monthly Review 1768 I, 401.

Some Remarks on Mr. Walpole's Historic Doubts, Etc., by the Rev. Robert Masters, 1772, 4 to, (in Archaeologia, Vol. II)

Free and Candid Remarks on Mr. H. Walpole's Historic Doubts Etc., St. Christopher, 1791, 4 to.

A Supplement to the Historic Doubts on the Life and Reigh of Richard III. with Remarks on some Answer to that Work; Printed

from a MSS in Eton College Library; Edited by Dr. Hawtrey for the Philological Society.

Favorable Reviews. London Monthly Review, 1768 I. 114. Mem. litt. de la Grande Bretague, Vol. II. by David Hume.

Hume's English Chronical XXVI, Note M; Green's Diary of a Lover of Literature 124; North American Review XXIX, 30, (and in W. H. Prescott's Miscellaneous Edition 1855, 101) Buc, or Buck, sir G.; Halsted, Caroline Amelia, No. 4.

2. LETTERS, MEMOIRS AND JOURNALS.

Letters of Horace Walpole to Sir Horace Mann edited by Lord Dover. Review. Edinburgh Review, October 1833, p. 227-58.

Letters of Horace Walpole addressed to the Countess of Ossory, from 1789-1797, edited by R. V. Smith. Review, (Littell's Livingage 6 Jan., 1849, 20; 29-38)

Correspondence of Horace Walpole to H. W. and Rev. William Mason, Review (Littlell's Living Age, 27 Sept., 1851, 30:577-90.)

Letters of Horace Walpole, Review by S. C. Tallentyre, Littell's Living Age, 24 Dec. 1898, 219:851-60.

Correspondence of Horace Walpole with Madam Du Deffand (Helen

Toynbee) Athenaeum 1909, 2:62.

Horace Walpole Unpublished Letters, Review, Athenaeum, 1902, I: 425 April 5.

Letters of Horace Walpole edited by Mrs.P.Toynbee,Review (Nation, 24. March 1904, 78: 233-34.

Letters of Horace Walpole to Mrs. P. Toynbee, Review Athenaeum 1904 I: 199-200; 807- 8 F. 13, Jc. 25. Nation 78:233-4, 79 201-2.

Letters of Horace Whalpole edited by Mrs. P. Toynbee Ind. 56: 1389-90, Je. 16; Living Age 242:205-23 Jl. 23, 1904.

Letters of Horace Walpole, Review ; Athenaeum 1905, 1:40-1. Jan. 14. I; Nation 80: 231-3. Mar. 23, 1905.

Letters of Horace Walpole, 1717-1797; Atlan. 97: 330-8. Mr.; Dial 40; 320-2 M 16, 1906.

Correspondence of Horace Walpole, Monthly Review 142:200; Colburn 49:132.

Horace Walpole with Mason Quar. 89:135; Some Articles Littell's Living Age 30:577, 29:563.

Letters of Horace Walpole, Edinburgh Review 148:469; Blackwood 4: 40, 148.

Letters of Horace Walpole to T. B. Macaulay Edinburgh Review 58: 227.

Letters of Horace Walpole. Tait. 3, 421. Living Age 52:621; New Quarterly Review 6: 284.

Letters of Horace Walpole to Countess of Ossory Quarterly Review 83:110 Same Article Eclectic Magazine 15: 186 ; Edingurgh Review 88:339.

Letters of Horace Walpole (W. F. Rae) Temple Bar 88:188; Living

Age 184:744. Spec. 64: 242-(A French); Dial (Ch) 11:66.

Letters of Horace Walpole (V. D. Rossman) Catholic World, 60:806.

Letters of Horace Walpole, ~~to~~ Earlier, Temple Bar, 116:562.

Letters of Horace Walpole to W. Hazlitte, Edinburgh Review 31:80; Same Article Living Age 20:29; Quarterly 19:118

Letters of Horace Walpole to West in 19: 361; Select. J. 3: 167; Anal. M. 13:1.; Monthly Review 70:1; 108:32; 132:22; 151:314; 153: 291; 154:17; 161: 507.

Letters of Horace Walpole, Mus. 23:457; 44:202, Bentley, 27:521 42:49; 43:452.

Journals of Horace Walpole, Dublin University Review 53:449.

Journals of Horace Walpole Bentley 45:304, Tait n.s. 26: 192.

Memoir of George III. (J. W. Croker) Quarterly Review 27:178. Dublin University Review 25:227; 26:327.

SPECIAL CRITICISM OF HORACE WALPOLE

Allibone, S. A. Dictionary of Authors, 1871 vol. 3, p. 2554-2559 Philadelphia 1859.

Chamber, R.- Cyclopaedia of English Literature 1902, vol. 2, p. 411-14.

Seeley, L. B.- Horace Walpole and his World, 1889 New York; 1895

MAGAZINE ARTICLES

Walpole, Horace.

Athenaeum 1899, 2:312

Bentley 11:552; 16:288; 29:567

Bent. Q. 1:227, Same Article Living Age, 61:326.

Bibliographica May 1896(H. B. Wheatley)

Brit. Q. 27:462

Catholic World, March 1895, 60:806-15) (Rossman, V. D.)

Cornhill Magazine 25:718 (L. Stephen) Same Article Living Age 114:3.

Edinburgh Review, October 1833 Macaulays Essay.

Every Saturday 12:713

Fortnightly, Jan 1899, 71 (N. S. 65) 124-28 .

London Gentleman's Magazine New Series 62, 229. (S. C. Tallentyre) 33:54. Same Article Living-Age 219:851, Same Article Edingurgh Magazine 132:190.

London Gentleman's Magazine 1797, 256, 707, 796.

Library of the World best literature, 1896, v. 38, p. 155, 65-79 (Warner, C. D)

Library of Literary criticism, 1902 v. 4, p. 309-23 (Moulton)

Saturday Review 88:4581.

Spectator, 2 Feb., 1884, 57 (pt. 1) 756-57

Temple Bar 102:79, Same Article Living Age 201:740, Same Article Eclectic Magazine 123:114

The Garland, Quarterly 90:311.

Walpole, Horace and His World Spec. 57, 156

Quarterly Review 19:118; 72:716; 74:395 (J. W. Croker)

Quarterly Review 83:110 J. W. Croker

Horace Walpole and his Contemporaries Dublin University 37:683
Same Article Eclectic Magazine 23:368.
----- and Friends Fraser's Magazine 27:629; 28:15.
----- Character and Memoir of Tait. New series 12:117.

----- Temple Bar 82:340, Living Age 176:741

----- and his editers (Toynbee, Helen) Academy Aug, 1816.

----- and Thomas Cray Chamb, J. 16:216

----- and Junius SO. Lit. Mess. 31:61, 296

----- and Macaulay Dem. Review 14:353.

----- and Hannal More (Helen Toynbee) Temple Bar 110:371.

----- and writings of Colburn38:422

Charles of Walpole's Triumvirate. H. Toynbee Athenaeum 1901, 1:212 F. 16.

Dobson's Walpole, Saturday Review 71:177

Gossip about his contemporaries. Tait. New Series 4:113.

Horace Walpole's opinion of his Contemporaries, International Review 3:488.

Jessopp's Life of Horace Walpole by (J. Morris) Month, 34:323.

Printing press of Horace Walpole. Library, I. 313.

Mutilation of Horace Walpole, Earlier (Helen Toynbee) Athenaeum 100, 2:759.

Horace Walpole and his World, edited by L. B. Seeley. Review. Saturday Review 22 Mar., 1884, 57:385-61.

Seeley's Horace Walpole. Nation, 20 Mar., 1884, 38:260-61.

(Norman Pearson) 482-495 The Fortnightly Review, Sept 1907.

Twin Wives of Walpole. Temple Bar 91:343. Living Age 189:131.

Women of the Time of Horace Walpole, London Society 8:319, 451

Same Article Eclectic Magazine 66:43.

F. Warburton's Memoirs of Horace Walpole, London Gentleman's Magazine 1851, 11, 45; London Athenaeum 1851, 425; London Literary Gazette 1851, 251, 403.

Mr. Walpole's case in a letter from a Tory member of Parliament, to his friend in the country.

No. 4. in a volume of miscellaneous pamplets on trade. lettered 1739.

STRAWBERRY HILL.

Bohn's Lowndes, 2530.

Catalogue of Books, Tracts, and Small Detached Pieces Printed at the Press at Strawberry Hill, 1810.

Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings in the Holbein Chamber at Strawberry Hill. 8 vo and 3 m. 8 vo.

Catalogue of Classic Contents of Strawberry Hill 1842, 4 vo.

Dr. Lyson's Environs of London , 1792-96.

Robin's "Catalogue of the Classic Contents of Strawberry Hill" 1872.

Stone's, Mrs. "Chronicle of Fashion English Society" Second edition 134-158 1845.

Wharton's, G. and P. "Wits and Beau of Society."

Walpoliana. Sale of the property of the late G. C. Bedford, by Christie Manson and Woods. London Crit. Feb. 16, 1861. and No. 11.

Magazine Articles.

Strawberry Hill (Haywood) Quarterly Review Oct. 1876.

Strawberry Hill (Littell's Living Age 25 Nov. 1876, 131:477-499) From Quarterly Review.

Strawberry Hill, The Treasures of, London Gentleman's Magazine 1842. II. 16. 147. 257. 377. 477. 599.

Strawberry Hill Quarterly Review 142:303. Same Article Living

Age 131:477; (J. W. Wall) Galaxy, 1:553; St. James, 27:565; Peop. J. 8:341.

GENERAL REFERENCES ON HORACE WALPOLE

Beers, H. A. "A History of English Romanticism in the Eighteenth Century." New York 1899.

Berry, Miss M. Letters of Madame du Deffand to H. Walpole 1810 4 volumes, 12 m; in French. 1812, 4 volumes 8 vo.

Brougham, Lord - Works "Men of Letters" Edinburgh, 1872, Vol. II

Boswell's Life of Johnson, London 1848

Cobbett's "Memorials of Twickenham" London 1872.

Coke, Lady Mary "Letters and Journals" 1889-92.

Creasy's, E. S. "Etonians" Some account of the foundations of Eton College and of the past and present conditions of the school. London, 1848.

Cunningham, G. G. "The English Nation" or a history of England in the lives of Englishmen, Edinburgh and London 1863-68.

Disraeli, Isaac, "Calamities and quarrels of authors with some inquiries respecting their moral and literary character" edited by Disraeli Volume 2 New York 1870

Stewart, Dugald Robertson, Cambridge 1829.

Eastlake, Sir C. L. "History of the Gothic Revival." London and New York 1872.

Fergusson, J. History of the Modern Styles of Architecture. London 1865-76 four volumes

Gosse, E. "History of Eighteenth Century Literature." London 1889.

Hallam, H. Constitutional History of England from the accession of Henry VII. to the death of George II. Boston 1852.

Heneage, Jesse J. "Memoirs of George III. London." 1867.

Knight, Charles "Once upon a Time." London 1854.

Lewis, Lady Mary "Extracts of the journal and correspondence of Miss Berry" 1783-1822, 1865.

Nichols, John "Literary Anecdotes" 1812.

Nichols, John "Illustrations of the literary history of the eighteenth Century consisting of the authentic memoirs and original letters of eminent persons, London 1817-58.

Nicoll, H. J. "Landmarks of English Literature" 1883.

Nicoll, W. R. and Seccombe, T. Eighteenth Century Literature. 1906

Perry, T. S. "English Literature in the Eighteenth Century" New York 1883.

Phelps, W. L. "The Beginnings of the English Ramantic Movement." Boston 1904.

Reed, H."English Literature"Philadelphia 1869.

Schlosser, F. C. "History of the Eighteenth Century and of the Ninteenth Century till the overflow of the French Empire." 1843.

Stephen, L. "History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century" Volume II, 1881; "Hours in a Library", Second Series 1899; "English literature and society in the Eighteenth Century" New York and London, 1907, Chapter III.

Suffolk, Correspondence of the Countess of, 1824.