Gothic Travel: Captivity, Monstrosity, and Emotion in Transatlantic Eighteenth-Century Literature

by

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Abstract

In this dissertation, I explore the relationship between captivity narratives and the Gothic in eighteenth-century transatlantic literature. I move from examining traditional captivity narratives of Mary Rowlandson and Hannah Duston through a Gothic heuristic, to analyzing monstrosity and mobility in sentimental and Gothic fiction set in New England, and then to comparing captivity-Gothic representations of female oppression and slavery in semi-Gothic fiction set in the West Indies. I draw these discussions together in the works of Charles Brockden Brown in order to show how these discourses inform the American Gothic tradition. Altogether, I examine how captivity narratives and the Gothic use metaphors and depictions of travel to expose a central fear of human empathy and monstrosity.

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INTRODUCTION: Gothic Travel: Captivity, Monstrosity, Emotion

The problem of the Gothic is that it wants to get out. It's also about the problem *of* getting out. An escapist literature preoccupied with escape. Like women fleeing from houses, monsters breaking out of cages, or men flying from mediocre labor, the Gothic problem is the a problem of limits and confines, symbolically realized through sensationalism and melodrama. We try to keep the Gothic contained and buttoned up in its dark corner of literary studies, away from the "good" literature of proper study. Yet, we can't quite do that. The Gothic spills over, affecting and influencing what it brushes on, what whispers to the fears within human hearts. Our best literature has scents of the Gothic. Indeed, many texts have Gothic moments, but some people out there might shudder at this suggestion. We try to capture the Gothic, but it gets away and trespasses. Hunting for the Gothic "truth" captivates us.

The Gothic teases with our perverse pleasure of watching things break down, crumble, and die. High and tight walls keep us safe from the "evil" outside. "Barbarians" at the gate—you might call them Goths if you were speaking historically—inevitably breakdown the borders between "us" and "them," "civilization" and "savagery," "order" and "chaos." Whatever binary you decide, the Gothic titillates us with that collapse through its stock characters and weathered trappings, sending us on the emotional ride when seemingly alien entities collide.

The Gothic breaks down those borders and seizes its opposite, its forbidden other, and draws it close, staring, wide-eyed into the horrified eyes of man, woman, beast, concept—whatever lies through the other side. It's the horror of contact, *captivity*, seizing someone (or something) and holding it against his, her, or its will, that pushes the Gothic onward. Though, the Gothic sometimes alleges the captive wants to be held, actually enjoys contact with the taboo, just in secret. The borders and walls that protect a neat and ordered worldview of differences

were just illusions of privilege and cruelty maintained to keep the hard truth of human monstrosity out.

If the Gothic can be judged for being repetitive, one of the resounding and most useful repetitions is that the border between monster and man is a thin misconception that the Gothic, viewed through captivity onwards, exploits and condemns. Monster captures man. Man moves with monster. Monster moves along with man. Man recognizes monster. Monster and man see the man and monster within. They move each other toward passion and fear. What they do after this contact and epiphany—that they're not so different—plays out in several different scenarios in the following chapters. Captivity as a means to understand why the Gothic fixates on motions, internal and external, and monsters, human entirely, are the subject of my investigation.

In this project, I join together studies in transatlantic captivity, the Gothic,[1] and monstrosity[2] to explore how their intersection reveals a recurring fixation on fear, emotion, and mobility in Gothic literature. I argue that recurring concerns in the literary Gothic are found in captivity narratives and explore how a central anxiety about human sympathy develops in the language of mobility[3] and influences traditional and nontraditional Gothic texts. Using a

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[1] For discussion of the etymology and use of the word "Gothic," see Sowerby's "The Goths in History and Pre-Gothic Gothic" (2001). His discussion of the etymology and cultural implications of the term Gothic concentrates on its application before the eighteenth century. David Punter (2012) explains, "Gothic stood for the old-fashioned as opposed to the modern; the barbaric as opposed to the civilised; crudity as opposed to elegance; old English barons as opposed to the cosmopolitan gentry; indeed, often for the English and provincial as opposed to the European and Frenchified" (6). Caroline Joan Pickart and Cecil Greek provide a comprehensive discussion of the term Gothic and its general, problematic usage: "Even the term *Gothic*, understood as a literary or aesthetic term that was coined during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, is itself mobile, encompassing not only a broad array of referents, but also a revaluation of values. Hence, the Gothic understood as 'primitive runs the gamut from being 'barbaric' and 'uncivilized' (the earlier eighteenth-century characterization) to becoming a nostalgic search for the 'true' or 'lost' foundations of modern European culture, suppressed by neoclassicism and the Enlightenment, with their obsessive search for order and rules (the later revaluation, though a precise date is impossible to come by)" (21-22).

[2] Critics vary in how they capitalize the words "transatlanticism" and the "Gothic." I write "transatlanticism" if referring to the concept in general. For specific terms, I capitalize the adjectival form, like "Transatlantic Gothic." Moreover, using "gothic" with a lower-cased "g" deemphasizes its relation to the historical Goths, marking it as an aesthetic and literary term. However, I intend to maintain that connection, historic and thematic, between the Goths with the literary tradition and its attendant, albeit problematic, associations by capitalizing "Gothic."

[3] Although this study is greatly concerned with travel, it is not about the exciting and emergent study of travel writing that has seen much critical attention in recent years. Rather, I examine travel as a literary theme and symbol

comparative approach to studying Gothic works set in the Americas, British Isles, the Caribbean, and beyond[4]—I examine a range of texts from both national literary traditions to locate a centralizing point spread throughout Gothic works. Key texts from 1682 to 1809 reveal the influence of captivity on the Gothic and how the two converge through language of travel and sympathy. This timeframe shows the overlap between Western captivity narratives and the Gothic literary tradition. Captivity as a literary mode develops before and during the beginning of the Gothic mode[5] then continues to be written and published in myriad forms when British and American writers were producing typical Gothic texts. Thus, my timeframe helps to

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in captivity and the Gothic. Although some of the texts chosen for this study might fit in to the category of travel writing—Rowlandson and Duston's captivity narratives, particularly—I select them mainly for their literary and rhetorical features. Strangely enough, however, travel writing shares many scholarly challenges with Gothic literature, namely the reputation for being second-rate and generically diffuse. In *Travel Writing* (2011), Carl Thompson explains how recent interest in travel writing took off from postcolonial studies (3), although previously critics dismissively viewed travel writing as "middle-brow" in the twentieth century (2). He also provides succinct details about approaches and concerns in travel writing studies, including in "Chapter 2: Defining the Genre" the debate over what should be included under the category of travel writing. Does fiction count? Should it include books targeted at tourists? Is it literary enough? In *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing* (2013), Tim Youngs puts forth, "A near-consensus has developed that travel writing is a mixed form that feeds off other genres" (6). This is quite like the Gothic that seems to pick and borrow from and then influence several other types of writing. Scholars, then, examine various genres of travel writing and instances of travel within texts primarily situated in other genres (like my investigation of travel in a Gothic novel). Smethurst (2012) provides an impressive analysis of travel writing from 1768 to 1840 that formed an "ideology combined with practice in the late eighteenth century to produce an idea of nature detached from the actual environment, and no longer at the centre of human affairs" (1). For studies on medieval travel and monsters, see Barnes (2012).

[4] As a mode, the Gothic evolved into a transatlantic literary exchange between America and Europe. Louis S. Gross points out in *Redefining the American Gothic* (1989) that the Gothic is central to American national literature (2). Gross acknowledges the influence of German Gothicists on the mode, but he asserts that the British Gothicists were the most influential on the development of the American Gothic (2). Gross marks that the British Gothic often unfolds "in a tale of remote times and foreign locale, usually Italy or Spain"(2) whereas the American Gothic occurs on national soil. Although the form differs, the British and American Gothic traditions are indelibly linked by a "mode of perception" that "sees terror as the governing principle of existence" and endorses a revolutionary challenge to "the custodians of oppression": namely, the church, family, and state (Gross 89). Although the form of the Gothic differed between British and American Gothic literature, their prevailing fears of barbarism (from within and without) and instability connected the mode transatlantically.

[5] A mode refers to a group of literary works that have similar concerns, though they may not have similar aesthetics. A genre refers to a group of literary works that have similar aesthetics and concerns. Fredric Jameson explains, "[W]hen we speak of a mode, what can we mean but that this particular type of literary discourse is not bound to the convention of a given age, nor indissolubly linked to a given type of verbal artifact, but rather persists as a temptation and a mode of expression across a whole range of historical periods, seeming to offer itself, if only intermittently, as a formal possibility which can be revived and renewed" (194). For discussion of the Gothic as a mode, see Ledoux (2013).

underscore the thematic and stylistic synergies of the two modes as well as their fixation on monstrosity, motion, and emotion.

Furthermore, my study of captivity and the Gothic rests on four basic proposals. First, the Gothic is a literary mode about fear. Second, the fears of Gothic literature are generally born from Enlightenment concerns about governance, humanism,[6] and reason, and the Gothic can be viewed in some forms as anti-Enlightenment (Smith 2-3). Third, the first wave of British Gothic[7] fiction—from 1764 to 1824—and American Gothic[8] fiction—1798 to 1861—are mutually invested in Enlightenment faith in reason and progress that the Gothic renders into fearsome and futile endeavors. Gothic rooted in captivity reveals Gothic transatlantic[9] origins.

However, my fourth proposal is bolder than the rest. This project turns the time frame back further. In part, this project responds to Allen Lloyd-Smith and Victor Sage's

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[6] Humanism is essentially an ethical and philosophical perspective that believes in human agency and value as well as endorses rational thinking over spiritual faith. Modern humanism can be traced back to Renaissance thinkers, and it evolved into the modern era. For an overview of humanism, see Law (2011). Stuart Jordan (2013) provides an insightful examination of Enlightenment humanistic ethics.

[7] Traditionally, the first wave of British Gothic fiction—and the launch of Gothic fiction—begins with Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* (1764) and ends with either Charles Mautrin's *Melmoth The Wanderer* (1820) or James Hogg's *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner* (1824). However, scholars have debated this timeframe as well as giving a timeframe to the Gothic at all. Rictor Norton (2000) sets the first wave of Gothic fiction 1764-1840 and provides several summaries of Gothic texts within that timeframe. For a detailed genealogical record of the first-wave British Gothic period from 1750 to 1820, see Miles (1993): 2-7.

[8] Though early republican Americans read Gothic fiction, they mostly read Gothic fiction written by British authors. Scholars often locate the beginning of American Gothic fiction with the publication of Charles Brockden Brown's *Wieland; or the Transformation* in 1798. However, I have not found a scholar of American literature that has identified an American Gothic first wave, unlike the British Gothic. In general, I follow the scholarly tradition and set the first wave of American Gothic fiction as 1798 to 1861 beginning with Brown's *Wieland* (1798) and ending with Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Marble Faun* (1861). Hawthorne's *Marble Faun* ends this timeframe because it is Hawthorne's last major publication that carries over the American Gothic concerns from Romanticism that will change significantly after the American Civil War. In his seminal study *American Gothic* (1982), Donald Ringe ends with Hawthorne as well, thus closing the first wave of American Gothic fiction. For a comprehensive list of American and British Gothic publications that reaches into the modern era, see Lloyd-Smith (2004): 11-23.

[9] Studying the Transatlantic Gothic alone would be too broad for my study. A transatlantic study needs a concept or theme to connect the broad and fascinating array of literature available in the transatlantic space, like Bridget M. Marshall's *The Transatlantic Gothic and The Law* (2011). Captivity and monstrosity, broadly conceived, are the unifying concepts of my Transatlantic Gothic study because together they underscore prevalent Gothic horrors of emotion and mobility in need of further exploration. To narrow down my study, I have chosen to examine how writers of Gothic and atypical Gothic texts from 1682 to 1809 represent captivity, travel, and monstrosity in order to demonstrate how the Gothic developed a recurring meditation, through frightening representations, on emotion and mobility before and during its heyday.

announcement that "the idea of origin [of the Gothic] is called into question because assumptions of linear sequence and causality have to be renegotiated" to understand it in full ("Introduction" iii). The Gothic's suspicions based in Enlightenment worries begin to manifest in captivity narratives that, in turn, inform the Gothic literary mode as a whole. The Gothic looks skeptically at the Enlightenment, an era notably optimistic of humanity's future that hides a deep skepticism. In short, as Fred Botting states, the Gothic shows "the underside of the enlightenment and humanist values" (2). If the Enlightenment brings light to the darkness—the forbidden desire, selfishness, violence—of human behavior and thought, the Gothic explores the shadows cast by the blinding principles of Enlightenment optimism and science. However, that "shadow" is longer, deeper than previously considered if viewed from the perspective of captivity and stretched widely into familiar and unfamiliar Gothic territories.

To borrow Botting's phrase, I investigate how Gothic writers expose "the underside" of travel and human sympathy within a transatlantic space during an emerging Enlightenment cosmopolitanism,[10] which glorifies the horrors of colonialism and ethnocentrism.[11] Genevive

[10] In *Cosmopolitan Style* (2006) Rebecca L. Walkwoitz's three categories of cosmopolitanism are: 1) "a philosophical tradition that promotes allegiance to a transnational or global community, emphasizing *detachment* from local cultures and interests of the nation"; 2) "a more recent anthropological tradition that emphasizes multiple or flexible *attachments* to more than one nation or community, resisting conceptions of allegiance that presuppose consistency and uncritical enthusiasm"; 3) "a vernacular or popular tradition that values the risks of social deviance and the resources of consumer culture and urban mobility" (9). I primarily focus on the first category because it contains the major concepts that I find resonate with Gothic treatments of cosmopolitanism and, of most relevance to this study, travel and foreign contact. Following the general view of French philosophers, "[Cosmopolitanism] primarily designates an intellectual ethic, a universal humanism that transcends regional particularism" (Cheah 22). "Cosmopolitan" often referred to an urbane and worldly individual, open-minded and unprejudiced, at worst blasé and rootless. This cosmopolitan had little to do with moral and political philosophy, though this image of a cosmopolitan persisted in public thought and writing. Enlightenment cosmopolitanism can be viewed as moral and political—cosmopolitan thinkers often intertwine the two. Moral cosmopolitanism rests on the belief that humans belong to a universal fellowship. On the other hand, political cosmopolitanism varies in denouncing or praising the plurality of nations in this world. Some argue for a single, worldwide government where others like Immanuel Kant argue for, more or less, a federation of nations predicated on cosmopolitan law. This Enlightenment cosmopolitanism sought to define a universal human moral and political code that could transcend national or regional attachments. In general, the Gothic treats cosmopolitan optimism for a peaceful and united humanity with marked skepticism. However, suspicion that universal fellowship and human reason could overcome national interests and individual selfishness manifested in cosmopolitan writing itself, particularly in the writing of Kant. Kantian cosmopolitanism "seemed to offer a clear-cut contrast to nationalism" (Robbins 2) during "a time of

Lloyd explains in *Enlightenment Shadows* (2013), "The celebration of the capacity to put oneself imaginatively into the place of another is a central strand in Enlightenment thought" (21). Cosmopolitan studies addresses central concerns about human contact[12] that inform this study on how the Gothic treats sympathy through representations of travel, filled with moments of horror and encounters with monsters from within and without. The authors that I examine in my study amplify and transform that suspicion of human mutuality into abject horrors—the sunny confidence of universal human society predicated on fairness, humaneness, and sympathy is a dark and labyrinthine illusion drawn out, foiled by captivity, and mocked in the Gothic.

As studies on travel and captivity focus on collapsing boundaries, whether forced or otherwise, between people and places, this study contributes to a recent and ongoing expansion of Gothic studies that moves across national and global borders and also speaks to increasing scholarly interest in globalization and transatlanticism. Since the 1790s, the Gothic has been a transatlantic literary movement. British and American writers in this Gothic mode from the 1790s and beyond read and shared work, whether with each other or with the reading public.

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expansion of European power beyond European borders, and of competition among European states of dominance of newly conquered territories" (Lloyd 22). In short, Western imperialism and war during the eighteenth century betrayed Kant's view that a peaceful worldwide community was the natural progress of humanity, a subject that Gothic Travel renders fearsome and absurd.

[11] The Gothic exposes the failings of cosmopolitanism that Christopher M. Keirstead explains is "an impulse of self-criticism that guarded against the intoxicating rhetoric of cosmopolitanism itself—its confident faith in its own inevitability" (4). What Keirstead says of the Victorian poets' suspicion of cosmopolitanism can be applied to Gothic Travel, though the "self-criticism" can be either intentional or otherwise.

[12] Jason D. Hill explains in *Becoming Cosmopolitan* (2000), "Identities that are predicted on static notions of the self are identities that people cannot change in any meaningful way" (3). Amanda Anderson explains in *The Power of Distance* (2001), "That is, while cosmopolitanism places a value on reciprocal and transformative encounters between strangers variously construed, it simultaneously has strongly individualist elements, in its advocacy of detachment from shared identities, its emphasis on affiliation as voluntary, and its appeal to self-cultivation" (31-32). Matthew Binney explains in *The Cosmopolitan Evolution* (2006), "When the foreign seeps into the discourse of the home culture, then the external has become the internal. That is, the foreign has become a part of the native language. Over time, the home culture's individual and national conceptions of virtue will slowly change and evolve in response to the influence of the foreign, and these changes can only happen through emphasizing the individual" (9).

Although this is a robust period for the Gothic, I argue its transatlantic roots are earlier, found hidden in captivity.

Although much Gothic fiction deals with enclosed spaces, Gothic critics locate mutual concerns about open-ended and expansive issues that bind this troublesome literary mode, despite spatial and temporal limitations. In 2008, Glennis Byron called for a "global gothic" study that "reveal[s] the ways in what gothic texts of different countries have in common" (22). Although Gothic studies scholars found common themes between Gothic fiction in the past, Byron's announcement of a "global gothic" emphasizes the trend in Gothic criticism of viewing the Gothic as a mode in which the topics rather than the aesthetics, periods, or formulaic conventions drive critical literary judgments. Instead of national or regional limitations, critics of the Gothic investigate transnational fears—a potentially flawed and futile effort to forge universal fears leading to distinct revelations about the Gothic. Byron's revision of the Gothic as a mode that crosses literary and national boundaries supports my study that modal concerns of the Gothic trump rigid definitions of genre and periodization. Similarly passing Gothic borders, Bridget M. Marshall responds to Byron's concept of the "global gothic" by arguing for a transatlantic study of the Gothic genre. Marshall breaks down the separation of British and American Gothic that, taking precedence from Paul Gilroy, "crosses national boundaries, exploring the connections and continuities between the British and American versions of the Gothic" (2). The first-wave of Gothic fiction rises from a complex transatlantic exchange between American, British, and European authors.

By focusing on British and American Gothicists, I, like Marshall, attempt to bring coherence to an intentionally obfuscated literary mode and its transatlantic practitioners. To bring this clarity, I move back in time, examine captivity, and trace the consequences forward, to

the inception of the American Gothic. Thus, Marshall's investigation of Transatlantic Gothic concerns on law invites further study, including Siân Silyn Roberts's *Gothic Subjects* (2014) in which she "read[s] the American gothic's literary history as a series of successive displacements in transatlantic novel convention and modern theories of self and government"[13] (6). As these studies examine the Transatlantic Gothic in view of law, self, and government, my study of Gothic travel crosses literary generic and thematic borders, showing the influence of captivity in an expanding body of Gothic scholarship and considerations.

As suggested by Marshall, the Gothic frustrates clear understanding of an optimistically charged discourse of universal humanity and globalization through shared values and concerns. This study picks up that fear of universalism by examining how instances of captivity and travel produce alienation and division through Gothicized descriptions and encounters.[14] Similarly, in his treatment of the cosmopolitan drive of the Gothic, Michael J. Blouin asserts, "The cosmopolitan Gothic, in sum, conceptualizes a bond between the aspiration to comprehend 'world citizens' and a desire to recognize the delusions embedded within this enterprise" (21). Blouin's definition resonates with the rationale for cosmopolitanism. However, Blouin points out that the Gothic attempts to render the shortcomings of cosmopolitan thought into Gothic horrors that show the futility of its endeavor. Transcending borders and human boundaries leads to transgressions of character and stability, both national and individual. Blouin's Cosmopolitan Gothic sets up my analysis and interpretation of canonical and noncanonical Gothic texts in the

[13] Fears of identity formation pervade the American Gothic. Eric Savoy and Robert K. Martin (1998) provide an entry for Roberts' examination of the self and government in the American Gothic: "For the gothic coheres, if it can be said to cohere, around poetics (turns and tendencies in the dismantling of the national subject), around narrative structuration, and in its situation of the reader at the border of symbolic dissolution" (vii). That dissolution Anna Sonser (2001) sees through commodification: "The true terror of existence is manifested in the touchstones of commodification, represented by a fragmented subjectivity that only can find recompense in a culture of consumption" (3).

[14] Tensions and fears rise from depictions of alienation in the Gothic. Cannon Schmitt argues, "Gothic fictions depend for their effects upon varieties of estrangement, from the breakdown of communication between genders and classes to the baffled efforts of modernity to make sense of its own feudal past" (2).

West that are similarly tinged with skepticism regarding the virtue of contact and travel. While, Blouin and I differ on the subject of our studies and the scope of the Gothic. Blouin views the Cosmopolitan Gothic as a genre and locates his study in twentieth-century Gothic discourses,[15] between Japan and America for instance. I assert that the Gothic is a mode and situate my study in the late-seventeenth to mid-nineteenth centuries. My study shows a literary precedent for the Gothic Cosmopolitanism that Blouin explores in his study and stresses the significant impact of captivity on current scholarship regarding mobility and monstrosity in Gothic literature.

By focusing on Gothic travel driven by anxieties from captivity and monstrosity as they develop and shift through Gothic fiction from the late-seventeenth century into the mid-nineteenth century, I explore ways the Gothic based in British and American Gothic fiction and spanning generic and national borders shape and define transatlantic fears. In light of Blouin's thought, my authors represent a negative cosmopolitanism taken to sensational and horrific excess.[16] The commonly held Western belief that studying other cultures and traveling to cultivate a grand sense of shared humanity are degenerative, detrimental, and destructive activities in the Gothic. Travelers (and in some cases captives) are at best suspicious and at worst monstrous figures that contaminate a community, an individual, and a nation and cause feelings

[15] In a Foucauldian analysis of the Gothic, Edward H. Jacobs (2000) argues that the Gothic is best understood as a discourse because this discourse formation might draw together "the disparate kinds of texts connected by [...] *Gothic*" (15).

[16] Some critics consider the Gothic a literature of excess. Leslie Fiedler in *Love and Death in the American Novel* (1960) writes, "the gothic is the product of an aesthetic that replaces the classic concept of nothing-in-excess with the revolutionary doctrine of nothing succeeds like excess" (132). Ellen Moers in *Literary Women* (1976) explains "all are punished by their own excesses—by a surfeit of sensation, of experience, of knowledge and, mostly typically, by the doom of eternal life" (95). In *Gothic* (1995), Fred Botting asserts "Gothic excesses, none the less, the fascination with transgression and the anxiety over cultural limits and boundaries, continue to produce ambivalent emotions and meanings in their tales of darkness, desire and power" (2). Peter Garrett sees these excesses and transgressions as considerably toothless: "Concentrating on opposition can lead us to overlook the remarkable institutional stability of Gothic, its long history of repeating and reworking a restricted set of devices to reproduce similar effects. If this is subversion, it seems rather unthreatening, a well-rehearsed cultural drama that assures a safe experience of transgression" (2). Thus, Gothic Travel is both an investigation of the fear of excess that comes from excessive travel or transgressing individual and national bounds.

of abjection.[17] Contact with foreigners feeds the ego rather than expands the heart. Travel and study abroad distances rather than connects the individual with other people. Yet, people draw together and draw others to them, capturing them and captivating them. During a time of turbulent transformation for the individual and the nation, these qualities evoke fear and uncertainty, emotions that the Gothic seizes and exploits in order to show the failings of human sympathy as told through the language of monstrosity and travel. I study how captivity and the Gothic coordinate to reveal that the Enlightenment endeavor toward human sympathy is a contradictory and deluded enterprise.

Captivity and Captivity Narratives: A Quick Word

Although I discuss captivity in depth in Chapter One, a word on the subject may be in order here to frame the general ideas that inform my project and draw captivity to the Gothic. By captivity narratives, I generally mean biographical or autobiographical narratives written in the first person, with or without the aid of an amanuensis, or written in third person that recount time experienced by the narrator while captured by a foreign or enemy people, who is often (and wrongfully) depicted as culturally and socially inferior. Many exceptions to this model exist, of course, though captivity narratives that I examine in this study mainly come from dominant Western voices rather than those, like American Indians, subjected to colonialist or imperialist

[17] Julia Kristeva theorizes in *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection* (1982) about fear and bodily anxieties that transgress both physical and psychological boundaries. The influence of her theory on Gothic studies has been addressed in the literature, and I will not attempt a comprehensive overview. In general, Kristeva associates fear with transgressing both physical and psychological borders. Kristeva locates the site of horror in fears of materiality that begin with childbirth and manifest through reminders of human corporeality in a horror she calls abjection. The fear comes from a person drawing a boundary between the self and the material. Kristeva explains that the abject horror manifests in "the jettisoned object" from the body of an individual like blood, "waste, or dung…defilement, sewage, and muck" (2). The disgust that one feels confronting the offal of his or her body disrupts borders, mental, physical, psychological, between the self and the body, and when those begin to fall, according to Kristeva "meaning collapses" (2). Looking at a dead body, according to Kristeva, produces the worse feelings of abjection because it is a figure of material existence that represents an absence of life (3).

rule. This study is not an exhaustive examination of captivity narratives within that timeframe or from around the world.

Questions regarding the genesis of captivity narratives have produced much scholarly debate. Captivity narratives, generally speaking, originated during the Spanish conquest of the American Indians in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. However, it codified into a distinct genre during the seventeenth century (Vaughn and Clark 2). Captivity narratives in colonial American literature begin in the seventeenth century and extend into the nineteenth century. Although captivity narratives come from many other countries and peoples, I limit my selection of captivity narratives to those in transatlantic space, mainly the American northeast, to focus on their connection to the Gothic. My objective is to draw connections between captivity and the Gothic, two modes within the American and British literary traditions, and reach conclusions about their similar representations of sympathy and monstrosity based in fears and horrors of travel.

For the sake of my study, moreover, I use "fictional" and "factual" captivity narratives, though claims of verisimilitude in a mode fraught with questionable motivations and narrators should be read with healthy skepticism.[18] Mary Rowlandson's *Sovereignty and the Goodness of God* (1782), an example of a factual captivity narrative and the subject of my first chapter, rests on her lived experience during King Philip's War, yet the account is severely slanted and biased in her favor. "Panther Captivity," analyzed further in Chapter Two, may draw from other captivity narratives based on fact, but it is a fictional text. Some fictional texts, like Charles

[18] Captivity narratives served multiple ideological purposes. No story is purely removed from those implications, and the captivity narrative may be a mode steeped in endless discussion of establishing the "truth" or "authentic voice." Teresa Toulouse, discussing Mary Rowlandson, describes her captivity narrative "as [an] elite woman's text about her captivity among the Nipmuc, Wampanoag, and Narragansett Indians [that] was published, appropriated, and directed to interlinked theological, political, and social ends by a group of ministers spearheaded by Increase Mather" ("The Sovereignty and Goodness of God in 1682: Royal Authority, Female Captivity, and "Creole" Male Identity" 926). Rowlandson's text, which I analyze in depth in the first chapter, is just one example of a captivity narrative based in fact but rhetorically crafted to meet the needs of the powers-that-be and their pliable audience.

Brockden Brown's American Gothic novel *Edgar Huntly* (1799) contain elements from captivity narratives (which I discuss in the fourth chapter). I examine various captivity narratives and depictions of captivity in this project

Captivity narratives take on different forms, from excerpts from personal confessions to unrestrained, sensationalistic smut. Yet, aspects of these different formations lead toward the Gothic. As captivity narratives changed as a mode, Richard VanDerBeets explains, "The development of sensationalism in the narratives can be discerned in two separate appeals: one to the reader's *sensibilities* through stylistic *excesses* and *melodrama*, the other to this capacity for *horror through excesses* of descriptive detail" (xxi, my italics). VanDerBeets's description of captivity narratives reflects elements of the Gothic: excessive, melodramatic, and horrific. Writers of captivity narratives took liberties with specific details, amplifying the horror to readers for propagandistic and religious reasons in some cases.[19] Fact and fiction brush against each other in captivity, which contains much Gothic resonance. This separation matters less for this project since I primarily seek to understand the literary and rhetorical formations between captivity and the Gothic. I view both factual and fictional forms contributing to an expansive understanding of captivity that opens up my exploration of its presence and influence in the Gothic.

One of the central investigations of my study is the indebtedness of the Gothic literary tradition to the captivity narrative and its attendant concerns. A larger issue in Gothic studies is tracing the roots of the literary tradition. Arguments about Gothic literary forerunners or a pre-

[19] I concede the point that a writer's intentions are hardly discernable. However, I am not arguing about literary intentionality. Many critics point out various rhetorical uses of captivity narratives. Richard VanDerBeets identifies the "propaganda value of the captivity narrative" as an instrument of spreading hatred of Indians through colonial America (xvii). Spiritually, Laurel Thatcher Ulrich explains, "Captivity thus become a ritualistic journey of salvation, a passage through suffering and despair toward saving faith. In reality, captivity was sometimes a journey toward a new home, a new occupation, new friends, and family, or at the very least toward earthly experiences little imagined in the farms and villages left behind" (202).

Gothic literature are numerous.[20] Scholars have addressed this relationship between the Gothic and captivity already. For the American Gothic, Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse explain that the language of early American captivity narratives contributes to the spirit and style of the Gothic romance (207). Similar to Armstrong and Tennenhouse, James D. Hartman finds Gothic roots in captivity narratives from the Puritan era (146). Dorothy Z. Baker, moreover, argues that the American Gothic's origins can be found in the providence tales, "recognized as the beginning of the American short narrative" (5) Taking off from this claim shared by these scholars, I examine how captivity narratives inform representations of travel and monstrosity in Gothic horror. Recounting the history of the American Gothic, Charles L. Crow points out, "Early accounts of life in remote settlements, as well as Indian-captivity narratives are filled with glimpses of Europeans not only degenerating to crude and savage creatures, but even crossing the line and joining the Indians" (19). That horrific experience of coming into contact with otherness indicative of the captivity narratives mirrors the fictional encounter between human and monster in the Gothic. Both captivity and the Gothic rely on a fear of rejection of what is forbidden and other as well as identification with it. To adapt Crow's phrase, the fear lies in "crossing the line" not just to the "dark side" but sympathizing with it, becoming part and kind with it. Movements between man and monster are acts of travel, motion, and emotion. With all this said, I am not claiming that captivity narratives are *the* primogenitor of the Gothic. Rather, I

[20] Arguments about Gothic literary forerunners or a pre-Gothic literature abound. Conventionally, scholars establish that the forerunner of the Gothic is the medieval romance, a fantastic fictional prose narrative set in the distant past (Clery 22 and Ellis 17). Proposals of other textual influences come from many critics. Maggie Kilgour explains, "[The Gothic] feeds upon and mixes the wide range of literary sources out of which it emerges and from which it never fully disentangles itself: British folklore, ballads, romance, Elizabethan and Jacobean tragedy (especially Shakespeare), Spenser, Milton, Renaissance ideas of melancholy, the graveyard poets, Ossian, the sublime, sentimental novelists (notably Prevost, Richardson, and Rousseau), and German traditions (especially Schiller's *Robbers* and *Ghost-Seer*)" (4). Outlying spots of origin from Kilgour's impressive list, for example, can be found. For instance, Louis S. Gross (1989) claims Gothic's forerunners in the "renaissance" (1).

argue that captivity narratives are one of many literary ancestors that influence the Gothic tradition, and this relationship between captivity and the Gothic needs further attention.

Captivity narratives and the Gothic share a literary cousin in sentimentalism, too. Discussing the relationship between captivity and sentimentalism, Michelle Burnham explains, "the production of readerly sympathy serves a crucial function in the strategies of captivity narratives; indeed, some of the earliest narratives already rely on the sympathetic relation between reader and text that only later marks sentimental novels" (49). Efforts to form sympathetic bonds between reader and the characters (or narrators) on the page also inform the relationship between captivity and the Gothic. However, captivity through sentimentalism downplays the horrific sympathy, or lack thereof, that the Gothic seizes in its use of captivity. Sympathy, its presence or absence, metaphorically captivates characters, narrators, and readers alike, drawing out the emotional connection suppressed by traditional readings.

To put it simply, I consider captivity and captivity narratives in two ways for this project. First, I view captivity in its literal form, stories of or from people held against their will by others who often threaten (or appear as a threat to) the captive's life and way of life. Secondly, I see captivity functioning on an abstract, emotional level. People held captive by emotions for another person or captivated by someone (or some*thing*, which is often the case in the Gothic, or someone who the narrator or character tries to render into a thing) forbidden, threatening, and foreign (or maybe all three) to them.

Captivity and the Gothic join together in exposing the horrors of sympathetic travel, identifying with the other and revealing mutual and mobile monstrosity. Details of literal captivity—movement, treatment, torture—mixes with attendant metaphorical uses of captivity in this study. Captivity and the Gothic cross the special and emotional boundaries that should not be

crossed, transgressing fixed norms of human relation.[21] By examining captivity in this manner, I identify how it connects with the Gothic and its ambiguous emotional and moral effects through the interplay of travel and monstrosity.

Monsters and Monstrosity: Close Encounters in Gothic Travel

Elemental to the study of the Gothic, or almost any type of horror fiction,[22] is the monster.[23] Fundamental to the study of monsters is their indeterminacy, noted by Asa Simon Mittman: "By definition, the monster is outside of such definitions; it defies the human desire to subjugate through categorization. This is the source, in many ways, of its power" (7). Although many Gothic works have traditional monsters like demons, ghosts, werewolves, and vampires,[24] less traditional monsters frequent the pages of early Gothic novels. These have bandits, thieves, and bad patriarchs—most often rich European men with dusky castles and too much time on their hands. In this study, whether the monster is a fanged supernatural creature or a dashing but

[21] Captivity and the Gothic are unquestionably transgressive, exposing extreme suffering, physical and psychological, at the edges of society. For women, captivity narratives are a particularly transgressive outlet according to Christopher Castiglia, who says "white women have consistently used accounts of captivity to transgress and transform the boundaries of genre in order to accomplish their own ends, even—perhaps especially—when they contradict the desires of their white countrymen" (4-5). By using transgressive to define these modes, I might accidentally evoke the modern subgenre of Transgressive Fiction characterized by the work of Bret Easton Ellis, Poppy Z. Brite, and Chuck Palahniuk. Although Transgressive Fiction tends "to find knowledge…at the edge of experience and that experience is the site for gaining knowledge," (Chun) the shared theme of travel and borders between captivity, Gothic, and this modern subgenre are beyond the scope of my study.

[22] Horror, as a genre, is not exclusively Gothic, and the Gothic is not exclusively horrific in some cases. However, my study chiefly engages with Gothic horror, and I read the Gothic as a type of horror fiction.

[23] Several authors explain the etymological roots of the word monster in the English language. Generally, they conclude that monster comes from the Latin verb *monstrare* ("to show," like demonstrate) and *monere* ("to warn," like admonish). For further discussion on the etymology of monster, see Huet (1993) 6; Gilmore (2003): 9; Kearney (2003): 34; Asma (2009):13; Poole (2011): 5; Six and Thompson (2012): 237; Beville (2014): 4, 10; Weinstock (2014): 1.

[24] The scholarship on teratology is massive and already well documented by Curran and Graile (1996). The problem with differentiating and cataloging monsters (e.g., vampire, werewolf, Sasquatch) has recently been the focus of Maria Beville in *The Unnameable Monster*. (2014). She argues that scholarly fixation on categorizing defeats the effort to understand monstrosity: "once [the monster] has been categorised, [it] is no longer a monster" (5). Through the naming of monsters, she argues that we dismiss "the essential excess of the monster which is an excess of representation" (183) that, for her, challenges cultural (6) and psychoanalytic (185) interpretations of monstrosity which prevent new perspectives of alterity beyond the dichotomous view of monsters as both "other" and "us."

rapacious aristocrat without sexy superpowers (but perhaps sex appeal) does not matter so much since both are monstrous, that is, frightening, foreign yet familiar, and unavoidably confrontational. Judith Halberstam raises the point that "[t]he Monster's body is a machine that, in its Gothic mode, produces meaning and can represent any horrible trait that the reader feeds into the narrative" (7-9). Simply put, the monster is "ultimately an empty signifier" that demands filling (Beville 13). Though monsters appear in many other literary genres and modes, their manifest presence indicates trouble for the protagonists in the narrative beyond the unknown (and often unknowable) menace that the monster represents.

Each age brings life to its monsters, assembled from castaway parts, like Frankenstein's creature, and fused together through the language of shock, fear, familiarity, and terror. Monsters come to life so the living, breathing human and ostensibly humane characters, have something to fight or by which to define themselves. In *Monster Theory*, Jeffrey Jerome Cohen explains that "the monster is best understood as an embodiment of difference, a breaker of category, and a resistant Other known only through processes and movement, never through dissection-table analysis" (x). Though I assert that monsters *should be* dissected to understand their component pieces, Cohen's definition brings up key points about *difference* and *movement* enacted by the monster upon those he, she, or it contacts. Further, that contact with the monster tends to overlap through depictions of the Other, either gendered, racialized, or otherwise. Investigating the monstrosity of the Other forces the narrator or character to process his, her, or its difference, drawing the individual closer to what it feels like to be a monster. They conceive of the unknown, the unknowable, the foreign as the monstrous. Moments of hesitation when facing the monster reveal dreadful meditations on borders and boundaries between humanity and the world around them. Otherness may exist within monsters and within others who appear to fit into

cultural models of proper behavior and conduct. Confrontation with the monster is often repellent to characters who are equally drawn by curiosity to understand the beast, ghoul, human, or *thing* that hunts and haunts them.

That search for understanding and answers arises from the monster's violation of perceived norms and categories. Marie-Hélène Huet in *Monstrous Imagination* explains, "By presenting similarities to categories of beings to which they are not related, monsters blur the differences between genres and disrupt the strict order of Nature" (4). Confronting the monster is facing a threat to *and* from the culture that gave the monster birth. These encounters, which I identify primarily through the language of travel and emotion, offer opportunities to bend, maintain, or trespass seemingly rigid and definite ideas or perspectives held by the narrator, retained by a character, or purported (intentionally or not) by the text. The monster calls out beliefs and categories held firmly as cultural, thus largely subjective, truth held by identifiably human characters. The lines blur between the truth and notions of the natural in their minds, confounding this safe fusion of a well-ordered world. The monster's existence is an overdetermined presence, often paradoxically challenging and confirming cultural beliefs held as natural or normal (and often superior) by the narrator or characters in question. Paul Santilli explains, "I would say that the antithesis of culture is not nature but the *unnatural*—that is, the *monstrosity* that does not fit into categories of names" (174). Facing the monstrous demands that the narrator or character make sense of it, what challenges familiar and traditional knowledge about the natural order. Whether to strike the monster down or ultimately yield to its existence presents another trial.

The space between the monster and the human is both material and psychic. That psychic territory manifests through descriptions of movement, internal and external motion concentrated

in effort to understand what (or who) is beyond understanding. Through this *process*, if I may borrow and modify one of Cohen's words, of negotiating the collapse of neat, ordered beings, the human characters' initial struggle to detect and detach from the monster reveals a deep fear of human sympathy. This preoccupation in the Gothic and horror appears in physical borders as spaces of fear and also in "between conscious and unconscious, 'experience and illusion'—psychic frontiers on the edge of territories both enticing and terrifying" (Kerr, Crowley, and Crow 2). That retreaded confrontation between the Gothic heroine (sometimes hero) and villain (sometimes villainess) resides in those liminal spaces between civilization and wilderness as well as reality and dream.

Of particular interest to me in this study are "the psychic frontiers" of emotional and geographic experiences, where man and monster roam between reality and abstraction. The lack of human connection, particularly the Gothic emotional experiences of men and women, occurs in tangible and metaphysical spaces. George E. Haggerty explains, "the Gothic novelists attempted to give imaginative worlds external and objective reality" (7) because "Gothic form, then, is affective form" (8) that simultaneously tries to elicit an emotional response as well as critiques these emotions. Encounters with the monster come from, in one place, "[t]he gothic wilderness…a profoundly American symbol of an ambiguous relationship to the land, of an alienation" (Moegen, Sanders, and Karpinksi 20), a symbol that fits well with the themes of Gothic fiction overall. This experience is not exclusive to the American Gothic since plenty of monsters frequent dark terrains and travel about the pages in pursuit of their victims. As the characters face off against monsters, perhaps petrified by the hideous realization of what it is or how it actually looks, movement takes place on an invisible, emotional level. Caroline Joan Picart and Cecil Greek explain, "the Gothic landscape, whether it be an *external* panorama or an

internal landscape, is marked by the assault on clear boundaries and distinctions by haze and darkness, ambivalence and uncertainties" (23-24, my italics). That foggy space between human and monster exists in the dense forests or subterraneous crypts, those familiar and fanciful Gothic environments, but that boundary crosses over and between the Gothic mindscapes. These monsters look, act, feel, think, and perceive like humans. Yet, at the core, there is something alien, either by their nature, or, more likely, imparted upon the monsters by someone else.

Bug-eyed humanoids like *The Fly* (1958) or colossal, radioactive wonders from the sea like *Godzilla* (1954) lie far outside the parameters of the monsters in this study, though these sci-fi creatures belong to the conceptualization of monstrosity.[25] Count Dracula may be a more fitting popular example to demonstrate the principles informing monstrosity in this study. Undoubtedly, Dracula is a monster[26] in each of his many forms, though more so for my study as a wizened relic of a Transylvanian noble, much more traditionally monstrous when in the shape of a man-sized bat. Yet, he can appear young, charming, and magnetic to the unsuspicious. That slippage between the inwardly and outwardly monstrous motivates this study of Gothic Travel. The monsters whom (or *that* if I remove their identity entirely) I summon in this study are often more subtly monstrous than their popular luminaries and may be on the surface not monstrous at all. Rather, the narrators and characters transform ordinary people with no supernatural powers into frightful beings solely through their words. In many cases in this study, the narrators and characters use monstrous language, grotesque depictions, and the like to demonize other people. Richard Kearney explains, "Rather than acknowledge that we are deep down answerable to an

[25] See Jancovich (1996), Booker (2001), and Urbanski (2007) for investigations of monsters from the mid-twentieth century (i.e., what Booker calls the long 1950s) American horror, including "atomic age" and Cold War creatures. For an insightful analysis of contemporary horror and capitalism, see Newitz (2006).

[26] I base my conclusions mainly on Bram Stoker's novel *Dracula* (1897) and several films prior to postmodern renditions of the Count. Forerunners of Dracula can be found, arguably, in the rake, like the sentimental villain Lovelace in Richardson's *Clarissa* (1748) or the libertine Valmont in Laclos' *Les Liaisons Dangereuses* (1782) Modern efforts to sympathize with Dracula like *Dracula* (1992) directed by Francis Ford Coppola or lionize him like the film *Dracula Untold* (2014) further blur the line of black-and-white interpretations of monstrosity.

alterity which unsettles us, we devise all kinds of evasion strategies. Primary amongst these is the attempt to simplify our existence by scapegoating others as 'aliens'" (5) or, I will add, demons or monsters. Thus, what is often the case is that they "try to imagine other people as nonhuman" (Cassuto xii). For Mary Rowlandson, the monsters are her Indian captors rendered into bloodthirsty demons through explosive rhetoric. Charlotte Temple's monsters have (some of) the gentlemanliness of Count Dracula but none of his preternatural strength or shapeshifting. But, these monsters anticipate those outright abominations of reality haunting horror literature and film. They are distant cousins of the modern human "monsters," like Hannibal Lecter from *Silence of the Lambs* (novel, 1998, film, 1991), who are likely criminal and deviant rather than otherworldly and grotesque.

That blurred distinction between man and monster arises from substantial fears of outsiders, those beyond the ken of their protagonists. Dracula preys upon the living by feeding on their blood and, I would argue, their emotions. Vampires, as monsters, need human life to survive, but humans also need monsters of all kinds to discover and sustain the meaning of life. Their actions to the monstrous presence, however, show their dark and unbidden desires for conquest, violence, or sex. Though mostly human, these monsters draw attention to something inhuman within themselves that is curiously shared with the characters who run from (or to) them.

Most of the major monsters that I mention here follow traditional depictions of those found in books and films of the Gothic and horror genres. These ready examples provide basis for my examination of literary descriptions of travel and horror that come before established trends in the Gothic mode. Noël Carroll in *Philosophy of Horror* explains that the monster almost always evokes "threat and disgust" (27) from the audience often channeling its emotional

reaction through the characters (though not the same emotions experienced by the character in the book or on the screen) whom the monster frightens (88, 91). Carroll provides detailed discussion of how monsters function through various fictional incarnations, though he distinguishes his monsters as almost entirely otherworldly or grotesque in appearance and behavior. He explains that "monsters in everyday speech are often thought in terms of morality" (41). The point where he leaves off to talk exclusively about the outrageous and grotesque monsters, those traditionally conceived as monsters,[27] invites further investigation into the moral monsters. That relationship between the "monster of everyday speech" and "morality" should not be dismissed because the monsters of Gothic fiction and those modes preceding and contributing to it find monstrosity from there.

What does it mean to call someone who resembles your neighbor and most likely has all the bits, pieces, and parts of a human being a monster? That the monster looks human and acts human does not rule out there's a monster beneath the skin. In an excellent synthesis of contemporary monstrosity, Jeffery Andrew Weinstock considers, "[because of] the modern decoupling of monstrosity from appearance, the monster can be anyone and anywhere, and we only know it when it springs upon us or emerges from within us" ("Invisible Monsters" 289). In short, one does not simply have to produce an air of threat or evoke disgust at first to be monstrous.

My study points out that precedenct for the modern monster exists in earlier Gothic iterations. These monsters often are simply mutations of "the Gothic villain, who was certainly

[27] David D. Gilmore (2003) describes the traditional view of monsters by focusing primarily on "imaginary, not real" monsters that are "grotesque hybrids, recombinations uniting animal and human features or mixing animal species in lurid ways" in his study (6). Distinctions help guide study of the monstrous, but this is only one view. My own views on monstrosity falls in line more so with Asa Simon Mittman who states, "the monster is known through its *effect*, its impact. Therefore, from this perspective, all the monsters are real. The monsters in all of the traditions discussed here had palpable, tangible effects on the cultures that spawned them, as well as on neighboring and later cultures" (6). For my study, physical features *can inform* but in no way exclusively *define* monstrosity.

morally monstrous but who tended to be at least normal in outward appearance and decidedly good-looking" (Six and Thompson 238). Though the monsters in my study may be extreme in size (more likely in wealth), their monstrosity exposes a deep lack in the sympathetic bond, an emotional movement, between persons. They are monstrous because they deny, do not have, or dismiss the capacity to feel pity or sympathy for another being. To borrow from Cohen again, "through processes and movement" between the monster and the perceived victim, the threat emerges through the language of travel. In some cases, the monster takes on human qualities or those human qualities suppressed by the narrative voice change as the story unfolds. However, through this process of contact and confrontation (with all that the monster represents), a transformation takes place highlighting the monstrosity, the selfish, unsympathetic drive, within the characters coded as normal or humane. These encounters reveal how "the monsters expose the radical permeability and artificiality of all our classificatory boundaries, highlighting the arbitrariness and fragility of culture" (Gilmore 19). Effort to escape the monster or defeat the monster often turns back on the protagonist, revealing an internalized monstrosity, a void of sympathy within him- or herself, justifying ignorance and slaughter.

Chasing monsters or being chased by them is stock performance in horror and Gothic film and literature. As monstrosity is central to this study, it is also central to understanding the Gothic. Situating the placement of Gothic Travel in the wider conversation of Gothic studies begins with the deceptively simple question: what is Gothic?

Gothic Criticism: Travel Through the Gothic Labyrinth of Ideas

Early Gothic Scholarship and the Problem of Definition

Writers have tried to define the Gothic since its beginnings. Mapping that academic task and history might take up an entire book or more.[28] Although we search for clarity, the Gothic refuses to be defined, though we—like the Dark Romantic hero[29]—will attempt the doomed task.

Though disagreements are abundant, the debate returns to two agreements: the Gothic is a literature of fear,[30] and it is fascinatingly and frustratingly diffuse. One general agreement is that the first literary text in the Gothic mode is Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* (1764).[31] According to Suzanne Rintoul, scholars tend to take one or two general approaches to studying the Gothic; either these scholars examine many features of the Gothic to understand it broadly or they undertake "more focused studies of individual works that situate a definition of the [Gothic] genre along a historical, cultural, and political continuum" (702). My study integrates both of Rintoul's general approaches to Gothic criticism. I integrate sweeping criticism of the Gothic as

[28] I will try to review Gothic scholarship briefly in order to delineate the precedents in Gothic scholarship that make room for my study of Gothic Travel. This short overview is not a comprehensive examination of all Gothic scholarship. Instead, I discuss some of the most prominent Gothic scholars and critical literary trends from the early twentieth century into the early twenty-first century to trace tendencies in Gothic criticism both indicative of the field in general as well as relevant to my own study. Reactions to Gothic fiction spanned from rejoice to rejection to revulsion. I will not endeavor to provide a comprehensive discussion of the vast amount of criticism available. For coverage of some of the most salient critiques and discussion of the Gothics, see Clery and Miles's *Gothic Documents* (2000).

[29] G.R Thompson writes that the high Gothic or Dark Romanticism is "the embodiment of demonic-quest romance, in which a lonely self-divided hero embarks on insane pursuit of the Absolute" (2). Similarly, I argue that striving for an absolute definition of the Gothic is a noble and important but ultimately futile endeavor.

[30] Fear is a vague unifying concept, but many Gothic scholars share this point. Those fears take nationally distinct forms, though the core idea of fear unites the Gothic. See Moers (1976): 90; Gross (1998): 1; Ellis (2000): 8-9; Ellens (2006): 13; and Crow (2009): 1.

[31] Traditionally, the Gothic as a literary genre and mode begins with Horace Walpole's *The Caste of Otranto*, published in 1764. Though other contemporaneous critics reviewed the first Gothic novel, Walpole is one of the first critics of Gothic literature. In the second edition of *Otranto*, Walpole spells out his endeavor to unite the novel and the romance to create "a new literary genre" that lead to a "revival of the imagination" in an age that he perceived to be too rational and rigid (Watt 1-2). Walpole explains that he tried "to blend the two kinds of romance, the ancient and the modern" in order to "reconcile the two kinds" (*Otranto* 65). Walpole intended to let "the powers of fancy at liberty" for "creating more interesting situations" (*Otranto* 65) while addressing the problem that "improbable event [of romances] never fails to be attended by absurd dialogue" (*Otranto* 66). Though Walpole talks mainly about aesthetics, he points out one of the core themes and troubles of the Gothic: reconciling the real with the supernatural, often cast as the fantastic (65-66). Walpole's "Gothic Romance" or Gothic Novel thus derives from paradox and drawing together disunity. The Gothic then represents seemingly insoluble concepts and characters engaging each other and revealing repressed and startling similarities in a fearsome manner, all for affect. Its beginnings are steeped in the conflict and confusion of categorization, a tenet to constructing the horrors and terrors within the Gothic.

well as culturally and historically specific studies into the Gothic in order to support my argument that the two approaches are inseparable. An understanding of the general currents of Gothic criticism undergirds specific investigations in this project that delves into the Gothic's treatment of culture, history, politics, and more. Moreover, scholars tend to agree that the Gothic uses for various ends a set of conventions or tropes, figures like virtuous and virginal heroines, foreign and rakish villains often from the aristocracy, lofty castles, and catacombs.[32] Sigmund Freud's idea of The Uncanny[33] and Todorov's The Fantastic[34] are tried and true psychoanalytic literary approaches to Gothic fiction, already covered thoroughly in the literature and to which much Gothic scholarship is directly and quietly indebted. Recent trends in Gothic studies have shifted from an aesthetic focus to a cultural and historical analysis of Gothic fiction. I argue that Gothic aesthetics and concerns are mutually connected, and ignoring one over the other

[32] Critics of Gothic fiction often list several conventions of the paradoxically formulaic yet diffuse mode. In her seminal study *The Coherence of Gothic Conventions* (1980, revised 1986), Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick provides a useful list of Gothic "preoccupations" and tropes: "priesthood and monastic institutions; sleeplike and deathlike states; subterranean spaces and live burial; doubles; the discovery of obscured family ties; affinities between narrative and pictorial art; possibilities of incest; unnatural echoes of silences, unintelligible writings, and the unspeakable; garrulous retainers; the poisonous effects of guilt or shame; nocturnal landscapes and dreams; apparitions from the past; Faust- and Wandering Jew-like figures; civil insurrections and fires; the charnel house and the madhouse" (9-10). David Punter, in his influential *The Literature of Terror* (1980) says that the Gothic is "the fiction of the haunted castle, of heroines preyed on by unspeakable terrors, of the blackly lowering villain, of ghosts, vampires, monsters and werewolves" (1). Together, Sedgwick and Punter's lists show a recurring cast of characters, themes, and scenes that pervade Gothic fiction, though the appearance of Gothic horror will alter from location and time.

[33] Freud's influence on Gothic studies, let alone literary theory, is unquestionably massive. In "The Uncanny" or "Das Unheimlich" (1919), Freud theorizes feelings of fear when encountering something that is simultaneously familiar and unfamiliar. Manifestations of the uncanny draw out repressed ideas and urges, "the return of the repressed" in repetitious scene or monstrous form. Valdine Clemens (1998) surmises, "[M]ost psychoanalytic criticism of Gothic has tended to employ Freudian theory and to view the Gothic as a conservative form that offers the reader a safe opportunity for the exorcism of fear, as well as an opportunity for the 'id's night out'—a temporary release from civilized constructions that neither challenges nor alters the essential nature of those constructions" (11). For a comprehensive overview and discussion of the uncanny, see Royle (2003).

[34] I will not attempt to trace Tzteven Todorov's influence on Gothic studies. A brief, arguably reductive, overview may help, though. In *The Fantastic* (1975), Tzteven Todorov describes three types of supernatural encounter in fiction: the marvelous, the uncanny, or the fantastic. If a character has a marvelous encounter, then he or she confirms that the supernatural is indeed real. If a character has an uncanny experience, then he or she recognizes what was thought to be supernatural can be explained in real-world terms (e.g., the curtain blowing open was caused by wind, not a ghost). When the character is caught by uncertainty between the marvelous and the uncanny, then he or she experiences the fantastic. Todorov explains, "The fantastic is that hesitation experienced by a person who knows only the laws of nature, confronting an apparently supernatural event" (25).

diminishes a comprehensive understanding of this dauntingly dispersive mode. In short, the surface of the Gothic helps us explore the substance of the Gothic as a whole.

The Gothic—the literature of fear—is intimately related to the anxieties and concerns of its readers and their times. Fear, just like the Gothic, is in flux, and the manifestations of fear change as well. The Gothic is, if anything, "protean" (Fleenor 4 and Pepetone 14) like the monstrous (Mittman 14). There are far too many types of Gothic to list at this present time, even early Gothic scholars like Montague Summers sought to classify the Gothic but made little headway.[35] I view the Gothic much like Julia E. Flennor: "There is not just one Gothic but Gothics" (4). Major waves of Gothic criticism informing many of the current trends in Gothic studies are the Gothic and Romanticism[36] and Dark Romanticism.[37] Almost any type of literary

[35] English author and clergyman Montague Summers (1880-1948) discusses—among many other things—the mobility of the typically immobile Gothic in *The Gothic Quest* (1938). Summers tries like J.M.S Tompkins (*The Popular Novel in England: 1770-1800*, 1932) to create additional categories of the Gothic: "terror-Gothic" refers to British Gothic inspired by "German sources" (29); "sentimental-Gothic" mixes literary sentimentalism with the Gothic aesthetic (29-30); "historical Gothic" is a Gothicized Romance of British history (30-31). These categories allow Summers to differentiate aesthetic approaches to the Gothic, although they draw together through recurring concerns associated with Romanticism. Eino Railo (*The Haunted Castle*, 1927) Tompkins, and Summers meditate on the Gothic's relationship to Romanticism. For Summers, Romanticism is best when engaging with the supernatural, or as he prefers to call it, mysticism. To Summers, "Romanticism is literary Mysticism" a sublime and transcendent reading experience (18). Summers was undoubtedly idiosyncratic and demonstrated his sweeping knowledge of Gothic fiction, of both canonical and obscure texts, that weaves between erudition and, frankly, showing off. Summers and his book *The Gothic Quest* might give modern readers pause because of his flippant attitude toward other scholars and expressed worship of the Gothic writers. Despite his penchant for lofty ideas about the Gothic, Summers locates real-world inspiration for the Gothic fiction that he adores. Summers describes Gothic fiction's inception and its first-wave Gothic writers' investment in political concerns: "both at home and abroad dark shadows were lowering; the times were difficult, full of anxiety and unrest" (13). From these anxieties of social instability, perhaps outside of Britain in the American and European continent and within the country itself, the Gothic provided a way for readers to engage with real horrors through the highly symbolic realm of Gothic fiction. Eino Railo's and Summers's pursuit of the power of the Romanticism through Gothic architecture and flirtations with supernaturalism simultaneously uplifted its readers to higher plans of thought while also taking them deep into human darkness.

[36] Categories of Gothic fiction continue to fascinate and frustrate Gothic critics who remain devoted to the Gothic's relationship to Romanticism. Robert D. Hume in "Gothic versus Romantic: A Revaluation of the Gothic Novel" (1969) seeks a unifying principle in the Gothic that both predates and runs concurrently with Romanticism. Hume follows Leslie Fiedler's impressive study into the types of national Gothics as well as the Gothic's relationship to psychology. Unlike the emotional lessons of sentimental literature of the eighteenth century, the Gothic's sole intention is to provoke extreme emotions, forerunning the Romantics (Hume 284). Hume dislikes Gothic categories of Gothic emotionalism like "Terror-Gothic" and "Horror-Gothic" (283-285) and instead locates the Gothic in relation to Romantic concerns of absolute truth and the human mind explored through emotions. The Gothic, according to Hume, operates primarily through creating an evil and dark "atmosphere" that produces an imaginary world that affects the reader's emotions and turns the reader inward (286). Hume presents the essential difference

genre can be Gothicized, and there are new Gothics continuing to emerge in literary and popular culture at this moment. To try to bring cohesion to the Gothic, it is often best to talk about *a* Gothic rather than *the* Gothic. Thus, in my dissertation, I add a small light to our conversation about *the* Gothic with *a* view on Gothic Travel.

Early Gothic scholarship tended toward analyzing and discussing key Gothicists (or writers of the Gothic) and their connection to Romanticism with some mention of literary sentimentalism. These dense and detailed studies return to canonical British Gothicists, almost always Horace Walpole, Ann Radcliffe, and Matthew Gregory Lewis, author of the classic Gothic text *The Monk* (1796). The earliest twentieth century Gothic literary critics, like Dorothy

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between Romanticism and the Gothic: "In its highest forms romantic writing claims the existence of higher answers where Gothic can find only unresolvable moral and emotionally ambiguity" (290). This pursuit of high truth or answers to life's unanswerable questions shows the Gothic as a discourse of extreme skepticism that motivates my study of Gothic Travel. Deep in ambiguity, the Gothic lens on captivity blurs clear-cut lines between captor and captive, man and monster, victim and victimizer that continue into Gothic fiction.

[37] This distinction between the Gothic and the Romance manifests in G.R. Thompson's collection of essays *The Gothic Imagination: Essays in Dark Romanticism*" (1974). Thompson reinterprets the Gothic as Dark Romanticism. Gothic, to Thompson, simply refers to the surface features of the eighteenth-century Gothic novel like "ghosts, demons, trapdoors, castles" (1). Dark Romanticism may use these Gothic conventions, but according to Thompson, the term brings central concerns of human purpose and skepticism to the forefront but intensified through the language of fear and the supernatural (3). If the Romantic promises the potential for absolute answers to those who seek them, the Dark Romantic points out the futility of such an endeavor (2-3). Thompson lists several Gothic conventions while explaining Dark Romanticism's nuance, though I tend to see Dark Romanticism as a type of Gothic. David S. Reynolds (1989) reads American "Dark Adventure" stories from the nineteenth century as mixtures of "British Gothic fiction" and "European Dark Romanticism" (190), but these subdivisions are categories of the broader Gothic mode. Dark Romanticism is a subset of the Gothic that directly refers to Gothic works written in the early to mid-nineteenth century designed in the Romantic aesthetics and predicated on—and often inverting—concerns of Romanticism. Thompson explains that Dark Romanticism's recurring use of religious symbols reveals "a picture of man as eternal victim—victim of both himself and of something outside himself" (7). In an abstract sense, Dark Romanticism presents humanity as eternally divide and seeking unity within the self. In my study, Gothic Travel shows that the endeavor to universalize humanity—finding unity in others—is a futile and indulgent endeavor. That quest for unity and understanding translates into the pursuit of fellowship with other people, a doomed and repetitious endeavor to the Dark Romantic and Gothicist alike. Furthermore, "[the Gothic conventions] are metaphors for the self and of the nameless other, conjoined for a metaphor of the agonizing duality imbedded deep in the human personality" (7). Thompson's view of Dark Romanticism introduces two points that establish my study. As much as religiosity frustrates the Gothics and Dark Romantics, other transcendental principles—like cosmopolitanism or Reason—can also be locations for fear as well as deluded views for explaining the universe; it is a vain search for absolute human connection and universalization. Secondly, Thompson indicates a schism between the individual and those around him; although the other in this case is likely a supernatural figure, those figures are substitutes for the real others—other people of different or similar profiles—that are alien and inaccessible. Gothic Travel then challenges the Enlightenment idea of cosmopolitanism and the Romantic hopefulness for absolute and transcending human connection by exposing the flaws of these perspectives and inevitable failures of humans to connect.

Scarborough[38] and Edith Birkhead,[39] noted the Gothic's predominant reliance on surfaces and appearances, recurring plots and predictable outcomes. However, those stock figures and settings change based on several other factors. For instance, where there were no castles, there were no castles[40] in Gothic fiction. Gothic scholarship from then on tended toward addressing key Gothicists and their connection to Romanticism that includes references to literary

[38] Dorothy Scarborough's *The Supernatural in Modern English Fiction* (1917) is the first major full-length study of the literature of fear. Scarborough points out that the horror and weird fiction of the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries are indebted to the Gothic, which she "use[s] to designate the eighteen-century novel of terror dealing with medieval materials" (6). Essentially, Scarborough introduces several ideas about the Gothic taken for granted by modern scholars, including its formulaic features and fixation on the past. Her discussion of Gothic elements provides an early catalogue of Gothic tropes (9-13) that she and other critics would go on to find "becomes in time conventionally monotonous" (8). Though her definition of the Gothic seems narrow by modern standards, Scarborough shows the important interconnection between content and form that is inextricable from understanding the Gothic. Moreover, it bears stressing Scarborough's point that Gothic fiction "voiced a protest against the excess of rationalism and realism in the early eighteenth century" (6). My assumption that the Gothic is an anti-Enlightenment discourse follows from Scarborough's seminal reading of the Gothic tradition.

[39] In *The Tale of Terror* (1921), Edith Birkhead points out that in the eighteenth century, "[t]he supernatural…had lost its power to thrill and alarm, and gradually worked its way back into literature" by Gothic fiction (7). She tends to conflate the tale of terror with Gothic fiction in this in-depth study spanning from the beginnings of the Gothic to the late-nineteenth-century Victorian Gothic period. Her trailblazing of Gothic studies provides much material for later Gothic scholars. Of particular importance to my study are her mentioning that the Gothic has an uncomfortable relationship with depicting full-blown supernaturalism (12) and the inclusion of a distinctly American Gothic tradition, which she calls "American Tales of Terror" (197). These early American Gothic works appear like immediate transports of their British Gothic forerunners, yet Birkhead connects the two national Gothics, introducing the grounds for future Transatlantic Gothic study. Both Dorothy Scarborough and Birkhead launch modern Gothic criticism and show, like in my study, that the Gothic is a literary mode grouped together by concerns of fear, the Enlightenment, and transatlanticism.

[40] In *The Haunted Castle* (1927), Eino Railo discusses the works of Walpole and Lewis and provides an extensive discussion on the centrality of the castle to Gothic fiction, which he also calls "horror-romanticism" (7). Though the castle might change, Railo argues that the removal of "haunted castle" from the Gothic would have no "foundation and would lose its predominant atmosphere" (7). Railo's thesis resonates with Dorothy Scarborough's claim that Gothic settings reflect the mentality of its characters and the mood of the entire fiction (11). However, insisting that the Gothic castle recurs throughout Gothic fiction, Railo reveals that the figure of the castle is bursting with symbolic meaning that would be taken by Gothic critics invested in the psychology of the genre. However, the claustrophobia and labyrinthine setting of Gothic fiction will alter and return in external spaces in later Gothic works. For American Gothicists, no castles exists on American soil, and so the wilderness and even the family home will become the "haunted castle" of the American Gothic experience. Both British and American Gothic writers will depict characters in motion, moving across borders and spaces, building new and perhaps haunted by Gothic castles of their own. In *Through the Pale Door* (1990), Frederick S. Frank revisits the castle briefly. He explains that the American Gothic inverted conventional optimism and faith in reason and instead portrayed America as an "unsafe civilization, a new version of the original haunted castle of the European Gothic, [which] became the foundation for fresh perspectives on the American Gothic" (xi). That haunted castle and other traditionally British Gothic conventions transform on American soil, though they carry similar central fears about individual and national stability set at a crossroads.

sentimentalism.[41] These studies return, as I mention before, to canonical Gothicists, almost always Horace Walpole and Matthew Gregory Lewis. That the Gothic mode comes to fruition during the Enlightenment draws attention to the simple formulas and fantastic elements.[42] The

[41] Movement across and within the rotting castle and similarly imperious environs represent the Gothic's recurring aesthetic play between lofty ideas and freedom through enclosed spaces. In *The Popular Novel in England: 1770-1800* (1932), J.M.S Tompkins responds to Eino Railo's focus on the significance of Gothic settings as well as provides a significant distinction between Gothic forms. Tompkins distinguishes the medieval castle of the Romance from the Gothic because the Gothic castle is "never new" (267). Even in Gothic fiction set in the medieval era, the Gothic castle carries a haunted past that the characters attempt to expose or repress. "Decay was part of the romantic spell," explains Tompkins, suggesting how the crumbling past of these Gothic castles reflects concerns of the modernity of the present (267). Both Railo and Tompkins find mutual concerns in the Gothic through its aesthetics, but Tompkins separates the British "Gothic Romance" into two categories that scholars will go on to debate: the romanticized Gothic represented best by the works of Ann Radcliffe, which Tompkins views as the superior form of Gothic (243), and those influenced by the "German terror," the schauerroman or shudder novel (Murnane 10-42) represented best by in the works of Matthew Gregory Lewis, which Tompkins sees as crudely sensationalistic and violent (243-245). The distinction between Radcliffian and Lewisian Gothic rises from aesthetics of horror and terror. Tompkins argues that Radcliffe's Gothic hinges on the elevation of emotional experience through the interplay of "Beauty and Terror" (252). Beauty mitigates the terrific actions and scenes much in the spirit of Edmund Burke's idea of the Sublime as expressed in "A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origins of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful" (1757). Radcliffe's Gothic tends to avoid overt supernaturalism—ghosts and magical acts turn out to be the deceptions or frauds of conniving villians, or mistakes or misunderstandings of the virtuous characters. On the other hand, Lewis's Gothic, according to Tompkins, lacks Radcliffe's refinement and subtlety; it is "frequently hideous, for the authors detail protracted butcheries that bruise the mind to contemplate" (245). Whereas Radcliffe's Gothic might suggest or allude to something gruesome has taken place, Lewis's Gothic spares no horrific detail. Although Tompkins's analysis rests on Gothic literary aesthetics, Tompkins's distinctions demonstrate the penchant for Gothic critics to break down the Gothic mode into types of Gothic, or Gothics. Radcliffe's and Lewis's Gothics introduce the category of Female and Male Gothic traditions explored in depth by later literary critics. In my study, I integrate many types of Gothics in order to show how despite their variations, Gothic can cohere around issues of travel.

[42] The transcendent power of the Gothic Romanticism presents a metaphysical border crossing between the mundane and spiritual that sets the foundation for examining various forms of Gothic border crossing and transgression. Devendra P. Varma responds to the fraught position of the supernatural in *The Gothic Flame* (1957). Varma claims that the Gothic writers reacted to the numbing realism of eighteenth-century art and literature, yet the Gothic's own mixed eighteenth-century associations with national pride and savagery gave supernaturalism a "'barbarous' and "'medieval'" overtone (Varma 13). According to Varma, the first-wave Gothic hesitates to embrace full-blown supernaturalism and reveals a central anxiety about the Gothic's depiction of material existence. Although turning back to the supernatural past may seem regressive to the Enlightenment mind, Varma insists, "the Gothic novels arose out of a quest for the numinous" (211). In this way, Varma points out the Gothic's reaction to Enlightenment secularism; a benevolent or divine being may be left out or present in a Gothic text. Alluding to Montague Summers's book *The Gothic Quest* (1938), Varma says that the "Gothic quest was not merely after horror…but after other-worldly gratification" (211). Varma points out the Gothic's skepticism of materiality repositioning the narrative of human existence and questions all-encompassing, rationalistic narratives of the direction of humanity, including the seemingly transcendent view of its future through travel. Vijay Mishra picks up this line of thought in *The Gothic Sublime* (1994) stressing that "For both these writers the Gothic confirmed a lost sense of the numinous, as they draw, quite self-consciously, attention to the possibility, in the Gothic, of some redeeming, religious experience that realist texts, with their closer links with shifts in capital and the individualism of the bourgeoisie, had clearly sacrificed" (1). As much as Gothic texts present fantastic and medieval characters and plots, from Railo, Summers, and Varma, the Gothic's concerns derive from the real questions and threats of its time. Leslie Fiedler in *Love and Death in the American Novel* (1960, revised 1966) points out, like Varma, that Gothic writers "were plagued by a hunger for the inexplicable, a need of the marvelous which they could neither confess nor escape"

concerns of Gothic fiction tend to remain steadfastly the same despite surface changes to these recurring tropes. Following Rintoul's general categorization of Gothic criticism (i.e., broad discussion of Gothic as a genre or categorical studies on gender, race, etc.), the general fears resonate with the Gothic, in general, rise and transform in Gothic studies focused on culture, history, and politics.

Gothic scholars have established geographic and thematic boundaries to the Gothic in order to channel its diffusion. From a purely conventional point of view, the British Gothic tradition is the original literary Gothic, followed by the American Gothic. I agree with Bridget Marshall that the separation of the Gothic across nations seems "specious" given that the British and American Gothicists had considerable overlap in what they wrote and where they published (*Transatlantic Gothic* 3). The fusion of these focused Gothic studies leads to revelations about the Gothic as a whole as well as these distinctly national versions of the Gothic. The Gothic is, if anything, amorphous though recurrence in feature and theme certainly happens and reveals some coherence—arguably so—to its design. Trends in Gothic themes include, but are certainly not limited to, issues of class, gender, and race. For example, we can look into a male American Gothic tradition or even have a female Canadian Marxist Gothic reading. What happens when these Gothic traditions inevitably overlap? More diffusion. There are numerous subdivisions within Gothic studies.

This section details the recurring problems of defining the Gothic as well as traces the history of the general study of Gothic literature. Although this influences my work, three distinct subcategories of Gothic scholarship—American Gothic, Female Gothic, and Transnational/Transatlantic Gothic—inform this study and require a closer look.

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(138). The Enlightenment had stripped the world of its marvels; Fiedler sees that these Gothic writers, while they would varyingly reject the existence of God, found traces of the Devil, whom they used symbolically used to represent the hypocrisy and rebellion of the age (133-134).

American Gothic: Borrowed Features, New Terrain

Leslie Fiedler explains that the Gothic was ripe for adaptation by American writers in the late-eighteenth century and nineteenth century because of their national guilt and anxieties following the American Revolution, including Indian removal, slavery, and urbanization (142). Fiedler asserts that American fiction is "almost essentially a gothic one" (142). The roots of American fiction lie in Gothic aesthetics and concerns established by the British Gothicists with whom American writers engaged for several decades. Fiedler, however, differentiates between the British and American Gothics, notably that their differences in characters and settings are not direct substitutions but "*profound change*[s] *of meaning*" (160). Using the language of psychoanalysis, Fiedler continues in saying that the British Gothic finds that fears are "revolutionary" reactions against the superego and the American fears are "conservative" reactions against the id (161). Despite my disagreeing with Fielder's distinction of Gothic forms, I argue that my investigation of Gothic Travel reveals mutual, transatlantic concerns about the condition of both the individual and nation that bypass and synthesize "conservative" and "revolutionary" fears.

Donald A. Ringe assembles one of the first comprehensive scholarly analyses of the American Gothic in *American Gothic* (1982). Ringe examines distinctly American developments of the Gothic mode through the late-eighteenth century into the mid-nineteenth century. For Ringe, despite America's lack of romantic past (1) and common beliefs in "the primary value of reason, the absurdity of mythology, and the danger of superstition" (2), American writers like Charles Brockden Brown, whose *Wieland* (1798) and *Edgar Huntly* (1799) I will analyze to culminate this project in the final chapter, and Nathaniel Hawthorne caught onto the Gothic craze

that traveled across the Atlantic "as to create an American branch of the mode" (8). Ringe contends that early Gothic works were not mere retellings of the British and German Gothic and horror literature imported from Europe, but rather American writers adapted the Gothic to describe their own fears and horrors (10-11). Howard Kerr, John W. Crowley, and Charles L. Crow in *Haunted Dusk* (1983) similarly explore American supernatural fiction from 1820 to 1920[43] as a subset of the Gothic that realizes those fears and horrors at borders and boundaries. Kerr, Crowley, and Crow explain, "not only was there a borderland between East and West, civilization and wilderness, but also between the here and the hereafter, between conscious and unconscious […] frontiers on the edge of territories both enticing and terrifying" (2). I shift their periodization to an earlier range in my study in order to emphasize that these concerns for crossing boundaries and slipping borders emerged from captivity and influence the Gothic.

Further investigation of the landscape in the American Gothic emerges in one way in David Mogen, Scott P. Sanders, and Joanne B. Karpinkski's *Frontier Gothic* (1993). Mogen, Sanders, and Karpinkski question the capacity for America to produce the Gothic (13), yet they argue that a Gothic experience comes from the liminal and threatening space of the American frontier (17). Interpreted broadly by Moegen, Sanders, and Karpinkski, the frontier is the only space in which an American Gothic takes place; they explain that the Frontier Gothic is a historical intersection of a "conflict between the inscripted history of civilization and the history of the other, somehow immanent in the landscape of the frontier" (17). The Gothic, then, distorts positive notions of the frontier as expansive and progressive conflated with American identity.

[43] In *Scare Tactics* (2008), Jeffrey Andrew Weinstock revises Kerr, Crowley, and Crow's claim of "the great age of the American ghost story" (*The Haunted Dusk* 1) to include the overlooked "American Female Gothic Tradition" (11). Perhaps, this proliferation of ghost stories from women during this timeframe reveals anxieties about women's presence in the culture since, "The ghost is that which interrupts the presentness of the present, and its haunting indicates that, beneath the surface of received history, there lurks another narrative, an untold story that calls into question the veracity of the authorized version of events" (Weinstock, "Introduction: The Spectral Turn" 5).

Traveling into the frontier becomes not an exploration but a confrontation with a repressed and violent past, an American Gothic experience and history of "alienation and fear [that] both subvert and continually redefine the American ideal of the future as a frontier" (Moegen, Sanders, and Karpinkski 26).

Though the frontier draws together American Gothic concerns, those Gothic anxieties are best understood within their historical moments according to Tereas A. Goddu in *Gothic America* (1997). Goddu revitalizes the study of American Gothicism by historicizing it and claiming that the Gothic is "intimately connected to the culture that produces [it]" (2). The Gothic, for Goddu, is a "network of historical representation" (2) and "a regional form" (3) that exhibits the fears of culture and history through Gothic conventions. Goddu asserts that despite traditional claims that the Gothic fixates on inward states and American Puritanism, the culture and historical American Gothic shows that the nation "is haunted by race" (7). Eric Savoy in "A Theory of the Gothic" (1998) builds on Goddu's premise by asserting "the entire tradition of American gothic can be conceptualized as the attempt to invoke 'the face of the tenant'—the specter of Otherness that haunts the house of national narrative" (13-14). Both Goddu and Savoy show that the Gothic penchant for concealing the past emerges distinctly in American Gothic through encounters of otherness racially defined. Captivity starts as the vessel for encountering difference that the Gothic takes hold of and renders excessively monstrous and horrific, though other critics address issues of race and the Gothic as well. For instance, in *Gothic Passages* (2003), Justin D. Edwards specifies the American Gothic representation of otherness through depictions of slavery; moreover, he asserts, "the American Gothic—like the nation itself—is haunted by slavery" (xviii). Edwards examines how traditional and nontraditional American Gothic texts and writers form a Gothic discourse that uses "gothic language to bolster support for

an intensified policing of slavery, justifying the peculiar institution through references to 'animalism' and 'savagery' of African descendants" (xxii). The Gothic discourse then operates both in support of and as a challenge to the racism embedded in American slavery. Through the graphic depictions of racial primitivism and violence, the Gothic exposes inhumanity that contradicts American values of freedom and liberty. Keith Cartwright examines "explosive gothicism and passages through which American writers have repressed, outrageously recapitulated, boomeranged, and remembered the nation's denial of African (and indeed its own) humanity" (21). This close contact with the other shows a lack of shared connection and sympathy.

Although critics find racial fears are at the center of the American Gothic, gender oppression also resides in this literary tradition and beyond. In *Scare Tactics* (2008), Jeffery Andrew Weinstock examines the "supernatural fiction by American women" in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries that "clearly participated in a broader transatlantic trend of using Gothic tropes and conventions to address inequities" (2). Weinstock's point illustrates contemporary scholarly exploration of transatlantic concerns in the Gothic in the Female Gothic tradition, replete with movements and monsters of their own.

Female Gothic: Captive to Body and Home

Ellen Moers coined the term The Female Gothic in *Literary Women* (1976), though Gothic scholars attended to female Gothicists beforehand.[44] In the chapter entitled "The Female

[44] Though Moers coins the term Female Gothic, critics before Moers discussed female issues in Gothic writing. In *The Popular Novel in England* (1932), J.M.S. Tompkins outlines the general plot of female Gothic novels in his

Gothic," Moers investigates both the psychological and physiological fears of women in the Gothic mode. Moers says that the Female Gothic is "easily defined: the work that women writers have done in the literary mode that, since the eighteenth century, we have called the Gothic" (90). Moers notes that past critics have dismissed female Gothic writing as women's idle fantasies (100). However, Moers goes on to discuss complex and distinctively female fears of female Gothic writers—female persecution and childbirth. Moers points out that Ann Radcliffe best captures the initial Female Gothic character: "the central figure is a young woman who is simultaneously persecuted victim and a courageous heroine" (91). Though Radcliffe begins Moers' Female Gothic, Moers argues that Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley explores the uniquely female fear of childbirth in *Frankenstein* (1818). As a "birth myth" (92), *Frankenstein* reveals the "drama of guilt, dread, and flight surrounding birth and its consequences" in which the mother, much like the mad scientist Victor Frankenstein, assembles a child and gives birth to a monster (93). Moers's analysis of Gothic female concerns shows an underlying discourse in time and literary period dominated by male writers and opens the way for further study into gender and the Gothic.[45]

Moers draws many other critics to examine and question the Female Gothic. These critics show the Female Gothic trends of fears located in crossing varying spaces and confronting the horrors of a material female existence. Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar in their seminal study

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discussion of Ann Radcliffe: "In all of [her Gothic novels] a beautiful and solitary girl is persecuted in picturesque surroundings, and after many fluctuations of fortune, during which seems again and again on the point of reaching safety, only to be thrust back into the midst of perils, is restored to her friends and marries the man of her choice" (251-252). Tompkins' summary codifies traditional Gothic plotting that doesn't take into account the permutations of the Gothic at present. Jeffrey Andrew Weinstock neatly condenses contemporary definitions of the Female Gothic into "the category that utilizes Gothic themes in order to address specifically female concerns" (*Charles Brockden Brown* 24).

[45] Gothic criticism about gender is immense. For a comprehensive overview of gender in traditional Gothic texts, see Heiland (2004). Though the largest body of gender scholarship on the Gothic is about women, several works provide discussion of masculinity in the Gothic. Wolstenholem (1993) claims that the Gothic's point of view is erotic and coded male (7) in "a kind of sadomasochism" (11) that seeks to see violence toward women. For examinations of masculinity in the Gothic, see Hendershot (1998) and Brinks (2003). Daffron (2002) presents compelling analysis of male doubles in the Gothic as well. For queer theory and the Gothic, see Haggerty (2006).

The Madwoman in the Attic (1979) explore, among many things, anxieties about femininity and female writing. Though the Gothic portrays women in distant, fantastical settings, these imaginary surroundings show, like much of the women's writings of Gilbert and Gubar's analysis, "discomfort, her sense of powerlessness, her fear that she inhabits alien and incomprehensible places" (84). These Gothic fears played out in fiction correspond with the cultural and existential confinement experienced and felt by women suppressed by a "Gothic" patriarchy. The Female Gothic takes those anxieties to extreme by realizing them through sensational figures—like Frankenstein's monster—and unusual settings—crumbling medieval castles. Building on Moers's concept of the Female Gothic, Gilber and Gubar find that Moers's Gothic heroines who appear "captured, fettered, trapped, even buried alive" reach past the Gothic into various other literary genres showing "the same concern with spatial constrictions" (83). Gilbert and Gubar focus, in part, on domestic spaces that the Gothic writers turn into horrifying places of otherness. Gothic Travel, then, needn't be a grandiose voyage abroad or across the sea. Even just getting out of the house is a perilous but necessary expedition for some of Gothic heroines.

Julian E. Fleennor integrates several Gothic voices and concerns in the collection *The Female Gothic* (1983). Fleenor draws from Robert D. Hume, Moers, Gilbert, and Gubar to extend the definition of the Female Gothic that runs through the Gothic writing of and about women. Fleenor explains that the Female Gothic combines the physiological, psychological, and spatial fears of women trapped within a threatening patriarchal society that denies them equality because women—simply put—are not men (15). The Female Gothic, Fleenor discerns, deals distinctly with female tensions of "self-division" (11) and "self-fear and self-disgust" (12), experienced in the patriarchal world. It is as much a critique of the patriarchal horrors as well as

the tense ambivalence of a female experience. Similar to G.R. Thompson's collection *The Gothic Imagination: Essays in Dark Romanticism*, Fleenor selects Gothic texts from Britain and America, showcasing that the Gothic mode is undeniably transatlantic. Though nationally separated into British and American writers, the female Gothicists treat Fleenor's concerns in similar ways that strengthen our understanding of the Female Gothic together rather than apart. Simultaneously, the study is a comparative examination the Female Gothic as well as a consideration of spatial fears in the Transatlantic Gothic, fears stirring in captivity.

The Female Gothic approaches a central Gothic feature of inverting commonly held perspectives and the fear generated from this inversion. In *Perils of Night* (1990), Eugenia C. DeLamotte seeks through the feminist critique of the Gothic the genesis for the recurring horrors of female writers and their female characters. The "Gothic myth" hinges on questions of otherness. The Female Gothic turns the othering of male (and male Gothicists), who constrain the ability of women to speak freely, back on them (DeLamotte viii).[46] DeLamotte asserts that the male is the Gothic other that plagues women,. She sees the fears of women expressed in the Gothic as manifestations of anger toward a hostile and masculinist society (viii). She explains further that "the evil Other the Gothic heroine confronts is not a hidden self at all but is just what it appears to be: an Other that is profoundly alien and hostile, to women and their concerns" (viii). Although these male Gothic Others are often adverse to women, they are rarely supernatural creatures but rather flesh-and-blood men with whom the heroine is familiar. The "othered" male is monstrous but, more often than not, human. In *Art of Darkness* (1995), Anne Williams deliberately points out feminine and masculine Gothic traditions (1) that are unified by

[46] In *The Philosophy of Horror*, Noël Carroll raises a potential core myth for interpreting the Gothic's treatment of women's liberation: "Moreover, the female victim has been a staple of the horror genre since the days of the Gothic. The abduction of women—often as a thinly veiled euphemism for rape—might be seen as the articulation of an enduring sexist warning that women should keep in line because they always are and ought to be at the mercy of males in patriarchal society" (196-197).

a Gothic myth: "the *mythos* or structure informing the Gothic category 'otherness,' is the patriarchal family" (22). Williams suggests that the other can exist within familiar settings and people; the Gothic Other, whether a supernatural creature or a foreign rake, is likely connected to heroes and heroines. For Williams, Gothic plots are family plots (22-23), either a family tormented from without or within—likely both. Even on a familial and local level, the Gothic produces fears of space.

Williams joins other critics of the Female Gothic in that that the central Gothic horror is "organized around anxieties about boundaries (and boundary transgressions) that the border between self and other might indeed characterize the 'essential situation'" (16). These borders are often artificial spaces in which the othering happens in order to provide false security from the lurking Gothic male encroaching on the female heroine. The spatial fears run deeper as the Gothic heroine is confined not only by her family but as the body of production *for* and *of* the family. She can never quite leave off the other, her kindred, as she is literally trapped in her body and ancestry. A part of the monster runs through her blood. Othering works productively in this case because she can establish boundaries and redefine herself apart from the horrors of patriarchy. This othering, however, works to empower women through Gothic stories according to Diane Long Hoeveler in *Gothic Feminism* (1998). Hoeveler examines how female authors crafted the Gothic as a veiled cultural and political critique of middle-class femininity. Hoeveler indicates that the Gothic appealed to these female readers because it allowed them to explore "their fantasized overthrow of the public realm, figured as a series of ideologically constructed masculine 'spaces,' in favor of the creation of a new privatized, feminized world" (4). The female heroine maneuvers through these Gothic masculine spaces—often confining, frightening, and lurid—through faked "powerlessness," (Hoeveler 7) within "a male-centered system of

oppression and corruption, the 'patriarchy'" (Hoeveler 9). Hoeveler inverts Gothic fears of spaces in that they serve as sensationalized symbols of the challenges that the female heroine and her female readers face—and can conquer—in everyday life. Gothic spaces in the Female Gothic stress the boundaries and confines surrounding identity, whether it be gendered, national, or psychological. Through depicting characters crossing or trespassing these boundaries, the Gothic is not about the prison itself—it's just an incidental yet frightening feature—but on escaping the prison.

Similarly in *The Coherence of Gothic Conventions* (1980, revised 1986), Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick argues that the prevailing Gothic concern is fear of spaces. As Sedgwick seeks elemental anxieties from recurrent conventions in Gothic literature, she challenges Gothic criticism that focuses exclusively on internal fears and psychological processes. Sedgwick instead sees that Gothic fears generate from encounters with external forces that threaten internal definitions of the self; she explains that these Gothic fears of contact with the external world comes from depictions of the self separated or fragmented from inside out and "the impossibility of restoring them to their original oneness" (13). The Gothic brings together what seems to be insoluble through "violence and magic" (13) in order to expose the arbitrariness of these boundaries. Furthermore, for Sedgwick, these fantastic points of contact show "if the barrier is to exist, it must be absolute; and if it does exist, its placement, too, must be arbitrary" (19). Much like G.R. Thompson's notion that Dark Romanticism seeks to expose the futile pursuit of absolute meaning, Sedgwick raises the point that Gothic violence disrupts the fallacious absolutes maintained by the Gothic heroes, heroines, and villains alike. Gothic horror and violence creates "liminal moments" that "pass an originally arbitrary barrier" (22). Sedgwick's spatial Gothic resonates with Gothic Travel's focus on fears generated by crossing space whether

it be emotional, geographic, or psychological. For Gothic Travel, much like Sedgwick's claim, fear comes through the collapse of borders imposed on the self as well as the nation. Gothic depictions of monstrosity and violence disrupt the neat and tidy spatial boundaries imposed by the self during contact or exchanges.

Transatlantic Gothic / Transnational Gothic: Toward Gothic Travel

From meditations on space in the American and Female Gothic, my research joins an ongoing critical discussion about the Gothic's development in both American and British literature. Transatlantic studies have received a great deal of attention during the past twenty years. Paul Gilroy provides foundational concepts of Transatlanticism in *Black Atlantic* (1993). Gilroy's concept of "transatlantic crossing" is of particular relevance to my project as well as Transatlantic Gothic studies (2). In *Transatlantic Studies* (2000), William Kaufman and Heidi Stettedahl argue, "[Transatlantic Studies'] object is to locate the common issues and concerns that necessarily move us beyond disciplinary and monocultural perspectives" (xix). Kaufman and Stettedhal's call echoes loudly in literary studies where the fields of American and British literature have been almost exclusively separated from each other. To adopt Kaufman and Stettedhal's language, transatlantic literary studies allow scholars to move past disciplinary and monocultural *boundaries* in order to widen our understanding of the cultural and literary influences. Paul Giles in *Transatlantic Insurrection* (2001) argues that American literature responds directly to British culture relating the two national literatures through postcolonial theories in an "evolution of literary traditions as postcolonial phenomena, whereby a developing culture defines itself in opposition to some oppressive power which nevertheless continues to haunt it" (1). Giles shows that as much as American writers try to differentiate themselves from

the British authors, they shape a national literature from their past and continuing relationship with Great Britain. That Giles points out that these authors are haunted by that past suggests that Gothic literature—filled with hauntings and repressed memories—fits into his Transatlantic discussion. Adding to Giles' arguments, Richard Gravil looks exclusively at the relationship between American and British writers in *Romantic Dialogues: Anglo-American Continuities, 1776–1862*. Gravil points out that the "polarized narratives" of American and British Romanticism have much in common (xi). He discusses intertexual relationships between British Romantics like William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge and key figures of the American Renaissance like Ralph Waldo Emerson and Herman Melville in order to show how American authors have responded to their Romantic forerunners from Britain. Altogether, they establish that the rigid border between American and British literatures, and by extensions cultures, is in fact fluid, providing an exchange of ideas in the Romantic period, yet they give little attention to the Gothic, a subgenre of the Romance to some. In *Transatlantic Literary Exchanges* (2011), Kevin Hutchings and Julia M. Wright explain, "the transatlantic offers the possibility of considering the subject in motion, evading and moving between national categories and models of national identity and citizenship at the dawn of modern nationalism in an already globalizing West in which territorial boundaries were highly contested" (10). These studies point toward fertile ground for literary studies that cross borders and form connections otherwise lost in disparate periodization or national boundaries. This is a literary approach that, in a manner of speaking, travels and examines themes and forms connections.

Hutchings and Wright's explanation of the transatlantic literary approach's fascination with border crossing, motion, and evasion evokes one of the central points of fear and terror in the Transatlantic Gothic. The first comprehensive study of the Transatlantic Gothic, from which

I build my own study, is Bridget Marshall's *Transatlantic Gothic and the Law* (2011). Although she focuses primarily on Gothic depictions of the law, Marshall calls for further study into the mutual connections and differences in British and American Gothic. Marshall argues that maintaining a firm division "between British and American Gothic seems specious" since these Gothic writers used "many of the same novelistic techniques, themes, and concerns, and were avid readers of works from both sides of the Atlantic" and contributed to the broad "transatlantic exchange" of ideas (3). Other critics respond to Marshall's call, which manifests in the collection *Transnational Gothic* (2013). In the introduction to *Transnational Gothic*, editors Monika Elbert and Bridget M. Marshall explain, "The Gothic springs from a universal impulse towards darkness, whether it is a personal sense of loss and fear or the collective guilt of a nation regarding troubling histories related to race, removal of indigenous peoples, xenophobia, disinheritance of the poor, or any number of problematic actions and attitudes of nations" (1). Herein lies the motivation for my project to investigate this "universal impulse towards darkness" that shadows the universalizing of the human spirit darkened by Gothic Travel.

Overview of Chapters: A Map of Gothic Travel

In order to probe the interleaving of travel, monstrosity, and sympathy, I have focused on four specific Gothic topics between British and American Gothic texts that range from the late-seventeenth to the early-nineteenth centuries. I examine Gothic Travel through the texts of key authors from America and Britain from 1682 to 1809 in distinct ways, but each text maintains pervasive Gothic fears of travel in the Transatlantic space. Looking at various non-Gothic texts as Gothic as well as conventionally Gothic texts, I show the ways in which the Gothic, a literary

genre purportedly predictable and static, is undeniably about travel, conceived through many nuances of that word.

My first chapter, "Puritan Women's Captivity Narratives and the Gothic," discusses the captivity narratives of Mary Rowlandson and Hannah Duston, arguing that captivity produces monstrosity and reveals a failure of sympathy through the language of Gothic Travel. Using Rowlandson's captivity narrative, *Sovereignty and the Goodness of God* as the central text for my study, I identify trends in her written captivity that foreshadow elements of the Gothic. Demonic rhetoric, the language that demonizes her Indian captors, renders them monstrous. However, Rowlandson herself transforms through travel and contact with these people, placing her captors in a sympathetic light. Rowlandson and her captors how they are simultaneously human and monstrous to each other. Similarly, in Cotton Mather's 1697 sermon *Humiliations Follow'd with Deliverances*, the account of Hannah Duston's captivity reflects unsympathetic violence from the community. However, attempting to purge these "monsters" rhetorically leaves the mess of Duston's rampant violation of Puritan femininity through butchery. Together, these captivity narratives provide foundational material in the Gothic, coalesced in horrific depictions of women in distress while encountering and traveling with monstrous otherness.

I build upon this idea of Gothic Travel and horror in my second chapter, "Gothic Transport in Susanna Rowson's *Charlotte Temple* and Abraham Panther's 'The Panther Captivity.'" Using Rowson's *Charlotte Temple*, I concentrate on the male characters, particularly Montraville and Belcour, and identify how their self-interested pursuit and transportation of Charlotte prevent them from sympathizing with Charlotte. I address similar concerns with masculinity, mobility, and monstrosity in "Panther Captivity." The Lady, the female protagonist, cannot escape the men, whether it's her banal father or the preternatural(ish) Giant, no matter

where she goes. Mobility allows the men to capture the women, rendered more sympathetic through the sentimental and Gothic discourses of the texts. Altering my focus from chapter one from primarily analyzing the monstrosity of women to men, I examine in this chapter how male characters, too, are rendered monstrous, largely through their mobility rather than their captivity.

I combine these discussions in the third chapter, "'unbounded authority': West Indian Gothic Patriarchy and Female Monstrosity in Charlotte Turner Smith's *The Story of Henrietta* and Leonora Sansay's *Secret History; or, The Horrors of St. Domingo*." Passing issues of captivity, monstrosity, and travel through the colonial lens of Charlotte Turner Smith and Leonora Sansay, I explore how the West Indian colonies turn into a space of transnational contact that fails to achieve pure human universalism. Smith and Sansay both Gothicize the West Indian space in order to make a connection with the Gothic reality of married white women and the West Indians slaves, however problematic that may be to a modern reader. Although the fears of the white women of both texts are similar, the authors reveal a failure for their characters to sympathize with the enslaved people. Confrontation with the "revolting" inhabitants of the islands simultaneously evokes fears of slave revolt and bodily revulsion. These moments of contact and connection with the enslaved men and women turn into instances of violent revolt. Instead of building a universal understanding of shared human sympathy, their antipathy and xenophobia show the Gothic fears of contact while traveling in foreign spaces and failure of universalizing human suffering.

I end our Gothic trip in my final chapter "Gothic Travelers in Charles Brockden Brown's *Wieland* and *Edgar Huntly*." Solidifying my examination of monstrosity, emotion, and travel, I examine how Brown integrates captivity and the Gothic into an intense criticism of American isolationism. My prior meditations on travel and the Gothic emerge in Brockden Brown's work,

informing the American Gothic tradition from its putative inception and beyond. I focus only on Brockden Brown's work in this chapter to emphasizes his indebtedness to captivity and Gothic Travel that informs texts instrumental in the development of the American Gothic tradition. In this chapter, I examine how Brockden Brown combines the Gothic and travel into criticisms of American social injustice and exceptionalism through depictions of monstrosity, travel, and sympathy. As the characters of both novels travel around the American landscape demonizing those outside the respective communities, their movements reflect their deep lack of self-reflection, endangering them to the machinations of Gothic travelers who expose the horrors of a nation that purports unity and justice for all.

With these four chapters, I intend to explore how Gothic writers from Britain and American invert the optimism of humanism and expose the limitations, at best, and the futility, at worst, of human sympathy. National identity formation during my timeframe was a transatlantic concern that pervades the Gothic texts that I survey. These views of Gothic Travel are full of anxieties about the boundaries of the nation and the individual. These Gothic authors claim and distance themselves from the horrors of a shrinking world. New categorizations broke the old, and new monsters were released. New spaces and horizons carried the intrepid spirit of the age forward, but no matter where they went, monsters waited to capture and captivate them. As the world and the individual collapse, Gothic Travels turns foreign contact and space into a horrifically claustrophobic endeavor with monsters bursting against the frames of the mind.

Chapter 1: Puritan Women's Captivity Narratives and the Gothic

Introduction

The Gothic, as generally understood, is a literary mode that uses depictions of bloodshed, sexuality, and sometimes the fantastic in order to entertain and expose readers to social problems. Fears and desires of the cultures form the substance of Gothic horror (Goddu 2). Gothic concerns such as human agency, perception, and power trespass generic boundaries, suggesting that the Gothic acts as a contrary discourse to articulated and unarticulated cultural mores. That contrary discourse expresses ambivalence about cultural stability and sanctioned behavior, manifesting significantly in texts about women in distress. To that end, I argue that women's captivity narratives—broadly examined and defined—anticipate Gothic concerns of frightening mobility and emotionality. Moreover, Jill E. Anderson explains that captivity narratives about women "evoke the double threat of both removal from women's normative, cultural space as well as the captors' seizure, both as a snatching away and a possible ending to virtuous behavior, or even sexual imprisonment" (Anderson 430). Anderson's description of captivity narratives reflects conventions of later Gothic texts in which women are seized or pursued by a monstrous[47] figure with intentions of harming and/or possessing her.

If the Gothic is born from several literary movements as I discuss in my introductory chapter, a literary movement situated in superstition, sentimentalism and Romanticism, a literary genre preoccupied with sympathy and moral instruction, it is also the rebellious offspring of Puritan writing. I concede that it is incorrect to call Puritan writing Gothic before the Gothic's accepted inception. A captivity narrative written in the late-seventeenth century cannot be truly

[47] I tend to define monsters (and monstrosity, likewise) as mutable ciphers, often grotesque—visibly or invisibly—that acts a symbol of cultural anxiety. For a detailed discussion with additional citations on this subject, see "Monsters and Monstrosity" section of the Introduction to my dissertation (15-22).

Gothic since "the Gothic" as a literary genre did not emerge until 1764.[48] However, it anticipates Gothic styles, conventions, and concerns. Roy Harvey Pearce in "The Significances of Captivity Narratives" argues that captivity narratives are generic hybrids that should be read within their respective contexts (1). This generic hybridity further anticipates Gothic literature, a definite mixture of various literary forms.

Michelle Burnham has linked captivity narratives and sentimental fiction transatlantically in her book *Captivity and Sentiment*. Burnham wrestles with the ambivalent emotions evoked by captivity narratives and sentimental literature, since both genres entertain and instruct readers through depictions of distress, actual or fictional (2). Captivity and sentimental fiction operate through the reader's identification with and sympathy for troubled characters. Witnessing affliction opens the way for moral edification. However, it also reveals a perverse enjoyment in the suffering of others that the Gothic would take and, in some cases, exploit. That perverse voyeurism Burnham finds in captivity narratives and sentimental fiction I see realized and amplified through the Gothic. Captivity narratives and sentimental novels generally share concerns with female autonomy, chastity, and conduct and those who would threaten them.

Although together they reveal a subtle challenge to authority, the Gothic mutates those concerns into a grotesque character or sensational series of events. Burnham's association of captivity narratives and Richardson's *Pamela* evokes Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse's argument that *Pamela* can be read as a captivity narrative and suggests the indebtedness of Gothic literature to captivity narratives and sentimental literature (206). As Burnham explains that *Pamela* and captivity narratives "offered their audiences the highly desirable combination of a sensational and adventurous plot with moral and religious instruction,

[48] Generally, scholars hold that Horace Walpole launches the literary Gothic with *The Castle of Otranto* and the traditional Births Gothic period runs from 1764 to 1824. For discussion and sources on these matters, see the introduction to my dissertation (especially 3-4 and 23).

thereby inspiring not only tears but pious reform in their readers" (42). The Gothic reworks the "combination of a sensational and adventurous plot" and replaces "tears" with fear and "pious reform" with ambiguous moralizing. Like Burnham, I argue that captivity narratives and sentimental fiction generally intend to convey clear morals yet allow readers to share curious sympathetic experiences with moral *and* dubtious narrators and characters. I add that the juxtaposition between moralizing and transgression anticipates the Gothic, a mode that can both criticize and endorse its culture. Efforts to control interpretation in these genres often fail to repress contrary readings, opening the way for the Gothic. Captivity literature and sentimentalism prepare the way for the Gothic, revealing a Transatlantic relative in its complicated literary heritage.

Captivity narratives and the Gothic concentrate on the failure of patriarchy to protect the cultural and moral purity of women in jeopardy. Replaying the plot of a virtuous woman averting capture from a monstrous male, the Gothic echoes elements from earlier captivity narratives. Andreea Mingiuc summarizes, "A Puritan woman was taken from her familiar context and brought to the unknown land beyond the frontier, into the so-called 'devil's territory'" (289). Captivity in the wilderness in captivity narratives precedes imprisonment in dungeons or mansions in later Gothic texts, but both spaces create transgressive environments threatening to female virtue. Both captivity narratives and the Gothic rely on suspense to move readers' emotions and sympathies. As captivity narratives work on emotions as Burnham points out, readers of captivity narratives partake in a "subversive pleasure" by simultaneously sympathizing with the captive and deriving entertainment from his or her afflictions (2). James D. Hartman explains, "Melodramatic scenes of gothic horrors of captivity narratives are heightened by dramatic escapes from death" (146). Both the Gothic and captivity narratives

present transgressive subject matter. Captivity narratives allow for a subversive identification with the captive who, because of extreme circumstances, trespasses cultural norms to survive though that sympathy draws readers into Gothic territory by using taboos to instruct.

In this chapter, I focus primarily on two captivity narratives from Puritan New England to underscore their connection with the Gothic. I begin with Mary Rowlandson's *Sovereignty and the Goodness of God* as a foundational text[49] that presents anxieties about moral (and perhaps racial) degeneration through contact with her monstrous captors. I use the term "demonic rhetoric"[50] to consolidate Rowlandson's persuasive intent to depict her captors as agents of hell in order to privilege white, Puritan culture. However, criticisms of the Christian patriarchy exist within Rowlandson's text. Mixing cultural privileging with disguised criticism in a sensational story, Rowlandson's narrative anticipates the Gothic's distinct feature of a female in distress though ambivalently championing the values of her culture. Rowlandson's captivity narrative has attained canonical status in American literature and has garnered much scholarly attention. Teresa Toulouse summarizes three general approaches to interpreting Rowlandson's text, through 1) "Puritan providence and typology," 2) "gendered resistance to authority," 3) "[the performance of] larger 'cultural work' than complicity or resistance had fully considered" ("The Sovereignty and Goodness of God in 1682" 925). Identifying the Gothic concerns in Rowlandson's text connects to all three of Toulouse's categories. The Gothic is largely concerned with the role of providence, supernatural forces that either bless or curse the protagonist. Examining the "gendered resistance" within Rowlandson's text speaks to the later Gothic texts that would offer subtle yet severe critiques of female oppression. A Gothic

[49] For a detailed publication history, see Derounian (1988).
[50] The term also implies the Puritan belief that Indians were agents of the Devil. See VanDerBleets (1994). Moreover, see Ingebretsen (1996) for a discussion of how captivity narratives fit into "rhetorics or religious terror and the consumerist technologies of horror" (xii) as a genre of I would argue pre-Gothic literature.

interpretation of the text explores the "cultural work" of how Rowlandson depicts her captors as monstrous in order to reassert Puritan superiority yet at the expense of Rowlandson's "pure" Puritan femininity and faith in the patriarchy that failed to protect her.

If Rowlandson's captivity narrative illustrates the Gothic plot of the woman captured by the monstrous enemy and allegedly restored by masculine power, Cotton Mather's narrative of Hannah Duston's captivity reveals the failure of patriarchal power to maintain order after her return. Building on the Gothic themes discussed with Rowlandson, I next examine Hannah Duston's captivity narrative told by Cotton Mather in *Humiliations Follow'd with Deliverances* to illustrate how captivity allows Duston to transgress her gendered boundaries, revealing a startling female agency for violence. Word of Duston's captivity spread throughout New England in the late seventeenth century, reaching the attention of Cotton Mather who took advantage of the popular story for his didactic and ministerial purposes. Mather recounts Duston's story in three separate texts: *Humilations Follow'd with Deliverances*, the sermon given with the recently escaped Duston, her nurse Mary Neff, and 12-year-old English boy Samuel Leonardson in attendance in 1697: *Decennium Luctuosum*, the account of ten years of war with New France published in 1699: *Magnalia Christi Americana*, the voluminous collection of Mather's work published in 1702. Each text exhibits how Mather struggles to adapt Duston's sensationally transgressive story to fit his rhetorical ends. Scholars have argued that Mather attempts to downplay Duston's potential for subversive violence and limit praise for Duston's actions in *Humiliations*.[51] Conversely, Mather underscores how the ferocity of war compelled her to commit murder in *Decennium Luctuosum*. Furthermore, Mather venerates her "notable exploit," hoisting her up to near mythological status in *Magnalia Christi Americana*

[51] See Johnson (2001) for review of scholarly conversation on how Mather tries to soften and rationalize Duston's violence.

(Johnson 20). Ann-Marie Weis asserts that Mather contains Duston's female violence in his typological interpretation of her captivity (par. 3). Yet, I argue that throughout all these ministerial and rhetorical maneuverings Mather fails to control Duston's monstrosity and the Puritan community's penchant for violence drawn out by my Gothic reading of the text. Mather's three uses of Duston reveal the disruptive force of female violence and show his failure to contain and revise Duston's actions to fit his rationalization for English ferocious brutality.

The efforts of Cotton Mather, author of Duston's captivity narratives published in her lifetime, cannot quite render her extreme story palatable to a Puritan worldview despite his concerted effort to do so.[52] Duston becomes a figure of Puritan pride and fear, expressing ambivalence about white supremacy sustained by murdering the indigenous people. Rebecca Blevins Faery explains, "[Duston] was viewed as heroic because she killed Indians, but on the other hand, her act of scalping her victims was so 'Indian-like' and her aggression and capacity for violence 'masculine' that he story was deeply unsettling for colonists whose views of how Englishwomen ought to behave were rigidly codified" (33). As the demonic mother, Duston represents this pre-Gothic figure that violates cultural standards of femininity by displaying an agency for feminine violence that subverts her womanliness. Rowlandson's demonic rhetoric anticipates the Gothic's penchant for externalizing anxieties about cultural purity, whereas Duston's demonic motherhood anticipates the Gothic's penchant for internalizing anxieties about gendered stability. Duston's text creates a clear image of gendered resistant and Gothic violence only suggested or hidden in Rowlandson's narrative. Rowlandson and Duston's text show the sensational storytelling, transgressive sympathy, and veiled subversion later realized in the Gothic. Together, the two texts present recurring anxieties of cultural degeneration, monstrous

[52] For discussion of ambivalent Puritan reactions and uses of Duston's story, see Ulrich (1982) and Toulouse (2001).

maternity, and sympathetic failure that pervade their captivities through contact with their captors in Gothic Travel.

Rowlandson's Demonization of Her Captors

In the opening of *Sovereignty and Goodness of God*, Rowlandson depicts the attack on Lancaster[53] as an infernal, apocalyptic event with strikingly Gothic overtones. Forces beyond Rowlandson's control overturn her stable and safe community. The sudden rush of brutal violence upon the small town immediately unsettles the audience yet prepares them for the forthcoming bloodshed from the heathen enemy.[54] The Gothic beginning sets in motion the transgressions that Rowlandson would face, make, and take on through her journey into the inverted world of her captors.

Horrors that waken Rowlandson on the morning of her capture initiate the violent inversion of her proper Puritan life and view of the world. Rowlandson, looking from her house, writes, "Their first coming was about Sun-rising; hearing the noise of some Guns, we looked out; several Houses were burning, and the Smoke ascending to Heaven" (68). In this passage, Rowlandson twists images of familiarity with images of fire to underscore the sudden upheaval. The morning sun, typically a symbol of renewal and growth, marks the beginning of the hellish fire that descends upon the town. Waking also to the sound of gunfire evokes the sound of thunder, as if the coming of the sun uncharacteristically catalyzed a storm. Altogether, these twisted images of familiar scenes convey disorder taken up in the Gothic through scenes of terror

[53] King Philip's War, Metacom's War, Metacomet's War, Metacom's Rebellion, and the First Indian War (1675-1676) are all names for the conflict between the New England Colonies and the Northeastern Native American tribes that Mary Rowlandson experiences firsthand and recounts in her captivity narrative. Lancaster was a Puritan settlement attacked in early February 1676. For a classical and comprehensive discussion of the war, see Leach (1959) and Lepore (1998) for more details.

[54] For discussion of problems reading Indians as antagonists, see Bellin (2000).

and disorientation. Rowlandson then turns her attention to other people's homes now burning to the ground. That the smoke rises skyward simultaneously suggests the passing of Puritan lives and the vaporization of the Puritan home.[55] Shortly thereafter, Rowlandson's own dwelling is set on fire, forcing her out; she describes, "But out we must go, the fire increasing, and coming along behind us, roaring" (69). As the destruction reaches closer, Rowlandson personifies the fire, which literally spreads across her house and pursues her. Roaring like an animal, or perhaps better a demon, the fire chasing after her represents the imminent and constant persecution of hell. Rowlandson appears like a Gothic heroine who is helplessly confined by material and immaterial horrors.[56] The burning of her home signifies that her world and femininity are vulnerable to violent powers that, like the Gothic, menace her purity. It is an "increasing," relentless, and unreasonable force that will burn and consume all in its path. In short, the destructive powers of the war have reached Rowlandson's house and have brought hellfire. Rowlandson shapes concrete descriptions of these events in hellish, demonic rhetoric—the terrifying and dehumanizing language that underscores swift social and material ruin of the Puritans at the hand of their enemy.

Her apocalyptic descriptions of these events complement how she depicts her captors as monstrous agents of infernal powers. In this particular scene, Rowlandson characterizes her captors as vengeful and merciless marauders that eradicate Puritan homes. This characterization anticipates the demonic forces in some Gothic works[57] and the Gothic villain who often attacks the values and integrity of the home for his "sinful" designs. Similar to the familiar threat of the

[55] See Toulouse (2007) regarding the importance of Puritan home. Also, see Ulrich (1982), especially chapter 1, for details about the daily lives of Puritan women in the home.
[56] Gothic heroines (like Emily St. Aubert from Ann Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794) from the first-wave literary Gothic tend to be white, middle-class women and are well known for their fainting, helplessness, and sensitivity that it is almost not worth mentioning. However, Hoeveler (1998) reads this passivity as a form of empowerment in the Gothic. For more discussion on women in the Gothic, see my introduction (especially 33-39).
[57] In this context, providential intervention is usually Christian Godly in the early Gothic. See Baker (2000) and Ringe (1982), especially Chapter 2.

fire, the attacking Indians first separate a family. Rowlandson narrates, "There were five persons taken in one house, the Father, and the Mother and a sucking Child, they knockt on the head; the other two they took and carried away alive" (68). As the fire burns down the actual house, the Indians kill the entire family. Rowlandson thereby represents her captors not as just attacking Puritan villages but murdering Puritan families. From this perspective, the Indians cannot just be recognized as warring political enemies from a rival sovereign nation since Rowlandson equates them to monsters hostile to the Puritan way of life. This distinction further alienates and demonizes her captors. Moreover, Rowlandson emphasizes the threat to the home: "Some in our house were fighting for their lives, others wallowing in their blood, the House on fire over hour heads, and the bloody Heathen ready to knock us on the head, if we stirred out" (69). Rowlandson continues relating her captors to fire, uniting their relationship as infernal powers that unconscionably work against the Puritans. Her captors have turned the home into a battlefield in which the family fights, bleeds, and trembles at the unknowable threat of violence. Rowlandson suggests in this passage what are the truly terrifying aspects of her captors—the outside and the unknown. The monstrous captors were actually outside her home ready to attack; however, these people are also figures that Rowlandson cannot quite grasp. She treats their ability to reason and capacity for violence as beyond understanding. Again, Rowlandson anticipates the Gothic by depicting her captors as simultaneously real and fantastic. She writes, "Thus the murtherous wretches went on, burning, and destroying before them" (68). Rowlandson likens the fire, a destructive element of hell, to her captors who create the fire and threaten their lives. Characterizing her captors as unknowable and violent speaks forward to the unreasonable violence of a Gothic villain.[58] Rowlandson's emphasis on this relationship dehumanizes her

[58] Gothic villains tend to vary immensely overall. However in the first-wave of Gothic fiction, they tend to be wealthy and or foreign aristocrats or bandits. They do not regularly become full-blown "monsters" until near the end

captors and limits potential for mutual understanding. Altogether, scenes of fire and violence in the opening chapter anticipate the Gothic destruction of home and family.

Rowlandson's portrayal of her captors here resonates with the roots of the word Gothic.[59] In the simplest of terms, her captors reflect stereotypes of the Goths—violent, uncivilized, heathen. Rowlandson confronts the "primitive" forces that her allegedly cultured society intends to repress and dissolve. She privileges her culture in order to subordinate the indigenous people who threaten Puritan progress. Amid the fires burning homes and enemies eviscerating families, Rowlandson further alienates her captors by labeling them heathens. Rowlandson's piety is intended to contrast with her heathen captors. Her naming works to further isolate her captors, who she depicts as demonic and hostile toward her and Puritanism. Furthermore, the contrast between Rowlandson and her captors echoes the Gothic's penchant for elevating the moral character of its heroes and heroines in contrast to degenerate, sometimes satanic, forces. Rowlandson at first identifies the attackers as "*Indians*" and describes how they fight (68). As they reach her home the labels change; Rowlandson calls them "the bloody Heathen" (69) and "those merciless Heathen" (69). Calling the attackers heathens makes demonizing them much easier since they are actively disobeying God and attacking his elect.[60] Heathen alone is a threatening title, but the adjectives render them more evocative. The "bloody Heathen" calls to mind the dual image of a violent and bloodthirsty enemy that relishes carnage. Moreover, it suggests that the person is covered in blood, actually bloody and spattered from the carnage he has wrought.

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of the first-wave (e.g., Ruthven from Polidori's *The Vampyre*), but are just monstrously immoral men. See the introduction to my dissertation for more details (especially, 21-22).

[59] For discussion and citations about etymology of the word Gothic and analysis of its implications, see the introduction of my dissertation (especially, 1-3).

[60] Generally, Puritans called those predestined for salvation the elect.

Rowlandson continues interlacing this judgmental attitude toward her captors and underscores their severe disconnection. Rowlandson, in a way, experiences the Gothic past while in captivity and differentiates herself from the uncultivated heathen as much as possible. A "merciless Heathen" lacks the capacity for empathy and caring. This point adds another suggestive layer of the Gothic monster whose major failing is lack of sympathy with the captive, anticipating the captors' mistreatment of Rowlandson herself. Once again, her captors are antithetical to Christianity because, unlike Christ, they refuse to extend clemency toward the weak people that they slaughter. Rowlandson distinctly shifts labels for her captors as they move from attacking other people to attacking her own friends and family. Not only are the captors her political enemies and destroyers of homes, they are enemies of God. Rowlandson's confrontation with the heathen echoes back to the roots of the Gothic, a confrontation with a threatening, barbaric force that intends to take down "civilization."

Rowlandson demonizes and animalizes her captors in order to demonstrate that they are both a physical and spiritual threat. Comingling these discourses adds to the underlying assumption that her captors are unreasonable and irredeemable, beyond mutual compassion and sympathy. Pulled away from her family by these captors, Rowlandson reports, "It is a solemn sight to see so many Christians lying in their blood, some here, and some there, like a company of Sheep torn by Wolves" (70). Unlike the Heathen's frightening blood, the Christian's blood is solemn, providing both a sad sight and a subtle privileging of the dead Puritans. The comparison of the slaughter of sheep by wolves carries Christian overtones; the gentle and defenseless Christians part of God's flock suffered the carnivorous hunger of the godless heathen. Rowlandson names them "ravenous Beasts" reasserting their appetite for Puritan blood and destruction (70). As wolves, her captors take on a pack-like quality in which they can be viewed

as selfishly and violently fending for themselves. Rowlandson adds her demonic rhetoric to the scene: "All of them stript naked by a company of hell-hounds,[61] roaring, singing, ranting and insulting, as if they would have torn our very hearts out" (70). Juxtaposing violence and celebration creates startling effects that reinforce her captor's strength. Pamela Loungheed points out, "that malice, by now clearly understood as willful resistance to God's providence, does not produce a triumphant, enviable liberty. Instead, it produces a negative liberty, an undesirable freedom from God – a loss that reduces one to an unenviable, dog-like suffering" (300). Her captors are wolves of the devil, sent from hell to antagonize the good, Christian Puritans. However, their triumph is short-lived since they are absent of God. Rowlandson casts the "roaring, singing, ranting, and insulting" captors as worshippers in an unholy celebration or ritual, perhaps a Black Sabbath in which they give profane thanks for the death of many Puritans. Altogether, Rowlandson renders her captors alien and antithetical to Rowlandson's Puritan values acting as agents of God's divine wrath in this complicated narrative of Puritan destruction.

Mather's Demonization of His People

Rowlandson attributes Puritan destruction primarily to her monstrous captors. Although they are instruments of God, she depicts them as violent and unsympathetic monsters that threaten her way of life. In *Humiliations Follow'd with Deliverances,* Cotton Mather[62] integrates demonic rhetoric into his sermon, similar to Rowlandson's captivity, in order to establish that the Puritan community is besieged by infernal powers sanctioned by God. Mather, however, blames

[61] Rowlandson could be referring to her captors as demons in the shape of dogs or using the term figuratively to mean reprehensible people.

[62] Cotton Mather (1663-1728), the influential Puritan Minister who resided in New England delivered this sermon in 1697 near the end of King William's War (1688-1697), a struggle in American and Europe between England and France. For a biography of Mather, see Silverman (1984, 2000).

the Puritans for the war due to their moral backsliding. The God-fearing Puritan veneer flags in face of Mather's perception of their moral failures. The instrument in Mather's sermon to beat his message into their minds is the story of Hannah Duston. Abenaki Indians kidnapped her and took her north. One night, with the help of her fellow captives, Duston awoke in the middle of the night, and killed several of her captors who were sleeping—with their own weapons. They stole a canoe and sailed back down the river to safety. In using Hannah Duston's captivity narrative as an example of fortitude, he enters into the Gothic discourse of contradiction. For the righteous to protect their purity, they must transgress.

Mather uses Hannah Duston's captivity narrative to interpret the impending destruction and depravity and disregard of his congregation for God's law and holiness in this sermon. Rowlandson begins her account with the Indian's attack on her peaceful village; Mather begins by accusing the congregation of attacking God's law. Mather references Deuteronomy 28:58, "*If thou wilt not observe to do all the words of this Law, that be written in this Book that thou mayst Fear this Glorious and Fearful Name, THE LORD THY GOD; then the Lord will make thy Plagues wonderful*" (4). Framing his sermon with this passage, Mather accuses the congregation of compelling God to cause the current afflictions due to their disobedience. This reference also underscores the "*wonderful*" or supernatural hand that shapes these afflictions, which emphasizes the congregation's powerlessness. Mather lists twenty reasons why the congregation provoked God's wrath (7-11) and buries the root problem in confession XI: "That the woful Decay of good *Family Discipline*, hath opened the Flood Gates, for Innumerable, and almost Irremediable *Woes*, to break in upon us" (9). Excessive drinking, sorcery, and uncleanliness also anger God—the Puritans have trespassed a dangerous border between right and wrong. These transgress correspond with the Gothic in that violations of moral and social orders instigate affliction and

distress experienced by the afflicted. Figuratively speaking, these sins have swelled behind the dam of God's mercy, but the "Flood Gates" were opened by the family's lack of discipline to adhere to God's word. To Mather, waning family discipline appears to be the root problem of not only individual families but also the entire congregation. As the family and congregation overlap, Mather arises the Gothic concern of the destabilized family that will recur throughout the sermon.

In this occasion, Mather describes the conditions for an approaching fasting day and delineates in his aggressively damning language the necessity for such a fast in the loose Puritan community. Mather likens the fast to Duston's captivity and escape. Distinctions between the congregation and the Indians establish boundaries that separate the repentant and the sinful. Mather raises the point, "Christians, We are all sensible, That the *Scourges* of Heaven, have long been Employed upon us, for our Crimes against *and Just and Good Laws* of the *Lord our God*: Alas, our *Plagues* have been wonderful! We have been sorely Lashed, with one Blow after another, for our Delinquencies" (4-5). Mather's reference to "*Scourges*," a term also used in Rowlandson's narrative, has the loaded meaning of both demonic and heavenly vengeance, manifested in the form of enemy Indians. Meaning whips, the "*Scourges"* act as punitive instruments of God's wrath necessitated by the indiscretions of the Puritan community. Mather's use of the doubled position of the monstrous enemy anticipates the Gothic uncertainty of providence. Although by this point of view the Indians enact divine justice, Mather paradoxically portrays them as infernal beings; they build up the Puritan community by tearing it down. The Gothic works similarly by violating cultural values first and then restoring them. Furthermore, Mather proclaims, "We have been *Humbled* by the *Wrath of the Lord of Hosts Darkening our Land*, when *Evil Angels* broke in among us, to do those Amazing Things, of which no *Former*

Ages give parallel" (33). Once again, Indians become both instruments of God but likened to the Devil. In each rhetorical and typological form, they still terrorize and test the lagging faith of Puritans. These double agents show contradictions in Mather's argument. Are these afflictions evil or holy? The binary system collapses, revealing their Gothic indeterminacy. Brutal and uncivilized forces challenge the fragile stability of English civilization that requires outsiders and enemies to legitimate authority. Contradictory allusions will return later when Mather reimagines Duston in reference to Biblical characters and events. Incidentally, Mather adds, "We have been *Humbled* by a Barbarous Adversary once and again let loose to *Wolve* it upon us, and an unequal Contest with such as are *not a People, but a Foolish Nation*" (33). Reflecting the rhetorical moves in Rowlandson's narrative, Mather portrays the Indians as agents of God's wrath, released like beasts to punish and challenge the Puritan community. Presenting the Indians as wolves once again identifies the Puritan congregation as vulnerable but unrepentant sheep. Mather animalizes the Indians into a pack of carnivores capable of killing and devouring the wayward flock in order to affirm congregational cohesion. He, however, does not portray the congregation as victims, unlike Rowlandson. The congregation is responsible for angering God. Those outside respected parameters are vulnerable to Indian warfare as well as spiritual strife.

The clash of civilizations again separates each community, yet Mather's endowment of violent barbarity on the Indians reflects the shortcomings of his congregation. Mather insists on stable boundaries between the Puritans and their enemies that turn into a Gothic space of reflective demonization. His condemnation of the nation suggests that their current misfortune could be prevented by Puritan piety. Mather asks:

> Have Bloody, Popish, and Pagan *Enemies*, made very dreadful Impressions upon us, and Captivated and Butchered multitudes of our Beloved Neighbours? Let us Humbly

> Confess, our sins have *Deserved*, that we should be all of us, altogether given up, unto the will of our Enemies, to *Serve our Enemies in want of all things, and have our Lives continually hanging in Doubt*, under their furious Tyrannies. (12)

The congregation becomes responsible for war and strife at home. Sin makes them culpable and captive to worldliness that Mather rebukes as vanity. Outsiders challenging Puritan solidarity butcher and take innocent people because of the community's failure to follow God's plan. Disobeying God means fueling their infernal enemies. The monstrosity within the Puritan community empowers the monsters without. Moreover, sinful action also harms the entire congregation. One person's backsliding contributes to another's untimely death under the divine retribution of the tomahawk. Sin is self and communal destruction. Mather insists that humbling before God will free the congregation. As such, Mather's integration of bloody and demonic figures into his sermon reveals that monstrosity exists within the Puritan community. The distinction between monsters and "saints" blurs into a Gothic border crossing.

Unlike Rowlandson, who arguably speaks throughout her narrative, Mather controls Duston's representation throughout the sermon. Both texts tread carefully along the border of the demonizing others and demonizing their communities. That criticism hiding beneath the narrative shapes how each speaker delivers the narrative. Rowlandson, as a Puritan woman, does not have the authority to condemn her community outright. Duston doesn't either, but Mather takes charge of her narrative in this case. As the female voices are convoluted, these texts invite a close look at the Gothic concern of women in jeopardy and female agency.

Rowlandson's Motherhood and Monstrosity

Mothers are not often traditional Gothic heroines. Usually, such heroines are virginal young women. However, the instrumental fear of these captivity narratives, as expressed by both Rowlandson and Mather, is the loss of family, a central Gothic concern. What allows Rowlandson and Duston to bend Puritan expectations of womanly behavior are their extreme conditions and, more significantly, their role as mothers. In Gothic fashion, Rowlandson and Duston, mothers alike, endure captivity by violating their gendered norms. While each text is concerned with anxieties of the destruction of Puritan communities more generally, each channels that threat into depictions of distressed women, both captive mothers. Rowlandson adds another layer of Gothic concern to her narrative because her captors exert authority over female bodies through the threat of violence. Rowlandson emphasizes the monstrosity of her captors through their unusual behavior and brutality. Furthermore, Rowlandson styles her narrative in a Gothic fashion by taking the reader through scenes of female bloodshed and torture. Although Rowlandson focuses mainly on the alien and violent behavior of her captors, she allows subtle criticisms of the Puritan culture to seep through her narrative in scenes of death and torture. In order for Rowlandson to present the salacious details of her captivity, she must weave in moral instruction and act consistently with expectations for Puritan women.

Rowlandson privileges her position as a mother throughout the narrative. In the wilderness, Rowlandson faces unknown territory that also becomes a repository for the trauma and fears that she faced in captivity. Parts of her are irrevocably lost in the wild. Rowlandson attempts to repress those fears and anxieties that, in Gothic fashion, return throughout the text, varying in extremity. What she leaves behind becomes the source of a persistent haunting in the text. Part of that haunting comes from her escape; she has survived an outrageous ordeal while

others did not. These people did not escape captivity and stay captive in the wilderness as bodies consigned to the ground and as memories fettered to Rowlandson's troubled mind. For example, after tending to her wounded daughter for days, Rowlandson reports, "About two houres in the night, my sweet Babe, like a lamb departed this life" (75). Rowlandson's daughter Sarah dies of wounds incurred at the battle of Lancaster. Rowlandson underscores the innocence of this child, this "lamb," further invoking the juxtaposition of wild, beastly captors with the benign and faithful Puritan flock. That the child leaves "this life" suggests Rowlandson feels comforted that another will be in store. The child has been "removed" from this life. However, the solace she takes from this notion seems questionable. The loss of her child pushes Rowlandson to contemplate suicide, but she overcomes these feelings through "the wonderfull goodness of God to me" (75). Her confession of suicidal thoughts demonstrates desire to remain with her dead child, a motherly inclination even if darkly so. Rowlandson, while not forthrightly concerned with Sarah's spiritual direction, finds what happened to Sarah's remains troubling. She explains, "[Her captors] told me it was upon the hill: then they went and shewed me where it was, where I saw the ground was newly digged, and there they told me they had buried it: *There I left that Child In the Wilderness, and must commit it, and my self also in this Wilderness-condition, to him who is above all*" (75). Rowlandson evokes the image of Puritans buried outside Puritan lands and without Puritan rites. In this case, the death and burial reflects the destruction of Rowlandson's own family, a recurring theme in the Gothic.[63] Distance and now death separate Rowlandson from her kin.

Although Rowlandson sees the location of her daughter's grave, she can never identify the burial plot again with certainty. She "abandons" the child to the wilderness, the haunting space of Rowlandson's captivity. In the wild, the buried child takes on a ghostly quality,

[63] For discussion of the centrality in the Gothic, see Williams (1995).

remaining restless in Rowlandson's imagination. Rowlandson is not literally haunted by a ghost, but rather the death of her child remains with her and addles her mind. Later in the narrative when the negotiators free Rowlandson, she reflects, "That which was dead lay heavier upon my spirit, than those which were alive and amongst the Heathen; thinking how it suffered with its wounds, and I was in no way able to relieve it; and how it was buried by the Heathen in the *Wilderness* from among all Christians" (109). From this passage, anxieties of motherhood and resentment emerge, strangely growing into a source of internalized monstrosity. Rowlandson admits to her powerlessness as a mother while captive in the wild. Rowlandson cannot heal her child, and this point suggests that the wilderness overtakes that maternal obligation and inclination to preserve life. She could not in this environment be the person God intended her to be. For her, liberated from captivity, she remains trapped by the ghost of her dead child and fellow Puritans. This imaginary space takes on an otherworldly quality. The Puritan dead aren't necessarily damned—it would be blasphemous for her to make that judgment—yet they are not entirely assured of salvation either. As they remain among the Heathen, the Puritan dead exist in a troubling, liminal space that underscores Rowlandson's uncertainty about the condition of her own salvation. Travel with her captor's takes Rowlandson simultaneously to a forbidden place in the material world and the spiritual paths of her monstrous heart. Altogether, Rowlandson inadvertently parallels the unsettled condition of her own mind with the wilderness.

Rowlandson maintains Puritan faith in God and commits to His care, yet the "Wilderness-condition" is a state of mind as much as a state of being. In this manner, Rowlandson enters both into a physical and mental Gothic space—the real fears that surround her shadow her faith and beliefs. Rowlandson struggles to expel fearful doubt of untraced lands and unhallowed burials despite asserting faith in God's plan. Rowlandson may not have intended

to show hesitation in this belief, but her suspicion of God's benevolence and dominion leaks through in confrontations with the wilderness. Rowlandson must rejoice in the divine plan, but she does not appear to buy into it fully, thus demonstrating weak faith. Rowlandson admits, "I went along that day mourning and lamenting, leaving farther my own Country, and travelling into the vast and howling *Wilderness*, and I understood something of *Lot's* Wife's Temptation, *when she looked back*" (80). Once again, Rowlandson applies the demonic rhetoric that she uses to describe the Native Americans to the landscape. It is an enormously threatening space filled with beastly creatures, altogether taking on aspects of a living hell. At this point in the narrative, Rowlandson also mourns the loss of her child and suggests that she is overindulging in this sorrow. Curiously, she compares herself to another dislocated woman. Alluding to Lot's Wife[64] implies Rowlandson sympathizes with her, though she was disobedient to God. She, like Rowlandson, had to abandon her home torn apart by sin and God's wrath. They are both "removed" from home and family. Moreover, Lot's wife disobeys God's direct command, and it is not clear how Rowlandson stands. The comparison fits Puritan's penchant for likening their lives to stories in the Bible. This particular example, however, seems strange given Rowlandson's intention to convey unwavering devotion to God despite her wild condition. The wilderness than inverts Rowlandson's relationship to God. At the very least, the comparison implies frustration with her obligatory respect and subservience to God's will. Travel pushes her further into Gothic territory as she ekes out disapproval and disgust against the spiritual forces she's expected to rely on and obey. As much as she tries looking forward to her eventual redemption, Rowlandson cannot shake the compulsion to look back on what has happened and admit how it has changed her in ways that betray her faith.

[64] I consulted *The New Oxford Annotated Bible: New Revised Standard Version, Augmented 3rd Edition* for all Biblical references. See Genesis 19:1-26 and Luke 17:30-37.

Witnessing the destruction of mothers and their children shows that Puritan families are torn apart by war and sin. For Rowlandson, violence against mothers also informs graphic scenes of self-indulgence and threat. Remaining spiritually steadfast and pure even in the face of devastating loss helps Rowlandson escape captivity. Similar to disobedience to God, defiance would invite destruction. To keep Rowlandson in line, for example, her captors tell her the story of Goodwife Ann Joslin, an allegedly defiant captive woman who desired to escape her captors. The story, although the truth of Joslin's demise is questionable, integrates demonic rhetoric with the persecution of a Puritan woman in order to frighten Rowlandson into submission. Rowlandson recounts:

> [Joslin] would be often asking the Indians to let her go home; they not being willing to that, and yet vexed with her importunity, gathered in a great company together about her, and strip her naked and set her in the midst of them; and when they had sung and danced about her (in their hellish manner) as long as they pleased, they knockt her on head, and the child in her arms with her; whey they had done that, they made a fire and put them both into it, and told the other Children tat were with them, that if they attempted to go home, they would serve them in like manner. (77-78)

Rowlandson reveals fears of vulnerability and bloody sacrifice in this full-blown, (pre)Gothic depiction of women's suffering. The woman's suffering is a spectacle for her captors, as they put her on display for their whole community. The naked woman also breaks down Puritan expectations for female public dress and behavior.[65] Rowlandson anticipates the Gothic move of showing cultural values trespassed, which once again reinforces expectations of female behavior with an extreme example. Joslin's suffering becomes a source of entertainment and instruction,

[65] See Ulrich (1982) for an overview of Puritan women's fashion. Castro (2008) presents a carefully developed analysis of clothing in captivity narratives.

forming a transgressive sympathy between her and the audience. Forced to violate these mores, the woman has lost her ability conform to community standards. The choice has been stripped from her to serve her captor's purposes of making her an example. They also appear to celebrate her suffering, as they ritualistically cheer and move as if to make a sacrifice. That the punishment of a Puritan woman turns into a public performance reflects how her captors not only invert her role but bask in its destruction. The monstrous captors vanquish her for doing what she ought to do—return to the home. With her destruction also comes the death of her child. Without a mother, the child cannot survive in this living hell. Rowlandson evokes the imagery of broken families to reinforce the point that her captors destroy good Puritan homes. Yet, this example also shows what happens to captive women who do not accept captivity and try too actively to escape. Furthermore, the woman and child are both thrown into a fire and burned, not given a proper Puritan burial from their infernal captors. They remain confined to the hellish flames intended to purge them from the community. The stripping and execution of the woman and killing of her child also illustrate the failure of the patriarchy to protect women from capture and harm. It also forecloses the fantasy of a captive woman's escape. Instead, the captive woman, namely Rowlandson, is better off obeying her captors despite threats to her moral and English integrity. The defiant Joslyn is killed whereas the obedient Rowlandson survives. As much as the story encapsulates potential violence onto Rowlandson's body and soul, it directs her to obey her captors' instructions in defiance of what is conventionally acceptable by her Puritan mores. Obedience seems well and good but subtly urges Rowlandson toward further contact with her captors that allows for monstrosity to stir and grow. Rowlandson justifies submission to her captors yet through a lurid portrayal of Joslyn's death, thereby reinforcing sanctioned womanly behavior through transgressive example.

As much as Rowlandson condemns her captor's brutality, she interprets their abuse as spiritual edification. Rowlandson constructs her captors as foreign and demonic forces that attack the Puritan way of life; however, she explains that God sanctions their barbarous actions. Is her captivity demonic or divine? She explains, "But now our perverse and evil carriages in the sight of the Lord, have so offended Him, that instead of turning His hand against them, the Lord feeds and nourishes them up to be a scourge to the whole Land" (106). This confusion points toward Gothic ambivalence toward sensationalism and moralizing. Presenting transgressive behaviors of the victim or captive, the person a part of the mainstream culture, allows for spiritual edification. "God's plan" seems indeterminate in Rowlandson's text, and considering God's gender as "the Father" makes for startling implications. Although Rowlandson's faith is not in question, her portrayal of God's plan suggests ambivalence, one likened to the masculine power that has failed to protect her. English sins are so great that God empowers the infernal captors to teach them a lesson. If her captors are indeed the scourges sent by God, then is their entire endeavor driven by unholy purpose? They paradoxically represent the peril of infernal power and of divine retribution. The English were losing because God had willed their enemies to win, and they deserved to see their families torn apart by demonic beings due to disobedience to the Lord. Yet, it is through God's design that her captors act violently, or so Rowlandson alleges. Rowlandson views her traumatic experience as God's plan. Her trip into hell reveals the weakness of her spirit and the failings of the community by extension. No matter how she constructs her narrative, her captors remain indeterminately fearsome, excusing Rowlandson's own indiscretions. In short, Rowlandson's text is reactive. As much as Rowlandson tries to distance herself from the savage culture and maintain her faith, she reveals a subtle reaction

against the forces intended to protect her, anticipating the quiet protest against patriarchy and the social good found in the Gothic.

Through that transformative process, Rowlandson acquires aspects that she attributes to her captors in the Gothic space of captivity. The exchange between Rowlandson and her captors happens when they eat. Acquiring food compels Rowlandson to contribute[66] to her captor's community. She interacts with several people to satisfy her hunger. While describing consuming her captor's food, Rowlandson critically evaluates what they eat in order to maintain distance between herself and the captors. After the first two weeks in captivity, for instance, she confesses, "I found my stomach grow very faint for want of something and yet it was very hard to get down their filthy trash: but the third week through I could think how formerly my stomach would turn against this or that, and I could starve and die before I could eat such things, yet they were sweet and savory to my taste" (79). At first, Rowlandson emphasizes that her captor's food is disgusting, which links the lowly food to the lowly people who eat it. By noting that she had difficulties holding the food down, she shows resistance for ingesting the food as well as her captor's culture. However, from need of sustenance, she acquires a taste for the so-called "filthy" food that nourishes her. Rowlandson begins to fill herself with her captor's "barbaric" way of life. Eating her captor's food implies that they can share a common ground. In a strange sense, eating is another border crossing in which the alien food of her enemy and all it represents pass from the outside to the inside. She swallows and internalizes their purportedly demonic, monstrous way of life for her surivial. Rowlandson's slow consumption of her enemy's way of life reveals that the arbitrary differences that she intends to build fall apart in the wilderness, pointing to the Gothic concern of collapse of identity borders.

[66] See Goodman (2010) for a detailed examination of Rowlandson's participation in the Indian economy.

Similarly, Rowlandson herself assumes qualities comparable to her demonized captors at close examination of her eating. Consuming prohibited food suggests that Rowlandson, despite efforts to privilege white, Puritan culture, can find substance with the enemy culture. In Gothic fashion, Rowlandson's values are inverted—to survive, she has to "go Native." Some of her captors were surprised at what she would consume and thereby reveals mutual puzzlement associated with food. Rowlandson recounts a conversation with an Indian in the Seventh Remove, "*What*, sayes he *can you eat Horse-liver?* I told him, I would try, if he would give a piece, which he did…I was fain to take the rest and eat it as it was, with the blood about my mouth, and yet a savory bit it was to me: *For to the hungry Soul, every bitter thing is sweet*" (81). Rowlandson ingesting the horse liver shocks the Indian, who shows that they have their own assumptions about English decorum. Rowlandson breaks with propriety and eats a forbidden food that her captors consume without concern. Eating this strange food shows Rowlandson's desperation. Although her captors start to cook the meat for her, others quickly pick at it and leave a small, undercooked portion for Rowlandson. Though reluctant, Rowlandson satisfies her hunger and gorges on the remaining meat. Rowlandson only gives passing attention to how she eats the meat, but the language provokes an image similar to the demonic rhetoric used to describe her captors. Rowlandson takes the undercooked meat and eats it greedily, leaving blood about her mouth. The shock comes from the juxtaposition of Rowlandson, the good and devout Puritan woman, gorging on taboo food. How she eats is almost beastly, *monstrous*—attributes that she gives to her captors—relishing the life and blood of the animal to sustain her own life. Strangely, she also announces that it was delicious to her, revealing the extent of her dejected state. That Rowlandson eats the meat in a savage manner suggests that she has could be "Indianized" by her encounter with the monstrous captors. Of course, Rowlandson

needs food to survive in captivity, but what she eats and how she eats it demonstrate a change in her character. Rowlandson "is haunted by a sense of their infinite and perpetual interchangeability" (Goodman 6). However, she rebuts this concern with a Biblical passage, Proverbs 27:7.[67] Rowlandson's justification for how and what she eats in this context seems ambiguous. What does Rowlandson's soul hunger for? God's presence? Certainly she refers to actual food in this case, but the lack of spiritual fulfillment remains in its place. If bitter is sweet, Rowlandson's taste and condition are inverted. Rowlandson crosses the arbitrary border that she places around her white, Puritan culture, taking on through this Gothic Travel, if subtly so, monstrous qualities that she endows on her captors.

Rowlandson suggests the Gothic concern of unstable identities through scenes of eating and consumption that show the potential her own monstrous degeneration. Rowlandson maintains her faith in God, yet throughout the text, she concentrates on want, lack, and hunger associated with Biblical scripture. As much as Rowlandson maintains her desire for spiritual fulfillment, she also affirms the desire for actual food—to feel full. The need for spiritual sustenance and sustaining food merge, and in her desperation to eat, Rowlandson becomes animalistic when she describes material need for food. In the fifteenth remove, Rowlandson declares, "I cannot but think what a Wolvish appetite person have in starving condition: for many times when they gave me that which was hot, I was so greedy, that I shou'd burn my mouth, that it would trouble me hours after, and yet I should quickly do the same again. And after I was thoroughly hungry, I was never again satisfied" (93).[68] Rowlandson compares her appetite to a wolf, one of the beasts to which she likens her captors. The carnivorous and greedy animal comes out of Rowlandson when she receives food. Hunger equalizes Rowlandson and her

[67] Proverbs 27:7: "As iron sharpens iron, so one person sharpens another."
[68] See Stein (2009) for a look at desire and consumption in the text.

captors, reducing them to animals. The incredible hunger bypasses Rowlandson's reason, and she burns her mouth, hurts herself, to satisfy her hunger. Rowlandson, in recurring fashion, presents Biblical reference about eating further down in the nineteenth remove: "And now could I see that Scripture verified (there being many Scriptures which do not take notice of, or understand till we afflicted) *Mic.* 6. 14. *Thou shalt eat and not be satisfied*" (93).[69] Again, Rowlandson applies Biblical passages through her captivity as justification for her unusual behavior. In this case, Rowlandson cannot fill her spiritual void. She lacks the divine nourishment that God provides. Captive in the wilderness with her captors, Rowlandson shares briefly their separation from God by taking on their way of life as well as defying her prescribed motherly and feminine role. Rowlandson evokes doubt about her own saved position and likens herself to her monstrous captors from which she intently tries to differentiate herself. As much as she tries to separate herself from her captors that she has demonized, that intent collapses through descriptions of eating and interacting with them. Rowlandson, in these moments, seems to take on selfish and violent qualities that she tries to attribute to her captors.

As she assumes a monstrous quality of her own, Rowlandson condemns violence against Puritan families and children, yet she seems eerily tolerant of misfortunes to other children. These behaviors suggest that Rowlandson, while not actively harming these children, lacks pity for the unfortunate. Here, Rowlandson crosses into the Gothic space in which she takes on aspects of the merciless monster which she accuses her captors of having. This failure to connect emotionally with children reveals the potential for monstrosity, a monstrosity that Rowlandson could exhibit. Rowlandson privileges the English throughout the text, but her mistreatment of English children reveals selfishness uncharacteristic of motherliness. Rowlandson's needs tops

[69] Micah accuses Israel of failing to follow God's laws necessitating their judgment in Chapter 6. Verse 14 starts the turn from doom to hope.

those of a hungry English child, for instance. In a moment that combines Biblical justification for unwomanly behavior, Rowlandson explains:

> [T]he *Squaw* was boyling *Horses feet*, then she cut me off a little piece, and gave one of the *English Children* a piece also. Being very hungry I had quickly eat up mine, but the Child could note bite it, it was so tough and sinewy, but lay sucking, gnawing, chewing, and slobbering of it in the mouth and hand, then I took it of the Child, and ate it myself, and savoury it was to my taste. Then I may say as *Job Chap 6. 7.*[70] *The things that my soul refused to touch, are as my sorrowful meat*. Thus the Lord made that pleasant refreshing, which another time would have been an abomination. (96)

In this passage, Rowlandson continues trends of justifying strange behaviors in the wilderness and reveals alternatives to her assumed role as a mother. Rowlandson devours her meal and craves more food. The need and desire for food drives her transgressions and feeds her emotional monstrosity. The English child, whom she describes as infantile and helpless, is an innocent. It is unclear whether this English child is in fact a baby. Rowlandson neglects to mention how this child finds nourishment after she takes the food. The child's needs are beneath noticing at this point in time. Moreover, Rowlandson has previously lost Sarah, her own daughter. When confronted with another child suffering in the wilderness, Rowlandson remains emotionally distant. She does not seem to assuage or even attempt to pretend to assuage this child's suffering. Has the loss of Sarah render Rowlandson cold toward the other English children? Rowlandson exhibits a lack of pity for the child, reflecting once again qualities she has attributed to her monstrous captors. Not only does Rowlandson take the child's food, but she also delights in it. She stresses how good the food tastes to her, despite its tough consistency. Rowlandson follows

[70] In Job 5, his friend Eliphaz sees that God's judgment is good for Job, who responds with doubt in Chapter 6. Rowlandson's likening herself to Job at this stage reflects her confusion in captivity about this test of faith.

this point with a Biblical reference that she intends to support her action. The lines from the *Book of Job* once again suggest an inversion in Rowlandson's life. What she would reject in her previous life she would gladly accept now. Rowlandson reveals that the experience has transformed her. Her taste for things has certainly changed. Although Rowlandson praises God for her newfound tolerance of unpleasant food, she ignores the violations of proper Puritan womanly behavior. Moreover, she overlooks that ingesting abominable food has produced abominable deeds. In these scenes of consumption, the wall Rowlandson attempts to build between her "civilized" behavior and her captor's "savage" behaviors collapses. Rowlandson herself exudes monstrous, albeit subtle, characteristics as she rationalizes many transgressions of Puritan propriety.

Eating the wild food and enduring the hardships of the wilderness alter Rowlandson's defining characteristic to her contemporary Puritan audience, her role as a mother. In these scenes, Rowlandson carefully justifies her unusual choices yet creates space for personal transformation that through the Gothicism of the text reveals a monstrous aspect rather than a reflective traveler or reaffirmed Puritan mother. Several instances of eating and surviving deal with the pain and death of children. For example, Rowlandson describes, "As we went along, they killed a *Deer*, with a young one in her, the gave me a piece of the *Fawn*, and it was so young and tender, that one might eat the bones as well as the flesh, and yet I thought it very good" (93). Although the death here is of an animal, Rowlandson takes advantage of her captors' killing a mother with a young child. With the mother deer dead holding her dead child inside of her in the woods, Rowlandson has set up comparison to her own loss. Yet, Rowlandson acts like the "savage" and consumes the fawn, enjoying its flavor as well. Rowlandson, unlike the dead

mother-deer, has survived, and she buries the lost child through satisfying her bodily needs. She consumes it.

As Rowlandson interacts and travels with the Native Americans, she reveals that the border between civilized Puritan and savage Native American is tenuous. This exchange presents the Gothic moment of chaos and collapse. That which has been thought alien has become familiar. The dimensions of social order have fallen apart. Rowlandson maintains separation with them but tries downplaying how much she has in common with her captors. Moreover, Rowlandson ignores her own lowly appearance throughout the text. Focus on vain appearance might diminish her credibility as a good Puritan woman; however, it reveals that the Native Americans are, if not more so, aware of personal cleanliness. In the nineteenth remove, Rowlandson writes, "[Metacom] asked me, *When I washt me?* I told him not this month, then he fetcht me some water himself, and bid me wash, and gave me the Glass to see how I lookt" (96). Travel and captivity have turned Rowlandson into a filthy and stinking creature.[71] Ralph Bauer speculates that Rowlandson's spare description of herself in the mirror allowed readers to imagine "images of savagery" (674). In comparison, Weetamoo, her mistress, dresses cleanly though ostentatiously (96-97). The contrast here suggests that Rowlandson can enter into a savage state, and her station as respected Puritan woman has been inverted. That Rowlandson despises Weetamoo, the wife of a man valued by her community and the mother of a dead child, suggests that she envies Weetamoo and refuses to recognize the commonalities they share. Tiffany Potter explains, "Weetamoon is the Other…consistently narrated as a failure by which Rowlandson can affirm her own privileged status and identity, even in her entirely disempowered state" (159). Deprived of her Puritan community and among the "heathens," Rowlandson has visibly and morally degenerated. She violates her lofty standards for appropriate

[71] For discussion of cleanliness in Rowlandson's text, see Paes de Barros (2004): 33-34

behavior and commits acts that contradict her position in the Puritan order. To this end, Rowlandson's demonization of her captors turns inward, displaying the monstrous qualities of this Puritan mother.

Motherhood and Monstrosity: Duston

If Rowlandson anticipates the Gothic heroine, fully tested and returned into the proper community, Hannah Duston anticipates the Gothic villainess. She is a necessary evil for redemption and cultural reaffirmation to take place. Without her exorbitant violence to contrast the heroine's chaste perseverance, civilization has no standard from which to compare itself. Though an outsider, Duston still advances the Puritan community in the wild by becoming a problematic avenging angel like Jael (Carroll, *Rhetorical Drag* 65). Although Mather would rather compartmentalize Duston's actions to the wild, she takes on the monstrous qualities of her savage captors and returns. In other words, Dunston "queers the masculine convention of the frontiersman who clears the land of savages in order to make way for civilization" (Humphreys 160). Duston's captivity exemplifies a major trial of faith, one that has been invoked because of disobedience to God's law. Mather includes early in this sermon subtle inferences to the conditions of captivity that correspond with his parameters for the upcoming fast. The fast operates as removal from society, similar to the Rowlandson's removes. However, the removal here is from materialism that distracts from God's grace. Those who fast remain within the community but remove themselves from godless comfort and try to move closer to the godly community. Throughout the sermon, Mather superimposes the struggle for faith onto Duston's story, attempting to provide the "correct" interpretation (Carroll 61). Duston's real adversity becomes material for Mather's sermonic endeavor to render her captivity relevant to the spiritual

lives of his congregation. Mather labels these conflicts as "wonderful," anticipating the simultaneous horror and hope of Duston's captivity. What is more frightening yet affirming to a Puritan than to be imperiled by God? Approaching the fast as a spiritual trial, the congregation can experience life absent of a worldly community similar to the captive's experience. Fasting allows each individual to set aside their earthly affairs and comforts to draw nearer to God through prayer and reflection. Mather's description of fasting suggests many parallels with captivity or at least how he intends for the audience to view the captive state. Mather demands that the fast "be kept with an *Abstinence*, from the Affairs of this Life" (27) where one should not eat but be filled with the Holy Spirit of Christ (18), relying on God for sustenance. In relation, captivity becomes a fast from familiar comforts, an exclusive fasting from worldly security. The captive should, Mather implies, draw closer to God and rely on His will for sustenance. Similarly, the captive in the wild should find sustenance in faith and passive acceptance. Mather makes an effort to fit the story into his sermon on fasting, forsaking worldly desires to get closer to God. Yet, with a live example of an English woman, not a Puritan woman,[72] who survived a deadly encounter with God's scourges, Mather must carefully check the pride of his audience. The success of the escaped captives mirrors the promise of the redeemed sinner, yet Mather asserts that salvation, both escaping from tangible and spiritual destruction, is God's choice. He declares, "*That when a Sinful People Humble themselves before the Almighty God, it is an Hopeful and an Happy Symptom, that He will not utterly Destroy such a People*" (6). If the members of the audience, like Duston, are captives of sin, the only way to escape is by submitting to God's will, and not their selfish designs or through their own plans. Mather, here, carefully begins reconstructing Duston's narrative in which deliverance from

[72] Duston did not officially join the church until 1724. See "Hannah Dustin's Letter to the Elders of the Second Church in Haverhill, 1724."

captivity appears exclusively in the hands of an able-minded and able-bodied woman. Escape from destruction lies with steadfastness to God and faith, or so Mather would like his audience to believe. This point is important to make before detailing Duston's story where passivity and fortitude are mostly nonexistent.

Although Mather draws parallels between his congregation's sinfulness and Duston's captivity, he fails to appropriate her murderous actions within the Puritan standard of proper feminine behavior as much as he tries to use "Biblical allusions simultaneously [that] provide him with a moral framework to justify Hannah's deed and a means of placing her exploits in the epic context related to the national destiny of the Puritan people" (Arner 19). Duston's actions challenge Mather's interpretation forced into his sermon and rendition of her narrative. Annette Kolodny argues that Dustin's story "cannot, in fact, consistently correspond to his design" (22). Juxtaposing sensational events with moralizing anticipates the recurring Gothic narrative of a woman in distress. Mather attempts to recapture Duston's story so that he can recreate a narrative that complements Puritan passive fortitude. That passivity seems to protect the heroine from forces—the horrors of her demonic captors in this case—that would seize her virtue. Continuing to link his congregation to Duston and captivity, Mather references the Roman Conquest of Zion prophesized but fixates on the Roman coin created to commemorate their victory: "On the Reverse of those Medals…there is, *A Silent Woman sitting upon the Ground, and leaning against a Palm-tree, with this Inscription* JUDÆA CAPTA…Alas, If poor *New England*, were to be shown upon her old Coin, we might show her *Leaning* against her Thunderstruck *Pine tree, Desolate, sitting upon the Ground*" (31). Mather here evokes the threat of Catholic New France conquering New England that abandoned God; amplifying the sensationalism, Mather suggests with the "Thunderstruck Pine" that the present condition is far worse than its source material.

While an appropriate image for his argument, Judæa capta is Mather's idealized version of Duston that does not measure up to reality. His audience should sympathize with meek and passive woman on the coin abandoned in the wilderness, salvageable only by the might and desire of God. Mary Rowlandson and Hannah Swarton, the captivity narrative appended to Mather's *Humiliations*, serve as prime examples for proper womanly and Puritan conduct when facing hard times. Both women adjust to the enemy and wait for rescue (Fitzpatrick 1-26 and Carroll, "'My Outward Man'" 45-73). Mather's association points out that if the captive, like the congregation, relied on God, he or she would be saved. Duston's story upends the neat and moral interpretation of captivity. Christopher Castiglia stresses that Mather perceived the incongruity of Duston and Judæa capta (32). Judæa capta appropriately captures Mather's intentions to humble his audience before God, yet the idle and submissive figure does not complement Duston's story. Instead of enduring captivity and waiting for rescue, or ransom most likely, Duston frees herself in a sensational manner. Duston murders her captors and escapes through her violent actions that contradict Mather's rendition of Judæa capta. He cannot adapt Duston, who completely deconstructs the image of the passive captive woman. Instead, Duston and Judæa capta sharply contrast each other, revealing contradictions of Puritan male fantasy for feminine behavior and exposing real and harsh violence from within.

Mather does not claim complete ownership of Duston and her deeds but takes advantage of her outsider status. Mather alludes to Jael in order to rewrite Duston into a Puritan framework that would excuse excessive violence and uncharacteristic feminine agency. Unlike Judæa capta, Jael fits Duston appropriately as an active, violent female who commits murder sanctioned by God. Mather's allusion to Jael foregrounds Duston as an instrument of God yet also points out that she is not a member of the chosen. Their association emerges again after Duston learns that

she will be forced to run the gauntlet, she plans her escape: "One of those women took up Resolution to Imitate the Action of Jael upon Sisera" (*Humilations* 46). Mather refers here to at story in the *Book of Judges* in which Hebrew forces, led by Barak are fighting against Jabin, King of Canaan. Deborah, a prophet, asks Barak to raise an army against Jabin's men, but Barck wants Deborah to join him. She then prophesizes to Barak that Jael, a Hannite woman, would act as a deliverer of the Hebrews and have the honor of killing the Jabin's leader, Sisera. The background story underscores womanly power and violence in light of male inaction. The English men did not save other captive women, showing their masculine impotence (Toulouse, "Hannah Duston's Bodies" 202). Deborah acts as God's voice though further relating females and violence, but Barak adds conditions from the holy mandate. Jael has the honor of killing the enemy leader, suggesting a positive reading of the related events. Even before mentioning Jael's actions, the allusion reveals holes in Mather's application to Duston. As the story continues, Sisera escapes the battle with Barak's forces and finds refuge with Jael, who provides gratuitously for his needs. When Sisera sleeps, Jael drives a nail into his head, freeing Israel in a gesture suggestive of male sexuality. Both Jael and Duston are allowed to commit aberrant behavior because this seemingly unwomanly violence does not violate English gender expectations; the women act appropriately in the absence of male authority (Ulrich 169). However justified, these sanctioned acts of violence are culturally unfeminine and monstrous. Jael shows craftiness by fooling Sisera with her womanly hospitality and attacking him in the night; Duston convinces another woman and young man to kill their sleeping enemies. Jael and Duston serve God by assuming masculine qualities. They both act as instruments of patriarchally approved violence, though their killing implies feminine agency that Mather tries to rearticulate and repress. Jael, though acting on behalf of God, reveals fear of female aggression against a

husband. Duston reveals fear of female aggression against children (or the entire family). Furthermore, Jael and Dunson are both removed from their respective communities, Jael is a Hannite and Dunson is an unconfirmed English woman. Additionally for Dunson, she commits her misdeeds in the wilderness, where rules of civilized behavior slacken. Following his allusion to Jael, Mather adds, "being where [Duston] had not her *own* Life secured by an *Law* unto her, she thought she was not forbidden by *Law* to take away the *Life*, of the *Murders*, by whom her *Child* had been butchered" (*Humiliations* 46). He allows Duston to commit grievous murder upon the savages because she and her victims are outside the parameters of the law. Moreover, Barbara Cutter adds, "As a mother who had seen her baby murdered before her eyes and felt a 'natural' impulse for revenge, Duston was a perfect symbol for the virtuous violence of the outraged innocent" (22). These women invert their roles of giving life to taking life. Pairing "*Law*" and "*Life*" suggests that the law of the wilderness is to maintain one's life. Moral order can be circumvented for survival. Order cannot be achieved in the wilderness; yet, wouldn't God's law prevail even in the wild? Again, the wilderness functions in the Puritan imagination as a liminal and threatening space that a captive or traveler like Duston might actually leave but haunts her reputation and waking life. This time, it works to Mather's advantage. Duston receives praise and money for committing murder, a capital and spiritual offense. Mather's excuse returns to the lawlessness of the wilderness suggested in Rowlandon's captivity narrative. Stable roles weaken for the English captives, and they must adapt to their circumstances. Mather alleges that Duston kills her captors for revenge for the murder of her child, which is contrasts Rowlandson's subconscious disregard of children after her daughter's untimely death.

When Mather starts describing the murder scene, he demonizes the Indians yet applies similar language to Duston herself. This scene blurs the lines between monsters and displays

Mather's ambivalent and inconsistent use of Duston's story. Her demonic motherliness is fully realized in her escape. As I describe earlier, Duston and her captives were heading north with their enemies. One night, they conspired to escape by murdering their captors, and Mather describes the details of their escape. Mather narrates, "[T]hey all furnishing themselves with *Hatchets* for the purpose, they struck such Home Blowes, upon the Heads of their *Sleeping Oppressors*, that e're they could any of them struggle into any effectual Resistance, at the Feet of those poor Prisoners" (46). Duston and the others appear to reenact the assault on her town that started the narrative. The sleeping family in this inversion represents the innocent English family. By attacking the sleeping family unawares, Duston and company take on aspects of the marauding monsters that destroyed the English homes. However, their aspect becomes more menacing than her original capture. Duston and her family were conscious when the Abenakis attacked, but this family lies completely vulnerable to Duston's coup. In order to escape captivity, Duston amplifies her resistance and takes it to deadly extremes. She has to become more "savage" than her captors. Using their captors' weapons displays potential for brutality and likens them to the enemy culture that seems sympathetic in light of Duston's murder. Eerily one woman and one child get away, reflecting the escaping Duston and her dead child. Duston intends to take a captive, similar to her captors, further mixing the images of the English party and captivating Indians together. In this passage, it is unclear who is the monster. That Duston not only killed but planned the murder unsettles Mather and his message. Separation from the community should test Duston's reliance on God and the greater English patriarchy. Yet, she devises a murderous scheme encourages others to help her, and kills the majority of a family. Duston's disruptive force shows the excess of female agency if left unchecked. Ending the captivity narrative, Mather claims, "But cutting of the Scalps of *Ten Wretches*, who had Enslav'd

'em they are come off; and I perceive, that newly arriving among us, they are in the Assembly at this Time, to give Thanks unto, *God their Saviour*" (47). Mather presents another vague pairing of narrative account and ministerial interpretation. Pauline Turner Strong points out that Mather criticized the "Indianization" of frontier English men and women, but he overlooks this point since the English adopting the practice of scalping from the Native Americans (127). Though Mather overlooks this "Indianized" murder, the text suggests that he tries to displace Duston's aggression and monstrosity. Scalping their captors certainly allows them to escape captivity, but the phrase "they are come off" evokes the removal of the scalps, the escape of the captives, and the separation of lawful order. They have violated the law of both man and God, which calls for correction. This excessive gesture establishes boundaries between the returned Duston and the community; they have crossed the line into savage territory and behavior. Similar to Rowlandson, the captives bring back pieces of the enemy culture with them. Duston, more clearly than Rowlandson, becomes "Indianized" through captivity. Rowlandson, however, expressly rejects her captors' culture and tries to fortify her faith. On the other hand, Duston is not allowed to speak on her own behalf. Mather seems conflicted in his account. That which makes Duston foreign is the reason for praising her. Herein lies the major contradiction: for English civilization and other to be maintained, it must be violated. Duston, as the monstrous mother, grants license to unconventional violence and behavior. For Duston to return to civilization, she must take on the most dreadful aspects of the monstrous other and terminate the institution a mother is intended to preserve: the family. Sitting among the congregation presents Mather an opportunity to take them back into the Puritan order by underscoring their need for repentance. Mather follows his captivity of Duston with an "Improvement" that serves as a direct petition to Duston and her fellow escapees as well as an appropriate interpretation for his

backsliding congregation. Returning to his main point, Mather urges Duston and company to humble themselves before God unless they "Exceedingly *Abuse*" his "*Mercies*" (48). They have survived the physical challenge, but Mather shows that he is uncertain whether or not they are prepared for the spiritual challenge. Duston cannot be fit completely back into the Puritan order at this point because she has violated too many strictures upon Puritan civilization. She is not totally free of the "savage" taint of her captivity in her Gothic Travel. She may not have walked in their shoes, metaphorically speaking, but she held their weapons and used them as efficiently and cruelly as they would be by a monstrous enemy in the Puritan imagination. Mather emphasizes, "You are not now the Slaves of *Indians*, as you were a few Dayes ago; but if you continue *Unhumbled* in your Sins, you will be the Slaves of *Devils*; and Let me tell you, A Slavery to *Devils*, to be in *Their* Hands, is worse than to be in the Hands of *Indians*" (49). Strangely, Mather breaks the Indians and the Devils apart here while they have been rhetorically paired throughout the text. Addressing Duston and her company directly implies that they are captives to their sins, particularly the communal pride that necessitates the upcoming fast. Toulouse explains, "The language of dungeons and devils at the end of his fast sermon seems consciously to refer to that sermon in at once admonishing and threatening Dustan to 'self-humilate' in the manner Mather describes or, like her murderous sister, to suffer the punishment of dungenons and tormenting devils" (89-90). As Mather tries to distinguish between Indians and Devils, he perceives the monster within his congregation reflecting back at him.

Conclusion

As Rowlandson and Duston's text lay out central Gothic concerns with mobility and travel, they primarily present female struggles with captivity, monstrosity, and sympathy.

Rowlandson tries to free herself of the gradual influence of her captivity by, in part, demonizing her captors. This contact, however, alters her, too, in ways that a Gothic reading draws out. Rowlandson, in her desperate situation, rhetorically fits herself back into the clean narrative of Puritan living by downplaying her selfishness and monstrosity. Traveling moved her, though, through a living hell that leaves her touched by the devils that she inhabited the wilderness with. At the end, Rowlandson seizes this opportunity to reintegrate herself into the community.

This seems to work for Rowlandson, unlike the restoration of Hannah Duston. Cotton Mather, no stranger to controversy and sensation, stumbles through this artless rendition of her brutal deeds to meet the rhetorical demands of his sermon. Mather uses Duston to lead as an example when her behavior is nothing less than unholy contradiction. Coding her choices as noble and loyal to the Puritan way does not quite work when she's acting like the Puritan's nightmarish vision of a demonic Indian. Duston travels away from the Puritan fold and brings back to them the truth that their own brutality is unjustly due.

Together, the captivity narratives establish a recurring fear of sympathy with the enemy, some might say the "Other," but in either case, they are rendered into demons and monsters. Yet, the Gothic Travel takes the heroines on slightly different journeys, but both return as horrid symbols of the horrors within their own communities.

These ideas shift for male characters, who have an active and mobile presence in the Gothic. For my next chapter, I consider *Charlotte Temple* and "Panther Captivity" as predecessors of the traditionally American Gothic fiction[73] in order to investigate the horrors of

[73] Traditionally, literary critics pinpoint the beginning of the American Gothic with Charles Brockden Brown, particularly with the publication of *Wieland; or, The Transformation* in 1798. From there, the American Gothic contains canonical authors like Nathaniel Hawthorne and Edgar Allan Poe. My study examines conceptual trends that contributed to the canon of American Gothic fiction and broadens the outlook and application of the term Gothic beyond generic confines. For more on the American Gothic literary tradition, see Ringe (1982) and Lloyd-Smith (2004).

Gothic captivity, displacement, travel, and monstrosity. Moreover, I, like Jill E. Anderson, see Charlotte Temple as a captive experiencing the fear of losing control among strange people and would extend that point of view to the Lady in "Panther" (430). Similar to my discussion in chapter one, I examine how *Temple* and "Panther" view a desperate lack of emotional connection between people as a central fear of the captivity narrative and American Gothic. Lack of empathy reveals monstrosity not only in the captors but in the captive as well. *Temple* and "Panther," moreover, include the reader in the assessment of American emotion and fear. The texts let readers transport themselves into the heroines' position and give them emotional release. As much as Rowson in *Temple* endeavors to instruct the audience in proper conduct and sentiment, much of the novel depicts Charlotte's suffering and her seducers' disregard and plays upon fears of an "unfeeling world," the American world. Similarly in "Panther," the audience—both the readers and the two men who found her in the narrative—takes in the Lady's tragic tale with rapt attention. The texts curiously set readers outside of the heroines' suffering granting pleasure in watching Charlotte's pain.[74] Watching Charlotte stumble through poor decisions and fall into shame and madness and the Lady defy her father only to lose her lover and several years alone in the woods evokes feelings of pleasure and pain in the reader. If this is the case, then are readers also paradoxically feeling by not feeling for Charlotte or the Lady? Rather, readers are not entirely transporting themselves to Charlotte or the Lady's position but also enter in the perspective of the villains. Rowson insists that *Temple* is "not the effusion of Fancy, but as a reality" and one that reveals the horrifying truth that Temple's suffering entertains readers (*Temple* xlix). "Panther" passes itself as a tale of truth as well. As much as Rowson and Panther

[74] The texts curiously set readers outside of the heroines' suffering granting as Marianne Noble describes pleasure in watching Charlotte's pain "not only the patriarchal culture oppressively eroticizes violence but that patriarchally determined desires are real desires" (8). Janet Todd adds, "devastatingly connected female sentimental attitudes with male sexual desire…Sade insisted, far from inspiring male benevolence and care, [sentimental fiction] actually provoked 'sadistic' violence and sexual violation" (138). Ann Douglass asserts that "the pain *is* the story" (xxxiii).

endeavor to transport readers into Charlotte and the Lady's turmoil, *Temple* and "Panther" join the captivity narrative and American Gothic by depicting Charlotte and the Lady's travel as horrific reality and representing ordinary people as unfeeling monsters, much like Rowlandson and Duston.

Chapter 2: Gothic Transport in Susanna Rowson's *Charlotte Temple* and Abraham Panther's "Panther Captivity"

"Are you for a walk…are you for a walk?" Belcour asks Montraville, beginning Susanna Rowson's *Charlotte Temple* with an itinerant movement (*Temple* 3). The characters rarely ever stay put in *Temple*. Like the mobile history of the novel itself—first published in Britain in 1791 then in the United States in 1794, becoming an American bestseller—Belcour and Montraville are always moving from one place and one feeling to the next, underscoring the flux of location and emotion that permeates the novel. The men, especially, can move as they choose across land and through people. Starting with a walk marks the shifting and unstable feelings and locations explored in the rest of the book. Before leaving the country, Montraville, a dashing British lieutenant, and Belcour, a "brother officer," are on a mission to find and flirt with women (*Temple* 3). These flirtations and movements appear harmless, yet when paired with another, albeit unusual text, there is an eerie and startling similarity in the presentation of mobile men and their conception and treatment of women.

Written by the pseudonymous Abraham Panther, the much-reprinted[75] "Panther Captivity" (1789) likewise begins with men moving, though in this case they unexpectedly happen upon a woman. These two men at the beginning of "Panther" walk through the woods and find her, the Lady, living all alone with her dog. Their encounter compels her to share details of how she arrived there and puts her suffering on display. Both *Temple* and "Panther," stories of female suffering, may move and shock readers, yet there's a troubling lack of emotion from the men in both texts who are, whether literally or figuratively, moving. Movement is pleasurable for the male characters, and the women are part of the scenery. Looking at women—rather than

[75] Published first in 1787, "The Panther Captivity" was a popular text reprinted sixteen times from 1790 to 1814, (Slotkin 256).

engaging with them—motivates the male characters, underscoring their vaguely frightening emotional detachment from women whose suffering should be considerably moving but at closer inspection is not.

To venture through this comparison and grasp the horror of emotional distance, I apply an arguably uncommon perspective in viewing the two texts as Gothic. Examining the main male characters as Gothic villains[76] reveals dark undercurrents to their amorous and investigatory efforts. Through probing the Gothic aspects of these two seemingly divergent texts, I argue that *Charlotte Temple* and "Panther Captivity" reveal fears and anxieties about sympathy and women's agency (or lack thereof) embedded in the mobility of men. This mobility, annexed as it is to these limitations of sympathy, create the male monstrosity of the texts. Through this analysis of *Temple* and "Panther," I investigate how representations of emotional and literal transport contribute to the Gothic as an anti-sentimental discourse that hinges on fears of human connection, a *lack* of sympathy and sentiment. Altogether, Gothic transports illustrate the failure of sentimental fiction and the breakdown of human connection and sympathy. As much as the female characters cross over actual borders and transgress rules, they remain caught within the borders of the male characters and their Gothic transport.

Although *Charlotte Temple* and "Panther Captivity" are not traditionally considered Gothic tales, they contain Gothic[77] scenes and descriptions that expose the cultural fears and

[76] Leslie Fiedler argues that the trope of the male seducer is a flat character and "the masturbatory fantasy figure of bourgeois ladies," but in the Gothic "he leads a somewhat more complex life" (69). Though *Temple* is not a traditional Gothic novel, I read Belcour and Montraville as Gothic villains who embody Fiedler's claim of complexity. As much as Fiedler criticizes Rowson's characterization and writing style, the two villains have rich motivations if viewed as fearsome and complicated Gothic villains.

[77] Debate continues over defining the Gothic. For my purpose, I define the Gothic as a literary mode that uses depictions of sexuality, violence, and the supernatural to entertain readers and expose them to social problems. Distinguishing the Gothic as a mode rather than a genre allows for comparative analyses beyond the constraints of strict national literatures or temporal periodizations. Regarding the "Gothicness" of *Temple* and "Panther," I have yet to find a Gothic reading of *Temple*. However, Charles L. Crow includes "Panther" in his anthology, *American Gothic* (2nd edition, 2012). Simply, "Panther" can be seen as *more* Gothic than *Temple*. For further discussion of

attitudes that might be passed over. As Charlotte and the Lady escape confinement in a bid for personal freedom, each character remains surrounded by men who would see them captive and hurt no matter where they go. Examining the patterns of masculine behavior in both texts shows the male characters' deep lack of sympathy for the female heroines. The Gothic horrors of each text transport the female protagonists, Charlotte and the Lady respectively, to frightening landscapes, and they cannot move the hearts of men nor escape the masculine authority that pursues them.

The word *transport* has several potential meanings and is nuanced with motion and emotion. Generally, transport means to move from one place to another or to move across a space. However, transport also means to move with strong emotions or enrapture, typically when imaging an action or fantasy about a future sentimental movement or feeling. Transport can also refer to moving a prisoner—or a captive—from one place to another. Together, these definitions enter into sentimental discourse as characters and readers are transported through different perspectives and emotions in order to sympathize with characters on the page. That they do not connect emotionally despite laborious efforts to display and produce sympathy in the text introduces an element to these works that I see as inviting in a Gothic reading.

The Gothic borrows the same fixation on transport—travel and emotional movement—from its sentimental literary cousin but alters its objective. Travel largely fills in for turbulent change as characters move from one space to another. In the Gothic, I argue that travel simultaneously connotes frightful changes, internal and external, of the characters, as well as stresses the lack of emotional exchange between them. The plots and messages evoke inward experience through outward motion. The sentimental novel often instructs on proper emotional

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Gothic, see Punter (1980), Ringer (1982), Botting (1995), Kilgour (1995), Goddu (1997), Ellis (2000), Lloyd-Smith (2004), and Crow (2009).

responses, whereas the Gothic might do that but often initiates feelings of fear and dread.[78] Although the sentimental tends to teach moral lessons about conduct and feeling, the Gothic tends to subvert that endeavor, showing the inability to transport oneself into the emotional perspective of another. *Temple* and "Panther" violate the instruction of sympathy of sentimentalism by introducing Gothic transport, and this has ramifications for the male characters, rendering them monstrous through failure of sympathy, and for female characters, augmenting their entrapment.

Men in *Temple* and "Panther" lack emotional transport though they are able to transport, literally take and move, women. Passion may flare, but sympathy between the pursuing men and the virtuous heroines rarely happens. If it does, the male character is wounded, or even killed, rendering him, in effect, weak and unmanly. Thus, these rare cases of emotional transport shock audiences but, negatively cast, does little to instruct and elevate sentimentality. I see through this reasoning the Gothic as a way of accusing sentimental discourse of failure to cross over emotional boundaries by representing travel and travelers—particularly male ones—as dangerous and frightening. The male characters base their masculinity on capturing women, as they wrestle with each other to obtain women for their own ends. Gothic masculinity rests upon men stabilizing their identities through capturing and harming women and committing acts of violence. The male characters, most often white and middle- or upper- class, attempt to sustain personal wholeness in view of the frightening contact with women and nonwhite people. Without women, the men are emasculated. Ellen Brinks explains that the relationship in the Gothic between "dispossession as effeminization" comes across in "the very metaphor of property" (15).

[78] Gothic texts from the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries share features of sentimental literature. Janet Todd explains that the Gothic takes generic tropes from sentimental fiction but "goes far towards sensationalizing and often sexualizing these elements, while it retreats from the didactic aim of sentimental literature" (9). In this case, the sentimental stands out from the sentimental features. In this article, I flip the perspective by identifying Gothic features in putatively sentimental texts.

In Rowson and Panther's texts, taking possession of a female body empowers the male characters, affirming their masculinity. Losing authority over women means losing masculine power in this situation, but the horror of this struggle comes from the deep lack of emotional connection with women used and put on display by many of the men in these texts. Male sympathy does not come from suffering women, but rather connecting and competing with other men[79] to obtain these women. In the Gothic, the male characters are almost always doubled with similarly unsympathetic males, stressing that the sympathy shared by men "places characters in a state of intimacy" (Daffron 14). That the female voice affects little change in the cold-hearted and narrow-minded men (who are paired together in this both cases, both texts) produces the horror of Gothic transport. The Gothic horror comes from the point that while their mobility is "always circumscribed by the institutions of patriarchy," those male characters benefit from the women's displacement (Ryals 87). Unfeeling and unsympathetic men perpetually surround Charlotte and the Lady. The male characters assemble their identities and make them coherent through the suffering of these female characters, and building that wholeness "means becoming horrific, nonhuman" (Hendershot 3) in a word, monstrous.

In both texts, the heroines face off against different types of monsters,[80] both often transforming as they move. In *Temple*, the monsters are not horrid, supernatural, or grotesque creatures of the night but rather unfeeling human beings with cold hearts and malicious intent. Michael Zuckerman explains, "[Belcour and La Rue's] avidity for success makes them moral monsters, and their monstrousness is exactly in their individualism and their adoration of 'self, darling, self'" (72). Charlotte falls to "those monsters of seduction" (*Temple* 26), and the Lady

[79] See Sedgwick (1985) for further discussion of masculinity and male desire.
[80] Monsters manifest in Gothic literature in many forms. In this case, I interpret "monster" as a metaphorical criticism of the person's moral character. See Carroll (1990), Halberstam (1995) and Cohen (1996) for further discussion of the uses of the term monster.

flees from the monsters that try to seize her body, an action that leads to the demise of the man who truly seduced her heart. As Gideon Mailer and Karen Collis explain, "'sympathy' with the plight of Rowson's seduced protagonists was to arise from an overwhelming perception of the reader's own *inability* to share in their perceptual lives" (216). As *Temple* and "Panther" instruct readers in emotional reactions, it reveals the falsity of this emotional exchange between reader and characters. This emotional distance is stressed by the Gothic transport, travel, whether physical or psychic, detailed in the language of fear. Moreover, that fear resonates from the contrast between how male and female characters navigate emotional and geographic spaces.

What my argument contributes to an already robust scholarship on *Temple* and "Panther" respectively is an analysis and interpretation that underscores the emotional and voyeuristic horrors overlooked by conventionally reading the two texts as separate. Through using the Gothic as a modal lens to view these texts, *Temple* and "Panther," which tend to be categorized as sentimental generic hybrids, reveal a startling and frightening dearth of emotional movement between the characters (and perhaps the readers) within these texts whose primary function is to do just that—move. But, as much as the texts appear to condemn apathy and cruelty, the texts sanctify the movement of the monstrous men.

Masculine Mobility: *Temple*

Rowson's novel opens with two men considering venturing out, marking a trend in the narrative that changes from ordinary hypotheticals to concrete, destructive actions. That day Belcour asks Montraville to go on the walk, the two men decide to "take a survey of the Chichester ladies" after they get out of church (3). The odd juxtaposition between churchgoing and women-watching suggests their louche morals. As they move about, Montraville sees a "tall

elegant girl…[who]…blushed" and recalls Charlotte Temple (3). Here, Rowson carefully wraps Montraville's desire for one woman with the observation of another woman's body. Coveting what he sees becomes common for Montraville. He interprets the blush as a sign to make a move on her, yet the innocent blush[81] may indicate *her* desire for him, a perspective lost on Montraville (Garden 49). The young girl's blush foreshadows Rowson's warning for Charlotte: "the poor girl who gazes on [a young soldier]: she is in imminent danger" (*Temple* 25). Montraville's memories of Charlotte turn into romantic fantasies with strange descriptions. Staring at the girl who just passed by him, Montraville admits that her outward appearance "has contrived to make [him] feel devilish odd about the heart" (*Temple* 4). He feels strangely attracted to the young girl who caught his eye, yet the language reveals more about his emotional state, mixed together with agitation and desire in this "devilish" feeling. Montraville cannot quite explain his attraction to the young passerby and continues to use fantastical and nearly demonic language to describes these feelings. He admits, "[I] am determined to make the most of the present, and would willingly compound with any kind Familiar who would inform me who that girl is, and how I might be likely to obtain an interview" (*Temple* 4). The allusion to a Faustian bargain just to speak with a pretty woman who walked by shows Montraville's contradictory caprice and emotional intensity. Montraville admits that he is shortsighted and desirous, with the nearly supernatural passion and willingness to traffic with spirits to learn more about the passing girl. This extreme position shows youthful recklessness without much concern for the future state of the soul—what else would a "Familiar," however kind, want from a mortal? Montraville and Belcour's traveling around town establishes the power of men to assess women, and Montraville's offhand comments about the devil and the familiar—dark supernatural creatures—establish his disregard and hypocritical behavior.

[81] See O'Farrell (1997) for more on the literary depictions of the blush.

Montraville fixates on pursuing women rather than committing to them, foreshadowing Charlotte's unfortunate shame and showing his lack of sympathy. In particular, he begins to obsess over gaining the attention of Charlotte. Given his limited self-reflection and great desire, Montraville does not recognize the thoughtless nature of his affection for Charlotte. "Arriving at the edge of town," Montraville pines for Charlotte who resides inside the preparatory school designed to educate her and keep her safe from men like him (*Temple* 4). That Charlotte's school sits on the edge of town suggests a peculiar border between the safety of the school and the danger, however harmless, of city life. That border represents security from the outside world where men like Montraville await innocent women like Charlotte to venture forth. Montraville waits on the edge but always just outside of understanding the ramifications of poor decisions.

In this space, Montraville also has an odd reflection, a pain of consciousness that darkens the romantic fantasy of Charlotte. Montraville admits, "'Tis a romantic attempt [to pursue Charlotte]…and should I succeed in seeing and conversing with her, it can be productive of no good: I must of necessity leave England in a few days, and probably may never return; why then should I endeavour to engage the affections of this lovely girl, only to leave her prey to a thousand inquietudes, of which at present she has no idea?" (*Temple* 4-5). Montraville stops at a moral crossroads, a dilemma Rowson often poses for her characters. He recognizes that foolish infatuation will damage Charlotte. Leaving for America to fight the war further jeopardizes Charlotte's future if she were to fall in love with him. He may, in fact, get killed in battle. Although these points seem like mature considerations, Montraville does not turn that reflective judgment on himself and see that he's a type of predator, waiting outside Charlotte's home for "prey." Montraville deludes himself into believing that pursuing Charlotte is a romantic quest.

Methodically though instinctually, Montraville preys on Charlotte, often violating rules of courtship and decorum.

The narrator continues to introduce crossroads and borders into the scene. She[82] blends the romantic and the threatening by shifting from day to night when "the chaste Queen of Night with her silver crescent faintly illuminated the hemisphere" while Montraville waits to meet Charlotte (*Temple* 5). Switching the supernatural influences from the earlier scene, the Familiar of Montraville's desires contrasts with a spirit of virtue. However, with the night comes protection against prying eyes and restraint. The dark part of Montraville has license and ignores the chaste and feminine warning that comes with the "Queen of Night" to "think on [Charlotte] no more" (*Temple* 5). To that end comes opportunity to seek Charlotte since she and her teacher Mademoiselle La Rue cross the border of the school into the field where Montraville waits for them. He bribes La Rue to give Charlotte a letter of his love and devotion and bring Charlotte outside again tomorrow night (*Temple* 5). These images of border-crossing and nightfall provide Montraville a space and time for transgressive behavior without immediate repercussions.

Masculine Mobility: "Panther"

Like *Charlotte Temple*, "Panther Captivity" opens with two men traveling across borders. The actual shape of the narrative surrounds the Lady's account, figuratively providing the pretext and post-text in a male's voice that assures readers of the woman's character and credibility. Even the narrator addresses "Sir" at the very beginning, stressing the masculine imagined audience of this short story ("Panther" 86). In *Temple*, however, the two men are near urban spaces, and in "Panther," the two men are in the woods on the hunt. This contrast emphasizes

[82] I use feminine pronouns to refer to the narrator's voice without conflating that voice with Rowson's own. For discussion of narrative voice and intrusion in *Temple*, see Barton (2000).

that masculine border crossing and authority in the texts are flexible. Both texts set up the point of view of male power. The men of the novel—Montraville and Belcour—and of the short story—Panther and Camber—are on the hunt from the very beginning. As in *Charlotte Temple*, the men of "Panther" also cross borders to control and obtain a woman, the Lady in this case. However, the Lady also crosses borders by defying rules of decorum, running off into the wild, and brutally killing a living being. Virtually, she does the same things that the male characters do but attempts to obtain control over herself. The male characters try to control the Lady, and although she mostly conforms to their standards of femininity, she experiences terrible suffering at the cost of masculine authority. Pairing *Temple* and "Panther" together reveals fears of masculine mobility that allows them to transport themselves and transgress in urban and wild spaces.

Encountering the Lady in the woods challenges Panther's authority over the wild and his own conception of proper feminine behavior. That she is only known as the "LADY" ranks her in society and implies that she retains her culture and manners in the wild ("Panther" 86). It seems odd that a Lady of respect resides in the deep American forest by herself aside from a dog. In this manner, events have transported her to a liminal and space. She should not be alone in the woods unprotected, left to her own devices without men. As soon as the men approach, the Lady also swoons appropriately. Fainting here suggests her surprise at seeing visitors and also introduces fear of masculine invasion. The Lady literally collapses as ideas of proper behavior and place for a woman collide in the wilderness. Men move into her space and evoke the Gothic horror that transports the Lady back to her emotional suffering. The men have trespassed—penetrated—her land without her consent. They have crossed another border without permission.

Panther and Camber assume control of the situation without transporting themselves into the Lady's point of view. Despite the sudden and frightening encounter with Panther and Camber, the Lady maintains a decidedly feminine demeanor throughout the text and resumes almost immediately her role as what Annette Kolodny terms a "gracious hostess" (165). As much as Panther portrays the woman as familiarly feminine, time in the wilderness has drastically changed her.[83] The border between the city and wilderness cannot be completely resolved by her conduct and good graces. It takes the presence of Panther and Camber to revive the Lady's graciousness. With that, the Lady must reintroduce herself into a framework expected and endorsed by the men. To demonstrate that time in the wild has not infected her, she must start moving back across the border of sanctioned female behavior and civilized space. She awakens from fainting asking, "Heavens! Where am I? and who, and from whence are you?" ("Panther" 87). Questions that ground her identity are transferred to Panther and Camber.

She recounts several instances of being captured and then escaping from masculine control, suggesting overarching hopes to depart from patriarchal authority. Traditional captivity narratives recount a single episode of being held captive, but the Lady repeatedly escapes masculine captors with varying designs on her identity and person. She is not just held captive by Indians described in the middle of her story, but she's a captive from beginning to end. To avoid the oppression, she tries to leave the system behind completely. The Lady falls for the wrong man. The clerk, though a "gentleman of education," does not qualify as a suitable lover according to her father because he lacks the means to support her financially and maintain the

[83] This Gothic preoccupation appears in physical borders and the American wilderness as spaces of fear and also in "between conscious and unconscious, 'experience and illusion'—psychic frontiers on the edge of territories both enticing and terrifying" (Kerr, Crowley, and Crow 2). The American Gothic resides in those liminal spaces between civilization and wilderness as well as reality and dream. Many of these stories come from "[t]he gothic wilderness…a profoundly American symbol of an ambiguous relationship to the land, of an alienation" (Moegan, Sanders, and Karpinksi 20). For discussion of the wilderness in *Charlotte Temple* and "Panther Captivity," see Anderson (2009).

high-class dignity expected from her father ("Panther" 87). This clerk moves the Lady emotionally, though. Their love motivates her to leave with her supposedly unfit suitor, but this action moves her father to send his hirelings in pursuit, forcing her to move away from safety and security. Her father directs appropriate social and marital action for his daughter to gain wealth and secure inheritance. In short, the father acts similar to a traditional Gothic villain,[84] a man of station and wealth who abuses women in order to maintain authority. His cold-hearted treatment justifies the Lady's escape in the ethos of the short story. Although her father represents sanctioned masculine order, the Lady wins hearts through her sincere expression of emotion. Her father cannot feel from her perspective, confining the Lady to her fixed feminine position. Realizing her father would disapprove of her suitor, the Lady converses in secret with the clerk in a garden.[85] That they meet in a garden is a subtle yet telling point. The garden is an artificial space where nature is rendered to meet the aesthetic desire and agricultural need of humans. There are private and public gardens, yet their garden is a secluded space that both reveals their intimacy and makes them vulnerable. Although the garden seems appropriately silent and concealed, it suggests that their tryst will be short-lived and uncultivated since they plan to uproot and leave. The garden presents false hope for their love. Overhearing their conversation one night, the Lady's father trespasses into the garden, the space reserved for the Lady's private life. Her father can violate this private world, again pointing to its artificiality. The fear evoked by his presence is that the Lady has no private space whatsoever. Her romantic life and intimate thoughts are space for her father to tread and cross as he likes.

[84] See Hendershot (1998) and Brinks (2003) for more on Gothic villainy and male characters.
[85] Gardens link both *Charlotte Temple* and "Panther Captivity." Regarding *Charlotte Temple*, Paul Barton explains, "Indeed both stories begin within the secure boundaries of a garden, both involve a plot motivated by deception and seduction, and in each story the guilty characters are expelled from a realm of happiness and prosperity and are left to fend for themselves" (28).

This exercise of power overextends parental authority and closes off potential for her genuine though unsanctioned love. Preventing the Lady's selection of her partner stops her ability to self-determine, compelling her to abandon her father's protection. In a change from traditional captivity narratives, "sentimental passion" replaces "religious passion" as motivation to escape oppression (Slotkin 257). That passion moves readers to sympathize with the Lady and her beau, but it also draws upon fears of sympathy missing from her father. Imposing his patriarchal authority on his daughter—because "father knows best"—shows his frightening emotional void. He drives his daughter away. Her father discards his daughter's emotions and acts on pretense of fatherly concern, showing a Gothic transport, failure to sympathize with her, which leads to his exploitation of her. Ultimately, what he does is unfeeling and monstrous. Disobedience to her father is justified by her feelings for the poor clerk, who is the emotional and financial opposite of her father. However, her actions will meet with heavy consequences.

The Lady and her suitor must flee civilization. However, it is her father's promise of violence upon them both that pushes her into the wilderness. With her vengeful father in the east and threatening Indians in the west, the Lady becomes trapped. Masculine forces that determine who she is and what she can do surround and enclose her. Even her father is responsible for afflictions that his daughter faces and endures. Running off to the wilderness with her illicit lover was a choice that cost her the protection of society. Once again the wilderness becomes that nebulous space that both liberates and confines women. She escapes captivity from oppressive patriarchal order at the cost of security. Unlike Montraville from *Temple*, the Lady cannot take and move her lover and herself as she wishes.

Monstrous Men: *Temple*

Rowson uses the language of travel to depict Charlotte's descent into infamy. She travels from the hands of one man to another, never free and always vulnerable to their whims. Rowson establishes the slippery slope of Charlotte's benign flirtation with Montraville as a subtle though damaging progress toward social disaster. Rowson establishes the slippery slope of Charlotte's benign flirtation with Montraville as subtle though damaging progress toward social disaster. Charlotte moves away from herself and into the perspective of Montraville's fantasy—an imagined trip across the ocean together. Charlotte attempts to resist the seduction of travel and Montraville's manipulative guilt trip to travel across the Atlantic with him. Charlotte attempts to resist the seduction of travel and Montraville's manipulative guilt trip. After Charlotte refuses to see him again, Montraville describes, "Oh say not so, my lovely girl: reflect, that when I leave my native land, perhaps a few short weeks may terminate my existence; the perils of the ocean—the dangers of war—" (*Temple* 37). Montraville takes advantage of Charlotte's sympathetic heart by listing extreme examples of threat and death that await him on his voyage to the new world. Simultaneously, Charlotte transports herself to Montraville's emotional perspective—she empathizes with him, which leads her physically and emotionally one step closer to her downfall. This language of travel makes the sentimental endeavor to build empathy turn on its head. By opening their hearts, they are vulnerable to Gothic transports—the trips into emotional experiences that threaten and feed from emotional pain and exploitation. Both movements from virginal rectitude to scandal and from England to America are frightening changes in place and position. Changes to her moral character transport her into a figurative prison.

As Charlotte loses health while crossing to America, the men gain power over her as they travel on a seemingly vampiric voyage that transforms Charlotte into an object of desire

vulnerable to the unsympathetic designs of monstrous men. This trip makes her unwell, signifying her vulnerability and, oddly enough, increasing her desirability. Charlotte seems seasick due to her "naturally delicate, the fatigue and sickness which she endured rendered her so weak as to be almost entirely confined to her bed" where Montraville's attention and "hope of hearing from her friends" alleviated her suffering (*Temple* 62). This scene anticipates Charlotte's pregnancy, confining her to a bed though without Montraville's tender attention. Furthermore, those hopes of hearing from friends and kin were false since Montraville threw away her letters (*Temple* 57-58). Montraville cuts off her communication to the outside world by modulating her voice and correspondence. Montraville also seems like an earnest lover, unlike his behavior later in the narrative when Charlotte truly needs love and support. However, he captures Charlotte's voice and body. Though others suggest that her illness is indicative of her sexuality, it signifies the transformation into a fallen woman that makes her simultaneously desirable and repellent. As Anne Baker notes, the tempestuous voyage reflects obfuscated motives and roles in Charlotte's life (208). The dizzying romance and trip compound to make her sick and vulnerable and display Montraville's monstrous selfishness.

On the sea and in America, Charlotte becomes sick in mind and body. This sickliness diminishes her value to Montraville. Although Montraville draws her across the Atlantic into a precarious world, it's Charlotte's relationship with Belcour that underscores the horrors of Gothic transport, especially after Montraville decides to hand her off to Belcour.

The "imagined" voyage has suddenly become a real one. Charlotte's sickly appearance during her voyage[86] to America attracts Belcour's attention. After growing "disgusted with the art and dissimulation of [La Rue]," Belcour begins to shift focus toward Charlotte, finding her now attractive (*Temple* 62). Belcour feels passion for Charlotte though he seems drawn to her

[86] See Baker (2011) for discussion of Charlotte's voyage.

vulnerability. As much as he appreciates Charlotte's "sensible, well informed, but diffident and unassuming" character, Belcour found "[the] languor which the fatigue of her body and perturbation of her mind spread over her delicate features, served only in his opinion to render her more lovely" (*Temple* 62). Her pallid and sickly appearance contrasts with La Rue's active and dark beauty (*Temple* 60, 62). An ill woman seems far from attractive. However, as Rebecca Garden explains, Charlotte's fainting[87] and passivity are codes for female sexuality and openness (54). In a culture that represses female sexuality, Charlotte can only express her desire through passive action. Belcour is drawn to sickly Charlotte because she is accessible. Yet, in this description, there's an eerie undercurrent. Charlotte, though active and alive, seems like a recently deceased body. She's a corpse, completely vulnerable and open to Belcour's advances. Belcour's strange desire for Charlotte as well as the transformative voyage indicate a Gothic transport—Charlotte travels toward her social death from the selfish feelings of the men in her life.

Belcour is the main emotional monster of *Temple*. Although fully aware of Charlotte's suffering, he aggravates her pain for his own design, moving forward at her expense. A villain of art and seduction, Belcour manipulates emotions for selfish reasons. Belcour uses feelings to move Charlotte and Montraville to his whims. Similar to Lewis who designed to obtain Charlotte's mother,[88] Belcour has "a genteel fortune" that gives him liberty to be "dissipated,

[87] Generally, Charlotte's fainting aligns with late-eighteenth- and nineteenth-century damsels in distress—they faint when overwhelmed with emotion. Eileen Razzari Elrod notes, "Charlotte Temple, whose sexual virtue was expressed in innocence and fatal passivity, as she was not only duped by the cad in the snappy uniform, but also victimized by her own weakness and romantic desire" (169). However, Maureen Tuthill reads this scene through the medical perspective of fainting at the time and notes that Charlotte falls unconscious due to the overwhelming burden of her conscious decision to violate her parent's wishes and social convention (76). Charlotte cannot properly evaluate her enormous decision and lacks mental clarity to pierce through the ruses of La Rue and Montraville, however earnest their intentions.

[88] In chapters II through V, *Charlotte Temple* deviates from her story to tell how her parents met. Charlotte Temple's mother becomes the object of desire of Lewis, a rich and salacious man to whom her father and brother owe a debt. Lewis will waive the debt if they allow him to make Lucy a kept woman. They refuse, plunging the family into

thoughtless, and capricious" and ultimately he values, "Self, darling self, […] the idol he worked, and to that he would have sacrificed the interest and happiness of all mankind" (*Temple* 36). His utter lack of sympathy, except when feigned to get what he wants and a fleeting moment that I analyze later on, illustrates an alien nature. Money gives him station to exercise that selfishness over others, but his moral abandon and cold emotions show him as an unfeeling monster because he cannot transport into—sympathize and empathize with—the emotions of others.

Belcour's monstrous power lies not with his money alone but with his ability to control and disrupt communication. Belcour is a mobile, masculine monster who violates contained social norms. Those abilities to move and lie allow him to travel and distort other's emotions. Blythe Forcey thoroughly analyzes Belcour's name which means "'elegant/fashionable/handsome seducer,'" but looking at one piece reveals that "*cour* is a word rich in meanings, including…runner, messenger, or letter carrier" (238). Forcey's definition underscores the ability of Belcour to carry messages and manipulate others through the corruption of information and ideas. His name exemplifies that the connection between seduction and information lies in transport, being able to move things from one place to another. Belcour plays with the emotions of others through manipulating the conveyance and interpretation of information. The earnest sentimental novel works on sincerity. *Charlotte Temple* is a tale of truth about the lies of hardhearted monsters. Belcour has few sincere interactions with characters in the novel. He feels no burden to share the truth. Belcour gains power over others because he's rootless and monstrous.

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poverty. Mr. Temple, Charlotte's father, falls in the love with Lucy and rescues her. Lewis's villainy foreshadows Belcour's treatment of Charlotte, though her ending is more tragic than her mother's.

Belcour uses Montraville's emotional distress to take control of Charlotte and her life. Belcour calculates how he can obtain Charlotte through misinformation. Obscuring the truth pleases Belcour and gives him the upper hand in pursuit of Charlotte. He seems to be an agent of destruction, conveying words and deeds to devastate Charlotte's reputation and Montraville's good sense. Belcour is drawn to Charlotte because of her earnest feelings and honesty, though he has little desire for "female passivity except to destroy it" (Douglass xxv). After Montraville falls in love with Julia Franklin[89] in America, he condemns Montraville's anxiety over abandoning Charlotte: "Dear Montraville, act more like a man of sense; this whining, pining Charlotte, who occasions you so much uneasiness, would have eloped with somebody else if she had not with you" (*Temple* 88). Belcour reshapes Montraville's compassion as sentimental nonsense. Calling Montraville "my good sentimental friend," Belcour condemns Montraville's guilt, his ability to place himself—transport himself—emotionally into Charlotte's position (*Temple* 88). Yet, Belcour provides Montraville with an easy scapegoat, rationalizing away his abandonment of Charlotte. Belcour demonstrates monstrous disregard by twisting information to gain control over emotions of sincerely feeling characters.

Belcour captures Charlotte by disconnecting her from the outside world and manipulating the truth of her fidelity. Through this, Belcour controls Charlotte's movement. After planting the seed of doubt in Montraville's mind, Belcour stages what looks like a night of sex with Charlotte. Montraville finds them asleep on Charlotte's bed together and shouts to Belcour, "Rise, villain, and defend yourself" (*Temple* 89). Montraville intends to fight Belcour, the true villain in this case, but redirects his anger toward Charlotte whom he cuts off emotionally, though he intends to support her and their unborn child financially. Despite Belcour's faithless

[89] After Montraville arrives in America with Charlotte, he becomes preoccupied with colonial social life and bored with Charlotte. He falls in love with Julia Franklin, who is ignorant of Charlotte's existence. That Montraville is attracted to a woman named Franklin, the daughter of a landowner, suggests the allure of new territory and stability.

conduct, Montraville entrusts Charlotte's money to him. That Montraville passes Charlotte to Belcour shows the utter disregard he has for her. Montraville is ready to *move on*, into the arms and the world of Julia Franklin; her last name generally means free landholder and, like Temple, is another place for Montraville to go and occupy. His minor sympathetic instinct toward Charlotte transforms, changing into self-serving justification for abandoning his pregnant former lover.

Montraville does not see or allow himself to recognize that Belcour is a rake. He is the worst person to guard Charlotte, but Montraville transports Charlotte to the Gothic villain so that he can move on. Entrusted to take care of Charlotte, Belcour interrupts conveyance of a letter and money to her: "Belcour promised to fulfill the request of his friend, though nothing was farther from his intentions, than the least design of delivering the letter, or making Charlotte acquainted with the provisions Montraville had made for her; he was bent by reducing her to an entire dependence on him, to bring her by degrees to consent to gratify his ungenerous passion" (*Temple* 100). Belcour's actions demonstrate that his villainy comes mainly from mobility and motion. He can move through lies and make lies move. However, Cathy Davidson suggests, "perhaps Montraville is the real villain in that his villainy is so sanctioned by his society that it can pass as virtue" (*Revolution* 217). Although he knows Belcour's reputation, Montraville buries any sympathetic impulse toward Charlotte into a seemingly generous plan that eases his forward momentum toward another woman. Passing her on is acceptable, and holding onto the fiction of her care makes him deluded. Belcour distorts the information and disconnects the emotional reconciliation between Charlotte and Montraville in order to gain control over Charlotte's sexual vulnerability. Her helplessness attracts him, turning bathetic conditions into sexually-charged, sadistic, sentimental desire. Her decline fascinates Belcour. Later, he pretends

to be Charlotte's friend and entices her to join him, but she launches into a sob story that surprisingly moves the rake: "Something like humanity was awakened in Belcour's breast by the pathetic speech; he arose and walked toward the window; but the selfish passion which had taken possession of his heart, soon stilled these finer emotions" (*Temple* 105). The speech literally moves him since he gets up to reflect on his feelings. That reflection by gazing out the window does not produce the emotional support that Charlotte desperately needs. Looking out the window further suggests Belcour's liberty to move. Rather than gazing within himself or at Charlotte, Belcour sees opportunity elsewhere, outside, putting the brakes on the brief sympathy that he felt for her. Within Belcour is only self-interest, a lesson of Gothic transport. Even Charlotte's most pathetic speech cannot transport his emotions into saving her.

Watching her suffer satisfies Belcour's sense of power. He is an emotional vampire, drawing energy and enjoyment from her life. As he tells her about Montraville's marriage and honeymoon to Julia Franklin, Charlotte assumes the look of a corpse in which "a death-like paleness overspread the countenance of Charlotte" (*Temple* 105). Moreover, the next morning, Belcour was disgusted by Charlotte's pale and feverish body: "The fits she had been seized with sickness, she was no longer an object of desire…her pale, emaciated appearance disgusted him" (*Temple* 106). Earlier, Belcour was drawn to Charlotte's fainting and pale skin because it showed her as sexually open and vulnerable. However, now Charlotte had lost all semblance of life and virtue, the traits that feed Belcour. The sick vulnerable maiden has turned into an abandoned mother. He had sucked her dry of her future and attachments to others. She recoiled from becoming his kept woman in New York (*Temple* 105), and he left her for another emotional victim. Belcour abandoned her to drain the life—figuratively speaking—of "the blooming health of a farmer's daughter" and left Charlotte "to sink unnoticed to the grave" (*Temple* 107). The

juxtaposition of the lively farmer's girl and sickly Charlotte affirm Belcour's vampiric quest of philandering, showing that he learns nothing of emotional transport but to manipulate emotions for his own satisfaction.

Monstrous Men: "Panther"

Similar to Charlotte Temple, the Lady faces off against monstrous, unfeeling men as she travels into the American wilderness. However, her Gothic transformation turns her into an efficient survivalist and killer, the near antithesis of the bedridden and sobbing Charlotte. Both extremes point to a monstrosity from mobile men who deny the emotions of women so rigidly trapped by their designs for power. Her father's ability to hire men and push the couple into the wild represents his unsympathetic heart and excessive reach. Separated from society and her father, the Lady confronts the Indians who inhabit the space she uses to become free. The repressive home of her father has been replaced by the unknown and indefinite landscape. She leaves behind one form of captivity for another among the Indians.

The Lady and her beau's tryst is punished by the intervention of enemy Indians, who take on demonic aspects that recur in Indian captivity narratives.[90] In this case, it is not the lack of the father's ability to protect his women that allows for capture but his lack of sympathy and care. As the Indians torture her lover, the Indian guarding the Lady leaves her, giving her a moment to escape. The Indian's oversight echoes back to her father's failure to watch and contain his daughter, though the horror of his success of separating the couple, although inadvertently, arises. Their "inhuman" treatment further emphasizes the monstrosity of her captors who revel in bloody torture. Their "cutting and mangling" show an excessive torture that stresses the clerk's

[90] For examples of women's Indian captivity narratives, see Rowlandson, *Sovereignty and Goodness of God* (1682) and Hannah Duston's narrative in Cotton Mather's sermon, *Humiliations Follow'd with Deliverances* (1697).

lack of strength and masculinity ("Panther" 88). The Indians put an end to the illicit tryst, reflecting the recurring interpretation of Indian violence as divine justice or, at the very least, a subtle cautionary message to listen to one's parents. In a strange reversal from *Temple*, the Lady escapes, in part, because she faints: "I was at a few rods distance during [the clerk's execution], and this scene had well neigh deprived me of life. I fainted away and lay some time motionless on the ground" ("Panther" 88). Watching the clerk's brutal execution shows the Indians' power that renders her nearly insensible. However, as Charlotte's faint dropped her into the arms of Montraville, the Lady faints on to the ground, and this grants her freedom.

The death of the sympathetic young man who earnestly loves the heroine allows for a new narrative of female agency and mobility to take place. Following her escape from the Indians, the Lady is subjected to a number of further trials playing upon the dangers faced by women on the frontier. Without supervision, she gets away and finds another—and worse—monster to captivate her. Although she is able to escape because no one is watching her carefully, she is beset by unknowable adversity: "Surrounded, as I supposed, on all sides by danger—I knew not what to do, without a guide to direct, or friend to protect me" ("Panther" 88). That lack of masculine authority around the Lady grants her the mobility necessary to fend off the monsters surrounding her in the wilderness. This gender reversal admits, however subtly, that female mobility could disempower patriarchal power. Travel through the wilderness will slowly masculinize the Lady. This allows her to face threats and survive alone, without men. But survival is quite different from invulnerability, and the Lady must use all her newfound powers to confront an overwhelming force of masculine power that combines the authority of her father, the brutality of the Indians, and the vulnerability of the clerk, her dead lover.

Alone in the wilderness without white male supervision, her next captivity introduces fear of racial transgression. The Lady is vulnerable to forces beyond imagination without the supervision of white men, but given that she now is without that authority, she gains power normally associated with masculinity. She is able to act and move as she hasn't before. After wandering for two weeks, the Lady meets "a man of gigantic figure' who accosted [her] in a language [she] did not understand" ("Panther" 88-89). Regarding the language, the voice of masculine authority presents another barrier for the Lady to cross. She discerns meaning though she doesn't understand exactly what he says. The masculine voice, in this case, does *not* matter. Readers interpret the giant's words and actions through the Lady, who gains the typically masculine ability to assert and speak with authority. Their lack of mutual language shows their disconnection, emotional and racial. Two later editions of "The Panther Captivity" would identify the giant as "Indian" and "Black" (Mackenthun 247). Although the giant's race is ambiguous, he shares the same goal as her white father: claiming her body for his own desire. The giant lacks sympathy for the Lady just as her father and her former captors had. Escaping the captivity of her father and the Indians leads her to a monstrous masculine being. He is physically large, incomprehensible, and seemingly overpowering. This giant is the most unbelievable portion of her narrative, but he reveals the truth of masculine monstrosity. His size and power appear to be illusions as the Lady learns to outwit him.

"Panther" works to keep people apart, stressing the fear of union without sympathy. The uncomfortable notion of the Lady and the giant's sexuality present another ordeal for the Lady to conquer for independence. After she escapes, she leaves behind two plausible situations—control by her father and capture by Indians—to find an exaggeration of male lust realized in this nebulously racialized figure. All three situations rely on the Lady's ability to yield to male

authority that views her as an object on which they base their power. Altogether, the giant represents fears of brutal sexuality. He is an overpowering and untranslatable being that seizes the Lady. Wealth and status of her white, male pursuers are transformed into his size and possessions. The giant is an overbearing figure that threatens the Lady's chastity. Striking down that symbolic patriarchal authority is the Lady's quest for freedom. The dark message of "Panther" is that the Lady cannot truly be free unless all the men are dead. Taking the Lady to his cave, the giant presents her with a choice: lie with him or die ("Panther" 89). Again, the Lady confronts an ultimatum from masculine authority that rests on exploiting her femininity and keeping her close. A captive of her father and a captive of the Indians, the Lady escapes continually. However, the giant's direct demand reveals the latent desire of the previous two captors, all wanting the Lady for her sex in one way or another. The Lady protects her good status by maintaining her chastity, even at the threat of death. Losing her virginity to another man, but one who is not white or not sanctioned by her father, would result in loss of her purity, the wholeness of her character, and the loss of her respectability. In this way, the Lady, even in the wild, conforms to the desire of her father. She can never quite escape the haunting demand of her father to control her life. That desire transforms into various figures of the narrative and travels with the Lady, an internalized drive and voice. Yet, the Lady has the ultimate decision. Furthermore, this resistance also places importance on consent. Her father ignores her wishes, the Indians disregard her love, and the giant demands her body. The Lady refuses to sleep with the giant even with her life at stake. The giant binds her to think about his offer overnight, but the Lady bites through her restraints and plans to kill the sleeping giant:

> As I considered this as the only opportunity I should have of freeing myself from him,—as I expected that he would use violence when he awakened, to make me partake of his

> bed, and as I knew I could not escape him by flight I did not long deliberate, but took up the hatchet he had brought, and summoning resolution I with three blows effectually put an end to his existence. I then cut off his head, and next day having cut him into quarters drew him out of the cave about half a mile distance, when after covering him with leaves and bushes I returned to this place. (89)

At this point, the Lady must act like a man to be free of a masculine monster. She depended on the clerk to escape her father, and she depended on her feminine fainting to escape the Indians. However, the giant is too big of a force to overcome through feminine grace. The Lady's violent agency seems justified in protecting her chastity. To protect her purity, the Lady takes up the hatchet, showing, like Hannah Duston, the ability to adapt to her fierce conditions.[91] The giant had provided food and shelter to the Lady, and his hospitality is returned with violence. She denies them kindred ties, cutting off the possibility of a sexual union with the giant. By killing the giant, she symbolically removes the masculine threat that surrounds her, for the time being. It is telling that she cuts off his head first, showing that the giant's thoughts and ability to see are no longer there. The giant cannot think about or look at the Lady, who has the eyes and mind denied her by her father and "civilized" life. She assumes masculine and feminine qualities from the trip away from civilization into the American wilderness where rules of proper behavior and masculine authority can change. Life in the wilderness among the monstrous has altered the Lady from helpless maiden into brutal killer. Dismembering the giant and removing him from the home asserts the Lady's power over the male body and domestic space. She has to further displace masculine authority by separating the giant's body. She demonstrates authority of the male body that she never would in the city or near her father. Inverting the trend of the exertion

[91] Hannah Duston and the Lady's stories overlap in the point that they prevent cultural merger; the gauntlet ritual initiation and sexual contact would "taint" their whiteness. Duston and the Lady's story allude to the biblical story of Judith who slew Holofernes after he granted her hospitality.

of masculine power of female bodies, the Lady prevents all threats to her chastity and exhibits the power of choice over her own body. That she kills the giant in his bed evokes fears of trust between men and women. Forcing the Lady to give herself up results in certain death. She can only remain purely herself without the presence of men. It is only through violence that the Lady is able to escape from the oppressive masculine forces that surround her. However, unlike the men, the Lady elicits sympathetic identification through traditionally coded acts of masculine behavior, mobility and violence. Through her plight, a Gothic transport takes place wherein sympathy comes from her saving agency that allows readers to overlook and enjoy brutal acts of violence. Sympathies do not rest with the butchered giant, but with the able woman who carves him apart. She remains in the wild where she can exercise free will. The Lady proves to be the hero of this Gothic adventure story.

Conclusion

Both *Temple* and "Panther" end in the demise of men. However, the stories remain contained by men, though defeated. Even in the conclusions, the men are able to encounter truth, to learn to be stoic, above all to be able to organize the stories of their experiences into a seeable whole; even Charlotte's death is a narrated event, reported not experienced. The ability to step back from emotion allows the men to once again seize control. Ultimately, Montraville learns the truth at Charlotte's funeral (*Temple* 129). Mr. Temple, Charlotte's father, returns too late to save his dying daughter and confronts Montraville who meets Charlotte's father. He explains to Montraville that Charlotte "went raving mad" (*Temple* 129). Charlotte ends in blood and madness, delirious, dying on her bed with her bawling infant, orphaned and alone. Enraged by learning the truth of Belcour's deceit, Montraville challenges him to a duel and kills him (*Temple*

130). Montraville plunges into "delirium…during which he raved incessantly for Charlotte: but a strong constitution and the tender of assiduities of Julia, in time overcame the disorder" (*Temple* 130). Though Montraville suffers, he remains alive and whole, able to live on. Charlotte, who has left behind her family and friends, has the most power when she's a dead body.[92] Her death brings justice to the text. As much as the text transports readers emotionally through Charlotte's suffering, Montraville ends the text, a successful man who has failed to love mercifully.

"The Panther Captivity" ends in appropriately Gothic fashion with the Lady allowed to self-determine and control her rightful inheritance.[93] The restoration of the Lady rests on dissolving the old patriarchal captivity. What allows the Lady independence is the death of another man. At this point, the clerk and the giant have both been killed, enabling the Lady to live and grow on her own. In a Gothic twist, the return of the abused Lady kills her oppressive father. Charlotte and the Lady both use emotions to "kill" the heartless men. After Panther persuades the Lady to come back to the city, she agrees to face her father. Panther narrates, "[T]he old man did not at first recognize his daughter, but being told who she was—he looked at her and for some time and then tenderly embraced her" (90). The old man had repressed the memory of his daughter, who has been transformed by not only nine years in the wilderness but several traumatic events. Their reunion is cast tenderly, but it also shows the uncanny return of his daughter, familiar yet unfamiliar[94] and altogether traumatizing. Although she appears to return in order to reconcile with her father, she comes back as the representation of the old man's

[92] Desirée Henderson explains that characters "forgiving the heroine for her sins…limit the heroine's redemption until after her death" (501). The redemptive act comes from Montraville, however. Although characters forgive Charlotte's wayward behavior, it is Montraville who strikes down her enemy and pays the price of happiness, despairing for Charlotte the rest of his days. Jay Fliegelman explains, "In *Charlotte Temple*, the male body of the seducer contrasts with the disembodied female body, which has been reduced to expressive text" (130).

[93] Many traditional Gothic novels see heroines restored to good fortune by acquiring possession of an inheritance of sensible male suitor. See Hoeveler (1998).

[94] Tracing the influence of psychoanalytic literary theory and Freud's "Uncanny" on Gothic scholarship is an enormous task beyond the scope of this project. See Clemens (1999). See Bergland (2000) for discussion of American Indians and the uncanny.

domestic violence and abuse. Confronted with his own monstrosity, the old man is overwhelmed with emotion. That emotion leads to death – and in this case causes it – shows that emotional vulnerability harms masculine power. Panther explains that her father "acknowledged he had been unjustly cruel to her, asked her forgiveness, and attempted to say something more, but immediately fainted—all our endeavours to recover him were in vain.—he lay about seven hours and then expired" (90). Her return signals the death of the father. Her story literally kills him. The scene illustrates the sentimental reestablishment of domestic order, yet the Lady and her father cannot exist together. That she returns as independent and capable challenges the patriarchal order represented by her father. Exposed, the father cannot contain his daughter and direct what she does with her body. The escape from civilization has changed the Lady and enabled her to exert her own will. His death allows her to claim an inheritance and display the appropriate emotional response of grief for her formerly despotic and cruel father, showing that she is a proper lady welcomed back in the social order.

Susanna Rowson's *Charlotte Temple* and Abraham Panther's "The Panther Captivity" draw together elements of captivity narratives and sentimental fiction into a Gothic examination of travel and sympathy. *Temple* is wrapped from beginning to end with a male presence. Montraville's weeping at Charlotte's grave (*Temple* 130) and then Mr. Temple's assisting La Rue, or Mrs. Crayton, (*Temple* 132) are sympathetic acts that arrive too late for the dead women. The Lady from "Panther" is similarly enveloped with the narrator beginning and ending the tale, with the Lady's story caught in the middle. The women are contained, captives of male scrutiny despite resistance within the texts. Both Charlotte and the Lady face off against monstrous men who claim their bodies and steal their choices. Charlotte succumbs to these men, ultimately failing to move them emotionally until she dies. The Lady garners no sympathy from the

monstrous men—her father, the Indians, and the giant—around her, but her freedom comes through escape and murder. Charlotte falls to deceit and seduction as she is transported away from family and friends and through emotional turmoil. The Lady seemingly maintains her character, though encountering monstrous men in the wilderness changes her. Abandoning sanctioned paternal authority, especially her father, Charlotte heeds the advice of unfeeling men and women that leads to her death after childbirth. Left without masculine leadership to guide her, the Lady displays uncharacteristic agency by murdering the giant, her captor. Creating life leads to Charlotte's demise. The maternal bed is her deathbed, and birth is a "gothic apocalypse" of punishment for "the force of filial disobedience" (Stern 57). Disposing of the giant's body in "Panther" creates a purely feminine domestic space where the woman dwells in peace.

Charlotte Temple and "The Panther Captivity" are unusual Gothic texts, haunted by the captivity and control of women to maintain social order, a structure that is threatened and dismantled in frightening ways. Mobile men are able to manipulate and move women around both in actual and figurative space, setting the monstrous men apart. It's not that the men escape suffering or emotion, but that even in that experience, they can channel and shape it in a way disallowed, primarily, to women. Cathy Davidson says that *Temple* "could easily be read as an allegory of changing political and social conditions in early America" ("Introduction" xi). Perhaps, joining together *Temple* and "Panther" form an early American allegory of masculine power built on female displacement and suffering. The message that female agency can come to be through violence and mobility reveals the sad and Gothic reality for women whom men transport as objects yet fail to recognize as equal emotional beings

Chapter 3: "unbounded authority": West Indian Gothic Patriarchy and Female Monstrosity in Charlotte Turner Smith's *The Story of Henrietta* and Leonora Sansay's *Secret History; or, The Horrors of St. Domingo*

Introduction

In this chapter, I examine the Gothic[95] and captive elements in British author Charlotte Turner Smith's *The Story of Henrietta* (1800)[96] and American writer Leonora Sansay's *Secret History, or The Horrors of St. Domingo* (1808).[97] Smith and Sansay both mix varying literary genres (and modes) and much critical attention has been given generic and modal merging in the literary work of Smith[98] and Sansay[99] This blurring of generic lines as another layer of

[95] Ledoux (2013) explains how the Gothic is a mode rather than a genre: 8.

[96] *The Letters of a Solitary Wanderer* is a multi-volume work of which *The Story of Henrietta* is the second. For a brief summary of the publication history of *The Letters of a Solitary Wanderer*, see Nordius (2012): xiv-xvi. Amy Garnai emphasizes that the Wanderer tries to connect with those around him but finds "violence, rootlessness and despair, exhibited in a variety of locales and historical moments" (101).

[97] Mary, the narrator of *Secret History*, tells the story set in 1804 through a series of letters sent to her friend in America, Aaron Burr, (1756-1836) third vice president of the United States; he allegedly had an affair with Sansay. For a biography on Burr, see Isenberg (2007).

[98] In particular, scholars have given much attention to the "semi-Gothic" aesthetic and political messages in *The Old Manor House*, Charlotte Turner Smith's well-known Gothic text. Loraine Fletcher describes the Gothic imagery in *The Old Manor House* as "slow moving and sombre […] account of England" ("Charlotte Smith's Emblematic Castles" 5). The dark house reflects England's stifling backwardness that keeps it in a Gothic past. The present is trapped in the Gothic past, held back by a persistent, haunting heritage. Speaking generally about Smith's Gothic texts, Fletcher adds, "The problems the hero and heroine face in breaking free from their families embody Smith's increasing recognition of the great difficulties in the way of change and a fresh start" ("Charlotte Smith's Emblematic Castles" 6). Escaping familial imprisonment reflects that past that Smith hopes England will leave behind for a progressive future. However, Smith looked at relations with other nations through her Gothic texts.

[98]In "On the Supernatural in Poetry" (1826) Ann Radcliffe differentiates between horror and terror. Horror refers to "familiar" or concrete fears, what one can recognize as a tangible and knowable threat (165). Radcliffe prefers terror, a fear of "uncertainty and obscurity" that elevates the mind, like the sublime (168). Halttunnen in Murder Most Foul (1998) describes horror as employ[ing] inflated language and graphic treatments of violence and its aftermath in order to shock the reader into an emotional state that mingled fear with hatred and disgust" (3). When I use the term horror, I refer to concrete, material fears or threats to the character; for example, when one of the Maroon rebels shoots someone, this would be a moment of horror. When I use the term terror, I refer to abstract, or psychological fears or threats to the character; for example, when the character imagines the possibility of encountering a violent rebel in a dark cave, this would be a moment of terror.

[99] Most scholarship refers to Sansay's *Secret History* use of multiple genres and political implications. Joan Dayan in *Haiti, History and Gods* was one of the first academics to examine Sansay's *Secret History*. She addresses the text's mixed genres of "romance" and "history" yet explores "how hybrid and permeable these rigid classifications truly are…I anchor fact in the fictions too often opposed to it" (166). That interplay of fact and fiction within the text draws much critical attention. Michael Drexler notes *Secret History*'s "synthesis of fiction and biography" ("The Displacement of the American Novel"). Similar to Smith's *Henrietta*, Sansay blends the romance's interest in the exotic and emotion to fictionalize Sansay's real-world experiences in order for them to address wide concerns

uncertainty to these two texts tales of horror and violence in the West Indies. Pairing these texts together reveals similar considerations of racial hybridity, masculine violence, and female oppression—trends in Gothic and captivity literature. However, Smith and Sansay treat these topics differently. Smith amplifies the horror of Henrietta, the titular white heroine, when she encounters nonwhite, multiracial, and, as sometimes named in the texts, Mulatto women[100] or when she falls into the hands of nonwhite men. Sansay, on the other hand, sensationalizes violence surrounding nonwhites in stories of white or Creole[101] abuse. Michael Drexler explains that raises "an ethic not grounded in liberal theories of sympathy or enlightened paternalism, but rather one that emerges at the limits of self-consciousness and at the abyss of the Other" ("Leonora Sansay's Anatopic Imagination" 144). This failing of sympathy here connects to my recurring argument in the previous chapter of viewing the Gothic as a critique of failed sympathy through intense horror often conveyed in the language of mobility and travel. The female characters' varying proximities to racial violence call into question the authority of white and Creole men charged with sustaining colonial power and protecting white female virtue. This intermixture is offensive to the authors and a persistant problem that motivates the actions and

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about race, women, and empire. Woertendyke sees *Secret History* as a part of the secret history genre of fiction a genre "primarily encountered in England during the long eighteenth-century" (255). Woretendyke fits the novel into this tradition, which Sansay's "mixed genre" works through the alternative or suppressed take on the events of the revolution (257). This generic take lends itself to looking at the Gothicism in Sansay's text, exploring what is secret or repressed. Monique Allewaert calls *Secret History* "a fictionalized, epistolary travelogue" (151). Jennifer Van Bergen notes that it is much more than a "personal history, travelogue, or *roman à clef*" ("Reconstructing Leonora Sansay). Travel, though, remains central to the fears of Sansay's characters. Drexler adds, "In fact, the very practice of publishing *Secret History* is an act of transgression, eviscerating the separation of the private from the public sphere" ("Introduction" 32).

[100] I mean a person of white and black ancestry. For discussion of the racial spectrum related to *Henrietta*, see Craciun related (2009): 53. Fanon (1952) discusses Mulatto women and whitening (54-56).

[101] The term Creole has various definitions based on the colonial national. It is a nebulous term. But my use of Creole follows Sean X. Goudie's explanation: "More precisely, colonists of European descent, as well as black, and mulatto slaves and freedmen born and raised in the New World, were identified as 'creoles' by the British, French, and Spanish empires. Yet the term denoted much more than the birth of a colonial subject or slave outside the 'borders' of national origin (Europe or Africa). Most significantly, the term 'creole' was used to account for admixtures, or syncretism, between Old and New World 'races' and cultures. Indeed, a European not born and raised in the West Indies but who had spent many consecutive years there might be thought to have 'become' creole-like, or degenerate, on cultural and racial levels according to the rhetorical operations of some European creole discourses" (8).

horrors of the two novels. Moreover, fictionalized captivities of the two heroines highlight their deep lack of sympathy for the people to which they rhetorically (and problematically) compare themselves and use through Gothic depictions of these events.

Both authors have Gothic horror's traditional villain and captivity narrative's traditional threat, the patriarch and the captors and in this case the revolting slaves,[102] who face off against each other. Their conflict highlights the chaos of warring cultural contact in the colonial space. Using revolting slaves as my term identifies them as challenging oppressive colonial forces as well as draws attention to the fear and disgust[103] that they produce in the white characters. That is to say that they are actually revolting as well as incite feelings of revulsion in their oppressors and the like. Their slave revolt renders them revolting to the main characters, opening up a Gothic examination of monstrosity. The colonial forces, mainly white men, war against the rebels by wrestling for the women between them.[104] The horror and sensation of that struggle contains Gothicized language woven into a story of captivity. Fears surrounding this struggle stem from general revolutionary panic; the ghosts of the American and French revolutions haunt national stability. Moreover, the threat of slave revolts evokes and exacerbates that fear in the Gothic space. Joanna Brooks and Lisa L. Moore point out, "Especially after the Revolution, Americans became preoccupied with questions of virtuous self-government, and many of these anxieties were deflected onto controlling the sexual lives of women" (26). Brooks and Moore's

[102] I intend to expose the racist and imperialist discourse in my readings of Sansay and Smith's respective texts, though nearly any racial term may evoke negativity and misrepresentation. In this case, that's my point—the white characters misrepresent the indigenous people, and though they use Gothic language to demonize them, the underlying horror is their lack of sympathy with the other human beings. Though read as progressive, Smith and Sansay's depictions of the Creoles, Mulattos, and nonwhite slaves contradicts this message, exposing a xenophobia portrayed through Gothic discourse about national integrity. For scholarly discussion of Gothic discourse of race and false binaries, see Schmitt (13- 14); Young (31), Johnson (25); Hurley (3-5); Pearce, primarily about Native Americans, (76-78); Goddu (55); Edwards (xxii).

[103] See Kristeva and abjection (1982), also discussed in this dissertation (10).

[104] See Harvey (2012) for a discussion of white women's purity and its association with imperialism and commodification

point applies to Sansay's *Secret History* and Smith's *Henrietta* since the white male patriarchs of each story subsume or ignore the threat of the slave uprising by focusing on containing the female protagonists Henrietta and Clara, respectively. The male fixation on controlling females costs them their authority and places the women whom they tried to contain in the hands of revolting slaves.

Through this conflict, tropes of the Gothic heroine and the female captive cross over in the "colonial gothic" space,[105] which is "Gothicizing of the settler-colony as a site of repression" (McCann 400). Smith's Henrietta and Sansay's Clara (and to an extent the narrator of *Secret History* and her sister, Mary) endure jealous and powerful men that contain and command their bodies, which both authors liken, albeit troublingly, to the repression of the free nonwhites and revolting slaves. These women encounter the revolting indigenous people, who use the women against the colonial white men in a clash of civilizations.

Henrietta and Clara's escapes from the colonial white men and the revolting slaves are told through the language of captivity and Gothic horror. However, the escapes rest on association or disassociation with nonwhite and/or multiracial women, particularly through uneasy encounters that reveal their own repressed racism. As much as Smith and Sansay strike against patriarchal oppression, their white female characters maintain privilege by distancing themselves from nonwhite women. These heroines, however, cannot fully reject the women whom they characterize as monstrous, whether they are white, multiracial, or black. Even in their

[105] See McCaan (2000) for another definition of colonial Gothic. Compare with Patrick Brantlinger's "imperial Gothic" (1990). Victorian Britain, Brantlinger 's "[Imperial gothic highlights] anxieties about the ease with which civilization can revert to barbarism or savagery and thus about the weakening of Britian's imperial hegemony" (229). Compare to Malchow's (1996) "racial gothic": "the creation of a popular vocabulary in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by which racial and cultural difference could be represented as unnatural--a 'racial gothic' discourse that employed certain striking metaphoric images to filter and give meaning to a flood of experience and information from abroad, but that also thereby recharged itself for an assault on domestic social and physical 'pathology" (1-2).

flights from the Gothic colonies, Henrietta and Clara remain captives to the white patriarchal system that thrives on the abuse of women.

Both Smith and Sansay present white characters facing racial prejudice in generically disruptive texts. Their texts cross the spectrum of Gothic conventions though they are undoubtedly within the Gothic mode. Sansay's *Secret History*, much like Smith's *Henrietta*, is unconventionally Gothic. The multiple genres within the text present a transgression of form. *Secret History* is an evasive text that combines many genres and political messages that disrupt a firm identification of the text. As such, one of the crucial elements scholars return to is the Gothic horror in *Secret History*. Much like Smith, Sansay uses Gothic language to draw out the horrors allegedly dissolved by modern civilization in her contemporary present. Attention to Gothicism in Sansay's *Secret History* begins with Carroll Smith-Rosenberg's "Black Gothic" in which she focuses more on *Zelica*[106] than *Secret History,* which she calls "a semi-fictional work" (248). Smith-Rosenberg explores the instability of the white, middle-class male's identity as always in flux and tries to build a foundation on "the genteel white woman, [and] the enslaved African American laborer" (245). This pairing raises questions—that I explore in both Smith and Sansay's works—about how white women shape their identities on middle-class white men and enslaved laborers, male or female, an idea also taken up by Smith (Craciun 173). The lack of coherent identities leads to Gothic horror of slippery identities, the loss of white privilege and power in the colonial space under nonwhite revolt. Sansay and Smith both use Gothic characterizations to show that the repressed fear of national instability is entirely possible and "thinkable." Jeremy D. Popkin explores realistic horror depicted in narratives surrounding the slave revolts claiming "they had to create narratives in which the unthinkable—a coherent black

[106] *Zelica, The Creole: A Novel* (1820) is a novel by Leonora Sansay that retells the story of *Secret History* through the hardships of the titular heroine. See Smith-Rosenberg (2000) for a detailed discussion of the novel.

movement capable of standing up to the white world—became thinkable" (515). Popkin points out that the lurid violence seemed sensational but actually contributed to the legitimacy of narratives about the Saint-Domingue insurrection. However, Matt Clavin contends with Popkin's idea: "If Gothic's appeal lies in the inexplicable and indescribable nature of dark and mysterious places, in superhuman beings and their repugnant acts of violence, then the narratives of the Haitian Revolution reinforced the construction of the revolution as unthinkable" (29). Both Popkin and Clavin describe in turn how Sansay spreads Gothic fantasy and realism through her text.

The Gothic horror of *Secret History* and *Henrietta* rests on the brink of the plausible and implausible. Slaughter and exploitation to this degree seems almost unbelievable, yet the suggestion that these horrors could happen—were happening—underscores the Gothicism in Sansay's text. As Popkin and Clavin focus on the Gothic horror of the slave uprising, it also returns to the Gothic horror in the conventional location: the home. Elizabeth Maddock Dillon states, "Sansay's fiction concerns fractured domestic scenes marked by seduction, extra-marital sex, gothic violence, and failed family formation" (79). Both Sansay and Smith illustrate that the state of the home reflects the state of the nation. Unfortunately, it is a Gothic space of violence and oppression. Sansay's domestic Gothic horror is central to understanding female oppression in the text. Smith, on the other hand, shows the Gothic horror of domestic influence outside the home—the Gothic patriarch does not need to be present to contain Henrietta. Sansay's heroines, though, show how the women overcome the domestic horror by taking and active role against it. Michael Drexler explains, "These novelists adopted a gothic aura of mystery and supernaturalism to show the costs of not acting on what ought to have been known about the material world. In *Secret History*, this corresponds to the manifest content of the secret history to

be revealed" ("Displacement"). Mary and Clara's actions, however, expose the secret history—the suppressed story of colonial and patriarchal violence erroneously justified by a racist ideology—that exposes them to further physical and psychological harm. Similar to Smith's Gothic fiction, Sansay integrates messages of spousal abuse and female powerlessness into Gothic scenes and figures.

Together, Smith and Sansay both use West Indies as a Gothic setting that accentuates the powerlessness of their female protagonists as well as their white male authorities. Smith and Sansay's similarly complicated approaches to storytelling contribute to their respective works' impressions of fear and disconnection. Though both contain progressive politics, the Gothic elements of the text thwart a comforting position on overturning imperialism, racism, and sexism. The Gothic narrative arch of the virtuous heroine escaping the rapacious and overbearing patriarch comes out of the distant past and into the present. The patriarchal abuse is a form of sanctioned oppression, a Gothic present that attempts to suffocate the swelling revolt. The uprisings in each novel correspond with the escape of the female protagonists. For Smith's Henrietta, she can only be freed of her father's control by the destruction of his plantation. For Sansay's Clara, she can only escape her husband's (and Rochambeau's[107]) control through the destruction of their colony. Both novels end with their heroines returning to their homelands, England and America respectively. That rejection of the colonial Gothic space suggests that they have left it behind. However, the women carry that violence and racism with them, back to their countries. As much as they cast off the horrors, they remain with them as a Gothic and captive haunting. Through sensational language that often blurs the line of who's the monster and who's

[107] Donatien-Marie-Joseph de Vimeur, victomte de Rochambeau (1755-1813) was a French solider who surrendered to Haitian General Jean-Jacques Dessalines.

the victim, these two authors render the West Indies into a Gothic space in constant and chaotic flux.

The two novellas place female heroines within a culture war between white men and rebelling slaves. At the center of the conflict is the women's Gothic confinement and escape. The authors liken female subordination—uncomfortably so—to actual, West-Indian slavery (Smith-Rosenberg 245). Fictional depictions of Gothic violence and oppression become real and relevant through this comparison.[108] Although the heroines, Clara and Henrietta, relate to the oppression of the slaves, they exploit the bloodshed and violence to find their own freedom. They, as white women from America and Britain respectively, demonize the slaves and multiracial inhabitants of the islands. They are able to escape the tyranny of their patriarchs, yet they cannot overcome the fear of racial degeneration observed in the Creole, Mulatto, and slave women. Not all women are equal in the authors' and characters' hopes and designs of womanhood freed of patriarchal captivity, whether captives of the white men or the rebelling slaves. Identifying the Gothic and captive elements of the two stories establishes a fear of colonial sins that haunt both countries despite efforts to repress and displace their sins in a Gothic colonial space. It is an "unbounded authority," an excess of power as well as an unrestricted blemish that transgresses artificial borders of racial difference and geographic boundaries that draws those subjected to this power into a Gothic space.

Gothic Patriarchs

Both Smith and Sansay bring Gothic stories of female oppression by unrestricted patriarchs—traditionally set in Europe—to the West Indies. As the patriarchs exercise unsympathetic authority over the bodies of women, their actions show a form of sanctioned

[108] For a contemporaneous comparison, see Wollstonecraft's *Maria; or, The Wrongs of Woman* (1798).

violence that both authors Gothicize[109] in their respective texts. Through the actions and attitudes of these men, the contemporary planters in their stories appear as Gothic villains. Confinements and escapes of these women play out like the story of a Gothic heroine (Ellis 51). However, chaos ensues in this space because the women's resistance is also met with vicious slave uprisings—slave revolts. The authors depict these fictionalized slaves as brutal, indigenous people who upset colonial designs to maintain power and oppression. Although the rebellions are widespread, the narratives show that the Gothic patriarchs try to contain white women in order to maintain and restore order. However, these rebels, in this case, the revolting slaves and some free people, also seize women to assert power that challenges the white colonial authorities. In Smith and Sansay's texts, the female protagonists are compared to—precariously so—slaves and reduced to material objects. The failure of the patriarch to possess the heroine makes her vulnerable to captivity by the revolting slaves wherein the Gothic narrative of the fleeing, virtuous woman runs from one patriarchal captor into the hands of another patriarchal captor, though racially different.

In *Henrietta*, Smith moves the traditional Gothic villain to the West Indies to show the expansive problem of female oppression. It is not a domestic issue alone since Henrietta's choices are limited—confined—to the designs and demands of her father, Mr. Maynard. Both generic characteristics of the Gothic and captivity narratives work together to render Henrietta's story into a commentary on the confinement of women. What happens in *Henrietta* is a collision between two forms of the Gothic and captivity. Mr. Maynard represents patriarchal oppressiveness of the old world encroaching on the enlightened era. He is the Gothic reminder that the oppressive patriarchal system, supposedly resolved by the new era, has not disappeared

[109] I use Gothicize to suggest the simultaneous use of Gothic conventions as well as the Gothic thematic of rendering the exposure of repressed truth into scenes of violent, monstrous, and sometimes supernatural.

but has burst forth as monstrous. On the other hand, the blacks, Mulattos, Maroons,[110] and, to an extent, Creoles manifest fears of racial degeneration and uprising in the white colonial characters, especially through the point of view of the female protagonist Henrietta. Together, the old world Gothic villain meets the new world monster in the Gothic West Indies.

The Gothic patriarchs represent a form of institutionalized and sanctioned brutality through slavery and female abuse—they are civilized monsters. The indigenous captors challenge that authority through unthinkable brutality—they are viewed by the Gothic patriarchs as primitives. It is a wild and unfamiliar space to the white patriarch, though he attempts to exert dominion over the space and its inhabitants. These indigenous rebels are untamable and, according to Smith (and Sansay) hungry for power. Between their conflict rests Henrietta. Mr. Maynard and various nonwhite men and women will wrestle for control over her body. They hold her captive and test her integrity and virtue. Pressure from her father and desire for Denbigh, a white male suitor who has little bearing on this narrative, remove Henrietta from her native England and place her in wild and uncertain terrain. Confining Henrietta forces her to see her lack of humanity in the eyes of her oppressor. She, equated to the slaves, cannot think of being like them, monstrous and selfish in her eyes. This union of Gothic captivity makes Henrietta see that the frail borders that she places between herself, Mr. Maynard, and the people of color fall apart when they collide in pursuit of her body.

Mr. Maynard, Henrietta's estranged father, has a mysterious presence in the text that merges together the Gothic patriarch with a ghostly monstrosity. Mr. Maynard's distant relationship with his daughter through letters and commands is ghostly in that it haunts her day-to-day life. Furthermore, his unseen though manifest actions haunt her mind. He is always there

[110] Jamaican Maroons were slaves that escaped into the mountainous interior. Thompson (2006) provides a thorough discussion on Maroonage. For discussion on Maroonage and the two Maroon wars, see Burton (1997).

with her, but she never sees him. She thinks, like the captive, of what the patriarch will say or do in response to her behavior. Beckoning Henrietta across the Atlantic to Jamaica after the death of her brother marks a strange reversal in the Gothic formula. The heroine does not run from the villain but to him. She does not entertain fleeing from him. That would mean destruction of dishonor. Instead, she submits to her captive condition and obeys her father. Smith introduces the reach of domestic Gothic horror extends beyond the walls of the home.

Even from afar in the West Indies, he exercises a real yet ghostly influence on her life. The ghost of her mother, who is dead, also haunts Henrietta and the text. Henrietta finds support through an aunt who also dies (9). Regarding her new governess, Henrietta remarks, "[Mrs. Apthorp] says, I am too apt to anticipate evil; and that, after all, a young woman should have no will of her own" (23). Mrs. Apthorp deflects Henrietta's fears of her father and shows complicity in Henrietta's objectification. Henrietta exists in a world that strips her of choice and confines her to material obedience. Similar to the traditional Gothic villain, Mr. Maynard asserts control over women in order to claim masculine authority. Mr. Maynard's power over Henrietta comes in part through dead women. The community of loving and supportive women hides Mr. Maynard's cold and insensitive authority. Yet, he provides the means for Henrietta's upbringing, an illusion in her mind. When these women die, Mr. Maynard emerges as the Gothic villain, the overbearing patriarch who forces himself into each part of his children's lives in order to secure dominance over them. Mr. Maynard takes varying forms of Gothic villainy and monstrosity, although he is not the only monster present in the text. His physical absence does not exorcise Henrietta of haunting thoughts about the domination of her father. His daughter is an innocent victim drawn to the magnetic and overpowering call of a ghostly father figure.

On the plantation in Jamaica, though, Mr. Maynard takes on the tyrannical power of the Gothic villain often situated in the bygone, near-medieval past. Henrietta says, "From being a despot on his own estate, he imagined he might exercise unbounded authority over every being that belonged to him" (8). Power of the plantation compels Mr. Maynard to tyranny. "Unbounded authority" suggests the efficacy of his power comes in part from objectified slaves and servants on his plantation. It also indicates that the reach of his influence moves beyond the plantation. His ability to command and harm is boundless, rendering his power into a source of mobile Gothic terror. Henrietta has no true sense of what he is capable of doing to her and those around him. He can exercise power across distances, through Henrietta's mind. That power eats away at his humanity because it seems beyond human limits and emotions. Until Henrietta's voyage, Mr. Maynard had been a ghostly presence in her life. Though distance from him, the thought of his existence addled her mind. She admits, "Certainly he never expressed the least wish to see me till after the death of my brother. I have wept at the coldness which I thought was visible in the few letters he wrote either to me or my aunt. I feel such an awe of him, that I tremble when I think of the first interview" (22). Mr. Maynard's letters are the voice of a specter that intimidates Henrietta into obedience. This renders him frightening and foreign to Henrietta. The ghostly communication is a one-way conversation—Mr. Maynard to his subordinate—emphasizing his "unbounded authority" over his daughter. This is frightening because Mr. Maynard treats Henrietta with disregard—she is an object, she produces his legacy through childbearing, which he can dispose of as he sees fit. He orders, and she obeys. He equates her with his slaves and warps her sense of identity and security. Those words graft to Henrietta's vulnerable mind, which shapes her distant father into an indefinite monster. In this way,

Henrietta's mind is captive by the terrifying thought of her father and the indefinite privilege gained from the slave system.

Mr. Maynard intends to marry her off to Sawkins, an unsavory and toadying man whom Henrietta reviles. Where Sansay will show the Gothic horror of marriage, Smith reveals the Gothic terror of an arranged marriage. Sawkins, like in the Gothic narrative, functions as a supplement for the Gothic villain's desire, though the incestuous overtones should not be ignored. Sawkins is a cipher for Mr. Maynard's desire to imprint himself on his daughter and her life. Instead of lusting for Henrietta, the heroine, Mr. Maynard intends to confine and control her beyond death. She explains why Mr. Maynard chose Sawkins: "Always accustomed to command, and to look on those about them rather as machines who were to move only at his nod, than as beings who had wills and inclinations of their own, a man of equal or even of affluent or independent fortune would not on these terms become a part of his family" (33). He gives birth to the wealth and power of Sawkins in a strange reversal of paternal roles. This artificial "birth" strikes Henrietta as loathsome. Her father has a dead son and now can only perpetuate his name legitimately, albeit convolutedly, through his daughter's offspring. The monstrous truth is that the history of oppression and female exploitation would continue through Mr. Maynard's legacy. He pairs Sawkins and Henrietta together like cattle intended to produce male offspring. He loads Sawkins up with money and power in order to possess him, figuratively speaking. Mr. Maynard may be alive in the narrative though he is mainly a disembodied voice. Mr. Maynard ignores the humanity in others, rendering him, in turn, a monster, selfish and unsympathetic. He becomes a terrifying abstraction that rips away Henrietta's choice and forces her to unite with an unfavorable man.

However, Mr. Maynard's monstrous captivity of his daughter fails due to the overwhelming strength of the Maroon uprising. Yet, for Henrietta, she replaces one form of captivity for another. She laments:

> a father possessing unlimited power, and surrounded by slaves; in a remote house, of an island, many parts of which are liable to the attacks of savages driven to desperation, and thirsting for the blood of any who resembled even in colour their hereditary oppressors:—so that, to escape from the evil I dreaded by flight, which had at first struck me as possible, now seemed to be only exchanging one mode of hideous and intolerable sufferings for another. (35)

What we see is a collision between the Gothic villain and the revolting slaves. Henrietta leaves behind the despotic castle-plantation for the ever-changing wilderness. These are two forms of Gothic-captivity scenarios coming into contact. Their horrors come through Henrietta's body and mind. White colonials and revolting slaves fight against each other through the story of her suffering.

Henrietta's suffering comes before her marriage to Sawkins. This forced arrangement leads to the Gothic terror and horror that follows her escape. In *Secret History*, Sansay introduces elements of Gothic horror through marriage. Although Sansay has her narrator Mary place Gothic and captive qualities on stories about other people on the island, traces on Gothic villainy and female resistance appear in Mary's account of Clara's relationship with St. Louis,[111] her husband who's "jealous as a Turk" (77). Clara, furthermore, attracts the attention of General Rochambeau, who will abuse power to take her from St. Louis. As Clara's love triangle plays out, she becomes confined, stuck between the two white men with power that they should not wield. Mary describes, "St. Domingo was a garden. Every inhabitant lived on his estate like a

[111] St Louis is a fictional version of Sansay's real husband St. Louis Sansay. See Burnham (2011): 180.

Sovereign ruling his slaves with despotic sway, enjoying all that luxury could invent, or fortune procure" (70). Much like *Henrietta's* Mr. Maynard, the Creole and white planters create the past lifestyle of monarchial and Gothic power. Green gardens and plantations have replaced the dark castles of traditional Gothic texts,[112] though the West Indies corrupts these men despite the land's deceptive beauty. Excess of power opens up an immediate Gothic reality where the patriarchs cause horror through "unbound authority." St. Louis and Rochambeau's struggle to contain Clara shows their unrestrained and unsympathetic exertion of force over her body. Trapped on all sides by two Gothic villains, Clara uses her femininity to escape disempowerment and capture.

St. Louis's possessiveness and disregard of Clara casts him as a traditional Gothic villain simply on new soil. Their strained "love" story plays out as Clara's ability to thwart with her allure and confound with her resolve the repressive system. Gretchen Woertendyke says, "Sansay's tale joins the domestic horror of Clara's marriage to St. Louis to the revolutionary horror of Saint-Domingue" (256). Clara is captive to an unhappy marriage. She cannot escape matrimonial vows to St. Louis, who takes her from America to St. Domingo. She, like the slaves, is legally bound—wed—to callous and masterful foreign power. This union happens without much explanation and inspires strong hostility. However, his character contradicts the assumed civility of a masterful power. Mary states, "Her aversion to her husband is unqualified and unconquerable. He is vain, illiterate, talkative" (63). Clara has been bound to a selfish and ignorant man, not a man of sympathy and understanding. She is legally captive like Smith's Henrietta, aware of the limitations of her position but unable to free herself of the domineering male presence. Furthermore, St. Louis, himself a plantation owner, seems tainted by plantation ownership and excessive power like Henrietta's father, Mr. Maynard. They both appear to

[112] Green gardens and plantations have replaced the dark castles and forests of traditional Gothic texts.

degenerate through their abuse of women and power. However, they do not because their actions are sanctioned, thus revealing a Gothic presence in normative male behavior. The imperial forces that drive the plantation economy and amplified in the corrupting space of the West Indies then sanction their brutal actions. St. Louis' excessive selfishness moves him to exert unbounded authority over Clara, thus representing repressive modalities of the Gothic past brought into the present. Moreover, that unbounded authority stresses transgressive behaviors affecting material and psyche borders. He is a violent colonist who subsists from slave labor, an image that Clara, the American, tries to deflect and repress. Mary observes, "[I]t is impossible for two creatures to be more different, and I foresee that she will be wretched" (61). To Mary, Clara and St. Louis are antithetical, opposing forces unfortunately united that Mary abstracts. Clara wishes for freedom, and St. Louis only wishes for control. Her impending struggle and flight from her husband takes her through a Gothic ordeal, the captive woman enduring and escaping the oppressive monster.

Rochambeau's trickery to incite St. Louis's jealousy exposes him and Clara to further danger, putting her more firmly under his control and showing how they are captives of his superior authority that initiates the Gothic horror of the novel. In this love triangle, St. Louis manifests the violence of Gothic patriarchy through outbursts and mood swings. He is not a centered and rational being. Rochambeau, a Gothic patriarch in his own right, plots to take Clara from her husband, exploiting his superior rank over St. Louis. As both white men fighting over a white woman, they actually spar over space and position with the white social hierarchy using Clara. Like *Henrietta*'s Mr. Maynard and Sawkins, neither win.

However, the women cannot defeat the monsters alone and can only escape, their departure from these monstrous forces is a partial victory, one at a great cost and exposure to the Gothic horror of the slave revolts. St. Louis is her legal husband and has raw physical force on

his side. Rochambeau has clout and subtle manipulation. Clara, unlike Henrietta, has willpower that pushes through Rochambeau and St. Louis's feud. "Clara, proud and high spirited, will submit to no control," notes Mary (81). Clara's strength and prowess allows her to navigate St. Louis and Rochambeau. Henrietta and Clara show two feminine responses to patriarchal captivity. Henrietta would rather commit suicide than marry Sawkins (33**)**. Clara attempts to stave off her husband through coquetry. Clara flirts with Rochambeau in front of St. Louis and provokes jealous thoughts that compel her husband to break rank and call out Rochambeau (75). Rochambeau counters against St. Louis' frankness by giving Clara a cross on New Year's Day (80). Clara wears the cross in front of her husband who responds with frustration that forces him to leave the room (81). Wearing the cross reveals Clara's ability to manipulate her husband's emotions and her awareness of Rochambeau's superior position. Each point diminishes St. Louis' authority over her body. However, by working within the system, Clara shows that her agency is associated with her material worth as an object of pleasure. St. Louis reacts: "He has declared that she shall go to no more balls; and she has declared as peremptorily, that she will go where she pleases. So on the first public occasion there will be a contest for supremacy, which will decide forever the empire of the party that conquers" (81). Though Clara attempts to war with him as equal, it is an empty threat. That subtle Gothicism creeps into the narrative when Clara's display of resistance ultimately fails to free her—it's the revolt.

Clara, moreover, can only attempt to escape from one dominant male into the arms of another. Rochambeau's interest persists, making a mockery of her marriage to St. Louis. When Clara goes to see Rochambeau at his command, St. Louis abandons his post and arrives home "trembling with rage, transported with fury, and had more the air of a demon than a man" (84). Again, St. Louis exhibits monstrous qualities, unrestrained and violent. Similar to the idea of

Gothic transports in the second chapter, St. Louis' emotional transports are self-centered and self-serving, closing off emotional connection to Clara and stressing his monstrosity. Plus, the comparison to a demon evokes the slippery link between the rebels and the demon in past captivity narratives like in my discussion of demonization in Mary Rowlandson's captivity narrative in chapter 1. St. Louis's monstrosity remains mercurial. Though established as the abusive patriarch, he is also an emotional monster, removing his wife from her native country and parading her around for gain. His moodiness and violent temper show lack of emotional and mental control, qualities of the people whom he demonizes. Though, St. Louis' violent reaction remains sanctioned by the repressive ideologies that surround Clara as a white woman. These actions reveal St. Louis's monstrosity shares aspects of the Gothic villain described in the white colonial forces and the rebelling slaves.

St. Louis reveals the extent of his mad power when he rejoins Clara in St. Jago. Borders in the West Indies do not prevent St. Louis from pursuing and haunting Clara, another display of "unbounded authority" that is persistently Gothic. There, he threatens Clara without repercussions from outside authority. Though St. Louis redeems Clara from the uprising and patriarchal disconnection, he resumes old patterns of abusive behavior that show excess domination. Clara, writing to Mary, confesses, "he has treated me with the most brutal violence,—you never knew; nor many things which passed the loneliness of my chamber, wholly in his power, I could only oppose to his brutality my tears and my sighs" (137). Here Clara exposes repressed marital abuse that she downplayed or Mary had ignored. Her chamber appears to be a prison, a cage for the captive Clara to face the unbounded authority of her jealous and violent husband. Assertive and manipulative in appearance, Clara repressed the extent of her powerlessness. Mary could not see through Clara's design. The only means of breaking out of

this abusive marriage was "to escape from this monster" (138-139). Again, the Gothic language of monstrosity emerges in the text to describe the oppressive patriarch, St. Louis. Leaving St. Domingo did not free Clara from the "captivity" of marriage. She remains bound to the monster, sanctioned to commit acts of violence and coercion unbounded. St. Louis's monstrosity manifests in threats of disfiguring her with nitric acid[113] (138) and raping her: "his brutal approaches, for he always finds my person provoking, and often, whilst pouring on my head abuse which would seem dictated by the most violent hatred, he has sought in my arms gratification which should be solicited with affection, and granted to love alone" (139). Through threats of disfigurement, St. Louis attempts to render Clara outwardly monstrous, exerting unbounded authority over the body. Her face would reflect the horrors of St. Louis's heart, transporting his inward monstrosity outward. St. Louis's monstrous jealousy and sexual appetite invert marital love. The sexual act that should emotionally and physically bind them mutates into the opposite, heinous act of defilement. He speaks venomous words instead of tender sentiments when approaching Clara for love. Consent matters little to the monstrous St. Louis from whom Clara desperately tries to escape though St. Louis reach is boundless.

Her departure from St. Louis plays out like a Gothic heroine's escape. Clara breaks out of her home in the middle of the night and races into the mountains, fearing "the banditti" (*Secret History* 140), a recurring Gothic trope. Clara uses the ruse of a love affair with the Spaniard Don Alonso to deter her husband from following her trail. Though she meets other enticing foreign suitors, like Don Alonso and the Irish Spaniard of Bayam, Clara escapes the Gothic captivity by cutting off relations with all men and sailing to America. Clara and Mary are both able to escape the Gothic West Indies and return to America, though not all women captive to war, slavery, and oppression can get away.

[113] Drexler's footnote (Sansay, *Secret History* 138).

Revolting Slaves

In my previous section, I examined how Smith and Sansay shape the West Indies into a Gothic space rules by patriarchs who act like traditional Gothic villains by capturing and control women's body. In this next section, I show how that Gothic trope of patriarchy changes when the female protagonists encounter male nonwhite slaves and/or rebels. The female protagonists' respective fears of male command reveal similarities between the white patriarchs and nonwhite rebels that frighten and terrify the female protagonists, identifying a slippage that becomes a source of Gothic horror and fear.

As Smith's Henrietta flees from her father into the hands of the Maroons, Sansay likens Clara's struggle to free herself from St. Louis and Rochambeau to the slave rebellion. Rochambeau and St. Louis contain Clara, but are unable to keep her at the eruption of the Haitian uprising. Similarly, Mr. Maynard and Sawkin's claim to Henrietta's body will weaken when the Maroons attack. Only the Haitian uprising and Maroon revolt allow for Clara and Henrietta's freedom. The two women's escapes reveal that the Gothic patriarchs exist in the present day West Indies though they will face the threat of colonial annihilation.

In Smith's *Henrietta*, white female contact with the enslaved people starts safely on familiar ground. This familiar relationship between masterful and civilized white and subservient and uncivilized slave will slowly turn on itself become a moment of Gothic terror and fear for Henrietta. Throughout Henrietta's stay in Jamaica, she engages with resourceful and obsequious slave, Amponah. Henrietta remarks that he is "one of the few servants in the house to whom I can speak" suggesting that either her father forbids her communication with some servants and not others or that Amponah is able to speak fluent enough English for her to tolerate speaking to

him (31). Henrietta values Amponah's ability to communicate, which opens an exchange between the two dissonant parties. Henrietta questions Amponah about Sawkins, whom Mr. Maynard intended to become Henrietta's husband. At this point in the narrative, Henrietta does not realize her future nuptials with Sawkins, though the slave Amponah knows. She asks him who Sawkins is, and he responds:

> "Master not tell you, Miss? […] Ah, Miss, Miss! […]'dat man is one day n'other to be our master.
>
> —"Your master, Amponah?"
>
> —"Yes: master give him you, Miss, and all this great rich estates and pens and all." (31)[114]

Amponah's revelations shows that he, though a slave, knows more about Henrietta's visit and future than she does. Henrietta seems confused by Amponah's phrasing of "our master," indicating that they share in their subordinate station. Henrietta here shows ignorance that she is the instrument of many white masters. Mr. Maynard, and eventually Sawkins, is the master of both Henrietta and Amponah, troubling the racial boundaries of white woman and slave. Henrietta belongs to Mr. Maynard's estate—she is his property. Despite Amponah's earnest response, Henrietta doubts the truth of what he says (31) and this suspicion moves him further: "'[Sawkins] is poor man, bad man, cruel man; but *we* must not speak. Yet,' added Amponah, in a tone and manner altogether unlike his usual way of speaking, 'yet, for *such* man to be *your* husband, Miss!'" (32). Amponah's candid condemnation of his future master stresses an equal relationship between himself and Henrietta. Why he would slam a white man of superior station upsets Henrietta (32). Amponah stresses that they or "*we*" should not talk about Sawkins

[114] Smith's original text obscures the speakers in this exchange, so I altered the format of the dialogue for clarity's sake.

negatively, emphasizing that they both have trespassed into impolite topic (32). This familiarity further upsets Henrietta, who does not see Amponah's resentment of her future husband. Amponah uses familiar language with Henrietta and hides his romantic feelings for her. That latent idea is consciously lost to her though it will gestate in her mind as a source of fear. The coupling of Henrietta and Amponah initiate slow collapse of the racial and gender borders that separate them.

That collapse reveals a fissure in Henrietta's racist perception of Amponah as obedient and inferior. That realization will prove too much for Henrietta to handle, inciting a Gothic realization, a horrifying revelation of what she has repressed. After the exchange, Henrietta is overwhelmed and frightened: "but [I] went to my own apartment, my heart more agitated than it has ever yet been, my whole frame trembling, and my thoughts confusedly recurring to what I had heard. I seemed unable to breath and was compelled to lie down for a half an hour to recover and argue myself into a state of more rational composure" (32). The unthinkable union between her and Sawkins overwhelms Henrietta, but the suggested desire and shared connection with Amponah frightens her even more (Clavin 29). Here, Henrietta faces two horrific realities—subjection to the Gothic patriarch or union with the oppressed people, the slaves and rebels. The latter renders her insensible, which she will revisit in later confrontations with the threat of her racial degeneration and sexual contact.

Though they are both coded as subject to slavery now, the relationship between Amponah and Henrietta begins to change drastically. Amponah will assume the master role and try to captivate Henrietta. At the advent of the uprising, their relationship warps into an inverted master and slave relationship. Mr. Maynard and Sawkins leave Henrietta on the planation in order to prepare the wedding ceremony and avoid the slave conflict. In the hands of trusted slaves,

Henrietta prepares to join her father. However, Amponah intervenes with an alternative suggestion: "Amponah, on whose faith and attachment I had the greatest reliance, and who was I believed much more intelligent than the rest of the negroes, proposed to me escape" (140). This seems like a sympathetic and kind gesture from Amponah, but it is also unusual and revolutionary. The mask of sympathy hides Amponah's monstrosity, selfish and unsympathetic intentions. Henrietta is distraught over the uprising that she does not see through Amponah's clever plot to take her away for himself. Mr. Maynard, the Gothic patriarch, whom Amponah claims is prepared to marry her to Sawkins, a man that she certainly does not love, is nearby—the threat of losing her love and independence pushes her into the hands of a slave. Amponah takes on the mask of the dashing white male hero, usually young and sympathetic to the Gothic heroine's plight. However, as they escape, the narrative blurs the Gothic violence of patriarchal abuse and the failure of patriarchal authority to protect women into the Gothic violence of slave revolt.

The story changes into a horrific Gothicized episode of captivity in which Henrietta will be subjected to the revolting slaves' power and desire. She notes while escaping with Amponah, "He spoke as if he felt that I was in his power. I had declined taking his arm to assist me in walking; though I began to totter through fear and fatigue, for the way seemed endless, and became more rugged at every step" (141). Amponah, whom she treats with polite condescension, changes into a suitor. He assumes the authorial voice of the Gothic patriarch, commanding her to touch and follow him. She goes only so much farther until she begins to question Amponah's judgment. She confronts him, and Amponah changes from helpful slave to revolting slave: "I saw his eyes roll, and his features assume an expression which still haunts my dreams, when fearful visions of the past flit over my mind" (141). Amponah's eye rolling initiates a

transformation, as if a switch in personalities has taken effect. Plus, the eye rolling is suggestive of sexual ecstasy, rendering him into a horrific figure to Henrietta. This figure haunts Henrietta because it compounds Gothic patriarchal violence and desire into one figure. Mr. Maynard's haunting presence changes into the haunting revelation of Henrietta's vulnerability in the hands of Amponah. Henrietta had trusted Amponah to remain the obedient and ignorant servant who would usher her to freedom.

However, Amponah exercises an agency beyond her understanding. She follows him into a Gothic space where restrictions of racial exchange collapse. The white colonists have failed to protect her and in their place she confronts the forbidden desire for a nonwhite man. Amponah exclaims, "'I love you: I no slave now. I *my* master and yours. Missy, there no difference now; you be my wife'" (141-142). The stability between master and slave has dissolved with the slave revolt, disturbing the set boundaries between black desire for white women as well. The unthinkable desire becomes a frightening reality for Henrietta. The uprising does not liberate her from male desire but makes her captive to nonwhite power. This Henrietta will not abide—she threatens to kill herself to preserve her virtue and chastity. Amponah becomes then the Gothic villain, lecherous stalking toward the fair white maiden to seize her vulnerable body. Henrietta describes, "thus speaking, he approached me, and all the horrors to which I saw myself liable were but too certain. Escape there was none" (142).

Henrietta fears that Amponah will rape her. In view of the ubiquity of stories about real threats of rape by black slaves to white women, Loraine Fletcher argues, "But though the thought of maroons terrified her at the time, she makes them victims rather than demons, and old Maynard with his harem and his sadistic discipline is the only entirely evil male in the novella" (*Leonora Sansay: A Critical Biography* 292). I challenge Fletcher's position that Smith rendered

Amponah sympathetic given the extent of horrific imagery surrounding the character when he assumes power over Henrietta. Though his monstrous points to a corrupt white system of privilege and oppression, he manifestly threatens Henrietta's chastity and would violate her freewill. Given the opportunity, he would seize and oppress Henrietta just like Mr. Maynard. However, Henrietta says, "I prepared for the dark and desperate plunge, recommending my soul to the Being who gave it, when a volley of shot from I know not where leveled my assailant with the ground, and I fell half stunned yet not insensible" (142).

After the fall, Henrietta ends up in the hands of the rebelling slaves, a captive heroine running from the hold of one oppressive monster into another. Their killing of Amponah reflects the eerie relationship between power and masculinity. The rebels slaughter Amponah, who assumed the role of master dissolved by the uprising itself. They jockey for power through Henrietta's body. This exchange of Henrietta between reduces her into what terrifies her and what she fears most an insensible object. With Amponah dead, no one is left to save her from another rebel and a confrontation with other monsters.

The true horror happens when the slave asserts authority and claims humanity. For Henrietta, the horrific truth is the nonwhites oppressed by those like her father can act and feel in ways similar to whites thus leading to dissolution of the racist borders and positions of privilege that she fails to maintain during captivity. However, the two appear to be unable to share in that common humanity. They are insolvable. This mixture produces horrors and terrors that invert the status quo of white superiority emphasizes by the actions of revolting slaves.

Transformations from one horror to another appear pointedly in Sansay's *Secret History*. Those who were captivated transform into those who can capture. Sansay, though, will leave her

heroines Mary and Clara out of contact with the radical policies of Dessalines.[115] Mary channels fears of inferiority and female abuse through the stories that she hears of suffering and torture of other white people. Whiteness then becomes an immediate mark of disempowerment. Mary points out, "A proclamation was issued by Dessalines, in which every white man was declared an enemy of the *indigenes*, as they called themselves, and their colour alone deemed sufficient to make them hated and to devote them to destruction" (121). The monstrous slaves have turned into monstrous patriarchs, mirroring violent intolerance of their former white oppressors. Whiteness, once an indication of social dominance, has been inverted into a designation of racial subordination. It is the color of disempowered humans. The colonists become captives vulnerable to the rules of the captors. The former slaves execute most of the white men in order to assert their supremacy and gain complete control over the community of dislocated white women similar to Amponah and the Maroon Chief's possession of Henrietta. Mary explains, "The women have not yet been killed; but they are exposed to every kind of insult, are driven from their houses, imprisoned, sent to work on the public roads; in fine, nothing can be imagined more dreadful than their situation" (122). Keeping the women alive allows the rebels to demonstrate power through the women's bodies and behaviors. Killing the white men provides the rebels with an opportunity to enslave the white women. The location of abuse changes from the domestic home to prisons or roadways. By executing the white men and seizing their homes, the rebels uproot white womanhood yet use it to demonstrate their authority. Revealing mutual monstrosity between both groups of men in power. Although the master and slaves cross over, their behaviors remain equally selfish and heartless. Masculine forces that gain power through capturing them surround the white women who remain alive.

[115]. Jean-Jacques Dessalines (1758-1806) was the lieutenant of François-Dominique Toussaint Louverture, (1743-1803) a free black man who lead the Haitian Revolution but later accepted French rule when they abolished slavery. Toussaint continued the Haitian Revolution in 1804. See James (1938).

White women captivated by the black rebel forces enter into a Gothic space. Mary leaves out specific details about intimacy between white men and nonwhite women. That their relations disturb domestic stability is enough to addle her. However, similar to Henrietta's encounters with black male desire, Mary describes white women in captivity in sensational detail. The Gothicism of female captivity for these women is an unnatural horror from which death is the only escape. Mary tells of a white family pulled out of their home by Dessalines' forces and taken to a prison or forced into labor. Mary fixates on the image of the women disempowered and dislocated in order to expose her repressed fear and panicked sense of inversion of this situation: "The men were lead to prisons, the women were laded with chains. The unfortunate madame G—, chained to her eldest daughter, and the two youngest chained together, thus toiled, exposed to the sun, from earliest dawn to setting day, followed by negroes who, on the least appearance of faintness, drove them forward with whips" (124). The scene mixes traditional storylines from the Gothic and captivity narratives. The captors overpower patriarchal authority, displace the women, and exploit their bodies for material and social gain. The revolting slaves, now masters over the white colonists, abuse women in public to demonstrate their power. Salacious details and heavy-handed overtones to universal female oppression appear in the heavy chain that links mother and daughter in oppression. Sweating, beaten, bleeding, these women exist as objects that demonstrate the captor's power through Gothic details.

Although the male captors struggle to show dominance through controlling these women, Sansay forbids the narrative from suggesting a consensual or forced sexual union between a white woman and a black man. Mary concludes the story of Madame D and her daughter Adelaide with an ultimatum: marry the black chief or die. Similar to Henrietta's reaction to this proposition, "The wretched mother caught the terrified Adelaide, who sunk fainting into her

arms. The menacing looks for the negro became more horrible" (125). Adelaide also ends up on the floor "insensible" (125) just like Henrietta (*Henrietta* 125, 143) from the gaze of a black person. That mutual recognition, that leveling between white and black, overpowers the women's reason and knocks them into terrifying unconsciousness. Adelaide's vulnerability flames the chief's desire, which can exercise even more power on the unconscious woman.

As this story mirrors Henrietta's encounter with the Maroon chief (142), Sansay also has Mary's story of Adelaide return to the story of Clarissa, whose father fell in love with a nonwhite woman and abandoned his family. Madame D, similar to Clarissa's mother, cannot stop her captors from doing what they will. The white patriarchal protection has fled her. The disease consumed Clarissa, and the chief will consume Adelaide. To them, white women are materially disposable, the equivalent of meat hanging in the butcher's window. Abuse from these captors is an extreme reaction to objectification. Sansay describes the fate of Adelaide: "The monster gave her to his guard, who hung her by the throat on an iron hook in the market place, where the lovely, innocent, unfortunate victim slowly expired" (125). Adelaide's public suffering becomes a material spectacle. The tortured[116] captive displays the former slaves' domination over their former oppressors. However, Adelaide suffers when she could have spared her life and submitted to a sexual relationship with the chief. That fortitude separates white women from the white men corrupted by their desire for women of color. Virtue stands even in the face of inevitable death. Henrietta escapes, but Adelaide chooses death before multiracial marriage. Bruce Dain points out the underlying fear of miscegenation: "the partially white mulattos were dangerous, conflicted between animal submission and rational mastery" (89). Adelaide has the strength to foreclose this union and create the chaotic element of a multiracial child. This gesture points back to the failed patriarchy for putting these women in a position to make that choice, pointing to a

[116] See Johnson (2009) for a discussion on sanctioned torture in the West Indies.

disturbing internalization of their privileged status as white women through their fluctuating captive positions detailed as Gothic.

Together, Smith and Sansay tell similar stories with divergent results. The contest between the Gothic patriarchs and revolting slaves ends with both losing. Smith and Sansay both cast the white male planters as Gothic patriarchs who vie for control over the bodies of white women. However, these struggles distract them from the threat of uprising, displacing the white women. Smith, more than Sansay, exposes Henrietta directly to the chaos of the slave revolt. Sansay distances herself and Clara from that affair and shows the violent chaos that comes out when the repressed bursts free—revolting. The women's struggle to get free of the Gothic patriarchs and rebels, however, depends largely on their own battle with nonwhite women, free or enslaved. Beneath their struggle is an unsettling economy of racial sexual exploitation that Smith and Sansay interweave into the struggles of their respective heroines.

Captive Female Monsters

In the previous section, I examined how the female protagonists' encounters with white patriarchal colonists and nonwhite rebels—the revolting slaves—destabilized the perceived boundary between racial order. In this section, I investigate the protagonists' encounters with nonwhite women. I argue that these encounters convey both the protagonists' abject fear—their revulsion—of their own racial instability and refusal to recognize their own roles in the racism in the West Indies through Gothicized language.

Both Smith and Sansay liken, albeit dangerously, the conditions of their white female heroines to slavery in the West Indies. The violence between white women and nonwhite women reinforces patriarchal authority that thrives from exploiting their jealousy and violence.

Henrietta's father, Mr. Maynard, treats her with insensitivity and disregard. He appears to view her as nothing more than a child bearer for his legacy. Similarly, St. Louis and General Rochambeau use Clara to test each other's authority. These men obtain radical control in part by association with the plantation, access to excessive and exploitive power—"unbounded authority—and white privilege. Henrietta and Clara are both slaves to the whims and wishes of their male oppressors. As common with the Gothic, the horror comes through the story of a male desire to seize and control female bodies. Henrietta and Clara play out that Gothic plotline in different ways, yet the backdrop of slavery sensationalizes their horrific experience.

As much as Sansay and Smith use their narratives to expose the exploitation of slavery and female oppression, they do not cast their heroines as entirely sympathetic to black, Creole, and Mulatto women. Encounters with enslaved women, Creole, and Mulatto women in the two texts leave the heroines feeling horrified and frightened. Contact with these women creates a moment of Gothic horror and terror.[117] They simultaneously have no hope or relieving these women, yet they uncomfortably identify with the women's own oppression. As typical in Gothic narratives, the boundaries between man—woman in this case—and monster collapse. Henrietta's fear of the slave women adds to Mary's disgust toward the many multiracial women in that they use these fictionalized monstrous nonwhite women to raise their position. In doing so, they expose fear that contact with these women could, in turn, infect their American and English purity. They, in short, could become as degenerate and exploitable as they perceived their monstrous counterparts to be.

[117] Horror tends to refer to physical manifestations of fear (e.g., A gargantuan radioactive squid lashing at a ship, Jason Voorhees running with an axe, etc.) and terror tends to refer to psychological manifestations fear (e.g. An adventurer wonders what lurks in a tenebrous pit or a runway contemplates what makes a recurring and haunting sound). For further discussion, see my introduction (especially 3, 27-28)

Henrietta depicts the horrors of multiracial women in order to, in part, expose her father's abuse of women. As this is evident throughout the text, Henrietta also fixates on her half-sisters whose racial mixture suggests that she could easily slip into their deplorable state. Arriving on the island, Henrietta encounters some of her biracial sisters with absolute shock. She remarks to her husband in writing, "Do you know, Denbigh, that there are three young women here, living in the house, *of colour*, as they are called, who are, I understand, my sisters by the half blood!" (29). Henrietta tiptoes around the point that her father has illicit sex with his slaves and produces multiracial offspring. This activity casts him in an unflattering light. He has many daughters—sisters whom Henrietta had no idea belonged to her—simply existing on his plantation. However, what appears to shock Henrietta most is their race. She cannot stomach the fact that they are part of her family. Henrietta's odd fixation and ambivalence toward her sister points out that "it became increasingly important to distinguish white women as a privileged group embodying virtue" for colonial whites (Craciun 54). Her position as a virtuous woman differentiates her from the nonwhite women held in bondage. Her virtue or purity protects her, allegedly, from a degenerate state. That racial mixture trespasses a boundary between the master and slave race and brings Henrietta in contact with the Gothic unearthing of family secrets and sins.

Moreover, Henrietta superimposes her own fears of oppression onto her half-sisters. Her father's mistreatment of these women has turned them in Henrietta's eyes into ignorant slaves. Of particular disgust and horror to Henrietta is "their total insensibility to their own situation" because it's "very distressing to [her]" (29). Henrietta fears her own lack of perspective and understanding. Her sisters do not recognize that they are ignorant and disposable. The implication is that her father produces these conditions that "contaminate" whiteness. Robert J.C.

Young, discussing the racial theory of Count Gobineau, explains, "hypergamy, or the acceptance of daughters from the inferior by the men of the superior race, would only bring about the degeneration of the higher" (107). That Mr. Maynard can produce and incorporate these women into his household reveals to Henrietta an act of sanctioned moral degeneration and female abuse. Docile and ignorant people are easy for Mr. Maynard to control. Their blind ignorance of this condition speaks to Henrietta because it reaffirms her awareness that she could be just as dim and objectified as her sisters. Furthermore, she underscores the hopelessness of elevating these women. Instead of Henrietta's awareness of her own agency and humanity, these women appear to not have been stripped of humanity or perception but possess scarcely any of these traits at all. She tries teaching her youngest, but "she is so ignorant, so much the creature either of origin or of habit, that I cannot make her comprehend the simplest instruction" (29). Henrietta's gesture to educate her sister seems well-intentioned. However, it also underscores Henrietta's racist point of view that by "origin or of habit" that her sister is innately incorrigible and irrevocably inferior to her. However, Henrietta cannot entirely distance herself from this unfortunate woman. Henrietta insists that she will not turn into this "uncivilized" woman, yet a part of her, since she's related by blood, has produced her troubling sibling, an offspring of a Mr. Maynard's fatal design. Henrietta's failure to educate her biracial sister creates a Gothic contact in which she identifies with something too familiar yet alien and cannot flee from it. Her sister's ignorant submission frightens Henrietta, who represses the truth that Henrietta herself is captive to a repressive patriarchal system.

For Sansay's Mary in *Secret History*, women of mixed ethnicity also speak to the failings of the patriarchy. However, unlike Smith, it is the power and assertion of these Creole women that disgust Mary. In St. Domingo, the Creole women gain unfeminine and violent authority.

Michael Drexler explains, "The contradictions of 'creolite,' of the multiple displacements of Creole identity, are the gothic subtext for ruptures in the national psyche" ("Brigands and Nuns" 185). For Henrietta, her sister's obliviousness and lack of emotion disturbs her. For Mary, the Creole women's excessive suspicions and emotions render them monstrous. Their insensitivity renders them almost insensible, like Henrietta and Clara, but instead of overwhelming emotion, they experience anger that manifests as excessive displays of power. Mary, for instance, recounts the story of a jealous Creole wife who "thought she saw some symptoms of *tendresse* [for a black, female servant], in the eyes of her husband and all the furies of jealousy seized her soul" (70). The Creole woman's intense emotional response clouds her judgment. Moreover, Mary underscores the Creole woman's lack of sympathy with the slave woman. She inflates her husband's small expression. Like Henrietta's sisters, she lacks reflection and simply reacts, like an animal, to what she perceives around her. Unlike her sister, the Creole woman is able to use her station to assert her authority. Mary explains:

> She ordered one of her slaves to cut off the head of the unfortunate victim, which was instantly done. At dinner her husband said he felt no disposition to eat, to which his wife, with the air of a demon, replied, perhaps I can give you something that will excite your appetite; it has at least had that effect before. She rose and drew from a closet the head of Coomba. The husband, shocked beyond expression, left the house and sailed immediately for France, in order never again to behold such a monster. (70)

This unfeminine behavior renders the familiar familial space of the dinner table into a Gothic space. Sansay returns to the Gothic horror of the domestic space that reflects the spousal abuse of St. Louis to Clara. Amy Kaplan explains, "'Domestic' in this sense is related to the imperial project of civilizing, and the conditions of domesticity often become markers that distinguish

civilization from savagery" (25). Sansay inverts that domestic progress and shows in the West Indies that it can be turned into a space that threatens her notions of civilization, a Gothic space. The hint of white male desire for a black woman motivates the Creole woman's murderous plot introducing the fear of adultery as well as familial racial mixture. Doris Garraway considers the "family romance of racial slavery" and "incestuous dimensions of miscegenation in Saint-Domingue, where white men directed their most frenetic passions toward those mixed-race women they claimed to be their 'daughters'" (247). In this action, the Creole woman becomes "a monster," a violent and unsympathetic creature that destabilizes the social order. Her jealous response moves her toward a heinous act of vengeance, showing her unrefined and wild state of mind. Furthermore, her authority inverts the perceived desire of her husband. Mary seems most put off by the Creole woman's complete disregard for the slave woman's life. She simply uses the woman's body as a way to exert her power. The husband's desire for the black servant may have threatened the integrity of his table, yet the Creole woman inverts that domestic order by turning dinner into a Gothic spectacle. While Henrietta's father has failed to rear intelligent and elegant daughters in Jamaica, the husband of Mary's story about the Creole woman has failed to cultivate a refined and sympathetic wife. Together, these encounters with biracial women reveal the instability of womanhood in the fictional and Gothicized West Indies.

The mutability of the multiracial women's identities intensifies the fear and confusion of Henrietta and Mary alike. They both cannot read and understand how these women relate to their respective struggles against a oppressive patriarchy although the nonwhite women share a similar struggle. Henrietta experiences an extreme reversal of racial positions when she falls captive to the Maroon general and his men. As I mentioned before, Amponah, the slave, had helped Henrietta flee her father during the Maroon strike. Amponah turned on Henrietta and declared

his love, but a group of Maroon fighters shot him dead and took Henrietta captive. Returning to the Maroon's base, Henrietta recounts, "At the moment I was deprived of all sense and resolution; for a number of women came, out from a dark cavern overhung with wood" and the Maroon general announces that he's found a "beautiful white woman" whom he will add to "the number of his wives" (143). As a captive of the Maroons, Henrietta enters into a living nightmare in which she strangely remains an object of male desire though in a simultaneous Gothic and captive environment. Although she seems appropriately disturbed at the thought of marrying the Maroon, Henrietta loses "all sense and resolution" when she sees several women emerge from the dark cave (143). That the women are complicit with the uprising disturbs Henrietta on a deep level. Moreover, she faints into "total insensibility" after "two or three wild-looking female dark faces advanced" and carried her into the cavern (143). The black women taking her into their home causes Henrietta to cross into a Gothic space. Not only is she in the hands of people whom she demonizes, but they also have forced her to reside with them in a domestic setting. Additionally, the women subsume her identity at the request of the Maroon general. The dark cave allows for Henrietta's racial and social position to mutate into a nebulous and unspecified identity. Henrietta cannot handle the trauma of captivity as much as the Gothic terror of the dissolution of her racial profile. This creates a moment of panic as well as contact with monstrous women that drive Henrietta to unconsciousness.

Henrietta experiences the terror of malleable, yet material identity while in the hands of the Maroon women. The women overpower Henrietta's reason and understanding of her own separate identity. By entering the cave, she has crossed into a Gothic space of indeterminate rules. After passing out, she awakes in the cave to find a twisted yet familiar domestic scene with children and women (143). Yet, the oldest woman comes face to face with Henrietta. She

remarks, “I never beheld so hideous, so disgusting a creature; and such was the dread with which I was inspired as she hung over me, that I was once more on the point of losing my misery insensibility” (144). Henrietta again comes face-to-face with a warped vision of her own womanhood. She confronts the fear that she, too, could become like this woman if she were married to the Maroon leader. To Henrietta, this woman is a grotesque caricature of Henrietta’s privileged white woman from which Henrietta attempts to distance herself. Her face nearly makes Henrietta pass out again, suggesting that this close contact overpowers her emotions and reason. To repress these abstract fears of identification, Henrietta focuses on outward appearances. Henrietta adds, “This negress was a fat and heavy creature, her neck and arms ornamented with beads, strung seeds, and pieces of mother of pearl; and though there was an affectation of European dress, she was half naked and her frightful bosom loaded with finery was displayed most disgustingly” (145). On the one hand, the old “negress” appears monstrous—a large, dark, alien threat. Yet, Henrietta meditates on the woman’s clothing—or lack thereof—and jewelry the most. The image of the monstrous woman arrayed in native and European dress underscores her ethnic and cultural hybridity, stressing Henrietta’s revulsion (Boulukus 106). Henrietta feels much more comfortable with fixed racial boundaries that this woman distorts. She presents Henrietta with an image that challenges her own identity. Jacqueline Labbe argues, “a characteristic of femininity is its multiplicity, its shiftiness in the face of those same forces. Lurking behind the masculine lament ‘what does woman want' is the even more lamentable 'what is a woman anyway?’” (*Charlotte Smith: Romanticism, Poetry, and the Culture of Gender* 3). Though Fletcher associates this flexibility to Smith herself, it is not a flexibility that Smith’s Henrietta appreciates in her captors. Their multiplicity raises the question of “what are they?” rather than “who are they?” which shows Henrietta’s evacuation of their agency and utter

confusion. The black woman's appearance suggests that Henrietta's own refined and appropriate style is an empty performance. Though the black woman is racially different, she can dress in European style yet remain wholly foreign and frightening to Henrietta. That transformation turns into Gothic horror—the physical presence of this woman—and terror—Henrietta's revulsion toward her—that shows Henrietta's fragile racial identity.

In turn, Henrietta barely senses that she could be transformed into an inverted figure of her white, European femininity. In the hands of these black women, Henrietta loses the foundation for her identity. She even ingests a drink of "rum mixed with goat's milk" prepared by "the sorceress" and hopes that the drink might "speedily end my wretched existence" (145). In this strange position as a privileged captive, Henrietta would rather die than take on the lifestyle of her captors. She also misunderstands the gesture, assuming that the Maroon woman intends her harm with the drink. That drink has an "alienness" that doesn't kill Henrietta but unsettles her reason and self-understanding. The drink, in a way, does have a transformative effect. Shortly after Henrietta consumes the drink, the younger Maroon women strip her clothes and jewelry: "she pointed out to her companions the bracelets I had on my wrists, which, together with a part of small gold ear-rings and a picture of my aunt tied to a riband round my neck were all my ornaments. These they took away, and divided, I imagine between them"; they also took her "petticoat of fine muslin, and a cloak of the same" (145). The image of Henrietta now stripped of "ornaments" and most of her clothing contrasts the image of the disgustingly ornamented—at least to Henrietta—Maroon woman. Clothing indicates power in this exchange, a power that Henrietta perceives as alien and unnatural. The act of stripping shows that the Maroon women gain power by taking away from Henrietta. Henrietta's, or largely Smith's, comparison of women's powerlessness is simply not universal. Furthermore, it reinforces what

Henrietta ignores—that her station as a privileged white woman rests on demonized black women who have now shown her the fragility of that racial position. It is a revelation that she cannot quite grasp, a Gothic contact point where she faces an irreconcilable truth about her existence.

As much as Henrietta rejects contact with the Maroon women, they also wish to expel her. This exchange of positions further reduces Henrietta's agency and power in her captive situation. She experiences a reversal of her presumed privilege. Her value has been reduced to her body and belongings, reflecting her similar value and position under the domination of white patriarchy. Both the Maroon men and women have taken her possessions. Still, Henrietta is lost to how much she threatens the Maroon women. In her continued "insensibility" and ignorance, Henrietta fails to look in the mirror (like Rowlandson in the mirror scene that I discuss in chapter 1) and understand that she frightens the Maroon women. The black women that she desperately fears are agents of her freedom. Two of the Maroon general's wives approach Henrietta and engage her in conversation, the first verbal exchange between Henrietta and her captors. She learns, "I found that this woman, long the favourite sultana of the Maroon chief, had no inclination to have another rival to his favour" (147). Although Henrietta rejects the womanhood of her captors, most of them wish to be rid of her as well. This puts Henrietta into an equal if not slightly lower position. They see her as competition that must be thrown out. The women resolve to help her escape, or, "if I had shew no such disposition, to murder me!—for though she did not say so, I perceived that such was the resolution these rival ladies had taken" (147). The Maroon women do not act out of sympathy for Henrietta's state. They show as much disregard for her person as she does for theirs. They find each other equally revolting. Henrietta becomes the unsettling presence that upsets the ordered world of the Maroon women. As an object of desire

for their husband, Henrietta appears as the monster. Instead of Henrietta throwing out the monsters, the monsters throw her out. White womanhood has been inverted into a symbol of fear and loathing. And the women, not the men, remove this unwelcome presence, underscoring their agency and power. Though the Maroon women free Henrietta, their intelligence and design challenge Henrietta's repressed racist belief in their racial inferiority. She does not change this perspective. She is also monstrous.

Sansay, however, has Mary distance herself from power-struggles between the Creole, Mulatto, and nonwhite women. Though directly separate from these exchanges, Mary hides her racist privileging of whiteness much like Henrietta. The power that the Creole and Mulatto women exercise continues to appear horrific and unnatural to her. Much of the struggle fixates on the bodies of the Mulatto women. She notes, "The mulatto women are the hated but successful rivals of the Creole ladies. Many of them are extremely beautiful; and, being destined from their birth to a life of pleasure, they are taught to heighten the power of their charms by all the aids of art, and to express in every look and gesture all the refinements of voluptuousness" (95). First, the beauty of these women becomes a detriment, a reversal that simultaneously grants them power and weakness. Feminine beauty, instead of feminine monstrosity faced by Henrietta in the cave, becomes the object of white women's fear. It is a seemingly unnatural beauty that is "immortal—[the Mulatto women] never fade" (96). The white women fear them because their appearance evokes death and disempowerment. This, in turn, transforms the white women into violent creatures. Mary asks, "for what is so violent as female jealousy?" (96). Mary's rhetorical question suggests nothing. This is a violence reverses Henrietta's Gothic repulsion; the white women detest what they cannot be.

These Mulatto women have been engineered to be objects of "pleasure" and "voluptuousness," emphasizing the degenerate effects of luxury in the West Indies that pervades Mary's letters. They influence their suitors yet remain socially subordinate to their wives or white, Creole women. The Mulatto women upset the social order by their ability to transform stable racial and gender boundaries. They are objects with agency, they are women who act like men—they are a Gothic presence for their rivals, the Creole women. Similar to Henrietta's fixation on appearances, the Creole women try to control the Mulatto women's appearance in order to gain the upper hand. Mary explains, "[The Mulatto women] so powerfully excited the jealousy of the white ladies, that they complained to the council of the ruin their extravagance occasioned to many families, and a decree was issued to impose restrictions on their dress" (95). The white ladies, who exploit black labor and harm black bodies, fail to recognize the harmful consequences of their own extravagance. Their move to control the Mulatto women's dress backfires. Instead of diminishing their rivals, the white women increase their power. The Mulatto women stop shopping and stay in doors, damaging the economy and straining male happiness. So, the rules were reversed and "the olive beauties triumphed" (96). The Mulatto women compete for social control over the white women, showing a racial contest in the West Indies. That competition will upend white women's privilege, rendering them captives.

Male desire for nonwhite and/or multiracial women proves to be a destructive force to the colonial white family. Mary recounts how the first revolution fragments the family of Madame C and her daughter Clarissa. Originally sent to Philadelphia, they return to Jeremie in St. Domingo to reunite with her husband, who sent them to America for protection. The Creole Madame C and her daughter Clarissa return to find their home disrupted: "[Madame C] was received by her husband with a want of tenderness which chilled her heart, and she soon learned that he was

attached to a woman of colour on whom he lavished his property" (114). Distance allowed her husband to pursue an affair, but that his paramour is a nonwhite woman mortifies his wife. The "woman of colour" appears racially inferior to Madame C, yet she has usurped her position as a wife. Melissa Adams-Campbell explains, "In the seductive hands of the mulatto temptress, sexuality is a weapon for gaining ascendency in the racial hierarchy" (137). Once again female bodies join with material objects to grant or diminish value. Madame C's husband "lavished"—thickly covered—his lover of color with the belongings that should have been, in part, his wife and daughter. Transferring his material wealth onto his lover elevates her social position while simultaneously destroying the white domestic home. Similar to the Mary's story of the Mulatto women, she gains power by taking away from her Creole and white female counterparts. These women fight against one another for security and stability. That she is able to take advantage of male desire where the white woman does not shows that her mutable identity grants her power over women supposedly her superior. It reminds Madame C that she fails to be what she is supposed to be—a wife. Their conflicts the Gothic terror that Madame C anticipates in losing her privilege as a symbol of virtue to what she considers to be a lower-ordered being.

The black women expel Henrietta, the threat to their domestic and marital stability. However, in Sansay's example, the "woman of colour," by default, removes her white lover's family. Henrietta's expulsion leads to hear liberation; Madame C and her daughter's removal leads to their downfall. Henrietta's separation from the Maroons is favorable—she has been casted out by her racial other and restored to white, patriarchal protection. On the other hand, by design or default, the woman of color casts out Madame C and her daughter and thereby cuts off protection from the white patriarch. As the rebellion in St. Domingo ensues, Madame C's husband "sent his wife in one vessel, and embarked with this mistress in another" (114). Her

husband finds sanctuary with his illicit lover and abandons his family, leaving them "in want of bread" (114). Desire for the woman of color moves Madame C's husband to put them in harm's way. By design or circumstance, her husband's nonwhite lover assumes the position of the white-privileged Madame C revealing a Gothic disorder in social and race positions.

Abandonment of the patriarch leaves Madame C and her daughter Clarissa powerless and poor, leading to a Gothicized expulsion from his protection. Vulnerable and alone, the ladies try to reclaim stability through another male figure. This endeavor, however, proves futile as Madame C's husband's affair consumes all his money and affection. Clarissa gains the affections of a young, sensitive, and poor Frenchman. This young man contrasts Madame's C's husband who "lavished on his mistress all the comforts and elegances of life, yet refused to his family the scantiest pittance!" (114). Clarissa's father would not give her—or her suitor—any money, leaving them destitute and vulnerable. Devoting all his money and affection to his mistress shows that his desire eradicates the family structure and erodes his sympathy. Although the young Frenchman's behavior awards him love and respect from the women, it gains him no power. He is similar to the women and cannot save Clarissa from an inevitable demise. Clarissa becomes terminally ill after she marries the Frenchman—a sincere and loving union. However, her husband needed money to cover her medical experiences, and went to her father "who refused to send her the least assistance" (115). And, without his support, Clarissa died within ten days (115). Clarissa's father's desire for the nonwhite mistress leads to the death of his child. In conjunction with her wedding the Frenchman, this death suggests that Clarissa's father union threatens sanctioned love and marriage. "How terrible is the fate of a woman thus dependent on a man who has lost all sense of justice, reason, or humanity," remarks Mary (115). This monstrous affair and excessive wealth turns Clarissa's husband into a monstrous creature, lacking

compassion for the family that depended on him. In this manner, the women turn into slaves, expendable objects reduced to a bare state of life. Their whiteness, a sign of privilege, changes into a sign of their inferiority. The "woman of colour" gains a partner and wealth, whereas the white women are left with nothing aside from a dead body. That desire for other races, as Mary indicates, twists Clarissa's father's conception of love and marriage. From that comes a recurring notion in both Sansay and Smith that the pursuit of capturing a woman leaves a history of violence and trail of dead bodies.

Conclusion

Smith and Sansay place their heroines in—and their respective escapes from—the West Indies and their white and nonwhite captors in the language of Gothic horror. For each, white patriarchal colonists gains power through the abuse and domination of women, white and nonwhite alike. Each heroine eludes her captors but experiences backlash from the rebels, the rebelling captors. Smith pointedly places Henrietta into direct contact with the rebels in order to underscore the failure of patriarchal power. The oppressive Mr. Maynard cannot contain the power of the slave revolt, and both he and the rebels exert control through her body. The two cannot be compatible, though Henrietta's memory of their weakness travels back with her to Britain. Sansay, on the other hand, portrays violence of white women at the hands of nonwhite men at a distance from Mary and Clara. The excessive violence underscores the failure of colonial French and Creole white men to maintain order, allowing their women to slip away. As Americans, Mary and Clara abandon the Gothic space and leave it down south, a horror to warn the Americas of a slave uprising but not a threat to national order. Yet, each escape rests on a startling revelation of white womanhood's weakness. Smith's Henrietta cannot overcome the

startling revelation of her racist attitude toward multiracial and nonwhite women. She wants to be rid of them, cast them out, yet the disgust is mutual as they help her escape. Sansay contributes to this fear of racial hybridity through the monstrous relationships of Creole women and Mulatto and nonwhite women. Siân Silyn Smith says, “[T]he Gothic is always reinventing, challenging, or protecting a norm, whether individual, familial, or national" (31). In this way, the struggles of Henrietta and Mary and Clara reinforce white male patriarchal power. Despite their actions, patriarchal power still exists in the Gothic West Indies. Their privileged lives rest on the exploitation and disgust toward multiracial and nonwhite women with whom they try to represent as sympathetic to their own social and political plight yet produce a racist and foreboding horror instead.. At the end of their journey, there is an exit, but there is no change, just further repression of the true horror of imperial and patriarchal power that haunts both nations.

Chapter 4: Gothic Travelers in Charles Brockden Brown's *Wieland* and *Edgar Huntly*

Introduction

In my previous chapters, I examine how concerns from captivity narratives and the Gothic converge through the language of travel and fear. Major connections between the two literary modes appear in the form of depictions of confinement within mobility and monstrous actions and emotions produced from contact with others. Gothic Travel rather than cultivating human sympathy disrupts it, turning those who travel by choice or consequence into unfeeling and horrifying creatures—monsters. As much as captivity narratives and the Gothic draw on the fear of the unknown, the texts in each of my chapters are unconventionally Gothic or semi-Gothic in that they may have Gothic aspects but are not part of a Gothic canon. Exaggerated emotions and desperate movements displayed away from home in captivity narratives and the Gothic reflect harsh realities and expose repressed double standards in gender and race. Examining captivity and the Gothic together shows mutual criticism of social injustices, just sensationalized through extreme description and narration. Movement and motion are illusion in Gothic Travel where the characters are mentally stagnant or, worse, degenerate.

Anxieties concerning monstrosity and mobility appear fully in the works of Charles Brockden Brown, one of the canonical figures in the American Gothic. Brown,[118] much like the authors and texts in my previous chapters, places his Gothic writing in his present, not the distant past like the British Gothicists generally do. He borrows features from captivity narratives and sentimental literature to produce the first canonical American Gothic fiction.

Brown's *Wieland; or, the Transformation* (1798) and *Edgar Huntly; or, Memoirs of a Sleep-Walker* (1799) show that a central American Gothic concern is stasis within motion. The

[118] Though some critics abbreviate his name to Brockden Brown, I refer to Charles Brockden Brown as Brown for the remainder of this chapter for ease and concision.

belief in American inclusivity and national progress is an illusion yet a hope held captive by a dark past only disruptive elements and outsiders—Gothic travelers—within the country who appear to threaten national stability can realize through contact, chaos, and change.

In *Wieland* and *Edgar Huntly*, travelers and travel represent challenges to local and mental stability. This perspective suggests that Brown's Gothic[119] novels, although seemingly detached from the immediate concerns of the American early republic, are intimately related to fears of the new nation. Often these traveling characters like Carwin and Clithero appear threatening to not only the inhabitants of the American frontier but also to their nascent way of life. Conventionally, they are rogue elements upsetting the American paradise. However, these villains respectively push Clara Wieland[120] and Edgar Huntly to reexamine their assumptions about everyday life and people. Here the Gothicism gets twisted. For the early American republic, Dana Lucian says critics concluded, "Gothic prose hurt the nation" (2). Carwin and Clithero are without a doubt both seditious and seedy outsiders of America, and those characters coded as truly American suffer from these interlopers. However, their actions are quite revolutionary, instigating radical and necessary change that actually contributes positively to American thinking. Bill Christophersen explains Brown's literary and intellectual endeavor: "To question the viability of America was to question the viability of any progressive ideal" (2). Brown's novels scrutinize American idealized vision and contain Gothic elements showing

[119] Regarding Brown's relationship to the American Gothic, Peter Kafer explains, "The Gothic formula requires hero/villains, innocent victims, places of haunting, historical pasts weighing upon the present, and an author's willingness to write to excess" (xv). Wil Verhoeven states that Brown's novels are not Gothic but rather fit into "Edgeworthian 'border crossing' novel - a novel that crucially negotiates national, historical, generic, and generational boundaries" ("The Condition" 99). Categorizing Brown's work is typically difficult, but Verhoeven leaves out the point that the Gothic of Brown is at the site of "border crossing." He states later that Brown resists the trends in Gothic fiction to produce a different Gothic "demarcate the boundaries of the known and the familiar, as to demarcate the boundaries of what we humans can and will ever know about the unknown and the unfamiliar" ("Gothic Logic" 99). Mark Edelman Boren says, "But what *Edgar Huntly* underscores in the process is that sympathy or empathy is not in and of itself a guarantee of ethical behavior" (189).

[120] Since there are many Wielands in the novel, I will refer to Clara Wieland as Clara rather than just Wieland—that's reserved for her brother Theodore Wieland—for clarity's sake.

doubt in the American design. Although Carwin and Clithero, among other itinerant characters, play off the role of villains, their destructive presence disrupts stagnant isolation in each community and compels Clara and Huntly to act in ways that put them in danger while exposing buried secrets. The villains act as contrary voices against the seeming credibility and virtue of Clara and Huntly. Clara Wieland and Edgar Huntly's respective Gothic travels bring revelations that their views on the world are not complete and true, a gesture toward Brown's critique of American values. Together, these novels demonstrate through how Gothic travel conveys Charles Brockden Brown's fear of American isolationism and encouragement of civic and worldly involvement, a symbolic and disruptive push forward toward progress.

What is curious about the travel in these novels is that most of it happens in remote yet mundane spaces. Though the American wilderness is mostly unmapped territory, the environments are familiar to the respective narrators. Anthony Galluzzo reads Carwin as "perhaps perversely—in a positive fashion" since he initiates change in Clara's dull and changeless world in Mettigan, Wieland's farm (256). Similarly, Clithero acts as a perversely positive agent of change that disrupts the clean contentment of Edgar Huntly's life. Their knowledge is quite limited to the space around them, though dark regrets and revelations remain in the ground and the past. Clara Wieland knows her way around Wieland farmland, and Edgar Huntly is intimately familiar with the unsettled American frontier. Comparing *Huntly* to Abraham Panther's "The Panther Captivity," the subject of my second chapter, Gesa Mackenthun explains that what the character remember and forget supports "American expansionism" that hides its "indebtedness to England while retaining England's imperial vision" (Mackenthun 261). Clara downplays her father's failed attempt to spread religion across America, and Huntly hides the genocide and warfare that predicates the livelihood that sustains

him. What is frightening about these spaces is that alien and exotic encounters happen within them, but through those fearful encounters come truth. In regards to *Huntly,* Justine S. Murison explains, "The reader of memoirs and the somnambulist share the same characteristics since in both, the 'author' of one's morals and one's actions may be located outside of the mind" (260). That can be true of *Wieland* as well. There is a haunting detachment between the actions and morals of characters in *Wieland* and *Huntly*. That detachment is in part repressed guilt and outdated beliefs, but through the Gothic Travel, it is also the modern world disrupting the fictions that hold together these remote American communities. The characters do not venture off to Italy or Spain to encounter Gothic villains, but rather the Gothic comes to them. Sometimes worse, the Gothic already resides within.

Carwin and Clithero from the Perspective of Clara Wieland and Edgar Huntly

Examining Clara Wieland and Edgar Huntly's reactions to their early encounters with the villains Carwin and Clithero Edny in their respective texts reveals their individual lack of worldly perspective that threatens their comfortable but isolated way of life. Clara Wieland demonstrates her shortsighted prejudice by drawing false conclusions about Carwin. As a middle-class woman, albeit educated, living in an isolated farming community, Clara knows little about the outside world. Her assumptions seem credible given her station and rational voice, but she should be read with the same suspicion as other narrators in Brown's Gothic novels (Weinstock 3). Before describing her seeing Carwin for the first time, Clara writes in retrospect: "Let me, for a time, regard thee as a being of no terrible attributes. Let me tear myself from contemplation of the evils of which it is but too certain that thou wast the author, and limit my view to those harmless appearances which attended thy entrance on the stage" (*Wieland* 45).

Clara writes with weariness from experience and captures her original naïve perspective. She was unaccustomed to deception, however well educated.

Nothing could prepare her for the arrival of Carwin (Cahill 44). He enters as an interloper, bringing with him worldly deceit. Although Clara describes him as horrific, this scene demonstrates her significant lack of awareness. This isolation makes Clara vulnerable to Gothic travelers, like Carwin, who take advantage of naïve and untraveled people. To Clara, Carwin appears like any run-of-the-mill country bumpkin: "His gait was rustic and aukward. His form was ungainly and disproportioned. Shoulders broad and square, breast sunken, his head drooping, his body of uniform breadth, supported by long and lank legs, were the ingredients of his frame" (45). That Clara first observes Carwin in motion stresses his condition as mobile and fluid. That mutability is lost on her since she already labels Carwin as a simpleton. This is American Gothic horror though, when the common person—one's neighbor even—can be a plotting villain or monster.

Set against the sunny day and tender fields of grass, Carwin seems relatively harmless to Clara instead of like the snake slipping through the fields that he is. Clara misreads him from first glance because to her he meets her expectations. With an awkward walk and form, seemingly unchanging, he appears to wear the uniform well enough to deceive Clara. Carwin appears quintessentially rural to Clara that she starts forming bucolic fantasies demonstrating her naïve outlook on country people. To her, farmers are common folk who cannot reflect refined thought and feeling, suggesting Clara is judgmental. Clara invents ideas about "the wanderer" Carwin: "I reflected on the alliance which commonly subsists between ignorance and the practice of agriculture, and indulged myself in airy speculations as to the influence of progressive knowledge in dissolving this alliance, and embodying the dreams of the poets" (46).

This outlook is naïve and self-indulgent as Clara overlooks real problems and pains of farming. She enjoys putting together the two worlds in her mind. Clara fantasizes not only about breaking down this false dichotomy—though she maintains it when viewing Carwin—she entertains the ideas of merging poetical ideas with the mundane. Just by walking past Clara, Carwin unsettles her rigid outlook and stereotypes. Clara's disgust of Carwin in part comes from her fear of relating with him, that she herself is an awkward and uncultured hick. And these fears from personal reflection begin to put her in touch with the Gothic traveler and take her toward the very Gothic.

What seems naturally separate to Clara becomes an object of fascination. Clara goes back and forth between viewing Carwin as a yokel and an object of peculiar, perhaps sexual, interest. Comingling with Carwin, whom she sees below her station, compels Clara to follow him and act and think in unusual and unfitting ways. Clara, for instance, listens in on a conversation between Carwin and the serving girl Judith. Carwin requests some milk from Judith and draws out a veiled sexual advance on the girl (*Wieland* 46-47). Clara seems ignorant of Carwin's proposition to Judith, though the hint of Carwin's desire does not seem entirely lost on her either. Clara cannot see Carwin and Judith at this point and does not realize that Carwin's speaking to Judith. That ignorance allows Clara to experience desire since the voice "imparted to [Clara] an emotion altogether involuntary and incontroulable" (*Wieland* 47). Carwin's disembodied voice moves Clara's mind allowing her to wander and wonder about the possibilities suggested by Carwin's words and voice. She does not have her mind together as much as she thinks. Judith, in this case, turns into the surrogate for Clara's desire, as she mentally travels into Judith's point of view. This emotional reaction, however, is beyond her understanding. She admits, "that [the tones of Carwin's voice] should, in an instant, as it were, dissolve me in tears, will not easily be believed

by others, and can scarcely be comprehended by myself" (*Wieland* 47). Clara, who seems calm and collected to this point, becomes the opposite at just hearing Carwin's voice. Why would such a voice, once she compared to her brother and unspoken love interest Pleyel[121] (*Wieland* 47), cause her to feel sexual excitement? Clara is drawn to the voice of experience and promise. The contrast of familiar comfort in his disarming farmhand attire with the honeyed suggestion of his gentrified voice is too much for Clara to bear. This unsettles her, shaking up her comfortable world and state of mind. Moreover, when she finally sees Carwin and realizes that his voice moved her to tears, she is utterly confused. She admits, "My fancy had conjured up a very different image. A form, and attitude, and garb, were instantly created worthy to accompany such elocution; but this person was, in all visible respects, the reverse of this phantom. I could not speedily reconcile myself to this disappointment. Instead of returning to my employment, I threw myself in a chair that was placed opposite the door, and sunk into a fit of musing" (*Wieland* 47). Carwin plays a mind game with Clara. The two should never meet romantically, and the man who looks like a yokel should act like a yokel. Clara cannot, at this point, read between the lines. This helps Clara question her view of the world and easy reading of the people within it. Raising that suspicion shows Clara's naïve point of view yet shows that maturity comes from contemplating these assumptions. Suspicion threatens Clara but makes her mature as well. Sheltering Clara has only made her more susceptible to Carwin's cosmopolitan charm that captivates Clara, our Gothic heroine, and glamorizes Carwin, the Gothic villain.

In *Edgar Huntly*, Huntly experiences a similar breakdown of assumptions when facing Clitero Edny. Though many qualities of these first encounters contrast, they reveal mutual fears

[121] Henry Pleyel is Theodore Wieland's brother-in-law. His sister, Catherine, is Theodore Wieland's wife. Pleyel and Clara appear to share a mutual but unstated attraction to each other. He chastises Clara when he suspects her of lewdness (*Wieland* 95). Clara describes Pleyel as the champion of intellectual liberty, and rejected all guidance but that of his reason" (*Wieland* 22). When everyone starts hearing voices, Pleyel tries to find a rationale explanation.

of drawing absolute conclusions about human character. The itinerant men disrupt clear-cut understanding. Huntly and Clithero are classed similarly to Clara and Carwin at first look. Huntly and Clara come from the middle ranks and Clithero and Carwin from the working class, allegedly Additionally, Clithero and Carwin are both outsiders, immigrants to America as well as newcomers to their respective communities. Though the plots are quite different, the novels contain similar couples, a seemingly credible American narrator and a slippery foreigner. In *Huntly*, Edgar Huntly endeavors to find the killer of his friend Waldegrave and ventures out into the wilderness for answers. Huntly, like Clara, feels compelled to act due to faulty reasoning. The death of Waldegrave undoubtedly affects Huntly, and he intends to find the killer. This quest becomes an impulse that grows into an obsession that takes him into the wilderness: "That to forbear inquiry or withhold punishment was to violate my duty to my God and to mankind. The impulse was gradually awakened that bade me once more to seek the Elm [a tree]" (*Huntly* 7). Huntly seems driven by unseen forces, like how Clara's brother Theodore Wieland will be later in that novel. Instead, Huntly leaves to find a killer, and brother Wieland goes home to become one.

Pursuing Waldegrave's killer becomes a holy, perhaps unholy, crusade into the American wilderness for Edgar Huntly. Despite his rationale, Huntly begins to reveal extreme lack of reason. Huntly and Clara are both driven by impulses just outside their conscious minds to travel outside their normal perspectives and spaces. On Huntly's excursion, he finds a man digging a hole at the elm tree where Waldegrave's corpse had been discovered. Before getting a full look at Clithero, Huntly had concluded, "This apparition was human, it was connected with the fate of Waldegrave, it led to a disclosure of the author of that fate" (*Huntly* 8). Huntly is inappropriately resolute about an uncertain—a shadowy—figure. To be so confident about an apparition, a

ghostly figure, raises suspicion about Huntly's intentions and perceptions. His conclusion that Clithero is involved with Waldegrave's death will prove to not be the case entirely. Similar to Clara Wieland, Edgar Huntly draws conclusions on first impressions. Both characters are largely prejudiced and often wrong about the events and people around them. Also, both characters lack the self-reflection to criticize their own unusual conduct. Clara latches onto the silvery voice of Carwin as Huntly stalks off into the dark woods at night to roam around finding a killer. Both of characters write off what they do as normal behavior when actually they are slipping outside of their norm.

These Gothic Travels shake up their worldviews, though through different surface features. Huntly, unlike Clara, encounters Clithero when he is most open and vulnerable. Carwin is fully guised when Clara meets him in the middle of the day. The contrast of scenery raises questions about the narrators' respective abilities to reason. Bright as day or dark as night, neither Clara nor Huntly make an accurate claim about other people. When Huntly finds Clithero, unbeknownst to him at the time, in the woods digging a whole, he is "robust and strange, and half naked" in the middle of the night (*Huntly* 9). As Carwin put on the disguise of a commoner, Clithero bears all to the world. He is literally bare-chested and symbolically bare to Huntly. Moreover, he's sleepwalking, unconsciously opening himself up for people to see (*Huntly* 10). He has no artifice in this action, unlike Carwin. Yet, both are hiding something deep and dark. In fact, Clithero exposes himself, guilt and all, only Huntly cannot read the signs. He, like Clara, cannot see beyond outward appearances.

Both Carwin and Clithero indirectly communicate to the narrators. Carwin walks past Clara fully conscious of his disguise without uttering a word to her. Clitero walks past Huntly in a somnambulistic trance without a word to anyone. These speechless figures, each likened to a

ghost, allow the narrators to invent narratives that reveal more about what haunts them. Huntly, like Clara to Carwin, reacts strongly to seeing Clithero in full view: "Never did I witness a scene of such mighty anguish, such heart-bursting grief" (*Huntly* 9). Clara's encounter with Carwin ignites repressed sexual desire, shaken by the fact that it comes from a yokel. Huntly's encounter with Clithero brings forth grief for the dead Waldegrave, whom Huntly may have killed. Huntly also cannot penetrate Clithero's curious actions. Together both scenes reveal ambiguity through the Gothic encounters that initiates a transformation in each character.

Both Clithero and Carwin conceal their intentions, though Carwin intends to do so and Clithero does not, at least consciously. Carwin figuratively buries what he wants in language—his words do not convey the truth despite the beautiful sound of his voice. He hides flirtation and desire. Clithero literally buries his secrets in the ground, one that Huntly does not try to dig up. Huntly even tries speaking with Clithero. In this case, even his simple questions fail to elicit a clear response. "What, ho!...Who is there? What are you doing?" asks Huntly to Clithero who stops but does not respond (*Huntly* 10). Huntly's investigation into Waldegrave's death starts with a colossal failure. These questions fall onto dear ears and are utterly meaningless. Huntly's ability to ask questions and think consciously—unlike the unconscious Clithero—provide him with little help in understanding the situation. For Clara and Huntly, sight and hearing both fail to convey the truth to them. These outsiders disrupt easy understanding and evoke fear. Overwhelmed by Clithero's emotional outburst and strange digging, Huntly admits, "I had no power but to stand and silently gaze upon his motions" (*Huntly* 10). Huntly stands looking at Clithero and does not try to unbury what he left behind.

This lack of movement shows the horror of stasis. Huntly can only witness the scene because he has no way of figuring it out. Clithero's literal digging and Huntly's refusal to dig

further at this moment shows a collapse in his reasoning. Both he and Clara fail to see through the words and actions of these outsiders, leaving them in utter confusion. Together, these Gothic travelers reveal anxieties from the narrators whom Brown portrays as credible and rational despite actions and conclusions to the contrary.

Carwin and Clithero's Gothic Transformation

Up to this point, Clara and Edgar Huntly face horrors from mercurial people, those travelers who change and adapt themselves along with Clara and Huntly's perspectives. These encounters destabilize Clara and Huntly's clear grasp on reality. What fit their worldviews once does not quite work well now, producing a sense of alienation and panic from and in the people and places around them. In essence, the heuristics that they use to make sense of people and their behaviors simply fail to account for outsiders like Carwin and Clithero. What gives these characters their Gothic qualities, aside from the obvious associations with murder and the supernatural, is their ability to transform and resist coherence. That power to adapt and adjust to the world around in order to gain power and promote the self makes them particularly American Gothic villains. Where American rhetoric about personal renewal attracts newcomers, in this case, Carwin and Clithero invert the American narrative of personal reinvention for nefarious ends. However, both characters "[are] both American and European, and his lineage reaches back through [Europe], as if to the heart of the gothic novel" (Heiland 143). The fear of travel and travelers reveals tensions about national and individual stability contrasted with Carwin and Clithero's menacing and fluid identities. Perceptions of the "Old World" or European as more firmly established than the new American republic also flounder in this instance since both

Carwin and Clithero assume varying cultures and roles with the ease of putting on and taking off a mask. From these cultural performances, the characters experience Gothic displacement.

Carwin's tie to the Old World complicates Clara's understanding of him as well as fascinates her. Shortly before learning about Carwin's past, Clara hears a disembodied voice warn her of threats to her life (*Wieland* 55-56). The fear and excitement affects Clara deeply, rattling her home that she thought safe. This dislocated voices stresses Clara separation from reason and action. She generally knows better than to be attracted to dangerous places and peoples yet lacks good judgment. The next day, Clara goes to Pleyel and learns about the mysterious visitor, Carwin. Pleyel had met Carwin in the city and invited him to Mettigen for a visit, much to Clara's disappointment. Carwin and Pleyel are old acquaintances who met in Europe, making Clara's mixed romantic feelings all the more tense. Pleyel thought at first Carwin was English (*Huntly* 58). At closer examination, Pleyel realizes that Carwin is both English and *not* English at the same time. He describes Carwin: "His garb, aspect, and deportment, were wholly Spanish. A residence of three years in the country, indefatigable attention to the language, and a studious conformity with the customs of the people, had made him indistinguishable from a native, when he chose to assume that character" (*Wieland* 58). Pleyel, like Clara, attends to appearance and doesn't read further into Carwin's identity. Carwin learns how to become Spanish through adopting the language and clothing. That overlapping of nationalities—thought to be English yet behaves as if he's Spanish—sets up one of the latent fears of travel as extinguishing individual wholeness. This performance of nationality raises questions about the integrity of nationality. What essentially makes one *Spanish* or *American* for that matter? Carwin affects the behavior well enough to deceive Pleyel and those around him. Pleyel further stresses that Carwin becomes "that character," an assumed identity that appears

somewhat false. Through the performance of his Spanish identity, Carwin draws out the fear of national identity as a façade. If anyone can act and look like a citizen of a nation, nothing prevents people from pretending to be faithful to one's country. The substance of one's identity is baseless, suggesting by association that American identity is just as empty. The Gothicism of this false identity brings into question the faith of any citizen and raises the question that patriotism is an empty performance. Moreover, Carwin's fearsome mutability mocks the American belief that anyone can become an American through shared values and hard work. If everyone can become an American, it cannot be distinguished. American exceptionalism in view of his slippery masquerade of national identities turns into a frightening mockery.

Carwin's Spanish identity overlaps with Gothic trend of Catholic villains. Catholicism in the Gothic has a long history and anti-Catholic sentiments in the early American republic are well known.[122] Instantly, Carwin's association with Catholicism makes him suspect to the reading audience. The Gothicism of this particular Catholicism works as a symbol of Old World institutions invading the new American way of life. Carwin could be read as an agent contaminating the new world with Catholic perversion. Pleyel explains, "[Carwin] had embraced the catholic religion, and adopted a Spanish name instead of his own, which was Carwin, and devoted himself to the literature and religion of his new country" (*Wieland* 59). This behavior, however, is another type of performance of faith and nationality. Carwin puts on his Catholic character just as he does his "clown" character in the American frontier. He seems nominally Catholic at closer inspection, suggesting again that his worldly identity is another deceptive activity: "On topics of religion and of his own history, previous to his *transformation* into a

[122] The degenerate and rapacious Catholic stock figure stands out in the canonical Gothic text *The Monk* (1796) by British writer Matthew Gregory Lewis. For the Gothic's relationship to representations of Catholicism, see Hoeveler (2013) for a recent overview; see O'Malley (2006) on Catholicism and Victorian culture; see Nelson (2013) for a cross-genre discussion of Catholic tropes. For Protestant treatment of Catholicism in the antebellum United States, see Franchot (1994).

Spaniard, he was invariably silent. You could merely gather from his discourse that he was English, and that he was well acquainted with the neighbouring countries" (*Wieland* 59). Carwin forecloses accounting for personal history and homeland though he seems fully changed into Spanish customs. That Pleyel stresses Carwin's transformation indicates his latent fear of mutable identity, the traveler takes on a Gothic aspect when that stable identity is a ghostly invention.

Carwin's worldly transformation becomes a source of anxiety for Clara as she cannot make sense of his shifty identity and ways. This source of fear reflects her simple-minded way of reading the world around her delivered in through the Gothic. Carwin remains ultimately unreadable for Clara, continuing the novel's Gothicism that stability is a cruel farce. Even pleasant and static places are vulnerable to chaotic change from without. Carwin represent that Gothic challenge to Clara's neat world order. Carwin once again travels into the isolated space and compels Clara to think more deeply about the world around her and the people within it. Similar to her fantasy, Clara begins to put together seemingly insoluble things. She remarks, "Carwin was an adherent to the Romish faith, yet was an Englishman by birth, and, perhaps, a protestant by education. He had adopted Spain for his country, had intimated a design to spend his days there, yet now was an inhabitation of this district, and disguised himself in the habiliments of a clown!" (*Wieland* 59). By this description, Carwin is a list of contradictions that confuse and fascinate Clara. Carwin's curious behavior creates chaos for Clara. Her fascination and intense emotional reaction to him stress the Gothic fear within the text. That to make sense of the world is to entertain conflicting and changing perspectives. This Clara cannot fathom, but Brown suggests that she should for her own improvement. Quaint Wieland farm seems like an idyllic isolated American dream that will fall apart from the inevitable contact of foreign powers

and peoples. Clara remains too rigid in her beliefs. To motivate her, Carwin becomes an instrument of destruction and an image of fear, a Gothic traveler.

Carwin's ability to reinvent himself causes much frustration for Clara Wieland as does Clithero's status as an immigrant does for Edgar Huntly. Clithero takes on the role of an immigrant farmer similar to Carwin, though readers get a closer look into how and why Clithero came to America. This clarity, however, does not diminish Huntly's anxiety about Clithero and, by extension, his own sense of individuality. Clithero is defined by the fact that he is a traveler settled in a new, foreign environment. This allows him to withhold and invent information about himself, much to Huntly's fear. To understand Clithero's unusual behavior in the woods, Huntly indicates that, "To comprehend it, demands penetration into the recesses of his soul" (*Huntly* 11). Huntly must transport himself into the position of someone who's alien to him. Huntly's intimate connection with Clithero lacks the sexual attraction of Clara's interest in Carwin, but that the two characters are drawn to outside forces shows their self-destructive quality. It's a dark sympathy, that they feel for a fellow criminal or monster, rather than the sympathetic characters around them. The travelers transform their perspectives, but only through the shock and awe of Gothic horror will Clara and Huntly's worldviews change enough.

Edgar Huntly fixates on Clithero's background in an unhealthy way, indicating his own obsession with self-doubt and self-discovery. The pursuit of knowledge underscores Huntly's deep lack of understanding and reflection. Gothic horror emerges in moments of sympathetic connection with Clithero, a grieved but deranged man. Huntly knows that Clithero is an Irish immigrant who's inferred to be Protestant (*Huntly* 12-13) and that he is "the only foreigner among us" (*Huntly* 13). Huntly's fascinated in part by Clithero's ability to construct an identity for himself in this new environment, a frightening ability similar to Carwin's ability to transform.

However, Clithero also frightens Huntly's sense of personal stability. Huntly is much as stranger to himself as Clithero is a stranger to him. Gothic travelers in this case point to the unreliability of knowledge and perception, one of the recurring Gothic themes in the text. Huntly is wrong more often than not. What he does recognize in a few moments is his deep lack of knowledge—he knows that he does not know. For instance, Huntly concludes, "Clithero was a stranger, whose adventures and characters, previously to his coming hither, were unknown to us" (*Huntly* 13). This lack of familiarity makes Clithero an object of suspicion, but it also turns around to Huntly himself. What does the reader know about him to trust him? Not much, beside that he's on a seemingly noble endeavor to figure out the murder of his friend, Waldegrave.

Huntly projects anxieties about the truth onto Cltihero, the immigrant traveler who defies fitting into a tidy space in Huntly's view of these events. Huntly admits, "I did not, till now, advert to the recentness of his appearance among us, and to the obscurity that hung over his origin and past life" (*Huntly* 13). Much speculation surrounds Clithero's background, and taking his word as truth becomes a colossal stretch. Huntly provide the lens to view Clthero, but he knows next to nothing about him aside from what Huntly perceives. Even those conclusions are flawed, as Huntly reveals himself to be a bit on edge himself. Other people find Clithero reticent about the past, and he shares next to nothing about himself (*Huntly* 19-20). Like Carwin, Clithero disrupts the environment by fitting in too well. Even Huntly asks, "But how were these doubts to be changed into absolutely certainty?" (*Huntly* 13). *They cannot be*—that's the truth that drives Huntly mad and drives the Gothic horror surrounding travel and travelers in this plot.

Although we do not get a clear confession from Carwin in *Wieland*, Clithero provides an account of his background to Huntly that also conveys fear of the mutability of identity of travelers. Both Carwin and Clithero use different guises to put themselves at a distance from and

travel out of the Gothic past. Huntly tracks down Clithero and confronts him about the unusual behavior—sleepwalking at night and entering a cave deep in the woods. Clithero promises to tell his story to Huntly, though this admission has nothing to do with Waldegrave's murder directly. The "Old World" remains with Clithero as he fails to move away mentally from these past deeds. Clithero laments, "That my destiny should call upon me to lie down and die, in a region so remote from the scene of my crimes; at a distance, so great, from all that witnessed and endured their consequences!" (*Huntly* 25). Clithero's travel turn into psychological exercises to rid himself of past guilt, mirrored later in the narrative by Huntly himself. Travel becomes a source of Gothic fear and frustration as Clithero physically leaves but cannot psychically let go of his haunted past. Travel tears him from himself to horrific and Gothic results. Similar to Carwin in *Wieland*, these Gothic Travels mock the idea of personal reinvention. Clithero narrates the story of social ladder climbing, going from Irish peasant to beloved ward of the affluent Mrs. Lorimer. The Gothic horror shows that these attempts to discard the past and change one's identity are suspect and futile. Clithero remains captivated by the past though he exists far from his past environments.

Huntly and Clithero both share the capacity to hide the truth and externalize their internal fears. Clithero, for instance, removes himself from Ireland, the land of his crime, and he also puts blame on "The dæmon that controuled me" (*Huntly* 26). Clithero's superstitious point of view implicates that he's not entirely able to act with a conscious mind. Clithero contains many identities, just like Carwin does in Wieland. Yet, Clithero's identities are less consciously constructed than Carwin's. Clithero is quite irrational and lacks premeditation, just like Huntly. Moreover, indicating that a demon controls his actions suggest that those unconscious forces are destructive and evil. Clithero tries to escape—to move away from—the dark part of himself, yet

it remains. Travel, again, appears to be a futile action that does not exorcise the demons of the past. As Carwin consciously transforms his identity, Clithero does so unconsciously. Neither show or arrive at the entire truth, destabilizing Clara and Huntly's sense of identity and stressing that travel in the Gothic is a simultaneous collision of the dislocated self with repressed desires.

Wieland and Huntly's Violent Travels among American Indians: Return to Captivity

Jared Gardner says, "From our first introduction to Clithero, Edgar has consistently been drawn towards the imagery of the Indian narrative, and through Clithero is no Indian" (442). Encountering the Gothic travelers Carwin and Clithero have disastrous effects on Clara and Huntly's respective communities. Though I have examined Carwin and Clithero as monstrous Gothic figures, they destabilize the rigid and closed views of Clara and Huntly revealing some of the horrors that ground their American way of life. Their presence transforms Theodore Wieland, Clara's brother specifically, and Huntly revealing their twisted natures. The consequences of Clithero and Carwin's actions are not entirely to benefit the good. Carwin's ability to throw his voice somehow drives Clara's brother Wieland mad with religious fervor. He will, however, deny having manipulated Wieland. Clithero's escape into the woods compels Edgar Huntly to follow him and psychically copy him as well—he becomes a sleepwalker after all. Huntly, will go on to kill many local Indians and seem perfectly justified and able to do so. Both consequences are unintentional since Carwin does not directly command Wieland, and Carwin does not directly infect Huntly. However, both characters have dislocated part of themselves and those parts come together once again through Gothic Travel. Comparing both of Wieland and Huntly shows that their realizations lead to violence and destruction detailed through the language of travel.

Wieland's heritage provides frustration for the titular character. Clara details the past of her father's immigration to America, a story that haunts the entire narrative but mostly affects her brother Wieland. Both the elder Wieland and Clara's brother Theodore Wieland rely on disembodied voices, commands and thoughts detached from a physical body or space, to make decisions and act appropriately. Brown portrays this source of reason as superstitious and flawed throughout the narrative. It seems to be an elaborate and complicated metaphor for America's Christian heritage and mission to convert nonbelievers in the West. As such, Wieland's Father, Wieland senior, reason to settle America seems to correspond with American religious missionaries who sought to convert others. This endeavor, with it, comes harsh consequences and violence. Her father lived a poor life devoted to work and study, and through that work, he discovered a rigid religion that motivated him to leave England for America. According to Clara, "he formed a resolution of complying with what he deemed the will of heaven" (*Wieland* 11). Study and religious worship move Wieland senior to uproot himself in order to travel west. Wieland senior himself arrives as an alien presence in the "new world" spreading ideas gained from an unseen presence.

Both *Wieland* and *Edgar Huntly* are motivated in part by transforming the beliefs and behaviors of Native Americans. Jennifer Harris states that in the works of Brown "the landscape of America is already and always haunted by an evacuated indigenous presence" (199). As Clithero hides his past through curious behaviors in *Edgar Huntly*, Theodore Wieland seems to ignore the past of his father's failure to spread religion to the native people. Clara explains, "The North-American Indians naturally presented themselves as the first objects" of her father's missionary work (*Wieland* 11). Noting Clara's subtle choice of words that the Indians were "objects" raises suspicions about her father's (and her own) sympathies. Converting them is part

of a religious mandate and not some sincere heartfelt concern. Moreover, Wieland senior seems just as deluded as Theodore Wieland, Clara's brother. Wieland senior finds great resistance to converting the Indians to his religious faith. Clara concludes, "The licence of savage passion, and the artifices of his depraved countrymen, all opposed themselves to his progress" (*Wieland* 12). Wieland senior travels to America to spread his faith, a symbol of civilization that he, or his deity, seems sorely lacking there. Perhaps, it is not that the "savage passion" and "depraved countrymen" are wrong in this case, an idea lost on Wieland senior. Rather, might it be that his endeavor is flawed? Wieland senior cannot see beyond his narrow point of view, similarly to Clara and much more starkly in her brother. He travels to bring faith to the new world utterly fails, but it is unclear who determines the conditions for success. Wieland senior's actions reflect the self-destructive actions of Brown's two novels. Wieland senior believes in a religious mandate to travel to America and spread his faith or suffer dire though unknowable consequences. Clara explains:

> A command had been laid upon [Wieland senior], which he had delayed to perform. He felt as if a certain period of hesitation and reluctance had been allowed him, but that this period was passed. He was no longer permitted to obey. The duty assigned to him was transferred, in consequence of his disobedience, to another, and all that remained was to endure the penalty. (*Wieland* 14)

Wieland senior imposes arbitrary limits on converting the people of America. He knows the will of his deity, but no one else can decipher much beyond what he shares. Although Wieland senior travels to the new country, he is fixed in his old ways and quite isolated. The mission to change others leaves him unchanged, resulting in death. Transformation, a telling part of the title, is inevitable, and resistance to change attracts chaos and destruction. The Gothic Travel leads

Wieland and his family down the road of destruction. Superstition haunts Clara's brother Wieland, despite his and Pleyel's efforts to communicate and believe through the science and reason of the present day.

Moreover, Theodore Wieland acts savagely and violently to ensure his religious mission, twisting the benevolent words of his father's god for destructive ends. Wieland senior's failure to spread his faith carried over to his son. Theodore Wieland appears haunted by the ghosts of his past and attempts to make up for the failure of spreading his faith by following what he believes to be the voice of God. In Chapter 19, Clara reads the first part of Theodore Wieland's confession. He believes that God ordered him to murder his entire family. Wieland's religious faith reveals a deep emotional void for his family. Wieland appears nearly obsessed with experiencing direct revelation from God: "I have thirsted for knowledge of his will. I have burnt with ardour to approve my faith and my obedience" (*Wieland* 127). Wieland and his father merge together in this admission to the court, though he takes moral judgment from outside of himself. Wieland's spontaneous combustion and Theodore Wieland's burning passion are mutually destructive. Similarly, Wieland admits, "My days have spent in searching for the revelation of that will; but my days have been mournful, because my search failed" (*Wieland* 127). Like his father, Theodore Wieland has failed up to this point to gain divine attention. The mission to spread religion to the native people cost Theodore Wieland his life and now travels through time and wounds the psyche of Theodore Wieland. Instead of adapting to the times and the truth of that failure, the Wieland's religious devotion transform into hideous murder. Altogether, both Wielands are driven by outward forces beyond their reason and ultimately are directionless.

Clara attempts to piece together the true story of murder and death, but this pursuit shows the limitations of absolute knowing. Wieland's religious epiphany makes a mockery of "this ultimate truth, the result can be enormous arrogance and a sense of supreme authority" (Downey 205). Wieland remains steadfast to killing his wife and eventually his family because he believes in the authority of divine voice. That mission to hear a voice that isn't present appears to drive Wieland insane. Eric A. Wolfe explains that hearing the voice of allows Wieland to "have his identity secured and his will unified by the voice most capable of remaking the auditor over in its own image" (442). Theodore Wieland describes that a light appeared before him and a voice commanded him to kill his wife, Catherine, as a sign of faith (*Wieland* 129). Brown alludes to Wieland hearing voices, whether in his head or from Carwin, the biloquist. The origin of the voices remains ambiguous at best. However, the results are tangible deaths.

Wieland laments but ultimately aims to sacrifice his wife revealing dark and flawed sympathies. He, similar to the male characters described in the second chapter of my dissertation, lacks the ability to sympathize with his female victims. Able to command and control his wife contributes to Wieland's lunacy. As he leaves to obtain his wife, he adds sentimental language that makes the sacrifice all the more harsh and gruesome: "I thought upon her virtues; I viewed her as the mother of my babes; as my wife: I recalled the purpose which thus I urged her attendance" (*Wieland* 129-130). The sentimental heroine, virtuous, motherly, devote, earns no rewards from her beloved husband who points out in the confession to the court "his treatment of his wife and his offspring is known to you; the soundness of his integrity, and the unchangeableness of his principles" (*Wieland* 126). Theodore Wieland is a man changed, twisted by his inability to adapt to the truth of his actions and words. Before he murders his wife, Wieland lists Catherine's many qualities yet remains committed to sacrificing her. God

commands that he kill his wife, and Theodore Wieland will obey no matter what. That blind conviction to the disembodied voice shows an extreme disconnection between desire and reality.

Although Wieland senior attempted to convert Indians to a righteous path, he instead planted the seeds to turn his son into a murderer. His mission to "elevate" the Indian people twists into the fallout of leaving a violent legacy of doubt and suicide for his son, who transforms into a cruel monster likened to wrongful stereotypes of Indians. Theodore Wieland's murder of his wife harkens back to violent description of captivity narratives wherein the authors describe natives as monstrous invaders who break into the home, seize women, and brutally capture or murder them. Theodore Wieland took Catherine from her home on false pretenses and trapped her in Clara's empty house (*Wieland* 130-131). There, he describes the violent way that he kills her: "I meant thy death to be sudden, thy struggles brief. Alas! my heart was inform; my resolves mutable. Thrice I slackened my grasp, and life kept its hold, though in the midst of pangs. Her eye-balls started from ther sockets. Grimness and distortion took place of all that used to bewitch me into transport, and subdue me into reverence" (*Wieland* 131-132). The clean, "civilized" death that he intends does not happen, but rather the cruel and painful one does, pointing to his cruel intentions. In life, she "transported" him, moved him with extreme emotion, but in death, that emotional connection fades away and dies. Theodore Wieland takes joy in sacrificing his wife: "I lifted the corpse in my arms and laid it on the bed. I gazed upon it with delight. Such was the elation of my thoughts, that I even broke into laughter" (*Wieland* 132). Catherine's dead body is victory for Theodore Wieland, a display of his faith and barbarity alike. In Chapter 20, Clara likens Theodore Wieland's murders to Indian slaughter: "The act that destroyed them was, in the highest degree, inhuman. It was worthy of savages trained to murder, and exulting in

agonies" (*Wieland* 133). Wieland's father came to uplift the Indians with his religion, but instead turned his son into a ravaging murder of his own family.

Edgar Huntly transforms, much like Wieland, into the image of violent Indians that he invents in his own mind. Each character undergoes change through their respective ordeals. As Wieland turns into a blind, murdering zealot in order to appease his idea of God in his own home, Huntly turns into an expert Indian killer in the wilderness. Together, their two characters reveal that within that the American landscape exposes the savagery and violence that the characters project on others originate within themselves.

For Huntly, it is marked difference that his transformation happens in the wilderness, but both Wieland and Huntly undergo mental transformations throughout the narrative. Paul Downes says, "As one who moves between the city and the Indian border country and as an educated artisan (carpenter) with no independent wealth, Edgar would seem to have been constructed to defy quick categorization of his likely political sympathies" (415). Although Huntly can be read as turning violent and monstrous, the process is slightly different when looking at this through Gothic Travel. Rather than the travel transforming him into a killer, it seems to bring out what was already there, what Huntly had hidden from the reader and himself alike. Steve Hamelman reads *Edgar Huntly* as "ostensibly a Gothic 'study' of unstable psychology and volatile social conditions, […] an allegory of romantic self-realization" (175). That he wakes up in dark cave and emerges a talented Indian killer seems like a trip from out of his unconscious mind into the conscious waking world. The cave, of course, is a ripe metaphor, and viewing Huntly's trip from the cave through its exit reveals a transformation that reveals the monstrosity Huntly denied to himself. In particular, Huntly conflates many monsters as he imagines and travels through the cave. He describes, "Famine, and blindness, and death, and savage enemies, never fail to be

conjured up by the silence and darkness of the night" (*Huntly* 106). Those things are born from silence and darkness of Huntly's mind as well as his way through the cave.

Huntly's Gothic trip through the cave and his own mind awakes the violence and savagery and reveals the monstrosity within him. He first wakes up in utter darkness and finds "an Indian Tom-hawk" next to him (*Huntly* 108). The "Tom-hawk" represents the capacity for violence from both Huntly and Indian alike, symbolically reflecting past and projecting future killing. That he finds the weapon in the cave represents the simultaneous acceptance and displacement of colonial violence. In this space, it is expected for him to act savagely because that is what he must do to survive and expand territory. Moreover, Huntly takes up the arms of the Indians to escape his own mental captivity. The "Tom-Hawk" allows him to cut down figurative borders that surround mind and body. Leaving the cave turns into a quest in which he is not the hero but the monster emerging from the dark depths. He likens walking through the cave to a castle or dungeon, similar to the Gothic tales: "Methought I was the victim of some tyrant who had thrust me into a dungeon of his fortress, and left me no power to determine whether he intended I should perish with famine, or linger out a long life in hopeless imprisonment" (*Huntly* 108). Here, the British and American Gothic merge together with the Gothic language of dark castle prisons and the American Gothic ghost of violence against Indians. What Huntly fails to realize in this instance is that the way out of the darkness is through the realization that he chooses to kill in order to escape the old world superstition weighing him down in darkness.

Moreover, Huntly suffers from intense hunger, a hunger for death and violence that drives him to self-destructive behavior and murder. That hunger makes him near senseless: "Surely my senses were fettered or depraved by some spell. I was still asleep, and this was

merely a tormenting vision, or madness had seized me, and the darkness that environed and the hunger that afflicted me, existed only in my own distempered imagination" (*Huntly* 110). Coupling darkness and hunger draws out Huntly's repressed desire to murder and kill. That revelation never quite reaches his conscious mind. Travel through the cave transforms Huntly, revealing his base hunger for death. That hunger becomes nearly self-destructive: "My hunger speedily became ferocious. I tore the linen of my shirt between my teeth and swallowed the fragments. I felt a strong propensity to bite the flesh of my arm. My heart overflowed with cruelty, and I pondered on the delight I should experience in rending some living animal to pieces, and drinking its blood and grinding its quivering fibres between my teeth" (*Huntly* 110). Hunger, darkness, and travel take their toll on Huntly's humanity. Beastly thoughts reveal dark passions for bloodshed. Consuming himself and consuming another living being intertwine, showing perverse self-destruction. Huntly seems more beast than man, like a vampire that subsists on the life of others for survival. However, Huntly is not a mythic monster, but rather he's a living, breathing American man, a neighbor, a fiancé, a friend. These conditions not only alter him but draw out that capacity for violence and savagery, often endowed on others. Huntly encounters a "savage" panther lurking in the darkness and kills the animal (*Huntly* 111-112). Critics note that Brown conflates the word savage and Indian throughout the novel, particularly the associate between the Indians and animals.[123] Huntly's consumption of the panther represents the internalization of Indian violence. That violent savagery that he projects onto the Indians returns to him in agonizing and revelatory pain. He confesses, "If this appetite has sometimes subdued the sentiments of nature, and compelled the mother to feed upon the flesh of her offspring, it will not excite amazement that I did not turn from the yet warm blood and reeking fibres of a brute" (*Huntly* 112). Hunger for food means hunger for violence in the Gothic space.

[123] For a detailed analysis of Deb's connection with her dogs and colonial resistance, see Hinds (2004).

Primal urges trump sentimental attachments as the desperately hungry Huntly cannot pull himself away from feasting on the animal, who stands in for another human being. "The sentiments of nature" are not fit for this place, and Huntly remains wracked with pain upon feasting on the raw meal of rage and violence.

Travel in the American wilderness and encountering the Indians reawakens Huntly's hidden capacity for violence. The repressed mutual destruction of Huntly and the Indians comes to a head when he finds them vulnerable. Huntly spies a fire ahead, signifying the illumination to come at the cave's opening as well as the tangible location of a camp of sleeping Indians (*Huntly* 115). That he exploits the sleeping Indians (and takes the "Tom-Hawk" earlier) harkens back to Hannah Duston's captivity narrative in which she killed her captors while they slept and returned home. Upon seeing the Indians, Huntly recounts the Indian's home invasion during the French and Indian War: "Eight of these assassins assailed [Huntly's father's house] at the dead of night. My parents and an infant child were murdered in their beds; the house was pillaged, and then burnt to the ground" (*Huntly* 116). Although Huntly and his sister were not home during the attack, Huntly suffers greatly from this encounter, turning that memory into a seed of vengeance. Huntly confesses, "I never looked upon, or called up the image of a savage without shuddering" (*Huntly* 116). Seeing the Indians asleep recalls Huntly's buried memory of familial death and loss. Instead of acting peacefully, however, Huntly will reenact the violent home invasion, killing and taking captive.

Traveling through the cave brings out Huntly's own capacity for violence that he projects on to the natives. The journey crosses both space and time as the past account of the death of Huntly's family begins to overlap with his current plans to escape from the Indians. Upon leaving, however, he finds a captive "a young girl…some farmer's daughter" (*Huntly* 117). The

young girl held captive represents Huntly's longing to free himself of Indian violence holding him captive in the cave of memory. If the "Tom-hawk" represents Huntly's urge to kill, the young girl shows his vulnerability, helpless and poor from the Indian raids. Helping the captive girl escape from the Indians becomes a pretense for Huntly to enact bloody vengeance upon them for their alleged past murder. Freeing her allows him to kill the Indians and relive the story of his family's death in a revised fashion. Huntly claims, "I was not certain but that these very men were the assassins of my family, and were those who had reduced me and my sisters to the condition of orphans and dependents" (*Huntly* 119). Huntly shows his deluded mind by projecting the past afflictions onto these Indians, who are unlikely connected to death of his family.

Huntly's apparent transformation into an Indian killer is a slow and painful realization of his buried desires. For him to survive and also expel himself of the psyche pain of lost, Huntly realizes those dark and violent thoughts that seem foreign to him and more fitting to the savages he desperately loathes. He kills the first Indian by stabbing him in the chest and knocking him down a cliff (*Huntly* 120). The wound reflects Huntly's own emotional pain and the fall shows Huntly's descent into violent death, both projects of his inward self-loathing and desire to eliminate the Indians. Huntly frees the girl and runs into the woods, finding an abandoned home. They are not safe for long. The Indians follow them and corner them in a house. However, unlike Huntly's past, this home invasion plays out much differently, with Huntly reversing the role of killer and killed. The Indians break in and take the girl, whom Huntly left for bait (*Huntly* 126). Huntly picks off the Indians, killing four men, and saving the girl. This action represents atonement for the past. Fighting with the Indians recalls Huntly's past loss of family as well as "the never-ending cycles of violence over land disputes that permeate the novel" (Alpert 132).

Huntly will not forgive the past offenses of the Indians but rather perpetuates the cycle endlessly as nothing can redeem his dead family and nothing can truly make him feel safe except the moment of murder. Huntly is no longer the vulnerable girl, but rather a fierce and violent man. He admits that this transformation is startling: "But I was not governed by the soul which usually regulates my conduct. I had imbibed from the unparalleled events which had lately happened a spirit vengeful, unrelenting, and ferocious" (*Huntly* 128). Similar to Clithero's confession, another soul seems to take over Huntly during this afflicted state. What demon possessed Clithero seems to take over Huntly as well. Both of their travels are rife with contradictions in their conduct.

Wieland and Huntly are not the men whom they say they are. Rather, their dark revelations come through trip through the wilderness. Similar to Wieland, their dark pasts were haunted by memories of Indians. For Huntly, "the transition I had undergone was so wild and inexplicable: all that I had performed; all that I had witnessed since my egress from the pit, were so contradictory to precedent events, that I still clung to the belief that my thoughts were confused by delirium" (*Huntly* 129). As Wieland remains committed to the death of his family until the end, Huntly figuratively saves his through freeing the girl and killing the Indians. Huntly may recognize this ferocious intent and change but it does little to accept the truth. However, in each case, Wieland and Huntly act on nearly false pretenses. The voice in Wieland's head is certainly not divine. The Indians of Huntly's vengeance are likely not the men who killed his family. Through the Gothic Travel, both turn in to men who they say that they are not.

Conclusion

Outsiders invade the communities in *Wieland* and *Edgar Huntly*, bringing destruction and revelation to them. This Gothic overlapping leads to pain and suffering on both sides. However, Brown seems to suggest that Clara Wieland and Edgar Huntly need this shock in order to transform and adapt to their new surroundings. Clara seems comfortable in Mettigen, Wieland's farmlands. That isolation is upset by foreign encounters with Carwin, who manipulates her and the other quite easily. As unrest comes from Carwin's presence, Clara learns more about herself in the process. Ultimately, Carwin shakes up Clara's community and leaves its glorious fiction in shambles. Similarly in *Edgar Huntly*, Clithero Edny enters into the quiet community and awakens Edgar Huntly's repressed desire. Clithero's own story has very little to do with Huntly's pursuit of Waldegrave's murderer. However, Clithero engages Huntly's addled brain, and they merge together. Clithero cannot leave behind the sins of his past, nor can Huntly. Wieland and Huntly both share familial legacies associated with American Indians. Theodore Wieland's father fails to convert the Indians to his religion and suffers for it, and Huntly loses his family to an Indian raiding party during the French and Indian War. Both repress those long-held fears until they get a sign. For Wieland, it's a blinding light with the voice of God that wants him to kill his family to prove his devotion. For Huntly, it's from the darkness of a cave that he emerges as a vengeful Indian killer, ready to redress the loss of his family. These encounters change the two men, but yet they draw out what is within them. In that, the Gothic emerges—the repressed taking on monstrous horrid life.

In both novels, the horror of travel is a fear of change and understanding. Both Carwin and Clithero are agents of destruction that lead the characters to a dark truth hidden in their quaint communities. Wieland's violent zeal and Huntly's vengeful racism come to light as the

Gothic encounters with Carwin and Clithero unfold in the narrative. Travel is said to help the traveler realize something deeper and meaningful about life, but in Gothic Travel, that revelation comes no matter how deeply the character hides or deludes himself.

Afterword

I close with Brocken Brown who brings together the many strands of this diverse and evasive Gothic study. The two books, *Wieland* and *Huntly*, work as a pair and draw together seemingly disparate elements of the Gothic that I address throughout my project. Both of Brown's books contain captives and entertain captivity—the demonization of Indians in both resonance with the demonic rhetoric of Mary Rowlandson and the brutality (e.g., Edgar Huntly's "Tom-Hawk" and stealthy Indian assassination) toward Indians from the captivity and escape of Hannah Duston. Their emotional transport between monstrous men—Wieland (which one might it be?) and Carwin, Clithero and Edgar Huntly—reflects the mobility and lack of sympathy of the male characters in Susana Rowson's Belcor and Abraham Panther's unnamed father. Of course, both texts echo the Gothic treatment of racism and sexism in the West Indian Gothic of Charlotte Smith's *Henrietta* and Leonara Sansay's *Secret History* as a form of national identity and nation building.

Brockden Brown's canonical American Gothic texts draw on these three points to condemn isolation and value instability. Because, there's a need, no matter how afraid we might be, to cross borders and see things as others—who might be read as different or we might think are like us but are truly monsters—might see. We need *transformation*, as the secondary tittle of *Wieland* states. And that comes from leaving things behind, and like the captives here—traveling, relating, and escaping.

At the very end, I hope that I have shown you one brutal yet true thing—travel through the American Gothic goes deeply and darkly in the depths of captivity, monstrosity, and emotion.

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