PLACE IN RETURN BOX to remove this checkout from your record.
TO AVOID FINES return on or before date due.
MAY BE RECALLED with earlier due date if requested.

DATE DUE	DATE DUE	DATE DUE
07 29 04 DEC 2 1 2004		
MAR 2 4 2005		

6/01 c:/CIRC/DateDue.p65-p.15

"GOTHIFIED HISTORIES": EIGHTEENTH- AND NINETEENTH-CENTURY WOMEN'S GOTHIC NOVELS AND ENGLIGHTENMENT HISTORIOGRAPHY

By

Catherine Ann Swender

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of English

2003

ABSTRACT

"GOTHIFIED HISTORIES": EIGHTEENTH- AND NINETEENTH-CENTURY WOMEN'S GOTHIC NOVELS AND ENLIGHTENMENT HISTORIOGRAPHY

By

Catherine Ann Swender

Beyond the more popularly studied gothic novels by authors like Ann Radcliffe, Matthew Lewis, and Charles Brockden Brown, exists a considerable but neglected body of gothic fiction that overtly combines the gothic tale with elements of the historical romance. While historical gothic novels may seem to be formalistic failures or fledgling, pre-Walter Scott attempts at the historical novel, more serious study of these popular fictional works reveals their greater significance within the context of Enlightenment formulations of national history. This study examines how late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century female gothic novelists portray and explore the idea of history and how, in doing so, they illuminate period debates about the term "history" and point to an underlying uneasiness surrounding historiography itself, an uneasiness that stems in part from a suspicion that Enlightenment methods of historical production do not serve their proposed function of constructing a coherent national identity.

Set in specific historical time periods and featuring historically important figures, historical gothics like Sophia Lee's The Recess, Ann Radcliffe's Gaston de Blondeville and Susanna Rowson's Reuben and Rachel demonstrate a careful engagement with Enlightenment historical standards and concerns that were being debated in other forms of historical discourse. These issues include: the place of the sentimental in historical writing; the subject matter on which a history ought to focus; the use of classical or

modern methodologies in historical writing; ways to address problems caused by the lack or corruption of historical evidence; and the power dynamics involved in historical transmission that can affect a history's claims to objectivity. Furthermore, each author explores a specific aspect of historical knowledge and writing. Lee addresses sentimental portrayals of important historical figures; Radcliffe engages with amateur antiquarianism and historical tourism; and Rowson investigates the configuration of the Anglo-American nation as family.

The Recess, Gaston de Blondeville, and Reuben and Rachel highlight actual moments of cultural clash by surrounding them with horror, uncertainty, and the supernatural. Selecting historiography itself as a locus of terror, these novels continually rupture their own portrayals of history and dismantle illusions about history's objectivity, endurance, and ability to formulate an uncontested national subject. As they "gothify" history, these women writers show how depicting and organizing the past becomes an endeavor that can be dangerous; history becomes uncanny, unknowable, and impossible to control. Combining the two disjointed discourses of the historical and the gothic, gothified histories provide a unique glimpse into the cultural uneasiness surrounding attempts at historical representation.

Copyright by
CATHERINE ANN SWENDER
2003

To My Family

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the many people who have helped make this project possible. First, I would like to thank my doctoral committee for their time and guidance throughout my years at Michigan State University. My dissertation director, Dr. Ellen Pollak, has mentored, challenged, and inspired me from the beginning of my program. The other members of my doctoral committee, Dr. Stephen Arch, Dr. Jennifer Banks, Dr. Clint Goodson, and Dr. Judith Stoddart, have given me invaluable advice helping me to bring this project to completion. I would like to thank the College of Arts and Letters and The Graduate School for providing me with a Graduate Merit Fellowship and a Dissertation Completion Fellowship, both of which allowed me the time to dedicate myself fully to my dissertation research and writing.

My gratitude extends also to Dr. Julie Arnold and Dr. Roseanne Hoefel, who first inspired me to undertake graduate study and who, along with Dr. Bill Palmer, Dr. Carol Bender, Dr. Ute Stargardt, Dr. Catherine Fobes, and Dr. Chih-Ping Chen, helped me in innumerable ways as I navigated through graduate school and my first teaching position at Alma College. I have been blessed by many friends who have helped to make my years in graduate school so worthwhile and enjoyable, including: Brian Burns, Cathy Burns, Kerry Duff, Karen Erlandson, Trinna Frever, Anna Goodson, Dawn Gorman, Amy Nolan, Joy Palmer, Frank Manista, Jay Rollins, Patty Payette, Allyson Samuel, Aleticia Tijerina, and Matt Wojack. I especially would like to thank Jill Anderson, Jennifer Dawson, and Amy Huntley, who have shared this journey with me since the beginning and have supported, encouraged and inspired me throughout my doctoral program. Most importantly, I would like to thank my parents, Norman and Rose Swender, my brothers, Steve, David, and John, and my grandmothers, Leona Swender and Catherine Pichette. Your love and faith in me have made all this possible.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION
"GOTHIFIED HISTORY" AND ENLIGHTENMENT HISTORIOGRAPHY 1
- Choice of Authors and Time Periods 2
- Defining Gothic 7
- Eighteenth-Century Historiography 14
- American Historiography 22
- Sentimental History 26
- Matters of Evidence 32
- British Women as Readers and Writers of History 36
- American Women as Readers and Writers of History 42
- "Gothified Histories" 47
- Chapter Summary 61
- Notes to Introduction 65

CHAPTER 1
MAKING HISTORY: SOPHIA LEE'S THE RECESS 71
- Historical Accuracy of The Recess 73
- History and Sentiment in The Recess 80
- Evidence, Power, and the Historical Record 86
- Narrative Structure and the Instability of the Historical Record 95
- History's Gothic Presence 105
- Locations of Cultural Conflict 113
- Notes to Chapter 1 125

CHAPTER 2
"THIS TREW CHRONIQUE": ANN RADCLIFFE'S
GASTON DE BLONDEVILLE, ANTIQUARIAN STUDY, AND
WOMEN'S HISTORICAL DISCOURSE 128
- Antiquarianism 133
- The Found Manuscript 139
- The Found Manuscript in Gaston de Blondeville 150
- The Court of Henry III Keeping Festival in Ardenne 171
- The Antiquarian Narrator 175
- Gothic History as Entertainment 180
- To Critique a King 187
- Judging the Artifact 203
- Notes to Chapter 2 207

CHAPTER 3
THE TERROR OF COMING TOGETHER: SUSANNA ROWSON'S REUBEN AND RACHEL 213
Rowson's Life and Background 216
Family, Nation and History 219
On Learning History 236
Gothified History and the Failure of the Sentimental Narrative 255
Notes to Chapter 3 278

CONCLUSION 282

WOKS CITED 289

Introduction

"Gothified History" and Enlightenment Historiography

Beyond the more popularly studied gothic novels by authors such as Ann Radcliffe, Matthew Lewis, Charles Brockden Brown, Robert Maturin and Mary Shelley exists a considerable and neglected body of gothic fiction which overtly combines the gothic tale with elements of the historical romance. While historical gothic novels may seem to be formalistic failures or fledgling, pre-Walter Scott attempts at the historical novel, closer and more serious study of these popular fictional works reveals their greater significance within the context of Enlightenment formulations of national history. Why claim historical veracity in a tale so obviously full of supernatural and uncanny events? And why were women writers in the late eighteenth century using this trope of "gothified history" so frequently? Arguing for more serious study of the historical gothic, all but absent from critical discourse, I examine how late eighteenth-century gothic novels write about, dissect, or portray the idea of history and how, in doing so, they not only illuminate period debates about the term "history" but also uncover projects of nation-building inherent to history formation. At the same time, historical gothics also point to an underlying uneasiness surrounding historiography itself, an uneasiness that stems from a suspicion that Enlightenment methods of historical production do not serve their proposed function of constructing a coherent national identity.

Selecting gothic novels set in historically important time periods and featuring characters concerned with compiling accurate histories, I argue that these works of gothic fiction by women highlight actual historical moments of cultural clash by surrounding them with horror, uncertainty, and multiple voices in order to destabilize any semblance of a unified narrative reflecting a nation's past. Historical gothics like Sophia Lee's The Recess (1783, 1785), Ann Radcliffe's Gaston de Blondeville (1802, 1824), and Susanna Rowson's Reuben and Rachel (1798) show how multiple or conflicting versions of history coexist,

how some histories are deliberately suppressed, and how personal and public histories blur together in spite of attempts to separate the two. Departing from traditional Enlightenment histories which emphasize linearity, logical causation, and rational explanations for both human behavior and cultural progress, these gothic novels continually rupture their own portrayals of history, emphasize the irrational, and dismantle illusions about history's power, objectivity, endurance, and ability to formulate an uncontested national subject. Selecting history itself as a locus of terror and the uncanny, historical gothic novels, through their strange combination of the supernatural and the historical, provide a unique glimpse into the cultural uneasiness surrounding attempts at historical representation.

Choice of authors and time periods

In this study, I focus on women's gothic novels of the 1780s and 1790s that feature a significant historical presence based upon real historical events and people. I pass over those novels that simply invoke a generalized past to give a feeling of "Olden Times" and those novels that may include a vague backdrop of a certain time period, like the reign of King Henry VIII or the days of the Puritans, but use it mainly for scenery in which to locate fictional characters. Similarly, I will not use novels that contain historical content but that lack considerable attention to gothic characteristics and appearances. In the works I examine, the gothic is central, rather than peripheral, to the novels' events and narrative structures, appearing more pervasively than might occur in the form of passing comments by characters or legends briefly retold for jocular entertainment but never taken seriously or having much effect in the novel. My focus, aside from drawing attention to a neglected area of gothic scholarship, allows for a more detailed examination of how "gothified histories" comment on specific historical people and events and invoke eighteenth-century historiography in their own self-conscious constructions of those people and events. Highlighting how gothic discourse, in particular, deconstructs national history that has been

carefully gathered and conveyed within each novel, I undertake a re-valuation of the seemingly insignificant conjunction of such discourse with historical romance.

I have chosen to focus on novels from the 1780s and the 1790s, a period between Horace Walpole's groundbreaking Castle of Otronto (1764) on one end and Sir Walter Scott's Waverly (1814) on the other. The influential Sir Walter Scott, traditionally seen as the father of the historical novel, brought about such important changes to the way that history was depicted in British and American fiction as to make the earlier gothic romance's portrayal of the past seem outdated, fantastic, and ill-informed. Partly because of Scott's important position in the history of the novel, the earlier gothic novels which portray history have fallen from critical attention and have been accorded inferior status due to the very traits that mark them as gothic. For example, Nina Baym has argued in her extensive American Women Writers and the Work of History, 1790-1860 that Scott's Waverly "which established a model for historical fiction and rescued the novel genre from its outcast status, made the Radcliffean gothicism, epistolarism, seduction conventions, and rhetoric of sensibility in these works look quite obsolete, and they sank from public consciousness" (153). In her list of early American historical novels that passed from popularity, she includes gothics like Rowson's Reuben and Rachel and Sarah Sayward Wood's Julia and the Illuminated Baron (1800), both of which demonstrate strong British gothic influences, but she does not return to them again and devotes her study of the historical novel to those works which came after Waverly. I limit my study to historical gothic novels before the advent of Scott's in order to more fully examine them in their own right, during the time period when they still were popular and numerous.

Within a context of increased scholarly interest in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century women's participation in historical discourse, I limit my study to historical gothics written by women.[1] Approaching the gothic novel as a form of historical representation adopted by women invites a reassessment and expansion of the terms in which "female gothic" has been defined and analyzed. Gothic fiction has traditionally been divided

according to gender into two categories. In this formulation, male writers such as Edgar Allan Poe, Matthew Lewis, or Charles Maturin are seen as writing the more graphic and violent gothics while female authors are seen as writing within a sentimental tradition, alluding to violence but not explicitly showing it. Ellen Moers first coined the term "female gothic" in Literary Women to describe those suspenseful tales of terror which recreate woman's fearful position within patriarchy and which, as in the case of Frankenstein, portray the uneasiness surrounding woman's experience of the female body and sexuality. Feminist studies such as Juliann Fleenor's collection of essays The Female Gothic (1983), Kate Ellis's The Contested Castle (1989), and Eugenia DeLamotte's Perils of the Night: A Feminist Study of Nineteenth-Century Gothic (1990) continued this trend of studying how the gothic novel negotiates, decries, or subverts woman's position within patriarchy. Works typically studied by critics in this tradition include: Ann Radcliffe's The Mysteries of Udolpho and The Italian, Charlotte Brontë's Jane Eyre, Emily Brontë's Wuthering Heights, and Mary Shelley's Frankenstein. Feminist critics in Britain and America have also re-examined the largely female readership and authorship of gothic novels. Studies such as Susan Wolstenholme's Gothic (Re)Visions: Writing Women as Readers (1993) or Vanessa D. Dickerson's Victorian Ghosts in the Noontide: Women Writers and the Supernatural (1996) have argued for the importance of studying why women were drawn to such a form, both as readers and writers. Adopting historical and psycholinguistic approaches, critics such as Wolstenholme and Dickerson argue that the gothic provided women writers with an outlet for repressed desire and power, as well as a way of writing about "the unspeakable."

With the advent in the 1980s of renewed feminist interest in the gothic novel, many critics of women's gothic novels have relied on the paradigm of "separate spheres ideology" that relegates women to the private sphere of domesticity while reserving for men the public sphere of the world: politics, action, and work. While this ideological perspective can be a helpful way to examine, at least on the surface, major gothic novels of the eighteenth and

early nineteenth centuries, the body of feminist scholarship on the gothic has tended to over-emphasize this approach, neglecting other important ideas and reproducing the separation of women's contributions to literary thought from men's. Reliance upon this construct also has allowed for the neglect of authors who don't fit into the domestic "female gothic" paradigm. In examining women's participation in historical writing and education through a form like the gothic novel, I view the novels I study as existing in both the public and private sphere, as these two realms certainly are joined in the production and consumption of history.

Excepting some ghost stories and short fiction, to study nineteenth-century American gothic traditionally has meant to study Brown, Poe, Melville, and Hawthorne.[2] American gothic criticism hasn't developed as solid a body of "female gothic" works as British gothic criticism has. As in British feminist scholarship, those studies that do examine female gothic writers traditionally have focused on domestic ideology and women's oppressed position within patriarchy. For example, in the 1991 study Haunting the House of Fiction editors Lynette Carpenter and Wendy Kolman argue for a separate women's tradition of ghost stories that focuses on concerns about sexuality, women's place in the home, and women's victimization. It is important to note here that most of the women writers commonly associated with the American gothic--Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Mary Wilkins Freeman, Edith Wharton, Harriet Beecher Stowe--were writing in the mid- to late-nineteenth century. What about those American gothics written earlier in the century? Why have they been neglected? Those are questions my study will raise.

In expanding the study of women's gothic novels to include direct historical participation and political commentary, I add to earlier feminist studies by unearthing women's concerns with the horrors outside a circumscribed domestic or sexual realm. While earlier "female gothic" studies were helpful as projects for recovering women's novels and exposing patriarchal oppression, they have also served to simplify the varied contributions of female gothic novelists.[3] They exclude other novels which do not fit into the primary definition of "female gothic," notably, those with more violent and lurid

content such as Charlotte Dacre's Zofloya and, I argue, novels with more explicit political content and commentary of the sort that can be found in historical gothic novels. In the novels of Radcliffe, Lee, and Rowson, heroines manipulate political intrigues, undertake dangerous voyages, participate in battles, and use their historical knowledge to empower and inspire themselves to carry out great deeds. Rather than reading gothified histories as fantasies of female power that have no referent in the real world, I link them to women's actual education in and writing of history, both of which rose increasingly over the course of the eighteenth-century. The novels display their authors' knowledge not just of historical facts, but also of methods of history gathering, writing, and interpretation. Historical gothics, whose overt and covert political commentary appears alongside their more sensational aspects, represent one of many generic forms that women in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries used for the transmission of history and participation in political and cultural concerns.

Reading women's gothic novels as contributions to eighteenth-century conversations about real events of political and national import, I follow in a direction opened up by recent scholars interested in how the gothic novel registers national or racial nightmares. These include: Theresa Goddu in Gothic America: Narrative, History, and Nation (1997) and Kari J. Winter in Subjects of Slavery, Agents of Change: Women and Power in Gothic Novels and Slave Narratives, 1790-1865 (1995), who both extend analysis of the gothic to include the darker moments of America's past as seen through works such as Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin or Jacobs's Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl; and Cannon Schmitt in Alien Nation: Nineteenth-Century Gothic Fictions and English Nationality (1997) who examines, among other things, how gothic fiction of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries both constructs what is "English" and "not-English" through the portrayal of gothic heroines as stand-ins for a nation besieged by the foreign, tyrannical Other.[4] My study adds a new facet to examinations of the gothic's relationship to nationhood in that it focuses on earlier, lesser-known gothic novels with

more directly historical narratives (rather than novels that refer generally or symbolically to such past occurrences as slavery or colonization) and relates gothified histories' examination of a nation's past to the practice of historiography itself. Lee's The Recess, Radcliffe's Gaston de Blondeville, and Rowson's Reuben and Rachel incorporate the quest for national identity within their larger historical projects, surrounding such a quest with fear as well as desire, and interrogate mythologies of national unity and superiority as portrayed in political history. In these novels, which make conspicuous their own historical function, the nationalist undertones behind a country's production of its past come to light, often in terrible ways.

Recovery of neglected works is one of my purposes in this study. I have chosen to focus on the well-known authors Sophia Lee, Ann Radcliffe, and Susanna Rowson with the goal of pointing to other, lesser-known women writers who also wrote in the historical gothic mode. While Radcliffe and Rowson are famous for other works, and while Lee has only recently been accorded much scholarly attention, these three women serve as easily accessible illustrations of women translating their historical knowledge into sensational fiction. All three women were well-read in British and/or American history. Lee and Rowson ran well-established schools for girls and included history in the curriculum; Radcliffe undertook amateur antiquarian studies and historical tours; and Rowson published books on history. The Recess, Gaston de Blondeville, and Reuben and Rachel, while not well-known gothic novels, demonstrate in important ways how the sub-genre of historical gothic was part of a much larger and more popular eighteenth-century fascination with history.

Defining gothic

In contemporary debates about gothic literature, defining the term "gothic" poses several ideological and formal problems. Because my study will challenge some traditional ways of defining gothic and the privileging of certain texts, both of which have led to a

limited view of the gothic's portrayal of history, it is important to begin here with debates about definition. How do some definitions exclude authors or texts from study because of content or status in the canon? How do others break down boundaries such that nearly any text could be called gothic? Some critics have defined the gothic by saying "I know it when I see it" and others have refused to define it at all.

The term "gothic" originally described a Germanic tribe, the Goths, who brought about the fall of Rome in the early Christian era. In the early eighteenth century, this term came to be associated with anything barbarous or lacking in style; later in the century with the rising interest in medievalism, "gothic" could describe a certain type of medieval architecture or a cultural fascination with Europe's, and particularly Britain's, feudal past. It also described a new type of novel by authors such as Sophia Lee and Horace Walpole that hearkened back to medieval times and featured gloomy settings, aristocratic villains, and supernatural (or supposed supernatural) thrills. Often criticized as immoral or unrealistic, gothic romances of this time were nevertheless wildly popular during the period of 1760-1820. Nineteenth-century definitions of the gothic usually referred to this literature of the late eighteenth century; it is during the twentieth century that the definitions of the gothic explode.

In the twentieth century, one of the most common ways to define the gothic has been to compile a list of typical characteristics, often grouped by time period and country of authorship. Leslie Fiedler in Love and Death in the American Novel is one critic who divides British and American gothic in his definitions. The early British gothic, in the hands of authors such as Ann Radcliffe and Matthew Lewis, features such characteristics as persecuted heroines, descriptions of sublime scenery and ruined castles or abbeys, monks or patriarchal authority figures as villains, settings in a medieval past (often in southern Europe) and anti-Catholic and anti-aristocratic sentiments. The early American gothic in the hands of those like Brown, Hawthorne, Poe and Melville turns inward, exploring the horrors of individual psychology. In American gothic, the castles and ruins are replaced by the

sublimity of the wilderness, the villains are the person's own self or a demonized version of Indians, and the main character of the novel is no longer a persecuted heroine but a tormented man, haunted more often by himself than any outside threatening force. According to Fiedler, much of American fiction is gothic, from the early works of Brockden Brown to the great works of Melville to twentieth-century short fiction of writers like Flannery O'Connor.

A generation of critics has, for the most part, followed some version of Fiedler's definition. Reference books tend to define the gothic by listing conventions and mentioning changes over time. For example, The Cambridge Guide to Literature in English defines the gothic novel as

> A type of romance popular in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The word 'Gothic' had come to mean 'wild,' 'barbarous' and 'crude,' qualities which writers found it attractive to cultivate in reaction against the sedate neoclassicism of earlier 18th-century culture. Gothic novels were usually set in the past (most often the Middle Ages) and in foreign countries (particularly the Catholic countries of southern Europe); they took place in monasteries, castles, dungeons, and mountainous landscapes. The plots hinged on suspense and mystery, involving the fantastic and the supernatural. (383-4)

M. H. Abrams defines the "gothic novel" similarly in his A Glossary of Literary Terms and adds that the term "gothic" has extended to later fictions like Shelley's Frankenstein or Poe's short stories which create fearful and gloomy atmospheres, and to works like Dickens' Bleak House, that aren't gothic novels but still contain gothic elements. He includes American Southern gothic writers like Faulkner and contemporary horror writers like Stephen King (78-9). "Gothic," then, can apply to a wide range of novels spanning more than two hundred years and can cross into other generic boundaries, like the romance, the sensation novel, and the historical novel.

Does this mean that critics are being too sloppy in their definitions or that the gothic is somehow a failure? Several critics, including Eve K. Sedgwick in The Coherence of Gothic Conventions (1986), have called for a tightening of the definition of gothic. She lists such conventions as narrative doubling; supernatural appearances; uncanny, dream- or drug-like states; confessional disclosures, and oppressive environments as important elements in gothic literature. Though the gothic is difficult to define, according to Sedgwick, critics need to reign in their recent practice of including almost anything in the circle of the gothic tradition. Others, like Elizabeth Napier in The Failure of Gothic: Problems of Disjunction in an Eighteenth-Century Literary Form (1987) find that the gothic's lack of structural coherence proves it to be an inferior kind of fiction. At best, according the Napier, the gothic is an earlier working or experiment in novelistic form developed more successfully in the "greater" works of (canonical) literature.

Other critics like Teresa Goddu in Gothic America (1997) question the motives behind trying to define gothic as a genre. Goddu is typical of recent critics who find the gothic's fragmentation and lack of clear boundaries to be a strength, especially in deconstructive critical projects. She argues as follows:

> Though the gothic foregrounds its generic instability, critics still insist on categorizing it. The tendency toward 'generic essentializing' in criticism on the gothic has to do with where this genre ranks in the canon's hierarchy. The drive to order and identify the gothic stems less from a critical desire to discover its particular essence than from a need to differentiate it from other, 'higher' literary forms. (5)

Drawing on Jacques Derrida's point in "The Law of Genre" that the urge to classify stems from a fear of contagion, Goddu asks whose purposes are served by defining gothic a certain way and whose ideologies are disrupted by declining to define "gothic" clearly at all (8). Instead of listing characteristics or outlining rules the genre follows, she emphasizes its generic instability, its mutability, its tendency to transgress the boundaries of genre and

period. The gothic's destabilizing effects on a text, a literature, a genre, or a trope become for Goddu both a strength and an important defining characteristic.

As Goddu shows in her study, defining (or not defining) the gothic has important implications for the way critics set out to study the literature. Her book's argument condemns the way in which critics like Fiedler have traditionally defined and studied American gothic-- fixating on the gothic's symbolism and dark inner psychology rather than its historical, cultural, and political content. This has led to critical neglect of texts which don't fit into that paradigm and, more importantly, the sanitizing of some of the real horrors of slavery and massacre contained both in America's history and its literature. Goddu's definition (or lack thereof) highlights the dangers of holding too strongly to the typical "laundry list" of gothic conventions.

Like Goddu, Cannon Schmitt in Alien Nation: Nineteenth-Century Gothic Fictions and English Nationality states that the gothic is "that genre in which definition is in doubt. 'What am I?' it asks, echoing the implicit question of its own enigmatic monstrosities" (3). Her strategy is to deconstruct ways critics have defined gothic in the past. According to Schmitt, defining gothic literature as those British novels appearing in the 1780s and 90s and possessing the typical gothic conventions of fearful heroine and twisted passages falls short for several reasons. It fails to recognize the many sub-categories (horror-gothic, terror-gothic, political gothic, oriental gothic), it limits itself to fiction rather than including other genres, and it forgets the larger cultural and temporal boundaries of the gothic. On the other hand, she finds it necessary to define the gothic in some way, for "to abandon genre altogether poses another risk, that of losing sight of important lines of affiliation (intentional or otherwise) that tie groups of texts together" (6). She calls for a "recognition that a given genre functions differentially both in relation to other genres and in relation to itself over time" (6). Defining the gothic by characteristics can be helpful as long as there is a "recognition of a genre's difference from itself over time" (8). Aware of the complications of defining (and thus delimiting) gothic, she adds, "Such a strategy reveals historicism's

dependence upon essentialism, for without an initial essentializing gesture to provide the ground against which difference can be measured, part of the historicity of a text remains inaccessible" (8). Schmitt argues that a scholar studying the gothic should thus examine a gothic work in connection with other similar works and with other genres (romance, detective story) which it touches. Schmitt calls for an awareness of how no definition can be an "exact fit" for this elusive form while maintaining the usefulness of definition as a starting point for discussion.

My approach to defining the gothic novel will draw strongly from Goddu and Schmitt. Like Schmitt, I will examine the gothic novel as a genre because this approach emphasizes the interplay and connection among similar texts, but am careful to recognize the dynamic nature of the genre, which continually shape-shifts as it interacts with other types of writing. My study's focus is more specific; my concern is not with the larger gothic discourse as it enters a number of genres through several centuries but with one particular kind of novel, in this case, the historical gothic novel. Recognizing how the gothic changes over time and how it encapsulates a number of different genres and subgenres, I will concentrate on those novels from a short time period in the late eighteenth century that share common characteristics usually associated with the eighteenth-century gothic novel--with the important addition of significant attention to actual events and people from British and American history. My definition of the gothic novel thus begins with an essential reliance upon the basic defining characteristics of the late eighteenth-century gothic novel, such as suspenseful plots, double narratives, horrible and frightening occurrences, impending doom or violence, supernatural appearances, oppressive or fearful environments, explorations of psychological states, destabilizing or disjointed narrative strategies, etc.

At the same time, the unstable boundaries of the larger area of gothic discourse particularly interest me, and, like Goddu, I will strain against some of the traditional ways of defining gothic, arguing for more critical awareness about what defining characteristics scholars have highlighted at the expense of others. As I explain above, reliance upon a

definitive "female gothic" tradition has led to the neglect of gothic novels, like the historical gothic novel, which do not fit that category; this neglect has limited how we see women's contributions through this form to matters of public and political import. Another important departure from traditional ways of defining gothic will be my inclusion of American gothic texts which adopt "British" gothic characteristics, like European (or European-like) settings, heroines persecuted by white aristocratic villains, and castles or abbeys. Critics still neglect early American gothic novels, like Susanna Rowson's Reuben and Rachel (1798), Sally Wood's Julia and the Illuminated Baron (1800), and Isaac Mitchell's The Asylum (1811), because they are influenced by European models. Louis Gross in Redefining the American Gothic (1989) and Donald A. Ringe in American Gothic (1982) both briefly trace how British gothic novels influenced American writers, but then focus on those works departing from such influence, works that now make up the American gothic canon. Both critics set out to explore a distinctly American tradition; links to nationalism appear even in the language they use. When describing how Brown invented the American gothic, Gross states, "The American Gothic novel and the American republic share a common birth period; twenty years after the signing of the Declaration of Independence, the first American to make his living at writing, Charles Brockden Brown, wrote the first American novel, the Gothic tale of the Wieland family" (5). In other words, just as the new country declared its independence from Britain, so did Brown's new form of the gothic differentiate itself from British models.

These critical views of the American gothic novel rely upon the nationalist assumption that to be truly American, the American gothic novel must be separate from British influence, striking out on its own in the uncharted wilderness of innovation. Not surprisingly, earlier novels dealing with the idea of America but which also incorporate European characters, settings and plot devices have been relegated to an inferior sphere in critical inquiry--less "American" or less technically unified. What about the blank spaces in the history of the American gothic novel filled by books that utilized some combination of

American and British influence? I have found that several novels in this group provide a different kind of glimpse into early ideas about history, national identity and the relationship between America and Britain than the more canonical American gothics do. By examining American and British gothic novels side by side, including those novels that show a blending of influence, I will allow for new ways of understanding how the literatures of these two countries intermingle in this period. The gothic novel, with its special ability to destabilize boundaries, seems particularly suited to such a critical approach. As I emphasize the gothic novel's ability to destabilize boundaries of identity and nationhood within a text by adopting history as its locus of terror, I will demonstrate how the genre's elusiveness can destabilize the critical separation between British and American gothic as well. Examining the interactions among various discourses concerning history, fiction and gothic novels in Britain and America in the late eighteenth century will allow me room to explore how the gothic shifts shape, blends into other genres, and destabilizes unified categories of meaning that scholars and readers have created.

Eighteenth-Century Historiography

In my study of the gothic novel's intersections with national history, I approach the subject of eighteenth-century historiographical concerns from the viewpoint of a literary scholar. While informed by historical scholarship, my main focus centers upon how the gothic novel portrays the *idea* of history, its uses, and its transmission. I therefore set out to examine history as a trope in a set of literary texts, rather than to write a theory of history or to explore the many complexities associated with the rise of historiography in the eighteenth-century. I will, however, devote this section to a summary of the major issues germane to my argument, most notably the use of sentimentalism in historical portrayal; the tensions between classical and modern Enlightenment methods of historical composition; and the place folk culture, artifacts, and legends held in efforts to define historical evidence.[5]

Each novel I study will hearken in some way to these issues in its portrayal of historical events and in its "lessons" for how to read and react to history.

Their histories full of dramatic events and highly sentimentalized language and characters, The Recess, Gaston de Blondeville, and Reuben and Rachel adopt a narrative style not unlike that found in histories by men like David Hume and William Robertson.[6] In addition, Lee, Radcliffe, and Rowson devote attention to the accurate portrayal of character and to the larger "manners and customs" of cultures and ordinary people, a trend also seen in the rising modern philosophical method of historiography, which was shifting away from the classical method's focus on grand political events and people after the manner of the Greek and Roman histories. By contextualizing the historical gothic novel more directly within the eighteenth-century's shifting historiographical methods, philosophies, and readerships, I show that it is part of a larger discussion about how history was to be portrayed and judged; indeed, I show that historical gothic novelists are more deliberate in both their historiographical methods of composition and their portrayal of historical events and characters in fiction than has been discussed. I am careful not to claim that the gothic novel, particularly as written by women, is separate from these larger movements in its subversion of the unified, linear narrative structure, for indeed, such ruptures were occurring in other histories written at the time as part of the shift toward broader subjects and scopes in modern histories. What the three gothic novels in my study do, however, is draw attention to and surround with horror the tensions between older and more modern historiographical methods, as well as the power structures involved in them. Gothic moments undercut the sentimental histories crafted by Lee, Radcliffe, and Rowson and open up a contested space wherein alternate forms of interpretation, representation, and transmission of experience throughout history enter.

David Hume's famous assertion, "I believe this to be the historical age and this the historical nation" (Hume, Letters 155), points not only to the eighteenth century's growing interest in history, but also to history's importance to a sense of a nation's distinct identity.

Numerous histories were published during this century, such as Edward Gibbon's popular Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Histories about Britain also began more widely to appear in print. For example, Sir William Temple's multi-volume Complete History of England, written by a number of contributors and following the classical historiographical style, had 780 initial subscribers and enjoyed several reprints as well as a revised edition (Levine 168). Other histories about Britain included Hume's The History of England, William Robertson's The History of Scotland, Geoffry Keating's The General History of Ireland, John Lewis's The History of Great Britain, and James Macpherson's The History of Great Britain.[7]

The emergence of modern historiography is now commonly located in the eighteenth century. Eighteenth-century beliefs about historical representation, including that the past can be accurately discovered and portrayed, that it is culturally important to perform historical work, that it is the historians' duty to collect evidence and artifacts in the quest for history--as well as to edit and critique such evidence--, and that there exists a concrete "truth" to be discovered about the past have all been aptly depicted by contemporary historians of history.[8] Related ideas which became more important in the century involved the belief in human progress, the reliance on models of scientific empiricism, and the description of history as a coherent, linear process moving steadily and clearly onward. Judith Wilt sums up what she calls "The Universal Liberal History of Western Culture" which " imagined a human communal pattern moving psychologically from the irrational toward the rational, and politically from the sacred to the economic, while the horizon of expectations widened toward the accommodation of moderate change" (301-302). For Enlightenment historians, impressions of the past ought to be objective, separate from religious or political bias, and based on reason and realism. As Jayne Lewis points out about the eighteenth-century, "New British histories prided themselves on their use of common sense and shared standards of evidence, especially as these diffused the violent partisan fervor that had surcharged the past" (Mary 120).

The development of historiography was, of course, more complicated. Mark Salber Phillips in his study of eighteenth-century historiography and sympathy, Society and Sentiment, argues that history was continually framed and reframed as different historical genres interacted with one another and as different understandings of history's purposes and representations shifted according to changing cultural needs. As a starting point, he describes two major approaches to history's concerns and purposes, the classical approach and the modern philosophical approach, pointing out that their coexistence can help explain the variety of historical writings in the period. The classical approach, based on Greek and Roman models, presents history as a grand narrative of political events and people, offering them as models for virtuous public life and valuing truth, order, style, moral instruction, and impartiality. At the same time, rising public interest in history's ordinary people, everyday lives and activities, in short, wider social and cultural aspects, brought about a new approach to history, which he calls modern "philosophical history" (16).

As the boundaries of classical history expanded to include different subject matter, "it became increasingly hard to think of history as exclusively concerned with the narrative of political action" (17). Furthermore, "as a definition of history's subject matter, 'action' itself would need to give way to more inclusive categories of experience" (17). As the boundaries of what counted as history widened, the "new emphasis on manners and opinion as the foundation of social experience radically undercut the authority of the traditional narrative of public events. As a result it became a commonplace to decry the emptiness of conventional histories with their stories of kings and generals" (56). Classical models of historiography still held an important place, however, even in modern style histories, and fulfilled the public's taste for classical standards of literary composition. Even in histories with an expanded modern focus and approach to history, the more traditional Enlightenment historiographical method based on the classical model and following Enlightenment mores still held precedence. Regarding historical composition and reading, Phillips explains, "The link between linearity and public life was deeply held and

far from trivial. Statecraft provided history with a coherent and dignified subject, while clarity of form made history a worthy instrument of public instruction" (81). The idealized conception that history follow a linear course of cause and effect, as well as that it reflect standards of unity and mimesis, nevertheless clashed with the variety of forms that arose in response to newer understandings of historiographical practice. Both approaches to historical discourse appeared in much of later eighteenth-century histories, creating a tension that undermined "some of the central assumptions on which classical politics and historiography were founded. The resulting experimentation with a variety of forms and modes of historical representation clearly reveals the pressure of new interests not easily assimilated to a unitary history of public events" (81). Rather than viewing these two streams of thought as separate, then, Phillips argues that the classical humanist and modern philosophical approaches to historiography were both at work in the historical writings of the period, often in the same text.[9] He contends, "Accepting the idea that both outlooks are, in fact, characteristic expressions of this time involves some complication, but it surely offers a more rounded understanding of the expectations that eighteenth-century audiences brought to their historical reading" (15).

The classical and modern philosophical models of historiography were connected to larger debates about classical and contemporary politics and culture, as well as how to view Britain's own past.[10] When looking to the past for models of public life, political systems, and moral virtue, which histories ought one to study? Hearkening to the ancient Greco-Roman histories and other writings, those holding to the classical standard viewed these ancient cultures as the pinnacle of civilization and the arts. For many classically educated men, "history was read primarily to inform the citizen or the statesman how best to comport himself in public life. Classical histories embodied the sum of political wisdom and experience and furnished the perfect models of government, laws, and men. The best modern histories could merely attempt to imitate them" (Levine 159). Virtue and truth, because unchanging, could be taught through mimesis and applied to current-day situations;

history was less a mapping of progress and more a lesson to be learned, if not a record of the decline of the present times. Those influenced by Enlightenment ideals and the modern approach to history emphasized history as a record of human progress, one that showed mankind's continuing improvement and that necessitated further study of the manners and customs of various cultures, not only the great political events and models of ancient times. These different approaches to studying history placed Britain's present in relation to the past in different lights. As Robert Moynihan points out, viewing history as the story of continuing cultural progress, rather than as a recession from a superior golden age, particularly suited those moving for political and social change. Not benefiting from traditional hierarchies and social structures, outsiders, revolutionaries, and social reformers could look ahead to the inevitable progress and change coming in the future--a future which, of course, would link their own particular cause with social improvement. By contrast, he states, writings "celebrating the golden age and the decline of the present has, and had, social consequences, either by supporting a particular but temporary *status quo*, by propagandizing class bias . . . by advocating a hoped for public admiration of monarchical authority and order, or simply by being overtly reactionary for the sake of property" (180). He finds that the modern view that history is dynamic clashed with the more conservative view, wherein "time itself becomes one of the topics of refuge, its essential hypotheses unvarying from the acceptable 'ancients', no matter what the nature of evidence is that may be introduced for refutation" (180). The modern approach's expanding subject matter, as well as its increasing devotion to Enlightenment progress, allowed for greater representation of those traditionally excluded from high classical histories and for the incorporation of newer cultural trends, such as the rising importance of trade and commerce.[11]

Shifting historiographical methodologies and differing uses of the past to describe contemporary political and cultural positionings had important ramifications for national identity. One criticism leveled against those privileging classical histories and models was that the privileging of Greco-Roman history and political structures emphasized other

cultures at the expense of Britain's own historical and cultural foundations. Scholars knew more about classical languages and artifacts than about Britain's ancient Celtic or Saxon languages or historical evidence (Levine 159-60). How could one be a judge of Britain's past when so little was known of it and when standards from foreign cultures were applied to it? Looking into Britain's Celtic and Roman past, studying the languages of the British, and examining cultural artifacts to fill in the gaps of recorded history all became concerns of the modern historian. The eighteenth century saw a renewed fascination with antiquities from the Middle Ages, as well as writings from and about the period of 1100-1650, a fascination wherein "the despised Dark Ages began to assume the sentimental glow of adventurous, Utopian centuries" (Varma, Gothic Flame 24). This interest in specifically British landmarks, historical sites, and antiquities "nurtured a shared sense of history, evincing the proud tradition that, presumably, made modern Britain 'great'" (Lewis, Mary 107).

As the notion of history representing the progress of a nation took stronger hold on the British imagination, constructing the past in order to emphasize that progress became more visible and more important. Just as Enlightenment historiography in general strove to create a linear, coherent, and accurate narrative, so too did the nationalist impulse following it. Indeed, "Georgian historiography may be seen as the verbal equivalent of a national monument--as an attempt to create a shared and ultimately self-congratulatory impression of the past" (Lewis, Mary 120). In order to create this shared past, historical conflicts and differences needed to be suppressed in favor of the nationalist cause. As Linda Colley explains in her study of British nationalism, Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837, creating and believing in the fiction of national unity based on a shared and unified past allowed the British to "define themselves as a single people not because of any political or cultural consensus at home, but rather in reaction to the Other beyond their shores. . . . Britishness was superimposed over an array of internal differences in response to contact with the Other, and above all in response to conflict with the Other" (6). In other words, the

idea of nation depended upon the fictions of homogeneity and of the "rightness" of the nation's shared history. Narratives of cultural and political progress could be invoked to explain away violent conflicts of the past--the present structures of government could be said to have evolved away from such mistakes.

One had to be careful not to disparage moments and people from Britain's history too much, however, for that might throw doubt upon the foundations of the culture. This problem could be addressed by calling upon a transcendent British cultural and moral superiority that had always existed but was continually becoming more evident as it unfolded in modern-day structures. Maggie Kilgore notes how British histories could depict conflicts of the past as stories of a fall from grace remedied by a return to a more original state of harmony that had already existed--a sort of return prophesied by British history itself (14-15). A fundamental "Britishness" reasserts itself and thus also contributes to the national story of a unified culture and people, as well as the continuing existence of a Britain marked by a tradition of liberty and justice. The idea of an "ancient constitution" representing specifically British values is one configuration of this belief in an essential Britain that had existed throughout history. As Kilgour explains, "The use of the myth of the ancient constitution throughout the eighteenth century is a manifestation of a recurrent British argument that a better future is to be found by recovering the past" and returning to "first principles" (15).

As I place Radcliffe's Gaston de Blondeville and Lee's The Recess more strongly within eighteenth-century historiographical concerns, I will emphasize how their gothic conventions engage in history's national myth-making, particularly how gothic conventions, when combined with the historical content within the novels, highlight apprehensions about historiography's functions, connections to national identity, and shifting approaches to portraying the past. With their emphasis on British history, British artifacts, and larger social and cultural histories, these two novels follow patterns of modern historiography. In looking back upon past political conflicts, however, they do not subscribe to Enlightenment

theories of progress which could explain away moments of historical violence under the aegis of continual cultural advancement; nor do they idealize a golden age of the past in order to point to current-day moral and political inadequacies, as a more classical approach might. Instead, they directly engage with the application of modern historiographical values to narratives of national self-identification that rely upon progress and portray a unified national people. Conflicts between political figures, such as Elizabeth and Mary Queen of Scots, or between peoples, such as the Irish and the English, are left unresolved or unexplained. Characters come to realize directly that whether one's history is told depends on one's political position, and history's objectivity is continually undercut as several historical methods and subjects contest one another for primacy. When the various fictional historians, including the authors, in Gaston de Blondeville, and The Recess discover moments in history wherein progress is interrupted by political strife or cultural backsliding, rather than finding refuge in narratives of progress or of a distant golden age, they must face the glare of national history's inability to cover its bloody tracks or to advance in any type of predictable or reliable way.

American Historiography

Later eighteenth-century American writers shared in the historiographical developments in Britain and were influenced by Enlightenment historians.[12] In my study, I rely particularly on these similarities, such as the belief in mankind's progress and the shifting importance according to classical and modern historiographical methods. However, as a background to Rowson's Reuben and Rachel and its connection to British historical gothic writings, some special American developments should be mentioned here, including the effects of applying American millennialism and American exceptionalist rhetoric to historiography in order to explore or create a distinct American identity. Both developments color the way in which time and American progress in history were conveyed.[13]

In the earlier Puritan tradition of such writers as Cotton Mather or Jonathan Edwards, history rested in God's hands and was part of a larger plan outside human experience or knowledge. As the "city on the hill," America was part of the unfolding of God's millennium, the coming of Christ, and the end of history. Outside time, America acted within a teleological cycle of repetition leading up to its final fruition in this the New Israel. The late eighteenth century continued to be influenced by millennial thought, and histories still reflected a belief that the coming millennium would mark history's closure. Baym notes of this closure as seen in divine histories, "From the standpoint of this finality, narrators of world or national or even local history could assign true meaning to every event. Students of history saw God's work; historians played God, momentarily escaping the temporal, finite sphere" (Baym 46). Biblical time was historically true; the Bible was a real historical record. Rowson herself states in her 1811 Present for Young Ladies, "The Bible is the most authentic history, and should precede the study of all others; it is termed sacred history. It is different from all other history whatever. It is the history of God himself" (54-5 qtd. in Baym 47). Under this enduring association of American history and millennial thought, America represented the continuation, and eventually would be the culmination, of Christian Scripture.[14] America existed outside history, and was thus immune from previous countries' historical patterns, concerns, and, by extension, failures. As Dorothy Ross explains, "America thus represented a radical break in history and a radical breakthrough of God's time into secular history. The country's progress would be the unfolding of the millennial seed, rather than a process of historical change" (912).

Another branch of historiography in the early national period, the republican historical perspective grew out of an increasing secularization of history and thought, influenced by European historians such as Hume and Robertson and incorporating the idea of human progress and historical causation. Rather than being focused on God's plan outside historical time, this view of history relied upon a belief in the universal values of the people, the polis, throughout history. Eighteenth-century republican historiography in

America was still strongly intertwined with the Christian millennial project, though, and whether in terms of millennial fulfillment or republican destiny, American historical discourse reflected a continued strategy of exceptionalism, setting America's place in time as separate from that of European countries, which were considered sites of moral and/or political decline. According to Baym, a large number of historical writings from the late eighteenth-century into the antebellum period follow a particular "master narrative of world history", in which "nations are the agents and subjects of history, and the globe is becoming progressively more Protestant and republican. There have been Protestant nations, there have been republics; but because the United States is both, it is the world's most advanced nation, the most advanced nation the world has ever known" (7). In the face of Europe's failure to achieve this pinnacle, the American republic represented a vanguard for the spread of Protestant republicanism. "Until such time as Protestant republics covered the face of the earth, the United States stood as the only nation whose existence guaranteed the validity of the entire scheme" (55). For, the fear of decaying like other republics in past cycles of history still affected America's self-conceptions of its position in the present and the future.

Existing in history meant being part of an inevitable cycle of decline over time. How to escape this cycle of decay and corruption? As Dorothy Ross explains in her study of historical consciousness in the early American republic, the republican historical perspective saw America's new democratic government model as a rupture and departure from any other previous historical pattern. "By creating a new kind of democratic republic, America appeared to have solved the ills that had always destroyed republics in the past. The cyclical view of history in classical republicanism began to give way to the possibility of perpetual life" (912). Several strategies that attempted to place America outside the cycles of history allowed for this kind of timeless existence. As discussed above, viewing history in terms of millennial ideology represented one strategy. Another strategy involved seeing America as the fulfillment of universal values that had always been present, always would be, and had

only been clouded by human interference in the past. In America, these universal values reach their pinnacle of progress in the establishment of democracy and the establishment of the Constitution, both of which could be understood as events in Christian and republican time (912). Moving from the late eighteenth into the early nineteenth century, universal and more secular values concerned historians, who "were seeking types, not of the coming of Christ, but of the triumph of 'liberty.' Each instance of the struggle between liberty and tyranny, each emergence of embryonic democracy, could be regarded as a type of the great culminating example of the victory of liberty over tyranny--the American Revolution." (Bell 8). Just as in millennial thought, American republican ideology relied upon exceptionalism to establish America's history and to solve problems related to placing America in relation to European conceptions of time.

Recent critics comparatively studying American and European historical discourse have called for a greater understanding of the influences that connected America to Europe in a manner that does not rely on a repetition of American exceptionalism wherein American historical discourse transforms any European influences into a new, unique style or ideology. Exploring why historicism arrived in America later than it did in Europe, for example, Ross argues that while the millennial project in the American republic is certainly foundational to American historical consciousness, "that formulation should be a beginning rather than the end of our understanding" (913). She points out, for example, that Americans were reading European historicist literature and questions what effect on American historicism came about from within because of this transatlantic interaction (914).[15] Karen O'Brien in her study of histories of the American Revolution examines how a history like David Ramsay's The History of the American Revolution (1789), can pose "a challenge to this American exceptionalist literary framework by presenting itself as a part of an Enlightenment European historical tradition" (2) in such a manner that, rather than declaring independence from European Enlightenment historical traditions, actually shows that "the United States of America is to have no historical destiny over and above the

norms of European political and cultural patterns of development" (2). This strategy, rather than trying to separate America's recent history from that of any other republic, "prefers a generic recasting of American history as an interlude of disorder prior to the recovery of the civilized, European norm of the centralized state" (7).[16] Like Ross and O'Brien in their studies of history, I examine Rowson's Reuben and Rachel in terms of how its literary depiction of history creates an American history that is joined to European history as part of its longer narrative, not separate from it. The epic family history she creates in order to depict her larger historical narrative of America's colonization symbolizes the connection to the European "family" whole in which her history of the New World participates. Depicting moments from both English and American history, Rowson does not rely on American exceptionalist ideology or significantly change her historical methods, themes or characters as she moves between the two countries. When the gothic's destabilizing force enters into this construction, the idealized myth of a connection between America and Britain is revealed as a fiction. Gothic terror in this novel results from this rupture between America and Britain. The comforting and inspiring rhetoric of American exceptionalism becomes instead a frightening experience of being alone, rather than independent. In Reuben and Rachel, Rowson will quickly hide this fear under a continuing narrative of Protestant republicanism, but to do so, she must emphasize how America's history of progress is part of a larger progress encompassing both sides of the Atlantic.

Sentimental History

> Humanity will draw a veil over this part of her character which it cannot approve, and may perhaps, prompt some to impute some of her actions to her situation, more than to her dispositions; and to lament the unhappiness of the former, rather than accuse the perverseness of the latter. Mary's sufferings exceed, both in degree and in duration, those tragical distresses which fancy has feigned to excite sorrow and commiseration; and while we survey them, we are apt altogether to forget her frailties, we think of her faults with less indignation, and approve of our tears, as if they were shed for a person who had attained much nearer to pure virtue. (Robertson, History of Scotland 3.67)[17]

The above quote could very well have come from any number of sentimental romances in the eighteenth century. Full of lamentation, tears, and sorrow at considering the sufferings of a woman, the short sampling pulls on the heartstrings of its readers. That it appeared in Robertson's History of Scotland during the Reigns of Queen Mary and of James VI and depicts Mary Queen of Scots highlights the presence of sentimental discourse in both fictional and historical writing. Scholars like April Alliston and Mark Phillips have brought greater attention to the role sympathy played in the reading and composition of eighteenth-century histories. While historiographical texts certainly continued to serve a public and active purpose, in the later half of the eighteenth century, shifting interest toward interiority and fellow feeling brought about changes in the way history was approached. More and more historical writers in the eighteenth century stressed the importance of sympathy as the building block of social bonds and, by extension, of culture (Phillips, Society 126). Changing requirements in historical subject matter to include social histories and character study opened up new expectations and demands for readers and writers of history. "For the first time, evocation became an important goal of historical narrative, and sympathetic identification came to be seen as one of the pleasures of historical reading" (xii). While the classical standard of using mimetic representation to model ideal behavior for public life did not disappear, history "significantly widened its scope as it created a new social narrative that could stand beside and even subsume the conventional account of political action" (xii). Rather than only imitating ideal models, history's educational value rested also in relating the more ordinary events and people closer to the reader's experiences, and these in turn would become more realistic models for morality and behavior (127). When the reader could sympathize with the historical people about whom he or she read, history could transport that reader into the past, leading to greater understanding and educational value. Phillips explains:

> it is important to see that sympathetic reading was part of a crucial expansion of the aims of historical writing in the course of which the traditional historical task of

> mimesis was reinterpreted to include the evocation of past experience. History enlarged its scope to incorporate the wider spectrum both of actors and experiences that made up a modern, commercial, and increasingly middle-class society. Needless to say, much of this expanded scope lay beyond the concerns of traditional historical narration, with its exclusion of private life or everyday matters. Thus the reorientation of history to the idea of evocation presumed new ways of representing the past, as well as new ways of reading the text. (127)

Readers could now involve themselves in the past through feeling, even "experiencing," not just reading about, history. This engagement between reader and text led to a new understanding of history's function, one that "reconceived the reader's engagement with the historical narrative in more inward and sentimental terms" (103).

The reliance upon character as an important aspect of historical portrayal not only catered to newer interests of readers and writers of history; it also played an important role in some of the problems opened up by expanding historical method and subject matter in the eighteenth century. When historical truths of incident did not fully explain the events of history or did not even exist, historians could fall back upon the truth of character to "fill in the gaps" of their linear narratives. As Alliston explains in her discussion of these two different kinds of historical truth, historians like Hume and Robertson could

> locate the *probability* of historiography--a form of narrative that might, like romance but unlike the novel, correctly include improbable incidents--primarily in their descriptions of character. Character occupies a central position in their narratives; whenever a major historical figure dies, his or her character is described at length, in a static manner close to what French writers of the previous century had called the *portrait moral*. The implied assumption of the stability of character is crucial to eighteenth-century historiography because whenever doubt arises as to the truth of incident--as to what exactly *did* happen (and for want of conclusive evidence such doubt often does arise) --historians depend upon the truth of character, as they have

> established it, to make probable judgments of how a particular personage *must* have acted. Thus, the truth of character plays an important role in constructing the truth of incident. (Alliston, "Introduction" xvii).

As Alliston's words suggest, modern eighteenth-century historians not only faced the inability of a history to be complete; they also developed a strategy to make it seem complete. Relying upon logical explanations of behavior and applying parts of a historical figure's known behavior to unknown motivations and gaps in historical evidence, historians could still craft a linear progression of cause and effect. To do this, however, it was necessary to assume consistency in human actions and construct the "truth of character," much like writers of novels and romances were charged to do.[18]

This reliance upon character affected the role of the historian, who, because of the importance truth of character held for constructing a historical narrative, also had to adopt the persona of someone who was a good judge of character, one who could, in short, act as a man or woman of feeling relaying perceptions of past persons and events in a way that stimulated readers' emotional connections to history. In "Ev'ry Lost Relation" Jayne E. Lewis has discussed the concept of the "Humean historian", a writer who "poses as a man of feeling, one who does occasionally summon up pathetic episodes in order to install general narrative paradigms in his readers, and in order to infuse history with the irenic values of modern sentimental culture" (Lewis, "Lost Relation" 174). Historians must be sensitive to the nuances of human motivation and character, not just to recorded facts of incident, in order to write a true history.

For an example of how a history combines sentimental portrayal with more public historical events, I turn to one of the most famous eighteenth-century historians, David Hume. A 1762 piece in The Monthly Review examining Hume's second volume of The History of England exemplifies both the sentimental flavor of Hume's historical discourse and the role of historian (and reviewer) as the "man of feeling" highlighting for his readers moments from England's past arousing pity and sympathy. I include in full the selection

from Hume's History chosen by the reviewer; note how he in turn quotes Hume at length in order to narrate an entire episode for his readers' benefit--and emotional response. Also note the similarities between Hume's narration of the flight of Margaret, wife of Henry VI, and a flight of a fictional heroine that might be found in a novel such as Radcliffe's The Mysteries of Udolpho:[19]

> The fate of the unfortunate royal family, after this defeat (at the battle of Hexham), was very singular. Margaret, flying with her son into a forest, where she endeavoured to conceal herself, was beset, during the darkness of the night, by robbers, who either ignorant or regardless of her quality, despoiled her of her rings and jewels, and treated her with the utmost indignity. The partition of this rich booty raised a quarrel among them; and while their attention was thus engaged, she took the opportunity of making her escape with her son into the thickest of the forest, where she wandered for some time, over-spent with hunger and fatigue, and sunk with terror and affliction. While in this wretched condition, she saw a robber approach with his naked sword; and finding that she had no means of escape, she suddenly embraced the resolution of trusting entirely for protection to his faith and generosity. She advanced towards him, and presenting to him the young prince, called out to him, *Here, my friend, I commit to your care the safety of your King's son.* The man, whose humanity and generous spirit had been obscured, but not entirely lost, by his vicious course of life, was struck with the singularity of the event, and charmed with the confidence reposed in him; and he vowed, not only to abstain from all injury against the princess, but to devote himself entirely to her safety and protection. (qtd. in "Review of Hume's History of England" 92-93)

Robbers, stolen jewels, the flight of a solitary woman in the night, the appeal to a frightening stranger's humanity and sensibility--all characteristics of gothic romance, and apparently, of history as well. Rather than listing only the facts of a queen's flight (which date, where she hid, etc.), Hume portrays it as a romance in order to pique the imagination and draw upon

reader sympathy. The reviewer, the interpreter of this exciting story, next reminds readers of the necessary reaction to these events:

> Distress, like this, must move our pity, even though the sufferers were in the meanest station. But when we consider it as the lot of an unfortunate pair, accustomed to the pomp of royalty, and softened by all the blandishments of ease and luxury, then our compassion increases in proportion as the extreme reverse of fortune must make their sense of misery the stronger. (93)

That the reviewer takes up such space in the review to comment favorably upon Hume's skill in evoking readers' emotions points to one of the standards applied to written history: that it engage the reader's sympathy. The reviewer offers up his emotional reaction to the history. In doing so, he imagines a larger audience joining him in pity and compassion; indeed, he may even be effecting such emotional reactions in that audience.

The Recess, Gaston de Blondeville, and Reuben and Rachel all rely heavily on sentimental discourse in their portrayals of history. The novels' histories are full of highly-charged events, concern with inner feelings and motivations, "historian characters" who sigh or shed tears over the events they relate, and strong sympathetic bonds among the fictional and real people who make up each novel's world. Self-conscious narrators instruct the reader on the appropriate way to read and react to history; they also interrupt the histories with their own emotional responses to it. An understanding of the similarities between sentimental discourse as found in eighteenth-century novels and histories lays an important groundwork for discovering what happens when gothic discourse enters the fray. In my examination of the way in which Lee, Radcliffe, and Rowson combine history with the gothic, I will draw upon recent work that explores the interrelatedness of the gothic and sentimental traditions. For example, Marianne Nobel, in her examination of Susan Warner's novel Wide Wide World finds that "a core of perverse, gothic pleasures lies at the heart of nineteenth-century sentimental fiction" (163) wherein "the sympathizing reader vicariously experiences a textual victim's pain" (164). The sympathetic response depends

upon another's suffering to stimulate compassion and, by extension, pleasure at achieving the proper emotional response--as well as an understanding of being safe from actual pain. Nobel discovers a similarity in the way that gothic fiction, in its evocation of readerly shudders "also stimulates pleasure by exploiting the terror of tortured victims" (164). In applying this comparison to earlier gothic fiction in Britain and America, I will view the interconnectedness of the gothic and the sentimental from a different angle, one in which gothic discourse interrupts or even prevents sentimental discourse from functioning. In the novels I examine, gothic moments have the power to recast the innocent as the dangerous, the familiar as the unknown, and the loving as the abhorrent.[20] Where sentimental discourse is put to use in the construction of history, gothic discourse breaks history apart and reveals the textual and cultural disjunctions which lie beneath it, as well as the historical horror and oppression that are intimately linked with historical transmission (or lack thereof). Whether by pointing out the failure of relying upon truth of character in its representations of inconsistent, mad and unstable historical figures, as in Lee's The Recess; by illustrating the dangers to historical accuracy and personal safety that "feeling" history risks, as in Radcliffe's Gaston de Blondeville; or by presenting historical events so horrific and unreal that sentimental narratives of family love and intercultural inclusion appear as meek fantasies with no real-world authority, as in Rowson's Reuben and Rachel, the gothic interrupts and eventually overwhelms the sentimental current in historical discourse and the uses to which sentimentalism is dedicated in the writing of history.

Matters of Evidence

A final eighteenth-century historiographical issue related to my discussion of the gothic concerns alternate definitions of historical evidence, definitions still influenced by pre-Enlightenment assumptions. "History" in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries could still include legend, folklore and superstition. Sometimes, these "proofs" were the only way to record or remember the past;[21] in the absence of other types of

evidence, they could provide historical insight, particularly about a country's ancient history. Robert Mayer in his work History and the Early English Novel: Matters of Fact from Bacon to Defoe explains that gossip, fiction, polemic, and marvels could be understood or incorporated as history or fact. Seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century historical discourse "featured a taste for the marvelous, a polemical cast, a utilitarian faith, a dependence upon personal memory and gossip, and a willingness to tolerate dubious material for practical purposes, all of which led to the allowance of fiction as a means of historical representation" (4). Sometimes, applying these different tastes to historical discourse could lead to misunderstandings about what was history and what was fiction; literary forgeries of history, as well as more innocent mistakes by readers, resulted.[22]

Works such as Joseph Glanville's Sadducismus Triumphatus, or a Full and Plain Evidence Concerning Witches and Apparations (1681), Defoe's preface to the 1727 Essay on the History and Reality of Apparations, and Cotton Mather's The Wonders of the Invisible World (1693) exemplify late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century's interest in and, sometimes, belief in things supernatural. Works on history and research into the customs or literatures of the past could also adopt a distinctly gothic tone. This was especially apparent in works, fictional or otherwise, concerned with medieval times. One such work that included the magical, supernatural, and intensely emotional effects typical of the gothic tradition is Bishop Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry (1765). The preface to this collection, "An Essay on the Ancient Minstrels," "embodied original research into ancient customs, folklore, and the Middle Ages. Percy recommended his little volume by saying that 'the poetry of the Scalds chiefly displays itself in images of terror'" (Varma 26). For a collection like this, reference to terror or the otherworldly could be a strong selling point. Varma explains in his seminal work on the gothic novel, The Gothic Flame, "The literature of the Middle Ages was deeply imbued with the macabre and its scenes were full of sinister and terrible import. . . . A widespread belief in witches and spirits lived on into the eighteenth century, and there was also a steadily intensifying interest

in questions of life, death, and immortality; angels, demons, vampires; the occult, magic, astrology, dreams, omens, and oracles" (26). Varma credits this interest in Elizabethan literature and medieval artifacts with influencing the gothic tradition; the gothic tradition also influenced the way in which histories of the medieval period were studied and written.

Enlightenment standards of testing and organizing evidence could be applied to supernatural events, particularly if those events were of a religious cast. For example, Hume in his History depicts Joan of Arc's miraculous deeds as clearly evidenced. He notes:

> It is the business of history to distinguish between the *miraculous* and the *marvelous*; to reject the first in all narrations merely profane and human; the scruple the second; and when obliged by undoubted testimony, as in the present case, to admit of something extraordinary, to receive as little of it as is consistent with the known facts and circumstances. (qtd. in "Review of The History of England" 91).

Hume allows the marvelous here, but based on evidence, not belief. He is thus able to explain the supernatural by using modern methods of research.[23] The reviewer of Hume's History, notes this scene and argues that

> The merit of these reflections must be acknowledged by every reader, who has the least portion of that manly and liberal spirit which distinguishes our author. An Historian above all others, should never be a dupe to credulity: and he ought not only to reject incredibilities himself, but it is his duty likewise to warn his readers against crediting phantastic relations, which often give a wrong bias to enthusiastic minds, and render them ridiculous to the wise, and dangerous to the weak. (92).

The reviewer notes Hume's success both in cautioning readers before describing the historical period of Joan of Arc and in demonstrating how these events were "proven". The reviewer compliments Hume by stating, "Of this wonderful girl, our Historian gives the most accurate account we remember to have met with" (90). The reviewer also follows Hume's technique by including passages in Hume's history that utilize skepticism toward

the testing of marvelous people and events, finding that the supernatural or marvelous can be admitted into a 'true' history if it withstands such scrutiny.

Expanding the understanding of what could constitute fact or historical evidence holds special significance for my discussion of the historical gothic, because an insistence upon modern standards of evidence and realism, when applied to this form, has led to its exclusion as an inferior form of historical novel. I agree with Mayer, who finds that modern historical methodology is an important way to view eighteenth-century historiography, but that overly focusing on it leads to a neglect of other ways of writing and reading history that were occurring in that century. He argues,

> in the historical discourse of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries a commitment to the reporting of matters of fact coexisted with a willingness to tolerate or even actively employ fictional elements in history and also with a markedly polemical rhetoric that signaled that history was not a disinterested factual discourse but a means of shaping historical reality. (11)

Those histories that do not fit into the privileged model of Enlightenment historiography fall by the wayside, as does any examination of how alternate types of historical evidence interacted with that model (9-10). Gothic novels can highlight these other kinds of accepted historical sources not based solely on realistic fact. Depending upon such evidence as secret correspondence, stories of the marvelous and supernatural proven by eye-witness accounts and characters' gossip, found manuscripts and ancient artifacts, gothic novels provide important material for studying the differing tastes for what constituted historical fact. Characters in the novels who sift for evidence struggle with methods of proof; sometimes old medieval manuscripts are read with the assumption that they are full of superstition. Gothic novels, particularly historical gothic novels, thus demonstrate through their fictional texts another tension between Enlightenment historiography and older approaches to history.

British Women as Readers and Writers of History

> . . . since Men being the Historians they seldome condescend to record the great and good Actions of Women; and when they take notice of them, 'tis with this wise Remark, That such Women acted above their sex. By which one must suppose they would have their Readers understand, That they were not women who did those Great Actions, but they were Men in Petticoats! (Mary Astell, The Christian Religion 354.)

As Mary Astell points out in her criticism of the sexist structures surrounding historical portrayal, the issue of women reading history brought up questions about "female" subject matter and reading interests. Writers such as Hume urged women to read history, but also criticized what he saw to be the female interest in gossip, romance and "secret history" [24] that affected their ability to understand "real" history. Other sources viewed women as "exemplary perceivers of events, potentially better students of history than men" (Dorn 8). Given the large number of historical gothics written by women in the late eighteenth century, what led these women to combine history and romance and why were "gothified histories" so popular among the reading public? One reason stems from the increasing interest among women in reading history, as well as the rising importance attributed to women's education in history. Women like Catharine Macaulay were writing Enlightenment political histories; other women writers turned to forms such as the religious history, educational tract, memoir, and travel narrative to explore historical subject matter and to provide a response to Enlightenment histories by men. The novel and the specific focus of this study, the gothic romance, provided a popular medium through which to explore and manipulate historical subject matter and to demonstrate an increasing awareness of the power dynamics at work in history formation.

From the beginning of the eighteenth century, reformers increasingly called for girls' education to include historical knowledge of England, Europe, and, following the more classical education of boys, of Greece and Rome, usually in translation. In the wealthier boarding schools, more and more young women were reading these histories;

mothers were also encouraged to expose their daughters to history in the home. The commercial market by the mid-eighteenth century had picked up on this new readership, and as a result, advertisements of popular history books began to appear in periodicals for women (Davis 155). The same periodicals advocated and facilitated historical study. For example, The Ladies Magazine featured a segment entitled History of England by Question and Answer during 1749-50 and Eliza Haywood in The Female Spectator directly addressed her female readership about history education in her "Study of Philosophy Recommended":

> History must not be omitted, as it cannot fail in engaging the mind to attention and affording the strongest precept by example. The rise and fall of monarchies, the fate of princes, the sources from which their good or ill fortune may be deduced, afford an ample field for contemplation and, at the same time, too much pleasure to leave room for any amusements of a low and trifling nature. (60)

For a woman, entrance into fields traditionally reserved for male study was possible partly due to the changing availability of texts. The kind of study advocated by Haywood and other reformers became easier "because of a large body of classical texts made newly accessible through English translations produced during the Restoration, a body of knowledge of ancient times and of contemporary cultural reference and definition previously restricted to readers of Greek and Latin, typically university-educated men" (Ezell 22). This newly available body of knowledge not only educated women on events, personages, and periods of classical and contemporary history, but also provided models for the style and subject matter of historical works, models that would be followed by female historians. It also opened the way to understanding the foundations of British cultural and political ideas that these texts provided (Ezell 30).

Alongside the educational reformers, female historians, including the famous Catharine Macaulay, also actively urged other women to undertake serious historical study, usually as part of a prescription for women's educational and social rights. Drawing from a

plan of education similar to her own, Catharine Macaulay in her 1790 Letters on Education recommends "a course of history, beginning with Rollin's Ancient History, in French; then one of the best of the English histories in this language. . . . the thread of the Roman history should be leisurely pursued through Livy, Dion, Cassis, Sallust, Tacitus, in Latin, and Ferguson and Gibbon in English" (Macaulay 129-130). Margaret Ezell has explored the "conversations" among seventeenth- and eighteenth-century women of letters concerning reading and writing history in order to discover how women, traditionally barred from historical writing, reading, and participation, responded to the dominant discourses about England's past. She lists examples such as Mary Chudleigh who urged women to read both classical and modern histories, who was interested in ancient Britain, and who undertook amateur excavations of antiquities. Similarly, Anglo-Saxon historian Elizabeth Elstob wrote about England before the Roman occupation, studied Old English and wrote a translation of An Anglo Saxon Homily, on the Birth-day of St. Gregory (1709). Elstob was criticized for her work; she swiftly defended her ability to be a serious scholar in the Homily. More interestingly, she both defended herself and claimed the authority to defend her chosen field of study, ancient British history, openly shaming those who found classical studies superior to the history of their own English ancestors (Ezell 33).

Examining the writings of women such as these, Ezell finds that women read history with an eye for the politics of historiography and in order to "master the present" in their personal lives and in the larger society (30). For women writers and readers, she argues, "the narrative of history offers not only narratives of power and triumph, but also of persecution and nobility in suffering; history is the depiction of greatness, but it is also the representation of power failing, of power being transferred, and of seemingly natural and inevitable power relationships being dissolved, overturned, and replaced" (31-32). Sometimes, examples from history gave women analogies by which to criticize the gendered dynamics of social power structures. Even the more conservative women incorporated such examples from history into their writings; the royalist Mary Astell, for example, used the

historical examples of the Civil War and Interregnum to examine such issues as absolute rule, ideal governmental models, and domestic relations (Ezell 36-38). Reading about history therefore could furnish women with models and analogies to use in their writings advising present behavior and opinions.

Writings about women's education in history usually were located in some way within the strictures of women's gendered position in society. Calls for women to read history both could reinforce women's separation from the world of politics and worldly endeavors, and could provide a passage into this realm, a passage that women's historical writings took advantage of. In her study British Women Writers and the Writing of History, 1670-1820, Devoney Looser points out that educational literature, while it encouraged historical reading as a proper pursuit for women, also cautioned women against becoming too learned or specialized in historical study: "The injunction throughout the conduct literature of the eighteenth century is that women were to become not narrow specialists but noble generalists of history" (21). Becoming too learned could diminish female attractiveness, but a knowledge of history in the broader sense could distinguish a woman from the frivolities of her sex (20). Sometimes seen as a palliative for women's circumscribed role, reading history also could become a surrogate for the real-world experience that the proper lady would not be expected to have. "Reading history provided a way for women to gain the benefits of understanding aspects of life they were not supposed to have access to without encountering problems of decorum in experiencing them" (18). By extension, reading history could become a means of gaining narrative authority in spite of a lack of real world experience. Looser explains,

> Reading history was viewed as a desirable substitute for women's experience outside the domestic or social sphere, but writing history . . . began to change its relation to experience too. Historians needed less 'real world' political experience to succeed in the genre. The distinction between specialist and generalist, then, was

> ranged themselves against history's strict identification with public life, with all the assumptions about audience, gender, and intellectual authority that accompanied the public domain. Without ever displacing the national narrative in the hierarchy of literatures, these other genres offered a variety of alternative histories whose common ground was their resistance to the assumed priority of politics. (Phillips, "Reconsiderations" 299)

These forms not only brought the private world of the individual into the realm of history but also allowed women a space from which to participate in the judgments of the past and the use of the past to inform present activity.[26] In her study of women historical writers, Natalie Davis explores these various forms and their development up until the early nineteenth century. Family history and memoir could be considered of political interest to the public if based on the woman's status as the wife or family member of someone who held a political, famous, or aristocratic position. Religious history, another appropriate field for women, could provide writers with a forum for commentary on political and social issues under the shield of women's position as protectors of morality; it also could justify extensive attention to women of the past as founders of movements, martyrs for causes, influences on rulers, etc. As the eighteenth century progressed, these two forms continued to be important while the field of women's historical activity expanded. Historical research and reflection became more common and acceptable for learned women who, like Catharine Macaulay, interrogated how and to what purpose history was written and read (165). The historical novel, combining fiction with educational and realistic history, could justify that novel's existence and make it less vulnerable to attacks that it contributed to readers', particularly female readers', idleness and corruption (Looser 23). Through these several forms, women writers eventually became involved in "the regularizing by the late eighteenth century of the learned woman's relations with the various aspects of the historian's craft: with its sources, style, and subjects, if not wholly with its audience" (Davis 157).

American Women as Readers and Writers of History

Similar interactions between women and history reading and writing were occurring in America. Women were encouraged to read and write history; history was taught in girls' schools and in the home; women utilized numerous forms to convey history; the combination of history and fiction allowed for more acceptable kinds of novels; and history writing allowed women a more direct means of contributing to the nation's historical and political events. American women's participation in historiography was also affected by their position as *American* women and the different ways that American history could be understood in the context of women's role in the new republic.

From the beginnings of the new nation, "the study of history emerged as particularly appropriate for American women. By the 1830s, advice that women should learn history was thoroughly conventional, historical subject matter had long since been installed in female academies, and American history in particular was also becoming a required subject in the common schools of the northeast" (Baym 13). Noting that a number of female students learned both to read and to write history--and often learned history by writing it themselves--Baym points out that even the most casual references to historical events in a woman's writing "testifies to her knowledge of history (or at least her desire to be known as a knower of history)" (24). Preparing women to understand and teach history "developed from the campaign to install history as the centerpiece of female education, in order to connect domestic women to the polity, bring civic self-understanding to the home, and bridge the widening spatial gap between sites of public and private activity" (11). Women were aware of their role in this project: "their writing shows that they thought of themselves as a part of the nonofficial public sphere and intended to make themselves influential in forming public opinion, whether as writers or mothers or spouses or all of these" (6). Furthermore, historical writing and discussion provided women with a venue through which they could forward opinions and commentary that might otherwise not find an audience. As men did more overtly, women could use historical discourse to

support specific political arguments, calls for reform, and partisan allegiances under the guise of educational motives and patriotic duty (8).

Calls for women's education in history, particularly American history, were linked to women's important role in raising and educating the next generation of citizens for the new republic.[27] Possessing and transmitting historical knowledge was both a duty for women and an indication that America of all countries held women in a special and unique cultural position where they influenced politics and the new nation's development. Women's historical knowledge was translated into historical writings that were valued as important contributions to national identity. During the days surrounding the Revolution and its aftermath, women could record the events that men participated in--i.e. while the men were away creating history, women could organize and comment upon those deeds from the safety of the home and fulfill their own patriotic duty. While women produced these historical records, they also assumed an authority to do so. Their positions as republican mothers and moral guardians especially fitted them for such work; millennial rhetoric which linked women to the rising spiritual power associated with Christ's coming continued to affect their position as well (Baym 93-94). Explaining women's participation in history according to the millennial mode, Byam states that this view of history "placed them--Protestant American women--at the very vanguard of historical progress" (46). As Baym's extensive study of women's historical writings demonstrates, women's contributions "both registered and significantly shaped the enormous general interest in history characteristic of the antebellum period. It contributed to the vital intellectual tasks of forging and publicizing national identity by placing the new nation in world history and giving it a history of its own" (1).

Women like Mercy Otis Warren and Hannah Adams wrote histories in the more traditional form, but a great number of other women produced historical discourse using a wide range of forms including biography, travel narrative, personal letters designed for public consumption, religious history, historical textbooks, poetry and, of course, the

historical novel. Many of these forms blend together with others; some, like fictional forms that include historical content, often deliberately emphasize their blurred boundaries in order to enter the realm of acceptable and educational reading. Women living during historically important events could inscribe themselves into histories as participants, and observers could use their own experiences as touchstones or indications of the times in which they lived. As Sharon Harris observes in her study of early American women historians, "What often occurs in early nontraditional historical narratives is an erasure of the boundaries between history and autobiography. Many writers confronting the immediate past preferred a fluid sense of narrative that might best be described as historic-autobiographical" (176). Harris describes different strategies in such histories where the personal and public blend together: national history as revelation of the self; personal history as cultural revelation, particularly during important moments in national history; and history as a reminder of moments where different cultures clash or seemingly homogenous groups break apart (176-7).[28] Whether by educating the future generation of American citizens, recording their own connections to larger political and historical events, or participating in nation-formation, women utilized history as "a means of participating in the production of knowledge for the present as well as for posterity" (178).

Many post-revolutionary authors emphasized their novels' educational benefits in order to counter society's prevalent attitude that the novel was corruptive; claiming historical subject matter was one important way to offer one's novel as educational. In Women of the Republic, Linda Kerber traces how fiction reading was seen as especially harmful to women not only because women were "thought to be most vulnerable to the attractions of irresponsibility and passion as depicted in novels" (239) and thus more likely to let novels influence their behavior for the worse, but also because women who read novels might neglect housework and family duties (251-253). "Proper" novels, however, along with didactic works eventually came to be seen as suitable for a woman as long as they instructed her in virtue, obedience and duty to the Republic. Female education and novel readership

with educational purpose became more favored as a means of supporting the Republic through the institution of motherhood. As Kerber explains, "Motherhood was discussed almost as if it were a fourth branch of government, a device that ensured social control in the gentlest possible way. If the Republic indeed rested on responsible motherhood, prospective mothers needed to be well informed and decently educated" (200). It is important to note, however, that "advice to women on what they should read was accompanied by insistent warnings . . . of what not to read" (235). "What not to read" still consisted of the majority of novels. Similarly, Cathy Davidson in Revolution and the Word: The Rise of the Novel in America provides various examples of how presidents, preachers and educators opposed the novel because of its potentially dangerous influence. She explains, "Sustained misgivings as to the social and moral effects of fiction represent, then, an attempt by an elite minority to retain a self-proclaimed role as the primary interpreters of American culture" (42). In the face of this opposition, novelists attached themselves to the cause of education:

> Virtually every American novel written before 1820 . . . at some point includes either a discourse on the necessity of improved education (often with special attention to the need for better female education) or a description of then-current education . . . or, at the very least, a comment on the educational levels and reading habits of the hero and even more so the heroine. (66)

Novels that could proclaim to champion virtue or to educate their readers tended to experience less vilification.

The historical novel could represent one acceptable form because it educated readers, particularly women, about the formation of the new republic as well as the political events of other countries and times. As Baym argues while examining the American historical novel, attacks on the novel diminished as the success of historical novels established themselves in the public reading consciousness. "This suggests that the novel, demonized as history's other, escaped its pariah status by becoming historical itself" (23). Novels, "which had

previously been contrasted to history, were appropriated for historical work" (7). Baym finds that nearly two-thirds of these historical novels are about the United States and argues, "As a whole, novels of American history imply a familiar nationalist narrative about winning independence from England and securing territory from the Indians. . . No matter what their particular focus, they aim to participate in the patriotic work of establishing and affirming national origins, characters, and values" (155). Baym cautions against seeing women's historical novels as subversive or somehow inherently multicultural; such rebellion would have seemed "both unpatriotic and unsuccessful" (155) at the time. She points out that for women, the historical record

> told a story they liked, one authorizing their performances as historians, a story wherein only Protestant Christianity accorded women their rightful place in society, and Protestant Christianity flourished only under the republican form of government they themselves enjoyed. . . . In context, it looks as though the project of the American women who wrote historical novels was not to challenge received history but to show that historical fiction, like other forms of historical writing, was not an exclusively masculine genre. (153)

Baym discusses historical novels after the advent of Scott's Waverly and does not include historical gothic novels in her discussion. Her examination of American women writers and the historical novel does apply to a novel like Reuben and Rachael, a novel that certainly upholds American virtue and progress, and yet Baym's discussion stops short of explaining the role that the gothic plays in a historical novel and how it might cast a gloomy shadow upon the a novel's more patriotic content. While cautious about ascribing overt radical tendencies to a mainstream successful writer like Rowson, I do find a tension in gothified histories like hers between the history valorized and the more unstable, frightening, and potentially violent aspects of that same history.

For British and American women readers and writers of the late eighteenth-century, the historical gothic novel enjoyed popularity, a popularity that points to a larger community

of readers possessing expectations about historical discourse and eager to explore the historical past. Educated women readers would also be familiar with the variety of ways history could be represented and with some of the ways in which female writers cross and blur generic boundaries set up by traditional Enlightenment historiography. Though a work of fiction, a historical gothic novel could present and explore history in ways similar to those espoused by formal female historians such as Macaulay, as well as the myriad authors of travel journals, family histories, etc. Focusing on individuals, commenting on a person's character, portraying history's more dramatic moments in terms of feeling, including great women as well as more common ones in the grand tableau of events, and demonstrating an awareness of political issues surrounding moments in history and history formation itself, "gothified histories" represent an important but overlooked group of responses by women writers to more traditional histories. At the same time, through the use of the supernatural, nightmarish flight scenes, madness, and haunted locales, historical gothics place their examinations of historic material within a realm further removed from the reality portrayed by traditional political histories and various other forms of history writing adopted by women. This particular vantage point allows for historical events and people to appear unfamiliar, unnatural, or even dangerous; it also involves historiography itself in the horrors and dangers portrayed by these novels.

"Gothified Histories"

I borrow the term "gothified history" from Frederick S. Frank, who, in his catalogue of gothic novels The First Gothics: A Critical Guide to the English Gothic Novel, coins the term to describe a significant grouping of early gothic novels that utilize historical settings and personages. He explains that "abundant examples of Gothified histories, or historical novels written in the key of high terror or horror, establish the importance of this branch of Gothicism" (xiii). Some of these novels describe events and people from a generalized medieval Europe. Others look back upon British history from its ancient Celtic

past to medieval times up through the specific reigns of such monarchs as King John, King Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth I, and beyond. Rosetta Ballin's 1790 The Statue Room: An Historical Romance, for example, traces the theme of the hidden royal child seeking legitimacy. It depicts the secret daughter of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon, born in hiding after their divorce, and later pursued by Queen Elizabeth, a figure who often appears as a villain in historical gothics. Some plots become directly involved in political or social commentary surrounding those historical time periods. The 1795 novel Arville Castle: An Historical Romance, which depicts Roman Britain during the reign of Queen Boadicea, examines the beginnings of Western civilization in Britain. Fighting against Roman rule, Boadicea serves here as the villainess (certainly a villainess to eighteenth-century enlightened Britons, the inheritors of Roman civil advancements), not a heroine of Celtic culture as she is depicted in other later histories. In C.A. Bolen's 1826 The Mysterious Monk: Or, the Wizard's Tower, historical commentary appears directly in the assignment of the familiar gothic villain role to King John, who represents the lustful pursuer of the heroine, fictional Ella de Mortimer.

A quick glance at Frank's compilation reveals the significant number of "gothified histories" written during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[29] Their frequent appearance and contemporary popularity makes the absence of any serious critical study of this sub-genre conspicuous, particularly given the changes in how history and national identity have been discussed in literary criticism of the past two decades. Part of this neglect stems from a continuing insistence on modern standards of historical verisimilitude and evidence, something which these gothified histories do not always provide, and an undervaluing of those novels which follow more popular, sensational, and sometimes technically disjointed narrative paradigms. As B. G. MacCarthy in The Female Pen: Women Writers and Novelists: 1621-1818 argues, "It is not that [gothic novels] ignored, but that they did not conceive the essentials of a historical novel. Prior to Scott, nothing had been written which could with justice be called a historical novel" (317). Lee's The Recess,

for example, was not historical "unless one is satisfied to accept as a historical novel a tale without the slightest historical verisimilitude woven around certain historical personages" (317). The lack of factual correctness seemed less of a concern for the first readers, however, than it has for contemporary critics of the novel who hold Sir Walter Scott as the standard: "What readers of early historical fiction in the Gothic mode desired was not factual accuracy or political verity but a thrilling falsification of the past" (Frank, First Gothics 15-16). Judging and critiquing the early gothic histories solely on the basis of whether their historical events are portrayed accurately can blind readers to the ways in which these novels explore just what does constitute accurate historical portrayal and to the ways in which gothic and sensational effects, specifically, deconstruct Enlightenment historiography. What did a "thrilling falsification of the past" provide other than excitement for contemporary readers? To answer this question, one must look beyond the canonical gothic novels that represent the past in a generalized sense and toward those novels featuring specific historical events and people.

Very few twentieth-century critics of the gothic novel have taken this approach. Scholarship which has looked at the historical gothic sub-genre appeared earlier in the century. One of the earliest studies, Montague Summers's The Gothic Quest, provides an extensive list of historical gothic novels but, while summarizing them, provides little critical analysis. Another of the most important early studies of the gothic novel, Devranda Varma's The Gothic Flame, devotes a short chapter to the historical gothic and provides historical background and reception information about these novels, but Varma saves most of the book's analysis for canonical works like Horace Walpole's The Castle of Otranto.

When discussing representations of history in the gothic novel, most others have lumped all gothic romances together and pointed to a generalized longing for or distancing from the past. Gothic novels depicting a specific time in history and featuring real historical figures rarely enter into these discussions. Typical of such studies, Judith Wilt's contribution to The Columbia History of the British Novel discusses gothic novels'

depiction of the past in terms of how contemporary readers compared it to their own times. According to her examination, readers of gothic novels could look with titillating pleasure at the misdeeds of such villains as the aristocratic Montoni or the ecclesiastic Schedoni because of belief in the way history was progressing, advancing linearly, away from such irrational times. Readers of eighteenth-century gothic novels were able to experience

> 'history' as prophecy--a pleasurable consciousness of doom associated with the painful reign and inevitable fall of the proud and the powerful, and with the continuing poignant revelation of the inadequacy of reason. For English Gothic fiction, history was a place where one could explore and experience the disappearing engines of unbridled wrath, pride, and lust. The barons and clerics of Horace Walpole and Ann Radcliffe, Clara Reeve and M. G. Lewis, exercised a prepolitical, ahistorical brand of power drawn in rationalist terms as a kind of madness. The immense dilation of power and ambition, the preternatural humanity, of the great Gothic villains could be safely walled off in the past, which because it was the prerational time could contain an accompanying preternatural apparatus of omens, tales, and powers prophesying, actually accomplishing, the fall of the preternatural human and the return of the rest of the world to Christian salvation history. (319-320)

Here, Wilt reads the gothic novel's depiction of history as fantasy about a far-distant, generalized past that features villains who are Other (Italian, Catholic, etc) and that allows those in the present to enjoy a sense of the their own cultural and political superiority, clearly separated from the unenlightened past. From a different standpoint, other critics have explored how the gothic representation of the generalized past could allow for escape from the turmoil of late eighteenth-century economic, cultural, and political change. Maggie Kilgore describes this perspective wherein "the gothic is symptomatic of a nostalgia for the past which idealizes the medieval world as one of organic wholeness, in which individuals were defined as members of the 'body politic', essentially bound by a symbolic system of

analogies and correspondences to their families, societies, and the world around them" (11). Set as many gothic novels are in the feudal era, eighteenth-century British gothics could serve as nostalgic reminders of a simpler and idealized time, articulating a more conservative comparison between past and present.[30]

While both these configurations of the role that the past plays in gothic novels work well enough when applied to the canonical novels of Radcliffe, Maturin and Lewis, they neglect the obvious cultural references to eighteenth-century times contained within historical gothic novels that write about Britain's and America's national history more directly and specifically. Gothified histories move beyond providing a general experience of an irrational, pre-political or ahistorical past, as Wilt explains above, and instead represent the past in a way that is both historically specific and deeply involved in the politics of those historical times. They convey eighteenth-century agendas behind crafting history as well, and they bring to the forefront the uses to which historiography can be put. Great gothic villains still appear in these novels, but their deeds stem from direct participation in political intrigues, ideological conflicts, and historical events, not from their irrationality or exercise of preternatural power. Indeed, it is partly because of their involvement in such "real" contexts that these villains are so frightening. Participants in actual British or American history, villains as well as heroes become implicated in stories and mythmaking about their respective nations. Rather than studying how gothic novels explore the general idea of "the past" in terms of nostalgia or progress, I will explore the more specific idea of an Enlightenment "national history" as portrayed in historical gothics that take as their special subject matter historically famous people and events from British or American history. Often with self-conscious narrators or "historians," these novels contain direct comment not only on those events and people, but also on how a history is created and used.

Historicist studies have connected British and American gothic novels to each country's respective history, but they, too, turn to the canonical novels as they examine their political and cultural referents as symbolically encoded in the text. The French

Revolution's influence on the gothic is a primary example of this type of reading.[31] Critics have made connections between the eighteenth-century British gothic novel and concerns about the French Revolution, and they have debated such issues as whether a particular author--say, Ann Radcliffe--shows politically conservative or radical tendencies in her fiction. The association of Radcliffe, Lewis, Maturin, Godwin and others with the French Revolution has proliferated to the degree that participating in or rebelling against revolutionary tendencies has become a defining characteristic of eighteenth-century gothic novels. Political content in gothic novels revolving around the desire to overthrow the aristocracy or antiquated systems of power could be played out fictionally in medieval Europe, while the explosion of violence in some of these novels paralleled the violence of the day.

More recently, Markman Ellis in The History of Gothic Fiction has drawn a closer connection between gothic novels and history. Considering how the gothic "is itself a theory of history: a mode for the apprehension and consumption of history" (11), he examines specific historical moments and reader responses to gothic publications in order to discover why certain gothic effects became popular at certain times, as well as "how some critical assumptions about the gothic, established as timeless or natural, have their origin in particular events and debates" (12).[32] He finds, for example, an underlying terror about the Illuminati conspiracy in Brown's Wieland; the philosophy of libertinism and Lewis's own censorship controversy in The Monk; conflicting approaches to the eighteenth-century ideology of sensibility in Radcliffe's Romance of the Forest; and the clashing of Enlightenment rationality with superstition and the unknowable in all of the above. Similar in his comparison of the novels' fictional and political content, James Watt in Contesting the Gothic: Fiction, Genre and Cultural Conflict, 1764-1832 devotes a chapter to the "Loyalist Gothic Romance", a group of novels participating in England's creation of a new national self-image in the face of the American and French Revolutions (44). Examining both canonical and non-canonical novels, Watt argues that works such as

Clara Reeve's The Old English Baron and James White's Earl Strongbow "were unambiguously loyalist in the way that they framed supernatural incident, and in the way that they appealed instead to an exemplary medieval era" (42). The Loyalist Gothics support the reinstatement of the proper heir, punish usurpers, and reign in uncontrolled freedom using a clearly delineated medieval class structure. Ellis's configuration of the gothic as history and Watt's exploration of national identity in loyalist gothic provides an important background to the following investigation. My study, however, adds a new dimension to the examination of political content in gothic novels from this period by focusing on novels which contain direct, not symbolic, representations of historical events and by highlighting how these novels interrogate the act of history-making and, by extension, national myth-making.[33]

While criticism about the role of history in the American gothic shares some of the above characteristics, it also brings up special issues related to differing constructions of America's past. Scholars like Leslie Fiedler traditionally have questioned whether America even has a past with which the gothic can engage. In Love and Death in the American Novel he states, "The gothic, after all, had been invented to deal with the past and with history from a typically Protestant and enlightened point of view; but what could one do with the form in a country which, however Protestant and enlightened, had (certainly at the end of the eighteenth century!) neither a proper past nor a history?" (144). According to Fiedler, some early gothics in America may have imitated British models, but the *real* American gothic novels, beginning with Brockden Brown, struck out into new, unexplored territory and abandoned the European ruins of the past. Fiedler echoes Nathaniel Hawthorne, who in his preface to The Marble Faun argues as follows:

> No author, without a trial, can conceive of the difficulty of writing a Romance about a country where there is no shadow, no antiquity, no mystery, no picturesque and gloomy wrong, nor anything but a common-place prosperity, in broad and simple daylight, as is happily the case with my dear native land. It will be very long, I trust,

> before romance-writers may find congenial and easily handled themes either in the annals of our stalwart Republic, or in any characteristic and probable events of our individual lives. Romance and poetry, like ivy, lichens, and wall-flowers, need Ruin to make them grow. (3)

This viewpoint rests on the assertion that America's history began with the founding fathers and the Declaration of Independence, if that, and that America's history is too recent to count as a past. It also assumes a sanitized version of that recent past.

Nevertheless, "the past", particularly as it reflects the development of American literature and national identity, continually haunts early American gothic fiction. Hawthorne's short stories with their depiction of the Puritans, Robert Bird's Nick of the Woods with its location on the Kentucky frontier, Washington Irving's History of New York and The Sketchbook of Geoffrey Crayon with their supernatural tales and creation of an American folklore, and Charles Brockden Brown's Arthur Mervyn with its setting of the 1793 Yellow Fever Epidemic all deal in some way with moments in American history. Like critics of the British gothic novel, critics of the American gothic novel have tended to focus on a generalized idea of "the past" when discussing gothic novels containing settings with a historical flavor. Sometimes, references to the past are subsumed within a discussion of how American gothic novels point to deep psychological issues in the minds of the characters and authors. Typical of this approach, Louis Gross in Redefining the American Gothic finds that "The weight of the past is an oppressive force in Gothic narrative. Characters either are made to suffer the results of old sins or curses . . . or to replicate the lives lived in some shadowy past. . . . In either case, the people and events of the past cling to the minds of those characters, enveloping them in guilt and madness" (29). He describes the visions of American history as seen in Lionel Lincoln and other gothics as ones "that see history as a long nightmare from which we wake only fitfully and tremble" (36). On a different note, Donald Ringe in The American Gothic: Imagination and Reason in Nineteenth-Century America examines the past in terms of how it is used in American vs.

British gothic fiction as a technical device, as well as how the past is employed as a means to explore the horrors of human perception and psychology. For example, Ringe looks at how some gothic authors avoid British gothic trappings and, instead, use real-life horror such as the yellow fever epidemic in Brown's Ormond or Arthur Mervyn to create similar effects of horror and dismay in the reader (42-3). Focused on canonical authors in the gothic tradition and subscribing to the idea put forward by Fiedler and others that American gothic, because written in a country with no history, turns inward, studies like these that take historical references into account do not apply gothic conventions to direct historical events and people, reading gothic novels more in terms of how they symbolically code "the past." With their focus on the individual struggling with or against the past, these studies often fit into the general paradigm that has traditionally been used to define American gothic.

As with other forms of American literature, American gothic novels have engaged with the question, "What does it mean to be an American?" The gothic novel in its depiction of an American past is very much concerned with the darker side of this question, and critics have applied this concern to an individual's conflict with or experience of American identity, again relocating gothic horror within the individual. To know the self is to know the American (and vice versa), and this is not exactly possible or desirable. Eric Savoy in his study of the gothic speaks of the larger group of gothic images in America that "suggest the attraction and repulsion of a monstrous history, the desire to 'know' the traumatic Real of American being and yet the flight from that unbearable and remote knowledge" ("Rise"169). In portraying the past, the gothic novel often creates a

> convoluted and blatantly constructed discourse of narratives that circle around themes and events that are rarely susceptible to direct exposition. Generally, the sense of the past that pervades Gothic literature does not encourage the writer to explain origins in clear relation to end-points in a seamless linear narrative. Nor does the writer seize on history as a coherent field that is subject to authorial control. Instead, history controls and determines the writer. Gothic texts return obsessively

to the personal, the familial, and the national pasts to complicate rather than to clarify them, but mainly to implicate the individual in a deep morass of American desires and deeds that allow no final escape from or transcendence of them. (168-9)

Thus, a novel like Brown's Wieland features a woman, Clara, obsessed with writing her history and "who serves as a register for the dreadful course of events she unfolds--and whose reluctant, traumatized *writing* is the novel's most engaging aspect" (172). Savoy also describes the individual's frightening interaction with personal history as a metaphor for seeing both American identity and America's past. Wieland, as one example, "gestures frequently toward pervasive anxieties about the individual's capacity for common sense and self-control within the unstable social order of the new American republic" (172). The slipping identity from monstrous to responsible citizen that takes place in the novel belies "the ideological bedrock of the Enlightenment promise of the free individual's role in the common good" and "marks the return of the irrational 'other' to dismantle the fundamental propositions of the national experiment" (172). Using the individual's experience of the past as a metaphor for the development of the American republic, gothic novels can "express a profound anxiety about historical crimes and perverse human desires that cast their shadow over what many would like to be the sunny American republic" (168).

The most recent development in American gothic scholarship has been concerned with reapplying the gothic to the historical horrors of slavery and Indian massacre, and with reading gothic novels as registers of those harms, not just of the individual's uncanny encounter with his or her personal past. The 1998 study American Gothic: New Interventions in a National Narrative, edited by Robert Martin and Eric Savoy, includes several essays, including Lesley Ginsberg's "Slavery and the Gothic Horror of Poe's 'The Black Cat'" and Robert K. Martin's "Haunted by Jim Crow: Gothic Fictions by Hawthorne and Faulkner", that are concerned with recovering the real horrors of American history. Kathleen Brogan in "American Stories of Cultural Haunting: Tales of Heirs and

Ethnographers" examines the use of the supernatural in recovering the missing histories of African American women. Teresa Goddu's Gothic America also explores this area. In their recovery of the hidden and horrific moments of American history, these studies directly refute the older Fiedlerian suggestion that America has no past for the gothic to exploit.

Most of the studies that look at American history's real horrors focus either on canonical gothic novels or those in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Extending that scope, I will analyze Rowson's novel with the aim of looking at how earlier women's gothic novels that follow a different pattern--one that depends more on the British tradition for its effects, characters, narrative structure and concerns--grapple with actual history and its transmission. Again, my focus is on the act of writing not a personal history per se but a national history, as well as on how that act becomes involved in perpetuating the horrors that a nation's history attempts to cover over. More than referring to history in a generalized or metaphorical sense, I will read Rowson's depiction of the past as intimately involved in Enlightenment historiography and will focus my attention on more literal representations of American history.

So what does it mean to "gothify" history? The short answer is that to gothify history is to render it terrifying, to reveal its secret horrors, and to rip apart its assumptions, portrayals, and structures so violently as to make any comparisons between it and a semblance of "what really happened" unrecognizable. Combined with gothic discourse, historiography becomes uncanny, uncontrollable, monstrous; historical transmission occurs in shadow.

The gothic has often been studied in terms of how and what it subverts: traditional gender roles, patriarchal lines of inheritance, aristocratic or religious hierarchies, stable notions of selfhood, the role of popular literature in the Canon.[34] Gothic novels will often use as destabilizing tools such devices as secret stories or manuscripts; horrors hidden

beneath the surface of seemingly benevolent buildings or people; atmospheres or landscapes of fear, gloom and foreboding; madness and the subsequent questions of a narrative's veracity; slippages of identity, as in the trope of the double or doppleganger; moments or states of "unknowing"; and voices of those who are Other. In short, the very traits that mark a tale as gothic are the ones that may allow for the undermining of power structures and ideologies. This is not to say that every gothic novel is simply subversive--Ann Radcliffe's canonical novels, for example, can be read as reinstatements of traditional gender roles or as conservative commentary on the French Revolution. What the gothic novel holds the potential for, however, is the creation of a medium particularly haunting, foreboding, and uncanny within which to explore specific issues, whether these be of gender, human psychology, or social or political structures. Involved in portraying cultural fears or uneasinesses, the gothic novel, almost a secret manuscript of horror itself, reveals what might otherwise be repressed or surrounded with taboo.

As a literature of transgression, the gothic novel crosses many boundaries: lines of sexual taboo, divisions of self and other, definitions of genre, boundaries of public and private spheres, chronological ordering of past and present, categories of the real and unreal, etc.[35] The scientific man must face and acknowledge the existence of a ghost haunting his son. The haunted house reminds those in the present of evils once committed there by a tyrannical husband. A mad narrator confronts his double. The ghost in the woods savagely scalping Indians turns out to be a peace-loving Quaker. In all of these instances, the moment of horror hovers around a conflicted boundary, showing it to be a "both/and" rather than an "either/or" division. The man in the woods is both Quaker and savage, the past is in the present, reality includes both science and the non-provable, the self is also the other. This slippage of boundary lines makes the gothic particularly well-suited to deconstructive projects, wherein the discourse or appearance of that which is Other breaks apart coherent significations and definitions. Jacqueline Howard's Reading Gothic Fiction:

A Bakhtinian Approach connects Bakhtin's concept of "heteroglossia" with the gothic mode. Drawing from Bakhtin's Dialogic Imagination, she argues,

> The Gothic novel is a type in which the propensity for multiple discourse is highly developed and that is *dialogic* because of its indeterminacy or its open structure. The Gothic only plays at being totalized or closed, as its supposed 'unity' encompasses 'several heterogeneous stylistic unities, often located on different linguistic levels and subject to different stylistic controls.' (16-7)

Following Howard's configuration, I argue that combining gothic discourse, already fractured and shifting, with the various histories contained in historical gothic novels results in a heteroglossic depiction of the past. The ruptures which appear in gothic novels and which disrupt their narrative structures allow for a greater inclusion of and focus on multiple versions and uses of history. Fixated upon violence, oppression, and horror, gothic novels bring to the surface voices often excluded from history. Even more than this, the interactions between gothic and historical discourse create horror at the sites where these different voices appear, highlighting the fear surrounding the historiographical project itself. The gothic novel's inclusion of multiple histories and shifting boundaries, narratives, and epistemologies sets up the construction of a coherent national history as a monstrous endeavor, one that continually deconstructs its own creations.

One of the most important ways by which the gothic novel can do this is through the use of the supernatural. Glen Calvaliero in The Supernatural and English Fiction points out how the supernatural destroys absolute definitions:

> It is because supernaturalism is a rogue element in the house of fiction that it can function as a shatterer of idols. On the one hand it assaults the tendency to confine the reading of experience within any one given philosophy or framework; it qualifies established orthodoxies; it can be both critical and corrective. At the same time it asserts, and at its finest it demonstrates, an enlargement of possibilities, opening up

> epistemological and imaginative horizons, extending the measurements perceptible to narrowly rationalistic philosophy. (238)

As I examine the conjunction of the gothic and the historical, I will read gothic discourse as a kind of ghost which, uncontrollable and uncanny itself, interrupts and breaks apart the linear, rational, and idealized discourse of historical and sentimental narratives that attempt to contain or cover it. Other versions of history, other methods of historiography, and other voices enter into these textual ruptures and highlight the very fictionality of what seems to be a rational reality and a true, unbiased history.

But to do this, these historical gothic novels must first adopt the very characteristics of Enlightenment historiography in their self-presentation as a history. In this way the interaction between the gothic novel and Enlightenment ideals (here, of a rational, coherent, and linear history) is different than that proposed by those who see the gothic's portrayal of the past as a largely irrational response to overly rational literary norms. Carefully crafting histories according to Enlightenment standards only to make them horrifying, historical gothics undermine the act of history-making itself. Because the fictional content in the historical gothic novel is so emotionally striking and blatant, the conjunction and clash between two modes of knowing, the historical and the imaginative, stand in the forefront and cannot easily be ignored. Frank's term "gothified history" thus can exist both as a description of a kind of novel (Frank's use of the term) and as the naming of a process which, I argue, changes--gothifies--the description of what history is and does. Vividly, sometimes graphically, historical gothics present history and history-making as fraught with contradictions, secrets, hidden agendas, and exclusions. Neatly labeling and organizing the past becomes an endeavor that is dangerous, nearly impossible, caught up in the victimization of those involved, and, ultimately, doomed to failure. While gothic novels certainly were not the only kinds of eighteenth-century writings that pointed out the difficulty, questionings, and failures of writing history, they do provide a particularly

haunting reminder of ways in which literature intertwines with the period's debates about what history was and could do.

Chapter Summary

In each of the following chapters I analyze how one author "gothifies" history and locates her fiction alongside an important historiographical trend or issue, as well as in relation to actual political and historical events. Each author includes in her novel segments where characters talk about how to read and react to history, indicating the author's own participation in historical education. Different kinds of histories other those based on the traditional or classical model are given attention and power, even if only temporarily. Quite often the emergences of these alternate histories are accompanied by supernatural or other gothic occurrences that serve to undermine the well-known and traditional history in order to make space for neglected voices and experiences. Gothic moments break into the histories which each novel constructs, interrupt the collection and gathering of information the characters undertake, and defamiliarize events and people until the very act of historical transmission becomes caught up in the horror and oppression which dominate the novels.

Chapter one features Sophia Lee's The Recess, a novel that participates in the cult of Mary Queen of Scots, who stood as an icon of sentimental feeling. Strongly relying upon sentimental historiography, Lee imagines the unfortunate queen's fictional twin daughters who seek to reclaim their rightful place within the English monarchy. Key players in political events involving Elizabeth, as well as James I, Leicester, Essex, and others, Matilda and Ellinor craft twin histories that throw into doubt the efficacy of relying upon "truth in character"--for both young historians continually are duped-- and on history's objectivity. Their double narratives relay the same events with opposite interpretations, and all forms of evidence--written, oral, visual, eye-witness--fail to establish a truthful account or to survive under the pressures of the girls' oppressors. Both women allow feeling to interfere with a clear perception of historical events, and Ellinor's increasing madness gradually discredits

her reliability and eventually leads her to tear apart the record she compiles. Concerned throughout the novel with collecting and preserving evidence so that they can at least be vindicated in the future, the two women nevertheless learn in the end that without sanction by those in power, their histories will never be told. Gothic moments, including ghostly guises, subterranean hideouts and prisons, supernatural visits from historical figures, live burials, obsession with coffins and other mementos of death, and gruesome violence that erupts both in the novel's history and in the heroines' tender hearts all throw into doubt the ability of a sentimental discourse to cover over historical horrors. Surrounding sites of cultural conflict in England, Scotland and Ireland with gothic events and elements, The Recess belies any attempt at using history to depict a unified national narrative. The gothic's ability to turn sympathy into horror graphically undercuts the sentimental discourse which surrounds historiography in this novel. The act of historiography itself becomes one of horror and danger for those involved in attempting history's transmission, not in the least because historiography possesses the potential to take on a terrifying life of its own.

In chapter two, I examine antiquarianism and historical tourism as portrayed in Ann Radcliffe's Gaston de Blondeville. The novel is framed by a lengthy preface in which two men touring actual English ruins discuss how to test and react to historical evidence. The novel proper, a manuscript the two men discover that is as full of antiquarian detail as of fiction, provides an excellent experiment for the main character, Willoughton, to try out his methods of experiencing history with feeling and imagination, as well as with a thorough knowledge of the period's historical evidence. The novel features both literary and non-literary forms of historical transmission, including tapestries, songs, oral stories, and the monk-narrator's personal accounts, to portray the events of King Henry III's visit to Kenilworth. As Sophia Lee does in The Recess, Radcliffe, in a novel that portrays both fictional and actual history, juxtaposes the historical narrative privileged by those in power with alternate forms of recording and using history. A merchant charged with slandering

the King's favorite, Gaston, as a murderer suffers wrongfully for narrating a sequence of events surrounding the Crusades that goes against the King's accepted version. In spite of a night of festivities where pageants and songs tell stories uncannily similar to the merchant's and where an ominous Crusader ghost appears, only a rencontre at the secret tomb of the murdered man, where the ghost points to the wound in the corpse and other objects of physical evidence, saves the merchant. While supernatural events punctuate the novel's history, the plot's reliance upon them to save the day points out how, in reality, only that evidence which those in power want to believe will have any authority. That the combination of the King's gullibility and authority leads both to wrongs against the innocent and to his dangerous susceptibility to French influence directly points to a horror in encountering the foreign other. Added to this horror throughout the novel is the fluidity of boundaries of national loyalty and the inability to ascribe virtuous or traitorous character based on a person's nationality.

In chapter three, I read Susanna Rowson's Reuben and Rachel as an example of the nationalist agenda behind the depiction of national history as family history. Tracing nine generations of Christopher Columbus's family, Rowson attempts to encompass British, Anglo-American, and Native American blood within a highly sentimentalized family, the history of which emphasizes the loving connections among these groups of people. Gothic moments interrupt the idealized version of intercultural harmony, however, and reveal the real historical horrors surrounding American colonization. The failure of the sentimental historical narrative becomes a main source of gothic terror in this novel, as it becomes more and more evident that the loving international family cannot survive the impending violence of the outside world. Whether appearing as monsters dripping blood in Peru, ghosts of murdered children, torturous machinations of royalty and the clergy, or the violence and gore so prevalent in the novel, gothic elements emphasize the cultural conflict that the sentimental narrative attempts to cover over with personal bonds of sympathy and affection. Historical transmission is caught up in the tension between sentimental and gothic discourse

and is continually emphasized as family artifacts, letters, and other documents are passed from generation to generation. Through folklore, oral storytelling, and eye-witness accounts, alternate and less sanitized versions of history, as well as the voices of those not usually sanctioned by official histories, enter into the larger narrative, often accompanied by gothic interruptions as well.

"Gothified Histories": Women's Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Gothic Novels and Enlightenment Historiography calls for a more serious examination of how historical gothic novels portray the idea of a national history and the historiographical strategies involved in transmitting it. A privileging, because of their greater historical accuracy, of historical novels written after (and including) Scott's Waverly; a tendency to read gothic novels' depiction of "the past" in a general sense; a devaluing of early American gothics that hybridize British and American gothic effects (castles in Connecticut, heroines saved from aristocratic villains by Washington's ghost); and a misunderstanding of the role women's direct participation in historical discourse plays in popular eighteenth-century novels with historical content all have contributed to the critical neglect of a significant body of fictional work, an entire sub-genre of the gothic novel. By highlighting ways in which Sophia Lee, Ann Radcliffe, and Susanna Rowson utilize gothic conventions to explore Enlightenment historiography, I argue for more study of historical gothics and greater attention to the ways in which they participate in the larger eighteenth-century conversations and debates about history.

Notes to Introduction

[1] Two important recent works on the subject of women's historical writing are Nina Baym's American Women Writers and the Work of History, 1790-1860 (1995) and Devoney Looser's British Women Writers and the Writing of History, 1670-1820 (2000).

[2] That more women's gothic novels, including the 1976 and 1995 republication of Louisa May Alcott's gothic thrillers A Marble Woman: The Unknown Thrillers of Louisa May Alcott and the American Women Writers Series' 1988 publication of E.D.E.N. Southworth's wildly popular The Hidden Hand (1859), are being reprinted points to growing critical interest in American women's gothic fiction.

[3] Challenging traditional generalizations about both the proper lady novelist and the gothic novel, E.J. Clery asks, "[W]hat happens if we lay aside our assumptions about women's writing and look again at women's Gothic?" (Women's Gothic 2). She includes wild passion, violent conflict, murder, torture, and sexual excess as some of the discoveries. While such characteristics are not uncommon in gothic novels, their role in women's gothic novels has been distorted. Clery adds that while critics rely on the stereotype of the reclusive, demure lady author, in their own time, Ann Radcliffe, Joanna Baillie, Charlotte Dacre, Mary Shelley, Sophia Lee, and Clara Reeve "all achieved either respectable critical success, or in the cases of Radcliffe and Baillie, fame and adulation. All of them signed their works with their own names at some stage in their careers, and in any case their authorship soon became common knowledge. All of them were successful professional writers, ambitious and innovative, openly courting the public with sensational material" (2).

[4] See also Amy Gottfried's Historical Nightmares and Imaginative Violence in American Women's Writings (1998). Kathleen Brogan, in her study of twentieth-century African-American ghost stories, points out that these stories of "cultural haunting" signal an attempt to recover and make social use of a poorly documented, partially erased cultural history" (150). Attention to alternate inscriptions of the past in American women's literature, particularly in terms of how they recover the past of slavery and Native American removal, have broadened the scope of American gothic as it has been seen by critics in the past.

[5] I spend more time discussing Enlightenment historiography in Britain than in America because of the strong line of British philosophical influence that crossed the Atlantic, particularly that of Hume and Adam Smith. I will discuss some specific American conceptions of history below, but will apply many of the critical discussions of British Enlightenment historiography to my study of Rowson's Reuben and Rachel.

[6] See April Alliston's notes to her edition of Lee's The Recess, where she includes parallels between the language Lee uses to portray some of her novel's historical events, and similar passages in eighteenth-century histories depicting those same events.

[7] For a more extensive listing of histories written in Britain, see Ian Haywood's The Making of History, 212-220.

[8] See, for example, John Kenyon's The History Men: The Historical Profession in England Since the Renaissance, Joseph M. Levine's Humanism and History: Origins of Modern English Historiography and Barbara Shapiro's Probability and Certainty in 17th-Century England: A Study of the Relationships Between Natural Science, Religion, History, Law and Literature.

[9] He points to Hume as an example of a historian who balanced the two approaches. Talking of Hume's History of England, Phillips notes that for Hume, the goal "was not so much whether he would model his work on classical lines, but how successfully he could adapt the conventions of ancient historiography to the needs of a society whose commitment to commerce and modern manners rendered the task of the historian decisively different from what it had once been" (40).

[10] See, for example, Jonathan Swift's The Battle of the Books, William Temple's Essay upon the Ancient and Modern Learning, and William Wotton's Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning. See Levine for an examination of these and other works and their interactions with one another, particularly in terms of the "Battle between the Ancients and the Moderns".

[11] As Phillips points out, the rising importance of trade and commerce required new stories of British identity: "The most easily identifiable reason for the eighteenth century's reframing of historical narrative came from the self-evident power of commerce in contemporary Britain" (Society 15). A specifically British identity could be more easily discovered by focusing on the modern subject of history. "Inherited traditions of historical narrative needed to be reshaped so that the political class of a commercial empire could examine and celebrate a history recognizably its own" (16).

[12] Baym provides a brief catalogue of British historical writings that were available and/or republished in America and that would have been available to young women in elite school libraries, including Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire and Hume's History of England (32-33). Ross notes in her study of American historical consciousness that European historicist literature was studied in America (914), and O'Brien, studying the Americanization of American history, notes that histories written in the latter half of the eighteenth century drew upon British models of Enlightenment historiography and philosophy (1). In my discussion of Rowson's Reuben and Rachel, I emphasize this novel's connection to British Enlightenment historiography, particularly because the novel shows the strong literary influence of British gothic novels. However, as chapter three will explore in more detail, certain configurations of American national history, particularly that of national history as family history, become major concerns in Rowson's novel and affect the way that she utilizes the British models.

[13] My purpose here is a brief summary rather than an in-depth examination of the complexities of American historical discourse. For more comprehensive studies, see Perry Miller's Errand into the Wilderness, Sacvan Bercovitch's The American Jerimiad, and Earnest Tuveson's Redeemer Nation that examine Puritan millennialism and its effects on American history and nation-building. The foundational work by J. G. A. Pocock, The Machiavellian Moment, analyzes Christian and republican treatments of history, including their different explanations for historical change. Pocock also makes connections between American and European, particularly Scottish, philosophies of historical progress, as does Trevor Colbourn in The Lamp of Experience: Whig History and the Intellectual Origins of the American Revolution. Lester Cohen's The Revolutionary Histories: Contemporary Narratives of the American Revolution discusses the growing secularism in eighteenth-century histories. These works, as well as those by Ross and O'Brien, contribute to my summary.

[14] There was also a darker side to this millennialist ideology, particularly as it was transformed in the eighteenth century. Emily Burdick, in her study Fiction and Historical Consciousness, examines how the historical novel registers uneasiness about American history, including that it "was doomed to become nothing more than a repetition of poorly

understood archetypes of destructive tendencies" (20). In her analysis of Brown's Wieland, Burdick finds a connection between the Puritan view of biblical history and an Enlightenment view of history dependent on reason and rationality, both of which locate America ahistorically (27). She argues that "Enlightenment reason, in Brown's view, is a direct descendant of the most troubling feature of Puritan orthodoxy: its belief in visible sanctity, in the possibility of judging the condition of a human soul on the basis of external appearances in order to construct a community of saints" (27). Both adopt a literal understanding of evidence and of history "that would interpret human events as unambiguous and visible evidences of another reality (natural or supernatural), the dimensions of which are known and to which American history can be made to conform" (36).

[15] See also Cohen, to whom Ross refers.

[16] Ramsay's approach to placing American history alongside Europe's was not unique, and, as Burdick shows, was registered as fearful in American historical novels like Cooper's The Spy, which demonstrates a concern that "without a proper consciousness of the subjectivity of historical narratives and an appropriate commitment to acting out the specificity of the uniquely American situation, American history might simply become an imitation of some other--namely, British--history" (19).

[17] Quoted in Alliston's notes to The Recess (332). Alliston's edition of the novel includes an extensive listing of places in Lee's novel that parallel historical records written by eighteenth-century historians such as Hume and Robertson. She also notes where Lee makes choices departing from such historical records.

[18] Phillips argues that, while scholars have often compared history's and fiction's audiences as if they were two separate entities, "they must, in fact have been very largely the same, thus ensuring that both literatures would respond to the same broad interests and questions" (Society 128). While readers of history would have maintained that "the first quality of the historian continued to be justice and impartiality, deeper insight into personality and experience would be needed for history to remain truly *interesting*" (128).

[19] See, for example, Emily's escape from Montoni and flight through the woods, fearing attacks from banditti at any moment (448-452). See also Radcliffe's Romance of the Forest where the heroine Adeline flees the house of the Marquis only to be accosted in the woods (165-8) or when she is pursued by a stranger and in desperation, seeks the protection of other men she had previously hidden from (298-301).

[20] For an example of how this dynamic works, see Gottfried, who looks at gothic inversions of sentimental effects (37-43). She finds that in novels like Uncle Tom's Cabin or Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl, the happy, safe home becomes the haunted site of slavery's abuses. Likewise, the figure of the protective mother becomes the child-murderer, as can be seen in a novel like Morrison's Beloved.

[21] In her study Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837, Linda Colley explains how conflicts such as those between Scotland and England had a long history and were kept alive mainly through folklore and traditions. She states, "Memories of rape, slaughter and pillage ran deep on both sides of the border and were kept alive in folklore and children's games. Well into the nineteenth century, boys in the Scottish Lowlands played at 'English and Scotch', a tug-of-war in which one team tried to drag the other across a line, the victors snatching up the losers' coats and hats in the process" (117).

[22] See Ian Haywood's study of literary forgeries and history in The Making of History: A Study of the Literary Forgeries of James MacPherson and Thomas Chatterton in Relation to Eighteenth-Century Ideas of History and Fiction.

[23] Radcliffe's famous technique of the "explained supernatural" can be seen not only as a female writer's attempt to avoid the explicitly violent, horrifying, or non-Christian gothic characteristics, but also as a parallel impulse to explore and test evidence of supposed marvelous events. See, for example, the scene in Mysteries of Udolpho where a hideous corpse 'jumping' out at the heroine turns out later upon further investigation to be a wax icon for inspiring sinners' repentance. See also the scene in the same novel where a haunted chamber full of ghostly moans later is found merely to contain a secret and windy passage hidden behind a tapestry and used by banditti.

[24] See Judith Dorn, who discusses Lennox's The Lady's Museum within the context of Hume's and other writers' views on women reading history.

[25] Travel narratives were an increasingly popular medium of historical information and education among female readers. Travel writers like Mary Wortley Montagu were including political and historical subject matter in their writings and presenting this information in formats such as the letter that have traditionally been associated with women's writing (Davis 166). Travel narratives could also lend authority to a woman's first-person participation in history and present-day events. For example, Helen Maria Williams, author of the eight-volume Letters from France and Souvenirs de la Révolution Française, states, "In the serious annals of history, all is told with calm and with method; but I am not a historian, I have only hazarded in the preceding pages to express my own sentiments during the course of the revolution. Many others will search for the revolution in books, but I remember it; the incidents of this recital are in my memory and the emotions that they produced are also in my heart. (199-200, qtd. in Kennedy 328). Announcing her role as participant/observer of history in the making, Williams' above statement represents one of several innovations adopted by women writers to proffer historical research and commentary under different formats from that espoused by typical Enlightenment histories. Women such as Williams demonstrate an awareness of their position in the midst of history-of-the-present and of future readers who might peruse their writings in order to learn about history. Utilizing the more personal and private formats of the letter, memoir, and travel narrative to do so also weakens divisions set up between public and private as set forth by traditional separate spheres ideology. In their study of women writers' participation in discourse on the French Revolution, Adriana Craciun and Kari Lokke point out that "rather than simply reinforcing women's association with the sentimental and domestic, the epistolary genres. . . were powerful polemical tools that allowed women to redefine the terms of their political and intellectual engagement with the most pressing concerns of that historical moment" (18). The letter, the travel journal, and the memoir all offered special opportunities to transcend boundaries of private history/public history and became a vehicle through which women could write on politics, philosophy and history (19). See Deborah Kennedy, "Benevolent Historian: Helen Maria Williams and Her British Readers" for a full discussion of Williams' role as historian and her awareness of present events as later history. For a discussion of how the letter form joined public and private modes of writing, see Mary Favret's Romantic Correspondence: Women, Politics, and the Fiction of Letters.

[26] Some histories written by women included more examples of women and often more commentary on the moral character of famous people and the religious implications of historical events than might be found in the more traditional histories written by men. As Ezell explains, "Although women of these generations preserved the model of narrative

history which had traditionally excluded them, i.e., the lives of great men, what they *did* do was create narratives which highlight the transient nature of masculine empire and male rulers while simultaneously offering parallel histories of powerful, learned women who were publicly active and acknowledged in their own cultures" (34). Women's responses to reading the more traditional histories included transforming historical writing to incorporate more women and to add educational comment about how to use the past to inform present behaviors and actions. Ezell finds that this way of reading and writing history represents an important and unifying feature of women's writings about history and history education (34). At the same time, Looser cautions against seeing all works by female historians as essentially "subversive" or as foundations for the twentieth-century conception of " herstory" (7-8). Though I emphasize the potential some forms of women's historical discourse possess to rupture traditional historiography as a means to set up my argument about how three "gothified histories" do so, I recognize the diversity of women's historical writings, even within the subgenre of the historical gothic.

[27] Some of these works encouraging women to study history include: Benjamin Rush's "Thoughts upon Female Education, Accommodated to the Present State of Society, Manners and Government in the United States of America" (1787); Lydia Maria Child's Mother's Book (1831); Emma Willard's Plan for Improving Female Education (1819); and Judith Sargent Murray The Gleaner (1798). Novels like Hannah Foster's The Coquette (1797) also portrayed scenes of women reading history and urged readers to imitate such study. For discussion of these and other educational works supporting women's education in history, see Baym, 11-28, 283-4. See Kerber for a full discussion of women's role in the development of the new republic.

[28] As I will show, Rowson includes the latter two strategies in her novel as she blends history with fiction through the "biographies" of her characters; including gothic traits in her historical fiction makes her novel particularly well suited to highlight cultural clash and strongly links her fiction to a major strategy used in non-traditional historical discourse.

[29] Many of these "gothified histories" have long been out of print; some exist only on microfilm or in specialized collections like the Sadleir-Black Collection at the University of Virginia. During their time, however, these novels enjoyed great popularity among the largely female reading audience. See Montague Summers, A Gothic Bibliography, J.M.S. Tompkins, The Popular Novel in England, 1770-1800 and Devranda P. Varma, The Gothic Flame for information on their reception.

[30] Kilgour argues that the gothic was associated both with the nostalgic and the critical views of the past during this time. She points out, "During the eighteenth-century both positive and pejorative connotations co-existed. But the word [gothic] was used also for the antithetical political purposes of condemnation and praise: to depict both an oppressive feudal past and a golden age of liberty." (14). Either way, the gothic novel is linked to British nationalism in its relation to the past.

[31] See, for example, Ronald Paulson's "Gothic Fiction and the French Revolution". See also David Richter who challenges the linkage between gothic novels and revolutionary tendencies, stating that the gothic novel pre-dated the French Revolution. Kilgore draws the connection between gothic fiction's portrayal of the past and the revolution of 1688, rather than the French Revolution (13).

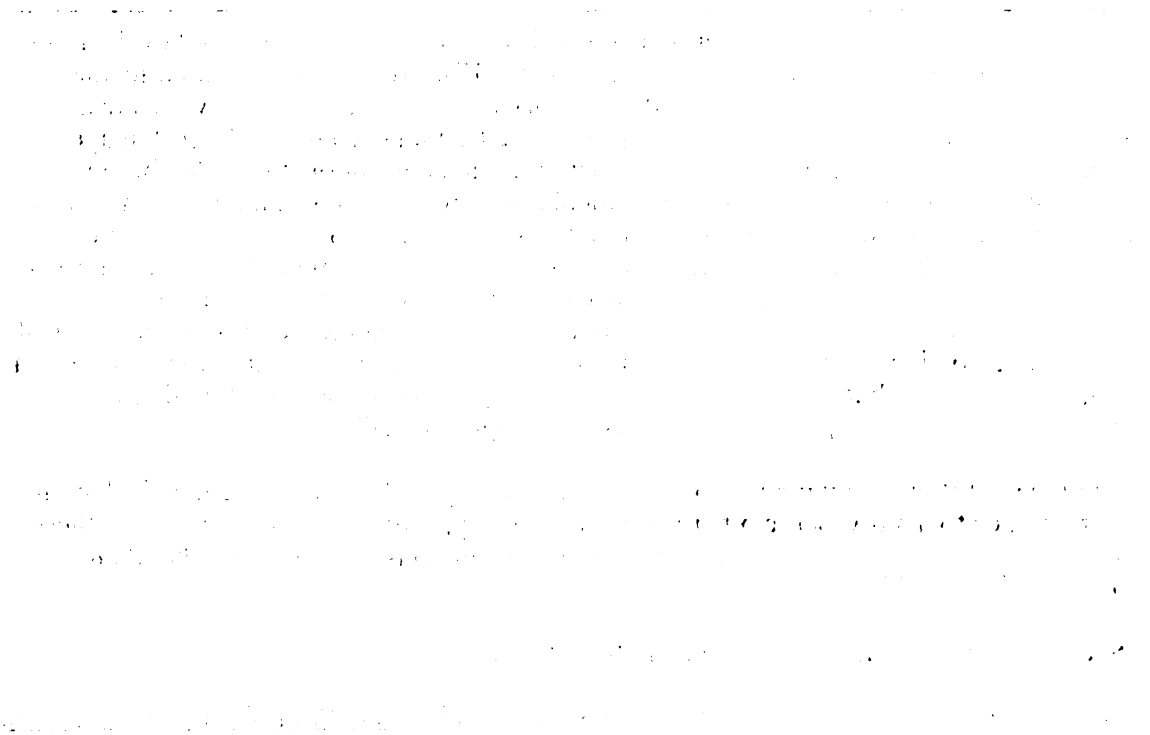
[32] Markman Ellis links the reception of gothic fiction itself to changing interpretations by eighteenth-century Britons of the Goths and their relationship to contemporary culture. He argues that to eighteenth-century readers "the term 'gothic' identified a complicated and

slippery topic connoting a number of related but distinct judgments about medieval culture, national history, civic virtue and the enlightenment" (17). At first seen as barbaric, the Goths came to represent "the source and repository of some of the unique, valuable and essential elements in English culture and politics"(24). Opposed to the Augustan age's neoclassicism, which came to be associated with vice and corruption, the gothic became a way to value Britain's own cultural and political roots. In the renewed interest in medieval culture, artifacts, architecture, and political systems, "the term gothic was revised and transformed from a term connoting the unfavorable, unhappy and ruined, to a more positive and confident understanding. The emergence of gothic fiction represents one of the defining moments when an older chivalric past was idealized at the expense of the classical present. The gothic is then a conscious anachronism presented not as an error of taste or a corrupting influence, but as a positive attribute. The past is revalued and found to be superior to the present, a process that wears a nostalgic aspect" (23).

[33] I will extend Watt's argument in other ways as well by looking at gothic novels that, in their reference to history, serve other functions than supporting loyalist agendas. In these novels, I argue, the supernatural and other gothic conventions break down rather than support institutions like the monarchy.

[34] See Robert Miles, Maggie Kilgore, and Kate Ellis.

[35] See Kenneth Graham's collection of essays, Gothic Fictions: Prohibition/Transgression.



Chapter 1

Making History: Sophia Lee's The Recess

Sophia Lee's The Recess features two women who are not only fictional daughters of Mary Queen of Scots but also two budding historians concerned as much with their portrayal of history as with their rightful claim to the throne. The two discover, however, that to "make" history--both in terms of creating a record of it and in terms of entering into it as key figures--is an activity fraught with danger and horror. Though they may use all the tools and evidence available to them and may follow various approaches to historiography, the young women eventually become hopelessly embroiled in their historical endeavors, largely because of their reliance upon Enlightenment historiographical theory to build their case and portray their lives. In the end, they learn to their misfortune that making history is not as simple as recording objective "truths" backed up with evidence or even crafting a sentimentalized version of history to elicit reader response. Instead, making history requires official sanction to have any kind of power. A novel made up of correspondence from several narrators who relate the same events differently, The Recess features numerous textual ruptures and involves sentimental, historical, and gothic discourse, all of which complicate each other. In this chapter, I will focus on what role the gothic plays in the novel, particularly how gothic effects surround with horror scenes where "making history" fails and where history cannot contain or smooth over cultural conflict using the guise of sympathy. With an examination of how the gothic elements in the novel serve to emphasize larger problems of historical method, I show that sentimental discourse is as dangerous as the traditional

linear Enlightenment historical narrative, particularly when a historian or reader depends on one to solve the narrative and ideological problems of the other. Both types of writing are also intricately linked in the transmission of national identity; gothic conventions serve to highlight the real horror of history's failure to enforce categories of difference. Certain locations in the novel where different cultural groups meet in conflict--such as the recess which once hid oppressed Catholics, the English portrait gallery where Essex's conquest of Cadiz "comes to life" or the Irish battlefield where Ellinor's corpse is reanimated--are portrayed using the gothic conventions of gloom, terror, and the supernatural, all of which draw attention to moments when history cannot adequately cover over intranational discord.

Also in this chapter, I challenge earlier readings of The Recess that censure its lack of factual correctness and that compare it unfavorably to the historical novel as written by Sir Walter Scott. While some dates are confused and while Lee includes fictional characters alongside real figures from history, The Recess is quite accurate in its alignment with eighteenth-century historiographical issues, subjects, and methods. Arguing for the greater significance of the novel's historical content, I therefore begin by examining how The Recess portrays history and sets up its concern with controlling the process of historical transmission. Lee's "Advertisement" to The Recess announces her interest in portraying history according to eighteenth-century standards; the novel itself continually draws attention to its various types of historical documents, evidence and approaches. Before moving onto a closer examination of the gothic conventions of The Recess, I will show how the novel crafts its history according to eighteenth-century standards of sentimental discourse and Enlightenment ideals of historical proof. Far from

negating the novel's attempts at historical representation, the gothic content in The Recess is intimately involved in it, exploring the darker side of eighteenth-century historiography, as well as historiography's role in the constructions of a national past. In its ruptures of meaning and narrative, its extreme images and events, and its anxieties about evidence, the gothic adds a particularly frightening tone to The Recess's examination of historical reading and writing, an examination that lies at the heart of this historical gothic.

The Historical Accuracy of *The Recess*

The Recess serves as a good example of how critics have relegated historical gothic novels in general to an inferior sphere and have allowed these novels' sometimes dubious factual accuracy to distract critical discussions from closer attention to how these works actually participate in eighteenth-century explorations of history's composition and functions.[1] In the early to middle twentieth-century criticism of The Recess, concerns about whether the novel accurately portrayed history and whether its form fit anachronistically applied criteria for historical fiction took precedence over deeper textual analysis and led to an emphasis on the novel's fictionality and primitive qualities. Critics such as Montague Summers in The Gothic Quest, B.G. MacCarthy in The Female Pen: Women Writers and Novelists 1621-1818 and Devendra P. Varma in The Gothic Flame list The Recess as a historical gothic, provide plot summaries, trace influences, and offer judgments about its artistic quality, often in relation to Scott; they do not, however, move into deeper analysis of the novel's use of history. Even praise of the novel is linked to its relationship to Scott. Varma, for example, recommends the novel as a forerunner to

Scott, noting that "Scott eclipsed all previous attempts to such a degree that one is apt to forget his indebtedness to his predecessors" (Gothic Flame 84). Concern with how well the novel accurately portrayed historical events by twentieth-century standards continues in the criticism that follows the 1972 reprinting of The Recess. Varma, in the introduction to this edition, notes that Lee's novel appeared during "the days when historical knowledge was rather fragmentary and thinly spread. The impressive relics of the past still filled the eye with wonder and served as a focus for wild imaginings. The fascination of these works, therefore, lay in suggestive mystery and not in reality of truth" (xlvii). According to Varma, "the proper historical novel was yet to be born" (xlviii). J. M. S. Tompkins's forward to the same edition of The Recess again notes the incorrectness of Lee's history and points out that her novel portrays the eighteenth century more than the sixteenth: because of the incomplete nature of the period's historical records, "we should not then be surprised to find, in the work of the enthusiastic but far from learned, Sophia Lee, traits, manners and conditions which are not drawn from the records of the sixteenth century, but from the tastes, dreams, and reveries of the late eighteenth" (iv). Until the mid-1970s, in-depth analysis of The Recess was rare; the criticism of Lee's novel that did appear focused on its truthfulness (or lack thereof) and its relation to Scott's historical novels. This privileging of realism in historical fiction inevitably marked Lee's novel as inferior and her historical content as but fanciful coloring. Not surprisingly, like so many other historical gothics, The Recess slipped from serious critical study.

In sharp contrast to twentieth-century readings of The Recess, the earlier reviews of the novel were concerned that The Recess might come too close to historical accuracy.

That during Lee's day the novel stimulated discussion on the use of history according to Enlightenment standards points to The Recess's larger significance as a register of eighteenth-century questions about historiography. Favorable comparisons of Lee's novel with the histories of Hume and Robertson appeared in the same reviews that voiced suspicion about the combination of fiction and history in general; some assessments also observed the larger danger that readers might confuse the two forms of writing. For example, a 1786 review appearing in The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Review lauds Lee's abilities in the fictional craft at the same time that it finds her "well acquainted with the times she describes" (327). In praising her depiction of historical subjects, the anonymous reviewer notes that "the truth of character is rigidly preserved, for the peculiarities of Elizabeth and James are not delineated with more exactness in Hume or Robertson. The imagination is indeed transported into other times, and we find ourselves in the midst of the court of Elizabeth" (327). Rigid preservation of character, exact portrayal of history comparable to Hume and Robertson, and the transportation of the reader to other times--all standards that were typically applied to eighteenth-century histories. Viewed from the standards of Lee's contemporaries, history as it appears in The Recess places the novel more firmly within eighteenth-century readings of and conversations about history. The reviewer's later statement that "we cannot entirely approve the custom of interweaving fiction with historic truth" is followed by the reason for this disapproval: "as the events related approach nearer the area we live in, the impropriety increases; for the mind, pre-occupied with the real facts, rejects, not without disgust, the embellishments of fable" (327). The comments of this reviewer address the problem of sorting out fiction from history, a difficulty endemic to historical fiction's

form. More importantly, they point to a larger concern with how to keep pure a specifically British history. The Recess may be a tale of other times, but it is not a tale of another place or of another nation.

In a later review, Anna Laeticia Barbauld communicates a similar concern about how Lee's novel, with its combination of fiction and British history, could affect readers' interpretation of their own country's past. She states, quite correctly actually, that Lee's romance has led to "a prejudice against the character of our Elizabeth, arising from her cruelty to two imaginary daughters of Mary, Queen of Scots, who never existed but in the pages of a novel" (qtd. in Varma 74). Noting the novel's potential for reversing or polluting nationally sanctioned versions and heroes of history, Barbauld attacks not simply Lee's combination of fiction and history, but, more specifically, Lee's manipulation of readers' interpretation of "our Elizabeth", one of the greatest political figures in British history. Like the reviewer in The Gentleman's Magazine, Barbauld disapproves of Lee's combination of history and fiction not simply because of how the novel portrays history in general but because of how it portrays British history in particular. This disapproval points to a larger desire to protect an agreed-upon national story. In these reviews, I pull out the specific concern with *national history* from the broader one about combining history and fiction in general in order to emphasize what is at stake when an author chooses as her setting for gothic horror her own country's history rather than the past of another country. As my study shows, one of the larger fears in the novel relates to approaching *national* history; early reviews of The Recess demonstrate this uneasiness as critics examined the history-fiction problematic in her novel.[2]

Viewing The Recess within the context of these early reviews serves to emphasize Lee's closer participation in conversations about eighteenth-century history, as well as her novel's stronger ties to historical discourse. In her "Advertisement" to The Recess, Sophia Lee outlines some of the major issues concerning historiography that she will explore in the novel and thus introduces her novel as one that directly engages with British history. Following an eighteenth-century convention of placing her work within larger conversations among historians, she calls upon the authority of "an eminent historian" who describes Elizabethan times as the age of romance and Elizabeth's line as "one distinguished alike by splendor and misery" (5). Adopting the position of historian/antiquarian herself, she adds, "Not being permitted to publish the means which enriched me with the manuscript from whence the following tale is extracted, its simplicity alone can authenticate it" (5). This device of the found manuscript is common in the gothic novel; Lee uses the device, however, to comment directly on history and on what constitutes proper historical evidence. One evidentiary requirement is that of simplicity, something not normally claimed in gothic novels but which Lee incorporates--or says she incorporates--in her novel. Another is probability. Lee describes the narrative as stamped with probability and adds,

> The characters interwoven in this story agree, in the outline, with history; and if love, or friendship, veil a fault or irradiate a virtue, it is but reasonable to allow of a weakness all seek in some particular instance. As painting can only preserve the most striking characteristics of the form, history perpetuates only those of the soul; while too often the best and worst actions of princes proceed from partialities and prejudices, which live in their hearts, and are buried with them. (5)

These statements bring up the issue of "probability of character" exemplified in eighteenth-century histories and draw links between Lee's fictionality and the kind of fictionality which those histories could employ in order to portray the motivations of people who are long dead.[3]

Finally, Lee directs attention both to the gaps in her history and to the changes she has and has not made to the original. She states, "I make no apology for altering the language to that of the present age, since the obsolete stile of the author would be frequently unintelligible" (5). Other changes she eschews, however. "The depredations of time have left chasms in the story, which sometimes only heightens the pathos. An inviolable respect for the truth would not permit me to attempt connecting these, even where they appeared faulty" (5). Unlike eighteenth-century historians adopting the method of creating a linear and complete sequence of events, even if this means covering over any missing pieces of that history, Lee presents a history that contains physical gaps in the manuscript, gaps that point to lack of complete evidence and yet also contribute to the credibility of her "historical document". At the beginning of the novel, then, Lee highlights the existence of empty spaces in the history.

What the above examples show is not that Lee is attempting to trick her readers into believing this is a historical document, but that, by calling upon the discourse and definitions of history in this advertisement, Lee is placing herself within several of the issues being debated about eighteenth-century historiography and is appropriating the narrative authority to do so. Bringing up the question of probability of character, the difficulty of filling in the gaps of recorded history, the importance of sympathy in historical writings, and the practice of using other historians and histories as evidence,

Lee demonstrates an awareness of problems and strategies of modern historians. Beginning here with her own thoughts about how to gather and present a history, Lee both demonstrates her own familiarity with historiography and sets the stage for a novel that will continue to explore their significance.

Sophia Lee's The Recess, published in three volumes in 1783 and 1785, tells the history of twin daughters separated at birth from their mother, Mary Queen of Scots.[4] Told for the most part in epistolary format by the daughters, Matilda and Ellinor, the novel poses as a real history faithfully documented in order to prove the two regal daughters' claims to the throne and rightful place in history. They grow up in secrecy, hidden in a cave-like recess beneath the ruins of an old monastery. Upon the death of their foster mother, the girls leave their refuge in hopes of entering the world. They ally themselves with important historical men in hopes of gaining support for their claim: Matilda marries Leicester, Ellinor falls in love with Essex. The two men show interest in helping the heroines, but prove to be useless due to their dependence on Elizabeth's favor and fear of her power. Constantly thwarted by Queen Elizabeth and her minions, the girls live through a series of adventures in Ireland, Scotland, France, the West Indies, and the Court. Matilda's and Ellinor's paths separate early in the novel. Matilda lives to see her husband murdered when they flee to France and herself betrayed by her brother James I of Scotland. Ellinor takes the full brunt of Elizabeth's rage and ends her days in madness. When Matilda's daughter Mary dies, the aging Matilda passes on their history in hopes that she and Ellinor will live on in the memory of a friend. Though the heroines are fictional, Lee surrounds their escapades with actual historical events and involves real historical figures in the twins' struggle for legitimacy. Examining this novel for its

interplay with eighteenth-century ideas about history rather than for its historical accuracy reveals Lee's familiarity with and involvement in modern historical methodology and her use of its tools to examine the nation's mythmaking about its past. Combining gothic conventions with sentimental ones, Lee illuminates problems with belief in a linear, unified narrative of history's and the nation's progress. Transforming the loving and familiar into the horrifying and dangerous, Lee also points out how sentimental discourse can be complicit in formulating that linear narrative and can make vulnerable those readers and writers who depend upon it.

History and Sentiment in *The Recess*

One of the more important ways in which The Recess connects with actual eighteenth-century histories is in its use of sentimental language to portray historical events and characters.[5] Indeed, most of the history documented in the novel is sentimentalized history, and Lee aligns the heroines' various political concerns with the desire to kindle affection and sympathy in the hearts of those they encounter and those whom the heroines imagine will read their history in the future. Matilda writes her history with the aim of using it to gain sympathy from powerful people like Leicester and Pembroke who might help her to gain both political power and historical justification. Characters who learn about history follow their readings with appropriate emotional reactions of tears and/or love, such as when Mrs. Marlowe educates the girls on the history of Mary and Norfolk. Lady Pembroke imagines future readers of history who look back with sympathy upon people like Elizabeth. The examples of tears, sighs, heartfelt moments of fellow feeling, and stories of shared suffering that make up the

history are too numerous to explore here, but one locus of sympathy, the twins' imprisoned mother, dominates the novel. For example, in a heart-wrenching scene, Matilda and Ellinor gaze through a grated window at their mother passing by. Matilda exclaims,

> oh, how changed, and yet how lovely! Damp rooms had weakened her limbs--her charming arms were thrown round the necks of two maids, without whose assistance she could not move--a pale resignation sat on her still beautiful features: her regal mien could not be eclipsed by a habit of plain purple, nor her fine hair by the veil which touched her forehead. . . . She raised her fine eyes, with their usual divine composure, to the window. . . Alas! that blessed--that benignant glance, was the first, the last, the only one we ever received from a mother.--When she withdrew her eyes, she carried my very soul with her; all my strength failed at once, and I sunk in a swoon in my sister's arms. (75-76)

The above scene, with its highly drawn emotional spectacle centered upon Mary Queen of Scots, was not of the type solely to be found in romance. Sophia Lee, in her choice to locate her novel in the era of Mary Queen of Scots, joins a larger eighteenth-century movement, the "Cult of Mary."

Eighteenth-century histories, like George Ballard's Memoirs of Several Ladies of Great Britain and Hume's History of England portrayed Mary in sentimental terms, and readers reacted accordingly. Paintings of Mary supported by her crying ladies-in-waiting as she bent to the block or abdicated the throne; supposed secret letters between her and her lover; and historical tours of places where Mary had been imprisoned or had lived all registered an eighteenth-century fascination with this queen, a fascination also registered

in Lee's novel.[6] Jayne Elizabeth Lewis has explored the widespread "Cult of Mary," this idolization of the unfortunate queen, and describes her as an absent or blank figure upon whom fictions of British history and, by extension, national identity could be inscribed. Histories of Mary had less to do with her "real" history, much of which was unknown, than with eighteenth-century configurations of the national past. She explains that Mary's

> endless, and endlessly disempowering, tribulations made her seem very much a creature of the present day. Her story summoned tears bound to display the moral authenticity and fellow feeling of those who shed them--tears that also reminded modern Scots and Englishmen, Protestants and Catholics, Jacobites and Hanoverian Whigs, of their ostensibly shared history. In short Mary offered a common object of sympathy in a mercifully receding past. (Mary 105-6)

Sentimental discourse could allow for a covering up of the more dangerous aspects of Mary Queen of Scots--her Catholicism, her sexuality, her maternity, her political connections to Europe, her threat to the English throne--and the religious, economic, and political conflicts of the Elizabethan era. It allowed for a unified view of the Elizabethans and also supported the comparison between the more moral, sympathetic, and progressive eighteenth century and the less enlightened times of earlier centuries. However, as Lewis explains, "since in reality the past had been bitterly divisive, with the Queen of Scots one conspicuous reason why, sentimental investment in her was always risky" (Mary 106). During a time when historians relied on the stability or truth of character--and indeed, used it to fill in the gaps of recorded history--the contradictory figure of Mary posed particular problems for the project of recording a nation's sense of

its past, partly because Mary was *both* a victim of political intrigues and a participant in them. The transformation of the real Mary Queen of Scots into a one-sided, sentimentalized character removed the Queen's threatening aspects and allowed readers to react to her with sympathy rather than uneasiness. As Lewis explains, "Now more visible as the victim of another woman than as a Stuart, Mary Queen of Scots supplied proof positive of Britain's climb out of moral darkness to a state in which no one, surely, would ever have injured her" (Mary 107).

Addressing The Recess's depiction of Mary Queen of Scots, Lewis examines "the point where modern historiography meets sentimental discourse" ("Relation" 166). As portrayed in Lee's novel, Mary Queen of Scots comes from "a cultural cache where Mary Stuart already both exemplified and potentially complicated the role that the sentimental, the private, and the feminine played in the construction of British history" ("Relation" 182). Studying the function Mary Stuart serves as a complex mediating figure between historical and sentimental discourse, Lewis finds that The Recess reveals "how fictions of cultural coherence--particularly historiographical ones--at once commission and denigrate sentimental details" ("Relation" 184). Historiography itself thus becomes a constraining fiction not only because it devalues the sentimental, but also "because it constantly invokes that realm" to contribute to a nation's story about itself ("Relation" 184).

Building upon Lewis's work on the relationship between sentimental discourse and historiography, particularly as seen in the figure of Mary Queen of Scots, I argue that the gothic adds significant complications to the combination of Enlightenment historiography and sentimentalism in The Recess. Like Lewis, I find in Lee's novel a

critique of the uses to which sentiment and sympathy have been put in the construction of a national history.[7] My interest moves in a different direction and rests in bringing to the forefront how gothic discourse when combined with the sentimentalized history in The Recess emphasizes the conflicts between differing versions of history and the clash between cultures. I also find that the gothic reveals how combining sentimental feeling with historical fact can be a means to cover up these clashes in the process of historical transmission. As The Recess's major disruptive force, the gothic intervenes in the novel's treatment of history by undercutting the sentimental discourse that is bound up in stories of Britain's past, whether those stories are created by a character like Matilda or are drawn from a reserve of eighteenth-century historical stereotypes like those of Mary Queen of Scots. Gothic moments and conventions do not allow the novel's sentimental discourse to smooth over the more violent and contentious aspects of Britain's past as portrayed in this novel; they also continually remind one of the dangers lurking beneath the surface of Matilda's and Ellinor's sentimental narratives. For example, while Ellinor, Matilda and Queen Mary are portrayed as suffering yet noble victims, the ghostly effects of the recess of the novel's title bring to mind how these heroines also hold the haunting potential for violent political usurpation. The recess, the girls' first home and continued refuge, previously functioned as a hiding place for beleaguered Catholics; the recess's own past points to the religious and political conflicts between Catholics and Protestants plaguing the Elizabethan period. Much as they surround themselves with sentimental language in their histories, Matilda and Ellinor still represent a threat to the English throne. Later in the chapter, I will address in more detail the interplay between the sentimental and gothic narratives. At this point, what I wish to emphasize is the fact that

an examination of The Recess in terms of its conjunction of the sentimental and the historical is incomplete without the addition of careful attention to the gothic.

The instability of the historical record in The Recess, highlighted by gothic conventions of madness, rupture, and the uncanny, points out how historiography, sentimentalized, linear, or otherwise, is an uncontrollable and unknowable force. One may carefully adopt the methods of creating an Enlightenment history and may indeed gain reader sympathy, but, as we will see in the hands of the two "historians" Matilda and Ellinor, there is more involved in making history than meets the eye. I examine Matilda and Ellinor as historians who follow, for the most part, mainstream historiographical conventions, including that of sentimentality, only to find that history has a monstrous and uncontrollable life of its own. Lee's novel throws into question which, if any, methods of historical writings can survive without a corresponding validation by those wielding political power; and yet, those benefiting from that political power also experience their own nightmares of history's uncanny nature. For, at the same time, The Recess approaches gothic horror from a different direction and speaks to a culture's fears that the stories it tells about itself cannot be maintained with any kind of integrity by the acts of writing them and transmitting them. In its ruptures of meaning and narrative structures and in its extreme images and events, the gothic adds a particularly frightening element to the examination of historical reading and writing in The Recess. Gothic conventions transform the process of historiography such that sentimental discourse cannot adequately function in its role to control and unify fictions of British national identity, particularly as might be depicted in the purely sympathetic portrayal of Mary Queen of Scots and her hidden twin daughters. Where the sentimental romance attempts

to palliate history's violent conflicts, the gothic narrative highlights them, creating an unforgettable record of horror and despair. Lee makes this record all the more striking because she harnesses both sentimental discourse and Enlightenment methods of gathering evidence and crafting a historical narrative in order to set the foundation for her gothic novel. It is to this foundation that I now turn.

Evidence, Power, and the Historical Record

The Recess demonstrates a self-consciousness about what history is and can do through frequent mention and exploration of history throughout the novel. This concern multiplies through the various narratives making up this single history--the novel--and its questions about what counts as evidence, how feeling plays a role in politics, and how to distinguish the real from the imaginary. Debates about the power of visual vs. written evidence; the veracity of eye-witness accounts vs. false documents and forced confessions; and the authenticating force of the truth vs. political power all complicate the quest for history in the novel. Throughout The Recess, Lee frequently throws these questions and problems into the forefront but does not offer definitive answers. Instead, she invokes gothic conventions to highlight the slippery nature of historical proof and to depict the uneasiness that results when events are uncontrollable by or when history itself becomes unknowable in historical writing. Each type of evidence that Matilda and Ellinor try to use fails them; their sufferings not only result in their oppression by Elizabeth but also follow from their continued belief that their evidence will prove the truth in the end--if not in their lifetime, then in future history.

The novel frequently includes actual historical content and talks about history openly. Readers learn about the achievements of Sir Walter Raleigh, the political intrigues surrounding Sir Phillip Sidney, Queen Mary's marriage to Bothwell and flight to England, and the succession of James I to the throne. Matilda and Ellinor pore over portraits of historical scenes and people. In the midst of these events, characters draw attention to the fact that they are recording or telling histories, both personal and political. Matilda includes in her epistolary narrative exact quotes from other characters, in order to be more accurate. Lady Pembroke, describing herself as a historian implicated in the history of the royal daughters Matilda and Ellinor, takes up the pen to record the life of Ellinor, who "will never more be her own historian" (256). Here, personal and political history merge, as Pembroke is aware, because the history these women record involves a Queen's daughters who both hope to use this history as evidence for their claim to the throne. The same combination occurs early in the novel when Mrs. Marlow, the foster mother of the princesses, explains their history as the history of the Stuart dynasty (25-32). The heroines' search for selfhood thus involves being educated about both personal and political history; indeed, the two are inseparable. This combination represents a significant departure from other gothic novels that, while focusing on the heroine's search for her secret identity, do not tie that search to any particular position within or concern about actual, recorded national history.

Comments about the past and its connections to the present and future concern characters as well. Sometimes, characters use history's lessons to inspire future action, particularly political action.[8] Essex urges his love Ellinor to adopt his plan to take the throne, exclaiming, "How many instances does our own history supply where courage

and popularity have dethroned monarchs in full possession of every advantage!" (215). Matilda's words to her daughter teach her not only to hope but also to use history to guide that hope. During one of her several imprisonments, Ellinor, too, finds that her spirit has "gathered courage to retrace the past, and look into the future" (175). At other moments, characters look at history in a sentimental light, expounding upon how all passes away--yet also linking it in particular to historical records. Feeling sorry for the dying Queen Elizabeth, Lady Pembroke looks at her as a historical figure: "Thou couldst not without pity behold the imperial Elizabeth, lost to the common comforts of light, air, nourishment, and pleasure; that mighty mind which will be the object of future, as it has been of past, wonder, presenting now but a breathing memento of the frailty of humanity" (269). As Lady Pembroke's words exemplify, characters also see themselves as part of these passing historical moments and draw attention to their own eye-witness accounts. The idea of history thus weaves throughout these characters' lives, adventures, development, and concerns.

Concern about visual evidence begins and ends the novel. When Ellinor and Mary find that the portrait over which they sigh is the portrait of their mother Mary Queen of Scots, Mrs. Marlow disarms their denials and disbelief by saying, "Look in the glass, Matilda, and you will see her perfect image" (27). The faces of the girls exist as important evidence of their royal pedigree; the girls come to realize the power this evidence holds. Throughout the novel, the girls worry about others noticing the resemblance and discovering prematurely their plans for the throne. They also try to use this visual evidence to their advantage, as Matilda does when visiting for the first time her brother James I to forward their cause: "I made no addition to my servants, nor any

alteration in the weeds I usually wore, than that of forming them to the model of my mother's dress; which ever rendered the likeness I bore her from my very birth striking and obvious" (300). James does indeed believe the likeness is proof, though does not react in the way Matilda has anticipated.

Visual evidence also can hide the truth, however, and does not remain as permanent as one might hope. Cross-dressing and disguises often appear in the novel. Ellinor dresses as a man when pursuing her lover Essex to Ireland and ends up on the battlefield; she is discovered as a woman only when Irish women, stripping the dead, find the unconscious Ellinor to be alive and female (220-225). Ellinor again adopts male clothing while fleeing to Scotland, poses as her friend's husband, and, to both her delight and embarrassment, draws another woman's passionate love (240). While at Kenilworth, Matilda and Ellinor disguise themselves, as they often do, in the presence of the Court (77-80). These instances help reinforce the slippages of identity and instability of character that occur throughout the novel, revealing the "truth in character" to be difficult to trace and showing eye-witness evidence to be faulty. Consequences of misreadings also appear. In one scene, Ellinor escapes the watchful spies of Elizabeth by switching places with a corpse about to be buried. Essex's men witness the burial and, thinking Ellinor is really dead, report the news to her lover Essex. This news causes Essex such grief that he cannot fight in Ireland, and Ellinor almost does die due to the weakness of his army's position (218-225). Events such as these reinforce the narrative strategy of misreading and disagreement so evident in this novel. They also emphasize how hard it can be to control that evidence and its interpretations.

Additionally, visual evidence or eye-witness accounts can fade away or be dismissed. Matilda depends upon two witnesses of her secret marriage to Leicester in order to validate her position in society when she emerges. When one of the witnesses dies, Matilda worries that "with her died one of the witnesses to my marriage" (74), and though at the time the other witness, Father Anthony, remains in good health, it is not long before he dies, too. Losing her witnesses, Matilda has now lost her main financial and social route for her quest for the throne. First-person evidence provides a substitute strategy for professing the truth, but even this proves to be vulnerable to misreading or invalidation, particularly in the presence of those in power. Only Matilda's close friends believe in her marriage, and Matilda never receives public recognition for it. When weighing personal evidence against written evidence, written evidence takes precedence. After being forced to sign a confession, Ellinor hopes that "while I yet lived I had yet a chance of justifying my intention, in an act which reflected alike on myself and all dear to me. . . . I suddenly became more willing to support all the evils of a life thus prolonged, than the idea of an unknown and unhonored grave" (180). Living in order to tell the truth does not prove to be a good option for Ellinor, however, who soon is denounced as mad and undergoes forced imprisonment due to concocted papers attesting to that fact.

Characters throughout the novel demand or discover written proof of various claims, yet these methods of evidence also emerge as susceptible to falsehood or impermanence. Disguised alternately as Leicester's illegitimate daughters and the secret twin daughters of Lady Jane Grey, Matilda and Ellinor trust Leicester's plans to evade the watchful eyes of Elizabeth. When he tells the Queen the false story of their background, Matilda worries about the fact that they don't have evidence of this

counterfeit royal birth, saying, "Her mode of conduct convinced me at once that she utterly discredited the whole of this fiction; which placed us, by another branch, almost as near to the throne as we really stood. Would not a jealous, selfish soul, like hers, have demanded facts, testimonials, and witnesses?" (82). Elizabeth does not demand proof yet, but when she comes upon the actual papers on Ellinor's person attesting to the daughters' real birth as daughters of Mary, she tears them to pieces and imprisons Ellinor, thus destroying the written evidence for the girls' birth and secreting away the physical evidence of Ellinor (119). Furthermore, she forces Ellinor to marry Lord Arlington, who calls Ellinor's documents "forged testimonials of an impossible marriage [that of Mary Queen of Scots], and suppositious birth" (177). Ellinor retorts, "*Forged testimonials?* . . . why then did she so carefully destroy them?" (177). The question of evidence becomes further complicated when Elizabeth forces Ellinor to sign a confession, included in full detail and at full length in the novel and complete with legal jargon and names of witnesses (178-9). Ellinor gives in to the demands and signs the statement that the twins' claims are fictitious, hoping to spare her mother Mary from death: "holding before my eyes an order for the execution of the Queen of Scots, signed, dated, authentic, complete in every form, my shuddering nature could not endure the conflict. I rashly signed my name, and snatching that tremendous mandate he yet held before me, tore it into a thousand atoms" (179). Unlike Elizabeth's similar destruction of written testimony, Ellinor's destruction of the warrant does nothing to stop Mary's execution. Similarly, when Matilda shows her brother James of Scotland the evidence of her birth, he pretends to welcome her claim, but then tricks her, keeps her papers, the only other evidence of the girls' birthright, and imprisons both Matilda and her daughter Mary. As proof, he points

out Ellinor's statement that the claims are false. Matilda, upon seeing Ellinor's forced confession, wails, "The King, in sending this, only added insult to injury, since the testimonials I had delivered to him might have invalidated a thousand such vague and artificial falsehoods" (305). Her papers, however, do not have such power, and Matilda loses her claim to the throne. Though she has proper evidence, that evidence lacks official sanction and thus does not fit into the larger historical narrative that Matilda wishes to enter. She loses control of that evidence; this loss contributes to the gothic horror in the novel.

What all these instances have in common is the way in which eye-witness, physical or written evidence does not really count unless sanctioned by those in power. Matilda and Ellinor depend upon recognition for their ascendance to high rank; they do not, for example, gather their own army and take the throne by force. Several sympathetic alliances seem to allow for this aid and recognition, but in the end, affectionate connections do not help the women's cause. Leicester and Essex, the women's lovers, both hold political and financial power, but they prove to be too dependent upon the favors of Elizabeth and too vulnerable to the intrigues at court to be effective. King James of Scotland, another potential ally because of the family bond, summarily rejects his sisters Ellinor and Matilda, viewing them as a threat whether or not their claim is truthful. The only alliance holding potential is the one between Matilda's daughter Mary and Henry, Prince of Wales; he dies, however, before helping them. Relying solely upon the sympathies of political allies, Matilda and Ellinor find they cannot transmit meaning, let alone history.

Lee links the successful transmission of meaning through evidence and recorded history to the will of those already in power; this connection highlights the myth of historical objectivity or authority unaffected by pre-existing power dynamics. Even though the women understand how to create and use history, adopting the methods and language of historiography, they have not completely understood how to make history because they do not quite understand the role of political force. Ellinor's documents fail because the queen says they are false and destroys them. On the other hand, Ellinor's coerced written confession takes precedence over her spoken word or bodily evidence because that confession is sanctioned by the Queen. At the death of Ellinor's husband Arlington, Ellinor believes she is at last free from his tyranny, only to find that he has called her insane in his will and confined her to the care of nuns in St. Vincent's Abbey. Not only his power as a husband but also his participation in the Queen's plot to cover up the sisters' evidence continues after his death. Matilda fares no better. James tricks and then imprisons Matilda and Mary after seeing and destroying Matilda's evidence of her birth. He has the power both as a man and as a ruler to do so, regardless of Matilda's position.

What is important in each of the above examples is not only the oppression of Matilda and Ellinor as women, though that is certainly an important part of the novel. The addition of the historical setting to a gothic heroine's hysterical quest for self-preservation relocates the gothic exploration of tyranny into the realm of history and history writing. Elizabeth's and her followers' tyranny takes place both on a personal level (imprisonment, threats of bodily harm, etc.) and on an epistemological level--in the questions of who knows the real history, and who gets to say what is the real history. The

act of writing history and depending upon it as a politically-empowering force, as the twins do, proves to be a dangerous gamble, one that is doomed to failure unless the twins can first wrest political power for themselves. History will not, and in the end does not, do that for them. Instead, the evidence upon which they rely to "make" history is turned against them, and historiography proves to be an uncontrollable project for those who attempt to grasp its elusive power in order to gain entrance into the political world. The twins' more general role as outsiders from recorded history who fail time and again to elicit belief or to enter the larger political discourse draws attention past the realm of the personal and into the public realm where personal and political mingle. Because Lee combines Matilda's and Ellinor's disenfranchisement, so typical of heroines in gothic novels, with their specific historical positions as the daughters of Mary Queen of Scots, the usual quest for inheritance takes on new meaning. In canonical gothic novels such as Radcliffe's Mysteries of Udolpho, the heroine finds the secret of her identity by discovering outside evidence protected by someone else that explains all and sets things right. In this novel, however, the heroines do not "come into their own" at the end, nor does any secret evidence finally solve their problems. Partly, this is because the twins are in charge of protecting their own evidence and using it from the beginning to make history, to make their own identities. Taking their proof of who they are outside the private self and into the realm of historical and political recognition proves to be the difference between the twins and their gothic sisters in other novels. Even though Matilda, Ellinor, and minor characters like Lady Pembroke write history, it remains invalid and impotent at the end of the novel. History as crafted by those in power has

already passed on; the elderly and dying Matilda at the end of the novel, now with no offspring, has been left behind unknown.

Narrative Structure and the Instability of the Historical Record

Lee adopts a narrative structure modeled on the compilation of historical evidence and documents. Indeed, papers and letters from various people stand as the evidence forming the basis of the historical novel. Addressed to a woman named Adelaide Marie de Montmorenci, whom Matilda meets near the end of her life, the novel consists of a collection of letters, documents, and various narrative accounts of events from differently biased people. Matilda entrusts this collection to Adelaide and ends the novel by addressing her as a kind of antiquarian tourist retracing the historic steps of Matilda's life:

> Dear and lovely friend, you are now in England.--Already perhaps your feet have trod lightly over those spots where my happiness withered.--Ah! If sensibility should lead you more thoughtfully to retrace them, check every painful emotion, by recollecting that I shall then be past the power of suffering. . . linger once more on the spot where we met. . . drop on it a few of those holy tears with which virtue consecrates misfortune. (326)

Yet again marking herself as an actor in history, this time by imagining Adelaide visiting the important sites of her life, Matilda attempts one more time to effect and control historical, not just personal, remembrance. To the end of the novel, Matilda sees herself as an important historical person deserving of remembrance and validation, not simply because she is a sentimental heroine, but because she has been involved in history. Aside

from the self-consciousness about the manuscript serving as history and proof of a struggle for the royal heirs' legitimacy, examining the different accounts from different narrators reveals fundamental problems with Matilda's configuration of herself as a historical figure and with the efficacy of historiography in general.

The novel consists of three main narrators, Matilda, Ellinor, and Lady Pembroke, as well as letters and accounts from other characters like Essex and Leicester. Matilda's narrative discounts sections of Ellinor's; Ellinor's discounts sections of Matilda's; Lady Pembroke casts doubt upon both of those; and through all the accusations of lies and bias, who knows about the contributions of Essex and Leicester? Lee makes use of both the epistolary format and the gothic mode to highlight the different biases of the same events and to throw into question whose version of history is the most accurate. That this novel centers upon historical subject matter and characters who plan to use their records as proof of their place in history, a history to leave to future generations, highlights Lee's concern about the uses and objectivity of recorded history. The instability of the narrative record highlights the difficulty of controlling historical writing and anxiety about not being able to do so.

The novel begins with Matilda: her love of Leicester, her separation from her sister Ellinor during her flight to France, and her return to England after years of imprisonment in Jamaica. Ellinor's narrative begins in Part IV, immediately throwing into question the narrative before it. She writes: "Oh you! much loved, but little trusted, dear sister of my heart, whom it fondly pursues through unknown climes, where yet perhaps you wander, the victim of a fatal attachment" (155). She refers here to her sister's ill choice in loving Leicester, whom Ellinor never trusted or liked. She continues,

"On the memorable day, when Heaven decided the destiny of the one sister, and perplexed that of the other, by presenting to the eyes of both the favorite of Elizabeth, how diametrically opposite were the impressions each took of his character! Astonishing that two agreeing in every instance till that moment, should for the first time differ in so decided a manner!" (155). In comparison to Matilda's adoration for Leicester, Ellinor finds

> His heart, not warm by nature, had been rendered in a great degree callous, from its having expanded in the chilling atmosphere of a Court. Unbounded in his projects, timid and subtle in his actions, tyrannic in his pursuits, the object he could not govern, never long attached him. Ambition, pride, and vanity, those leading traits in almost every character were in his so exquisitely blended, and corrected by the frost of his nature, that they might often be mistaken for nobler passions. (155-6)

Her distrust of Leicester and her very different interpretation of his character influence the rest of Ellinor's narrative as she rewrites the events that she and Matilda shared. She demonstrates an awareness of how politics at Court work, and she interprets Leicester's actions through this awareness. Leicester constantly avoids acknowledging his marriage to Matilda at Court. Ellinor explains the complicated motives--from Elizabeth's favor to his enemies' plots at Court to his desire for even closer connections to Elizabeth. Whereas Matilda explains Leicester's constant failure to bring her out of hiding by lamenting the villainy of Elizabeth and forces beyond his control, Ellinor points out his political machinations and corrupt character. Both narrators differ in their opinions of this man, and their biases also affect how they relate historical people and events.

Lady Pembroke enters as a third narrator who continues to throw the interpretation of people and political events into question. The focus on Ellinor's lover again connects political events to the interpretation of character and again describes a different series of motives behind the same characters' actions. Ellinor, like Matilda, has been blinded by love: "the sweet mistress of Essex had a very partial knowledge of his character, or information of his actions" (256). In contrast to Matilda, who barely seems to notice her sister's attachment while with him, Lady Pembroke shows concern about Ellinor's choice. She describes Essex as possessing generosity, but also ambition and lust for power. She believes he aligns himself alternately with Elizabeth and then Ellinor in hopes of gaining the crown. He lacks, however, political skill and ultimately falls prey to his enemies (256-261). Like Ellinor before her, then, Lady Pembroke gives yet another version of the historical events surrounding Essex and assigns different motivations to his words and actions.

The competing narratives include concern about being accurate, yet even as they protest their objectivity, they reveal their own inadequacies. For example, when introducing Leicester's narrative, Matilda states, "Lord Leicester did not delay to gratify our curiosity, but began his story thus: (for to prevent the coldness a relater always gives to events, and as almost the very words are familiar to my memory, whenever a narration occurs, I, in justice to the person concerned, shall give him the power of speaking for himself)" (43). The parenthesis reminds the reader that Matilda the historian is quite concerned both with accuracy and with readers' emotional connection to the history she crafts. This justification, however, abruptly breaks the narrative flow and highlights the reliance upon Matilda's memory that "almost" recalls every word. Matilda further

interrupts Leicester's narrative and throws into question her objectivity with descriptions of her fainting at hearing certain parts of his narrative and misreading it due to not knowing the whole of his history (54-55). Again calling attention to herself as audience as well as (faulty) interpreter, Matilda complicates the historian's authority that she claims. The textual ruptures reveal her ability to be the type of historian who can evoke sympathy both in herself and in the readers for whom she "poses" as a model listener and reader of history herself. Yet, because Matilda is a person who "feels" history, her narrative loses strength in accuracy as well as linearity. Lee reveals through this incident that one of the failures of the more sentimental approach to historiography is that, in spite of the attempts to reach the reader more fully through the emotions, those very emotions threaten to overwhelm reader and writer, replicate the gaps in available history that the sentimental narrative may be invoked to take care of, or even create gaps in knowledge where none previously existed.

In linking each narrator's judgment of character with the way she writes history, Lee critiques the eighteenth-century reliance upon "truth in character" as an adequate tool for writing history objectively.[9] Each narration seems quite plausible, yet by the end of the novel, it is difficult to select one or some combination of the narratives to show what really happened and why. Because of their naïveté in judging character, especially the characters of Essex and Leicester, Matilda and Ellinor continually fall into danger and suffering. The twins, who see themselves as both historians and actors in history, live their lives based upon the same concept of "truth in character" that they rely upon in their written histories. Aside from pointing out the inherent bias in human interpretation, Lee's connection between the twins' failures in writing and living history contribute to a

growing sense of the danger concerning historical transmission that builds throughout the novel. This danger involves Ellinor's and Matilda's eventual recognition that, in spite of being both accurate and sympathetic in their presentation, they have not created a history that can survive. In other words, because they lack the political power and machinations to make a successful history, they must remain victims of it. Matilda faces this fear by continuing her narrative anyway and by couching it in terms that at least allow her to win sympathy. Ellinor, however, adopts a different strategy, one that reveals historiography as the horror that it is and one that, using gothic conventions, points to a way to overcome it.

The novel includes physical representations (asterisks, blank lines, etc.) in the text to mark narrative ruptures; nearly all of these places involve Ellinor's madness. Such interruptions serve as frequent reminders of this history's incompleteness and the vulnerability of any narrative's reliability. Fascination with madness--a decidedly gothic trait--dominates Ellinor's history as she succumbs to insanity due to persistent oppression. Her madness breaks up the text after instances of abuse and suffering: worrying whether her sister is dead due to Elizabeth's machinations (185, 219); hearing of Essex's marriage to Lady Sidney (185); living in enforced solitude when not at her oppressive husband Arlington's side (200); and enduring imprisonment and attempted seduction by the Irish General Tyrone which forces Essex to bargain with him during the war (227). After her forced midnight marriage to Lord Arlington, another rupture in the writing occurs. Resuming her narrative a short time after, Ellinor finds,

> my intellects strangely blackened and confused, frequently realized scenes and objects that never existed, annihilating many which daily passed before my eyes.

> . . . Alas! my sister, look no more in this sad recital for the equal-minded rational Ellinor you once saw me; sensations too acute for either endurance or expression, from this fatal period blotted every noble faculty, often substituting impulse for judgment. (182-3)

Suddenly the question of whether this loss of equal-minded rationality has continued in her writing begins to be a major concern. Within a novel where the different writers contradict each other, Ellinor's madness throws a further complication into any sensible conclusions about the historical record that she helps create. Through the character of Ellinor, the irrational breaks upon the rational, further throwing this "history" into question at the same time that it records historical "truths" of oppression and exclusion.[10]

Several instances of Ellinor's madness appear at the same time that concerns over evidence and historical transmission occur; sometimes the psychotic episode occurs when Ellinor's attempts to make history are thwarted. The linkage between Ellinor's madness and historical transmission further connects historiography with horror, as it is the twins' constant attempt to make history that leads them to suffering. Madness first surfaces during the scene of Ellinor's forced confession:

> It was surely at this tremendous crisis in my life, my fermented blood first adopted and cherished those exuberances of passion, which ever after warped the equality and merit of my character; that blood now boiling in my veins, joined with a disordered imagination to call around me a thousand visionary inconsistent forms. (178)

Forced to sign a piece of evidence that will be used against her, Ellinor loses authorial control of the proof of her birth that she was using to assure her place in history; madness

occurs immediately after history slips out of her hands. At times Ellinor is aware of her madness as she writes, and she laments the effect on her narrative: "I fear I begin again to wander, for my hand-writing appears to my own eyes that of Essex.--Oh, how tight is my head, my heart seems bound!--will no one loosen the shrunk fibres?--Hark! Is that not the Queen?--No--It was but the deep voice of the Winter's wind" (196). Essex, the main subject of Ellinor's history and the man she loves, seems to take over Ellinor's writing; once again, she loses control of her history and also loses control of her mind. When she comes back to reality, she again speaks in terms of her writing and her need to control it: "Let me snatch a moment of reason and recollection to forward my story" (197). Combining historiography and madness through the person of Ellinor, Lee shows not only the way in which madness is a logical the result of women's oppression, but also how madness surrounds the myth that historiography in itself lends one power or, indeed, is even something that can be controlled by the individual who exists outside the larger narrative of a nation's history.

Ellinor's worsening madness and oppression finally and abruptly shut down her narrative, yet the use of madness surrounding the previous interruptions highlights the inadequacy of the historical document to contain the events and emotions of its author/participant. One way that Lee shows this inadequacy is by allowing strong feeling in the first place to enter Ellinor's writings. Describing the fragmentary nature of Ellinor's narrative and its relationship to the sentimental voice used in the novel, Lewis states,

> Arranged in pieces that are connected only by asterisks, Ellinor's manuscript not only fuses historical and psychological destiny but also transposes them into the

> field of letters that both share. The page in turn becomes a charismatic image of the atomizing losses that at once produce and are engendered by historiographical convention; it guides written words into an alternative, and uniquely illuminating, mode of "historical" evidence, one whose pathetic force is inseparable from the sociocultural imperative behind it. ("Relation" 180)

Ellinor's manuscript does indeed draw sympathy, but her more violent and uncontrollable words and actions color the narrative in darker tones as well. Because Ellinor's highly charged psychological drama really does stem from madness, not just exaggerated feelings of the suffering heroine in an ordinary sentimental narrative, Lee moves closer to the gothic mode and does more than critique the absence of women and their stereotypical world of feelings from the historical record. Ellinor's narrative, like Matilda's, details a life overwhelmed by injustice. Unlike Matilda's narrative, however, Ellinor's history surrounds some of the worst instances of oppression with outbreaks of madness and violence, further calling attention to these injustices. Unlike Matilda's anger, which regularly transforms and disperses itself into sentimental sighs and tears, Ellinor's anger comes through clearly during these moments of madness and represents the reality of their situation more forcefully.[11] She becomes more violent and sees things around her to be more violent as well. When talking of Arlington, she says, "he drags me about with him still, and calls me--*his*, Oh Heavens!--But I am nobody's else, mark that--mark that, or we shall perhaps have murder" (197). Gaining a daring in her madness that almost overcomes Elizabeth, Ellinor is the sister who finally confronts the Queen with the intent to harm her (267-8). Her madness refuses to allow the reader to lapse into acceptance or understanding, as happens in Matilda's narrative, which relies upon

sympathetic connection with the reader. Indeed, at the very point where Ellinor retreats to safety at last, feels her sanity return, and believes she can forget the past, the madness returns with full force and stops her from writing again:

> A thunder-bolt falls on my brain! avenging heaven, why does it not wholly split it? Tried--sentenced--condemned--while I entombed in a now detested solitude, gaily dreamt of endless happiness.--Oh! let me once more rush madly into the world, overwhelm my agonized senses with the shouts of armies--the groans of the dying--fountains of blood--rivers of tears--find if possible a horror in nature may counteract that now raging in my soul.--The wreck of the universe alone can equal it.--But let me give the ruin scope--wherefore should I wish it lessened--Oh! Lady Pembroke! (256)

This quote ends Ellinor's narrative and can be said to point out her failure as an adequate historian due to mental illness. In another sense, it can point out historiography's inability to record, to find language for, the gore of history. Ellinor's madness will not allow her to forget this failure or the oppression she has experienced. Including narrative ruptures and outbursts of chaos, madness, and terror in a history which, according to classic Enlightenment historiography, should follow a linear and rational line, Lee implies that the very project of historiography necessarily excludes such "irrational" responses to the events occurring within history, particularly events caught up in the repression of those outside the power structures of official sanction. After all, Ellinor does not suffer from madness until she has experienced overwhelming personal and political oppression. The gothic mode is particularly well-suited for this kind of textual transgression and has often been studied in terms of its links to the irrational and the

dialogic.[12] Indeed, as one critic argues, "there is broad agreement that the Gothic represents the subject in a state of deracination, of the self finding itself dispossessed in its own house, in a condition of rupture, disjunction, fragmentation" (Miles, Gothic Writing 3). A rational and linear narrative style cannot "contain" the history Ellinor writes and must break apart at certain places in the text. Gothic conventions, with their highly charged and horrifying scenes, draw especial attention to the gaps and absences within traditional Enlightenment historiography.

History's Gothic Presence

The gothic mode does not allow readers the self-congratulatory stance allowed by the sentimental mode.[13] Readers of this "gothified history" both within and outside the novel cannot simply look back on past times and know that they have the sympathy in their own era that was lacking in the past. The call for pity in The Recess occurs in the novel to an extent, yet the addition of the gothic complicates the sentimental response by involving readers in not only a sympathetic reaction but also a horrified reaction. This reaction is potentially subversive as well as dangerous, particularly when the villain in the novel is a great figure in national history.[14] Ellinor and Matilda do more than feel sorrow; they feel horror and the desire to commit violence, if not to seize the throne outright by force. This impending violence and shift in power is not only escapist fantasy for women readers; nor does it merely support eighteenth-century culture's modern belief in progress. Instead, with its close connections to eighteenth-century manners, historiography, writing style and culture, the novel's violent emotions and ghastly scenes --not the sorrowful or pitiful ones--point to a violence within the text, a violence upon the

very historiography that would appear on the surface only to be affected by the sentimental tradition and only innocently concerned with events and customs. The jarringly "modern feel" of The Recess, noted since the early reviews and criticized as historical inaccuracy, actually strengthens the novel's relevance to an eighteenth-century uneasiness surrounding the uses and methods of history writing.[15]

On a surface level, The Recess has all the trappings of the more canonical gothic novels by Radcliffe and Lewis: the appearance of banditti threatening the heroine's virtue (100-102, 172); the notorious room with two doors which the heroine can't lock or escape through (172); imprisonment in a Catholic convent (124-129); secret chests (208); tyrannical father figures (36, 112-113); mysterious singers and speakers (131); frequent "appearances" of and appeals to ghost and spirits (32, 100, 184); portentous thunder and dreams (101-102, 248), and scenes involving corpses and coffins (29-30,132-136, 218). Such "gothic trappings" provide a gloomy and frightening atmosphere; they also allow Lee special tools for examining the darker side of national myth as crafted by history.

Characters tend to focus on the more gory events of the past, which, along with the fascination of madness, increase the gothic presence in the novel. Ellinor imagines the bloody death of her father Norfolk: "The premature fate of my much-honored father--Norfolk, returned upon my memory--the tower, the dismal tower, scaffolds, axes, a bleeding lover, and a broken heart, daily passed in a long array before me" (176). They use language to highlight horror. Matilda is haunted by "the gastly body of Williams [which] seemed forever to impede our footsteps, floating the path with blood" (106). Hearing about her mother's death, Matilda is "agast with horror" as she imagines her heart sinking "into a sea of blood." (117). Emphasizing again the failure of language or

sympathy to help, Matilda finds herself "unable to reduce the torrent of my ideas into language" (117) and asks everyone to leave her to her morbid thoughts, including "the savage hand of Elizabeth dipt in the blood of an annointed sister sovereign" (117); the image of Mary on the block, "every agony of death doubled, by the knowledge that her daughter brought her there" (118); her wish to be destroyed by lightening or "entombed in the sea" (118). At Leicester's murder scene, Matilda "bathed my bosom in the blessed crimson which still flowed from his" (123) and develops an obsession with keeping his coffin with her wherever she goes. Descriptions such as these transform the sentimental response, with its sympathetic connection between reader and object, into the horrified response, with its terrible dis-connection.[16] Several of these gory images describe events that happened in actual history. Exaggerating the language to depict them in all their horror is threatening not only because of the images they bring to the reader's contemplation but also because of the implicit potential these descriptions possess to cause the reader to turn away from his or her own nation's history with fear and loathing, just as the princesses do.

By providing an outlet for the supernatural and for the unknown, the gothic provides an additional way within the novel to talk about and experience history. Reminiscent of the not-too-distant past when historiography could include the marvelous, characters in the novel sometimes seem torn between what would be called "modern" views of history and those less developed methods of writing the past. How does one react to and read history? When sharing written or oral histories, characters sometimes react incredulously, adding wonder to their reading of history. At one point when describing to Lady Arundel the historical events in which she has participated, Matilda

states, "The astonishment its incidents every moment excited in Lady Arundel, seemed to make it more wonderful even to myself" (153). Reader reaction colors the historical narrative Matilda relates. Such notes about history and reactions to history occur within a context wherein the novel, aided by gothic conventions, co-mingles the real with the imaginary. Matilda describes her complicated and very real political schemes as "vague imaginary joys" (64). Essex's man Tracy later finds that the fiction he told Essex about Ellinor's safety actually is truth, a truth presaged by a "visitation" in a dream (248). In various places throughout the novel, Ellinor and Matilda are described as specters (199) or illusions (157) or ghosts of their mother (167-8). Both there and not there, present and not (of the) present, the figure of the ghost is an appropriate way to describe two women who are part of history, but also outside it (both in the novel and in the real world).[17]

In a way reminiscent of eighteenth-century lessons about how to use history to influence present-day political actions, both women also call upon dead figures from history to show them how to act in the present. Matilda teaches her daughter to learn from the past to help her as she attempts to gain the throne; she also looks to the dead figures of her mother and father to teach and inspire her how to act. Not knowing the identities of their parents Queen Mary and Norfolk, Matilda and Ellinor, as young girls living in the recess, nevertheless become fascinated by two strange portraits of a man and a woman surrounded by mementos of their nobility, rank, and honor. The portraits take on an almost supernatural presence as the girls become more influenced by the imagined power of the figures in the paintings. Even before learning that these pictures portray their parents, the young princesses adopt them as role models. In their limited world, Matilda and Ellinor "lived in the presence of these pictures as if they understood us, and

blushed when we were guilty of the slightest folly" (10). Mrs. Marlow also calls upon Norfolk and Mary: "Shades of the honoured Howard and amiable Mary, I have fulfilled your injunctions. . . your words have been ever present to my memory" (32). People from the past take on a very real presence in the novel and affect the actions of those in the present who seek these models of behavior. In addition, linking themselves to actual historical figures becomes a way for the girls to enter into history; they do so by using imagination and sympathy.

Adopting figurative death and ghostliness, as well as acknowledging the presence of those who have passed over, becomes a means of empowerment for the two women. Sometimes this strategy succeeds, and sometimes it fails, but in either case, the action represents an attempt to make the past and its representations exist in a present that Matilda and Ellinor can control--or at least think they can control. This creates yet another instance where the boundary between past and present blurs and shows how fragile such orderings can be. Ellinor calls upon the shade of Matilda to visit her (184) and upon that of Mrs. Marlow to aid her while in the clutches of Elizabeth (177). When she and Leicester are imprisoned in the recess, Matilda calls upon Providence and knows that "the shades of those who reared me will surely rise in . . . defense" of her innocence (100). Though Leicester disagrees and sighs that at least "these visionary hopes may soothe the mind 'till that sad moment nothing can avert" (100), a flash of lightning shows the two a secret way to escape their prison (101). In scenes such as these where the girls must depend on supernatural interference to save or guide them, Lee highlights the twins' vulnerability.

The ghostly guise gives Ellinor the power to speak the unspeakable; in a similar fashion, Lee uses the gothic to critique the rational methods of historiography. In Lee's novel, the supernatural and the historical explicitly involve one another. As Kathleen Brogan explains of gothic novels in general,

> The turn to the supernatural in the process of recovering history emphasizes the difficulty of gaining access to a lost or denied past, as well as the degree to which any such historical reconstruction is essentially an imaginative act. Centrally concerned with the issues of communal memory, cultural transmission, and group inheritance, stories of cultural haunting share the plot device and master metaphor of the ghost as go-between, an enigmatic transitional figure moving between past and present, death and life, one culture and another. (152)

On the one hand, Lee's use of the gothic, including the twins' ghostliness and madness, to empower the princesses reiterates their powerlessness; without the fantasy, such brave deeds and life-saving interventions could not occur. On the other hand, Lee's choice to involve the gothic and the supernatural in her examination of Britain's history allows her to emphasize the irrational, the conflicted, the extra-historical and to highlight those moments, spaces and events that exist "in-between"--between recorded fact and fiction, between past and present, between the powerful and the powerless. Locating her examination of historiography within a novel that breaks apart the linear, rational, objective Enlightenment history, Lee emphasizes the failure of Enlightenment historiography to contain or smooth over the oppressions and horrors of a nation's past.

Throughout the novel, Matilda and Ellinor attempt to use sympathy to enter into the political world; they also depend upon historiographical practice to gain justification

Throughout the novel, Matilda and Ellinor attempt to use sympathy to enter into the political world; they also depend upon historiographical practice to gain justification and recognition in history. Neither of these actions succeeds, and the twins' failure points to a larger anxiety about historiography's efficacy, particularly for those who do not possess the power to dictate the larger ideological narrative. Only when Ellinor abandons sympathy and historical transmission does she finally "make" history. Ironically, it is breaking out of the rational historical record that allows Ellinor the real physical and linguistic power to overcome the Queen. Her madness and association with death and the supernatural succeed where the twins' earlier attempts to use the tools of politically-approved history for themselves fail.[18] By associating real political power with gothic discourse, Lee provides a solution to historiography's horrible tendency to slip from the twins' control. Ellinor herself slips from history's control--she is no longer confined by evidence turned against her, she is no longer constricted by a dependence on objectivity, she is no longer involved in a mission to gain the sympathy of those in her own era or in the future, and she is no longer bewitched by a belief that she can break into history as a key player. Instead, she turns physical violence directly at the source of her oppression, that great figure in English history, Queen Elizabeth. Rebellion becomes more important than making history.

The subversive energy behind the gothic's transformation of history occurs when the mad Ellinor rushes into Queen Elizabeth's bedchamber. Ellinor swings between sentimental sighs and vindictive judgments of the queen, pleas for forgiveness and intimations of violence. She at last charges the queen with her murderous crimes and gives full vent to her anger. Taking Elizabeth's hand, she shrieks with horror:

> Oh, you have dipt mine in blood! a mother's blood! I am all contaminated--it runs cold to my very heart.--Ah, no, --it is--it is the blood of Essex; and have you murdered him at last, in spite of your dotage, and your promises? . . . all because he could not love you. How have we laughed at such preposterous folly! But I have done with laughing now--we will talk of graves, and shrouds, and church-yards. (267-8)

Having thought that Ellinor was dead, the ailing Queen believes she sees a specter, drags the attending Lady Pembroke to her, and, convulsing, cries, "'Save me--save me--oh, Pembroke, save me from this gastly spectre'" (266). Elizabeth, elsewhere described as all-powerful, becomes a fainting, terrified, vulnerable creature in the face of the ghostly Ellinor. In this guise, Ellinor accomplishes what the twins have spent most of the novel attempting--overcoming the queen: "So--so--so. . . would one have thought it possible to break that hard heart, after all? and yet I have done it" (268). As Pembroke relates of Elizabeth's senses, "the terror she had endured has shook them for ever. Shuddering with apprehensions for which only I can account, she often holds incomprehensible conferences; complains of an ideal visitor; commands every door to be shut; yet still fancies she sees her, and orders her to be kept out in vain" (268). In actual history, Elizabeth did experience a sinking depression until her death; in this moment, Lee portrays Ellinor as effecting the real historical event, not reacting to it, suffering from it, or trying to record it. Here at last, Ellinor makes history. In order to do this, though, Ellinor herself must become a part of history's horror; she must adopt the monstrous guise in order to appropriate power. Beneath the supernatural trappings and power that madness gives Ellinor, Lee explores a deeper issue related to historiography's association

with horror. Throughout the novel, Ellinor and Matilda are oppressed and excluded; their attempts to tell their own personal and political histories are continually thwarted. The end result of this exclusion is Ellinor's madness and violence, which in turn allow her to appropriate historical power. Could actual histories that fail to contain or cover up history's horrors, as happens in The Recess, lead to similar rebellious deeds? This is a question that the novel's gothic presence brings to light and surrounds with fear.

Locations of Cultural Conflict

Another way in which Lee utilizes the gothic to point out the horrors lurking beneath the surface of Enlightenment historiography involves surrounding with gothic moments certain locations and objects connected to cultural conflicts within a nation's own history. This technique highlights the historical narrative's inability to cover over any such reminders of national disunity and intra-cultural violence by depicting those moments of cultural clash in graphic relief. Gothic conventions surround these sites with two horrors: they give voice to those suffering the real violence and oppression in a nation's history whose experiences might otherwise be suppressed, and, from another angle, they show the fearful dread that a nation's violent past cannot be contained by a traditional historical narrative.

The recess itself, perhaps the most important location in the novel, serves not only as a hiding place for the princesses, but also, historically, as a hiding place for Catholics during the Reformation. Mrs. Marlowe tells the girls the history of the Reformation and the abolition of the convents that links actual historical conflict to the recess. When Matilda hears tales of the monks and nuns who fled to the recess and hid until the

government changed, she states that the history "appeared to me almost fabulous. . . I impatiently desired to explore the whole romantic secret" (23). The recess does play an "almost fabulous" role throughout the novel, with its "hauntings" by various ghosts, its headless guard statues that seem real, its visitations by sentient forces of nature, its similarity to a tomb with "ghosts" (Matilda and Ellinor) who come and go from it. Through the recess, Lee aligns Mary's suffering daughters with the oppressed Catholics, both victims of Protestant England and, though they both represent threats to the English throne, both are covered over, at least initially, by being crafted as loci of pity and sorrow in the novel. Surrounding it with seemingly supernatural occurrences and selecting it as the setting for some of the novel's most frightening scenes, however, Lee marks the recess as a space of cultural conflict and a constant, frightening reminder of political tension hiding beneath the surface.

Because it can be a place of fear and horror as well as of refuge, the recess provides a reminder of a danger hiding within the deeper corners of the novel's narrative, a danger represented by the figure of Mary Queen of Scots that Lee associates with the place. In her study of the cultural significations of Mary Queen of Scots, Lewis states that almost from the beginning, the queen

> summoned tears bound to display the moral authenticity and fellow feeling of those who shed them--tears that also reminded modern Scots and Englishmen, Protestants and Catholics, Jacobites and Hanoverian Whigs, of their ostensibly shared history. In short Mary offered a common object of sympathy in a mercifully receding past. But since in reality that past had been bitterly divisive,

with the Queen of Scots one conspicuous reason why, sentimental investment in her was always risky. (Lewis, Mary 104-105)

Eighteenth-century fascination with Mary Queen of Scots depended upon covering up the turmoil and political machinations surrounding her actual life and instead crafting her as the ultimate suffering heroine. At the same time, "to those francophobic, anti-Catholic, and anti-Stuart members of English society who were evidently bent on economic, political and affective unity, the half-French, devoutly Catholic mother of the disgraced and exiled Stuart dynasty threatened to expose collective self-approval as a convenient fantasy" (Lewis, Mary 107). In her novel, Lee's use of gothic conventions pushes this exposure over the edge. The sentimental narrative urges pity even for those who may be Other, like Mary, and, using the guise of sympathetic feeling, covers over her real threat. The gothic narrative ruptures this sentimental mandate with scenes of violence, madness, and horror and reminds readers of the danger existing alongside or beneath the sentimental version of this historical figure. Her very real threat, and by extension, her daughters' threat, as a Catholic and a Scot, comes through only in glimpses, but those glimpses are made more striking by the symbolism of the recess and another staple of gothic fiction to which it is linked, the convent.

Comparing the recess with the convent reveals a fundamental contradiction in the way Lee portrays religious conflict within a country and between countries. Later in the novel, Lee will demonstrate strong anti-Catholic sentiments when talking of the French nuns' attempts to convert Matilda (who is somehow now safely a Protestant--no need to make a Catholic threat to the throne *too* real) to her mother's religion. This seemingly inconsistent portrayal of Catholics actually emphasizes the difference between the danger

lurking within a nation's own past and the past of a foreign nation. Again, examining the gothic location of this conflict lends particular attention to eighteenth-century political conflicts. Like the recess, the convent, a place of religious and political discord, features gothic elements. Matilda and Leicester flee to France in hopes of gaining political support from Queen Mary's allies and relatives. Lady Mortimer, however, betrays them, takes their riches, murders Leicester and imprisons Matilda in a convent. The lady does, indeed, wish to use Matilda to gain the English throne, but not without converting her to the Catholic religion (127). The nuns, whom Matilda calls "the bigotted dictators in religion" (125) follow stereotypes of eighteenth-century anti-Catholicism so often shown in traditional gothic novels. Matilda suffers at the hands of one nun who

> denounced eternal perdition on me if I longer thought of a heretic (Leicester) who seduced me from the true faith, and who of consequence became a dreadful example of vengeance; charging me to adore the holy Virgin Mother, who had by so gentle a punishment recalled me to the Catholick church. Yes, sainted Leicester, in the infatuation of her bigotry she dared to term thy death a *gentle* punishment. (124)

Viewing him as an outcast, the nuns refuse to inter Leicester's corpse and urge Matilda to be grateful that her sin of marrying outside the Church could be expiated now through prayer and penance. Feeling entombed alive, Matilda develops an obsession with her husband's coffin, which has been secreted away in an unhallowed vault, and she conducts nightly visits to the dark and dismal place. With the aid of the much more sympathetic Mr. Mortimer, Matilda flees from the place one night, but not without taking her

husband's coffin with her. All these images--tomb, coffin, vault--point back to the recess and create a strong connection between the convent and the recess.

Occurring later in the novel, this religious and political intrigue in a French convent reinforces the conflict hinted at in the recess, showing that turmoil from the past cannot be erased so simply. Lee transforms the typical gothic heroine imprisoned for her sexuality into the heroine imprisoned for religio-political reasons and adds to this event details of schemes against England. Here, the danger that France represents links Lee's novel with the histories of her period. For, like Lee's novel does, British histories of the time translated current apprehension of Catholic states like France into their depictions of their own past. As Linda Colley explains in her study Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837,

> the prospect in the first half of the eighteenth century of a Catholic monarchy being restored in Britain by force, together with recurrent wars with Catholic states, and especially with France, ensured that the vision that so many Britons cherished of their own history became fused in an extraordinary way with their current experience. To many of them, it seemed that the old popish enemy was still at the gates, more threatening than ever before. The struggles of the Protestant Reformation had not ended, but were to be fought out over and over again. (25)

Furthermore, these histories helped to create the myth of a united and powerful Britain by focusing on the battle between Protestantism and Catholicism rather than on political dissension at home. As Colley observes, "Protestantism was the foundation that made the invention of Great Britain possible in the eighteenth-century" by uniting Scotland, Wales, and England against common enemies--those of the Catholic states of Europe,

particularly France (54). By making Matilda a Protestant Scottish woman victimized by French Catholics, Lee follows this prescription for British unity and identity. She uses the French as a distraction from the buried Catholic threat inside Britain and even transforms that threat by representing Matilda as a victim, thus emphasizing the powerlessness of Matilda and the Catholic Scottish threat with which she is associated. Yet, as the gloomy recess and the French convent call to mind, Matilda still represents a threat from within Britain because of her lineage as the daughter of the Catholic Mary Queen of Scots. That the novel also explicitly details conflicts with Scotland and Ireland, including war and espionage, further complicates a merely sentimental reading of Mary Queen of Scots and of history as written by Lee. The Recess exposes the sentimental and nationalist myth of a united British front, not simply because of religion (strangely, Matilda and Ellinor are not Catholic like their mother), but because of political struggle from within--the real threat posed by Matilda and Ellinor as usurpers of the throne. The recess, a spot marked by horror and ghostly visits from the past, must be linked with the convent, another spot of gothic fear, to complete this exposure.

The castle at Kenilworth, also surrounded with gothic gloom and ruin, provides Matilda with another inspiration to ponder the passing of time and Lee with another opportunity to highlight internal struggles in the progress of history. Lee transforms the typical gothic castle where a heroine must protect her virtue into a different kind of castle where the heroine must claim and protect her political and financial power. Lee replaces the obstacle of the lustful monk/uncle/father with the obstacle of industrialization. Matilda comes to this place to recover Leicester's secret treasure caskets hidden behind a tapestry only to find that his once glorious residence has fallen into ruin at the hands of a

miser who has let out the land to manufacturers. She calls the building a "mausoleum" (274) because it reminds her of her dead Leicester and, once inside, discovers that "a change which jarred every feeling had taken place" (274). The gay pageantry of Elizabeth's visits and Leicester's careful management is replaced by distressful signs of progress:

> A numerous body of diligent mechanics were plodding in those halls in which Elizabeth had feasted, and their battered sides hardly now informed us where the rich tapestry used to hang. My ears were suddenly stunned with the noise of a hundred looms; and the distant lake once covered with gay pageants, and resounding only to the voice of pleasure, presented us another scene of industry not less busy, strange, and surprising. (274)

The ruin of her former life here also moves Matilda to sigh over the passage of time. She takes action to reclaim the residence and gather her funds to aid her and her daughter in their quest for the throne, but she still sorrows over how something so glorious could fall:

> By incidents of this kind, one becomes painfully and instantaneously sensible of advancing into life. When first we find ourselves sailing with the imperceptible current of time, engrossed either by the danger of our situation, or enchanted with its prospects, we glide swiftly on, scarce sensible of our progress, till the stream revisits some favorite spot: alas, so visible is the desolation of the shortest interval, that we grow old in a moment, and submit once more to the tide, willing rather to share the ruin than review it. (274)

Matilda speaks the language of progress but also weeps over it. Here, Lee combines Matilda's sentimental tears at the passage of time with an actual location where past and

present clash. Lee surrounds this conflicted space with gothic conventions, transforming both those conventions and the sentimental scene they surround in order to criticize the effects of progress--in this case, the increasing importance of manufacture.

Another place where gothic conventions affect how Lee portrays historical documents and places appears in the portrait gallery of Lady Pembroke. This ghostly midnight scene, where Ellinor views the portrait of Essex during the storming of Cadiz in 1596, creates an opportunity for characters consciously to view themselves within history. The portrait room involves the reader of the novel as a reader of history, just as Ellinor is a reader of history. The tableau, a visual scene that the gothic so often focuses on, forces both a sentimental and a horrified reading. The lovelorn Ellinor, aided by Lady Pembroke, sneaks into Pembroke's portrait hall to view the recently purchased and displayed picture of the storming of Cadiz. Ellinor explains that this painting, featuring the heroism of Essex, "attracted the curiosity of all ranks of people, and the gallery it was placed in was scarcely ever empty. It was so much the topic of discourse, that fashion must have excited a desire in me to see it, had my heart been uninterested" (200). This painting that excites so much popular attention is no mere portrait of her lover, but one that shows Britain's triumph over the Spanish and Britain's moral superiority in this conquest: "In the act of wresting a sword (the inflamed eye of him who held it, shewed [sic] had a moment before been pointed at the English General's bosom) Essex proudly looked down on the surrounding Spaniards; whose impassioned gestures supplicated for the life of him who had thus immediately attacked the conqueror" (201). The painting captures the highly dramatic moment of Essex's victory and portrays him as the hero who saves the general from violent death and as the lord, if not the god, who doles out mercy

to his Spanish enemies. Ellinor is so moved by this highly sentimentalized scene that she bursts into tears even as she imagines her own struggle for power. "'Ah, Heaven,' cried I fearfully bursting into tears, 'have I thus long dreampt of glory--honor--immortality--nor considered the dangers by which thou must acquire them?'" (201). Inspired by this painting, Ellinor relates herself and her cause to history as well. This consciousness of the self within history becomes even more apparent when the real Essex steps from behind a curtain and "comes to life" from the portrait. The focal point of what turns out to be a supposed ghostly visitation, this painting of historical conquest inspires more than patriotic pride and sentimental sighs. The scene is one of several in the novel where Lee surrounds conquest or cultural clash with the gothic and undercuts attempts to sentimentalize such spaces or moments. In so doing, she refuses to be satisfied with the sentimental version of recorded history as it appears through documents and artifacts in the novel.

At first surprised by this seeming ghost of Essex stepping out from history, Ellinor, realizing she is locked in the same room with the actual man who is her now married ex-lover, next fears for her virtue. Like Ann Radcliffe's secret rooms and secret doors covered by tapestries or curtains, the portrait room reveals a ghost to be an actual person, one who nevertheless is still potentially dangerous. The historical portrait of Essex, the "ghost" of Essex, and the real Essex all appear in one moment, making tangible the conjunction of past and present, absence and presence, and truth and fiction. Such a moment of the blurring of disparate entities is surrounded by gloom, mystery, and, later, violence as Essex, Ellinor and Ellinor's husband Arlington seem to replay the very violence depicted in the painting. Ellinor throws herself between the dueling men and

suffers a sword wound from her husband while Essex wounds and disarms him. Aside from the fact that the two men are political as well as romantic rivals, the three end the scene in a pose much like the one in the painting above them. Essex disarms Lord Arlington, takes his sword, and looms over him, as Ellinor tries to serve as the supplicant between the two (203-204). Explaining the scene later, Ellinor says, "then raising my eyes to the pale statue of Essex, who resting on the two swords, hung in silent agony over me, I adjured him to vindicate my fame" (204). In the symbolic parallel between this scene and the painting's scene, international conquest is retold as a political conquest within England. Both men are political schemers, both in some way are connected to Ellinor and her claim to the throne, and both in some way are fighting for that power she represents. As the scene brings to mind, all three characters are involved in some way with grasping for political power, a struggle in which the romantic triangle only plays a part. Yet, unlike the painting, the violence and horror of this real-life scene drown out any streaming heavenly lights, heroic poses, or clearly defined victory. Recalling the incident later (she interrupts her tale as she tells it), Ellinor wonders if any of it really occurred. She exclaims, "Good Heavens, while I relate this it appears a mere vision!--Did I really see Essex?--Were my senses really revived by that voice so long forgotten, except when fancy recalled it?--Ah! I have had but too sad a conviction that this *has* been, however strange and impossible it appears" (202). Lee surrounds with horror, the explained supernatural, and violence what began as a sentimental scene of viewing an idealized history. In her symbolic replay of the painting's battle, Lee provides a dark "double" of the historical representation, one that, at the same time that it provokes pity for poor Ellinor and her streaming torrents of blood, disarms the easy heroism of political

appropriation that much of the novel supports in the sympathetic portrayal of the twins and their mission to wrest the throne from Elizabeth.

The scene in the portrait gallery provides a good ending point for this chapter on Lee's The Recess, as it represents the several comparisons that occur in the novel and that are "gothified" in order to point out the horrible, uncontrolled nature of historiography and its application to stories of national or political power and progress. A painting that portrays heroic and sentimentalized conquest involving another country turns bloody and violent when applied to the current political struggles within England as represented by Ellinor and Essex; likewise, throughout the novel, sites of intra-national conflict and oppression from British history come to the forefront when gothic moments break through the palliative sentimental or adventurous narrations. Ellinor connects the scene of a real English victory in the portrait with her own struggle for political legitimacy, learning from it and desiring to follow its precepts, only to find that she cannot control history any more than she can control events once Leicester's "ghost" steps through the curtain. Similarly, the twins learn that no matter how much they follow the precepts for accurate historical transmission, without official sanction, their "portrait" in the halls of the kings and queens of England will never be hung because they never gain political force or sanction. In the twins' hands throughout the novel, Enlightenment historiography becomes a dangerous tool to play with, and their suffering, in large part, results from their desire to "make" history and from their naïve belief that, by providing objective evidence and drawing sympathy from readers and friends alike, they inevitably will succeed. At the same time, their attempts and Ellinor's madness bring up a more haunting uneasiness that lies at the heart of Enlightenment historiography as portrayed in

the novel. Just as the recess hides a growing threat to the English throne in the guise of the two daughters of Mary Queen of Scots, so too does the historical narrative attempt to hide history's horrors. The girls leave the recess, and Ellinor's madness leads to successful political action. What might happen if historiography cannot hold together the narrative of a nation's successful progress and unified people? The novel remains a narrative of impending doom, all the more frightening because it doesn't answer this question. Matilda and Ellinor fail, but the history they write is passed on. It doesn't have any real power in the world of the novel, and yet in the real world of the eighteenth-century, as Barbauld notes in her review, it affected people's prejudices about Elizabeth and Mary. In a novel that continually shifts perspectives and throws into question what is real, objective, or complete, the gothic elements continually bring the fear and horror surrounding historical representation to the forefront.

[1] The criticism of the first half of the twentieth century most directly takes up the issue of factual historical content in historical gothic novels like The Recess; thus, the works of scholars like Summers and Varma are most pertinent to my larger argument about how the historical gothic has been relegated to an inferior sphere due to its historical inconsistencies. More recently, feminist scholars have examined the use of history in The Recess in a different light, often in conjunction with how the novel crafts an alternate "herstory." Jane Spencer calls The Recess "romance's revenge on recorded history" that, in its fantasy of female power and escape, "asserts that the 'truth' of history is a lie, based on denying women their rightful place" (200). Similarly, in her study of the twins' double narratives, Margaret Doody asserts, "It is in the gothic novel that women writers could first accuse the 'real world' of falsehood and deep disorder. Or perhaps, they rather asked whether masculine control is not just another delusion in the nightmare of absurd historical reality" (560). Alliston posits a special, female method of creating history through women's writing and speech where women personally pass down history to one another. This "form of female intergenerational transmission. . . avoid[s] the patriarchal strategy of 'cloning' or 'possession'" so common in men's histories ("Transmission" 202). Lewis finds that Lee's "penchant for turning history into a cache of small but touching things may be seen as a feminizing strategy" ("Relation" 169). See also Kate Ellis, Delamotte, Roberts, and Spender for other feminist studies of The Recess. While my overall project examines women in relation to historical education, reading, and writing, my concern here is not with exploring a specifically female history or a secret tale of women's real historical oppression. Instead, I will look at how women writers like Lee engage directly with Enlightenment historiography and how they use their awareness of eighteenth-century historiographical methods and standards to comment on Britain's national past and current political ideology.

[2]For another early review examining Lee's combination of history and fiction, see The Monthly Review, or Literary Journal (1786), where the writer criticizes Lee's combination of history and fiction, particularly as it relates to British history. The reviewer says that the novel is one "in which fiction is indeed too lavishly employed to heighten and embellish some well-known and distinguished facts in the English history" (135).

[3] See Alliston, who explains how eighteenth-century historians "depend upon truth of character, as they have established it, to make probable judgments of how a particular personage *must* have acted. Thus, the truth of character plays an important role in constructing the truth of incident" ("Introduction" xvii).

[4] Except where noted differently, in my analysis of Sophia Lee's The Recess, I will be using Alliston's 2000 edition of the novel.

[5] Alliston's edition of The Recess provides excellent evidence linking historical events and people as portrayed in Lee's novel with those depicted in the histories of men such as

Hume and Robertson. A number of historical events in Lee's novel are written in a sentimental and emotive style found similarly in the more traditional histories above. These parallels will be helpful in some of my discussions of how the fictional twin daughters Matilda and Mary interact with "real" history.

[6] See Lewis's Mary for a full examination of painting, poetry, letters, tours, and other works demonstrating the fascination with Mary that began in the queen's own lifetime and continues into the present day.

[7] Alliston also reads The Recess as a critique of the eighteenth century's ideology of sympathy ("Introduction" xxii).

[8] In the midst of eighteenth-century debates about historiography, the educational use of history to inform future political action was typically something that could be agreed upon by differently positioned historians and philosophers.

[9] Alliston describes this concept of "truth in character" in her introduction to Recess, pg. xvii. Of Lee's use of truth in character, Alliston writes that the dissonance among the novel's narrations "dramatizes the inevitable partialities of point of view in the perception and construction of historical character" ("Introduction" xxiii).

[10] See "The Laugh of the Medusa," where Hélène Cixous outlines the concept of "in-between-ness" which counters the phallologocentrism of the linear, singular, logical narrative. Cixous argues: "Woman un-thinks the unifying, regulating history that homogenizes and channels forces, herding contradictions into a single battlefield" (252). Ellinor's madness is one of many gothic effects in this novel that create spaces of "in-between-ness" and that discount history as a unified, linear narrative.

[11] Modern feminists have examined women's madness as a response to oppression, sometimes as a means of escaping or subverting that oppression and sometimes as a poignant reminder of woman's hopeless position within patriarchy. For discussion of this trope in literature, see, for example, Jane Spencer Rise of the Woman Novelist (199-200), and Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar The Madwoman in the Attic. Examining the work of Julia Kristeva, Toril Moi links the feminist strategy of fragmenting language's logical constructions of meaning to a greater risk of madness in the speaking subject even as it holds powerful subversive potential (11).

[12] See Jacqueline Howard's Reading Gothic Fiction: A Bakhtinian Approach where she connects Bakhtin's "heteroglossia" with the gothic mode. Quoting from Bakhtin's Dialogic Imagination, she argues that "The Gothic novel is a type in which the propensity for multiple discourse is highly developed and that is *dialogic* because of its indeterminacy or its open structure. The Gothic only plays at being totalized or closed, as its supposed 'unity' encompasses 'several heterogeneous stylistic unities, often located on different linguistic levels and subject to different stylistic controls.' Although discourses are 'subject to an artistic reworking' as they enter the novel and there is a

synthesizing voice, no one voice is the novel's decisive voice" (16-7).

[13] See Judith Wilt for discussion of the historical gothic as escapist. In Mary Queen of Scots, Jane E. Lewis explores how historical figures like Mary Queen of Scots were crafted in the "real" histories to exemplify the period's values and fantasies of self and nation.

[14] The early reviewers were well aware of this threat. In particular, see Barbauld (74).

[15] B.G. MacCarthy, for example, argues that "Sophia Lee makes no attempt to create the atmosphere of Elizabethan times, or to reproduce the customs or language of the period. . . . Evidently she also considered her readers incapable of understanding the outlook and the behaviour of the Elizabethan age, and felt it necessary to make her characters conform to eighteenth century fictional standards. Indeed, it is probable that she was honestly unaware of any differences in relation to period, and was unconscious of the anomaly of an Elizabethan age peopled with etiolated beings and speaking the jargon of sensibility" (382).

[16] See Ann Racliffe's "On the Supernatural in Poetry" where she describes the response to horror as that which "contracts, freezes, and nearly annihilates the senses" (168).

[17] Lewis speaks of the girls' ghostliness as linked to the ghostliness of their mother Mary, both in the novel and in the larger eighteenth-century culture where Mary Queen of Scots became a figure that who was both real and imagined. She states, "Their [Matilda's and Ellinor's] ghostliness is of course exactly what marks Ellinor and Matilda as Mary's own. And it is around Mary's absence and the perpetual longing to be with her that Ellinor and Matilda become who they are (not)." (Mary 141). Mary haunts them throughout the novel. The images of Mary mark their bodies; the reflected bodily images mark their identity.

[18] Ellinor's association with death, and the power it gives her, appears earlier in the novel when she adopts the body of a corpse in order to escape twice, once from the asylum where her husband imprisons her (218), and once from death on the battlefield in Ireland (224). Being "undead" in these scenes presages the later scene where she will once again consciously adopt the guise of ghostliness to gain real power.

Chapter 2

"This Trew Chronique": Ann Radcliffe's Gaston de Blondeville, Antiquarian Study, and Women's Historical Discourse.

Ann Radcliffe, one of the most important early gothic novelists, has stood at the head of the "female gothic" tradition explored by feminist scholars in the last 25 years.[1] Set against novels such as Matthew Lewis's The Monk that overtly depict violence and sexuality, Radcliffe's romances only hint at these as they follow a heroine's perilous encounters with patriarchal institutions and figureheads threatening to entrap, define, and violate her. Similarly, in Radcliffe's own time period, critics and readers understood her work in terms of its differences from other gothic writers like Lewis, emphasizing how her position as "lady novelist" allowed her to avoid the excesses of "horror novels" and to focus instead on the powers of imagination and description, for which she was well admired.[2] Her best known and most frequently studied novels, The Romance of the Forest (1791), The Mysteries of Udolpho (1794), and The Italian (1797), have contributed to the critical definitions for, understandings of, and fascination with the British gothic tradition and have dominated discussions of female gothic romance writers as well as of the gothic tradition in general. In this chapter, I turn to one of Radcliffe's lesser-known gothic works, Gaston de Blondeville (1802, 1824), a novel which departs from the typical Radcliffean fare of imperiled heroines and villainous European patriarchs in its use of actual English historical material.[3] Taking place during a specific time period during Henry III's reign, this novel utilizes the gothic apparatus in conjunction with antiquarianism in order to explore England's past and Enlightenment

historiography. Framed by a fictional discussion of how to read history and test historical evidence, Gaston continually interrogates power structures involved in historical transmission and the hierarchies that privilege some forms of historical discourse over others. Using this novel, I include Radcliffe not only in the female gothic novel tradition as delineated by Ellen Moers, Jane Spencer and other feminist critics, but also within a larger tradition of historical interest and inquiry among later eighteenth-century women. As seen not only in this novel but also in her travel journals, Radcliffe shows an interest in historical sites and objects and demonstrates both knowledge about England's historical past and an imaginative response to that past. She also provides a political response to it, referencing specific past horrors like Cromwell's destruction of the abbeys and criticizing policies of past monarchs like Richard I. Expanding the Radcliffe canon to include the lesser known Gaston de Blondeville not only illuminates Radcliffe's concerns outside domestic politics but also points to the larger body of female gothic novelists who write about historical concerns and English national identity and who, largely, have been left out of studies of the "female gothic".

The previous chapter examined how Sophia Lee's The Recess portrays historiography itself as a locus of horror. Using both traditional and non-traditional historical evidence such as legal papers, letters, oral discourse, etc., Lee questions the validity of "objective" histories and demonstrates how evidence without official sanction will not be transmitted. Rather than supporting a nationalist narrative of progress and English superiority, Lee's novel highlights moments of cultural clash, of individual suffering, and of rulers' failures. At the same time that she shows how the traditional historical record attempts to cover over a nation's more conflict-ridden past, Lee also

uses gothic conventions to show a parallel horror, one that emphasizes how frightening it is to realize historiography's failure to craft a narrative supporting a nation's stories about itself. Sophia Lee, an educated woman running a boarding school, demonstrates in her novel a familiarity with England's historical past even as she manipulates her story line to craft a sentimental and gothic narrative. Reading Lee's gothic novel within the context of women's education in history and participation in writing history emphasizes the author's own activity within a larger community of women readers and writers exploring historical discourse.

In this chapter, I will examine Ann Radcliffe's Gaston de Blondeville in terms of the language and methods of antiquarianism, which play central roles in her historical gothic as she explores how to verify and respond to historical scenes and objects. Radcliffe, a historical tourist and amateur antiquarian herself, applies her experiences, judgments, and writings from her travels into a novel which interrogates amateur antiquarian activity and its relationship to dominant historical discourse. More than simply invoking antiquarianism to provide descriptive details inspiring a melancholic longing for idealized medieval days, Radcliffe directly engages her novel with larger eighteenth-century conversations about antiquarian activity: its interest to amateurs and professionals alike, its relationship to Enlightenment histories, its attention to discrete detail rather than an overarching national narrative, and its sometimes dubious role as evidence in conflicting ideological projects. Like other women writers of gothified histories, then, Radcliffe purposefully participates in a larger public discourse debating the uses and methods of historical writing.

In Gaston de Blondeville, Radcliffe blends several types of writing, the gothic romance, the history, the antiquarian catalogue, and the travel narrative, to make an alternate response to traditional Enlightenment historiography. The novel begins with a lengthy, 75-page introduction where two historical tourists from the present time visit the ruins of Kenilworth and discuss how one ought to experience history and its artifacts. Folklore, empirical evidence, book learning, imagination, and even superstition play a role in the men's quest for knowledge about the past. The novel itself, an object excavated by a local historian, provides a sort of proving ground to test the men's historiographical theories. Set in specific historical sites in England and dealing with specific moments in England's past, Radcliffe's examination of history in Gaston leads to more serious historiographical questions than those stimulated by the typical "found manuscript" device of canonical gothic novels. Within the novel proper, the gothic devices of hidden manuscripts, ghostly appearances, magic items, and secret passageways all contribute to an alternate historical record and serve to discredit both the official history sanctioned by King Henry and traditional historical records. It is through non-traditional historical discourses and evidence--songs, pageants, tapestries, bones, and artifacts--that the "real" history is known in Gaston. Textual interruptions in the form of antiquarian cataloging and supernatural occurrences contribute to an overall instability of historical evidence and records and set up some of Radcliffe's critiques of political power structures and historical figures. Appearing as they do in a document passing itself off as a genuine written history and following traditional historiographical methods, such instabilities also reflect history's inability to cover over or contain such threats to the dominant power structures that history writing supports. The role the gothic plays in this

novel points to a dual fear affecting both the powerful and the disenfranchised: that traditional power structures supported by history can be broken down and that, without supernatural intervention, the histories outside a nation's narrative about itself would not be told.

The first half of this chapter explores Radcliffe's engagement with antiquarianism and the way in which she weaves this form of historical study into her novel. After a brief background on eighteenth-century antiquarianism and its relationship to constructing a national past, I discuss how Radcliffe crafts Gaston de Blondeville in the introduction as an antiquarian discovery, a secret manuscript--but one strikingly different from those featured in most canonical gothic novels. The second half of this chapter looks more closely at how the gothic contributes to Radcliffe's own commentary on political events, historical transmission, and the creation of a national identity. During the festivities that take place while King Henry stays at Arlen, history becomes entertainment and the resulting spectacle of historical portrayal becomes a means to transform officially sanctioned versions of the past. Boundaries between French, English, and Welsh are blurred in this novel; uncanny appearances and events point to a central uneasiness in the novel with national borders and identity. Throughout the novel, antiquarianism is strongly linked to the gothic, and both become caught up in the larger destabilization of historical transmission, the invalidation of historical objectivity, and the revelation of underlying power structures involved in historiography.

Antiquarianism

With their own focus on ruins, hidden objects, and tokens from past ages, gothic novels immediately call to mind antiquarian study, which took its modern shape in the second half of the eighteenth century. While the gothic novel's, like the sentimental novel's, fictional crafting of its own real-life validity is well known, less critical attention has been paid to ways in which the gothic novel, particularly as written by women, participates in the period's discourse about antiquarianism and its importance to national self-definition.[4] Rising in both professional and popular interest and changing its earlier, sometimes dubious investigative methods into more scientific ones, antiquarianism began to include British as well as the usual classical subject matter during this period. Much satire and criticism surrounded the discipline; in comparison with historiography, antiquarian study was seen as dull, obsessed with trivial detail, and given to too much speculation. Focused on discrete material artifacts, it was also less open to dominant narratives of national identity espoused by mainstream historiography. In its position outside the dominant discourse and in its appeal to amateurs, antiquarianism, like gothic fiction, opened up the study of the past to those often excluded from the privileged position of the university-educated historian.

Even today, the antiquarian figure can bring up stereotyped images of crusty, dry old men bent over their crumbling manuscripts and surrounded by dusty shelves containing objects such as saints' bones, medieval helmets, Roman pottery, and old coins. Satires of antiquarians existed in eighteenth-century writings like Pope's The Dunciad and Smollet's The Adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom and continued into the nineteenth century in such novels as Scott's The Antiquary and Dickens's The Old

Curiosity Shop.[5] Such antiquaries did exist and the discipline did have its share of fraud, obsessive attention to detail, and greed over insignificant objects. Yet, as the eighteenth century progressed, this satire circulated within the context of increased interest and participation among literate non-professionals familiar enough with antiquarian activity to appreciate the humor in this stereotype even as they themselves were involved in antiquarian activity. Antiquarian study did not simply or only take place in the dusty study pouring over papers but involved travel and sightseeing where tourists were especially encouraged to look at monuments of the past, particularly of their own country's past (Peltz and Myrone 3). Amateur antiquarians from the leisured classes, clergy, and the gentry took an interest in collecting objects, visiting ruins, and writing treatises on their findings. The public's interest in antiquarian research, reading, and other methods of participation is seen in the commercial investment in antiquarian publications, which were marketed to the larger public and not just the specialists in such groups as the Society of Antiquaries founded in 1718 (Peltz and Myrone 3). Professional antiquaries, noting the commercial possibilities of their work, attempted to find a way to both remain faithful to their scholarly practices and to interest the public when publishing their findings.[6]

In some ways, antiquarian activity could feed into England's larger historical narratives and could be used to bolster a sense of national identity. It could clarify mysteries of the past by providing new evidence; in addition, it could support patriotism and lend credence to some of the national myths of English superiority.[7] People challenged their countrymen to study English antiquities and history in order to be better patriots. Yet, antiquarian research was seen as having less validity than "history" and

was often criticized for its attention to specific objects separate from an overlying historical narrative (Yoon Sun Lee 538-9). Collecting, owning, and selling antiquities had little to do with theorizing about Britain's history, and, in addition to highlighting the commercial ramifications explained above, such activities emphasized the fragmentary nature of Britain's past. Artifacts provided pieces to the puzzle, yet they also emphasized the gaps in the puzzle and English history's vulnerability in the face of forgeries, misrepresentations, and myth-making.[8]

As discrete objects from the past, artifacts and ruins were often open, undefined signifiers that could be put into the service of interpretations popular or important at the time; this shiftiness of the historical object points to the instability of the historical narrative. For example, as Ian Ousby explains in The Englishman's England: Taste, Travel and the Rise of Tourism, Stonehenge became identified with an array of ancestors and uses over the course of time. It was first described as a Roman ruin during a period when England was turning to its classical roots in order to separate from its earlier barbaric ones. Later, William Stukeley in the eighteenth century classified the ruins as ancient British and associated them with Druids. Lacking much definitive information about the Druids and newly interested in Britain's own ancient history, people were fascinated by them. Thus, as Ousby observes, "Stonehenge was no longer a dry enigma for antiquarians to fuss over but a richly brooding icon into which the tourist could read all his fantasies and imaginings about the ancient British past" (95).

Yet, even such conflicting readings emphasized their status as "mere" readings and ultimately revealed the divisions within Britain, undermining any notions of a unified national history or identity. In his study of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century histories

of ancient Britain, Sam Smiles finds that with the diverse cultural ancestors in Britain's past--the Celts, Saxons, Caledonians--historical and antiquarian study of ancient Britain could be used to perpetuate political separations between England and its periphery: Ireland, Wales, and Scotland.[9] Between England and its periphery nations, there was a constant shifting of view of the ancient Britons. This blurring of ancestral alliances extended to the artifacts and historical figures appropriated for different ideological purposes. A heroine like Boadicea might be celebrated as an example of fighting for "Britishness" against foreign invaders at the same time that she could be a model for Welsh resistance to English rule (17). A ruin such as Stonehenge did not simply provide evidence for one historical narrative or another; instead, it existed as a contested space for conflicting historical narratives and as a constant reminder of those opposing narratives. As these examples show, a ruin or object studied in itself, as an antiquary might do, separate from history's theorizing narratives, held dangerous potential culturally and politically. As Yoon Sun Lee has argued, antiquarianism is "tacitly opposed to this theory of the nation's undivided inheritance, and averse to the trope of voice that typically sustained the popular rhetoric of nationalist historicism" (539). The simultaneous existence of conflicting approaches to British history belies the validity of an artifact or ancient monument as unbiased proof supporting one larger national narrative of a unified past leading up to the progress of the present. Rather than hiding it, antiquarian knowledge relies on prior division, conflict, and rupture of the nation's culture (539).

Their physicality a constant reminder, ruins and artifacts recall conflicts within a nation-state, the fall of empires and the passing of cultures. Rather than simply

supporting a sentimental melancholy about time passing, however, eighteenth-century antiquarian activity relocated study of the past into the realm of science and discovery. Because it focuses on and values the discrete object over the larger philosophical narrative, antiquarianism differs from national patriotic history-writing. Not surprisingly, antiquarians were criticized because of their

> untheorized attitudes toward history behind its characteristic activities of gathering, collecting, and compiling. While those activities could be interpreted as proceeding from a sentimental desire to restore a national patrimony, the very egregiousness of this antiquarian foraging drew attention to the troubling processes of loss and extinction that made the retrieval necessary. (Lee 538-9)

Because of its methods of finding and piecing disparate objects together, "antiquarian foraging" also drew attention to the fragmentary nature of any historical narrative. Antiquarian relics and study are by definition fragmentary, diverse, and marked by the danger of fading over time. While both antiquarian and historical discourses examine the past, the latter is much more wrapped up in the project of nationalism. According to Lee,

> If the patriotic discourse of history constructed that nation as self-inheriting, continuously bequeathing institutions and national character to itself, antiquarian discourse and practice unobtrusively belied those assumptions: like the curiosity that greets it, the existence of the antiquarian object is contingent on processes of obsolescence and fragmentation as these afflict cultures, institutions, and nations. (539)

Rather than supporting a narrative of a unified national identity progressing as a whole toward the present, antiquarian research and discourse can serve as disturbing reminders

of the precariousness of power structures, which can be reversed, can fall, or can be obliterated by time.

Following such critics as Lee, I will read antiquarian discourse as distinct from historical discourse, even though one may be put in the service of another. Suspect and outside the traditional historiographical narratives of nation, antiquarian discourse provides another option for examining the past, one that was also open to use by amateurs and women in such forms as the historical tour and travel narrative. Antiquarian research and writing transcend normative boundaries of narrative, genre, and discipline and highlight the artificiality of such frameworks. "The source of [antiquarianism's] power, and of its instabilities, was its emergence in multiple spheres of activity: the private spaces of the study and the library; the middle-ground of the club, and the public sphere of the metropolitan market for the printed work and image" (Peltz/Myrone 8). This ability to exist in multiple spaces of genteel and mercantile life allowed for other transgressions, notably the participation of women in this enterprise (8). Valuing individual objects as well as the everyday life represented by them, antiquarian discourse and study can challenge history's focus on the grand narrative of political events and dominant power structures. It also points to the culture's shifting interest in learning about a culture's manners, customs, and ordinary people, demonstrated in the shift from the classical to the modern method of historiography.

As I move to analysis of Radcliffe's Gaston de Blondeville, I wish to emphasize the novel's blending of travel narrative, romance, and antiquarian discourse as an alternate response to traditional Enlightenment historiography. In her novel, Radcliffe demonstrates, first of all, a familiarity with antiquarian discovery and discourse in the

way she crafts the novel and the conversations of her historical tourists in the introduction. Herself a woman who travelled through England on trips such as the one she portrays, Radcliffe was familiar with the antiquarian enterprise and transferred some of the details from her travel journals into the novel, an interesting use of first-person discovery and transmission across generic boundaries. As I study the example of Radcliffe's Gaston de Blondeville, I will look at instances where ruins and artifacts signify division, rupture, and conflict from within Britain, thereby discrediting the notion of Britain's unified historical inheritance and progress. Throughout the novel, extensive details about individual artifacts, objects, and ruins interrupt the narrative; antiquarian concerns as to dates, purposes, locations, and uses of these objects dominate the pages of Gaston such that it reads, at times, like a catalogue. Rather than simply applying it toward a general feeling of melancholic longing for the past, Radcliffe makes specific use of the antiquarian discourse she invokes in order to respond to the larger public discourse about history and national identity. She begins by framing her entire narrative with that staple of gothic fiction and that coveted artifact, the found manuscript.

The Found Manuscript

Whether as a character's discovery within the plot line, as the overall work's framing narrative, or as an author's (or presumed author's) preface, the "found manuscript" represents one of gothic fiction's more commonly used devices. Partly in reaction to the demand for veracity in the novel proper, partly to separate the gothic novelist from his or her sometimes dubious creation, and partly to increase the thrill of reading the tale within, writers have incorporated this device into their gothic novels

since Horace Walpole's The Castle of Otranto. Often, the found manuscript serves merely to suspend readers' disbelief or to tie up loose plot ends; however, it also can pose questions about authenticity, particularly authenticity of documents from the past and their role in the present. Ann Radcliffe's novel Gaston de Blondeville uses the found manuscript in a manner different from other gothic novels, including Radcliffe's more canonical novels. Discovered not in a mysterious abbey or castle sometime in the past and somewhere in Europe but at a specific, actual historic site in England during the present, the manuscript Willoughton and his companion Simpson come across during a sightseeing tour addresses more specific issues surrounding the rise of antiquarianism in England during the eighteenth century. Unlike other novelists, Radcliffe does not surround the manuscript's discovery with excitement, urgency, danger or mystery. Unlike characters in other gothic novels who immediately believe what they read, make conclusions and act upon them, Willoughton and his companion spend a significant amount of time questioning how historical artifacts in general and this one in particular could be tested for authenticity. Radcliffe maneuvers her concerns in this preface away from drawing her believing readers into the unbelievable events of her gothic novel and instead toward preparing them to read and question the historical content of the "gothified history" which this prologue frames. In so doing, she departs from the conventional uses of the found manuscript in order to comment more directly on Britons' current fascination with antiquarianism and the uses to which it may be put when (de)constructing narratives of nationhood.

The device of the found manuscript appears most frequently as one of the typical "gothic trappings" which form the basis of the narrative, move the plotline along and

contribute to the novel's sense of gloom and mystery. For example, while nearly a captive herself, Adelaide in Radcliffe's The Romance of the Forest discovers next to a stained and rusted dagger a crumbling manuscript detailing the imprisonment and murder of a man later shown to be her father. A novel might be written in the form of a secret confession as found in a work like Charlotte Dacre's Confessions of the Nun of St. Omer where the packet of papers documenting her life is addressed to her illicit son, to be read only upon her death. The device can both form the basis for the novel's existence and tempt readers to read onward along with the characters, as in Charles Robert Maturin's Melmouth the Wanderer. John Melmouth, upon inheriting his uncle's property, also receives the injunction in his will to find and destroy a manuscript hidden in a chest beneath a mysterious portrait. The will states that "he will distinguish it by its being tied round with black tape, and the paper being very mouldy and discolored. He may read it if he will;--I think he had better not. At all events, I adjure him, if there be any power in the adjuration of a dying man, to burn it." (21). John, of course, immediately becomes consumed with the desire to read the manuscript, as does, presumably, the reader. Likewise, in Radcliffe's The Mysteries of Udolpho St. Aubert asks his daughter Emily to burn papers hidden under the floorboards, without looking at them. She does destroy them--and only glances at them a little bit, an act that begins her quest for identity.

These hidden manuscripts serve a larger purpose beyond providing thrills; they also bring up important questions about legitimacy and authority. In each of the above examples, reading becomes a transgressive act, writing originates in the desire to confess, and inevitable misreadings and/or corruptions of the documents destabilize the very acts of reading and writing upon which the characters depend to show the "truth." Emily's

mistaken reading in The Mysteries of Udolpho leads her to question her status of as St. Aubert's legitimate daughter when, in reality, the papers document the fall of her kinswoman. The manuscripts read by John Melmouth and Adelaide are incomplete or unreadable in places, and both are involved in and parallel these characters' incomplete family histories. Eventually bound up in dispelling secrets of identity, the misreadings and/or unreadability of manuscripts such as these solve the mysteries of the plotlines only after highlighting problems both with reading and with establishing and transmitting familial lines of descent.

I turn now to two well-known gothic novels, Horace Walpole's The Castle of Otranto and Ann Radcliffe's The Italian, in order to highlight in more detail differences between how these two canonical gothic novels utilize the hidden manuscript device and how Gaston de Blondeville utilizes it. All three novels begin with prefaces announcing the novel to be a "found manuscript," name a monk as the author of the manuscript, and create characters interested in using the manuscript to learn about the past. Whereas The Italian stays within the usual prescriptions of subject, time and place for a gothic novel and The Castle of Otranto introduces itself first as a translation from Italian and then, in the second edition, as an experiment in fiction, Gaston de Blondeville locates the action in a very un-gothic, English present and introduces the narrative to come only after extensive pontificating about history on the part of the preface's characters. While both The Italian and Otranto contain in their prefaces nationalist attitudes, only Gaston will connect them specifically to the writing of Britain's past.

Radcliffe's The Italian begins with two eighteenth-century English travelers who, upon entering an Italian cathedral, view a brooding and dangerous individual slipping

into the shadows of the confessional. A priest/tour guide informs them that the man is one of many assassins in that country who seek sanctuary in Italian churches and that the confessional has witnessed even graver sins than his. He then promises to send to the Englishman the manuscript written by one who broke the sacred seal of the confessional by transcribing a penitent's horrible deeds. The Englishman finishes his tour plans for the day and then returns to his hotel where he reads the manuscript that makes up the novel The Italian.

Full of deprecatory judgments of Italian laws and customs, this prologue depicts in typical gothic fashion the difference between the Protestant, refined, moral Englishman and the uncivilized, violent European Other caught up in priestcraft. A special feature of this novel is the prologue's use of the English traveler in Italy undertaking the "Grand Tour." As Diego Saglia points out in his study of the traveler's gaze in The Italian, the prologue sets up the combination between gothic romance and travel narrative that will be used to define Englishness throughout the novel. The gaze that attempts to order, define, and control marks the novel's characters as English and creates Italy as "a mirror standing over and against another cultural system that the prologue identifies with England and its civilization" (30). Radcliffe imposes a system of Englishness upon the novel in which all characters are Italian but whose "good" characters act English.[10] The prologue sets up a dynamic in which English morals and customs "invade" the novel. The conquest of the foreign Other is not complete, however. While the Englishmen in the prologue and the "English" characters in the novel attempt to order the foreign Other using the language of the travel narrative, Italians like the villainous monk Schedoni or the glaring assassin in the prologue "gaze back" and destabilize constructs of English

self-identity created by such attempts to order and control (27). Even though Enlightenment rationality wins in the end, Radcliffe has created a system of English superiority at the same time that she shows the shaky foundation upon which it is built. This move is typical of Radcliffe in her other novels, where, for example, she ends a novel like Udolpho with romance's typical happy marriage only after establishing throughout the novel the dangers of patriarchal domination perpetuated through institutions of Church, aristocracy and family.[11]

The directed English gaze is also important in her other novels and travel writings. Known for her powers of description by her early reviewers as well as by critics of the present day, Radcliffe uses a similar aesthetics of the picturesque in both her novels and her tourist narratives. In Radcliffe's works as well as other travel accounts, the visual impression takes precedence. Discussing the visual imagination and eighteenth-century aesthetics, Ingrid Kuczynski points out:

> To privilege the eye as the primary organ of sensual perception is, of course, typical in the 18th-century's mental and aesthetic exploration of the world. Of all the other organs of sense, the eye was not only believed to be the most reliable and precise witness in order to ascertain facts and to provide truthful reflections of reality as well as insights. Visual perception alone could even be thought sufficient for comprehending rather complex objects. (245)

Stimulating imagination and asserting interpretive independence, the act of looking sets the gazer in the subject position and emphasizes the individual's power to order the world. "Seeing was understood as an enriching activity of comprehension and acquisition by the individual encountering the Other. It was certainly not seen as a

process of interaction, and remained a one-sided concept of individualist supremacy" (246). Furthermore, visual perception becomes "the means of a productive appropriation and of mentally changing and mastering the world" (246) as can be seen particularly in English travel narratives (246).

Arranging her surroundings into artistic portraits, Radcliffe follows these ideas in her A Journey Made in the Summer of 1794, Through Holland and the Western Frontier of Germany, With a Return Down the Rhine. The work includes the usual description and commentary on the sites and everyday people as perceived by the English tourist, but it also contains observations upon Germany's war with Revolutionary France as Radcliffe and her husband travel through Southern Germany on their way to Switzerland. They are, at one point, held captive in a military camp due to problems with their passports, and they are overwhelmed several times by children pressing in and begging for money, by the destruction of landscape occasioned by war, and by the less-than-friendly ways of people they meet along the way. The ideal, leisurely tour is possible only by keeping a distance from the people and events of the country they tour; losing that distance disturbs the traveler's ordering gaze and destabilizes their privileged position (Kuczynski 248-9). Just as the heroines in her novels frequently calm themselves by looking at nature, so, too, does Radcliffe in her travel narrative rely on distance to make order out of the chaos and to make a beautiful, unified scene out of fragmented disorder. Radcliffe's travel narrative ends as the relieved couple cut their trip short and return to the safety of Britain, a country depicted throughout the narrative as superior to the European countries. Radcliffe again relies on the safe ending, but not before portraying how tenuous the subject position of the English traveler can be. As in

The Italian, Radcliffe sets up and explores the English/European dyad; location in Europe is central to the assertion of English superiority, however tentative.

References to "Englishness" do appear in the introduction and in the novel proper of The Italian, but they do so on foreign soil, without specific reference as to dates and historical events, and without the kind of national self-reflexivity that Radcliffe will provide in Gaston. While certainly containing nationalist impulses, The Italian's short introduction to the novel portrays the manuscript less as a history, much less a national history, and more as a secret confession about someone's sins surreptitiously passed on to others for their reading pleasure. The found manuscript's purpose in The Italian, therefore, is to appeal to the reader's curiosity and to introduce the kind of tale--macabre, violent, and fearful--to follow. With the notable exception of Walpole's The Castle of Otranto, the reference to history in many gothic "found manuscripts" such as this one occurs on a more generalized level. Such references call to mind issues of legitimacy, transmission, and truthfulness, but they fall short of examining more fully and directly such histories' relationship to "real" history and the values bound up in its creation.

The preface to Horace Walpole's first edition of The Castle of Otranto features a translator who has found the manuscript "in the library of an ancient Catholic family in the north of England" (3). Written in the black letter in Naples and printed around 1529, this manuscript refers the readers back to medieval, Catholic Europe. Demonstrating a taste for antiquarian research, the translator attempts to describe the methods for dating the manuscript, contextualizing it within other collections of letters from that time period, and commenting upon the particular writing style and what it might tell about the author and the times in which he lived. The necessary derision of the superstitions sanctioned

by the Catholic Church and the comparison to present times where people don't place credence in the supernatural both appear; both ideas are typical of eighteenth-century gothic romances.

Horace Walpole was well known for his passion for collecting and for his residence, Strawberry Hill, a castle built and improved upon in the medieval style and one of the most famous houses in Europe during his day. Otranto's preface reflects this antiquarian interest through its language and its posturing as a note introducing this bibliographic find. Like most gothic novels following Otranto's example, however, the referent exists in Italy, and the commentary about the novel's content and style reflects judgments on the people and manners of a foreign country through stories of that country's past. For example, regarding the original purpose of this medieval work, the preface states,

> Letters were then in their most flourishing state in Italy, and contributed to dispel the empire of superstition, at that time so forcibly attacked by the reformers. It is not unlikely that an artful priest might endeavour to turn their own arms on the innovators; and might avail himself of his abilities as an author to confirm the populace in their ancient errors and superstitions. (3)

While the translator praises the Italian language as more elegant and better at storytelling than English, he also laments the lack of a useful moral in the Italian manuscript.

> I could wish he had grounded his plan on a more useful moral than this; that *the sins of fathers are visited on their children to the third and fourth generation.* I doubt whether in his time, any more than at present, ambition curbed its appetite of dominion from the dread of so remote a punishment. And yet this moral is

> weakened by that less direct insinuation, that even such anathema may be diverted by devotion to saint Nicholas. Here the interest of the monk plainly gets the better of the judgment of the author. (5)

The Catholic Italian monk is clearly biased and unable to maintain a distance between authorial objectivity and personal superstition. English readers, however, are more sophisticated and, as they separate out the piety, purity and lessons of virtue from the narrative, they are able to enjoy doing so (5). Like Radcliffe in The Italian, Walpole sets the English reader in a position above the European object and describes it in visual terms: "However, with all its faults, I have no doubt but the English reader will be pleased with a sight of this performance," the novel (5). Safely separate from the foreign past, the English translator and reader can look at this manuscript as a product from Italy's history and culture. Furthermore, the reading standards of the present-day English reader, standards including accurate portrayal of character and manners, play a significant role in this interpretive distancing. Apologizing for the supernatural instances in this manuscript, the translator states, "Belief in every kind of prodigy was so established in those dark ages, that an author would not be faithful to the *manners* of the times who should omit all mention of them. He is not bound to believe them himself, but he must represent his actors as believing them" (4). This first preface, then, includes the anti-European and anti-Catholic condescension common in many gothic novels. In providing the mediating figure of the translator, Walpole also highlights how reading standards and antiquarian posturing can be put to use in creating these sentiments.

The second edition's preface exposes the first edition as a sham, a fictional representation of other real-life antiquarian forgeries appearing not uncommonly in the

eighteenth century.[12] In this preface, Walpole also outlines his successful innovation, an "attempt to blend the two kinds of romance, the ancient and the modern" (7). Reconciling these two modes, Walpole explains he "wished to conduct the mortal agents in his drama according to the rules of probability; in short, to make them think, speak and act, as it might be supposed mere men and women would do in extraordinary positions" (8). To justify his invention, Walpole admits his imitation of the English genius, Shakespeare, the "great master of nature" (8). Placing himself in the lineage of great English literature, Walpole then turns to the question of national literary identity by comparing English and French literature. He soundly refutes Voltaire's arguments concerning literary criticism, the value of Shakespeare, and the precedence of France's judgment of literature. He sneers at Voltaire's presumption at comparing French expertise favorably over that of the Greeks themselves (10-11). He derides French poetry as cramped by the fetters of "Paris et notre parterre" satisfying their poetry standards is enough to "reduce poetry from the lofty effort of imagination, to a puerile and most contemptible labour--*difficiles nugae*" (11). He then singles out a couplet by Racine "which, to my English ears always sounded as the flattest and most trifling instance of circumstantial propriety" (11). Carefully aligning himself with his honored countryman Shakespeare and framing his literary criticisms with his position as an Englishman, Walpole emphasizes the boundary between French and English literature; in doing so, he continues to define Englishness in terms of the foreign Other already highlighted in his first preface.

While Walpole's prefaces contain references both to British nationalism and to antiquarianism, his focus remains on Europe--Europe's inferiority, Europe's past,

Europe's Catholicism. What marks Radcliffe's preface to Gaston de Blondeville as different is its location in and focus on England--England's past, England's ruins, England's historians, England's artifacts. While this may seem to be a simple change of locale, it is that change which marks Gaston's "hidden manuscript" as different from those more commonly found in gothic novels because it turns the idea of English history back upon itself. In its concern with England's own past and the English reading of that past, the preface shifts its concern from defining modern England through comparison with the European past to defining modern England through reading its own past. More lengthy and detailed than Otranto's preface, and more "ordinary" than the gloomy and sinister found-manuscripts typical of novels like The Italian, the preface of Gaston looks directly at constructs of British identity occurring congruently with an interest in antiquarianism's impact on reading that identity.

The Found Manuscript in *Gaston de Blondville*

The introduction to Gaston de Blondeville features two English travelers, Mr. Willoughton and Mr. Simpson, who travel between Coventry and Warwick on their way to visit Kenilworth. Mr. Willoughton represents the more sentimental and imaginative of the two while the practical Mr. Simpson would rather arrive in time at the inn for dinner than explore ruins and sigh over the landscape. The two happen upon an elderly local who takes them around the ruins of Kenilworth, telling them stories about historical and not-so-historical happenings. Eventually, Willoughton buys from him an old manuscript found buried beneath the chapel, a manuscript that is the novel proper.

As she does in The Italian, Radcliffe crafts her preface's characters as tourists. In Gaston, Willoughton and Simpson are specific kinds of tourists, however: historical tourists. After the Reformation, travel became not only a sign of one's class and leisure, but also of one's desire to gain empirical knowledge about culture and history. At first, most travel took place in Europe with "The Grand Tour", but in the middle of the eighteenth-century, travel within England rose as writers began to lament the lack of attention paid to England's own history and antiquities. Writers such as Thomas Pownall, author of A Treatise on the Study of Antiquities, urged the value of looking at the history and antiquities of one's own country. William Stukeley in his Itinerarium Curiosum, Or, an Account of the Antiquitys and Ramarkable Curiositys in Nature or Art, Observ'd in Travels thro' Great Britain argued: "It was ever my opinion that a more intimate knowledge of *Brittan* more become us, is more useful and as worthy a part of education for our young nobility and gentry as the view of any transmarin parts" (Stukeley 3, qtd. in Haycock 70). In his study of the rise of English tourism from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century, Ian Ousby explains that travel inside England rose in popularity due to the increased feasibility of English tourism with its lower cost and shorter time commitment; the growing mistrust of and denunciation of all things French and Italian; and the technical advances in travel which made it easier to go about the countryside in greater numbers and at greater speed. These advances included coaches, roads, and better communication systems (Ousby 10). The eighteenth century saw more published guides to English sites and ruins; such guides often included antiquarian study of these places. These books were written by travelers in the form of first-person narratives depicting the travellers' thoughts and experiences, but also, as

Ousby points out, the books were "clearly written more and more with an eye to helping subsequent travelers along the same road, offering recommendations, warnings and information that range from practical details of prices to potted local history" (12). Additionally, these guides provided the traveler with amateur instruction in antiquarian methods: "Travel guides to these areas [of archaeological and historical significance] tended increasingly to provide the tourist with a succinct digest of relevant antiquarian theories and often included a small engraving of any substantial remains as part of the area's notable curiosities" (Smiles 22). While certainly not all travelers undertook historical tours, "Gothic ruins and, above all, the ruins of the great monasteries ceased to be merely antiquarian curiosities and became major features on a redrawn tourist map of England" (Ousby 100). Begun in the spirit of cultural and national inquiry and guided by tour books written by fellow travelers, tours of English ruins and antiquities opened England's historical treasury to the middle classes and women; they also gave locals, often uneducated and of the lower classes, a participatory role as guides and experts on local history and folklore. Historical tours could thus became a way for ordinary people to experience, craft, and/or interpret history outside the dominant power structures represented by formal education or aristocratic privilege.

Radcliffe herself undertook historical tours, both in Europe and in England, as her travel journals demonstrate. In his Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mrs. Radcliffe prefixed to Gaston de Blondeville upon its first publication, Thomas Noon Talfourd includes excerpts from Radcliffe's private travel journals. These entries trace her visits to country houses, seaside towns, stunning landscapes, and historically important sites. She visits Penshurst, where she imagines Sir Philip Sydney and his knights standing around

the same fire pit in the great hall where she stands and where she sees Sir Philip's armor that "stands like a spectre at arms, watching over the scene it once inhabited" (qtd. in Talfourd 83). She notes the historical portraits she sees in various places they visit, such as at Knole House where portraits of Luther, Queen Elizabeth, Salisbury, Burleigh, and Leicester hang (70). She describes tapestries displaying historical scenes, like at Blenheim where an immense tapestry covers the state room's walls and, in its several compartments, displays different historical scenes and battles, such that "the whole seems almost a living prospect, and that you might step into the scene" (63). As Talfourd notes, Radcliffe paired her tours of historical sites with research into their background. For example, she "was much attached to St. Alban's, the antiquities of which she explored with unwearied zeal, and the historical dignity of which she has vindicated in her longest poem" (96).

St. Alban's is not the only historical site that inspired Radcliffe to combine her travel notes with artistic production. Including journal entries from her visit to Kenilworth, Talfourd explains, "Mrs. Radcliffe was particularly interested by Kenilworth Castle, and spent much time in exploring its history after she had visited its ruins" (89). Indeed, several journal passages distinctly parallel those she develops in her novel; some objects and descriptions are placed directly into the novel. She describes the banqueting room of Caesar's Tower, the "noble masses of ruin that still stand proudly, and form three broken and irregular sides of what was once the inner court" (57), and a suit of armor at the end of the gallery in Warwick Castle which seems to guard the passage with its sword in hand (59). Looking upon the ruins at Kenilworth, she writes words that she

will repeat almost exactly in her novel and that emphasize the imaginative response to historical ruins that she will outline in the novel's preface:

> This view of the ruin was very striking; the three chief masses great and solemn, without being beautiful. They spoke at once to the imagination, with the force and simplicity of truth, that nothingness and brevity of this life--"generations have beheld us and passed away, as you now behold us, and shall pass away: they thought of the generations before them, as you now think of them, and as future ages shall think of you. We have witnessed this; yet we remain; the voices that reveled beneath us are heard no more, yet the winds of Heaven still sound in our ivy." (58)

Combining actual encounter, historical research, personal impression, and, later, imaginative creation, Radcliffe's interaction with the historical experience transcends generic boundaries. This transgeneric emphasis shapes Gaston de Blondeville, both in the novel proper, which includes several different levels of experiencing and transmitting history, and in the preface, which introduces this concept.

Throughout the preface, Radcliffe includes numerous references to antiquarian concerns, practices, and standards, showing at least an amateur familiarity with the eighteenth-century fascination with gathering and interpreting artifacts from Britain's past. The two historical tourists, Willoughton and Simpson, set out specifically to explore Kenilworth. They examine the walls, the stone bench, and other physical aspects of the site for what these ruins can tell the men about Kenilworth's role in history and the people who used to live there. They imagine what might have happened in the various platforms, chambers, and courtyards, always with an eye to historical accuracy. For

example, when Mr. Simpson imagines the wonderful food and drink that yeomen must have carried beneath the arch of the great banqueting hall of Henry III, Mr. Willoughton corrects him:

> I doubt whether by yeoman, for, though yeomen of the household are mentioned, about this time, yeomen of the guard, a part of whose office it afterwards became to carry certain dishes to the king's table, do not occur till the reign of Henry the Seventh. However, it is probable, that, before the appointment of the latter, yeomen of the household might perform this business on state occasions, and in that very hall may have stood before the long tables, in double row, with wine ewers in their hands. (1.17)

Willoughton's expertise on court practices extends to dating other objects that they come upon. Comparing the chimney they have found to the one they saw at Penshurst, Willoughton, again correcting Simpson, explains:

> that style was of a later date than the chimneys in English halls. It came in, I apprehend, with the castellated mansion, of which style is Penshurst, the more ancient part of the building at least. In the hall of the older castle, a chimney sloped back from the line of the wall into the thickness of it, and let out the smoke through a loop above. Thus, the raised hearth, on which the wood-fire blazed, projected into the chamber, and was sometimes overhung by a canopy of stone-work supported by pillars, that gave it a resemblance to a gothic porch, such as adorn some of our finest cathedrals. (1.44-5)

Lengthy descriptions such as these dot the preface as the two travelers continue through Kenilworth. Simpson and especially Willoughton constantly view the physical world

with an eye not just to the past, but also to an accurate dating and description of that past. The frequency and detail of these descriptions emphasize the importance of antiquarian reading methods within the preface.

During their tour, Willoughton and Simpson, helped by their local tour guide, encounter several artifacts that they, likewise, date, test for accuracy, and covet. The most important find, is, of course, the manuscript of the novel, which the local man once dug up from underneath the chapel while hoping to find treasure. He took out the manuscript and a few other books before burying the rest of the contents again. Willoughton laments that he can't now see the old letter seals, parchments, and other objects, but he also eagerly awaits his examination of the main text. Economic concerns play an important part in reading the manuscript, emphasizing the connection between antiquarian concerns and history's commodification.[13] The old man finds the manuscript but doesn't read it; he does understand its value as an artifact, however. Willoughton acquires the manuscript not by examining a secret cache of letters by candlelight, but by purchasing it with a handsome sum of money. As Paul Baines explains, the exchange value of British artifacts was an important part of the rising interest in antiquarianism during the eighteenth century: "Antiquarian knowledge and technique form a kind of 'meta-economy', intersecting with the dominant practice of acquisition and private study at the point of an object's reception, either in a collection or publication, and operating a privileged, retentive and sometimes fraudulent exchange of ideas" (36). Just as antiquarian acquisition can represent "knowledge itself taking an economic form" (46), so too does the exchange of Willoughton's manuscript in the novel transform knowledge from a secret or confessional revelation into an actual piece of history for sale. Radcliffe

emphasizes this economic aspect of the hidden manuscript device and in doing so, links the gothic object closely to the antiquarian concerns she develops throughout the novel.

Radcliffe first describes the manuscript in terms of its physical appearance as it might appear to one interested in the authenticity of an artifact. "It was written on vellulm, and richly illuminated, and purported to be an account of what passed at Kenilworth, when Henry the Third there kept the feast of Saint Michael, and of some wonderful accident that there befel" (1.49). They examine the title page, try to make out the date of the manuscript, and carefully try to read the old style of the language: "Willoughton turned over the leaves near the drawing; the language, the orthography and the characters were all so ancient, that he hesitated much. What he did make out, however, fixed his attention so deeply" (1.54). They also use the beautifully engraved pictures to help them make the connections between the ruins of the present and their imaginings of the past--imaginings that are based on evidence. The engravings rebuild the ruins to what Kenilworth would have looked like during Henry's reign. Using the crumbling manuscript as a kind of tour book, the men find the book also "gave vivid ideas of the customs and manners of that period, and were traced, with more knowledge of perspective and more attention to proportion, than Willoughton expected" (1.50). Unlike the local man who "reads" the book for the pictures because they are entertaining, Willoughton and Simpson examine the engravings for their use in adding to their knowledge of British history.[14] Using the manuscript in this way inevitably leads to a discussion of its authenticity. The cynical Simpson mocks both the manuscript and the local man's story of its discovery. The more knowledgeable Willoughton, however, has already examined this manuscript along with another manuscript they have found, the

Boke of Sprites, and finds them to be genuine based on the place of discovery, the method of their composition, and the context of other such finds:

> It does not seem probable that the old man should have invented the story he has related of the discovery of them; but, be that as it may, the books themselves announce their own genuine antiquity. The manuscript is laboriously illuminated, and it is well known, that such works were chiefly performed by the inhabitants of monasteries. The Boke of Sprites even was likely to have served the purposes of the monks. We know that the libraries of monasteries contained a most heterogeneous assemblage. . . . You may recollect, that Warton, in the interesting sketches of ancient manners which he gives in his History of English Poetry, mentions this very fully (1.61-62).

Additionally, Willoughton offers as proof of its authenticity the manuscript's departure from current popular opinion. Though in his day the times of Henry III are known for lawlessness, the manuscript depicts the time period differently, focusing on the feasts, justice and courtly manners of Henry's time (1.63). A forgery would most likely follow contemporary beliefs of the past; a genuine manuscript would not necessarily do so. Here, Willoughton addresses the concern of forgery by not only applying antiquarian methods but also by understanding the interrelation of public opinion and history writing, an intertwining that could potentially corrupt the understanding of the past just as a forged document could.

Set within this detailed and elaborate context of antiquarian activity and historical tourism, Radcliffe presents various views on how to read the past in general and England's history in particular. In the introduction, readers do not learn of the past from

the ruins and artifacts without the present-day mediation of the two travelers and their guide. Indeed, Radcliffe focuses less on the historical people and events brought to mind by the various artifacts or ruins than on the present-day debates about how to gather and interpret historical research. Willoughton demonstrates how to read the past sentimentally and imaginatively while basing such readings on facts; Simpson represents the impatient, less imaginative, and more cynical spectator who views ruins and antiquities merely as objects; the guide represents the common man possessing local historical knowledge but needing a mediator to determine truth from fable. As Radcliffe takes readers through Kenilworth, she not only offers a description of historical sites; she also suggests how to read them by privileging Willoughton's method. The other two do play a role, however, and sometimes serve to point out some of the problems with approaching historical sites as Willoughton does. In this heteroglossia of approaches toward and perspectives on reading historical sites and objects, then, Radcliffe presents historical epistemologies and evidence as up for discussion and vulnerable to personal bias. The debates and discussions contained within the preface serve to prepare readers for the novel that comes next, almost as if this introduction is meant to give them a short lesson on how to use artifacts and manuscripts to create a picture of the past. The "hidden manuscript" of Gaston de Blondeville, then, becomes more of an exercise in practicing antiquarian methods than, as in more traditional gothic novels, a revelation of a secret or an example of middle-aged barbarity.

Simpson and Willoughton are aware of their roles in the antiquarian project. Impatient with Willoughton's lengthy examinations and investigations, Simpson frets, "They talk of the patience of a painful antiquary; think what the patience of his friend

must be" (1.46). While Willoughton modestly objects that he has not the honor to deserve that title, he does admit, "I have all possible inclination to deserve the title, in its best sense" (1.47). Willoughton then expounds upon the importance of antiquarian study, preparing readers for his (and their) study of the manuscript. The true antiquary is one involved in

> cherishing those inquiries, which make us intimate with the characters and habits of our fellow creatures in past ages, which show them to us in their halls, their ceremonies, their tournaments, their banquets, their domestic usages and even in their monastic retirement. These picturesque visions, in which the imagination so much delights, and every discovery, however remote, awaken a peculiar kind of interest and of sentiment no less delightful, which render antiquity, of all studies, the least liable to the epithet of dry, though dull and dry people so liberally bestow it. Antiquity is one of the favourite regions of poetry. (1.47)

Disagreeing with Simpson's portrayal of the antiquary as a dry man pursuing details of his subject matter ad infinitum, Willoughton defines the antiquary as one not only interested in study, but also in imaginative experience and poetic expression. Indeed, throughout the introduction, Radcliffe portrays Willoughton as a sentimental man of feeling with poetic sensibilities. He imagines himself wandering through the woods of Shakespeare's Arden (1.3-6), and tears fill his eyes when he overhears some of the bard's stanzas sung by people in a passing barge (1.71). The landscape moves him deeply: "Willoughton, at least, was no less affected by the withered sinews and grey locks of this most forlorn and aged tree, which had itself become a ruin, while adorning another" (1.18). These same sentiments appear when perceiving Kenilworth's ruins. As he first

comes upon the ruins, Willoughton's impatience becomes "tempered with a gentle and luxurious melancholy" (1.12). Viewing the ruins often moves Willoughton's imagination, even such that poetry comes to mind: "To Willoughton's recollection this spectacle of the remains of ages past, now glimmering under the soft shadows of moonlight, brought those touching lines of Beattie--'Hail, awful scenes, that calm the troubled breast. . .'" (1.65). Willoughton's shifts in narrative style from recitation to inspiration separates the distinct ways of knowing even as they occur together. After straightforwardly listing several of the people who once lived at Kenilworth, scientifically noting that its domain "included a circuit of nearly twenty miles" and casually remarking that during the reign of James I the castle was valued at twenty thousand pounds (1.10-11), Willoughton experiences the scene with deep feeling:

> Recollections of the long and varied history of this castle, crowded upon the mind of Willoughton, and he looked out, with impatience for a glimpse of its mouldering gateways, in the sungleam, beneath the woods that now rose round him with majestic shade. . . . and, when he first caught a view of the grey walls and turrets oertopping the woods, lighted up by the evening sun, whose long beams, slanting now under the boughs, touched with a golden flush the bending trunk of many an old beech standing deep within the shade, he uttered a note of admiration and curiosity that discomposed Mr. Simpson, who immediately directed the postilion to make his way to the nearest gate. (1.31)

Willoughton expresses his emotional responses at the same time that he registers details of the actual historical events, further demonstrating how, for the proper reader of antiquities, both must come into play. Of the three men, Willoughton portrays a balance

of both antiquarian expertise and emotional response; his judgments and interpretations take up most of the space in the preface. That he is also the one who collects artifacts, has his historical facts straight, and ends up as the reader and translator of the novel points out Radcliffe's preference for his method.

Radcliffe sets up Mr. Simpson as a foil to Willoughton; many of Willoughton's opinions come forth in response to Simpson's. Simpson views the antiquarian and poetic projects as separate by definition. Unlike his friend, Simpson sees no use in connecting the two realms. In response to Willoughton's inclusion of antiquarian research in the realm of poetry, he states, "Nay, your woods and your meadows are the region for that. Who ever thought of looking for a muse in an old castle?" (1.47). Whereas Willoughton often uses the landscape or his historical discoveries to rise to poetic heights, Simpson mocks him and tries to hurry him on. Every once in a while, Simpson does demonstrate his own powers of imagination, such as above when he thinks about the banquet hall, but his pictures are incomplete and his facts usually are not accurate. Simpson's reactions stem in part from to his impatience to move on to the next stop on their tour rather than to remain and learn about and feel each place deeply. Simpson represents the amateur historical tourist who sees the sights merely to check them off his list of things to do. Not taking the time to learn from or be moved by the objects and places he encounters, Simpson lacks the proper motivation and poetic sensibility necessary for a true connections with the past as seen in Radcliffe's instructive introduction.

The old guide demonstrates the third method of reading historical evidence: listening to folklore and oral tales. Not able to read the letters of the manuscript, this man has contented himself with looking at the pictures. Indeed, he did not find this book due

to any antiquarian project but due to an accident that occurred while he was looking for treasure. The irony is that his disappointing find is in reality a treasure for Willoughton, who pays the guide well for it. While illiterate, this "aged historian", as he is called, does posses a considerable knowledge of the folklore surrounding the ruins and of the basic architectural design of the castle and its environs. Not valuing this type of knowledge, however, Simpson mocks the aged historian just as he mocks Willoughton. After hearing some of the strange stories of ghostly sightings, Simpson gives his friend, "a look of sly congratulation, on his having met with a person of taste seemingly so congenial with his own" (1.30). Not immediately dismissing the man's tales, however, Willoughton listens and discerns the kernels of truth contained within. He knows the difference between stories of the supernatural and those feelings which would make one seem to experience the supernatural. In this respect, Simpson has indeed found a kinship between the two men. The important difference, however, lies in Willoughton's expertise in reading the past and directing his feelings in the present. He allows for the effects historical knowledge can have on an individual, but he also locates these effects within the individual's imagination, not in any outside supernatural occurrence. Defending the old man without fully believing him, Willoughton reminds Simpson that "if you remain in this ruin, half an hour longer, till you can scarcely distinguish the walls, you will feel less inclined to laugh at Queen Elizabeth's ghost in a ruff and farthingale" (1.31). Later, while reading one of the manuscripts in his room, Willoughton himself feels the effects that reading or hearing about superstition and the marvelous can inspire:

> As he turned over the leaves, curious to see the thraldom of superstition to which the people of a remote age were liable, he often smiled at the artless absurdities he

> discovered, the clumsy inventions practised upon the fears of the ignorant by the venality of the monks. Yet he sometimes found his attention seized, in spite of himself, by the marvellous narratives before him; till, at length, he began to feel that he was alone, to recollect that it was past midnight, to observe that all around him was still as death; and gradually to think he might as well lay aside the "Boke of Sprites" till day-light should return and the world again sound busily around him. (1.74)

Willoughton's sensation, like his other transports at Kenilworth, resides in his imagination, and he is always aware that it is just that--a sensation. Radcliffe portrays Willoughton, then, as a kind of arbiter of the facts, like the schoolmaster to whom the old man first brought the book in order to validate or deny the truth of the tales within (1.35). In portraying the "aged historian" as she does, Radcliffe implies the need for a certain degree of professional expertise in order to accurately sift out the past and its meaning. While imagination and the ability to feel strong emotion at the site of ruins and the surrounding landscape are important parts of reading the past, they must not interfere with the facts and evidence as they sometimes do for the "aged historian."

The preface is, moreover, full of facts about people and events in history associated with Kenilworth. We learn about Cromwell's invasion of the monasteries, Edward the Second's imprisonment in Mortimer's Tower, and Queen Elizabeth's execution of Queen Mary. A history of Kenilworth and its inhabitants appears at the beginning and is elaborated upon throughout the introduction. Again, the expert Willoughton uses every opportunity to make connections between site and fact. Through

him, readers learn English history as well as how to react to that history aided by sentimentalism and poetic imagination.

There are also certain places in the preface where one cannot forget the violence of the past, no matter how decorous and inspiring the ruins might be. Radcliffe marks these places by surrounding them with supernatural moments that serve to draw attention to these sites of conflict. While no actual supernatural events occur in the preface, Willoughton, through his imaginative sensibilities, and the aged historian, through his connections to local folklore, call up images of ghosts and gloom. Inevitably, these images are linked to spaces and moments of British political conflict. Kenilworth's hauntings provide not only specific commentary about past English politics but also, due to their rupturing of the largely dry and descriptive preface, prevent the smooth and simple historical tour of the ruins so desired by Simpson. British history, and its artifacts and ruins, do not always contribute to the myth of British unity espoused by modern Enlightenment historiography. Instead, as these moments in the introduction show, conflicts from within the nation-state are not so easily covered over. The choice to use the supernatural and, often, to nervously laugh it off allows Radcliffe to emphasize these moments. With no foreign Other against which to define Britishness, the introduction shows the insecurity involved in looking back on Britain's own past to support nationalist ideals of unity and progress. Thinking of, talking about, and mocking supernatural feelings and occurrences serve to distract the characters from the real fears and conflicts these ruins might otherwise inspire. Radcliffe thus adds an under-layer of instability even as she creates the ideal reader of antiquities in Willoughton.

Willoughton examines historical events and persons mainly in terms of how they fit in with eighteenth-century sentimental standards; thus, the facts are often followed by or interwoven with commentary on the lessons of the ruins and artifacts before the men. On viewing and learning the history of a place called Queen Elizabeth's Turret, known for its frequent visitations by the Queen's ghost, Willoughton and Simpson enter into a dialogue about the Queen. Willoughton, the man of feeling who has found great pleasure in everything from a dead tree to a view of the castle towers finds "no pleasure in remembering Elizabeth"; indeed, "she inspires me only with aversion and horror" (1.29). The practical Simpson calls her "the wisest princess that ever reigned," but Willoughton argues that "her wisdom partook too much of craft, and her policy of treachery; and her cruelty to poor Mary is a bloody hand in her escutcheon, that will for ever haunt the memory of her" (29). Typical of eighteenth-century idolizations of the persecuted heroine Mary Queen of Scots, Willoughton's preference for the tear-inspiring victim marks his cultural discernment. The representation of past tyranny in direct opposition to traditional national readings of this great queen, Elizabeth's ghost haunts the scene in many places and touches the imaginations of Willoughton, the villagers, and even Simpson. The tendency of emotions to transform into frightening supernatural intimations happens often in this introduction and marks the man of feeling's sense of past wrongs, wrongs not committed by any outside enemy but from corruption within. Aesthetic and imaginative readings of England's past proffered by Willoughton, rather than the purely logical and factual readings of Simpson, make one more likely to know and, more importantly, to *feel* such historical horrors. Radcliffe marks this scene with the ghost figure in order to highlight it as a site of past violence. The ghost also serves as a

symbol frequently employed by Radcliffe to mark a ruin's interpretive space as conflicted and shifting, as her characters assign different evidence and analysis to their history-making and reading of that locale.

Similarly, when discussing Cromwell and his destruction of historically important sites, Willoughton states, "What had the venerable scenes of Kenilworth to do with politics, or freedom? But thus it is; if even the leaders in political agitations have a better taste themselves than to destroy, for the mere sake of destruction, they let the envy and malice of their followers rage away against whatsoever is beautiful, or grand" (1.25-6).[15] Here he speaks of the English Revolution and Interregnum primarily in terms of taste, juxtaposing sentiment against politics. Emotional and imaginative reading of the past leads not just to a general sorrow over things past, but to a more focused mourning also over things destroyed due to specific and distinct political agitation. Indeed, the one necessarily follows the other. In this example of past oppression viewed through the aesthetic lens, Willoughton deflates belief in the grand sweep of history's progress by describing how the English Revolution took the nation backward, even to the days when such ruins were standing. His words mark more than simply a longing for the olden days; because he uses the present tense of what "thus is", he implies that this could happen again--it is not something that the English have "grown out of." Given the context of the French and American Revolutions, this possible recurrence is a frightening prospect indeed. Ruins like these emphasize that the "barbarous and uncivilized past" does not necessarily exist separate from the present's political conflicts. Indeed, the very appearance of such ruins serves as a reminder that these present conflicts exist, especially

given the frequency with which eighteenth-century historians and writers were drawing parallels between current political conflict and that of the 1640s and 50s (Hill 50-51).

When the men encounter such reminders of historical conflict, Radcliffe depicts a process that Willoughton goes through in order to deal with the uneasy memories these reminders bring up. This process, which involves a movement from historical fact to otherworldly intrusion to poetic sentiment, covers up a real fear about facing England's past. The supernatural occurrence, with its use of vivid language and immediate links to terror draws attention to the underlying insecurities of historical reading. One of these instances where a supernatural experience surrounds the retelling of the past occurs when the men visit ruins where the hall would have stood. Speaking on the history of the castle, Willoughton states, "A great part of the castle which then existed, is now gone; and much that we look at, stands in its place; but that noble hall, and Caesar's tower and several other towers, such as those where the moonlight falls, beheld the very court of Henry the Third, ay, and Montfort, on whom he had bestowed Kenilworth, and who added in gratitude to treason, by holding the fortress against his benefactor and liege lord" (1.63-4). Immediately after his historical recitation, gloom and fear descend upon them.

> The pauses of solemn stillness, that followed these sighings of air among the old branches, were very solemn, and the sound itself--so still, uncertain, and sudden, Willoughton could have fancied to have been the warning murmurs of one, who, in his mortal-state, had lived within these walls, and now haunted the scene where it had once reveled, or, perhaps, suffered. It seemed like a voice imperfectly

uttering forth some dark prophecy, and telling of the illusion of life and the certainty of death. (1.64-5)

The scene next inspires Willoughton to turn to poetry for consolation and distraction, reflecting on "those touching lines of Beattie" (1.65), before moving on.

Soon after, the aged guide tells the men, in a quivering voice, that they are standing on the very site where Mortimer's tower stood, the place where, Willoughton remembers, "the unhappy Edward the Second was, for a while, imprisoned, before he was removed to Corfe and Berkeley Castles, his last abodes" (1.66). This time both the guide and the disbelieving Simpson become fearful as the guide tells the men about Edward's spectre who is sometimes seen there with a mask upon his face and a drawn sword. Willoughton uses Simpson's rare moment of vulnerability to congratulate Simpson on proving his point about the powerful effects "of solitude and obscurity on the imagination" (1.67). In both these examples, Willoughton moves from recitation of historical fact to gloomy forebodings of supernatural presences to the consolations of his own imagination which calls up and then disperses these frightening images. He effectively turns his attention away from a historical moment of betrayal within the English monarchy and instead creates an aesthetic experience from it. While this serves to discredit the actual existence of the supernatural, something Radcliffe is known for doing, it also serves to underline the fear and foreboding lying beneath the surface. At sites not marked by betrayal of a monarch or courtier, Willoughton's imagination directly leads him to contemplate the ruins in the role of either an antiquarian or a man with poetic sensibilities. In the places of past political conflict, fear in the form of gloomy spectres and visions interrupts this pathway.

The instigator of these ghostly visions, the aged historian holds a special place in Radcliffe's examination of the different approaches to history and the class bias associated with them. The aged historian becomes the source of supernatural tales and the destabilizing force of the underclass with a folk memory that does not allow the mainstream patriotic narrative to cover up Britain's religious and political infighting. He continually interrupts Simpson and prevents his smooth progress through the ruins and the history they represent; likewise, he surprises Willoughton while he is enjoying his poetic reveries. He also transforms Willoughton's sentimental reactions to history by making them include superstition and gothic chills. Again, he brings forth his ghost stories in very specific places, like Queen Elizabeth's turret or the haunted tower, all of which are associated with political and/or religious crisis. While Willoughton displays the appropriate reactions of interest and feeling to the visiting and contemplation of historically famous ruins and while he possesses the antiquarian knowledge to process those sites objectively and accurately, the aged historian locates that knowledge within the local physical and political landscape. He owns the coveted book, he holds the on-site answers to the travelers' specific questions, and he remembers the horrors of the past's "troublesome times" (1.39), encapsulated in folklore, which firmly links the fearful feelings associated with superstition to the site of actual historical conflict. In addition to being the character most moved by the past's terror, he passes these stories on and adds a different kind of knowledge and collection of remembrances to Willoughton's arsenal of official historical and archival knowledge. Using the aged historian as an important resource, then, Radcliffe upholds Willoughton's ways of reading the past at the same time that she allows the more excluded historical discourses--folklore, local history, oral

transmission--to play a role as well. Not surprisingly, she also initiates her most vivid critical portrayals of certain political events via a lower-class character whose type of historical knowledge, with its connections to folklore and personal experience, was falling by the wayside during the rise of traditional Enlightenment historiography with its focus on grand political events and a rational, linear narrative. Existing in a peripheral space because of his age, class, and education, the aged historian with his approach to historical discourse repeatedly interrupts the tourists' ordinary visit to ruins and has the ability to transform the way that Willougton looks at history. Empowering the aged historian through his very connection to the uncanny parts of history, Radcliffe portrays his methods as a necessary addition to Willoughton's experience of the sentimental, poetic, and factual aspects of historical and antiquarian reading. Through Willoughton, who possesses the imaginative ability as well as the antiquarian's discernment to blend these different historical epistemologies, this local man's supernatural stories which highlight political and religious conflict in English history bleed into the larger traditional narrative of Kenilworth's history.

The Court of Henry III Keeping Festival in Ardenne

After introducing readers to amateur antiquarian activity and its relationship to historical transmission, Radcliffe begins the novel proper. Issues already brought up in the preface--ways of reading different kinds of historical discourse and artifacts, questions about formulating an English national heritage, and means of criticizing England's own rulers, politics, and power hierarchies--develop more fully in the novel. Radcliffe links the preface's concern about dating and quantifying the past to the novel

by including numerous, lengthy passages of antiquarian examination and description such that, like the preface, it can often read like a catalogue. Throughout the novel, she relies on different kinds of historical evidence and discourse, including tapestries, songs and pageants, to portray history, both of King Henry's time and of what would constitute the past in that time period. Quite often, these alternate forms of history tell the "real truth," directly confuting historical narratives proffered by those in power; indeed, their very position as outsider "narratives" lends them the necessary vantage point from which to critique both the dominant historical narratives and the politics of those who benefit from them. For, Radcliffe includes in this novel direct critiques of King Henry and other major historical figures as well as the political strategies adopted by them. One of the most significant and frequent techniques Radcliffe utilizes in her critiques is gothic machinery. Supernatural appearances highlight cultural conflicts, gaps in historical truth, and the failings of the monarchy within England. While the appearances of ghosts save the day, they serve to highlight how, without these interventions, abuses of power would continue unchecked and unwritten. The trope of the ghost which figures prominently in the novel becomes a symbol of the categorical liminality between the English and Welsh or French and highlights through its uncanny presence how Englishness cannot be separated from these other cultures. Concerns about national identity occur throughout the novel, but an easy self-definition of Englishness through portraying England's opposition to France or Wales cannot occur because of the continual blending of opposites that occurs throughout Gaston. Again, the use of gothic characteristics makes this possible. Blending concerns about historical evidence and discourse with gothic trappings allows Radcliffe to transform a supernatural novel into a "gothified history"

directly concerned with debates about power structures surrounding historical discourse and the national narratives contained within them.

The three-volume Gaston de Blondeville opens with the pageantry surrounding King Henry III's arrival at Kenilworth. As the King enters the gates, a stranger pushes his way through the crowds to demand justice for the robbery and murder of his kinsman in the woods of Arden. The man, Hugh Woodreeve, a merchant of Bristol, accuses the King's favorite, Gaston de Blondeville, a French knight who gained his position in the English Court due to his service in the King's dominions overseas. Shocked at the accusation, the King orders the merchant to remain in a prison cell until such time that the truth may come forth, and he reassures Gaston of his continued favor. Meanwhile, the Court prepares for the upcoming marriage celebration of Gaston and the Lady Barbara. Nightly feasts, songs, and pageants entertain the courtiers, but some of the diversions foreshadow trouble to come. At the wedding ceremony, a mysterious ghost-knight appears in the chapel, nearly preventing the marriage. The ghost appears again at the wedding feast. After a play about the Crusades that also relates the merchant's tale of his murdered kinsman, Reginald de Folville, the ghost appears again and points his accusing sword at Gaston. Disturbed by these mysterious appearances, the King again summons the merchant to tell his tale and arranges for messengers to go forth checking his story. Influenced and deceived by the Prior and other advisors, the King concludes that the merchant has unjustly accused Gaston and recommits him to his cell. The Prior and Gaston plot to steal away the merchant and murder him quietly, lest the King change his mind about the man's guilt.

The festivities at Kenilworth continue during the next two days while the Archbishop, who supports the merchant's claim, repairs to Coventry to check on the Prior's claim. Seizing the opportunity, the Prior sneaks into the merchant's cell, telling Woodreeve he is there to rescue him. After some suspicion and resistance, the merchant reluctantly agrees. It soon appears clear, though, that he is in mortal danger and that the Prior bears a strange resemblance to one of the robbers who killed de Folville. Only the ghost's reappearance saves him from the Prior's dagger. The merchant then seeks sanctuary in the Priory's chapel and discovers a mysterious necklace around the Prior's neck that belonged to his kinsman. By means of a hidden device, the necklace shows varying pictures of de Folville and his wife. The Prior uses this as evidence of the merchant's unnatural magic to hide his crimes, and the King, persuaded of the merchant's guilt, condemns him to death. The next day at an international jousting tournament, the mysterious knight again appears and, this time, kills the Baron de Blondeville. Later that night, the Baron's sword appears and drips blood before his ghostly eyes. The mysterious knight's ghost appears again, ordering the King to release the innocent man. Gaston's ghost follows and confirms his own guilt. Rushing to the Priory, the King finds the Prior dead of unknown causes. The knight's ghost points out de Folville's hidden grave; upon exhumation, the corpse displays the very death wound described by the merchant before crumbling into dust. The merchant is freed and sent back to his guild with gifts. With the grieving Lady Barbara, the King's company departs Kenilworth the next day.

The Antiquarian Narrator

Gaston de Blondeville contains numerous and lengthy passages of antiquarian and historical interest. These passages change the tone of the romance and interrupt the novel's progress, making noticeable the disjointedness of these two forms coming together. While one might look at this as a structural flaw, this strategy of including a distinctly antiquarian voice that insists on painstaking detail, repeated examples, and ample evidence serves to preclude the overarching narrative from continuing uninterrupted. Aside from the fact that they appear in the textual world of the novel, most of these passages exist separately from any explanation or appropriation into the larger whole. Footnotes and endnotes further document the existence, purpose, and uses of the discrete objects listed throughout these passages and lend to the novel's appearance as an annalistic repository. For example, when depicting a tapestry of the fall of Troy, the note which follows states that the "'Tale of Troy' appears to have been a very favorite subject in ancient tapestry. It occurs often in old castles, and is mentioned twice in this 'Trew Chronique,' as adorning the walls of stately chambers" (1.162). Notes like these and the similarly depicted objects, chambers, and artifacts throughout novel contribute to a more specific purpose than mere description; instead, they become intimately involved in a strategy of gathering, dating, detailing, and evidencing--the activities of the antiquarian.

Many of the objects Radcliffe outlines have to do with the culture's everyday activities of eating, dressing, etc. as seen through the objects of the period. During the dinners and meals, readers repeatedly hear of the gold and silver cups and spiceplates, the splendid cupboards, the silver lights, the designs of the chamber and the surrounding

architecture, all of which are reinforced as authentic by the notes which date the objects or sights, link them to other sources, and explain in more detail the customs surrounding them.[16] Even within the world of the novel, artifacts for the characters to see dot the landscape and the castle. In the great gallery stand figures of armor surrounded by weapons. "Amongst these was one shape of black steel, larger than the rest and higher by the head; said to have been the very harness worn by the King's great uncle, Richard the Lion, in some battle in Palestine" (1.25). The chapel in the castle houses the bones of Geoffrey de Clinton (2.8-9), described, surprisingly for a gothic novel, not in a terror-inducing way but in terms of their historical value. Setting up this context, Radcliffe demonstrates her knowledge antiquarian activity, placing her concerns as a female author outside the typical domestic politics of her other more canonical gothic novels. She also clearly marks the subject matter against which she will craft her gothic romance; this time the typical gothic conventions will be put to use against power structures involved in history making rather than patriarchal hierarchies dominating the domestic sphere.

Radcliffe's narrator also interrupts the novel to include discussion about history making and its uses. As shown above, Radcliffe includes several different forms of historical representation--tapestries, dining utensils, armor, etc. Through her narrator, she adds to this inclusive practice instructions on how to view history, similar to the lessons provided in the novel's preface. At the beginning of the novel, she uses the symbol of the Roman aqueduct to call attention to the necessarily ruptured and incomplete narrative in any history. Beginning the history with the King's procession to Kenilworth, the narrator attempts several times to give readers a full account of the sight, finally saying that readers could get a picture of the whole by using their imagination to fill in the gaps "like

as you may the broken lines of the great aqueduct, stretching over the plains of our dear father of Rome; which, as we perceive its distant points athwart those solitudes, we connect in our minds into one great whole, grander in its sweep than it might have shown when it stood complete" (1.80-81). That she chooses a metaphor of ruin and fragmentation needing the imagination to complete it recalls the process outlined in the preface through Willoughton where the individual reader's imagination plays an important role in creating a historical reading. Rather than serving as a one-way transmission of knowledge to the reader, history becomes a dialectical process, a process seen repeatedly in the novel. For example, the artists at the festival use their imagination to add to their own reading of history and then present the whole to a new audience. The monk-narrator includes certain details in order that they "may tell what might be seen in the King's court, at this time" (2.7), serving as examples and evidence from which the reader might draw a larger picture. In the middle of the novel, Radcliffe breaks in with a short interlude where readers can see Willoughton reacting to the history, drawing parallels to the ruins he sees out his windows, and using his imagination to bring scenes to life (2.107). Radcliffe and her narrator present the history in this novel at the same time that they point out through the examples of their characters how reading history is necessarily an act involving the imagination and personal reaction to fill in the openings of recorded history.

Radcliffe also makes evident the narrator's own process of gathering information from first-hand accounts and organizing them into his narrative, a process that further emphasizes his role as antiquarian and gatherer of historical knowledge. He explains his reasoning behind what he includes (2.256-7; 2.352). Sometimes he describes an event

which "was reported by those present" (2.139), highlighting the difference between the narrator's authority and others' first-person knowledge, upon which he depends. When describing the merchant's trial that finally occurs near the end of the novel, he explains, "We vouch not for the truth of all here told; we only repeat what others have said and their selves credited" (2.257). Besides showing the sometimes dubious nature of his sources' accuracy, the narrator's interruptions highlight his bias as well as how it affects his source material. He reminds readers that the Prior was no true son of the Church, which he knew all along (3.40) and adds as asides some bits about his own order and his own time (2.13; 2.54). He quotes from a source, the venerable monk of St. Albans, to support his own opinion about the King's wasteful extravagance (2.30). He also slips in some opinions of his own time, inspired by the events he narrates. For example, after quoting from the monk of St. Albans, he adds, "But what would such have said, had they lived now, in our King Richard's days; who, the second of his name, is first in every kind of new extravagance, the like of which was never seen afore, and what it may end in, there is no one that dare yet say. But now, to go back to the past King Henry. . ." (2.30). Using the word "our" invites audience participation to link the past to their shared present. In a similar instance, he brings up another criticism of the traitor brought up in the preface, Simon de Montfort. After pointing out how many favors the King showered upon the man, he adds, "how worthily it needs not for this history to declare, since it is known to all, that he armed this very fortress against his King and benefactor" (2.353). Here, the narrator brings in the audience, assuming they share a common knowledge with him and again emphasizing the dialectic nature of this history: because he and they all know about the Earl's deeds, there is no need to discuss it any further in the history. He

does bring it up, though, in effect urging readers to fill in the blank with their own knowledge, hearkening to lessons of Willoughton and the aqueduct--that imagination is necessary to complete the gaps in the historical record. In addition to providing Radcliffe with a venue in which to include political opinion, comments such as these make more transparent the process of writing history, along with the idiosyncrasies that accompany it. Such interruptions highlight Radcliffe's concern with exploring historiography, not simply with creating a novel with an interesting context.

This goal becomes especially evident in her narrator's comments regarding the historian's power. After interrupting the novel for another monkish comment, he says, "But now I must return, and so must ye that hear, or read" (1.176). Comparing himself to the novel's artists and their talents, he numbers himself among them, though in a different way. "But those do so who can. Some are famous one way, some another; for mine own part, I must be circumstantial, or else nothing, as this 'Trew Chronique' in due time must show" (1.141). Aware of his readers, his control over the text which they read, and the potential for future fame as his history lives on, the narrator also compares his written history to the novel's artworks, many of them historical, to emphasize how his historical contribution is based on facts and events. The supernatural events, the frequent attention drawn to his reliance on second-hand information, and the numerous opinions he slips into the history belie this claim to be so separate from the other historical creations. The binary the narrator sets up between factual document and artistic creation does not hold up in the novel, where the two forms constantly intermingle. The question of fictionality that Radcliffe foregrounds in her preface applies as much to the monk's narrative as to such forms of historical discourse as ballads and folk tales.

Gothic History as Entertainment

Like the pageants in Gaston de Blondeville which envelope history and political dissension with entertaining fictions, so too does Radcliffe's novel as a whole include commentary on England's history and on the process of historiography by offering it side by side with ample chills and supernatural appearances. With mummers, magic charms, banditti in the woods, midnight escapes through gloomy subterranean passages, ghostly swords and armor covered in blood, threats of torture, ghostly visitations, and other staples of gothic fiction, Gaston is as much a gothic novel as it is a historical novel. Like the minstrel's songs at Kenilworth, these entertaining characteristics allow for the dissemination of Radcliffe's subversive ideology even as they draw attention away from such transgressions by means of their heightened emotional effects.[17] Through its immateriality, the ghost figure that appears several times in the novel throws into question boundaries separating past from present, French from English, reading from creating. Moments during which characters come face to face with the supernatural are also moments during which they must face their own fears regarding cultural difference and unstable English identity. Throughout Gaston, gothic moments such as these rupture the text, such that a novel already disunited by antiquarian cataloguing and conflicting historical depictions continually deconstructs itself. This is a move Radcliffe repeats in her other novels, as Scott Mackenzie argues, where she examines gender and power dynamics. Mackenzie finds that Radcliffe's continual use of lacunae, "hidden and missing elements which both drive the narrative, and determine its overall shape" defines her narrative structure as one that "deliberately sets up its first reading as qualitatively

different from any subsequent re-readings" (4). Gothic techniques help Radcliffe to create narrative spaces that double-signify and allow the text to both hide and reveal, to both create and destroy, to both provide explanation and destabilize it. "Radcliffe's deliberately fissured narrative style is important because of its capacity to accommodate nominally separate discursive spheres within its figural range. The spaces opened by her lacunae multiply the valences of the narrative so that political, national, and oppositional voices can be heard playing through it" (5). That Radcliffe uses this narrative style within a novel masquerading as English history has special ramifications for understanding Radcliffe's use of the supernatural.

One of the most significant ways in which Radcliffe departs from traditional Enlightenment histories is through her inclusion of non-literary histories, like tapestries, pageants and songs. The narrator-monk incorporates them into his document as historical evidence, and the characters themselves show a great fascination with these forms, as seen in the number of historical tapestries hanging in the castle, the many songs relating historical events which the courtiers listen to as part of each evening's entertainment, and the pageants which bring history to life.[18] The non-traditional forms of historical representation in the world of King Henry are read as histories and are valued specifically for their historical subjects. Time and again, they capture the audience's rapt attention.

The novel depicts some forms that are sanctioned as official history and are presented as such in the world of King Henry. For example, in the great hall hangs a massive tapestry

> which setteth forth the story of our famous King Richard, Cœur de Lion, his deeds in Palestine; and be it remembered, that King Henry loved nothing better

than to see on his walls the noble achievements of his ancestors and others, as the Queen's chamber here at Kenilworth showeth, where he had caused to be pictured forth, Merlin, King of Britain, and his three sons; the sailing of William from Normandy; the submission of Griffin ap Conan to Henry the First, and several other things. (2.23-4)

Notably, these tapestries don't simply depict any historical event; the histories the King privileges by displaying in the above tapestries relate to England's historical conquests: King Richard's Crusades, William the Conqueror's invasion of England, etc. While not written historical documents, under the power of the King these tapestries hold a privileged position as historical discourse and are specifically related to the heroic deeds of English rulers. These visual displays of English power in which the King both physically and historically situates himself align historical depiction firmly with a national identity based on conquest and appropriation. They also form a backdrop for the specific inter- and intra-cultural conflicts involving Wales and France that occur later in the novel. Monuments to heroic Englishness, these tapestries chosen by the King within the monk's "Trew Chronique" give witness to the way some histories are selected and celebrated according to the ruler's desire, approval, and definition of nation.

On the other hand, the novel's non-traditional and non-sanctioned histories portray the past from a more ordinary point of view and usually provide the real truth about the past's events as they come up for debate in the novel. These different forms of history, like the pageant and folk song, that Radcliffe includes and favors as more truthful than royally sanctioned forms are all associated with the supernatural. They interrupt the larger narrative with their ability to stimulate uneasiness on a number of levels. In

addition to casting gloom upon the revelries at Kenilworth and antagonizing Gaston's guilty conscience, they open up spaces of unknowing, into which Radcliffe injects conflicting historiographical and epistemological discourses. These liminal spaces in the narrative, sites made up of different kinds of historical composition existing at the same time, also allow Radcliffe to examine English history from within the narrative structure.

One of the more important examples of a non-sanctioned history taking precedence in the novel appears in the form of a song performed one evening about a man going on the Crusades and leaving his wife behind, a song which brings tears to the eyes of all (2.70-80). The minstrels craft a tale so moving and full of historical details that the royal guests are suddenly surprised when their evening's entertainment becomes a cause for uneasiness. In the beginning, the pageant depicting the Crusades appears so lifelike that the King exclaims, "Who is there, would not think that show were living truth?" (2.73-4). The pageant includes battles with the Saracens, scenery from the battlefield, and authentic weaponry, appearing seemingly out of nowhere (and all described in antiquarian detail by the narrator). Indeed, the King associates the mysterious appearance and disappearance of the historic scenes with some sort of Eastern magic summoned up for his entertainment. Once it has involved the audience in the story, the pageant takes a different turn and depicts the heroic man once more arriving home, only to be murdered by robbers on English soil. Startlingly similar to the merchant's tale of his kinsman's death, the night's entertainment does indeed show "the living truth," but not the truth the king expects or accepts. Framed by outside appearances of the ghost in armor, which only add to the spectacle, this pageant connects personal history with the past's larger political movements in order to gain entrance; then

it reasserts justice and corrects inaccurate depictions of the past. History-as-entertainment becomes history-as-transformative force, disputing the King's judgment about what happened to the merchant's kinsman and re-asserting the importance of the ordinary individual within history. Gaston trembles at the spectacle. The King becomes disordered. He expected the character of King Richard I to appear as usual in the familiar scene; instead, the play highlights an unknown man who participates in the Crusades and tells a tale not exactly flattering to the King's taste for English heroic superiority in its depiction of Englishmen fighting against Englishmen. In a symbolic move, this pageant also transforms, through the supernatural, conquest from without, as represented by the Crusades, to conflict from within, one Englishman killing another. This move parallels the novel's strategy of looking at English disunity within the homeland.

This pageant is only one of several that invoke the merchant's murdered kinsman, some more historically factual than others, and all with similar disrupting effects on the King and his courtiers. That the minstrels, artists and jongleurs create history as art emphasizes the very artfulness of historical representation. For example, later in the novel, the narrator reminds readers how Gaston recognized his infamous deeds contained within a ballad Pierre sang in the Queen's bower (1.148-171). In doing so, the narrator highlights the tenuous boundary between fiction and history. Though the ballad involves mysteriously appearing drops of blood which mark the villain, a lady's portrait which comes to life to condemn the man, and a hound who relentlessly follows the guilty knight and mauls him to death, it faithfully recreates the scene of the kinsman's murder and warns of justice yet to come. Characters and the narrator reflect on this intertwining of historical and fictional representations. The narrator notes that the minstrel Pierre knew

the real story behind the song he sang and "darkly told it on his harp, enwrapping and disguising truth with fiction. There the Baron de Blondeville had heard it, and he alone knew how to separate one from the other; he had heard it, and with such consternation, that he stayed not in the bower to inquire how Pierre drew the line between them" (2.394). In another instance a French Poetess gives the King a book of histories which "were not all true, nathless she had said to the contrary in the preamble to her book" (2.110-11), and which immediately bring up the concern of historical forgeries and the authority of the historian--including the historian compiling this "Trew Chronique." In her song about a famous knight in France, she, too, tells symbolically the real history of the merchant's kinsman; the song's troubling effect is demonstrated by questions that arise as to its authenticity after the song's ending. The narrator wonders if Gaston's fiancée will heed the tale's obvious warning against marrying a villain, "but most surely some ladies would not; for, they scrupled not to take pains to say, that this was one of those lays of Maria, which were not true. They would not give it credence for a moment" (2.114). Whether true or not, this ballad echoes the other songs and pageants in the novel and again causes consternation among the royal audience, particularly as they wonder if this is true history or not and, notwithstanding their uncertainty, firmly deny its importance due to its uncanny effects. All forms of history in this novel are somehow linked to artistic creation--the tapestries, the songs, the pageants, even the narrator's chronicle. That the ones most blatantly unrealistic with their inclusion of ghosts and other supernatural effects are the ones that tell the real story flips reader expectations as to fiction and history, emphasizing how the one is involved in the other and belying the claim to historical objectivity based on logical evidence.

The ballads and pageants in their various interconnected forms all have a way of contradicting dominant versions of history even as they make use of some of its subject matter. The characters' appropriation of and desire for history as entertainment is key to this dynamic. Their entertainment value allows these alternate histories entrance into the Court; once there, the song or pageant disturbs the royal audience and disrupts their complacent acceptance of the King's judgment of events and his decrees as to their significance. As each performance declines from chivalrous portrayal of historical events into the reminder of the recent past injustice, the King and certain members of his household become more and more angry, seeing the oppositional design behind them. Sometimes the histories are fictional in the way they are presented to the royalty, yet even within their fictionality, these songs and pageants hold more truth in the novel than those "histories" accepted by the king and his ministers. In other words, the interpretation of past events accepted as true by the dominant group, represented by the King's authority, can be disqualified or at least shaken by those interpretations from another, less-powerful group, represented by the merchant and his sympathizers. That each group relies on a different method of depicting and interpreting the past highlights the inherent power dynamics behind favoring one method over another. Allowing these different methods of historical transmission veracity and importance, Radcliffe questions whether one form of historical discourse, particularly one sanctioned by those in power, can tell the whole truth; in doing so, she reinscribes the importance of lesser forms of historical evidence, those of craft and folklore, which have their own truth to contribute. Her own "history" in the form of the novel includes these different kinds of historical representation. The novel as a whole, with its combination of historical and gothic, plays under the same

dynamic where entertaining subject matter in the form of gothic romance combines with historical and political content such that subversion of the historical conventions the novel portrays slips into the reader's consciousness.

To Critique a King

In her larger gothic novel, Radcliffe combines critiques of King Henry and his politics with a gothic romance which itself could be valued as mere entertainment and antiquarian curiosity. She thus acts out on a macro level what the alternate forms of history within the novel accomplish. Through her narrator's words as well as the characters and events she constructs, Radcliffe includes political commentary on the power of the monarchy, various policies from past governments, and the importance of character for political leaders, all the while using gothic conventions to draw these issues in darker terms. By no means is the King portrayed as a tyrant or villain, as in other gothic novels, yet his powerful position can have dangerous impact on his subjects even when he believes he is acting justly. Examining Radcliffe's portrayal of individual and institutional power in her novels, Kim Ian Michasiw argues that Radcliffe's writings in general show a concern about how private emotions overlap with public deeds, leading up to a "paranoid fantasy about the personal basis of power, a fantasy which Radcliffe's novels finally decompose" (329). Similarly, I argue that throughout Gaston, a number of passages appear where Radcliffe critiques the combination of institutional power and personal weakness in the figure of King Henry. Radcliffe voices this critique mainly in terms of character, a major concern in the eighteenth-century's portrayal of historical

figures, and in terms of education, a subject concerning much of the historical discourse written by women.

The King's emotions and misjudgment of character leave him vulnerable to false ministers as well as his own misguided inclinations. Radcliffe links these weaknesses specifically with the King's inadequate education, weakness of mind, and bias toward those he favors. The novel's narrator-monk explains directly the danger of combining power with ignorance in his portrayal of the King "who now, with the intention, as he persuaded himself, of preventing further evil, was about to execute an act of injustice and stern cruelty. And thus it is, if kingly power pertain to a weak head, not carefully warned by early instructions against the dangers, which must beset all power, whether public or private, whether in Prince or subject" (3.392). As the narrator states, the King's people who were more aware of this than the King himself and who knew that "the King's heart was good, in many respects" all lament his "weaknesses, and that his passions too often carried him away" (2.18). When the merchant first accuses Gaston as his kinsman's murderer, the King is surprised that one of his own favorites could be accused (1.113), and, noting the merchant's lower-class background, dismisses him as a man without name and therefore without a claim against a courtier the king has chosen as his own (1.125). As the narrator explains, the merchant's danger arises

> not from any indifference of the King to do what was right, but from the want of steadiness in his mind, and from that mis-directed kindness of heart, which made even a suspicion of guilt in one he had esteemed and trusted so painful, that a conviction of it seemed not to be endured. It is well-known, that a weak mind, rather than have such a suffering, will turn aside, and take shelter in willing

> credulity to its first opinion; a strong one, meeting the worst at once, will proceed straight forward, and, freeing itself from any uncertainty, will do both that, which is just towards others, and, in the end, best for its own ease. Which of these ways King Henry took will be more fully set forth hereafter. (2.156)

Throughout the novel, as more and more evidence mounts against the King's favorite, he continues in his determination to disbelieve the merchant and only changes his opinion after multiple supernatural interferences and the Baron's death. His courtiers lament his favoritism to foreigners (2.251), and the narrator often notes how the King is misguided by the wrong advisors: "it was ever his weakness to be ruled by those nearest at hand rather than by fixed principles either of his own, or of those wiser in council than himself" (2.246), and he was "often baffled by his humours and by the arts of cunning men" (2.273). In her history of King Henry and his days at Kenilworth, Radcliffe pays much attention to his character and its relationship to the way he carries out his power. While her history does focus on the lives of great men, it also includes outsiders and lower class subjects, and gives them voice as to the results and causes of corruption. The people's opinions regarding instances of the King's weaknesses and ineptitude remind readers that these criticisms are not just localized but part of a larger movement where individual subjects examine the King's actions and character. Examination of character opens up the history for interpretation by individuals, both inside and outside the novel.

Radcliffe critiques King Henry not only in terms of character and the use of kingly power, but also in terms of related specific laws and policies that, through the narrator, represent Radcliffe's interaction with and commentary on history even as she writes it. When the King can't believe that a robbery such as the one that the merchant

claims befell his kinsman de Folville could occur on royal lands, the narrator snidely comments that "he might have bethought him of the law he had himself found it expedient to make heretofore at Kenilworth, respecting robberies then committed in a very extraordinary manner on the highways" (1.113), a law which in this instance as well as others does nothing to quell a problem affecting all his subjects in the neighborhood. The King's own naive surprise distances him from the concerns of his people and betrays a rather cavalier attitude toward their distress, doubly so in the case of the merchant.

Radcliffe also brings up financial concerns related to the King's policies of taxation, spending and favoritism, often comparing these policies to those of other historical figures. For example, in the midst of describing the pomp surrounding the King's presence at Kenilworth, the narrator states,

> Then he received homage of his tenants in chief, knights, and others; levied fines, and with the help of his justicier, barons, and prelates, managed his revenues. How far his Highness was governed by their council, when he was so hard upon the golden citizens of London, who, in his reign paid in fines for his favour, twenty thousand pounds, I know not. But, never did he practise such cruel means of extortion as did his father, King John. (2.251-2)

Criticizing the extravagance of the court even as he describes it in painstaking detail, the narrator notes that Crown Prince Edward is displeased by the high expenses at a time when the King really could not afford them. The narrator adds, "With this King Henry it was ever so, on the score of money; good as he was, on many other points, he ever lived for the present hour, and suffered the next shift for itself" (2.306).

Addressing some of these fiduciary concerns leads the narrator to mention other connected problems, moments of political dissension and corruption within England. For example, the narrator compares Henry to his brother, the Earl of Cornwall, who was more careful with his money, saved for the future, and had a cooler head and heart. Alas, King Henry "spared neither trouble nor money, to advance him to the height, which he had obtained for him, and had caused him to be chosen King of the Romans, although he had once nearly raised a rebellion, with no better motive than that he wished to possess the manor of Berkhamstead; and so no more of such matters" (2.307). Even within the King's own personal circle, rebellion marks the flow of English power; that this is not a special circumstance of gothic tyranny but an instance of typical English politics in the novel highlights Radcliffe's use of this material not simply for gothic chills but instead for political commentary. This example also contains one of several self-conscious interruptions by the narrator marking specific observations on politics and historical representation and drawing attention to Radcliffe's own criticisms through a final opinion slipped in, then suppressed. This technique follows on a micro-level her larger strategy of slipping in political commentary between the pages of romance.

While much of the novel's political critique appears quite plainly, other occasions make use of the supernatural to do so, providing Radcliffe with an equally effective way to deconstruct the uncontested power of the monarchy. The primary function of the ghost-knight is to move along the plot by avenging his death and assuring the merchant's innocence. Radcliffe uses him with little subtlety and does not attempt to explain away his ghostly appearances as she does in her other novels.[19] At the same time, his very existence as a supernatural being implies that it takes supernatural means to assure that

the merchant receives justice from a weak and misguided king. In this respect I differ from critics like James Watt, who see in Radcliffe's focus on medieval feudalism and celebration of its customs a strong loyalist affiliation.[20] The King remains in power throughout the novel, learns his lesson by the end, and doesn't make unfair judgments on purpose; the noblemen and Prince Edward are indeed portrayed in a favorable light and medieval chivalry is idealized. However, when these pieces are examined in conjunction with Radcliffe's political commentary against not only traitors to the Throne but also the monarchs themselves, and, as we shall see, when Radcliffe mixes Englishness and Frenchness favorably in a novel written during a time of great anxiety about Revolutionary France, loyalist paradigms become a bit more ambiguous. Her narrative strategy ruptured by antiquarian cataloguing and supernatural spectacle opens the text to both the construction and deconstruction of the idealized medieval past and makes conspicuous the means by which historical discourses (including this novel) attempt to support ideals of national superiority, English unity, or political progress through history. The ghostly knight and the other instances of supernatural machinery are just as involved in highlighting moments of cultural, historical, and national instability as in restoring property and position to rightful owners. Significantly, this restoration involves the property of middle class men, the merchant and his kinsman, of which the aristocracy, in the form of Gaston and the King, deprived them. The ghost appears not only to rid the King's Court of Gaston but also to support the middle class merchant, who, it is repeatedly said, "could expect little justice against so great a favorite" (1.135). The restoration narrative, then, twists such that the focus rests on the middle-class merchant,

not the King, and highlights that the subversion of class identity is made possible only through supernatural intervention.

Blurred National Identity in *Gaston*

One of the most significant issues Radcliffe addresses in Gaston de Blondeville is the role of national identity in historical discourse. As her title implies, the villain Gaston is French, as are a number of courtiers, entertainers, and the Queen herself. The monk-narrator frequently mentions the anti-French prejudices of the people in King Henry's Court. Unlike gothic novels set in Europe, however, a clear boundary of "Us versus Them" cannot sustain itself in a novel where some English are villains while some French are not and where people of both nationalities freely enter the English Court. Because this novel is set entirely in England, no safe geographical distance separates the English from the foreign Other; likewise, cultural closeness precludes easy groupings among the courtiers and commoners. For, with the exception of the Prior, all the characters act English with English manners and sympathies. At the same time, the narrator frequently calls attention to specifically French costumes, dances, songs, and other cultural differences in the interest of learning about the French and in the interest of showing how the people enjoy the Queen's French culture, which brings these customs into the court in the first place. For example, Pierre, the Queen's chief minstrel, sings (in French) ditties from his native land of Normandy and, to the Queen's great pleasure, songs from her native Provence. In this respect, Gaston is unlike canonical gothic novels like The Italian, which, while all its characters are Italian, assigns "Englishness" to the good characters and "Italianness" to the villains. In Gaston, one's nationality does not

automatically assign hero or villain status. What does appear, however, is uneasiness with this blending of nationalities occurring within England, an uneasiness exacerbated by the difficulty of separating them from each other. Radcliffe employs the symbol of the ghost to represent both the fluidity and the uncanniness of cultural blending within the highest levels of the monarchy.

By blending the two cultures and surrounding such blending with the supernatural, Radcliffe doesn't simply reveal nationalist sympathies, however. Her real villains are corruption and ineptitude, whether they occur at the hands of foreigners or, as happens more frequently than one might expect, at the hands of the English. Gaston's inclusion of English national prejudice and fear of French influence must be read in conjunction with her heroic depictions of some Frenchmen, the people's love of their French Queen and the narrator's equal fascination with French custom. Radcliffe uses gothic conventions to draw attention to moments when attempts to maintain a national history of a clearly unified people break down, allowing for re-examination of England's position along its various geographical boundaries. As seen when she criticizes the King, some of his policies, and his judgment, Radcliffe's concerns lie with looking at Englishness from within, not with supporting English superiority based on opposition without. In this respect, the English history that Radcliffe represents in Gaston becomes in her hands an alternate approach to traditional historical discourse, one that is more inclusive of outside cultures, more introspective about Englishness, and more concerned with individual character than nationalist narrative.

The narrator often mentions characters' anti-French prejudices in his history. They usually come from a generalized mob or from an anonymous courtier; in each case,

they assert the strong presence of anti-French attitudes in the history. The crowds cry, "Away with the foreigners!" (1.94), one of the plays makes fun of the typical French buffoon (2.64), the Earl of Huntington doesn't approve his daughter's marriage to a Frenchman because "neither his English heart, nor his pride of ancient blood" could approve (1.131), and even the narrator singles out a character's nationality when he or she is French (2.353; 1.147; 2.110). The King is aware of the prejudices around him (1.111); to some extent his staunch defense of his favorite stems from his disgust for these prejudices. Misguided though his judgment might be, he acts from good intentions: he wants to make the merchant an example to those who would conspire against Gaston, not simply because Gaston is his favorite, but because the King wishes to quell his people's prejudices, of which he sees ample evidence indeed (1.132).

The fact that the villains, Gaston and the Prior, are French would seem to indicate that Radcliffe follows an anti-French paradigm, yet other French men and women play significant and heroic roles in the novel. Rather than banding together to defend their countryman, the French minstrels and storytellers who somehow have gained entrance into the Court actually support the merchant's cause, bring forth through their work the real story of his kinsman's death and point to the real villain. A Frenchwoman produces a book of "histories," some true and some not, one of which Pierre sings and which offers particular warning to the Baronness de Blondeville about her husband (2.110-114). Pierre captures his audience with a dark tale of vengeance and supernatural intervention uncannily relevant to the merchant's accusation of Gaston (1.150-171). His tale brings tears to some ladies and darts "dread into the heart of one there present" (1.150), Gaston. It has the power to make everyone listen, "as if the shadows of prophecy were moving

over the strings, and calling from them some strange and fearful story yet to be" (1.150). Radcliffe links supernatural tale with truth and proffers it through this man who is both inside the Court due to his position as a musician and outside the Court due to his nationality and class. Combining these three--the supernatural, French nationality, and a true history hidden in fable--through Pierre, a man of conflicted status, and allowing his voice to be one of the few defending the merchant, Radcliffe juxtaposes the easy prejudice against the French seen in some characters with the heroic truth-telling of other French characters. That the minstrel clothes the defense in an entertaining, supernatural tale allows its entrance into the Court in a way that cannot be immediately dismissed, prevented, or refuted, as is the case with the merchant's own direct pleas. In this respect, supernatural occurrences possess a special power in Radcliffe's tale, highlight ways other types of discourses can bleed into otherwise closed spaces, and allow foreigners an important role in the novel's struggle against injustice.

Additionally, the narrator makes several references to French customs and traditions that delight the people and educate the reader. He makes a point of saying that the songs were originally presented and understood in French but have been translated into English for his history; one of Pierre's ballads which the narrator translates into English, "The Bridal", rings out joyfully on the occasion of Lady Barbara's marriage (1.147-8). In addition to including French music, the narrator also describes in his usual detailed manner other French practices, like the outdoor feast that the King arranges specifically to please his wife by surrounding her with scenes similar to those found in Provence. The narrator describes the amenable scene linking its joys to France:

> I guess it brought back to her mind the festivals of her father's court, in that pleasant land of Southern France, called Provence, where they love to sport in the open air, nigh the shade of woods, and will pass a summer's day to the sound of flutes and viols; their banquets being of fruit, fresh gathered from the orange-trees and the vines, and being laid forth on the grass, beside some windling brook. And it was to pleasure the Queen, with a banquet like to what she had been 'customed to in her own country, that King Henry had thus come forth into these forest-shades. (2.140)

He describes the French Countess of Cornwall who "according to fashion of her country, danced on the green-sward under the trees" with a noble grace which "showed off all the gaiety of her own land" (2.139). During this feast, the eating, dancing and sporting please them all, including the foreign lords and ladies from the Queen's country who partake in the festivities alongside the English. French-made objects also have their own place in the novel, like the golden baskets fashioned by a French craftsman and given to Lady Barbara from the Queen (2.62). The narrator also describes stylish French fashions and manners that fit well with the dictates of chivalry. Far from depicting the French as dirty, uncivilized, and crafty, Radcliffe's narrator portrays them as beautiful and well-mannered. The narrator describes French customs in detail just as he does the English customs, and he does so in a favorable light. His concern with social history based on such evidence as artwork, clothing, song, and other objects serves as a medium for countering anti-French sympathies as well as allowing for cultural difference in his history.

The Queen, silent for much of the novel, nevertheless plays an important role in the assignment of cultural space and value. The King's marriage to her might seem like a symbolic appropriation of and domination over the French, but in actuality, her marriage allows Frenchness to move unfettered into the English Court and even to be valued, for her sake. Her dual positions as female and ruler, English monarch and French woman, make her presence a very fitting one through which to blend the two cultures and destabilize a unified definition of English nationhood in opposition to others. Perhaps the most vivid example of her conflicted position occurs when she first arrives at Kenilworth. The narrator describes how, in the midst of the people's cheers for their Queen, some few were heard to say "Away with the foreigners!" (1.94). Like a much suffering sentimental heroine, "the good Queen seemed not to hear, though she guessed in her heart what they said; and many a noble knight and lady near her knew well. She, with unchanged countenance, showed only sweet smiles to those numberless eyes, darting from the walls and battlements, all turned upon her litter, as it passed over the bridge" (1.94). Worshipped yet disdained, powerful yet victimized by prejudice, the Queen nevertheless acts throughout the novel with similar poise, sympathy, and goodness, graciously giving gifts to her young protégé and showing sweet approval to those who come before her. Rather than using the sentimental heroine figure to delineate proper English womanhood as might be seen in her depictions of heroines like Ellena in The Italian, Radcliffe makes use of this figure in the person of the Queen to break down nationalist ideology which would make such a heroine the sole province of Englishness, an Englishness set in opposition to other cultures like the French. The Queen, even as she is an English heroine by virtue of her physical location and virtuous behavior, is also very distinctly

French, as the narrator's frequent descriptions of her French manners, customs and preferences constantly show. In the person of the Queen, the blending of French and English does not appear uncanny or sinister; instead, Radcliffe carefully crafts her in such a way that her in-betweenness becomes acceptable, even beneficial.

The Queen's position points to other times in the novel where English and French are banded together and where separating the one from the other is either impossible or of no importance. Implying one sort of physical connection between the two, the English countryside is likened to France's (2.140). King Henry's court demonstrates a very cosmopolitan make-up, with characters from other countries who gained their position due to marriage or service to the King; with such varied cultural activities as described above; and with a marvelous international gathering of knights, including those from Europe and Scotland, for a chivalric jousting tournament. Englishman and foreigner interact freely in the environment protected by the King and inspired by the Queen.

Because of such intercultural mingling, it can be hard to determine on the surface who might be a threat to the throne; this question requires careful examination of character, not reliance upon nationality. Gaston, for example, appears as one of the best-loved and most elegant and chivalrous characters in the novel. A man of feeling, he dotes on the ladies, he faints when overwrought, he draws pale when frightened, and he does not at all appear to be a villain. The narrator describes him as "of comely person and gallant air" who "managed his proud charger with such easy grace, as a lady might, with a silken bandage, guide a fawn. . . he was of the Queen's country, and had all the gaiety of her nation in his countenance and 'haviour" (1.83). Significantly, Gaston's threat to the throne does not have international schemes behind it, nor does Radcliffe assign his

plot to any specifically French trait. Other false advisors to the King are, after all, English. Instead, she locates Gaston's crime to his individual greed and villainy. This individual immorality is worsened and allowed to flourish because of the King's ineptitude in judging character and because of the ease with which his own faulty or devious advisors can influence him. The corruption within the English Court is more at issue here. In a novel which mentions several domestic traitorous deeds from within English history, Radcliffe uses Gaston not as an example of how the French are invading and polluting England but as a catalyst for larger injustices already existing within the monarchy. Radcliffe examines these injustices through attention to individual character; in doing so, she emphasizes how important character study is to historical discourse describing the "deeds of great men." Eschewing national stereotypes, she creates her villains and heroes based on their own behavior. This is not to say that she ignores nationality. Instead, she reimagines boundaries between Britain and France to allow for the one to exist in, mingle with, and affect the other, all without clearly circumscribed demarcations.

The conventions of the gothic, with its fascination with the immaterial, the unknowable, the unrestrained and the uncanny, provide Radcliffe with an especially well-suited framework with which to explore these reimaginings. Gothic moments and conventions serve to underline an uneasiness that results when English identity is not seen as separate from or superior to other countries' and when the historical narrative of England's progress is seen to cover up moments of political dissension at home. Physical location and political affinity associated with the gothic moment give it special force in Radcliffe's destabilization of a unified English character. For example, the King and his

courtiers associate the fearful pageants and the ghostly appearances with Eastern magicians who call up these spectacles using powers unknown by the English. Magic can be a difficult force for a king to control, however, particularly when in the hands of Eastern magicians whom the King assumes are under his rule. Radcliffe links magic repeatedly to subversions of the King's assumptions about history and his own authority; in this respect, the novel's specifically gothic content represents a significantly subversive force. In a novel with repeated reminders of the Crusades, this reference to magicians who are necessarily Eastern betrays an uneasiness about England's past conquest and a fear that the invasion might be turned back upon itself. The knight's first ghostly appearance makes conspicuous this fear. The specter stands next to the armor of the Crusader Richard the Lion-Hearted and takes on the form so closely that the King thinks that it is the real Richard who comes so menacingly toward him. The King now becomes the seeming victim of the Crusading sword; even though the ghost is that of de Folville and not Richard, this event associates the King with the Easterner. Radcliffe surrounds this moment of blurred national identity with mystery and fear and highlights the King's inability to appropriate or control this spectacle.

Elsewhere, Radcliffe associates some of the supernatural terrors with England's tensions with Wales.[21] The King, more and more suspicious that the merchant is the source of all the strange ghostly appearances and supernatural frights, begins to worry whether the merchant "might not be an agent of his bitter enemy, Lewellyn of Wales; by whose evil arts he had, as he deemed, been formerly robbed of that precious ring, which was to render him invincible in war" (2.275). Supposedly, this ring was previously stolen by a Welsh agent through supernatural means, "conjured away from under the bolts and

locks of his casket (those remaining unbroken) and was conveyed away by the Earl of Kent, as his Highness had declared, and given to his dire enemy, Llewellyn of Wales, then in arms against him" (2.88). The King associates his neighboring enemy with the supernatural; this association further emphasizes how Radcliffe uses gothic conventions to emphasize English uneasiness about losing control over its national interests and boundaries. The only way England could be fallible, after all, would be due to supernatural intervention in such forms as that ring, at least according to the King. Easily dismissed as the King's superstition, this instance nevertheless supports Radcliffe's strategy of combining the supernatural with England's uneasinesses about its national borders and identity.

These are only a few of several places where an uncanny appearance coincides with a physical reminder of or a character's experience of uneasiness about the mixture of Englishness and other cultures. The supernatural effects that make the pageant possible, that change the chivalric tournament into a horrible nightmare, and that transform the King's heroic artifact (the knight's armor) into a menacing threat within his own castle, become necessary to Radcliffe's strategy of rupturing the narrator's history of the King and make overt its nationalist underpinnings that might otherwise remain unchecked because practically unnoticed. The gothic's entertainment value and strong emotional effects ensure that these moments stand out from the rest of the narrative. Whether believable or not to the history's readers, they bring up the conflict and uneasiness the characters in political power feel when reminded that England is not separate from, impermeable to, or unified against the foreign Other.

Judging the Artifact

The end of the novel and its concluding frame focus on the discrete artifact, as well as all the questions of objective truth, historical knowledge, and political power that have marked the novel's exploration of antiquarianism. Surrounded by gothic conventions and foreboding feelings, these objects provide a final study of the uncanny nature of historical transmission. Near the end of the novel appears the piece of evidence that finally leads to the merchant's exoneration, a mysterious necklace, found on the Prior who claims it is a charm against the evil eye. By means of a secret spring, the merchant reveals pictures of his murdered kinsman and his wife inside the necklace, exhibiting it as evidence that his accusation is true and that the Prior was involved in the murder. The Prior uses the same necklace to prove that the merchant is a magician. The King possesses the privilege to say which interpretation of the object is correct, and he sides with his advisors against the merchant. To this scene where the object has no link to the past except that defined by the King, Radcliffe juxtaposes other scenes of antiquarian activity that are defined by supernatural powers. Near the end of the novel, the ghost leads the King to the hidden grave of de Folville, kept secret by the Prior. The ghost points to the grave, which, when exhumed, reveals de Folville's namestone and corpse. The corpse is preserved enough to still show the head wound the merchant described; moments later it shrinks and fades away (3.28-30). This scene has already been marked by previous ghostly sightings and warnings. As with the necklace, these bodily proofs of the merchant's claim have been thwarted by the Prior's secrecy, both in the past when the murder first occurred and in the present when he terrorizes his monks to keep the recent ghostly sightings secret (2.115-8). At the very end, however, with the insistent words and

sightings of both the knight's ghost and Gaston's ghost, there is no longer any doubt of what happened years ago and who the murderer was. Both the necklace and the bones serve as artifacts from the past lending evidence about that past to future judgment; both also pose problematic questions about how to interpret and transmit the history these objects seem to support. That Radcliffe needs to use the supernatural in order to differentiate the real interpretation of evidence from the one sanctioned by those in power highlights the shifty signification artifacts provide. Without supernatural intervention, the institutionally-sanctioned interpretation would hold sway. Again, the ghost figure appears and dominates a scene of conflicting historical interpretation and, in its own shiftiness, marks that site with fear and the uncanny. Antiquarian discoveries of bones and old jewelry cannot directly prove anything or even be discovered when needed--unless of course the real ghosts of the past appear and facilitate. Not exactly a feasible option outside the gothic novel, this ending provides a final comment about the difficulty of producing an accurate and unbiased historical record, even with evidence found in discrete objects from the past.

In its conclusion, the novel returns to its framing narrative with Willoughton closing the novel and musing over the history he has just read. There is some confusion about how to date the manuscript: "Perhaps, one better versed in antiquities would have found out, that several of the ceremonies of the court here exhibited, were more certainly those of the fourth Edward, than of the third Henry, or the second Richard, and would have assigned the manuscript to a later period than that of the title, or than that afterwards alluded to in the book" (3.52). There is also some doubt about who wrote the book: "And though that same title said this chronicle was translated from the Norman tongue,

by Grymbald, a monk of Saint Mary's Priory, it said nothing of its having been composed by one" (3.52). Readers also find that the manuscript they have just read was next translated by Willoughton from the Norman tongue, and that he also selected what to include and what to leave out of his translation. Was Willoughton correct in his assumptions and choices? Was the monk really writing about his own times and the life and superstitions of the monastery? Was something lost in the transmission? These questions, brought up but not really answered in the end, serve to highlight the subjectivity of historical discourse, the question of how to read or sift it, and who has the power to choose what is passed on. Willoughton "with the enthusiasm of an antiquary... was willing to suppose it a real manuscript of the monks, in spite of some contradictory circumstances" (3.51). Indeed, "Willoughton was so willing to think he had met with a specimen of elder times, that he refused to dwell on the evidence, which went against its stated origin" (3.53). At the end of the novel, Willoughton's readings bring up all the anxieties of fraud accompanying eighteenth-century antiquarianism and highlight the susceptibility of even antiquarians to believe what they want to believe.[22]

In Gaston de Blondeville, Radcliffe uses the language of antiquarianism to transform a typical gothic trapping of the found manuscript into a more detailed socio-political tool so that she can explore forces involved in historiography. She joins a community of female historical writers and readers who revise classical Enlightenment historiography by demonstrating and valuing various ways of reading the past, all of which involve some kind of dialectical process to create history. She makes character an important part of her history and weighs character against politics in the ways that she explores national identity. Much like the entertainers in the novel itself, Radcliffe crafts

gothic entertainment to surround her political commentary on English history and changes history as entertainment into history as transformative force, particularly in the way she uses gothic machinery to highlight cultural and historical clash within England. Under the guise of romance, the gothic allows a woman writer to portray the monarchy, as well as English history, in a less than flattering light. Its glaring fictionality challenges the factual basis that history claims and relies upon, especially when, as in Gaston, so many different art forms are read as history and when supernatural occurrences are read or written as true history. It makes obvious that which traditional, patriotic histories attempt to gloss over: the disjointedness of reading and making history, the difficulty of filling in gaps in the historical record, and the use of the imagination in any reading of the past. That a history with critique about the English royalty and its abuse of power is a hidden history, regarded as inferior due to its inclusion of the supernatural and over-attention to antiquarian detail, and easily set aside as entertainment, recalls the idea presented in Sophia Lee's The Recess that the transmission of history has less to do with truth than with acceptance by dominant power structures. The novel's conclusion wonders whether this history might not belong to a different time period than the one it claims to belong to; outside the novel's frame, readers can also see that the Radcliffe's history actually has more to do with eighteenth-century historiography than that of a previous time, in spite of the her narrator's claims to the contrary as he offers "This Trew Chronique."

Notes to Chapter 2

---

[1] Ellen Moers first coined the term "female gothic" in her Literary Women. Julian Fleenor's collection of essays The Female Gothic, Kate Ellis's The Contested Castle, Jane Spencer's The Rise of the Woman Novelist and Ann K. Mellor's Romanticism and Gender, among many others, examine the female gothic in terms of its subversion of domestic ideology.

[2] Separating her kind of gothic fiction from Walpole's and Lewis's, Radcliffe set up a distinction between "horror" and "terror" in fictional writings. See her essay "On the Supernatural in Poetry" which argues, "Terror and horror are so far opposite, that the first expands the soul, and awakens the faculties to a high degree of life; the other contracts, freezes, and nearly annihilates them" (163). Anna Letitia Barbauld points out that Radcliffe avoids the horrors of common novels and instead "alarms the soul with terror; agitates it with suspense, prolonged and wrought up to the most intense feeling by mysterious hints and obscure intimations of unseen danger" (96). Sir Walter Scott's "Prefatory Memoir to Mrs. Ann Radcliffe" praises her poetic descriptions, powerful imagination, calls her "the first poetess of romantic fiction" and states that she "has the most decided claim to take her place among the favoured few, who have been distinguished as the founder of a class, or school" (118). Even before Talford's memoir that described Radcliffe as a reclusive woman afraid of the public eye, her reviewers and readers noted her dislike of mixing in literary society, preferring the title of gentlewoman to author. For example, the reviewer in the Literary Gazette explained that she "was ready to sink in the earth at the bare suspicion of any one taking her for an author; her chief ambition to be thought a lady!" (76). See also Richard Dana who points out her aversion to being talked about and her preference for seclusion (82). For full-length studies of Radcliffe's life, works, and reception, see Rictor Norton's The Mistress of Udolpho: The Life of Ann Radcliffe, Robert Miles's Ann Radcliffe: The Great Enchantress, and Deborah Rogers's compilation The Critical Response to Ann Radcliffe.

[3] Written in 1802, the novel was published posthumously in 1824. Early reviewers noticed its difference from her earlier gothic novels, and showed interest in her use of English history. The 1826 review in the New Monthly Magazine praises its setting in England with its depiction of "old English manners and courtly splendor" (80). Other reviewers showed disappointment that Gaston didn't satisfy like her more famous novels. Suspecting that Gaston's concern with historical evidence may be Radcliffe's response to criticism of her earlier works and their lack of factual accuracy, critic Julia Kavanagh finds that "from a complete disregard of historic truth, she indulged herself with an amount of architecture and costume which sat awkwardly on her story, and injured it" (161). Several others note its dullness and link it to her use of historical subject matter, among other causes. See the review of Gaston de Blondeville in the 1826 Ladies' Monthly Museum. A review of The Poetical Works of Ann Radcliffe states that

"expanded into three volumes, narrated in the obsolete style of a chronicle, and filled with antiquarian descriptions (in which, by the by, we greatly doubt the accuracy of the chronology), the story drags most heavily" (90). Richard Dana complains that her novel's lack of energy results from "her plan, her attempt to make fiction a vehicle for true history. . . . Any one, who is pleased with getting a knowledge of some of the dresses and ceremonies of those times in this way, will take a deeper interest in the work than we have done. For our part, we had rather dig in the dust of the old chroniclers" (82-3).

[4]A notable exception is Katie Trumpener's Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire. Trumpener briefly describes gothic novels like Gaston as influenced by Ossianic poetry's sense of place and retrojection (103-105). She reads Gaston within the context of other late eighteenth-century novels which demonstrate "similar slippages from landscape to text, from bardic reverie to antiquarian debate" (105).

[5]For discussion of these and other works satirizing antiquaries, see Paul Baines, "'Our Annius': Antiquaries and Fraud in the Eighteenth Century." See also Lucy Peltz and Martin Myrone "'Mine are the Subjects Rejected by the Historian': Antiquarianism, History and the Making of Modern Culture." In addition to discussing print satire, Peltz and Myrone also examine engravings, such as Thomas Rowlandson's 1795 "Death and the Antiquaries" that depicts antiquarians hungrily hanging over the exhumed corpse of a king, poking around its coffin and even snapping off a finger bone.

[6] Exploring the publication of antiquarian studies, Rosemary Sweet finds that for an antiquary like Richard Gough (1745-1809), following empirical standards of accuracy while at the same time making the material accessible to the purchasing public required careful balancing. This balancing held special promise, though, as it points to the increasing public participation in antiquarian discourse, seen in more populist periodicals such as the Antiquarian Repertory. See her "Antiquaries and Antiquities in Eighteenth-Century England."

[7]See Rosemary Sweet for discussion of the importance of antiquarian studies in the development of national identity. She finds that individual antiquarians like Richard Gough saw themselves as part of a republic of letters and their contributions as important for the national heritage and identity (190-198). She does not view antiquarianism as simply or implicitly nationalistic, but notes several instances where antiquarian findings could be put to such purposes.

[8]Ian Haywood in The Making of History finds that forgeries in the eighteenth century had the potential as subversive objects or documents to highlight breaking points in ideologies, political systems, etc. Both an embarrassment and a concern for antiquarians, forgeries nevertheless belied history's claims of authority and faith in its authenticity. That physical evidence might not be evidence at all and, even worse, that people could believe and therefore read or buy such "evidence" held great destabilizing power. See

also Paul Baines who finds that forgery "was in the first place a conceptual tool in the service of economic power, and this is especially so given the new types of credit and paper currency available in the eighteenth century" (36).

[9] Aligning themselves with the Celts, these peripheral nations could justify a historical separation, politically and culturally, from England; England, in turn, eventually aligned itself with the "less savage" Saxons. The periphery nations could use their Celtic heritage of resistance to Roman occupation in order to contest English hegemony; likewise, the English could look at ancient Celts, define them as savage, link them to the Welsh or Irish, and justify colonization of those regions (39). Even such divisions are generalizations, though, and were often glossed over by an overarching patriotism or "Britishness," which separated modern Britons from their multifaceted ancient histories. England would still examine the Celtic past as belonging to Britishness, but only on a general level; likewise, some in the periphery nations would embrace the larger national narrative in order to foster a sense of belonging. As Ousby sums up, "Within England, celebration of the Britons tended to be orchestrated such that it worked at a high level of national generalization with little more involved than a hazy appeal to patriotism" (40).

[10] Cannon Schmitt in "Techniques of Terror, Technologies of Nationality: Ann Radcliffe's The Italian" argues that the fact that Ellena, the novel's heroine, acts English in spite of her Italian birth serves to emphasize throughout the novel the ideal of English womanhood that good women everywhere follow. "This very naturalness, however, promotes English nationalism on a more subtle, and thus more effective, level than outright partisanship" (858). Her heroines "incarnate a national archetype rather than espouse nationalist (or anti-nationalist) beliefs" (858). See also Ellen Moers who argues that Radcliffe's heroines resemble English ladies traveling to places like India and Africa, "ill-equipped for vicissitudes of travel, climate, and native mutiny, but well-equipped to preserve their identity as proper Englishwomen" (139).

[11] The importance of this dynamic is evidenced in part by the number of critics who have debated the role Radcliffe's endings play in the question of whether her domestic politics are conservative or subversive. Ann Ronald calls the marriage of Emily and Valancourt a fairy tale ending with "no sense of maturity, no suggestion of a heroine tempered by experience" (180) and points out how Radcliffe's heroic husbands are safe because emasculated. Cynthia Griffin Wolff argues that Radcliffe's romances offer a "safe" marriage at the end after allowing for adventurous fantasies for women readers. Kate Ferguson Ellis finds that Radcliffe proffers a more matrilineal model in that "the husband joins his wife's kin group rather than her joining his" (124). Claire Kahane points out that Emily's marriage and return to La Vallée allows a reader "first to enjoy and then to repress the sexual and aggressive center of Udolpho" (340). See also Kim Ian Michasiw's "Ann Radcliffe and the Terrors of Power," which examines the contradictions inherent in Radcliffe's exploration of individual vs. institutional power.

[12] Some well-known examples of forgeries are James MacPherson's The Poems of Ossian (1796), Thomas Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry (1765), and Thomas

Chatterton's Poems, Supposed to have been Written at Briston, in the Fifteenth Century (1777). Ian Haywood in The Making of History examines such forgeries in detail and outlines the connections between forgeries and ideas about history and fiction. For a discussion of forged artifacts and literature, as well as writers' reaction to such imposture, see Paul Baines. As Baines points out, Walpole was a well-known and active collector of artifacts. See Walpole's A Catalogue of the Classic Contents of Strawberry Hill and A Description of the Villa of Mr. Horace Walpole for listings of Walpole's collection.

[13] Indeed, antiquarian activity itself was inherently commercial with its focus on acquiring, displaying, and valuing artifacts. Numerous scholars have explored this connection, noting that antiquarianism marks the conjunction of historicism and commercialism. See, for example, Paul Baines who examines not only the various ways in which objects were acquired, sold, or collected but also the role such institutions as the public museum played in market exchange. He also examines property rights and the conflict that could result from owning land containing a great ruin like Stonehenge (43-6). The rarer and more historically important the artifact, the higher the price it could fetch. People could sell their collections at good prices to dealers and other collectors; locals could sell "found artifacts" to historical tourists. Men like Horace Walpole--whose home Strawberry Hill was toured by an average of 250-300 people a year during 1784-96 (Ousby 86)--became famous for their collections, and these very collections helped perpetuate domestic tourism undertaken for educational purposes. Antiquarianism's very links to commercialism--for a price, you could own a piece of history--could undermine a nation's patriotic unity in which history glossed over distinct categories of class. Individuals participated in the market for history through the market for artifacts; to do so, however, they needed money and leisure. Due to their special positions as consumers and sellers of history, "antiquarians provided, however unconsciously, the inadmissible link between national legacy and class interest, between history and profit" (Yoon Sun Lee 548).

[14] Rosemary Sweet points out how important engravings were to antiquarian book sales, noting that some people bought the books solely for their engravings (194). Because they could make these scholarly books more palatable to the reading public, engravings were an important factor in the rising popularity of antiquarian activity; their use highlights antiquarian study's economic concerns and its shift into the popular realm.

[15] Blaming Cromwell for the destruction of monasteries and other historically important sites characterized numerous eighteenth-century accounts of English ruins. Many of these sites, however, actually were despoiled during the reign of Henry VIII. See Ousby 107-109.

[16] For in-depth examples of the dinners of state, see 1.143-7 and 2.24-2.42.

[17] The gothic novel's ability to distract even as it provides a "secret language" of dissension has been identified as one of its special characteristics. Feminist critics have noted that gothic novels allow women writers to depict women suffering at the hands of

domestic despots while hiding behind the shield of the work's fictionality and blatant improbability. For example, Eugenia DeLamotte in Perils of the Night: A Feminist Study of Nineteenth-Century Gothic argues that "the subject of fear in women's Gothic is, again and again, a disguise for that of anger" which draws its source from the perception that the evil Other is "profoundly alien, and hostile, to women and their concerns" (viii). Susan Wolstoneholme in Gothic (Re)Visions: Writing Women as Readers find that the gothic form helps women writers navigate through their conflicted positions as women and authors. She notes that it also provides tools not only to subvert power hierarchies such as those depicted in these novels, but also "to deal with the issues of writing and reading as a woman" (xi).

[18] See, for example, Maister Henry's songs about the Giant of Cornwall, and his famous Chronicle of Charlemagne (1.141). See also the scene in which some of the courtiers leave the loud revelry of the hall and instead "delighted themselves with histories of times past" (1.179).

[19] Radcliffe is known for her use of "the explained supernatural" where a seemingly supernatural experience is later attributed to logical causes. For example, in The Mysteries of Udolpho, the ghostly movement and visage rising from the Marchioness's deathbed that terrifies the fleeing Emily is really someone coming through a secret trap door behind her bed (536). Some critics and reviewers see this technique as a strength, some as a weakness. Quite often it is associated with her status as a lady author: by explaining such things away, Radcliffe can keep her respectability and avoid charges of immorality.

[20] Looking at a grouping of loyalist novels among which he groups Gaston, Watt argues, "Many of the works which are now regarded as Gothic, and nearly all of those which explicitly invoked the term, were unambiguously loyalist in the way that they framed supernatural incident, and in the way that they appealed instead to an exemplary medieval era, and to real historical figures and events" (68). Watt's book Contesting the Gothic: Fiction, Genre and Cultural Conflict 1784-1832 contains one of the very few in-depth discussions of historical gothic novels (which he labels loyalist gothics) available in recent criticism. In addition to including in his analysis a number of neglected works, he emphasizes the political concerns, usually inspired by the French Revolution, that these novels undertake in their histories. Finding that most gothic novels containing historical content were strongly patriotic, he argues that "such works privilege the didactic potential of romance, and allow the supernatural only the benign role of punishing usurpers and restoring the property claims of rightful heirs. Though Loyalist Gothic romances are in effect structurally bound to describe an act of usurpation, therefore, this act is nearly always presented as a *fait accompli*, and such works concentrate instead on the purging of corruption, staging the providentially inspired process by which legitimate hierarchies are re-established" (7-8). Watt's analysis points to an intriguing body of novels that deserve further study. In the case of Radcliffe, however, I find that the supernatural devices used to punish Gaston do more than excise the usurper. The very

existence of supernatural justice highlights the lack of it in "real" history, particularly in a novel already unstable in terms of its power hierarchies.

[21] Lewellyn of Wales (1173-1240) served as king of Wales from 1194. He ousted the English from North Wales in 1212, and battled with English armies several times during the early reign of Henry III. This reference to Llewellyn brings to mind the tensions between England and Wales that make up the history of the British nation. The supernatural marks the place where a bitterly decisive past haunts the history of England and its periphery nations.

[22] See Sweet, Haywood, and Baines who discuss historical fraud in the eighteenth century.

Chapter 3

The Terror of Coming Together: Susanna Rowson's Reuben and Rachel

Many gothic heroines and heroes must face their perils alone: Edgar Huntly in caves and forests outside Solebury, Young Goodman Brown at the witches' Sabbath, Emily St. Aubert in the castle of Udolpho, Victor Frankenstein in his lonely workshop. In Susanna Rowson's Reuben and Rachel, gothic horror is a family affair, one that involves not simply a family but an international family that must come face to face with the inefficacy of its sympathetic bonds in the face of intercultural violence. The sentimental narrative that is the foundation of Reuben and Rachel posits nine generations of a loving family made up of members from different races and cultures. Gothic moments interfere with the ideal vision of intercultural harmony as symbolized by these relatives' relationships, however, and tear at the bonds that seem to blend them affectionately together. Nearly every instance where Rowson uses the gothic apparatus accompanies an encounter or clash between two different cultures, and each instance is experienced as part of a famous family's history, that of Christopher Columbus. Particularly because Rowson features the Columbus family as her model of international and intercultural coexistence, Reuben and Rachel holds special significance in its symbolic portrayal of the "family" of the new American nation. The novel's gothic component resists the novel's sentimental strand and sets up a dynamic wherein the gothic enforces the difference that the sentimental narrative attempts to blend away. The resulting

disjunction and disillusionment caused by the failure of the familial ideal are the sources of the novel's gothic terror. Occurring within a novel concerned with history, these ruptures in the family point to gaps and secrets within the historical record of New World colonization.

In my discussion of how the gothic disrupts the sentimental family history in Reuben and Rachel, I will be following a metaphor used by Julia Stern in her study of early American novels, The Plight of Feeling: Sympathy and Dissent in the Early American Novel.[1] Examining how the sentimental mode shares certain characteristics with the gothic mode, she argues that "the two exist in a hierarchical relationship, like geological strata, the gothic bedrock masked by a sentimental topsoil. In this respect, sentimentalism is vitally related to fetishistic practices of disavowal and substitution, enabling the presence of violence to be disclaimed and covered over by an outpouring of feeling that carries only positive valence" (9). I show that the violent and terrifying moments that occur in Reuben and Rachel are palliated both by characters' outpourings of sympathetic feeling and by their repression of the gruesome nature of interracial conflict. At the same time that colonizers brutalize natives and the settlers and Indians massacre each other, Rowson repeatedly designs loving interracial marriages to cover over any such conflicts. To study the use and meaning of the gothic in this novel is to study the failure of the sentimental, for the gothic rises up from beneath it to portray the horrors of colonization, to bring forward excluded voices, and to rupture any unified narrative of homogenous national identity.

This chapter begins with a discussion of Rowson's involvement in larger eighteenth-century conversations about women writing and studying history. Herself an author of historical works and head of a girls' school, Rowson's investment in historical education appears prominently in her novel. To set up my discussion of the gothic's nightmare-like transformation of history, I next examine how Rowson crafts the sentimental strand in Reuben and Rachel by fashioning an epic history that participates in eighteenth-century constructs of national-family identity. Attempting to create a national subject that includes the English and the Anglo-American, the settler and the native, Rowson extends her family across the Atlantic and incorporates Peruvian, Spanish, English, and Native American blood bonds. Characters from different races learn from each other and intermarry; children of mixed heritage are fascinated with the different cultures and histories to which they belong. Within the extended family of the novel, Rowson thus creates an idealized Euro-American history. In the early framing of Columbus's history, Rowson utilizes her characters to create a lesson about how to read and convey history. This lesson interrogates what information counts as history and what emotions are suitable for understanding it. As with her family line, Rowson attempts to blend different voices in the historiography, but the conflicts arising among the speakers and highlighted by gothic conventions serve to interrupt and subvert the attempt. In the last segment of this chapter I focus on the gothic moments throughout the text that undercut the fantasy of peaceful international and intercultural coexistence. Ghostly appearances, sublime tempests, gothic gore and spectacles of death all serve to

"gothify" the history of this happy family and of the New World colonization in which they participate.

Rowson's Life and Background

Dubbed America's first best-selling novelist for her work Charlotte Temple (1794), Susanna Haswell Rowson (1762-1824) authored not only novels but also dramatic pieces, musical compositions, and educational works.[2] Daughter of a lieutenant in the British navy, Rowson lived in both Britain and America. Her family resided in America during the Revolutionary War, when they were placed under house arrest and later sent to England because of her father's perceived loyalist sympathies. Rowson worked as an actress and wrote four of her novels in England, including Test of Honour (1789), Mentoria, or the Young Ladies' Friend (1791), Charlotte, a Tale of Truth (1791), and The Fille de Chambre (1792), before returning to America in 1794 as an actress. Not surprisingly, considering her own dual nationality, a number of her works, including Charlotte Temple and Reuben and Rachel, contain both British and American settings. In her preface to Trials of the Human Heart (1794), she asserts her double attachment to both Britain and America (Parker 32). Herself a figure in between two nationalities, Rowson held a position interesting for its combined allegiance and identity, something that she would duplicate in her novel Reuben and Rachel.

Rowson's role as an educator influenced her writing; this and her work as a historian influenced Reuben and Rachel. Rowson dedicated herself directly to women's

education, including education in history. In 1797, she opened Mrs. Rowson's Young Ladies' Academy in Boston; this school became so popular that by the second year, it enrolled one hundred young women (Parker 35). In addition to the usual ornamental subjects for women, Rowson included in her curriculum subjects such as geography, history, and biography. She herself wrote An Abridgment of Universal Geography, Together with Sketches of History, Designed for the Use of Schools and Academies in the United States (1805) and Exercises in History, Chronology, and Biography, in Question and Answer, For the Use of Schools, Comprising, Ancient History, Greece, Rome, and Modern History, England, France, Spain, Portugal, etc. The Discovery of America, Rise, Progress and Final Independence of the United States (1822). Her studies and exercises include biographies of great women as well as men in history.[3] Her collection of poems, dialogues and advice to young women, A Present for Young Ladies (1811) also contains historical instruction and urges women to undertake the study of history, for "history has always been considered as the light of the ages, the faithful depository of true evidence of past events" (Present 52).

Rowson's novels clearly broadcast their instructive content. For example, the motherly narrator's desire in Charlotte Temple to educate young women so that they could avoid seduction is well known.[4] Similarly, in her preface to Reuben and Rachel, Rowson announces her educational motives for writing the novel--this time to instruct her readers in history. She states,

> When I first started the idea of writing "Tales of Old Times," it was with a fervent wish to awaken in the minds of my young readers, a curiosity that might lead them to the attentive perusal of history in general, but more especially the history of their native country. It has ever been my opinion, that when instruction is blended with amusement, the youthful mind receives and retains it almost involuntarily. (iii)

In this preface, Rowson makes clear that her novel was written for laudable educational purposes, not to titillate her readers. Instead, the fictional content exists to increase the "history lesson's" interest for, and thus its educational power over, young readers. Interestingly, she emphasizes that she wants to inspire her readers to know more about their native country's history. This intention points out Rowson's participation in the development and transmission of a specifically American history and her awareness of her role as a woman educating the next generation of citizens in the new republic. Rowson's background as an educator and her intention to use Reuben and Rachel as an inspiration for her readers to study history more extensively both play out in Reuben and Rachel in the way that the fictional mothers instruct their daughters in history, the way that daughters select from various methods of learning about the past, and the way that Rowson sets up scenes in the novel where characters participate in "history lessons." The sentimental strand of Reuben and Rachel is intimately tied to the novel's didactic function. When gothic conventions interrupt and destabilize the idealization of the American family and, by extension, the American nation, they also implicate Rowson's

educative enterprise and convey more information about history than perhaps Rowson intended.

Family, Nation and History

Before examining how the gothic aspects of Reuben and Rachel form a counter-narrative to the sentimentalized version of history proffered by Rowson, I wish to turn to the novel's overall historical framework and examine how Rowson utilizes historical discourse to set up her model of nationhood. Like other historical and political writers in her period, Rowson depicts America and Britain in familial terms and portrays Euro-American history as a family drama. The most common familial metaphor in early American writings, one used in such works as Thomas Paine's Common Sense, portrays Britain as a bad parent, usually a mother, and America as a child escaping from parental tyranny--Revolution as family infighting. Shirley Samuels in Romances of the Republic: Women, the Family, and Violence in the Literature of the Early American Novel explores these and other familial metaphors and images that appear in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century American writings and that address anxieties about the American Revolution and the new nation's birth.[5] For example, "fraternal violence can appear as at once a symbolic and an actual problem of democracy," since one revolution might set the precedence for others (13). Similarly, the languages and images of national and sexual "infidelity" can stand in for each other, pointing to the fear that neither liberty nor democracy can be controlled any more than a lustful woman's desires can (23-26).

Changes in family metaphors signified changes in governmental structures and were often used to compare America and Britain. In the shift posed by America's new democracy, the "patriarchal system of familial and state governments was challenged when the eighteenth century began to explain power in terms of the rights of all members of a family rather than justifying it, as in medieval times, by the divine rights of kings, a nearly irrefutable buttress of the patriarchal system" (47). America's separation from Britain could be understood in these terms.

Family metaphors standing in for nations and national concerns clearly play out in the historical fiction of the time, as Samuels explains: "Telling the story of revolution and political upheavals as the story of the family, historical novels of the early republic repeatedly make politics and domesticity the same story" (62). In sentimental novels, anxiety about disorder in the family reflects back to anxiety about disorder in the new republic. Often turning political events into family ones, historical romances and sentimental novels give new political importance to private concerns. Marriage, for example, can stand not only for a choice in spouse, but also for an espousal of the political sympathies represented by that choice--especially if that marriage should happen to be a companionate marriage, a true marker of republican social progress. Marriage, an integral part of the romance plot, makes central to a novel's ideology the political implications of reproduction, both of the body and of the state. In historical romances,

> questions of political and national identity become attached to female bodies, and a national subject is formed through the coordination of citizenship and family ideology. The historical romance presents sexual and familial accounts of national identity that perform a political function; the pressure in these discourses is to locate forms of the national body, or rather to produce, historically and politically, a national body and a national family that could reproduce that body. Such a concentration on reproduction opens the intimately related questions concerning the links between the reproduction of bodily states and the reproductions of nation states. (19)

Bodies without clearly delineated boundaries, such as between animal and human or between native and white, complicate attempts to form any such national body and open up the possibility that bodies and the state are made up of diverse and sometimes conflicting parts (19).

Samuels's discussion of the family's signifying role for the American nation provides a helpful configuration for understanding how Rowson links the history of the Columbus family with the history of American colonization and development. Selecting Columbus, a popular icon for American writings in this period, as her foundational father of the novel, Rowson immediately links political and personal history.[6] Using the extended Columbus family as a focus, she associates her characters with different nationalities and races: Orrabella as Peru, Columbus as Europe, Reuben as early America; and characters like Columbia, Isabella and William as mixed national subjects who

contribute to Rowson's vision of an America (and a Britain) that allows for the harmonizing of all these different peoples. Because these different races become more strongly intertwined with each generation, bodily reproduction becomes a means for Rowson to blur boundaries separating them in order to create a unified national subject. Such a blurring is seen as desirable in Reuben and Rachel; indeed, because of the ease with which characters transgress borders, the different peoples are able to better appreciate and learn from one another. However, the gothic reappears in this novel to show that such amicable connections cannot survive outside a sentimentalized familial space. Rowson thus idealizes a national body made up of diverse members only to show its failure. In the context of using history to tell the story of a nation's identity, this failure reveals several differences between Reuben and Rachel and novels discussed in Samuels's study. In Rowson's novel, miscegenation is figured not as taboo but as a desirable means for creating the nation. Britain is not the abusive parent and America is not the child declaring independence, but the two and their histories continue to support and reinforce each other. Fear in the novel does not surround the commingling of races or nationalities but the realization that such interconnections could not exist detached from the outside world that enforces difference through violence.

Rowson's epic history of New World colonization includes important historical moments from both British and American history--and Rowson's commentary on those events. In addition to including various types of history through oral, epistolary, and literary discourse, Rowson portrays history as multivocal through her various European,

Native, and American narrators, most of whom are women. Throughout the novel, Rowson portrays history through the lens of family lineage and relationships. Using both fictional and non-fictional characters, Rowson incorporates diverse nationalities into the larger family as a means of smoothing over conflict and dissension. She thus builds a nation-model based upon mutual affection, familial connection, and idealized virtue. As the narrative crosses back and forth across the Atlantic and as the New World transforms into the New Republic, Rowson maintains strong connections between Europe and America, never falling into divisive rhetoric against England or emphasizing America's special political or religious destiny. Instead, she crafts a narrative where America's history represents a new chapter in a larger Anglo-American history and where virtues like independence, self-sufficiency, sympathy, and liberty flourish on both sides of the Atlantic.

In two volumes, Rowson's Reuben and Rachel covers almost three hundred years and several countries as she traces a family history beginning with Columbus and his wife Beatina and ending with the twins Reuben and Rachel. The story opens with the young Columbia, great-granddaughter of Christopher Columbus, learning through her Peruvian servant Cora and several letters in her mother's possession about her family history, which is inextricably intertwined with the discovery of the New World. She learns of the initially peaceful coming together of the Old and New Worlds, of the corruption and tyranny of greedy colonists and governors, of the heroism of people like Columbus and Queen Isabella who tried to maintain justice, of her Peruvian grandmother Orabella who

came to Europe to live with Columbia's grandfather, of her own mother's childhood in Spain and marriage to the Protestant Englishman Arundel who was later executed. Columbia experiences her own trial of religious prosecution under Queen Mary, but escapes and eventually marries Sir Gorges. Several generations later, the descendant of these two, William Dudley, sails to America with his wife Arabella. Their two children, William and Rachel, are kidnapped by Indians and grow up under the guidance of a kind squaw and the tribe's sachem Otooganoo. William grows up to marry Oberea and become chief of the tribe; Rachel falls in love with the Indian Yankoo. When a war between the Indians and settlers begins, the two grown children struggle with their torn loyalties. William dies saving his long lost father Dudley from a hatchet blow, during which time both cultures come together and lament the horrors of violence.

The second volume of the novel begins in England and focuses on the twins Reuben and Rachel, the grandchildren of William and the Oberea. At the death of their father on his way home from buying property in America, the twins are left destitute. Reuben sails to America to recover his father's good name and property from the villainous Jacob Holmes. Rachel stays behind; turned out on the streets by her aunt Tabitha, she wanders in London, nearly escaping seduction and secretly marrying Hamden Auberry. Abandoned by him, Rachel and her friend Jessy Oliver sail to America where they reunite with Reuben, who marries Jessy, and with Hamden, who reconciles with Rachel. At the end of the novel, the pairs settle happily on their father's land and continue to lead a virtuous life in America.

As most critics of Reuben and Rachel have noted, the novel is made up of a conglomerate of several literary forms: the sentimental romance, the captivity narrative, the historical novel, the seduction plot, and, my focus, the gothic tale.[7] Within the gothic tale, she includes both what have traditionally been called "American" gothic traits (the horrors of the wilderness, Indian violence, etc.) and "British" gothic traits (the heroine's imprisonment in a castle, sadistic clergy, ghostly appearances, explicit threats to female sexuality, etc.), and in so doing she combines yet again British and American influences. While the novel turns inward upon itself as the different forms interact, the gothic moments play a particular role as they continually focus on moments where two different cultures clash. These moments, including ghostly appearances at a homestead, mysterious footsteps and voices in the night, monstrous convulsions of the earth, graphically detailed murders, and bloody death-bed scenes, do not allow for a comfortable narrative that unifies both American and British history but instead point to fears about the New Republic being unable to keep itself together in spite of all its factions, its diverse population, and its erasure of women, Native-Americans, and slaves from full citizenship. Avoiding the rupture of America from Britain does not allow for escape from this fear; nor does the incorporation of all peoples through intermarriage. Rowson ends her novel with marriage and the main characters' financial security, but this marriage at the end does not erase the gothic rupturing of the fantasy of national cohesion that has gone before it.

In Reuben and Rachel, Rowson uses family lineage through nine generations to portray the history of the New World's colonization and settlement, as well as parts of the histories of England and Europe, during the fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries. Reproduction in this epic tale creates people in the New World as well as in Europe whose genealogies are made up of different races and nationalities. In this manner, Rowson undertakes her most important linkage of European, Native, and American national and political systems by creating an extended international family. Early in the novel, the "pure" races and countrymen come to stand for their separate cultures and races, but from the next generation onward, all future branches are "mixed" in an intricate and continuous repetition of ambiguous pairings. To complicate the national body even further, the characters live, come from, and reproduce in both Europe and America, but a character's country of residence shows nothing of his or her nationality--often quite the opposite as many of the characters move back and forth. The family line, based on mutual love between races, sets up the idealized sentimental narrative which dominates the novel's history, a history which will later be ruptured and made uncanny through the appearance of gothic moments and violence.

The family dynasty begins with Columbus and his wife Beatina. When their son, purebred European Ferdinando, marries the purebred American native Orrabella, Orrozombo's daughter, Rowson makes explicit the political motivation behind this marriage; she also emphasizes the love that makes possible this bond:

> During the time Columbus and his followers tarried at the Peruvian court, Ferdinando had numberless opportunities of improving the favourable impression his first appearance made on the lovely Orrabella. He soon instructed her in the Spanish tongue; and with equal facility, became himself a proficient in her native language. He found her possessed of strong powers of mind, quick perception, ready wit; in short an understanding capable of the highest improvement. The mutual passion that subsisted between them was early discovered, and encouraged by their parents. Columbus looked forward to the union as a means of insuring wealth and power to his posterity, and Orrozombo imagined, by resigning his daughter to this young stranger, he secured to himself a powerful friend and ally in Columbus. For the Spaniards had taught his subjects many of the useful arts; and Science, by their means, began to unfold her beauties to the delighted monarch and his court. (24)

In her novel's first important cross-cultural connection, Rowson creates a family bond strengthened by mutual affection and parental sanction; with Orrabella's and Ferdinando's union, their respective nations also become joined through mutually beneficial educational and trade activities. The first of many companionate marriages in the novel, this marriage indicates Rowson's attempt to emphasize love and sympathy across racial lines. Orrabella and Ferdinando name their mixed-blood daughter Isabelle after the Spanish Queen who aided Columbus's voyage, doubling the first mixed-blood offspring in this family with a European Queen who funded the colonization of

Orrabella's nation. In Isabelle, through her name as well as her blood, Rowson crafts a daughter who confounds the boundaries of subject and ruler; colonized native and colonizing European; and Native American and white. At the same time, Isabelle easily blends into the European upper classes and spends most of her life in England. This easy transition, both in terms of geography and in terms of racial blending, might suggest an elision of racial difference, one in which the Native is engulfed by the white European. The union of white and Native American blood emigrates, as it were, to England where it thrives and reproduces an English national subject that appears no more different or threatening than one that is not "mixed." At the same time, Isabelle's genealogy points back to both her parents, and her mixed heritage does not disappear from the novel's concerns. Indeed, it appears even more strongly in the next generation. From the Spanish upper class herself, Isabelle marries into the English aristocracy through her union with Sir Thomas Arundel. They, in turn, name their daughter, in an appropriate reference to her great-grandfather and to the country he "discovered," Columbia. Because of this reference both to her grandmother's homeland and to her great-grandfather who colonized it, Columbia stands as a reminder of the dual nature of her lineage and of her nation-body. She and her mother might "pass" as white and European, but Columbia, through her name, makes obvious both her family's and her countries' colonial histories and complicates any easy elision of difference. Rowson does not set up this difference as conflictual; rather, she sets both backgrounds side by side in an easy cohabitation.

Columbia marries the English Egbert Gorges, and in their offspring, they reproduce both the names and the colonial interests of the previous generations. In this the fourth generation, a new kind of American blood (Quaker) enters the mixture, and incest appears for the first time in the lineage. Among Columbia's and Egbert's children are: Edward Gorges, who sails to St. Domingo with Sir Francis Drake; Beatina Gorges (named after Columbus's wife) who marries into the Quaker family of the Penns; and Ferdinando Gorges, whose daughter Isabelle ends up not only in an incestuous love affair with her cousin Henry Dudley, but also bears him a son, Edward Dudley. While marriage between first cousins was not legally incestuous in Rowson's time, the novel makes clear that the pairing of Isabelle and Henry is marked by taboo:

> As the children grew up, Henry regarded his little cousin Isabelle with more than fraternal affection; but the tenets of the reformed religion forbidding a union between two persons so nearly related by the ties of blood, neither Sir Ferdinando nor lady Dudley encouraged an affection, which in their ideas was a crime; and with a design to prevent its progress, at the age of nineteen, Henry was sent to travel, and finish his education by gaining a competent knowledge of foreign courts and manners. (126)

Elizabeth Barnes has examined the incest theme in early American fiction and points out that the period's "preoccupation with familial feeling as the foundation for sympathy, and sympathy as the basis of a democratic republic, ultimately confounds the difference between familial and social bonds" (xi). Rather than viewing the incest trope in early

American fiction as evidence of anxieties about political corruption in the republic, she argues that "incest and seduction represent the 'natural' consequence of American culture's most deeply held values" (xi). By utilizing the family "as a model for sociopolitical union, sentimental rhetoric conflates the boundaries between familial and social ties" (3). As novels with this trope demonstrate, this "conflation of familial and social ties results in an eroticisation of familial feeling, of which incest is the 'natural' result" (19). Writing Euro-American history as family history, Rowson takes the familial-social dynamic one step further, I contend, and applies it not just to the American nation by itself, but instead to her imagined union of Old and New World, America and England together. In a move surprising in a novel with gothic content, Rowson does not portray this incestuous affair as frightening, monstrous, or dangerous; indeed, as Barnes theorizes, the affair comes across as a "natural" result of amicable family and cultural relations. Henry and Isabelle are portrayed more as star-crossed lovers than anything else, and, excepting some parental disapproval and the need for secrecy, their love for each other appears to be little different from other affectionate bonds in the novel. Interestingly, Rowson's solution to the incest difficulty is not to end that "unnatural" branch of the family tree as a story like Poe's "Fall of the House of Usher" might do, but to continue it--and to continue her absorption of different races and nationalities within the sympathetic family structure. For, importantly, she continues the branch by moving the family to America and re-infusing the family stock with Native American blood after three generations of European marriage, as if to avoid any further dilution of the Native-

American-European blood bond she created in the family's origins. The case here is not one of corrupt English aristocrats inbreeding and needing American blood to purify their line, particularly since it is not simply American blood but Native American blood, with all its connotations of impurity, that enters into the next generation. Instead, Rowson emphasizes a particular kind of a familial-social-national structure that *must* maintain its function by continuing to include racial and national difference from across the Atlantic such that they continue to exist side by side.

Edward, the child of incest, moves to America, marries Arrabella Ruthven, and fathers two children, William and Rachel. William and Rachel are captured as children by the Indians, who end up raising them with love. Rowson negates the hostility of killing and kidnapping by enveloping it within a loving family. Rachel falls in love with the savage Yankoo, and William marries chief Otooganoo's daughter Oberea; he even gains entrance into the Indian lineage as Otooganoo's heir. Rowson makes clear that his inheritance stems from the affection of Oberea, though; his rise to power derives more from his position as husband, that is, than as white man.

In the next generation, William's son Reuben marries the Quaker Cassiah Penn, a descendant of Beatina Gorges from several generations earlier. Their twin children, the Reuben and Rachel of the novel's title, are raised by their Aunt Rachel and their father. One day the young Reuben discovers a trunk filled with his grandfather William's Indian artifacts. Thrilled to discover that his father would be a sachem and so would he if they lived in America, Reuben becomes fascinated with the idea of seeing the country of his

father's birth and returning to the tribe. Rather than being ashamed of his mixed heritage, Reuben feels pride and curiosity about his roots, again demonstrating the family's success at blending races together.

In this final nuclear family, Rowson intimates the pain of separation that could happen if a rift were allowed to occur between America and England. Reuben senior goes to America to find his fortune, but loses touch with his children in England, much to their dismay and financial hardship. This is the first intra-familial separation across the ocean since Columbus that Rowson portrays as painful breakage. Rowson repeats it almost immediately when Reuben junior leaves Rachel behind to discover his father's business. Rachel is overwhelmed with grief, falls into financial hardship, and, importantly, familial difficulty. As soon as the Euro-American family starts to fall apart geographically, so too does it fall apart in terms of affection and family bonds across cultural lines. Tabitha Penn, a Quaker and Rachel's great aunt, becomes Rachel's guardian and tormentor, driving Rachel outside the family home onto the streets. Whereas in earlier generations family members easily accommodate difference, in this one it is specifically because of difference that the family fails. Tabitha demands that Rachel become a Quaker against her will; she also fails to sympathize with Rachel's beliefs and suffering. Wandering as if an orphan, Rachel laments her loss of family and looks across the ocean with the hope of reconnecting with them. By the end of the novel, the next generation is brought back together and the story concludes with the marriage of Reuben and Jessy Oliver and the reunion of Rachel and her husband Hamden.

Throughout the novel, Rowson writes national history as family history, incorporating famous figures into her genealogy and leading her families through various well-known events from the past. As a history concerned with national as well as personal identity--indeed, national identity *as* personal identity--Reuben and Rachel conflates nation-formation with familial love and reproduction. She uses this strategy to reinforce the strong bond between America and England, as well as their respective histories. Family reunion at the novel's end covers over the brief horror of separation affecting the Dudley family and the international "family" the Dudleys represent. Ending as it does before the American Revolution, the novel recaptures the fantasy of amicable relations across the Atlantic and figures an Indian-Anglo-American subject, not just an American subject, based on self-replicating unions of difference. Throughout Reuben and Rachel, Rowson eschews any divisive anti-English or American exceptionalist rhetoric. In writing a history of the New World as a narrative unified with that of European history, Rowson avoids political, historical, or personal separation from England. After all, at the end of the novel, the family does not move to America to escape religious or political oppression, or to search for liberty in its more universal sense; even trade and financial opportunity are not solely to be found in America. Rather, the main purpose of this cross-Atlantic journey is reunion, family reunion, one in which nationalities are combined.

As in many eighteenth-century historical writings, sympathy plays an important role in the Columbus family's history. Fellow feeling becomes the binding force among the novel's different characters and, by extension, peoples, and it is intimately caught up

in Rowson's idealized construction of the nation-family that the gothic will break apart. Sympathy plays a dual function in Reuben and Rachel when viewed alongside gothic conventions. It both hides and reveals problems endemic to the Columbus family's attempts to include difference without erasing it, as can often happen in sentimental narratives. Elizabeth Barnes has studied the various constructions of sympathy and seduction in the early American novel, and she argues that sympathy, while it connects individuals and seemingly creates a democratic nation where all people exist harmoniously, can also be used to erase difference.[8] She explains that sympathy, the very idea that underpins Americans' self-portrayal, has a

> dangerous capacity to undermine the democratic principles it ostensibly means to reinforce. By displacing a democratic model that values diversity with a familial model that seeks to elide it, sentimental literature subordinates democratic politics to a politics of affinity, employing a method of affective representation that dissolves the boundaries between "self" and "other". (4)

Thus, portraying others sympathetically--as part of the same family--relies on homogeneity.

As shown above, Rowson's novel does link different peoples together and relies on mutual sympathy to do so throughout the generations. But, Rowson also includes moments in the novel where a family's attempts to enforce homogeneity lead to ruin. As noted above, when Rachel's aunt Tabitha compels her to conform to the strict code of the Quaker religion rather than allowing for Rachel's different beliefs as other Quaker relatives

and friends do, the family no longer functions and Rachel experiences potential financial and moral ruin. Similarly, when Beatina, a loving mother, requires in her will that her daughter Isabelle not marry a Protestant on the pain of disinheritance, her intentions to guide her daughter lead instead to Isabelle's ruin and sorrow when she marries a Protestant, Thomas Arundel. While Rowson relies upon idealized family relations as she traces the novel's history, she keeps reminding readers of the ability of the families to include, not erase, difference. For example, just as Orrabella learns from the Spanish colonists, so too does Ferdinando learn from Orrabella. William teaches Otooganoo and Oberea English as he teaches his own white sister; William also learns specific cultural lessons from his "adopted" Indian family. In terms of culture and race, Rowson draws attention not just to the way sympathy links the characters, but also to how these characters actually are different even though similar enough in their sympathy for each other. She notes the physical characteristics of the biracial children or Indian forebears, such as when she describes Rachel as a "lively brown girl" (173) or Orrabella as lovely Indian maid with gorgeous black tresses of hair (10), not only drawing attention to racial difference but also accepting it without prejudice throughout the generations. Children learn of their parents' racial heritage with interest, such as when Reuben discovers his father's trunk of Indian artifacts or when Columbia sees the picture of her Peruvian grandmother (10). Interweaving her family romance with historical and gothic discourse opens other avenues along which Rowson interrogates the sympathy. As a closer examination of the novel's actual historical events will show, Rowson's use of sympathy

in the novel, rather than eliding difference, attempts to show how different peoples can come together while maintaining those differences. Idealistic in nature, this sentimental narrative nevertheless breaks apart in the face of actual historical horrors and reveals the failure of the fantasy of intercultural and interracial harmony at the level of either the family or the nation. Within her narrative, Rowson uses sympathy, the defining force of her familial and national relations, not to cover up difference under the guise of homogeneity, but to sugarcoat the failure of her idealized vision of peaceful international and intercultural coexistence.

On Learning History

Rowson crafts the novel's first major historical segment using the typically gothic device of the hidden manuscript--in this case, the group of letters and documents locked away in Isabelle's private drawer. Rowson also includes the secret history Cora possesses in the form of her previously undisclosed oral narrative; Cora's presence as source of and guide through history further emphasizes the importance of personal connection with another (sympathetic) person in order to understand the past. Containing as it does the record of colonization's horrors and of the personal suffering experienced by major historical figures, this secret history possesses the key to the heroine's identity, and, as it reveals her true past, it reveals the dark secrets of the Euro-American past as well. The original sources, letters, and oral narrative depict others' personal experience of historical events; for these individuals, the past is violent. In spite

of the larger narrative's trend to increasingly cover up such disjunctive moments under the feeling of mutual love and affection, these hidden original sources speak the unspeakable. That these historical expressions remain secret in the larger world of the novel points to their speakers' continued exclusion from the historical record. That the histories which are passed on to Columbia affect her future conduct and self-development, however, places value on the person-to-person historical transmission experienced by Columbia in her historical education and points to the possibility that historical education can be a way to gain fortitude in the face of future tribulations.

As Radcliffe does in Gaston de Blondeville, Rowson begins her history with a lesson about how to read history. Reflecting back to the preface of Reuben and Rachel where Rowson announces her intention to inspire the study of history, the early scenes involving Columbia's education about her famous family's past provide not only a recitation of famous events and people to study but also guidance for approaching historical reading. Through Columbia's reactions to what she learns, the conflicts among the various historical sources she uses, and the purposes for which she studies history, Rowson interrogates the creation and uses of historical narratives. Gothic moments appear within this larger frame of the history and serve to create questions of narrator reliability and objectivity. They also appear at moments of textual disjunction, where horrors of history become real in the reader's experience.

In the beginning of the novel, Columbia yearns to know about the past in order to understand her mother's current sorrows. Showing her daughter a picture of her

grandmother, Isabelle begins the family history by drawing attention to intercultural and political conflict that from the outset sets up questions about the intercultural family's viability. Holding Orrabella's picture, she points out to Columbia that this

> "is the portrait of your grandmother, by birth a *queen* the only child of a monarch whose wealth had no bounds, and who, far from the haunts of those who call themselves civilized people, reigned unmolested, till the adventurous spirit of your great ancestor Columbus prompted him to seek in distant seas for unknown worlds. Oh, sublime and too daring spirit," she continued, whilst her raised eyes glistened with the tear of extorted remembrance, "why wert thou endowed with qualities, which served but to stir up in the breasts of thine enemies the malignant fiend Envy. Why! whilst thou wert labouring to benefit and enlighten posterity, wert thou sealing thy own ruin!" (10-11)

When her mother can no longer continue, Columbia turns to her mother's Peruvian servant Cora, who echoes Isabelle's sentiments. Seeing Orrabella's portrait, Cora says that

> it is the figure of my queen, my mistress, in the dress she wore on the day she was espoused by Don Ferdinando. Oh fatal day! unhappy hour! by that union she sealed her own wretchedness, the ruin of her father, the slavery of his people, and brought destruction on the heads of her adored husband and his respected parent! Ah! my sweet young mistress, I can no longer forbear; I must tell you the fatal story of your father's wrongs. (11)

While the letters and documents Columbia is about to read will portray Orrabella's and Ferdinando's marriage as loving and beneficial to both European and Peruvian, this early framing of the historical narrative to follow emphasizes the destruction resulting from intercultural contact. The family's foundational love story is not without its tragedy, a tragedy wherein biracial marriage cannot prevent abuses brought about by European colonization--indeed, the marriage may well have hastened these abuses by assuring the Peruvian's fatal trust in and generosity toward future colonizers. Both Isabelle and Cora problematize the moment the two cultures come together, whether through Columbus's discovery or Orrabella's marriage to Ferdinando--two seemingly happy and innocent events. In bewailing and blaming those particular moments, rather than such more obviously brutal events as when the Castillians come, these introductory comments upon the family's history call into question the ease with which the family seems to envelope cultural and racial difference contained within the history. In this instance, Rowson presages the failure of the novel's primary fantasy--that two cultures can avoid, through creating bonds of sympathy, colonization's inherent violence and appropriation.

To fully understand history, Columbia must rely on both written records and Cora's oral recitation of her first-hand experiences. Columbia and Cora interrupt each other and argue about the best way to learn about the past, but in the end, both written and oral evidence are needed to piece together history. Furthermore, both cultural perspectives, European and Peruvian, and the historical recording methods used by each, are necessary for Columbia if she wishes to know all. The two women's arguments

interrupt the history throughout, as if to remind readers of the conflicts inherent in historical learning and transmission.

In the chapter entitled "An Old Woman's Tale Interrupted," a title which alludes to the discrepancies to come, Cora begins the history in a storytelling pose, "her right hand spread out, as commanding attention, and every feature of her aged countenance beaming with the satisfaction which the liberty of repeating tales of old times gave her" (12). Columbia immediately interrupts her, wishing to look at the letters first, for they "may serve to elucidate your relation, and explain events which happened antecedent to the time of your remembering" (12). Furthermore, "they must contain facts necessary for me to know, or they would not be thus carefully preserved" (13). Cora insists, "I am sure there is nothing worth attending to, till the time of Don Ferdinando's arrival in Peru and becoming enamoured of my royal mistress Orrabella" (12), but then she concedes to Columbia. The letters do pre-date Cora's participation in the history, but once they reach the time when Orrabella enters the history, Columbia turns to Cora again, urging her to "tell me all; for in listening to the recital of a person who was present whilst the events they relate happened, it seems as if you were transported to the very scene, and witness to the incidents recited" (21). Once Cora starts, however, Columbia interrupts again, frustrated by Cora's elaborate storytelling style: "If you are thus particular, you will never get to the end of your story" (23). Cora responds that she likes "to tell a story in my own way. If I am not allowed to tell all the particulars, I shall never be able to tell it at all" (23). While Columbia acquiesces, the novel's narrator does not: "Cora again began,

but she so often interrupted herself telling the same incidents several times over, and dwelling on each with a tiresome minuteness, that Columbia, though anxious, could scarcely command her attention to the end of the story. From it she gathered the following circumstances" (23).

Because of Cora's method of transmitting her history, her actual words are erased in the above scene, yet her information is still indispensable and enters into the narrative at last. Later in the novel when Columbia again runs into a gap in the written record, she turns once more to Cora, who by this time is aggravated at Columbia's refusal to listen to her. Columbia begs Cora to tell her the story of her mother, saying she didn't find any of it written down. Cora says haughtily, "I did not suppose they would." (61). Columbia states that she knows Cora will tell her. "'Oh not I,'" she replied, putting from her with a rejecting motion the lovely arm that encircled her neck; 'not I, indeed. I tell a story so badly, and make so many repetitions, and am so tedious and minute, you would have no patience to listen; so you and Mina may go and walk, and I'll go to bed, and then, you know, we shall both be satisfied.'" (61-2). Columbia asks for forgiveness and promises not to interrupt. Cora responds,

> Aye, to be sure . . . we are mighty condescending now. O my conscience, there is nothing like curiosity to make a young lady gentle and complying. This morning it was, Be quiet, Cora, and pray hold your tongue. Hold my tongue indeed; why I warrant I could have told you every thing that happened, as well as those letters.

But you liked reading the letters best then, and so mayhap you may find some more to-morow that will tell you every thing you wish to know. (62)

Columbia eventually coaxes Cora to tell the history by threatening to disturb her mother, but Cora has made her point, and the next section of the novel takes up the history in Cora's own words, in juxtaposition to the narrative erasure that had gone before.

In the above scenes, both Columbia and Cora want to start at different points in history, points related to each woman's cultural connections to those events and each culture's respective means of historical transmission. Cora rejects what happened in Europe before her experience, favors oral transmission, and tells history with detail, convolution, and drama; Columbia sees this history's origin in Europe, favors the written document, and wants to read history linearly. Rather than showing history as one true immutable narrative, Rowson demonstrates through these two women how historical transmission and reading are inevitably linked to a narrator's class and cultural position. Columbia condescends to her servant Cora and threatens to tell her mother when she finds Cora intractable. At the same time, the written historical record has gaps in knowledge when the history takes place in Peru; only an eye-witness participant can fill in those gaps, but since she is not literate, the only way that history will be told is through her own words. Without Cora and her perspective, the European Columbia who lives outside the Peruvian culture would not understand fully the past of her own family. The tensions between the two women as Columbia attempts to learn history and select which source to use further depict history-gathering as conflictual. Each type of historical discourse--oral

and written--competes with the other until an uneasy truce is reached through necessity. Because Cora and Columbia disagree about the different types of history and their usefulness, the narrative does not flow smoothly onward and the two ways of "knowing" the past exist together only tentatively. Rowson makes clear, however, that both are necessary and valuable. Rather than blending into one, the two histories interact in a dialectic that continually calls attention to the differences between the two. Columbia eventually finds that oral history told by a participant plays an important role in the larger historical picture and can transport the listener to the past even as historical documents, which "must contain facts necessary for me to know, or they would not be thus carefully preserved" (13), are able to do.

Rowson further complicates the history lesson by shifting Cora's position as historian. Cora not only relates her participation in the family's Peruvian history and her knowledge of Isabelle's marriage to Arundel but also teaches Columbia about English history. Assuming the authority to tell the history of her newly adopted English culture and the authority to interpret it for Columbia, Cora ends her narrative by relating Arundel's political intrigues in the court of Edward VI and the sad tale of Lady Jane Grey. She possesses knowledge not only of the aristocracy's genealogies and factions, but also of the political moves of people like the Earl of Northumberland, Bishop Gardiner, and the Duke of Somerset. Whereas earlier, Cora's storytelling methods hearken to stereotypes of the garrulous servant who tells a story with heightened dramatic effect and superstitious interpretations, in this section Cora communicates

history as a political narrative driven by reason and organized linearly by cause and effect. Not an ignorant native, she includes philosophical commentary on legal and political systems of thought, such as when she discusses Arundel's ruin at the hands of his enemies.

> They said he [Somerset] had laid a plan to murder the young King, and accused my worthy master, Sir Thomas Arundel, of being an accomplice; and they threw them into prison, and a great many more good men were confined. And then Gardiner, and the Duke of Northumberland, and others of his enemies, pretended to have a regular trial. But what sort of trial was that, when the men that accused them were the judges? (71-2)

Insider and outsider at the same time, Cora occupies a number of positions, all of which interrogate how history is formed and passed down, as well as how that history is used to create national identity. She tells history both according to "her own way" of native storytelling *and* following a method influenced by Enlightenment historiography. With expertise in Peru's and England's history based on personal experience, she adopts the authority to make herself a character in these histories and include her own political commentary. Rowson supports such a move by at last locating within Cora's narrative the specific historical information Columbia is seeking--her mother's great tragedy of losing her husband, for whom she chose banishment. England's history is, in the end, related not by another Englishman but by a native servant, suggesting the potential an outsider possesses to create fissures in the national subject and in the nation's own

historiography that attempts unity through the portrayal of homogeneity. Cora appropriates one powerful tool of colonial occupation, that of creating and passing on history, and uses it to include herself, her historical methods, and her own ideas about the political events that transpire.

Cora's shifting position as historian makes her particularly well-suited to relate the history of another conflicted subject, Lady Jane Grey. Like Mary Queen of Scots, Lady Jane Grey was a favorite character in eighteenth-century studies of historical women, largely because of her tragic execution which elicited sympathy in her readers. The paradox of her powerful yet also powerless status appears clearly in Cora's narrative:

> Oh! what a heavenly creature lady Jane was; your mother loved her dearly. She, sweet soul, did not wish to be a queen; and when, on the death of King Edward, they offered her the crown, "I pray you pardon me, my friends," said she, "and suffer me to decline this honour; it is too much for me, frail mortal that I am. I would seek an eternal, not a temporal crown; and much I fear the cares and anxieties attendant on the one, will prove a hindrance to my doing my duty necessary for the obtaining of the other;" and when urged to comply, she bowed her head in token of assent. She said to those who knelt to do her homage, "Pray rise, my friends, this is mockery. You think I am ascending a throne; but I see clearer, and perceive it is a scaffold. Heaven pardon me this usurpation, for I feel I

have no right to these honours, and shall be ready, when called upon, to resign them to my rightful queen." (72-3)

Cora describes Lady Jane's strength as stemming from the spiritual realm of Christian humility and virtue, not the political realm of power and action, a technique that Nina Baym has argued was one way that historians of famous women could avoid the association of women with political, historical corruption and decline (214-222). Her purity, sweetness, and seeming foreknowledge of her doom set her up as the quintessential suffering heroine as well. Cora's story includes the personal love that existed between the historical figure of Lady Jane Grey and the novel's similarly suffering Isabelle, joining the political with the personal through a daughter's experience of motherly affection. Columbia's love and sympathy for her mother affect how she hears the history, making more intense her tears and sighs following Cora's relation. She has been prepared for this since the beginning by her mother's inability to relate her history without being overcome by sorrow, by Cora's exclamations that the past is full of woe, and by the early letters themselves that focus on death, suffering, and the correspondents' tears.

Cora's history thus becomes not simply a relation of historical events, but also an examination of character, both that of the virtuous Lady Jane and of the other corrupt courtiers. This segment of the novel also becomes a lesson for how to react while learning history, as Columbia's frequent emotional interjections demonstrate. For example, after hearing about Lady Jane Grey and her father, "Columbia was unable to thank her [Cora] or articulate a single word. The unmerited accusation and ignominious death of her father, the

untimely fate of the lovely and pious lady Jane, had so oppressed her heart, that it was only by the indulgence of tears she could save herself from fainting" (73). After all, Columbia's motivation lies in learning how better to sympathize with her mother, and Isabelle's wish that she finally learn the secret of her past stems from her desire to enrich Columbia's character. These motivations hearken back to Rowson's motherly preface, where she states that her purpose is to educate her young readers about history and about character:

> And though none of my characters are so very faultless as to occasion the young reader to neglect imitating them at all, because they despair of attaining the same degree of perfection, yet they discover such an innate love of virtue, such a thorough contempt of vice, that the uncontaminated mind will contemplate with pleasure the beauty of the one, and shrink with abhorrence from the deformity of the other. (iii-iv)

Columbia's history lesson, which occurs at the very beginning of the novel, instructs her and the reader how to read and react to history: by feeling it and by using it to judge and imitate virtuous character.

While tears and sighs may be appropriate reactions to history, terror, it seems, is not. Rowson inserts gothic moments into Columbia's reading about and experiences within British history, but she later repudiates the terrors by explaining them away or scoffing at them. However, these ghostly appearances and gothic devices appear concurrent with real dangers, both in the past and the present. Exploring both Columbia's

overwrought emotions and the linkage between those emotions and the highly dramatic history Columbia has just read, Rowson conjures up the gothic to point to a real danger only to cover it up again in order to maintain a narrative where difference does not interfere with personal relationships or lead to terror.

The first of these instances occurs right after Columbia has heard and read the entire history of her ancestors. Columbia and her companion Mina come face to face with their own terrors, which are stirred up by the whole history they have heard ending with Lady Jane's persecution. Rowson describes the gloom surrounding the tower at midnight as the two prepare for bed. After already having cried about her family's history, Columbia tells her friend, "My spirits are so depressed, and the apartment looks so gloomy, I almost wish I had not put out the candle" (74). Mina echoes the sentiment and tells of the castle's history, featuring a baron who killed his brother to seduce a woman. "And they say the young Baron's ghost often is seen about the western ruins; and that he walks round the garden, and even sometimes through the long gallery and up the winding staircase that leads to the turret that joins this range of apartments" (74). Though Columbia says, "What should we hear or see, more than our own family?" (74), she still shudders and hides. The young women hear male voices and footsteps along the turret connected to their bedroom and later see out the window ghostly forms that wander and disappear into the castle's western ruins. Running to Cora, who also knows the history of the castle, they become even more terrified. Cora "fully believed that they had seen supernatural beings, and related, as she lay trembling between them, so many horrible

stories, that the terrified girls were afraid to open their eyes, lest some ghastly spectre should meet their view" (76). Again, Cora's continuing position as historian/storyteller leads her credulous audience into listening to and believing her tales, bringing up the question of which parts of the above histories of Isabella, Columbus, and Orrabella that she tells are true.

The narrator says that "Cora was strongly tinctured with the superstition so prevalent at that period in almost every rank" (76), but her tales actually do presage danger. The family of four women and an elderly male servant, who are in hiding from political enemies and living in this remote and ruined castle, have much to fear indeed from strange men wandering the grounds, ghostly or otherwise, as Mina's story about the Baron's sexual crime intimates. Fortunately, the men turn out to be the honorable Sir Egbert Gorges and his servant, who are hiding from Bloody Mary. Their arrival, however, reinitiates the reclusive family into political intrigue, and other, less friendly men--Sir Howard and Queen Mary's officers--come at night and take the family away. That Columbia and Mina give in to meaningless fears of ghosts provides Rowson with an opportunity to critique such reactions, but it is a qualified critique in that their instincts are correct, even if their object is wrong. Standing in between two moments of real political persecution, that of Lady Jane's history and the women's own eventual persecution by another queen, the ghostly appearance marks a dangerous space of real clash between two different groups--Catholic and Protestant. Once they are prisoners of Bloody Mary, the two women are threatened with torture, burning at the stake, and the

machinations of Bloody Mary's priests. No longer a sentimental narrative but one of real terror, the political events that follow the continuation of the history the girls have just learned remind the reader that history is not simply a matter of feeling and that terror is certainly a part of its events.

Fortunately, since Columbia has learned of her family's origins and of Peru's colonization, she has absorbed lessons such as these from her female predecessors that will influence her in parallel experiences as she herself becomes a player in historical events. Columbia learns of heroic women and their brave deeds, stalwart virtue, moving words, and honorable sacrifices. For example, when Orabella returns to Peru to find that her people have been robbed and butchered, she confronts the villainous Garcia directly, "her eyes darting lightning, her fine face and person uncommonly animated by the fire of resentment" (43):

> insolent Spaniard, the king my father, though you term him a savage, was your superior in every virtue! What though unpolished, he had but nature for his guide? that nature taught him humanity, honour, patience, fortitude, and Orrozombo would have died rather than deceive a friend, or insult a fallen foe. . . . Tell me, barbarian, have you entirely extirpated the race of the children of the sun, or do you hold the lawful king of this territory in bondage, whilst you usurp his rights, and riot in the spoils of his devoted subjects? If so, Oh lead me to the dungeon where you have confined him, that I may weep in his arms, and die with grief to see my king, my father, a slave to the nation he had vainly hoped to have

held in eternal bonds of friendship, and gave his child as a hostage of his faith towards them. Alas! what hostage did he require to insure their faith to him? None; his noble heart harboured not deceit, nor could suspect it in another. (43-4)

In her anger, Orrabella, like the other natives, at first groups Columbus and his men with the other corrupt colonizers, until he clarifies his aims and proves himself by overthrowing Garcia Du Ponty's band. She feels no difficulty seeing past the bonds of her adopted European family when she suspects his treachery against her own people.[9] Columbus protests that his motives were for good (45), both to bring religion and trade to the natives, but Orrabella sees through such motives to the abuses brought along with European religious and cultural proselytizing. She actively fights the Castillians and takes charge of her people in spite of their initial suspicion of her and her child and heir. She criticizes her sister Alzira for her folly in loving Du Ponty and for allowing her power and honor to be tainted. Orrabella's active resistance aids in the defeat of the Spaniards and the reestablishment of her people's power.

When faced with similar oppression, Columbia behaves in a like manner, rejecting sentimentalized norms of female passivity and speaking out even at peril to herself. In Mary's clutches, Columbia refuses to be separated from her mother and bravely stands with her during her imprisonment. Isabelle, too, is willing to take the fall and hides from Columbia her belief "within her own mind, that the hour drew near in which she would be called upon to seal her faith with her blood" (99) and awaits the expected trial with patience and fortitude. Isabelle conceals her fear from Columbia, and when the guards

eventually come for Columbia, she urges her daughter not to give up her faith, even if it means dooming her mother. Demonstrating how she has learned from history, Columbia states, "Fear me not, beloved parent. I can never forget the noble examples of firmness and resolution set me by my ancestors" (100). Columbia is up for the task of facing down Queen Mary and replies to her threats and manipulations with directness and unswerving purpose. While Mary and her advisors are certainly threatening, Columbia outwits them and counters their threats with steadfastness, eventually creating the opportunity for their escape. Learning from her ancestors' examples in history and successfully applying them to her own life, Columbia, too, becomes a successful actor in history during Bloody Mary's reign.

Later, upon discovering that their protector Sir Howard has once more betrayed them by hiding them under false pretenses once Bloody Mary is dead, the women again plan an escape. Here, Rowson's heroines again demonstrate their mettle, as well as the way in which they depart from the norm of female passivity. Noting to her daughter, "We are, I fear, in the power of a villain" (112), Isabelle and Columbia plot to escape their imprisonment and seek aid from Queen Elizabeth. Isabelle fortifies her daughter by saying,

> We must summon all our fortitude to brave even hardship and danger without shrinking. We are women, it is true, and ought never to forget the delicacy of our sex; but real delicacy consists in purity of thought, and chastity of words and actions; not in shuddering at an accidental blast of wind, or increasing the

> unavoidable evils of life by affected weakness and timidity. How many of our sex are obliged by hard and daily labour, to procure for themselves and children the bare means of existence! How many brave the severities of the most inclement seasons, with hardly covering sufficient to keep them from perishing! I allow that you and I, my beloved child, have been accustomed to tenderer usage; but we are particularly called upon at this time, to exert the strength and faculties of both mind and body, with which nature has bountifully endowed us. (113)

The two women not only succeed in their plan; they later have the opportunity to again shame Sir Howard, this time into submission to their mandate that he expiate his crimes and immorality. Throughout their lives, Isabelle and Columbia have lived by their principles, whether while residing alone at Aubury Castle, taking charge of dangerous situations, forming secret plans of escape and rebellion, or refusing to give in to groundless fears. Within a segment of the novel where women through the generations are aware of each other's influences and deeds, Rowson depicts women as adventurous and powerful heroines.

As the novel continues throughout the next several generations, women like Rachel and Arrabella become less intimately connected to their foremothers and less knowledgeable about their own histories, both personal and political. Indeed, the concern with compiling, transmitting, and learning from history plays a less vital role in Reuben and Rachel after the generation of Columbia's son Ferdinando. At the same time, female characters take less prominent places in historical events, and they become less

independent and daring, degenerating instead into passive domesticated creatures. Castiglia has argued that the novel's generic shifts parallel the shifts in early American women's position.

> From a frontier romance featuring strong and independent women of both races, Reuben and Rachel becomes a sentimental novel, complete with abandonment by worthless lovers and a lovelorn suicide. The move from frontier romance to sentimental novel accurately reflects the experience of many American women, who witnessed their own transformation in the nation's perception of the ideal American woman from a brave and industrious fighter for liberty to a frail, overwrought, housebound sentimental heroine. (27)

Castiglia rightly observes that once the tales of adventure close at the end of Volume One and the sentimental and captivity plots take precedence in volume two, women in the novel lose agency in their own lives and in the events around them (29). This increasing female passivity, I would add, is also related to women's increasing lack of historical education and consequent failure to participate in history's transmission. Early in the novel, women like Beatina, Orrabella, and Isabelle pass on their histories to each other down through the generations by means of letters, mementos, and autobiographical narratives; by the time it reaches Columbia, the historical record has become a substantial body of information. Daughters learn about their own personal links to history and about the grand historical events in which their mothers participated; mothers guide their daughters learning about history and its application to their lives. Mothers and mother

figures like Queen Isabella and Cora also record their own engagement and presence in history, writing themselves in as important figures, for future generations to read about and learn from. Unlike Beatina, Orrabella, Isabelle and Columbia, however, the women in later generations do not pass history on to their daughters or use history to educate their daughters about character, fortitude, heroism, etc. Once history is no longer transmitted from woman to woman, the strength of the female characters diminishes. As the novel continues, this linkage of women throughout history breaks apart until Rowson's mothers are entirely absent. Interestingly, later in the novel it is the sons who learn about history directly from their parents and who transform education into action. Reuben, for example, learns about his father William's past as a sachem after discovering the artifacts of William's life in America. This, in turn, urges Reuben to undertake his journey to America and eventually to succeed in a new life there. Those who are connected to history and historiography are also connected to action, heroism, and empowerment. In terms of the educational motives Rowson claims for her novel, this is one other lesson that Reuben and Rachel provides, a lesson particularly important for women.

Gothified History and the Failure of the Sentimental Narrative

I now turn to those darker and more violent moments in Reuben and Rachel to examine more closely how gothic effects intertwine with and destabilize the sentimentalized versions of familial and national history. The novel spends a good amount of time setting up and supporting sympathetic relations between people of

different cultures, races, and genders. However, once gothic moments interrupt the text, such visions cannot sustain themselves. The more obvious examples center around the story of Columbus and the initial attempts at colonization, a segment of the novel that is full of graphic violence and that points to the ultimate failure of the sympathetic family. Other examples include: monstrous appearances along Peru's coastline, ghosts at sites of massacres, and transformations at the site of a corpse. Whether giving voice to history's horrors, marking cultural difference as uncanny, or revealing national/family history to be a tale of oppression and exclusion, the gothic narrative line that runs throughout the novel constantly "gothifies" the historical events with which it interacts.

The history that Columbia reads is full of violence and horror In many ways her historical education is an education about sexual and racial oppression, collected by white and native women. The difference between a glowing representation of her forefather Columbus and the portrayal of the horrible effects of colonization becomes a foundational conflict not only in these early historical moments but in the whole novel, which springs forth from Columbus's entrance into history. The shocking, spectacular, and gory descriptions for which the gothic is known place in bold relief moments when two cultures clash and when personal relationships cannot stem the larger tides of violence.

Rowson chooses as her central historical character the man who, in David Shields's words, became "the single most popular symbolic character in early American literature, the prototype of heroic sailors, the American Aeneas, Christopher Columbus" (29). Rowson models the patriarch of her family and the fount of her national history

after the popularized version of Columbus: a man who followed his imaginative vision; whose interactions with Native Americans were characterized by moderation and good intentions; who suffered injustice at the hands of European aristocrats and Spanish adventurers; and who ended his life unrecognized and persecuted (Shields 29-33).[10] The first series of Columbus's letters depicts his excitement about the voyage, difficulties securing funding, and his eventual success in persuading Queen Isabella to support him. Rowson portrays Columbus as the good colonizer who makes clear his peaceful intentions to the natives, who in turn honor him. After making friends with the chief Orrozombo, Columbus and his crew set up a colony of mutual benefit and solidify their interconnectedness through the marriage of Columbus's son Ferdinand and Orrozombo's daughter Orrabella.

In addition to founding a colony based on amicable and mutually beneficial relations, Columbus proves to be the defender of natives against the abuses of the Spanish. When, on a return voyage, he visits the Spanish colony of Hispanolia, he discovers conflicts between settlers and natives exasperated by the harsh demands imposed by the Spanish. When the head of the colony, Rolden, complains that the natives are not complying with the colonists' demands and must be taught a lesson, Columbus exclaims,

> I do not rightly understand you. What privilege can these people solicit from you or me, which they have not a right to demand? Is not this continent theirs by right of nature? and is not the privilege of living here unmolested enjoyed by us

through their unsuspecting good nature, and the confidence they place in our honest intentions? and shall we abuse this confidence, repay their hospitality by infringing their natural rights? Heaven forbid! If they have complaints to make, it is our duty to hear, and to the utmost of our power redress them. (27-28)

Later, once Spanish tyranny takes its strongest hold, Columbus leads a resistance to overthrow them and reinstate the same type of "good" colony that he created in Peru. Depicted as a hero, a man who honors the native peoples with whom the settlers share land, education, and love, the character Columbus allows Rowson to begin her familial and international history with idealizations of colonization and America's foundation, as well as of the natives and some of the colonizers.

In opposition to Columbus and his friendly settlement, Rowson depicts the Spanish colonizers as violent, evil, and un-Christian. Again, Rowson adopts the popular myth of Spanish violation that justified Anglo settlement and its enlightening, peaceful, and civilizing ways. Shields describes this stereotypical depiction of Spanish cruelty as "The Black Legend" that "held Spain responsible for the disruption of New World peace. Spanish galleons freighted the gold wrested from Peru's mines by enslaved natives; Spanish armadas conveyed the conquistadors to virgin territories" (33). In a variety of British and British American texts, "Spaniards are often not differentiated in character; when they do possess differences, they tend to function as one-dimensional allegories of vicious human impulses. Often no motive is supplied for the actions of Spanish characters, as though like devils the will to do evil exists *a priori* in their nature" (178).

Rowson's portrayals are certainly aligned with this "Black Legend"; horrifying imagery and description characterize her novel's portrayal of Spaniards. Rowson provides many instances of Spanish cruelty, and she describes them in detail. Upon returning to his original colony in Peru after a short period of unfair imprisonment, Columbus finds that his enemies, led by Garcias Du Ponty, have taken over the colony and undone the balance of native and European interests that characterized it before Columbus was sent to Spain. Indeed, he sees the destruction happen before his very eyes. When he arrives, he finds that the natives and the good Spaniards united against these invaders and fled into the country, but with little success.

> The Castilians had gone to the interior of the country searching for mines and plundered all they saw. These returned, boasting of the ravages they had committed, and displaying the spoils they had gleaned. They had plundered every village through which they passed, and then set fire to it. Thousands of innocent families, thus deprived of their homes and all means of support, fled into the mountains, where many perished through famine, and the rest dragged on a wretched life, living on wild fruit, and what game their bows and arrows produced, sleeping in caves or recesses of the rocks, and too often their miserable existence was terminated by the fangs of the tyger or the lion. (46)

The natives were undisciplined in the art of war, gave up their arms, and accepted a false offer of peace. During their annual festival of the sun, they invited Garcias and his crew,

who then massacred them: "then did the blood-thirsty Garcias and his detested crew rush on the defenseless victims, and massacre them without mercy and without remorse" (46).

Rowson also allows for the retelling of history's violence to European women and indigenous men and women, both of whom are represented as historians who pass their narratives on. It is mainly through the experiences of the native women that Rowson portrays the larger violence brought about by the dealings between colonizer and native. Christopher Castiglia has argued that "Rowson is unique among early white novelists in depicting Indian women as the objects of a dual subjection, as she implies through the representation of their oppression by rape--an act of violence directed both by a colonist against a native and by a man against a woman" (28). In this way Rowson links colonial and domestic captivity and subjection (29). Rape certainly plays an important role in this section of the novel and Rowson continuously refers to it. She details the rapes of Bruna and Alzira and refers to many other instances where "the chaste wife and the pure virgin were violated in the presence of parents and protectors, who, confined by these inhuman monsters, had not the power to refuse or avenge them" (45). Rowson depicts and repeats this particular kind of violence at the border of cultures in detail, emphasizing its location within the family, using gothic spectacle rather than gentle references, and locating this violently unstable boundary site within the body of the woman. Counterpoised to the happy interracial marriages which result in successful miscegenation and reproduction of unified national subjects, these instances of rape bring up the darker side of inter-cultural relations. Whereas marriages like that of Ferdinando and Orrabella or

William and Oberea idealize the relationship between the races and serve to blend the two seamlessly together in familial love, the violent pairings of Spanish settler and Peruvian woman bring to the forefront the colonial appropriation and abuse brought about by the meeting of Old and New World. Colonial violence against the racial other becomes violence within one's own family--violence against oneself--as in Columbus's family which is made up of natives and Indians, as well as Europeans. One of the rape victims, Alzira, is Columbus's daughter-in-law and Orrabella's sister, for example. Both Bruna and Alzira die shortly after, one from suicide and one from a shipwreck, as if not even the novel can contain such terrible reminders of cultural blending gone amiss. Further emphasizing what is at stake with investment in the idealized intercultural family, Bruna's death combines family violence with national violence in its frightening aftermath. In front of her father, Bruna plunges a dagger into her heart, creating a spectacle wherein "the bleeding form of the lovely Bruna, the agonizing sorrow of her father, acted like a talisman on the minds of the people; and in a few hours the whole settlement was in a state of insurrection" (33). Alzira's death and the death of her child must take place in order to cleanse the family of the stain her body represents, not the stain of her loss of virtue, but the stain of interracial violence which irrupts within the idealized family.

As head of this family epic, Columbus and his deeds take on special significance when examining how a national myth plays out once its horrors are revealed. His failures both as family patriarch and as sentimental hero point to the larger failure of the novel's sentimental narrative. As seen above, he is unable to keep colonial violence from touching

his family. In spite of his noble motives, he is unable to keep the colony together in the face of Du Ponty and his men. He cannot stand up to other encroachers, like Roldan, the governor of Orrozombo's colony, who creates false charges against Columbus and sends him back to Europe in chains so that he no longer interferes with Roldan's appropriations. In juxtaposition to Columbus's foundation of mutual love and peaceful relations in his first colony, Garcias, described as "the chief of these banditti" (43), states that he has taken over the colony "By the right of conquest; not by a ridiculous family compact with a savage" (43). Roldan's strategy proves to have more power than Columbus's. Even when in Spain, Columbus cannot maintain his honorable position once his loving patroness, Queen Isabella, dies and her husband changes the political situation of the Court such that sentimental love no longer reigns. Dying in solitude, his colonies taken over by his enemies, and his role in their discovery unnoticed, Columbus emerges not as a hero who brings enlightenment to the world but as a man deluded by his own idealistic fantasies. He fails both as the "good" colonizer and as the sentimental hero, for it is his adherence to honor, sympathy, and justice which leave him vulnerable to the outside world. Other characters, too, fall into the trap. The natives' generous forgiveness and desire for peace set them up for a massacre. Bruna's honesty makes her vulnerable to Diego. Columbus notes that "when I spoke to her of the customs and manners of the European world, she would laugh, and declare her own country manners were best; for she could not possibly think any duty obliged us to conceal our thoughts, or that any custom whatever could make it laudable to speak one thing and think another" (30). As

long as Columbus acts within his family, an idealized space where different races come together in affection, he is powerful and influential. When that family must be a part of the outside world, however, we see his failure, his family's failure, and the failure of an idealized sympathetic version of colonization and intercultural relations, this sentimental narrative's main concern.

Aside from the novel's larger emphasis on violence against the natives in the history of Columbus, more specific gothic moments throughout the novel highlight the darker side of the Columbus family's idealized vision. The novel's first gothic scene occurs during Cora's narrative about Columbus's arrival in Peru. Cora describes her people's first encounter with the Europeans on Columbus's ship in terms that bring chills to her anew as she repeats the tale. She tells the young Columbia:

> There, as we stood looking toward the sea, we saw a monstrous fish or bird, for it was impossible to tell which it was; its body was black, its wings white; it was coming quick toward the shore. The princess shrieked. The king and queen had, from a lower apartment, observed the same monster hastily approaching; and ordering forth the guards, bade them draw up on the beach, and as it drew near discharge their arrows at it. But, Oh terrible, if I was to live a thousand years, I never shall forget how frightened every creature was, when the huge monster, drawing quite near, stopped on a sudden, and dropping all its wings, a burst of fire and smoke issued from its side, with tremendous noise. Many fell to the earth with terror, as this dreadful phenomena was repeated three times. (22)

Interestingly, this gothic scene, the first depiction of the meeting of two cultures, is told through the eyes of a Peruvian. This typifies Rowson's approach to her history of colonization, for instead of simply demonizing the natives she carefully includes native voices and perspectives with those of Europeans. In this instance, Cora retells her experience of terror when the unknown in the form of a monster-ship lands on the shores of her native land. Recalling the tradition of Ann Radcliffe in which supernatural events are eventually explained, the natives discover, once the moment of initial contact is past, that the monster is really a ship bearing friendly Spaniards under the direction of Columbus.

However, perhaps their first gothic impression of the Spaniards was more true to the effect that the arrival of this new culture on South American soil would have on the Peruvians. As Rowson shows in following chapters, pillage, domination, and violence follow once the peaceful Columbus leaves and places other men in charge of the colonies. Here, too, Rowson gothicizes colonial expansion in her depiction of the horror that results from it. Comparing the greed of the colonizers to a vampire-like monster, the narrator bewails, "Alas! Avarice had discovered this new world was an inexhaustible mine of wealth; and, not content to share its blessings in common with the natives, came with rapine, war and devastation in her train: And as she tore open the bowels of the earth to gratify her insatiate thirst for gold, her steps were marked with blood" (25). In her depictions of the Spaniards, Rowson explores in detail the violence they commit upon the

natives. Gothic language provides particularly graphic means through which Rowson can emphasize the horror of cultural clash.

These gothic metaphors concerning the ship and its attendant horrors take place early within the novel. As seen above, Rowson begins the novel with a debate between Cora and Columbia about the uses of different styles of history-making. Preparing readers for the historical narratives ahead, this initial conflict between the two women exemplifies the difficulty in sorting through different kinds of evidence while trying to create a narrative of the past. Though at first Columbia discredits Cora's contribution, she later finds that she cannot discover the complete story of her past, and her famous great-grandfather's role in history, without Cora. One of the reasons Columbia mocks Cora is related to her use of metaphor, detail, and local color; Cora's physical storytelling position with her hands dramatically poised in front of her listener also contributes to Columbia's initial opinions of Cora's dubious value as a historian. Yet, the very details that mark Cora's history as mere storytelling--descriptions of monsters, stories of ghosts--tend to depict the real moments of violence and fear--rape, fratricide, massacre, seduction--that occur when two different cultures meet. Gothic language, with its connections to the hysterical and the monstrous, becomes the code through which real horror breaks into the historical record of Columbus's successful and honorable voyage. Rowson will continue to use this code at various points throughout the novel as future generations enter into the history.[11] Just as Cora's history forces entrance into the recorded history Columbia had hitherto relied upon, so too does gothic symbolism and

the supernatural rupture the sentimentalized history Rowson creates. This strategy continually fractures attempts in the novel to commingle people across racial and cultural lines and, even as it facilitates articulations of those typically excluded from historical discourse, emphasizes their erasure from the record.

The natives are not the only ones who must encounter the terror of the unknown Other's culture. Rowson also provides the gothic experiences of the settlers, both Spanish and, later, the English. Terrified reactions and gothic metaphors are not only the province of uneducated natives, for Rowson's purpose is to make uncanny not simply the native race but the actual coming together of two cultures. The first such intercultural confrontation surrounded by gothic references occurs after Columbus has returned to find the Peruvians enslaved by the Spanish colonizers. When Columbus and the surviving Peruvians battle the encroachers, the very landscape of the new continent forces itself into the consciousness of the Europeans, as if to reassert the power of the natives, who will now win back their land once the natural disaster has conveniently removed all the enemies. The narrator at this point, Columbus's wife Beatina, relates,

> A torpor seized our senses, and we sat gazing at each other, without power to speak, and with scarce the faculty of thinking. From this stupor we were aroused by a tremendous noise, like the howling of a mighty wind, the rushing of waters, and the crash of thunder. In a moment the palace shook to its foundation . . . . Two hours of such tremendous threatenings from gleaming meteors, bursts of thunder, and contortions of the earth, as could hardly be supported by human

nature, we passed sitting on the ground, expecting every moment it would open and swallow us. (54-55)

Once the tempest and earthquake are over, the survivors return to the beaches to find everything in the harbor gone, the village destroyed, and their population decimated. Surveying the sublime landscape, Beatina continues,

> We cast our eyes towards the place where latterly stood the tents and dwellings of our friends and associates; nor tent nor dwelling appeared; all was silence, all was desolation. A vast cavity was seen where once the dwellings were, through which impetuously rushed a foaming torrent; which, as it roared along, bore on its surface trees, shrubs, ruins, and bodies of wild beasts which had perished in the tempest. Oh! what a night of agony we passed. (55)

This scene, complete with the destruction of ships at sea and the collapse of the palace, highlights the horror and the monstrosity of the very landscape of the New World which threatens to swallow the Europeans and portrays the anxiety of encountering a new world with all its attendant promises, conflicts, and dangers.[12] As the characters in Peru find, the earth that was once opened and sucked dry by the vampire of expansionist greed has now risen from the dead to swallow the predator. The Europeans thus encounter their monster as well in the midst of colonial expansion, a monster which reflects back to them the abuses they have perpetrated in the New World.

The natives, familiar with these natural disasters, seek shelter in the level plains; Europeans who survive do so because they, like Ferdinando who "learnt from his [native]

wife the nature of these convulsions of the earth" (54), follow the advice of the natives. This is one of several scenes in Rowson's novel where education across cultural lines either saves people or allows for a loving bond between the different races. Orrabella and Ferdinando teach each other their respective languages and share their cultures with one another; so, too, do their parents Columbus and Orrozombo (24). Living with the Indian family who kidnapped him and his sister, William undertakes the teaching of Otooganoo and his daughter Oberea while he learns from their tribe (155-6). Such intercultural learning and acceptance are part of Rowson's idealism in the novel, and yet as the interjections of gothic moments show, such education possesses little long-term power in the face of colonial violence in the larger world. William's double bond with his Indian family and his birth family eventually implodes in retributionary warfare; love and education can neither control the vengeance of warriors like Yankoo nor stop the settlers' violence which inspire the war. Neither the noble motives of Columbus and Orrozombo nor the love of Ferdinando and Orrabella can successfully stand against the Spanish violence just around the corner. Finally, the above example of the earthquake suggests that connection and learning across racial and cultural lines can only sustain itself in the absence of those with dishonorable motives. The ships that the tempest conveniently destroys hold Garcia and his villainous crew, who continued to plot against Columbus. They also hold Alzira, whose body and whose offspring from Garcia's rape have stood as a continued reminder of enduring colonial exploitation and of the failure of love and family ties to cover real intercultural violence. Without the seemingly supernatural interference of

the landscape, Garcia's group would have endured to trouble the colony again, and Alzira would have continued to serve as a reminder of the horror that has occurred in the combination of European and native races, both within and without the family. Using the gothic here calls attention to the very unreality of removing such troublesome characters and events from the historical record of Columbus's discovery.

Gothic devices of the supernatural and graphic horror rupture the text in several places; frequently, they open up a space where Rowson includes the voices and opinions of the natives and the women. One such instance occurs at the site of an Indian massacre of a settler's homestead. Springing upon the farm of Edward Dudley and Arrabella Ruthven, the Indians kill some members of their household while Edward is away. Arrabella escapes with some of her children and hides in a cave, but the Indians capture William and Rachel. When news of the destruction reaches Dudley, he is so distraught at the supposed loss of his family that he immediately takes ill. Servants, therefore, must return to the scene to discover what remains. The scene of Indian violence upon European settlers is a double scene of gothic terror, one of Indian violence and one of ghostly appearances. As the two servants walk from Plymouth to Dudley's settlement, they speak of spirits, haunted houses, and other strange appearances. Furthermore, "Philip affirmed, that it was his belief, innocent blood was never spilt, but that the spirit of the departed, nightly visited the spot where it had been driven from its earthly tabernacle, and called for vengeance on the murderer; nor would it be at peace till that vengeance was executed" (151). He states his belief that his dead mistress and her

children walk the ruins they are about to find and trembles with his friend in fear. No sooner does he say this than the form of the child Eliza rises in the distance and just as suddenly disappears. Eliza, of course, is alive and returning to the settlement to find help; her disappearance has been occasioned by her sudden fainting. While an instance of the Radcliffean "explained supernatural," this gothic moment also marks the site of two real hauntings, parallel in language and action. Just as the event unfolds, Rowson's narrator interrupts with one of the novel's several justifications for Indian violence:

> But what could be expected from the untaught savage, whose territories had been invaded by strangers, and who perhaps had suffered from the cruelty of the invaders, in the person of a father, brother, son, or some near connection. Revenge is a principle inherent in human nature, and it is only the sublime and heavenly doctrine of Christianity that teaches us to repel the impulse and turn good for evil. (142)

As the novel shows repeatedly, Christianity does not effectively stop any violence on the part of the settlers; indeed, as in the case of the Spaniards, it can be used as an excuse for their harsh treatment of the "heathen" savages. In the above scene, revenge of the Indians and feared revenge of the settlers' ghost occur in the same vicinity and highlight how the violence works both ways and becomes self-perpetuating. While Rowson certainly writes from a privileged racial position and tends to idealize the Indians and their own feelings of sympathy, she also uses the gothic in moments such as these in ways different from other American gothic novelists that portray Indians as satanic or animalistic.[13]

Demonizing neither Indians nor colonists by themselves, what Rowson surrounds with horror is the site where both have clashed violently and failed to meet peacefully. Taken within a context where Rowson has written of violence suffered across both sides of the racial divide, where she has included the conflicting voices and narratives of both native and European, and where each group experiences the other as uncanny at some of the same places in the novel, this scene provides another example of the novel's failure to maintain its fantasy of racial fusion.

Furthermore, the seemingly harmless ghost's appearance--Rowson does remark that superstition "pervaded the understandings of almost every class of people" and was a sign of being uneducated (150)--marks an even stronger disjunction. The ghost's appearance plays upon the corporality of settler violence and re-members it through its very ghostly absence. Like the scene where the Spaniards' destruction must be erased by supernatural forces destroying their ships, so, too, does this supernatural occurrence draw attention to what is hidden or missing. In this case, the reminder of settler warfare is conjured up only momentarily in the form of a vengeful ghost that is then immediately dismissed. Once again, as in Cora's introduction to her history, the supernatural metaphor points to a real harm, that of Indian and settler warfare. The brief glimpse of unreality in the form of the ghost actually draws more attention to that harm's absence from the narrative record by playing out its dismissal. The ghost, which the servant describes as the embodiment of the settlers' revenge, is not really there. And yet, that revenge and its attendant violence is really there and will be throughout the rest of the

novel as settlers and Indians continue to exact justice from each other. That it is the settlers who fear the vengeful ghost, not the Indians, further points to the real horror--white settlers facing their own acts of violence.

A final instance where gothic conventions serve to break apart any hope of the sympathetic family's efficacy to create a unified national subject takes place near the end of the novel during yet another outbreak of violence between Indians and settlers. Through the bodies of both white settler and Indian, double loyalties lead to confusion of identity and, with the resulting deaths, point to the failure of the cross-cultural family in early American settlement. William and Rachel, captured by Indians while young and raised in the sympathetic Otooganoo's tribe, assimilate into the family through both love and education. Rachel loves the native Yankoo and William marries Otooganoo's daughter Oberea. Otooganoo as sachem names William his heir until his grandson comes of age. Not long after Ottooganoo's death, William finds himself torn between his two loyalties as violence breaks out again:

> The situation or feelings of William Dudley were at this period by no means enviable. Ruler over a nation of savages, who by their attachment and fidelity had conciliated his affection, his principles would by no means suffer him to desert their cause in the hour of danger; yet remembering that his natural parents were Europeans, and the tenderness he once experienced for them not being extinct in his bosom, he felt his heart divided between two separate interests; and if at any

time a skirmish took place, he would think that, perhaps, amongst the killed or wounded of the enemy, he might have to lament a father or a brother. (161-2)

Rowson describes the coming war as resulting from white settlers' injustice, and once again, she gives voice to the Indian inhabitants. She also describes William's allegiances to his tribe and his own anger at the settlers' robbery, kidnapping, and killing, further emphasizing his position in between the two races: "Was it in human nature to bear these injuries tamely? No; they resented them. And even William himself, though his heart bled at what must be the consequence, could not attempt to repel the spirit of just vengeance that actuated the minds of all" (160). He himself rides in war against the settlers. Similarly, his sister is torn between her love for Yankoo and her love for her father. She asks him, "If at any time your tomahawk should be raised against an ancient Englishman, pause for a moment, and think perhaps it may be the father of Rachel, and let the idea disarm your rage" (161). Yankoo replies, "No! not even my own father in such a cause" (161). Given the love between Yankoo and Rachel, his vow becomes prophecy when he does kill her father/his future father in law. Rachel, too, faces the dilemma of dual sympathies. "The soul of Rachel was equally agitated. Alas! She dared not pray, for to which party could she wish success? . . . It is anguish only to be felt, it is impossible to convey the smallest idea of its excruciating tortures to any who have not experienced the agonizing effects of divided affection" (162).

While all of these characters are bound to each other by affection, love cannot keep the ties together in the face of the larger violence between the Indians and settlers.

William and Rachel lament how the violence affects both of their families; Yankoo, in professing loyalty solely to his people's cause, ends up unable to deny his family ties to both races and suffers greatly. Neither the Dudley family nor Otooganoo's family functions as a closed system, and Rowson manipulates each family's permeable boundaries to show the danger of confused racial identity. Loving on both sides of the racial divide means suffering on both sides when one lives in a mixed family. Characters such as these who have dual sympathies suffer particularly because their love is inclusive. Whereas earlier Rowson sets up the mixed family to show how family love among different cultures leads to virtue and success, here Rowson creates a mixed family to emphasize the terror of difference, and of the world's corruption against which family love is ineffectual.

As in other places in the novel, Rowson uses gothic conventions to surround the sites of inter-cultural violence. In this case, gothic gore and ghastly horror mark the site where the two culturally-linked families are ripped apart and reorganized in order to escape the terrible in-between state that began when William and Rachel were kidnapped. In an attempt to kill a white settler, who happens to be the father of William and Rachel, Yankoo accidentally kills William who has interposed between the hatchet and his father. Covered with a torrent of blood issuing from William's wound, "Yankoo recoiled with horror; he beheld his ruler, his friend, and more than those, the brother of Rachel, sweltering in gore, wounded even unto death" (162). In trying to kill a settler, one of another race, he fails to recognize a relative, Rachel's father. When family bonds exist

among fluid racial identities, the danger becomes one of not recognizing who belongs to the family and who does not. This turns out to be the main source of terror in this scene. Yankoo immediately regrets his action, and Indian and colonist alike pause at the deathbed of the mangled corpse. Oberea "led her son Reuben (now nearly six years old) to the bed on which lay the corse of his father, and pointing to the body, pronounced in a tone deeply mournful, 'Behold!'" (166). The young child cries at the loss of his father and, "terrified at his ghastly appearance, clasped his arms round his mother, and hid his face in her bosom" (166). At the deathbed, both cultures meet in a gothic scene of death, both cultures mourn, and, metaphorically, both cultures in the person of the half-Indian/half-white boy Reuben have lost a father. As Reuben and the others dwell there and watch over the corpse, they also behold the destruction of a reminder of races blending together, a blending which has by now become terrifying. Once William is killed, the family reorganizes along racial lines. The deathbed scene of gore marks the end of racial blending within the family. Yankoo is soon after killed defending William's grave. William is removed by death from his dual position between races, and Rachel's only motivation for staying in a mixed family, Yankoo, has been removed. The young Reuben's ascension to the position of sachem is ended by the settlers who massacre his tribe, effectively removing his ties to his Indian family. He and his mother therefore join the Dudleys and they all promptly set out for England, where they need not face such conflicts of racial interest. This scene violently rips apart what most of the novel has attempted to build: a family and a history where different peoples co-exist peacefully.

It marks the climax for the interracial family; after this scene, miscegenation no longer occurs. When Reuben Jr. returns to America, he has the chance to marry the Indian maid Eumea, who falls in love with him while he is a captive in her father's tribe. In a mirror reversal of William's experience, Reuben chooses a white woman over her, emphasizing the end of the novel's sentimental fantasy.

The vision that Rowson's Reuben and Rachel provides is ultimately a pessimistic one, one that conjures up a loving family standing as the avatar of New World discovery and colonization only to have it repudiated by the family's failure to survive in the face of larger tensions and violence in the outside world. Gothic conventions eventually take over the story and, even though the novel ends in a happy marriage, the family history has endured too many ruptures, terrors, and spectacular moments of gore and violence for the sentimental closure to be taken as the final word.[14] This move is typical of many gothic novels. As Davidson points out, "the Gothic resists ending even as it assumes the cloak of conventional sentimental closure. But a solemn distribution of rewards and punishments scarcely brings to life again the innocent dead nor does an appended Radcliffean explanation of the misestimated dangers undo the real fears that the reader and protagonist previously endured" (225). The sentimental sands that in the end cover over Reuben and Rachel's gothic moments shift as the reminders of history's horrors rise to the surface. Just as the novel posits a unified history with many layers and voices that nevertheless resist easy combination, so too does the novel create an (inter)national family made up of the several races and cultures that nevertheless cannot easily blend

together such that the family can hold its borders or prevent conflict from within. Examining the gothic effects within Reuben and Rachel is crucial for an understanding of this tension, a tension that points to the inefficacy of the sympathetic family as a model for nationhood.

Notes to Chapter 3

[1] Stern focuses on the gothic presence in sentimental novels and discusses Rowson's Charlotte Temple, Hannah Foster's The Coquette, William Hill Brown's The Power of Sympathy, and Charles Brockden Brown's Ormond, among other novels.

[2] Patricia Parker coins the term in her work "Susanna Haswell Rowson: America's First Best-Selling Author." For other biographical sources on Rowson see Dorothy Weil, In Defense of Women: Susanna Rowson (1762-1824); Doreen Alvarez Sarr, "Susanna Rowson: Feminist and Democrat"; Elias Nason, A Memoir of Mrs. Susanna Rowson; and Ellen Brandt, Susanna Haswell Rowson, America's First Best-Selling Novelist. These sources have influenced my discussion of Rowson's life.

[3] For examples and discussion of some of these figures in Rowson's works, including Queen Elizabeth, Anne of Austria, Catherine the Great, and Margaret of Denmark, see Weil, 27, 58-59. Rowson's school annually presented exhibitions where the students shared their various talents and products of their education, including poems, needlework, and essays. As Parker points out, "the most popular part of the program had become the 'female biographies,' in which each student recounted a memorized account of a woman from ancient or modern history" (35). Baym examines female biographies in terms of millennial and republican rhetoric, focusing on the problem of how to portray powerful women in a past that was seen as part of the "masculine" past of war and physical power, inferior to the progress toward "feminine" spiritual power and Enlightenment reason. One strategy, often seen in textbooks and presentations such as Rowson's, was to repeat the same familiar, culturally-favored biographies of women, like those noted above, who existed "outside" the corruptions of history (214-222).

[4] See Sarah Emily Newton's "Wise and Foolish Virgins: 'Usable Fiction' and the Early American Conduct Tradition" for an examination of Rowson's didactic writings and conduct fiction. Discussing works such as Hannah Foster's The Coquette (1798) and Rowson's Mentoria, or the Young Lady's Friend (1791), she finds that "at the center of both usable fiction and the seduction novel is the archetype of the woman who is tested and fails; the woman who begins in innocence and ends in experience" (157). At the same time, these works subvert this idea. "Both congruent and paradoxical to this avowed message are covert messages which reveal women's ability to generate meaning in their lives and create their own destiny, or in other words, avow their personhood rather than their mere instrumentality" (157). Julia Stern, in "Working Through the Frame: Charlotte Temple and the Poetics of Maternal Melancholia," discusses how the narrator in this novel adopts a motherly role in order to educate and save her "daughters," young female readers, from the loss that must follow seduction. Blythe Forcey in "Charlotte Temple and the End of Epistolarity" notes how the intrusive narrator intervenes and

guides readers through the potentially corrupting passages and morally damaging letters in order to prevent misreadings that might inspire young female readers to stray from the morally upright path.

[5] Samuels focuses on portrayals of and rhetoric on the family and family roles as applied to fictional narratives that portray issues related to national identity. She connects this discussion to the use of violence, particularly family violence, in early American romances by authors like Child, Cooper, Sedgwick, and Brown. At times, she does note the presence of gothic elements in depictions of the family unit in early American romances--incest, abuse, conflicts among family members during events like the Revolutionary war or the yellow fever epidemic of 1793, etc.--and applies them to anxieties about changing power dynamics in the domestic realm and the larger American society. My discussion of the gothic extends beyond the family and focuses on historiography as a source of terror in depictions of nation, including but not limited to the family metaphors related to such depictions. The Columbus family is not a source of gothic horror in itself; rather, Rowson portrays it as an idealized safeguard against violence and horror from the outside world and larger historical record. Gothic terror results from the family's failure to function as a viable metaphor for the nation, a failure due to its very blurring of racial and national boundaries that are so prominent in the novel. I look at how Rowson utilizes the family in order to explore the creation of a nation's history and the political events and people that make up that history.

[6] See David Shields's Oracles of Empire for a discussion of Columbus's popularity in early American writings, particularly poetry. Nina Baym points out portrayals of Columbus in such works as Eliza Robbins's Tales from American History, Lydia Sigourney's Traits of the Aborigines of America, and Harriette Fanning Read's The New World.

[7] Christopher Castiglia, for example, argues that the narrative shifts parallel the changing roles women experienced in the New Republic: "The move from frontier romance to sentimental novel accurately reflects the experience of many American women, who witnessed their own transformation in the nation's perception of the ideal American women from a brave and industrious fighter for liberty to a frail, overwrought, housebound, sentimental heroine" (27). Similarly, Carroll Smith-Rosenberg argues that Rowson's choice to end the novel in the romance mode reinscribes racism and women's absence; in so doing, Rowson adopts the dominant white-male discourses to authorize her identity as a novelist (503).

[8] That democratic ideals have the capacity to erase difference has been explored by several other critics as well. Frank Shuffelton in "In Different Voices: Gender in the American Republic of Letters" finds that figuring itself as a republic of letters allowed the

American nation "to embrace all of the contending voices that spoke from different sections, classes, and ideological positions" (190) and overcome some divisions, such as by gender. From a more critical standpoint, Stern, examining the heightened emotional states present in early American fiction, argues that the feminized literature of feeling "registers the elaborate cost of the Framers' vision. Such literature suggests that the foundation of the republic is in fact a crypt, that the nation's noncitizens--women, the poor, Native Americans, African Americans, and aliens--lie socially dead and inadequately buried, the casualties of post-Revolutionary political foreclosure" (Plight 2). O'Brien also notes a drive in early American literature to search for national identity "against besetting fears that postcolonial America may be fractured by social and regional diversity, and compromised by slavery and the original expropriation of native lands" (1).

[9] Indeed, here as elsewhere, both "good" colonists and treacherous ones are linked together through women's words and experiences. For example, facing the abuses the Castillians perpetrated on her people while she was gone, Orrabella groups all Christians, even the virtuous Beatina, together and points out their hypocrisy. When Beatina chides Orrabella for suggesting that her sister Alzira should commit suicide to save her honor, Orrabella replies, "Does it forbid murder, rapine, fraud, perjury, and oppression. Du Ponty, I think professes Christianity. Oh! madam! madam! the professors of your religion must practise themselves what they would teach others, before you can hope to make sincere converts" (53).

[10] Nina Baym also points out that "Christopher Columbus appeared in American historiography as an exemplary hero; Ferdinand and Isabella (the latter especially) won praise; but the Spanish Incursion was mainly narrated to contrast Spanish cruelty with English fairness and altruism in Indian dealings; and to contrast the peaceful, friendly South American native population with the warlike, treacherous tribes of North America" (61). I find that Rowson's novel starts out with this dichotomy, but it also provides instances where both "good" and "bad" colonizers blur together. The violence that intervenes covers over the fear that the self might be the Other by shifting the focus and the blame back onto the Spaniards.

[11] For example, Rowson later matches the Spaniards' greed with that of the new American settlers in Arrabella's and Dudley's generation by using the gothic metaphor of a witch. She states, "But indolence introduced luxury with her innumerable train of artificial wants. Though at first repulsed, still would the sorceress return, varying her shape to gain her favourite point. . . . Alas! the number was but small that escaped the contagion she spread through all ranks of people, till at length the fascination became universal. By her magic power she threw a mist over the discerning optics of even the most rational; they saw not the deformity she concealed under her gorgeous robe, but blindly worshipped, whilst she led them to the very brink of ruin" (141). This passage

occurs just before Rowson mentions the fighting and plundering that occurs between settlers and the Indians "whose territories had been invaded by strangers" (142). The gothic metaphor of the witch more strongly emphasizes the cause of these skirmishes and points out that, while in a different guise than seen in Peru, colonial violence still occurs between settler and native.

[12] As Louis Gross explains in his discussion of Brockden Brown in Redefining the American Gothic, critics have come to see the horror of the American landscape as one of the primary themes of American gothic narratives: "One cannot overlook the importance of the land itself as a stage for the monstrous transformations (of personal and national identity) these works present. The idea of America as a place of rebirth and renewal of personal identity, while embodying a radical political force often reflected in our literature (from the Declaration of Independence to Horatio Alger's rags-to-riches stories) finds its reverse image in the literature of terror" (21).

[13] Robert Bird in his novel Nick of the Woods, for example, portrays Indians as cannibals (56-7); describes their gleeful sport at burning a white man at the stake (248), and depicts their terrifying appearances, such as when a savage comes upon the hiding place of Nathan and his companions and gloats over them: "and as if that spectacle and those sounds were not enough to chill the heart's blood of the spectators, there were seen, over his shoulders, the gleaming eyes, and heard, behind his back, the malign laughter of three or four equally wild and ferocious companions" (157).

[14] Other critics of Reuben and Rachel similarly have discounted the ending's marriages as signifying a happy ending. Castiglia has argues that the marriages "signal the failure of the original spirit of adventure and equality represented by the American wilderness and by the American rhetoric of democracy and tolerance" (35) as they move closer and closer to an inequality of the sexes and races.

Conclusion

Sophia Lee's The Recess, Ann Radcliffe's Gaston de Blondeville, and Susanna Rowson's Reuben and Rachel are only three historical gothic novels written in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In both Britain and America, readers with a taste for history as well as terror had a number of such novels from which to choose. For example, Sally Sayward Wood's 1800 Julia and the Illuminated Baron: A Novel Founded on Recent Facts Which Have Transpired in the Course of the Late Revolution of Moral Principles in France is set in America and Europe during the Illuminati crisis; Leonora Sansay Hassal's 1808 The Horrors of St. Domingo, in a Series of Letters, Written by a Lady at Cape François to Colonel Burr explores slave uprising and capture in the island colonies; Anne Fuller's 1786 Alan Fitz-Osborne: An Historical Tale depicts the Barons' Wars during the reign of Henry III; and C.A. Bolen's 1826 The Mysterious Monk: Or, The Wizard's Tower features historical characters such as Pope Innocent III and Philip de Clairville during the reign of King John. With the larger purpose of calling for further study of historical gothic novels such as these, "Gothified Histories": Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Women's Gothic Novels and Enlightenment Historiography has argued that the combination of historical and gothic discourse yields a unique insight into eighteenth-century historiography, one that looks into the darker side of crafting a national history. In addition to highlighting moments of cultural clash in a nation's history, "gothified histories" reveal problems and an overall uneasiness surrounding attempts to craft history according to Enlightenment ideals. The fears that one might not be able to control historical writing and transmission; that history is not really objective

but caught up in political power structures; and that history's horrors rupture linear and sentimental narratives that attempt to support claims of a nation's progress and stable identity all become the focus of the gothic terror that haunts these novels.

In order to understand the significance of gothic discourse in The Recess, Gaston de Blondeville, and Reuben and Rachel, once must first realize that these novels do indeed contain accurate details of history and demonstrate careful engagement with Enlightenment historical standards and concerns that were being debated in other forms of historical discourse. These issues include: the place of the sentimental in historical writing; the subject matter on which a history ought to focus; the use of classical or modern methodologies in historical writing; how to address problems caused by the lack or corruption of historical evidence; and the power dynamics involved in historical transmission that affect a history's claims to objectivity. Furthermore, each author explores a specific aspect of historical knowledge and writing. Lee addresses sentimental portrayals of important figures like Mary Queen of Scots; Radcliffe engages with amateur antiquarianism and historical tourism; and Rowson adopts the configuration of the Anglo-American nation as family. An important part of the gothic terror in the above novels stems from the fact that the histories they "gothify" are not irrational or fabulous histories but ones that could very well appear in mainstream historical discourse. While different in their inclusion of a significant gothic presence from the more realistic historical novels of Sir Walter Scott and those that follow him, they also engage directly with British and American political events and personages and include commentary about them. Anachronistically applied standards for the historical novel have clouded analysis of the historical content and political discussions found in gothified histories.

Alongside the historical narratives in each novel, the gothic narrative adds fear and uncanniness to the portrayal of history. In Sophia Lee's The Recess, the twin daughters of Mary Queen of Scots discover not only that the history in which they participate is full of danger and fear, but also that the process of making history is itself horrifying. Evidence, whether visual, physical, eye-witness or written, escapes the women's control, and historical discourse takes on a life of its own in the hands of those, like Queen Elizabeth, who then use it to imprison, abuse, or otherwise victimize them. Matilda's attempts at forwarding a sentimentalized history might gain her the love and sympathy of those so inclined, but it has no real power to subvert Elizabeth's monarchy or even to function effectively as a political tool allowing for the young woman's identity to be believed, authenticated, and passed on. Only Ellinor, whose madness frees her from the victimization the girls experience while trying to "make" history, is able to speak the real story of their identity and oppression and become an actor in history rather than a victim of it. A second strand of gothic fear appears alongside the one Ellinor and Matilda experience: the dominant culture's terror that history cannot maintain its function of creating a linear, rational narrative of national unity. In addition to Ellinor's power to break apart the history in The Recess, conflicting historical evidence and interpretations throw objectivity into question. Various sites in the novel which Lee surrounds with the supernatural and other gothic conventions remind readers of the very real dangers to national unity that lurk beneath the surface of this history, including the gloomy recess with its association with Catholics and the girls' real threat to the throne beneath their sentimental guise; and the portrait gallery where a "ghostly" visitation transforms

international conquest into national strife. The Recess thus involves the idea of history with two intertwining strands of gothic horror.

Through her use of antiquarian and gothic conventions, Ann Radcliffe's Gaston de Blondeville similarly shows how history is incomplete, subjective, and vulnerable to political intervention. The novel, itself a "found manuscript," parallels its history with antiquarian discourse and gothic discourse, both of which interrupt the linear history of King Henry III's visit to Ardenne. Just as this gothic novel provides political commentary dressed in thrilling entertainment, so too do the plays and pageants within the novel challenge the King's version of the past through diverting their audiences with terrifying and magical spectacles. Without supernatural intervention--linked to haunted artifacts, rotting bones, and other objects of antiquarian interest--the real truth of history would not be told. In a novel which blends nationalites and highlights political conflict within a country rather than against other nations, this gothified history--the manuscript Willoughton and Simpson find--emphasizes the horror that occurs when a nation cannot define itself through a history of national unity.

Finally, Susanna Rowson in Reuben and Rachel crafts a sentimental narrative to create a representation of nation through the metaphor of an idealized family history that can include several races, nationalities, and backgrounds. The gothic strand of her novel breaks this sentimental narrative apart and shows how the ideal cannot survive in the real world of historical horror. Gothic moments, featuring appearances of monsters, ghosts, and gory scenes of death and violence, serve to highlight the actual clashes of those different races and nationalities. In doing so, the gothic conventions contribute to the novel's central fear that difference cannot be easily included by the nation as it

supposedly has been in the Columbus family. Sometimes it is the gothic aspects within the novel that tell the real history--the monstrosity of colonization symbolized in Cora's vision of a terrifying creature coming to Peru; the ghost at the homestead which frightens the settlers with their own vengeance against the Indians. Full of the spectacle of gothic gore and violence, Reuben and Rachel cannot maintain the sentimental history that it proffers.

One of the major purposes of "Gothified Histories" has been to point not just to the recovery of neglected novels by a few authors, but also to the recovery of a larger sub-genre of the gothic novel. Because historical gothics use subject matter pertaining to a figure like King Henry, or Queen Elizabeth, or Columbus in order to do more than simply idealize chivalric times or provide colorful background scenery, they have much to offer other studies of historical discourse in fiction. Given the rising interest in reading gothic novels in terms of how they portray national identity, expanding the gothic canon to include novels that look directly at the horror of crafting and transmitting a national history is all the more interesting and fruitful.

A second purpose of this study has been to emphasize women's historical participation in the popular form of the gothic novel. By focusing less on whether these novels are always historically realistic and more on what political and historiographical issues they do engage with, I find that gothified histories directly refer to forms that follow methods of Enlightenment historiography. This connection shows the active participation of the women writers of these gothic novels in larger public questions and discussions about the role and function of history. It also exemplifies women's larger interest and knowledge of history and its transmission. For, education in history is an

important part of each novel as well. In some way, Lee, Radcliffe, and Rowson all argue for the importance of learning history, particularly for women, and provide some sort of lesson within the texts of their novels about how to read, react to, and use history. The form of the historical gothic allows women writers to explore the darker side of history reading and writing, as well as to include their own political commentary, as a matter of course. Because it is a popular form, there is more leeway for an author to critique and destabilize both the process of historiography and the historically famous events and people that the novel contains.

As seen in Sophia Lee's The Recess, Ann Radcliffe's Gaston de Blondeville, and Susanna Rowson's The Recess, the historical content and the gothic content of these novels must be read together in order to more fully understand the role that "gothified histories" play in late eighteenth-century historiography. While these are indeed gothic novels complete with supernatural occurrences and terrifying effects, they also begin with a foundation that has strong roots in the larger Enlightenment historiographical tradition. Lee, Radcliffe, and Rowson do not craft a completely irrational or unreal history; instead, they carefully follow methods and styles utilized in non-fictional historical writings of the eighteenth-century. These novelists explore historiography using the gothic mode, which is necessarily tied up with fear, uncertainty, and even horror. What results is a very specific response to Enlightenment approaches to history. As they "gothify" history, these women writers show how depicting and organizing the past becomes an endeavor that can be dangerous; history becomes uncanny, unknowable, and impossible to control. Because of the way in which history is connected to larger definitions of a nation,

historical gothics also destabilize the ideal of a unified national subject. Combining the two disjointed discourses of the historical and the gothic, gothified histories provide a unique glimpse into the cultural uneasiness and textual disjointedness produced by attempts at historical representation.

WORKS CITED

Abrams, M. H. A Glossary of Literary Terms. 6th ed. Fort Worth: HBJ College Publishers, 1993.

Adams, Hannah. A Summary History of New England. Dedham: H. Mann and J. H. Adams, 1799.

Alcott, Louisa May. A Marble Woman: The Unknown Thrillers of Louisa May Alcott. Ed. Madeleine Stern. New York: Avon, 1976.

Alliston, April. "Corinne and Female Transmission: Rewriting La Princesse de Cleves through the English Gothic." The Novel's Seduction: Stael's Corinne in Critical Inquiry. Ed. Karyna Szmurlo. Lewisbury, PA: Buckness UP, 1999. 185-203.

---. Introduction. The Recess. 1786. Ed. April Alliston. Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 2000. ix-xllv.

Arville Castle: An Historical Romance. London: Crosby and T. White, 1795.

Astell, Mary. The Christian Religion, As Profes'd by a Daughter of the Church of England. 1705. London: W. B. for R. Wilkin, 1717.

Backscheider, Paula R., ed. Probability, Time and Space in Eighteenth-Century Literature. New York: AMS Press, 1979.

Baines, Paul. "'Our Annius': Antiquaries and Fraud in the Eighteenth Century." British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies 20 (1997): 33-51.

Bakhtin, Mikhail. The Dialogic Imagination. Trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist. Ed. Michael Holquist. Austin: U of Texas P, 1981.

Ballin, Rosetta. The Statue Room: An Historical Romance. London: H.D. Symods, 1790.

Barbauld, Anna Letitia (Aiken). "Mrs. Radcliffe." The British Novelists. Vol 43. London: Printed for Rivington et al., 1810. 50 vols. i-viii. Rpt. in The Critical Response to Ann Radcliffe. Ed. Deborah D. Rogers. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994. 96-99.

Barnes, Elizabeth. States of Sympathy: Seduction and Democracy in the American Novel. New York: Columbia UP, 1997.

Baym, Nina. American Women Writers and the Work of History, 1790-1860. New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1995.

Bell, Michael Davitt. Hawthorne and the Historical Romance of New England. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1971.

Bercovitch, Sacvan. The American Jerimiad. Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1978.

Bird, Robert. Nick of the Woods. 1837. Ed. Curtis Dahl. Albany: New College and University P, 1967.

Bolen, C. A. The Mysterious Monk, Or, The Wizard's Tower. London: A. K. Newman, 1826.

Botting, Fred. "In Gothic Darkly: Heterotopia, History, Culture." A Companion to the Gothic. Ed. David Punter. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000. 3-14.

Brandt, Ellen B. Susanna Haswell Rowson: America's First Best-Selling Novelist. Chicago: Serba Press, 1975.

Brogan, Kathleen. "American Stories of Cultural Haunting: Tales of Heirs and Ethnographers." College English 57 (1995): 149-65.

Brontë, Charlotte. Jayne Eyre. 1848. Ed. Beth Newman. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin, 1996.

Brontë, Emily. Wuthering Heights. 1847. Eds. William M. Sale and Richard J. Dunn. New York: W. W. Norton, 1990.

Brown, Charles Brockden. Arthur Mervyn. 1799. Ed. Sydney Krause and S.W. Reid. Kent, OH: Kent State UP, 2002.

---. Edgar Huntly: or, Memoirs of a Sleep-Walker. 1799. Ed. Norman S. Grabo. New York: Penguin, 1988.

---. Ormond. 1799. Ed. Mary Chapman. Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview Press, 1999.

---. Wieland and Memoirs of Carwin the Biloquist. 1798. Ed. Jay Fliegelman. New York: Penguin, 1991.

Burdick, Emily. Fiction and Historical Consciousness: The American Romance Tradition. New Haven: Yale UP, 1989.

Carpenter, Lynette and Wendy K. Kolmar, eds. Haunting the House of Fiction: Feminist Perspectives on Ghost Stories by American Women. Knoxville: U of Tennessee P, 1991.

Castiglia, Christopher. "Susanna Rowson's Reuben and Rachel: Captivity, Colonization and the Domestication of Columbus." Redefining the Political Novel: American Women Writers, 1797-1901. Ed. Sharon M. Harris, 1995. 23-42.

Cavaliero, Glen. The Supernatural and English Fiction. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1995.

Chatterton, Thomas. Poems, Supposed to Have Been Written at Briston, in the Fifteenth Century. Ed. Thomas Tyrwhith. London: T. Payne and Son, 1777.

Child, Lydia Maria. The Mother's Book. 1831. Boston: Carter, Hendee and Babcock, 1931.

Cixous, Hélène. "The Laugh of the Medusa." Trans. Keith Cohen and Paula Cohen. New French Feminisms. Ed. Elaine Marks and Isabelle de Courtivron. New York: Schocken, 1981. 245-264.

Clery, E. J. Women's Gothic From Clara Reeve to Mary Shelley. Plymouth, UK: Northcote House Publishers, 2000.

Clery, E. J. and Robert Miles, eds. Gothic Documents: A Sourcebook 1700-1820. Manchester: Manchester UP, 2000.

Cohen, Lester H. The Revolutionary Histories. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1980.

Colbourn, Trevor. The Lamp of Experience: Whig History and the Intellectual Origins of the American Revolution. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1965.

Colley, Linda. Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837. New Haven: Yale UP, 1992.

Cooper, James Fenimore. The Spy. 1821. London: Oxford UP, 1968.

Craciun, Adriana. "The New Cordays: Helen Craik and British Representations of Charlotte Corday, 1793-1800." Rebellious Hearts: British Women Writers and the French Revolution. Ed. Adriana Cracuin and Kari E. Lokke. New York: SUNY Press, 2001. 193-232.

Craciun, Adriana and Kari E. Lokke. "British Women Writers and the French Revolution, 1789-1815." Rebellious Hearts: British Women Writers and the French Revolution. Ed. Adriana Cracuin and Kari E. Lokke. New York: SUNY Press, 2001. 3-30.

Dacre, Charlotte (Rosa Matilda). The Confessions of the Nun of St. Omer. 1805. Ed. Devendra P. Varma. New York: Arno Press, 1972.

---. Zofloya, or, The Moor. 1806. Ed. Kim Ian Michasiw. New York: Oxford UP, 1997.

Dana, Richard Henry. "Review of Gaston de Blondeville." United States Review and Literary Gazette 2 (April 1827): 1-8. Rpt. in The Critical Response to Ann Radcliffe. Ed. Deborah D. Rogers. Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1994. 81-84.

Davidson, Cathy. Revolution and the Word: The Rise of the Novel in America. New York: Oxford UP, 1986.

Davis, Natalie Zemon. "Gender and Genre: Women as Historical Writers, 1400-1820." Beyond their Sex: Learned Women of the European Past. Ed. Patricia H. Labalme. New York: New York UP, 1980. 153-182.

Defoe, Daniel. An Essay on the History and Reality of Apparitions. London: J. Roberts, 1727.

DeLamotte, Eugenia C. Perils of the Night: A Feminist Study of Nineteenth-Century Gothic. New York: Oxford UP, 1990.

Dickens, Charles. Bleak House. 1853. Eds. George Ford and Sylvère Monod. New York: Norton, 1977.

---. The Old Curiosity Shop. 1841. London: Oxford UP, 1951.

Dickerson, Vanessa D. Victorian Ghosts in the Noontide: Women Writers and the Supernatural. Columbia: U of Missouri P, 1996.

Doody, Margaret Anne. "Deserts, Ruins, and Troubled Waters: Female Dreams in Fiction and the Development of the Gothic Novel." Genre 10 (1977): 529-572.

Dorn, Judith. "Reading Women Reading History: The Philosophy of Periodical Form in Charlotte Lennox's The Lady's Museum." Historical Reflections/Reflexions Historiques 18.3 (1992): 7-27.

Ellis, Kate Ferguson. The Contested Castle: Gothic Novels and the Subversion of Domestic Ideology. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1989.

Ellis, Markman. The History of Gothic Fiction. Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2000.

Ezell, Margaret J. M. "The Politics of the Past: Restoration Women Writers on Women Reading History." Pilgrimage for Love: Essays in Early Modern Literature in Honor of Josephie A. Roberts. Ed. Sigrid King. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 213. Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1999. 19-40.

Favret, Mary. Romantic Correspondence: Women, Politics, and the Fiction of Letters. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993.

Fiedler, Leslie A. Love and Death in the American Novel. 1966. New York: Stein and Day, 1986.

Fleenor, Juliann, ed. The Female Gothic. Montreal: Eden Press, 1983.

Forcey, Blythe. "Charlotte Temple and the End of Epistolarity." American Literature 63 (1991): 225-241.

Foster, Hannah. The Coquette. 1797. New York: Oxford UP, 1984.

Frank, Frederick S. The First Gothics: A Critical Guide to the English Gothic Novel. New York: Garland, 1987.

---. Guide to the Gothic. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1984.

---. Through a Pale Door: A Guide to and Through the American Gothic. New York: Greenwood Press, 1990.

Fuller, Ann. Alan Fitz-Osborne: An Historical Tale. London: Robinson, 1786.

Gamer, Michael C. "Marketing a Masculine Romance: Scott, Antiquarianism, and the Gothic." Studies in Romanticism 32 (1993): 523-549.

Rev. of Gaston de Blondeville, by Ann Radcliffe. Ladies' Monthly Museum 24 (July 1826): 45-6. Rpt. in The Critical Response to Ann Radcliffe. Ed. Deborah Rogers. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994. 72-73.

Rev. of Gaston de Blondeville, by Ann Radcliffe. The Literary Gazette 488-9 (May and June 1826): 321-23, 346-47. Rpt. in The Critical Response to Ann Radcliffe. Ed. Deborah Rogers. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994. 73-77.

Rev. of Gaston de Blondeville, by Ann Radcliffe. New Monthly Magazine 16 (May 1826): 532-36. Rpt. in The Critical Response to Ann Radcliffe. Ed. Deborah Rogers. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994. 77-81.

Gibbon, Edward. History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. 6 vols. New York: Harper and Bros, 1856.

Gilbert, Sandra and Susan Gubar. The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination. New Haven: Yale UP, 1979.

Ginsberg, Lesley. "Slavery and the Gothic Horror of Poe's 'The Black Cat.'" American Gothic: New Interventions in a National Narrative. Eds. Robert Martin and Eric Savoy. Iowa City: Iowa UP, 1998. 99-128.

Glanvill, Joseph. Sadducismus Triumphatus: or, a Full and Plain Evidence, Concerning Witches and Apparations. London: A. Bettesworth et al., 1726.

Goddu, Teresa A. Gothic America: Narrative, History, and Nation. New York: Columbia UP, 1997.

"Gothic Novel." The Cambridge Guide to Literature in English. Ed. Ian Ousby. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993.

Gottfried, Amy S. Historical Nightmares and Imaginative Violence in American Women's Writings. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998.

Graham, Kenneth W., ed. Gothic Fictions: Prohibition/Transgression. New York: AMS Press, 1989.

Greenfield, Susan C. "Charlotte Temple and Charlotte's Daughter: The Reproduction of Woman's Word." Women's Studies 18 (1990): 269-286.

Gross, Louis S. Redefining the American Gothic from Wieland to Day of the Dead. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1989.

Guest, Harriet. "Eighteenth-Century Femininity: 'A Supposed Sexual Character.'" Women and Literature in Britain 1700-1800. Ed. Vivian Jones. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000. 46-68.

Harris, Sharon M. "Whose Past Is It? Women Writers in Early America." Early American Literature 30.2 (1995): 175-81.

Hassall, Leonora Sansay. Secret History; or, The Horrors of St. Domingo, in a Series of Letters, Written by a Lady at Cape François to Colonel Burr. Philadelphia: Bradford and Inskeep, 1808.

Hawthorne, Nathaniel. The Marble Faun. 1860. Ed. Richard Brodhead. New York: Penguin, 1990.

Haycock, David. "'A Small Journey into the Country': William Stukeley and the Formal Landscapes of Stonehenge and Avebury." Producing the Past: Aspects of Antiquarian Culture and Practice 1700-1850. Eds. Martin Myrone and Lucy Peltz. Brookfield, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1999. 67-82.

Haywood, Eliza. The Female Spectator: Being Selections from Mrs. Eliza Haywood's Periodical (1744-1746). Ed. Mary Priestly. London: John Lane, 1929.

Haywood, Ian. The Making of History: A Study of the Literary Forgeries of James MacPherson and Thomas Chatterton in Relation to Eighteenth-Century Ideas of History and Fiction. London: Associated UP, 1986.

Hill, Bridget. The Republican Virago: The Life and Times of Catharine Macauley, Historian. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.

Rev. of The History of England, by David Hume. The Monthly Review. Feb. 1762: 81-95.

Hoeveler, Diane Long. Gothic Feminism: The Professionalization of Gender from Charlotte Smith to the Brontës. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State UP, 1998.

Howard, Jacqueline. Reading Gothic Fiction: A Bakhtinian Approach. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.

Hume, David. The History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688. 1688. 6 vols. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1850.

---. Letters to William Strahan. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1888.

Irving, Washington. The History of New York. 1809. Ed. T. Bowden. New York: Twain Publishers, 1964.

---. The Sketchbook of Geoffrey Crayon, Gentleman. New York: Avenel Books, 1985.

Jacobs, Harriet. Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl. 1861. Ed. Jean Fagan Yellin. Cambridge: Oxford UP, 1987.

Jones, Vivian, ed. Women and Literature in Britain 1700-1800. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000.

Kahane, Claire. "The Gothic Mirror." The (M)other Tongue: Essays in Feminist Psychoanalytic Interpretation. Eds. Shirley Nelson Garner, Claire Kahane, and Madelon Sprengnether. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1985. 334-349.

Kavanagh, Julia. English Women of Letters: Biographical Sketches. 2 vols. 1862. London: Hurst and Blackett, 1863. Rpt. in The Critical Response to Ann Radcliffe. Ed. Deborah D. Rogers. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994. 150-162.

Keating, Geoffry. The General History of Ireland. 2 vols. Dublin: James Carson, 1723.

Kennedy, Deborah. "Benevolent Historian: Helen Maria Williams and Her British Readers." Rebellious Hearts: British Women Writers and the French Revolution. Eds. Adriana Cracuin and Kari E. Lokke. New York: SUNY Press, 2001. 317-336.

Kenyon, John. The History Men: The Historical Profession in England Since the Renaissance. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1993.

Kerber, Linda K. Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1980.

Kiely, Robert. The Romantic Novel in England. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1972.

Kilgour, Maggie. The Rise of the Gothic Novel. London: Routledge, 1995.

Kucich, Greg. "'This Horrid Theatre of Human Sufferings': Gendering the Stages of History in Catharine Macaulay and Percy Bysshe Shelley." Lessons of Romanticism: A Criticial Companion. Ed. Thomas Pfau and Robert F. Gleckner. Durham: Duke UP, 1998. 448-465.

Kuczynski, Ingrid. "Reading a Landscape: Ann Radcliffe's A Journey Made in the Summer of 1794, Through Holland and the Western Frontier of Germany, With a Return Down the Rhine (1795)." British Romantics as Readers: Intertextualities, Maps of Misreading, Reinterpretations. Ed. Michael Gassenmeier, et al., Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitatsverlag, 1998. 241-57.

Lee, Sophia. The Recess. 1783, 1785. Ed. April Alliston. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2000.

---. The Recess. 1783, 1785. Ed. Devendra P. Varma. New York: Arno Press, 1972.

Lee, Yoon Sun. "A Divided Inheritance: Scott's Antiquarian Novel and the British Nation." ELH 64 (1997): 537-567.

Levine, Joseph M. Humanism and History: Origins of Modern English Historiography. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1987.

Lewis, Jayne Elizabeth. "'Ev'ry Lost Relation': Historical Fictions and Sentimental Incidents in Sophia Lee's The Recess." Eighteenth-Century Fiction 7 (1995): 165-184.

---. Mary Queen of Scots: Romance and Nation. New York: Routledge, 1998.

Lewis, John. The History of Great Britain. London: F. Gyles, 1729.

Lewis, Matthew. The Monk. 1796. New York: Grove Press, 1959.

Looser, Devoney. British Women Writers and the Writing of History, 1670-1820. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2000.

Macaulay, Catharine. The History of England from the Ascension of James I to that of the Brunswick Line. 8 vols. London: J. Nourse et al., 1763-83.

---. Letters on Education. 1790. Female Education in the Age of Enlightenment 3. London: Pickering and Chatto, 1996.

MacCarthy, B. G. The Female Pen: Women Writers and Novelists: 1621-1818. 1947. Cork: Cork UP, 1994.

Mackenzie, Scott. "Ann Radcliffe's Gothic Narrative and the Readers at Home." Studies in the Novel 31 (1999): 409-431.

Macpherson, James. The History of Great Britain. 2 vols. London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1775.

---. The Poems of Ossian. 2 vols. London: A. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1796.

---. Poems, Supposed to have been Written at Bristol, in the Fifteenth Century. London: T. Payne and Son, 1782.

Marks, Elaine and Isabelle de Courtivron, eds. New French Feminisisms: An Anthology. Amherst: U of Massachusetts Press, 1980.

Martin, Robert. "Haunted by Jim Crow: Gothic Fictions by Hawthorne and Faulkner." American Gothic: New Interventions in a National Narrative. Eds. Robert Martin and Eric Savoy. Iowa City: Iowa UP, 1998. 129-142.

Martin, Robert and Eric Savoy, eds. American Gothic: New Interventions in a National Narrative. Iowa City: Iowa UP, 1998.

Mather, Cotton. The Wonders of the Invisible World. Boston: John Dunton, 1693.

Maturin, Charles Robert. Melmouth the Wanderer. 1820. London: Oxford UP, 1972.

Mayer, Robert. History and the Early English Novel: Matters of Fact from Bacon to Defoe. Cambridge Studies in Eighteenth-Century English Literature and Thought 33. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997.

Mellor, Anne K. Romanticism and Gender. New York: Routledge, 1993.

Michasiw, Kim Ian. "Ann Radcliffe and the Terrors of Power." Eighteenth-Century Fiction 6 (1994): 327-346.

Miles, Robert. Ann Radcliffe: The Great Enchantress. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1995.

---. "Ann Radcliffe and Matthew Lewis." A Companion to the Gothic. Ed. David Punter. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000. 41-57.

---. Gothic Writing: A Genealogy. London: Routledge, 1993.

Miller, Perry. Errand into the Wilderness. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1956.

Mitchell, Isaac. The Asylum; or Alonzo and Melissa. Poughkeepsie, NY: Joseph Nelson, 1811.

Moers, Ellen. Literary Women: The Great Writers. New York: Oxford UP, 1985.

Moi, Toril. Sexual Textual Politics: Feminist Literary Theory. London: Methuen, 1985.

Morrison, Toni. Beloved. 1987. New York: Signet, 1991.

Moynihan, Robert D. "'Dwarfs of Wit and Learning': Problems of Historical Time." Probability, Time and Space in Eighteenth-Century Literature. Ed. Paula R. Backscheider. New York: AMS Press, 1979. 167-185.

Murray, Judith Sargent. The Gleaner. 1798. Schenectady: Union College P, 1992.

Myrone, Martin and Lucy Peltz, eds. Producing the Past: Aspects of Antiquarian Culture and Practice 1770-1850. Brookfield, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1999.

Napier, Elizabeth. The Failure of Gothic: Problems of Disjunction in an Eighteenth-Century Literary Form. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986.

Nason, Elias. A Memoir of Mrs. Susanna Rowson. Albany: Joel Munsell, 1870.

Newton, Sarah Emily. "Wise and Foolish Virgins: 'Usable Fiction' and the Early American Conduct Tradition." Early American Literature 25 (1990): 139-167.

Noble, Marianne. "An Ecstasy of Apprehension: The Gothic Pleasures of Sentimental Fiction." American Gothic: New Interventions in a National Narrative. Eds. Robert Martin and Eric Savoy. Iowa City: Iowa UP, 1998. 163-182.

Norton, Richtor. Mistress of Udolpho: The Life of Ann Radcliffe. London: Leicester UP, 1999.

O'Brien, Karen. "David Ramsay and the Delayed Americanization of American History." Early American Literature 29 (1994): 1-18.

Ousby, Ian. The Englishman's England: Taste, Travel and the Rise of Tourism. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990.

Parker, Patricia L. "Susanna Haswell Rowson: America's First Best-Selling Author." Ordinary Women, Extraordinary Lives: Women in American History. Ed. Kriste Lindenmeyer. The Human Tradition in America 6. Wilmington: Scholarly Resources Inc., 2000. 25-39.

Paulson, Ronald. "Gothic Fiction and the French Revolution." ELH 48 (1981): 532-4.

Peltz, Lucy. "The Extra-Illustration of London: The Gendered Spaces and Practices of Antiquarianism in the Late Eighteenth Century." Producing the Past: Aspects of Antiquarian Culture and Practice 1700-1850. Eds. Martin Myrone and Lucy Peltz. Brookfield, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1999. 115-134.

Peltz, Lucy and Martin Myrone. "'Mine are the Subjects Rejected by the Historian': Antiquarianism, History and the Making of Modern Culture." Producing the Past: Aspects of Antiquarian Culture and Practice 1700-1850. Eds. Martin Myrone and Lucy Peltz. Brookfield, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1999. 1-14.

Percy, Thomas, ed. Reliques of Ancient English Poetry. London: J. Dodsley, 1765.

Phillips, Mark Salber. "Reconsiderations on History and Antiquarianism: Arnaldo Momiglianno and the Historiography of Eighteenth-Century Britain." Journal of the History of Ideas 57 (1996): 297-316.

---. Society and Sentiment: Genres of Historical Writing in Britain, 1740-1820. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2000.

Pocock, J. G. A. The Machiavellian Moment. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1975.

Rev. of The Poetical Works of Ann Radcliffe. St. Alban's Abbey; a Metrical Romance, by Ann Radcliffe. Edinburgh Review 59 (1834): 327-41. Rpt. in The Critical Response to Ann Radcliffe. Ed. Deborah Rogers. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994. 84-91.

Pope, Alexander. The Dunciad. London: M. Cooper, 1743.

Pownall, Thomas. A Treatise on the Study of Antiquities. London: J. Dodsley, 1782.

Radcliffe, Ann. Gaston de Blondeville, or The Court of Henry III Keeping Festival in Ardenne: A Romance. 1802, 1826. Ed. Devendra P. Varma. New York: Arno Press, 1972.

---. The Italian, or The Confessional of the Black Penitents: A Romance. 1797. Ed. Frederick Garber. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1968.

---. A Journey Made in the Summer of 1794, Through Holland and the Western Frontier of Germany, With a Return Down the Rhine. Dublin: William Porter, 1795.

---. The Mysteries of Udolpho. 1794. Ed. Bonamy Dobrée. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1966.

---. The Romance of the Forest. 1791. Ed. Cloe Chard. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1986.

---. "On the Supernatural in Poetry" New Monthly Magazine 16.1 (1826): 145-52. Rpt. in Gothic Documents: A Sourcebook 1700-1820. Eds. E.J. Clery and Robert Miles. Manchester: Manchester UP, 2000, 163-178.

Ramsay, David. The History of the American Revolution. 1789. 2 vols. Ed. Lester H. Crocker. Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1990.

Reeve, Clara. The Old English Baron: A Gothic Story. London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1788.

Rev. of The Recess, by Sophia Lee. The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Review 56.1 (April 1786): 327.

Rev. of The Recess, by Sophia Lee. The Monthly Review; or, Literary Journal 75 (1786): 131-136.

Richter, David H. The Progress of Romance: Literary Historiography and the Gothic Novel. Columbus: Ohio State UP, 1996.

Rigney, Ann. Imperfect Histories: The Elusive Past and the Legacy of Romantic Historicism. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2001.

Ringe, Donald A. American Gothic: Imagination and Reason in Nineteenth-Century Fiction. Louisville: Kentucky UP, 1982.

Roberts, Bette B. "Sophia Lee's The Recess (1785): The Ambivalence of Female Gothicism." Massachusetts Studies in English 6.3 (1978): 68-82.

Robertson, Fiona. Legitimate Histories: Scott, Gothic, and the Authorities of Fiction. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1994.

Robertson, William. The History of Scotland during the Reigns of Queen Mary and James VI. 2. vols. London: Cadell and Davies, 1802.

Rogers, Deborah D. The Critical Response to Ann Radcliffe. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994.

Ronald, Ann. "Terror-Gothic: Nightmare and Dream." The Female Gothic. Ed. Juliann E. Fleenor. London: Eden Press, Inc., 1983. 176-186.

Ross, Dorothy. "Historical Consciousness in Nineteenth-Century America." American Historical Review 89 (1984): 909-928.

Rowson, Susanna Haswell. An Abridgment of Universal Geography, Together with Sketches of History, Designed for the Use of Schools and Academies in the United States. Boston: John West, 1805.

---. Charlotte Temple. 1791. Ed. Cathy Davidson. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1986.

---. Exercises in History, Chronology, and Biography, in Question and Answer. For the Use of Schools. Comprising, Ancient History, Greece, Rome, and Modern History, England, France, Spain, Portugal, etc. The Discovery of America, Rise, Progress and Final Independence of the United States. Boston: Richardson and Lord, 1822.

---. The Fille de Chambre. London: William Lane, 1792.

---. Mentoria; or, The Young Lady's Friend. 2 vols. Philadelphia: Samuel Harrison Smith, 1794.

---. A Present for Young Ladies. Boston: John West, 1811.

---. Reuben and Rachel: or, Tales of Old Times. 2 vols. Boston: Manning and Loring, 1798.

---. Test of Honour. London: John Abraham, 1789.

---. Trials of the Human Heart. 4 vols. Philadelphia: Wringley and Berriman, 1795.

Rush, Benjamin. "Thoughts Upon Female Education, Acccommodated to the Present State of Society, Manners, and Government in the United States of America." Essays on Education in the Early Republic. Ed. Frederick Rudolph. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1965. 27-44.

Saar, Doreen Alvarez. "Susanna Rowson: Feminist and Democrat." Curtain Calls: British and American Women and the Theater, 1660-1820. Ed. Mary Anne Schofield and Cecilia Macheski. Athens: Ohio UP, 1991. 231-246.

Saglia, Diego. "Looking at the Other: Cultural Difference and the Traveler's Gaze in The Italian." Studies in the Novel 28 (1996): 12-37.

Samuels, Shirley. Romances of the Republic: Women, the Family, and Violence in the Literature of the Early American Nation. New York: Oxford UP, 1996.

Savoy, Eric. "The Face of the Tenant: A Theory of American Gothic." American Gothic: New Interventions in a National Narrative. Eds. Robert Martin and Eric Savoy. Iowa City: Iowa UP, 1998. 3-19.

---. "The Rise of American Gothic." Cambridge Companion to Gothic Fiction. Ed. Jerrold E. Hogle. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002. 167-188.

Schmitt, Cannon. Alien Nation: Nineteenth-Century Gothic Fictions and English Nationality. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1997.

Scott, Walter. The Antiquary. 1816. Ed. Nicola J. Watson. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002.

---. "Prefatory Memoir to Mrs. Ann Radcliffe." The Novels of Mrs. Ann Radcliffe. Ballantyne's Novelists Library. London: Hurst, Robinson, & Co., 1824. 10: i-xxxix. Rpt. in The Critical Response to Ann Radcliffe. Ed. Deborah Rogers. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1994. 112-125.

---. Waverley. 1814. Ed. Andrew Hook. New York: Penguin, 1972.

Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. The Coherence of Gothic Conventions. New York: Methuen, 1986.

Shapiro, Barbara. Probability and Certainty in Seventeenth-Century England: A Study of the Relationships Between Natural Science, Religion, History, Law and Literature. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1983.

Shelley, Mary. Frankenstein. 1818. Ed. J. Paul Hunter. New York: Norton, 1996.

Shields, David S. Oracles of Empire: Poetry, Politics, and Commerce in British America 1690-1750. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.

Shuffelton, Frank. "In Different Voices: Gender in the American Republic of Letters." Early American Literature 25 (1990): 289-303.

Smiles, Sam. The Image of Antiquity: Ancient Britain and the Romantic Imagination. New Haven: Yale UP, 1994.

Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll. "Subject Female: Authorizing American Identity." American Literary History 5 (1993): 481-511.

Smollett, Tobias. The Adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom. 1753. Ed. O. M. Brack, Jr. Athens, GA: U of Georgia P, 1988.

Southworth, E.D.E.N. The Hidden Hand, or, Capitola the Madcap. 1888. Ed. Joanne Dobson. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers UP, 1988.

Spencer, Jane. The Rise of the Woman Novelist: From Aphra Behn to Jane Austen. Oxford: Blackwell, 1986.

Spender, Dale. Mothers of the Novel: 100 Good Women Writers Before Jane Austen. London: Pandora Press, 1986.

Stern, Julia A. The Plight of Feeling: Sympathy and Dissent in the Early American Novel. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1997.

---. "Working Through the Frame: Charlotte Temple and the Poetics of Maternal Melancholia." Arizona Quarterly 49.4 (1993): 1-32.

Stowe, Harriet Beecher. Uncle Tom's Cabin. 1852. Ed. Jean Fagan Yellin. New York: Oxford UP, 1998.

Stukeley, William. "Preface." Itinerarium Curiosum, Or, an Account of the Antiquitys and Remarkable Curiositys in Nature or Art, Observ'd in Travels thro' Great Britain. Illustrated with Copper Prints, Centuria 1. London: Printed for the author, 1724.

Summers, Montague. The Gothic Quest: A History of the Gothic Novel. London: Fortune Press, 1938.

Sweet, Rosemary. "Antiquaries and Antiquities in Eighteenth-Century England." Eighteenth-Century Studies 34 (2001): 181-206.

Swift, Jonathan. A Tale of a Tub, to Which is Added The Battle of the Books and The Mechanical Operation of the Spirit. Oxford: Clarendon, 1958.

Talfourd, Thomas Noon. "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mrs. Radcliffe." Prefixed to Gaston de Blondeville. By Ann Radcliffe. 1826. Intro. Devendra Varma. New York: Arno, 1972. 3-132.

Temple, William, ed. Complete History of England. 3 vols. London: Richard and Ralph Simpson, 1695.

---. Sir William Temple's Essays on Ancient and Modern Learning and on Poetry. Ed. J. E. Spingarn. Oxford: Clarendon, 1909.

Tompkins, J.M.S. Introduction. The Gothic Flame. Ed. Devendra P. Varma. New York: Russell and Russell, 1966.

---. The Popular Novel in England, 1770-1800. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1961.

Trumpener, Katie. Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1997.

Tuveson, Ernest. Redeemer Nation. Chicago: Chicago UP, 1968.

Varma, Devendra P. The Gothic Flame. New York: Russell and Russell, 1966.

---. Introduction. The Recess; or, A Tale of Other Times. 1783. By Sophia Lee. New York: Arno Press, 1972. vii-xlviii.

Walpole, Horace. The Castle of Otranto. 1764. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1990.

---. A Catalogue &c. &c. &c: the First [-Sixth] Day's Sale of the Valuable Contents of Strawberry Hill. London, 1842.

---. A Description of the Villa of Mr. Horace Walpole. 1784. London: Gregg Press, 1964.

Warren, Marcy Otis. History of the Rise, Progress and Termination of American Revolution. 3 vols. Boston: Manning and Loring, 1805.

Watt, James. Contesting the Gothic: Fiction, Genre and Cultural Conflict, 1764-1832. Cambridge Studies in Romanticism Ser. 33. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999.

Weil, Dorothy. In Defense of Women: Susanna Rowson (1762-1824). University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 1976.

White, James. Earl Strongbow: or, The History of Richard de Clare and the Beautiful Geralda. London: J. Dodsley, 1789.

Willard, Emma. A Plan for Improving Female Education. Middlebury: J.W. Copeland, 1819.

Williams, Helen Maria. Souvenirs de la Révolution Français. Trans. Charles Coquerel. Paris: Dondey-Dupré, 1827.

Wilt, Judith. "Walter Scott: Narrative, History, Synthesis." The Columbia History of the British Novel. Ed. John Richetti. New York: Columbia UP, 1994. 300-326.

Winter, Kari J. Subjects of Slavery, Agents of Change: Women and Power in Gothic Novels and Slave Narratives, 1790-1865. Athens: U of Georgia P, 1992.

Wolff, Cynthia Griffin. "The Radcliffean Gothic Model; A Form for Feminine Sexuality." The Female Gothic. Ed. Juliann Fleenor. London: Eden Press, Inc., 1983. 207-223.

Wood, Sally Sayward Barrell Keating. Julia and the Illuminated Baron: A Novel Founded on Recent Facts Which Have Transpired in the Course of the Late Revolution of Moral Principles in France. Portsmouth, NH: Oracle Press, 1800.

Wolstenholme, Susan. Gothic (Re)Visions: Writing Women as Readers. Albany: SUNY Press, 1993.

Wotton, William. Reflections Upon Ancient and Modern Learning. London: P. Buck, 1694.