

ABSTRACT

The Perfect Gentleman: the Representation of Men in the English Gothic Novel 1762-1820

Kate Behr
Pembroke College

Abstract of a thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy to the Faculty of English Language and Literature, Oxford University.

Trinity Term, 1993

This thesis examines the representation of male character stereotypes as manifestations of a formula in late eighteenth-century popular fiction. In order to establish the presence of the formula, I have inspected a wide spectrum of both familiar and lesser-known works. Much recent criticism has focused on the passive figure of the heroine as one expression of female anxiety within the texts. In contrast, this thesis draws attention to the critically unseen, active figures surrounding her threatened perfection, by establishing, first, a common representation or role within the formula for each stock character and, second, the source and possible effect of these stereotypes.

In Chapters One and Two, the parameters for this approach are set up and the influences of other genres on characterization in the Gothic romance are considered.

Chapter Three establishes the eighteenth-century ideal of masculinity through an investigation of contemporary conduct literature. These standards are then applied to stock male figures in succeeding chapters.

Chapters Four, Five and Six consider the primary male figures of hero, father and villain, revealing that the ideal of masculine perfection affects all these stereotypes. The nature of heroism is questioned in the person of the hero; the father - an exemplum of gentlemanly perfection - is made absent within the text; and the villain reinforces this ideal by perverting it.

Chapter Seven considers the representation of the victim figure and the way in which the stereotype of masculinity indirectly victimizes male figures.

In Chapter Eight, three groups of secondary male characters are considered and their relationship to the primary male characters examined.

This analysis of male stereotypes has, therefore, provided one approach to an understanding of Gothic conventions.

THE PERFECT GENTLEMAN:
the Representation of Men in the English Gothic Novel
1762-1820

Kate Behr
Pembroke College

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy to the Faculty of English
Language and Literature, Oxford University.

Trinity Term, 1993

c.99,000 words

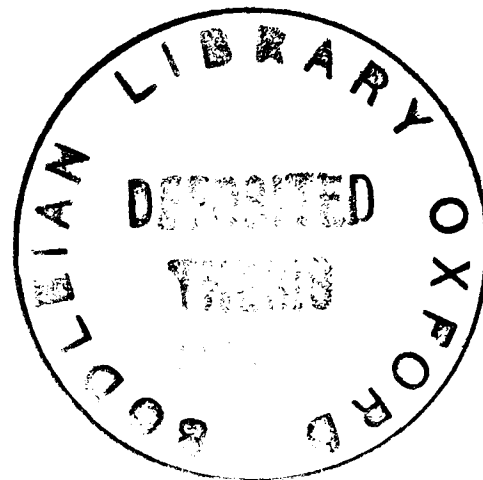


TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	iii
1. The Gothic Formula	
I. Formula Fiction	1
II. The Gothic and the Romantic	7
III. The Female Gothic	12
IV. 'Political Gothic'	22
V. Definition or Division?	27
VI. Method	
i. Why the Male Stereotype?	34
ii. Sources	39
2. Fantasy Horror and Romance	
I. Romance	44
II. Fantasy	58
i. Fairy Tale	58
ii. Fantasy	63
iii. The Effect of Fantasy on Narrative Structure	71
III. Horror	77
3. The Ideal Man	87
4. The Hero: Concierge or Builder?	
I. The Figure of the Hero	121
II. The Gothic Hero	139
i. The Typical Gothic Hero	139
ii. Motifs Associated with the Hero	157
iii. The Subverted Hero	163
III. The Hero-Villain	176
5. The Absent Father	187
6. Gothic Villains	
I. How to Recognize A Villain	236
II. 'Grand' and 'Simple' Villains	249
i. The Grand Villain	250
ii. The Simple Villain	254
iii. Society	259
iv. Subjective Reader: Objective Villain	263
III. The Feminine Villain	274
i. The Young Villain	274
ii. The Wicked Monk	276
IV. The Female Villain	284
i. Female Villains	284
ii. The End of the Villain	292

7. The Victim	295
8. A Miscellany of Men	320
I. Bandits and Brigands	323
II. Servants	336
III. Demons and Spectres	362
Conclusion: The Perfect Gentleman	383
Bibliography	387

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis would never have been completed without the encouragement and support of the following people, for whom a mere word of thanks is painfully inadequate.

I would particularly like to thank Dr. Kate Flint, the best - and certainly the most patient - of supervisors, both for her stimulating and thought-provoking comments during the last four years, and for her invaluable assistance in the closing stages.

I would also like to thank Pembroke College SCR - especially Dr. Fleeman - who awarded me a studentship, gave me teaching, and made me feel welcome in the Common Room. Without that financial assistance, this thesis would certainly have taken longer to produce.

I would like to thank my family for their continued support and interest and my friends, particularly Allison and Andrew, who must be heartily sick of the word 'Gothic' but never told me so.

My last and biggest debt of gratitude is to my husband John, for his patience, his advice, his constructive criticism and for getting me up in the mornings.

This thesis is dedicated to Dr. Frances Stevens; a continual inspiration and the best teacher I have ever met.

Chapter One The Gothic Formula

I. FORMULA FICTION

Gothic fiction is formula fiction:

The world of the gothic novelist bore no relation to reality. The air was thick with the smell of putrefying corpses on lonely gibbets, and picturesquely ruined castles were inhabited by bats and mad nuns. Generations of virtuous but insipid heroines languished in dark and dreary dungeons from which they were rescued by impeccable heroes, while a fitful moon shone through a break in the clouds after the storm with which so many of these novels opened. It was almost a convention of such tales that the hero should be cheated out of his rightful inheritance by some moustached and scheming relative who had first murdered the boy's parents. A secret closet was opened, and the ghosts of the murdered ones shocked the villain into discomfiture. The rightful heir was restored to his estates, having first rescued his beloved from the unwelcome attentions of the villain.¹

A formula such as this is not a definition. One may describe a set of conventions or a list of appurtenances, like the one quoted above, that make up a formula for the Gothic romance, but these do not define the term 'Gothic'. The purpose of this study is not definition (or what Robert D. Hume described in his dialogue with Robert Platzner as 'an ontological hunt for the Platonic Form of the Gothic novel') though I shall inevitably consider some definitions

1) Victor E. Neuberg, Popular Literature: A History and Guide (Middlesex: Pelican, 1977), p.151. The tone is arch; this summary of conventions, however, does indicate not only how the Gothic is popularly understood, but also the major themes, motifs and settings. Cf. Chris Baldick (ed.), The Oxford Book of Gothic Tales (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990): '...the merciless determination of the feudal tyrant to continue his family line, the threat of dynastic extinction, the confinement and persecution of a vulnerable heroine in a sinister labyrinthine building. These were to become the standard materials of Gothic as the tradition took shape.' p.xvi.

proposed by other critics, but an examination of formula.² My opening quotation, taken from a non-academic literary guide, indicates specific stock elements that, in combination, form the popular conception of the Gothic formula. These are the setting - typically archaic, isolated and illuminated by dramatic weather conditions; the interaction of stock character types - villain, hero and heroine; the presence of the supernatural and the eventual disclosure of a secret. This study will consider one expression of the Gothic formula - the representation of stock male characters.

Concentration on the conventions of the Gothic romance might until recently have been considered a reactionary and unpopular critical stance. For this focus on appurtenances was the method adopted by the earliest twentieth-century critics of the Gothic; Eino Railo, for example, considered stock characters as important components of Gothic fiction in his study of the Gothic novel and devoted individual chapters to them.³ Unfortunately these early works are limited in scope: they provide a compendium of devices but little more. Railo was an enthusiast but not all critics

2) Robert L. Platzner, 'Gothic versus Romantic: A Rejoinder', PLMA lxxxvi (1971), p.274.

3) Eino Railo, The Haunted Castle: A Study of the Elements of English Romanticism (London: Routledge, 1927). Other early twentieth-century critics writing on the Gothic novel, Montague Summers, The Gothic Quest: A History of the Gothic Novel (London: Fortune Press, 1938), and Edith Birkhead, The Tale of Terror: A Study of the Gothic Romance (London: Constable, 1921), produced works largely consists of enthusiastic lists of stock devices or, in Edith Birkhead's case, of plot summaries.

shared his enthusiasm; James R. Foster, writing a history of the pre-romantic novel in 1949, dismissed the Gothic entirely, regarding it as 'a new plaything for the sentimental imagination.'⁴ In recent years, however, some conventions of the Gothic novel have been re-evaluated. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's work, The Coherence of Gothic Conventions (1980), is one of the most influential. It is an assimilative, thematic study in which 'surface' conventions are not examined as indicators of psychological depth but as the essential structure by which the world of the Gothic romance is to be comprehended.⁵

Sedgwick's attitude towards Gothic conventions is, on many points, one that I share. Like Sedgwick, I acknowledge the importance of the conventions of the Gothic formula, and, also like Sedgwick, maintain that these conventions, this formula, create a coherent, recognizable pattern. Sedgwick made two points about the Gothic formula which have some bearing on my own approach: firstly, she justly observed that 'The formula for the Gothic novel functions at the level of particular more or less obligatory scenes,' and secondly, she noted that the scope of the novel is not limited by the formula:

The second remarkable thing about the Gothic formula, mitigating its narrowness, is the range of tone and focus possible within it. Granted that the novel contains a hero and heroine, either one can hold the writer's attention, sometimes to the almost complete

4) James R. Foster, History of the Pre-Romantic Novel in England (New York: Modern Language Association, 1949), p.18

5) Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, The Coherence of Gothic Conventions (1980; repr. London: Methuen, 1986).

neglect of the other [...]. Again, the novels' obligatory villains, though almost always of the same generation and displaying the same physiognomy, can be just a cursory adjunct to the plot, like Clara Reeve's Lord Lovel, or can be the animating center of the novel, like Ambrosio.⁶

Her first point, that the formula functions at the level of obligatory scenes, suggests that the formula stabilizes the Gothic and also indicates that relationships between characters follow recognizable and repeatable patterns.⁷ Characters and their relationships are stereotyped. This stereotyping of character within Gothic fiction is a critical given; one of the things I shall investigate in this thesis are the possible sources of the stereotyped, stock male characters. If one accepts, as I do, Sedgwick and Napier's contention that the formula of the Gothic romance is found in repeated stereotypical relationships or in the recurrence of certain set pieces, then an examination of formula must be focused on these stereotypes, on these recurring scenes, rather than on the plot which, although it does stimulate the reader's interest and excite the reader's curiosity, serves, more importantly, to bring these characters into their

6) Sedgwick, Gothic Conventions, pp.10-11.

7) Cf. Elizabeth Napier: 'Any honest reading of Gothic fiction shows that the pleasure--and not the despair--of the text arises fairly forthrightly from the repetition of a certain series of extremely conventional scenes, events, and landscapes. The superficial and the formulaic thus, paradoxically, form the very heart of the Gothic, and because of this, the genre can acquire stability across itself (as television serials do) by making repeated use of the same interesting settings and events.' The Failure of Gothic: Problems of Disjunction in an Eighteenth-Century Literary Form (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), p.29.

predestined relationships within the Gothic formula. Therefore, although I shall be referring to some individual plots during this investigation, my intention is to focus on the sources and representations of male character stereotypes as they appear in the set pieces which constitute the Gothic formula.

Sedgwick's second point, that the formula can be manipulated to achieve different effects, provides a convenient definition of the starting point for a further avenue of investigation. This study will also consider points at which the basic stereotypes are manipulated, extended, or reinforced, testing and demonstrating the prevalence of the Gothic formula, as applied to character rather than theme. In order to demonstrate the existence and coherence of this aspect of the Gothic formula, I shall be examining a wide variety of works, not only the peaks of the genre, those writers whose works are still reprinted and whose names make up the established and standard list of Gothic novelists in most Gothic bibliographies, but also some of the lesser-known texts.⁸

8) For example, Dan J. McNutt's excellent bibliography, The Eighteenth-Century Gothic Novel: An Annotated Bibliography of Criticism and Selected Texts (Folkestone: Dawson, 1975), allots individual author bibliographies to Horace Walpole, Clara Reeve, Charlotte Smith, Ann Radcliffe, Matthew Lewis, and William Beckford. Substantially the same list of English authors - with the important additions of Mary Shelley and Charles Maturin - are allotted individual studies in a more recent bibliography, Frederick S. Frank's Gothic Fiction: A Master List of Twentieth Century Criticism and Research (Westport and London: Meckler, 1988).

In stressing the coherence of Gothic conventions, Sedgewick was reacting against a particular mode of 'Gothic' criticism that either uses the conventions of the Gothic formula as signifiers of depth or dismisses them as top-dressing. Elizabeth Napier, who also asserted that Gothic fiction is essentially formulaic, though denying that there is any formal coherence to the Gothic novel, was clearly reacting against the same mode of approach as was Sedgewick:

This is not a popular stand to take towards the Gothic because much of the more spirited recent criticism of the genre has been explicitly directed towards denying that it is 'a collection of ghost-story devices.'⁹

Napier reacted specifically against a type of Gothic criticism that came into being almost twenty years before the publication of her own book; she quoted directly from Robert D. Hume's influential article, 'Gothic versus Romantic: a Revaluation of the Gothic Novel', in which one of the stated objects of his essay was 'to suggest that the Gothic novel is more than a collection of ghost-story devices'.¹⁰ I will be considering both Hume's and Napier's arguments, and the problems inherent in them, at greater length later in this chapter. At this point, however, I want only to demonstrate that there are two essentially different ways of treating the Gothic. In one of these two distinct critical camps are found those critics who focus on the signs or the conventions of the Gothic, and in the

9) Napier, Failure of Gothic, p.29.

10) R.D. Hume, 'Gothic versus Romantic: A Revaluation of the Gothic Novel', PLMA lxxxiv (March 1969), p.282.

other are located those who focus on what these signs signify. In other words, there are critics who consider the Gothic as formula, and there are critics who concede the presence of certain frivolous and repetitive trappings but assert that the Gothic exists despite them.¹¹

Although I have suggested that there are essentially only two ways of approaching the Gothic, there are, of course, a variety of attitudes or ideologies that have shaped and distinguished the approach of individual critics - and then shaped and distinguished their definitions. I shall now undertake a brief survey of some of these ideological assumptions, indicating why my own approach - though benefiting in some instances from individual critical points - is not aligned with them.

II. THE GOTHIC AND THE ROMANTIC

'Romantic' critics of the Gothic like Masao Miyoshi, Elizabeth MacAndrew, Robert Keily and R.D. Hume, have placed the Gothic in the context of its literary relationship to the Romantic movement.¹² This use of the

11) Although I have stated this critical position in extreme terms, critics who adopt the 'depth psychology' approach do dismiss the appurtenances of the Gothic as mere trappings. Masao Miyoshi, for example, refers to 'the incidental trappings of the Gothic' in The Divided Self: A Perspective on the Literature of the Victorians, (New York: New York University Press, 1969), p.10.

12) Miyoshi, Divided Self, pp.3-45.
Elizabeth MacAndrew, The Gothic Tradition in Fiction, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979).
Robert Keily, The Romantic Novel in England, (Cambridge:

term 'Romantic' is not intended to suggest a fixed category susceptible to easy definition, but is rather used as shorthand for some of the themes and preoccupations associated with Romanticism by the critics I have mentioned - a focus upon the individual, upon the mind, and upon the imagination.¹³ Neither am I trying to suggest that the Gothic has no relation to Romanticism: as the following definition indicates, there is a valid connection between the Gothic and Romanticism when Romanticism is considered in terms of a period label:

By Romanticism I mean, very roughly, the writings of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, sharing a general historical situation but not necessarily held together by any essential or prescriptive characteristics.¹⁴

Harvard University Press, 1972).
Hume, 'Gothic versus Romantic', pp.282-290.

13) R.D. Hume, for example, commented that 'Gothic and romantic writing usually lead the reader to consider internal mental processes and reactions', leading to his conclusion that 'this absorption with the individual' caused Gothic and Romantic writing alike to become preoccupied with the mind. 'Gothic versus Romantic', pp.288-289.

Cf. David Simpson's analysis which also reveals that the term cannot be easily defined. In his comments on Hegel's understanding of Romanticism, however, he does indicate that a focus on the individual self may be considered as a valid component of Romantic writing: 'These bold elucidations about the nature of Romanticism are no less helpful for being so radically simplified. What they make clear, above all, is that the obsession with the self and with self-consciousness (not the same thing) that even casual critics and readers have recognized in their references to Romantic heroes and Romantic egos is to be understood as prone to as many specific determinations as there are specific choices, doctrines and situations.' 'Romanticism, criticism and theory', in The Cambridge Companion to British Romanticism, Stuart Curran (ed.), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p.10.

14) Simpson, 'Romanticism, criticism and theory', p.1.

There are, however, aesthetic as well as temporal connections between the Gothic and other forms of Romantic writing. The aesthetic link between Gothic and Romanticism is directly connected to the focus on the individual self; theories of the sublime, modified during the latter part of the eighteenth century, which came to locate the sensation of the sublime in the individual response - rather than as an integral attribute of the object viewed - have been applied to Gothic and Romantic writing alike.¹⁵

Whilst the connection between the Gothic and the Romantic is both evident and important, it has not influenced my own approach because these considerations of the Gothic as an early manifestation of Romanticism have focused on feeling at the expense of formula, and on the ego of the villain-hero at the expense of all other male characters.

Viewing the Gothic as a Romantic precursor, then, has led to an increased focus on the psychological depth which these critics have perceived in the Gothic novel. They have exploited the Gothic as an expression of the perversities of human nature: 'Gothic fiction gives shape to concepts of the place of evil in the human mind.'¹⁶ They have suggested (and this is reminiscent of the awesome obscurity that

15) There is an investigation of the sublime and its connection to the representation of male character in Chapter Six, 'Gothic Villains'.

16) MacAndrew, Gothic Tradition, p.3.
Cf. R.D. Hume: '...the Gothic novel becomes one kind of treatment of the psychological problem of evil.' 'Gothic versus Romantic', p.287.

Burke identified as an essential part of the sublime) that Gothic novelists were attempting to name the unnameable, bringing darker reality nearer to consciousness.¹⁷ If these critics discuss characterization at all, therefore, it is typically to concentrate attention on the fascinating qualities of the villain-hero:

It is often said that in Gothic fiction there are either no believable characters at all or else there is one so monstrously absorbent as to make the form seem a kind of obscene exhibitionism. There is nothing between the cipher and the creature of gargantuan potency in an empty world.¹⁸

Kiely's central point, that the Gothic villain can be a developed character (albeit over-developed) while other characters are generically empty stereotypes, is incorrect. The figure of the villain, though subject (as I shall show) to some interesting variations in representation, is as much a stereotype as the other stock characters within the Gothic formula. Perhaps more importantly, and Kiely's comment does indicate this, the villain figure is frequently represented as an intensification and perversion of the ideal active male stereotype presented in the figure of the hero.

17) The phrase 'this nameless mode of naming the unnameable' was used by Mary Shelley, when commenting on the typographical blank denoting the monster's name on the playbill of Peake's Presumption: or the Fate of Frankenstein. Betty T. Bennett (ed.), The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley, 3 vols. (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980-82), i. 378.

18) Kiely, Romantic Novel in England, pp.115-116. Cf. MacAndrew, 'The characters who must carry the burden of this theme of inherited evil [Manfred's family in The Castle of Otranto] are also typically Gothic, being highly simplified figures useful for the embodiment of ideas.' Gothic Tradition, p.12.

Another consequence of treating the Gothic as a Romantic precursor showing many embryonic Romantic themes, is that not only do all characters save the villain fade into insignificance, but so does the Gothic itself. It becomes valued only for those works which seem to demonstrate 'serious' psychological interests and pre-Romantic themes. Some works are considered to be more Gothic than others according to the individual critic's bias. In his reply to Robert Platzner, R.D. Hume makes this point very clearly:

My "superficial catalogue" of its characteristics is an attempt to differentiate serious Gothic writing from what J. M. S. Tompkins calls "market-Gothics"--surely a necessary prelude to suggesting that Gothic writing be considered along with the works of the greatest "Romantic" poets.¹⁹

Given that Hume wanted to establish the literary importance of the Gothic, his distinction between 'serious' and 'market-Gothics' is understandable. Unfortunately, any wider understanding of the Gothic or the Gothic formula is prevented by such a distinction. Surely a close reading of the 'market-Gothics' - even if one accepts this division - is of vital importance to an understanding of the Gothic genre as a whole, and particularly vital to an understanding of the Gothic formula and its stereotypes which, though more crude perhaps than those found in 'serious' works, are nevertheless present in 'market-Gothics' in a clearly apparent form. Thus, in focusing on formula and stereotypes, this study must be concerned as much with 'market-Gothics' as with 'serious' ones.

19) Platzner, 'A Rejoinder', p.268.

III. THE FEMALE GOTHIC

Not all critics who have explored the Gothic in terms of psychological depth or the surfacing of repressed emotions have focused on either the villain-hero or the Gothic novel's relationship to the Romantic movement. Just as Sedgwick and Napier were reacting against a specific mode of criticism that privileged one aspect of the Gothic and denied the importance of the formula, my study too has been undertaken partly as a reaction against some prevalent critical modes. In examining the male stereotype, I am reacting against the type of criticism that privileges the figure of the heroine, seeing the Gothic only as an expression of female experience, written by, for and about women.²⁰ Therefore, although the primary purpose is an examination of male stereotypes, this study will also question and explore the grounds on which the Gothic genre has been associated with women, and has been given the epithet 'female.'

Since 1976, the year in which Ellen Moers's Literary Women appeared and the term 'Female Gothic' entered the critical vocabulary, the Gothic genre - once neglected, despised and dismissed by critics like James Foster - has been reinterpreted, discovered to be a genre with particular and very close associations with the female - also neglected, despised and dismissed. Dale Spender, for

20) For a discussion indicating how the heroine becomes the focus of attention see Bette B. Roberts, The Gothic Romance: Its Appeal to Women Writers and Readers in Late Eighteenth-Century England (New York: Arno Press, 1980), p.228.

example, saw the situation in precisely this way when she commented in Mothers of the Novel (1986) that 'All of the women who wrote Gothic novels have since been derided - with the term 'Gothic' being used almost synonymously with 'female'.'²¹

When Ellen Moers defined her concept of Female Gothic, a phrase that she first coined in The New York Review of Books before developing it into a chapter of her book Literary Women, it was a simple description based on gender and genre. She wrote:

What I mean by Female Gothic is easily defined: the work that women writers have done in the literary mode that, since the eighteenth century, we have called the Gothic. But what I mean - or what anybody else means - by the "Gothic" is not so easily stated except that it has to do with fear.²²

Given this definition, one has to agree that there is indeed a Female Gothic - and a female version of any other genre that one cares to name. Despite, however, the potential variety suggested by 'the work that women have done in the literary mode,' Moers's chapter welds the 'Female Gothic' into a single, coherent tradition stretching from the eighteenth century to the present day. The basis for this tradition is the expression of female experience, which forms a consistent part of Moers's argument. In her introduction, she categorically denied the existence of a particularly female style whilst the effect

21) Dale Spender, Mothers of the Novel (London: Pandora Press, 1986), p.243.

22) Ellen Moers, Literary Women (New York, 1976; repr. London: The Women's Press, 1986), p.90.

of the book is to promote the idea of continuing and accessible female thematics. To this end Moers discussed Mary Shelley's Frankenstein as a female birth myth, and Emily Brontë's Wuthering Heights and Christina Rossetti's Goblin Market as further fantasies (or perversities) of childhood, eventually identifying 'Female Gothic' as the literature of the monster, having its fearful roots in the nursery and in the liberating cruelties of childhood or, more properly, girlhood. The Gothic property of fear is thus linked to female experience, creating the Female Gothic.

It is a fascinating reading but, perhaps significantly, the texts on which Moers concentrated (with the exception of Frankenstein which, however, appeared in its revised version in 1831) all date from the mid-nineteenth century - at least fifty years after the inception of the Gothic genre. The examples selected by Moers suggest, therefore, that the Female Gothic expressing female anxiety, at least in her terms, is a comparatively late development. In response to this, one is tempted to ask if there was a similar expression of female experience, particularly female fears, in the earliest works of the genre?

The only eighteenth-century practitioner that Moers mentioned in the Female Gothic chapter (and that briefly) is Ann Radcliffe, whose works certainly express the anxiety of the heroine in threatening situations. In a later chapter Moers suggested that Ann Radcliffe trafficked 'in real female fears', the loss of respectability, the very

real restraint present in girlhood and later in marriage that might lead to actual imprisonment for the eighteenth-century bride. The first brief mention of Ann Radcliffe's contribution to the Female Gothic is, I believe, more significant than Moers herself brings out. Mrs Radcliffe's contribution to the Gothic, as identified by Moers, is both structural and thematic - it lies in the creation of a central figure - 'a young woman who is simultaneously persecuted victim and courageous heroine.'²³ The importance of the female in the formula of the early Gothic romances, even those predating Mrs Radcliffe, is one of the points that will emerge in this study indicating that there is a valid classification of the Gothic novel as 'female' - a classification which includes the earliest examples and works written by men.

The gender basis of Moers's original definition, however, associated not only female writers with the Gothic but also the female condition with fear. The assumption that female writers use the Gothic to express a peculiarly female experience of fear (or as Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick was one of the first to suggest in The Coherence Of Gothic Conventions - both hysteria and paranoia) is a natural extension of Moers's definition.²⁴ But fear of what?

Tania Modleski has not been alone in suggesting that the fear inherent in the Gothic genre per se is concerned in the Female Gothic specifically with female identity, and

23) Moers, Literary Women, p.91.

24) Sedgwick, Gothic Conventions, pp.vi-x.

with what the heroine might become - the mother.²⁵ This interpretation of the Female Gothic with its potential doubling of mother and heroine (and potentially destructive relationship between them) suggests that the Female Gothic concretizes the fear of the female self. This is what Moers earlier described as the 'self-disgust, the self-hatred and the impetus to self-destruction'; this is what she saw as the typically female action of giving 'visual form to the fear of self' of holding 'anxiety up to the Gothic mirror of the imagination'.²⁶ The same fear is echoed in 1983 by Juliann Fleenor in her introduction to a collection of essays entitled The Female Gothic:

It is essentially formless, except as a quest; it uses the traditional spatial symbolism of the ruined castle or an enclosed room to symbolize both the culture and the heroine; as a psychological form, it provokes various feelings of terror, anger, awe and sometimes self-fear and self-disgust directed toward the female role, female sexuality, female physiology, and procreation; [...]. It reflects a patriarchal paradigm that women are motherless yet fathered and that women are defective because they are not males.²⁷

Like Moers and Modleski, Fleenor clearly saw the Female Gothic as a separate tradition, partaking of some of the symbolism of the Gothic, but identifiable by the sense of ambivalence towards the female self. The patriarchal

25) '...in the classic female Gothic, part of the heroine's progress involves a separation from home, a series of internal and/or external conflicts, and a more or less gradual understanding of the "mother's" situation.' Tania Modleski, Loving with a Vengeance: Mass-produced Fantasies for Women (London: Methuen, 1984), p. 68.

26) Moers, Literary Women, p.107.

27) Juliann Fleenor (ed.), Female Gothic (Montreal/London: Eden Press, 1983), p.15.

paradigm to which she referred, however, is present in the earliest Gothic novels only in a limited and modified form. Both heroines and heroes are indeed motherless, yet the formula of the Gothic romance demands that they be fatherless also. As the chapter on the father figure will show, the good father, like St. Aubert in Ann Radcliffe's The Mysteries of Udolpho (1794), or Clermont, in the novel of the same name by Regina Roche (1798), or Clifford, the adoptive 'good' father in Eliza Parsons The Mysterious Visit (1802), is used to establish the paradigm of the 'good' father early in the novel and is then rendered impotent, forced into absence.²⁸

The Gothic, whether written by men or women, can indeed take the form of an individual quest for identity: the birth-secret or the absent father which are prominent features of many Gothic romances almost guarantee the hero's or heroine's search for an identity, for a family name. The reflection of a patriarchal paradigm or the presence of a quest for identity, then, is not enough to justify the appellation 'Female Gothic'. Nor, to be fair, did Fleenor assert that it was. Of her definition she said: 'Although most of these characteristics can apply in differing degrees to the Gothic as written by men, the use of the spatial imagery is different, especially with the

28) Ann Radcliffe, The Mysteries of Udolpho (1794; repr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, ed. and intro. Bonamy Dobrée, 1980). Regina Roche, Clermont, 4 vols. (1798; repr. London: A.K. Newman & Co., 1836). Eliza Parsons, The Mysterious Visit: A Novel, Founded on Facts, 4 vols. (London: Hurst, Hatchard, Carpenter & Co., 1802).

feelings of self-fear and self-disgust.'²⁹ We are returned to the idea of Female Gothic expressing female anxieties, conveying protest, rage and terror in a conflict over female identity.

All this assumes a female readership. This is an assumption that seems to have been made by many critics for whom Female Gothic seems to depend not only on a female author (beginning inevitably with the works of Ann Radcliffe, particularly Mysteries) but also a sympathetic female reader. Most work on the readership of the Female Gothic, by critics like Kay J. Mussell and Joanna Russ, has concentrated on Modern Gothic - Victoria Holt and Susan Howatch's work for example.³⁰ The Modern Female Gothic is almost exclusively read by women, and thus theories about female anxiety and female reassurance that seem to depend on woman to woman contact may be posited with some confidence. It is when the Female Gothic is considered generically and theories, formulated it seems about the Modern Female Gothic, are read backwards and applied to earlier works in order, perhaps, to establish an unbroken literary tradition, that assumptions about readership, and therefore about the Female Gothic as currently defined, can no longer be maintained.

29) Female Gothic, Fleenor (ed.), p.15.

30) Joanna Russ, 'Someone's Trying to Kill Me And I Think It's My Husband: The Modern Gothic', and Kay J. Mussell, 'But Why Do They Read Those Things?: The Female Audience and the Gothic Novel', in The Female Gothic, Fleenor (ed.), pp.31-56 and pp.57-68.

There is plenty of evidence that the majority of Gothic romances were written and read by women: there are dire warnings, for example, about the effects of reading romances in many conduct books of the period directed at women, and satires on the genre like Eaton Stannard Barrett's The Heroine (1813) and, of course, Austen's Northanger Abbey (1818) concentrate on the comedy generated by the figures of young women who attempt to apply the standards of the Gothic romance to real life.³¹ All this supports the popular stereotype of the female who closeted herself eagerly with the latest 'horrid' romance. Nevertheless, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, more men than Henry Tilney or, less fictionally, Percy Shelley, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Sir Walter Scott and the Marquis de Sade read Gothic romances. We cannot, therefore, assume an exclusively female readership for any of the earliest Gothic texts.

In asserting that men also read the earlier Gothic romances, I am not attempting to deny or to ignore the valuable points made by these critics about female anxiety generated within and by the texts. An exclusively female readership cannot be assumed, but neither can one assume that male and female readers had (or have) an identical response to the situations and emotional conflicts posed by the Gothic. Norman Holland and Leona F. Sherman's joint

31) Eaton Stannard Barrett, The Heroine or Adventures of a Fair Romance Reader, 3 vols. (London: Henry Colburn, 1813). Jane Austen, Northanger Abbey (London: John Murray, 1818).

essay 'Gothic Possibilities' directly addresses this question of gender, reading and response.³² In a psychologically orientated interpretation of the Gothic, they identify the anxieties of the heroine as follows:

The more usual Gothic defines its heroine's anxieties as fears of nothingness, of vulnerability, and, above all, of sexual penetration. Here, clearly, the projections of men and women differ.³³

Their analysis of the differing projections is based on woman's self-abnegating position within contemporary society. They suggest that women experienced a sense of both pleasure and menace from their reading of anxieties about penetration in Gothic romances because the pain of nothingness, or non-active identity demanded by social expectation, is painfully yet, paradoxically, satisfyingly filled by penetration. Men, they consider, identify with the female anxiety but the threat of penetration questions male identity, and Gothic is thus relegated to "women's fiction". There are some interesting points here which relate directly to my own approach. Firstly, although neither Holland nor Sherman mentions the word 'stereotype', their analysis revolves around the type of role - both male and female - dictated by social expectations and constraints. Secondly, they suggest that the Gothic romance had a feminizing effect on the male reader. While I

32) Holland, Norman and Leona F. Sherman, 'Gothic Possibilities', in Gender and Reading: Essays on Readers, Texts and Contexts, Elizabeth A. Flynn and Patrocínio P. Schwieckart (eds.), (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), pp.215-233.

33) Holland and Sherman, 'Gothic Possibilities', p.220.

strongly doubt whether the male reader did actually identify with the beleaguered female in the story, masculinity, allied to the idea of an active male stereotype, is often questioned and manipulated within the Gothic texts.³⁴

None of the definitions of the Female Gothic that I have encountered have been entirely satisfactory in relation to the earliest Gothic romances. The blanket statement of Moers's initial definition, that the Female Gothic encompasses works written by women in the Gothic mode since the eighteenth century in which fear has been joined to female experience, was not borne out by her choice of illustrative texts. The suggestion that anxiety associated with the heroine is a distinctive property of Female Gothic is not supported by the evidence. Actual danger surrounding the female and consequent anxiety also appears in works written by men. One part of Fleenor's definition of the Female Gothic indicated the reflection of a destructive patriarchal paradigm but, as I shall demonstrate, the

34) I suspect that the male reader might have placed himself in the position of titillated observer, rather than sharer, of the spectacle of female distress. D.A. Miller, however, has convincingly argued in an analysis of the gender relations in Wilkie Collins's The Woman in White that the male reader is indeed 'feminized' by reading about and identifying with female sensation within the text: 'The drama in which the novel writes its reader turns on the disjunction between his allegedly masculine gender and his effectively feminine gender-identification (as a creature of 'nerves'): with the result that his experience of sensation must include his panic at having the experience at all, of being in the position to have it.' 'Cage aux Folles: Sensation and Gender in Wilkie Collins's The Woman in White', The Nineteenth-Century British Novel, Jeremy Hawthorn (ed.), (London: Edward Arnold, 1986), p.106.

patriarchal paradigm that appears in the earliest romances is common to male and female writers and is not the one which she defined. Also those critics who identified the Female Gothic as a search and a struggle for female identity have simply added an adjective of gender to what is demonstrably an integral part of the Gothic formula in the late eighteenth century.

IV. 'POLITICAL GOTHIC'

Some critics have set the Gothic in the context of literary development, i.e. in relation to the Romantic movement or as a reaction to the 'realistic' novels of Defoe, Fielding and Smollett; other critics have set the Gothic in a context of specific contemporary fears. Feminist critics have focused on the contemporary fears, and repressed anxieties of the woman's experience: a further group of critics have considered the Gothic as an entirely different expression of contemporary anxiety.

David Punter, Ronald Paulson and Chris Baldick have all associated the fears expressed in the Gothic with contemporary political anxiety - though not necessarily the same political anxieties.³⁵ Writing from a Marxist stance, David Punter suggested that Gothic fiction is 'a particular

35) David Punter, The Literature of Terror: A History of Gothic Fictions from 1765 to the present day (London: Longman, 1980).
Ronald Paulson, 'Gothic Fiction and the French Revolution', ELH xlviii (1981), 532-554.
Chris Baldick, In Frankenstein's Shadow: Myth, Monstrosity, and Nineteenth Century Writing (1987; repr. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), and the introduction to The Oxford Book of Gothic Tales.

attitude towards the recapture of history'.³⁶ He regarded the genre as a product of the middle class, suggesting that the aristocratic class values within the novels represent bourgeois curiosity about a pre-bourgeois world. Gothic fiction, for Punter, 'becomes a process of cultural self-analysis, and the images which it throws up become the dream-figures of a troubled social group.'³⁷ There are two problems with this position. First, as the chapter on conduct literature of the period will show, the supposedly aristocratic morals and values espoused in Gothic fiction are, in fact, a literary representation of middle-class morals and values and can be interpreted as fulfilling a different purpose, that of creating and upholding a middle-class moral presence in the aristocratic past. Second, given the longevity and popularity of the Gothic, I agree with Robert F. Geary's comment that:

...even David Punter's Marxist and Freudian categories cannot quite explain the form's popularity. If the Gothic is simply the literary analysis by the bourgeoisie of its aristocratic predecessors and its own rise to power, these concerns should long ago have been addressed and the form become defunct.³⁸

Ronald Paulson did not view the Gothic in terms of class exploration. He considered the continued popularity of the Gothic, specifically the Gothic of the 1790s, in the same

36) Punter, Literature of Terror, p.5.

37) Punter, Literature of Terror, p.425.

38) Robert F. Geary, 'From Providence to Terror: The Supernatural in Gothic Fiction', in Donald E. Morse (ed.), The Fantastic in World Literature: Selected Essays from the Fifth International Conference on the Fantastic in the Arts (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), p.8.

way that de Sade did, as a reaction to (or an expression of) the anxieties and fears aroused in Europe by the French Revolution. De Sade declared, when analysing the appeal and effects of the Gothic novels of Mrs Radcliffe and Matthew Lewis that 'il devenait le fruit indispensable des secousses révolutionnaires, dont l'Europe entière se ressentait.'³⁹ Because Paulson did not survey the Gothic genre per se, concentrating his analysis only on the novels of the 1790s which could justly be considered to reflect anxiety generated by the French Revolution, his individual insights are only incidentally interesting to my own work. His comments on the use of Gothic as a metaphor for revolution are particularly interesting, especially the passages dealing with Montoni (The Mysteries of Udolpho) and Ambrosio (The Monk, 1796), which add another dimension to the stereotype of male tyranny and the way in which a contemporary reader might have perceived it.⁴⁰ Unlike Paulson, however, I shall be arguing that both Montoni and Ambrosio are manifestations of the same stereotype of villainy as the earlier Manfred (The Castle of Otranto, 1764) and subsequent villains.⁴¹

39) Marquis de Sade, 'Idée sur les Romans', Les Crimes de L'Amour, (1800; repr. Paris: Gallimard, 1987), p.42.

40) Matthew Lewis, The Monk: A Romance (1796; repr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, ed. and intro. Howard Anderson, 1980).

41) Paulson writes, for example, that 'One [The Monk] is a fable of revolution, the other [The Castle of Otranto] of the ancien régime.' 'Gothic Fiction and the French Revolution', p.537.
Horace Walpole, The Castle of Otranto, A Gothic Story

Chris Baldick, writing more recently than either Punter or Paulson, presents a concept of developing political anxiety that combines subconscious class anxieties with the specific fears generated by the French Revolution. In his introduction to The Oxford Book of Gothic Tales, his account of the Gothic tradition is similar to Punter's interpretation of the Gothic as a disturbed, middle-class reaction to history:

It is a middle-class tradition, and its anxiety may be characterized briefly as a fear of historical reversion; that is, of the nagging possibility that the despotisms buried by the modern age may prove to be yet undead.⁴²

Baldick has clearly extended Punter's interpretation: Punter's analysis pointed towards the Gothic as a vehicle through which the troubled middle class could examine its genesis and rise to power; Baldick's analysis shifts the focus of middle class anxiety from its antecedents to its present and future continuance. This quotation indicates that Baldick believes the Gothic romances demonstrate middle-class anxiety about its own stability, and that the romances indicate a widespread fear of changing society, either through a reversion to a pre-bourgeois power structure and decadent, aristocratic values, or, perhaps, through working-class revolution. This quotation, taken in conjunction with other comments made by Baldick on the earlier Gothic in In Frankenstein's Shadow: Myth,

(1764; repr. from 1798 text, Oxford: Oxford University Press, ed. and intro. W.S. Lewis, notes, J.W. Reed Jr., 1982).

42) Baldick, Book of Gothic Tales, p.xxi.

Monstrosity and Nineteenth-Century Writing, shows the connection that Baldick makes between middle-class anxiety about the maintenance of the current status quo and the contemporary revolutionary ferment in Europe.⁴³ Thus Baldick seems to unite the different political anxieties explored by Punter and Paulson in one argument; the Gothic becomes an agent for the expression, whether conscious or unconscious, of societal insecurity.

Although Baldick's analysis is both interesting and persuasive, it is limited to a political/historical interpretation of the anxiety which is undoubtedly present in the Gothic. Like the other political analyses, it does not offer a satisfactory investigation or explanation of the formula and the form through which this anxiety manifests itself. Instead, such interpretations focus attention on the impetus which may have assured the continued popularity of the formula, that, despite de Sade's often quoted opinion, was in existence prior to the 1790s, rather than on the formula itself.⁴⁴

43) Baldick writes, for example, (citing De Sade like Paulson): '..the flourishing of the Gothic novel is a sure but unconscious and remote reverberation of the events in France...' Frankenstein's Shadow, p.16.

44) It must be conceded, however, that the popularity of Gothic romances seems to have risen steeply around 1795. Dorothy Blakey's investigation of The Minerva Press, for example, shows that after this date most Minerva novels were issued in three or four volumes (prior to this two volumes was the usual format) and the prices, as well as the quantity of novels published each year, increased. See Dorothy Blakey, The Minerva Press, 1790-1820 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939), pp.272-292.

V. DEFINITION OR DIVISION?

The critics whose works I have discussed under the general categories of Romantic, female and political have all attempted to define the essence of the Gothic.⁴⁵ This is best summarized by Robert Platzner's statement: 'Given the synthetic character of this genre, one is obliged to isolate what is conspicuously "gothic" in the Gothic.'⁴⁶ Other critics, as well as myself, have been troubled by this drive towards definition, as this quotation from Francis R. Hart illustrates:

...this danger is endemic in criticism of the Gothic, in part because of an understandable defensiveness in seeking academic respectability for a long-disgraced, flagrantly "popular" sub-genre, and in part because our sense of its "importance" declares itself on such a murky subjective level of response. [...]. Our persistent Arnoldian bias then drives us to discover a rationale in moral seriousness for our enthusiasm, and in so doing to distinguish between essential value (whether formal or mythopoeic) and "conventional trappings," even though conventional trappings are a condition of our response to any mode of popular fantasy. What Maddox and others call the Gothic "tendency" is not to be understood by such solemn essentializing.⁴⁷

In these comments, which were prompted by the Hume/Platzner debate in the PMLA, Hart has pointed to the divisive nature of definition, or 'solemn essentializing'. In defining the Gothic as a whole (and a serious whole) both Hume and

45) Ronald Paulson does not try to define the Gothic but, in focusing on revolution, he necessarily makes a chronological distinction between Gothic fiction written before the 1790s and that written after.

46) Platzner, 'A Rejoinder', p.266.

47) Francis R. Hart, 'Limits of the Gothic: The Scottish Example', in Harold E. Pagliaro (ed.), Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture, 3 vols. (London and Cleveland: Case Western Reserve University Press, 1973), iii. 138.

Platzner had to create boundaries, discarding those works which did not conform to their Gothic blueprint. Most subsequent critics of the Gothic have done the same. Indeed, most subsequent critics, whatever their ideological bias, have adopted almost identical divisions under different nomenclature.

Hume, quoting a posthumous article by Ann Radcliffe, made a distinction between 'terror-Gothic' and 'horror-Gothic'. In making this distinction he was redefining (or, perhaps more accurately, refining) the Gothic, rejecting what he considered to be the over-inclusive categories of sentimental-Gothic, terror-Gothic and historical-Gothic created by Montague Summers.⁴⁸ The distinction between terror-Gothic and horror-Gothic is an important one; it is both thematic and chronological as the following quotation demonstrates:

To put the change from terror-Gothic to horror-Gothic in its simplest terms, the suspense of external circumstance is de-emphasized in favor of increasing psychological concern with moral ambiguity.[...] The terror novel prepared the way for a fiction which though more overtly horrible is at the same time more serious and more profound.⁴⁹

Hume's terror-Gothic, then, is equivalent to early Gothic, to the works of Walpole and Ann Radcliffe in which, Hume

48) Summers, The Gothic Quest, p.29.
The strength of Hume's feelings was indicated by this comment: 'If wearing a wool tie makes me a sheep, then The Recess is a Gothic novel.' 'Gothic versus Romantic', p.283.

49) Hume, 'Gothic versus Romantic', p.285.

asserted, terror is dependent on the suspense of dread.⁵⁰ Horror-Gothic, which he considered more important because 'more serious and more profound', is later Gothic in which the reader is not kept in suspense but attacked with shocking events.⁵¹ I have not described this distinction at length in order to dispute Hume's definitions, though his continued reiteration of phrases like 'the distinguishing mark' and 'the key characteristic' are as vague as his idea of the atmosphere to which they are applied. Instead, I would like to draw attention to the grounds for this thematic and chronological distinction because both frequently appear as axes for the work of later critics.

The chronological split is particularly apparent in the work of critics who, like Hume, have considered early Gothic as a primitive mode which they then use to examine 'weightier' nineteenth-century 'Gothic' texts.⁵² This later Gothic is a period which Michelle Massé has described as part two of the Gothic genre, a part which she called, 'a variant beginning in the nineteenth century, [...] begins with, or shortly after, a marriage--the same marriage that

50) Obviously the crushing of Conrad and the appearance of the giant casque at the beginning of The Castle of Otranto is not considered to be a shocking event for the reader.

51) It is important to note that the authors Hume listed in connection with horror-Gothic were Lewis, Beckford, Mary Shelley and Maturin, as later critics have used the same group of authors in support of different definitions.

52) Hume wrote: 'Emphasis on the serious quality of these early Gothic novels makes their relationship to the later Gothic novels much clearer.' 'Gothic versus Romantic', p.287.

provided a sacramental expulsion of horror in part 1', i.e. the earlier Gothic novels, which closed with a wedding and the restoration of order.⁵³ Massé's own discussion of the early Gothic is, like Hume's, a brief preparation for the more important work which follows. This kind of critical focus on later texts always seems to produce a reductive reading of the earlier ones: formula is relegated to the status of a primitive device for the exploration of the non-rational. As Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick observed, when commenting on Robert B. Heilman's definition of the Gothic: 'To give the description "Gothic" this full a sense, however, it is seemingly necessary to acknowledge a discontinuity between it and the Gothic novel proper.'⁵⁴ The first Gothic writers are assumed to have relied on

53) Michelle Massé, 'Gothic Repetition: Husbands, Horrors, And Things That Go Bump in The Night,' Signs, xv (1990), p.690.

Massé has further indicated that her interest really lies in later Gothic by developing this article into the introductory chapter of a new book, In the Name of Love: Women, Masochism and the Gothic (New York: Cornell University Press, 1992), which deals entirely with later Gothic, specifically The Story of O, Jane Eyre, and Rebecca.

54) Sedgwick, Gothic Conventions, p.3. Heilman's definition of the Gothic is: 'In the novel it was the function of Gothic to open horizons beyond social patterns, rational decisions, and institutionally approved emotions; in a word, to enlarge the sense of reality and its impact on the human being. It became then a great liberator of feeling. It acknowledged the non-rational--in the world of things and events, occasionally in the realm of the transcendental, ultimately and most persistently in the depths of the human being.' Heilman, R.B., 'Charlotte Brontë's "New Gothic", in From Jane Austen to Joseph Conrad: Essays Collected in Memory of James T. Hillhouse, Robert C. Rathbone and Martin Steinmann Jr. (eds.), (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1958), p.131, cited in The Coherence of Gothic Conventions, p.3.

conventions; later Gothic writers - Heilman concentrated on Charlotte Brontë - indulge in an original exploration of feeling.

Hume's thematic distinction between terror-Gothic and horror-Gothic was consciously developed into a distinction between 'male' Gothic and 'female' Gothic by Juliann Fleenor in her introduction to The Female Gothic:

Horror-Gothic (Frankenstein) would be an expression of the author's fear of ambiguity and patriarchal structures; terror-Gothic (Castle of Otranto) is an expression of the heroine's predicament in what proves ultimately to be a reasonable world. Horror of the self, of female physiology, is closely tied to the patriarchal paradigm.⁵⁵

Like Hume, Fleenor privileged horror-Gothic. For her it became 'female Gothic', an expression of the conflict surrounding female identity. Her classification of authors is not the same as Hume's, however, as her conception of 'female Gothic', the horror of the female self and the fear of the patriarchal paradigm, results in a, perhaps inevitable, division of authors by gender.

In contrast, although she did not acknowledge Hume as a starting point, Kate Ferguson Ellis used almost the same grouping of authors in order to present her division of the Gothic into either masculine or feminine Gothic.⁵⁶ Unlike Fleenor's 'female Gothic', the authors are not grouped according to the gender of the author but, it seems at first, according to the gender of the protagonist. In her

55) Fleenor (ed.), Female Gothic, p.7.

56) Kate Ferguson Ellis, The Contested Castle: Gothic Novels and the Subversion of Domestic Ideology (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989).

introduction, Ellis described the 'feminine Gothic' as the type of plot in which the woman, imprisoned inside what should be a domestic refuge, breaks out, exposing the villain's usurpation and transforming the prison into a home, thus reclaiming a domestic space: 'masculine Gothic', by contrast, shows a man exiled from the home, wanting access to the domestic space occupied by women. In a later chapter, Ellis subtly changed this definition so that the focus is shifted to the domestic space rather than the gender of the protagonist:

A castle turned into a prison and reconverted into a home (or destroyed so that its prisoner can establish a home elsewhere) is the underlying structure of the feminine Gothic. [...] When the home is destroyed utterly and the destroyer continues to wander upon the face of the earth, we have the Lewisite or masculine Gothic.⁵⁷

Ellis's first definition of 'feminine Gothic' began with the works of Ann Radcliffe and, if we examine the implications of the later development, Walpole too must be included in this category. She originally used Lewis as the type of 'masculine Gothic' but the works of Mary Shelley and Maturin are also encompassed by this later definition. The same works that for R.D. Hume indicated terror-Gothic and horror-Gothic, indicate 'feminine Gothic' and 'masculine Gothic' for Ellis.⁵⁸ Her definition, however, is

57) Ellis, Contested Castle, p.45.

58) Alison Milbank's definition of female Gothic is almost identical to that of Ellis. She wrote: '...in Radcliffian Gothic the patriarchal order is revealed as malignant and in need of replacement. Moreover, its heroines do not merely break out of the tyrant's control, but, like their later literary sisters, they look back into the past to establish a true history which the patriarch had sought to falsify.' Daughters of the House: Modes of

less divisive than Hume's or Fleenor's. She has not privileged one type (or period) of Gothic above another and the developed definition identifies the stability or the destruction of the home as part of the Gothic formula.

The formal problems of the Gothic outlined by Elizabeth Napier can also be identified with Hume's definitions of the two Gothic modes. She isolated two opposed currents within the genre: there is a tendency towards moral and structural stabilizing characteristic of eighteenth-century fiction, corresponding to Hume's terror-Gothic and Fleenor's 'female Gothic'; and there is also an inclination towards fragmentation, instability and moral ambivalence, corresponding to the moral ambiguity which Hume found in horror-Gothic. Rather than separating these currents into two distinct types of Gothic, however, Napier considered them together as an intrinsic part of the Gothic formula, and, for Napier, one of the reasons for its formal failure. Unlike Napier, I do not regard this as a failure, nor do I agree with her position on other points which, I believe, become problems or flaws for her only because she has considered the Gothic formula without referring to any other generic forms of which it is a synthesis. I shall be arguing, in a chapter examining the generic influences of fantasy, horror and romance on the stereotypes of the Gothic formula, that the presence of instability and a movement towards closure are not opposing currents causing

the Gothic in Victorian Fiction, (London: Macmillan, 1992), p.11.

the form to fail, but are indicators of fantasy. Napier has also identified problems in the representation of the restrained heroine and in the presence of anachronistic eighteenth-century drawing-room rituals. These, too, cease to be formal problems if one considers that the Gothic partakes of the romance genre. Romance has traditionally presented idealized contemporary roles and behaviour in distant settings.

Whatever the basis of their definitions, these critics have only succeeded in polarizing the Gothic. Perhaps a more fruitful approach to the analysis of Gothic fiction is not to look for a definition of the Gothic - thereby inevitably creating divisions - but rather to work from the perspective that the Gothic fiction is essentially formula fiction, and that that formula may be a synthesis of several modes.

VI. METHOD

i. Why the male stereotype?

In exploring the representation of male characters in the Gothic romance, I am redressing a balance of criticism which has typically either considered the male characters as negligible elements of the Gothic formula, or which has grouped them together en masse as a single, powerful element - that of the threatening patriarchal society, which surrounds and dominates the heroine, who has long been considered as the most important character type of the Gothic romance.

The critical attention that the heroine has received in recent years was discussed in the section on 'The Female Gothic' but this selection of the heroine as the most important and appealing figure in the formula is not a new phenomenon. The engravers who prepared the frontispieces for the Minerva Press's most famous Gothic romances chose to illustrate striking moments in the story, featuring a threatened or isolated woman, often depicted in a state of unconscious dishevelment.⁵⁹ There are two important points to be drawn from these engravings: first, that the most exciting moments in the tale are also often the most static, frozen moments of terror which support the idea that the Gothic formula is composed of specific set pieces; and second, that the women thus represented are passive, forming a still, focal point for the picture.

My intention is not to minimize the importance of the heroine in raising anxiety or fear in the Gothic novel, but to indicate that the figure of the heroine is also used to delineate character within the Gothic formula. One of the things that this thesis will show is how the representations and roles of active (male) characters are consistently defined by a relationship to the passive female.

I have said throughout this introduction that a consideration of the male characters in the Gothic is a consideration of stereotypes. If one accepts that Gothic fiction is indeed formula fiction, then this raises a

59) Blakey, Minerva Press, pp.89-94.

question of characterization. To what extent does a formula predispose characters towards stereotyped patterns?

The male characters in the Gothic novel are stereotypes insofar as they fulfil a certain function or role within the plot: there are always a hero and heroine, there must always be a villain who oppresses or obstructs the hero or heroine (otherwise there is no story), and there is a supporting cast of male friends, rivals, parents, servants, and officials. (All of these will be dealt with in detail in later chapters.) From 1764, when Walpole self-consciously wrote that he was creating a new genre - 'an attempt to blend the two kinds of romance, the ancient and the modern' - to 1820 (and later), the reader of the Gothic novel could confidently expect to encounter a certain cast of characters involved in certain types of relationship that could only be played out in certain surroundings.⁶⁰ Walpole established the formula: a castle or ruin (with dungeons, vaults, and secret passage to the chapel); a guilty tyrant; a suspected history of blood spilt; supernatural manifestations; a nobly-born hero; a suffering but morally intrepid heroine; fear; subterranean adventures; and a mystery connected with birth and inheritance. These conditions influenced the creation of character and this set the trend for succeeding novelists. Gothic novels were concerned, from their very inception, with the devastating effects of uncontrolled passions, and this necessarily formed a pattern of tyrants and victims -

60) Walpole, Castle of Otranto, p.7.

power and submission followed by the inexorable workings of divine retribution. The characters thus play roles within the formula of the Gothic novel that are reproduced across the whole spectrum of the genre. To this extent they are stereotypes.

What my examination will show, however, is that the male characters do not simply fulfil stereotyped roles or have stock character functions within the Gothic formula (as hero, father and villain, for example) but are stereotyped representations. In other words, one does not encounter different male character types who are cast in the villain's role, for example; instead one encounters representations of similar character types who are cast in similar roles. Thus one may argue that there is a Gothic formula of character as well as of role and situation.

One function of this thesis, then, is to reveal, by examining a wide variety of texts, the specific male character stereotype which a reader might typically expect to encounter in a certain role or situation. By first locating these stereotypes and examining not only the repeated pattern of their representation but the way in which these representations are manipulated, I hope to arrive at an understanding of the Gothic formula. This method of approach develops within a hermeneutic circle; an examination of the function of a particular stock character (individual text by individual text) leads back to a wider understanding not only of these stock characters, but of the formula itself.

This method applies not only to my research and understanding but also to the organization of the chapters in this thesis. Before considering stock figures individually, my first concern has been to establish how far the genres of fantasy, horror and romance have influenced the creation or representation of male stereotypes in the Gothic novel. Then, in order to establish the ideal patterns of behaviour for the hero, I have made a survey of contemporary conduct books; it is in this chapter that the importance of the female stereotype in relation to the representation of that of the male becomes apparent. Having established what the contemporary ideals for masculine behaviour were, the next chapter considers actual representations of the hero figure as an idealized masculine stereotype. The father is what the hero eventually becomes, and so the following chapter considers the representation of the father figure, which reflects back onto the figure of the hero and the masculine stereotype of activity which both should embody. The villain figure (the only male figure to have received any substantial critical attention) is opposed both to hero and 'good' father; he is often represented as perverting both the role of the father and the activity of the masculine stereotype. Thus, as a negative image of both hero and father, he is the next stock figure to be considered. The masculine stereotype is then further scrutinized in a chapter on the victim figure. This chapter examines the importance of the female victim - something that becomes

increasingly apparent throughout the previous chapters - and also suggests that the stereotype of masculinity itself can be viewed as a form of victimization within the Gothic formula. The final chapter examines the stock male characters of servants, bandits and spectres or demons, whose representation within the romances reinforces our understanding of the roles that major characters play in the Gothic formula.

ii. Sources

In establishing the sources of the stereotypes used in the Gothic romances, I have frequently investigated other kinds of contemporary literature in order to discover whether the moral values and consequent expectations of an eighteenth-century reader contributed to the creation of character and formula, or whether the Gothic itself created and imposed expectations for the reader. These are not necessarily antithetical hypotheses: both solutions proved to be possible. Some figures, like those of hero and father, were supported by the evidence of other types of eighteenth-century literature, while the villain figure proved to have literary antecedents, and the wicked monk was almost a Gothic invention. In the chapter on the hero figure, for example, it was not enough to receive an impression of the ideal hero of a Gothic romance only from an examination of the romances themselves. Was the ideal really ideal? Contemporary social standards are established by an examination of conduct literature of the period, and

these middle-class ideals prove to be the patterns of the hero and heroine of the Gothic romances. Sermons and tracts established reader expectations about good family relations, and suggested what was expected of the father figure. When examining demons and spectres, I have tried to establish what might have been expected in the late eighteenth century from witches, ghosts, and manifestations of the supernatural.

Though other types of literature proved to be important evidence for the sources or representation of various stereotypes, the most important sources of all have obviously been the Gothic romances themselves. In attempting an accurate examination of a part of the Gothic formula, I have not made any value judgements or created definitive divisions between different types of Gothic. This is not to say, however, that my choices either of date parameters or of texts were random ones.

This is how I have addressed the problem of establishing a canon of Gothic fiction without setting up a divisive definition. A consideration of the Gothic formula obviously requires an examination of the earliest Gothic novels. My attitude towards the selection of novels from which to draw the material for an examination of stereotypes, and the dates within which these novels fall, is neatly summed up by the comment Chris Baldick made about establishing the truth of a myth: 'The truth of a myth [...] is not to be established by authorizing its earliest version, but by

considering all its versions.⁶¹ Similarly, I would argue that an examination of stereotypes and formula must include the earliest Gothic novels, the most 'serious' Gothic novels (in the sense in which Hume defined them) and the 'market-Gothics'. These last are, perhaps, the most exciting sources of evidence for the representation of stereotype and the workings of formula. Texts like George Walker's The Haunted Castle, or The Three Spaniards and W.H. Ireland's Gondez the Monk present a crude working of Gothic formula and blatant (in Ireland's case, exuberant) stereotypes.⁶²

My choice of texts to be studied did require some rudimentary definition of what, for the purposes of this study, is considered to be Gothic. Some authors and texts virtually chose themselves - no assessment of the Gothic would be complete without some reference to the well-known authors of the genre, Walpole, Radcliffe, Lewis, Mary Shelley and Maturin. The choice of lesser-known authors was rather more difficult. In sum, I worked on texts that fulfilled two basic criteria: first, that they should have most of the Gothic 'trappings'; and second, that there should be instances of either the supernatural, the apparent supernatural, or passions raised to a height at

61) Baldick, Frankenstein's Shadow, p.4.

62) George Walker, The Haunted Castle, 2 vols. (London: Minerva Press, 1794) and The Three Spaniards, 3 vols. (London: Walker, Hurst, 1800). W.H. Ireland, Gondez the Monk, 4 vols. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, 1805).

which they acquired a supernatural force. All of the novels on which this study is based conform to these two criteria.

My choice of date parameters (1762-1820) within which to study as wide a variety of Gothic material as possible was entirely pragmatic. Although most assessments of the Gothic novel begin in 1764 - the date in which The Castle of Otranto, the first novel to be subtitled 'A Gothic Story', was published - I have, instead, chosen 1762 as a starting point because that was the year in which Thomas Leland's Longsword, Earl of Salisbury: An Historical Romance appeared, introducing the figure of Reginhald the wicked monk onto the literary scene. As an explanation for my choice of 1820 as an end-point for research, I can do no better than to quote Elizabeth Napier, who chose the same year for the same reasons:

Such parameters reflect both contemporary judgment and modern convention, [...] by 1820, on the publication of Melmoth, the Monthly Review spoke of Maturin's work as a revival of a mode of fiction decidedly (at least for better readers) on the wane.⁶³

Of course, the publication of Melmoth the Wanderer does not mark the end of the Gothic as a literary mode - many studies have been done on the Gothicism of Dickens or Charlotte Brontë, for example - but, after Melmoth, critics have discussed either Gothicism or a Gothic root for non-realist texts, not the Gothic itself.

In conclusion, there is a formula for the representation of character in the Gothic novel and it is a formula whose

63) Napier, Failure of Gothic, pp.xii-xiii.

sources may be psychological, sociological, literary, or theological, fantastic, horrific and romantic. The Gothic resists neat definitions, relies for its effects on a subjective response, and yet is still demonstrably formula fiction. Written from within a patriarchal society, the Gothic formula not only reveals the anxieties and repressed fears of vulnerable women, but also shows the limitations and social constraints applied to the male character by the prevailing male stereotype.

This thesis will not just redress a critical balance but widen the field of vision. The dominant impression of a Gothic romance has been that of a tableau whose centre of attraction is a sacrificial victim, female and senseless, hair and dress in equal, but charming disarray. In the course of this thesis I will be drawing attention to the active but critically unseen participants hovering around the central figure. I hope to show how writers have represented and used the identity of the powerful figure holding the knife, the rescuer in the background and the assembled group of watchers who are allowing - even encouraging - the rite to take place.

Chapter Two
Fantasy, Horror and Romance:
Generic Influences on the Gothic Male Stereotypes

The Gothic formula consists of set pieces, of obligatory scenes played out by recognizable stereotypes against a predictable backcloth. This does not necessarily mean, however, that everything encompassed by the formula was an original Gothic creation. One is forced to ask whether the characters who played the major roles in these formulaic scenes were created by the writers of Gothic fiction in response to the requirements of the formula? Or were the techniques that these writers used to create such scenes evoking the 'Gothic' atmosphere - or indeed the scenarios and characters themselves - borrowed and adapted from other genres? As the Gothic form clearly partakes of the genres of fantasy, horror and romance, this chapter will investigate how much these genres contributed to the creation of male stereotypes in the Gothic formula, and will consider whether the Gothic, to some degree, created stereotypes of its own.

I. ROMANCE

Before scrutinizing the influence which the Romance genre exerted over the depiction of character in the Gothic formula, I would like to establish how the Romance was regarded in the late eighteenth century and how it was considered in relation to the novel. Are we dealing with the Gothic novel or the Gothic romance?

...an Heroic fable,--a fabulous Story of such actions as are commonly ascribed to heroes, or men of extraordinary courage and abilities.¹

This definition of Romance (Clara Reeve's own definition which she offered as an amplification and summary of the other definitions she had considered) is an interesting demonstration of the way that Romance as a genre was defended in the late eighteenth century. Reeve was reacting against common, contemporary assumptions about Romance that reduced it either to an absurd fiction - 'une conte' or 'un mensonge' as Abel Boyer had defined it - or located it, as Johnson's primary definition did, only in the middle ages.² In this description of the Romance, Reeve made a subtle appeal to her reader: she rescued Romance by referring to it as 'an Heroic fable', highlighting a

1) Clara Reeve, The Progress of Romance and the History of Charoba of Egypt, 2 vols. (1785; repr. in facsimile, New York: The Facsimile Text Society, 1930), i. 13.

2) I have used the definition of Romance that Reeve herself cites from Abel Boyer's, Royal Dictionary, 2 vols. (London: R. Clavell, 1699). It is important to note, however, that Reeve was not citing Boyer's primary definition, which is '(a feigned story containing an amorous adventure) un roman' and is, therefore, less pejorative than the secondary definitions cited by Reeve which Boyer had classed as figurative expressions. Boyer's dictionary was reprinted many times during the eighteenth century and, in case the definition of Romance had changed by the time that Reeve consulted it, I have also scrutinized a later, augmented edition in two volumes (1773) and the fourteenth edition of the abridged version of the Royal Dictionary (1777) - the definition of Romance, however, is unchanged.

Dr. Johnson defined 'Romance' as: '1. a military fable of the middle ages;--A tale of wild adventures of love and war. [...] 2. A lie; a fiction.' A Dictionary of the English Language 2 vols. (1755; repr. in facsimile, New York: Times Books, 1979).

didactic and moral function of the Romance, a function of implicit contemporary value.³

The adjective 'Heroic', however, is as important as the 'fable' which it qualifies to an understanding not only of eighteenth-century Romance but of the characters that move within this Romance world. In making 'Heroic' an essential part of the definition of the Romance, Clara Reeve significantly modified Johnson's concept of a 'military fable'.⁴ To describe the Romance as a 'military fable of the middle ages', locates the action of the story in the distant past and among soldiers; the virtues displayed, the dangers faced, and the wilder parts of the action are thus placed in an appropriate context. By describing the Romance as 'Heroic' rather than 'military', Clara Reeve emphasized

3) Clara Reeve's belief in a moral, didactic function of Romance is shown again in her Preface to The Memoirs of Sir Roger de Clarendon, 3 vols. (London: Hookham & Carpenter, 1793), in which she seems to be reacting against the spirit of the French Revolution: 'The new philosophy of the present day avows a levelling principle, and declares that a state of anarchy is more beautiful than that of order and regularity. There is nothing more likely to convince mankind of the errors of these men, than to set before them examples of good government, and warnings of the mischievous consequences of their own principles.' pp.xvi-xvii.

4) I have placed considerable emphasis on the importance of the word 'fable' in Reeve's definition, viewing it as an indication that the improbability of the Romance was justified because the story was intended to convey a moral. This interpretation follows Johnson's primary definition of 'fable': 'A feigned story intended to enforce a moral precept.' It is worth noting, however, that three of the five definitions given by Johnson associate 'fable' either with fiction in general or with perverted fiction - similar definitions to those given for romance. This suggests, perhaps, that any form of fiction in the eighteenth century was regarded in the same way - with suspicion. See Johnson, Dictionary of the English Language.

the ideal qualities of the Romance, and the positive, extraordinary qualities of the characters.

The description 'an Heroic fable' indicates that, whatever the lessons to be drawn by the contemporary reader, the Romance was not a story of real life or of the ordinary, but a 'fabulous Story of such actions as are commonly ascribed to heroes'. These heroes, these 'men of extraordinary courage', should, in order to fulfil the moral function of the fable, be embodiments of the ideal. They must, therefore, be idealized stereotypes of virtue rather than mimetic characters. The stereotypes of virtue, which led Reeve to describe the Romance as 'Heroic', might also be described as champions of virtue because, following earlier commentators, Reeve's concept of Romance heroism was closely linked to a chivalric code.

In 1762 Richard Hurd had also argued, in contradistinction to prevailing criticism, that the Romance had a positive value of its own:

...may there not be something in the Gothic Romance peculiarly suited to the views of a genius, and to the ends of poetry? And may not the philosophic moderns have gone too far, in their perpetual ridicule and contempt of it?⁵

Hurd's Letters on Chivalry and Romance (from which Clara Reeve drew her ideas about the essentials of chivalry) were intended as a vindication of Spenser and as an argument for the recognition of beauty in the barbarous Gothic style:

In a word, you will find that the manners they paint and

5) Richard Hurd, Letters on Chivalry and Romance, (London: Millar, 1762), Letter I, p.4.

the superstitions they adopt, are the more poetical for being Gothic.⁶

Publication of these letters marks a change in attitude and taste in the eighteenth century, a public recognition by the eighteenth-century literary world that the wild, the barbarous and the fantastic had a positive value of their own. In stating that the codes of conduct - Hurd was considering the Chivalric code - belonging to this antiquated period are more suited to poetry, Hurd also implied that this code and these characters were more suited to the depiction of emotion.

A combination of Reeve and Hurd's analyses of the nature of Romance, offers three points which are applicable to the Gothic. According to both Hurd and Reeve, the central code of the Romance is based in chivalric heroism, suggesting not only a certain pattern of behaviour for the hero (and these implications of chivalric stereotyping will be explored in the chapter on the hero figure) but also that such figures are suitable vehicles for the depiction of emotion; heightened emotion is one of the characteristics of Gothic fiction. In addition both writers located romance values and romance action in a past, predominantly aristocratic or feudal, age and this too is characteristic of the Gothic. Reeve's justification of the romance as a moral exemplum for a contemporary reader is, interestingly, the same argument repeatedly advanced in authors' prefaces to Gothic fiction as a justification for their use of the

6) Hurd, Letters on Chivalry, Letter VI, pp.54-55.

supernatural or the horrific.⁷ These writers acknowledged that they were producing non-realistic fiction and many of them subtitled their works 'A Romance':

A Romance (generally speaking) consists of a number of strange events with a hero in the middle of them; who, being an adventurous knight, wades through them to one grand design, namely the emancipation of some captive princess, from the oppression of a merciless giant, for the accomplishment of which he must set at nought the incantations of the caitiff magician; must scale the ramparts of the castle; and baffle the vigilance of the female dragon, to whose custody his heroine is committed.⁸

The context in which this quotation appeared indicates how closely the Romance and the Novel were connected in the eighteenth century. George Canning, who wrote this analysis whilst still a schoolboy at Eton in 1747, described the Romance at length only to demonstrate that the 'realistic' fiction of the mid-eighteenth century had a decidedly non-realist root. He followed this description by a series of parallels between romance characters and those of the contemporary novel. Although the performers have changed, he suggested that the characters remain the same: the guardian replaces the magician, but is equally ferocious, and the maiden aunt differs only from a vigilant dragon in having no claws. While the actions of the watchful guardians are the same in both romance and novel, Canning found that the figure of the hero was reduced by the

7) A detailed analysis of two such prefaces is undertaken in Chapter Seven, 'The Victim'.

8) George Canning, The Microcosm, no. 26, (Eton, 1747), reprinted in Novel and Romance 1700-1800: A Documentary Record, Ioan Williams (ed.), (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970), p.342.

transition from fabulous to realistic fiction. According to Canning's analysis, the stereotype of the hero figure in the Romance dictates certain courses of action which are rendered ridiculous when expressed within the confines of realistic fiction:

The hero of a novel has not indeed any opportunity of displaying his courage in the scaling of a rampart, or in his generosity in the deliverance of enthralled multitudes; but as it is necessary that a hero should signalize himself by both these qualifications, it is usual, to manifest the one by climbing the garden wall, or leaping the park-paling, in defiance of 'steel-traps and 'spring-guns', and the other, by flinging a crown to each of the postboys, on alighting from the chaise and four.⁹

These quotations from Canning's essay suggest that the formula of romance emerges in contemporary fiction through the deployment of stereotyped characters. This last quotation indicates that Canning recognized that the stereotype of the hero was governed by a romance pattern, and also shows that he questioned the validity of such a stereotype when it was used in contemporary fiction. The hero figure, as Canning has described it, traditionally manifests his heroism through dramatic, effective action against a malignant society and through inspiring leadership. Opposed to a private individual and leading no one, the hero of the contemporary novel is diminished. In a later chapter on the hero, I shall be investigating whether the hero figure of Gothic fiction is also created after the pattern of romance, and whether he, too, though in a less

9) Williams (ed.), Novel and Romance, p.342.

circumscribed environment, is as ineffectual - even ridiculous - as the hero figure that Canning described.

Considering that Canning found elements of the Romance formula persisting in contemporary, 'realistic' fiction, and that Gothic fiction not only contains the same stock character types, but also reintroduces the element of the marvellous which was lacking in 'realistic' fiction, is it, then, reasonable to refer to the Gothic romance rather than to the Gothic novel? As some of the dictionary definitions that I have already quoted indicate, the term 'romance' was synonymous with 'fiction' during the greater part of the eighteenth century. In 1750, for example, when making a distinction between fiction that dealt with ordinary or natural life (he was referring to the work of Fielding and Richardson) and that which dealt with the extraordinary or supernatural, Dr. Johnson described the former as 'the comedy of romance' and the latter as 'the heroic romance'.¹⁰

By the time that Clara Reeve was writing The Progress of Romance (1785), the term 'novel' was more widely used to describe those works which a reader could relate directly to his or her own life - the same kind of 'realistic' fiction that Johnson described as 'the comedy of romance':

10) Samuel Johnson, The Rambler, 4, (1750), in Elledge, Scott (ed.), Eighteenth-Century Critical Essays, 2 vols. (New York: Cornell University Press, 1961), ii. 571. Similarly, Walpole's second preface to The Castle of Otranto (1764) distinguishes between 'ancient' and 'modern' romances which correspond to Johnson's 'heroic' and 'comedy of romance' categories respectively.

The Romance is an heroic fable, which treats of fabulous persons and things,--The Novel is a picture of real life and manners, and of the times in which it is written. The Romance in lofty and elevated language, describes what never happened nor is likely to happen.--The Novel gives a familiar relation of such things as pass every day before our eyes, such as may happen to our friend, or to ourselves; and the perfection of it, is to represent every scene, in so easy and natural a manner, as to deceive us into a persuasion (at least while we are reading) that all is real, until we are affected by the joys or distresses, of the persons in the story, as if they were our own.¹¹

As Ian Duncan has observed, Gothic fiction sited itself on the border between novel and romance as they were defined by Clara Reeve in this quotation; it retained some aspects of contemporary real life and manners, but defamiliarized them by placing familiar mores in improbable locations and distant time periods.¹² Despite the presence of some 'realistic' elements, therefore, I would suggest that the use of the supernatural or the marvellous, the moral purpose frequently claimed by the authors - identifying the works as 'fables' - the idealization of character types and the fact that many writers chose to describe their work as 'a romance', are a sufficient justification for considering works of Gothic fiction to be 'Gothic romances'.

11) Reeve, Progress of Romance, p.111.
Cf. John Aikin: 'Now, the writings styled novels, are intended to impress us like the narrations of real occurrences. They even pretend (however falsely for the most part) to instruct us in the knowledge of human life.' Letters from a Father to a Son, on Various Topics relating to Literature and the Conduct of Life, 2 vols. (London: J. Johnson, 1795-96), i. 82.

12) Ian Duncan, Modern Romance and Transformations of the Novel: The Gothic, Scott, Dickens (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp.20-21.

Having established that Gothic fiction can indeed be categorized as romance, I wish now to consider what the Romance genre contributed to the Gothic formula and, more particularly, how it may have influenced the creation of male character types. As Canning's essay shows, the Romance genre has endured beyond the society in which it first appeared, and has been adapted, has continued to have meaning, even when social mores have changed in succeeding centuries.

By consciously invoking the atmosphere of the medieval romance (typically, either through the historical period in which the story was set or by isolating their characters in a building redolent with medieval associations), Gothic writers imposed limitations on their representation of character. The requirements for romance characters in a romance world have been analysed:

The world of a romance is ample and inclusive, sustained by its own inherent, often obsessive laws. It is not an entire world; it intensifies and exaggerates certain traits in human behaviour and recreates human figures out of this exaggeration. It excludes some reaches of experience in order to concentrate intently upon certain themes until they take fire and seem to be the flame of life itself.¹³

Gillian Beer's analysis of the world of a romance shows that this world is one of exaggeration and intensity; a suitable environment for the 'men of extraordinary courage'. Romance characters, though displaying recognizably human traits, are not mimetic figures. Instead, her analysis seems to suggest, they are

13) Gillian Beer, The Romance, (1970; repr. London: Methuen, 1977), p.3.

intensified figures, larger than life, who are deployed in order to amplify certain themes. Gillian Beer believes that romance can speak directly to emotional experience by simplifying character and removing the restraints of rationalism. Stereotyped characters are not only playing certain, unavoidable roles within the narrative, but specific stereotypes - those of fear or of the ideal - are fulfilling a contemporary social function, freeing 'the primal material of dreams and terrors back into fiction.'¹⁴

The Gothic romance is an eighteenth-century romance; it reflects eighteenth-century ideals, moral principles and, perhaps, fears. Canning's analysis indicated one way in which an eighteenth-century writer might manipulate the stereotype of the romance hero. The figure of the villain, a key part of the medieval romance formula, also underwent an eighteenth-century transformation. One such stereotype, borrowed from the medieval romance, but significantly modified by the Gothic authors, is the feudal baron, or the lord of the castle. As the romance is traditionally peopled by exalted personages, the medieval romances are tales of the adventures of lords, ladies and knights. The lord of the castle is a familiar figure of social power, but even more importantly he is a figure of social responsibility; he owes allegiance to his king and protection to his dependents, over whom he has the absolute power of life and death. Much of the interest in medieval romances is generated by the lords' or knights' failure to sustain

14) Beer, The Romance, p.57.

their role, the abuse of their powers, and the denial of their oaths.

The difference between the medieval and the Gothic stereotype is that tyrannical, feudal barons appear in the Gothic romance as figures of antisocial power.¹⁵ Even when failing in their chivalric duties, medieval knights and lords are not antisocial figures. They are part of a clearly defined hierarchy with the power of life and death as a part of their status: they uphold society, they do not mock at it. By contrast, in Leland's Longsword (1762), Lord Raymond is presented as an anti-social, noble villain figure, who has usurped Earl William's lands and castle and is attempting to acquire his wife, Ela, as well.¹⁶ Leland depicted Raymond manipulating the language of conventional knightly honour in his attempts to win Ela, maintaining the chivalric code in order to suggest that he is the moral equal of her missing husband. Leland showed the reader that these chivalric protestations were a sham, however, because Raymond's servants are given the power to coerce Ela physically - a power that he cannot be seen to wield himself if the stereotype of noble lord of the manor is to be upheld. Thus, Leland's villain figure is shown

15) Cf. Punter: 'The figure of Manfred, laden with primal crime, is considerably larger than Otranto itself: his violence, his bullying, his impatience with convention and sensibility mark him out not only as the caricature of a feudal baron, but also as the irrepressible villain who merely mocks at society, who remains unassimiliable.' Literature of Terror, p.53.

16) Thomas Leland, Longsword, William; Third Earl of Salisbury: An Historical Romance, 2 vols. (London: Johnston, 1762).

manipulating and perverting his supposed role as lover (for the heroine does not accept him in this role) in order to justify his tyranny and perversion of the chivalric code. Walpole's villainous feudal lord, Manfred, in The Castle of Otranto (1764), is similarly drawn. He too is represented as anti-social, defiant of convention, ready to commit near-incest with Isabella and to tear her from the sanctuary of the church. Forced to observe codes of traditional hospitality towards the knights who come to reclaim Isabella, Manfred manipulates his role as a responsible prince, using it as a justification for sending his legal wife to a convent and pursuing Isabella instead. As the villain chapter will show, this type of manipulation of an established male social role, and contempt for the moral code underlying social conventions, is typical of the way in which villains are represented in the Gothic romance.

The evidence suggests that the formula of the Romance, and the eighteenth-century understanding of it, had considerable influence over the creation of character in Gothic fiction. By adopting the title 'Romance', writers of Gothic fiction were evoking not only ideas of the marvellous but specific patterns of character type and role in the story:

Because romance shows us the ideal it is implicitly instructive as well as escapist. By removing the restraints of rationalism it can reach straight to those levels of our experience which are also re-created in myth and fairy-tale. By simplifying character the romance removes the idiosyncrasies which set other people apart from us; this allows us to act out through

stylized figures the radical impulses of human experience.¹⁷

Some stock figures of romance are idealized, and the ideals embodied must be recognizable to the reader. Thus, the hero and heroine of the Gothic romance must conform simultaneously to both a heroic pattern laid down by the romance formula and the moral ideals and patterns of behaviour that were current in the late eighteenth century. This is the problem that Canning highlighted when comparing the romance form with contemporary 'realistic' fiction. Later chapters will show whether writers of the Gothic romance, who, in choosing the romance form and thus embracing the marvellous and retaining a wider field of action for their heroes, experienced similar problems in overlaying romance stereotypes with eighteenth-century codes of behaviour.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, both Beer's analysis and Canning's flippant essay demonstrate very clearly that the formula of the romance emerges through the interplay of stereotyped characters. Beer further stresses the potential effect that this has on the reader/text relationship. In simplifying character, in repeating certain character traits, roles and actions, writers create stereotypes - whose representation and interplay act as triggers for the raising and allaying of certain emotions. The formula of the romance is thus very close to my conception of the Gothic formula.

17) Beer, The Romance, p.9.

II. FANTASY

Gillian Beer suggested that, because it is not restrained by rationalism, the romance could reach the same levels of human experience that are re-created in myth and fairy tale. This suggests not only that romance and fairy tale have elements of fantasy in them but also that the fantastic might generate a particular response in a reader. 18 Before investigating what fantasy per se might contribute to the creation and representation of male character in the Gothic romance, I would like briefly to consider characterization in the fairy tale; in particular, I hope to establish why the characters of fairy tale are simplified and to speculate on whether the characters of Gothic romance are, perhaps, simplified for similar reasons.

i. Fairy Tale

Characters in the fairy tale appear to be simplified because they do not change during the course of the tale: adult characters have fixed characteristics and the story is centred on the trials and tests which beset the hero or heroine during his or her progress from child to adulthood. Fairy tale characters also typically exhibit only one strong, basic emotion that the reader or listener

18) Cf. Tzvetan Todorov, Introduction à la Littérature Fantastique (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1970): 'Premièrement, le fantastique produit un effet particulier sur le lecteur - peur, ou horreur, ou simplement curiosité -, que les autres genres ou formes littéraires ne peuvent provoquer.' p.98. For my reasons for using Todorov, see footnote 26.

interprets as the primary motive for all their actions. Because they embody a single emotion, characters from different tales with similar motives resemble each other, and are usually named after their role in the story.

These simplified characters are either completely good or completely bad: there are no moral uncertainties in the fairy tale and consequently many tales contain pairs of characters who exhibit opposite characteristics. The good, dead mother and the evil, living stepmother appear in several tales: Cinderella and Snow-White both suffer because of the vicious jealousy of their stepmothers and the weakness of their fathers; Sleeping Beauty has complementary fairies prepared to curse and to bless.¹⁹ The prevalence and initial success of the evil character is a necessary part of the fairy tale formula because the hero, or heroine, must suffer before winning, or being awarded, the prize of a successful and happy adult life.

It is the learning process which is significant, not the prize. According to Bruno Bettelheim, a child is gradually taught by fairy tales that evil deeds do not bring long-term success, and that good intentions will always conquer. A child identifies with the hero, not with his virtue, but with his struggle against unfair and overwhelming odds. Considered in these terms, we can conclude that fairy tales have a perennial appeal because they work out and repeat

19) For a full discussion of the importance of fairy tales see Bruno Bettelheim, The Uses of Enchantment: The Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tales, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976).

situations and emotions, in a simplified, concretized form, that are not specific to one culture or to one generation.

When considering the fairy tale, Jung based his work on the premise that statement - by which he meant words, descriptions and the way in which a subject associates or orders words - is the most important phenomenon of the psyche (Burke drew a similar conclusion in the Philosophical Enquiry).²⁰ He investigated fairy tales as manifestations of the spirit, finding repeated patterns, repeated characters, and repeated themes. Innate ideas or the tendency to organize experience in innately predetermined patterns are the contents of the collective unconscious, or the archetypes:

In myths and fairytales, as in dreams, the psyche tells its own story, and the interplay of the archetypes is revealed in its natural setting as "formation, transformation/the eternal Mind's recreation."²¹

Jung's theory is that these autonomous, primordial images are universally present in the pre-conscious makeup of the human psyche, whose development consists of continuous movement and reorganization of these images. As archetypes may change their form but not their substance, characters vary little from one fairy tale to another. It is the situations and the conjunctions or oppositions in which

20) 'The proper manner of conveying the affections of the mind from one to another, is by words.' Edmund Burke, A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful (1757), 2nd. ed. with additions, (London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1759), p.102.

21) C.G. Jung, Four Archetypes, trans. R.F.C. Hull, (1972; repr. London: Ark Paperbacks, 1988), p.95.

they are placed that encourage imagination, develop experience.

If it is possible to equate the archetype with an embodied emotion (as fairy tale characters seem to be both archetype and embodiment) then the simplified characters of romance, which change little from one century to another and project one emotion strongly, might also be classed as archetypes. The power of archetypal characters, and this is also true of stereotypes to a lesser degree, is that they make an immediate appeal to the emotions of the reader. The figure that corresponds most nearly to this in the Gothic formula is that of the heroine. She is the figure who does not change from one text to another, from one decade to another. Walpole's Matilda and Leland's Ela are essentially the same characters (in that the same key words are used to describe their characters, they are physically delineated in similar terms and they respond to situations in a similar way) as Mrs. Parsons's Georgina or Mrs. Roche's Madeleine.²²

An archetypal male figure, identified by Jung, appearing in both Gothic Romance and in fairy tale, is the wise old man, who appears as a hermit, or a dying father, or occasionally as a servant. The role is that of someone who can offer advice to the beleaguered hero or heroine, but cannot physically oppose the villain: this is left to the

22) These are the heroines of Walpole's The Castle of Otranto (1764), Thomas Leland's Longsword (1762), Eliza Parsons's The Mysterious Visit (1802), and Regina Roche's Clermont (1798).

actions of the hero, the purity of the heroine, an awakening of the villain's conscience or the supernatural intervention of providence.

Superficially, writers of Gothic fiction might seem to be manipulating archetypal characters within a fairy tale framework: the Gothic formula would then consist of goodness incarnate (heroine and, perhaps, hero), threatened by wickedness incarnate (the villain) and aided by wisdom incarnate (sound moral precepts reinforced by the advice of the good father and the actions of providence). This is not strictly true, however, for, as later chapters will show, education, example, and parental background play a large part in forming character within the world of the Gothic romance.

This is but one of the ways in which we may see that there are important differences between simplified characters in fairy tale and simplified characters in the Gothic romance. In the fairy tale, good characters are born with their moral excellence already fully fledged: in the Gothic romance they must learn the difference between right and wrong. Although both forms dramatize a conflict between good and evil, the Gothic romance lacks the moral certainty of the fairy tale as such a conflict may take place within one character - often the villain. Also, although the names of stock characters often echo elements of earlier Gothic fiction and thus indicate their potential roles, simplified characters are given more individuality than those of fairy

tale and inhabit a more populous world.²³ The fairy tale world often consists only of the central characters: the world of the Gothic romance contains a complete society - often one from which characters are exiled or isolated due to the machinations of the villain. Both the Gothic world and the fairy tale world, however, exist at a remove from the reader's reality; they are set 'long ago' and 'far away'. Nevertheless, this distance from reality is achieved through different techniques: the fairy tale is told in simple language and is based on the movement of timeless archetypes; the Gothic romance is told in fragmented, often archaic language and is more locally based in eighteenth-century fantasy.²⁴

ii. Fantasy

Although Walpole asserted that his characters behaved and responded naturally within an extraordinary environment, fantasy is one of the most striking elements of the Gothic romance, which does not pretend to be a

23) A psychoanalytic explanation for this difference in individuality between the simplified characters of fairy tale and those of other fiction was given by Marie-Louise Von Franz: 'In spite of having very human characteristics, then, these fairytale heroes are not quite human. That is because they are not only types of human beings but archetypes, and therefore cannot be compared directly with the human ego. You cannot take the hero as one man, or the heroine as one woman.' The Psychological Meaning of Redemption Motifs in Fairytales (1956; repr. Toronto: Inner City Books, 1980), p.10.

24) For an examination of the elements and purpose of the fairy tale in children's fiction of the period, see Gillian Avery and Angela Bull, Nineteenth Century Children: Heroes and Heroines in English Children's Stories 1780-1900 (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1965).

reflection of everyday reality in its representation of circumstance and happenings.²⁵ The fantastic, however, is not located only in the Gothic romance, nor did it first spring to life in the eighteenth century. There might prove, therefore, to be elements of the characters in the Gothic romance that belong to a wider tradition. An examination of the genre may help to determine the extent to which fantasy contributes to the creation and representation of male stereotypes in Gothic fiction.

In his study of the Fantastic as a genre, Tzvetan Todorov defines the fantastic moment as one of uncertainty: 'Le fantastique, c'est l'hésitation éprouvée par un être qui ne connaît que les lois naturelles, face à un événement en apparence surnaturel.'²⁶ According to Todorov, the hesitation experienced by the reader trying to interpret the text is often also present in a character, making the fantastic a part of the narrative structure and a theme. This kind of hesitation on the part of reader and character

25) 'Desirous of leaving the powers of fancy at liberty to expatiate through the boundless realms of invention, and thence of creating more interesting situations, he wished to conduct the mortal agents in his drama according to the rules of probability; in short, to make them think, speak and act, as it might be supposed mere men and women would do in extraordinary positions.' Walpole, Castle of Otranto, pp.7-8.

26) Todorov, Fantastique, p.29. I have chosen to concentrate on Todorov's definition of fantasy because it is the definition around which later theoretical works on fantasy are based, and also because the moment of hesitation is directly applicable to the Gothic romance. For a survey of theoretical work done on the fantastic see Neil Cornwell, The Literary Fantastic: From Gothic to Postmodernism (Brighton: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990), pp.3-41.

occurs again and again in the Gothic romance. Mrs Radcliffe, for example, was famous for introducing apparently supernatural phenomena that both terrified and perplexed her heroines. One such unearthly experience is the blue flame, observed by Emily, that plays on the soldier's spear as he patrols the ramparts of Castle Udolpho at midnight; this is later discovered to be a natural phenomenon caused by electricity in the air. Mrs Smith, in The Old Manor House (1788), and Mrs Roche, in The Children of the Abbey (1796), both introduce mysterious ghostly figures in half-lit rooms or passages to their shrinking heroines.²⁷ Both apparitions prove to be human: Mrs Roche's ghost turns out to be the wicked, but now penitent Lady Dunreath, imprisoned in the Abbey by her unfeeling daughter; and Mrs Smith's 'ghost' is an unromantic smuggler called Jonas Wilkins. ²⁸

This use of uncertainty inside the text was not a sophisticated later development in the history of the Gothic romance. It occurs also in Horace Walpole's Castle of Otranto, in which the interpretations of supernatural phenomena (or quasi-supernatural occurrences like Frederick's dream) by characters in the story are not only

27) Charlotte Smith, The Old Manor House, A Novel (1783; repr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, ed. Anne Henry Ehrenpreis, intro. Julian Stanton, 1989). ^{Regina} Maria Roche, The Children of the Abbey, A Tale, 4 vols. (1796; 2nd. ed. London: Minerva Press, 1797).

28) For a more detailed examination of the relationship between the use of the supernatural or the apparent supernatural and the male stereotyped character see Chapter Eight, 'A Miscellany of Men'.

vital to the following action of the tale, but enable the reader to make judgements about the character concerned. Walpole's declared intention was to put human characters into supernatural situations. Consequently, Manfred's initial reactions to the supernatural are represented as both human and natural. He is described, for example, as hesitating to accept the evidence of his own eyes when he beholds the gigantic casque which crushed his unfortunate son: 'He fixed his eyes on what he wished in vain to believe a vision'.²⁹ The hesitation that the villain experiences is a choice between accepting the supernatural as a 'real' event or doubting his own perception of reality. Thus a moment of fantasy created by Walpole helps the reader to interpret Manfred's character: Manfred would prefer to be the victim of his own deluded senses than to be at the mercy of some vast supernatural agency interfering with his dynastic ambitions. In the moments when he doubts whether he is awake or asleep, sane or mad, he recognizes that he only controls the natural world. This is why he would prefer to be dreaming or insane. The facets of Manfred's character that are revealed by his reactions to the supernatural are a direct result of Walpole's use of the fantastic.

When Todorov mentioned the Gothic romance specifically, it was to illustrate that, although moments of fantasy occurred in the Gothic romance, the fantastic was not sustained, and such romances slid either into the

29) Walpole, Castle of Otranto, p.17.

'marvellous' or the 'uncanny', depending on whether or not the supernatural moment was explained:

Une des grandes périodes de la littérature surnaturelle, celle du roman noir (the Gothic novel) semble en apporter la confirmation. En effet, on distingue généralement, à l'intérieur du roman noir, deux tendances: celle du surnaturel expliqué (de l'«étrange», pourrions-nous dire), tel qu'il apparaît dans les romans de Clara Reeves [sic] et d'Ann Radcliffe; et celle du surnaturel accepté (ou du «merveilleux»), qui regroupe les oeuvres de Horace Walpole, de M.G. Lewis et de Maturin. Il n'y a pas là fantastique proprement dit: seulement des genres qui lui sont voisins. Plus exactement, l'effet fantastique se produit bien mais pendant une partie de la lecture seulement: chez Ann Radcliffe, avant que nous soyons sûrs que tout ce qui est arrivé peut recevoir une explication rationnelle; chez Lewis, avant que nous soyons persuadés que les événements surnaturels ne recevront aucune explication. Une fois le livre achevé, nous comprenons - dans les deux cas - qu'il n'y a pas eu fantastique.³⁰

The terms 'marvellous' (merveilleux) and 'uncanny' (étrange) require some further definition. Todorov's own definitions are almost too precise: he considered the uncanny, the fantastic/uncanny, and the fantastic/marvellous in addition to five separate categories for the marvellous itself. I shall, therefore, be using other, more inclusive definitions, as I am not trying to identify whether particular Gothic romances should be classified as fantastic/uncanny or fantastic/marvellous; rather I am trying to discover whether elements belonging to the marvellous or to the uncanny have any discernible influence over the creation of character or stereotype in the Gothic romance.

Rosemary Jackson has defined the marvellous as:

30) Todorov, Fantastique, pp.46-47.

...characterized by a minimal functional narrative, whose narrator is omniscient and has absolute authority. It is a form which discourages reader participation, representing events which are in the long distant past, contained and fixed by a long temporal perspective and carrying the implication that their effects have long since ceased to disturb.³¹

The fictional world of the marvellous is one of fairy tale and magic. It is a world in which supernatural operations are normal, and life is regulated by laws other than those of everyday reality. This is true of many Gothic novels, both major and minor: George Walker's The Haunted Castle (1794) and The Three Spaniards (1800), or Charlotte Dacre's Zofloya (1806) are typical examples of this type of marvellous narrative.³² It is worth noting, however, that reader participation is not necessarily discouraged by the long temporal perspective. Several of the most dramatic scenes in Zofloya, for example, particularly the murder of Lilla, rely on the sensibilities of an engaged reader in order to raise the tensions of the story.

The marvellous, however, does not preclude the inclusion of some realistic details of living, any more than the romance does. In a romance the fictional world is physically present in carefully described minutiae of everyday life. George Walker introduced realistic details in The Haunted Castle when the hero, Ignatius, and his servant, La Moine, are caught in a thunderstorm whilst

31) Rosemary Jackson, Fantasy: the Literature of Subversion (1984; repr. London: Routledge, 1986), p.33.

32) Charlotte Dacre, Zofloya; or, The Moor: A Romance of the Fifteenth Century, 3 vols. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, 1806).

still in armour. The two characters are rescued by a hermit, who seats them by a fire and scours the rust from their armour. Touches of realism like these are essential to the narrative which must retain some internal logic in order to sustain the reader's semi-belief in the coherence of the marvellous world of the tale. It is easier to accept the portrait of Manfredi's (the murderer) wife turning pale when Ignatius stands before it, than it would be to believe that Ignatius's armour does not get wet and rusty, because that would be a supernatural happening without any possible justification - as Ignatius possesses no magic powers himself and we are not told that he has been given magic armour.

The "uncanny", the other genre to which Todorov referred as bordering on the fantastic, is a world in which the laws of reality remain intact, permitting an exploration of the phenomena described. Freud's essay on the 'Uncanny' defines it in broad terms as something that frightens, arousing dread and horror and exciting fear: 'The uncanny is that class of the frightening which leads back to what is known of old and long familiar.'³³ The uncanny is produced by hidden or repressed fears within the subject which are projected onto the world around. Consequently, the subject sees the world through a veil of unconsciously repressed anxiety which changes the familiar into something disturbing. In his essay, Freud uses two levels of meaning

trans. Alex Strachey 1955,

33) Sigmund Freud, 'The Uncanny' (1919), Art and Literature, PFL xiv (1985; repr. London: Penguin, 1988), p.340.

for the German word for the uncanny, 'das Unheimlich': initially as the opposite meaning to 'das Heimlich' - familiar and agreeable - so that the antithesis means unfamiliar and alien; but 'das Heimlich' also means that which is hidden, kept secret and concealed, and the antithesis means to reveal, to expose, to uncover that which is usually concealed. As the thing which is usually concealed is a part of the familiar 'heimlich' world around us: 'das Unheimlich' changes the familiar into the unfamiliar. Thus, everything uncanny is a projection of repressed, unconscious desire; the supernatural is lurking inside us, perverting our relationship with the world around.

There are two ways in which the uncanny may be seen to have a direct influence on the creation and representation of character in the Gothic romance. First, because the uncanny is concerned with taboo - the reason for the primary repression - the actions of the villain character, who as an anti-social figure attempts to manipulate and to pervert his role within society, reveals the darker side, the taboos in the 'heimlich' society against which he acts. The second effect of this aspect of fantasy, which necessarily concentrates on the interior life of the characters as they experience the defamiliarization of a familiar world, is to shape the narrative of the Gothic romance so that it is focused on the subjectivity of the central characters.

Mrs Radcliffe's romances are a case in point: her romances focus on an individual's subjective interpretation of uncanny events without using a first-person narration. Her semi-omniscient narrative technique focuses attention on her heroines without making them the mouthpiece for a retrospectively told story. Thus, Mrs Radcliffe is the teller of the tale but the reader's emotions are tuned to those of Emily or Adeline or Ellena, whose reactions and trembling sensibilities colour the narrative with fear, and make every event, every character, every emotion larger in proportion to the heroine's weakness. When considering how much fantasy has influenced the creation of the narrative, it might be argued that the uncanny is an effect produced in the reader by the narrative rather than that the form of the narrative is modified by the uncanny. Mrs Radcliffe, however, as the section on horror will show, was acutely aware of the aesthetic differences between terror and horror, and so it is reasonable to suggest that Mrs Radcliffe consciously shaped her narrative in order to produce these uncanny effects.

iii. The Effect of Fantasy on Narrative Structure

Elizabeth Napier considered the Gothic romance to be a formal failure because it has two opposing tendencies: one moves towards closure and a happy ending; the other expresses fragmentation, breakdown and decay. I would suggest that, once the place of fantasy in the Gothic romance has been recognized, these opposing tendencies can

no longer be regarded as a formal failure. Both tendencies are embraced by Mikhail Bakhtin's definition of fantasy, in which it is linked conceptually with the idea of carnival.³⁴ He saw fantasy as a direct descendant of Menippean satire which violates the generally accepted, ordinary course of events. Carnival is an extraordinary experience; the concept carries with it associations of colour, excitement, and, perhaps, cruelty. Most significantly, it is a suspension of ordinary life. Day to day routine has stopped but, when the carnival moves on, it will start again. Fantasy can only be a temporary escape from real life. Bakhtin did not find this in Dostoevsky's work where characters exist outside the law, isolated from the community. It is, however, entirely applicable to the Gothic romance in which there is only a temporary suspension of the law, and this explains why, although the horrific and/or supernatural events were guaranteed to give an eighteenth-century reader a 'frisson', it was a very safe thrill. Normal life is restored at the end of the novels and the reader can put the volume away, reassured that the right moral values will inevitably triumph.³⁵ This

34) Mikhail Bakhtin, Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics (1962), trans. Caryl Emerson (ed.), (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), pp.122-137.

For an examination of 'carnival' in the eighteenth century see Terry Castle, Masquerade and Civilization: the Carnivalesque in Eighteenth-Century English Culture and Fiction (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986).

35) Cf. J.R.R. Tolkien on closure in the fairy tale: 'Far more important is the Consolation of the Happy Ending. Almost I would venture to assert that all complete stories must have it.' 'On Fairy-Stories', Tree and Leaf (1964), cited in Colin Manlove, Modern Fantasy: Five Studies

is even the case in Frankenstein (1818) where the natural order is clearly disturbed and unsettling moral questions are raised.³⁶ For at the close of the novel, the outermost of the triple narrators, Walton the explorer, gives up his quest to find a passage across the top of the world and returns home.

The influence of fantasy over the narrative structure of the Gothic romance is not confined to a happy ending; it also influences the way in which the narrative is told. Every avenue of fantasy leads eventually to the relationship between oneself and the world around one, whether it is the hesitation experienced by a character confronted with the supernatural, or the reversal of a familiar object revealing unfamiliar desires. A fairy tale is told in a single voice by a wise omniscient narrator: the Gothic romance is often a tale told by fallible and sometimes bigoted human beings. There are numerous first-person narratives giving the reader a single viewpoint on the world: either the whole tale is told by the major character, usually by letter or diary, or, in cases where there is an omniscient narrator persona, there are also inset tales, anecdotes and reminiscences supplying other perspectives. Thus fantasy, being concerned with individual perception and interpretation of (supra-normal) events,

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), p.160.

36) Mary Shelley, Frankenstein, or The Modern Prometheus, (1818; repr. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, ed. James Reiger, 1982).

affects not only the narrative structure but also the representation of character.

By using this technique of first-person narration in Frankenstein, Mary Shelley destabilizes the reader's conceptions about heroism, monstrosity and responsibility. All three of her first-person narrators have similar, or potentially similar, spirits and vastly different experiences. Like a three-ring circus, each narrative reflects on the others and the most interesting act is saved for the core. In the outermost ring is Walton, the potentially heroic explorer; in the second ring, we find Frankenstein's narrative, a scientific 'hero' who has achieved his dream at a terrible cost; and in the centre, there is the monster whose narrative reveals that his monstrosity is caused by Frankenstein's betrayal.

First-person narratives like these deliberately undermine the idea that they are peopled and told by stereotyped characters. Even though all three narrators in Frankenstein speak with the same tone and the same vocabulary, the reader does not feel as though the interpretive choice lies between three characters and three identical stereotypes, but rather between three individual characters and one complicated personality split three ways.

Other writers of Gothic romances also manipulated first-person narratives, making the reader unsure of his or her interpretation of the story - even though these events are not always directly connected with the supernatural. Thus

one might say that, in a romance like The Recess (1785), for example, Sophia Lee changed the reader's perception of the story (that chain of events which the reader retrospectively constructs) and the characters in it, by changing the discourse and shifting abruptly from one first-person narrative to another.³⁷ Most of this romance is told through a death-bed, memoir-letter-confession from one of the central characters, Matilda Howard. Matilda's memoir is, largely, a retrospective retelling of the love between herself and the Earl of Leicester, who is represented as a demi-god of mature years, perfect in character and fascinating in appearance. About two-thirds through Matilda's memoir, another first-person narrative is introduced in the form of a letter from Matilda's beautiful, but doomed, twin sister Ellinor. This narrative paints a vastly different picture of Leicester, as a handsome, indulged, vain, and rather stupid man. The reader, who has no reason to doubt Ellinor's narrative (until the end of the tale when she has gone mad) is left hesitating between two interpretations of character and events, both of which are presented as true insofar as the character herself sees them.

While exploring character and subjective emotion through first-person narratives, the writers of the Gothic romance were also able to extend the idea of subjective emotion into a moral discursion on the destructive effects of the

37) Sophia Lee, The Recess, Or, A Tale of Other Times, 3 vols. (London: Cadell, 1785).

passions. Charlotte Dacre does precisely this by using first-person narrative in her romance, appropriately named The Passions (1811), which is presented entirely, apart from the last one hundred pages or so, in the form of letters between characters.³⁸ She used this technique to demonstrate her interest in a theme which is central to most Gothic fiction: the corruption of innocence by passion. From the first moment, every letter written betrays something of the character who writes. Each creates his or her own perception of reality, and the reader is left to try and establish the truth of the story, to evaluate the characters, from the many different versions offered.

Fantasy introduces doubts; it represents an escape from the 'real' of which it is the distorted shadow. Fantasy in literature cannot be wordless, and yet the words uttered to express something beyond what is perceived as 'real', are themselves the language of 'real' communication. As soon as the fantastic is made concrete in language, it acquires the literalness of the everyday. As the people who utter the fantastic are grounded in their own culture, fantastic products also indicate the hidden aspirations and fears of that culture. Thus fantasy can also be horror.

38) Charlotte Dacre, The Passions, 4 vols. (London: T. Cadell and W.H. Davies, 1811).

III. HORROR

Of the importance of terror and horror to the writers of the Gothic romances, there can be no doubt:

Terror, the author's principal engine, prevents the story from ever languishing; and it is so often contrasted by pity, that the mind is kept up in a constant vicissitude of interesting passions.³⁹

This quotation comes from Walpole's first preface to The Castle of Otranto and indicates one of the ways in which the narrative of the Gothic romance was shaped by engaging the reader's interest through scenes of terror.⁴⁰ This terror, however, is artificial, not actual, and in creating scenes of artificial terror that would affect the reader, Walpole (and Gothic romancers writing after him) was manipulating the sublime.⁴¹ The Aikins were among the first contemporaries to connect the Gothic romance with the aesthetics of the sublime, and their essay attempted to explain the appeal that this type of writing had for a reader:

39) Walpole, Castle of Otranto, p.4.

40 Cf. John and Anna L. Aikin, 'On the Pleasure derived from Objects of Terror; with Sir Bertram, a Fragment': 'The pain of suspense, and the irresistible desire of satisfying curiosity, when once raised, will account for our eagerness to go quite through an adventure, though we suffer actual pain during the whole course of it. [...] This is the impulse which renders the poorest and most insipid narrative interesting when once we get fairly into it;...' Miscellaneous Pieces in Prose (London: J. Johnson, 1773), pp.123-124.

41 See David Morris, 'Gothic Sublimity', New Literary History xvi (1985), 299-319, in which he argues that the Gothic romance, beginning with The Castle of Otranto, significantly revised the concept of the sublime in the eighteenth century.

This solution [the reader's curiosity], however, does not satisfy me with respect to the well-wrought scenes of artificial terror which are formed by a sublime and vigorous imagination. Here, though we know before-hand what to expect, we enter into them with eagerness, in quest of a pleasure already experienced. This is the pleasure constantly attached to the excitement of surprise from new and wonderful objects. [...]. Passion and fancy co-operating elevate the soul to its highest pitch; and the pain of terror is lost in amazement.

HENCE, the more wild, fanciful, and extraordinary are the circumstances of a scene of horror, the more pleasure we receive from it;...42

Conversely, the Aikins argued, scenes of actual horror inflicted real pain on the reader or spectator and contracted rather than expanded the soul.⁴³ By using fantasy and terror to assault the imagination, Gothic writers were trying to elevate the emotions of their readers. In this they were following Burke's famous precept that whatever is terrible is a source of the sublime:

Whatever is fitted in any sort to excite the ideas of pain, and danger, that is to say, whatever is in any sort terrible, or is conversant about terrible objects, or operates in a manner analogous to terror, is a source of the sublime; that is, it is productive of the strongest emotion which the mind is capable of feeling.⁴⁴

Burke's investigation into the passions, his attempt to establish some rational framework which might explain man's seemingly irrational emotions and responses, led him to list and discuss certain contributory factors. Many things,

42) Aikin, 'On the pleasure derived from Objects of Terror', pp.125-126.

43 Cf. Ann Radcliffe: 'Terror and horror are so far opposite, that the first expands the soul, and awakens the faculties to a high degree of life; the other contracts, freezes, and nearly annihilates them.' New Monthly Magazine, xvi (1826), p.149.

44) Burke, A Philosophical Enquiry, pp.58-59.

Burke felt, could help to create an impression of the sublime in the reader or onlooker, and the same objects are used in the Gothic romance to elicit the same kind of response. Everything (and every emotion) in the romances is enlarged: Burke had already commented on the effects of vastness, obscurity and infinity - meaning the 'artificial' sensation of infinity induced by regularity and repetition - in man's emotions and understanding. Burke extended his ideas about the importance of obscurity, shadow and darkness in creating the sublime effect from the contemplation of the physical (actual or represented darkness, vastness etc.) to the metaphysical. 'A clear idea is therefore another name for a little idea.'⁴⁵ He recognised the importance of shadows and the belittling effect of too strong a light. This light, which may also be interpreted as exercising the rational faculties and denying irrational impulses, has a double effect on the reader: firstly one of reassurance, the 'safe thrill', as horrors are brought down to a human and containable dimension. The other effect, like Freud's second meaning of 'heimlich', is one of increased uneasiness. Shedding light over a scene illuminates an object, however, it also has the effect of making the shadows more obvious. The more that a human being is consciously and rationally aware, the greater and denser must be the fears lurking in the hinterland, which has fantasy as the border between consciousness and unconsciousness.

45) Burke, A Philosophical Enquiry, p.108.

The way in which these theories of the sublime shaped both the narratives and the characterization of the Gothic romances is twofold. On the one hand, the focus on individual emotion and subjectivity within the texts helps to create an atmosphere of terror that may affect the reader as sublime. On the other hand, as David Morris has argued, the way in which writers of the Gothic romance amplified Burke's concept of terror beyond a list of events, transformed 'figurative elements of the sublime style into principles of narrative structure.'⁴⁶ Morris refers specifically to the elements of repetition and exaggeration, which, he asserts are the figures of speech shaping Walpole's narrative. Hyperbole describes the way in which characters address each other in The Castle of Otranto and this kind of exaggeration (a feature of the sublime style) is extended to characters, their emotions and the supernatural manifestations which cause these emotions.⁴⁷ Morris also comments on the degree of repetition within the plot of Walpole's romance; Manfred imprisons Theodore three times, Isabella runs away from Manfred twice. Repetition of action, like this, is also

46) Morris, 'Gothic Sublimity', p.302.

47 Cf. Kiely: 'Phrases like "unspeakable horror" or "indescribable transports of joy" may at first have been little more than trite literary evasions, but they point to an impulse which was ultimately to bring romantic novelists into serious conflict with some of the basic premises of formal realism. The human experience to be reported on was gradually being expanded to include feelings and dreams which seemed to defy - at least before Freud - a referential vocabulary.' Romantic Novel in England, p.11.

extended to characters who replicate each other's emotions and double each other's roles:

In The Castle of Otranto, the romance conventions of mistaken identity, disguise, sudden disappearance, and coincidental encounter reflect a narrative principle of repetition which challenges the concept of a world where everything and everyone is unique, marked by intrinsic differences, possessing a singleness which makes them exactly and only what they appear.⁴⁸

Thus Morris explains that Matilda and Isabella are interchangeable because of this principle of narrative repetition. Described as sisters throughout the text, Matilda is substituted as an accidental victim in Isabella's place. Yet, because of this doubling, had Manfred killed his intended victim, he would still have murdered a daughter. Thus a source of terror and of the sublime is found in narrative repetition. Similarly Manfred's lust for Isabella is replicated in Isabella's actual father, Frederick, who conceives an equally sudden and violent desire for Matilda. Morris further suggests that Walpole modified the Burkean sublime by forging and demonstrating a connection between terror and love, which Burke divided in his theory, through exploring the terror of potential incest - a social taboo.

Incest, or the threat of incest, is a prime source of horror frequently utilized by the writers of Gothic fiction as a propellant for the action and a generator of anxiety. The heroines of Eliza Parsons's romances Castle of Wolfenbach (1793) and The Mysterious Visit (1802), for example, are forced into action - flight - by the amorous

48) Morris, 'Gothic Sublimity', p.304.

advances of parental figures.⁴⁹ The same device is used by George Walker in The Three Spaniards (1800) and The Haunted Castle (1794) - although the action of The Haunted Castle is rather different because in this case the hero is forced to abandon his bride-to-be. This recurrent use of incest suggests that not only is a specific kind of sexual terror (perverting the image of the safe familial structure) continuously used to affect the reader but also, by extension, suggests that the Gothic romances were performing a social function in liberating and simultaneously quelling contemporary fears about the stability of the family unit and the consequent stability of society as a whole. That which is socially feared can be embodied in a stereotype in horror fiction, recognized and labelled as fictitious:

A fascination with excess and a need for reassurance thus found their point of fusion in a growing type of fiction which explored the macabre, the unorthodox, the supernatural, and other areas of human experience which defied logical explanation. Part of the reassurance such fictions could provide grew out of their implicit distinction from everyday reality - their exotic settings, stereotypical or larger-than-life characters, unusual or anachronistic situations.⁵⁰

Joseph Gixti was specifically concerned with the development and need for horror fiction. The Gothic romance also clearly explores 'the macabre, the unorthodox, the supernatural, and other areas of human experience which

49) Eliza Parsons, Castle of Wolfenbach; A German Story, 2 vols. (London: Minerva Press, 1793).

50) Joseph Gixti, Terrors of Uncertainty: The Cultural Contexts of Horror Fiction (London: Routledge, 1989), p.18.

defied logical explanation.' It too uses social stereotypes, which, after frequent usage, can develop into widely recognized images of fear - hallmarks of the society which created them. This is apparent in Elizabethan and Jacobean drama, for example, where Frenchmen, Spaniards and Witches stalked the stage as villains, symbolizing the menace of the encroaching Catholic empire with its forked prongs of superstition and sorcery.

Franco Moretti suggested, from a Marxist perspective, a very specific social need for these unrealistic symbols of fear:

Marxism and psychoanalysis thus converge in defining the function of this literature: to take up within itself determinate fears in order to present them in a form different from their real one: to transform them into other fears, so that readers do not have to face up to what might really frighten them. It is a 'negative' function: it distorts reality. It is a work of 'mystification'. But it is also a work of 'production'. The more these great symbols of man's culture depart from reality the more, of necessity, they must expand and enrich the structures of false consciousness: which is nothing other than the dominant culture. They are not confined to distortion and falsification. They form, affirm, convince.⁵¹

Essentially he felt that the symbols of fear - he is dealing with Frankenstein (the 1831 text) and Dracula (1897) - perform a reassuring function by diverting fear from the 'real' to the fantastic, transmogrified form. This is an interesting theory, but one that is made difficult to accept by Moretti's definition of the 'real' fears of the society: that of the conflict between the disfigured victim and the ruthless proprietor. He suggests, for example, that

Dracula and Frankenstein'

51) Franco Moretti, 'The Dialectic of Fear', New Left Review cxxxvi (1982), p.83.

Mary Shelley articulated the unconscious fears of her class by creating a monster who is a symbol of the proletariat, identified as such because it is both nameless and composed of many diverse parts, and also because it is disfigured - this is interpreted as the outward stigmata arising from the inequality of life. When considering the monster's disfigurement, however, it is surely more significant to note that Frankenstein carefully chose large individual features that seemed beautiful to him, and yet, from these well-proportioned, separate elements, he created something terrible. Thus, Mary Shelley indicated Frankenstein's limitations: he has no sense of overall proportion and harmony; he is not a god.

Frankenstein's dream turned into a horrible reality - and this happens in two ways within the text. On an interpretive level, Mary Shelley showed the blasting of her hero's youthful hopes through Frankenstein's narrative, as he describes the manner in which his initial dream of being a benevolent creator is destroyed by his own repugnance at the reality he has created. The transition from dream to reality, however, is also a literal event within the text as Frankenstein awakes from a nightmare in which he was clasping the rotting corpse of his beloved Elizabeth to find the hideous face of the monster peering down at him. As Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick noted: 'To wake from a dream and find it true--that is the particular terror at which these episodes aim'.⁵² This, comparable to David Morris's

52) Sedgwick, Gothic Conventions, p.28.

analysis of the presentation of figurative elements in narrative structure, is the horror of the Gothic romance.

The Gothic romance partakes of the same generic advantages and problems as Fantasy, Horror and Romance and these supply the raison d'être for the creation of the simplified character types apparent in the Gothic formula. The elements of Romance in the Gothic formula require certain characters to be both idealized and simplified, aids for the raising and releasing of emotion in the reader; the element of Fantasy affects both the content and form of the texts - the fictional world is defamiliarized through fantastic techniques before the inevitable closure; and the elements of horror within the texts also act as aids for the raising of emotions in the reader. Part of the special appeal of the Gothic formula, however, lies in the ways in which the writers altered existing stereotypes to suit their new mode of fiction, and the new stereotypes that were born from it.

Having considered the literary modes that influenced the creation of simplified characters, I shall now begin to examine individual stock character stereotypes in greater detail. The search for the eighteenth-century perspective, the ideal man, the hero of romance, begins in another form of literature: the conduct and courtesy manuals of the period. It is important to recognize that the conduct book was itself a form of fiction. It set up idealized standards, based on shared moral certitudes, that reflected

the way in which eighteenth-century society desired to see itself, rather than life as it really was. These ideal patterns of behaviour, however, promulgated by both types of literature, could only grow from the social conditions of the people who created the books and then read them. Once this premise has been accepted, further questions remain to be asked and answered about the creation of male character in the Gothic romance.

Chapter Three The Ideal Man

Eighteenth-century conduct books contain more than a simple chart of the perfect formal manners of their age. They also indicate the moral foundations on which these manners rest: they imply that perfect behaviour naturally emerges as the outward sign of a perfect soul. By contributing details of prescribed patterns of thought and behaviour the books create a composite picture of the ideal Man and Woman of the late eighteenth century. When these patterns of behaviour are examined in relation to the principal characters of contemporary fiction, it can be seen that the conduct books paralleled the concept of the Hero and the Heroine.

The standards of morals and behaviour promulgated by conduct literature were, on the one hand, considered to be almost universally applicable, and so the Hero and the Heroine of Romance had to embody them in order to sustain their roles credibly and recognizably. On the other hand, however, this conduct literature and these standards, as the rest of this chapter will show, were being directed specifically at the middle and upper classes. The conduct writers imply that, although everyone, whatever their social status, should aspire to the virtues which they describe, only members of certain classes will have either the opportunity to display them or the innate sensibility required to cultivate them. This attitude is not only found in Gothic fiction but is part of the Gothic formula: the

hero and heroine will be of a certain social status and a specific type of sensibility and not even the most worthy servant figure can emulate them.¹

An examination of the conduct books thus provides one standard by which to examine the male characters in the Gothic romance, helping to set the genre within a broader context of contemporary literature dealing with social issues. They enable one to examine the degree to which these Romances reflected contemporary social mores, and to consider whether, within their fictional world, the writers of Gothic fiction shaped and created new standards, redefining accepted gender roles.

The importance of the many conduct books written to guide the manners and morals of women cannot be ignored when considering the presentation of the character and conduct of the Ideal Man. It becomes increasingly apparent that whereas women were assumed to have the same duties and to play the same essential role across all strata of society, men may have different duties determined by class, but the role of the Ideal Man is delineated by his perception of, and behaviour towards women. The roles are interdependent. Conduct books written by men for women show what men expected and desired women to be, unconsciously revealing what men considered to be their own position and role. The female authors of conduct books subscribed to the same standards and proffered the same advice as their male

1) For an examination of the representation of servants and the differences in behaviour based on class see Chapter Eight, 'A Miscellany of Men'.

counterparts. The concept of the desirable woman was no longer that of the aristocratic, public figure, but the woman who had become the private, domestic centre of the home.²

The conduct writers selected here were well-known and widely read. The works of Mrs Chapone, Dr. Gregory and Dr. Fordyce were included in Clara Reeves's recommended reading list for young ladies in The Progress of Romance (1785), and used in Mary Wollstonecraft's Vindication of the Rights of Women (1792) as familiar examples of writers who created and perpetuated popular assumptions about the role of women.³

The social background of the writers of conduct books influenced their advice and the sphere for which that advice was intended. Jane West stated very specifically that she was directing her advice in Letters Addressed to A Young Man (1801) to traders, merchants, shopkeepers and professional men.⁴ Her letters are written to her son on his first leaving home, extolling the virtues of domesticity, family life, moderation and the middle classes. James Fordyce, son of an Aberdeen magistrate, was

2) For an expanded view of the development of the conduct book, see Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse (eds.), The Ideology of Conduct: Essays on Literature and the History of Sexuality (London: Methuen, 1987).

3) Reeve, Progress of Romance, ii. 104-105. Mary Wollstonecraft, Vindication of the Rights of Women (1792; repr. from 2nd. ed. corrected, London: Penguin, 1985), pp.191-207.

4) Jane West, Letters Addressed to a Young Man On His First Entrance into Life and Adapted to the Peculiar Circumstances of the Present Times, 3 vols. (1801; 2nd. ed. London: Longman & Rees, 1802).

a Scottish Presbyterian minister preaching in London, who wrote and published sets of sermons directed at the character and conduct of young men and women. His sermons are aimed at all areas of society, particularly indicting the fashionable society and accepted habits of the time. Chesterfield's letters, on the other hand, were the private correspondence of a noble, accomplished statesman and man of the world, giving experienced advice to his son on how to fill a particular role in society.

Hester Chapone came from a family who had lived in a mansion at Twywell, near Northampton, for several generations, enjoying an income of £700 or £800 per year from the estate. Her Letters on the Improvement of the Mind, first published in 1773, were addressed to a favourite niece, the daughter of a scholarly brother living in a parsonage at York.⁵ Hester Chapone came, therefore, from the same class as the Bennet family in Austen's Pride and Prejudice: a family owning an estate which guaranteed them an income, so they were not tradesmen, but yet not in the highest echelons of society. The advice that Mrs Chapone gives to her niece is, presumably, appropriate to her similar, upper-middle class station. Despite this the author of the Memoir, writing at a later date, states that '...her volume ought to be in the possession of all ranks in society.'⁶ This comment demonstrates the assumption that

5) Hester Chapone, Letters on the Improvement of the Mind, 2 vols. 2nd. ed., (London: J. Walter, 1773).

6) John Cole, Memoirs of Mrs. Chapone (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1839), p.41.

a universal concept of correct manners and morals for women exists which is not confined to any one class. Women's role is to be the passive, cohesive centre around which revolves the family and society:

The same degree of active courage is not to be expected in woman as in man; and not belonging to her nature, it is not agreeable in her: But, passive courage,--patience and fortitude under suffering--presence of mind and calm resignation in danger--are surely desirable in every rational creature;...⁷

Mrs Chapone introduced two keywords here - 'patience' and 'rational'. Certain words, like these, are frequently repeated in the conduct books, endowing both the words and the concepts they comprehend with 'gravitas'. One of the ways in which one should judge a potential friend, according to Chapone, is to watch her in the sickroom, observing whether her complaints are 'mild', 'gentle' and 'restrained', or whether she displays a 'turbulent, rebellious mind, that hardly submits to the divine hand.'⁸ Submission is thus seen first as a duty owed to God, before whose omnipotent commands and decrees the weak sinner must bend. The idea extends into the relationship between the sexes: man has more power and so woman must submit. Submission is seen as her duty and also as an integral, beautiful part of the female character, enabling her to deal with a life of suffering:

Your whole life is often a life of suffering. You cannot plunge into business, or dissipate yourselves in pleasure and riot, as men too often do, when under the pressure of misfortunes. You must bear your sorrows in

7) Chapone, Improvement of the Mind, i. 124-125.

8) Chapone, Improvement of the Mind, i. 162.

silence, unknown and unpitied. You must often put on a face of serenity and cheerfulness, when your hearts are torn with anguish, or sinking in despair.⁹

This extract from Dr. Gregory's Legacy to his Daughters, a posthumously published tract, reinforces the image of the woman as self-contained, unable to act and therefore adopting a posture of saintly, martyred passive suffering. Yet this role, artificially created by society - men work to support their family homes which are maintained and regulated by the women - is regarded as the essence of femininity, however unrealistic in most individual cases. Woman is trapped by the words that define her. She must be gentle, meek, patient; all of these qualities make her a perfect companion but also a perfect victim.¹⁰ She must have sweetness - like other key qualities this is associated with inner beauty:

...there is, however, a certain physiognomy of beauty, a candour and sweetness of aspect, an emanation of the soul, that sometimes illuminates the countenance.¹¹

Richardson actually wrote this about Mrs Chapone herself, but the same description might apply to any fictional Gothic heroine. It is very similar, for example, to one of the earliest descriptions of Emily St. Aubert; to the description of Jacqueline, daughter of the noble knight Les Roches, in Thomas Leland's Longsword (1762), and to the

9) Dr. Gregory, A Father's Legacy to his Daughters (1774; repr. Ludlow: Nicholson, 1809), p.6.

10) The connection between the victimization of women and the stereotype imposed upon them is explored further in Chapter Seven, 'The Victim'.

11) Chapone, Improvement of the Mind, p.xi.

first description of Antonia's face in The Monk (1796).¹²
The exterior reflects the interior. Landscape and weather conditions are similarly used in Gothic fiction: the turbulent passions of men and the fears of women are projected, enlarged, and seem to be the cause of the storms, darkness and shafts of light that surround them. Landscape influences moods too; heroes and heroines are soothed and elevated by contemplating sublime landscapes - villains, significantly, are not moved by them.¹³

The necessity for restraint extends beyond control of one's temper to all strong emotions. A strong emotion is a passion; a passion is a destructive force and a weakness because it overrides reason:

A sweet timidity was given them to guard their innocence, by inclining them to shrink from whatever might threaten to injure it. Their passions, as they rise, are restrained from exorbitance, by a secret sentiment of shame and honour.¹⁴

12) Ann Radcliffe described Emily in the following terms: 'But, lovely as was her person, it was the varied expression of her countenance, as conversation awakened the nicer emotions of her mind, that threw such a captivating grace around her:....' Mysteries of Udolpho, p.5.
Cf. Leland's description of Jacqueline: 'Yet still a greatness and elevation of soul gave dignity to her female softness.' Longsword, i. 112.
Cf. also Lewis's first description of his heroine, Antonia: 'It was not so lovely from regularity of features, as from sweetness and sensibility of countenance.' The Monk, p.11.

13) Cf. Maurice Lévy: '...nous verrons que de secrètes correspondences s'établissent entre les lieux, les personnages et leurs gestes.' Le Roman "Gothique" Anglais, 1764-1824 (Toulouse: Association des publications de la faculté des lettres et des sciences humaines de Toulouse, 1968), p.8.

14) James Fordyce, Sermons to Young Women, 2 Vols. 3rd. ed. corrected, (London: Millar, Cadell, Dodsley, Payne, 1766), i. 93.

Any quality prefixed by 'sweet', 'gentle', 'patient', or 'meek' is always socially desirable according to the conduct book writers. In Fordyce's eyes women are governed by instinct rather than reason: timidity and a secret sentiment of shame and honour replace the exercise of considered, rational self-regulation. Emotions are still regarded as a private experience: one does not openly avow one's shame and sense of honour. This sheds some light on the lengths to which Monimia goes in order to avoid a public meeting with Orlando in The Old Manor House (1783). She is winding linen and deliberately tangles her feet in it, falls sideways, hits her head on a metal-cornered screen and drives her scissors into her arm. This resourceful and active behaviour protects her private emotions and prevents her from betraying her guilty, clandestine meetings with Orlando.

Self-regulation extends to dress. In Sermon VI 'On Female Virtue', Fordyce advocates Sobriety: considering it an inward habit, supporting and giving value to the whole.¹⁵ He assures his female readers that the male population uniformly dreaded marriage with an expensive woman. It may be inferred that one of the most compelling reasons, at least in Fordyce's view, for adopting inward and outward Sobriety is that this assists the woman to marry a discerning man:

To divert fancy, to gratify desire, and in general to be a sort of better servants [sic], are all the purposes for which some suppose your sex designed. A most

15) Fordyce, Sermons To Young Women, i. 138-139.

illiberal supposition! The least degree of refinement or candour will dispose us to regard them in a far higher point of light. They were manifestly intended to be mothers and formers of a rational and immortal offspring; to be a kind of softer companions, who, by nameless delightful sympathies and endearments, might improve our pleasures and soothe our pains; to lighten the load of domestic cares, and thereby leave us more at leisure for rougher labours, or severer studies; and finally, to spread a certain grace and embellishment over human life. 16

This is the discerning man, Fordyce, stating precisely what he, and presumably other men of similar breeding and education, expect from a wife. He makes a distinction in this passage between the way that a man who has some refinement or candour perceives Woman's role, and the coarser perceptions of others. This is doubly revealing: first, and most obviously, showing that the role of the ideal wife is defined by the way in which she complements and eases her husband; and second, that the difference between the illiberal suppositions of these nameless coarse characters and those of the refined man rests in the language used. The wife is spiritualized, through Fordyce's language, from a physical object into a ministering angel and saint. Instead of diverting fancy and gratifying desire, the wife improves pleasures and soothes pains with her delightful sympathies and endearments; instead of being a servant, she lightens the load of domestic cares. Woman is simultaneously deified and cast down.

Gisborne and Fordyce agree that Women are best suited to the duties of the heart, not having the intellectual capacity to reason or to construct a lucid argument:

16) Fordyce, Sermons to Young Women, i. 207-208.

Your business chiefly is to read Men, in order to make yourselves agreeable and useful. It is not the argumentative but the sentimental talents, which give you that insight and those openings into the human heart, that lead to your principal ends as Women.¹⁷

All the writers deplore the essential unfemininity of argumentative women, which transgresses their passive role. Queen Elizabeth is put forward by Fordyce as an example of how woman loses her femininity when assuming a role that requires 'male' characteristics. For women should rule the home, not the world:

The very best men are so made, as to be soothed by ready compliance, and chilled by habitual stubbornness in women [...]. To female excellence they will resign the empire of the breast with pleasure. But remember, young women; such excellence forever precludes the affectation of power, will rarely appear to exert it, and will generally prevail by submitting.¹⁸

A double standard operates here: men will both resign and retain power in a relationship. They will adore and worship the excellent woman, giving her power over them through their affections, but the excellent woman may never consciously wield this power, for in so doing she diminishes her femininity. Women's power, then, lies in their ability to manipulate men without appearing to do so.

17) Fordyce, Sermons to Young Women, i. 273. Cf. Thomas Gisborne, An Enquiry into the Duties of the Female Sex, 3rd. ed. corrected, (London: Cadell Jnr. & Davies, 1798), who, after listing the logical, muscular qualities of the male and comparing these with the more emotional, pliant qualities of the female, concluded that a man was possessed of 'close comprehensive reasoning, and of intense and continued application, in a degree in which they are not requisite for the discharge of the customary offices of female duties.' p.21.

18) James Fordyce, The Character and Conduct of the Female Sex, and the Advantages to be Gained by Young Men from the Society of Virtuous Women (London: Cadell, 1776), p.86.

There is a hint of hypocrisy, a possible difference between assumed behaviour and intention. They are obliged to work exclusively within the passive role.

The role of the man is implied through the advice given to women, and made explicit in conduct books for young men. While the image of the desirable woman created by these texts is that of the passive, domestic centre of the home, the image of the man is that of an active figure who moves between the two worlds of private domesticity and the rigours of active public life, which imposed a further set of duties upon him. Thomas Gisborne produced two large volumes explaining in detail the precise and different duties of men in the upper and middle classes, beginning with the duties of the Sovereign and finishing with those of the private Gentlemen. The duties that he outlined were those owed to a man's profession, to his society and to the constitution of his country. These social duties, John Aikin impressed on his son, are as important, if not of superior value, to the duties of private life:

...are not the king, the minister, the magistrate, as much essentials of the man as the husband, the father, and the friend? are [sic] they not equally social relations, differing only from the more ordinary ones in their superior importance? and [sic] can there be any propriety in characterizing a person from his performance of the lesser duties, while he is grossly deficient in the greater?¹⁹

It is interesting that Aikin should advise his son that his public social duties were of paramount importance. When Jane West was writing letters of advice to her son, she

19) Aikin, From a Father to a Son, ii. 42.

continually emphasized the importance of the domesticity of the male role. It is here, perhaps, that male and female writers were proffering slightly different advice based on their own experience of either the public or the domestic spheres.

Although the roles of men and women, according to the conduct books, seem polarized, both sexes are presumed to share common moral ideals. Consequently, certain keywords are used to describe desirable qualities common to either sex. 'Elegance' is a concept that recurs continuously throughout the conduct books and contemporary fiction. Dr. Johnson's definition of 'elegance' is 'Beauty of art, rather soothing than striking' and that of 'elegant' is 'pleasing with minuter beauties'.²⁰ Elegance is the essence of refinement, purity of line, delicacy of expression. Significantly, it does not denote a moral standard: 'Can anything be more elegant than the manners of Macbeth...?'²¹ Every keyword explored so far has described a quality residing within, reflected on the exterior through manners, dress, and countenance. This use of 'elegant' is contrary to that rule: Mrs West was not being ironic; but rather using the most appropriate adjective to describe Macbeth's polished courtly manners. These are not, however, manifestations of an exquisite soul. A split exists between

20) Johnson, Dictionary of the English Language. For an examination of Johnson's own use of the term 'elegant', meaning appropriate, precise, unprolix expression, see Patricia Ingham, 'Dr. Johnson's Elegance', Review of English Studies xix (1968), 271-277.

21) West, Letters Addressed to a Young Man, i. 115.

his soul and his behaviour, between inner life and outward manners. Whilst heroes and heroines do not experience this dichotomy; the villain who is alienated, locked within himself, does.

Both sexes should be 'mild'. It is a necessary part of Woman's passive role that she should be kind, tender, indulgent and compassionate (all qualities synonymous with 'mild' in Johnson's Dictionary). Men should cultivate mildness for another reason:

Among the amiable qualities which contribute to the happiness of domestic life, cheerful good-humour and mildness of manner stand pre-eminent. Their influence is felt daily and hourly. And their value is best discerned by marking the glooms and constraints that pervade every part of a family, the head of which is morose, peevish or overbearing.²²

Social considerations pervade every part of the conduct books. In the above extract men are warned that their moods and temperament affect those surrounding them. Mildness, a non-corrosive quality, enables the man to control justly and to exert a beneficent influence. His position as head of the household and the power this gives him over the lives of his dependents is a social responsibility.

Conduct books, whether aimed at women or men, were intended to educate young people to become useful and responsible members of society: '...the same mode of

22) Thomas Gisborne, An Enquiry into the Duties of Men in the Higher and Middle Classes of Society in Great Britain 2 vols. 2nd. ed. corrected, (London: Cadell Jnr. & Davies, 1795), ii. 453.

thinking which forms good citizens will also form good men.'²³ Similarly Hester Chapone advised her niece:

You must form and govern your temper and manners, according to the laws of benevolence and justice; and qualify yourself, by all means in your power, for a useful and agreeable member of society.²⁴

There is a difference in emphasis in these two quotations: the first, directed at a young man, specifically suggests membership of a public society, and furthermore considers this to be the formative principle - a good citizen will be a good man; the second, directed to a young woman, is less specific and can be interpreted as suggesting that she prepare herself for a domestic society - in which her influence would be felt. The principle of self-regulation is clear in both cases: society in the mass is more important than the destructive passions of the individual; and asserting those passions will cause either the breakdown of society or the destruction of that individual. The fates of Mrs Lennard in The Old Manor House (1783) and the Abbess of St. Clare in The Monk demonstrate this principle. Lewis depicted the eventual result of the Abbess' vicious rage and hatred, vented in the name of the rules of her order, as a riot, in which she was torn to pieces by an enraged mob, the people of Madrid. Smith's unpleasant Mrs Lennard, who had deceived Mrs Rayland and tormented Monimia, is betrayed by her passionate nature into a violent infatuation for the repulsive Mr Roker,

23) West, Letters Addressed to a Young Man, i. 84.

24) Chapone, Improvement of the Mind, i. 78.

gives up her dominance by marrying him and is then imprisoned by him.

An eighteenth-century reader would realize (unlike Mrs Lennard) that Mr Roker - in this fictional context - must be an insensitive and brutal man simply because he comes from the lower classes. The ideal concepts put forward by the conduct books are not only bonded to society but, more specifically, bonded to the middle and upper classes. Elegance, patience, sweetness and mildness result from education and rational thought. The lower classes had neither the education nor the leisure for such refinements. Sensibility is only for those able to afford it. In The Mysteries of Udolpho, for example, Ann Radcliffe comments specifically on the connection between sensibility and class through the reaction of an old servant, Theresa, to the behaviour of the heroine, Emily, who had refused to forgive Valencourt for his dissipated behaviour in Paris, although she loved him deeply:

Dear! dear! to see how gentlefolks can afford to throw away their happiness! Now, if you were poor people, there would be none of this.²⁵

Refined, delicate, inflexible pride is incomprehensible to Theresa. She does not have these ultra-sensitive feelings. The circumstances of birth dictate whether one has this innate delicacy: education determines whether or not one tempers it with reason. The noble soul, Fordyce believed, will betray itself through the passion with which it responds to tales of injustice or virtue. He described a

25) Radcliffe, Mysteries of Udolpho, p.626.

test for a young man - observing his reaction to an unexaggerated description of a good and a bad character:

He will not fail to declare instantaneously for the former; and, if possessed of a soul more than commonly well born, he will declare with a noble warmth, from the generous unstudied impulse of his own affections.²⁶

Even wickedness and villainy in the Gothic romance are more acceptable if perpetrated by someone with the right pedigree. The Countess, in Longsword, is described as being more terrified and revolted when confronted by Grey the servile flatterer (brother to Reginhald the wicked monk) than by the nobly-born, villainous usurper Lord Raymond who wants to marry her:

Instead of the man whose arrogance was tempered by that reverence and love with which her beauty had inspired him, Ela saw now before her an unrelenting, unfeeling vassal; in condition, such as her soul disdained to hold converse with, and in temper base and brutal.²⁷

Grey's brutishness directly results from his base birth. Like Theresa, he is represented as incapable of experiencing elevated, chivalric feelings or of being softened by beauty. Association with those of base birth, even if they are patterns of virtue, is contaminating, and the sensitive man is advised to have nothing to do with them:

But it will easily be understood, that, though distinguished virtue, wherever found, or however depressed, should still be cherished and revered, you ought in general to avoid any peculiar familiarity with those, whose want of repute might take from your consequence without adding to your improvement, or whose

26) James Fordyce, Addresses to Young Men, 2 vols. (London: Cadell, 1779), i. 37.

27) Leland, Longsword, i. 157.

obnoxious situation might involve you in difficulties that would impede your success and your usefulness.²⁸

Nowhere in the conduct books do the writers suggest that those of the lower classes can be educated up to the moral and ethical standards they postulate. Jane West argued that ministers or favourites who come to power from the lowest ranks of society are more arrogant, extravagant, and oppressive than those who have been educated from birth towards filling some high office. She considered the class system wise because each stratum of society is educated particularly for its allotted function. Her message is deceptive: on one hand she says that one's place in the world is fixed and one should not aspire above one's station, but, on the other hand, that there is no need for such aspirations because the middle ranks of society live according to the best fundamental values, those of home and the family:

The amiable mother, who devotes her attention to the care of her rising family, and is engrossed by the interesting occupation, and happy in the conscientious discharge of her duty, had neither the wish nor the leisure to fly about the town, to condemn the conduct of Lady Rattle, who is never at home. In like manner the affectionate husband, the kind father, the good master, the laborious student, the polished cultivator of elegant acts, is contented to limit his renown to the bosom of his family.²⁹

Before achieving the status of uxorious family gentleman, the young man has to explore and discover his role. This active, outward experience of discovery and the

28) Fordyce, Addresses to Young Men, ii. 30.

29) West, Letters Addressed to a Young Man, iii. 48-49.

active profession he is destined to follow are essential to the eighteenth-century concept of idealized masculinity. Fordyce wrote, in one of his early Sermons, that young men should respect themselves, as they are possessed of many noble, innate qualities that might be improved or spoiled by subsequent experiences and education. He cited an impressive list:

Lively fancy, ready understanding, retentive memory, resolute spirit, warm temper and tender affections, quick sense of humour and disgrace, irresistible love of action and enterprise, an ambition to be admired and praised (especially for probity, manhood, generosity, friendship, good nature &c.). Strong propensity to amusement, company and imitation, high relish of existence, sanguine hopes of happiness, exalted ideas of the world; candour and truth extending even to an easy credulity and honest bluntness, keen appetite for pleasure, restless attachment to the other sex, impatient of controul [sic], a thirst for liberty, an eagerness of information; a passion for what is wonderful, curious or new.³⁰

All are active, outgoing qualities. Even the attachment to the other sex is 'restless', implying continual motion and meaning an attachment without rest - continually renewed, rather than a shifting of affections from one woman to another. Proclivities which are repressed in women are encouraged in men. Women, as has already been shown, were brought up to be passive, to submit, to regulate their tempers and affections; men are admired for their impatience and eagerness, and are allowed to indulge a passion (the only occasion found in which a passion is sanctioned) for exploration and discovery. It is all outward movement, and the approbation of society is what

30) Fordyce, Addresses to Young Men, i. 16.

stimulates and sanctions this essential manhood. Men were expected to have exalted ideas and sanguine hopes: women were counselled to expect a life of suffering. Mrs West wrote that 'the configuration of his body, and the faculties of his mind, prove that he is formed for action.'³¹ She continues by speaking scathingly of 'slothful drones' (drones lead leisured lives provided for by society - again the importance of living for and contributing to society is stressed), contrasting this behaviour with the man who exercises his natural powers according to the decrees of divine law.

Mrs West provided one pattern of masculinity based, rather interestingly, on submission; Fordyce who hoped to change society by preaching sermons, writing conduct books and educating the young, provided another. Even though Fordyce (in common with other writers of conduct literature) disapproved of impressionable young women reading fiction and considered that novels painted an exaggerated picture of what might be expected from life, he nevertheless found a pattern of masculinity in the old romances - those chronicled by Chrétien de Troyes and Malory - where he considered the men to have been real heroes:

The men were sincere, magnanimous, and noble; the women were patterns of chastity, dignity and affection. They were only to be won by real heroes, and this title was founded in protecting, not in betraying the sex. The proper merit with them consisted in the display of

31) West, Letters Addressed to a Young Man, iii. 296.

disinterested goodness, undaunted fortitude and unalterable fidelity. 32

The pattern of heroism that Fordyce admired is similar to Hurd's chivalric code: the hero protects women, he is distinguished by his unselfishness, his goodness, his courage and his loyalty. He must deserve the heroine whom he wins. By comparison, the English society of the late eighteenth century, that Fordyce condemned in other works, is corrupt, its values bankrupt because there was a prevalent and 'growing indifference about the regards of reputable women, and a fashionable propensity to lessen the sex in general'.³³ He called the age 'luxurious and effeminate', a mixture of 'sensuality, softness, and concealed selfishness'.³⁴ Manliness and heroism are absent, qualities that should be judged, Fordyce felt, as they were in the old Romances, by the ways in which men behave towards virtuous women. The spheres of influence of the male and female characters are different, yet interdependent.

Although the evidence suggests that the required pattern of man's behaviour (which is repeated by all the conduct writers and thus becomes a stereotype of perfection) is dictated by a need to protect his family and preserve his society, the responsibility for man's heroic behaviour can

32) Fordyce, Sermons to Young Women, i. 150.

33) Fordyce, The Character and Conduct of the Female Sex, p.8.

34) Fordyce, Addresses to Young Men, i. 293, 292-293.

also be attributed to the woman, or to the love which she has inspired. Honourable love is one of the most elevating emotions that a man may experience; it is that which:

...yet fills with lofty conceptions, and animates with a fortitude that nothing can conquer - what shall I say more? - which converts the savage into a man, and lifts the man into a hero!³⁵

This powerful force, stimulating all that is best in human nature and depressing the vices, is capable of elevating any man to heroic status (though not, perhaps, a true elevation for those of ignoble birth). He must be worthy of his ideal woman. She becomes a symbol, a goddess to be revered and adored from afar:

He will ascribe to the attractive object, a purity, an elevation, a supereminence of worth, that places her above the rest of her sex. He will contemplate her idea with a kind of religious reverence.³⁶

Consistent with woman's passive role; she is the inspiration for man to act. Excessive love, however, is as destructive as any other passion:

Violent love cannot subsist, at least cannot be expressed, for any time together, on both sides; otherwise the certain consequence, however concealed, is satiety and disgust.³⁷

The significant idea in this extract is that violent love cannot be expressed on both sides: moreover, in the context of the romance it is a male prerogative. A man may declare his passion but a woman must keep all her emotions locked within herself; women who do declare their passions are

35) Fordyce, Sermons to Young Women, i. 24.

36) Fordyce, Addresses to Young Men, i. 187.

37) Gregory, Legacy to his Daughters, p.47.

typically older women in relatively assured social positions who are enamoured of young heroes - like Mrs Courtney (Castle of Wolfenbach, 1793) and the Baroness Lindenburg (The Monk). Betrayal of that type of emotion leads the woman eventually and inevitably to a state in which she is regarded with contempt by her lover because, by declaring her passion, the woman has destroyed the idealized, passive symbol that the man has created, and believed her to be. This is what happens in The Monk between Ambrosio and Matilda: he had idealized her portrait as a Madonna (static, unapproachable, eternally virginal yet her image eternally exposed for his gaze and in his exclusive possession), but after the initial conflagration of passion, Lewis depicts Ambrosio's change of feeling as he grows to loathe her, blaming her for his self-betrayal. Self-betrayal here means a literal betrayal of one's self-image, the idea that one has of one's position in the world. The true lover destroys his own self-image willingly: he copies the temper of his mild and self-regulated lady, doubting whether he is worthy of the regard that he wishes for and dreading, above all things, a rebuff. Even with this self-effacing attitude men are ultimately responsible for the course and the conduct of a relationship. Women have less experience of the world and are supposed to have a weaker understanding than men: their innate desire (according to Fordyce at least) to please men can be manipulated by the strong and unscrupulous. He views

the Fallen Woman as betrayed both by man and her own nature rather than as innately vicious:

...is it not some mitigation of their guilt, and should it not obtain some compassion for their frailty, that their natural solicitude to engage the attention and tenderness of the men has been turned into a handle for their destruction?³⁸

The role of the man is delineated by his responsibilities. If he fails to recognise and discharge his responsibilities and duties to society and to those dependent on him, his manliness is diminished. He is formed, as Jane West said, for action.³⁹

Chesterfield's Letters to his Son (1774) form an important part of this survey for two reasons: first, because they chart a system intended to educate a son to fulfil the requirements of a very specific male role; and second, because they were never intended for publication (this is a different case from the work of Dr. Gregory, whose book was found among his papers after his death).⁴⁰ Chesterfield's son Philip died in 1768, aged thirty-six, leaving an unsuspected widow - Mrs Eugenia Stanhope - and two young sons; Chesterfield himself died in 1773 and Mrs

38) Fordyce, Character and Conduct of the Female Sex, p.51.

39) Cf. Aiken, From a Father to His Son, writing about the evils of a secluded life: 'Men of virtuous principles have, I think, been too much afraid of contaminating them by entering into active life, and have listened too readily to the siren strains of poets and philosophers, who have praised the silent vale of retirement as the true abode of pure and exalted virtue.' ii. 47.

40) Letters written by the Late Right Honourable Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield to his Son, Philip Stanhope Esq, 2 vols. (London: J. Dodsley, 1774).

Stanhope sold the correspondence for £1500 in the following year. Almost certainly, Chesterfield himself never wanted his private correspondence made public and the Letters therefore give a very frank and accurate picture of the ideas, manners and morals of an eminent eighteenth-century nobleman, as well as the polish and education necessary to move in aristocratic and diplomatic circles. His advice thus differs materially from that of the other conduct writers.

By 1739, when Philip was seven, Chesterfield had already begun to write advice on a subject that would form the main theme of their thirty-year-long correspondence: the primary importance of correct and appropriate manners:

...a gentleman, who is used to the world, comes into company with a graceful and proper assurance, speaks even to people he does not know, without embarrassment, and in a natural and easy manner. This is called usage of the world, and good-breeding: a most necessary and important knowledge in the intercourse of life. It frequently happens that a man with a great deal of sense, but with little usage of the world, is not so well received as one of inferior parts, but with a gentleman-like behaviour.⁴¹

Chesterfield's letter gives a picture of the real world in which surface appearance and social graces are pre-eminent - the means by which people are judged. He did not suggest that morals are unnecessary, simply that the world in general does not have the wit or will to recognize them unless they are clothed in an acceptable form. This form consists of the current social modes. The adoption of good

41) Chesterfield, Letters, i. 93-95.
The Letter is presented in the original French with a translation appended by Eugenia Stanhope.

manners and polite forms of behaviour within society, therefore, is an expedient measure which serves the purposes of dissimulation better than violence and confrontation. Chesterfield gave a cynical and revolting picture of court life:

Courts are, unquestionably, the seats of Politeness and Good-breeding; were they not so, they would be the seats of slaughter and desolation. Those who now smile, and embrace, would affront and stab each other, if Manners did not interpose: but Ambition and Avarice, the two prevailing passions at Courts, found Dissimulation more effectual than Violence; and Dissimulation introduced the habit of Politeness, which distinguishes the Courtier from the Country Gentleman.⁴²

No heroes here! Manners are tools to be used to deceive others and advance one's own career. Chesterfield cautioned his son that a young man required 'inward firmness and steadiness' but should have 'exterior modesty' and 'seeming diffidence'; he should display 'apparent frankness and openness' but this should conceal 'inward' caution and closeness. The young man at court had as difficult a role to play as a passive young woman acquiring unobtrusive power through submission. The description marks, perhaps more than any other single comment, the difference between Lord Chesterfield and the other conduct writers. He was familiar with, came from, and wrote about a completely different stratum of society. The court is a separate society, heading English society in general but not mixing with it. Chesterfield's Letters provide a counterpoint to the other - middle-class - authors. The heroes of Gothic fiction are always well-born (even if they do not know it

42) Chesterfield, Letters, i. 443.

themselves), but the morals and attitudes that they espouse are not those of Chesterfield, who was less concerned with motives than with results: 'Give me but virtuous actions and I will not quibble and chicanery about the motives.'⁴³ His Letters create a picture of an eighteenth-century nobleman who, if he were a character in a Gothic romance, might well be a villain, not a hero.

Like Jane West's comment on the manners of Macbeth cited earlier, there is a contrast between what is felt and what is displayed. There is not necessarily any implication of deceit, of feeling one emotion and displaying its opposite - consider the other conduct writers who all say that strong emotions must be endured with no overt display at all. Chesterfield advises discretion rather than abstinence:

A real man of fashion and pleasure observes decency; at least, neither borrows nor affects vices; and, if he unfortunately has any, he gratifies them with choice, delicacy and secrecy.⁴⁴

Good-breeding seems to be postulated as a substitute for self-regulation and moral choices. A courtier must know how to handle his vices and other people. Flattery is merely another useful tool to use when one is conversant with the weaknesses of others. Throughout the letters sounds an echo of Chesterfield's intellectual and social arrogance. He always represented himself as an absolute authority, the

43) Chesterfield, Letters i. 329-330.

44) Chesterfield, Letters, i. 213.

man who knows, the manipulator with the power, attempting to advance his son into a similar position.

Despite the attacks made upon him by other conduct writers, like Fordyce, for example, he did share some common ground with his detractors. The following quotation reads like a piece of Chesterfield's advice but is in fact the work of Jane West:

The world has long since decided, that a knowledge of the art of pleasing shall be a passport to its favour; and can it be wondered, that it refuses to receive a suppliant who does not come thus accredited.⁴⁵

Mrs West and Chesterfield share similar views on the necessity of 'pleasing', though she asserted that it should be bound by prudence to guard the unwary young man against affectations, and Chesterfield set no discernible bounds whatsoever. His advice to Philip to 'strike through the passions' echoes the prevalent idea that passion is a dangerous and a destructive weakness. The other writers simply warned their readers against indulging in overt passion, Chesterfield advised his son to watch for and use any manifestations that betray a man's obsessions. When the passions are engaged they can override reason and the entire framework of society and the rational world is vulnerable.

The publication of Chesterfield's Letters provoked some extreme contemporary reactions. His frankness and cynicism shocked the reader who preferred to believe that he or she was part of a fundamentally righteous society, whose moral

⁴⁵) West, Letters Addressed to a Young Man, iii. 27-28.

values underpinned and dictated social behaviour. Instead they were told that politeness and good manners were the socially expedient tools of a corrupt and self-seeking world. There were immediate replies.

The most provocative issue was Chesterfield's concern with manners as a means to success, apparently at the expense of morals. Fordyce condemned him:

An universal popularity, obtained by whatever superficial accomplishments, or trivial recommendations, purchased at whatever expence [sic] of truth or virtue, the celebrated and the elegant Chesterfield is perpetually inculcating as the grand object of study, labour, ambition to a Young Man whom he loved above all others.⁴⁶

Fordyce considered the Letters to be both indelicate and vulgar. Seeking popularity is represented as the equivalent of prostituting one's principles: the accomplishments which enable a young man to obtain this universal favour cannot be profound. He must hide his virtue if it conflicts with the opinions of those with whom he is talking; he cannot tell the truth if it is offensive to his companions. The problem rests in the dichotomy between the heart and the actions, or lack of actions: between the internal and the external. Fordyce discussed this question when he considered how the same woman might be frivolous, brilliant, chattering and eternally in disguise in public, but might have 'simplicity, softness, a sedate carriage, and rational conversation' in private. This problem is also at the root of part of the reply by 'A Man Of The World' to Chesterfield's Letters, who objected to the way in which

46) Fordyce, Addresses to Young Men, i. 93.

Parisians were held up as models of good-breeding and as examples that young Philip should follow: 'I cannot but help remarking that everything in that city concerning externals is carried to excess.'⁴⁷

In the society with which Chesterfield was familiar, dissembling is part of the normal intercourse of life; the other conduct writers prized honesty above fashionable, social success.⁴⁸ Chesterfield never advanced religious principles in his letters; all is based on common sense rather than divine law. This is one reason why the argument for self-love as the prime motive underlying virtuous behaviour was also attacked. Taken to its logical conclusion self-love and self-gratification will lead to the indulgence of the passions, which afford, at least, a temporary pleasure. Indulgence of the passions may lead away from the duties owed to society and the ties of friendship. Self-love has no religious foundation which is the basis for self-regulation, and can be irrational, contrary to the ethos of an ordered society. Self-love and a lack of concern for others lead eventually to bad or

47) 'A Man of the World', Free and Impartial Remarks Upon the Letters Written by the late Right Honourable Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, to his son, Philip Stanhope Esq., (London: Bew, 1774).

48 Cf. John Aikin's advice, which is more representative of other conduct writers in From a Father to A Son: '...it is my decided advice to you, who are beginning the world, not to be intimidated from openly espousing the cause you think a right one, by apprehension of incurring any man's displeasure. I suppose this to be done within the limits of candour, modesty and real good temper. These being observed, you can have no enemies but those who are not worthy to be your friends.' i. 15.

offensive manners as a 'travestie' on Chesterfield that was published in 1809 shows.⁴⁹ It sets forth a code of repulsive manners and advises the reader to follow them, suggesting charming habits like staring women out of countenance in the street - if they blush they are modest, if they do not then your way is clear. Talking to oneself and gesticulating wildly in the street is advocated because one will be taken for a poet, an actor, or, if well-dressed, a member of parliament. If manners are the only standard by which people are judged, with no moral basis for assumptions about acceptable social behaviour, then bad selfish manners could become as acceptable, this 'travesite' suggests, if practised on a wide scale, as good ones.

Chesterfield was attacked because it was felt that he concentrated on manners rather than on morals. James Fordyce also suffered in a satirical pamphlet on his Sermons to Young Women:

'Tis vain to think these sermons will maintain
So great a sway among the female train;
To dooms-day let Miss James both preach and pray,
Still reason must to passion oft give way;
Tho' he may brandish his soft moral quill,
Yet shall the ladies follow their own will;⁵⁰

The writer clearly doubted that Fordyce's advice would be taken by the prostitutes or the Ladies of high Fashion, though he sarcastically painted a picture of all the

49) Chesterfield Travestie; or, School for Modern Manners (London: Tegg, 1809).

50) Fordyce delineated: A Satire occasioned by his Sermons to Young Women, Anonymous Pamphlet, (London: Dixwell, 1767), p.23.

milliners and mantua-makers in London going out of business because the Sermons were so popular that ladies would only buy two plain gowns per year. The pamphlet does not satirize Fordyce's ideas in the same way that Chesterfield's morals are deplored. The satire is more personally vicious than that: Fordyce's mannerisms and pulpit-style are exaggerated and held up to ridicule, so too is his expression of love for the entire female sex (which he had given as the reason for delivering the sermons), but his ideals are spared. What the writer of the satire stressed beyond all else was that Fordyce and Fordyce's sermonizing were not capable of changing anything in society or in the nature of woman.

The nature of woman and society's perception of her understanding are exactly what Mary Wollstonecraft thought should, and could, be altered. The Vindication of the Rights of Women appeared in 1792 after all the conduct books discussed - save that of Mrs West - had been published. Wollstonecraft obviously believed that books of this type had an effect on society and the way that women and men perceive each other and order their roles. She was a writer in the forefront of feminist thinking who rejected the double standard of excellence for both male and female which put women firmly in an inferior position. But it is not necessary to consider her writing at great depth in this context because writers like Fordyce, Gisborne and Gregory, had already, as she showed and argued against, consolidated the code that society recognized as desirable.

It is this accepted social code that gives some definition of ideal behaviour of the hero and the heroine.

Because Mary Wollstonecraft took the conduct books and their sphere of influence so seriously, and also because James Fordyce's Sermons to Young Women went through four editions in the first year of publication, it is clear that a reading public was available and eager for this type of literature. To have the time to spend reading (or writing) three volumes of sermons on conduct surely argues a considerable amount of leisure. This points to a public composed of the sort of middle-class woman whose husband's business was no longer directly connected with the home. It had probably expanded sufficiently for them to move to the suburbs and for the woman to have more servants, less involvement with the actual business and, therefore, more leisure to enjoy reading. Such a family case history is discussed by Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall in Family Fortunes, Men and Women of the English Middle Class, where the Cadbury family moved from the centre of Birmingham to the suburb of Edgbaston as the business developed and they no longer needed to live in rooms over the shop.⁵¹ The habit of reading also implies a very private pleasure: an opportunity to enjoy the stimulation of one's own self. Whether the conduct books provided opportunities for this type of pleasure is uncertain at best, but fiction and poetry of the period undoubtedly did.

51) Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, Family Fortunes, Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1720 - 1850 (London: Hutchinson, 1987).

The conduct writers were aware that they were addressing a public who regularly read fiction, including poetry and novels. They warned the reader against Romances:

[They] have conspired to mislead unguarded minds on this subject. How? By exhibiting gaudy pictures of a passion which is originally but too alluring; by, in a manner deifying that passion, and the imperfect beings who excite it; by frequently holding up to view an excellence more consummate and more wonderful than ever existed among mortals; in fine, by placing its gratification, and the whole apparatus with which Art, not contented with the simplicity of Virtue, has embellished it, in such lights as beguile the credulous votary with expectations that can never be answered.⁵²

Romances create a fantasy world, parallel to our own, in which everything is perfect. Every heroine is sweet and gentle, every hero the most magnanimous, generous, accomplished and athletic man in the entire world. Their love for each other is mutually deifying and mutually consuming. Fordyce felt that this raised expectations for the reader that could not ever be fulfilled. The above exhortation was addressed to young men, who are also assumed to be undiscerning romance readers. Ironically the heroes and the heroines of the Gothic romance conform very nearly to the ideals that Fordyce himself was helping to create. The heroes of Gothic romance do not uniformly exhibit perfect eighteenth-century gentlemanly behaviour: Orlando behaves in a questionable manner over the clandestine meetings with Monimia in The Old Manor House; Valancourt succumbs to the temptations of the city in The Mysteries of Udolpho; and Earl William doubts the fidelity of his beleaguered wife Ela in Longsword. But despite their

52) Fordyce, Address to Young Men, i. 204.

failings they are noble, sensitive, generous and protect the woman that they love. They fit the role that the conduct books have created for the ideal young man.

Conduct books and changing social conditions established the ideal of the passive, desirable and potentially domestic woman who can attract the generous, ardent, discerning man when the beauty of her soul transfigures her still face. They also unconsciously created the dichotomy between action and inaction, between what emotions move the heart and what, if anything, can be shown in public. The ideal man is the perfect complement to the still woman: he appreciates her passive goodness. He, himself, is an intensely moral figure, an upholder of social values, often not in the forefront of high society, rather, a family man. This marks a radical departure from the conquering heroes of antiquity who were fighting to build or to protect a society from tangible dangers. An ancient hero would have no problem dealing with the various supernatural manifestations; they would be recognised enemies, not symptoms of a troubled society. A Gothic hero is faced with a greater problem: himself. The writers of the Gothic romances had absorbed these ideals of the conduct book and transplanted them into fantasy, not always without question, to delineate the Hero, the Heroine and their preconceptions about the world and about each other.

Chapter Four
The Hero: Concierge or Builder?

I. THE FIGURE OF THE HERO

Who, or what is a hero? Before beginning an investigation of the representation of the hero figure and the part which he plays in the Gothic formula, I would like to indicate which character (or type of character) I deem the hero of the Gothic romance to be. The most obvious (and temptingly easy) definition of a literary 'hero' would be that he is the principal male figure in the story, the one whose career forms the main narrative thread. There are, however, other overtones to the term 'hero' which cannot be ignored. The first part of this chapter will, therefore, provide a preliminary sketch of various generalized associations and assumptions made about any hero figure, as well as indicating some of the problems that faced the writers of Gothic romances, when they attempted to integrate eighteenth-century conceptions of idealized masculinity into a stock character who had to fulfil a traditional heroic role.

In the iconography of some early twentieth-century cinema - particularly action films such as westerns - the hero is a readily identifiable figure. Black and white film lends itself to a portrayal of opposing values, whose moral polarities can be reinforced through the viewer's interpretation of basic colour-coding: the hero was, quite literally, the man wearing the white hat and riding the white horse. It was possible, therefore, to identify the

hero in two ways: his clothing would announce his heroic function; his subsequent actions would prove his hero status. The heroic function was, in these films as in other types of narrative, to pioneer and/or to combat evil.¹ In both cases, the hero's actions, which place him in personal danger, are selfless, undertaken on behalf of a community that, for various reasons, is either impotent against a menace threatening the destruction of society, or cannot establish a new society without the hero's actions. In sum, therefore, the hero is an active figure, whose individual actions are necessarily of epic proportions since he is the active focus of an entire society. In defending society against an overwhelming threat, the hero fights for the good of that society against a common evil. He is thus a moral figure - although it must be recognized that the hero can only be a figure imbued with positive moral values when he is viewed and judged by the desired moral code of the society which he represents.²

As the examination of conduct literature has indicated, the eighteenth-century ideal of masculinity was manifested in activity and linked to a strong moral code. In Gothic

1) For a brief discussion on the presentation of character and stock character roles in early cinema, see David Bordwell, Janet Staiger and Kristin Thompson (eds.), The Classical Hollywood Cinema : Film Style & Mode of Production to 1960 (London: Routledge, 1985), pp.13-16.

2) For an investigation of eighteenth-century hero figures as manifestations of social, cultural and economic development see Margaret Beaton Duncan, Aspects of the Hero in Eighteenth Century English Literature, (doctoral dissertation submitted to the University of California, 1990).

romances too, 'hero' is a term that can only really be applied to characters with positive moral qualities. Johnson's definition of hero in his Dictionary of the English Language interestingly suggests no clear moral dimension to the figure. He defined the hero as 'a man eminent for bravery' and 'a man of the highest class in any respect'. The exercise of courage alone without the tempering of other faculties, however, does not carry a positive moral value in the world of the Gothic romance.³ By contrast, his definition of 'heroick': 'noble; suitable to a hero; brave; magnanimous; intrepid; enterprising; illustrious', not only lists all the qualities that are associated with the hero of the Gothic romance, but significantly includes the key word 'magnanimous' which, as this chapter will show, does have a positive moral connotation. Thus one may argue that the hero is the principal male figure within the plot, and also potentially the 'best' in a moral sense: he is the character who uses the activity associated with masculinity in a constructive rather than destructive manner. That the hero should be a moral figure is not only a requirement of the romance formula (and of the Gothic formula) but is clearly part of the basic structure of a hero persona.

3) Johnson, Dictionary of the English Language. Cf. Ann Radcliffe, describing Emily's assessment of Montoni's courage in Mysteries of Udolpho: '...his very courage was a sort of animal ferocity; not the noble impulse of a principle, such as inspirits the mind against the oppressor, in the cause of the oppressed; but a constitutional hardness of nerve, that cannot feel, and that, therefore, cannot fear.' p.358.

The particular figure of idealized masculinity presented in the conduct books is, however, a construct peculiar to the eighteenth century in which and for which they were written, while 'the hero' is a figure (or figurehead) recurring in many cultures. It is necessary therefore, in this consideration of the hero of the Gothic romance, to look beyond specifically eighteenth-century ideas and texts towards a wider mythic tradition. From this I hope to establish further whether the hero of Gothic fiction, whose manners and code of conduct are so clearly in line with accepted eighteenth-century thought, and whose representation is very similar to that of the hero figure of eighteenth-century sentimental fiction, owes some part of his creation, or the representation of his role, to earlier writings and earlier traditions.

The mythic hero may be understood as a creation of the people, an expression of the collective unconscious who is endowed with all the virtues. Both Raglan and Joseph Campbell, having examined different examples of this collective hero myth, conclude by stating that the hero is one who goes on a spiritual and actual journey.⁴ They both

4) Lord Raglan, The Hero: A Study in Tradition, Myth and Drama (London: Methuen, 1936).

Joseph Campbell, The Hero with a Thousand Faces (1949; repr. London: Grafton, 1988).

The quest of the hero as a central myth is common to most myth criticism. I have chosen, however, to use the earlier work of Raglan and Campbell rather than later myth criticism because the tripartite structure common to both is readily applicable to the Gothic romance. For a more recent investigation of the hero myth as a literary archetype (in which the quest cycle is viewed 'seasonally' in four parts) see Northrop Frye, 'The Archetypes of Literature', Myth and Literature: Contemporary Theory and

divide this journey into three stages: separation, initiation and return - according to Campbell; and birth, initiation and death - according to Raglan. Although the names of the stages are different, their development is similar: both writers begin the hero quest with separation from the mother and from the settled society; continue with initiation into the rites of adulthood; and conclude with the accomplishment of the hero's task.⁵ A new city has been founded: the king's reign is over. The stages of this journey are not inconsequential picaresque but part of a unfolding pattern leading to the redemption of a whole people.

These heroes are builders: by the conclusion of their journey they have created something upon which a new society may rest. Even if the tales of their travels and travails are actually those of an inner, rather than an outer, journey, the hero has concluded by transforming himself (a representative and leader of his entire culture) into a stronger, more worthy member of his society, able to lead it forwards towards future success, future survival. How far is this true of the heroes of Gothic fiction? Examination of the texts indicates that the heroes of Gothic fiction seem to follow the same tripartite pattern without achieving the same result.

Practice, John B. Vickery (ed.), (Lincoln [Neb]: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), pp.87-97.

5) For an analysis of contemporary masculinity that also explores the stages of separation and initiation, see Rosalind Miles, The Rites of Man: Love, Sex and Death in the Making of the Male (London: Grafton, 1991).

The Gothic hero certainly appears to undergo 'separation'; this is commonly engineered through specific plot devices deployed by the writer in the course of the narrative. Sometimes the hero is forced into society with no adult protection, as a young hero and an orphan with no knowledge of his natural parents - these are typically revealed or vindicated at the dramatic close of the fourth volume. There are countless examples of this type: Theodore (The Castle of Otranto, 1764); Ignatius (The Haunted Castle, 1794); and Alfonzo (Gondez the Monk, 1805) all follow this pattern. Although this type of abandonment may be used as a device to 'separate' the Gothic hero and initiate his hero quest, it is more commonly used to propel the heroine into a situation in which she is an unprotected victim. Indeed, this structure is so frequently used that it may be argued that the writers of Gothic romances intensified and dramatized this archetypal process of 'separation' to create a dynamic plot. They were not the first to exploit the inevitable part of an archetypal pattern as a useful and compelling narrative technique. Most fairy tales begin with the abandoned child, or a young person setting out on a quest, on an adventure, alone.

The mythic hero is ritually initiated into the adult (male) world: the Gothic hero too undergoes tests in which he is forced to prove his masculinity by independent action or independent thought. Huberto Avinzo (Gondez the Monk) is literally initiated into a male society when he independently joins Robert the Bruce's fugitive gang and

proves his masculinity first by the soundness of his advice during the council of war. Valancourt (The Mysteries of Udolpho, 1794) is tested by his experiences in the corrupt society of Paris, and proves his masculinity by eventually choosing the correct moral path - despite initially succumbing to the pressure of his peers. Initiation into the adult world of the Gothic romance, however, is often connected with the pain of the hero's 'separation'. Another device, for example, by which heroes are 'separated' - and one in which writers of Gothic fiction were quick to see the dramatic possibilities - is in their alienation from living parents, especially fathers. Unlike the examples of literal initiation into adult male society, represented in the text, which I have already discussed, this test of masculinity is a metaphorical (and sometimes actual) battle for a recognized autonomous male existence apart from the wishes of the father. The rightful respect which the hero should have for the father figure is placed in proportion as the young man assumes or rejects his place in adult society: the wishes, values, decisions of the father are no longer paramount, they are weighed against the hero's own sense of moral imperatives. Some heroes (usually and more accurately described as hero-villains) experience separation and initiation into the adult world through disillusionment with their previously godlike (or at least respected) fathers. Clermont (Clermont, 1798), Leonardo (Zofloya, 1806) and Frankenstein's creation are all examples of this type. Although one might suppose that

these heroes experience a different type of initiation from the orphaned hero, this is not generally the case. Heroes in the Gothic romances (whether orphaned or with living parents) are frequently alienated from the public society into which they are first initiated because their idealized moral values are not those of a self-seeking world.

It is in a consideration of the third stage, the accomplishment of the hero's quest (the 'return' or the 'death'), that a difference may be seen between the mythic hero and the hero of the Gothic romance. For, unlike the mythic hero, the hero of the Gothic romance is rarely represented as the active builder of a new or renewed society. When the society that the writer depicts is corrupt, this provides another device whereby the hero and heroine are isolated and vulnerable. This is evident in Sophia Lee's The Recess (1785), in which both her heroes, mature Leicester and young, idealistic Essex, are crushed by the machinations of Elizabeth I and her court. Lee, like Lathom in The Mysterious Freebooter (1806), used the Elizabethan pseudo-historic setting to portray an aristocratic society which does not adhere to the moral standards of the hero and heroine; a society that is dominated by the figure of Elizabeth I.⁶ She is always represented as a monarch of absolute power who, by virtue of her sex, is a threat to women and an enigma to men. Both Leicester and Essex are portrayed as heroes yet neither are

6) Francis Lathom, The Mysterious Freebooter, Or, The Days of Queen Bess: A Romance, 4 vols. (London: Minerva Press, 1806).

builders of a new society. Paradoxically, these heroes are represented as at once a protection and a threat to their social order. As soldiers they are sworn to maintain the old order; as the lovers of Matilda and Ellinor (the legitimate twin daughters of Mary Queen of Scots) they pose the threat of a new dynastic challenge. They are leaders of their society by virtue of their aristocratic birth and the responsibilities that this forces on them are primarily those of loyalty to the crown. Leicester and Essex's loyalties are further complicated by the devious and demanding personality of the monarch: the plot is thus centred on the story of the conflict between the private, emotional life and the demands made on the public persona.

The actions or the quest of the hero in Gothic fiction are frequently focused on conflicts between established social custom and private morality. The role of the Gothic hero is, therefore, less public and more domestic than that of the mythic hero; the primary function of the hero in Gothic fiction (even for a hero like Theodore in The Castle of Otranto who is used to establish a fresh regime after Manfred's downfall) is to maintain in his own person the ideal moral values of the society in which he lives. A Gothic hero, then, can be represented as engaging in an intense, inner moral struggle, displaying his heroism only through minimal physical actions. Because the function of the Gothic hero is not to act as a pioneer and build a new social order, the Gothic hero figure is both more individual and more static than the mythic hero.

This type of 'individual' hero, Hans Schlaffer has argued, is always intimately connected with a bourgeois environment.⁷ It is interesting, therefore, to see how Schlaffer's arguments might apply to Gothic fiction, which not only featured a rather static hero on an individual inner quest, but was also promoting middle-class values. Schlaffer has argued that in a bourgeois world social and political institutions are already established and capable of existence independent of human efforts; that the antique or classical goals of action have already been accomplished, and this produces a focus on the inner man. The end of Schlaffer's argument is that the only truly heroic action possible within the Bourgeois Novel is revolution, and that the limits of individual heroism are recognized in the person of the hero, whose situation offers a critique of the degeneration of heroic ideals into illusions of the inner world. This, Schlaffer stated, can only be performed or achieved by 'serious' literature: a title he refused to allow to the Gothic romance:

...for just as this [serious] literature was dissolving traditional genres, dismantling their conventional images of the world and discrediting them as illusions in order to clear the way for its own representations of the other bourgeois reality, a second stratum of literature was emerging which, by conserving and refurbishing old illusions, succeeded in catering for precisely the kinds of needs that the bourgeois reading public considered to be neglected by realistic bourgeois literature. This literary substitution was what is nowadays called 'light fiction'. In it the heroic dream world lives on: the medieval courtly epic develops into the popular romance; the heroic novel of the seventeenth century gives birth to the Gothic novel of the

7) Heinz Schlaffer, The Bourgeois as Hero (1973), trans. James Lynn, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989).

eighteenth century, [...]. The model for the hero of popular fiction is not the hero of antiquity, but the prince or the knight-errant, his harmless successors. As chimerical, merely poetic beings, they are altogether more suitable vehicles of trivial illusion than the epic seriousness of the original demigods.⁸

Schlaffer was too dismissive: he failed to recognize that the Gothic hero frequently, and the heroine almost inevitably, is shown as experiencing an inner struggle in his or her attempts to achieve eighteenth-century ideals and virtues. Furthermore, these are virtues which are founded upon the upholding of society and the maintenance of essentially middle-class ethics. Rather than being a vehicle of trivial illusion, the hero becomes the concierge of the edifice of middle-class values. Values espoused and dictated by wise father-figures (St. Aubert in The Mysteries of Udolpho is a typical example) have to be absorbed and realized by the young hero before he can take over the patriarchal mantle and sustain his society.

In the above quotation Schlaffer has, however, outlined the main problem faced by writers of Gothic fiction who were attempting to delineate the hero figure. The actions appropriate for achieving the aims of a classic hero cannot be appropriated by the hero of a bourgeois society in which those aims have already been realized. The hero of the Gothic romance is, therefore, neither as compelling nor overtly active a figure within the formula as the primary villain. Because the principal male character is often also the villain of the tale rather than the hero, I shall be

8) Schlaffer, Bourgeois as Hero, pp.36-37.

introducing subdivisions of the hero category. There are hero-villains - these are principal male characters with an enormous potential for good, whose potential is perverted or corrupted during the course of the plot and who finally become destroyers; there are also villain-heroes - these are principal male characters who are socially destructive throughout the plot with only one redeeming, heroic feature which is usually courage - and these will be discussed at length in the villain chapter. The plot that features a hero-villain always has an accompanying villain, or agent of perversion and the plot containing a villain-hero has an accompanying, young moral hero.⁹ These hero-villains and villain-heroes are characters of the same proportions as the Shakespearean tragic hero: they live in a magnified landscape of guilt.¹⁰ The Gothic hero is a more passive figure. The problem that Canning had identified in 1747 - that the credibility of the hero figure diminished as the scope for dramatic heroic activity was reduced by the constraints of realism in the contemporary novel - was still a present problem for many writers of Gothic fiction despite the techniques of defamiliarization that they employed.

9) Raymond (Longsword, 1762), Ambrosio (The Monk, 1796), and Leonardo (Zofloya, 1806) are examples of the first type: Manfred (The Castle of Otranto, 1764), Montoni (The Mysteries of Udolpho, 1794), Gondez (Gondez the Monk, 1805) and Schedoni (The Italian, 1797) are examples of the second.

10) For the relationship between the Shakespearean tragic hero and the Gothic Hero-Villain see Mario Praz, The Romantic Agony (1933; repr. London: Fontana, 1960), pp.79-80.

Rather than being constrained by 'realism' in depicting action, writers of Gothic fiction were constrained by the stereotype of masculinity which they had to present as ideal. William Hazlitt investigated this very problem in an essay entitled 'Why the Heroes of Romance are Insipid' in which he argued that the reader's expectations about the hero figure undermined any possibility of action. Although I do not agree with all the points that Hazlitt made in this essay - I do not consider, for example, that the hero of the Gothic romance is uniformly insipid in his perfection, or indeed that he is represented as perfect - there are several things in Hazlitt's analysis that offer an interesting insight into the representation of the hero figure and his place in the formula:

They are, or are supposed to be, so amicable, so handsome, so accomplished, so captivating, that all hearts bow before them, and all the women are in love with them without knowing why or wherefore, except that it is understood that they are to be so. [...]. When there is this imaginary charm at work, everything they could do or say must weaken the impression, like arguments brought forth in favour of a self-evident truth:...11

The first point made by Hazlitt is that the hero figure is inhibited from action precisely because he is intended to be a hero. He is so idealized that his presence alone effects the love story, which is the primary purpose of the romance, and thus, though he may be described in glowing terms, nothing that the hero figure can actually perform will live up to the heroic aura with which he is

11) William Hazlitt, 'Why the Heroes of Romance are Insipid', Sketches and Essays (London: Templeman, 1839), pp.257-258.

introduced. Hazlitt also suggested that the very fact that the hero embodies the ideals of his eighteenth-century readership further contributes to his passivity. This is indicated by the comparisons made by Hazlitt between the heroes of 'old' romances who had to perform some physical task in order to be worthy of their title, and the heroes of the modern romance. Modern romance heroes suffered by this comparison precisely because they embodied the sensibility considered desirable in the late eighteenth century. Hazlitt praised the hero who had to perform some rude physical task 'instead of depending, as in more effeminate times, on taste, sympathy, and refinement of sentiment and manners, of the delicacy of which it is impossible to convey any idea by words or actions.'¹² The terms used by Hazlitt here are those in which conduct book writers most commonly depict the ideal woman. The hero's exceptional masculinity is no longer assessed by action but by the depth and quality of his feeling - the same standards that are applied to the heroine. The third point that I wish to draw out of Hazlitt's analysis, therefore, which is supported by the reference to 'effeminate times', is that Hazlitt considered the modern romance hero to be cast in a predominantly feminized role. The expectations and assumptions of a contemporary reader about heroism, and the ideal gentleman had, Hazlitt felt, reduced the active scope of the hero figure to that of an attractive statue.

12) Hazlitt, 'Heroes of Romance', p.261.

Nevertheless, the place of the hero figure within the formula - as an upholder of social values and protector of the heroine - is not changed despite a possible tension between the action expected of the typical hero and the representation of an eighteenth-century ideal. One might argue that such a tension is less likely in those romances which were set in more remote time periods, in which the hero could be more active. Hazlitt, however, found the same defects in the heroes of Scott's historical works as in those of other romance writers: 'In fact, the hero of the work is not so properly the chief object in it, as a sort of blank left open to the imagination, or a lay-figure on which the reader disposes whatever drapery he pleases!'.¹³ By describing the heroes of romance in these terms, Hazlitt has acknowledged both the importance of the reader's expectations as he or she engaged with the text, and that the hero of romance had become so stereotyped that very little specific description was required in order to evoke the hero persona.

A similar consciousness of reader expectations and character stereotyping can be found in the prefaces or dedications of some Gothic romances. The dedication of W.H. Ireland's romance Gondez The Monk, for example,

13) Hazlitt, 'Heroes of Romance', p.271.
Cf. his comments on Ann Radcliffe's heroes: 'Mrs Radcliffe's heroes and lovers are perfect in their kind; nobody can find any fault with them, for nobody knows anything about them. They are described as very handsome, and quite unmeaning and inoffensive. [...]. Perhaps, however, this indefiniteness is an advantage. We add expression to the inanimate outline, and fill up the blank with all that is amiable, interesting, and romantic.' p.267.

demonstrates the writer's consciousness of the Gothic formula:

Never before were heroes half so fine;
Never did virtue half so sweetly shine;
Never did Cupid aim so well his dart;
Never did each so well enact his part;
Monks, heroes, witches, lovers, nobles, all--
The good, the bad, the fat, the short and tall,
Must fill ye with delight.¹⁴

Part of the delight that Ireland promised his reader is based on the way in which he has anticipated that his characters and his plot will meet and surpass the expectations of the reader. He has promised that his handling of the formula will prove to be a superlative one: each character fulfilling his role. He obviously felt that fine heroes were an essential part of his story, and equally obviously knew what the role of those heroes was required to be - a virtuous lover.

Ireland's appeal juxtaposes the role of the hero with his relationship to the heroine. In terms of the reader's expectations about the way in which idealized masculinity and heroism are manifested, this hero/heroinerelationship is of prime importance. The hero's treatment of the heroine becomes the means by which man's relationship with, and responsibility towards, society might be tested. As the following quotation from another preface demonstrates, depictions of the ideal man in romances are not always intended to delight only, but serve as a pattern for contemporary society:

14) W.H. Ireland, Gondez The Monk, i. p.v.

Romance, from its earliest periods, has, in the persons of its heroines, taught the female world, that it is virtue which can alone give lustre to their rank and beauty; and, in those of its male characters, it has instructed the stronger sex, that they are to regard themselves as the natural protectors of the weaker, to treat the objects of their passion with the most profound delicacy and respect, and to expect the hand of her whom they love, as the reward of their virtues: and if this conduct be shown to produce happiness to those who move in a high station, it will naturally produce the same desirable consequence, if pursued by those in an inferior rank of life.¹⁵

The role model for the behaviour of the hero implied by this ideal is a knight bound by a chivalric code, supporting my contention that the hero is defined in relation to the heroine. Latham has suggested that the romance is educative for the male reader because it lays down an idealized behaviour pattern that should be observed in relationships with women. A hero is defined similarly to a knight distinguished by the favour accorded to him by the queen of her sex: he wins and then protects her. The end of the hero's quest, as described by Latham, is marriage and a contented, domestic, social existence.

In conclusion, like all heroes, the Gothic hero was, figuratively, wearing a white hat. The values of the society that he was attempting to protect and preserve, however, could no longer be won in single combat. Thus, although the Gothic hero figure embodied the best values of his society, the evils that he had to conquer were largely found within himself. He is a passive, meditative hero, locked, like the heroine, in battle with the passions

15) Latham, The Mysterious Freebooter, i. pp.vi-vii.

liberated by the villain. In creating the hero figure in Gothic fiction, however, writers were not content with the mannequin outline suggested by Hazlitt. Instead, as the rest of this chapter will show, a specific pattern for the hero was created in the very first romances, and thus writers triggered the reader's expectations before frequently manipulating that stereotype, and thereby raising questions about the figure of the hero, the nature of heroism, and even the nature of masculinity.

II. THE GOTHIC HERO

i. The typical Gothic Hero

Hazlitt's essay suggested that the hero of romance was a passive, stereotypical figure, whose heroic stature was supplied by the reader's imagination. The preferred image of the hero in this period, supported both by the medieval or aristocratic settings of Gothic romances and promoted by conduct literature, was that of the chivalric knight. One way, therefore, in which a reader's expectations might be evoked and the imagination aroused was by the use of certain keywords in the delineation of the hero character that had 'knightly' and heroic connotations.

The words that James Fordyce actually used to describe the characters of the knights of old were 'sincere', 'magnanimous' and 'noble': these, particularly 'magnanimous', become keywords in the description of the young Gothic hero, arousing certain expectations in the reader.¹⁶ These words take on a progressively larger significance as they not only define the role of the hero from the very inception of the Gothic romance, but, as becomes apparent after the study of a large number of these works, these keywords become not only part of the formula but interchangeable and interdependent. A character described as having one of these qualities may be expected to have them all. Interestingly, all of these qualities are innate. A hero might have them all without either wisdom or experience. These he gains during the narrative and, as he

16) Fordyce, Sermons to Young Women, i. 150.

gains them, proves his heroic status. The reader, however, is conditioned to expect certain responses from a hero figure because these keywords have been used to describe him.

For the writer of Gothic fiction, and for the reader, sincerity is regarded as synonymous with integrity and thus has a positive moral quality. The Gothic hero is incapable of deception: he is the embodiment of truth, just as the villain is the embodiment of betrayal. Magnanimity is, however, the most important quality that the hero can possess. Based on his behaviour towards conquered opponents or to the weak, it reflects his position as leader and his sense of social responsibility. The Gothic hero is in a position of power, able to offer protection to the weak and to defeat his enemies. As a hero figure, he demonstrates his heroism by the responsible way in which he uses that power. Reason and justice are seen to temper his raw emotions or passions:

"To be a hero, is to be a man! --To be a man is to act in unison with the feelings of nature! --If therefore we would be heroes, we must respect the feelings of others; and while we conquer, be merciful!."17

This declaration, made by a hero in a Gothic romance, can be interpreted in two ways, both of which offer an interesting insight into the concepts of masculinity and heroism in the Gothic romance. Masculinity is equated with heroism and then with sensibility, which is referred back to the heroic character: one possible interpretation of

17) Spoken by the hero, Ignatius, in Walker, Haunted Castle, i. 27.

this declaration, then, is that to be a man cannot be equated simply with biological maleness. The essence of masculinity, being a 'real man', therefore, as described in this passage, is successful activity tempered by sensibility. The hero is a leader with social responsibilities and any 'real man' who proves his worth in this way may be regarded as a hero.

The other way in which one might interpret this passage is to assume that the quotation does not refer to idealized masculinity but that any man (in the biological sense of 'male') might be a hero: such an interpretation is untenable as it is clearly an impossibility within the fictional world of the Gothic Romance. For the hero who is magnanimous and sincere must necessarily be noble (of aristocratic lineage in addition to possessing the abstract, positive moral qualities also associated with 'noble'), although noble birth does not guarantee possession of the other essential qualities.

This is made very clear when one scrutinizes the pattern of the hero figure established in the earliest texts, The Castle of Otranto (1764), and The Old English Baron (1777).¹⁸ Although both of these romances utilize a pseudo-medieval setting and the authors could thus legitimately cast their heroes as chivalric knights, the qualities demonstrated by these early hero figures are nevertheless the same qualities that were promoted by contemporary

18) Clara Reeve, The Old English Baron (1777; repr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, ed. and intro. James Trainer, 1967).

conduct literature and that appear in successive heroes of Gothic romances - even in those works which were not set as specifically in the far distant past. Walpole and Reeve demonstrated the necessity and inevitability of noble birth for the hero by placing their young heroes in lowly social positions where they will be unable to find recognition for their heroic nature, although other characters are aware of the difference between their bearing and their social standing.

The heroic nature of these pattern heroes is announced to the reader before other characters in the tale are made aware of their aristocratic pretensions. Walpole and Reeve handled the revelation of their character's heroic status in different ways. Walpole chose to reveal Theodore's heroic character through his actions and the reflections of other characters. Matilda's first view of Theodore, for example, occurs while he is presented as a peasant: 'His person was noble, handsome and commanding, even in that situation:....'.¹⁹ Given the association between masculinity and heroism, Matilda's thought may be interpreted by the reader (although the character herself does not make this specific association) as an indicator of Theodore's potential heroic status. The nobility of Theodore's bearing, despite his apparent peasant class and vulnerable situation, is an anomaly that awakens the heroine's interest but that acts as a trigger for the reader's

19) Walpole, Castle of Otranto, p.52.

expectations about the role that Theodore will play.²⁰ Walpole's Theodore proves to be the perfect young hero: he is brave - the only character who asserts his personal integrity against the orders of the tyrannical Manfred; athletic - he is able to free himself from Manfred's grasp; and considerate - he endeavours not to alarm Isabella in the vaults and later tries to soften the news that he has wounded her father. His actions are a manifestation and confirmation of the heroic character which was apparent to the reader through the heroine's first perception.

Clara Reeve, on the other hand, inserted an authorial description of her hero's superb moral character into the text. Again the reader has privileged foreknowledge about the hero figure. The potential heroic character of Clara Reeve's Edmund is virtually identical to that of Walpole's Theodore and to the pattern of the chivalric knight:

He was modest, yet intrepid; gentle and courteous to all; frank and unreserved to those that loved him, discreet and complaisant to those who hated him; generous and compassionate to the distresses of his fellow-creatures in general; humble, but not servile, to his patron and superiors.²¹

Although sincerity and magnanimity are not actually used as keywords in this quotation, the qualities for which they stand are implied. Frankness and unreservedness (or

20) Cf. the first description of Earl William disguised as a poor pilgrim in Leland, Longsword: '...his look was pale and squallid [sic]; but his port erect; and a secret greatness and manly dignity seemed to break thro' all the gloom of adversity which surrounded him.' i. 3.

21) Reeve, Old English Baron, p.25.

candour) are the outward signs of Edmund's sincerity and his generosity and compassion are indicators of a magnanimous nature. Clara Reeve thus left the reader in no doubt about Edmund's essentially heroic character but revealed that certain other characters in her fictional world refused to recognize it:

If he behaved with manly spirit, it was misconstrued into pride and arrogance; his generosity was imprudence; his humility was hypocrisy, the better to cover his ambition.²²

Without the recognized status of nobility, the hero is in no position to exercise magnanimity: his inferior status makes him into a potential victim rather than a potential protector. In both these romances, and in others where the same device of a hero with heroic character lacking heroic social status is used, the heroine always recognizes the hero in the dependent. Consequently much of the story revolves around the heroine's suffering and the hero's struggle to gain recognition and status in a social hierarchy that refuses to acknowledge heroism or 'real' masculinity in any class but the highest. Of course, in both The Castle of Otranto and The Old English Baron, the hero is eventually proved to have genuine aristocratic origins which effectively validate and reinforce the social hierarchy set up within the texts: the hero is not a working-class revolutionary. When using this device of a hero figure unable to exercise his heroic function because he is placed in a lowly social position, the writer was

22) Reeve, Old English Baron, p.32.

also able to exploit the hero's struggle with his own emotions, as the chivalric character does not permit the degradation of a beloved object by the reduction of her status to his own. Heroism in Gothic fiction thus also involves self-restraint and self-sacrifice to a larger moral ideal, something that the self-indulgent villain is represented as incapable of performing.

Both Theodore and Edmund are model young Gothic heroes, patterns of masculinity, and there is no discernible character difference between them, despite the fact that one might anticipate a slightly different perception of masculinity from authors of a different gender. The only difference, however, that might possibly be ascribed to a difference in a male or female perception of masculinity is the amount of personal danger to which the young heroes are exposed. Theodore, for example, a 'man's hero', is nearly executed by Manfred and fights a duel against an experienced knight in which, as a peasant supposedly unskilled at arms, he was at a disadvantage. In contrast, Edmund, a 'woman's hero', is brought up as a companion to the young FitzOwens, and the worst thing that he has to fear is losing his Lord's favour and being banished from the castle. He is not even required to fight a duel against the usurping lord - Sir Philip Harclay assumes that honour. Nevertheless both heroes are continually being challenged to prove themselves. Except when the figure of the young hero is deliberately being subverted by the author, and I shall be discussing the way in which women writers subvert

the young hero character later in this chapter, the role and essential heroic characteristics of the hero figure do not alter during the period chosen for this study.

Although the pattern for the basic hero figure per se does not alter during this period, the innate heroic characteristics of each individual are brought out as he is shown to develop within the course of the narrative in which he appears, and his heroic potential is, therefore, realized. One might almost consider the Gothic romance as a form of Bildungsroman as the majority of the tales feature a learning process by which young Gothic heroes make the transition from childhood to adulthood. The morals on which their heroic characters are based are tested by the hero's experiences of the world.

Occasionally these moral tests and trials are represented literally within the plot, for example, when Vivaldi (The Italian, 1797) or Monçada (Melmoth the Wanderer, 1820) are imprisoned and tried by the Inquisition.²³ More often the tests of the hero are apparent only to the reader while characters within the tale are enlightened at the conclusion of the story. The effect of these moral tests and trials that are apparent only to the reader is to internalize further the activity of the heroic struggle, re-emphasising that the hero's

23) Ann Radcliffe, The Italian, Or The Confessional of the Black Penitents (1797; repr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, ed. and intro. Frederick Garber, 1981). Charles Maturin, Melmoth the Wanderer: A Tale (1820; repr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, ed. Douglas Grant, intro. Chris Baldick, 1989).

quest is often an inner quest and valorizing the exercise of self-restraint; one side-effect of such an internal struggle is that it reduces the external activity of the hero figure. The reader is thus invited to interpret the achievement of heroic status as an individual process that is only publicly acknowledged within the text at the conclusion of the story. The passivity of the hero figure, then, does not necessarily work against the idea of heroism as Canning and Hazlitt both assumed that it did. Instead the passivity and self-restraint or self-sacrifice of the hero may be interpreted positively as a contrast to the active self-seeking of the villain. The most heroic gesture made by Ignatius (The Haunted Castle), for example, is his private decision to leave his beloved Adelaïs when he believes that she is his sister. Alternatively, the young hero's capacity for heroic self-sacrifice may be recognized within the text and manipulated by the villain. In such a case, the reader recognizes both the restraints imposed by the heroic stereotype and that the hero must learn the right moment to exercise self-restraint, he must learn to judge the motives of other characters accurately.

Regina Roche's Oscar Fitzalan (The Children of the Abbey, 1796) is one such hero whose innate nobility and sense of honour are privately manipulated and tested within the story, and for whom such a test is part of heroic maturation. The reader is aware that Oscar is tricked into actively giving up the woman he loves, on a point of honour, believing that her father does not approve of the

connection even though Oscar knows how Adela herself feels about him. *Regina* Roche thus made the reader privy to the reasons for the mental torture and real physical suffering which Oscar is forced to conceal from his associates. The reader can simultaneously appreciate and deplore Oscar's heroism, knowing that his promise to the villain Belgrave binds the hero to passivity while his beloved Adela is exposed to a miserable and loveless marriage.

Oscar is one of two young Gothic heroes in The Children of the Abbey who are represented as radically changing their perceptions about the world during the course of the narrative. Lord Mortimer, Amanda's lover, is another character who rapidly becomes more adult as the tale progresses and his preconceptions about the appearance of virtue change. By contrasting the characters of Oscar and Mortimer and demonstrating that the differences in their behaviour - particularly towards women - are due to the very different education that they are shown to have received from their respective fathers and the society in which they have moved, *Regina* Roche tested the heroic stereotype. Although these hero figures begin from different starting points, the learning process, giving them greater experience of the differences between appearance and reality and testing their moral values against that experience, which they both undergo, brings them to the same heroic conclusion - happy marriage to the women they love. Thus, not only can heroic status be achieved in a passive and private manner but the end of the

heroic quest is similarly personal and domestic. The hero's role has been domesticated: the end of his quest is an entrance into the private, domestic sphere which is the heroine's rightful domain. By the conclusion of the story, Oscar and Mortimer (who share the same essential heroic qualities from the beginning) have duplicated each other's experience and reinforced the heroic stereotype.

Initially, however, they are presented as very different. Oscar, for example, is represented as approaching the artless Adela, who behaves in a forward and sprightly manner, with far more respect than Mortimer is initially described as showing towards the extremely reserved and circumspect Amanda:

...the sacred impression of virtue, which nature and education had stamped upon the heart of Oscar, was indelibly fixed, and he neither suspected, nor, for worlds, would have attempted injuring the innocence of Adela;...24

This quotation shows that Oscar's delicate, heroic treatment of Adela is based on the same lack of worldly experience which eventually led to the misguided promise. Mortimer's contrasting treatment of Amanda is based on an excess of worldly knowledge which, Roche revealed, caused him to doubt the appearance of virtue. Oscar has no experience of hypocrisy: Mortimer marks it everywhere. Consequently, Mortimer's behaviour towards Amanda is the converse of Oscar's behaviour towards his adored object. After the promise to Belgrave, Oscar tries to protect Adela with the pretext of a previous engagement, thus preventing

24) Roche, Children of the Abbey, i. 187.

and protecting her from further emotional involvement. Mortimer, by contrast, is represented as doing his best to encourage Amanda's feelings from the first moment that they meet:

But Lord Mortimer was too penetrating, not soon to perceive he might ascribe it to a softer impulse: with the most delicate attention, the most tender regard, he daily, nay hourly, insinuated himself into her heart, and secured for himself an interest in it, ere she was aware, which the efforts of subsequent resolution could not overcome.²⁵

The keyword that indicates how Mrs Roche felt about the effects of her hero on the heroine is 'insinuated'. This is reinforced by the description on the following page where he is described as having 'insidious eyes'. The fact that Lord Mortimer knowingly has this effect on Amanda suggests that he suspects the effect that she has on him to be an equally conscious projection.

Neither Oscar's innocence nor Mortimer's superficial knowledge of the world helps them to realize their heroic potential. Oscar is initially represented as a more heroic character in his treatment of Adela, but Mortimer too is as magnanimous, though not as delicate, as the chivalric knight in his actions: even when Amanda seems most guilty (after Belgrave has been surprised in her bedchamber), he tries to assist her with money. He wants to assuage her suffering; he wants to protect her. By the close of the story, however, Mortimer has revised his concept of personal honour - at the start of the tale he was suspicious of Amanda because to be taken in by assumed

25) Roche, Children of the Abbey, i. 104-105.

virtue would have been a stain on his family honour. Four volumes later, he is conscious of the relationship of honour to self-sacrifice, rather than to self-aggrandizement. He is a sadder and wiser man: Lady Euphrasia (Amanda's cousin) has jilted him on their wedding day; his revered father has been revealed as a secret gambler; and his home has been sold to retrieve his father's honour. *Regina* Roche has transformed Mortimer into a hero who has made an enormous spiritual gain. He has learnt, from his suffering and by example, to appreciate truly the strength of Amanda's virtue and he has learnt the importance of controlling his passions. The fiery spirit, allowed and encouraged in a young man, must be trained and restrained, else it blazes into a consuming conflagration. Thus, elevated natural pride and concepts of family honour must not become abstract tyrants, taking the place of moral ethics which are sacrificed to them. In representing a hero figure who learns this lesson. *Regina* Roche reinforced the stereotype of personal, inner heroism, while in the character of Oscar she demonstrated that this type of heroism must be tempered by experience and knowledge.

An essential part of the learning process for the young Gothic hero is the control or the restraint of 'the passions'. Although they are rarely explicitly defined, the passions that Gothic heroes have to learn to control are usually sexual in origin - mingling with Society is equated with a loss of innocence, even when the vices adopted are those of gambling and not of whoring. When these passions

are awakened, a terrible internal conflict begins in the hero between self-indulgence and self-sacrifice. The Passions (1811) by Charlotte Dacre, written under the pseudonym of Rosa Matilda, shows such an awakening, such a conflict, and the resultant chaos. The theme of awakening sexuality in young men and women was one that she had already explored in Zofloya (1806), but The Passions, written almost entirely in the first person as an epistolary novel, seems at first to be a departure from the Gothic formula. It lacks any overtly supernatural (or even explained supernatural) manifestations. The passions of the characters, however, particularly the hate and desire for vengeance of the villainous Countess Appollonia Zulmer, acquire a supernatural potency of their own. Despite the absence of overt supernatural manifestations, the basic character types remain those of the Gothic romance and it has several Gothic trappings. The plot is a simple one: the perfect marriage of Darlowitz and the angelic Amelia is disrupted when he falls in love with Weimar's beautiful and engaging wife, Julia. Julia's response has been engineered and orchestrated through the advice given to her by the villain, Countess Appollonia Zulmer. There are two important points to be made about Darlowitz's fall from grace: first, that the whole affair is entirely cerebral, taking place in letters addressed to their respective confidants, not in any physical act between them apart from a letter from Julia asking Darlowitz to live when he has gone into a decline, owing to the distress of his mind; and

second, that Darlowitz has not undergone any testing experience before embarking on happiness ever after.

In The Passions, therefore, the importance of a learning process is stressed as the reader experiences what happens when a hero marries a heroine without growing up first:

But what is the wild enthusiasm, the ideal perfection of the choice of youth, compared with the refined judgement and sublimer conceptions of the man?²⁶

Ironically, in this extract, Charlotte Dacre has depicted Darlowitz viewing himself as a mature adult, whereas later in the same letter the reader can perceive that his adult language has broken down into incoherent ravings. This kind of self-deception is typical of Darlowitz's character: he has never seen clearly. Throughout the romance he is represented as an idealist, idolizing those people whom he loves, asserting that his friend, Weimar, has been an inspiration to him, that his wife is an angel. These statements are true insofar as they are confirmed by letters from the one character whose impartiality the reader is encouraged to trust, Rozendorf, and by the opinions expressed by the villainous Countess Zulmer. Yet these people consist of more than one idealized dimension, and this Darlowitz fails utterly to appreciate. As a result his wife dies and his best friend's family is torn apart when Julia flies from her home. Darlowitz is a type of young hero who has never undergone a learning process, and

26) Dacre, Passions, Darlowitz to Rozendorf, ii. 104. Cf. Rozendorf's description of Weimar in love: 'Weimar's goddess is an incarnation of a boyish desire and fancy. He thinks he has found her in Julia but surely his judgment should have matured since then?' i. 88.

who consequently, despite the noble qualities with which Charlotte Dacre endowed him, is unable to restrain his passions.

Normal social intercourse breaks down as the relationships between the characters are destroyed. Weimar continues to write letters to his confidant, Rozendorf, but when Rozendorf befriends Julia - who has gone mad as a result of her experiences - the letters cease. Charlotte Dacre wrote the dénouement of the story (the last one hundred and thirty-one pages) in narrative prose. The effect that this change of style has on the reader is to create the impression that, once social laws have been breached by uncontrolled passions, events happen with enormous rapidity, rushing towards a tragic conclusion - Julia's death in the snow outside her husband's house that she has been forbidden to enter.

The story of Raymond de las Cisternas (The Monk, 1796) also involves the flight of a young woman from her home and indicates how important it is to control sexual passion. Lewis suggested throughout this romance that the liberation of passion, particularly sexual passion, crosses temporal as well as social boundaries. It acquires and can awaken supernatural forces. The love between Agnes and Raymond, for example, causes them to try to exploit the superstition that, in another form, has destined Agnes for the Church, and Agnes's attempted elopement dressed as the Bleeding Nun literally brings the supernatural world into the natural. Like other Gothic heroes, Raymond has an important lesson

to learn about the control of the passions and social responsibility. In Howard Anderson's words:

In fact Raymond's heroic task is precisely Ambrosio's: he must recognise that the most apparently free and individual human impulses have lines of liaison with other people and with the past; he has to reconcile his spontaneous acts with the world of which he is a part.²⁷

Mrs Radcliffe's heroes also undergo educative trials, although these are only pale reflections of the mental anguish into which her heroines are forced. From his first appearance Valancourt is set up as a hero who will be undergoing the test of exposure to Society - St. Aubert remarks mournfully that Valancourt is a man who has never been to Paris - and rumour accuses him of loose-living in that city. Parisian society is frequently used as a type for fashionable decadence in which innocence is at risk, although London society too proves to be extremely dangerous for Amanda in The Children of the Abbey. In his consideration of Gothic heroes which examines them as protagonists in novels of education, Howard Anderson has suggested that aspects of masculinity are divided among different male characters in the Gothic novel, and the changes that take place in these characters depend upon what methods the writer chooses to present them.²⁸ He did not see the learning process as an essential part of being a hero, and denied it to the hero in Ann Radcliffe's most famous and influential work, stating that Valancourt does

27) Howard Anderson, 'Gothic Heroes', The English Hero, 1660-1800, Robert Folkenflik (ed.), (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1982), p.215.

28) Anderson, 'Gothic Heroes', pp.205-206.

not change at all, that there is no development in his character, or in Montoni's. However Anderson based this assertion on an erroneous interpretation of the text, believing that Valancourt's behaviour in the wicked city was only rumour with no substance in fact. This is not the case:

...Valancourt, some time after his arrival at Paris, had been drawn into the snares, which determined vice had spread for him, and that his hours had been chiefly divided between the parties of the captivating Marchioness and those gaming assemblies, to which the envy, or the avarice, of his brother officers had spared no art to seduce him.²⁹

The passage continues with the information that Valancourt's brother had refused to pay his debts and he had been sent to prison, where he had had time to reflect on his conduct and to repent of it. Whilst in prison he freed himself from the bad habits that he had contracted. Although this occupies only one page of the text and is not given the same prominence or importance as Emily's forays into real life, Ann Radcliffe definitely showed that Valancourt had to reappraise his moral values in order to be worthy of Emily's perfection. Vivaldi (The Italian), the most developed of Radcliffe's heroes, and the one who receives the most attention from the author, has to cut himself loose from the ties that bind him to his parents. Vivaldi does, in one sense, redeem his society: he has inherited character traits from both parents - which leads to his confrontation with Schedoni - he must have imbibed their sense of material values from his upbringing, and yet

29) Radcliffe, Mysteries, p.652.

finally his view of Ellena, his appreciation of her worthiness is adopted by the society which he represents. A new, and worthier dynasty of the Vivaldi family will be founded.

The reward for the successful completion of these trials is always the same: the hero has, at last, become worthy of the patient, suffering, passive heroine. His final reward is marriage and family life, presided over by an angel among her sex. The punishment for failure is the destruction of the family, the destruction of love, the destruction of hope, the destruction of the self. The general pattern of the learning process is something that is common to the majority of young Gothic heroes, no matter what the sex of the author, or what stylistic form the romance takes, or at what point in this period (1762-1820) they appear.

ii. Motifs associated with the Hero

Throughout this period there are also certain motifs that appear repeatedly and play a significant role in the development of the character of the hero. One such motif is that of the hero's entanglement in the affections of an older woman. This motif underlines both the attractiveness and the youth of the hero figure: the older woman is sexually attracted to the young hero, yet he is still learning how to control his passions and cannot respond in a sophisticated manner. The advances from older women are also part of the learning process which the hero must

undergo. As Howard Anderson has noted, the troubles besetting Raymond de las Cisternas come from his attempts to extricate himself from the love of one vengeful older woman, the Baroness Lindendburgh, and this brings down on him the unwelcome and unceasing attentions of one still older.³⁰ Raymond's love awakens the passions of the past together with the guilt and the sin that still adhere to them; he has to resolve and quieten these old passions before his life and his love can proceed. The Bleeding Nun haunts Raymond only, but the way in which he deals with the advances of the Baroness contains the seeds of Agnes's near-martyrdom. The passions of the Baroness are focused upon him and his rejection of them, which is done plainly and awkwardly because of his youth and lack of social savoir faire - a more experienced man would surely have recognised the symptoms earlier - changes the focus as well as the nature of her passion. Agnes becomes the victim of the Baroness' need for vengeance and is sent to the Convent, where her later indiscretion makes her the focus of yet another older woman's frustrated fury. On the two occasions in the story in which Raymond attempts to satisfy his sexual nature, therefore, he causes nothing but devastation.

When an older woman finds the young hero sexually attractive, it signals both his nearing adulthood and his own burgeoning sexuality. In Zofloya Charlotte Dacre uses this as a device by which her young hero-villain, Leonardo,

30) Anderson, 'Gothic Heroes', p.215.

is driven from potential sanctuaries and towards his eventual downfall. After running away from his father's house, he is involved in something very close to a Hippolytus/Phaedra situation when Signora Zappi fakes an assault on herself after he rejects her advances. For a second time Leonardo is driven from a home/sanctuary as a result of an older woman's sexuality - the first was, of course, his own voluntary flight after his mother disappeared with Count Ardolph - and this propels him towards the fateful meeting with Megalena Strozzi, which marks the awakening of his own sexuality.

Usually, in the Gothic plot, young heroes are on the point of discovering the true nature of their feelings for the heroine at the same time that the heroine's older friend or relation or benefactress begins to entertain warm feelings for them. Raymond's first feelings for Agnes, inspired by her attractions, are those of a protector; he wants to save her from the Convent to which her mother's vow has predestined her. Accordingly he courts her powerful aunt and, although he has formed a very accurate picture of the lady's character (though it is worth considering that Raymond's account of the episode is retrospective, taking place after his experiences with the Bleeding Nun and his long illness), fails to interpret her responses with equal accuracy. His actions have the opposite effect to his intentions because he is betrayed by his youthful judgement. The way in which the hero deals with the older woman also inevitably has an effect on the progression of

his real love affair as it affects the life of the heroine. This does not apply to Raymond only, and indeed, the passion (or potential passion) of the older woman is mocked and ridiculed earlier in the tale in the first encounter between the gallants and Leonella. What is comedy between cavaliers and the middle-aged, ugly daughter of a shoemaker in Cordova, turns into tragedy when both parties are of equal status, and are in deadly earnest.

Both the Count de Bouville and Lord Lymington undergo this experience - though less dramatically - when Eliza Parsons also used this motif in Castle of Wolfenbach (1793) and The Mysterious Visit (1802). Although Eliza Parsons used a similar motif and similarly typified characters, the change in focus between the earlier and the later texts marks a radical shift in the author's intentions. Eliza Parsons presented a more interesting conflict within the characters; in contrast to Lewis's frustrated elderly stereotypes, both the older women in these novels are initially presented as benevolent, attractive, worthy matrons who befriend the helpless heroine from the goodness of their hearts. The destructive power of passion is more clearly shown as it undermines all their previous actions. Mrs Courtney, the English lady in Castle of Wolfenbach is a type for Austen's indolent Lady Bertram, were she to be deprived of Sir Thomas's moral guidance:

Mrs. Courtney was good-natured, not from principle but constitution; she hated trouble of any sort, therefore bore anything, rather than have the fatigue of being out of humour; she was polite and friendly, where she had no

temptation to be otherwise; in short, she had many negative virtues, without any active ones.³¹

Given this character, it is not altogether surprising that Mrs Courtney should give way to her feelings for the Count de Bouville, rather than fatigue herself in attempting to restrain them. Mrs Parsons made the conflict between passion and restraint more poignant when she created the character of Madame Villeneuve, the older woman in the later The Mysterious Visit, who is first described as having 'true nobility of soul [...] an upright, humane, and generous heart, which scarcely ever waited to be asked, before she flew to relieve;...' ³² Unfortunately Madame Villeneuve is also a dormant volcano; the reader is informed that she had never been touched by passion before and, as soon as she conceived her love for Lord Lymington, it overcame her completely. Unlike Lewis, Eliza Parsons created a sophisticated hero, very aware of Madame Villeneuve's feelings towards him, who treats her with great circumspection in order to avoid prejudicing her against the helpless heroine, Georgina. This lack of candour is no more successful than Raymond's awkwardness as it reassures Madame about the direction of his feelings, and her resentment towards Georgina (when her suspicions are confirmed) is consequently greater. None of these older women have had children and this might suggest that their thwarted passion is both sexual and a perverted maternal

31) Parsons, Castle of Wolfenbach, ii. 68.

32) Parsons, Mysterious Visit, iii. 44.

drive. This is not actually stated in the text, but their childlessness is underlined by the fact that these women almost always adopt the heroine as a surrogate daughter while considering the hero as a possible lover. In rejecting their advances, the young hero breaks away from proffered emotional and sexual dependence on a mother figure, in addition to remaining true to his love for the heroine.

Another recurring motif, and one that has already been mentioned briefly, is the imprisonment of the hero. When heroes are imprisoned - usually by the Inquisition - the painful trials of growth are made present as an actual trial in the story. The Inquisition also acts as a deus ex machina, untangling the convolutions of the plot, to arrive at the truth. The prison is important too as a fictional space in which ordinary social laws can be superseded or ignored. Removed from society and at society's mercy, the hero is forced to inner reflection like, for example, Valancourt's reappraisal of his behaviour in The Mysteries of Udolpho. The heroine goes through the same process, but because she is required to be passive and cannot control her own fate, any space may become a potential prison for her. Actual bars are erected to contain the hero. In The Italian Ann Radcliffe uses Vivaldi's perceptions to interpret the long Inquisitorial trial in which he faces Schedoni, just as she had used Emily or Adeline's perceptions to interpret the world around them in her other works.

These motifs of sexuality or imprisonment all reflect stages in the development of the hero character. Both, rather interestingly, place the hero figure in a passive role, either as the object of a woman's declared desire, or confined in the same way that the passive heroine is often imprisoned. In neither case is the hero figure allowed to remain in a passive, feminized role. He must demonstrate his activity either by refusing the older woman's advances or by breaking with bad habits, or by literally breaking out of jail. Although the Gothic hero can achieve his heroic potential by interiorizing his activity and thus appearing externally passive rather than active, this is not the same thing as being cast (and treated within the text) in a passive role. His heroism is always allied to a potentially active role. The learning process amplified by these motifs demonstrates that the hero figure is required to control his activity. Heroism and uncontrolled passions are clearly incompatible.

iii. The Subverted Hero

The examination of the Gothic hero and the learning process which he is required to undergo has already demonstrated that the hero of Gothic fiction can be represented throughout the narrative as a good, moral character capable of upholding the social ideal, but one whose behaviour is often less than perfect. Some authors, however, although including a learning process, have further subverted the heroic stereotype, showing a conflict

between the reader's expectations about idealized masculinity and the practicalities of life depicted in the romance, thereby questioning the applicability of the masculine ideal and the nature of heroism itself.

The difference between a hero who has to undergo a learning process and one whose representation is subtly subverted by the author may be seen first in a brief comparison between the way in which Ann Radcliffe presented her hero figures and the way in which Charlotte Smith presented Orlando Somerive (The Old Manor House, 1783), and then in a comparison between Eliza Parsons's Castle of Wolfenbach (1793) and The Mysterious Visit (1802). In these novels her heroes are placed in identical positions regarding the heroine, yet one undergoes a learning process and the other is a subverted hero. From these comparisons, one may see that there are two types of subverted hero created by writers of Gothic fiction: Smith's subverted hero does not always behave in a recognizably heroic manner, thus redefining the reader's concept of heroism, but remains the hero of the tale and wins the heroine in the end. Parsons' subverted hero is completely diverted from the heroic path, and, although initially presented as the hero figure of the romance, does not fulfil the reader's expectations and does not win the heroine.

In indicating that her heroes were to undergo a learning process, Ann Radcliffe implanted warnings about their possible shortcomings within the texts - like St. Aubert's comments about Valancourt, or the narrator's comments about

vivaldi's hot temper and impetuosity - so that the reader is always aware that these young men have flaws to overcome before they can deserve the perfect bliss of marriage with the heroine.

By contrast, Charlotte Smith included no such warning comments about her hero. Instead, she used the reader's expectations of the way in which the hero should behave, and his motives for that behaviour, and exploited them so that Orlando becomes a more realistic figure. He does not behave perfectly. Apart from his clandestine meetings with Monimia, to which she offers a faint objection before concluding that Orlando could not possibly ask her to do anything wrong, Orlando also makes a bargain with the smuggler, Jonas Wilkins. Orlando may be considered a subverted hero because, although he engages in what the reader can certainly identify as questionable behaviour, no criticism is directly offered in the text and the reader is thus drawn into a conspiracy with the lovers. Monimia's tremblings, the terrors which the clandestine meetings cause her, almost become a moral barometer, a device that forces a reader to recognize that this hero is not behaving precisely according to the prescribed pattern.

All of Orlando's questionable actions - and they are few - are directly related to his love affair with Monimia. His pact to keep silent about the operations of the smuggler, of which Mrs Rayland surely should have been informed, is undertaken in order to facilitate his clandestine meetings

with Monimia and remove some of the terrors which plagued her:

Orlando, possessing this secret, flattered himself that his very extraordinary acquaintance would keep his word, and that the communication between the study and the apartment of Monimia might once more be open, without making her liable to those terrors from which she had suffered so much.³³

Consequently, the reader never doubts Orlando's essential heroic character because Charlotte Smith has allowed us to see that Orlando's intentions and desires throughout the story are all directed towards continuing to see and to protect Monimia. Although this urge leads him into disingenuous behaviour in the early parts of the text, it is shown to be part of the heroic character nevertheless, when the same principle later strengthens his sense of duty:

He might die in the field, and leave her exposed to hazards infinitely greater than those which could befall her in England. This last consideration determined him-- It decided his wavering virtue,...³⁴

The magnanimous protection of the weak is one of the trademarks of the hero, or the knight-errant, and it is the mainspring of Orlando's character. Charlotte Smith represented him as consistently compassionate and forbearing, even to the petty whims of Mrs Rayland. Orlando, however, is depicted as more than a romantic hero: he is a realist. On hearing that his father died secure in the belief that his youngest son, at least, was a pattern of integrity and candour and the only 'hope and reliance of

33) Smith, Old Manor House, p.132.

34) Smith, Old Manor House, p.337.

us all', Orlando is prompted to sigh.³⁵ Both Orlando and the reader are aware that his father's confidence was undeserved as Orlando had known and concealed the plans for the elopement of Isabella and Warwick:

...yet he rejoiced that, believing him ignorant of his sister's flight, this opinion of his integrity had not been impaired where it could have done no good to have known the truth, and would only have inflicted another wound on his father's heart.³⁶

This is not sophistry. Here Charlotte Smith has forced the reader to question yet again the absolute integrity demanded of a hero figure. Does idealized masculinity or heroism consist in a perfect balance of sincerity (truth), magnanimity (mercy) and nobility? Or is one quality more important than the others in the delineation of the hero figure? Charlotte Smith's representation of heroism in the person of Orlando suggests that one cannot always assume the presence of all three virtues in an equal degree. This quotation indicates that Orlando's heroic impulses towards the protection of the weak extend beyond the need to justify or to torture himself for infringements of the honour code. Charlotte Smith has sacrificed some of the potential romantic sensibility of her hero and substituted for it a more practical concern for the feelings of others. Orlando, equipped with all the correct contemporary moral ethics, must find a means of living that will allow him to survive with his morals and his love affair intact.

35) Smith, Old Manor House, p.429.

36) Smith, Old Manor House, p.429.

The depiction of Orlando's behaviour creates an impression of an eighteenth-century man trying, pragmatically, to resolve the dilemma between the ideals of romantic love and the demands of real life. Mrs Parsons's heroes, the Count de Bouville and Lord Lymington, both undergoing experiences with older women, are forced to try and resolve the same dilemma. In these heroes too, readers' expectations are subtly confounded and the hero figure is subverted. Worldly pride, that can be a virtue when it is called 'proper' pride and reflects a sense of the worth of the self, is carried to excess in both characters. Eliza Parsons did place them in a convincing social impasse: in each case they are surprised by their feelings for a surpassingly beautiful young girl with a dubious past history and unknown parentage. Eliza Parsons reversed the usual pattern of the romance, making her heroine rather than her hero the object of the birth question, and in so doing she broadened the scope of the hero figure's heroic action. When the heroine is of undisputed noble birth, she is still a passive figure under the physical control of father or guardian and can neither make a free decision to commit herself to the hero of lowly birth, nor protect him if such a commitment is made.³⁷ By reversing this pattern, the hero, possessed of greater activity, could choose to marry beneath his station, raise a virtuous wife to his own

37) Such a situation forms the plot of Francis Lathom's The Mysterious Freebooter (1806). The heroine, Rosalind, is imprisoned by her father while her lowly hero-husband is forced into exile and has to survive several assassination attempts.

status and then protect her. Recognition of her virtue and then braving the strictures of society by marrying her would constitute an active, heroic act. Both of Eliza Parsons's heroes are offered this chance to prove their heroic worth: only one succeeds.

In the earlier text, Count de Bouville, who is not a subverted hero figure but one undergoing an education in overcoming class prejudices, has already been struck by Matilda's beauty when she flies to England. All that he knows of Matilda's background is that she is the ward of a Mr. Weimar and that rumours have been spread amongst the Parisian society hinting that Matilda's flight from him was caused by an unsuitable love affair. After journeying to England and overcoming his scruples, the Count honourably declares his passion. He has had more than pride to overcome in making this declaration. Eliza Parsons's hero is represented as considering and then ignoring social conventions because he recognizes Matilda's worth. In the course of the story, Eliza Parsons demonstrated to the reader that de Bouville makes a mature and deliberate choice, against advice, which the Count knows to be sound, from the Marquis de Melfort, who himself is shown to appreciate Matilda's virtue but who believes nevertheless that the obscurity of her birth will bring misery to both of them:

A man of quality in France to marry an obscure young woman, without even knowing the authors of her being, would, he knew, incur everlasting contempt;...³⁸

38) Parsons, Castle of Wolfenbach, i. 183-184.

The Marquis is described as a man of excellent principle throughout the tale, but, significantly, those excellent principles are French. The English notions admired by the young Count permit greater social freedoms:

How happy are Englishmen! free from all those false prejudices, they can confer honor [sic] on whom they please, and the want of noble birth is no degradation where merit and character deserve esteem;...39

It would seem from this quotation that Eliza Parsons intended to make a direct attack on class prejudice in the person of her hero and the choice which he has to make. This attack is discreetly camouflaged by shifting the locus of class prejudice to France and thus inviting the reader's sympathies via an appeal to both a sense of English superiority and francophobia: it might also serve as a reassuring displacement of anxiety - after all, Mary Wollstonecraft had viewed the aristocracy as both parent and source of revolutionary violence in France.⁴⁰ Another possible interpretation of the choice that faces the hero in this romance is that Eliza Parsons is directly promoting middle-class values by suggesting that the best choice for her aristocratic hero is a virtuous girl of unknown (though certainly not peasant) background. Of course, in the world of the Gothic romance, it is a given for the reader that anyone as lovely and virtuous as Matilda will prove to be of legitimate aristocratic birth anyway; thus the reader

39) Parsons, Castle of Wolfenbach, ii. 12.

40) Mary Wollstonecraft, An Historical and Moral View of the Origin and Progress of the French Revolution (London: J. Johnson, 1794).

expects the hero to make the right choice, prompted initially by love and recognition of the heroine's excellences, only to be rewarded by the resolution of the birth question and the money and estates that often accompany it.

Mrs. Parsons's other proud hero, Lord Lymington (The Mysterious Visit), is an English, not a French, aristocrat. Placed in precisely the same dilemma as de Bouville by Parsons, she extended her representation of the hero figure in this later romance, creating a subverted hero. He is described in more detail than de Bouville, and Parsons hinted at his subverted hero status by representing his belief that he can control his own emotions:

No, he could admire without being in love! If, indeed, her heart and mind should prove estimable and good from principle,--should her birth turn out to be respectable, and her connexions not absolutely disgraceful,--why, then, if all these ifs were hereafter realized in her favour, he thought it very possible he might prefer her to any young woman he had ever yet seen.⁴¹

The suggestion that he might be a subverted hero is conveyed through the acuteness of Lord Lymington's self-regard. Mortimer (The Children of the Abbey) was also filled with family pride but he was represented as acknowledging a powerful love for Amanda. Lymington, in contrast, is more cold-blooded, thinking he can control his emotions and very conscious of condescending towards a being of inferior status. Significantly, and unlike many other heroes, he does not value the heroine's virtues as the romance genre demands that he should. Unlike Charlotte

41) Parsons, Mysterious Visit, iii. 200.

Smith's presentation of a subverted hero, Lord Lymington's behaviour is questioned within the world of the romance by the sensible Lady Fortescue:

--she saw, also, the unqualified affection his Lordship had for Georgina, but she was not so well pleased with the reserve in his conduct towards her, when if he really loved why should he hesitate to avow it;--or, by an equivocal manner towards Madame, in some degree justify the idea she had adopted of his admiration of her?⁴²

Lymington's rival, Sir Charles Boyle (grandson of a Cork wine merchant), accuses him of sacrificing Georgina to the demands of fashion. Not surprisingly, it is Sir Charles and not the more noble Lord who wins the heroine in the end. Thus, some of the reader's expectations about heroism are overturned in this story: although Lymington is presented as a hero figure, the potential saviour of the hapless Georgina, he does not make the heroic choice which the reader expects. In fact the aristocratic birth, which is one of the requirements for a hero in the Gothic romance, actively prevents the hero figure from following the dictates of his affections. True heroism in this romance can only be expressed by making the right choice with relation to the heroine. Thus, Eliza Parsons's hero, like other heroes in Gothic romances, is defined by his relationship to the virtuous heroine.

Although one may consider that the progress and resolution of this story indicate once more that Eliza Parsons was actively and consciously promoting the values of the middle classes in her tales, there are other

42) Parsons, Mysterious Visit, iv. 67-68.

indications that suggest she was not just mounting an attack on aristocratic class prejudices. The heroine, Georgina, certainly comes from an adoptive middle-class background, and the man who adores her and eventually marries her is a scion of mercantile rather than aristocratic lineage - although his family has been recently ennobled. It is worth noting, however, that Eliza Parsons upsets the Gothic conventions in the person of her heroine as well as that of her hero: contrary to the reader's expectations, Georgina's natural parents are never discovered and the first assumption made in the story - that she is the illegitimate child of an aristocrat - is never upset by the emergence of other facts from the past. The decision that Lymington has to make, therefore, about the perils of social mismarriage, is one that, unlike de Bouville, he would actually have to face. Georgina's eventual husband, Sir Charles, is also represented as acutely aware of the social problems which Lymington would face and that he will encounter only in a more limited degree: "'...here she will be unobtrusive in the circles of fashion,--she has friends, and, as my wife, will be respected.'" 43

Eliza Parsons's concept of heroism is made clear when one considers the shift in the depiction of her heroes. Her subverted hero, Lord Lymington, is finally unable to make the heroic choice because his noble birth is the source of his prejudices as well as of his virtues:

43) Parsons, Mysterious Visit, iv. 111.

"Happy Boyle!" exclaimed he, "[...].--Happily removed from all those claims upon rank and connexions, you are accountable to no one;--indifferent alike to the censurers of your conduct, or the sneers of worthless beings, who form what is called polished society.--Why have not I courage to relinquish a world I despise, and live to my own heart?"⁴⁴

This quotation clearly indicates that heroism consists in maintaining one's own integrity, living 'to my own heart', and that the test facing the hero figure may be an act of active renunciation. The courage that Lymington lacks is not physical courage, but the courage of his own convictions. He does not fulfil the heroic stereotype, although he is presented as a hero figure, and thus, by depicting Lymington's failure to reconcile the conflict between romantic ideals and real life, Eliza Parsons created a subverted hero.

All these subverted heroes are female creations. Male authors do not develop or extend the role of the hero by subtly upsetting the expectations of the reader in the way that these female authors have done. Both male and female authors make their heroes go through a learning process and in both cases this learning process or experience is connected with the mastery of passions. Thus, the young hero, whatever the gender of his creator, is not perfected until the end of the romance when he knows more about himself and is able to appreciate and to implement in full those values that he has had from the beginning. Male authors do not create heroes who behave towards women as Orlando, or Lord Lymington do. Their heroes do resort to

44) Parsons, Mysterious Visit, iv. p.214.

subterfuges and do conceal the truth, as Huberto Avinzo does (Gondez the Monk) when he charms his repulsive English jailer and later accepts food and a blessing from a pro-English abbot, and, most reprehensibly of all, fails to tell his sovereign about his midnight visits to the chapel. This sort of behaviour, however, is never questioned or stressed by the author. It is not that different standards apply or that stereotypes are essentially different in character when handled by a male writer, but that other things are considered important or worth noting. This suggests that female writers had a different view of young men and the way in which they behave, and/or a different purpose in the creation of character.

That the hero is partially defined by his relation to the heroine is part of the Gothic formula whatever the gender of the author. After considering two 'subverted' heroes, both created by female writers, I would suggest that, in these particular texts, the hero is defined almost exclusively by his relationship to the heroine. A hero, for these two writers, is above all else a figure who is both capable and willing to treasure and then protect the woman whom he loves. In these two romances written by women, the virtues of the heroine are further emphasized and valorized by the type of hero which has been created. The reader's expectations about the hero figure may not always be fulfilled by an individual character's behaviour but, as long as he adores the heroine and struggles to win her, he can be a hero still.

III. THE HERO-VILLAIN

If a hero figure is subverted in only one aspect, like Eliza Parsons's Lord Lymington, he ceases to be a hero but is not necessarily cast as a threat to society: if a hero figure is completely subverted, yet still remains the focus of the plot, he ceases to be a hero and is transformed into a hero-villain. In this section, I shall be considering first how the nature of heroism is questioned in the representation of the figures of some of these hero-villains. As the hero-villain is a character whose moral decline is the pivot for the narrative in which he appears, a secondary consideration will be to examine whether, therefore, writers of Gothic romances delineated their hero-villain characters in a more individual and less stereotyped manner than their heroes.

In considering how the nature of heroism, specifically masculine heroism, is questioned through the decline of the young hero-villain, I shall focus on the characters and actions of three such figures. The figures I have chosen - Ambrosio, The Monk (1796), Leonardo, Zofloya (1806), and Frankenstein (1818) - are first presented as potential hero figures and their very potential for heroism is the catalyst in their transformation from saviours to destroyers.

It was not vainly, then, that she sought to seduce the imagination, and lure the senses of the youth. No; he had in his own high-wrought feelings, in his susceptible soul, powerful and treacherous advocates in her cause.⁴⁵

45) Dacre, Zofloya, ii. 19.

This quotation describes Leonardo's seduction by the evil Megalena Strozzi, but it could as easily be used to describe some of the reasons for Ambrosio's moral decline.⁴⁶ Charlotte Dacre made it evident here that young Leonardo is betrayed by his untutored potential for greatness; acute sensibility, the touchstone for the Gothic hero, can be manipulated by the unscrupulous. It is interesting that Charlotte Dacre made Leonardo's imagination the first point of attack for her villain. Several times in Gothic romances what occurs in the imagination either prefigures the action or acts as a substitute for it. The numerous dream-vision sequences are examples of this, and I have already mentioned the cerebral love affair that destroys two families in The Passions. Lewis used similar scenarios in The Monk; once the hero-villain's imagination is seized, his unbounded masculine activity impels him to transform imagination into reality. Ambrosio is having a cerebral love affair with Matilda, entranced by her portrait, long before he sees her in the flesh, and the vision of Antonia bathing is what propels him further into murder and eventual rape. The above quotation, however, indicates that Leonardo becomes a hero-villain simply because he has not been taught to

46) Cf. Lorenzo's comments on Ambrosio, Monk: "'He is just at that period of life when the passions are most vigorous, unbridled and despotic; His established reputation will mark him out to Seduction as an illustrious Victim; Novelty will give additional charms to the allurements of pleasure; and even the Talents with which Nature has endowed him will contribute to his ruin, by facilitating the means of obtaining his object.'" p.21.

discriminate or how to manage the intensity of his passions. The innate qualities of heroism, the excessive activity and sensibility that are the proper qualities of the hero, Charlotte Dacre's description indicates, resemble raw energy that can be directed into constructive or destructive channels. This depiction of Leonardo suggests, therefore, in contrast to the more usual representation of the young hero, that there is no absolute positive value for those named qualities that are commonly associated with heroism.

The reason why Leonardo does not become a hero is his lack of sufficient education in self-restraint, coupled, as his mother runs away with an Austrian adventurer at the beginning of the story, with a bad parental example. Lewis's monk, Ambrosio (The Monk), who may be considered as a typical example of the hero-villain of the 1790s, displaying many of the same character traits that can be seen in later hero-villains like Leonardo (Zofloya), is also represented as hero potential destroyed by a bad education.

Lewis blamed society, specifically in its substitution of superstition for religion, for Ambrosio's corruption and downfall. In the following quotation, Lewis emphasized Ambrosio's potential for heroism. All the necessary qualities are innate in his character. Just, however, as the trials of Raymond and Agnes are due to the superstitious vow made by Agnes's mother, reinforced by the cruelty of a inflexible religious order, so has Ambrosio's

innately noble, daring and courageous character been reduced to pettiness, secrecy and fear by his education in the monastery:

He was naturally enterprizing, firm and fearless: He had a Warrior's heart, and He might have shone with splendour at the head of an Army. There was no want of generosity in his nature: The Wretched never failed to find in him a compassionate Auditor: His abilities were quick and shining, and his judgement vast, solid, and decisive.[...] His Instructors carefully repressed those virtues, whose grandeur and disinterestedness were ill-suited to the Cloister. Instead of universal benevolence He adopted a selfish partiality for his own particular establishment: He was taught to consider compassion for the errors of Others as a crime of the blackest dye: The noble frankness of his temper was exchanged for servile humility; and in order to break his natural spirit, the Monks terrified his young mind, by placing before him all the horrors with which Superstition could furnish them:...47

Lewis has described Ambrosio as a hero figure with too large a spirit for the confines of the monastic system. He has no scope in which to exercise the intensified activity with which, as a potential hero figure, he is endowed. In a sense the heroism of which Ambrosio is capable is depicted by Lewis as a negative rather than a positive force. There is, it would seem, only one possible role which the hero can play according to Lewis; in locating heroic action only within the scope of the active, masculine figure of the noble warrior, the image of heroism advanced is very limited. The examination of the typical Gothic hero figure has shown that heroism can be demonstrated through an inner struggle. Ambrosio is denied this opportunity for heroism also because he has not been taught to control his passions; in the absence of physical temptation he has

47) Lewis, Monk, pp.236-237.

simply been taught to repress them. Liberation of the monastically forbidden sexual drive impels him towards breaking every barrier, and every social code. Ambrosio first undergoes spiritual decay, then implodes.

The potentially destructive nature of heroism is also exemplified in Mary Shelley's Frankenstein (1818) which initially appears to have little in common with the formulaic Gothic romance. Closer examination proves, however, that Mary Shelley too was using type figures, but developing the themes and preoccupations of Gothic fiction in an extreme manner: she created two hero-villains who destroy each other. Chris Baldick has made a very interesting comment on the way in which heroism is questioned in Frankenstein:

Victor's victory, the triumph of his ascetic masculine heroism, is a conquest over his own social and sexual being, fulfilled in a creature to whom social and sexual ties are denied.⁴⁸

Baldick has suggested here that the heroism of which Frankenstein is capable (and which Baldick notes is ironically highlighted in his name) is both essentially masculine and essentially barren. Thus, Victor's quest, which is, by bypassing all normal human reproductive behaviour, to fabricate a super-race of which he will be the sole parent, can be perceived as the epitome of male-centred heroism: 'male-centred' (and unnatural) since Victor's desire is to supplant the female reproductive function; and 'heroic' because of the scale of Victor's

48) Baldick, Frankenstein's Shadow, p.51.

vision - he does indeed dream of creating a new society. Mary Shelley's book can, therefore, be interpreted as a critique of conscious masculine drives towards heroism, since all such drives which she depicted terminate in either actual or potential disaster.

Like all hero-villains the three narrators in Frankenstein are supermen: Walton (the potential hero-villain who could doom his crew to a lingering frozen death if he pursues his dream) and Frankenstein want to extend the field of human knowledge and to be the first to do something extraordinary - they want to be heroes; the monster is created on a gigantic monstrous scale in which the original, individual features were selected as beautiful. (Frankenstein, like Ambrosio during Matilda's partial striptease, is seduced by the beauty of individual fragments.) These hero-villains then have to choose whether to exercise their power of life or death. Even if other characters also have this power, the choices of the hero-villain are felt to have more weight because their greater powers of imagination are inevitably allied to a greater capacity for suffering.

Frankenstein, Walton and the monster are all represented as isolated characters. Both Frankenstein and Walton have initially chosen their isolation in order to pursue their respective dreams. By representing these characters as consciously separating themselves from society, and by using a first-person narrative structure, Mary Shelley emphasized that the drama in which her characters are

taking part is one focused around their sense of self. These hero-villains believe that they can only pursue their heroic dreams apart from the society which they hope to benefit. This indicates that their concept of heroism, as Mary Shelley has portrayed it, is a negative one, focused on their individual selfish dreams. Consequently, these are not real heroes.

Anguish and despair had penetrated into the core of my heart; I bore a hell within me, which nothing could extinguish.⁴⁹

Having been responsible for creating life, Frankenstein has now realized his responsibility for its destruction: these words occur in the narrative as he faces the death of the innocent Justine. His creation uses the same language:

All, save I, were at rest or in enjoyment: I, like the arch fiend, bore a hell within me; and, finding myself unsympathized with, wished to tear up the trees, spread havoc and destruction around me, and then to have sat down and enjoyed the ruin.⁵⁰

Frankenstein's hell is created from his guilty knowledge, but the monster's hell is created from thwarted love and the pain of rejection. Equally Ambrosio's hell is created from self-indulgence carried to the point where only his self has any meaning. The monster's narrative concentrates on the pain of being a rejected child, with no history and no parentage. By refusing his responsibilities as a creator and a parent, Frankenstein perverts his ability to love and care for those around him. His internal world decays and the people that he loves most in the world are

49) Shelley, Frankenstein, p.84.

50) Shelley, Frankenstein, p.132.

systematically killed - simply because he loves them. The monster's rage turns outwards against his creator. In a sense, every time that the monster kills is an attempt to assert himself, to make Frankenstein aware of him. The monster has no place in the world, cannot claim any place in the world, and his only justification for existence is to make a mark on the surroundings, to destroy. The destructive possibilities inherent in the parent/child (particularly father/child) relationship were recognized and exploited by almost all the writers of Gothic fiction.⁵¹

The hero-villain, as well as the hero, is an archetypal character. Lewis and Mary Shelley were consciously drawing on the potent figure of the first rebel.⁵² Like Frankenstein and his creation, Milton also wrote of Satan

51) See Chapter Six, 'The Absent Father'.

52) It is interesting to note that the language used to describe the young hero before he is transformed into a hero-villain is often associated with light or brightness. He too is a fallen angel. The description of Ambrosio, for example, that I have already quoted speaks of his 'shining' qualities, of the way that he might have 'shone' as a soldier.

Cf. Jung's claim that the sun is a symbol for the archetypal figure of the hero, which symbolises the libido. Man rises to consciousness and sinks back into unconsciousness in the same way that the sun travels across the sky. See, C.G. Jung, 'The Origin of the Hero', Aspects of the Masculine, trans. R.F.C. Hull, John Beebe (ed.), (London: Ark Paperbacks, 1989), pp.3-4.

The sun can dazzle; its light can blind the unwary. Moreover it is alone in its passage across the sky. Thus it becomes a very apt metaphor for the life of the introspective, self-obsessed hero-villain.

that he carried his hell within him.⁵³ The hero-villain is thus one who rebels, who asserts his individuality, who turns away from God the Father. In the context of the Gothic romances, the rebel who rejects the old order, asserts his leadership qualities and establishes a new regime, usually finishes as the leader of a band of outlaws preying on the society - the parent - that he has rejected.

Such a description of the hero-villain seems to align this figure with the Romantic hero defined by Walter Reed.⁵⁴ Reed is a critic who, like Heinz Schlaffer believes in the necessary individuality of the hero; his Romantic hero is beyond good and evil, beyond a social norm:

The Romantic hero is never simply an antisocial being; his conflicts always involve some germ or vestige of social concern, and he may be pictured as an eventual redeemer of society. But he clearly feels free to reject social norms.⁵⁵

Reed's definition clearly does not apply to any species of Gothic hero (not even to the hero-villain, or the villain-hero), who never feels free to reject social norms whatever his social circumstances or historical period: Manfred, although in a position of power, tries to justify his abandonment of Hippolyta and his pursuit of Isabella to Father Jerome and to the visiting knights; Ambrosio wants

53) 'Which way I fly is hell: myself am hell...'. 'Paradise Lost', Milton: Poetical Works, Douglas Bush (ed.), (1966; repr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), IV. 75.

54) Walter L. Reed, Meditations on the Hero: a Study of the Romantic Hero in Nineteenth-Century Fiction (Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1974).

55) Reed, Meditations on the Hero, p.5.

to continue enjoying the benefits of his social position as Abbot. The social concern of both Walpole's feudal baron and Lewis's Spanish Monk is the same - not to be seen to be flouting or rejecting the social norms. The only heroes who overtly reject social norms are those hero-villains who become bandits, placing themselves outside society, although they are really rejectees rather than rejectors. One such is Leonardo de Loredani, (Zofloya); Leonardo finally becomes a bandit chief, living outside the law in Alpine caves. He has not made this transition in order to free himself of the shackles of society, as might be expected of Walter Reed's Romantic hero; instead he has been forced to live in danger and in hiding outside the laws that he has broken.

After briefly comparing the representations of these three hero-villains, it is apparent that, although the writers explored the individual processes by which these potential heroes were transformed into villain figures, highlighting the circumstances which effected this transformation, the characters themselves are still described according to the same heroic qualities that any hero figure will automatically possess. Unlike the hero, the hero-villain becomes dominated by his self: his aims and his feelings become more important than his society and this, for an eighteenth or early nineteenth-century writer, is what will constitute his eventual and inevitable downfall. The mark of the hero-villain is the aura of perverted nobility that clings to him: these are figures

with an enormous capacity for imagination and for passion. They dominate the other characters like a human equivalent of the magnificent, ruined abbey or castle. They are, however, perverted stereotyped heroes rather than individuals and by portraying the perversion of an heroic nature through a conscious desire for heroism, the writers of Gothic fiction were able to question the nature of a type of heroism which they themselves had helped to establish.

In fine, the hero figure in the Gothic formula is delineated through the evocation of moral qualities that are the mainspring for his masculine activity. He is a passive, self-reflective hero, a fit mate for the heroine with whom he is destined to create the micro-society of a family. Throughout the period, the depiction of the hero never undergoes any chronological, linear development: the writers of the Gothic romances began with an idealized figure who was already present in the cultural and social expectations of the reader. As more works were written, the reader's expectations about the character of the hero were reinforced through recurring devices and thematic motifs, and once the type figure was established, some writers then subtly could manipulate the stereotype, upsetting the expectations of the reader and questioning some of the established assumptions about heroism and the figure of the hero.

Chapter Five

The Absent Father

The potency of the father as a figure outweighs that of the hero: the father is both the hero's progenitor and his destiny. When looking for the father, however, one begins with an absence, for no book of rules exists to dictate or determine his role. If, as I have suggested, the Gothic Romance is essentially formula fiction in which stereotypical - and perhaps also archetypal - characters are manipulated, then the role of the father too might be expected to be a recognizable type answering the expectations of the reader. The expectations that a reader might have had about the role of a father can be determined by a study of the father figures who appear and disappear within the romances, but there are few alternative literary sources in which a similar father figure appears and is explained.

Yet the figure of the 'good' father is as clearly defined within the world of the Gothic romance as the figure of the hero. In fairytales, and frequently in myth, the adventures of the hero culminate in his coronation; the young man has undergone trials, through those trials he has become an adult, with adult knowledge he has won a bride and will be capable of ruling a kingdom. He has equipped himself for living 'happily ever after' as a king, as a husband, and probably as a father. At the conclusion of the fairytale then, the young hero has transformed himself into another, and usually stronger, version of the old king.

Similarly, the conclusion of a Gothic romance is always retirement into a family environment. Unlike the myth or the fairytale ending however, the Gothic hero does not found a new society based solely on his ability to outwit supernatural entities and defeat other powerful rivals. For the maintenance of such a social structure would require the emergence of a new hero as soon as the old 'king' had lost his mental agility or the power of his sword arm. Instead, the Gothic hero retires to a private domestic realm, having proved himself capable of upholding, cherishing, and protecting the best moral values of his society. These moral values are, of course, those embodied in the heroine whose destiny - like that of the hero - is to be a parent.

As fatherhood is invariably the end to which the hero aspires and is often the source of his own moral values, similarities already noted in the presentation of the hero within the spectrum of the Gothic romance genre suggest similarities in the underlying conception of the father. Just as writers share a clear vision of the character of the hero, they seem also to share a common ideal of the father, although this ideal is undefined and generally unremarked. Twentieth-century expectations about the role of the father are satisfied by the father persona pervading the Gothic romance. Both the eighteenth-century writer and the twentieth-century reader share the same preconceptions, as will be demonstrated later, about the role of the father

as a figure of authority, as a wise guide, counsellor and protector of the young.

The first question that must then be considered is why should one accept the same basic ideas about the role of the father that were already current in the eighteenth century? There are three possible reasons for this phenomenon, which I shall outline separately but which will prove to be interlinked and interdependent: first, that the twentieth century has inherited and absorbed certain ideas about the role of the father that were created in the eighteenth century; second, that the twentieth-century response shows influences from some exterior, historical source or common tradition prior to the eighteenth century of which both cultures have been inheritors; or third, and finally, that twentieth-century preconceptions rest upon twentieth-century acceptance of a construct articulated through psychoanalysis explaining the role of the father as part of a symbolic order existing within the collective unconscious of the human psyche, a construct that is, perhaps, read back into and forced upon our view of history. Inevitably, therefore, the second and the third possibilities that I have suggested as potential explanations for a common view of the father extending over several centuries are inextricably linked. I propose to deal with these various possibilities in reverse order: beginning with a consideration of the aspects of twentieth-century psychoanalytical theory about the nature of the role of the father as archetype and symbol rather than as

real person; moving then to a specific consideration of some eighteenth-century writing, part of which is based on a historical tradition prior to the eighteenth century, which also reflects the father as both real person and symbolic role; and finally to consider the representation of the father within the Gothic romance as essentially a representation of literal absence and symbolic presence that is an inevitable part of the Gothic fantasy.¹

The most striking aspect about any portrayal of the father is that he is set in the context of an ideal which casts him as a figure of authority and power. Jung located the source of this power in the pre-existent archetype of the father.² As a father he is necessarily defined through his relationship to the child. In this child/parent relationship the father can be seen in two ways: by observers outside the family who will judge the father by the child's behaviour; and by the child himself or herself to whom the father is a gigantic figure of strength and also of authority on the level of personal relationship. The father figure in the abstract is thus a dual personality to be feared and loved simultaneously. The same argument concerning dual personality and gigantic stature

1) The importance of the 'absent father' in the Gothic formula has also been noted by Gary Kelly: '...the victim's own father, significantly, is often absent, ineffectual or dead.' 'Romantic Fiction', Cambridge Companion, Curran (ed.), p.203.

2) C.G. Jung, 'The Significance of the Father in the Destiny of the Individual' (1909 rev. 1949), Aspects of the Masculine, trans. R.F.C. Hull, (1984; repr. London: Ark Paperbacks, 1989), p.69.

applies to the mother figure, but Jung found a significant difference here in that the mother archetype is split by the child into two mothers, one good and one bad, whereas the father archetype combines its opposites into one image of paralysing power.

Before Jung, Freud too saw the father as a figure to be idolized, feared and ultimately killed or replaced. Using the Oedipus myth he discovered how children longed for a total relationship with their mothers, wanting to supplant the father and assume his role.³ Freud also identified the 'Family Romance' in which every growing child creates a fantasy that replaces the real parents with fictional 'other' parents who are superior in station to the everyday father and mother.⁴ This, according to Marthe Robert, 'has all the ingredients of an unformulated novel, of an incipient fiction.'⁵ Marthe Robert argued that the Family Romance and the characters it spawns determines 'the novel's lack of generic features' and saw it as the primal source for the novel genre.⁶ The most significant points

3) The word 'children' is used deliberately, for Freud believed that the mother was the primary choice for girls as well as for boys, but that the complex dissolved very rapidly. For his discussion on the dissolution of the complex see 'Some Psychical Consequences of the Anatomical Distinction between the Sexes' (1925), PFL, vii. 323-344. Also 'The Dissolution of the Oedipus Complex' (1924), PFL, vii. 345-358.

4) Freud, 'Family Romances' (1909), trans. James Strachey 1959, PFL vii. 221-225.

5) Marthe Robert, The Origins of the Novel (1972), trans. Sacha Rabinovitch, (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1980), p.21.

6) Robert, Origins of the Novel, p.32

arising from these various literary and psychoanalytical theories are that the father is defined in relation to and by the child, i.e. he will always be a construct, and that the father is never seen simply as a personal father but is always given overtones of archetype or symbol. In any case, he is not 'real' but something 'other', belonging to the imagination and the unconscious. In the 'Family Romance' he is banished completely:

...he relegates his father to an imaginary kingdom beyond and above the family circle--a form of tribute, maybe, but in fact an exile, since this royal, unknown father who is forever absent might just as well not exist for all the part he plays in everyday life: he is a phantom, a corpse, who may be the object of a cult, but whose vacant place cries out nonetheless to be filled.⁷

There is, then, an unvarying banishment of the father and creation of a vacuum in the most basic fantasy - that which we construct as children. In the Gothic romance, which partakes of the genre of fantasy, the father is significantly absent on all levels. Consequently, part of the search for the representation of the father within the fictional world of the Gothic romance must be conducted apophatically.

Returning to the idea that the eighteenth and twentieth-century conceptions about the role of the father may be based on a prior historical tradition, and before engaging with the literary representations, or non-representations of the father in the Gothic romance, I would like to consider the father in a specifically religious context. It

7) Robert, Origins of the Novel, p.26.

is in the concept of God as Father that one might hope to find the paradigm of the father's role. Biblical representations of God as father are sharply divided between the Old and the New Testament. The Old Testament shows God as a stern father ruling through fear, pain and death; the New Testament, on the other hand, emphasizes God as a loving father. His power is always absolute. One is immediately reminded of the archetype: a figure of fear and vengeance as well as of paternal love.

This dual concept of God as Father is present in certain eighteenth-century religious thought and teaching, and extends as a model into the relationship between earthly father and child. Methodism, which emerged as a major religious movement in the eighteenth century, held, in common with other Reformation churches, a very personal relationship between man and God as one of its major tenets.⁸ Just as the family was being separated from the public workplace and the ideal woman was established as the centre of a private, domestic environment, a similar

8) For a discussion on the rise and beliefs of Methodism see, Rupert E. Davies, Methodism (1963; repr. London: Epworth Press, 1985).

Although I have cited Wesley's writings as evidence of eighteenth-century conceptions of God as Father and of fatherhood, the majority of readers of Gothic fiction were unlikely to have been Methodists. The reason that I have chosen to focus on Wesley rather than any other divine is that his sermons on parents and children are generally more specifically related to everyday living and contain more practical advice than William Paley's platitudinous sermons, for example. The sentiments which I quote, however, are those present in more orthodox and more widely known theological texts of the period, and I shall be making some references to Paley's sermons to support the points made by Wesley.

movement can be seen in religious thought where moral communities were set up based on individual, personal experiences of God that marked the recipient as one of God's children. The relationship of God as Father with Man was considered on the same terms as that of the parent and child. 'The will of a parent is to a little child in the place of the will of God.'⁹ The relationship between God and Man and, by extension, the relationship between parent and child is based on power, authority and respect; the benign use of this power indicated the measure of God's love. In one of John Wesley's sermons, 'On Family Religion', he gave a picture of a father educating his child in this very relationship:

"Think what he [God] can do! He can do whatever he pleases. He can strike me or you dead in a moment. But he loves you; he loves to do you good. He loves to make you happy. Should you not then love him?"¹⁰

The child has already been made aware of the power of God through the opening gambit of the conversation which emphasizes God's power by drawing the child's attention to nature: Wesley suggested a simple, logical progression along the following lines, 'This is the sun. God made it. These are the trees. God made them also.' As well as giving

9) John Wesley, 'On the Education of Children', Sermons on Several Occasions, 2 vols. (London: Caxton Press, c.1825), i. 375.

Cf. William Paley, 'The Duty of Children Towards Their Parents': 'Upon the whole, parents, in respect to their children, do bear the signal stamp and image of God himself, not only as he is their Maker, but as he is their Preserver and Benefactor.' Sermons on Several Subjects, 2 vols. 3rd. ed., (London: Hurst, Rees & Orme, 1808), i. 296.

10) Wesley, 'On Family Religion', Sermons, i. 366.

a picture of the power and authority of God in relation to Man, Wesley is also indicating one of the primary functions of fatherhood - education and the responsibility of the father for that education.¹¹ Wesley went so far as to say that fathers who cannot or are unwilling to undertake this sort of instruction are deficient in the role of the father which embraces their emotional and mental capacities:

...If you find this a tiresome task, there is certainly something wrong in your own mind. You do not love them enough; you do not love Him who is your Father and their Father.¹²

Without Wesley's overt religious intentions and bias, William Cobbett provided the reader with another vision of ideal, early nineteenth-century fatherhood. He too sees fatherhood as a responsibility whence, '...the honourable title and the boundless power of father' can only be deserved by those who have faithfully performed all the requisite duties.¹³ Here Cobbett has clearly marked the importance of the name of 'father', implying that the power

11) Cf. Paley, who divided the duty of parents towards their children into three parts: 'First; the maintenance of children, and a reasonable provision for their happiness, in point of circumstances and situation in the world. Secondly; education. And thirdly; the proper care of their virtue.' 'The Duty of Parents Towards Their Children', Sermons, i. 269. Paley continually referred to 'parents' but the examples which he gave of bad parentage - failing to provide financially for the child because of self-indulgent drunkenness or slothfulness, or abandoning the child after ruining the mother - indicate that he was actually referring to fathers.

12) Wesley, 'On Family Religion', i. 366-367.

13) William Cobbett, 'To A Father', Advice to Young Men, and (incidentally) to Young Women, in the Middle and Higher Ranks of Life (London: published by the author, 1829), para. 250.

is linked to the title and exists, albeit non-physically, like a garment that may be put on by the man who deserves it. Despite the power associated with the name, Cobbett took great pains to stress that the father must be liked (my emphasis) by his children: '...they must like your company better than any other person's; they must not wish you away, nor fear your coming back,...'¹⁴ They must, in other words, be led and not driven. The requisite duties of fatherhood, according to Cobbett, are the protection of health, the protection of sanity, the inculcation of principles and the actual presence of the father:

It is in the power of every father to live at home with his family, when not compelled by business, or by public duty, to be absent: it is in his power to set an example of industry and sobriety and frugality, and to prevent a taste for gaming, dissipation, extravagance, from getting root in the minds of his children: it is in his power to make his children hearers, when he is reproving servants for idleness, or commending them for industry and care: it is in his power to keep all dissolute and idle companions from his house: it is in his power to teach them, by his uniform example, justice and mercy towards the inferior animals: it is in his power to do many other things, and something in the way of booklearning too, however busy his life may be.¹⁵

Cobbett clearly suggested here that the ideal father is the present (as opposed to absent) family leader, protector and guide. This concept of the father as a present family leader is also the basis for some twentieth-century writing on the subject:

Almost any man can be a father if he is capable of participating in the conception of a child. But

14) Cobbett, 'To A Father', para. 293.

15) Cobbett, 'To A Father', para. 307.

fatherhood is more than a biological function. It is also a process of what I call effective leadership.¹⁶

All the power associated with the role is directed towards present, active involvement with the day to day life and education of the child. Like Wesley, Cobbett suggested that the extent of a father's love can be measured by the beneficent exercise of his 'boundless power' towards the child. Also like Wesley, there is, in Cobbett's letter, the idea that the role and name of father, unlike that of the hero, exists prior to the man who fulfils it. The importance of the presence of the natural father is stressed, yet the power of his role already exists in the title.

All the observations that have been made so far apply to the relationship between fathers and their children. There is a difference, however, in the relationship between fathers and sons, and that of fathers and daughters: daughters had a longer relationship with their fathers based on authority, and submission to that authority, which was a consequence of the difference in their destined sphere. Where sons were educated and encouraged towards an 'active' sphere, first in society, and then as the head of a family, daughters were designed from the very beginning to fulfil a passive and supportive role. When a daughter left the protection of her father and family environment to be married and begin her own family, she moved directly from one type of masculine protection to another.

16) Gordon MacDonald, The Effective Father (Crowborough [E.Sussex]: Highland Books, 1989), p.14.

What Wesley's comments on 'Family Religion' demonstrate particularly clearly is the weight of responsibility borne by the head of the household. The father was not only responsible for the moral education and conduct of his wife, his children, his servants and in some cases his visitors, he was also responsible to a higher father figure. The father, then, exists on two levels: that of the actual (or present) father and the (absent) paradigm of the father from which he gains his power.

Within the world of the Gothic romance the 'good' father figure is almost invariably physically absent, leaving only the paradigm in his place. When the hero or heroine is impelled forward into a threatening society, the father is conspicuous by his absence.¹⁷ He exists only as a vacuum, unable to exercise his role of guidance, protection and counsel over his child. The reader may thus experience feelings of apprehension and sympathy for the young hero, and more particularly for the young heroine. The presence of the father may still be inferred, however, from the way

17) In her analysis of Victoria Holt's twentieth-century Gothic romances, Barbara Bowman also draws attention to the absence of the father, indicating that this absence is an integral part of the formula. She suggests two images for the ideal father: 'The image of the ideal father is an adolescent's ideal: the provider who makes no demands and who, in fact, feeds on the demands of the heroine, wishing to indulge all her demands. Characteristically this image is maintained through absence. [...].

The second image of the ideal father is the complement of the first. Here he is unalterable and distant. He is absorbed in his profession and may even outwardly express revulsion for the heroine.' 'Victoria Holt's Gothic Romances: A Structuralist Enquiry', The Female Gothic, Fleenor (ed.), p.71.

in which the young hero or heroine comports himself or herself in a hostile and unfamiliar environment. The male parent may be assumed to have been a 'good' father, in that it is only through education and example that the hero or heroine can acquire the moral principles (overlaying their basic, untutored goodness) which enable them to survive the vicissitudes of society intact.

Often, the father is dead (or assumed to be dead) before the story begins, like the progenitors of Edmund (The Old English Baron, 1778), Ignatius (The Haunted Castle, 1794), and Huberto Avinzo (Gondez the Monk, 1805). In each of these three examples, the hero is removed from the family environment whilst a baby and has no actual contact with his biological father at all. The writers then orphan these heroes twice over: first as babies, and then by removing them from the protection of the surrogate 'good' father figures who have educated them. Huberto Avinzo is, in fact, orphaned three times: he is brought to Scotland as a baby by an Italian called Alzarro who is not his father, then, when Alzarro is called back to Italy, he is confided to the care of Sir Alan Macdonald, a Scots noble loyal to Robert Bruce. Finally he is deprived of the paternal care of Sir Alan when he falls in battle, and the maternal care of Lady Macdonald when she dies in captivity in the Tower of London. Thus, by the age of sixteen, Huberto Avinzo has been completely alienated. This is one of the most extreme cases of deprivation of fatherly care as a plot device. The other two heroes mentioned, Ignatius and Edmund, are not

forced from the surrogate father at such a young age. Ignatius, befriended and adopted by a worthy knight, Du Pin, leaves his adoptive father of his own volition to pursue his vocation as a soldier: Edmund is forced to leave the castle of his protector Lord Lovell, but this is after he, like Ignatius, has distinguished himself as a soldier.

In using a device to separate the hero from the father, and then from the surrogate father (or series of fathers), the author not only focuses the reader's attention on the hero's personal development but also creates a vacuum that the hero is compelled to fill. He has to redefine himself in another type of male relationship, stronger, I would suggest, than friendship - usually one of loyalty. Huberto pledges allegiance to the Bruce, creating a male bond of loyalty between subject and king in the place of a bond between father and son. Ignatius and Edmund become knights bound by a chivalric code that is another type of male allegiance, and Edmund accepts Sir Philip Harclay as yet another surrogate father within this knightly code. All heroes also fill this vacuum with a loving relationship with the heroine, in which they are beginning to establish themselves as father.

Even if the natural father is a 'good' father who is present within the text, he is quickly rendered impotent by the author. There are tales in which the relationship between impotent 'good' father and hero son is used as a major plot device and I shall be examining these in more detail later in the chapter, but it is more common to find

a helpless heroine whom the reader has already seen in a relationship with a 'good' but now powerless father. These fathers are usually living a secluded life surrounded by natural beauty. Having once been heroes, tasted the fruits of society and found them insubstantial, they have retired to a private realm, often associated with their childhood, in which their opinions and morals are the guiding force for their children and their dependents. The relationship between Emily St. Aubert and her father (The Mysteries of Udolpho, 1794) is a classic, indeed influential, example of this type. A family pastoral idyll is created and then destroyed in the opening chapter. St. Aubert is presented as an eighteenth-century man of sensibility profoundly moved by the beauties of the natural world (significantly, he is an accomplished botanist). His refusal to consider cutting down certain old trees reveals both his fondness for the landscape of his childhood and a sense of history and tradition which is lacking in ultra-fashionable characters like Madame Cheron and Monsieur Quesnel: '...such was his attachment to objects he had remembered from his boyish days, that he had in some instances sacrificed taste to sentiment.'¹⁸ Although this instance is a proof of the depth of St. Aubert's feeling and serves to indicate that he is prepared to act according to the dictates of the heart, Ann Radcliffe does not allow the reader to interpret this as a sign of weakness. The first step in the orphaning of her heroine is taken in this first chapter with the

18) Radcliffe, Mysteries, p.4.

death of Madame St. Aubert, so that the reactions and relationship of St. Aubert and his daughter are thrown into relief. The lesson that St. Aubert teaches is one of restraint: undisciplined emotion is destructive and harmful. Discipline, however, does not deny the reality of love nor depth of feeling. Ann Radcliffe shows the reader that St. Aubert had already learned this lesson when facing the deaths of his two sons in infancy some years before the death of his wife:

...in consideration of Madame St. Aubert's distress, he restrained the expression of his own, and endeavoured to bear it, as he meant, with philosophy, he had, in truth, no philosophy that could render him calm to such losses.¹⁹

St. Aubert restrains his own emotions and as a corrective, protective father restrains those of his daughter:

He endeavoured, therefore, to strengthen her mind; to enure her to habits of self-command; to teach her to reject the first impulse of her feelings, and to look, with cool examination, upon the disappointments he sometimes threw in her way. While he instructed her to resist first impressions, and to acquire that steady dignity of mind, that can alone counterbalance the passions, and bear us, as far as is compatible with our nature, above the reach of circumstances, he taught himself a lesson of fortitude; for he was often obliged to witness, with seeming indifference, the tears and struggles which his caution occasioned her.²⁰

One can see here that the child teaches the parent about restraint at the same time that the parent is educating the child. As well as teaching internal strength by encouraging the restraint of the passions, St. Aubert teaches self-reliance by encouraging independent, internal amusement: he

19) Radcliffe, Mysteries, p.5.

20) Radcliffe, Mysteries, p.5.

is shown as the source from which Emily derives the interests that occupy her leisure - the poetry, the reading, the music and the contemplation of nature so beloved of the Gothic heroine. Thus far St. Aubert is represented as a perfect father who concentrates on the formation of interior beauty of mind and heart in his child. Having created the perfect father, Ann Radcliffe then rapidly stripped him by degrees of the power to continue protecting his daughter; his power is weakened by ill-health, undermined by financial ruin and finally removed with his death. Absent by chapter eight of the first book, he is a decaying figure who nevertheless remains present as a paradigm against which the actions of the worldly Madame Charon and Montoni appear even more callous.

This pattern of the good father who is set up as a paradigm and then made absent within the tale quickly became an essential part of the formula. Four years after the publication of The Mysteries of Udolpho, Regina Maria Roche's novel Clermont (1798), used similar techniques in order to establish Clermont as a 'good' father at the beginning of the tale.²¹ Like St. Aubert, he is a father of mysterious origins living in rural simplicity with his beautiful daughter, Madeleine. He too is concerned to

21) For an analysis of *Regina* Roche's literary indebtedness to Ann Radcliffe, together with a comparison and evaluation of The Mysteries of Udolpho and Clermont, see Natalie Schroeder, 'The Mysteries of Udolpho and Clermont: The Radcliffean encroachment on the art of Regina Maria Roche', Studies in the Novel xii (1980), 131-143.

educate his child and shares St. Aubert's appreciation and investigation of the natural world:

His chief employment consisted in superintending a little farm, from which his principal support appeared to be derived, and his highest amusement and pleasure in studying the works of nature, and cultivating the mind of his daughter,...22

Clermont's study of nature, like that of St. Aubert, is a rational use of intellect - he is a skilled herbalist, able to minister to the young stranger wounded on the hillside. Unlike the plot of The Mysteries of Udolpho, however, in which the natural father is removed by death and the plot is then centred on the fate and character of a heroine abandoned to the care or careless protection of relative strangers, the plot of Clermont revolves around the father as much as the heroine. Clermont is certainly absent from the story when his daughter requires paternal protection - having allowed an old friend, the Countess de Merville, to take Madeleine away from the valley and into her household. Removed from her father, the formula requires that Madeleine should also be removed from the care of her surrogate mother who is stabbed by an assassin. Havens are continually being offered in this way to heroines in the Gothic romance, and then abruptly removed; there is no real security to be found outside the true family environment. Clermont's absence and seclusion in the valley, however, is caused by the unresolved relationship between himself and his own 'absent' father, and it is the working out of this

22) Roche, Clermont, i. 2.

relationship that ends in revelation, repentance and restoration of the original family structure.

The relationship between Clermont and Madeleine, like that between St. Aubert and Emily, is represented as one of love and respect. The bond between father and daughter, used in The Mysteries of Udolpho to correct Emily's over sensitive nature, is used again in Clermont to restrain self-indulgent emotion. This relationship is tested when a suitor for Madeleine appears in the valley and Clermont cannot honourably encourage their mutual attraction. He combats Madeleine's romantic sorrow after the young man's departure by manipulating her filial love for him and her consciousness of the extent of his paternal love for her: '...he also frequently hinted, that she should be particularly watchful of her peace, as his entirely depended on it.'²³ Clermont is thus represented as protecting his daughter by asking for her protection. Later in the plot Madeleine again feels called upon to protect her father at the expense of her own feelings: she agrees to marry the repulsive Monsieur d'Alembert in order to prevent Clermont being declared a fratricide. Clermont is rendered impotent within the world of the text by the repercussions of the relationship with his own father and the guilty weight of the crime which he thought he had committed. Having been the victim of an 'absent' father who deserted his mother and then denied a name to the child, Clermont tried to replace the vacuum of the father/son

23) Roche, Clermont, i. 63.

relationship with a fraternal bond. When this too seemed to have been betrayed by his brother and then destroyed by himself, he retired from the world with his baby daughter. Even when first introduced at the beginning of the tale, he was frequently absent - roaming the mountainside when fits of melancholy overtook him. Consciousness of guilt and an ambiguous social position enforce Clermont's absence and make him unable to protect his child.

Similarly, in The Mysterious Visit (1802) by Eliza Parsons, a 'good' adoptive father without a powerful social position is forced into absence while his daughter is at the mercy of an unscrupulous socially powerful villain. Dr. Clifford, like Clermont, lives to be finally reunited to his daughter, forming part of a larger family unit. For the greater part of the tale, however, he is absent, supposed dead but actually imprisoned in the Bastille. His absence creates a vacuum around the heroine who, having been orphaned twice, is vulnerable to the approaches of a man who seems to be treating her kindly and acting the part of a father.

Lack of money and enforced dependence on the bounty of others, then, is another way in which the 'good' father is undermined and forced into absence. Whereas Clermont, although suffering from guilt, was able to retire to the countryside and support himself and his daughter in independence, Fitzalan, in The Children of the Abbey (1796), also by Regina Roche, depended on patronage to provide for his family and to bolster his fatherhood.

Fitzalan's lack of status means that he is unable to protect his daughter from the advances of Colonel Belgrave within the family home, and thus is forced into absence, as his only method of protection is to send her away alone into Wales. Fitzalan's dependence is caused by another lack of fatherhood within the text: he had married the neglected elder daughter of an Earl without her father's consent. The 'good' father of the heroine in this text is only described through retrospective views and memories: the story begins with Amanda's lone arrival in Wales and follows her unprotected struggles for happiness. Father and daughter are eventually reunited in Ireland, but only briefly, and it is the daughter who offers consolation to her father as he dies, poor, neglected and unjustly accused:

Ill, weak, and dispirited, she had flattered herself, on returning to her father, she should receive relief, support and consolation; instead of which, heart-broken as she was, she now found she must give, or at least attempt giving them, herself.²⁴

Fitzalan, then, is absent throughout the romance despite the fact that he does not die until the end of the second volume. Nevertheless he is present in the fatherly paradigm which promises 'relief, support and consolation' to his daughter.

This serves to show the paradoxical nature of the representation of the father figure; although these 'good' fathers in the Gothic romance are absent for most of the action, there is, nonetheless, a fatherly presence operating throughout. Even when dead, fathers are present:

24) Roche, Children of the Abbey, ii. 317.

either in the behaviour and moral character of their offspring; or as a memory forever attaching the affections of the child to one particular location; or, most obviously, as a ghost. Paternal love and power do not end in the grave; a ghostly appearance always signals guilt, murder and the imminent discovery of the secret of the hero's birth. The father appears as a ghost for two reasons: initially, to acknowledge his son; and then, having forced the son to recognize his natural father, the father's ghost mutely demands that the son accords him filial respect, justice and, usually, christian burial. Blood calls to blood. A meeting with a ghost is often the only contact that a hero has with either of his natural parents, and is frequently the prelude to an emotional disturbance equivalent to the social advancement gained through true knowledge of his birth. What Freud described as the 'Family Romance' - a child's fantasy of an absent, aristocratic father - is literally true in the fictional world of the Gothic romance. Alienation, the sense of being unloved, which helps to produce this childish fantasy is also reflected as reality in the Gothic romance: first, through the child's orphaned state and second, through the alienation and emotional distress which the hero experiences on discovering his true parentage.

The experiences of Ignatius (The Haunted Castle, 1794) for example, demonstrate both types of alienation. He is led towards the picture of a beautiful woman by the groaning spirit of a man in bloody clothes and chains.

Ignatius encounters his parents, therefore, as a portrait and a spectre - both only reflections of reality. Thus, although the 'Family Romance' is realized and Ignatius' social status is raised, there is no comfort in the contact with his spectral parents. The meeting causes Ignatius great emotional distress and forces him to distance himself from everything which he loves - not because he now realizes that his parents were murdered but because he instantly assumes that Adelaïs, whom he loves and believes to be Manfredi's daughter, is his sister. Therefore, his birth is confirmed and his romantic love is doomed at the same moment.

Edmund (The Old English Baron, 1778) is similarly identified as the rightful heir by supernatural means. Groans from beneath the floorboards and a cupboard that only Edmund can open, which contains a bloodstained suit of armour, are the sequel to a dream in which he is approached by his parents. Like Ignatius, the discovery of his parentage has an immediate effect on his romantic hopes. Although Edmund has now been raised to equal status with the Lady Emma, he has to claim his lands and his castle from her father in order to assume his birthright. He is, in one sense, usurping the place of his own father in that Lord Fitz-Owen had stood in the place of surrogate father and benevolent overlord to him. He is also, like Ignatius, going to marry his foster-sister. Neither his bride, nor that of Ignatius are actually the heroes' sisters, nor have ever been called so, yet Adelaïs has been brought up with

the title of Manfredi's daughter, and Lady Emma is the sister of Edmund's best friend and the daughter of a man who has adopted a paternal attitude towards him.

In The Three Spaniards (1800), a tale concentrating on the way in which the bonds of kinship between the major characters are unravelled by supernatural means and re-tied through marriage, Fernando, one of the three Spaniards of the title, is visited at key moments by a spectral wounded soldier. It is worth remarking since this is the only occasion that I have found to date in which a hero is not visited by the ghost of his father, but by the ghost of his future wife's father. Lacking a son to reveal the whereabouts of his imprisoned wife and enslaved daughter as well as the treachery of Don Padilla to the world, the spectre pursues the young Fernando. In this story, too, a ghostly manifestation upsets Fernando's romantic hopes: he is actually married to Selima but unable to sleep with her, because the ghost sits on the bed every night and prevents him from doing so. Before enjoying the daughter, he has to placate the father, and this fulfilment of responsibilities towards the absent but still powerful father figure is the same basic requirement that faces Edmund and Ignatius.

Just as the appearance of a ghost is the present manifestation of an otherwise absent father that helps to create a sensation of potent, active paternity for the reader of the Gothic romance, the paradigm of the father is also revealed through the action of Providence which has as its twin aims the protection of the innocent and the

revelation and punishment of guilt. Providence is always seen in the Gothic romance as the action of divine justice, thus God as father interposes to guide the fortunes of his children. The epitaph on Nicolo's tomb in Gondez the Monk (1805) connects Providence with divine justice, and explicitly states its twin aims of vindicating the innocent and punishing the guilty:

Death cannot chill the ardour of the just;
The soul must live although the frame be dust.
In Mercy's cause, no ill's appall [sic] the good,
For God, retributive, yields blood for blood.²⁵

This epitaph demonstrates that God the Father is also a stern judge, visiting the sins of the fathers on the children. The workings of a vengeful Providence are particularly evident in The Castle of Otranto (1764) where not only do gigantic supernatural manifestations assist in crushing Manfred's dynastic ambitions - Manfred's son Conrad is literally crushed by a huge casque in the opening pages of the tale - but Manfred himself is brought to end his family when he mistakenly kills his daughter Matilda. The plot device of the significant dream also reveals the inevitable workings of Providence. It is a dream leading Frederic to the wood in which he has a meeting with a mysterious hermit - a spiritual father and therefore directly connected with the workings of God and of Providence - that causes his return to Otranto. The dreams and the ghostly appearances tend to show the presence of an absent but nonetheless vigilant father.

25) Ireland, Gondez the Monk, iv. 140.

The absent 'good' father is often re-established at the conclusion of the Gothic romance. He is made present once more when his son or daughter is made aware of his or her paternity and assume the family name. This device is used as the conclusion for most of the tales that involve the direct working of Providence through supernatural manifestations, like The Castle of Otranto (1764), The Old English Baron (1778), The Haunted Castle (1794), The Three Spaniards (1800) and Gondez the Monk (1805). There are, of course, variations on this device. Although The Children of the Abbey concludes with Oscar assuming the wealth and title of his grandfather, the hero, the heroine and the reader have always been aware of their paternity, of their relationship to the dead Earl of Dunreath, and the action of Providence in this story is not through ghosts and groans, but through coincidental meetings. The historical romances, like Longsword (1762) and The Recess (1785), also have the reassumption of title and birthright as a central theme. Earl William has to reassert his rights to his castle, his title and his wife in Longsword, and the twin daughters of Mary Queen of Scots are hidden, unacknowledged and then persecuted to prevent them asserting their lineage.

There is a great deal in a name. The name of the family carries its own power, standing for wealth, estates, legal rights and a clearly defined position within a social hierarchy. The father, as head of the household, is also the present, living embodiment of the family name. Here

too, the father is both an actual parent and a symbolic inheritor of previous generations of fathers. Name, family and by extension the father figure acquire a totemic force. An existent family name signifies more than kinship: absence is made present once more.

The father provides an identity as well as a role model for a child. Without recognizable parentage, a child has no status and no identity. Much of the Gothic formula rests on the need of the individual to construct his own identity within the world, to test the values of society, and then to be rewarded with a name. I have already suggested that the hero is drawn by the vacuum caused by the absence of the father to define himself in other male relationships and, I now suggest, this marks the first step in the construction of an identity within a male-dominated world.

In Frankenstein (1818) Mary Shelley took the basic formula of the absent father with the hero's consequent search for identity and used it in an extreme fashion that locates Frankenstein on the edge of the Gothic tradition. In the works that have already been discussed, the father is made present and absent simultaneously: there is an actual 'good' father within the text who reinforces the pre-existent paradigm of the father role, and even when removed from the text the paradigm still operates through the actions of Providence. Mary Shelley increased the impact of the situations and emotional turmoil of her characters by removing the reader's trust in the power of the paradigm; there is no beneficent action of Providence

in the plot, apart from the coincidental meeting of like minds which enables the narrators to relate their stories, and neither do the 'good' father figures within the text, the elder M. Frankenstein and De Lacey, have any positive influence. In this tale the innocent are not protected but systematically sacrificed and the crime committed is that of creation by the father rather than the murder of the father.²⁶ In writing Frankenstein, then, Mary Shelley magnified and manipulated an integral part of the Gothic formula. Although the impetus of the plot is provided by Frankenstein's act of creation and the monster's subsequent search for identity, it is as much a tale of an absent son as of an absent father. The monster is never given any status except that of creature or creation: he is not named as 'son'; he is not given a name. A name would place the monster within a social order, fix him within a relationship to someone else who would have named him by that name. The lack of a name shows that the monster is an outcast and an outlaw. Unrecognized, unnamed by society, he is not bound by its laws and its codes.

The power of the paradigm, the all-powerful and eternally absent father, is suspect because Mary Shelley has removed its potent 'absence', diminishing and

26) Although one might argue that Walpole also sacrificed the innocent Conrad and Matilda in The Castle of Otranto, those deaths could eventually be interpreted by the reader as part of a divine retributive plan resulting in the reinstatement of Alfonso's bloodline. There is no equivalent sense of divine agency at work in Frankenstein. Rather the plot is full of malign coincidences, placing victims in front of the vengeful monster.

challenging its power by making it present in a perverse form within the text in the figure of Frankenstein. When Frankenstein determines form and creates life from inanimate matter he redefines and transcends the role of the earthly father:

A new species would bless me as its creator and source; many happy and excellent natures would owe their being to me. No father could claim the gratitude of his child so completely as I should deserve their's.²⁷

The language of Frankenstein's ideals expresses his conception of his role: creator and creation as creditor and debtor. The single act of creation is seen as sufficient in itself, deserving of gratitude. Frankenstein dramatizes himself in a selfish role as the archetypal creator rather than the selfless present father. Although Mary Shelley presented the reader with a 'good' father figure in the elder M. Frankenstein, he is rendered absent and impotent; he exists for Frankenstein only as an element in a retrospective account of his happy childhood where he is fixed geographically and chronologically. By failing to communicate with his father whilst engaging in his experiments, Frankenstein himself forces his father into absence and renders the paternal paradigm impotent. Nevertheless, the paternal paradigm is eventually reasserted and strengthened through the monster's quest for identity which begins when he observes a 'good' father. For, during the course of the creature's narrative, Frankenstein is forced to recognise that the role of

27) Shelley, Frankenstein, p.49.

creator does not end with creation, but has duties and responsibilities like that of the father.

Thus, it is through the narrative of the monster, not that of Frankenstein, that Mary Shelley reinstalled the paradigm of the father. It is the monster who recognizes and values the fatherhood which he is denied. Continually outcast, he learns the lessons of language and social relationships through a crack in the wall of a cottage. He spies on family relations learning the significance of names: 'The youth and his companion had each of them several names, but the old man had only one, which was father.'²⁸ Once language has been learned, once names have been recognized as significant of role, family and social status:

...the strange system of human society was explained to me. I heard of the division of property, of immense wealth and squalid poverty; of rank, descent and noble blood.²⁹

the monster is inevitably forced to question, and then to attempt to construct, his own identity. He does this in absence; first by invisibly acting as a son/provider to the family when he leaves them bundles of wood and then by terming them his 'protectors', thus establishing a fictional relationship. This must be an identity created in absence because there is no possibility of response or recognition - another type of 'Family Romance'. His attempt to realize the relationship and acquire a surrogate father

28) Shelley, Frankenstein, pp.107-108.

29) Shelley, Frankenstein, p.115.

is the next stage in establishing his identity. Rejected by the real son of the surrogate father that he had chosen, the monster is forced to realize that his identity depends on his 'real' parent also acknowledging the paradigm and accepting his responsibilities:

But I will not be tempted to set myself in opposition to thee. I am thy creature, and I will be even mild and docile to my natural lord and king, if thou wilt also perform thy part, the which thou owest me.³⁰

The monster's plea is couched in the terms of a close personal relationship. 'I' and 'thou' delineate the monster's sense of that relationship: the intimate language of parent and child to express filial obedience and love. Like the fictional relationship between the monster and the De Lacey family, it is a one-sided construction of identity to which Frankenstein does not respond in kind. By the close of their conversation, however, Frankenstein realizes 'what the duties of a creator towards his creature were, and that I ought to render him happy before I complained of his wickedness.'³¹ The paradigm of the father reappears.

In creating Frankenstein as a present father within the text, who is shown to be abdicating from his responsibilities and perverting his role, Mary Shelley was following an already established pattern. Fathers, or those who assume the role of father, whom the author allows to remain present and potent within the text of the Gothic romance are figures of negative power. They are everything

30) Shelley, Frankenstein, p.95.

31) Shelley, Frankenstein, p.97.

that the 'good' father is not and the paradigm of the father is made present in absent values.

Heroines are particularly vulnerable to present father figures who direct the power and authority inherent in the title of 'father' inwards to enhance their own role, rather than outwards to care for the person under their protection. The defenceless heroine without natural father or legal status is seen in objective terms by the selfish present father, who easily acquires the status of guardian and protector simply by claiming that name and asserting that power. Heroines are uniquely vulnerable characters because of the passive nature of the ideal woman and the strength of the relationship between father and daughter. Just as the vacuum created by the absence of the father impels the hero forwards into new male relationships, the same situation makes the heroine even more vulnerable as, unable to assume an active role in seeking, finding and choosing the father, she is compelled to accept proffered male protection passively. Equally, as the heroine is not educated to be independent of male protection, she would naturally expect the role of the father to be assumed by someone else - perhaps by another member of her family. In either case the heroine bereft of her father offers an easy target for an unscrupulous man.³²

32) Cf. Bowman, 'Victoria Holt's Gothic Romances': 'The indulgent father, in dying, thrusts upon the heroine an unappeasable thirst for some new dependence on a protector.' p.72.

She becomes an object. The power and authority exerted by the present father/guardian is power stripped of care, power concerned only with manipulating the object. The heroine is frequently considered only as a marriageable pawn, thus representing the acquisition of wealth or allegiance. Montoni, in The Mysteries of Udolpho, is only an uncle-by-marriage, yet while his party is still in Venice and Emily's aunt is still alive, he has the power to attempt to coerce her into marriage with Count Morano:

She afterwards enquired by what right he exerted this unlimited authority over her? [...].

'By what right!' cried Montoni, with a malicious smile, 'by the right of my will; if you can elude that, I will not enquire by what right you do so.'³³

Ann Radcliffe intensified the reader's sympathies and anxieties about the plight of her heroine by making us aware of Emily's awareness of her helplessness, that 'neither Morano's solicitations, nor Montoni's commands had lawful power to enforce her obedience' yet she cannot actively fight against them, nor physically fly from them.³⁴ Montoni, then, accustomed to rule, having the power of life and death within his own domain, transfers this type of power into the relationship between himself and Emily. The quotation shows that Montoni obviously associates physical dominance with mental dominance, strength of arm with strength of will. Emily, however, like other physically feeble heroines, has the stronger will based on a consciousness of sound principle. Later, when Emily is

33) Radcliffe, Mysteries, pp. 216-217.

34) Radcliffe, Mysteries, p.209.

completely at his mercy in the castle, Montoni again manipulates the power of the father figure by extending and removing (or threatening to remove) his protection from Emily. He continues to see Emily only as a symbol of possible material gain, therefore he transmutes a relationship that ought to be based on authority and respect into one of power and subjection. The representation of Montoni reinforces the paradigm of the 'good' father at the same time that it is perverted into that of the tyrannical guardian.

The present guardian may be characterized by selfishness: the absent father by selflessness. In absenting the self of the 'good' father from the text and from the scene of the action, the writer removes him from a physical to a spiritual sphere in which his concerns are those of non-material, generalized concepts like justice, vengeance, innocence and guilt. The concerns of the present guardian are focused in the material present: Montoni desires power but this power is easily quantifiable, measured by wealth (Emily's Languedoc estates for example) and by the number of men he is able to dominate and lead. He thinks, as I have already said, in objective terms except when considering his own honour. Although he perceives Emily as an object of desire, it is the material power which he can acquire by manipulating her to his best advantage which attracts him. Other present guardians of helpless heroines in the Gothic romance see them as objects to be desired in a sexual sense.

The desire to change the role of the father into that of lover or husband is a further key part of the Gothic formula. Walpole began it in The Castle of Otranto when he represented Manfred, who stands in the role of surrogate father to Isabella at the beginning of the tale, wanting to discard his wife in order to remarry. Walpole never overtly suggested that Manfred is either in love or sexually attracted to Isabella. She represents the potential success of his dynastic ambitions: a union between the house of Alfonso and his own, and sons to continue his family and confound the curse. Nevertheless, although Walpole gave Manfred very specific, non-sexual motives for wanting to espouse Isabella, he is attempting to change his role:

You, my lord! You! My father in law! the father of
Conrad! the husband of the virtuous and tender
Hippolita!³⁵

Each of Isabella's apostrophes is addressed to the paradigm of the father and husband, trying to reunite the character of Manfred with that paradigm. The repetition of the name of the father thus has the force of an invocation. In addition, the fragmentation of Isabella's language indicates the breakdown of Manfred as a father figure and the shattering of stable relationships. Manfred makes himself into an absent father by attempting to change his role into that of husband. His role as father to Isabella is then only present briefly in her language. A vacuum has been created in their relationship which impels Isabella, like the heroes already mentioned, into flight.

35) Walpole, Castle of Otranto, p.23.

This change in role may be seen as another device for an author to use in order to propel a heroine into legitimate, active flight and to intensify the anxiety of the reader. Eliza Parsons used it in both Castle of Wolfenbach (1793) and The Mysterious Visit. In both of these texts a young and extremely innocent heroine is the object of her guardian's sexual desire. M. Weimar's designs on his supposed niece in Castle of Wolfenbach are revealed retrospectively as Matilda has already fled from his house before the action of the plot begins. The reader is neither party to the development of his passion nor to the trusting relationship that had existed between him and Matilda. The threat to her chastity is simply a device to account for her unprotected state, her voluntary and justifiable flight and to introduce anxiety through the threat of pursuit. When Eliza Parsons used this device again in The Mysterious Visit the focus was changed to highlight further the perversion of the father role through the character of the villainous Sir William Symons. The archetype of the 'good' father has already been established through the character of Clifford and rendered both absent and impotent. The author directly informed the reader that Sir William Symons, although outwardly adopting the role of present guardian or protector, desires to possess and corrupt Georgina's innocence:

The possession of her person alone would not satisfy the passion he felt, without obtaining her heart; and to this purpose, to inspire her with an equal tenderness, he had controuled [sic] his impetuous desires, and

employed every seductive art to soften her heart, and obtain a triumph over a pure and uncorrupted mind.³⁶

Sir William then, like M. Weimar and Manfred, is also represented as trying to move the heroine from one role to another. If the heroine possessed a power of passive sexual attraction which these guardian/father surrogates were unable to resist, they would, in submitting to sexual desire, be unwittingly granting or acknowledging some form of female power. The heroine, however, does not draw these surrogate fathers from one role to another. Instead, she is drawn by the vacuum of the absent father to first trust and then fly from the present father/guardian/wicked uncle, who never fulfils the role of the father even though he usurps the power of the archetype.

While there is a sharp perceptible division between the present guardian and the absent father of the heroine, present fathers of heroes in the Gothic romance are less easy to quantify and are used in a different way within the formula. As the present, natural father of a hero they must represent the father paradigm. The formula, however, requires that the son be impelled away from the father and initiated into society without paternal protection or guidance. These present 'good' fathers of heroes cannot, therefore, completely sustain their role: the dictates of the formula enforce a flaw in their representation. Conscious of their position in upholding the ethics of society, the present father of the hero is usually depicted

36) Parsons, Mysterious Visit, ii. 219-220.

as too conscious of social pressure, and this constitutes a flaw in the role, making an otherwise 'good' and responsible father indifferent to the ultimate happiness of his hero son. A similar situation may occur when a present natural father of a heroine tries to force her into an unwanted marriage because it will reflect social glory on the family - as happens in The Mysterious Freebooter (1806) - or prevents a heroine from marrying the man that she loves (Gondez the Monk). The objective situations for hero and heroine may be similar, yet there is a difference in the presentation of the father figure. The fathers in The Mysterious Freebooter and in Gondez the Monk are also lords of castles engaged in fighting a war set in turbulent historical periods. They are shown to be creating and maintaining their society in an active, violent manner.³⁷ Present fathers of heroes are not involved in such outward, active movement. Their society is already in existence and is already upheld by law. Their failure or their impotence in one area of fatherhood reinforces the father paradigm. Readers and hero sons are simultaneously disappointed when their expectations about the role of the 'good' father are not consistently fulfilled by these figures. In subverting the 'good' father of the hero, the writers of Gothic fiction manipulated both the readers' expectations and their sympathies. The subversion of a figure who was

37) Lord William, Baron de Mowbray is literally creating his society in The Mysterious Freebooter because, in the opening pages of the first volume, he is described overseeing the building and fortifying of his castle.

initially presented as a 'good' father - particularly when the values of such a figure are shown to conflict with those of the heroine or hero - raises questions about the necessity and extent of filial obedience. The reader's sympathies are more fully engaged because the hero is caught between his filial obligations and what both reader and hero know to be the correct, heroic choice. What these subversions of the 'good' father further reveal is the importance of an absent father to the Gothic formula: the 'good' father can only remain truly 'good' in absence where he can be hallowed in memory as a compound of abstract virtues; once present, either as ghost or as character in the tale, he can exercise more potent authority over the hero or heroine and must either be ineffectual against the power of the villain, or display some flaw in his character - otherwise there would be no conflict and no story.

Lord Cherbury (The Children of the Abbey) is a case in point. From the outset he is presented to the reader as a benevolent and fatherly presence. He is first introduced as an absent patron of Fitzalan - who is the good and absent father of Amanda and Oscar - thus as the protector of the 'good' father, Lord Cherbury reinforces the father paradigm. It is further reinforced by the fact that Oscar's ensignship is won through Cherbury's influence: Regina Roche has used the figure of Cherbury to buttress Fitzalan's fatherhood and raise the expectations of the reader about Cherbury's behaviour when he is brought from absence to presence through his involvement in the relationship

between his son, Lord Mortimer, and Amanda. *Regina* Roche made only one authorial reference hinting at the flaw in Cherbury's character in the early part of the tale, saying that 'he yet retained and was willing to obey, the dictates of humanity, particularly when they did not interfere with his own interests'.³⁸ His opposition to the marriage calls the power and the limits of the relationship between father and son into question. Lord Mortimer is given an interesting speech, which describes the obligations and limits of that relationship:

"In chusing [sic] you as the partner of my future days, I do not infringe the moral obligation which exists between father and son; for as, on the one hand, it does not require weak indulgence; so, on the other, it does not demand implicit obedience, if reason and happiness must be sacrificed by it."³⁹

The authority of the father is represented here as an exercise of reasoned strength and, if necessary, correction. Strength, however, Mortimer implies, exists on both sides of the relationship. Herein lies the difference in the relationships between present fathers and heroines, and present fathers and heroes: the relationship between father and hero-son changes as the son matures, becoming a relationship between adult males of equal strength and reasoning capacity, in which the younger defers to the elder through respect. The relationship between daughter and father does not change in this way. Amanda promises her dying father never to see Lord Mortimer again, simply to

38) Roche, Children of the Abbey, i. 51.

39) Roche, Children of the Abbey, ii. 175.

protect his honour from the suggestion that he deliberately encouraged their relationship. Sacrifice is a keyword in the relationships of heroines, however much it may be denied by the hero. In fact Cherbury's relationship with his son has undergone a role reversal of which his son is unaware - unlike the experience which Amanda faces in Ireland as her father dies. Just as it is through Amanda's consciousness that the paradigm of the 'good' father is made present through her expectations and absent while she deals with the reality of her dying father, it is Amanda who again protects the paradigm of the father by acceding to Cherbury's wishes. He reveals, in a letter, that he has embezzled his ward's money and can only retrieve the situation if Lord Mortimer marries Amanda's cousin, Lady Euphrasia:

Great as was the injury he would sustain by mortgaging it [the family estate], I was confident he never would hesitate doing so if acquainted with my distress; but to let him know it was worse than a death of torture could be to me, his early excellence, the nobleness of his principles, mingled in the love I felt for him a degree of awe;...40

The expectations of the reader about the present 'good' father role are upset again. Lord Cherbury asks Amanda to sacrifice her hopes of happiness that he may preserve his image as father in his relationship with his son. In this text, the paradigm of the father is both potent and vulnerable. It is threatened by the perfection of the son and protected by the dutiful obedience of the heroine. Lord Cherbury is represented as a father who is conscious of the

40) Roche, Children of the Abbey, iii. 137.

paradigm and who fails to sustain the role. Rather than admit his failure, suffering embarrassment, a loss of social reputation and a sense of diminishment in his role, he would condemn his son to potential lifelong, domestic unhappiness. As in other Gothic romances, the father's hidden guilt would be visited on his child.

The point at which the interests of the hero conflict with those of the otherwise present 'good' father is always that of the hero's intended marriage. The impulse towards marriage marks an independent choice indicative of the hero's desire to establish himself in the father's role. The motive for the father's opposition, his determination to exercise his judgement in preference to that of his son, is not always as dramatic as the one that haunts Lord Cherbury. Mr Somerive (The Old Manor House, 1783) is a 'good' present father whom Charlotte Smith portrayed as rendering himself absent. Through his dealings with his sons, Charlotte Smith demonstrated that, although a paternal paradigm exists, the actual father has only as much power as his sons are willing to accord him:

Young Somerive then rose to obey; for his father, when he was present, and had resolution to be peremptory, still retained some power over him.⁴¹

Both of Mr. Somerive's sons disobey their father. Philip, as the quotation shows, only responds to his father's presence and authority when it is exerted. Orlando, on the other hand, has more respect for his father's paternal role, yet he too ignores his father's wishes when he

41) Smith, Old Manor House, p.209.

pursues his relationship with Monimia. Mr Somerive is portrayed as a man of taste and good breeding: he is a discerning man. Yet his concern for social propriety and his desire not to give offence cause him to register his disapproval through absence. He leaves when insulted at Mr Stockton's dinner party and propitiates Mrs Rayland by keeping out of her way. In this text, Charlotte Smith intensifies the need for the hero to assert himself in an active manner by creating a present father figure who gradually becomes more absent during its course. He is a figure who voluntarily absents himself, whose social position and wealth are undermined by his son, whose health is consequently impaired and who finally dies. This is a similar, although more protracted, use of the absent 'good' father device apparent in other Gothic romances. Whereas, in the other Gothic romances already discussed, the absent 'good' father is rendered impotent very rapidly in the course of the story, forcing the hero into society, Charlotte Smith's portrayal of the father/son relationship shows that as the father declines in his role, the son gains in power. At the close of the tale, Orlando Somerive has replaced his father as the head of the family. Even at the death of the present father the paradigm of the father never leaves the tale, but then reappears or is re-presented in the person of the son.

Spiritual fathers within the Gothic romance also represent (and are seen as re-presenting) the absent father paradigm. Writers of Gothic fiction make a sharp division

between spiritual fathers living alone and those living in community. The spiritual father is incorporated into the formula of the Gothic romance which requires good figures to prefer a more solitary communion with nature - like the good and present natural fathers within the tales. Thus, hermits are instruments of Providence: direct reflections of divine will, they aid and direct the hero or the heroine during their journey. The hermit figures in The Castle of Otranto and The Haunted Castle are examples of this type. Other lone spiritual fathers who live within society without dwelling within the confines of a religious order are also benevolent figures. These spiritual fathers, representing God as Father, are dignified with that title, like Father Jerome (The Castle of Otranto), Father Anthony (The Recess), and Father Oswald (The Old English Baron) but are not associated with a particular religious order. The title of 'Father' is not given to spiritual fathers, particularly those in positions of authority, within the romances who are depicted living in a religious community. These are almost invariably malevolent figures constructed around an absence. The 'good' spiritual father is transfused with the invisible power of God: the 'bad' spiritual father has a vacuum instead of faith at the core of his being. Like the present father or guardian, the 'bad' spiritual father is consumed with a lust for material power and perverts the paradigm of the father in order to obtain it.

In this part of the formula, one sees a manifestation of the eighteenth-century distrust of the social power wielded by Catholicism, which the writers of Gothic fiction depicted as based on superstition rather than rational thought. Both Agnes (The Monk, 1796) and Monçada (Melmoth the Wanderer, 1820) are sacrificed as the result of a superstitious oath. The power of Catholicism, translated as superstition, was a tool in the hands of the Gothic writer who used it as a device separating the hero or the heroine from society. It also intensified the anxiety present within the tale, for the closed world of the monastery or the convent in a Catholic country is not subservient to the laws of society, but, as Marilyn Butler suggests, joins with the State to oppress the individual.⁴²

'Good', present, spiritual fathers are as impotent in the romance world as the 'good' father who is forced into absence. Neither can wield sufficient social power to protect the young hero or heroine: the power of the absent 'good' father is the power of the paradigm and is not exerted in a material manner; the power of the present, 'good' spiritual father is similarly intangible. Manfred, for example, tries to limit the sphere of Father Jerome's influence to the 'absent' or spiritual, claiming the material kingdom as his own domain:

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

42) Marilyn Butler, Romantics, Rebels and Reactionaries: English Literature and its Background 1760-1830 (1981; repr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp.160-161.

domestic.[...]. My lord, said the holy man, I am no intruder into the secrets of families. My office is to promote peace, to heal divisions, to preach repentance, and teach mankind to curb their headstrong passions. I forgive your highness's uncharitable apostrophe: I know my duty, and am the minister of a mightier prince than Manfred.⁴³

Jerome's response shows the power contained within his role which forces him to confront Manfred, as well the pervasiveness of the father paradigm which cannot be expelled completely into absence, even though it is concerned with calming and with healing intangible rather than physical wounds. Part of Father Jerome's impotence is a direct result of his lack of omniscience. He, as present spiritual father, is devoted to calming the problems of the present: the purpose of Providence is on a larger scale, involving the past and the future. This, perhaps, is why Walpole represented him as having insufficient power to control Manfred's violence, or to offer realistic, continued protection to the princesses seeking sanctuary in the church. Similarly, Father Anthony (The Recess) is unable to do more than protect the young Matilda and Ellinor by concealing them while they are growing up. Sophia Lee did not give him the power to create a place for his young charges within society. He is a 'good' surrogate and spiritual father figure whose impotence is due in part to the historical period in which the tale is set. Catholic monks, even benevolent ones, had no power or place in Elizabethan society which was still smarting from the Catholic rule of Mary.

43) Walpole, Castle of Otranto, pp.45-46.

It is only when the Gothic romance is set in an overtly Catholic country that spiritual fathers are granted social influence and power. As I have already mentioned, spiritual fathers with political ambitions - whether within the closed world of a monastery, or, like Schedoni (The Italian, 1797) a confessor/advisor to powerful people - are always depicted as malevolent, destructive, and self-seeking. Material power is represented as a corrupting force and the writers of the Gothic romances frequently focused on the breakdown or perversion of social roles:

Instead of brotherly affection, a gloomy mistrust was graven on the front of our conductor; and his manners were as cold, repulsive and comfortless as the internal appearance of this sanctified abode.⁴⁴

Isolated and alone in a Protestant country, the Catholic monk or priest has no power and may be depicted as good and incorrupt: in community in a Catholic country, on the other hand, he wields enormous power, he is a smaller unit of the Church whose powerful arm is the Inquisition.

If a monastery is something to be regarded with fear in a Gothic romance, the Inquisition is a place where terror reigns. The inquisitors are also part of the Gothic formula, representing one side of the father paradigm. Like the hermit, they too are instruments of Providence. Although the dungeons of the Inquisition are feared by guilty and innocent alike, it is always the guilty who suffer. The Inquisition is used as a deus ex machina by the writers of the Gothic romance. Its labyrinthine corridors

44) Ireland, Gondez the Monk, i. 26.

and halls of judgement are often used as the setting for the revelation of guilt and for the punishment of the guilty, whose social position might otherwise protect them from the processes of the law. The complicated plots and trails of guilt in Ann Radcliffe's The Italian (1797), George Walker's The Three Spaniards (1800), Ireland's Gondez the Monk (1805) and Percy Shelley's Zastrozzi (1810) are unravelled by the Inquisitors.⁴⁵ Just as the power of the Inquisition is a fundamental part of the fabric of Catholic society as it is represented in the Gothic romance, so, too, is the paradigm of the father of which it is one present reflection.

It is not just fathers that are made absent in the Gothic romance: mothers do not figure in the text either. Yet the figure and the role of the absent mother is not made as significant or given the same power as that of the absent father. The absent mother, usually dead but occasionally imprisoned, is present only as a passive icon whose memory may be cherished. The obvious exception to this rule is Frankenstein, and here Mary Shelley has absented the mother completely by denying her necessity and existence in the creative role. By casting her creator in a male form, Mary Shelley ensures that the monster, in looking for his creator, is also looking for his father. There is no suggestion that the monster is particularly

45) Percy Shelley, Zastrozzi, A Romance, and St. Irvyne, or, The Rosicrucian: A Romance (1810, 1811; repr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, ed. and intro. Stephen C. Behrendt, 1986).

conscious of the absence of the mother.⁴⁶ It is only the absence of the active role of the father which may be manipulated as a device to induce action in others. Interestingly, Freud's work on the 'Family Romance' suggests that, although both parents are initially denied, the later stages of the fantasy reinstate the mother. It is only the father who is enduringly absent.

There is always a paternal presence operating throughout the Gothic romance even when actual fathers in the tale are forced into absence. The 'good' father figure who is offered to the reader as an archetype is used by the author to establish the paradigm of the father. When the father is removed, the paradigm remains in the expectations of the reader and of characters within the tale. Driving the father into absence is an essential part of the formula of the Gothic tale, as it creates an atmosphere of vulnerability and uncertainty impelling the hero, and sometimes the heroine, both forwards and inwards to construct their own identity.

46) For critics who do see Frankenstein in terms of the absence of the mother see Gordon Hirsch, 'The monster was a lady: on the psychology of Mary Shelley's Frankenstein', Hartford Studies in Literature vii (1975), 116-153. Marc Rubenstein, '"My accursed origin": the search for the mother in Frankenstein', Studies in Romanticism xv (1976), 165-194.

Chapter Six Gothic Villains

I. HOW TO RECOGNIZE A VILLAIN

"As to calling yourself my father, that is a stale trick, and will not pass; and as to personating (what I perceive you aspire to) the grand villain of my plot, your corpulency, pardon me, puts that out of the question for ever. I should be just as happy to employ you as any other man I know, but excuse me if I say, that you rather overrate your talents and qualifications. Have you the gaunt ferocity of famine in your countenance? Can you darken the midnight of a scowl? Have you the quivering lip and the Schedoniac contour? And while the lower part of your face is hidden in black drapery, can your eyes glare from under the edge of a cowl? In a word, are you a picturesque villain, full of plot, and horror, and magnificent wickedness?"¹

By its nature, parody reveals the commonly recognizable stereotypes of any particular form. This passage from The Heroine, written two decades after the deluge of Gothic romances published in the 1790s and relying heavily on the readers' familiarity with the major romances of that period, highlights some of the problems associated with a consideration of the representation of the type of the villain. First, one finds that the well-read heroine Cherry (romantically self-styled Cherubina) Wilkinson can only conceive of a villain who conforms to specific physical characteristics already established as part of a formula. Second, one perceives that by requiring a 'grand' villain capable of 'magnificent wickedness' for the plot, Barrett associated villainy with the language of the sublime. Cherry's rejection of her father as villain is based on her

1) Barrett, The Heroine, i. 155-156.

perception that he fails to arouse the requisite emotions of fear and dread. By extension, the concept of this villain stereotype is rooted in the consciousness and emotions of the romance reader. Also, indirectly raising a further problem, Barrett implied that the villain is defined through a particular relationship with women, (indicated in this passage through the potential recognition or rejection of the projected villain image by the female consciousness), and that his villainy can only be measured or considered of importance insofar as it affects the heroine. Finally, it is interesting to note that by 1813 the stereotype of the wicked monk was the pre-eminent image of villainy; the villain was, literally and metaphorically, the High Priest of the plot. The quotation suggests that there is only one recognizable or acceptable villain stereotype.

Critics too have commonly seen only one developing type of villain and one increasingly ambiguous response to villainy in the Gothic romance. This response, as I shall show, is based on a perception, like that of Barrett's heroine, of a conscious association between the nature of evil and that of the Sublime in the representation of the villain figure. A close examination, however, of the role and function of the villain within the context of the Gothic romance reveals not one, but two villainous stereotypes. Both of the villainous stereotypes that I propose to isolate are allied to the female rather than to the male role in eighteenth-century society, suggesting

that, like the type of the hero, the character role and function of the villain figure in the Gothic formula are delineated by his proximity and behaviour towards women.

Attention and anxiety are increasingly focused on the villain as he is moved to the centre of the formula while the father is reciprocally marginalized. He is thus an essential device by which the author may induce a growing sensation of insecurity and threat within the text. Thus, although the villain is an oppositional figure within the formula, he is not used simply to counterpoint the hero or heroine's essential goodness: as the antagonist, he is a physical, anti-social force embodying the social and emotional problems which the protagonist must encounter and overcome in order to perpetuate his society. A distinction must be made between the developing hero-villain whose type is opposed to that of the young hero through their contrasting education and subsequent development, and the fixed type of villain-hero who is opposed to the absent 'good' father. The characteristics of the 'good' father type are to be impotent, selfless, and absent: the characteristics of the opposing 'evil' villain type are to be powerful, selfish, and present. The quotation with which this chapter begins indicates this opposition. As soon as Cherry's father, whom she rejects in the best 'Family Romance' tradition, appears before her as a present father in place of the grandiose family relations that she seeks, she considers that he is trying to locate himself in a type diametrically opposed to the absent 'good' father of her

imagination: if not a father, he must be a 'grand villain'. Barrett's superimposition of romance expectations on the realities surrounding his heroine provided him with continuous comic interludes but also revealed further characteristics of the villain. Cherry is made to reject Gregory Wilkinson first as father and then as villain. He is unable to satisfy either role because he is 'only a sleek, good-humoured, chuckle-headed gentleman' who is sent away, fit only to 'return to your plough, mow, reap, fatten your pigs, and, the parson.'² The importance of class distinction, operating under the guise of the necessity for behaviour appropriate to the role, is clearly discernible. The true 'grand villain', Barrett indicated, must have the same social rank as the trembling heroine or the noble hero. This qualification, however, is applicable only to one of the villainous stereotypes that I propose to isolate.

The birth, status and language necessary for the representation of villainy will be investigated later in this chapter. Whatever his birth, the role of villain within the formula obviously requires a character to have a capacity for effective action: the villain must have sufficient power to implement his plans. During the period of this study, plots are increasingly affected directly by the actions of the villain; more attention, therefore, is centred on the character of the villain as the ominous mainspring for these actions. Thus, the character, motives

2) Barrett, Heroine, i. 156.

and passions of the villain are sometimes used as a plot device in preference to a supernatural force, yet the expectations of a reader well-grounded in Gothic fiction gives the actions and the character of the villain the implicit stature of the supernatural force that he replaces as a device.³ This too shows the villain's connection with the father rather than the hero; the absent father is often replaced by the action of Providence or supernatural agency, while the villain's actions replace those of supernatural agents. Good is thus associated with intangible, omnipotent mystery: evil with the gross and explicable passions of the human heart.

Villains within the Gothic formula are neither exclusively nor necessarily male (despite the pattern laid down by Barrett) and the representation of the female villain is both similar and dissimilar to that of the male, as her sphere of influence and social power is more circumscribed. It is in considering the representation of the female villain (and the way in which she operates) against that of the male villain that one may see how the villain type may be feminized other than through simple association with the heroine. Writers of Gothic fiction

3) In this context it is interesting to consider the suggestion that the villain character as social man in Gothic fiction is inevitably both human and demon; that 'The demonic is virtually a function of relationship' and that 'the experience of the enlightened person feeling haunted by some demonic self' is the core of the fiction. Francis Hart, 'The Experience of Character in the English Gothic Novel', Experience in the Novel: Selected Papers from the English Institute, Roy Harvey Pearce (ed.), (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), pp.96, 94.

explored the type of the villain in a way that is not usually recognized by critics who see this representation of villainy only as one step in a literary development beginning with Milton's Satan and reaching its apotheosis in Byron's Romantic heroes.⁴

Before approaching specific representations of the stereotypes of villainy and considering how these are affected by gender (both of character and author), it is necessary briefly to survey some critical responses to villainy, in order to chart common responses to the eighteenth-century villain and to discover why only one villainous stereotype has proved enduringly fascinating.

Peter Thorslev's comments on the Gothic villain, that he 'has after all no psychological, much less philosophical complexity' and that, because the villain acknowledges the moral codes of his society 'he never engages our sympathies with his rebellion' are an interesting example of critical tunnel vision.⁵ Thorslev's intention was to trace the origins and development of the Byronic Hero-villain, thus his interest in the Gothic villain is only as a prototype of this figure. Hence his obvious, and I think erroneous, assumptions about the expectations and responses of a contemporary reader. Thorslev assumed that the hero-villain wins the sympathetic admiration of the reader through

4) For the development of the villain-hero from Satan to Byron, see Praz, Romantic Agony, pp.72-112.

5) Peter Thorslev, The Byronic Hero: Types and Prototypes (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1962), p.52.

rebellion against moral and social codes by which the reader himself or herself is bound. These, however, are characters operating within a particular genre of prose fiction rather than late Romantic poetry and I would suggest that the evidence of contemporary criticism and Barrett's parody point to a different reader response and a different expectation - not a desire to feel sympathetic admiration for the villain but to be thrilled with fear by him.⁶ The sublimity and psychological complexity of the villain are not best regarded as aspects of character but as elements relating to the reader's subjective response.

Eighteenth-century criticism clearly demonstrates the importance of the subjective response of the reader when considering the representation of the villain. In his short study of eighteenth-century criticism on the 'heroic' villain, Marlies Danziger considered the appeal and admiration for villainy displayed by eighteenth-century critics against the background of classical precedents, accepted literary taste, attitudes towards vice and virtue and theories of the sublime.⁷ Beginning with seventeenth-

6) Walter Reed, Meditations on the Hero, pp.23-25, also used the moral categories defining character in the Gothic romance to distinguish between the Gothic villain and the amoral Romantic Hero. He stressed, however, that this distinction marks a different type of character rather than implying, as Thorslev does, that this distinction marks an inferior type of character.

7) Marlies Danziger, 'Heroic Villains in Eighteenth-Century Criticism,' Comparative Literature xi (1959), 35-46.
For an expanded discussion on the sublime in the eighteenth century see S.H. Monk, The Sublime: A study of critical theories in XVIII-Century England (1935; repr. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1960).

century French criticism in translation, Danziger has found changing attitudes towards villainy, paralleling a development in aesthetic taste.⁸ Danziger makes three points in his survey from which one may conclude that the sublime features of the villain are not attached to his character but to an emotional response aroused within a reader. The following quotation, from Blair's Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, illustrates both points and

conclusion: *However, on some occasions, where virtue either has no place, or is but imperfectly displayed, yet if extra ordinary vigour and force of mind be discovered, we are not insensible to a degree of grandeur in the character; and from the splendid conqueror, or the daring conspirator, whom we are far from approving, we cannot withhold ^{our} admiration.*⁹

The quotation shows that the villain figure is being viewed in heroic terms as an 'extra ordinary' figure and, as such, is presented as a primary character. This illustrates Danziger's first point: the portrayal of the villain figure

For changing perspective on the self see Peter de Bolla, The Discourse of the Sublime: Readings in History, Aesthetics and the Subject (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989).

8) Danziger did not comment on the fact that the examples, which he used to establish a pre-eighteenth-century critical trend connecting the villain figure with heightened emotions and grandeur of soul, betray a French rather than a British concern, although these writers were quickly translated and adapted into English. Neither did he alert the reader to the fact that the primary aim of these writers was to consider character in terms of dramatic poetry. The eighteenth-century British critics whom he examined, however, are concerned with a philosophical and psychological enquiry into emotion. He concentrated on John Baillie, An Essay on the Sublime, 1747, Hugh Blair, Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, 1783, and R.P. Knight, An Analytical Enquiry into the Principles of Taste, 1805.

9) Hugh Blair, Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, 2 vols. (London: W. Strahan, T. Cadell, 1783), i. 54.

was consciously moved away from the Aristotelian concept of the villain as a secondary character, whose wickedness is exactly appropriate to the demands of the plot, towards the representation of a primary character. Danziger's second point is that critics perceived an aesthetic relationship between horrid crimes and the sublime. One perceives this in Blair's assertion that, whatever repugnance may be felt for individual crimes, the scale of the villainy is such that the reader is compelled to feel ('cannot with-hold') admiration. Danziger's third point is that eighteenth-century critics 'are still far from acknowledging a fundamental distinction between aesthetic and moral experiences.'¹⁰ In other words, when the eighteenth-century critic considered the villain figure, he partially suspended his conventional and inflexible moral judgments, allowing himself to be swayed by an emotional rather than a rational response to aesthetic stimulus. This confusion of aesthetic judgment and moral value is not confined to the critics: correct and genuine responses to aesthetic stimuli are, as I have already mentioned, used as infallible indications of moral character in Gothic fiction.

Why should villainy be judged in a different manner to the rational, moral response demanded of the reader when considering the hero, the heroine or the father? Why should villainy (to return to Barrett) be 'picturesque', 'grand', or magnificent? Despite evidence that interest in Longinus travelled from France to England, creating an aesthetic of

10) Danziger, 'Heroic Villains', p.46.

the sublime, Samuel Monk claimed that the aesthetic of terror was a peculiarly *British* development:

For some reason the aesthetic of terror interested the eighteenth-century Englishman. In a sense it is the aesthetic of the ugly, for neither the ugly nor the terrible is agreeable. It is in this connection that the English show their independence.¹¹

Edmund Burke was the first to develop an aesthetic system of terror but David Hume's essay on Tragedy (1757) shows evidence of a similar critical preoccupation. Hume did not mention character but concentrated exclusively on finding some rational explanation for the pleasure that an audience derives from experiencing disagreeable emotions:

Objects of the greatest terror and distress [...] please more than the most beautiful objects that appear calm and indifferent. The affection, rousing the mind, excites a large stock of spirit and vehemence, which is all transformed into pleasure by the force of the prevailing moment.¹²

Hume's distinction between the effects caused by terror and distress and those caused by the contemplation of beauty - the rousing or allaying of emotion in the onlooker - is the same distinction that Burke made in A Philosophical Enquiry between the beautiful and the sublime. Inevitably, therefore, the sublime and terror came to be interwoven, exacting the same response and being described in the same language.

Thus, a villain may be described as 'grand' or 'magnificent' because the emotions which his figure induces

11) Monk, Sublime, p.52.

12) David Hume, 'Of Tragedy', Four Dissertations (1757), repr. Eighteenth-Century Critical Essays, Scott Elledge (ed.), 2 vols. (New York: Cornell University Press, 1961), ii. 807.

are those of the elevating sublime. 'I know of nothing sublime', Burke wrote, 'which is not some modification of power'.¹³ Thus the language of the sublime is the most suitable to describe the omnipotence of God and the depths of Hell.

It is in Hell, therefore, that one finds the archetype of the 'grand villain'. Mario Praz has commented on the similarity between Milton's description of Satan and Ann Radcliffe's Schedoni.¹⁴ The characteristics identified by Praz recur, he claimed:

...insistently in the Fatal Men of the Romantics: mysterious (but conjectured to be exalted) origin, traces of burnt-out passions, suspicion of a ghastly guilt, melancholy habits, pale face, unforgettable eyes.¹⁵

Although everything that Praz quoted has a bearing on the passions and on the science of *physiognomy*, he simply listed characteristics, refraining from further analysis. Yet the way in which Milton described Satan, mingling passion with physical characteristics, is the most significant feature of his representation and the one which has the greatest bearing on the description of the later Gothic 'grand villain':

.....but his face
Deep scars of thunder had intrenched, and care
Sat on his faded cheek, but under brows
Of dauntless courage, and considerate pride
Waiting revenge. Cruel his eye, but cast
Signs of remorse and passion to behold

13) Burke, Philosophical Enquiry, p.110.

14) Praz, Romantic Agony, pp.75-78.

15) Praz, Romantic Agony, p.79.

the fellows of his crime,...16

Every lineament is described in subjective terms. Milton 'reads' the face of the Fallen Angel, particularly those features which impart expression - the eyebrows and eyes - interpreting each part as if it were a plastic entity fixed only by the passions of the soul. The passions that Milton marked in (and on) the face of Satan are the same ruling passions that are evident in the 'grand villain' - courage, pride, cruelty and a desire for revenge - coupled with the breaking of a social or religious taboo.17

Ann Radcliffe's first description of Schedoni (The Italian, 1796) displays the same combination of passion and suspected broken, moral sanctions that characterize Milton's Satan. As Barrett's usage of the word 'Schedoniac' indicates, Schedoni was accepted as the definitive type of the 'grand villain':

His figure was striking, but not so from grace; it was tall, and, though extremely thin, his limbs were large and uncouth, and as he stalked along, wrapt in the black garments of his order, there was something terrible in its air; something almost super-human. His cowl, too, as it threw a shade over the livid paleness of his face, encreased its severe character, and gave an effect to his large melancholy eye, which approached to horror. His was not the melancholy of a sensible and wounded heart, but apparently that of a gloomy and ferocious disposition. There was something in his physiognomy extremely singular, and that can not easily be defined.

16) Milton, Paradise Lost, I. 600-606.

17) Marcia Pointon, Milton & English Art (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1970), commented: 'Satan was completely humanized by the 1790s. [...] with athletic form, handsome features and determined but suffering visage.' p.96. This seems to indicate that Satan, like the experience of the sublime, was now located within the human heart.

It bore the traces of many passions which seemed to have fixed the features they no longer animated.¹⁸

Here the reader is given a brief physical description accompanied by the author's simultaneous metaphysical interpretation. Like Milton, she has chosen to delineate character through perception and subjective reaction. Everything tends towards sublimity: Schedoni is described through obscurity, he is wrapped in shadows and created from darkness. Even his physiognomy is elusive, being compounded of shadows and definable only by negative 'traces' of passions. This elusive quality intensifies the sensation of menace for the reader whose expectations about the villain character have already been triggered by certain keywords in the passage. One of the hallmarks of the 'grand villain' and a keyword in his description is 'severe'. This, coupled with pride, indicates not only austerity, but a fundamental lack of that magnanimity or benevolence which characterize the hero and the father.

18) Radcliffe, Italian, pp.34-35.

II. 'GRAND' AND 'SIMPLE' VILLAINS

A feminist reading of Gothic fiction might suggest that the female writers of the late eighteenth century were emasculating certain male types (the hero, for example) to bring them closer to the feminine sphere of influence and using others (like the 'grand villain') to express female anger: a literary articulation of a female desire for power and a protest against powerlessness.¹⁹ In her examination of twentieth-century 'Gothic' romances with a reflection on their eighteenth-century precursors (specifically The Mysteries of Udolpho, 1794), Tania Modleski found convincing evidence of a world informed by feminine paranoia based around anxieties of separation, alienation and oedipal conflict.²⁰ Unfortunately, Modleski tended to ignore any male contribution to the development of the eighteenth-century Gothic romance, preferring to view it as an exclusively feminine province shaped by female anxieties. The evidence of paranoia which Modleski isolated - fears of and arising from separation, victimization, and lack of identity - seems to be the same evidence used by

19) Tania Modleski commented on the tendency for women 'to divide men into two classes: the omnipotent, domineering, aloof male and the gentle, but passive and fairly ineffectual male', seeing this as a fundamental trait of Gothic fiction written by women. Loving With A Vengeance, p.79.

Elaine Showalter drew similar conclusions about the underlying motives for representations of male types by nineteenth century female writers in 'Feminine Heroes', A Literature of Their Own (1979; repr. London: Virago, 1988), pp.133-152.

20) Modleski, Loving with a Vengeance, pp.59-84.

David Morris to prove that writers of Gothic fiction revised the Burkean concept of the sublime.

Morris dealt specifically with The Castle of Otranto (1764), yet the potential doubling and victimization of the heroines, the difficulties of separation from filial dependency and the threat of acute physical and potential sexual danger to women - all of which Morris isolated - are the same elements that Modleski highlighted in her work, linking fear in Gothic fiction with feminine anxieties. The purpose of introducing an alternative interpretation of the disturbing elements present in Gothic fiction is not to refute Tania Modleski's thesis, but rather to suggest that danger and anxiety surrounding the female is (and has always been) an intrinsic part of the Gothic formula: a part that need not necessarily be perceived as marking the Gothic as peculiarly female territory. If the excitement of the Gothic arises from the victim's fears, then villainy must inevitably be construed as that which poses the greatest threat to the security of the weak and the innocent. This is apparent in Gothic fiction in which the villainy of the villainous stereotypes, however different they may appear, is commonly defined and delineated through its effect on women.

i. The Grand Villain

Horace Walpole's representation of the first Gothic 'grand villain' demonstrates the close relationship between the villain and women. His tyrant, Manfred, is never

described in physical terms. Walpole established Manfred's tyrannical nature in the opening pages by employing one of the keywords of villainy; Manfred's family dare not question his decision 'apprehending the severity of their prince's disposition'.²¹ Walpole made the connection between tyranny, villainy and female distress explicit when Isabella reflects on her probable future:

...she was not sorry to be delivered from a marriage which had promised her little felicity, either from her destined bridegroom, or from the severe temper of Manfred, who, though he had distinguished her by great indulgence, had imprinted her mind with terror, from his causeless rigour to such amiable princesses as Hippolita and Matilda.²²

Again Manfred is characterized as 'severe' and this is made apparent and defined through his treatment of the women in his family. The effects of his villainy are thus shown through female perceptions and as a threat to female happiness. One might argue that Manfred's tyranny is apparent in his relations with all his dependents, and that this definition and delineation of villainy in relation to the female is a consequence of Walpole's focus on the family situation. There is a difference in Manfred's behaviour, however, when faced with the defiance of a subordinate, yet courageous, male like Theodore:

This presence of mind, joined to the frankness of the youth, staggered Manfred. He even felt a disposition towards pardoning one who had been guilty of no crime.²³

21) Walpole, Castle of Otranto, p.15.

22) Walpole, Castle of Otranto, p.18.

23) Walpole, Castle of Otranto, p.30.

In a situation in which two men confront each other, a situation involving a mutual display of masculine honour, Walpole allowed Manfred to respond to courage. His villainy is not tempered like this when he is confronted with a courageous and defiant young woman: when Isabella attempts to repulse Manfred, his reaction is to coerce her physically. There are two reasons for this different reaction: first, that Theodore's defiance is not immediately connected with Manfred's overwhelming passion, unlike his relations with Isabella; and second, that Isabella is doubly in Manfred's power - as subject to Lord and as woman to stronger man. Her defiance and flight are, therefore, a challenge to his masculinity and a diminution of his power unlike a male/male confrontation which confirms it. When Isabella flees, Walpole again showed the reader Manfred's tyranny in a rape of female happiness:

...she did not doubt but Manfred would seek her there [in Hippolita's chamber], and that his violence would incite him to double the injury he meditated, without leaving room for them to avoid the impetuosity of his passions.²⁴

Significantly, flight is the only possible reaction to violence that Isabella is allowed - passive opposition. Her inability to confront Manfred forces her from the comparative familiarity and security of the palace into the insecure and gloomy labyrinth of the dungeons and secret passage.

Further evidence of the association between the villain and the woman (or women) upon whom he exercises his

24) Walpole, Castle of Otranto, pp.24.

villainy in The Castle of Otranto occurs in Walpole's reference to Manfred's 'exquisite villainy' when:

Presuming on the unshaken submission of Hippolita, he flattered himself that she would not only acquiesce with patience to a divorce, but would obey, if it was his pleasure, in endeavouring to persuade Isabella to give him her hand--25

The villainy contemplated by Manfred is manipulating the role of the ideal wife in order to further his own designs and incidentally to destroy her happiness. This quotation shows Manfred to be conscious of the power of virtue and the feminine ideal, while wilfully perverting it. The deliberate perversion of good through an abuse of the female role is what marks Manfred's villainy as 'exquisite.'

So far I have been considering some attributes associated with the 'grand villain', attempting to demonstrate how the villainy of this figure in the Gothic romance was, from its inception, represented in association with or seen through female perceptions. I have concentrated on Manfred for two reasons: initially because this is one of the figures commonly used by critics in their evaluations of the villain figure; but also because that if it is in the nature of any villain figure within the Gothic formula to be delineated through an association with women, it is important to identify this trend in the representation of the earliest Gothic 'grand' villain'. The 'grand villain', however, is only one of the villainous stereotypes who inhabit the world of the Gothic romance.

25) Walpole, Castle of Otranto, p.35.

ii. The Simple Villain

The other villainous stereotype operating within the Gothic formula differs from the 'grand villain' in several respects, despite occupying the same place in the formula: both villainous stereotypes are antithetical or perverted representations of the archetype of the absent 'good' father, and both can be identified by their relations to women within the tale. Writers of the Gothic romance, however, have had a different focus and method of handling these differing stereotypes. The 'grand villain' is of aristocratic origin, described in sublime terms, and is increasingly used as a primary character occupying his own isolated location. In contrast, the 'simple villain' is usually lower-class, described in repulsive rather than elevating terms, and has no private domain.²⁶ The 'simple villain' is a social parasite adept at manipulating his host and, operating covertly within society, adopts a seemingly passive role.

The 'simple villain' is thus in a dependent position, servile in every meaning of the word. Thomas Leland depicted such a character in Longsword (1762). Grey the flatterer is the prime mover behind the usurping Lord Raymond:

Subtle and expert he was in the arts of fraud and circumvention; ever attentive to his own private interest; patient, persevering and sagacious in the means of advancing it.²⁷

26) 'Simple' is used here in the sense of pure villainy, uncomplicated by an ambiguous reader response.

27) Leland, Longsword, i. 149.

Like all villains, Grey's villainy manifests itself primarily through his behaviour towards the unhappy wife of Sir William. Yet, as a 'simple' villain, Grey is not used as a primary character: his plotting and prompting serve to lure a weak superior into overtly villainous behaviour, whereas a 'grand villain' is his own agent, threat and destroyer. The 'simple villain' of base birth is incapable of inspiring a sublime response and is often portrayed as perverting the behaviour of a potentially noble character. For example, Lord Raymond is encouraged by Grey to use 'gentle violence' - a term also used by Walpole to describe the behaviour of the princesses in removing Hippolita to her chamber - in marrying Ela without her consent.²⁸ The baseness of Grey's birth, as represented by Leland, has formed his natural qualities, 'an unrelenting, unfeeling vassal', and the type of evil of which he is capable because of his 'temper base and brutal'.²⁹

Charlotte Smith also used this villainous stereotype to create the character of Sir Richard Crofts and his relationship with Lord Montreville in Emmeline (1788).³⁰ The description of Sir Richard Crofts serves as a model for the 'simple villain':

He had less understanding than cunning; less honesty than industry; and tho' he knew how to talk warmly and

28) Leland, Longsword, ii. 43.

29) Leland, Longsword, i. 157.

30) Charlotte Smith, Emmeline, The Orphan of the Castle (1788; repr. from 2nd. ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, ed. and intro. Anne Henry Ehrenpreis, 1971).

plausibly of honour, justice, and integrity, he was generally contented only to talk of them, seldom so imprudent as to practice them when he could get place or profit by their sacrifice.

He had that sort of sagacity which enabled him to enter into the characters of those with whom he conversed: he knew how to honour their prejudices, and lay in wait for their foibles to turn them to his own advantage.

To his superiors, the cringing parasite; to those whom he thought his inferiors, proud, supercilious, and insulting;...31

All his ideas are directed towards profit or self-aggrandizement and his advisory relationship with Lord Montreville perverts a potentially admirable character, having a direct effect on the destiny and the happiness of the heroine. This type of 'simple' villain, like Grey the flatterer, is a purveyor of secondhand evil relying on the power of his host to advance his ends. Charlotte Smith's description of him marked him as a 'simple' rather than a 'grand' villain in two significant particulars. Although both 'grand' and 'simple' villains are incapable of abstract thought, 'simple' villains are also incapable of mustering the raw, physical, bestial courage that the 'grand villain' displays in the defence of his honour or the pursuit of his plans. Another of Charlotte Smith's 'simple' villains, Sir John Belgrave, behaves improperly towards Monimia (The Old Manor House, 1783) which marks him as a villain, but is too effete to repulse Orlando: 'Sir John, who was quite the modern man of fashion, did not much approve of the specimen Orlando had given him of his

31) Smith, Emmeline, p.87.

athletic powers:...'.³² Like Sir Richard Crofts, the 'simple villain' cringes to his superiors and cannot be considered or described in sublime terms. Physical timidity underlines the seeming subservience that is the second hallmark of the 'simple' villain. Nowhere in the description of a 'simple villain' does the reader encounter magnificent villainy or gloomy pride. Excessive pride is one of the hallmarks of the 'grand villain': excessive servility usually accompanied by physical cowardice delineates his counterpart.

Even if the 'simple' villain does not display cowardice, he triggers very different emotions to those evoked by the representation of the 'grand' villain. Sir William Symonds (The Mysterious Visit, 1802), for example, fulfils all the 'grand villain' criteria but is not a source of sublime emotions and is, therefore, a 'simple villain' of relatively aristocratic birth:

...one who wore the semblance of honour, without a single particle of it in his soul; and to every vile propensity that disgraces human nature, had completely attained to the climax of wickedness, by a system of the most detestable hypocrisy, to impose upon the truly good and unsuspecting heart by an affectation of every virtue, as a covering to the most abandoned principles, and with a view only to deceive and betray.³³

Unlike Radcliffe, Eliza Parsons did not describe her villain in terms of barely repressed passions that might be interpreted by the reader. There is no possibility of an ambiguous reader response, no representation of fascinating

32) Smith, Old Manor House, p.87.

33) Parsons, Mysterious Visit, i. 148-149.

evil, no suggestion of daring or feats of anti-social courage. Instead the writer took care to alert her readers to the misery of the villain's situation:

...involved in the most nefarious plots, and entangled in a maze of intricate schemes, he was for ever mistrustful and wretched, from the constant apprehension of some untoward chapter of accidents crossing him, to develope [sic] his dark designs, and cover him with infamy.³⁴

A villain who is exceedingly conscious of the differences between appearance and reality in his own character, aware of the thinness of the veneer, can trust no one. Peace and happiness are the reward of fortune, and suspicion and fear are the natural consequences of villainy.³⁵ This, together with the importance of restraining the passions, is a message continually promoted by writers of Gothic romances. Clara Reeve had already made this moral point in The Old English Baron (1777) through the words of the villainous Walter Lovel: 'From that fatal hour I have never known peace, always in fear of something impending to discover my guilt'.³⁶ The consciousness of apprehension - which is not the same thing as the consciousness of guilt or remorse - is another characteristic peculiar to the 'simple villain'. This kind of fear is unknown to 'grand' villains like Manfred who declares he will brave Hell itself to further

34) Parsons, Mysterious Visit, ii. 208.

35) E.g. the words given to Mr Weimar: 'tis the fate of villainy never to be secure; and the constant apprehension of detection embitters every hour of their lives who once plunge into guilt.' Parsons, Castle of Wolfenbach, ii. 167.

36) Reeve, Old English Baron, p.105.

his designs, or to Montoni who scorns the feelings of lesser men: '"No existence is more contemptible than that, which is embittered by fear.'"37 The 'simple' villain manipulates the rules of his society: the 'grand' villain ignores them.

iii. Society

Society, by which is meant high, or fashionable society ordered by corrupting superficial values, is the natural home of the villain in the Gothic Romance. The character of the villain, allied to the nature of the world which he inhabits, provides a critique on facile social values:

...the middling and lower classes of people [...] are more to be depended on for character, than the higher ranks in society, who view men and manners through an artificial medium, without taking the trouble of investigation.³⁸

In society, as it is portrayed by Gothic writers, reputation, in the twin senses of personal reputation and rumour, is all important. The importance of penetrating beneath the surface manners of an insidious villain is made evident in The Mysteries of Udolpho in which the superficial fallibility of social judgement is demonstrated within the text. Ann Radcliffe showed her reader a fashionable and stupid woman, Madame Cheron, betraying her ignorance and the artificiality of her judgment as she asserts her superiority over her dead brother, St. Aubert:

37) Radcliffe, Mysteries, p.244.

38) Parsons, Mysterious Visit, i. 18-19.

"What has a man's face to do with his character?"'.³⁹ Had Madame Cheron been as skilled as Emily in the metaphysical interpretation of countenances, she would not have been deceived by Montoni's veneer of gentlemanliness. The subsequent marriage of Madame Cheron and Montoni is based on deception and false repute: he believed her to be considerably wealthier than was the case and hoped in marrying her to 'delude society' and 'regain the fortunes he had lost'; she believed him to be a man of good character and settled property.⁴⁰ Ann Radcliffe used this double deception as a device whereby Montoni was forced to remove himself and his entourage from Venice, returning to Castle Udolpho.

Montoni's representation seems to mark a mid-point in the depiction of the villain with regard to society. In the earliest Gothic romances the villain figure is an usurping tyrant who, as absolute overlord, makes the laws of his society, shaping his own environment. Manfred is such a figure, as is the villainous Mal-Leon in Leland's Longsword. By 1797, when the villainous figure of Schedoni appeared, the villain figure had been incorporated into a tight social structure of which he was no longer the apex, although he was often placed at the head of a subsidiary, semi-autonomous society like a religious order, or a castle household. Montoni's retreat to Castle Udolpho, however, shows the reader a 'grand villain' who, although adept at

39) Radcliffe, Mysteries, p.112.

40) Radcliffe, Mysteries, p.190.

manoeuvring within a social milieu, always has the possibility of rejecting society's standards and retreating (when necessary) to a stronghold outside that society.

An examination of Ann Radcliffe's Montoni (The Mysteries of Udolpho, 1794), therefore, poised as a character type between Manfred and Schedoni, reveals all of the dominant qualities of the Gothic 'grand villain' in and out of society. His villainy is manifested and registered through women, and he is introduced to the reader trying to manipulate a social situation in order to enhance his social power. Montoni also displays the potentially admirable characteristics that all 'grand villains' share. He is a man of considerable physical courage and daring, the leader of a band of mercenaries, exacting unquestioning obedience from his followers by virtue of his decisive nature and 'the vigour of his thought [...] to which most of his companions submitted, as to a power, that they had no right to question'.⁴¹ Grand villains exert a near mesmeric influence over those around them. Ambrosio (The Monk, 1796) is not only the youngest monk to be Abbot of his monastery but also a powerful and persuasive preacher. Similarly, John Melmoth (Melmoth the Wanderer, 1820) arrests attention whenever he appears. Passions are so concentrated in the person of the 'grand villain' that the attention of others is focused on him and no external influence can move him.

41) Radcliffe, Mysteries, p.288.

The 'grand' villain's mesmeric influence over his men or associates is an extension of the active desire for dominance in a one-way relationship of power. In the villain's egocentric world, other human beings are reduced to objects representing different aspects of the villain's power. Montoni, for example, is represented as incapable of friendship: '...associated with them [the vicious aristocrats, Bertolini, Orsino and Verezzi] only to make them the instruments of his purpose.'⁴² Ann Radcliffe, then, represented Montoni as perceiving even his chosen companions simply as tools, in the same way that he perceived Emily as an objective embodiment of the Languedoc estates. Similarly, Regina Roche described Colonel Belgrave (The Children of the Abbey, 1796) as 'a man, indeed, of the most depraved principles, and an object he admired, no tie, or situation, however sacred, could guard from his pursuit.'⁴³ Manfred's desire for immortality is likewise perceived and expressed in objective terms as dynastic continuance.

The castles and abbeys inhabited and ruled by 'grand villains' are equally symbolic objects, denoting physical power and dominance. By retreating within the walls of an enclosed world, the villain recreates his own landscape, denying Nature. Fortified castles are never regarded as homes in the Gothic romance, possibly because the home is a domestic, female sphere. Castle Udolpho (The Mysteries of

42) Radcliffe, Mysteries, p.182.

43) Roche, Children of the Abbey, i. 53.

Udolpho), Castle Ray (The Mysterious Visit), the Castle of Otranto, and the Castle of Wolfenbach are decaying, labyrinthine prisons for women trapped in the villain's sphere of influence. Even in Barrett's parody, the heroine's attempt to inhabit Monkton Castle is unsuccessful - she abandons it after realizing that she will have to share her bedchamber with thirty men. Instead the reader is invited to share the fantasy that rural cottages and countryside estates offer the security and haven of home denied by a fortified castle.

iv. Subjective reader: Objective villain

Everything that has been said about the characteristics of the villain, whether a 'grand' or a 'simple' figure, and his place in formula depends upon the reader's subjective response, triggered by a shared understanding of the vocabulary of feeling. Through the villain, the writer creates an atmosphere of menace, uncertainty and misapplied power. The sublimity ascribed to the 'grand villain' through the language in which he is described is located in the emotions of the reader. The 'simple villain' has a less powerful emotional effect, but the representation of the villain and his place in the formula of the Gothic romance demands that the actions (rather than the character) of this figure should also create sensations of fear or anxiety for the reader. In both cases the subjective response of the reader is of the first importance.

An examination of the representation of the villain figure as a character within the tale, rather than as an antagonistic device, reveals that the villain figure is invariably objective in his perception and goals. This delineates the villain figure, identifying him as the antithesis of all 'good' characters within the text - and the reader outside it. Hence a very different relationship, in terms of emotional response, is established between reader and villain: a relationship in which all the emotions are evoked by the villain and felt by the reader.

In contrast, an archetypal father like St. Aubert (The Mysteries of Udolpho) is portrayed as a man of conscious feeling and sentiment; the hero and heroine are represented as types who, acutely aware of their own sensations and feelings, respond strongly to external stimuli. Valancourt and Emily, for example, vent their overcharged emotions through the mutual shedding of tears. The reader is invited to share their perceptions and feel their emotions, commonly expressed through poetry, which is a contained and shaped response to external stimulus, an exercise in the ordering of emotion by a rational mind. Thus a reader experiences emotion at secondhand: the correct subjective response is already present in characters in the text, having been rationalized and filtered through authorial narrative.

The opposite effect is obtained through the representation of the villain figure. The villain himself is objective, whereas the reader's response is subjective.

That response may, to some extent, have been directed by the author's choice and manipulation of language, of the organisation of plot, and the usage of the already fearful perceptions of the heroine, yet there is a significant difference in the type and quality of the reader's subjective response. The villain does not respond to external stimulus by emitting sentimentalized emotion; instead he is the one figure within the formula who exists both as an external stimulus on a par with natural forces and as a character in his own right. Everything, for the villain, is an object that may be manipulated or acquired to build his own powerbase.

Since everything surrounding the villain is perceived by him as an available object, he is necessarily represented as a figure of extreme outward action. This in itself is enough to create an atmosphere of threat, of violent physical action that is anathema to the idealized, gentle, thoughtful and passive female. Not only is the villain represented as an active figure of potential violence within the text, however, but also as one constitutionally incapable of enduring inaction. When thwarted, the passions of the Gothic villain are either liberated in rage or turned against himself. The response of the young villain, Wenlock (The Old English Baron, 1778), is typical of a villain at bay: he 'flew into a passion, raged, swore, threatened, and finally denied every thing.'⁴⁴ The usurper Lord Raymond (Longsword) is also represented as continually

44) Reeve, Old English Baron, p.96.

giving way to his passions in fits of 'distracted violence'. Typically, the villain figure is compounded of gigantic, unrestrained passions that distort his soul and this distortion, like Milton's Satan and Radcliffe's Schedoni, forms his countenance:

Georgina was drowned in tears, terrified by his [Sir William Symons] passion, which had so inflamed and altered his features that he really looked quite horrible.⁴⁵

Even when the villain (in this case Sir William Symons) is frustrated in his desires and rendered powerless, his passions still vent themselves in some active, physical manifestation. Eliza Parsons had already indicated the physicality and destructiveness of her villain figure earlier in the tale. Whilst Lord Dunlaney and Lady Symons were exclaiming over the pathetic innocence and beauty of young, fatherless Georgina, Sir William - responsible for the incarceration of Georgina's father - is described biting his nails and gnawing at his fingers. Unable to further his plot at that time, the villain turned that outward, destructive passion against himself. Count Wolfenbach is another character who demonstrates that personal peace is neither an attainable nor a desirable goal for a passion-filled villain. Through his conversation with his suffering wife, Victoria, Eliza Parsons reveals the villain's dominant urge to gratify the baser passions:

"Because, (said he, furiously) because I prefer revenge

45) Parsons, Mysterious Visit, ii. 116.

to my own quiet; because I will be feared, and make your destiny hang on my pleasure."46

The same restless, passionate urges and corresponding delight in violent action can be found in Montoni:

He delighted in the energies of the passions; the difficulties and tempests of life, which wreck the happiness of others, roused and strengthened all the powers of his mind, and afforded him the highest enjoyments, of which his nature was capable.47

The Gothic villain is directed towards action and conflict; he is not generally concerned with abstract concepts.

Honour is the one abstract conception that the 'grand villain' commonly entertains and even this is objectified, becoming synonymous with social reputation and masculine status. Honour revolves around the idea of the self, having its roots in pride, and, as it is also concerned with reputation - the reflection of one's self in others - it is a suitable obsession for the villain figure. The villain is entirely selfish: self-motivated, self-propelling and self-absorbed. Clara Reeve used the villain's tendency to objectify his situation in order to create a dilemma and punishment for the materialistic Walter (The Old English Baron): 'He was unwilling to give up the world, and yet more so to become the object of public shame, disgrace and punishment.'48 Here the writer has shown how the villain may abjure the world and all the desirable objects it contains in order to prevent the deflation of his self-

46) Parsons, Castle of Wolfenbach, i. 263.

47) Radcliffe, Mysteries, p.182.

48) Reeve, Old English Baron, p.123.

image or to become an object for others - sustaining this self-image is what constitutes honour. Ann Radcliffe represented Montoni as a character obsessed with his honour, and honour is seen to be synonymous with self-will and masculinity. The villain may see others in objective terms, but may not be seen thus himself. He considers his honour to be engaged or at stake whenever his will is thwarted or his designs challenged. Thus he invokes it as a means to attempt to coerce Emily into a marriage with Morano: 'my honour is now engaged, and it shall not be trifled with'.⁴⁹ It is also given as the reason for Montoni's anger at Morano's suggestion that Montoni obtained the castle by foul means 'with respect to my honour; no man shall question it with impunity--'.⁵⁰ In this case, honour is advanced as an acceptable masculine inspiration for anger where the true inspiration is guilt. As soon as 'honour' is mentioned, it is understood as a challenge or a block, beyond which there is no room for appeal or negotiation: violent action can be the only result. The reaction of Leland's Mal-Leon (Longsword) to the public disclosure of his dishonourable conduct not only demonstrates how the loss of honour reflects a loss of power, but that an injury to a villain's pride only aggravates his operant passions:

...[Mal-Leon] whose imperious spirit could but ill endure the piercing wound his honour had now received;

49) Radcliffe, Mysteries, p.198.

50) Radcliffe, Mysteries, p.289.

discomfited, disgraced and doubly conquered, now felt the most malignant passions rankling in his breast.⁵¹

George Walker also represented his 'grand' villain, Don Padilla (The Three Spaniards, 1800), as acutely and hypocritically conscious of honour in the abstract:

...he resolved, with obstinate firmness, to submit to any infliction, rather than bend to a confession which must overwhelm him with infamy, and humble his haughty spirit to the dust.⁵²

A villain forced to operate in society must preserve his social reputation at all costs, for the utterance of words that denigrate social reputation indicate a lessening of social power and attack his pride. The initial description of Don Padilla as 'a gruff old Don, proud as a bashaw, and grim as a starving wolf' has already prepared the reader to expect an anti-social character capable of predatory, rapacious violence.⁵³ Honour, a natural consequence of pride, is produced as the excuse for having mistakenly stabbed his daughter whilst she attempted to flee from a convent with her lover:

"...you know how necessary it is that the privacy of a superior, or indeed of any individual, should be sacred: you will not wonder then that I was transported almost beyond the bounds of reason at so flagrant a breach of honour."⁵⁴

Interestingly, this, like every occasion which causes Montoni to produce the flag of honour, is concerned in some way with a woman.

51) Leland, Longsword, i. 36.

52) Walker, Three Spaniards, iii. 198.

53) Walker, Three Spaniards, i. 67.

54) Walker, Three Spaniards, ii. 191.

The woman may frequently be represented as the focus of male honour and hence of activity designed to protect or to maintain that honour. One of the villain's traits is to shift moral responsibility for his 'honourable' actions to the woman who has inspired them. One such shift occurs over the assassination of the Countess de Merville (Clermont, 1798) by her villainous son-in-law, Monsieur D'Alembert, an action commended by his father as: 'a proof of real spirit, which would not quietly submit to ill-treatment'.⁵⁵ The murder is thus less important than an assertion of masculine activity and dominance over a female obstacle: it is treated as a matter of honour. D'Alembert himself is given the same argument to justify his desire to rid himself of his wife: '...a noble soul will ever try to break chains which are oppressive.'⁵⁶ When *Regina* Roche described D' Alembert's attempts to justify his behaviour by representing his own deeds and motives as those of the masculine ideal - a noble, chivalric knight combating injustice - she represented the classic villainous stereotype; a figure who perverts the ideal of masculine activity. D'Alembert justifies himself once more by transferring the responsibility for his own villainous actions to the heroine Madeleine:

"...though solely in my power, I never will make an ungenerous use of that power, by using any violence. I will not force you to return my love; but if you

55) Roche, Clermont, iv. 213.

56) Roche, Clermont, iv. 223.

continue much longer to disdain it, I shall not hesitate to surrender your father to the fate he merits."57

D'Alembert appears to recognize both his villainy and his responsibility towards a helpless young woman, yet makes a merit of physical restraint while he applies emotional blackmail. In effect, he declares that he recognizes and fulfils his masculine duty towards women, and uses Madeleine's strong sense of filial duty to compel her obedience. Mr Weimar (Castle of Wolfenbach, 1793) is represented as using exactly the same technique for apportioning guilt and responsibility: "'It was my intention to have married you, unless you rejected me--in that case you must take the consequences.'"58 Montoni also appeals to Emily's perfect femininity, with a subtext of underlying duty, in order to persuade her to accede to his demands: "'...you have none of those contemptible foibles, that frequently mark the female character..."'59

In all of these cases the writer described a villain who first accorded due respect to the perfect heroine and then demanded a sacrifice from her. These are further examples of the villain whose villainy is apparent through his manipulation of the female role and, although the authors quoted above were all women, it is a device commonly used by all writers of Gothic romances. Horace Walpole used the same technique, as I have already mentioned, in the

57) Roche, Clermont, iv. 171.

58) Parsons, Castle of Wolfenbach, ii. 171.

59) Radcliffe, Mysteries, p.380.

description of Manfred's behaviour and motives when he attempts to relinquish his wife. Thomas Leland also used it in describing how Lord Raymond accedes to the kidnap of Ela's baby son, transferring the responsibility for that action from his own desire to Ela's refusal to marry him. Every occurrence, every person, every motive is measured, considered and justified only in the light of the villain's overweening ego. His true villainy is hidden even from himself, disguised and transformed by the strength of his passions which distort his perceptions.

A concern or obsession with personal honour is not confined to the figure of the villain: every major character in a Gothic romance partakes of such a concern - although only the villain sees it in objective terms. Honour is a particularly loaded concept for women in the Gothic romance, as it involves not just their own reputation but that of their family, and is often based on maintaining their sexual integrity which extends even to thoughts. Heroines are thus the most sensitive and vulnerable to attack:

...you must make some allowance for the natural character of man, influenced as it moreover is, by his unrestrained habits and education. He is not, like woman, accustomed to view the smallest wanderings of his ideas as crime--he assumes, and by compact as it were, is granted an independence of conduct and opinion, which in woman would not be tolerated.⁶⁰

Female honour is equated with integrity of role. For a woman, this often consists of the active defence of a

60) Countess Sternach to Amelia: Dacre, Passions, iii. 133.

passive purity. Active female honour is selfless, involving painful restraint. When a 'grand villain' invokes the honour concept, however, he asserts his right to an active male role, re-establishing domination and confirming power over others. Honour, for the villain, is equated with domination and the justification of his masculinity. Villain and heroine are thus linked once more through their diametrically opposed conceptions of honour.

III. THE FEMININE VILLAIN

Certain villain figures (both 'grand' and 'simple' villains) within the Gothic romance are forced into positions of extreme social passivity from which they are unable to wield overt social powers. Consequently, the villain figure is forced to establish and maintain power by manipulating others from within an ordered social framework in which an external institution has ultimately more power than the villain himself:

...he could adapt himself to the tempers and passions of persons, whom he wished to conciliate, with astonishing facility, and generally with complete triumph.⁶¹

As this quotation illustrates, the successful villain is a chameleon figure, adept at recognizing, disguising and adapting his own passions to suit the environment around him. Capacity for adaptation and manipulative passivity are as much a part of the ideal role of woman as a necessity for the successful villain. Villains cast in this 'feminine' role are those whom writers of Gothic fiction represent as neutered by social disadvantage.

i. The Young Villain

Young villains in the tales, of whom there are few examples, rarely have enough social power to threaten the hero or the heroine in any significant degree. Wenlock and Markham (The Old English Baron) join in attempting to destroy Edmund's reputation and favour with his protector, Lord FitzOwen, but their plotting is ineffectual and

61) Radcliffe, Italian, p.35.

unsuccessful. Clara Reeve did not use them as an opposing device obstructing the hero's destiny or as figures of evil to enthrall the reader, but as foils counterpointing Edmund's excellence. As such they underline the need for moral education and restraint of the passions in the young. Alwin, the villainous young page in Francis Lathom's The Mysterious Freebooter (1806), serves the same purpose as a foil to the excellences of young Edward.

These young villains are not characterized in the same way as adult Gothic villains: their villainy is not defined through their behaviour towards women, nor are they perceived as a threat through female consciousness. Instead, they partake of the feminine role to some extent, being in a dependent situation similar to that of the heroine, and, particularly in the representation of Alwin, being forced to manipulate and exploit their dependency, vulnerability or childishness in order to achieve their ends: 'mixing the manners of cunning with the playful childishness natural to his years, and exercising them to the best advantage'.⁶² The technique which Clara Reeve's young villains, Wenlock and Markham, used to discredit Edmund is calumny and false report inspired by jealousy; the same technique and the same motive used by the ladies of Irish provincial society to justify their scorn of Amanda (The Children of the Abbey). Thus, there are obvious similarities existing between the position and techniques of the young villains and those of women.

62) Lathom, Mysterious Freebooter, i. 188.

ii. The Wicked Monk

The figure of the Wicked Monk became a common topos for the writers of the Gothic romance. They recognized and exploited the dramatic potential inherent in a character forever wearing a mask, split between an outward show of spiritual benevolence and an inner reality of selfish passion. He is, therefore, an explosive character, with a greater potential for ^{self-}destruction than any other villain figure. He is also a highly feminized character: rumour has it (in The Monk) that Ambrosio has been educated in ignorance of the sexual differences between men and women - so has the heroine, Antonia. There is a greater general parallel than this instance might suggest between the role of the monk and that of the woman. The Wicked Monk figure, as I have described him, is at a disadvantage in society and is denied any overt social power. His monkish role requires him to triumph over the grosser passions and to embody the moral stature of his rational society while upholding irrational faith. The monk or priest is given some status through the rituals of public ceremony or the intimacy of the confessional. This power, however, is both acknowledged and emasculated: public ritual (like the procession of the nuns in The Monk) serves as mass entertainment rather than a visible reminder of spiritual authority; the seal of the confessional confines the power of the priest to a spiritual rather than a social realm. The ideal woman is in almost exactly the same position, having no social power except in the home. She is expected

to be the embodiment of all domestic virtues and experienced in containing all passions while commonly supposed to have a weaker and less rational understanding than a man. There are other reasons why the Wicked Monk became a convenient villain: first, because such a figure inhabited a mysterious, closed world with its own social hierarchy and power structure; and second, because the defiance of the highest supernatural power (God) automatically established the villain as a potent figure poised on the brink of eternal destruction, thereby intensifying the horror and the dramatic tension. The mystery and mystique of Catholic religious practices were also suited to the representation of an atmosphere of suspicion and vague, though elevated, emotions as Sr. Mary Muriel Tarr has observed:

Neither Catholic dogma nor religious life is thought to be worthy of the intellectual assent of reasonable beings. Yet, Catholic dogma in practice can provide situations highly pleasurable to the emotions, and the appurtenances of religious life have qualities extremely satisfying for the lover of the picturesque. Catholicism in Gothic fiction, therefore, presents ample materials for the exercise of both sense and sensibility. Sense rejects dogma; sensibility revels in the decorations.⁶³

Her thesis concentrates on all the elements of Catholic practice which appear in the Gothic romances: architectural setting; the piety and frequent devotions of major characters; and spectacular religious ceremonies; her conclusions are summarized by this quotation. After a study

63) Sr. Mary Muriel Tarr, Catholicism in Gothic Fiction: A Study of the Nature and Function of Catholic Materials in Gothic Fiction in England (1762-1820), (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1946), p.72.

of more than one hundred novels, she concluded that the use of Catholic materials in Gothic fiction is a device by which the author was enabled to evoke an atmosphere of pseudo-medievalism. A secondary result of this religious miasma concentrating on the effects of irrational superstition, Sr. Tarr felt, is a vindication of eighteenth-century rationalism: 'a sense of relief that the eighteenth century has been delivered from the fanatic superstition of earlier times.'⁶⁴ According to Sr. Tarr, the writers of the Gothic romance ignored the principal tenets of Catholicism, subordinating it to a convenient stage-setting in which emotion could be released. Her comments on the idealized Gothic religious house - a place in which holiness is externalized and sentimentalized with peace appearing on every face - reveal her impatience (as a practising Catholic) with the viewpoint of the Gothic romancer:

One scowling Schedoni would, at any rate, afford occasional relief among so many faces placid in perpetuity! One scheming abbess would, in any case, dissipate the spiritual fog raised by such self-complacent piety!⁶⁵

Sr. Tarr seems to be creating a justification for villainy as an individual reaction against conscious humanitarian piety. One might infer from her statement that the Catholic society created by the Gothic romancer is so palpably inaccurate that a villainous character is an inevitable consequence. Thus, she vindicated the use of Catholic

64) Tarr, Catholicism in Gothic Fiction, p.21.

65) Tarr, Catholicism in Gothic Fiction, p.64.

materials (as a convenient tool used in ignorance) while ignoring any possibility that there was an actual fear of Catholicism in the eighteenth century, which was exploited by the writer of the Gothic romance to enhance the sensations of horror. That there was an awareness of Catholicism, coupled with a popular ground swell of strong anti-Catholic feeling, in late eighteenth-century England cannot be denied. 1762-1820 was a period of social and ecclesiastical revolution.⁶⁶ The notorious Gordon Riots of 1780, during which Roman Catholic chapels were pillaged and burnt and London was under mob rule for several days, were a direct response to a proposed Act of Parliament according limited toleration to Roman Catholics. Sympathy shifted towards persecuted clergy and people who fled to England in order to escape the activities of the French revolutionary government, and an Act of Relief for Roman Catholics was eventually passed in 1791; complete religious freedom with full legal rights and protection was not granted until 1829. Historically then, this was a period in which attitudes towards Catholicism, Dissenters and the established Church were undergoing radical shifts and changes.

It is reasonable to suggest that the use of Catholic materials in the formula of the Gothic romance does reflect popular awareness and distrust of 'Popery', in addition to those uses identified by Sr. Tarr. Distrust, suspicion and

66) See J.R.H. Moorman, A History of the Church of England, 3rd. ed. (1973; repr. London: A & C Black, 1986), Chapters XVII and XVIII.

superstition are not the only contemporary social conditions reflected by the depiction of the Wicked Monk figure in the Gothic romance. Daniel Watkins, for example, (concentrating on The Monk) has suggested that the representation of religious life also reflects an eighteenth-century preoccupation with class division.⁶⁷ Much of what Watkins has discovered in The Monk is also applicable to other Wicked Monk figures and may be considered as an essential part of the stereotype. Watkins based his criticism on the fact that, although his father is an aristocrat, Ambrosio's mother, Elvira, is the daughter of a shoemaker in Cordova:

His villainy [...] is not the villainy of aristocracy, and cannot be explained as a commentary on upper class abuse of lower orders: the novel is not an anti-aristocracy document. His actions are the product of a marital and sexual relationship that is wholly unacceptable to upper and lower classes alike, and their particular intensity and viciousness are meant to dramatize the ills that come of violating established social codes. Moreover, just as his mixed class background is socially disruptive, it is personally fatal. Ambrosio is from birth doomed to exclusion from and isolation within society, as his tenure in the monastery symbolizes, and thus his desires and power are the desires and power of the hopelessly alienated.⁶⁸

Watkins does admit that Ambrosio's villainy is not reducible to his mixed heritage, but the central point of his article, that the circumstances of Ambrosio's birth exclude him from any true social power and that the monastery is, in effect, some shadow world outside society

67) Daniel Watkins, 'Social Hierarchy in Matthew Lewis's The Monk', Studies in the Novel xviii (1986), 115-124.

68) Watkins, 'Social Hierarchy', p.117.

in which he can rise to eminence, is pertinent to the representation of the Wicked Monk in general. The Wicked Monk figure is frequently described as having chosen the religious life, either to escape social condemnation for his crimes or because the monastery offers the only environment in which he may exercise a degree of power inappropriate to his status in normal society. Leland's Reginhald (Longsword) is the earliest Wicked Monk of the latter type: he comes from the lower classes and is even more repugnant than his villainous brother Grey:

His manners were equally brutal with those of Grey, but less disguised by art and hypocrisy. He was, like him, abject and servile, but by no means so well skilled in the arts of flattery: insolent and assuming, but not careful to distinguish between those who feared and those who defied his power.⁶⁹

Where Grey enforces his social power by influencing the weak Lord Raymond, Reginhald - separated from this type of social power and less discriminating than his brother - immediately becomes violent. As Daniel Watkins has highlighted, Ambrosio (The Monk) is denied a place in society because the circumstances of his birth and upbringing exclude him from social power. Schedoni, on the other hand, is an aristocrat, but he too was initially denied the social power and status he desired because he was a younger son. Abbot Gondez (Gondez the Monk) is eventually revealed to be the bastard son of Cardinal Nicolo Gonzari and the Abbess of the Della Pietà convent. In all these cases, the stereotype of the Wicked Monk is

69) Leland, Longsword, ii. 2.

created from social disadvantage and used as a device to reassure the reader:

The novel effectively raises the reader's fears of a religion ruled by the socially orphaned, and, in the end, placates him by returning institutionalized religion to the hands of traditional (i.e., aristocratic) power, effectively purifying religion and strengthening its place within society.⁷⁰

Watkins's analysis of the effects of Catholicism and the Wicked Monk figure is founded exclusively on The Monk but, as I have already suggested, his remarks are applicable to any Gothic romance in which a wicked monk is a major character. Both Gondez and Schedoni perish in the prison of the Inquisition. Their social power is terminated, innocence is vindicated, the truth made apparent and the social order is stabilized. Thus one may see that the Wicked Monk is an eminently suitable villainous stereotype for the Gothic romancer: he is masked in an outward show of spiritual benevolence and opposed, in the formula, to the father whose role he perverts; he has his own enclosed location to which he may retire; and, as a socially disadvantaged character professing a suspect religious faith, he may be used as a device to disquiet the reader.⁷¹ His social disadvantage fuels his passions, the abnormal strength of those passions combine with the role of outward

70) Watkins, 'Social Hierarchy', p.118.

71) Cf. Thomas Paine on the evils of primogeniture: 'By the aristocratical law of primogenitureship, in a family of six children, five are exposed. Aristocracy never has more than one child. The rest are begotten to be devoured.' The Rights of Man, pt.I. (London: J. Johnson, 1791), p.69.

passivity belonging to his profession as monk, creating the outline of a figure who is denied true male activity.

Bette Roberts has also identified the villainy of the villain figure through proximity and behaviour towards women, yet has failed to recognize any similarity between the villain figure and the women who are menaced by it:

...for the villain in this fiction remains a projection more of male tyranny over women than of one's own selfish excesses and desires for power and domination.⁷²

Bette Roberts does not go far enough: her desire to prove that the Gothic romance is an exclusively feminine genre in which women explore the boundaries of a male-dominated society, misleadingly limits her criticism to the representation of the male villain. She also contended that, because it is a feminine genre, female and male writers differ in their handling of the villain figure. Like Peter Thorslev, she considered that no sympathy is intended or evoked for the villain figure: unlike Peter Thorslev she regarded this lack of sympathy as part of an overwhelming feminine concern for the position of women as victims in male society. As I have shown, the depiction of unsympathetic villainy (both 'grand' and 'simple' villains fall into this category) is common to both male and female writers as part of the formula of the Gothic romance. I intend further to show that there is a difference, based on gender, in the representation of villainy only when writers of the Gothic romance dealt with one specific class of villain - woman.

72) Roberts, Gothic Romance, p.51.

IV. THE FEMALE VILLAIN

i. Female Villains

Women villains in the Gothic romance are accorded no sympathy for their conduct and their villainy, though necessarily covert, is effective. Male writers, in the texts considered, have included few female villains in their plot. Female villains who do appear in the plots of these Gothic romances written by men are invariably characterized by some religious or supernatural connection. Matthew Lewis crammed The Monk with an exceptional number of female villains: Matilda, who seduces Ambrosio, assisting him with her magic powers in his lust for Antonia, and is finally revealed to be a demon; Baroness Lindenburg, a minor female villain, associated with the Bleeding Nun story and thus with the supernatural, who punishes her niece for her own sexual passion; and finally, the Abbess of the Convent of St. Clare in Madrid, who behaves without compassion, condemning Agnes to a lingering death in order overtly to maintain the so-called purity of her religious house. George Walker introduced one female villain into The Three Spaniards - a sorceress and a 'picture of corrupted death' - who plays only a minor part in the development of the plot.⁷³ Beckford also created a stony-hearted sorceress, the mother of Vathek, as a device to demonstrate the cruelty that is the dominant ethos of

73) Walker, Three Spaniards, ii. 153.

his fictional oriental world.⁷⁴ Percy Shelley's creation of Matilda di Laurentini (Zastrozzi, 1810) does not associate her explicitly with the supernatural in the text but he based both his plot and her character on Zofloya (1806) - the work of a female writer. Male writers of the Gothic romance, then, have tended to reflect unquestioningly a patriarchal society in which it is inconceivable that women should wield sufficient social power to act as a villain, unless possessed of some additional superhuman powers.

In surrendering himself to vice, villainy, and Matilda's guidance, Ambrosio is feminized and, as Matilda gains in ascendancy, her character becomes more markedly masculine:

But a few days had past, since She appeared the mildest and softest of her sex, devoted to his will, and looking up to him as to a superior Being. Now She assumed a sort of courage and manliness in her manners and discourse but ill calculated to please him. She spoke no longer to insinuate, but command: He found himself unable to cope with her in argument, and was unwillingly obliged to confess the superiority of her judgement.⁷⁵

This connection of the female villain with supernatural powers may reflect more than patriarchal assumptions about power. It might also suggest a degree of masculine fear for female power, particularly when that power is associated with female sexuality.⁷⁶ Female sexuality itself acquires

74) William Beckford, Vathek (1786; rep. from corrected 3rd. ed. 1816, Oxford: Oxford University Press, ed. and intro. Roger Lonsdale, 1983).

75) Lewis, Monk, pp.231-232.

76) Cf. Nina da Vinci Nichols, 'Place and Eros in Radcliffe, Lewis and Brontë': '...even within these narrow boundaries of type, all male characters seem to reflect an actual mythic fear of women.' The Female Gothic, Fleenor (ed.), p.192.

both a supernatural and socially disruptive force - particularly in novels like The Monk in which Ambrosio's spiritual decay is rooted in sexual temptation. In this context it is interesting to note that all of the male writers quoted (with the exception of George Walker) were in their late teens and early twenties when they wrote these works, and also that at least two of the writers mentioned, Beckford and Lewis, were overtly homosexual. Their sexual orientation is of importance only insofar as it enables one to surmise that Beckford and Lewis may have retained a strong relationship with the mother figure, while finding demonstrations of female sexuality distasteful. Equally, all of the writers mentioned were young enough to have absorbed the social assumptions of their society without questioning them through experience.

In striking contrast to the male writers of the Gothic romance, female romancers almost invariably include a female villain (Clara Reeve is the only exception to this rule) and the raison d'être of these villains is never supernatural. In the majority of cases, the female villain is a secondary character assisting in the intangible destruction of the heroine's happiness and in her isolation within society, while the major movement of villainy - an active physical assault - is borne by the male villain. Like the male villain, female villains in tales created by women are recognizable and defined by the way in which they treat other women. The Marchesa's villainy (The Italian) is made apparent through her plots to destroy Ellena's

happiness. Megalena Strozzi (Zofloya) is branded as a villain when she stabs her innocent rival, Julia. Mrs Hood (The Mysterious Visit) lusts after Sir William Symons and aids him in his attempts to seduce Georgina's mind and body. Lady Greystoke (The Children of the Abbey) is initially presented as a shrewd, discerning woman in striking contrast to the pettiness of Irish provincial society. She too, however, is selfish, easily turned towards villainy through her desire to marry Lord Cherbury and assists in the destruction of Amanda's reputation and happiness. These are only some of the many examples of the female villain created by female writers who owe nothing to the supernatural but everything to passion.

Female authors seem to perceive female villainy as an assault on feminine integrity and the attempted destruction - whether in the heroine or within themselves - of conventionally acceptable feminine sexuality. Appollonia Zulmer (The Passions) is a primary character within the tale, a figure of towering and overpowering evil:

I will not stand alone, I will pull down others to grovel with me in the abyss of misery and sin. Like a malignant fiend--the knowledge that I am myself the uttermost boundary of evil, that there is none beyond me, renders me outrageous and confirms my malice.⁷⁷

Through the character of the wicked Countess, Regina Roche made an explicit connection between the woman and the role of the villain. In the letters exchanged between Appollonia Zulmer and her governess, the writer explores the

77) Roche, The Passions, ii. 229.
The Countess Zulmer is also establishing herself in the role of archetypal rebel cf. Paradise Lost IV, 73-75.

underlying passion and contempt of the apparently passive woman:

Oh! Men; ye lordly despots, what mere machines are you in the hands of those ye affect to govern; on what do ye ground your pretensions, for are ye not in reality our tools? [...] So should it be--man must believe himself invested with sovereign power, woman only should possess it.⁷⁸

A belief in the superior manipulative skill and clearer perception of women, with a corresponding contempt for the complacent blindness of men, is glaringly apparent in this quotation. An overwhelming belief in their own superior judgement is, however, characteristic of a villain, as is the ability to manipulate covertly the passions of others. As Appollonia Zulmer gradually gains an ascendancy over Julia's mind, *Regina* Roche also showed the reader the skill with which her female villain manipulated the common bond between women. The Countess begins her campaign by making woman to woman jokes at the expense of man's understanding:

In vain may the most brilliant genius, the most polished understanding, the most sensible and delicate soul, exist beneath an unattractive exterior; no man will discern it--no man will love.⁷⁹

The argument continues with the statement that men hate women who possess superior intellects and that men, unlike women, are incapable of friendship. The epistolary structure of the tale ensures that the reader is aware of the Countess' desire to corrupt and, therefore, the reader questions all her statements. It is evident that the Countess persuades through half-truths couched in negative

78) Roche, Passions, i. 55-56.

79) Roche, Passions, ii. 14.

terms: she asserts that no man will discern the perfect soul if it is trapped in an unattractive body and the underlying truth, which makes her statement easier to accept, is that men do notice and are attracted by beautiful women. *Regina Roche's* skill, and the skill of her villain, is to present one idea, evoke another, and to suggest that the two are connected: that the partial truth of one must substantiate the truth of the other. Julia's reaction to this womanly banter is laughter and complicity - she is represented as allying herself with Appollonia in a woman-woman bond and consequently does not want to break that bond by showing the letters to her husband. Woman, in this tale, is the most perfect and successful villain figure that might be conceived, as her position and influence over the heroine (within this female sisterhood) is much stronger than that of any potential male villain.

Female writers frequently polarized their fictional worlds into male and female spheres, according to a plan that male writers did not seem to recognize. A male writer located his heroine within a male world in which friendship or support between women is assumed, but is never questioned and is rarely active. Women in distress cling to each other, as do the female inmates of The Castle of Otranto, but Isabella flees alone. Female writers, on the other hand, make the reader aware of a network of sympathetic relations existing between women allied against men. This is very clearly represented by Charlotte Smith in Emmeline in which the major female characters (Emmeline,

Mrs. Stafford, Augusta and Adelina) are allied in mutual protection against the male world of impetuous action, business and double-dealing represented by Delamere, Sr. Richard Crofts and Lord Montreville. Appollonia Zulmer's arguments in The Passions make both this female allegiance and the potential devastation of its disruption or perversion clear. Such a female network is apparent in most Gothic romances written by women and intimate knowledge of supportive female relations presupposes a similar knowledge of their betrayal. This may explain the difference in representation and frequency of occurrence of the female villain figure in romances written by men or by women.

Some female villain figures appear in both male and female romances. The Abbess is a convenient villain figure for both male and female writers, being the titular head of an enclosed and exclusively female world. A convent or a monastery is depicted as a sink of passions, 'the last retreat of disappointed women'.⁸⁰ The head of this enclosed world is invariably represented as a woman of strong and disappointed passions, as 'severe and violent' as any villain whilst remaining 'a Woman of a violent and revengeful character, capable of proceeding to the greatest extremities'.⁸¹ The Abbess is the female counterpart of the Wicked Monk figure and, as such, is described and treated in almost the same way by both male and female writers. She

80) Lee, Recess, ii. 111.

81) Radcliffe, Italian, p.121.
Lewis, Monk, p.190.

is not, however, represented as socially disadvantaged - as an aristocratic woman her social disadvantage is an automatic part of her sex.

Queen Elizabeth I, in a position of supreme social power, is also used, rather surprisingly given her solid Protestant background and successful reign, as a convenient villain figure by men and women authors alike. She suffers from the conflict of two different stereotypes: popular conceptions of the Elizabethan period, as a Golden Age of English expansion and trade presided over by a successful and astute monarch outwitting the predatory Catholic kings of Europe, are in conflict with popular conceptions of ideal womanhood. In the works of both eighteenth-century conduct writers and historical romancers, therefore, she is praised for her understanding and statesmanship whilst criticized for her lack of essential femininity. The Gothic romancers, whether male or female, represented this symbol of female power as both disturbing and unrestrained:

[she]...although possessed of a solid and refined judgment, had a foible [...] with her it was a sin, in those whom she permitted about her person, and those with her were intimates, for confidants she had none, to arrogate to themselves the slightest degree of that authority which she considered, and was resolved to maintain, hers alone and indivisibly.⁸²

Both Sophia Lee and Francis Lathom presented the same picture of Elizabeth I: a woman of masculine understanding, possessed of absolute power which corrupted her femininity. In both The Recess and The Mysterious Freebooter she is portrayed as using the role and power of Queen to ensure

82) Lathom, Mysterious Freebooter, i. 44-45.

the continuance of her self-image as a desirable woman. Thus, everybody at the Elizabethan Court is more or less a victim to her ruling passions. The writers tended to 'feminize' all of Elizabeth's actions and motives, even when those actions might have been politically motivated. For example, despite the threat posed by her Catholicism, Mary Queen of Scots is consistently represented as a patient and beautiful victim of Elizabeth's feminine envy rather than as a political opponent or symbol of dangerous religious views.

ii. The End of the Villain

Finally, the Gothic villain has to be removed from the plot. Having been depicted as a malignant force of such potency that only his (or her) removal is sufficient to guarantee a stable society and continued happiness for the hero and heroine, the self-obsessed villain is destroyed - usually through an act of Providence or by his own villainy. Not all villains are killed, however, female villains and some petty villains, with their circumscribed social spheres and limited capacity for damage, are permitted to live punished only by the crushing disappointment of their plans. Appollonia Zulmer is the exception to this rule and is removed from the scene, unrepentant, in a fatal carriage accident. The vicious Victoria (Zofloya) shares the same fate as Ambrosio: both cheat the Inquisition through diabolical means and both are cast down from a great height in physical and spiritual

torment. Ambrosio is unlike the majority of male villains who are killed at the end of the tale, for these are usually unrepentant and, therefore, still dangerous. The hardy villains who have faced the terrors of the Inquisition without flinching, commit suicide or are executed: Schedoni dies unrepentant, rejoicing in having killed his accuser; Don Pedro (The Three Spaniards) dramatically stabs himself over his daughter's corpse; Gondez, in W.H.Ireland's typically exuberant style, is privately burnt to death once his crimes have been revealed. Sir William Symons undergoes bouts of transitory remorse but, when his villainy is finally revealed through the ignominious circumstance of a servant's testimony, slits his veins with a broken ink bottle. Few male villains who are primary characters are permitted to live, those who do are retired, crushed by guilt and the consciousness of the crimes which they have committed. Manfred, for example, retires to a nearby religious house, having destroyed his family and given up his hopes of dynastic power.

Close examination of the villain figure in the Gothic romance reveals that, unlike the type characters of the absent father or the active hero, a linear development does exist and may be traced through the sublime 'grand villains' who can be found in the well-known peaks of Gothic writing. This development appears to be located in the increasing association between the villain and women who are menaced by the figure's machinations. There are

also, however, unconditionally evil villains who do not undergo any psychological development, and who are neither accorded nor invite the sympathy of the reader. They are not sublime and many of them are women.

Chapter Seven

The Victim

Alongside every dark-visaged villain in the Gothic romance there must always be a helpless victim. The victim is an integral part of the Gothic formula: a necessary emotional and moral standard by which to judge the behaviour of other characters objectively, and a means by which the plot may be furthered and readers' emotions heightened.¹ A consideration of the victim figure, therefore, is not only necessary but inevitable.

The victim figure, however, differs from the other stock characters considered in this study because the victim cannot be readily identified by any particular pattern of characteristics. This figure, then, is not an identifiable stereotype but a dramatic role created by the exigencies of the plot. Heroes, fathers and villains can all be cast in the victim role: the role of victim, therefore, merges with other stock character roles. All male character stereotypes cast in a victim's role in the Gothic romance are diminished, only the heroine's status is augmented by her position as victim.

1) Although she focuses only on the sexual charge of the relationship between villain and victim in her consideration of the demon-lover motif, Toni Reed makes the same point about the necessity of the victim figure in Demon-Lovers and Their Victims in British Fiction (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1988): 'Gothics are sexually charged works of psychological fiction which depend for their effect upon the reader's sense of fascination combined with moral outrage at the victimization that takes place.' p.18.

More than one type of victimization was created by the formula of the Gothic romance, and thus there is more than one way in which to interpret the concept of the victim: characters are victimized 'directly' inside the text, but there is also a perceptible form of 'indirect' victimization operating from outside the text. The victim described above, a figure in conjunction with the villain, is an example of 'direct' victimization. Within the text, characters are menaced, imprisoned, threatened to the point of death and sometimes killed by the machinations of other characters. 'Direct' victimization within the text is not only obvious but frequently articulated by the victim figures. 'Indirect' victimization occurs in the very formation of the character stereotype: characters are victimized, not by the author, but by the parameters for character delineation that are imposed by the formula of the Gothic romance and the expectations of the reader.² The hero must embody all the characteristics of the ideal man: the heroine is required to be the pattern of ideal femininity. These patterns, the outward manifestation of the code of morality which underpins the fabric of the Gothic romance, not only predispose certain character types

2) In the Introduction to The Female Gothic, Fleenor (ed.), Fleenor makes a similar point about the relationship between a literary form and social convention: 'But it must be remembered that we are discussing here not social reality but a fictional rendering of social reality. The Gothic is first and foremost a literary form; but literary forms are created by social realities and by social values.' p.15.

towards 'direct' victimization within the text but also prevent others from adopting that role.

Women are more frequently cast as victim figures than men; they become the passive centre of the plot around whom rage the emotions of the villain and the 'pure' desires of the hero. Thus it becomes necessary to investigate the properties of the victim figure, endeavouring to discover why it was that the figure of the victim victimized within the text was determined by gender. This raises the question of whether, in denying the male character an opportunity to act as a victim because of the formula determining the boundaries of the masculine role which evolved from a social stereotype, social stereotyping itself became a form of 'indirect' victimization operating outside the plot but influencing what went on within it.

Although my primary concern is with the representation of male characters, it is impossible to escape from the female influence: almost every representation of a male figure within the Gothic romance relies upon or, in some way, is delineated by relationships with women. The perfection of the hero is measured against the passive perfection of the heroine. Villainy too - whether male or female - is usually measured by its effects on the helpless heroine. The helpless heroine herself has become a stereotype of the victim figure.

Victim and villain are morally opposed yet physically close within the Gothic romance. The figure of the victim is, therefore, as familiar a stereotype within the world of

the Gothic romance as that of the villain, and the common conception of both is determined by gender. As the previous chapter demonstrated, there were certain physical characteristics popularly associated with the person of the 'grand villain' and the foremost of those was his dominant, active masculinity. The victim was equally typecast in the popular imagination as passive, suffering and female. The description of Lilla (Zofloya 1806), beloved by the noble Henriques, bereft of his protection, and being carried up the side of an abyss to her death, typifies such a victim:

...her fragile form lay nerveless, her snow-white arms, bare nearly to the shoulder (for a thin nightdress alone covered her) hung down over the back of the Moor; her feet and legs resembling sculptured alabaster, were likewise bare, her languid head drooped insensible, while the long, flaxen tresses, escaping from the net which had enveloped them, now partly shaded her ashy cheek, and now streamed in dishevelled luxuriance on the breeze.³

Every element in this description suggests helplessness, purity and innocence. We are assured twice that Lilla is unconscious: this effectively prevents a reader from projecting any sense of complicity or guilt onto her 'nerveless', unresistant form. By rendering Lilla unconscious, Charlotte Dacre is also able to present her simply as a body at the mercy of the elements - unable even to control her own hair, which has developed an active life of its own, 'escaping from the net'. Everything, in fact, which would normally be restrained, tied up or concealed is laid bare or loosed in this description: hair, arms, legs, feet and the hint of a body under a thin nightdress, yet

3) Dacre, Zofloya, iii. 33.

Charlotte Dacre avoids an overtly erotic representation by describing Lilla in shades of white and in terms of statuary. She might, from the description, be a corpse already. The overtones of white assure the reader of Lilla's purity, her unconsciousness guarantees her innocence and lack of responsibility, while her 'fragile form' and drooping head invite sympathy through a direct contrast with the athletic darkness of the Moor. Her physical weakness and her passivity (taken to the extreme of unconsciousness) make her vulnerable, create a victim persona for her and yet, at other points in the text, are also emphasized as part of the attraction of her essential femininity. For Lilla's fragility and childishness are the qualities which have made the noble Henriques love her. He is not attracted by 'the masculine spirit of a Victoria', characterized by activity and strength.⁴

Thus, from this typical description of a victim figure, one may see the process of victimization operating in both the ways I have outlined. The reader is introduced to a state of 'direct' physical and emotional victimization within the text engineered through actions taken by other, more dominant, characters: a victim of plot. The very stereotype itself, however, is a form of 'indirect' victimization from which both Lilla and Victoria suffer and which helps to form the plot structure. Just as Lilla's femininity - because it is formed after the stereotype of perfect womanhood - is paradoxically both her justification

4) Dacre, Zofloya, ii. 275.

as woman and destruction as victim, so too is Victoria victimized because she is not formed after the pattern of idealized femininity. According to the ideal standards of the eighteenth century, promulgated within the Gothic romance, there is only one measure by which to judge true femininity or true masculinity. Victoria fails to fulfil the criteria for perfect femininity and there is no other axis along which she can be judged. Thus, although all characters are, of course, fictional constructs designed by the author, a process of victimization may be seen in their representation. The reader is not led to interpret dominance and activity or passivity and suffering as characteristics applicable only within the context of the specific role of villain or victim figure in a certain type of romance fiction - although these characteristics are an integral part of the formula - but as part of the ruling social ethos around which the masculine or the feminine roles are constructed: 'a feminine helplessness, which is, when unaffected, the most interesting of all charms'.⁵ Those women who fail to conform to the prevailing stereotype (Laurina, Megalena and Victoria in Zofloya) are 'indirectly' victimized by the expectations attendant on that stereotype, and may thus be seen as victims of the formula and of the reader's expectations.⁶

5) Lee, The Recess, i. 55.

6) For a similar argument (based on psychoanalytic methodology) which specifically treats the depiction of women, in Gothic novels written by women, as a recognition of trauma with its basis in the restrictions of contemporary social life - a position very close to

This type of 'indirect' victimization is not applicable only to the female stereotype of perfection. Men, too, are 'indirectly' victimized within the text, although rarely through the action of the plot. Instead, the male characters, like the women discussed above, are victimized by the standards and pattern of behaviour created for them by social expectations. This is particularly true of those cast as potential hero figures who have the double obligation of pursuing an active masculine role that also fulfils the lofty moral expectations expressed by the heroine within the text. The unsatisfactory hero figures, like Delamere (Emmeline, 1788) and Lord Lymington (The Mysterious Visit, 1802) who, though fascinating, prove too handicapped by passions or pride to be worthy of the heroine's love and are not rewarded with her hand in marriage, may be seen to be 'indirectly' victimized by the inflexible, ruling conception of what precisely constitutes the hero of the Gothic romance. Through the plot, the stereotype of the hero is reinforced and the reader's expectations are confirmed and affirmed. Thus, the stereotype of hero has influenced the way in which character and plot have been developed: the stereotype of hero predestines the fate of characters like Lymington and Delamere and is thus a form of 'indirect victimization'.

Many characters within the texts themselves are described as 'destined' victims, implying that, in the

'indirect' victimization although Massé does not apply the same principles to male characters - see Michelle A. Massé, 'Gothic Repetitions'.

society depicted in the Gothic romance, providence chooses the character predetermined for the role of victim. In most cases in which a character is described as a 'destined victim' an element of mock religious sacrifice is introduced into a situation redolent with thwarted sexuality.⁷ It is not just women who are metaphorically placed on the altar. Appollonia Zulmer, for example, makes constant references to the fate she intends for Weimar after he spurned her sophisticated advances and married a naïve girl from the mountains:

Who then shall snatch from my brow the wreath which Nemesis bestows? Who shall rob my altar of its destined victim? My revenge has fed upon his ruin, it can be satiated only by giving him--death.⁸

Such an element of mock religious sacrifice occurs when a character within the text assumes the position of an agent of providence - thwarted sexuality can only be appeased by blood or death. Thus, when characters within the text usurp the power of providence, 'destined' becomes synonymous with 'desired'.

The emphasis shifts, however, when providence itself works in the text bringing misfortune to selected victims through coincidence: 'destined' then becomes nearly synonymous with 'necessary'. The preface to The Haunted

7) Lewis uses 'destined victim' with a completely different effect in The Monk, p.356, where the Abbess is described as the 'destined victim' of the enraged mob. In this instance, the coupling of destiny and victim is a narrative technique intensifying the reader's sense of horror by predicting the Abbess' inevitable death. Like all victims, however, her death may be interpreted as a ritual of appeasement.

8) Dacre, Passions, iv. 72.

Castle (1794) indicates the place of suffering in the romance:

The reader will, no doubt, discover, that the leading traits of this romance are, to shew [sic], that however mysterious the ways of providence may appear to us, who can view only the present, yet, that in the end they are productive of good; and by unforeseen ways, and apparent afflictions, bring about ends which would not otherwise have existed.⁹

George Walker presented a justification for suffering in this preface which goes far to explain why the victim is an integral part of the formula of the Gothic romance.

'Unforeseen ways and apparent afflictions' comprise, the preface suggests, necessary stages in the workings of providence towards a state of eventual 'good'. Two aspects of the victim may be derived from this representation of suffering caused by divine agency: first, that it becomes the victim's duty to suffer in order that 'good' may be attained; second, that responsibility for suffering is removed from the victim as all the action is undertaken according to a predetermined plan. Suffering becomes part of the essential sacrifice made to ensure those 'ends which would not otherwise have existed.' The victim within the Gothic romance may be seen as an essential part of the formula; as a sacrifice made in order to restore or maintain a healthy society and as part of the relationship which defines the villain.

The restoration or establishment of an eventual 'good' through the actions of providence, however frightening and inexplicable, is what George Walker promised in the

9) Walker, Haunted Castle, i. pp.vi-vii.

quotation from his preface. Other authors justified the improbabilities of romance by stressing another heavily-pointed moral lesson commonly contained in the action of the plot: vice is displayed only to be despised, while candour, self-control and self-regulation according to religious or humane principles are consistently shown to be admirable and eventually rewarded:

"Years of reflection in my horrid prison have convinced me of the danger, the folly, and the guilt of gratifying our passions at the expense of our integrity, or attempting to impose upon the world, by a system of hypocrisy, which leads progressively to the commission of the most abandoned vices."¹⁰

So says Clifford at the end of The Mysterious Visit, the absent 'good' father returned home after ten years (and two and a half volumes) incarceration in the Bastille. This dictum concerning the primary need for self-control and regulation of the passions has been demonstrated to the reader within the text through the effects of licence and vice practised by villains upon a series of innocent victims - first Clifford, then his unprotected, adopted daughter, Georgina.¹¹ Similarly, the narrator declaims in

10) Parsons, Mysterious Visit, iv. 270.

11) Similar morals are promulgated at the conclusion of the majority of Gothic romances, e.g. Dacre: 'Dreadful is the war of the passions in the heart of man, and terrible are they in their might. Bestowed on him for his happiness, and to be retain the subjection of his reason, they become the sources of his misery, when permitted to have sovereign sway'. Passions, iv. 233. Or the warning given by the unhappy Laurentini di Udolpho: '"Sister! beware of the first indulgence of the passions; beware of the first! Their course, if not checked then, is rapid--their force is uncontrollable [sic]--they lead us we know not whither--they lead perhaps to the commission of crimes, for which whole years of prayer and penitence cannot atone!'" Radcliffe, Mysteries, p.646.

the penultimate paragraph of The Mysteries of Udolpho that:

O! useful may it be to have shewn [sic], that, though the vicious can sometimes pour affliction upon the good, their power is transient and their punishment certain; and that innocence, though oppressed by injustice, shall, supported by patience, finally triumph over misfortune!¹²

There is, on the face of it, a distinct difference between Ann Radcliffe's assessment of the forces surrounding the potential victim, 'the vicious can sometimes pour affliction upon the good,' and George Walker's preface underlining the power (and indeed necessity) of a benevolent providence performing the same actions. I believe the basic message - that the good must suffer - to be the same and the apparent difference explicable if one considers the place held by the supernatural in The Haunted Castle and The Mysteries of Udolpho respectively. George Walker could allow the presence of an inexplicable, yet ultimately benevolent, providence because his romance is full of supernatural phenomena. Ann Radcliffe, on the other hand, has become notorious for the way in which she rationalized and explained every apparently supernatural occurrence: providence manifests itself only through coincidence in her romance and so the afflictions visited on the victim are presented simply as the work of malevolent human agency. The significant point to be drawn from both these examples is that the victim bears no responsibility for his or her affliction. Thus innocence appears to be a prerequisite for

12) Radcliffe, Mysteries, p.672.

one type of victim figure used as a device to point a moral lesson in the Gothic romance.

When considering the innocent victim as part of a didactic literary device, however, it is immediately apparent that some types of characters are uniquely qualified for the victim's position by virtue of their social vulnerability. Children are the weakest, most vulnerable members of society and thus one might assume that the Gothic romancer would employ them as the most poignant of victim figures. For they can have no personal responsibility for acts done to them and no redress for or means of articulating their suffering; their helplessness is so acute that no excuse could be found for the villain who oppresses them. There are, however, very few child victims in Gothic romances: William Frankenstein, who dies at the hands of the monster, and Agnes's baby (The Monk, 1796) which dies a few hours after its birth in the subterranean dungeon to be preserved in a state of putrefaction, are the only enduring examples. The reason for this lies in the very inarticulateness of the child victim. The writer of the Gothic romance, demonstrating a process by which certain moral tenets are proved to triumph over affliction, can only use the child victim as an incidental feature. In the examples that I have given, the focus of writer's and reader's attention is not on the suffering of the child victim. In Frankenstein (1818) the reader is led to identify with the suffering of the monster through the first-person narrative and, therefore,

perceives the death of young William Frankenstein only as an indication of the monster's increasing rage and alienation.¹³ A comment made by Mr. Weimar (Castle of Wolfenbach, 1793), during his deathbed confession, may be usefully transferred to a consideration of victimization in Frankenstein:

"It [visible partiality bestowed on one child] lays a foundation for much future misery in the family; creates every vice which envy and malice can give birth to, and the darling object is generally the victim."¹⁴

One might then see every murder victim in Frankenstein as a result of faulty familial structure.¹⁵ The death of young William, motivated by sibling rivalry, suggests that the monster himself is, in a sense, an articulate child victim refusing responsibility for his actions. The formula

13) William's death inspires great grief in the text but is a less sorrowful experience for the reader. Stephen King presents an extreme view of a reader's indifference: 'The monster begins its revenge against its creator by killing Frankenstein's little brother, William. We are not terribly sorry to see William go, by the way; when the monster tries to befriend the boy, William replies: 'Hideous monster! Let me go. My papa is a syndic--he is M. Frankenstein--he will punish you. You dare not keep me.' This piece of rich-kid snottiness is Willy's last; when the monster hears the name of its creator on the boy's lips, he wrings the kid's bratty little neck.' Danse Macabre (1981; repr. London: Futura, 1988), pp.69-70.

14) Parsons, Castle of Wolfenbach, ii. 154-155.

15) George Levine also stresses the importance of the family structure in Frankenstein in 'Frankenstein and the Tradition of Realism': 'The center of evil is parental irresponsibility and selfishness, and the ideal of goodness is a father's bond to his son and the reciprocal bond of son to father. As the aristocracy in France betrayed the people, so Frankenstein betrayed his creation and, at the same time, in cutting himself off from his own family, betrayed his father as well.' Novel vii (1973), 24-25.

requires, then, a victim figure who is innocent, helpless, yet articulate.

The figure in the Gothic romance who corresponds to all three of these requirements is the heroine. Obviously, all women (save Queen Elizabeth I) are presented as being physically weaker and more vulnerable than any man. Society per se offers no protection to a woman, particularly a young woman, who is dependent on the good offices of men. Equally, social status offers no automatic barrier of respect to protect women against the unwelcome attentions of men. Women, therefore, make ideal victim figures. Thus, the concept of a 'female Gothic' becomes tenable: initially, because the majority of victims are women; and then because the word 'victim' is frequently used by female characters in the work of women writers, indicating a way in which women are marginalized into passive victim figures - through language.

There is a particular and sometimes disturbing language of sacrifice, with its roots firmly embedded in the popular stereotype of femininity, associated only with women in the Gothic romances. Women are expected to embrace sacrifice, which has more positive connotations than 'victim' as it suggests a difficult but ultimately beneficent action of renunciation enjoined by a god, and self-denial, as duties. In the following quotation, Amanda (The Children of the Abbey, 1796), speaking of herself in the third person, stands over her mother's tomb:

Oh! if she is doomed to tread a path as thorny as

the one you trod, may the same sweetness and patience that distinguished you, support her through it: with the same pious awe, the same meek submission, may she bow to the designations of her Creator.¹⁶

In this quotation we see the same assumption apparent in George Walker's preface, that providence afflicts the innocent - one may be 'doomed to tread a thorny path' - and that suffering is part of a divine plan. The only valuable response possible, Regina Roche has suggested, for a woman dealing with suffering or oppression, is meek submission and patience. This code of submission and sacrifice does not apply only to afflictions imposed by providence, but to all human relations:

"Well, Sir, (said Matilda, hastily) it is fit you should prefer your own happiness to mine, I have no right to refuse nor any way of discharging the obligations I owe you for the care of my early life, but by the sacrifice of the maturer part of it."¹⁷

Matilda is addressing her uncle, Mr Weimar, and it is obvious that the social position of women dictates her self-sacrifice: she has no active option through which she can 'discharge the obligations' she owes. Significantly, this phrase does not indicate the language of affection between niece and uncle; instead, Matilda has borrowed from the language of honour in order to express her sense of the indebtedness by which she is bound. Renunciation and self-denial are the only activities that the heroine is called upon to perform voluntarily, and this type of sacrifice is

16) Roche, Children of the Abbey, i. 63.

17) Parsons, Castle of Wolfenbach, i. 196-197.

always praised by the narrator or by a character within the text.

Every occasion of female renunciation of happiness is valorized. Georgina (The Mysterious Visit) swears she would not marry Lord Lymington, '"if such an event would give one pang to your heart"' and Madame Villeneuve is 'sensibly touched by this heroism.'¹⁸ Charlotte Smith also showed the relationship between the discourse of sacrifice and the maintenance of the feminine stereotype, when Augusta Delamere (Emmeline) projected this language of sacrifice and heroism onto Emmeline, using it to interpret her behaviour:

She [Augusta Delamere] was deeply read in novels, (almost the only reading that young women of fashion are taught to engage in;) and having from them acquired many of her ideas, she imagined that Delamere and Emmeline were born for each other; [...].

She fancied that Emmeline could not be insensible to Delamere's love; she even believed she saw many symptoms of regard for him in her manner, and that she made the most heroic sacrifice of her love to her duty, when she resigned him: a sacrifice which heightened, almost to enthusiasm, the pity and esteem felt for her by Augusta Delamere;...¹⁹

Obviously this type of sacrifice is intimately connected with a struggle between love and duty, a struggle that has become a literary trope of the feminine stereotype; but Charlotte Smith also pointed clearly to the falsity of interpretation that restricts feminine behaviour to such a stereotype, a form of 'indirect' victimization. The expectations of an experienced novel reader are made

18) Parsons, Mysterious Visit, iv. 77-78.

19) Smith, Emmeline, p.71.

present within the text as concrete social standards of female behaviour and projected, incorrectly, upon the figure of the heroine. It is clear from the tale that Emmeline, has not, in fact, made a heroic sacrifice: Delamere is represented as impetuously passionate and the aggression of his love frightens Emmeline more than it thrills her. In their first tête à tête, in which Delamere surprises Emmeline while she is resting on a log after a walk, the pattern is set for all their subsequent encounters:

...Delamere, who was really captivated at the first, and who now thought her more beautiful than he had done in their former interviews, hesitated not to pour forth the most extravagant professions of admiration, in a style so unequivocal, that Emmeline, believing he meant to insult her, burst into a passion of tears, and besought him, in a tremulous and broken voice, not to be so cruel as to affront her, but to suffer her to return home.²⁰

Delamere is also a victim of 'indirect' stereotyping here. Of fundamentally good character, he fails to behave like a conventional, considerate hero. Emmeline, on the other hand, behaves like a conventional victim; his display of aggressive love reduces her to a state of trembling terror. She is similarly afflicted later the same night when Delamere bursts into her room. Again her reaction is terror and this initially robs her of any active or rational faculty: 'Emmeline was infinitely too much terrified to speak: nor could her trembling limbs support her.'²¹ Charlotte Smith depicted her heroine as a quivering object

20) Smith, Emmeline, p.23.

21) Smith, Emmeline, p.32.

bereft of all kinetic energy. It is a common reaction: faced with overt aggression, women in the Gothic romances intensify their femininity: '"But I am in the grasp of the lion," she said to herself, "and I must try, by gentleness, to disengage myself from it."'22 The very qualities of the feminine stereotype keep the heroine in a victim's position, a position that is, to some extent, valorized through the promotion of self-sacrifice.23 Self-sacrifice and patient submission are continuously promoted as the essence of attractive femininity, rather than an adjunct to it: 'the soft dejection of her manner, and the patient sweetness with which she bore her situation, soon gained a complete conquest over his heart'.24

Men are rarely placed in the position of victim. There are a few occasions in which a male character is victimized within the text. Edmund in The Old English Baron (1778) and Edward in The Mysterious Freebooter (1806) are both young, socially-disadvantaged victims of the machinations of the villain. Edmund is the only victim figure present in

22) Roche, Clermont, iv. 177.
The description of Mary Queen of Scots confirms that submission is the only defence for the beleaguered woman: 'Amid all these fears and mortifications, submission was Mary's only measure. She had learnt, young as she was, to submit with dignity, and demand a degree of generosity, by not seeming to doubt of finding it.' Lee, Recess, i. 50.

23) Mary Brunton's novels, Self Control (1810) and Discipline (1815) both present this type of self-sacrifice as the female response/interpretation of Christianity. Thus one may see that the values of the Gothic romance, the social assumptions about role that underpin the Gothic formula, are often shared with those found in other contemporary fiction.

24) Roche, Clermont, ii. 37.

The Old English Baron and, although he is forced away from his home, he is able to salve his honour and assert his position by means of active soldiership. No tensions are raised by Edmund's victimization because he can actively prove his worth. Most of the tension or menace within Clara Reeves' story is introduced through fleeting supernatural manifestations. Edward (The Mysterious Freebooter) is placed in a different position; although betrayed into a foreign prison by the agency of the evil Rufus de Magincourt (alias the freebooter, Allanrod) who proves, eventually, to be Edward's father, he is not the only victim figure. His incarceration is an important part of the plot but the reader's anxieties are focused on his wife, Rosalind. Abandoned (however unwillingly) by her husband, bereft of her baby and her father's love, imprisoned for long periods twice within the tale, and threatened with an enforced bigamous marriage, she is the very embodiment of vulnerability. The plight of the male victim within the Gothic romance never includes that element of total vulnerability: men can always fight to defend their honour and to reject the status of victim. When unable to fight, the active man can be temporarily as oppressed by affliction as a passive heroine. In Leland's Longsword (1762) for example, the following passage seems to indicate a relationship between consciousness of affliction and the consciousness of the victim. William reflects on his rescue: "No longer the helpless victim of fell revenge, no longer crouching under the ruthless arm of

a ruffian, I felt my afflictions no more:...".²⁵ The difference between William's consciousness of victimization and that of the heroine is that Leland allows William to articulate and recognize his status as victim after his situation had changed and he was once more a free man.

Oscar (The Children of the Abbey) is one of the very few men who are represented as applying a code of sacrifice, similar to that of the 'female Gothic' to their own lives. Trapped by the stereotype of hero, Oscar is unable to retract a promise honourably given, however dishonourably extorted: 'after his fatal promise [...] a self-devoted victim'.²⁶ In the same text, however, *Regina* Roche also demonstrated that when most male characters in the Gothic romance refer to 'sacrifice' in the context of their own relationships with women, the concept of sacrifice is denigrated. Lord Cherbury, for example, is represented as taking a moral standpoint early in the tale: '"I can make no allowance for a deviation from integrity, or for a sacrifice of honour and gratitude at the shrine of interest."' ²⁷ Although Cherbury is a benevolent father and patron, the sacrifice he asks of Amanda is precisely that which he has already condemned. Thus, *Regina* Roche ironically underlined the double standards applied by male characters: a pillar of society, a hero and a villain figure are all made to behave as though sacrifice is an

25) Leland, Longsword, i. 62.

26) Roche, Children of the Abbey, i. 209.

27) Roche, Children of the Abbey, ii. 216.

action undertaken by others. The hero, Lord Mortimer, and the villain, Colonel Belgrave, are linked in a selfish attitude which pays no attention to a woman's feelings when the gratification of their desires is at stake. 'A trifling sacrifice' is used as part of an argument of persuasion by both men: this is how Mortimer refers to a clandestine marriage and Belgrave refers to the action of becoming his mistress. In both instances, a woman is being asked to flout all social conventions for the sake of love.

The action of the Gothic romance and other contemporary fiction supports the idea that society is prepared to tolerate a different sort of behaviour from men by virtue of their activity: there are many libertines at large in society whose actions are condemned but partially condoned as the result of impetuous passion, whereas the objects of that passion are withdrawn from society and undergo great physical and emotional suffering. Fitz-Edward (Emmeline) is such a man, redeemed only by the love and essential purity of his victim, Lady Adelina Trelawny, who descends into the depths of melancholy madness, fever and near-death.

Few men in Gothic fiction would be permitted to suffer such a fate. They are restricted by the masculine stereotype of activity that rarely allows them to occupy the place of the victim. Responsibility for action, in that case, cannot be evaded. Thus, when a man was described, like Oscar, as a 'victim', the author was making a specific signal to the reader, indicating innocence and, in this case, impotence. Delamere is also posthumously described as

a victim in Emmeline: 'She considered him as the victim of his mother's fatal fondness and his father's ambition': this, however, does not indicate passivity on Delamere's part but that his innocence and his lack of responsibility have been established.²⁸

Most men violently repudiate the very idea of being cast as a victim. Even when on his deathbed, Mr Weimar is described as rejecting the passive role: '"I will not be the victim to procure happiness for others."' ²⁹ This reaction is typical not only of an active villain, but of an active man. A woman's reaction to adversity or threat in the Gothic romance is represented as an intensification of passive femininity; similarly, a man's reaction to adversity is also that of an intensification of stereotype. Weimar's anguished reaction (The Passions, 1811) to Julia's letter shows both shame and rage at having been placed in a passive role:

[She]--dared to tell me that I had been her tool, her puppet--the wretch on whom she had practised at pleasure, her powers of damned deception.[...]. I was as a wounded lion, raging and terrible in my anguish.³⁰

Significantly, perhaps, Charlotte Dacre did not permit Weimar to call himself a victim, but the ideas expressed in this quotation are all passive - a 'tool', a 'puppet', and a dupe clearly suggest victimization. Weimar's physical reaction is also significant: no attempt at rational self-

28) Smith, Emmeline, p.527.

29) Parsons, Castle of Wolfenbach, ii. 152.

30) Dacre, Passions, iv. 5-6.

control is described. Instead he rages like 'a wounded lion', an intensification of thwarted activity very unlike the wasting illness exhibited by the wife of the other guilty party. The stereotype of masculinity, in which honour is mingled with activity, dictates his behaviour. Similarly, in The Mysterious Visit there is a description of the masculine character which interestingly implies both essential activity and a lack of intelligence:

"--Men, I fear, are too like restive horses, proud of their power and strength, they resist opposition and coercive treatment; but a little gentle stroking, a few coaxing manoeuvres rarely fail of producing the desired effect both on man and beast."³¹

Spoken by a benevolent doctor, this is a jocular comment on the obstinacy of men. In this quotation Eliza Parsons has suggested that the intelligence of man is on a par with that of a brute beast and can be managed as easily. Another implication of the quotation, however, is that men are bound by their constitutional masculinity, their stereotype of superior 'power and strength' and that this 'pride' dominates their reactions, making them easier to control. The quotation also implies the presence of a gentle, superior, manipulating intelligence - woman presumably - whose 'gentle stroking' produces 'the desired effect'. Again the efficacy of the stereotype of ideal femininity is reiterated but the threat of brute violence is always present.

The stereotype of femininity lends itself to the depiction of the victim. Popular impressions are correct,

31) Parsons, Mysterious Visit, iv. 59-60.

the victim figure is usually a woman. Certain critics, like Michelle Massé, have made the female figure of the victim the focus of their discussion, but have not gone far enough. When Massé says, for example, that:

If the heroine has incorporated what society tells her is properly feminine, has eschewed the self-determination Hippolita [The Castle of Otranto] frowns on for women, has repressed the contradictory evidence of her mother's own life, then her only response to the uses and abuses of authority is to increase her passivity. [...] When these stereotypical ideals are embraced, the failure to earn love is understood as the heroine's failure for not giving enough.³²

she is only partially correct. As I have shown, women do respond to aggression by intensifying their passivity, reinforcing their stereotype, but women writers represent their heroines as aware of their position as victim. Women within the text of the Gothic romances frequently declare themselves to be victims of male aggression: "...is it me, the helpless child of sorrow, Lord Mortimer sought as a victim to illicit love!"³³ It is not just the situation of trauma that is represented and repeated in the narratives but a conscious experience. I suggest that if a 'female Gothic' may be said to exist, it exists in the consciousness of these victim figures, these heroines who are prepared to assert their status as victims, denying responsibility, conscious of oppression and conscious, also, of innocence.

32) Massé, 'Gothic Repetition', p.693.

33) Roche, Children of the Abbey, i. 132.

The victim figure in the formula of the Gothic romance may be seen as essential to the formation of the subject. Definitions of stereotyped self are constructed around the victim figure; women intensify their passivity, men further demonstrate their activity. The figure or role of victim thus acts as a catalyst on the male characters, emphasizing and strengthening their masculine activity. A villain's masculine activity is intensified by his proximity to the victim figure. 'Direct' victimization of the male forces him into a display of his masculinity: the hero proves his worth by escaping from the victim's role. 'Indirect' victimization, caused by the imposition of the active male stereotype, ensures that no primary male character in the Gothic romance can evade the responsibility of action: though they may be victimized, men cannot be victims.

Chapter Eight
A Miscellany of Men

Men are part of the landscape. By this I mean not only that the majority of characters represented in the Gothic romance are male but also that male characters quite literally perform the same function within the Gothic formula as that of landscape. Indifference to scenery marks the villain as surely as sensibility towards it marks the sympathetic hero: reactions towards landscape are used as indications of character and role. Minor male characters in the Gothic romance are similarly used as devices by which major characters or plot situations may be revealed and measured.

Neither perception of landscape nor the representation of the minor male character may be considered as the primary device by which a reader's expectations about character and plot are raised or fixed. Instead they are ancillary devices, confirming the expectations of the reader and validating the emotional perceptions of the heroine which form the key to masculine characterization. The heroine's perceptions and judgements are not confined to the threatening or adoring figure of the primary male characters; the minor male characters are also assessed through their proximity to her. It is, however, a slightly different type of assessment. The minor male characters, like the landscape, are often filtered through the perception of the heroine to create an appropriate emotional ambience for the relationship between heroine and

villain, or, occasionally, heroine and hero. Montoni's condottori (Mysteries of Udolpho, 1794), for example, are perceived en masse and at length entirely through Emily's eyes:

...a large party of horsemen, dressed in a singular, but uniform, habit, and completely, though variously, armed. They wore a kind of short jacket, composed of black and scarlet, and several of them had a cloak, of plain black, which, covering the person entirely, hung down to the stirrups. As one of these cloaks glanced aside, she saw, beneath, daggers, apparently of different sizes, tucked into the horseman's belt. She further observed, that these were carried, in the same manner, by many of the horsemen without cloaks, most of whom bore also pikes, or javelins. On their heads, were the small Italian caps, some of which were distinguished by black feathers. Whether these caps gave a fierce air to the countenance, or that the countenances they surmounted had naturally such an appearance, Emily thought she had never, till then, seen an assemblage of faces so savage and terrific. While she gazed, she almost fancied herself surrounded by banditti; and a vague thought glanced athwart her fancy--that Montoni was the captain of the group before her, and that this castle was to be the place of rendezvous.¹

Mrs. Radcliffe returns the reader continually to the increasing detail of Emily's observation and the emotions which the scene arouses in her heroine. The passage moves to a climax as Emily first records the detail in a painterly fashion and then interprets it in an emotional response. The verbs that Mrs. Radcliffe uses to refer the reader back to Emily as the passive focal point also indicate a progression in the way in which Emily 'reads' the scene before her. Initially, 'she saw' certain particular coloured details of clothing and black cloaks. The sight of daggers of various sizes triggers another level of response: instead of simply recording general impressions

1) Radcliffe, Mysteries, pp.301-302.

of the mass as she has been represented as doing, she makes a deliberate comparison between band members 'she further observed'. The effect of these mounting observations is to create an atmosphere of threat from sartorial detail: the caps surmounted by black feathers cast a sinister shadow whereas the black and red jackets indicated only some kind of martial uniform. Instead of concentrating on the facts of the scene outside, Emily internalizes the scene and begins to interpret it, 'an assemblage of faces so savage and terrific,' leads her to the conclusion that 'she almost fancied herself surrounded by banditti'. She is not 'observing' - with the detachment and clarity that the verb implies - any longer and this is reflected in 'she gazed'. Thus Mrs Radcliffe moves her heroine from sight to acute observation to a fixed stare that covers considerable internal agitation. The climax of the passage coincides with internal reflection rather than the sight which occasioned it. Equally significantly, the climax of the passage is not the concept of the 'banditti' but the revelation that Montoni must be their captain and the castle their rendezvous.

The group of men represented in the extract are clearly not significant in their own right as characters. All the menace built up through the way in which Ann Radcliffe has represented them is transferred to Montoni at the climax of the passage, which coincides with Emily's awakened sensation of personal fear. He is the epitome of the threatening male although he takes no part in the following

raid. The representation of this armed band and Emily's reaction to it, then, is used in several ways: first, this massed group of ferocious males is used to create a sensation of disquiet in the heroine through whom the reader views the scene - they form part of the emotional landscape of fear; second, the sensation of disquiet generated by the condottori is focused and projected onto the figure of their putative leader, Montoni. The conclusions drawn from this passage, although it relates specifically to one group of men in the context of one particular tale, may be applied to any group of minor male characters. These minor male figures, whether banditti, monks, members of the Inquisition, servants or demons are only important as part of the landscape, as a suitable background for the primary figures. In this chapter I propose to examine some groups of minor male figures who either function as an indispensable part of the Gothic formula, or, in popular consciousness, have long been regarded as a part of its picturesque trappings.

I. BANDITS AND BRIGANDS

Bandits and Brigands deserve examination because their representation demonstrates that Gothic authors consistently used them as a device in the way I have described, yet the idea of the bandit and the outlaw gang is peculiarly suited to the Gothic romance and might have been exploited very differently.

So much of the formula of the Gothic romance revolves around a suspension of 'normal' life and laws that banditti appear to be ideal devices. Situated outside the law, existing as part of the untamed, sublime wilderness, the bandit lair might have been used as a fantastic but credible location for romance like the feudal castle or the enclosed monastery. In a thesis focused on the representation of men, it seemed reasonable to suppose that an examination of bandits would also offer primary evidence for male/male relationships. All these suppositions, reasonable though they are in theory, prove incorrect. There are very few descriptions of brigands in the Gothic romances I have examined. Nevertheless bandits and brigands are popularly associated with the Gothic romance:

Rebels in the grand manner, grandsons of Milton's Satan and brothers of Schiller's Robber, begin to inhabit the picturesque, Gothicized backgrounds of the English 'tales of terror' towards the end of the eighteenth century. The little figures of banditti, which formed pleasing decorative details in the landscapes of the Salvator Rosa school then in fashion, came to life in the writings of Mrs Ann Radcliffe, 'the Shakespeare of romance writers', and took on gigantic and Satanic proportions, becowled and sinister as Goya's bogeys.²

Passages like this one justify Montague Summers' somewhat dismissive comment on the 'voluble but not very reliable pages of Signor Mario Praz'.³ Nevertheless, despite the misleading rhetoric of this passage - he leads the reader to assume that banditti abound in these tales - he does make two interesting points, at odds with each other, which

2) Praz, Romantic Agony, p.78.

3) Summers, Gothic Quest, p.396.

are essential to my interpretation of the representation of the bandit in the Gothic romance. He describes the bandit as one who 'inhabits the picturesque, Gothicized backgrounds' implying a stage of development beyond that of 'decorative detail' in a painted landscape. Praz has, however, placed the bandit figure in the background, not the foreground, of the picture, thus seeming to suggest that he is removed from the main part of the action. Also, the fact that the figure inhabits this picturesque background suggests some appropriate balance between background and figure based on a shared quality of the 'picturesque' - landscape and bandit are indivisible.⁴ The second point that is notable about this passage is that Praz appears to be focusing on the bandit chief, 'grandsons of Milton's Satan and brothers of Schiller's Robber', rather than on the bandit gang. The two points which I have extracted from the passage are not complementary - the bandit chief is hardly part of the background as a gang member might be - but I feel that any confusion or contradiction rests as much with Mario Praz as with my interpretation. I want to draw attention to both those

4) The picturesque does bond landscape and banditti in a particular way for Ann Radcliffe as her coupling of banditti, landscape and Salvator Rosa demonstrates, see quotation p.327. For a discussion on Ann Radcliffe and the picturesque novel see, Christopher Hussey, The Picturesque (1927; repr. London: Cass, 1967), pp.231-237. For a further discussion on the effects of Italian landscape painting on the eighteenth-century novel see Elizabeth Wheeler Manwaring, Italian Landscape in Eighteenth Century England: a study chiefly of the influence of Claude Lorrain and Salvator Rosa on English taste 1700-1800, (1925; repr. London: Cass, 1965), pp.201-226.

points in relation to the representation of the bandit in the Gothic romance. The reader infers the presence of bandits from the presence of a bandit chief. The gang, therefore, is part of a landscape, part of a credible background for a chief, just as the condottori were for Montoni. The motivation of the man outside the law was the focus of interest, and the gang became a device that revealed or reflected that motivation. This marks the essential difference between the representation of bandits and that of monks. Equal attention might be paid to the key figures of bandit chief or wicked monk, but the monastery had a fascination for the Gothic writer and reader, due to its atmosphere of superstition and history, that the bandit lair, even at its most picturesque, could not match.

The association between the bandit and the landscape which he inhabits is not a simple one. The image of the carefree, daring, savage bandit, in perfect accord with dangerous surroundings and sublime landscape, is dependent on the author's use of sensitive, external perception. Filtered through the emotions of the heroine (or another sensitive character) and seen as part of the landscape, the bandit gang might indeed acquire some of the characteristics of the scenery which they inhabited. The dominant characteristic of the bandit gang as described by a third-person narrator, however, is not carefree, not 'compelling free from law and from conventional ethics'

which Marilyn Butler suggests is one of the bases for its popular appeal, but despairing.⁵

This difference in representation is illuminated by a comparison of two different descriptions of inaccessible landscapes suitable for banditti. First Ann Radcliffe, who made a near-anachronistic reference to Salvator Rosa, binding landscape, painting and banditti firmly together:

The scene of barrenness was here and there interrupted by the spreading branches of the larch and cedar, which threw their gloom over the cliff, or athwart the torrent that rolled in the vale. No living creature appeared, except the izard, scrambling among the rocks, and often hanging upon points so dangerous, that fancy shrunk from the view of them. This was such a scene as Salvator would have chosen, had he then existed, for his canvas; St. Aubert, impressed by the romantic character of the place, almost expected to see banditti start from behind some projecting rock.⁶

Despite the stress given in the description to the absence of living things, the idea of the banditti is evoked by the picturesque nature of the landscape. The concept of the banditti is used here as a device to intensify the life-threatening effect of the landscape. They do not appear but the expectations of the cultivated St. Aubert indicate that in such a landscape they might be expected to do so. Radcliffe also indicated the way in which such a scene and the banditti associated with it should be appreciated. Although the scene is one of desolation, barrenness and

5) Butler, Romantics, Rebels and Reactionaries, p.2. I have taken this comment slightly out of context as it refers directly to the popular success of the villain-hero in the late eighteenth century but as I am suggesting that the character of the band is, to some extent, a reflection of the character of its leader, it is interesting that the dominant note is despair rather than daring.

6) Radcliffe, Mysteries, p.30.

gloom, St. Aubert perceives it picturesquely, as a scene that might be painted, and interprets it accordingly. Despite the fact that The Mysteries of Udolpho is supposedly set in the late sixteenth century, St. Aubert applies eighteenth-century attitudes to the scene on which he gazes; he is an observer who does not place himself or his party in the composition of the picture, it has a 'romantic character'.

In contrast, Shelley's description of a bandit lair in St. Irvyne (1811) offered a representation of landscape and banditry that could not be interpreted as romantically attractive although it too is set in a barren landscape:

Around their dwellings, lofty inaccessible acclivities reared their barren summits; they echoed to no sound save the wild hoot of the night-raven, or the impatient yelling of the vulture, which hovered on the blast in quest of scanty sustenance. These were the scenes without; noisy revelry and tumultuous riot reigned within. The mirth of the bandits appeared to arise independently of themselves; their hearts were void and dreary.⁷

Like Ann Radcliffe, Shelley began with the barren 'lofty inaccessible acclivities', the mountainous landscape, and then narrowed his focus to a human figure, moving from the bandit dwellings, to the scenes within, and finally to the hearts of the bandits themselves. Both authors similarly equate banditti and landscape. The effect of Shelley's somewhat clichéd description is, however, different to that of Ann Radcliffe. The keynote of this passage is one of sterility and hopelessness rather than romantic excitement. Images of sterility and death abound, from the barrenness

7) Shelley, St. Irvyne, p.113.

of the mountain peaks, to the hungry vulture hovering 'on the blast'. Shelley appears to set up a contrast between landscape and bandits by deliberately shifting from 'the scenes without' to within, from natural landscape in which the only sounds are the shriekings of birds of prey and the whistling wind to a noisy man-made interior. Obviously, this is not a contrast at all: there are vultures inside as well as outside, and the reader is invited to interpret the characters of the banditti in terms of the landscape which they inhabit. Shelley's emphasis, unlike that of Mrs Radcliffe, is on the despair of men, and this is highlighted by the fact that they live in an inhospitable environment. This indicates that Shelley is going to use the bandit gang as an amplifying device for the despair and corruption of his villain-hero, Wolfstein. In both cases the banditti are used in conjunction with the landscape to create a specific physical and emotional background for the action of the plot.

The sense of despair evident in Shelley's bandits, whose 'hearts were void and dreary' is typical not only of the representation of the bandit but of the moral codes which underpin the Gothic romance genre. A familial group headed by the father in a rural society is the ideal to which all good heroes and heroines aspire and eventually attain. The bandit, the outlaw, however, is outside society and can never return to it: he is permanently in exile. All the qualities of the bandit which would be noble and acceptable within a legal, social framework (e.g. loyalty and courage)

are ignoble and doomed because the bandits have placed themselves outside and in opposition to the law. Consequently bandits are described as despairing men, as hollow as the caverns which they inhabit:

Looking down into the abyss [the entrance to the bandit lair] I was struck with an obscure idea of the bottomless gulph of hell, from whence there is no redemption to be expected.⁸

Few reasons are given in the Gothic romance for the presence of banditti in mountains or forests. Lewis gave an explanation in The Monk (1796):

His excesses drew upon him the indignation of the Police. He was obliged to fly from Strasbourg, and saw no other resource from beggary, than an union with the Banditti, who infested the neighbouring Forest, and whose Troop was chiefly composed of Young men of family in the same predicament with himself.⁹

This forms part of Marguerite's story, the tale of her lover who involved her with the 'misery inseparable from a life of pillage.' It appears to have been a socially impeccable bandit Troop, 'chiefly composed of Young men of family', but this is unusual. The bandit gang members described by Charlotte Dacre, by Percy Shelley, and by Ann Radcliffe are not usually of the same social class as the bandit chief: nobility (which in the Gothic romance is both innate and genealogical) is often the source of his dominance. Banditry is advanced here as the only possible source of income for the wealthy young man rendered penniless: it would seem to suggest that there was no

8) Flammenberg, Lorenz, The Necromancer: or the Tale of the Black Forest, 2 vols. trans. Peter Teuthold, (1794; repr. from 1st. ed. London: Skoob, 1989), p.226.

9) Lewis, Monk, p.122.

honest trade open to the noble spendthrift. Rather than passively begging, the once-wealthy young man chooses to become a bandit preying on the society that did not sustain him.¹⁰ A similar resentment against society is expressed by Wolf (The Necromancer, 1794): "I never should have become a robber, had not the too great severity of the laws made me an enemy to the human race, and hurried me to the brink of black despair."¹¹ Shelley's banditti, too, demand to know why they should show mercy when society has:

"...compelled many of our noble fellows, who otherwise would have been ornaments to their country in peace, thunderbolts to their enemies in war, to seek precarious subsistence as Alpine bandits?"¹²

Thus the bandit denies responsibility for becoming an outlaw, by suggesting that many have been 'compelled'. According to the conventions of the Gothic romance, however, this is neither an admirable or justifiable defence. Furthermore, his claim to be in the company of 'noble fellows' is refuted by the subsequent actions of the plot in which Wolfstein gains status amongst the band because he is conspicuously 'high-souled and noble'.¹³ Nevertheless, this outburst is important: thus, Shelley was

10) Cf. Ugo's comment, which also seems to indicate that the outlaw uses the stereotype of masculine activity to justify his actions: "This is the way to have justice done at once, without more ado. If you go to law, you must stay till the judges please, and may lose your cause, at last. Why the best way, then, is to make sure of your right, while you can, and execute justice yourself." Radcliffe, Mysteries, p.404.

11) Flammenberg, Necromancer, p.212.

12) Shelley, St. Irvyne, p.111.

13) Shelley, St. Irvyne, p.113.

able to create a suitable emotional background for his hero-villain. The sense of grievance against society, of hopelessness and the daring that is a consequence of it, which is conveyed by the quotation, supplies a perfect background, a landscape, against which Wolfstein's character will be illuminated and augmented.

The bandits themselves are of no consequence. It is their reaction to Wolfstein and the effect which their company has upon his character which is of interest:

In a short space of time the high-souled and noble Wolfstein, though still high-souled and noble, became an experienced bandit. His magnanimity and courage, even whilst surrounded by the most threatening dangers, and unappalled expression of countenance with which he defied the dart of death, endeared him to the robbers; whilst with him they felt, as it were, instinctively impelled to deeds of horror and danger, which, otherwise, must have remained unattempted even by the boldest.¹⁴

Wolfstein's 'magnanimity and courage', the mark of a hero in the Gothic romance, are amplified and perverted by his contact with the banditti. Thus, by allowing Wolfstein to retain those essential qualities, Shelley reinforced the moral values of the romance formula whilst seeming to undermine them. The banditti respond to the stereotype of nobility and reflect the qualities of courage and daring which Wolfstein displays: these qualities are perceived as a positive force despite the context of 'deeds of horror and danger'. The reaction of the bandit gang is a device by which Wolfstein's potentially noble character is

14) Shelley, St. Irvyne, pp.113-114.

demonstrated and the perversion of his abilities made manifest.

It is the bandit chief, then, and not the band who is the focus of attention. The figure of the bandit chief is a convenient symbol by which the writer of the Gothic romance might indicate how far a hero figure had fallen - from social to anti-social hero. This process begins when they associate themselves with the bandits in a state of self-confessed hopelessness, '"I have none,--no money--no hope--no friends; nor do I care for existence!"".15 Anti-social despair is taken to its logical conclusion in the death of Leonardo, (Zofloya, 1806) who commits suicide, betrayed by a gang member. The anti-social action and perversion of the bandit chief is demonstrated by the fact that Leonardo, Wolfstein and Wolf all mark their descent towards banditry by murders:

"My doom was fixed, the time of repentance past, and the murder I had committed was towering behind me like a mountain shutting up for ever my return to the path of virtue."16

This marks another difference between the representation of the bandit and that of the monk: primary male characters become bandits through some personal choice, usually at the end of a tale, whereas the monk figure is confirmed in his role before the tale commences.

The bandit gang member displays none of the extraordinary characteristics associated with the hero -

15) Shelley, St. Irvyne, p.112.

16) Flammenberg, Necromancer, p.226.

unless directly affected by him. The dominant characteristics of the ordinary banditti are cowardice and betrayal. Even the 'Troop' of noble young men described by Lewis collapsed when faced with strong military action:

By their account [the pursuing soldiers] I found, that the Robbers had been overtaken: Guilt and true courage are incompatible; They had thrown themselves at the feet of their Pursuers, had surrendered themselves without striking a blow, had discovered their secret retreat, made known their signals by which the rest of the Gang might be seized, and in short had betrayed ever [sic] mark of cowardice and baseness.¹⁷

Although the bandit chief is never represented as cowardly - he does betray. Even the high-souled Wolfstein tries twice to murder the bandit chief by underhand means - poison in the goblet - in order to possess the beautiful Megalena. The act of betrayal (followed by murder) is the most common action performed by a bandit of any sort. Marguerite's consort, Baptiste, (The Monk) betrays his 'guests'. Lewis describes Baptiste through the eyes of Raymond:

...whose appearance was calculated to inspire esteem and confidence. His countenance was open, sincere, and friendly; his manners had all the Peasant's honesty unaccompanied by his rudeness; His cheeks were broad, full, and ruddy; and in the solidity of his person He seemed to offer an ample apology for the leanness of his Wife.¹⁸

This description of Raymond's response is an interesting one. At this stage in the story Raymond has not yet met Agnes or the Bleeding Nun: he is still young, untried, with a tendency to misread signals. In showing him as completely

17) Lewis, Monk, p.121.

18) Lewis, Monk, p.100.

deceived by Baptiste's honest peasant persona, Lewis prepared the reader for Raymond's later misunderstandings with the Baroness Lindenburg and increases the shock of discovery. The banditti here are plot devices that serve to introduce Raymond to the Baroness, placing her under a debt of gratitude to him, and also provide Raymond with a faithful servant. They also reinforce the sense of danger lurking in the Gothic landscape, a perpetual insecurity outside the frontiers of society.

Closely associated with the landscape which they inhabit, the banditti are part of the picturesque background of the world of the Gothic romance. Largely inferred from stray references, from the fears of major characters, or from the presence of the bandit chief, they provide not only a suitable pictorial but emotional accompaniment to the action. Wolf's unsuccessful petition to his prince (The Necromancer) in the closing pages of the narrative indicates that the bandit's position outside society is a negative life:

"I detest life and do not fear to die, it would however be dreadful to me to die, without having lived. I wish to live, in order to repair my crimes past, and to make my peace with human society, which I have offended."¹⁹

The story thus concludes by stressing the importance of living within society. Wolf desires to turn from banditry to serve the state as a soldier. It is in this role that minor characters fulfil an important function within both plot and formula: the role of the faithful servant.

19) Flammenberg, Necromancer, p.231.

II. SERVANTS

It is not surprising that Wolf's confession affirms the importance of faithful, legal service. Although on opposite sides of the law, the figures of the bandit and the servant have a great deal in common. Both are minor characters in the orbit of a major character, both follow orders, and both are presumed to have a strong relationship with their master/leader. In the idealized world of the Gothic romance, the nature of the relationship between bandit and bandit chief is usually antithetical to that between master and servant - although both are superior/inferior relationships in which one character is dominant. The relationship between bandits is supposed to be based on self-interest and fear: the ideal relationship between servant and master (or mistress) is popularly supposed to be one of selfless devotion and even love. Although the emotional basis for these relationships is created by the character type of the major figure, the reader registers the type of relationship through the actions and speech of the minor character.

Thus, like the bandit, the figure of the servant is a device used to illuminate or to amplify the major character to whom he is attached. From the very inception of the Gothic romance, however, the interludes involving servants were specifically designed as devices of a somewhat different kind. Walpole's apology for the way in which he had represented servants, in the preface to the second edition of The Castle of Otranto in 1765, clearly indicates

that Walpole considered the servant interludes to be an important narrative device:

My rule was nature. However grave, important, or even melancholy, the sensations of princes and heroes may be, they do not stamp the same affections on their domestics: at least the latter do not, or should not be made to express their passions in the same dignified tone. In my humble opinion, the contrast between the sublime of the one, and the naïveté of the other, sets the pathetic of the former in a stronger light. The very impatience which a reader feels, while delayed by the coarse pleasantries of vulgar actors from arriving at the knowledge of the important catastrophe he expects, perhaps heightens, certainly proves that he has been artfully interested in, the depending event.²⁰

The basic assumption with which Walpole began this defence, the intrinsic difference between the sensibilities of master and servant, is as fundamental to the Gothic romance as the underlying precepts 'murder will out' and 'Providence will eventually vindicate the innocent'. By beginning 'My rule was nature' Walpole placed this assumption in the realms of unquestionable and immutable fact. Despite the cleverness of servants, despite occasional plots (like The Old English Baron, 1778) in

20) Walpole, The Castle of Otranto, p.8. For reactions to Walpole's characterization of servants in The Castle of Otranto, see Peter Sabor (ed.), Horace Walpole: the Critical Heritage (London: Routledge, 1987), pp.71-74, 96-98. Walpole's justification was considered an adequate one by Sir Walter Scott, who commented in his introduction to The Castle of Otranto (1811), that: 'The characters of the inferior domestics have been considered as not bearing a proportion sufficiently dignified to the rest of the story. But this is a point on which the author has pleaded his own cause fully in the original prefaces.' Critical Heritage, pp.97-98. This is not a view espoused by an early reviewer of the second edition, who indignantly accused Walpole of a lack of refined taste: 'Under the same banner of singularity he attempts to defend all the trash of Shakespeare, and what that great genius evidently threw out as a necessary sacrifice to that idol the caecum vulgus, he would adopt in the worship of the true God of Poetry.' Critical Heritage, p.72.

which the hero or heroine is a servant of distinguished character, the social order in the Gothic romance is static. The reader's expectations about the inferior sensibility of the servant are constantly upheld, either by direct narratorial comment or, as in the case of Edmund (The Old English Baron), by the plot resolution - the noble servant proves to be noble indeed. In this preface Walpole also supplied reasons why the ideal servant/master relationship should be fixed. Taking the opportunity to claim Shakespeare for his model, Walpole clearly saw the domestic as a useful narrative device illuminating character and contributing to the plot. Unlike the bandit, whose usage as a device depended largely on the parallels that could be drawn between the negative passions of minor and major characters, it is the contrast between master and servant that Walpole valued, 'between the sublime of the one and the naïveté of the other'. Walpole's intention, as this preface shows, was to emphasize the sublime. Thus, one may see that the servant, with patterns of sensibility and language that became stereotypes in Gothic fiction, is used as a device to heighten the stature of his aristocratic master.

Walpole's preface also indicates that the figure of the servant is more than a device amplifying the sublime. The way in which the probable emotions of the reader are considered suggests that Walpole also saw the figure of the servant as an important narrative device, raising the tension generated by the prolonged uncertainties of the

plot. The servant, in fact, is a device by which uncertainty can be prolonged. Unable, because of his inferior sensibility, to sift evidence or reach rational conclusions, the servant may be a witness of some action which he does not understand and cannot fully communicate. Walpole created two loquacious servants, Diego and Jacquez, in The Castle of Otranto whose inability to report on the supernatural phenomena that they have witnessed infuriates Manfred and the reader alike. The Castle of Otranto incident demonstrates both of the ways in which Walpole declared that he used the domestic. The contrast between the language and attitudes of the servants and their master emphasizes Manfred's tyrannical and impatient character. At the same time the action of the plot is suspended, and tension increased, while the servants are interrogated. They function simultaneously as plot devices and devices for the revelation of character.

These twin functions are characteristic of all representations of servants in the Gothic romance. What Walpole did not say in his preface, but which is evident in the characterization and usage of servants throughout the Gothic romance, is that whatever the contrasts in sensibility between servant and master classes, there is usually a moral correspondence between them. An idealized, hero master has an equally good, idealized servant: a villain commands other villains. This factor forms an important part of the formula of the Gothic romance. A 'good' servant character, faithfully attached to his master

or mistress, will inevitably share in their suffering, providing a curious counterpoint of commonsense and superstition to the elevated emotions of the major characters. A villainous servant may figure largely in the action of the plot, acting as the villain by proxy - intensifying the brutality to which a noble villain might not descend, and then betraying his villainous master or mistress. Whether faithful or villainous, the status of the servant is another important factor for the writer of the Gothic romance: servants have no overt, social power and are expendable in a way that the hero, heroine and villain are not. For these reasons, the representation of the servant, his status, and the expectations of the reader about such a figure are crucial elements in the advancement of the plot.

The correspondence between the moral characters of master and servant with the consequent effects on the action of the plot can be clearly seen in George Walker's potboiler, The Haunted Castle (1794). The structure of George Walker's romance depends on that fundamental principle of the Gothic romance - the importance of history, the influence of past actions (particularly past crimes) on the present action of the tale. George Walker created two major characters with corresponding servants who fit neatly into the temporal division of the story. The hero, Ignatius, who pursues his destiny through the present action of the tale has a good and faithful servant, La Moine, as a companion. The villain, Hendred, whose past

actions shape Ignatius's present quest, had a servant of questionable loyalty to carry out his plans.²¹ La Moine's only importance, for George Walker gave him very few lines, is as a faithful servant. He accompanies Ignatius through all the vicissitudes of his travels, fights alongside him, is captured, released, caught in a storm and terrified by supernatural phenomena. La Moine's continued faithfulness is used to construct part of Ignatius's character as hero - this behaviour is expected by the reader. Thus, although his faithfulness and servitude is a device to enhance or to confirm the status of the hero, he has little to do with the plot. The evil servant, however, has a different function.

Like La Moine, Bede is the moral reflection of his villainous master; unlike La Moine, he is also his agent. This is demonstrated when Ignatius discovers a letter from Hendred to Bede confirming the plans to murder his brother and his brother's children. Bede, it later transpires, was also responsible for procuring a little peasant girl to take the place of Manfredi's son. Thus the intentions of the villain were accomplished by the actions of the servant. There is, however, more to the usage of the servant as a plot device than simply as the convenient agent of his villainous master. When both master and

21) Interestingly, the names of both servants have religious and cultural associations. The name of Ignatius' servant, La Moine, not only links him with Catholic monasticism but also reflects Ignatius's Norman upbringing and noble background; Hendred's servant is named Bede - a name which has its roots in Old English - meaning prayer.

servant are completely motivated by self-interest, as the villains invariably prove to be, there is the possibility of conflict, affecting both plot and characterization. The blackmail of a villainous master by a servant in possession of his secrets is a common complication of the plot, and one utilized by George Walker. Hendred is blackmailed by Bede; the villain's response is to kill the troublesome servant and, already troubled by his conscience, to immure himself in a monastery. George Walker's employment of the servant/master relationship suggests several important points: first, that the past character of the villainous Hendred has been emphasized by the behaviour and character of his chosen servant; second, that the conflict between the two men has forced a crisis which will lead directly to the resolution of Ignatius' story and the restoration of his happiness in the present - Ignatius's birth is revealed early in The Haunted Castle but that of his beloved Adelaïs can only be resolved by information from the penitent Hendred (or Father Francis); and third, that the moral principles underlying the Gothic romance are vindicated according to the reader's expectations.

Eliza Parsons used a similar scenario in The Mysterious Visit (1802). Her romance is more complex than that of George Walker, but her usage of the figure of the immoral servant and master joined in an ultimately destructive relationship is the same. The villain, Sir William Symons, uses his servant Samuel as a confidant and an agent in the plot against Clifford - Georgina's adoptive father. It is

through Samuel's actions that the papers relating to Georgina's mysterious birth and financial circumstances are placed in Sir William's hands. Inevitably, and according to the formula of the Gothic romance, Samuel makes demands on Sir William who responds by sending him to the Press Gang. The pattern is almost identical to that of The Haunted Castle: a villainous master uses his servant as an agent, the servant is then in an intolerable position of power over the master and must be removed. Finally, the conflict between master and servant contributes to the resolution of the plot and the vindication of the innocent. In The Mysterious Visit Sir William is covered in calumny and Clifford's release from the Bastille procured as a result of the charges which Samuel makes against him in the fourth and final volume.

The treatment of the threatening servant in both The Haunted Castle and The Mysterious Visit is the same. Bede and Samuel are removed. They are expendable. This is partly due to the nature of their implacable masters, but it also indicates that even the most cunning servant lacks certain resources. The status of the servant in the Gothic romance ensures that he or she lacks social power or influence. Unlike the priest or the heroine, who are in similarly uninfluential circumstances, the servant has no precious jewellery, lacks the dubious benefit of a noble family name, and, most importantly, is not a major character within the formula of the Gothic romance. A character who

is a servant may thus be a potential victim because of his or her servant status.

This subordinate status reduces the reader's involvement with the characters' fates. They are only important as characters insofar as their destiny reflects on the major character or on the action. They can be used, therefore, simply as plot devices. The status of the servant also serves the plot because even the most well-intentioned servant can give a heroine only partial protection against the villain. Thus, although a journeying (or more commonly an escaping) heroine is frequently accompanied part of the way by a faithful servant, she is not safe. Matilda (Castle of Wolfenbach, 1793) is accompanied by Albert who aids her escape from the villainous Mr Weimar but this is not enough to protect her in Paris. Georgina (The Mysterious Visit) is helped to self-education by the advice of a maid, warned of Sir William's seductive intentions by another, and eventually assisted to economic independence by legacies from Lord Dunlevy's devoted steward. All this assistance, however, is seen to be very passive within the course of the tale. It is confined to verbal messages, written warnings: the limits of a servant's activity. Even the legacies cannot help her unless she knows of them, and has the assistance of an active hero to wrest them from Sir William's grasp. A male servant is represented as less masculine, less active, than the active hero or villain because his ability to protect the heroine is significantly less.

Servant status may add more to the intricacies of the plot than the fact of their expendability might suggest. There are several romances in which the status of the servant is eventually revealed as the motivating force. In Clermont (1798), the complicated plot, ostensibly centred around the fortunes and unhappy history of the de Montmorenci family, relies on the dynastic ambitions of a servant for much of its action. The abducted son of the supposedly murdered Philippe was brought up as the son of Lafroy's brother, Joseph, and Lafroy used his knowledge of d'Alembert's villainy to blackmail d'Alembert into agreeing a marriage between d'Alembert's daughter and Lafroy's supposed nephew. In creating this scenario, *Regina* Roche remained true to the formula of the Gothic Romance; Lafroy's actions are the same as those of any treacherous, self-seeking servant. The motives behind Lafroy's behaviour are, however, more difficult to determine. Bede and Samuel wanted money and power: behind that desire one can see the desire to change status, to elevate themselves to another position. It is difficult to decide, however, whether *Regina* Roche intended the reader to interpret Lafroy's actions as indicative of a simple desire to change or elevate his own status, or whether he is a character who wishes to debase the status of others. He is represented as taking a noble child (thus acquiring status of a sort), and placing it with his brother which ensured that it was brought up in humble circumstances (debasing the child's status). In the fixed world of the Gothic romance, however, the proposed

marriage can do nothing but diminish the d'Alemberts - the Lafroy family will not be elevated. It is not just power that *Regina* Roche represented Lafroy as seeking, it is also the social debasement of a man whose moral character is no better than Lafroy's own.²²

Yet in allying d'Alembert with an inferior, *Regina* Roche was emphasizing the essential difference between master and servant. The master's acute sensibility - which in the Gothic romance is part of a noble birthright - would be grossly insulted and perpetually affronted by such a marriage. This type of class distinction is everpresent in the Gothic romance, often explicitly stated in the text:

This shattered pile, the record of departed greatness and the power of time, was carefully shunned by the peasant after sunset, [...]: but though feared by superstition, it was the favorite [sic] haunt of taste and sensibility;...²³

The contrasting reactions of peasantry and nobility towards the castle on the mountainside above Clermont's rustic cottage demonstrates the unbridgable gulf between the sensibilities of master and servant. The quotation implies that peasant and nobleman have different perceptions of the world around them. Peasants are popularly supposed to be as insensitive as the beasts they tend; 'the mind is worn down

22) Cf. Dacre, *Passions*, i., in which Countess Zulmer's former servant, Pietro Mondovi, writes to another servant, Catherine Glatz, about their former mistress, demonstrating a similar concern with the reduction of status: 'What is her fancied elevation? What is her rank in society? Could we not speedily topple her from her height by shewing [sic] her such as she is? [...] I am always out of spirits when I am poor. The sight of the money will set us all to rights.' pp.77-78.

23) Roche, *Clermont*, i. 9.

with the body, and [...] a common laborer [sic] rarely considers anything beyond those common comforts incessant industry alone can procure him.'²⁴ Thus, given this type of expectation about the peasantry, continually reinforced within the text, it is clear that noble birth is a necessity for the hero or heroine of romance, who must embody and uphold high ideals about society in general. As the quotation from Clermont shows, the difference between master and servant is not simply one of varying degrees of sensibility: the master class not only has more sensibility, but is more rational, better educated, and not given to superstitious fears.²⁵

Apart from the education, these qualities are an integral part of noble blood - as Edmund demonstrates by his behaviour in The Old English Baron - and cannot be assumed by a mere servant. When Sir William Symons (The Mysterious Visit) realizes that his servant has some power over him, the situation is intolerable:

Samuel was ignorant, though cunning and wicked--[...]--
Sir William was but too conscious that his servant held

24) Lee, Recess, ii. 31.
Cf. Eliza Parsons's description of the peasant jailers, linking class and sensitivity, in Mysterious Visit: 'From the fierce, uncouth beings who were her guards, she had nothing to expect--[...] not one spark of hope illumined her dismal prospect, for to pity or feeling those creatures were wholly insensible.' ii. 67.

25) Although most Gothic romances show servants to be far more credulous than their masters, there is a moment of humour attached to a servant's (and to the reader's) own consciousness of the differences in sensibility between the classes in Castle of Wolfenbach when Albert (the servant) and Matilda are about to sleep in a haunted house: 'All now retired to rest, and Albert thought himself quite safe on the ground floor from the quality ghosts.' i. 52.

a rod over him; and to emancipate himself from a slavery so degrading to a gentleman, was the chief object of his waking thoughts and nightly dreams.²⁶

The image of slavery indicates the enormity of the power reversal in the master/servant relationship. Sir William does not just see himself in the role of servant to Samuel's master: instead he is described in a passive role, awaiting a beating from one who is his social inferior. Such a role is intolerable for the active man in the Gothic romance, particularly the active nobleman. This consciousness of slavery is the first of the torments that the guilty man has to endure.²⁷ It is an outward manifestation of the villain's inward slavery to the passions. When Sir William is finally caught and tried, Eliza Parsons commented specifically on social prejudice, the limitations of the status of the servant when compared to that of the master:

...he [Sir William] had evaded and shuffled over the circumstances in a very awkward and unsatisfactory manner, such as by no means prepossessed them in his favour; yet they felt very reluctant to resign him into the hands of justice on the accusation of a vindictive servant.²⁸

26) Parsons, Mysterious Visit, ii. 73-74.

27) This sensation is intensified when Sir William is eventually arraigned by Samuel: 'And how, it may be asked, did he feel, whilst he stood like a culprit before his quondam associate and servant?--he certainly felt all that confusion, that low-mindedness, and terror which a bad heart must ever feel on a detection of guilt, and an abasement before his inferiors'. Parsons, Mysterious Visit, iv. 38.

28) Parsons, Mysterious Visit, iv. 45-46. William Godwin also exploited these aspects of the master/servant relationship in the trial scene in Caleb Williams, (1794; repr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, ed. and intro. David McCracken, 1982), pp.164-177. Godwin

One of the ways in which the servant is represented and his or her status fixed for the reader is through the language which the servant is given to utter. The faithful servant or anyone belonging to the peasant class is unable to manipulate language, order facts, or distinguish between natural and supernatural phenomena. The first exchange between Diego, Jacquez and Manfred in The Castle of Otranto created a pattern that became a stereotype for the speech and thought of subsequent servants in the world of the Gothic romance. Their narrative is lengthy and inconsequential:

My gracious lord, said Jacquez, if it please your highness to hear me; Diego and I, according to your highness's orders, went to search for the young lady; but being comprehensive [sic] that we might meet the ghost of my young lord, your highness's son, God rest his soul, as he has not received christian burial--29

The difference between servant and master is heavily stressed. Jacquez reminds Manfred four times of the difference of status between them as he obsequiously lards his speech with 'My gracious lord,' 'your highness,' 'your highness's orders,' and 'your highness's son.' Walpole also included other elements of language that mark a difference in sensibility and thought processes. A servant cannot think clearly, cannot distinguish between important facts and trivia. Thus, in this quotation, Jacquez tells a tangential story in his desire to provide every detail and

places the servant on trial rather than the master, but the reluctance of the judges to upset the ruling class and the inferior status of the servant is the same.

29) Walpole, Castle of Otranto, p.31.

exonerate himself. After a plea for mercy and a tacit reminder of Manfred's feudal responsibilities, 'My gracious lord,' Jacquez begins his story by denying any responsibility for the news he will eventually reveal. All responsibility is shifted to Manfred, 'according to your highness's orders.' The description of the servants' fears serves several purposes in Jacquez's narrative: it introduces the concept of the supernatural; it justifies the servants' incoherence; and provides an explanation for the search being conducted in pairs. Jacquez is thus represented as unsuccessfully attempting to anticipate Manfred's questions. Including every detail of emotion, every factor that contributed to the story, indicates the fear that the servant feels for the tyrannical master but also suggests a certain literal-mindedness. Later, when Manfred demands to know what 'you saw' in the great chamber, Jacquez responds: '--I! my lord! said Jacquez, I saw nothing; I was behind Diego;--but I heard the noise.'³⁰ Jacquez is unable to think generally, he cannot distinguish between the general and the personal 'you.' As he had used 'comprehensive' - obviously meaning 'apprehensive' - in the previous passage quoted, it is clear that Walpole's representation of the servant type includes a basic inability to communicate effectively.³¹ Such an inability

30) Walpole, Castle of Otranto, p.32.

31) In the notes to the Oxford University Press edition of The Castle of Otranto, Joseph W. Reed Jr. comments on Jacquez's misuse of language: 'comprehensive: for apprehensive; a malapropism in anticipation of Mrs. Malaprop, who made her first appearance in 1775.' p.113.

suggests inferior or muddled thought processes - possibly deserving Manfred's epithet 'blockheads.'

The myriad occasions of failed communication and, also in The Children of the Abbey (1796), unsuccessful attempts by the peasant class to copy the sentiments and language of nobility - the romance of Mary and Chip the carpenter nearly founders when Mary copies Amanda's offended rejection of Lord Mortimer - suggests that the servant is conscious that the superior discourse of the master is an indication of superior sentiments and intelligence. In the master/servant relationship, as Walpole depicted it in The Castle of Otranto, the servants' reaction to the revelation of Theodore's birth depends on the master's perception:

The tears of the assistants were suspended by wonder, rather than stopped by joy. They seemed to enquire in the eyes of their lord what they ought to feel.³²

This emphasizes the servitude of the assistants, who cannot afford to display an unacceptable reaction, as well as the absolute power wielded by Manfred. The fact that the servants are initially struck with amazement, rather than by more elevated feelings of sympathetic joy for the reunited father and son, shows that they are confronted

Given that Walpole claims Shakespeare as his model in the preface to the second edition, a more useful comparison might be made to the language of Dogberry in Much Ado About Nothing.

32) Walpole, Castle of Otranto, p.54.

with a situation outside their experience.³³ They are reliant, therefore, on Manfred.

The ties between master and faithful servant are always represented as exceedingly strong. Janet Todd, in The Sign of Angellica, suggests that this tie is one of love rather than of simple loyalty. She concentrates particularly on the relationship between Paulo and Vivaldi in Ann Radcliffe's The Italian (1797):

Paulo stays with his master when his friends desert him. He tries to cheer him even when it appears that Vivaldi has brought them both to certain death. Indeed he seems to have no life of his own that is not at the service of his master, although it is stressed that he is in fact a lively, gregarious fellow. Given the peculiarly decorous nature of the heroine in The Italian, his emotional attachment to Vivaldi very much moves the tie of master and servant into the centre of the stage, and the last section of the novel, which takes Paulo to the dungeons of the Inquisition solely to be with his master and then finds him exulting throughout the town at the final escape, is very much a male love affair excluding any woman.³⁴

The chapter from which this quotation is taken is one devoted to an analysis only of the work of Ann Radcliffe, and Janet Todd's comments on the intense nature of the relationship between Paulo and Vivaldi are justified by an examination of the text. The reunion between Paulo and Vivaldi after Schedoni's death is a scene replete with emotion:

33) It might also show the blunted feelings ascribed to the peasantry. Cf. Dacre, Zofloya: 'Still having their way through, they proceeded, Victoria with a vague and indefinable feeling of hope and fear, and Catau merely with that curiosity incident to vulgar minds.' i. 149.

34) Janet Todd, The Sign of Angellica (London: Virago, 1989), p.260.

'It is my master! it is my dear master!' cried Paulo, and, sending off a nobleman with each elbow, as he made his way between them, he hugged Vivaldi in his arms, repeating, 'O, my master! my master!' till a passion of joy and affection overcame his voice, and he fell at his master's feet and wept.

This was a moment of finer joy to Vivaldi, than he had known since his meeting with his father, and he was too much interested by his faithful servant, to have leisure to apologize to the astonished company for his rudeness.³⁵

Even here the contrast between master and servant is maintained and it is demonstrated in the physical activity which is the most striking thing about this scene. Paulo knocks noblemen over in his desire to reach his master, hugs Vivaldi in his arms, shouts and weeps at his feet. In contrast, the reunion of Vivaldi and Ellena is a much less physical affair, justifying Janet Todd's comment about the 'decorous nature' of the heroine. Emotions rather than actions are detailed:

In such a meeting...joy was exalted almost to agony. Ellena wept, and some minutes passed before she could answer to Vivaldi's few words of tender exclamation:³⁶

This is a private encounter. Ann Radcliffe did not relate whether Vivaldi swept Ellena into his arms to comfort her, and the 'words of tender exclamation' can only be imagined. Lovers commune silently, through tears and tender words unheard even by the author, but Paulo's emotions are publically displayed, represented through the excess of physical action. This lack of restraint is typical of the representation of a servant. Noblemen, friends both of Vivaldi and Vivaldi's father, expressed their pleasure in

35) Radcliffe, Italian, p.405.

36) Radcliffe, Italian, p.408.

Vivaldi's release by offering 'ceremonious congratulations'. Paulo observes no such ritual and his ability to convey emotion through speech is severely reduced by the strength of that emotion: he can only act. The only words that occur to Paulo at such a time are 'my master' - a reaffirmation of the relationship between them.³⁷ Ann Radcliffe also comments on the reactions of the polite company who witness the reunion between master and servant. The general company is 'astonished', indicating that this display of affection, resulting in upset snuff-boxes and affronted noble dignities, is not typical in their experience.

In fact, Paulo's noisy devotion to Vivaldi, is not typical either of Ann Radcliffe's work or of the Gothic romance as a whole. There are many devoted servants but their relationship to their master is rarely central to the tale. Janet Todd is correct to describe the relationship between Vivaldi and Paulo as significant because of the prominence given to it, but the way that Ann Radcliffe uses this excess of loyalty is to reinforce Vivaldi's worthiness. Vivaldi is a better hero simply because he can inspire (and return) such faithful devotion in his servant. The relationship between master and servant may be interpreted as an embryonic family structure. A master's relationship with his servants is a microcosm of his

37) Paulo is similarly robbed of words during and after the marriage of Vivaldi and Ellena di Rosalba. His exultant and frequently repeated cries of 'O! giorno felice!' ring through the last chapter as a benediction on the marriage and conclude the book.

relationship with his family and community.³⁸ Thus, in protecting and caring for their servants, the young hero or heroine is also learning to exercise the same sort of responsibility that will also be required in marriage or parenthood.

Raymond's attitude to his faithful, young servant, Theodore, in The Monk is both paternal and affectionate. At different points in the narrative Raymond comments on his relationship with Theodore, 'rather as a Companion than as a Servant,' and 'as an adopted Child than a Domestic'.³⁹ Dwelling strongly on the close relationship between master and servant, Lewis devoted large sections of Raymond's narrative to descriptions of Theodore's many perfections and, like Paulo, Theodore's reciprocal attachment to his master is represented as profound:

He had attached himself to me most sincerely, during my stay in Strasbourg; and when I was on the point of leaving it, He besought me with tears to take him into my service: He set forth all his little talents in the most favourable colours, and tried to convince me that I should find him of infinite use to me upon the road. [...] However, I could not resist the entreaties of this affectionate Youth, who in fact possessed a thousand estimable qualities.⁴⁰

Like Paulo's joyous reunion with his master, all the activity in the relationship is undertaken by the servant

38) Cf. John Wesley, 'On Family Religion,': 'Your servants, of whatever kind, you are to look upon as a kind of secondary children, these, likewise, God has committed to your charge, as one that must give an account.' Sermons on Several Occasions, i. 363.

39) Lewis, Monk, pp.166,170.

40) Lewis, Monk, pp.127-128.

figure. Theodore works very hard to convince Raymond that he will be indispensable - as he indeed proves to be.

When faithful servants and masters are bonded as strongly as Raymond and Theodore (although it is worth remarking that the servant's is the stronger attachment as it is the only attachment in his life) or Paulo and Vivaldi, the source of the bond is usually the disinterested saving of life. In other words, when a master figure proves his concern, his affection, and his duty towards his inferiors by saving their lives at the risk of his own, a bond of gratitude and affection is formed. Thus, there are emotional, moral and pragmatic reasons for the attachment - the master has simultaneously proved himself to be worthy of admiration and to be an able protector. This is the source of bonds between several masters and their male servants: Edwin (The Children of the Abbey) is devoted to FitzAlan because FitzAlan saved his life in battle; Theodore (The Monk) is devoted to Raymond because Raymond has rescued his mother and family from a life of perpetual misery with bandits; Hubert, the surly, independent youth in The Mysterious Freebooter (1806), is devoted, despite himself, to Edward:

...there was a something, inexplicable almost to himself [Hubert], unless it could be accounted for by that reverence which a mind of discernment naturally feels for a noble and honest heart, [...] and which proceeded from his sense of Edward's benevolent feelings towards him, and from gratitude for the many favours which he received at his hands.⁴¹

41) Lathom, Mysterious Freebooter, i. 115-116.

The attachment between the faithful servant and the master depends upon a fixed social order and fixed roles. Hubert is attached to Edward because he recognizes a benevolent nature, but also because he recognizes the innate superiority of that nature. Edward is worthy to be a master and Hubert's recognition of this marks him as a servant. The first occasion which Francis Lathom created to form the basis for the attachment between Hubert and Edward demonstrates a gradation in benevolence as well as the difference in status between master and servant. Edward as a boy gave a chunk of bread to Hubert, a surly, dirty urchin. Hubert accepted the bread but, instead of eating himself, gave it to his equally disreputable, enormous mongrel. Edward can make a benevolent gesture to someone of a lower status; Hubert, the servant, can only make the same gesture to his dog and Edward's bounty has made Hubert's generosity possible.

If the very act of acknowledging a superior is the mark of a servant, so too is a particular attitude of mind first presented by Horace Walpole in The Castle of Otranto. The servant as menial and as agent is a practical figure, and has been represented as such since the 'clever slave' of Greek comedy. Theodore, for example, is indispensable in The Monk. Almost every action described in Raymond's narrative involves Theodore as accomplice, assistant or agent in actions like hoisting Cunegonda over the wall, creating a diversion so that Raymond can smuggle her into the inn or bribing the convent gardener so that Raymond can

gain access to the convent grounds. This is not unusual: servants in the Gothic romance are invariably represented as being more practical than the hero or heroine, and are sometimes represented as possessing more commonsense than their master or mistress, but, at the same time they are also less rational and more superstitious. Servants, particularly female servants, in the Gothic romance continually display irrational prejudices which heroes and heroines refuse to countenance.⁴² The servant, however, is more adept at dealing with the physical than the metaphysical. When the Countess de Merville is stabbed in Clermont, servants handle all the practical details of staunching blood, moving the body etc., while the contribution of the heroine who discovered the wounded woman is to faint when she sees the body, and to sob pathetically by the bedside. When, however, Agatha and Floretta tell tales of a haunted house, Madeleine finds alternative explanations for the phenomena that they describe. Emily, too, in The Mysteries of Udolpho, represses Annette's superstitious fancies and boldly confronts her own irrational fears.

Although servants are stereotyped, represented as inarticulate, credulous and expendable, the writers of the

42) Margaret L. Carter suggested that this forms a bond between narrator and reader, which implies a reinforcement of class boundaries: '...the superstitious, credulous characters in her [Ann Radcliffe's] fiction are most often servants. The narratee (to employ Gerald Prince's term) is often tacitly invited to join the narrator in patronizing such characters' credulity.' Specter or Delusion? The Supernatural in Gothic Fiction (Ann Arbor and London: UMI Research Press, 1987), p.35.

Gothic romance continually remind the reader that servants too have feelings and standards of honour. Just as the countryside is assumed by writers of the Gothic romance to have all the innocence, beauty and values of an eighteenth-century Eden in striking contrast to the iniquities prevalent in urban society, so the peasant (a servant class), while lacking polish, breeding and refinement, can be represented and interpreted according to the perceived characteristics of the landscape which he inhabits. The following idealized description of the peasant, Swiss mountaineers is an example of such an interpretation:

The rudest mountaineer among them is not ignorant; it is nothing uncommon to see a herdsman with a volume of Voltaire or Rousseau in his hand. They are universally benevolent, kind-hearted, and hospitable; their women are handsome, modest, and reserved.⁴³

Dacre's description is an idealized portrait of the natural man described by Rousseau, uncorrupted, literate and in harmony with his natural environment. Actual servant figures, however, who are not associated with an isolated, sublime landscape, can also be described in positive terms. Joseph, in Castle of Wolfenbach, is represented as an exemplar of simple honesty and honour and set up as a standard against current social conventions:

...his sentiments were above his condition, and he prized his word, and kept it when pledged with much more exactness than a fine gentleman does his honour, when given to a favourite lady, or a humble tradesman:...'44

43) Dacre, Passions, i. 12.

44) Parsons, Castle of Wolfenbach, i. 86.

It is the simplicity of the servant, enhancing his or her good qualities that the reader is invited to admire. The idea that a servant might possess integrity that would shame the sophisticated master-class is as frequently mooted in the Gothic romance as the desirability of the rural idyll.

Servants are allowed, therefore, to have some good qualities despite their innate inferiority: the good qualities which they demonstrate in the Gothic romance, however, are precisely those which make them good and faithful servants. Class boundaries are irrevocably fixed and the good and faithful servant is represented as being happy in his or her humble station. Writers of the Gothic romance, therefore, would seem to be indulging in what Janet Todd has described as 'a fantasy of service'.⁴⁵ Written in a period of considerable social unrest amongst the working classes when food or machine riots were an annual occurrence all over the country and the response of the governing classes was to pass several parliamentary acts preventing the 'combination of working men', the Gothic romance suggests that in an ideal world the working man, the peasant, the servant is capable of selfless and devoted service.⁴⁶ Clara Reeve's description of the

45) Todd, Sign of Angellica, p.261.

46) For Acts of Parliament passed and dates of food and machine riots see Chris Cook and John Stevenson, British Historical Facts 1760-1830 (1980; repr. London: Macmillan, 1991), pp.129-131, 147-153. For a more detailed account of popular unrest see John Stevenson, Popular Disturbances in England, 1700-1870 (London: Longman, 1979) and Ian Christie, Stress and

conversation between Sir Philip Harclay and the peasant in The Old English Baron exemplifies this view of the amicable co-existence of different classes:

After this they conversed together on common subjects, like fellow-creatures of the same natural form and endowments, though different kinds of education had given a conscious superiority to the one, a conscious inferiority to the other; and the due respect was paid by the latter, without being exacted by the former.⁴⁷

The correct moral values are not only upheld by the nobility, the educated and refined classes, but, in this quotation as in the Gothic romance in general, these qualities are seen and acknowledged to be superior by the contented domestic. In addition to their usefulness as narrative devices therefore, the figure of the faithful servant also reinforces the myth of stability which underpins the Gothic romance.

Stability in Late Eighteenth-Century Britain (1984; repr. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).

47) Reeve, Old English Baron, p.11.

III. DEMONS AND SPECTRES

Dismissed by Hazlitt in 1819 as 'the pasteboard machinery of a pantomime,' the supernatural manifestations occurring in The Castle of Otranto are relegated to the level of an unconvincing display of theatrical pyrotechnics.⁴⁸ The same term appears in Clara Reeve's discussion of The Castle of Otranto, when she claims 'the machinery is so violent', in the Preface to the second edition of her own Gothic story.⁴⁹ Although 'pasteboard' suggests deception, a cheap sham, whereas 'violent' has more active and forceful connotations, both words indicate a similar reaction and a similar criticism: the spectres and the gigantic pieces of armour are overdrawn, out of place, and are, consequently, incredible. Yet, if we are to believe Walpole's letter to William Cole on the origin of his tale, it was a dream of the supernatural that was his first inspiration: 'on the uppermost bannister of a great staircase I saw a gigantic hand in armour. In the evening I sat down, and began to write, without knowing in the least

48) William Hazlitt, Lectures on the English Comic Writers (London: Taylor, 1819), p.253.

49) Reeve, Old English Baron, p.4. 'Machinery' could be used simply as a technical term describing the supernatural elements used in literature. The tone of Pope's explanation of the word in the Dedication to The Rape of the Lock, (1712) is, however, as derogatory as Hazlitt's comment cited above: 'The machinery, madam, is a term invented by the critics, to signify that part which the deities, angels, or demons, are made to act in a poem: for the ancient poets are, in one respect, like many modern ladies: let an action be never so trivial in itself they always make it appear of the utmost importance.' The Poems of Alexander Pope: A One Volume Edition of the Twickenham Text, John Butt (ed.), (London: Routledge, 1992), p.217.

what I intended to say or relate.'⁵⁰ The supernatural may thus be considered as a starting point for the Gothic romance and close examination reveals that it is an essential part of the formula.

All Gothic romances contain some supernatural (or pseudo-supernatural) event. By pseudo-supernatural I mean those happenings which are initially ascribed to supernatural causes by characters within the tale, which evoke the same emotional and physiological reactions as genuine supernatural manifestations, and which are eventually revealed as either completely natural, but unusual, phenomena, (the effect of the blue flame on the lance in both The Mysteries of Udolpho and The Three Spaniards 1800, for example), or man-made marvels, like the wax figure behind the black veil in The Mysteries of Udolpho.⁵¹ This pseudo-supernatural is an important feature of the Gothic romance only because it temporarily creates the same effects as the supernatural itself.⁵²

50) Hadley, M.A. (ed.), Selected Letters: Horace Walpole (1926; repr. London: Dent, 1948), p.165.

51) Scott disapproved of the pseudo-supernatural: '...we disapprove of the mode introduced by Mrs. Radcliffe, and followed by Mr. Murphy and her other imitators, by winding up their story with a solution by which all the incidents, appearing to partake of the mystic and marvellous, are resolved by very simple and natural causes." Review of Maturin's Fatal Revenge, Quarterly Review (1810), in Critical and Miscellaneous Essays, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: Carey & Hart, 1841), i. 378.

52) Colin Manlove also considers that the explained and the 'real' supernatural fulfil the same function: 'Those Gothic novels in which the supernatural is revealed to be some merely natural phenomena or a trick of the light - as in the works of Mrs Radcliffe - are really no

The supernatural (whether actual or pseudo) functions in the Gothic formula as one of the key devices by which writers created what has been generally accepted as the authentic Gothic sensation - fear. The emotions evoked by the Gothic romance are an intrinsic part of its formula. In the Preface to the second edition of The Castle of Otranto, Walpole declared his intention of creating a new form, one that combined the quintessential qualities of both ancient and modern romance and would liberate the imagination. The key to this liberation, as Sir Walter Scott recognized, is provided by the use of the supernatural:

The influence of fear--and here we extend our observations as well to those romances which actually ground it upon supernatural prodigy as to those which attempt a subsequent explanation--is indeed a faithful and legitimate key to unlock every source of fancy and of feeling.⁵³

Feeling is the keynote of Gothic fiction as Coral Ann Howells has also observed, 'feeling as the distinctive attribute of Gothic--feeling as it is explored and enacted in the fictions themselves, and feeling as the primary response elicited from the reader.'⁵⁴

different in kind from those which offer no such explanation, for in both the purpose is simply to stimulate the reader's unconscious terrors.' Modern Fantasy: Five Studies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), p.6.

53) Scott, Critical and Miscellaneous Essays, i. 379-380.

54) Coral Ann Howells, Love, Mystery, and Misery: Feeling in Gothic Fiction (London: Athlone Press, 1978), p.5.

George Haggerty also bases his argument for the coherence of the Gothic form on the fact that Gothic fiction is primarily an affective form. See George Haggerty, Gothic Fiction/Gothic Form, (University Park and London: Pennsylvania University Press, 1989), pp.4-8.

With this link established between feeling as the end, fear as the spur and the supernatural as the agent, we can see that representations of the supernatural are key devices within the Gothic formula, raising specific emotion inside the text as well as in the reader. It is important to recognize, however, that the experience of fear can also be a form of entertainment and, that by raising these emotions in the reader, the supernatural is potentially playing an active part in increasing the reader's enjoyment. Friedrich Melchior Grimm commented on the relationship between fear caused by representations of the supernatural and the entertainment of the reader in a review of a French translation of The Castle of Otranto:

...tout cela fait férir et dresser les cheveux du sage comme d'un enfant et de sa mie, tant les sources du merveilleux sont les mêmes pour tous les hommes! Il est vrai que, quand on a lu cela, il n'en résulte pas grand'chose'; mais le but de l'auteur était de s'amuser, et si le lecteur s'est amusé avec lui, il n'a rien à lui reprocher.⁵⁵

Grimm made three major points in this extract: first, that every person, whatever their age, responds in the same psychological way and to the same physiological extent when confronted with supernatural phenomena; second, that the end result, within the text, is disappointing; and third, that the intention of the author was to amuse. The first point testifies to the power of the irrational and supports the association between the Gothic, feeling and the body.

55) Friedrich Melchior Grimm, 'Sur Le Château d'Otrante, roman de Horace Walpole' (1767), Correspondence Littéraire, Philosophique et Critique de Grimm et de Diderot, Depuis 1753 jusqu'en 1790, 15 vols. (Paris: Furne, 1829), v. 321.

His second point is interesting when considered in the light of the third: the reader's reaction, the entertainment gained from the experience of fear, is more significant for Grimm than the details of the plot.

Walpole himself, however, felt the need to justify the inclusion of the supernatural on grounds other than its entertainment value. In the preface to the second edition of The Castle of Otranto he claimed his intention was to invent a new type of romance. In the preface to the first edition, however, when Walpole presented himself as the translator of the work of William Marshall esq., the supernatural was justified by the antiquity of the setting and its use was a virtue in the author: '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 all mention of them.'⁵⁶ Later novelists, like W.H. Ireland, whose plots abounded in ghosts, ghouls, and demons, also felt the need to justify the inclusion of overtly supernatural phenomena and commonly did so by coupling the known attraction of the supernatural with a didactic purpose. Ireland's Preface to Gondez the Monk (1805), for example, comments:

'Tis then we feel the glowing stamp of youth,
And seldom estimate the voice of truth;
When sound, not sense, is pleasing to the ear,
And terrors gratify, that chill with fear;
When for the marvellous we feel inclin'd,
And nought but wonders can delight the mind.⁵⁷

56) Walpole, Castle of Otranto, p.4.

57) Ireland, Gondez the Monk, i. p.ix.

Unlike Grimm, Ireland allied the attractions of 'the marvellous' with the inexperience of youth and he justified its presentation as part of a didactic scheme. The reader would be more susceptible to a moral message if it were clad in the gaudy garments of Ireland's wonders.

Despite this lengthy introduction dealing with the importance of the supernatural as a necessary device of the Gothic writers, a device whose usage they felt obliged to defend, I have chosen to deal with the representations of demons and spectres separately, rather than with the supernatural per se. This study is concerned with the representation of men and supernatural manifestations take many forms. Demons are commonly represented as male figures and therefore deserve their inclusion in this examination. Spectres, however, while they can be of either sex, are usually represented as appearing to male characters. Isabella does not see the ghost which steps down from the frame (The Castle of Otranto) and prevents Manfred from further pursuing his attack. It is Fernando, not his bride, who sees the ghost sitting on their marriage bed (The Three Spaniards). Ignatius is the only character to see the ghost of his father (The Haunted Castle) and it is Raymond who is visited by the Bleeding Nun (The Monk). When female characters believe they have seen ghosts, they are usually experiencing the pseudo-supernatural.⁵⁸ The reason for this

58) Women's experiences of the pseudo-supernatural are occasionally used to create comedy: male encounters with apparitions are never as entertaining. E.g., Jacinta's reported encounter with Elvira's ghost in The Monk: '"But Oh me! how I shook, when I saw a great tall figure at my

pattern lies in the importance of the supernatural as a plot device. The apparitions demand that action be taken and female characters are essentially passive, unable to further the action of the plot, unable to travel, as Ignatius does, for example, in order to find the murderer of his father.

In the presence of a spectre, every male character is described as undergoing virtually the same acute emotional and physiological reaction; significantly, it is the same reaction that is experienced by female characters:

...an indescribable thrill of horror suddenly took possession of his frame; his knees trembled, his hair stood bristling upon his brow, and the chill finger of torpor seemed to freeze the current in his youthful veins.⁵⁹

This is Huberto's reaction, when confronted with the unhappy spirit of the Abbot Geronimo (Gondez the Monk), and it is an entirely conventional one. The encounter with the spirit is an emasculating experience for the active male, who is depicted as losing both his kinetic energy to 'the chill finger of torpor', and his bodily self-control.⁶⁰

elbow whose head touched the ceiling! The face was Donna Elvira's, I must confess; But out of its mouth came clouds of fire, its arms were loaded with heavy chains which it rattled piteously, and every hair on its head was a Serpent as big as my arm! At this I was frightened enough, and began to say my Ave-Maria: But the Ghost interrupting me uttered three loud groans, and roared out in a terrible voice, "Oh! That Chicken's wing! My poor soul suffers for it!" As soon as She had said this, the Ground opened, the Spectre sank down, I heard a clap of thunder, and the room was filled with a smell of brimstone.'" p.324.

59) Ireland, Gondez the Monk, iii. 151.

60) Cf. Ozimo's reaction to the raven: '"...let the owl hoot and the bat shriek ominously; still will I disdain to bend my soul, or debase my manhood! [my emphasis]"'

Huberto is described as being literally possessed (in the demonic sense) by emotion, 'an indescribable thrill of horror suddenly took possession of his frame'.⁶¹ This thrill of horror acquires some of the supernatural force which has caused it; possessed by emotion rather than reason, Huberto's body breaks down into independent and involuntary actions. No longer in control, he is momentarily as passive as any heroine.

Lewis rendered his hero completely passive in The Monk when Raymond is confronted with the spectre of the Bleeding Nun:

I gazed upon the Spectre with horror too great to be described. My blood was frozen in my veins. I would have called for aid, but the sound expired, ere it could pass my lips. My nerves were bound up in impotence, and I remained in the same attitude inanimate as a Statue.⁶²

Again all the physiological functions are taken over by the sensation of horror. Similar to the description of Huberto's encounter, Lewis also depicts his hero with an arrested life force, 'My blood was frozen in my veins.' These heroes are not simply shocked into immobility by their encounters with the unknown, they undergo physiological changes which mimic the dead condition of the spectral form. Not only is Raymond's blood frozen, but his

Ireland, Gondez the Monk, iv. 10. A surrender to the sensation of horror is only acceptable for a man when he is confronted with the actual, rather than the pseudo, supernatural.

61) Cf. Clermont's reflection on the murder of his brother: '"...horror and remorse had taken possession of me, and the spirit of the murdered Philippe continually haunted my steps..."'. Roche, Clermont, iv. 25.

62) Lewis, Monk, p.160.

call for aid 'expired' before it could pass his lips and he is finally described as 'inanimate as a Statue.' Ignatius (The Haunted Castle) is similarly described as undergoing a death-like experience:

He trembled, he turned pale, and without being able to articulate a word, fell down at the feet of his companions.--They were alarmed at this instantaneous disorder, and hastened to bring him again to life.⁶³

What Ignatius does, of course, is faint. Walker, however, eschewed the word 'faint' or 'swoon' and instead described it as an 'instantaneous disorder' producing the semblance of death as his companions are depicted as attempting 'to bring him again to life.' This representation of nervous collapse is thus rather more 'masculine' and heroic than, for example, the description of Madeleine's faint as she is confronted with danger in Clermont: '...as she attempted to rise, her senses totally receded, and she fell, fainting, upon the outstretched arm of Lubin.'⁶⁴ Madeleine begins on her knees, in a feminine posture of supplication; there is, therefore, a gentler pattern to her collapse. She tries to rise, and collapses, an up and down movement. In contrast, Ignatius is represented as shaking and falling to the ground in a more direct manner. Madeleine's senses recede (soft, progressive sound and sense) where Ignatius's, by implication, are cut off. Finally, Madeleine falls 'upon the outstretched arm of Lubin.' Even if she is not actually expected to faint away, that outstretched arm suggests an

63) Walker, Haunted Castle, ii. 72.

64) Roche, Clermont, iii. 21-22.

anticipatory protection. There is no arm outstretched to catch Ignatius when he falls: his collapse is unexpected.

Why should these heroes react like weak women to the presence of the supernatural? One of George Walker's characters, Fernando (The Three Spaniards) attempted to describe and analyse the sensation:

It is impossible to describe the sensations of the mind, at an interview with a visible yet impalpable, and supernatural being.--A being unconnected with any class of existences that are familiar to our senses; and which fills the faculty of man with so much mingled wonder and terror, that the mind becomes more bewildered, the more we attempt to reason and reflect.⁶⁵

Walker suggested here that, because the supernatural cannot be comprehended by any rational exercise of the senses, the senses and faculties of man become inoperant - the only functioning sense in this instance is sight.⁶⁶ The supernatural, the irrational with which man is confronted, is then mirrored in his own mind and sensations. It is a form of possession, unmanning the man. The male is depicted as giving up control of his body, being unable to control his mind in the presence of something which he can neither explain nor dominate.

65) Walker, Three Spaniards, iii. 131.

66) Cf. J.S. Forsyth, on the association between fear and the deprivation of the senses: 'The fear and caution which must be observed in the night; the opportunity it affords for ambuscades and assassinations; depriving us of society, and cutting off many pleasing trains of ideas, which objects in the light never fail to introduce, are all circumstances of terror: and perhaps, on the whole, so much of our happiness depends upon our senses that the deprivation of any one may be attended with a proportionate degree of horror and uneasiness.' 'Apparitions', Demonologia; or, Natural Knowledge Revealed, (London: Bumpus, 1827), p.178.

When Fernando spoke of an 'interview' with a visible yet impalpable being, George Walker was emphasizing the importance of the only functioning sense. These spectres are rarely described in any detail but, when any description is given, the eyes are of prime importance. Raymond (The Monk), for example, is unable to look away from the Bleeding Nun: 'Her eyes were fixed earnestly upon mine: They seemed endowed with the property of the Rattlesnake's, for I strove in vain to look off her.'⁶⁷ The Tall White Man of the Mountain (Gondez the Monk) is equally compelling: '...in the sockets of his eyes, two pallid flames emitted a deadly glare, freezing with horror the soul of the observer.'⁶⁸ In Percy Shelley's St. Irvyne this type of spectral glare has a fatal effect: 'On a sudden Ginotti's frame mouldered to a gigantic skeleton, yet two pale and ghastly flames glared in his eyeless sockets.'⁶⁹ Wolfstein promptly dies. Unable to look away, the heroes are clearly under a spell, are being possessed by the supernatural forces with which they are faced. At this point it is interesting to note that Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick considers that the sundered self is of first importance in Gothic fiction:

It is the position of the self to be massively blocked off from something to which it ought normally to have access. This something can be its own past, the details of its family history; it can be the free air, when the self has been literally buried alive,...]. [...] The

67) Lewis, Monk, p.160.

68) Ireland, Gondez the Monk, ii. 224.

69) Shelley, St. Irvyne, p.199.

barrier between self and what should belong to it can be caused by anything and nothing; but only violence or magic, and both of a singularly threatening kind, can ever succeed in joining them again.⁷⁰

The hero who encounters the spectre is usually encountering a piece (known or, more commonly, unknown) of his past history, which must be unravelled, in order that past passions may be appeased.⁷¹ The emphasis on eye contact and the violent surrender of the self during meetings with the spectre suggests a partial breakdown of what Kosofsky Sedgwick calls 'the barrier between self and what should belong to it'. The spectre represents knowledge that the hero must acquire before a state of stability can be attained. In the formula of the Gothic romance, however, this type of buried knowledge cannot be acquired by any rational means. Hence the total collapse of the active male, whose rational faculties are suspended, whose life force is held in stasis mimicking the supernatural phenomena, in order that buried knowledge may be brought to light.

In being the only possible source of important knowledge, the spectre functions primarily as a device of the plot. The physiological reactions provoked in characters within the text are generalized and, therefore,

70) Sedgwick, Gothic Conventions, pp.12-13.

71) Cf. Keith Thomas's description of the function of ghosts: '...they were particularly important for the enforcement of obligations towards ancestors. The essential task of ghosts was to ensure reverence for the dead and to deter those who sought to molest their bones or frustrate their dying wishes.' Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England (London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1971), p.602.

such reactions do not reflect on the individual character concerned. Demons, less frequently depicted than spectres, are used as devices of character rather than of plot and the appearance of a demon within the text has many specific implications for the character with whom it is associated. The reason for the different treatment of spectres and demons may be found in the European tradition of demonology and witchcraft in which witchcraft is associated with perversions of Christianity and is thus a threat to the established social and political order - a figure tailor-made to create unease in the Gothic romance.⁷² Unlike the seeing of spectres, the raising of demons had been considered a capital crime within living memory - although no actual executions for witchcraft took place in England after 1684. Familiarity with a demon implies that the human figure is certainly a sorcerer and possibly a witch.⁷³ The presence of the diabolic, then, tends to suggest also a potentially diabolic human nature.

72) For a credulous Catholic viewpoint, stressing the link between witchcraft and heresy, see Montague Summers, The History of Witchcraft and Demonology (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926).

For a rational view stressing the connections between politics, legislation and the growth of witchcraft, see Wallace Notestein, A History of Witchcraft in England from 1558 to 1718 (Washington: American Historical Association, 1911).

For a more recent discussion of the relationship between religion and superstition in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries see Keith Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic, pp.435-583.

73) 'Sorcier est celui [sic] qui par moyens Diaboliques sciemment s'efforce de parvenir [sic] à quelque chose.' Jean Bodin's opening words in his De La Demonologie des Sorciers (Paris, 1580) cited in Summers, History of Witchcraft, p.1.

The demon is potentially an ambivalent figure for the writers of the Gothic romance to use: although James I's act was repealed in 1736 - only twenty-nine years before The Castle of Otranto was written - and belief in witchcraft was officially dead, there were, nevertheless, several incidents throughout the eighteenth century which indicated a strong and continuing undercurrent of vulgar belief. In 1780, for example, the Morning Post reported that two women of Bexhill were suspected of witchcraft. The mob, who wanted to swim them, appealed to the local clergyman and they were rather more humanely weighed against the Bible instead.⁷⁴ The demon and attendant witch would seem to be ideal figures for the writers of the Gothic romance, simultaneously credible and incredible. There are, however, very few demons represented in the Gothic romances and occasional witches are relegated to a very minor part of the setting.

Like the bandit and the servant, the demon is important only in that his presence reflects and underlines the diabolic passions of the human protagonist. The two romances which contain explicitly drawn demon figures, Zofloya and The Monk, both make a firm connection between demons and the passions, specifically sexuality. In each case, demons are invoked in order to procure a sexual conquest for the human protagonist. Ambrosio is able to possess Antonia (The Monk) and Victoria to enjoy some

74) For evidence of this and other attacks in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Christina Hole, Witchcraft in Britain (1977; repr. London: Paladin, 1979).

nights of unrivalled passion with Henriques (Zofloya). The relationship between demon and human protagonist in these novels is also of a sexual nature. There is, of course, the actual sexual relationship between Matilda and Ambrosio, in which Ambrosio sees himself as the dominant partner, partly because their first relationship was that of Abbot/Lay Brother. Victoria, too, is powerfully and reluctantly attracted to the mysterious Moor, Zofloya, in a Mistress/Servant relationship: '...yet ashamed, (for Victoria was still proud) and blushing at her feelings, when she remembered that Zofloya, however he appeared, was but a menial slave'.⁷⁵ The figure of the demon, then, is used not only to indicate the depths of passion in the human character but also, through his supernatural agency, to exaggerate the scope of the crimes which the character is capable of committing.

On their first appearances, these demons are represented as beautiful. Although Charlotte Dacre's depiction of Zofloya as a black man is a stereotypical portrait of a potential devil, his physical attractions are described in terms of the sublime:

His form and attitude, as he sat beside her, was majestic, and solemnly beautiful--not the beauty which may be freely admired, but acknowledged with sensations awful and indescribable.⁷⁶

75) Dacre, Zofloya, iii. 130.

76) Dacre, Zofloya, ii. 156.

The Devil was frequently described as a black man in published testimonies of witchcraft trials of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for full accounts see, C.H. L'Estrange Ewen, Witch Hunting and Witch Trials (London; Kegan Paul 1929). Also in George Walker's The Three Spaniards, (1800),

Everything about Zofloya is indescribable. Victoria's opinion of Zofloya is that 'he appeared not only the superior of his race, but of a superior order of beings' and hence there is no adequate vocabulary in which to describe him.⁷⁷ Charlotte Dacre has shrouded her demon in the obscurity appropriate to sublime sensations. Even when describing his eyes - the most important features of the speaking countenance - she confined herself to saying that they 'sparkled with inexpressible fire'.⁷⁸ This type of representation, the idea of perfect, but fatal beauty does not come from the traditional images of the demon, and Mario Praz has argued that this is a peculiarly Romantic vision.⁷⁹ Everything is enlarged: everything is left to the imagination.

Lewis, on the other hand, describes the manifestation of his demon (the one called by Matilda rather than Matilda herself) with a wealth of material and physical detail:

the enchantress is taken from Denia by the Devil in the guise of a black man.

77) Dacre, Zofloya, ii. 150.

78) Dacre, Zofloya, ii. 139.

79) A typical, traditional, non-literary image of the demon can be found in Nicolas Remy, Demonolatry (1595), trans. E.A. Ashwin, Montague Summers (ed.), (London: John Rodker, 1930): '...their features always appeared dark and obscure, and shapeless [...]; that their eyes were deep set, yet flashing like flames; that the opening of their mouths was wide and deep, and always gave forth a sulphurous smell; that their hands were thin and deformed with hairs and talons; their feet of horn and cloven; their stature never in proportion, but always unnaturally small or great; and that they were in all respects out of the measurement.' p.28.

For the combination of beauty and death as a manifestation of Romanticism, see Praz, Romantic Agony, pp.45-64.

...a Figure more beautiful, than Fancy's pencil ever drew. It was a Youth seemingly scarce eighteen, the perfection of whose form and face was unrivalled. He was perfectly naked: A bright Star sparkled upon his forehead; Two crimson wings extended themselves from his shoulders; and his silken locks were confined by a band of many-coloured fires, which played round his head, formed themselves into a variety of figures, and shone with a brilliance far surpassing that of precious Stones. Circlets of Diamonds were fastened round his arms and ankles, and in his right hand He bore a silver branch, imitating Myrtle. His form shone with dazzling glory: He was surrounded by clouds of rose-coloured light, and at the moment that He appeared, a refreshing air breathed perfumes through the Cavern.⁸⁰

Lewis presented this demon through Ambrosio's perception and senses in a manner very unlike Raymond's encounter with the Bleeding Nun. The demon makes a strong appeal to every physical and aesthetic sense: the intention is not to shock or to terrify but to woo. The music, the perfume, the colours and the flickering fires are combined to form a sensual appeal. The demon's perfect nakedness enhances the sensual image and reinforces the link between the diabolic and bodily passion. The fact that it is Ambrosio who perceives all this lushly decadent beauty encourages the reader to believe that it is an illusion designed to appeal only to Ambrosio (in the same way that the magic mirror showed him precisely the kind of titillating sexual image that he wanted to see, even though the whole linnet-in-the-bath sequence is incredible).

The representation of the devil figure who visits Ambrosio when he is imprisoned by the Inquisition is far more in accord with the traditional image of the demon. Every detail of his depiction is a dark and distorted

80) Lewis, Monk, p.276-277.

version of the beauty that was first presented. The essential elements of the description remain the same: huge wings, a head wreathed in continual movement and wild eyes. The figure, however, has been transformed into an androgynous figure of vengeance with Medusa-like qualities: 'his hair was supplied by living snakes', and 'Fury glared in his eyes, which might have struck the bravest heart with terror'.⁸¹ Instead of the silver myrtle branch which will smooth the path towards Ambrosio's desires, he bears a parchment and an iron pen - which, if Ambrosio is willing to pay the price, will also assist him in his desire to escape. Through these two representations of the Demon, Lewis demonstrated both Ambrosio's capacity for self-deception and the darkness attendant on physical passion. Thus the demons of Lewis and Dacre are not simply devices of plot, although they are used to advance the story, but are also devices illuminating character, amplifying the passions of the human protagonists and objectifying the struggle between good and evil taking place within a single character.

The passions themselves, however, are also described as demonic and are thus lent a supernatural force. The inquisitor in Percy Shelley's Zastrozzi (1810), for example, does not fathom Matilda's true nature: 'He [the inquisitor] little thought that, under a form so celestial, so interesting, lurked a heart depraved, vicious as a

81) Lewis, Monk, p.433.

demon's.'⁸² Matilda, another intensely sexual and passionate woman, is consistently described in diabolic and bestial terms which de-feminize her, as the 'ferocious Matilda' gripping the helpless Julia 'with fiend-like strength' as she stabs her a thousand times, or exclaiming 'in a voice of fiend-like horror'.⁸³ The fury of Matilda's passion is clearly conceived as a supernatural force. The demonic here is projected by the author to intensify the reader's understanding of Matilda's character.

In Frankenstein (1818), Mary Shelley used Frankenstein's first-person narration to intensify the blackness of the reader's vision of the creature and his actions. There is a gradual but rapidly ascending scale of horrified denunciation, beginning in misery and culminating in devilish epithets. The unnameable monster's first appellation is 'the wretch', a term of repugnance suggesting both misfortune and lower-class human worthlessness, when Frankenstein first beholds his creation fully alive.⁸⁴ After the necrophiliac nightmare from which he awakes to find the creature gazing down at him, Frankenstein then refers to him as 'the miserable monster' which is swiftly intensified into 'the demoniacal corpse'.⁸⁵ Any element of pity or misfortune is now eliminated from Frankenstein's vocabulary and the creature

82) Shelley, Zastrozzi, p.95.

83) Shelley, Zastrozzi, pp.89-90.

84) Shelley, Frankenstein, p.52.

85) Shelley, Frankenstein, p.53.

is automatically credited with evil intent. Mary Shelley made him go further, however, and, after connecting the creature with the murder of young William, Frankenstein's comment is 'I thought of pursuing the devil.'⁸⁶ In this novel, Frankenstein's constant references to the creature as something diabolic, something of growing and increasing evil, are demonic qualities which he as narrator imposes on the creature. It undermines his credibility as a narrator, a reflection of the horror of his own guilt, a way of avoiding his own involvement in the story by increasing the power of the evil with which he has to contend. The idea of the demon is still being used as a character device by Mary Shelley, but it is clearly a projection of the narrator's passion building towards the moment when, accepting this nomenclature, the creature describes himself as the Arch Fiend.

Both spectres and demons contribute to the final sense of stability with which the Gothic romance invariably concludes in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Elements of the irrational are introduced to advance the plot but the conclusion of the story sees the spectres, ghosts of dead passion, finally laid to rest. The temptations of demons are carried to their logical conclusion as a demon becomes a deus ex machina, finally and irrevocably damning the guilty. Having fed on the passions raised, the demon too retires, leaving the virtuous characters secure in a stable world.

86) Shelley, Frankenstein, p.72.

Paradoxically, the irruption of the irrational finally serves only to confirm the stereotypes of gender division and prove the efficacy of the enduring moral qualities which support the fabric of the Gothic romance.

Conclusion
The Perfect Gentleman

As this thesis has shown, stock male figures are depicted according to fixed patterns that are repeated across the spectrum of works surveyed and, therefore, one may argue that this process of stereotyping is as much a part of the Gothic formula as are the ruined castle or abbey, set in vertiginous mountainous scenery, haunted by the spectres of undead passions and past crimes.

These fixed patterns discernible in the Gothic formula confirm gender roles that were already present in the social and cultural expectations of the reader. The dominant influence shaping all the representations of stock figures that I have considered has been that of the eighteenth-century 'perfect gentleman', the pattern of idealized active masculinity indicated in contemporary conduct literature. Most primary male characters of Gothic fiction are commonly delineated through their relations with the heroine, paralleling one aspect of the definition of the male gender role - its relationship to the female - that is also found in conduct literature. The innate qualities of magnanimity, sincerity and nobility, which the conduct books ascribe to the perfect man, are demonstrated in all areas of activity and are particularly evident in a man's relations with physically weaker or dependant figures. Hero, father and villain can all be interpreted by the way in which they fulfil (or fail to fulfil) these ideals of masculine behaviour.

The perfect eighteenth-century gentleman should be a man of discernment; a man of impeccable moral standards, directing his masculine activity towards the maintenance of his society. He is also an uxorious figure, eschewing the superficial values of a fashionable society and keenly appreciative of a happy domestic existence in which he is supported by the virtues of the woman whom he has chosen.

This is the pattern which writers of Gothic romances imposed on both father and hero. The hero in Gothic fiction is a perfect gentleman in embryo: he possesses all the necessary innate qualities associated with the idealized stereotype, including the sensibility associated only with the middle and upper classes. The imposed pattern of eighteenth-century perfection, however, turns the hero into a self-reflective character who is often represented as more passive than the typical figure of the chivalric knight - the heroic image to which conduct writers referred. Both the concepts of heroism and masculinity are explored through the representation of the hero figure who undergoes a learning process in the course of the tale before he can retire into a domestic existence with the heroine.

The perfect gentleman appears again in the figure of the 'good' father, establishing the paradigm at the beginning of the tales which the hero will re-establish at their end. In the Gothic formula, such a 'good' father figure and the protection he offers is quickly made absent. He is thus used as a plot device whereby the hero and/or the heroine

are made vulnerable, compelled to venture forth alone and to test the moral values which the father has inculcated.

Within the formula, the 'good' absent father stereotype is made more potent by the presence of his opposite - the villain. The representation of the villain, too, is defined by the pattern of the perfect gentleman which he does not fulfil. Self-seeking rather than selfless, anti-social rather than social, destructive rather than constructive, the villain figure perverts the ideal of masculinity through his objective vision, malicious activity and unrestrained passion. As I have shown, more than one stereotype of villainy is represented in the Gothic romances. 'Grand' villains evoke the sublime: their characters and actions are thus judged and interpreted aesthetically rather than morally. 'Simple' villains, on the other hand, are repugnant rather than fascinating. The villainy of both types is commonly directed against women and measured by female perceptions within the Gothic romances. This is even the case when the villain in question is a woman - neither a perfect gentleman nor a perfect gentlewoman.

Minor male characters are also a part of the formula. They too are stereotypes indirectly influenced by the pattern of ideal masculinity. Bandits, servants, spectres and demons cannot themselves be perfect gentlemen, but, as devices either of plot or character, they enhance the effect of its presence or absence in the primary

characters. In some cases they provide a background against which the action takes place.

Examining the representation of male characters in a large number of texts has provided one way of describing the Gothic formula. This thesis does not pretend to have found some definitive answer to the question of what constitutes the 'Gothic'. Other critics have already defined the Gothic from feminist or political stances in terms of the anxieties of women or of class, which they see manifested in the texts, while men have been neglected. In attempting to redress the balance I have not defined the Gothic formula according to any a priori ideology but have, instead, analysed one aspect of the manifestation of the Gothic formula, that is, the representation of those neglected men. Such analysis does not define but describe: describe not just in terms of contents but of conventions. Despite being formula fiction, the 'Gothic' itself remains indefinable - and that is how it should be. All the techniques, all the devices developed by the writers of Gothic fiction were intended, as Walpole first said, to leave 'the powers of fancy at liberty to expatiate through the boundless realms of invention'.¹ One can describe the figures in the boundless realms, one can analyse the possible effects of their representation on the reader, one cannot ever satisfactorily define them.

1) Walpole, Castle of Otranto, p.7.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations

<u>ELH</u>	<u>English Literary History</u>
<u>MLN</u>	<u>Modern Language Notes</u>
<u>MLO</u>	<u>Modern Language Quarterly</u>
<u>NLH</u>	<u>New Literary History</u>
<u>PFL</u>	<u>Pelican Freud Library</u>
<u>PMLA</u>	<u>Publications of the Modern Language Association</u>
<u>SIN</u>	<u>Studies in the Novel</u>
<u>SIR</u>	<u>Studies in Romanticism</u>

I. PRIMARY SOURCES

Beckford, William, Vathek (1786; repr. from corrected 3rd. ed. 1816, Oxford: Oxford University Press, ed. and intro. Roger Lonsdale, 1983).

Dacre, Charlotte, Zofloya; or, The Moor: A Romance of the Fifteenth Century, 3 vols. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, 1806).

...The Passions, 4 vols. (London: T. Cadell and W.H. Davies, 1811).

Flammenberg, Lorenz, The Necromancer, trans. Peter Teuthold, (1794; repr. from 1st. ed. London: Skoob, ed. and intro. Lucien Jenkins, 1989).

Godwin, William, Caleb Williams, (first ed. published 1794 under the the title Things As They Are: Or, The Adventures of Caleb Williams; repr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, ed. and intro. David McCracken, 1982).

Ireland, William Henry, Gondez, The Monk: A Romance of the Thirteenth Century, 4 vols. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, 1805).

Lathom, Francis, The Mysterious Freebooter, Or, The Days of Queen Bess: A Romance, 4 vols. (London: Minerva Press, 1806).

...The Midnight Bell (1798; repr. from 1st. ed. London: Skoob, ed. and intro. Lucien Jenkins, 1989).

Lee, Harriet and Sophia, The Canterbury Tales (1797/1799; repr. London: Pandora Press, 1989).

Lee, Sophia, The Recess, Or, A Tale of Other Times, 3 vols. (London: Cadell, 1785).

Leland, Thomas, Longsword, William; Third Earl of

- Salisbury: An Historical Romance, 2 vols. (London: Johnston, 1762).
- Lewis, Matthew, The Monk: A Romance (1796; repr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, ed. and intro. Howard Anderson, 1980).
- Maturin, Charles, Melmoth the Wanderer: A Tale (1820; repr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, ed. Douglas Grant, intro. Chris Baldick, 1989).
- Parsons, Eliza, Castle of Wolfenbach; A German Story, 2 vols. (London: Minerva Press, 1793).
- ...The Mysterious Visit: A Novel, Founded on Facts, 4 vols. (London: Hurst, Hatchard, Carpenter & Co., Didier and Tibbett, 1802).
- Radcliffe, Ann, The Romance of the Forest (1791; repr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, ed. and intro. Chloe Chard, 1986).
- ...The Mysteries of Udolpho, A Romance (1794; repr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, ed. and intro. Bonamy Dobrée, 1980).
- ...The Italian, Or The Confessional of the Black Penitents (1797; repr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, ed. and intro. Frederick Garber, 1981).
- Reeve, Clara, The Old English Baron (1778; repr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, ed. and intro. James Trainer, 1967).
- Roche, Regina Maria, The Children of the Abbey, A Tale, 4 vols. (1796; 2nd. ed. London: Minerva Press, 1797).
- ...Clermont, A Tale, 4 vols. (1798; repr. London: A.K. Newman & Co., 1836).
- Shelley, Mary, Frankenstein, or The Modern Prometheus, (1818; repr. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, ed. James Reiger, 1982).
- Shelley, Percy Bysshe, Zastrozzi, A Romance, and St. Irvyne, or, The Rosicrucian: A Romance (1810, 1811; repr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, ed. and intro. Stephen C. Behrendt, 1986).
- Smith, Charlotte, Emmeline, The Orphan of the Castle (1788; repr. from 2nd. ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, ed. and intro. Anne Henry Ehrenpreis, 1971).
- ...The Old Manor House, A Novel (1783; repr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, ed. Anne Henry Ehrenpreis, intro. Julian Stanton, 1989).

Walker, George, The Haunted Castle, A Norman Romance, 2 vols. (London: Minerva Press, 1794).

...The Three Spaniards, A Romance, 3 vols. (London: Walker, Hurst, 1800).

Walpole, Horace, The Castle of Otranto, A Gothic Story (1764; repr. from 1798 text, Oxford: Oxford University Press, ed. and intro. W.S. Lewis, notes, J.W. Reed Jr., 1982).

II. SECONDARY SOURCES

i. Contemporary

Aikin, John, Letters From a Father to a Son, on Various Topics Relative to Literature and the Conduct of Life, 2 vols. (London: J. Johnson, 1793-1796).

Aikin, John and Anna L., 'On the Pleasure Derived from Objects of Terror; with Sir Bertram, a Fragment', Miscellaneous Pieces in Prose (London: J. Johnson, 1773), pp.119-137.

A Man of The World, Free and Impartial Remarks upon the Letters written by the Late Right Honourable Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, to his Son, Philip Stanhope Esq. (London: Bew, 1774).

Anon, Memoir of the Late Henrietta Fordyce. To which is added a Sketch of the Life of James Fordyce, D.D. (London: Hurst, Robinson & Co., 1823).

Anon, Chesterfield Travestie; or, School for Modern Manners (London: Tegg, 1808).

Anon, Fordyce Delineated: A Satire Occasioned by his Sermons to Young Women (London: Dixwell, 1767).

Barrett, Eaton Stannard, The Heroine, or Adventures of a Fair Romance Reader, 3 vols. (London: Henry Colburn, 1813).

Beattie, James, Disseratations Moral and Critical, 2 vols. (Dublin: Exshaw, Walker, Beatty, White, Byrne, Cash and M'Kenzie, 1783).

Bennett, Betty T. (ed.), The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley, 3 vols. (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980-1988).

Blair, Hugh, Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, 2 vols. (London: W. Strahan, T. Cadell, 1783).

Burke, Edmund, A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of The Sublime and Beautiful (1757), 2nd. ed. with additions, (London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1759).

Chapone Hester, Letters on the Improvement of the Mind, 2 vols. 2nd. ed., (London: J. Walter, 1773).

Chesterfield, Lord, Letters written by the Late Right Honourable Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield to his Son, Philip Stanhope Esq. published by Mrs. Eugenia Stanhope, 2 vols. (London: J. Dodsley, 1774).

...A Supplement to Chesterfield's Letters (London: Dodsley, 1787).

...Miscellaneous Works, containing M. Maty's 'Chesterfield Memoir', 2 Vols. (London: Dilly, 1777).

Cobbett, William, 'Letter to a Father', Advice to Young Men and (incidentally) to Young Women, In the Middle and Higher Ranks of Life (London: published by the author, 1829).

Cole John, Memoirs of Mrs. Chapone (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1839).

Drake, Nathan, 'On Gothic Superstition', 'Henry Fitzowen, a Gothic Tale', and 'On Objects of Terror, Montmorenci, a Fragment', Literary Hours, or Sketches Critical and Narrative (London: T. Cadell & W. Davies, 1798), pp.87-96, 97-136, and 245-260.

Elledge, Scott (ed.), Eighteenth-Century Critical Essays, 2 vols. (New York: Cornell University Press, 1961).

Fordyce, James, Sermons to Young Women, 2 vols. 3rd. ed. corrected, (London: Millar, Cadell, Dodsley, Payne, 1766).

...The Character and Conduct of the Female Sex, and the Advantages to be Gained by Young Men from the Society of Virtuous Women (London: Cadell, 1776).

...Addresses to Young Men, 2 vols. (London: Cadell, 1777).

Forsyth, J.S., Demonologia; or, Natural Knowledge Revealed (London: Bumpus, 1827).

Gisborne, Thomas, M.A., An Enquiry into the Duties of the Female Sex, 3rd. ed. corrected, (London: Cadell Jnr. & Davies, 1798).

...An Enquiry into the Duties of Men in the Higher and Middle Classes of Society in Great Britain, 2 vols. 2nd. ed. corrected, (London: Cadell Jnr. & Davies, 1795).

Gregory, Dr. John, A Father's Legacy to his Daughters (1774: repr. Ludlow: Nicholson. 1809).

Grimm, Friedrich Melchior, 'Sur Le Château d'Otrante, roman de Horace Walpole' (1767), Correspondance Littéraire, Philosophique and Critique de Grimm et de Diderot, depuis 1753 jusqu'en 1790, 15 vols. (Paris: Furne, 1829), v. 320-322.

Hadley, M.A. (ed.), Selected Letters: Horace Walpole (1926; repr. London: Dent, 1948).

Hawkesworth, John, The Adventurer, 4 vols. (1752; repr. London: for Sylvester Doig, Edinburgh, 1793).

Hazlitt, William, 'Why the Heroes of Romance are Insipid', Sketches and Essays (London: Templeman, 1839), pp.257-274.

...Lectures on the English Comic Writers (London: Taylor, 1819).

Hurd, R., Letters on Chivalry and Romance (London: Millar, 1762).

Ireland, W.H., The Confessions of William Henry Ireland (London: Goddard, 1805).

Johnson, Samuel, A Dictionary of the English Language, 2 vols. (1755; repr. in facsimile, New York: Times Books, 1979).

Paine, Thomas, The Rights of Man (London: J. Johnson, 1791).

Paley, William, Sermons on Several Subjects, 2 vols. 3rd. ed. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, 1808).

Radcliffe, Ann, 'On the Supernatural in Poetry', The New Monthly Magazine xvi (1826), 145-152.

Reeve, Clara, The Progress of Romance and The History of Charoba, Queen of Egypt, 2 vols. (1785; repr. in facsimile, New York: Facsimile Text Society, 1930).

...Memoirs of Sir Roger de Clarendon, 3 vols. (London: Hookham and Carpenter, 1793).

Richardson, Samuel, The History of Sir Charles Grandison (1753-1754; repr. from 1st ed. in 3 vols, Oxford: Oxford University Press, ed. and intro. Jocelyn Harris, 1972).

Scott, Sir Walter, Critical and Miscellaneous Essays, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: Carey & Hart, 1841).

Wesley, John, The Complete English Dictionary, 2nd. ed. with additions, (Bristol: Pine, 1764).

...Sermons On Several Occasions, 2 vols. ed. T. Jackson, (London: Caxton Press, c.1825).

...Thoughts Concerning the Origin of Power (Bristol: Pine, 1772).

West, Mrs. J., Letters Addressed to a Young Man On His First Entrance into Life and Adapted to the Peculiar Circumstances of the Present Times, 3 vols. (1801; 2nd. ed., London: Longman & Rees, 1802).

Williams, Ioan (ed.), Novel and Romance 1700-1800. A Documentary Record (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970).

Wollstonecraft, Mary, Vindication of the Rights of Woman (1792; repr. from 2nd. ed. corrected, London: Penguin, 1985).

...An Historical and Moral View of the Origin and Progress of the French Revolution, 2 vols. (London: J. Johnson, 1794).

ii. Other

Anderson, Howard, 'Gothic Heroes', The English Hero, 1660-1800, Robert Folkenflik (ed.), (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1982), pp.205-221.

Armstrong, Nancy and Leonard Tennenhouse (eds.), The Ideology of Conduct: Essays on Literature and the History of Sexuality (London: Methuen, 1987).

...Desire and Domestic Fiction: A Political History of the Novel (1987; repr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

Avery, Gillian, and Angela Bull, Nineteenth Century Children: Heroes and Heroines in English Children's Stories, 1780-1900 (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1965).

Babcock-Abrahams, Barbara, 'The Novel and the Carnival World: An Essay in Memory of Doherty', MLN lxxxix (1974), 911-937.

Bakhtin, Mikhail, Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics, trans. Caryl Emerson (ed.), (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984).

Barthes, Roland, Sade, Fourier, Loyola, trans. R. Miller, (London: Jonathan Cape, 1977).

- Baldick, Chris, In Frankenstein's Shadow: Myth, Monstrosity and Nineteenth Century Writing (1987; repr. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).
- ...(ed.), The Oxford Book of Gothic Tales (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).
- Beer, Gillian, The Romance (1970; London: Methuen Critical Idiom Series, repr. 1977).
- ...'"Our Unnatural No-Voice": The Heroic Epistle, Pope and Women's Gothic,' Yearbook of English Studies xii (1982), 125-151.
- Bettelheim, Bruno, The Uses of Enchantment: The Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tales (London: Thames & Hudson, 1976).
- Birkhead, Edith, The Tale of Terror: A Study of the Gothic Romance (London: Constable, 1921).
- Blakey, Dorothy, The Minerva Press 1790-1820 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939).
- Bordwell, David, Janet Staiger and Kristin Thompson (eds.), The Classical Hollywood Cinema: Film Style and Mode of Production to 1960 (London: Routledge, 1985).
- Botting, Fred, Making monstrous: Frankenstein, criticism, theory (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991).
- Bowman, Barbara, 'Victoria Holt's Gothic Romances: A Structuralist Enquiry', in Fleenor (ed.), The Female Gothic, pp.69-81.
- Bowra, Maurice, The Romantic Imagination (1950; repr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961).
- Boyer, Abel, The Royal Dictionary, 2 vols. (London: R. Clavell, 1699).
- Boyer, Clarence, The Villain as Hero In Elizabethan Tragedy (New York: Dutton, 1914).
- Brissenden, R.F., Virtue in Distress: Studies in the Novel of Sentiment from Richardson to Sade (London: Macmillan, 1974).
- Brooks, Peter, 'Virtue and Terror: The Monk', ELH xl (1973), 249-263.
- ...Reading for the Plot: Design and Intention in Narrative (1984; repr. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992).
- Butler, Marilyn, Romantics, Rebels and Reactionaries:

- English Literature and its Background 1760-1830 (1981: repr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).
- Cawelti, John George, Adventure, Mystery, and Romance, Formula Stories as Art and Popular Culture (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976).
- Campbell, Joseph, The Hero with a Thousand Faces (1949: repr. London: Grafton, 1988).
- ...The Power of Myth, with Bill Moyers. (New York: Doubleday, 1989).
- Carter, Margaret L., Specter or Delusion? The Supernatural in Gothic Fiction (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1987).
- Castle, Terry, Masquerade and Civilization: the Carnavalesque in Eighteenth-Century English Culture and Fiction (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986).
- Christie, Ian R., Stress and Stability in Late Eighteenth-Century Britain (1984: repr. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).
- Claridge, Laura, P., 'Parent-Child Tensions in Frankenstein: The Search for Communion'. SIN xvii (1985), 14-26.
- Cook, Chris and John Stevenson, British Historical Facts 1760-1830 (1980; repr. London: Macmillan, 1991).
- Cooke, Arthur, 'Some Side-lights on the Theory of Gothic Romance', MLQ xii (1951), 429-436.
- Cornwell, Neil, The Literary Fantastic: From Gothic to Postmodernism (Brighton: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990).
- Cottom, Daniel, 'Frankenstein and the Monster of Representation', Sub-Stance xxviii (1980), 60-71.
- Cox, Jeffrey N. (ed.), Seven Gothic Dramas 1769-1825 (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1992).
- Curran, Stuart (ed.), The Cambridge Companion to British Romanticism (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
- Danziger, Marlies K., 'Heroic Villains in Eighteenth-Century Criticism,' Comparative Literature xi (1959), 35-46.
- Davidoff, Leonore, Catherine Hall, Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1720-1850 (London: Hutchinson, 1987).

- Davies, Rupert E., Methodism (1963; repr. London: Epworth Press, 1985).
- De Bolla, Peter, The Discourse of the Sublime: Readings in History, Aesthetics and the Subject (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989).
- Dowling, William, 'Burke and the Age of Chivalry,' Yearbook of English Studies xii (1982), 109-124.
- Duncan, Ian, Modern Romance and Transformations of the Novel: The Gothic, Scott, Dickens (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
- Duncan, Margaret Beaton, Aspects of the Hero in Eighteenth Century English Literature (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of California, 1990).
- Durant, David, 'Ann Radcliffe and the Conservative Gothic,' Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900 xxii (1982), 519-530.
- ... 'Aesthetic Heroism in The Mysteries of Udolpho', The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation xxii (1981), 175-188.
- Dussinger, John, A., 'Kinship and guilt in Mary Shelley's Frankenstein', SIN xiii (1976), 38-55.
- Ellis, Kate Ferguson, The Contested Castle: Gothic Novels and the Subversion of Domestic Ideology (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989).
- Ewen, C.H. L'Estrange, Witchcraft and Demonism (London: Heath Cranton, 1933).
- ... Witch Hunting and Witch Trials (London: Kegan Paul & Co., 1929).
- Fawcett, Mary Laughlin, 'Udolpho's Primal Mystery', Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900 xxiii (1983), 481-494.
- Fisher, Benjamin F. IV, The Gothic's Gothic: Study Aids to the Tradition of the Tale of Terror (New York: Garland Publishing, 1988).
- Fleenor, Juliann E. (ed.), The Female Gothic (Montreal/London: Eden Press, 1983).
- Formani, Heather, Men: The Darker Continent (1990; repr. London: Mandarin, 1991).
- Foster, James R., History of the Pre-Romantic Novel in England (New York: Modern Language Association, 1949).

Foucault, Michel, 'La Volonté de Savoir', Histoire de La Sexualité, 3 vols. (Paris: Gallimard, 1976), iii.

Frank, Frederick S., Gothic Fiction: A Master List of Twentieth Century Criticism and Research (Westport and London: Meckler, 1988).

Franz, Marie Louise von, The Pyschological Meaning of Redemption Motifs in Fairytales (1956; repr. Toronto: Inner City Books, 1980).

Freud, Sigmund, 'Totem and Taboo' (1913), trans. James Strachey 1953, On the Origins of Religion, PFL xiii (1985; repr. London: Penguin, 1990), 43-224.

... 'The Uncanny' (1919), trans. Alix Strachey 1955, Art and Literature, PFL xiv (1985; repr. London, Penguin, 1988), 335-376.

... 'Family Romances' (1909), trans. James Strachey 1959, PFL vii (1977; repr. London: Penguin, 1984), 217-225.

Frye, Northrop, The Secular Scripture: A Study of the Structure of Romance (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976).

... 'The Archetypes of Literature', Myth and Literature: Contemporary Theory and Practice, John B. Vickery (ed.), (Lincoln [Neb]: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), pp.87-97.

Garber, Frederick, 'Meaning and Mode in Gothic Fiction', Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture, 3 vols. Harold Pagliaro (ed.), (Cleveland: Case Western Reserve University Press, 1973), iii. 155-169.

Geary, Robert F., 'From Providence to Terror: The Supernatural in Gothic Fiction', The Fantastic in World Literature and the Arts: Selected Essays from the Fifth International Conference on the Fantastic in the Arts, Donald E. Morse (ed.), (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), pp.7-18.

Gilbreth, Frank, Jr., How to be a Father (1958; repr. London: Heinemann, 1959).

Gorer, Geoffrey, The Life and Ideas of the Marquis de Sade (London: Panther Books, 1964).

Graham, John, 'Character Description and Meaning in the Romantic Novel', SIR v (1966), 208-218.

Grixti, Joseph, Terrors of Uncertainty: The Cultural Contexts of Horror Fiction (London: Routledge, 1989).

- Guazzo, Francesco Maria, The Compendium Maleficarum (1608), trans. E.A. Ashwin, (1929; repr. New York: Dover Publications, 1988).
- Haggerty, George E., 'Fact and Fancy in the Gothic Novel,' Nineteenth-Century Fiction xxxix (1985), 379-391.
- Gothic Fiction/Gothic Form (University Park and London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989).
- Hart, Francis, Russell, 'The Experience of Character in the English Gothic Novel', Experience in the Novel: Selected Papers from The English Institute, Roy Harvey Pearce (ed.), (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), pp.83-105.
- ...'Limits of the Gothic: The Scottish Example', Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture, Harold Pagliaro (ed.), iii. 137-153.
- Hirsch, Gordon, D., 'The Monster was a Lady: On the Psychology of Mary Shelley's Frankenstein', Hartford Studies in Literature vii (1975), 116-153.
- Hole, Christina, Witchcraft in Britain (1977; repr. London: Paladin, 1979).
- Holland, Norman H., Leona F. Sherman, 'Gothic Possibilities', Gender and Reading: Essays On Readers, Texts and Contexts, Elizabeth A. Flynn and Patrocino P. Schweickart (eds.), (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), pp.215-233.
- Howells, Coral Ann, Love, Mystery, and Misery: Feeling in Gothic Fiction (London: Athlone Press, 1978).
- Hume, Robert D., 'Gothic Versus Romantic: A Revaluation of the Gothic Novel,' PLMA lxxxiv (1969), 282-290.
- Hume, Kathryn, Fantasy and Mimesis: Responses to Reality in Western Literature (London: Methuen, 1984).
- Hunt, John Dixon, The Figure in the Landscape: Poetry, Painting, and Gardening during the Eighteenth Century (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976).
- Hussey, Christopher, The Picturesque: Studies in a Point of View (1927; repr. London: Cass, 1967).
- Ingham, Patricia, 'Dr. Johnson's Elegance', The Review of English Studies xix (1968), 271-277.
- Jackson, Rosemary, Fantasy: the literature of Subversion (1981; repr. London: Routledge, 1988).

- James I, Daemonologie (1597; repr. London according to Edinburgh text: Aspley and Cotton, 1603).
- Jones, Vivien (ed.), Women in the Eighteenth Century: Constructions of Femininity (London: Routledge, 1990).
- Joseph, Gerhard, 'Frankenstein's Dream: The Child as Father of the Monster', Hartford Studies in Literature vii (1975), 97-115.
- Jung, C.G., Aspects of the Masculine, trans. R.F.C. Hull, John Beebe (ed.), (London: Ark Paperbacks, 1989).
- ...The Spirit in Man, Art and Literature, trans. R.F.C. Hull, (1984; repr. London: Ark Paperbacks, 1989).
- ...Four Archetypes, trans. R.F.C. Hull, (1972; repr. London: Ark Paperbacks, 1986-1988).
- Kaplan, Morton, Robert Kloss, 'Fantasy of Paternity and the Dopplegänger: Mary Shelley's Frankenstein', The Unspoken Motive: A Guide to Psychoanalytic Literary Criticism (New York: Free Press, 1973), pp.119-145.
- Kiely, Robert, The Romantic Novel in England (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972).
- King, Stephen, Danse Macabre (London: Futura, 1988).
- Kooiman-Van Middendorp, Gerada Maria, The Hero in the Feminine Novel (New York: Haskell House, 1966).
- Lacan, Jacques, Ecrits: A Selection (1966), trans. Alan Sheridan, (1977; repr. London: Routledge, 1989).
- Levine, George, 'Translating the Monstrous: Northanger Abbey', Nineteenth-Century Fiction xxx (1975), 335-350.
- ...'Frankenstein and the Tradition of Realism', SIN vii (1973), 14-30.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude, 'The Structural Study of Myth', Myth: A Symposium, Thomas A. Sebeok (ed.), (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1965), pp.81-106.
- Lévy, Maurice, Le Roman "Gothique" Anglais, 1764-1824 (Toulouse: Association des publications de la faculté des lettres et des sciences humaines de Toulouse, 1968).
- Lewis, Charlie, Reassessing Fatherhood: New Observations on Fathers and the Modern Family (London: Sage Publications, 1987).
- Longueuil, Alfred, 'The word "Gothic" in Eighteenth Century Criticism', MLN xxxviii (1923), 453-460.

- MacAndrew, Elizabeth, The Gothic Tradition in Fiction (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979).
- MacDonald, Gordon, The Effective Father (Crowborough [E. Sussex]: Highland Books, 1989).
- MacKenzie, Alan, Certain Lively Episodes: The Articulation of the Passions in Eighteenth Century Prose (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1990).
- Manlove, Colin, Literature and Reality, 1600-1800 (London: Macmillan, 1978).
- ...Modern Fantasy: Five Studies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975).
- Manwaring, Elizabeth Wheeler, Italian Landscape in Eighteenth Century England: A Study chiefly of the Influence of Claude Lorrain and Salvator Rosa on English Taste 1700-1800 (1925; repr. London: Cass, 1965).
- Massé, Michelle, 'Gothic Repetitions: Husband, Horrors, and Things that Go Bump In The Night,' Signs xv (1990), 679-889.
- ...In the Name of Love: Women, Masochism and the Gothic (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1992).
- Massey, Irving, The Gaping Pig: Literature and Metamorphosis (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976).
- McNutt, D.J., The Eighteenth-Century Gothic Novel (Folkestone: Dawson, 1975).
- Milbank, Alison, Daughters of the House: Modes of the Gothic in Victorian Fiction (London: Macmillan, 1992).
- Miles, Rosalind, The Rites of Man: Love, Sex and Death in the Making of the Male (London: Grafton, 1991).
- Miller, D.A., 'Cage aux Folles: Sensation and Gender in Wilkie Collins's The Woman In White', The Nineteenth-Century British Novel, Jeremy Hawthorn (ed.), (London: Edward Arnold, 1986), pp.95-124.
- Miller, Jane, Women Writing about Men (London: Virago, 1986).
- Miyoshi, Masao, The Divided Self: A Perspective on the Literature of the Victorians (New York: New York University Press, 1969).
- Modleski, Tania, Loving with a Vengeance: Mass-produced Fantasies for Women (London: Methuen, 1984).

- Moers, Ellen, Literary Women (1977; repr. London: The Women's Press, 1986).
- Monk, S.H., The Sublime: A Study of Critical Theories in XVIII-Century England (1935; repr. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1960).
- Moorman, John R.H., A History of the Church in England, 3rd. ed. (1973; repr. London: A & C Black, 1986).
- Moretti, Franco, 'The Dialectic of Fear: Dracula and Frankenstein', New Left Review cxxxvi (1982), 67-86.
- Morris, David B., 'Gothic Sublimity,' NLH xvi (1985), 299-319.
- Mussell, Kay J., 'But Why Do They Read Those Things?: The Female Audience and the Gothic Novel', The Female Gothic, Fleenor (ed.), pp.57-68.
- Napier, Elizabeth R., The Failure of Gothic: Problems of Disjunction in an Eighteenth-Century Literary Form (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987).
- Neuberg, Victor E., Popular Literature: A History and Guide (Middlesex: Pelican, 1977).
- Nichols, Nina da Vinci, 'Place and Eros in Radcliffe, Lewis and Brontë', The Female Gothic, Fleenor (ed.), pp.187-206.
- Nicolson, M., Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory: the Development of the Aesthetics of the Infinite (New York: Cornell University Press, 1959).
- Notestein, Wallace, A History of Witchcraft in England from 1558 to 1718 (Washington: American Historical Association, 1911).
- Pagliaro, Harold (ed.), Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture, 3 vols. (Cleveland: Case Western Reserve University Press, 1973).
- Paulson, Ronald, 'Gothic Fiction and the French Revolution', ELH xlviii (1981), 532-554.
- Platzner, Robert L., 'Gothic versus Romantic: A Rejoinder,' PLMA lxxxvi (1971), 266-274.
- Pointon, Marcia, Milton & English Art (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1970).
- Poovey, Mary, The Proper Lady and the Woman Writer: Ideology as Style in the Works of Mary Wollstonecraft, Mary Shelley and Jane Austen (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

- Praz, Mario, The Romantic Agony (1933; repr. London: Fontana, 1960).
- Punter, David, The Literature of Terror: A History of Gothic Fictions from 1765 to the Present Day (London: Longman, 1980).
- Raglan, Lord, The Hero: A Study in Tradition, Myth and Drama (London: Methuen, 1936).
- Railo, Eino, The Haunted Castle: A Study of the Elements of English Romanticism (London: Routledge, 1927).
- Rank, Otto, The Myth of the Birth of the Hero and Other Writings, Philip Freund (ed.), (New York: Vintage Books, 1964).
- Reed, Toni, Demon-Lovers and Their Victims In British Fiction (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1988).
- Reed, Walter L., Meditations on the Hero: A Study of the Romantic Hero in Nineteenth-Century Fiction (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974).
- Remy, Nicolas, Demonolatry, trans. E.A. Ashwin, Montague Summers (ed.), (London: John Rodker, 1930).
- Robert, Marthe, Origins of the Novel (1972), trans. Sacha Rabinovitch, (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1980).
- Roberts, Bette, B., The Gothic Romance: Its Appeal to Women Writers and Readers in Late Eighteenth-Century England (New York: Arno Press, 1980).
- Ronald, Ann, 'Terror-Gothic: Nightmare and Dream', The Female Gothic, Fleenor (ed.), pp.176-186.
- Rubenstein, Marc, A., '"My Accursed Origin": The Search for the Mother in Frankenstein', SIR xv (1976), 165-194.
- Russ Joanna, 'Someone's Trying To Kill Me and I Think Its My Husband: The Modern Gothic', The Female Gothic, Fleenor (ed.), pp.31-56.
- Saagpakk, Paul F., 'A Survey of Psychopathology in British Literature from Shakespeare to Hardy,' Literature and Psychology xviii (1968), 135-165.
- Sabor, Peter (ed.), Horace Walpole: The Critical Heritage, (London: Routledge, 1987).
- Sade, Marquis de, 'Idée sur les romans', Les Crimes de l'Amour, (1800; repr. Paris: Gallimard, 1987), pp.27-51.
- ...The Gothic Tales of the Marquis de Sade, trans. Margaret Crossland, (London: Peter Owen, 1990).

- ...Selected Letters, trans. W.J. Strachan, Gilbert Lely (ed.), (London: Peter Owen, 1965).
- Schlaffer, Heinz, The Bourgeois as Hero (1973), trans. James Lynn, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989).
- Schofield, Mary Anne, Cecilia Macheski (eds.) Fetter'd or Free, British Women Novelists 1670-1815 (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1986).
- Schroeder, Natalie, 'The Mysteries of Udolpho and Clermont: The Radcliffean Encroachment on the Art of Regina Maria Roche,' SIN xii (1980), 131-143.
- Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky, The Coherence of Gothic Conventions (1980; repr. London: Methuen, 1986).
- Showalter, Elaine, A Literature of Their Own (1979; repr. London: Virago, 1988).
- Simpson, David, 'Romanticism, criticism and theory', The Cambridge Companion to British Romanticism, Stuart Curran (ed.), pp.1-24.
- Sinistrari, Ludovico Maria, Demoniality (1875), trans. Montague Summers, (1927; repr. New York: Dover, 1989).
- Skilton, David, 'Gothic, Romantic, and Heroic', The English Novel: Defoe to the Victorians (Newton Abbott and London: David & Charles, 1977), pp.59-79.
- Spender, Dale, Mothers of the Novel (London: Pandora Press, 1986).
- Stevenson, John, Popular Disturbances in England 1700-1870 (London: Longman, 1979).
- Stone, Lawrence, The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800 (London: Weidenfield and Nicholson, 1977).
- Summers, Montague, The Gothic Bibliography (London: Fortune Press, 1941).
- ...The Gothic Quest: A History of the Gothic Novel (London: Fortune Press, 1938).
- ...The History of Witchcraft and Demonology (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926).
- Tarr, Sr. Mary Muriel, Catholicism in Gothic Fiction: A Study of the Nature and Function of Catholic Materials in Gothic Fiction in England (1762-1820) (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1946).
- Thomas, Keith, Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies

- in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England (London: Wiedenfield and Nicolson, 1971).
- Thompson, Gary, ed. The Gothic Imagination: Essays in Dark Romanticism (Washington: Washington University Press, 1974).
- Thompson, Leslie M., John R. Ahrens, 'Criticism of English Fiction 1780-1810: The Mysterious Powers of the Pleading Preface,' Yearbook of English Studies i (1971), 125-134.
- Thorslev, Peter, L., The Byronic Hero: Types and Prototypes (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1962).
- Janet Todd, The Sign of Angellica: Women Writing and Fiction 1660-1800 (London: Virago, 1989).
- Todorov, Tzvetan, Introduction à la Littérature Fantastique (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1970).
- Tompkins, J.M.S., The Popular Novel in England 1770-1800 (London: Constable, 1932).
- Varma, Devendra, P. The Gothic Flame: being a History of the Gothic Novel in England: its Origins. its Efflorescence, Disintegration, and Residuary Influences (London: A. Barker, 1957).
- Veeder, William, Mary Shelley and Frankenstein: The Fate of Androgyny (1986; repr. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1988).
- Watkins, Daniel P., 'Social Hierarchy in Matthew Lewis's The Monk,' SIN xviii (1986), 115-124.
- White, R.S., Innocent Victims: Poetic Injustice in Shakespearean Tragedy (1982; repr. London: Athlone Press, 1986).
- Willey, Basil, The Eighteenth Century Background (1940; repr. London: Ark Paperbacks, 1986).
- Williams, Raymond, Culture and Society 1780-1950 (1958; repr. London: Penguin, 1961).