NOTES

Preface

1. See my Fable's End, where I make this suggestion.

Chapter 1

2. Republished the following year under its better-known title, The Old English Baron.
3. Edith Birkhead's The Tale of Terror is solidly researched and well balanced. Eino Railo's The Haunted Castle is marred by a thematic organization: one chapter is devoted to the avatars of the Gothic castle, another to those of the criminal monk, and so on, which makes the historical relations of texts in this unindexed book nearly impossible to follow. Railo is also devoid of literary taste, analysis, and judgment, a fault shared with Montague Summers, whose unqualified enthusiasm for scores of forgotten and forgettable fictions makes The Gothic Quest a bibliophile's dream and a critic's nightmare. Chapters 6 and 7 of J. M. S. Tompkins's The Popular Novel in England 1770 to 1800 is written with her customary good sense and clarity, though she takes the story only halfway. The first cycle of criticism fittingly ends with Devendra Varma, The Gothic Flame, which is (as David Punter has aptly pointed out) "largely a collation of earlier critics, sometimes with attributions, sometimes not" (Punter, The Literature of Terror 10).
4. Hayden White distinguishes between the forms of annals, chronicle, and true historical narrative. The annals form, exemplified by the Annals of Saint Gall from the Monuments Germaniae Historica, consists only of "a list of events ordered in chronological sequence." The chronicle "often seems to wish to tell a story, aspires to narrativity, but typically fails to achieve it. More specifically, the chronicle usually is marked by a failure to achieve narrative closure. It does not so much conclude as simply terminate" ("Value of Narrativity" 5). With the chronicle (exemplified by Richerus of Rheims's Histoire de France 888–995), events are presented in order of their occurrence "and cannot, therefore, offer the kind of meaning that a narratologically governed account can be said to provide."
5. See Neuburg, Popular Literature.
6. This work was a version of her dissertation and long precedes her noted antihomophobia project of cultural criticism.


8. Gilbert and Gubar have followed up with *No Man's Land* and *Sexchanges*, carrying their study into the twentieth century.

9. See *The Anxiety of Influence* and its follow-up volumes, *A Map of Misreading* and *Agon*.

10. Though *The Madwoman in the Attic* has inspired a generation of feminists, skeptics included other feminists, such as Mary Jacobus, who attacked the book's "unstated complicity with the autobiographical 'phalacy' whereby male critics hold that the female text is the author." Toril Moi is unhappy with the hermeneutics of the "cover story," since the result is that everywhere in literature by women one can uncover nothing but either overt or disguised versions of the author's "constant, never-changing feminist rage. This position . . . manages to transform all texts written by women into feminist texts" (51).

11. These are not critiques of the Gothic based upon historically founded myths or folk motifs (such as the Cupid-Psyche legend or the descent into Hades), but ones that take the Gothic novel to be essentializable as a single story or a set of related stories.

12. See, e.g., Collingwood, *The Idea of History*; Crane, *Critical and Historical Principles of Literary History*; Perkins, *Is Literary History Possible?* and other sceptical formulations about literary history, including Japp, *Beziehungssinn*; and Wellek, "The Fall of Literary History." Nevertheless, a number of monographs reconsidering the relationship between literature and history have begun to appear in recent years, of which a few of the more important are those of Gossman, *Between History and Literature*; Wright, *Fictional Discourse and Historical Space*; Budick, *Fiction and Historical Consciousness*; Reiss, *The Meaning of Literature*; Lindenberger, *The History in Literature*; Harvey, *Literature into History*.

13. The issue of essentialization here is discussed further in chap. 7.


15. Contemporary computers employing parallel processing have suggested to neuronal psychologists how the brain too may be organized to make sense of competing logical frameworks and sensory inputs.

16. Corman cogently argues a similar line in *Genre and Generic Change in English Comedy, 1660–1710* in discussing the nature of comedy in the Restoration. Tradition provides the useful distinction between comedy of humor and comedy of intrigue, comedy based on Jonson and comedy based on Fletcher as exemplars, but tradition is incoherent, since it ignores the fact that most comedy was a mixture of these forms. But Corman also argues that coherent theories of comedy, such as that of Elder Olson, fail to explain because they cover too few cases. Ultimately Corman relies on a formalist conception of "institutional forms" discussed in the following chapter together with its founder, Ralph W. Rader.
17. The clearest example of what I mean by "differently focused but essentially complementary explanations" is from economics. An event, like the inflationary spiral we experienced in the late 1970s, might be explained differently by different economists as primarily the result of (1) increased costs to producers ("cost-push" inflation), or (2) increased demand by consumers ("demand-pull" inflation), or (3) too much money in the economic system ("monetary" inflation). In fact the explanations are convergent, since all three symptoms will tend to occur at the same time; but as a result of their disparate ideologies, different schools of economics will explain the event differently, each explanation taking a single symptom as the driving force of the event and the other forces as subordinate and secondary manifestations.

18. See my introduction to *Falling into Theory* 1–23.

Chapter 2


2. Many if not most encyclopedic histories certainly offer articles on movements and genres as well as bio-bibliographies. But the habit is ingrained, even when grouping, say, all the writers of Restoration comedies together, of presenting some general strictures then going sequentially through the major figures (Etherege, Wycherley, Congreve) in a life-and-works fashion.

3. I must confess that I have yet to figure out precisely what "the numinous" means.

4. Were I rewriting this chapter today—and I suppose there isn't any reason I couldn't, except that the book would never get done if I kept on revising it—I would include Pierre Bourdieu's Marxist vision of cultural production, in addition to Williams, Eagleton, and Frow. See especially his essay "The Field of Cultural Production, or The Economic World Reversed."

5. Russian formalism begins around 1916 as a circle surrounding S. A. Vengerov; by 1929 it is at odds with the prevailing aesthetic ideology of the Soviet Union, and its members are forced to recant, like Shklovsky, or to emigrate, like Jakobson. Explicit consideration of literary history begins in the last third of this period with Tynyanov's "The Literary Fact" (1924).

6. The idea of evolution in literary history can be traced back further than the Russian formalists, of course. In his *L'évolution des genres de la littérature*, Ferdinand Brunetièr insists that the laws of literary change rest upon an "analogue à cette 'différenciation progressive' qui, dans la nature vivante, fait passer la matière de l'homogène à l'hétérogène, et sortir constamment, si j'ose ainsi parler, le contraire du semblable" (9). Brunetièr believed in a literary evolution that was very closely analogous to biological evolution: that oratory in the eighteenth-century sermon was replaced, in the struggle for existence, by Romantic poetry (which had a similar "evolutionary niche" in the sense that it expressed the transcendent spirit behind the immanent and the everyday). See also Wellek, *Concepts of Criticism* 37–46.

7. An interestingly psychoanalytic version of the process Tynyanov has outlined
appears in a book by Colin Martindale, *Romantic Progression*. Martindale argues that the pressure on the individual artist to "make it new" requires on the merely verbal level that each metaphor a poet comes up with be more unusual and distant, or psychically "re­gressed," than ones that have arrived in the literary tradition. "In a vacuum, poetry would be predicted to move away from the classical and rational through deeper and deeper lev­els of regression until it reached some hypothetical point beyond which regression and metaphor distance could not be pushed" (40). Outside this vacuum, audiences also force artists to be original, and thus to move to greater levels of regression, but their intolerance for ambiguity and too great originality has the opposite effect. The result is a sort of zig-zag. At first a genre begins at a high degree of formal elaboration (logical coherence, formal precision) and moves toward greater regression (primary process content). At a certain point, the pressure from the audience forces a decrease of regression, which is ac­commodated by a stylistic change to a lower level of elaboration; the style system can then operate with greater and greater regression until again a reaction sets in (and so on). In painting, the movement toward greater regression might be embodied in the sequence Classic→Pre-Raphaelite→Decadent Academic→Surreal Pictorial; a zigzag movement would be Classic→Romantic→Impressionist→Expressionist (then shifting to shallower regression with lower elaboration)→Cubist→Surreal Nonpictorial. Martindale's analysis is primarily of poetry (and of visual art), but it would apply also to music and to prose fiction. And it would in the case of the Gothic predict roughly what occurred: that the Gothic romance moved toward rawer fantasy and more decomposed narrative technique until (with the convulsive shift in style system) the historical romance replaced it.

8. Quotation is from pp. 79–80 in the translation by Matejka and Pomorska (see Works Cited).

9. Michael Sprinker suggests that Crane's formalism and historical ideas resemble, not so much those of the Russian formalists, as those of the Czech structuralists of the Prague circle, like Jan Mukarovsky and Felix Vodicka, and the reception theorists of Konstanz.

10. Crane's "Critical and Historical Principles of Literary History" was originally published the year before his death as an essay in the two-volume collection *The Idea of the Humanities and Other Essays* (1966). According to Crane's colleagues, the essay had been written much earlier, around 1952, at about the same time as *The Languages of Criticism and the Structure of Poetry*. In 1971 the essay was published separately as a book, with a foreword by Sheldon Sacks.

11. And see also my own *Fable's End* for a discussion of the similarities and differences of didactic fiction in the earlier and later periods.


13. Gerard Barker's study of the Grandisonian hero from Sir Charles himself to late manifestations like Fitzwilliam Darcy in *Pride and Prejudice* suggests the same dating.

14. The historical novel is not today a canonical form, but it was throughout the
nineteenth century. I am suspicious of any history of the novel that has nothing to say about the period—more than a generation—between Austen’s *Emma* (1816) and Emily Bronte’s *Wuthering Heights* (1847).

15. See Hicks, *The Great Tradition*. Hicks’s history of American literature presents a picture of literature riding over a more general social frame of rising industrialism. None of the major literary figures is approached historically: Hicks never asks why Hawthorne would choose to write about seventeenth-century Salem or contemporary Italy rather than about the life of his own times. The vulgarity of this vulgar-Marxist approach is less in its predictable and valueless aesthetic judgments than in its evasion of the really interesting historical questions.

16. For example, in the peroration of *Rethinking Intellectual History*, Dominick LaCapra stresses “the importance of close reading of texts and a careful investigation of their relations to discursive contexts” in order to enable “a mutually challenging interaction between social and intellectual history on what should be a matter of mutual concern: a better understanding of the actual relations between ‘elite’ and ‘popular’ culture in the past and a better standpoint for judging their desirable relations in the present and future” (346, italics added).

17. Jauss discusses Gadamer most directly in “The Limits and Tasks of Literary Hermeneutics.”


19. Michael Sprinker finds similarities (within differences) in this aesthetic historicism and Althusser’s notion of the relative autonomy of aesthetic practice. See *Imaginary Relations* 102ff.

20. In Richard McKeon’s sense of “grasping the universe of discourse as a whole rather than by parts.”

Chapter 3

1. The theory behind the “new historicism” is considered more generally in chap. 7.

2. *Language as Symbolic Action* 81–97. Burke begins by referring *Coriolanus* to “the unrest caused by the Enclosure Acts” (89), but later enthusiastically adopts William Frost’s suggestion that “the tension should be located rather as anticipatory of the later Civil Wars than as reminiscent of earlier disturbances... Crown vs. parliament rather than... landowners vs. peasants” (95).

3. “‘Lycidas’ was the symbolic dying of [Milton’s] poetic self. It was followed by a... prose period [when], except for the occasional sonnet, he ‘hid the one talent which it is death to hide.’... In ‘Lycidas’ he testifies that he is holding his dead self in abeyance, and that it will rise again... So the poet remained, for all his dying; and at the Restoration... he would be reborn. *Paradise Lost* is the fulfillment of his contract” (Burke, *Attitudes toward History* 1:86–87n).

4. See Dante’s letter to Can Grande della Scala for the clearest exposition of these modes of reading, in Richter, *The Critical Tradition* 118–21.
5. Whether this should count as allegory is a question. *Love Letters* is more properly a roman à clef like Robert Penn Warren's *All the King's Men*; the code is merely a matter of replacing one name with another.

6. The reverse should not be surprising.


8. Paulson is willing to state as a fact that when Henry Tilney of Austen's *Northanger Abbey* speaks of “a mob of three thousand men assembling in St. George's Fields; the Bank attacked, the Tower threatened, the streets of London flowing with blood,” Jane Austen “was thinking of history: the Gordon Riots of 1780 and the French Revolution of 1789, as well as the crowd of 150,000 that gathered at the meeting of the London Corresponding Society in Copenhagen Fields in 1795 (and the 200,000 cheap copies of *Rights of Man* sold in 1793), the riots of 1794–95 with their death toll, and the naval mutinies at Spithead and the Nore in 1797” (*Representations* 216). Lucky critic to be privy to authors' thoughts in such specific detail.

9. What Sade actually says is more interesting than that: “Ce genre, quoi qu'on en puisse dire, n'est assurément sans mérite; il devenait le fruit indispensable des secousses révolutionnaires dont l'Europe entière se ressentait. Pour qui connaissait tous les malheurs dont les méchants peuvent accabler les hommes, le roman devenait aussi difficile à faire que monotone à lire; il n'y avait point d'individu qui n'eût plus éprouvé d'infortune, en quatre ou cinq ans, que n'en pouvait peindre, en un siècle, le plus fameux romancier de la littérature. Il fallait donc appeler l'enfer à son secours, pour composer des titres à l'intérêt” (*Oeuvres complètes* 10:71). [The genre, whatever one can say about it, is assuredly not without merit. It became the necessary result of the revolutionary shocks which all Europe experienced. For anyone who knew all the evils that wicked men could perpetrate on their fellows, the novel became as difficult to write as it was monotonous to read. There was no one at all who had not experienced more misfortune in four or five years than could be painted in a century by the most famous novelist of literature. One had to call in Hell itself to help in creating texts that would be interesting.]

10. While Paulson’s notion of the Gothic novel as a metaphor for the revolution is questionable, particularly in the case of the most canonical texts (Radcliffe, Lewis, Maturin, and so on), there were certainly minor Gothic novelists interested in aspects of the French Revolution as a theme of terror. Marie Roberts, in *Gothic Immortals*, has amassed a good deal of information about how certain secret societies like the Rosicrucians, despite their Enlightenment ethos, became in the popular mind after the Revolution “dark spectres haunting the mass movements of Europe, . . . agencies for those dark mysterious forces which dethroned kings, dismounted generals and toppled governments” (59).

Paulson’s metaphorical principle, in which Gothic horror is viewed as a literary representation of what England found most horrid in actuality, is given its crudest extension into the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Martin Tropp’s *Images of Fear*. 
According to Tropp, the industrial revolution is portrayed in *Frankenstein* (where the Monster is seen as a "mechanical" assemblage of parts), the London poor in *Bleak House*, Jack the Ripper in *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, and so forth.

11. Women had been working at trades in the home since the Middle Ages but were late to join the factory workers. "It was only in 1820, when industrialization had been under way for over forty years, that employment opportunities for women increased, and then only in the cotton trade" (Stone 662).

12. Lawrence Stone points out that the *Pamela* situation mirrored so often in the Gothic novel remained descriptive of women's lives into mid-Victorian times, partly because the industrial revolution changed men's lives more than it did women's. "Far into the nineteenth century it remained true that the single largest occupation for single women was in domestic service. This was the group most exposed to sexual abuse, and least economically capable of resistance" (646).

13. Wolff's unusual position has recently become fashionable among feminist critics who find it embarrassing that women addictively read (and still addictively read the successors of) the Gothic novel. Anyone comparing the Emilys and the Ellenas of Radcliffe with the heroines of the Brontë sisters, however, will quickly be cured of the notion that the swooning Gothic heroines could be role models for the women of any day other than their own.

14. Certainly women's legal position improved enormously in the mid-Victorian period, with the passage of the Married Women's Property Acts giving women full personhood under the law.

15. Joan Perkin states that "by the 1850s the middle-class housewife was acknowledged mistress of her own sphere; that sphere was subordinate to that of her husband, but it had become 'her kingdom where she exercises entire control'" (187). This suggests that the "doctrine of separate spheres" to which Kate Ellis refers is a development of the middle third of the nineteenth century, since texts designed to train wives in their proper duties and talents, such as the domesticity manuals of Sarah Ellis (e.g., *The Wives of England* [1843]), are being written for a social movement only getting under way.

16. McKeon sees Fielding and Richardson as moving ideologically to a common ground by 1750. *Joseph Andrews* was part of the conservative reaction to *Pamela*, but McKeon views the eponymous hero of *Tom Jones* as "industrious and active... a rogue figure who makes good" and thus "much closer to the model of the progressive protagonist than anything Fielding had previously attempted." McKeon also sees *Clarissa*, relative to *Pamela*, as evincing "the darker conservative apprehension that the essence of utopia is that it is not to be found in this world" (*Origins* 418). Eagleton presents the Richardsonian solution to the horror of moneyed power and predatory masculinity as the bourgeoisified aristocrat Sir Charles Grandison, nonviolent, considerate, and altruistic. It is hard to doubt that the Grandisonian hero was a success for Richardson, who was prouder of his last novel than its worthier predecessors; and it is equally difficult to doubt the success of *Grandison* as a myth, since (despite his being a monster of propriety and boredom) he could be domesticated, and in a process chronicled by Gerard Barker,
various versions of Grandison dominated the genres of the novel for the next five decades. The question remains, though, whether the bourgeoisification of the aristocracy Eagleton confidently assumed was something that really happened or an artifact of ideology. As Lawrence and Jeanne Stone have demonstrated, the "country families" that made up the aristocracy of England were remarkably un-open to the entry even of the wealthiest new blood—upstart clans like the Harlowes were the stuff of fiction rather than fact—and the assimilation was rather of the "middling sort," the professional classes, to the values of the aristocracy than the other way around (see An Open Elite 402–7). A few well-known exceptions—like the immensely wealthy James Brydges, who became duke of Chandos—may, according to the Stones, be responsible for the prevailing myth of an aristocracy open to colonization from below.

17. Only the journal The Anti-Jacobin did so.

18. Avrom Fleishman begins his study of the historical novel with Scott, and though he gives mention to the earlier historical fiction in English beginning with Thomas Nashe and Thomas Deloney, and to the importance of the social realism of Maria Edgeworth and John Galt, there is no question in his mind that Scott was doing something genuinely new. Similarly, Richard Humphrey tells us that his "comparative study of the historical novel will begin . . . not with Xenophon's Cyropaedia (c. 370 B.C.) but with Walter Scott's Waverley (1814)" (1–2). And in choosing that date, he is following a long tradition. For Humphrey, the impact of Waverley was to create "generic awareness": to set up a model that could be followed not only in Britain but across Europe and in America as well.

19. Scott himself may have been the last to see himself as a great original, since he viewed his own efforts at prose romance in medieval setting as very much in the tradition of Walpole. His description of Walpole's The Castle of Otranto as presenting "a picture of domestic life and manners, during the feudal times, as might actually have existed, and to paint it chequered and agitated by the action of supernatural machinery, such as the superstition of the period received as a matter of devout credulity" is, as David Kerr suggests, a "strong misreading" rather than an accurate assessment of Walpole's achievement: it "tells us a great deal about Scott's own attitude towards the past, about his own sense of his motives for using what he calls 'supernatural machinery.'" See Walter Scott, preface to The Castle of Otranto in Walpole 8; and Kerr, Fiction against History 6.

20. It is perhaps significant that we still read Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire as literature, long after its ideas about Roman history have been superseded.

21. This is not to say that no one cared whether Ossian or Rowley were genuine. Samuel Johnson was exercised enough about MacPherson to go to considerable trouble to expose the latter's story about transcription of medieval manuscripts. On the other hand, one of the great contemporary medievalists, Thomas Tyrwhitt, who helped expose the Rowley hoax, thought enough of the poems to publish them, seven years after Chatterton's death, in 1777. The truth didn't settle the matter: both were read and enjoyed enthusiastically long into the nineteenth century.

22. See such representative works as Lyttelton, A History of the Life of King Henry the Second; Stuart, A Historical Dissertation concerning the Antiquities of the English Constitution;

23. Walpole to John Cole, 27 April 1773.

24. Harfst, *Horace Walpole and the Unconscious*, suggests that *The Castle of Otranto* had its psychological origins in Walpole's response to the rumors that he was fathered by Sir Carr Hervey.

25. In his introduction to the first edition, Walpole gives the pseudosource for *Otranto* as an incunabulum "printed at Naples, in the black letter, in the year 1529" (Walpole 17). On the story itself, Walpole as editor becomes both vague and coy: since the character "Frederic of Vicenza" is a crusader, the action must be laid "between 1095, the era of the first crusade, and 1243, the date of the last." On the other hand, the Spanish names of the servants indicate a period when "the establishment of the Arragonian kings in Naples had made Spanish appellations familiar in that country." That would imply a date after 1443, when Alfonso the Magnanimous brought Naples under the crown of Aragon (and later of united Spain). These two specifications are thus self-evidently in conflict.

But while the dates vouched for are inconsistent and the events impossibly supernatural, the names, which the first preface calls "evidently fictitious," are for real. Most of the male agents—Manfred of Otranto, his weakling son Conrad, the challenger Frederic, and the ancestral spirit Alfonso—are drawn from the history of the kingdom of Naples and the Two Sicilies. The historical Manfred (1232–66) was an illegitimate son of the Hohenstaufen Emperor Frederick, whose father made him prince of Taranto and regent for southern Italy on behalf of his half-brother Conrad and the latter's infant son Conradin. After false rumors of the death of Conradin reached him, Manfred in 1258 usurped the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, which he ruled till he was defeated and killed by Charles of Anjou at the Battle of Benevento. Otranto itself, a town in Apulia, lies within the kingdom Manfred ruled, though it is only a near-anagram of his principate of Taranto.

I read Walpole as dancing with issues of historical accuracy, as he presumed was fair play in a text he had called "a matter for entertainment" (17), and I do not suspect him of trying, even in the first edition, to impose a fraud on the public. I thus disagree with E. J. Clery, whose otherwise brilliant study *The Rise of Supernatural Fiction*, 1762–1800 suggests the contrary, making a great deal of the two notices of *The Castle of Otranto* in the *Monthly Review*, the first a favorable review taking the novel at its word for a genuine translation, the second outraged when the second edition (with its additional preface by "H.W.") revealed that it had been hoaxed (Clery 56–67). I think there is less here than meets the eye, particularly since other notices took the tale as a fictional entertainment, and since the notices for other historical fiction (such as Leland's *Longsword, Earl of Salisbury* [1762]) had been highly favorable.

26. An escape from shipwreck attributed by Roger to the intercession of the Virgin.

27. See the reviews of *The Recess* in *English Review* and in *Critical Review*. The review
in the *Gentleman's Magazine* seemed prepared to argue both briefs: that Lee's version of history is sufficiently true to life, but that the practice of mixing truth with falsehood might be generally dangerous—however well the danger is avoided in this case.

28. Clara Reeve, *The Champion of Virtue*. The novel is more generally known as *The Old English Baron*, as Reeve retitled it for the second edition the following year.

29. Reeve herself devotes some space in the preface to the second edition to the theory behind this amalgam: "This Story is the literary offspring of the Castle of Otranto, written upon the same plan, with a design to unite the most attractive and interesting circumstances of the ancient Romance and modern Novel, at the same time it assumes a character and manner of its own . . . ; it is . . . a Gothic Story, being a picture of Gothic times and manners" (*Old English Baron* 5).

30. Similarly, the plot of *The Italian* depends on the Inquisition having a degree of power it had lost by the mid-eighteenth century; see *The Italian* 418n. Whether Radcliffe knew these things and ignored them or was simply ignorant is not clear.

31. Absent a systematic survey of the thousands of Gothic novels published between 1790 and 1820, it seems that the majority of the Gothic novels of the post-Radcliffe period are atmospheric period works without any explicit relation to history whatsoever. Some examples: Matthew G. Lewis's *The Monk*, almost as canonical as Radcliffe, is set in Madrid but at no particular date; even the Wandering Jew fails to mention how long his tormented life has lasted. Mary-Anne Radcliffe's *Manfroné*; or, *the One Handed Monk* is set in Italy during a remote but entirely unspecified period in the past. Maria Regina Roche's *Clermont* is set in an equally vague France, though noble names like "De Sevigne" and "Montmorenci" suggest the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. *Confessions of the Nun of St. Omer*, by Charlotte Dacre, writing as "Rosa Matilda," is a generally "continental" novel in which the heroine, daughter of an Italian marquis by an English gentewoman, travels, seeking love and adventure, to Germany, France, and Italy.

In fairness one should mention that Eleanor Sleath's unusually witty romance *The Nocturnal Minstrel* is an exception to the pervasive vagueness about period and even locale. It is precisely set just after the period of the "feigned boys"—the pretenders Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, who troubled the reign of Henry VII—and located in a barony in the north of England ruled by the widow of a Yorkist partisan. And Charles Robert Maturin's early horror stories are set carefully by date.

32. I am suggesting that there is a "moral chronology" as well as what John Mullan has called a "moral geography" at work in eighteenth-century British fiction. Mullan claims that Italy was "a convenient place of projection—a location for the excesses of feeling. It is where we find 'enthusiasm'—the overflowing of passions and affections beyond the bounds which in England . . . are so properly established" (112).

33. Richardson's archetypal Sir Charles Grandison (1751) sets the tone of the age by skillfully avoiding a pointless duel even when intentionally insulted. His Robert Lovelace and Hargrave Pollexfen created equally powerful archetypes for his era of the rake and the bully.

34. In *The Fool of Quality* (1765), Henry Brooke insists that the gentleman is not
defined by birth, breeding, or jealousy of his honor but by Christian qualities: "One quality of a gentleman is that of charity to the poor. . . . Another. . . . is a delicacy of behavior toward that sex whom nature has entitled to the protection and . . . the tenderness of man. . . . Another. . . . is the giving place, and yielding to all with whom he has to do. . . . Another capital quality of the true gentleman is, that of feeling himself concerned and interested in others. . . . Again, the gentleman never envies any superior excellence but grows himself more excellent by being the admirer, promoter, and lover thereof" (159-61).

35. Basic and basically permanent: my own working-class parents enjoined me as a child to "be a gentleman" by giving up my seat on a bus to an elderly person. Being a gentleman thus meant not any specific sign of breeding but relieving the wants of others at the expense of one's own comfort.

36. According to G. J. Barker-Benfield, John Wesley himself did an abridgment of Brooke's *Fool of Quality* by which the book became best known in its age (149). *Adventures of a Bank-Note*—like *Tristram Shandy*, of which it is an imitation—is satirical as well as sentimental, though the episode of Miss St. Vincent in volume 3 kills the cow as well as any text of the time.

37. Todd cites Hannah More as denying "sentimental pensiveness to the vulgar" and James Cobb as presenting sentimental generosity as "a losing trade" for the middle-class tradesman.

38. Barker-Benfield quotes Mackenzie in *The Lounger* (1785) that "the influx of foreign riches and of foreign luxury, which this country has of late experienced, has almost levelled every distinction but that of money among us" (146).

39. John Mullan sees Smith's *Theory of the Moral Sentiments*—published 1759, just before the height of the cult of sensibility—as giving philosophical grounding to that cult by arguing that the social system depends upon the moral spectacle of suffering. Mullan argues, as I would, that the wind had changed by 1776: "In *The Wealth of Nations*, the race may be the same still, but no such. . . restraining spectatorial judgment is necessary to the workings of society. In this work interests are arranged and organized according . . . to the concept of 'the division of labour' and are described in a writing which divorces itself from an allegiance to any of the 'orders of civilized society. . . .' Benevolence and sympathy have no place in this text. The relations enacted in patterns of exchange . . . are in excess of 'friendship' or 'benevolence. . . .' Fellow-feeling might ornament such a society but would not be intrinsic to its proper functioning" (53-54).

40. As does Clery.

41. If this were the case, then one would expect the chief focus of the traditional sentimental situation in the years after *The Wealth of Nations* to be the novels of the radical Jacobins—the only ones who could then conceive of a society based on a principle other than hierarchy. This is precisely what Chris Jones argues in his book *Radical Sensibility*.

42. "As the spirit of humanitarianism spread. . . . it was accompanied by a deepening realization. . . . that individual acts of benevolence could not alter a general social condition that was fundamentally unjust; and also that there was perhaps something suspect in
being able to derive pleasure from feeling pity and acting charitably in a situation which was irremediable; indeed that real pleasure—one with which sadness was inextricably blended—came from the awareness of the final hopelessness of it all" (Brisenden 82).

43. See Anna Letitia Aikin, aka Mrs. Barbauld, "Inquiry into Those Kinds of Distress Which Excite Agreeable Sensations," in Aikin and Aikin, Miscellaneous Pieces in Prose 192. Mrs. Barbauld insists that "Poverty, if truly represented, shocks our nicer feelings . . . ; the rags, the dirt, the squalid appearance and mean employments incident to that state must be kept out of sight, and the distress must arise from . . . the shock of falling from higher fortunes" (203).

44. Terry Eagleton puts it this way: "The mutual confrontation between those divergent meanings in the text signals a certain incompleteness: the work is not closed on itself, a 'totality' turning around a concealed centre, but radically decentralised and irregular, unachieved and insufficient. Yet this incompleteness or 'hollowness' of the artefact is not one which criticism can correct by adding something to it; it is, rather, a determinate incompleteness which cannot be altered. The text is, as it were, complete in its incompleteness, unachieved by virtue of the very reality it is. What is lacking to it—its absence—is precisely what constitutes it as an object" ("Macherey and Marxist Literary Theory" 14).

45. This is argued about Frankenstein, not terribly convincingly, by Martin Tropp in Images of Fear. Marx's notion of the alienation of the worker from the product of his labor applied within a factory system where the worker does not make the entire product by hand. Victor Frankenstein's labors are pure handwork, and his loathing of the product has nothing to do with any loss of artisanship.

46. See Maturin, Melmoth the Wanderer. Stanton's release is never even circumstantially described: all we learn is that "the manuscript told no more of Melmoth, but mentioned that Stanton was finally liberated from his confinement" (58). Monçada's escape: "The archway of the court opposite to us gave way, and sunk in ruins at our feet . . . There arose such a blinding cloud of smoke and dust that it was impossible to distinguish the face or figure of those who were next you. . . . A space lay open before me. The thought, the motion, were simultaneous—no one saw—no one pursued; and hours before my absence could be discovered, or an inquiry be made after me, I had struggled safe and secret through the ruins, and was in the streets of Madrid" (242-43).

47. Walpole, The Castle of Otranto 32, 71. Perhaps the ultimate source of this is Clarissa, where the heroine, after the failure of all her contrivances to escape from Lovelace, simply walks out the door of Mrs. Sinclair's into a shower of rain, her face concealed in Mabel's mantua, and disappears into the streets of London.

Chapter 4

1. Rader, "The Literary-Theoretical Contribution of Sheldon Sacks" 189. Rader
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later put it that we should "think of literary works not as embodiments of a priori principles of form but as constructions in which the author's attempt to realize his aesthetic and allied aims may produce conflicts which leave on the works the marks of their solutions" ("From Richardson to Austen" 465).

2. See my comments in chap. 1 on Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's The Coherence of Gothic Conventions. As will be clear as we go on, this essay could have been titled "The Incoherence of Gothic Conventions."

3. The problem with the ending of Otranto is paralleled by a similar problem with the beginning of The Monk, in which Lorenzo, Antonia's lover, who spends much of the second half of the novel looking for her, seems to have had scarcely any communication with her during the few chapters at the beginning when their names are introduced together: he sees her once or twice in church, and little more.

4. The only link between the plots is the character of Lorenzo, who is Agnes's brother and the professed lover of Antonia.

5. The Gothic novel as I have defined it here is not primarily a novel about the supernatural; that feature is not even central to its form. While most of us think of the Gothic as a genre with supernatural beings, the fact is that fewer than 10 percent of the 208 Gothic novels whose plots are summarized by Ann Tracy appear to contain notionally "real" ghosts, vampires, and demons who affect the plots of the novels in ways that require genuine resolution; the vast majority of the "supernatural" machinery are either imagined specters or mysterious warnings that, like the specters of the murdered Plantagenets in Shakespeare's Richard III, point the way to the denouement without tangibly affecting the outcome.

6. Grandison is to represent "the Example of a Man acting uniformly well through a variety of trying scenes" (Richardson-Stinstra Correspondence 23).

7. Lewis's Monk, with the rape and murder of Antonia by Ambrosio, seems an obvious exception. It may be so considered, but it is perhaps more coherent to assume that Ambrosio, not Antonia, is the protagonist of the plot, and the main plot of The Monk falls under the variant organizing plan I call Manfred's Tale below. The subplot of The Monk, the story of Frederick and Agnes, has the normal pattern, and the lovers, minus their illegitimate offspring, are reunited at the end.

8. To the present-day reader, the Gothic heroine's frequent inability to express the misery or tension she feels seems suspicious, a cop-out on the part of the writer. In the coding of sentiment during the late eighteenth century, though, it was clarity that was suspicious. As David Denby puts it, "Sentimentalism is intimately persuaded of the ineffability of sentiment, of the impossibility of exhausting through language the full depth of emotion as it is felt experientially. . . . Elision operates in the sentimental text as a figure of some inaccessible reality; an absence on the page . . . points to meanings which are absent at the immediate level of communication but must, by implication, be present on another, less directly available plane" (83).

9. Reception of the Gothic in the 1790s is discussed in chap. 6.
10. See the discussion of the sadomasochistic character of Gothic and later postromantic texts (Baudelaire, Lautreamont) in Praz 97–195.

11. Within Melmoth the Wanderer, this thematization of the way in which a vicarious masochism operates within Gothic texts has the effect of alerting the audience to the peculiar impact of its own addiction to strong sensations.

12. Cynthia Griffin Wolff, in her essay "The Radcliffean Gothic Model," asserts the contrary, but her psychoanalytical method implicitly relies upon the paradox of the passive-aggressive disorder: that passivity and indecisiveness are a way of getting others to do what one cannot do oneself.

13. The historical events that most resemble Scott's fantasy of a renewed attempt to set Charles Edward Stuart on the throne occurred around 1750–52; the displacement to the late 1760s may reflect Scott's attempt to bridge the gap between the Jacobite adventure and his own youth as an Edinburgh law student in the late 1780s and early 1790s.

14. Birkhead calls the tale "a masterpiece of supernatural terror," attributing its power primarily to its narrative technique, particularly the voicing by Wandering Willie, who begins in a matter-of-fact way and begins to be stirred by his own story as he tells it (151–52).

Chapter 5

1. Jauss, "Theses on the Transition" 142–43. Jauss had suggested earlier (with vacuously circular logic) that the explicit reader might be inferred from the implied reader within the text: "There is also the possibility of objectifying the horizon of expectations in works that are historically less sharply delineated. For the specific disposition toward a particular work that the author anticipates from the audience can also be arrived at, even if explicit signals are lacking, through . . . familiar norms; through . . . the implicit relationships to familiar works of the literary-historical surroundings; and . . . through the reflective function of language" ("Literary History as Challenge" 24).

2. For example, how Valéry read Goethe's Faust or how Gautier, Huysmans, Valéry, and Walter Benjamin read Baudelaire's "Spleen." See Jauss, "Goethe's and Valéry's Faust" and "The Poetic Text within the Change of Horizons of Reading," in Toward an Aesthetic of Reception.


4. Lewis was an easy target. In addition to the early accusations of obscenity raised by the Critical Review, the Monthly Review, the British Critic, and the Scots Magazine, he was attacked by Thomas J. Mathias for blasphemy in the passage in which Ambrosio sees Antonia reading the Bible and wonders how, with the many episodes involving sexuality, she can have remained so ignorant (Mathias 366).

5. Sheffield was a major center of the Corresponding Societies, Englishmen who were in touch with the French Jacobins. See Hunt 335.

6. Radcliffe's Italian (1797) was generally received less favorably than Udolpho by
reactionary publications like *European Magazine* and by radical/liberal ones like the *English Review*, which ordinarily hoped that a little of the French Revolution would rub off on England.

7. The response to fiction that we see in Talfourd and Hazlitt was nevertheless available to readers in the mid-eighteenth century. A glance at Henry Fielding's letter to Richardson after completing the first two parts of *Clarissa* demonstrates that the author of *Tom Jones* was capable of projecting himself psychically into Richardson's fiction with an intensity unrivaled by the Gothic-besotted heroine of *Northanger Abbey* (for the letter, see Dudden 2:719–20). But it is interesting that the novel that calls up that heated response in Fielding is the very one from which the Gothic novel derived much of its emotional tone. See Howells 8, 26.

8. For example, Coleridge in *Biographia Literaria* says of the devotees of the Gothic novel: “I dare not compliment their pass-time, or rather kill-time with the name of reading. Call it rather a sort of beggarly daydreaming, during which the mind of the dreamer furnishes for itself nothing but laziness and a little mawkish sensibility; while the whole materiel and imagery of the doze is supplied ab extra by a sort of mental camera obscura furnished in the printing office, which pro tempore fixes, reflects and transmits the moving phantasms of one man's delirium so as to people the barrenness of an hundred other brains afflicted with the same trance or suspension of all common sense and all definite purpose” (7:i:48).

9. Bennett 136. Robert A. Colby's work was presented as an MLA talk on the Victorian Gothic (“Victorian Gothic: Echo and Transformation”) at the 1985 Annual Meeting. His evidence involves works like the Reverend Francis Edward Paget's *Lucretia, or The Heroine of the Nineteenth Century* (1868), whose postscript insists that every decent person help “preserve the purity of the young by putting them on their guard against the perusal of writings which sedulously pander to the worst passions of our nature” (307).

10. For similar reports, see the letter of “Sylvester Hawthorne,” and “On the Terrorist System of Novel-Writing.” On the other side, however, an article in the *Monthly Mirror* entitled “Novel-Reading a Cause of Female Depravity” takes the position that a woman whose mind is “enervated” by a course of novel reading is likely not to be unfitted for life but to be seduced by any languorous young man. The immoral consequences of weakness of mind produced by reading is a favorite theme of the 1780s. We find it in Vicesimus Knox's 1784 *Essays: Moral and Literary* (2:189), where Sterne’s sentimental imitators are blamed for lack of moral self-control among the young. Such a theme is not to be confused with the later attacks on castle-building.

11. See Chapone, who insists great care be given in the selection for children's reading “of those fictitious stories that so enchant the mind, most of which tend to inflame the passions of youth” (143). But Chapone also fears that the immoderate reader will become a female Quixote. See also Taylor.

12. The moral reaction to *The Monk* was very intense. For a full survey of the contemporary attacks and defenses of Matthew G. Lewis and his novel, see Parreaux.

13. The reading public's access to the Gothic was enhanced around 1791 by the
enterprise William Lane's innovation of franchising his Minerva Press circulating library to tradesmen seeking comparable profits in the provinces. See Blakey 114.

14. See, e.g., Lestrange 1:34. Thomas Babington Macaulay also used to frequent regularly the Minerva Press's circulating library, and it is suggestive that (as a letter from his sister Hannah records) he read at least one romance closely enough to have kept a tally of how often the various characters fainted (which was pretty often). See Cruse 101–2.

15. Critiques of Gothic fiction based on factuality abound; see among dozens of possible examples: (1) review of Mary Robinson, Walsingham, or, the Pupil of Nature, in Anti-Jacobin Review; (2) reviews of Isobel, or, the Orphan of Valdarno; a Florentine Romance, founded during the Civil Wars in Italy, which is attacked for its improbability in Annual Review and History of Literature and praised for its fidelity to fact in Flowers of Literature; and (3) review of The Captive of Valence; or the Last Moments of Pius VI in Eclectic Review. Clearly some readers must have cared: Elizabeth Carter wrote in 1794 to Mrs. Montagu that she found Tschink's Herman of Unna "very dull, but it is interesting from giving what I suppose is a true account of that most horrid institution the Secret Tribunal" (letter #283, 3:341). And authors themselves sometimes felt it necessary to explain or justify their departures from fact; Francis Lathom's introduction to The Unknown; or the Northern Gallery distinguishes for the audience between the imagined and the real events that his romance mixes together. See review in The Cabinet.

16. In "Confessions of a Book Reviewer," George Orwell discusses the "prolonged, indiscriminate reviewing of books" as a "thankless, irritating and exhausting job" whose practitioners will say any nonsense to be rid of the work of inventing reactions to a pile of ill-assorted books that actually arouse in them no reaction whatever: nevertheless, right at deadline "all the stale old phrases . . . will jump into their places like filings obeying the magnet, and the review will end up at exactly the right length and with about three minutes to go" (4:181–84).

17. See Ferris, Achievement of Literary Authority. Ferris's book originated in a paper on the reception of the Waverley novels read in April 1986 at the Conference on Narrative Poetics, in Columbus, Ohio; an earlier version of my chapter was read at the same session. Since so many conferences have become places to show off one's new intellectual fashions, it is interesting that this session witnessed two people with the keys to each other's problems.

I find myself in disagreement with the conclusion Ferris briefly appends to her narrative of Scott's rise at the expense of the Gothic novel. Her claim that Thomas Carlyle's 1838 essay on Scott in the London and Westminster Review "set in place the terms in which Scott's critical decline later in the century (and virtual erasure in our own) would be registered" (248) is one I find less compelling. I am not convinced that Scott's "manufacture" of fictions under financial pressure put them "under the sign of female reading" (252) once more, nor that (in the days of Dickens and Trollope) such manufacture would make his novels ipso facto less valuable to the Victorian audience.

As I have argued in chap. 3, the historical sense, like gender roles, developed historically, and the Waverley novels, whose seeming accuracy buried the medievalism of the
Gothic romance, were themselves found hopelessly inadequate by a later generation. Not only was Scott's prosiness of style no longer in fashion, but his notion of the Middle Ages seemed to have the surface—the armor and the tapestries—without the substance and spirit. In 1820 readers of Ivanhoe were in no position to question Scott's assumption that "Norman" and "Saxon" in the 1190s represented two castes like whites and Negroes in the antebellum South. A generation or two later, Pre-Raphaelite writers of the later Victorian period like Rossetti and Morris had produced a vision of the Middle Ages that recuperated its hieratic social texture, the violent tenor of its common life, and its religious ecstasies; with this vision Scott's did not match up. It is perhaps ironic that the author of Waverley, by stimulating (as we know he did) the developing historical sense of historiographic innovators like Carlyle, Macaulay, and Marx, helped to ensure his own obsolescence.

18. I have suggested that at least the bourgeois reader was affected, but controversy persists over how far down in the social scale the addiction to Gothic fiction went. Sources like James Lackington's memoirs suggest that the reading of fiction was nearly universal. On the other hand, the price of books, or of subscriptions to the circulating libraries, was very high (the guinea charged by the Minerva Library for a subscription would be a good fraction of a footman's annual wage). Still, Altick reminds us that "if we are to believe the constant burden of contemporary satire, domestic servants attended [circulating libraries] in great numbers on their own account, not merely to exchange books for their mistresses" (62).

19. My argument rests on usual dating of the beginning of the vogue of the Gothic in the early 1790s, rather before the series of attacks on castle-builders and Quixotes begins in the late 1790s and 1800s. But not only is my dating of the trend toward aisthesis necessarily vague, so is any dating of the vogue of the Gothic. See Mayo, "How Long Was Gothic Fiction in Vogue?" for some of the problems in making such estimations. Mayo's conclusion, by the way, that the Gothic novel was essentially passé by 1814, seems questionable in the light of Tracy's The Gothic Novel, 1790–1830. If we date the 208 novels analyzed and summarized in Tracy's volume, we find that there was a short hiatus during 1813–17, but that the trend picked up again in the period 1818–22 before declining once more toward 1830. Mayo picks up the hiatus but, since he ends his study in 1820, misses the brief recrudescence of the Gothic a few years later. See my "The Gothic Impulse" 287.

Chapter 6

1. This is not to say that one cannot find literary genres spawned within the Gothic tradition which have a continuous history. The "ghost story," which is so important within German Gothic fiction (particularly Bürger, Tieck, and Hoffmann) and reappears as an element in the 1790s in England (as in the Bleeding Nun episode of The Monk), has a long and well-defined tradition throughout the nineteenth century in texts by (among
Notes to Chapter 6

others) Poe, Gautier, Maupassant, Dickens, Le Fanu, Collins, Doyle, Machen, Dunsany, Blackwood, Lovecraft, Lindsay, up to the present day of Stephen King. But the ghost story—fiction creating terror through plots involving the supernatural—is (as the last three chapters should suggest) only a small and not utterly essential element of the Gothic. For various attempts to historicize the ghost story, see Praz, Punter (chap. 12), Aguirre, Tropp, and Grixti. An excellent formal analysis is in Sullivan.

2. See Judith Wilt's Ghosts of the Gothic: Austen, Eliot, Lawrence, from which I have stolen my chapter title. Wilt's ingenuity allows her to wring interesting Gothic resemblances from such unpromising novels as Emma, Middlemarch, and Women in Love, which suggests that there are bound to be intertextual connections between any text chosen at random and the central novels of the Gothic period if only we are devious enough to see them.

3. See my discussion of generic change in chap. 2.

4. Crossover texts, such as Joyce Carol Oates's romance Bloodworth, are exceptions that prove the rule.

5. On Scott's ambivalent approach to accuracy in the historical novel, see my essay “From Medievalism to Historicism.”

6. The development of something like the present-day historical sense is discussed in chap. 3. Harrison Ainsworth in particular long survived his public. By the 1860s he had become poor, wandering the streets of London. Dickens's friend Forster, meeting him in his rounds, was astonished that he was still alive, so attached did he seem to an earlier literary era.

7. Robespierre is the prime villain of the last half of the novel, and it is likely that, along with Carlyle's, Bulwer-Lytton's representation of the Reign of Terror and Zanoni's self-sacrifice inspired and influenced Dickens's version of these events in A Tale of Two Cities (1859).

8. Zanoni was seen by at least one reviewer as a direct descendant of Shelley's Frankenstein. See Robert Hengist Horne [pseud. of Richard Henry], A New Spirit of the Age.

9. Trodd, in Domestic Violence in the Victorian Novel, cites the articles by Mansel in the Quarterly Review for 1863 and Margaret Oliphant's series of articles in Blackwood's in the 1860s.

10. See also, on the Gothic roots of the sensation novel, Alison Milbank (Daughters of the House), whose feminist perspective unfortunately restricts her to the heirs of the “female Gothic” of Radcliffe, the versions of what in chap. 4 I have called Isabella's Tale, neglecting such important innovations as we find in the novels of Mrs. Braddon.

11. A follower of Raymond Williams, Nicholas Rance reads the short-lived vogue of sensation as a “form of feeling,” a literary response to “a decade labouring under economic depression and, fairly strictly connected, campaigns for an extension of the franchise” (4). But it isn't very clear how all the other literary forms of the period are connected with this same political and economic shift, which must underlie all of them.

12. See Symons. For the social construction of the audience for this form, see Watson.
13. The plot is filled with weird coincidences, i.e., that Anne Catherick’s mother should become the sharer of Sir Percival Glyde’s guilty secret—forging the marriage record of his parents.

14. In the only full-length monograph exclusively devoted to the subject, Edwin F. Block, Jr., refers to the neo-Gothic as “the Victorian Psychomythic tale.” He discusses other texts of the 1890s such as *Hauntings* by “Vernon Lee” [pseudonym of Violet Paget], Walter Pater’s “Apollo in Picardy,” W. B. Yeats’s “Rosa Alchemica,” Stevenson’s “Olalla,” and Arthur Symons’s “Extracts from the Journal of Henry Luxulyan” (1905). Block is right, I think, that the neo-Gothic was a way of exploring (using the imagery of myth and folk tale, ghost story, and Gothic novel) the aspects of the mind that would early in the twentieth century be understood through Freudian psychology: repression, the unconscious, wish fulfillment, the truth of dreams.

15. Wells is discussed under “science fiction” below.

16. Similarly in Stoker’s *Dracula*, the “undead” of the vampire, however terrifying and disgusting, is a guarantee that the soul is immortal and separable from the body. Van Helsing’s “science” thus recapitulates and confirms the truths of religion: (as was insisted in Leviticus) the chosen of God may not eat of the blood, since “the blood is the life,” and (as St. John promised) those who die in grace shall sleep in peace till the Resurrection and then awaken to bliss.

17. The Irish Stoker, born 1847 in Clontarf during the Great Hunger, may have inherited this complex of feeling about the absentee landowners.

18. This is not to say that we cannot speak of Gothic elements in the work of William Faulkner, Carson McCullers, or Flannery O’Connor, or that Isak Dinesen’s *Seven Gothic Tales* cannot be profitably read against the Gothic tradition. But more than in the nineteenth century, the gap between realism and romance became difficult to bridge, and the allusions to the Gothic romance in mainstream serious fiction became more and more self-conscious, exploiting a common cultural experience rather than milking a built-in system of responses.


20. In England as well, the generic commodity is known by its major publisher, Mills and Boon.

21. John Cawelti refers to both of these types as “best-selling social melodrama,” which he defines in terms of a plot that interweaves “patterns of melodrama with a particular set of current events or social institutions, the result being a complex double effect. The social setting is often treated rather critically with a good deal of anatomizing of the hidden motives, secret corruption, and human folly underlying certain events and institutions; yet the main plot works out in proper melodramatic fashion” affirming distributive justice (*Adventure, Mystery, Romance* 261). A generation ago, the main practitioners were Herman Wouk, Grace Metalious, and James A. Michener, and the genre continues to flourish today.

22. Eric Rucker Eddison is a lesser known but equally talented practitioner, whose
**Worm Ouroboros, Mistress of Mistresses, and A Fish Dinner in Memison** briefly went from rare books to paperback in the late 1960s.

23. Julian Symons agrees that "the Gothic novel . . . often poses a mystery to be solved [though] the solution is never in itself of much interest. . . . The characteristic note of crime literature is first struck in *Caleb Williams" (28).

24. The revelation that the "criminal" is an orangutan practicing monkey-see-monkey-do with his owner's razor is—after the buildup—rather disappointing.

25. See Dorothy Leigh Sayers's essay-postscript to *Gaudy Night* and her attempts to make the mystery problem (of harassment in a women's college at Oxford) into a human problem for her detectives as well.

The reason it was so hard to import verisimilitude and real emotional power to the "classic" murder mystery has something to do with the form itself. The "puzzle" plot requires a victim and a clutch of suspects of whom one is the murderer. If the victims are sympathetic, it is unlikely that a large number of their acquaintances will be plausibly motivated to murder. If the victims are unsympathetic, the sort of people who "need killing," the search for the killer asserts the demand of law without asserting that of natural justice. The only way of keeping that conflict out of the picture is to make all the characters rather vague and flat—which was the problem.

26. See the works of Nicolas Freeling, Mai Sjowall and Per Wahloo, Ruth Rendell, and Ed McBain (among many others). The blind alley inherent in this most realistic variant of the form is that scientific criminal detection as actually practiced by police forces all over the Western democracies is of limited human interest. Increasingly it has come to depend either on the use of paid (or protected) informants or on the deadening analysis of bits of fiber and hair at the crime scene. Hence the emphasis either on a brilliantly intuitive police detective in the Maigret mold, or on the camaraderie of the detective cadre themselves (as in Ed McBain's outré and humorous "87th Precinct" stories), or both, to sustain audience appeal.

27. The spy novel is usually an adventure story rather than a mystery, though there commonly is a secret relationship of betrayal within the novel's plot, and occasionally the sympathetic hero (e.g., John Le Carré's George Smiley) is as much a detective as an operative. See John Cawelti and Bruce Rosenberg's *The Spy Story*, where they discuss the appeal of the spy story as originating in "the alienation of the individual from the large organizations—corporations, bureaucracies, professions—which dominate our lives . . . and the deep feeling of conflict between the individual self and social role that engenders" (32).

28. The thriller has been analyzed by Jerry Palmer in *Thrillers* as stemming in its appeal from the conflict between individualism—so important to the American ideology—and the demands of complex social organizations produced by late capitalism. The fantasy fiction takes shape as the conflict between a competitive individualist and a conspiracy intended to disrupt the social order. The hero then resolves the ideological conflict by defeating the conspiracy. Palmer is correct that most thrillers employ foreign or extralegal antagonists; he did not anticipate the best-sellers of John Grisham, who has taken the
ideological conflict to its extreme point by situating the conspiracies within white-glove law firms and corporate headquarters, with cooperation from governmental organizations like the FBI and CIA.

29. In terms of the “political unconscious” involved in these best-sellers, one might apply the analysis Fredric Jameson employed in the sequel to Coppola’s The Godfather, in which the allegorical use of the Mafia as a metaphor for corporate business breaks down as the Corleone family becomes a more-or-less legitimate business operation, losing along the way the utopian significance of the close ethnic family (“Reification and Utopia in Mass Culture”).

30. Lovecraft, At the Mountains of Madness, and Other Novels. Brian Aldiss suggests that Lovecraft’s unpronounceable names for his mythic beings recall breakfast cereals spelled backward.

31. In Terrors of Uncertainty, arguably the most sensitive work ever to be devoted to pulp horror, Joseph Grixti argues that “the assumptions and conceptual frameworks underlying the conventions of horror fiction often derive from half-baked processes of secularization. It is precisely because these conventions are uncertainly . . . positioned between superstition and (poorly digested) science that the only mode within which they can adequately function is the magical. . . . There is, in other words, a desire to retreat from the uncertainties created by dislocations endemic to change, but not at the expense of the comforts and titillations which have been made accessible by the technological advances underlying that change” (182).

32. There is of course a sense in which cinema and television have superseded all fiction as mass entertainment, in the sense that audiences for films and television run in the tens of millions, whereas even a pulp best-seller seldom sells more than a million copies. But the audience for science fiction films and television programs centers on the strong and loyal print audience for the genre, fans whose shifting responses are largely responsible for the evolution in its themes and forms over the past five decades. This is not true for horror films and books. Many millions of Americans are addicted to horror films who would never pick up a horror novel.

33. Equivalent brand names exist in Great Britain. This is in addition to the subdivision of the romance genre by subject matter—contemporary vs. historical romances, and within historical romances, divisions between medieval, Regency, and Edwardian chronotopes.

Chapter 7

1. It feels right to say that an object whirled about our heads attached to a string “wants” to fly off on a straight-line tangent to the circle but is “restrained” by the string. Often teleological ideas are at odds with scientific fact. Students of physics asked to estimate the tension in two ropes, one stretched between two horses pulling away from each other, the other stretched between a horse pulling away from a tree (assuming the three horses are exerting identical quantities of force) will usually say that the tension in the first
rope should be twice that in the second. Actually the tension in the two ropes would be identical, by Newton’s third law. What throws us off is the teleological notion that trees don’t pull the way horses do.

2. On the literary-historical workings of these varieties of causality, see Crane, *Critical and Historical Principles of Literary History* 57–61.

3. Rader (“Emergence”) places much weight on the fact that *Jonathan Wild*, Fielding’s first large-scale attempt at fictional narrative, probably written before the publication of *Pamela*, fails to provide a fully dramatic narrative standing independent of authorial construction, but that *Joseph Andrews*, his second, published after and (in part) in response to *Pamela*, succeeds in this.

4. To the extent that Rader cares about what happened earlier, it is in terms of predecessor forms such as that shaping Defoe’s *Moll Flanders* (which Rader calls an imitation of “naive incoherent autobiography”), forms that died out after the novel as such appeared, though they were influential much later upon the “similar” novel which (in a very different way) imitates autobiography.

5. “The claim [to historicity] and its subversion end in the triumph of the creative human mind, a triumph already prefigured at the moment of the novel’s emergence: in Richardson the triumphant mind is that of the protagonist; in Fielding it is that of the author. The implications of the formal breakthrough of the 1740s are pursued with such feverish intensity over the next two decades that after *Tristram Shandy*, it may be said, the young genre settles down to a more deliberate and studied recapitulation of the same ground, this time for the next two centuries” (McKeon, *Origins of the English Novel* 418–19). One hopes that McKeon is joking here, since his expressed belief that the novel spends the entire period from 1760 to 1960 without moving past the dialectical space represented by Richardson and Fielding in effect reduces the history of the English novel to the history of its origin, and, in a sense, is a reductio ad absurdum of his dialectical method and his vision of history written from the topos of the predisposing cause.

6. Cinema and television, most obviously; but certain expressive techniques in painting were possible only after aniline pigments changed the substance of oil paint.

7. David Punter’s long-breathed history of the Gothic, *The Literature of Terror* (1980), hints at the very different logics by which syncretic “master narratives” could be constructed. His toolbox is an eclectic blend of Marx and Freud, and his theories make no ready distinction between genre and mode. So some of his chapters take a genre from one era to another nearly a century later; others explore various texts from a single decade. I admire his book but couldn’t have written it; nor could he have written mine.


9. Rothstein’s principal arguments, with which I agree wholeheartedly, are directed primarily against Foucault and the new historicism, against the reification of authors and texts seen as agents in literary history. I shall come back to those arguments in the next section of this chapter.
10. The characterization also excluded many male writers sufficiently distant in space and temperament from the frontier, as may be indicated by the recent decline of the Boston Brahman tradition (Whittier, Holmes, Howells, et al.).

11. See Gates for a justification of this practice.

12. See Corman, who argues that even such subgenres as "comedy of humour" and "comedy of intrigue" are idealizations that fail to explain representative texts of the period, which were mixed forms of various kinds.

13. If Rothstein isn't arguing this, then I don't know what he is saying. In mathematical terms, sets are nothing special: the random things in my pants pocket—two pens, sixteen coins, a bunch of keys—form a set.

14. See my analysis of this theory in chap. 1.

15. The mathematical expression \( n! \) is read as \( n \)-factorial, a function defined as \( n \times (n-1) \times (n-2) \times \ldots \times 1 \). This is a function that increases almost exponentially as \( n \) increases.

16. For the skeptical, here is the math. There are fewer than \( 10^{27} \) subatomic particles in a gram of matter, fewer than \( 10^{25} \) grams of matter in the solar system, fewer than \( 10^{11} \) solar systems in the galaxy, and fewer than \( 10^{10} \) galaxies in the universe. To multiply this out you add the exponents, making the number of subatomic particles in the universe fewer than \( 10^{74} \). Compared to \( 200! \), which is more than \( 10^{400} \), the number of subatomic particles in the universe is tiny, minuscule, not worth talking about.

17. It is noteworthy that Rothstein doesn't propose the procedure with respect to his own field, Caroline and Restoration drama, where it would be at least as hard to represent an era by a pair of plays, no matter how judiciously chosen.

18. One would have to call works not in the core of the population marginal, would one not, despite the politically incorrect connotations of that term? The problem, from Rothstein's point of view, with terms such as "central" and "marginal" or "assured" and "dubious" members of a population is that they are ineluctably normative.

19. The method of inductive modeling made Aristotle a possible source of scientific method, as Plato and Platonism could not be. See Lakatos.

20. Abuse of this method is unfortunately rife. I can witness the Platonistic calcification of Aristotelian method at work whenever I give an undergraduate assignment to "discuss how Aristotle would have revised the Poetics if he had known Arthur Miller's Death of a Salesman." Perfectly literate students are tempted—perhaps by the belief that systems are less flexible than texts—to read the question backward: they explain what parts of Death of a Salesman are inconsistent with the norms of the Poetics rather than revising those norms to accommodate twentieth-century tragedy—just the procedure Rothstein is afraid of, since it imposes a conceptual grid on the text.

21. Greenblatt is very coy about the source of his ideas, and while he admits that a key fact in the development of the new historicism was "the presence of Michel Foucault on the Berkeley campus in the last five or six years of his life" (Veeser 1), he has a tendency to cite postmodernists from whom he has to differentiate himself rather than those with whom he feels allied. Nevertheless, he makes some generalizations that make clean
the source of his ideas: “Capitalism has produced a powerful and effective oscillation between the establishment of distinct discursive domains [art and politics] and the collapse of these domains into one another” (Veeser 8). Or: “The work of art is not itself a pure flame that lies at the source of our speculations. Rather the work of art is itself the product of a set of manipulations, some of them our own . . . , many others undertaken in the construction of the original work. That is, the work of art is the product of a negotiation between a creator or class of creators, equipped with a complex, communally shared repertoire of conventions, and the institutions and practices of society. In order to achieve the negotiation, artists need to create a currency that is valid for a meaningful, mutually profitable exchange . . . . The process involves not simply appropriation but exchange, since the existence of art always implies a return . . . measured in pleasure and interest. I should add that the society’s dominant currencies, money and prestige, are invariably involved” (Veeser 12).

22. In addition to his stimulus of the new historicism, Foucault has commented directly on the Gothic novel. In his essay “Language to Infinity,” Foucault says that

writing, in our day, has moved infinitely closer to its source, to this disquieting sound which announces from the depths of language—once we attend to it—the source against which we seek refuge and toward which we address ourselves. Like Kafka’s beast, language now listens from the bottom of its burrow to this inevitable and growing noise. To defend itself, it must follow its movements, become its loyal enemy, and allow nothing to stand between them except the contradictory thinness of a transparent and unbreakable partition . . . . From this moment, a work whose only meaning resides in its being a self-enclosed expression of its glory is no longer possible. The date of this transformation is roughly indicated by the simultaneous appearance at the end of the eighteenth century of the works of Sade and the tales of terror. It is not their common predilection for cruelty which concerns us here; nor is it the discovery of the link between literature and evil; but something more obscure and paradoxical at first sight: these languages which are constantly drawn out of themselves by the overwhelming, the unspeakable, by thrills, stupefaction, ecstasy, dumbness, pure violence, wordless gestures, and which are calculated with the greatest economy and precision to produce effects (so that they make themselves as transparent as possible at this limit of language toward which they hurry, erasing themselves in their writing for the exclusive sovereignty of that which they wish to say and which lies outside of words)—these languages very strangely represent themselves in a slow, meticulous, and infinitely extended ceremony. These simple languages, which name and give one to see, are curiously double. (60–61)

Foucault goes on to discuss the unreadability of Sade’s novels, while conversely the Gothic novels were precisely designed to be read, indeed were read, he claims, by everyone who could read. One Gothic text, Coelina, or The Child of Mystery (1798), is said to have sold 1.2 million copies from 1798 to 1814, a number that Foucault claims is equal to the total number of literate individuals in France.

24. Up to the middle of the eighteenth century, there appears to have been a tendency to minimize the degree to which any form of change actually occurred: the ideal was to present a steady-state vision in which tokens changed but types remained as far as possible the same. In biology it was presumed that the organisms God formed on the fifth and sixth days of creation were all still with us, while in politics the magistrates were descended from exemplars—kings, counselors, judges—to be found in classical and biblical literature. Nevertheless, by the mid-eighteenth century the notion of slow, steady, progressive change can be found in texts such as Pope's *Essay on Man*, and catastrophic change in texts like Vico's *Scienza nuova*.

25. Hayden White, who is given to classifying historians according to their dominant tropes, considers Foucault's to be the *catachresis* (or play on words); Foucault considers language to be catachretic by nature, since any signifier refers to more than one signified, and no two signifieds can be identical in every particularity (White, "The Historiography of Anti-Humanism" 116). Hilary Putnam, on the other hand, thinks of Foucault less as a historian than as a satirist who, like Swift, presents mankind as essentially irrational in its pursuits and beliefs (*Reason, Truth and History* 155–62).


27. Many reviewers complain about Foucault's high-handed treatment of the facts, of his presenting as original ideas that have been long circulated, or of his making extreme generalizations about the availability of certain discursive formations in particular eras that are easily disproven. George Steiner, for example, suggests that Foucault's notions about the Renaissance were anticipated by Frances Yates (in *Theatre of the World* and other works), while H. C. Erik Midelfort has contested in general and in detail Foucault's claims about the incarceration of lepers and madmen in early modern Europe; see Steiner, "The Mandarin of the Hour"; and Midelfort, "Madness and Civilization in Early Europe." These complaints are widespread, but they are objections primarily to Foucault's practice of his own method and not to the method itself.

28. See Geertz 5; Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* 175.

29. Greenblatt confesses to have named "the new historicism" offhandedly. "A few years ago I was asked by *Genre* to edit a selection of Renaissance essays, and I said OK. I collected a bunch of essays and then, out of a kind of desperation to get the introduction done, I wrote that the essays represented something I called a 'new historicism.' I've never been very good at making up advertising phrases of this kind; for reasons that I would be quite interested in exploring at some point, the name stuck" (Veeser 1).

30. Perhaps the most depressing use of Foucault is not by cultural critics but by apostles of "negativity" such as Paul Bové who view Foucault's repudiation of history as a step toward the overthrow of "humanism" and "the dominant regimes it supports." See *Intellectuals in Power*.

31. My explanation here might not be sufficiently coherent for James Battersby, whose wise and witty *Paradigms Regained* more strictly defines the "incommensurable
worlds" in which different theories of literature have their dwelling. My sense is a bit looser than Battersby's, that different theories answer each other's questions badly, or miss each other's points, rather than being radically "incommensurable." See Paradigms Regained 119–30.

32. Rooney, "The Politics of Pluralism." See also her Seductive Reasoning. One political motive of Rooney's very angry book is the adoption of the term pluralism by conservative American politicians as synonymous with a politics of contending interest groups, and totalitarianism as synonymous with Marxist governments. Rooney's own use of "pluralism" as coextensive with various literary theories from semiotics to deconstruction to Stanley Fish's metatheory of "interpretive communities" shows an equally cavalier approach, as their "pluralism" consists in nothing except the desire to exclude no one from the audience, to persuade all corners.

33. The internal contradiction of this philosophy is that, given Rooney's beliefs, it is not clear why she should have gone to the trouble of publishing them as a book, circulating them to the academy in general, except to achieve tenure or promotion.

34. Erlich's ultimate argument is utopian socialist: that pluralism (read as a metaphor for liberalism, read as the ideology of capitalism) allows the real-life oppression of Central Americans by the United Fruit Company, whereas "something else" (represented by quotations from Vanzetti and allusions to Marx) can produce the New Jerusalem. The naivete of the argument as argument is striking, but the trope—comparing the evils liberalism permits in real life with the utopia that socialism will in theory create—is a commonplace in the academy. This point of view, taken by children of privilege with nothing of their own at risk, has survived learning that those who lived with real-life socialist governments in Eastern Europe, when they had a chance to continue or change, with their lives and the lives of their children at stake, preferred to take their chances with liberal capitalism.

35. There must be some outer limit to biographical connections. I am quite unable to fathom why the literary-historical ideas of Hans Robert Jauss, half a century ago in the Waffen-SS, should appeal to someone many of whose cousins died in the Holocaust, unless it has to do with the clarity and persuasiveness of those ideas.

36. But see Davis, The Act of Interpretation. Davis, presenting an approach to critical pluralism, argues that, while each of several modes of criticism may be able to account for the elements of a particular text, there may at least at times be a "correct" matching of a text with a mode of criticism. For him, the matching between method and object may not be entirely arbitrary. See also my review of The Act of Interpretation.

37. Of course, there probably is an arcane sociological explanation for my attraction to my own issue—"institutional loyalty," filial piety to pluralists like Richard McKeon, Ronald S. Crane, and Wayne Booth, or something even more discreditable, like a naive utopian hope that there might be more genuine dialogue and less ideological posturing in my profession.