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Published by

Hoehler, Diane Long.
Gothic Riffs: Secularizing the Uncanny in the European Imaginary, 1780–1820.
The Ohio State University Press, 2010.
Project MUSE. muse.jhu.edu/book/24297.

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Preface and Acknowledgments

1. Dibdin’s melodrama was produced at Sadler’s Wells (1794) and Covent Garden (1804). The popular British chapbook version appeared in 1804. There are some thirty pre-1804 chapbooks of Valentine and Orson in English listed in the British Library catalogue, one dating to 1505. For further background on Valentine and Orson, see Bratton (2007, 123–24), Newton, and Cooper. Should viewers of the painting on the book cover not be able to see clearly the Valentine and Orson play being enacted, they should consult Klein, who has reproduced and analyzed “The Masquerade of Valentine and Orson” (64–65), a woodcut based on just this section of the larger painting and signed with the name and date “Brueghel, 1566.” Ingmar Bergman’s film The Seventh Seal (1957) includes a scene in which the hero, Joseph, is forced to play Orson’s bear mother, while the film’s theme, the secularization of the Nativity and the flight into Egypt in order to escape the uncanny presence of death, presents in filmic terms the larger thesis of this book.

2. There are numerous theoretical, religious, sociological, and historical approaches to the carnival, but I am most interested in using Charles Taylor’s discussion (45–54) of the phenomenon as the source for secularizing early European public space and providing an opportunity for displaying a new antistructural “public imaginary” in theatrical productions.

3. Britain, France, and Germany have long been seen as equally important “sources of Romanticism”: “For it is in these relatively developed countries that Romanticism arose earliest, in the second half of the eighteenth century, most intensely and in the most pronounced manner. . . . [W]e agree with [Karl] Mannheim that Romanticism appeared at roughly the same time in all three European nations” (Löwry and Chapman, 49). For the most wide-ranging survey of romanticism as a form of “modernizing anticapitalism” (29), and the gothic as an offshoot of romanticism throughout Europe, see Löwry and Sayre.
4. See Varnado. In addition, G. Thompson has argued that the “numinous” (the nonrational or suprarational component of religion) characterizes much of the gothic aesthetic: “a nameless apprehension that may be called religious dread in the face of the wholly other” (1979, 6–7).

5. Freud's classic statement of “The Uncanny” ties it to religious impulses:

   Let us take the uncanny associated with the omnipotence of thoughts, with the prompt fulfilment of wishes, with secret injurious powers and with the return of the dead. The condition under which the feeling of uncanniness arises here is unmistakable. We—or our primitive forefathers—one believed that these possibilities were realities, and were convinced that they actually happened. Nowadays we no longer believe in them, we have surmounted these modes of thought; but we do not feel quite sure of our new beliefs, and the old ones still exist within us ready to seize upon any confirmation. As soon as something actually happens in our lives which seems to confirm the old, discarded beliefs we get a feeling of the uncanny; it is as though we were making a judgement something like this: “So, after all, it is true that one can kill a person by the mere wish!” or, “So the dead do live on and appear on the scene of their former activities!” and so on. Conversely, anyone who has completely and finally rid himself of animistic beliefs will be insensible to this type of the uncanny. The most remarkable coincidences of wish and fulfilment, the most mysterious repetition of similar experiences in a particular place or on a particular date, the most deceptive sights and suspicious noises—none of these things will disconcert him or raise the kind of fear which can be described as “a fear of something uncanny.” The whole thing is purely an affair of “reality-testing,” a question of the material reality of the phenomena. (From “The Uncanny” [1919]; *Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud* [SE], trans. James Strachey, 24 vols. [London: Hogarth Press, 1953–74], 17: 219–56; emphasis in original)

Morris analyzes Burke via Freud, concluding that “repetition is the essential structure of the uncanny. Borrowing Freud’s language, we might describe Gothic sublimity as drawing its deepest terrors from a return of the repressed” (1985, 307), while Dolar sees the uncanny as that which “constantly haunts” modernity “from the inside”:

   There was an irruption of the uncanny strictly parallel with bourgeois (and industrial) revolutions and the rise of scientific rationality—and, one might add, with the Kantian establishment of transcendental subjectivity, of which the uncanny presents the surprising counterpart. Ghosts, vampires, monsters, the undead, etc., flourish in an era when you might expect them to be dead and buried, without a place. They are something brought about by modernity itself. (7)

Similarly, Castle argues that the uncanny originated during the Enlightenment: “the very psychic and cultural transformations that led to the subsequent glorification of the period as an age of reason or enlightenment—the aggressively rationalistic imperatives of the epoch—also produced, like a kind of toxic side effect, a new human experience of strangeness, anxiety, bafflement, and intellectual impasse” (1995, 8).

6. Clery has observed about Ann Radcliffe’s gothic novels that they “strike the enlightened reader as uncanny [because] the reader progressively moves from the sense of mystery that encourages fearful, false ideas to full knowledge of the facts, intelli-
Notes to Introduction


8. My sense of the oscillation and ambiguity inherent in the gothic aesthetic is described somewhat analogously by Hogle, who has observed that early gothics are:

torn between the enticing call of aristocratic wealth and sensuous Catholic splendor, beckoning toward the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, on the one hand, and a desire to overthrow these past orders of authority in favour of a quasi-equality associated with the rising middle-class ideology of the self as self-made, on the other—but an ideology haunted by the Protestant bourgeois desire to attain the power of the older orders that the middle class wants to dethrone. Such a paradoxical state of longing in much of the post-Renaissance Western psyche fears retribution from all the extremes it tries to encompass, especially from remnants of those very old heights of dominance which the middle class now strives to grasp and displace at the same time. (2002, 4)

The most extended discussions of the gothic and religion/the supernatural can be found in Tarr, Varma, Geary, Carter, Porte, Sage, Lévy, Cavaliéro, and Voller. Indeed, Varma concludes that “the Gothic novelists strike a union between our spiritual curiosities and venial terrors, and mediate between the world without us and the world within us. . . . The Gothic novel appeals to the night-side of the soul” (212). As far as evolving definitions are concerned, the “gothic” as a literary concept originally suggested the barbarous, then the medieval, and only much later the ghostly and supernatural (Frankl, 259–60).

Introduction

1. C. Taylor also notes, “Modernity brings about secularity in all its three forms [secularized public spaces; the decline of belief and practice; and new pluralistic conditions of belief]. This causal connection is ineluctable, and mainline secularization theory is concerned to explain why it had to be. Modern civilization cannot but bring about a ‘death of God’” (21). Mark Taylor has observed that “secularity is a religious phenomenon. . . . Throughout the history of the West, God has repeatedly disappeared by becoming either so transcendent that he is irrelevant or so immanent that there is no difference between the sacred and the secular” (xvi). Earlier, D. Bell distinguished between secularization, or the loss of religious influence on political and economic
aspects of life, and profanation, and the more general rejection of religious belief. Secularization for him is a product of specialization and the rationalistic techno-economic order, but no such principle for change exists in the cultural sphere: “Culture by its nature confounds historicism” (425). Numerous works on secularization have taken both sides of the issue, ranging from Bruce to Owen. Stark and Bainbridge reject the secularization paradigm, while C. Brown takes a sociological view of the subject. Most recently McKelvey has argued that what he calls the “new vernacular literary culture” of the late eighteenth century came to occupy a “frontier once policed by religious forces, so too did that upstart literary culture adopt a religious habit and evince a longing to participate in the most sacred rites—this at a time, moreover, when an embattled religious culture often saw its promising future in literary terms” (4).

2. Thomas cites Bronislaw Malinowski, for instance, who attributes the use of magic to an attempt to “ritualize man’s optimism,” to give him a sense of control over an environment that he knows is indifferent if not hostile to him (647). David Hume’s “Of Superstition and Enthusiasm” claimed that ignorance, melancholy, weakness, and fear were the causes of superstitious beliefs, while he observed that “in proportion as any man’s course of life is governed by accident, we always find that he increases in superstition” (74).

3. Habermas has argued that “the far-reaching uncoupling of system and lifeworld was a necessary condition for the transition from the stratified class societies of European feudalism to the economic class societies of the early modern period; but the capitalist pattern of modernization is marked by a deformation, a reification of the symbolic structures of the lifeworld under the imperatives of subsystems differentiated out via money and power and rendered self-sufficient” (1984, 283). Habermas’s underutilized role in the field of romantic studies has been analyzed most perceptively by Scrivener, while his theories have been best defended recently by Miles (2008, 13–18).

4. See Zagorin, as well as Nelson, who has examined pulp fiction in order to claim that the supernatural encodes elements of spirituality that can no longer be expressed in forms of public belief (2001). Saler has provided a historical overview of the issue of modern entertainment’s relation to “disenchantment,” claiming that we can discern three related discourses: a “binary model” that suggests that enchantment does not disappear in the nineteenth century but could be accounted for by rationalism; a “dialectical model” that claims that modernity is inherently irrational itself; and an “antinomial” position that claims that disenchanted reason coexists with the enchanted imagination, causing viewers to be entertained but not duped (693–94). The “antinomial” position is closest to Charles Taylor’s argument, as well as mine. Viswanathan provides an overview of the recent secularization debates, concluding that literary critics need to recognize “the oblique processes of secularization” (468) and that the “central paradox” of secularization is that, “despite being perceived as opposed to religion in the public sphere, [it actually] preserves religious elements in its self-definition” and in art (474).

5. A number of earlier critics have been “tempted to see Modernism as a resurgence of Romanticism, though conceivably in a more extreme and strained form of pure irrationalism” (Bradbury and McFarlane, 46). See, for instance, Kermode, Hartman, Thornburn and Hartman, Bloom (1970), Langbaum, Peckham (1962), and to some extent J. H. Miller. The controversies over the definition of “modernism” or “modernity” are extensive. Most recently, Gay has claimed that modernism is a revolt against the European bourgeoisie through the cultivation of a Freudian-inflected subjectivity in which artists and intellectuals relied on their feelings or intuitions to depict the
external world.

6. Some of the early theorists on the highly contested issue of secularization include Max Weber, MacIntyre, Pratt, and Chadwick. Weber, for instance, declared that modern intellectualization had caused “the world [to be] disenchanted.” With the disappearance of “mysterious incalculable forces, one need no longer have recourse to magical means” (139), a condition he found particularly hollow. Casanova chooses to forego the notion of secularization in favor of “differentiation”: “If before it was the religious realm which appeared to be the all-encompassing reality within which the secular realm found its proper place, now the secular sphere will be the all-encompassing reality to which the religious sphere will have to adapt” (15). Similarly, Jager sees secularization as “multiple, as an ongoing process of creating and reforming a plethora of cultural programs. Once modernization is rendered a more parochial and local affair, secularization can be freed from the linear and teleological assumptions that hover in the background whenever it is invoked” (29).

7. Coleridge attacked The Monk by observing, “We trust, however, that satiety will banish what good sense should have prevented; and that, wearied with fiends, incomprehensible characters, with shrieks, murders, and subterraneous dungeons, the public will learn, by the multitude of the manufacturers, with how little expense of thought or imagination this species of composition is manufactured” (Critical Review 19 [1797]: 194). He also attacked Lewis’s Castle Spectre (Drury Lane, 1797) as “Schiller Lewisized,” and Maturin’s Bertram (Drury Lane, 1816) as “modern jacobinical drama” in his Biographia Literaria, II:200, but his criticisms of the drama need to be understood in light of the fact that Drury Lane had recently refused to stage a revival of his own gothic drama Remorse. For an overview of Coleridge’s ambivalence toward the gothic, see Mudge (1991) and Christensen. Wordsworth’s gothic-inflected drama, The Borderers, was rejected by Covent Garden in 1798 just as Matthew Lewis’s Castle Spectre was enjoying a hugely profitable run at Drury Lane (in fact, it was so popular that it was being parodied in 1803 by a three-act romance entitled The Tale of Terror; or a Castle without a Spectre!). Trott calls Wordsworth’s “antipathy” to the gothic “pathological,” while Siskin sees his early poems like the gothic “Vale of Esthwaite” as “an expression of his lifelong desire to explore the human mind and heart by integrating the natural and supernatural” (1979, 161–73).

8. Voller has noted that the “major’ Romantics did not spurn the Gothic so much as they responded to it, revised it, adapted it to their own purposes, not so much to domesticate it as to appropriate its emotional power and metaphoric capacity” (ix). The most recent attempt to analyze the fraught relationship between gothicism and romanticism can be found in Miles (2008), who argues that there was a persistent tension between the canonical romanticists and those who wrote “in obedience to the profit motive, ‘trash’” (5). Similarly, Gamer has claimed that “the gothic perpetually haunts, as an aesthetic to be rejected, romanticism’s construction of high literature culture” (7), while Hogle argues that “the Walpolean Gothic is thus the arena to which Western symbol-makers, including Romantic poets, most explicitly consign this simultaneous overcoming of and dissolution back into the restrictive past, this paradoxical desire that holds the modern middle-class person in a fearful conflict at the very foundations of his or her self-fashioning” (2003, 212; emphasis in original). Earlier attempts to compare and contrast the two genres can be found in R. Hume (1969; 1974).

9. See Jacqueline Howard for the fullest use of Bakhtinian theories in relation to the gothic as a discourse system.
10. On trauma, scars, and healing in the romantic period, particularly in the work of Wordsworth, see Goodman. Scholarly discussions of the oral residue of earlier literary works and the development of literacy can be found in Goody and Graff.

11. Using Berlin’s concept of romanticism as integral to a Counter-Enlightenment movement, Miles has recently argued that “Romanticism should not be thought of as a set of ‘ideological commitments,’ a kind of poetic hermeneutic struggle or as a flight from georgic to lyric, but as a period in the long history of modernity’s emergence in which two formations first come to be set in dialectical opposition to each other: a radical Enlightenment and its reactionary counter” (2008, 8–10).

12. Also see Habermas 1987; 1974. As for the controversy about Habermas’s concept of the “public sphere” and the New Left’s endorsement of a “counter-public sphere,” see Mellor, who notes that “if women participated fully in the discursive public sphere and in the formation of public opinion in Britain by the late eighteenth century, then the assumption that there existed a clear distinction in historical practice between a realm of public, exclusively male activities and a realm of private, exclusively female activities in this period is also erroneous” (2000, 7).

13. Walpole’s sexual preferences, as well as those of Matthew Lewis, were the subject of gossip during their lifetimes. See Macdonald, Haggerty, and Mowl. A. Williams argues that Walpole’s sexual preferences were not the major “haunting” or trauma of his life as Mowl and Haggerty have claimed, but rather that he was much more anxious about his illegitimacy and it was this sense of being a fraud that had the major effect on his writings (2009, 15).

14. For a collection of French gothic tales, see Hale 1998. This book assembles twenty-four tales, nineteen of which have never before been published in English. Lévy has published a listing of translations and plagiarisms of British gothic novels into French (1974), while Grieder provides a listing of even more “borrowings” (65–73). Also see Hall for the most extensive discussion of the influence of British gothic on both French and German gothics during the 1790s.

15. See Nelson, who has defined what she calls the “Faux Catholic,” a “sub-genre from Monk Lewis to Dan Brown” (2007). The “faux Catholic,” however, had its origins much further back, in fact, according to Wagner, in the early anti-Catholic pornographic polemic of Pietro Aretino (1492–1556), and then in early anticlerical French works such as The History of Madamoiselle de St. Phale, giving a full account of the miraculous conversion of a noble French lady and her daughter, to the reformed religion. With the defeat of the intrigues of a Jesuit their confessor. Translated out of French (London, 1691), cited by Godwin as an influence on his Caleb Williams (1794); or The Case of Mary Catharine Cadiere, against the Jesuit Father John Baptist Girard (London, 1731), itself the basis for Henry Fielding’s Old Debauchees: A Comedy (1732).

16. Several critics of the gothic have made similar observations. For example, Punter claims that the bourgeois readers of the gothic were attracted to the genre because it “displaces the hidden violence of present social structures, conjures them up again as past, and promptly falls under their spell” (1980, 418). Hogle asserts that the “ghost of the counterfeit in the Gothic” has “become so removed from its earliest reference points and so widely circulated as a hollow figure waiting to be filled up by its re-users, even as it keeps calling us back to lost origins, that it can serve perfectly as a useful, but also self-obscuring, locus for what is terrifyingly or even horrifically non-identical in the West and for the Western sense of ‘identity’ at the time a particular ‘Gothic’ work is produced” (2008, 219).
Chapter 1

1. Dixon has traced the evolution of and emphasis on the “psychology of the emotions” to what he calls the “newer and more secular network” (289) of meaning that began to emerge in the early nineteenth century. Both Sheriff and Bredvold have analyzed aspects of the debate over Sentimentality’s indebtedness to Latitudinarianism, arguing that a tension exists between traditional Christian emphases on a system of active virtue and the sentimental self-absorption in one’s own “good nature” as an end in itself. In contrast, Branfman attempts a psychoanalytical analysis of Sentimentality as a “magic gesture in reverse,” a “wistful observation [in which the audience] passively views” the sufferings and “sadness without pleasure” of the opera’s participants (624–25).

2. Markley reviews the literary and critical controversies surrounding Shaftesbury’s role in defining Sentimentality as “the affective spectacle of benign generosity” (211) as well as its contested religious origins in Latitudinarianism and deism. Also see J. Howard, Solomon, Barker-Benfield, D. Marshall, and Mullan (1997).

3. The June 15, 1787, British playbill for Nina states that the opera is “a translation from the French Opera of that name, now performing at Paris with universal applause. The principal Characters by Mr. Johnstone, Mr. Hull, Mr. Thompson, Mr. Daley, Miss Wilkinson, and Mrs. Billington. With the original Music and an additional song by Piccini” (Gabrielle Enthoven Collection, Blythe House, London). The basis of Sentimentality’s physical appeal has been variously analyzed. Also see Bartlet who very usefully distinguishes between the Théâtre-Italien, founded to perform Italian opera buffa and opera semiseria and directed at one point by Paër, and the earlier Théâtre-Italien or Comédie Italienne (the name of the Opéra-Comique until 1793), whose repertoire included Italian plays in Italian, French plays, and opéras-comiques, but not Italian opera (123).

4. Stefano Castelvecchi analyzes the striking similarities between Nina and the early psychological treatments developed by the founder of psychiatry, Philippe Pinel (1745–1826), that advocated “shocking the patient’s imagination through what amounts to the staging of a theatrical scene” or reenactment of the original trauma in order to restore her to sanity (96). Pinel’s follower Esquirol saw monomania as a hybrid of melancholia (which he called lypemania) and mania, a condition in which the sufferer is aware that he is depressed (L. Davis, 69).

5. Wiltshire asks, “Can the attentive reader of Mansfield Park fail to detect the text’s allusion to Lear here?” (151n27). Also see Ford for an extended discussion of five period illustrations of Lear and Cordelia, including Thurston.

6. In her own comments on the writing of A Thousand Acres, Jane Smiley observed: “I imagined Shakespeare wrestling with the ‘Leir’ story and coming away a little dissatisfied, a little defeated, but hugely stimulated, just as I was. As I imagined that, I felt that I received a gift, an image of literary history, two mirrors facing each other in the present moment, reflecting infinitely backward into the past and infinitely forward into the future” (173). For other contemporary adaptations, see Feinstein, “Lear’s Daughters” (215–32), and Margaret Atwood’s novel The Cat’s Eye (1988). Freud in his essay “The Theme of the Three Caskets” (1913) writes:

Lear is not only an old man: he is a dying man. . . . But the doomed man is not willing to renounce the love of women; he insists on hearing how much he is
loved. Let us now recall the moving final scene, one of the culminating points of tragedy in modern drama. Lear carries Cordelia's dead body on to the stage. Cordelia is Death. If we reverse the situation it becomes intelligible and familiar to us. She is the Death-goddess who, like the Valkyrie in German mythology, carries away the dead hero from the battlefield. Eternal wisdom, clothed in the primaeval myth, bids the old man renounce love, choose death and make friends with the necessity of dying. (12:301)

Chapter 2

1. A. Williams (2006) states that “The idea that the operatic is ‘Gothic’ and that the Gothic is ‘operatic’ has not seriously been discussed in the growing body of Gothic studies and the equally thriving field of opera and literature” (126). For her, Gaetano Donizetti’s Lucia di Lammermoor (1835) is “the only ‘Gothic opera’ established in the nineteenth-century canon” (127). Lindenberger points out that the natural affinity between opera and gothic can be located in their tendency to maintain “the high style” (61). In contrast to these views, Schmidgall sees the distinction between the operatic and the realistic as located in its tendency to “seek moments of expressive crisis” (11).

2. Addison observed that the “absurdity of opera shows itself at the first sight”; he went on to note that “nothing is capable of being well set to music, that is not nonsense.” Samuel Johnson called opera “an exotic and irrational entertainment,” while Jonathan Swift spoke of “that unnatural Taste for Italian Music among us, which is wholly unsuitable to our Northern Climate, and the Genius of the People, whereby we are overrun with Italian Effeminacy and Italian Nonsense” (qtd. Schmidgall, 32–33). Also see White for an overview of the challenges faced by “Romantic Operas” in Britain during this period (79–107); and Baumann for a discussion of German opera as “a special idiom which blended musical and literary values under the compelling imperatives of the region’s distinctive theatrical institutions” (1).

3. Contrast this definition of music with that proposed by Claude Lévi-Strauss, who claimed that music is primarily an expression of the emotions, while Roland Barthes has stated that music is “inactual,” that is, abstract and difficult to speak about because “language is of the order of the general, [while] music is of the order of difference.” And in his meditation about the meaning of opera, W. H. Auden echoes this definition:

   Opera in particular is an imitation of human willfulness; it is rooted in the fact that we not only have feelings but insist upon having them at whatever cost to ourselves. Opera, therefore, cannot present character in the novelist’s sense of the word, namely, people who are potentially good and bad, active and passive, for music is immediate actuality and neither potentiality nor passivity can live in its presence. (qtd. Schmidgall, 20; emphasis in original)

So while Barthes emphasizes the inactual quality of music, Auden asserts the opposite. These theoretical issues are further analyzed in depth by the philosopher Peter Kivy, who argues that music does not express emotion, but is rather expressive of emotion, in the way that a St. Bernard’s face or a clenched fist may be taken, apart from their actual emotions, to represent sadness or anger (Kivy, 14–15).

4. The success of Richard coeur-de-lion raised the opéra-comique to new levels and
led to Sédaine’s long-sought acceptance in the Académie française (Ledbury 1, 284). Beaumarchais and Sédaine became collaborators and the latter advised Beaumarchais on the *Mariage de Figaro* (Ledbury 2, 13–38).

5. Pixérécourt’s *Final Reflections on Melodrama in Pixérécourt*, 316. Also see Marcoux for a full discussion of his works.

6. This tale is reminiscent of François Thomas du Fossé’s life story as recounted by Helen Maria Williams in her *Letters from France* (1790; 8 vols.). Fossé was not tested by his lover’s father but by his own father, Baron du Fossé, who could not accept that his heir would marry the daughter of a local farmer and who issued a lettre de cachet with the aim of imprisoning him to prevent the marriage (see Mellor 1992, 261–62).

7. The name “Camille” begins to function as a talisman from this time forward, with a beautiful, victimized woman named Camille rescued from a cavern in no fewer than four versions of the same rescue opera: Marsolier’s *Camille ou le souterrain* (1791), Dalayrac’s *Camille* (1791), Le Sueur’s *La caverne* (1793), and Paër’s *Camilla, ossia Il sottterraneo* (1799). Later, the female victim becomes a courtesan and by 1852 Alexandre Dumas fils had composed the first version of his famous *La dame aux camélias*, adapted yet again by the American Matilda Heron, who translated Dumas and starred in the title role of *Camille; or, the Fate of a Coquette* (1856).

8. Lord Mount Edgcumbe was in the audience in Covent Garden for the premiere of the work in London: “The French stage, once the pattern of decency and propriety, is now become a school for profanes and immorality, the most sacred subjects are exhibited, the most indecent exposed, almost without disguise in opera, melodrames and ballets; of this perverted type is *Robert le Diable*; yet I am sorry to say it had been translated and produced at our theatres. I saw it acted at Covent Garden, and never did I see a more disagreeable or disgusting performance, the sight of the resurrection of a whole convent of nuns, who rise from their graves, and begin dancing like so many bacchantes is revolting, and a secret service in a church, accompanied by an organ on the stage, not very decorous” (215–16).

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**Chapter 3**

1. Ghosts entered the stage through trapdoors as early as 1700, when Colley Cibber produced *Richard III*, and the device was widely used until David Garrick’s productions later in the century. In 1797 the ghost walked on and offstage at the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh, while gauze became the more typical device for introducing a ghost by the early nineteenth century. The theater historian Arthur C. Sprague observed about the production of *Julius Caesar* in the late eighteenth century that “the treatment of the Ghost follows a now familiar pattern . . . trapwork—gauzes—nothing at all” (103, 165, 325).

2. Lewis, *The Castle Spectre*, rpt. *Seven Gothic Dramas*, ed. Jeffrey Cox, 149–224. All quotations from the play taken from this edition, with act, scene, and page number in parentheses. Production information for *Fontainville Forest, The Castle Spectre*, and *The Sicilian Romance* can be found in Hogan. Burwick discusses the drama at length, analyzing the various actors who played Osmond and claiming that the use of the African henchmen in the work “effectively speaks for the anti-slavery movement of the 1790s” (2009, 170–78).

3. Boaden, *Fontainville Forest*. All quotations from this edition. On Boaden’s drama,
see Saggini. Reno has observed that part of the conundrum of the continuing appearance of dramatic ghosts was their ambivalent status as signifiers: “while the supernatural had been rationalized into nonexistence by the end of the eighteenth century, it had not yet been animated fully with the symbolic or psychological reality so familiar to twentieth-century audiences. Unwilling to believe in ghosts as an objective reality and unable to describe them as a psychosymbolic reality, the late eighteenth-century critic rejected them absolutely” (97).

4. The most pertinent analyses of the literary sublime during this period include the classic study by Monk, as well as works by Mishra, Weiskel, and Morris (1972). Mishra has observed: “What marks off the various versions of the primary precursor text are levels of uncanny duplication at work in the Gothic. Read as the recognition that nothing ever happens, that all history has always already been played out and that the subject is simply locked into an incessant series of repetitions, the Gothic rewrites the sublime and prefigures its theorization as the ‘Uncanny’” (71).

5. Boaden, The Cambro-Britons. All quotations will be from this edition.

**Chapter 4**

1. Holcroft’s Preface to Seduction, as well as the play itself, rpt. The Novels and Selected Plays of Thomas Holcroft, ed. Philip Cox, 5: 65–125. All quotations from Holcroft’s works from this edition, page numbers or act and scene in parentheses.

2. Nicholl downplays Pixérécourt’s role in the development of melodrama, noting that “the fundamental features of the mélodrame were in existence in the French theatres long before 1798, and secondly, that the same features can be traced in English plays from 1770 onwards” (98). Similarly, Philip Cox downplays the melodramatic “turn” in Holcroft’s career, arguing that “what might appear to be a new departure informed by continental influences is, in fact, part of an ongoing generic experimentation within the constraints of what could be performed on the late eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century stage. And such generic experimentation is intimately linked with a desire to communicate a consistent political morality” (viii–ix). As Mortensen and others have noted, British critics have a tendency to minimize the importance of “continental” influences on the development of the British literary tradition in order to construct a national literature built on supposedly pristine and nativist works.

3. Deaf and Dumb: or, The Orphan Protected: An Historical Drama, 5:339–93; and A Tale of Mystery—A Melo-Drame, 5:395–423. I have examined the original playbill for A Tale of Mystery (November 18, 1802) and there was no mention of Holcroft’s name as author of the work anywhere on it (Gabrielle Enthoven Collection, Blythe House, London).

4. George Taylor identifies Inkle and Yarico by George Colman the Younger as the first “mixed” work, with thirteen songs, a comic tone, and based on the potentially tragic subject of the slave trade. He cites Alan Sinfield’s definition of a “cultural faultline” to explain the genre: “Faultline stories are the ones that require most assiduous and continuous reworking; they address the awkward, unresolved issues, the ones in which the conditions of plausibility are in dispute [and which] comprise within themselves the ghosts of the alternative stories they are trying to exclude” (40).

5. Simpson has noted that “fifteen of Kotzebue’s plays were translated into English in 1799 alone, some of them by more than one hand. At least ten of these adaptations were
performed” (90). The English translation of Kotzebue’s adaptation of Bouilly’s *L’Abée de l’Epée* can be found in Thompson, vol. 3. Also see J. Cox’s discussion of the play as a “trans-European drama of subversion and seduction, a Jacobinical drama that arises in England, is transported to Germany, and that returns to England filled with notions borrowed from revolutionary France” (2007, 122).

6. Pixérécourt’s two theoretical essays, *Melodrama* and *Final Reflections on Melodrama*, are available in *Pixérécourt*. Holcroft’s musical collaborator, Dr. Thomas Busby, defined melodrama as “a modern species of Drama in which the powers of instrumental music are employed to elucidate the action, and heighten the passion of the piece” (qtd. Garlington, 59n33).

7. Consider by way of contrast the popular Irish melodramatist, Dion Boucicault (1820–1890), whose *The Shaughraun* (ca. 1858) presents the title character as a traditional trickster figure, at one point laid out in his coffin while the community mourns his death. Con, the Shaughraun, is only pretending to be dead in order to expose the traitors who are in league with a corrupt magistrate and British soldiers in an attempt to capture the Fenian hero. The climax occurs when the Irish villagers close in on the villains intending to kill them, and the local priest confronts them, “Are you Christians or heathens?” They pause for an extended period of time, considering the question, before putting their knives and axes aside to allow the police to make the arrest. Apparently religious faith in Ireland still functioned in a powerfully disciplinary manner that it had not in England for over fifty years. For very different attitudes toward traditional religious values, see the examples of melodramas written by British women writers collected in Franceschina.

8. Also see Jameson. Moody observes that “what fascinates Holcroft about melodrama is the genre’s capacity to encode such contradictions [condemnation and forgiveness for the villain]. For whereas the conventions of sentimental comedy demanded that benevolence should reign triumphant, melodrama helps to make possible a more dynamic and nuanced view of human nature” (91). Watkins argues that all romantic drama should be read in the context of political change, noting that there is “a conflict between the content of surface structure and a deeper political unconscious [which] registers one of the key features of the Romantic historical moment: namely the difficult struggle that marked the transition from an aristocratic to bourgeois worldview” (8). G. Taylor claims that melodrama is a reactionary legacy of the Revolution, while the subtext of *Coelina* is that “trust must be restored—even if it is an irrational trust in the nobility of the aristocrats and the benevolence of the bourgeoisie” (204).

**Chapter 5**

1. Studies of the gothic ballad as a genre include those by Friedman, Laws, and Fulford. In discussing the broadside or stall ballad, Groom has characterized it as relying on “perpetually recycled patterns of bloody or salacious plots, treacly sentimental trash” tainted by the pretensions and commercial motives of literary print culture (22). Wordsworth’s conflicted attraction to the gothic has been the subject of any number of studies. Hartman (1966) notes that the British romantic poets “toyed with the forbidden fire (with the ‘Eastern Tale’, the Gothic romance, the Sublime Ode) and called up the ghosts they wished to subdue” (57). In a later article (1975; reprinted in 1987), Hartman contrasts English and German literary traditions by seeing English Romanticism as a
form of mediation between the imaginative power of the past and the present, while the German tradition requires an "art which at once organizes and organicizes a past so discontinuous with the present, that, but for it [art], only volcanic (storm-and-stress) historicism or a new religious incarnation could re-present it" (1987, 69).

2. By way of background, see McKelvy for a discussion of Percy's Reliques in the context of the Ossian debate (70–92), and for a discussion of William Taylor of Norwich as "the founder of the Anglo-German school in England," and the highly regarded first translator of Goethe's drama Iphigenia in Tauris (1793), see Herzfeld. Perhaps Wordsworth's most famous denunciation of the seductive powers and popularity of the gothic can be found in his 1800 Preface to the Lyrical Ballads:

The human mind is capable of excitement with the application of gross and violent stimulants. . . . A multitude of causes unknown to former times are now acting with a combined force to blunt the discriminating powers of the mind, and unfitting it for all voluntary exertion to reduce it to a state of almost savage torpor. The most effective of these causes are the great national events which are daily taking place, and the increasing accumulation of men in cities, where the uniformity of their occupations produces a craving for extraordinary incident which the rapid communication of intelligence hourly gratifies. To this tendency of life and manners the literature and theatrical exhibitions of the country have conformed themselves. The invaluable works of our elder writers, I had almost said the works of Shakespeare and Milton, are driven into neglect by frantic novels, sickly and stupid German Tragedies, and deluges of idle and extravagant stories in verse. When I think upon this degrading thirst after outrageous stimulation I am almost ashamed to have spoken of the feeble effort with which I have endeavoured to counteract it. (Prose Works, I:128–30)

3. Voller claims that the "departure from Gothic convention forms the foundation of Wordsworth's anti-supernaturalism" and "the beneficence of nature permits Wordsworth to abandon his Gothic landscapes" (131, 135). Swann sees Wordsworth's flirtation with German romances as a "characteristic double strategy of re-articulation and displacement, deflection and reform . . . to breach and then reinforce a distinction between their projects and popular sensational literature . . . . It flaunts its affinities with sensational literature and a feminized culture in order to establish its difference" (1993, 138–39). Also see Primeau.

4. Jacobus explores Southey's extensive "plagiarisms" of Lyrical Ballads (1971, 20–36). Of particular interest to me is Southey's poem "The Mad Mother," which is a crude appropriation of "The Thorn." But the "borrowings" worked both ways, which Jacobus does not acknowledge. Fulford is fairer in recognizing Wordsworth's use of Southey's earlier ballads.

5. For a detailed analysis of the use of tautology in the ballad, see Russell. She ties Wordsworth's use of the principle of repetition to his responses to Robert Lowth's Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews (1787) and Hugh Blair's Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres (1783). In a similar vein, Rzepka examines the protoarcheological content of the poem as evidenced by Wordsworth's readings in Druid history and the barrow excavations undertaken by William Stukeley at Stonehenge and Avebury.

6. Martha Ray's suspected crime of infanticide and infanticide in general has been dealt with in a number of studies: Symonds, Hoffer and Hull, Kord, and Cheeseman. Miles presents a summary of the scandalous murder of Martha Ray (Basil Montagu's
mother) at the hands of her lover (27–30), and connects the broadside publications that ensued in the aftermath of the scandal to “gossip”: “Martha Ray is transformed into a shrunken, smothered shrub beneath the public’s Medusa-like gaze. . . . If the narrator unknowingly Gothicizes Martha, burying her alive in gossip, the reader certainly ought not to” (2008, 82).

7. For a provocative psychoanalytical reading of the baby’s reflected face in the pond, see Collings 1994, 91–99; and for an overview of Wordsworth’s ambivalent attitude in dealing with “sensational” material such as infanticide, see Swann (1997, 60–79).

Chapter 6

1. One of the earliest scholarly attempts to discuss the genre can be found in W. Watt, who argues that “shilling shockers” are the transitional link between the late eighteenth-century gothic novels and the short tales of terror as developed by Poe, Maupassant, and LeFanu. Varma deplored the development of the genre, seeing it “as an index of the sensation-craze into which the Gothic vogue degenerated in its declining years,” also observing that the gothic bluebook “catered to the perverted taste for excitement among degenerate readers” (189). Charles May has argued that the romantic short tale was an attempt to “demythologize folktales, to divest them of their external values, and to remythologize them by internalizing those values and self-consciously projecting them onto the external world. They wished to preserve the old religious values of the romance and the folktale without their religious dogma and supernatural trappings” (5). For a history of the earlier street literature, see Collison.

2. Frank (1998) presents a survey of the 297 gothic chapbooks held in the Sadleir-Black Collection at the University of Virginia Library. Additional bibliographical information about 217 titles in the Corvey Collection and various British libraries can be found in Koch, who concludes that, in contrast to the full-length gothic novels by Lewis where horror is a manifestation of moral ambivalence and there is an unrestrained use of the supernatural, “the sentimental and rationalized contents of the bluebooks reveal them as a reactionary mode of the gothic” that reassures general readers that their own concepts of reality are “stable.”

3. Bottigheimer argues for the Italian and Sicilian origins of the fairy tale, while more detailed discussions of the French and German fairy-tale traditions can be found in Zipes (2007). Other critics have commented on the fairy-tale content of gothic tales, but have not attempted to examine the issue in any detail. For instance, Frank writes: “Why were the Gothic writers so often drawn to the use of fairytale and folklore motifs of the kinds found throughout the chapbooks? The answer may be that the grotesque motifs and violent patterns of action of these primitive stories provided the distortions of reality and amoral disorientation that the Gothic writers depended upon for rendering their powerful effects. The motifs themselves are variations of the malignant sublime” (1987, 415).

4. Also see the discussion in Zipes 1994, 1–3. More recently, Zipes (2006) has explored the psychological staying power of the fairy tale by examining the theory of genre as a “selfish gene” that seeks indiscriminately to reproduce and thereby perpetuate itself (“genericity” or the relation of genetics, memetics, and material culture) as developed by Jean-Michael Adams and Ute Heidmann.

5. Potter (2005) provides two appendices that list some 650 titles for gothic chap-
books and tales published between 1799 and 1835. The catalogue of the Lauriston Castle chapbooks lists 4,080 holdings there. St. Clair claims that the height of the “chapbook gothic” craze occurred around 1810 (349). Scholarly sources on the earlier phase include Birkhead, who argues that “in these brief, blood-curdling romances we may find the origin of the short tale of terror” (186).

6. Mayo was the first critic to recognize the essentially bourgeois moralizing tone of the gothic tale as published in the periodicals, while he asserted that the gothic bluebook was too crude to appeal to the rising middle-class reader (1942, 448). In a later article (1950), he focused on the chilly reception given the bluebooks by “many critics, editors, and members of the general reading audience in whose eyes romance was the hallmark for barbarous superstition, unreason, moral depravity, and bad taste” (787; emphasis in original). Killick provides a broad history of the early British short story and its publication venues, while Potter distinguishes between gothic tales and gothic fragments, arguing that both “contain an abbreviated form of the gothic novel including conventional motifs and characteristics. There is no difference between the two terms except that of length, the tale being the longer of the two; consequently, the term ‘Gothic tale’ applies equally to Gothic short stories, tales of terror, novelettes, fragments and serialized romances” (2005, 79). Richter has claimed the “Gothic is to all intents and purposes dead by 1822” (1996, 125), while Mayo asserts that “from 1796 to 1806 at least one-third of all novels published in Great Britain were Gothic in character” (1950, 766); earlier he had observed that “the popular vogue for romances of terror was over in 1814, but their appeal was still fresh in the minds of readers” (1943, 64). Baldick claims that Poe's tales are distinctly different from the earlier gothic tales, which he sees as inferior and merely redactions of the longer gothic novels (xvi).

7. The Use of Circulating Libraries Considered, an anonymous how-to manual for proprietors of circulating libraries (195–203). The Edmonton Circulating Library (England) stated its terms for subscription as five shillings a quarter; nine shillings for six months; sixteen shillings a year. Extremely detailed discussions of the evolution, economics, and patronage of circulating libraries in Britain can be found in a number of sources: Blakey, 111–24; Jacobs, 157–235; Potter 2005, 114–36; and R. Hume (2006). Richter connects the rise of circulating libraries with the increase in more naïve readers (1988, 126), while Punter argues the opposite, claiming that the "confidence trick" that gothic authors play on their readers (making them believe in phantoms only to sneer at the belief) actually "demands a type of discrimination largely unnecessary in the reading of earlier realist fiction" (1996, 96).

8. I have examined a variety of gothic chapbooks throughout England and found a remarkable consistency in them. Another very representative volume is the New Collection of Gothic Stories. The first page of the collection states that the contents have been reprinted from the Monthly Cabinet, and they include "Rodolph; or the Banditti of the Castle," a faux-Germanic "robber" tale set during the Crusades in which a murdered father and daughter appear as spirits to avenge their deaths; “The Story of Frederico; or the Ruin of the House of Vilaineuf," a faux-French story also set during the Crusades concerning rival dynastic claims. Its final sentence reads: “Virtuous actions meet with their own reward in the end.” “The Story of Ethelbert” is a Walpolean pastiche, a faux-Saxon tale about a portrait that sighs, a haunted tower, and a suit of armor that walks through the castle seeking revenge. The other two tales concern a monk who murders his brother and a castle besieged by Danish invaders. Gothic chapbooks and gothic tales have been reprinted fairly sporadically over the past thirty years. See Haining; Baldick;
and Potter (2003; 2009).

9. Frank characterizes Wilkinson's writings as “plundering” (1987, 412) and “automatic Gothicism produced and marketed for the reader's fee of six pence” (1987, 413). James discusses the authors of gothic chapbooks as “hack writers” and “lower-class writers . . . [who] had not enough skill to create through atmosphere a suspension of disbelief” (80–81). More recently, Kelly has stated bluntly, “Wilkinson was a hack” (2002, II:xxi).

10. A bibliography and analysis of the critical reaction to gothic romances can be found in Gallaway and Haworth.

Epilogue

1. For an assessment of Summers as a gothic scholar, as well as a rumored demon worshiper, pederast, and faux Catholic priest, see Jerome. Bostrom claims that the gothic “owed its protracted vogue” to the fact that it “reinforced old prejudices against Catholicism” (155). The Victorian gothics (the neo-gothic novels of the 1890s and the sensation novels) and their continued investment in anti-Catholic discourse and “sexual deviance” are best examined in O'Malley, who argues that “the work of nineteenth-century Gothic is the reworking of history itself, the distortion of the past produced as the anxiety of the present. . . . The gothic is the thematic or discursive eruption of a traumatic past into the present, distorted into a suggestion of the supernatural. . . . The gothic is the representation of the terror and fascination produced by the refusal of the past to remain in the past” (12). The earlier, post-Reformation anti-Catholic tradition is examined in Marotti. Also see Wright for a very useful overview of the history of the gothic and anti-Catholicism.

2. Blumenberg is regarded as the most radical of the secularization theorists in his attempts to dismantle secularism from its Christian explanatory structure. For him, history is contingent, cyclic, mechanical, and purposeless, while human actions are mechanistic and random, and devoid of any religious principle or spiritual promise.

3. A similar observation has been expressed astutely by Geary: “Much of Gothic fiction can thus be seen as a stage in a process of cultural and literary secularization, a literary mode whose procedures respond to the weakening of the theological matrix of providential beliefs containing the numinous but which do not fully coalesce into a new paradigm of completely naturalized or psychologized supernaturalism” (12). The cultural longevity of the gothic can be seen in films, television, and the works of any number of contemporary novels (the Twilight phenomenon being one). In commenting on this longevity, Lovecraft noted that the appeal of the gothic could be found in “the oldest and strongest kind of fear, the fear of the unknown”: it is a “plain scientific fact that man's very hereditary essence, . . . [contains] an actual psychological fixation of the old instincts in our nervous tissue, [which] has become saturated with religion and superstition, [a condition] as virtually permanent as far as the subconscious mind and inner instincts are concerned” (13–15).

4. Becker has critiqued Freud's theory of the “death-instinct,” arguing that “consciousness of death is the primary repression, not sexuality,” and that humanity's “protest against death is a built-in instinctive urge” that causes it to create religions or political parties, which he calls "culturally standardized hero systems and symbols" or "death-denying ideologies" (1973, 99, 96). For another critique, see Levin.
5. In yet another manifestation of anti-Catholic sentiment by a gothic balladeer, Robert Southey connects Catholicism to Druidism when he relates the conversion of King Ethelbert of Kent to Christianity by St. Augustine (597 CE), rewriting history in order to assert a long-standing distinction between a more liberal Protestant tradition and Roman Catholic tyranny (1824, I:31). Southey continued rewriting the history of Christianity in his *Vindiciae Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (1826), in which he “exposed this baneful system [Roman Catholicism] in its proper deformity.”

6. As Hutton has observed, a “privitisation” of worship (96–98) arose among the common people because the new, official Anglican religion no longer offered the services that they had come to expect, for example, Candlemas or prayers for the dead on All Souls’ Day. As I suggested in the Preface, attendance at carnival performances and theatrical Christmas harlequinades—and by extension, gothic theatricals—also functioned as one means by which these popular, “older” religious traditions survived in transmuted forms.