Gothic Transformations and Remediations in Cheap Nineteenth-Century Fiction

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GOTHIC TRANSFORMATIONS AND REMEDIATIONS IN CHEAP NINETEENTH-CENTURY FICTION

by

Wendy Fall, BA, MA

A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School, Marquette University, in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT
GOTHIC TRANSFORMATIONS AND REMEDIATIONS IN CHEAP NINETEENTH-CENTURY FICTION

Wendy Fall, B.A., M.A.
Marquette University, 2023

My project considers the transformation of gothic characters as they move among different types of publications in the nineteenth century. As they meander from triple-decker novels to chapbooks, to theatrical scripts, to periodicals, and to penny serials, gothic stories and portrayals of people in them are altered by the length and technological capability of each form. They also mutate to reflect the tastes and ideologies of their changing audiences, and to hybridize genres under the popular influence of realism toward the mid-century. The mainstays of the gothic mode remain stable; these publications adhere to ambiguous or pluralistic ideologies, are obsessed with transgressions, liminalities, and entrapment, and are deeply concerned with economic and physical security. What’s different in the cheaper forms of nineteenth century fiction is the nearness of the material; the resemblance it bears to readers’ lived realities alters the way characters speak, think, look, and act.

Each chapter of my project compares a selection of canonical works of gothic fiction (authors like Ann Radcliffe, Matthew Lewis, Charlotte Dacre, and Horace Walpole) with their cheaper counterparts, and focuses on the way remediation affects content. The first chapter is centered on ghosts; their stories were modulated to move the gothic away from the hyperbolic masculinity run amok in a triple-decker like The Monk toward a more realistic presence capable of some resistance to patriarchy in periodical fiction. In the second chapter I examine the vampire, whose path was different; the vampire moved from folklore across translations and into poetry before arriving in prose via chapbook and then penny serials. During this journey, the vampire developed the capacity to serve as a metaphor with increasing flexibility. The last chapter addresses gendered human characters: heroes, heroines, villains, and crones; all of whom became more human, more relatable, and more capable of transgression in the process of remediation. By transforming so successfully, the gothic thrived in the changing literary marketplace that led to the gothic revival of the fin de siècle.
DEDICATION

Wendy Fall, B.A., M.A.

To my love:
Jim, I will always be grateful to you. You have been with me for every single stage of this project and supported me from afar while I was away for weeks of research travel. Your patience, generosity, and understanding enabled me to complete this work. You have a gift for helping me grow and heal, and I appreciate it immensely. Thanks for being my best friend, my family, my companion, and my favorite person. I hope you know how essential your support and care have been to this project. Whenever you read this, it is probably time to buy me a sword or take me on vacation. Love, love, love.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Wendy Fall, B.A., M.A.

The memory of Diane Long Hoeveler strongly influenced this dissertation. Dr. Hoeveler saw the world as an increasingly gothic place, full of experiences that could only be understood by grappling with ambiguities. She was right about many things, and I heard her voice often as I wrote this. I think she would have been wryly amused by much of it, and I hope I made her proud.

My committee more than deserves my deepest gratitude. Sarah Wadsworth has thoughtfully and conscientiously guided me through this process; hers should be the model by which all dissertations are directed. Ben Pladek’s and Melissa Ganz’s patience, dedication, and insight have improved this project in every way.

Thank you to my family, especially those who helped make this dissertation a reality. Paula and Sam Hudnutt were always in my corner. Karen Salvador suggested that if I thought I was bright enough, maybe I should go to graduate school, and Jim Salvador kept reminding me that I enjoy writing. Kirstin Zilka reliably knows me better than most and inspired much of my work with her childhood reading. My Bailey and Bristol families encouraged me, too. I know my life has taken a strange trajectory, and you’ve all found ways to understand and love me anyway. I am grateful and love you.

I owe a debt of gratitude to Franz Potter, with whom I have consulted many times over the course of this project, and whose work on chapbooks has been so helpful. I’d also like to thank the International Gothic Association for being my academic community and creating space to discuss chapbooks and the cheap gothic.

I learned a great deal about book history from Elizabeth Savage at University of London, Terry Belanger and the many other wonderful instructors at the Rare Book School, and the patient staff at the Bodleian’s bibliographic workshop who taught me to print. I also very much appreciate the help of the many librarians who consulted on this project; Rose Fortier and Heather James, David Whitesell at the University of Virginia, John Boneham and Monika Biesaga at the British Library, Alexandra Franklin at the Bodleian, and Elizabeth Denlinger, Meredith Mann, and Charles Cuykendall Carter at the New York Public Library.

This project took a difficult turn in 2019 when I was diagnosed with breast cancer and underwent a major surgery. Without Dr. Aparna Shah, Dr. Tina Yen, Dr. Karri Adamson, and the staff of Froedtert and the Medical College of Wisconsin I may never have completed this dissertation. I was greatly helped by physical therapists, counselors, a support group, and the Cancer Center staff. Thank you all for taking care of me; I appreciate the gift of my health more than I can say.
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INTRODUCTION: FORM, FICTION, AND REMEDIATION

This is a dissertation about the development of cheap gothic fiction. The project began with a broad question and a dash of naïveté: I wanted to know what happened to gothic literature between the era of the classical gothic novels (1764-1820) and the fin de siècle wave that peaked with Dracula in 1898. What followed was a lengthy chase, during which I gleefully sprinted through as much cheap nineteenth-century gothic fiction as I could find within the limits of my travel budget. I read the cheap gothic in Chicago, New York, London, Oxford, and Charlottesville, Virginia, and accessed as many online editions as I could. After all of that reading, I came back with not a single answer, but rather a multifaceted description of the interaction among writers, publishers, audiences, and social discourses that affected the way the gothic developed in the popular press. I found that once it was initially spawned by the likes of Horace Walpole, Matthew Lewis, and Ann Radcliffe, the gothic uncontrollably expanded and proliferated, and that this proliferation led to evolution.

The movement of the gothic from its canonical foundations into popular culture cannot be depicted in a straight line; some gothic tropes were incorporated in the novels of the original gothic authors, resurfaced in chapbooks, then made their way into periodical short fiction before appearing in serial novels. Other gothic tropes had different origins, followed this sequence in a different order, or germinated in multiple types of publications rhizomatically, growing and reaching in many directions at once. Each of these is an opportunity for intervention by way of text-to-text remediation.¹

¹ This language about the rhizome was inspired by the introduction to Deleuze and Guattari’s A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia, University of Minnesota
Along these varied developmental pathways, cheap publications incubated the gothic as it evolved in the midcentury, popularizing it, and enabling it to return with renewed vigor to thrillers like Robert Louis Stevenson’s *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1886), Bram Stoker’s *Dracula* (1897), and Henry James’s *The Turn of the Screw* (1898), which were appreciated by popular audiences and literary critics alike. As a result of the remediation process, cheap gothic publications advanced along the path of secularization, explored the changing role of women in society, and reflected anxieties around self-determination for the common person much in the same way the costlier novels did for the bourgeoisie. They further challenged readers to grapple with ambiguity and contend with competing truths via pluralistic thinking.²

By understanding the development and nature of cheap publications, we can better understand how the gothic changed between the late eighteenth century works of Radcliffe and Lewis and the fin de siècle novels of Stevenson and Stoker. During this intermediate period, I argue, countless chapbooks, serials, and periodicals made the growth and development of the gothic possible. In many ways, the gothic and the cheap publication developed symbiotically; the gothic adapts for the anxieties of its audiences, and the cheap publications of the nineteenth century cultivated a growing audience by meeting readers’ demands for gothic material. The remediation of the gothic therefore serves as an engine driving the cheap publication industry forward, while at the same

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² Diane Long Hoeveler mentions this idea in *Gothic Riffs: Secularizing the Uncanny in the European Imaginary, 1780–1820* Ohio State University Press (2010) by way of explaining the gothic’s ability to both valorize and condemn sacred beliefs and institutions at the same time.
time, the changing anxieties of the audience pushed the gothic to evolve. In more than one sense, what happened to the gothic is that it was remediated multiple times in the nineteenth century. Rather than being adapted for something like film, the modern gothic, which emerged from popular culture as much as from literary circles, is a creature much influenced by the cheap publications of the nineteenth century.

**Expanding and Defining the Gothic**

Scholars of gothic literature have historically focused on the importance of the novel—specifically, the type of hardbound novel which is released in one-to-three volumes, and which is physically designed to weather the passage of time. Founders of the field of Gothic Studies in the early twentieth century identified, periodized, and canonized the major British gothic authors whose work was published in novels between 1760 and 1820 (Varma). From the beginning, however, scholars of the gothic could not agree on what it meant to “be gothic,” because it was quickly clear to them that Matthew Lewis and Ann Radcliffe should both be included, but that these authors treated the same themes and subjects very differently. Focusing on their similarities, Montague Summers’s 1938 study *The Gothic Quest* defined gothic conventions for the first time and used those conventions to attempt to carve out and classify the gothic as a genre distinct from other forms of romance (Summers). Viewing the gothic as divided among “terror-gothic,” “sentimental-gothic,” and “historical-gothic,” Summers insisted all three must keep a dramatic unity in the classical sense—telling a single story, and that they must possess the right “atmosphere and thrill” (Chapter 1). Summers is hard-pressed to define the nature of that thrill or that atmosphere but provides ample examples of texts wherein it can be found or is lacking. Summers’s treatment of the gothic was a point of contention
among scholars for half a century; Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick is a notable example of someone who worked to refine the field’s view of gothic conventions after Summers (1975).

Working with the gothic outside England further confuses matters. As Teresa Goddu has pointed out, the American gothic lacks a clear coterie of founding authors in a single defining period (Goddu 5). Instead, the Americas and Caribbean produced a diffuse, diverse set of clearly gothic texts which defy categorization and complicate our understanding of what a “gothic story” is. Relegating the discussion to gothic ‘afterlives’ and ‘echoes’ seems insufficient to the task of understanding the sophisticated gothic innovations of people like Salman Rushdie and Toni Morrison, both of whom have breathed new life into the creature. While it is possible to trace the lineage of Morrison’s haunted mother, for example, from its folkloric roots to *Beloved* (1987), such a reconstruction would require us to acknowledge, as Goddu does, that the gothic does not surrender to being categorized or characterized in any static way, and must instead be opened up to further questioning (Goddu 8). In many ways, the gothic subverts the process of criticism just as it does everything else, by taking many forms, and by infecting many other genres. For purposes of this project, I will define the gothic as I observe it in cheap fiction: an ever-changing, monstrous mode of horror or terror that feeds upon the originating gothic authors’ conventions while remaining resistant to categorization and periodization.³ One reason a definition of the gothic has always been

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³ These conventions include those ably defined by Sedgwick in *The Coherence of Gothic Conventions* (1975): “…an oppressive ruin, a wild landscape, a Catholic or feudal society. The trembling sensibility of the heroine and the impetuosity of her lover… the tyrannical older man with the piercing glance who is going to imprison and try to rape or
The intermediary period between its origins in the eighteenth-century and the revival of the fin de siècle, it grew and evolved in such unpredictable ways, hidden in the ephemeral shadows of sub-literary popular fiction.

**The Intersection of Book History and the Gothic**

My approach to this work is to bring two related disciplines together: book history and gothic literary studies. As Robert Darnton has observed, “Neither history nor literature nor economics nor sociology nor bibliography can do justice to all the aspects of the life of a book. By its very nature, therefore, the history of books must be international in scale and interdisciplinary in method” (22). In the same publication, however, Darnton complains that the work of book historians is so interdisciplinary (“interdisciplinarity run riot,” in fact) that it is less a field than a tropical rain forest of scholarship. Gothic scholars, however, tend to specialize in literary studies, not book history. My work demonstrates a need for scholars of the gothic after 1820 to use a common language to describe various cheap publications, to develop an understanding of how they were produced, and to become more familiar with the historical and discursive functions they performed. By examining the mutation of the gothic as remediated in chapbooks, penny publications, periodicals and the like, this study aims to provide a more complete understanding of the nineteenth-century reading experience that led to our present-day gothic-infused culture. Applying the methods of book history to the cheap gothic literature of this period of the gothic illuminates the changing material conditions

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murder them” (8). The story for Sedgwick is “discontinuous and involuted, perhaps incorporating tales within tales, changes of narrators, and such framing devices as found manuscripts or interpolated histories” (8).
and mechanisms as well as less tangible processes of cultural change which influenced the evolution of the gothic.

Recently, gothic scholars have begun to see the value in publications previously considered ephemeral, and have studied them from many different angles. Franz Potter’s *History of Gothic Publishing and Gothic Chapbooks, Bluebooks and Shilling Shockers, 1797–1830* (2021) provides a solid foundation for the study of chapbooks before 1835, as does Diane Long Hoeveler’s article “More Gothic Gold” (2010). In a chapter of her book *The Gothic Ideology* (2014), Hoeveler considers the cultural work performed by the chapbooks, focusing particularly on anti-Catholic and secularizing themes in a subset of chapbooks in the Sadleir Black Collection at the University of Virginia. In *Loving Literature* (2015), Deidra Shauna Lynch provides a chapter on the gothic’s role in popular culture that models useful ways of thinking about readers, authors, and publishers communicating with one another to determine how a text will be written, printed, and read. Hoeveler co-authored a chapter with Douglass Thomson (published in 2016 after Dr. Hoeveler’s death) which considers the shifting audience for gothic chapbooks as it grew from the working class to include the middle class, finding a corresponding shift in the cultural work performed by these chapbooks, as they move from espousing a “lottery mentality” to an “investment mentality” (Hoeveler and Thomson). In 2019, I collaborated with Thomson to write a chapter on chapbooks and ballads in the *Edinburgh Companion to the Gothic and the Arts* (2019). In addition, scholars like Roy Bearden-White, Ann Humphreys, Louis James, and Mark Bennett have researched specific publishers and authors of the cheap gothic book. Meanwhile, Frederick S. Frank, Elizabeth James, Helen Smith, Angela Koch, Robert Mayo and Jeffery Weinstock have assembled various
checklists and catalogues of cheap gothic materials, which help develop the field immensely.

My project’s main contribution is to work across boundaries of physical form and geography, freely tracing the movements of gothic characters across the ocean, and from one type of publication to the next. Cheap gothic fiction itself was not constrained by geography, form, or language; these stories were available in translation and in any place where an enterprising publisher cared to make a few pennies.\(^4\) By closely examining the changes to gothic plots, tropes, and characters as they are remediated for one form after another, I can provide scholars with a way to understand the cheap gothic of this period as simultaneously evolving and acting as an agent of cultural change. Mutations occurred as a result of the shifting environmental pressures of audience, location, and publication type, but at the same time, these new forms influenced and challenged their audiences in new ways.

When gothic figures were remediated for the popular press, they adapted like organisms in an evolutionary movement, taking on new purposes that guaranteed their survival in the climate of a new audience. They also proved their ability to thrive in different hybridized genres and to achieve mobility in different markets. A productive

\(^4\) Although I have limited this study to cheap gothic publications in the United States, Caribbean, and United Kingdom, there is ample evidence they were reproduced or transported all over the world, and that many other geographic locations have similar cheap gothic publishing traditions. For example, the California State Library’s Sutro library (at San Francisco State University) holds a vast collection of Mexican broadsides and pamphlets dating back to the seventeenth century, which fell outside the scope of this project. I also have not studied the widely distributed railroad editions of so many gothic stories which later ended up at the farthest ends of their railway passengers’ travels. For an excellent discussion of the gothic in the Americas, see Tropical Gothic in Literature and Culture: The Americas edited by Justin D. Edwards and Sandra Guardini Vasconcelos, Routledge, 2019.
way to understand the migrations and mutations of the gothic is to examine specific cases of remediation, and to consider what their stories, illustrations, and contexts can reveal about each publication’s significance and cultural work. Robert Mack demonstrated the efficacy of this strategy in *The Wonderful and Surprising History of Sweeney Todd: The Life and Times of an Urban Legend* (2007), which effectively traces the story of the demon barber of Fleet Street from its origins in legend through the penny dreadfuls, into novels and beyond. In these different incarnations, Sweeney Todd’s motives change, as do the plots affecting other characters surrounding him, so Mack can argue for the different functions performed by the various publications and theatrical productions he includes in his study. Using the same combination of genre theory, book history, and close readings, my project tracks the ways gothic tropes change as they move from one place (publication and audience) to the next. In every case, the process of remediation changes the character, their situation, and the types of problems they face. As a result, each incarnation of a gothic story in a new form takes on a different rhetorical slant as its content is adapted to fit a new page and method of production, and to serve a new audience.

**On Working with Gothic Chapbooks (1790-1845)**

One difficulty we all face in conducting an academic conversation about chapbooks is that neither scholars nor librarians have agreed on common terms and definitions for them, and many people do not recognize them for what they are, or understand the importance of the chapbook form for the common reader. For example, a great deal of attention has recently been paid to *The Black Vampyre* (1819), which is an amazing gothic fiction about a vampire in revolutionary Haiti. *The Black Vampyre* has
been popular among teachers since it became a feature on the Just Teach One web site. Lacking any other term for it, and not having physical contact with *The Black Vampyre* themselves, scholars took to calling it a novella.\(^5\) I went to see *The Black Vampyre* at the University of Virginia’s Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections, and while in purely literary sense it may be a novella, physically, it is a chapbook, as shown in Figure I-1:

![Figure I-1: *The Black Vampyre*, held by the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections, University of Virginia.](image)

It is the same size, the same shape, and made of the same materials as any English chapbook would be. Byron’s *Giaour* and some of Washington Irving’s short stories were

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\(^5\) This is easily understood—in many ways *The Black Vampyre* is a novella, especially when read in another form, like a PDF or HTML page. It does have the pacing of a novella, and a single central conflict. The form, however, is important to note, since materials had a certain cost, and implications for a publication’s durability, accessibility, and associations in the marketplace.
also published in this format. This has implications for our understanding of *The Black Vampyre*’s audience, because of the increased accessibility of such a cheap publication in 1819, and because of the expectations readers would have if they regularly purchased chapbooks during that period.

The problem of working with chapbooks is further exacerbated by terminology and appearance. The same materials have been called chapbooks, bluebooks, shilling shockers, tracts, and pamphlets. They also vary slightly in appearance due to the diversity of their covers; some chapbooks have advertisements printed on their covers, some do not. Some have a blue paper cover, but some covers are pink, yellow, brown, olive green, or gray. Sometimes their illustrated frontispieces and colored paper covers are still intact, but sometimes they’ve been torn off. For purposes of this project, I have used the term “chapbook” to describe publications which were printed on soft early nineteenth-century ragstock paper, originally unbound, 128 pages or less, seven inches tall by five inches wide or smaller, priced one shilling or below, and printed with a handpress.6

Chapbooks can be difficult to locate in libraries, because their original owners treated them in a variety of ways. Although there are (possibly apocryphal) stories of people using chapbooks to insulate their walls, clean their windows, protect their dishes in transit, or wipe their derrières, the chapbooks extant in twenty-first century library collections were often altered by their first owners for purposes of preservation. It seems to have been a fairly common practice for a chapbook owner or collector to take a stack of chapbooks to a bookbinder, where they could all be guillotined neatly and bound into a

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6 I chose 128 pages for this description to be as inclusive as possible; most chapbooks are between 36 and 72 pages in length.
volume. Some publishers, such as Ann Lemoine (1786-1820), also bound their chapbooks for sale in a volume, like her *Tell-Tale Magazine* (1803-05). There are two ways these aftermarket-bound chapbooks end up in libraries: bound and disbound.

Bound chapbooks can be particularly difficult to identify in libraries; the librarian who received the donation may not have realized this was a collection of various chapbooks, and may have instead described it in the catalogue as a collection of short stories. Sometimes this is later rectified, which results in a volume that is catalogued in many individual entries that share a single call number. A good example of this type of cataloguing is in the New York Public Library’s (NYPL’s) Pforzheimer Collection. To find the chapbooks in that collection, a researcher needs to either know the name of a specific chapbook, or search for gothic novellas and gothic tracts. The way the library returns search results is broken down by chapbook name, and then locates the chapbook in its binding, using the bound volume title as a call number. By looking for gothic novellas in the NYPL catalogue, a researcher can find a chapbook such as “The Black Knight: an Historical Tale of the Eighth Century: Translated from the Original, recently published at Paris” with the call number “Pforz (Gothic novellas) V 3.” In this example, there are six volumes, all handsomely bound, and each containing between ten and twelve chapbooks. It is easy to tell that these were originally sold as chapbooks: the pagination has not been changed, and sometimes the chapbooks’ covers are still intact. Also, sometimes the guillotine cut for the volume makes some of the chapbooks’ margins smaller than others, so it is easy to spot the transition from one chapbook to the next.

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This colorful language is also the technical term for a nineteenth century paper cutter used to trim the edges of a block of pages in bookbinding. Before these tools, cuts were made using hand tools, with which bookbinders laboriously planed the edges smooth.
within the volume. Researchers may not be able to rely on the cataloguing record to identify these volumes as chapbooks, because the bindings are stamped with the owner’s chosen title for the collection, for example, “Romances” as shown in Figure I-2:

Figure I-2: Spine of a bound volume of chapbooks, titled “Romances,” held by the Pforzheimer Collection at the New York Public Library.

Disbound chapbooks are sometimes easier to find, but a little more difficult to handle. The process of removing a chapbook from a binding is done by slicing the binding’s glue and strings with a sharp knife laid flat against the page. This leaves part of the binding still attached to the spine of the chapbook, and in many cases this tight little strip of glue and leather or cardboard can make the chapbook difficult to open. These are usually catalogued by the name of the chapbook, and often the catalogue entry also contains the word “disbound,” which is sometimes searchable, too. Disbound chapbooks are found in many library collections; Figure I-3 is an example from the Sadlier Black
Collection at the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections at the University of Virginia:

Figure I-3: Spine of a disbound chapbook; *Adventures of Mary Jane Meadows* held by the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections, University of Virginia.

It is usually still possible to read these chapbooks using a very tall cradle; to photograph them I use a slender cellular phone camera that will fit between the pages.

Chapbooks that have been preserved in a library and never placed in a binding can present their own challenges for scholars. The most common problem with these is that they’ve occasionally never been cut. When chapbooks were new, they were sold folded and string-bound, but their edges were untrimmed. Figure I-4 shows a string binding and an untrimmed chapbook edge:
The problem with these unadulterated chapbooks is that the only page that will turn without tugging the others is the cover, since that is made from a different sheet of paper. The remaining pages, heavily creased into their folds, can be very difficult to see; chapbooks are usually folded “octavo,” which means after the paper has been printed upon and dried, it is then folded three times. The fold along the spine does not present a problem for readers, but the other two can create a very tight opening. Sometimes these chapbooks can still be read by fitting a camera inside the narrow space between pages, but these images do not capture flat text, and therefore optical character recognition software often will not recognize them as lines of text. They also each represent only part of a page, which makes them difficult to organize, presenting huge difficulties for any future digitization project.

The last problem to overcome in working with chapbooks that were never placed in a binding is that some libraries will categorize them as ephemera. For example,
Chicago’s Newberry Library holds many chapbooks, but they are stored in boxes with other ephemera, such as playbills and pamphlets. This is only a slight difficulty since it requires extra time to rifle through the box to find each chapbook.

In terms of narrative contents, the gothic chapbook industry was founded on adaptations, retellings, and piracies of more famous works. As they became popular, however, the proportion of chapbooks containing well-written, original works increased, and writers built careers at the very bottom of the pay-scale as chapbookers. Their textual improvements, however, were only a small upgrade for consumers. More important, I believe, were the profound improvements in gothic chapbook illustrations, which I observe starting around 1796 and becoming more sophisticated through 1835. Chapbooks from before this period had usually been illustrated with relief-print woodcuts (Howard-Hill 15). These can be crude in appearance, since the wood block’s edges would wear down and crack under the pressure of the press, and face-grain carvings in wood were not able to hold a very fine edge to begin with. As a result, the lines in these relief illustrations were thick, requiring large spaces in between. The level of detail they could present was therefore minimal, as shown in Figure I-5, as printed in 1780:
These face-grain woodcuts cannot convey human facial expressions, and appear somewhat cartoonish. They rely on the position of the body to communicate the character’s actions and reactions to the reader. They also may or may not be connected closely to the literary contents of the chapbook, since printers often used woodcuts for purely decorative reasons, or to fill blank spaces when text ran short. In this way, even
though these woodcut illustrations were not necessarily intended to “illustrate” the text, they did affect the reading experience.

As new generations of chapbooks were created after 1796, they were consistently illustrated using relatively expensive intaglio printmaking rather than woodblock relief printing. Demand for these higher quality prints had been spurred by the smashing success of Thomas Bewick’s *The History of British Birds* (1797), in which Bewick demonstrated his uncanny ability to engrave lifelike illustrations in end-grain boxwood (Anderson 17). Bewick’s results were spectacular; his illustrations are so realistic that they fairly seem to breathe and ruffle their feathers on the page. Not only could end-grain engraving hold a finer edge and convey more detail than face-grain woodcuts, but woodblock engravings made with Bewick’s method wore down less quickly over many pressings. Work like Bewick’s was too expensive for the chapbook market, but his style of illustration was clearly in demand among chapbook readers. I have found one example of a gothic chapbook with engravings falsely attributed to Bewick and imitating his style: Sarah Scudgell Wilkinson’s *The history of Crazy Jane ... With a frontispiece by Bewick* (1813). Inserted between pages are relief-printed wood-engraved vignettes, which aspire to the fidelity Bewick could achieve, as in Figure I-6:

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8 This statement is based on my own observations of chapbooks across all the libraries I have been able to visit in person. When examining the physical characteristics of the chapbook, it is easy to spot illustrations which have been made with a metal plate and intaglio process, because the plate leaves deep edge marks around the margin of the illustration. I have not found an illustrated gothic chapbook that did not use an intaglio process for the frontispiece illustration. Intaglio processes can also be spotted because they cannot share space with typeset letters, which require a relief process. This also explains the placement of illustrations in the frontispiece, rather than near the relevant passage in the chapbook’s interior: printers could not place relief text and intaglio illustrations on the same page, because they used two different processes, and two different presses.
After Bewick, however, a common way to achieve detailed illustrations in chapbooks was to make a frontispiece using a copper or steel engraved plate and intaglio printing process, then tipping just one page into the otherwise relief-printed publication.  

Chapbook illustrations not only represented a technological advancement in terms of visual detail; over the span of just a few decades, these illustrations also became increasingly sophisticated in terms of how they connected with each chapbook’s narrative arc. Although we will never know much about the anonymous writers, illustrators, and printers who worked together to mold and improve the art of gothic chapbook-making, it is clear from the extant examples that they advanced from text-based, plagiarized horror toward more visual modes relying on illustration to build their audience. In so doing, they created the readership that demanded illustrated serial fiction (such as penny serials) in

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9 Among all of the gothic chapbooks I examined, I did not find a single example of a wood-engraved illustration. Like the illustrations in Crazy Jane, they imitate Bewick, but work on engraved metal plates, not wood.
the next generation. Most of the gothic chapbooks I’ve found have had their illustrated frontispieces intact; these must have been indispensable to the project, because they added a great deal of complexity and cost to the printing process of the chapbook.

Intaglio printing requires the use of an entirely different type of press, which in the handpress period would take up valuable floor space in the shop, making that footage unavailable for typecases or hanging prints to dry. The process of intaglio printing also usually involved hiring an engraver and artist, one to draw the illustration, and the other to scratch it onto a copper or steel plate. An intaglio illustration, however, may be well worth the investment, because it can present the viewer with much more detail than a woodcut, was more durable over many pressings, and better capable of conveying human expression, tone, and mood. For example, an intaglio metal-plate engraved illustration compared with a relief-printed illustration from the same shop in the same year is noticeably more clear and contains more detail, as shown in Mystic Tower (1800) in Figure I-7:

10 Many intaglio illustrations in gothic chapbooks are signed by the artist and engraver. These tiny marks are labelled “sc,” “scr,” or “sculp” for the engraver, and “del” or “delin” for the artist. For example, Sarah Wilkinson’s The Spectre, or the Ruins of Belfont Priory, published by A Kemmish features a ghost with a sword approaches two people by an archway. The illustration is signed, “Ann Ker delin and Barlow sculp.” Sometimes one person served as both the artist and the engraver, and signed the work with both tags. For example, Fair Savage; or the Beauty of the Woods, published by Ann Lemoine in 1804 features a paneled frontispiece signed “S Sharpe Del et Sc.”
Figure I-7: The Mystic Tower. On the left is the engraved frontispiece. On the right is the relief-printed title page with illustration. Held by the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections, University of Virginia.

The additional detail that can be provided by the illustration on the left is not only clearer, but also contains some indications of mood (with the shadows on the floor) and the identities of the characters, whose garb and behavior matches and supports their characterization in the story.

The illustrations continue to become more sophisticated and better connected with the text as the chapbook develops. The next advancement is the practice of placing a caption and page number reference on the frontispiece that corresponds with a location in the text. For example, in Duchess of C*** (1810) the illustration’s caption explains a scene which lends itself well to a visualization, as shown in Figure I-8:
This practice of using captions to connect an image to the text effectively upgrades the illustration to a visual aid, pointing to and interpreting a specific moment in the text for the reader. These types of illustrations later gave way to four- or five-panel scenes in series, presented in text order, and captioned to correspond with moments of the story.

For example, Figure I-9 is from a later edition of *Raymond and Agnes* (1825):
Figure I-9: Raymond and Agnes (1825) frontispiece, showing four illustrated panes, each with a caption and tiny page number reference to connect to a moment in the text. Held by the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections, University of Virginia.

Illustrations as sophisticated as these go beyond helping readers grasp a sticky moment in the plot; they are capable of communicating pathos, helping readers empathize with the characters, and giving them a visual model they can hold in their minds to imagine the characters’ appearances. This is particularly helpful since the chapbook’s author likely needed to remove many descriptive passages to fit such a complicated story into a shorter format. Further, the buyer of this copy has paid an extra penny to have the images hand-colored at the time of purchase, indicating a particular affinity for the artwork, and a desire to invest in illustrated reading material.
These chapbook advancements are meaningful because they distinguish the gothic chapbook of the nineteenth century as a completely different physical object from its cheaper, cruder predecessors. By breaking with the traditional form for chapbooks, they developed an audience with a taste for increasingly sophisticated publications at a low price. For six pence they not only gave the reader access to a gothic story, but also to artwork, which may have been more valuable to the reader. In fact, the cost required to add copper-plate engravings to these chapbooks was substantial enough to indicate its importance to the success of these publications. As readership numbers and the demand for popular press materials rose, these illustrated chapbooks created the market that was later exploited by the makers of illustrated periodicals and penny serials. Indeed, the decline of chapbooks after 1835 can be easily explained by the rise of these cheaper forms—a penny serial got that name by being priced just one penny per part, one-sixth of the price of most chapbooks. Still, the penny serial parts do bear some resemblance to the chapbooks, including their illustrated nature, and both publications could be hand-colored at the time of purchase for an extra penny. For example, Figure 1-10 shows an image of the first penny serial installment of *Varney the Vampire* (1845):
Figure I-10: The penny serial installment resembles the look and feel of a chapbook in many ways. It is slightly taller (one inch, to be exact) but still features a cover and illustration, and feels similar in hand to its chapbook predecessor. By permission of the British Library. Shelfmark: General Reference Collection RB.23.a.31447.

For people who were accustomed to reading chapbooks, these penny serial installments must have felt comfortingly familiar to hold; it was made of similar material, and was just a bit taller. The cover is much more exciting with the printed illustration, and many serials included illustrations in each issue. The physical similarity between
penny serials and chapbooks suggests to me that the penny serials are the chapbooks’ closest relatives on the evolutionary tree of the gothic popular press and the market that drove it.

**Where do we go from here?**

This project offers three case studies, each organized around a selection of gothic stories. My opening chapter examines the way ghost stories were affected by changes in form in the course of remediation. I start with *Castle of Otranto* (1764), by Horace Walpole. Walpole’s ghost is like Hamlet’s father—he is angry about a usurper in his castle and demands revenge. I find that some early chapbooks respond to the haunted castle by emphasizing ways it can be domesticated; the haunting could be explained, or things could somehow be set aright and the castle brought to order using comforting (for some) institutions like patriarchy and traditional marriage. Next, I turn my attention to the case of the Bleeding Nun, who became famous in the anglophone world via Matthew Lewis’s *The Monk* (1796), wherein the author spins out lengthy and indulgent passages of purple prose to introduce her, characterize her, cover her in blood, and tell her horrific tale. Then the Bleeding Nun’s story is adapted for many different forms—each time affected by the process of remediation as content must change to suit them. By 1820, chapbooker extraordinaire Sarah Scudgell Wilkinson (1779-1831) remediates the bleeding nun in a way that is still much shorter than Lewis’s original, and modified so that the Bleeding Nun’s story is told in close proximity to the story of her descendant, Agnes. Wilkinson’s version of the Bleeding Nun is a cautionary tale reinforcing conservative views of a woman’s duty, but Agnes’s story directly contradicts it by suggesting that women can choose their own futures. In periodicals, ghosts move out of
far-off castles and into readers’ neighborhoods, connecting directly with their lived experiences of that time and place. Using the work of Harriet Beecher Stowe, Edith Wharton, and Henry James as examples, I show how these periodical horrors were driven by the demands of a periodical marketplace that had embraced realism.

The second chapter is about vampires, whose stories are also modified by remediation. I start with the earliest English publications about vampires, which were field reports from an invasion of Serbia in the eighteenth century. Next, I study nineteenth-century chapbooks, which contained anti-indigenous firsthand accounts; they accuse Wallachians of believing in vampires by way of making a racist and xenophobic stereotype of the natives built on other white Western ideas about the superstitious indigenous ‘other.’ I then turn my attention to John Polidori’s *The Vampyre* (1819) and a chapbook called *The Black Vampyre* (1819), which is a satirical sendup of *The Vampyre* set in revolutionary Haiti, and the most prominent vampire chapbook. A text packed with ambiguity and competing truths, *The Black Vampyre* fits nicely within the tradition of the gothic chapbook. From there, I delve into the first full-length vampire novel, which was James Malcolm Rymer’s *Varney the Vampire* (1845-47). Over the course of dozens of installments and two years, the authors of *Varney the Vampire* had a significant impact on the way the vampire would emerge at the end of the nineteenth century.

Finally, chapter three is focused on the human characters presented in cheap gothic stories, and how they change along with the rest of the content when remediation occurs. In particular, I notice how they repeatedly transgressed social norms pertaining to gender in the nineteenth century, and how these challenges to assumptions about gender were often central to the story. This is less true of the canonical gothic, when often
gender was built into the bones of the character types. I open the chapter with *Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794), Ann Radcliffe’s triumph featuring Emily St. Aubert, a well-brought-up female protagonist who eludes any of the character types previously set for women.

By contrast, I next work with Charlotte Dacre’s *Zofloya* (1806) which features a main character named Victoria, who does not have Emily St. Aubert’s good upbringing; by behaving monstrously she shows us another way to defy gender norms. I next look at gender in chapbook examples, using two anonymous chapbooks: *Mary, Maid of the Inn* (1822) and *The Fiery Castle* (1810), to reveal the new ways each one resists the pull of traditional patriarchally prescribed roles for women. Moving to serials, I read *The String of Pearls* (1846-47), which is the original penny serial upon which all later Sweeney Todd productions are based. Closely reading the four main characters, I consider the ways gender norms are stretched or completely overturned in the blood-drenched manufacturing process of meat-pie horror. At the same time, the characterization of both men and women is modified over time by the influence of the marketplace to be more realistic and relatable, even as they continue to break social rules about gender. The cheap gothic is, in this way, capable of challenging an audience to think about stereotypes and gender roles in new ways.
CHAPTER ONE: TRANSFORMING THE GHOSTS OF THE GOTHIC

The first ghosts of the British gothic novel are said to haunt the pages of Horace Walpole’s 1764 novel *The Castle of Otranto*, which was a novel ahead of its time. A strange blend of many genres, *Otranto* did not land firmly in the category of gothic literature until its resurgence in popularity in the 1790s, when at least nine editions were published (Ellis 27). Walpole was aware that he was writing against convention, and admitted that he had purposefully created something new: upon claiming authorship in 1765, Walpole described *Otranto* as “a new species of romance,” and “an attempt to blend the two kinds of romance, the ancient and the modern” (Clery “Genesis” 24). Specifically, Walpole combines contemporary novelists’ innovations of realistic dialogue and characterization with the more fantastic imaginary elements of Shakespeare and Spenser while packaging the tale as a history. As a result, the pages of *Castle of Otranto* are filled with ghosts and cynical characters who do not believe in them until the very end.

Walpole designs the reader’s first glimpse of his ghost to imitate Hamlet’s first view of his deceased father: the ghost descends with a “grave and melancholy air” but does not speak (11). Instead, he beckons for Manfred to follow him. Manfred responds, much in the same way Hamlet did, by saying “Lead on! I will follow thee to the gulf of perdition” (Walpole 11). As the story unfolds, Walpole reveals that like the ghost of King Hamlet, the *Otranto* ghost is an ancestor who demands vengeance against a usurper. In this way, Walpole frames his supernaturally haunted castle within a much-loved and well-plundered literary tradition. At the same time, Walpole creates a lord of the manor so obsessed with maintaining his grasp on the castle that he loses all reason, becomes the
story’s darkest antagonist, and terrorizes the characters in the castle more thoroughly than the ghost does. As Elizabeth MacAndrew has established, the gothic castle as inaugurated by Walpole is a tool for maintaining patriarchal control over women: “The wife and daughter [Manfred] dominates so completely are confined to it almost entirely, as if they lived and breathed and had their being within his personality” (MacAndrew 13). By figuring the haunted castle as a symbol and manifestation of the patriarchy, Walpole creates a gothic mode which challenges future writers to carve out spaces for the feminine in the genre. As the haunted castle moved to new types of media and women began to take over the creation of ghost stories, hauntings shifted towards more orderly domestic spaces and the subversion of patriarchal authority.

In this chapter, I consider what happened to the ghost story after Walpole. I begin with an example of a generic haunted castle, which does not provide much detail about the nature of the ghost, except to establish that the ghost is a type of domestic problem that must be set aright in order to achieve a peaceful patriarchal household. I then consider the people who produced these chapbooks, and the marketplace demands they faced, which likely explained the morality they espoused, and the emphasis they place on the importance of domestic stability. Next, I take the Bleeding Nun as a specific example, and trace her through a number of remediations, including chapbooks, theatrical presentations, phantasmagoria, news articles, and toy theaters. As she is remediated time and again, I show how she becomes less connected with Matthew Lewis’s original anti-Catholic and misogynistic characterization, and more sympathetic for readers, and therefore capable of working to subvert patriarchy.
Hauntings in Chapbooks

The gothic haunted castle has been remediated many times, including a variety of forms increasingly featuring female authors and serving readers of all genders. In imitation of Otranto, chapbook ghost stories maintained their settings among the nobility in haunted castles, but unlike Walpole’s classic, the chapbooks are laced with popular moral messages to appeal to the publishers’ much broader audiences. In the anonymous chapbook The Haunted Castle (1801), for example, the ghost’s purposes are moral, not vengeful; this ghost is determined to reveal the truth. This is done not only to uncover the castle’s true heir, but also to advance a strongly stated lesson which is only superficially related to the story: directly criticizing a tyrannically patriarchal household, and preparing to dismantle it.

In The Haunted Castle, Julian, an infant of unknown origins is taken in by a benevolent Count and raised as his son. Unfortunately, he is cast out from his foster parents’ home upon attaining adulthood because his position has made him the object of enmity and jealousy from the Count’s brother and heir (24). In his subsequent wanderings, Julian stumbles upon a castle, which is described by a nearby neighbor as being inhabited by:

the devil, who has kept his court there always these twenty years; and all the witches come every night to dance with him, and a fearful coil they do make. There is such shrieking, such howling, and such a hubbub, that everybody would rather go ten miles another way, than go within one of the castle, especially after sunset. (The Haunted Castle 6)
Julian decides, however, that since the castle appears to be uninhabited, he should take shelter there, and imagines himself settling in, making the castle his home. Upon moving in, he is approached late at night by a ghost, who imitates King Hamlet and the *Otranto* ghost by gesturing for him to follow, a scene which is illustrated in the chapbook’s engraved frontispiece. In the castle’s basement, the ghost reveals four other ghosts frozen like statues: a woman and three children, weltering in blood. These vanish in the daylight, revealing piles of bones in their places (9). Julian runs away and turns to prayer in a nearby cave. After some time in the cave, he realizes that his motives for claiming the castle for himself are selfish and comes to believe that God wants him to further investigate the situation there. During his subsequent visit, Julian meets the ghost of his murdered father, but unlike King Hamlet’s ghost, this one does not demand vengeance; instead, he directs Julian to consult the Marquis of Vicanze (17).

With Vicanze’s help, Julian confronts the man who murdered his adopted family, but rather than vengeance, he makes peace by receiving the tale of a dying man, who compels him to take the lesson “So far as we deviate from the path of virtue, so far do we deviate from that of happiness” (29). On his deathbed, the murderer confesses, makes Julian his heir, and declares himself bound for eternal torment. Julian’s first activities as a wealthy man are to direct his servants to clean the old castle and place an orderly system in place for domestic management (32-33). This is a much different outcome from the commandments of the ghost in Otranto, whose vengeance is achieved, and the ghost in *Hamlet*, whose vengeance destroys the entire ruling family of Denmark. Rather than directing his son to vengeance, *The Haunted Castle’s* ghost’s stoical instructions have led Julian to discover his purpose, which is not to seek a bloody end for an enemy, but
instead to settle down in an orderly household. In this way, the story’s anonymous author tells a tale of nobility reclaiming an ancestral seat but simultaneously espouses more common ideals of domesticity and individual virtue. Further, Julian’s activities to cleanse the castle of its violent, chaotic past are a departure from Otranto and symbolize a transition to a less patriarchally dominated home.

One reason for this shift away from the patriarchal castle could be women’s increasing prominence in the publication circuit of cheap fiction. During the nineteenth century, women played an ever-expanding role in the production of the gothic ghost story, not only as writers, but also as innovative publishers. The most prolific exemplar of these women is Ann Lemoine (fl. 1786-1820), publisher of The Haunted Castle, who knew the audience for chapbooks, publishing around 400 of them in a 25-year period (Potter, “Gothic Chapbooks” 55-56).11 Most of Lemoine’s chapbooks were compositions, translations, or redactions created by anonymous authors, but it is possible Lemoine herself authored many of them (Bearden-White 33). She did, however, commission the majority of the work of London’s most-published known chapbook author, Sarah Scudgell Wilkinson (1779-1831). Some of Lemoine’s anonymous chapbooks may also be Wilkinson’s work.

A major technical advancement spearheaded by Ann Lemoine is the creation of a uniform chapbook design, giving each of her chapbooks a consistent aesthetic appeal that suggests the continuity of their contents. Lemoine’s chapbooks are all carefully laid out

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11 No record can be found of Ann (nee Swires) Lemoine’s birth or death. “fl” is an abbreviation of the Latin word floruit, meaning flourishing. These were the years of Lemoine’s hundreds of publications, not her life.
to match one another; their intaglio frontispieces all feature an ornate geometric frame surrounding the illustration, as shown in Figure 1-1:

Figure 1-1: Frontispiece illustration from Lemoine’s *Roxalana*, held by the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections, University of Virginia.

The placement of these consistent frames around the frontispiece illustrations creates a sense of continuity among Lemoine’s chapbooks, and makes them stand out as distinct from her competitors’ work. One possible explanation for this consistency was Lemoine’s long-held and successful partnerships; J. Roe supplied Lemoine with intaglio services for most of her engraved frontispieces, and Thomas Maiden provided most of the
relief printing for the text block of the chapbooks, including the tiny typeset devices which provide ornamentation for the title page and body of the story.\footnote{This observation is based on evidence in the chapbooks’ pages. Roe’s name appears at the bottom of the engraved frontispieces, as either J Roe or I Roe. Lemoine credits her relief printers on the title page. She seems to have worked mostly with Thomas Maiden, but sometimes used J. Bonsor instead.} It is easier to achieve consistency when working with the same group of craftspeople who understand these visual expectations. In effect, Lemoine created a brand for her chapbooks, and perhaps therefore also a demand for them.

Lemoine also maintained the consistency of her chapbooks’ sizes, offering readers a choice between tiny three-inch chapbooks which could be easily concealed for secretive reading, or quarto-sized chapbooks well-suited for book-sized bindings separately commissioned by their owners. Within each size category, Lemoine’s chapbooks are designed to have matching typefaces and complementary designs, so that even though they tell different stories, they can be viewed as a series or bound in a uniform volume. In 1801, Lemoine capitalized on her consistency, marketing a series of multi-chapbook compilations called *English Nights’ Entertainment* by binding her overrun titles together (Bearden-White 47). While many other chapbook publishers would burn their overruns rather than incurring the expense of storing them, Lemoine found a way to make them profitable, perhaps imitating the success of the *Arabian Nights’ Entertainment*, which had been in publication since 1721. Lemoine’s bound collections became so important to her business that, in time, she began to include the collection name as a supertitle on individual chapbooks’ title pages to encourage collectors, and published most of her chapbooks in her collections. According to Franz
Potter, eighty-two percent of Lemoine's gothic titles appeared in her bound collections between 1801 and 1811. These anthologies were *English Nights’ Entertainments* (1801), *The New Mentor* (1802), *The Tell-Tale Magazine, or, Universal Museum* (1804-05), *Popular Tales, Lives, and Adventures* (1805-06), *The Pocket Navigator* (1806), *Wild Roses; or, Cottage Tales* (1808-09), *The Little Tale Teller; or, Simple Stories* (1810), and *Tales Worth Telling, or, Charming Curiosities* (1810) (Potter, “Gothic Chapbooks” 55). In many respects, a series of Lemoine’s chapbooks was only distinguishable semantically from a prose periodical from the same period which was then anthologized. Perhaps these series helped to create the market for periodical ghost stories by women in the mid-century.

It is, therefore, fruitful to read *The Haunted Castle* in light of Lemoine’s other chapbooks which were bound with it in the 1802 *English Nights’ Entertainment* compilation. These were *Black Valley; Haunted Castle or Child of Misfortune; Ivar and Matilda; History of Rinaldo Rinaldini; Ruins of Abbey of Fitzmartin; Bleeding Nun of St Catherine’s; Castle on the Beach; Mysterious Monk, or the Cave of Blood; Courtney Castle, or the Robber’s Cavern; Castle of Hospitality, or the Spectre; Edmund and Albina, or Gothic Times;* and *Children of the Priory; or Wars of Old.* This is a collection which is solidly gothic in nature, comprising entirely original stories, none of them redactions, adaptations, or translations, and demonstrating the wide array of stories popular in the gothic press. Their themes, however, converge along similar lines to *The

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13 Although I did not have access to the original 1802 “English Night’s Entertainments” volume, this list is provided in the advertisement page at the end of *Children of the Priory; or Wars of Old* (1802), which is the third chapbook in the New York Public Library’s Pforzheimer Romances volume, call number Pforz (Gothic novellas) V 1.
Haunted Castle, consistently pointing towards the need to domesticate and bring a contemporary sense of order to haunted settings.

The threads of domesticity in these chapbook ghost stories may be due in part to the circumstances of chapbook production, which left chapbook writers financially unstable, and therefore desperate to locate moral virtue in their work to appeal to benevolent societies for support. Even Sarah Scudgell Wilkinson, who was one of the most-published authors of chapbooks, experienced a series of distressing financial losses which led her to appeal to the Royal Literary Fund for emergency relief many times.\footnote{The Royal Literary Fund was founded in 1790 to provide financial assistance to authors in financial difficulty. The British Library’s manuscript collection maintains an archive of RLF records dating from 1790 to the mid-twentieth century.} In her pleas to the society, Wilkinson carefully portrays her work as an author as virtuous, not in the sense that her stories are well-written, but in terms of their moral virtue. This was, undoubtedly, because the gentlemen of the Fund, in their deliberations of Wilkinson’s case, named morality among their central criteria for the distribution of aid.\footnote{For example, in the Literary Fund’s Meeting 20 May 1818 minutes: “The Case of Sarah Wilkinson was taken into consideration and in consequence of her moral publications and great distress Resolved that five pounds be voted for her relief and that Sir Benjamin Hobhouse be requested to convey the same.” These minutes can be found at the British Library in the Archive of the Royal Literary Fund, Loan 96 RLF 2, in the Western Manuscripts collection.} Wilkinson, who was a single mother battling cancer while trying to support her daughter, was keenly aware of the Fund’s preference for moral virtue in her work. In her letter dated November 15, 1820, she writes, “Your Petitioner has wrote Formerly a vast number of books, of which she can plead no merit but their moral tendency amongst the later ones, one Local Geography Williams Tour or a peep into numbers, Jack and His
Grandmother or Pounds Shillings and Pence Moral Emblems” (Wilkinson [5]). Here she seems to de-emphasize her chapbooks for adults, which far outnumber her children’s works, in order to appeal more heavily to the Literary Fund’s tastes and prejudices about the kind of work for which women were suited. Later, in 1826, Wilkinson leans upon her stories’ morality again when asking for aid, writing, “I have been the author of 29 Volumes and above a hundred smaller publications — some of them have been works of Fancy — yet I always kept in view a moral lesson and never in the midst of the most severe distress tho tempted lent my aid to the licentious publications that too oft disgrace the press” (Wilkinson [31]). It is clear from these letters that Wilkinson shaped her work as a moral enterprise out of necessity.

Wilkinson’s main complaints about the industry over the course of her letters to the Literary Fund are not focused on these moral strictures, but rather the conditions of the industry that deny her a regular income; she is contracted for one publication which requires her to write in advance, but the magazine will not pay her until it is completed, for example, and in another letter she mentions that she has sold dozens of volumes from which she no longer receives any income. Most tellingly, her December 12 letter of 1821 suggests she is frustrated by the limits of her gender in the publishing industry, writing, “All that industry can do I have (attempt)ed but I am of that sex where earnings at the best of times are comparatively small” (Wilkinson [10]). Despite Wilkinson’s prolific

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16 To locate Wilkinson’s letters, I used a keyword search in the Western Manuscripts collection at the British Library using her last name. Her letters are all held together in one file containing 39 documents. The reference number for this file is Loan 96 RLF 1/375. The numbers I provided in brackets indicate the letter number assigned by the library catalogue system for that missive. In this case, [5] means I am referring to letter number five).
publication record, chapbook writing provided only a meager subsistence from which she attempted to escape by working as a governess or teacher on several occasions, professions which also required that she maintain a specific moral position in her writing lest she damage her virtuous reputation and lose employment and funding opportunities as a result. Wilkinson was a person who moved from place to place and position to position quickly; hers was also a family without a patriarch in authority.\textsuperscript{17} With her firsthand experience of domestic upheaval it follows reasonably that the moral content of so many of her works encourage a calm and uncomplicated family life.

Wilkinson was not alone among chapbook writers in attempting to prove the morality of their works with the Literary Fund, or in attempting to escape the life of the unsponsored author. Mary Gogo Lewis (fl. 1824-1838), another chapbook writer who appealed to the Literary Fund, similarly worried about proving her virtue to the group, providing references that attest to her skills as “highly creditable to youthful talents and morality,” and attempting to escape writing by becoming a musician (Lewis [20]). In this way, the chapbook industry’s treatment of chapbook writers, particularly female ones, likely directed the undercurrents of domestic morality and an impulse toward improved stability and security for women in their work.

As the movement away from Walpole’s patriarchal haunted castle continued and the chapbooks rose in popularity, male authors and publishers joined suit. The female

\textsuperscript{17} In 1807, Wilkinson gave birth to a daughter named Amelia Scadgell, for whom she appears to have been the primary provider. She used “Scudgell” as a middle name on her publications after then, but it is not clear whether she ever married Mr. Scadgell, or why the spelling was different. See Franz Potter’s “Writing for the Spectre of Poverty: Exhuming Sarah Wilkinson’s Bluebooks and Novels” in \textit{Cardiff Corvey Reading the Romantic Text}, Issue 11, December 2003.
ghost in John Mitchell’s *Spectre Mother; or the Haunted Tower* (ca. 1811) is similarly more interested in restoring peaceful domestic life than in seeking revenge.\(^{18}\) She appears just in time to prevent the banditti leader Moresco from murdering her infant daughter and inspires him to protect the child (Mitchell 9). He delivers the baby to his wife, Angela, but is horrified to be near the infant, and departs home for a time. In his absence, Angela, too, encounters the ghost. This time, the ghost reveals to Angela that her husband murdered the child’s mother and charges Angela with the task of removing the infant from Moresco’s power and restoring her inheritance. In the end of this tale, the Pope himself intervenes, having heard of the child’s plight, and sends a fortune and orders for Angela to become mistress of the castle as the baby’s guardian (Mitchell 28). Due to her elevation, Angela is able to marry well after her bandit husband is killed and she is “received with respect and esteem due to the virtues that had ever claimed affection in the humble and modest Angela Modeni” (Mitchell 30). Mitchell’s ghost exists to protect and restore a child and the child’s household, and also to espouse the virtues of humility and modesty. Further, in direct opposition to Walpole’s hyper-patriarchal castle, Angela’s castle is hers before her marriage, and therefore an established feminine domesticated space before her marriage is mentioned at the end.

*Spectre Mother*’s emphasis on domestic virtue is part of a long-running diversification in content at publishers Dean and Munday, who were some of the heirs to the publishing house founded by Thomas Bailey (d. 1746) in 1702 (vintagepopupbooks.com). Bailey was the progenitor of a large and varied printing family, whose descendants intermarried and started related printing firms with similar

\(^{18}\) I could not find John Mitchell in any records, so I do not have dates for him.
imprints. Bailey’s family’s early chapbooks were scandalous romances, such as *The History of Henrietta Bellgrave* (ca. 1755), but by the later 1770s, the firm’s inheritors had branched out into many shops with similar imprints, publishing such a dazzling array of material as to include sheet music and children’s ABC books. Dean and Munday, who had been apprentices in Bailey’s granddaughter Susan’s shop before her death in 1810, became co-owners with their wives (Susan Bailey’s daughters who had inherited the shop), and published a bewildering array of gothic chapbooks, adventure stories of traditional English characters such as George Barnwell and Dick Turpin, and children’s fairy tale books. During the gothic chapbooks’ heyday, Dean and Munday published two dozen gothic chapbooks which are still in library collections, and an unknown number of others.19 One important chapbook author published by Dean and Munday was Lucy Watkins (fl. 1803-1820), whose chapbooks consistently ended with exhortations of virtue and a return to orderly family life.20 The moral impulse and domestic aims of Dean and Munday’s publications eventually led them to become novelty and children’s book publishers, and Dean’s son was credited with inventing children’s movable books.21

By relocating the gothic ghost from the castle to the home, the authors and publishers of gothic chapbooks were able to capitalize on a secularized type of morality; but as a result, they decreased the aesthetic distance between their ghosts and their

19 Dean and Munday also supported female chapbookers who needed aid from the Literary Fund by serving as references to their good character. See, for example, the British Library’s Manuscript Collection Folio No. 375 Vol. 10 [23], [28], [31], [33], [35], and [37].
20 See, for example, *Henry & Eliza* and *The Interesting Orphan, Emilia Beauclerc.*
21 Movable books contain sliding panels or folding doors which cover additional illustrations for little fingers to uncover. These are still popular today, demonstrating Dean and Munday’s capacity for looking forward to future types of publications rather than solely preserving the traditions of the past.
readers. They brought horror into the intimate domestic space of every reader’s family, when it had previously resided in a rarified and distant castle. At the same time, however, the moral imperatives driving the cheap gothic chapbook also led to homes with less tyranny, in which women’s causes are championed as the ghosts in their homes are driven away. The ghosts of cheaper fiction, therefore, took root in a traditionally female space in subtle defiance of the patriarchal castle of Walpole’s creation.

**Singular Shades and Their Specific Shifts**

The unnamed hauntings of castles, which shifted from elevated social surroundings to those of everyday people, can be characterized as also shifting from traditionally male to female spheres. Ghosts with more specific identities, however, can be traced more closely by their particular ideological stances as they change for different forms and genres. Ghosts like the Headless Horseman, the Flying Dutchman, the Phantom of the Opera, and the Bleeding Nun were remediated time and again by different people to appeal to different audiences, and thereby became commodities and popular culture figures which have, to varying degrees, persisted.

The Bleeding Nun is one of gothic literature’s most memorable and specific ghosts. Hers is an example of a gothic ghost story lifted from folk tales, infused with a revenge trope for a turn in an expensive canonical novel, then stripped of her revenge when popularized by new readers of cheap gothic publications. Before she was part of the gothic tradition, the Bleeding Nun’s earliest printed incarnation haunted Johann Karl August Musäus’s *Volksmärchen der Deutschen*, a delicately satiric collection of folk tales published in 1782 (Conger). This was a very expensive publication in five volumes bound in boards, which could only have been accessed by wealthy audiences. Musäus’s
source for the tale has not been identified, but we can infer that the original story was simpler and less satiric in tone, because Musäus’s critics complained about these departures from the oral tradition (Dufner 149).

Musäus’s version of the Bleeding Nun tale, entitled Die Entführung (The Abduction), begins with a brief history of the Castle Lauenstein, which was a convent before it fell during the Hussite wars, and was given over to a secular owner. In a matter-of-fact tone, the third-person narrator explains that during the desanctification of their home, the formerly restful bones of the convent’s long-dead nuns openly revolt against the new secular master. The Count hires an exorcist, but the poor fellow is so frightened by the hysterics of the ghosts that he picks up his holy relics and runs. Eventually, most of the nuns are appeased, so that only one ghostly nun frequents the castle every seven years; she is the Bleeding Nun, who refuses to rest, but instead terrifies residents with the mysterious bloody marks on her habit. Generations later, the Count’s descendants still inhabit the castle and the latest Count’s daughter Emily is in love with a young soldier named Fritz. Her parents will not let her marry him, so she decides to disguise herself as the ghostly nun to elope. Mistaking the ghost for Emily, Fritz takes the ghost away with him. They are in a terrible carriage accident, and when Fritz awakes, she is gone. At midnight she returns to his bedside, and he is horrified to discover his mistake; this is not Emily, but a horrific ghost. She haunts him nightly, chanting a love poem and driving him to melancholy until he seeks help from an old sergeant in his military unit. The nun is successfully banished, and Fritz returns to Emily. Fritz wins her over by enlisting the
support of her mother, who in turn wins over her father, and they marry and live happily ever after (Musäus).22

There is a lot to unpack here. Musäus’s nun’s death is mysterious, but there is no evidence of foul play; she seems to have died of natural causes. She haunts the castle for reasons which are never explained. The bulk of the story focuses on Emily’s attempt to thwart her parents’ wishes by marrying a soldier. Strangely, the ghost is exorcised by a military man, not a member of the clergy, and Fritz is granted a status in Emily’s family for which he was previously considered unworthy. In the end, the nun’s abduction of Fritz has a positive net outcome, since it enables him, as a commoner, to gain the approval of Emily’s parents, improve his social standing, and legimtely become the heir of the castle. In this way, the Bleeding Nun functions to overthrow a patriarchal regime, break the barrier between social classes, and deliver a secularizing message.

Further, the Bleeding Nun’s story can be seen subtly to assert the power of the feminine over the systems of patriarchal inheritance and the rules of marriage. This is, however, a fairy tale in a folklore collection, which is meant to be cautionary. Musäus’s Bleeding Nun, therefore, simultaneously subverts and supports marriage as a system for the consolidation of wealth and separation of classes for the German elite.

This ambiguity is a pattern often repeated in the gothic, which frequently subverts and upholds institutions at the same time: as Diane Long Hoeveler asserted, the reiteration of this ambiguity in the gothic is a move towards pluralistic thinking, which in itself is a productive factor leading to secularism (Hoeveler, Gothic Riffs 6). Beyond the

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22 There is a 1909 edition of Die Entführung at archive.org, and an original in the Guggenheim Museum Library’s permanent collection.
religious purposes advanced by Hoeveler, however, this ambiguity can be applied to both subvert and uphold other social constructs in gothic stories, such as the gendered power structure of the household. Viewed through this lens, the Bleeding Nun narrative as framed by Musäus forces the reader to consider two contrasting views of the institution of marriage, pushing the reader to hold both truths in mind at the same time: that the patriarchal system of marriage is good because it provides order, and it is also good for people to choose their own marital partner who may not be approved by the patriarch.

When Matthew Lewis imported Musäus’s predominant motif of the Bleeding Nun for his gothic horror novel *The Monk* (1796), he created another haunted castle of the traditional gothic canon: Castle Lindenberg. The Bleeding Nun is significantly altered in this remediation, as her role is changed to suit Lewis’s rabid anti-Catholicism, and to incorporate the patriarchal impulses of Walpole’s influence. Lewis added the perpetually bleeding wound to the nun’s side, and created her checkered backstory: that she had escaped involuntary confinement in a convent to take up a lifestyle of free sexuality and indulgence. Unfortunately, Lewis’s Bleeding Nun is fooled by the competing heirs of the castle, then used as a pawn in one brother’s plot to murder another before being killed herself. In this way, the Bleeding Nun’s death and doomed afterlife are bound up in the

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23 Lewis admitted his German source for the Bleeding Nun, acknowledging Musäus on the ‘Advertisement’ page of *The Monk*’s third edition. He denied, however, many other sources for *The Monk*. Most of Lewis’s unacknowledged sources are very recent French plays of his day—he probably did not want to be associated with French drama for political reasons. In a letter to his mother, Lewis described the French source for Agnes di Medina and her baby’s starvation in the convent in *The Monk* as a play called *Camille ou le Souterrain*, which was written by Benoit Marsollier and first performed only five years before *The Monk* was published. Lewis borrowed just one scene from the play, and changed the context considerably; the original woman and child were prisoners in a jealous husband’s house, while Agnes and her baby are imprisoned in the bowels of a monastery (Wright 127).
usurpation of the castle, exemplifying the same type of murderous patriarchal regime as in *Otranto’s* castle.

Strangely, Lewis manages to complicate this situation by backhandedly blaming a female character, the Bleeding Nun (who was once Beatrice) for the entire situation. The tale of the Bleeding Nun in *The Monk* is introduced by the heroine, Agnes, who reveals the ghost’s presence in “a tone of burlesqued gravity,” which evokes Musäus in its sarcasm (Lewis 149). Rather than sympathizing with the nun’s plight, Agnes mocks her, and is enchantingly goofy with her intended fiancé as she describes the Bleeding Nun’s sexual licentiousness during life, blending Catholic ritual and blasphemy: “Sometimes the castle rung with oaths and execrations: a moment after she repeated her paternoster: now she howled out the most horrible blasphemies, and then chanted De Profundis, as orderly as if still in the choir” (Lewis 150). Lewis uses this early depiction of the Bleeding Nun as a metaphor for the Catholic church itself, which is an unpredictable and powerful organization, filled with virtue one moment, then taking money from the poor and torturing people in a dungeon the next. This representation dovetails nicely with his use of inquisitorial torturers and his depiction of Catholic clergymen as sexual deviants, rapists, and murderers. It is also important to remember, however, that Lewis is eager to attribute the sins of the church fully to difficult women. The Abbess who tortures Agnes may be the cruelest character in the novel; Matilda is mainly responsible for the licentious Monk Ambrosio’s downfall, and the Bleeding Nun caused the strife at Lindenberg and thereby her own undoing. In this way, Lewis treats the patriarchal system of authority and Catholicism together as institutions which are undermined by female liberty and must be set aright (in Lewis’s view) by better, less corruptible men.
Almost immediately upon claiming authorship of *The Monk*, Lewis was accused of blasphemy before Parliament, lambasted by literary reviewers for his “coarse and overcharged” sensationalism, and insulted by Samuel Taylor Coleridge, who accused him of “blending, with an irreverent negligence, all that is most awfully true in religion with all that is most ridiculously absurd in superstition” (Mortensen 78). *The Monk*, for all its blasphemy and controversy, was a wildly successful book, after which Lewis was easily able to parlay his notoriety into a celebrated career as a famous socialite, scholar, and playwright. Priced at above nine shillings (stitched),²⁴ this novel reached the elite English reader, and served to inflame anti-Catholic sentiment in a way that (for better or worse) benefitted the British nationalist movement by promoting Protestantism, isolationism, xenophobia, and patriotism at a time when the English elites were particularly fearful of revolutions (Wright 125-27). It was, aside from its entertaining moments, a strongly ideological and political book. It also brought together sympathetic views of both the religious and the damned, the supernatural and the real, inviting readers to adopt a more pluralistic way of thinking. Even the scariest ghost in the novel turns out to be a woman worthy of our pity, caught in the machinations of structures beyond her control, both in the patriarchal system of the castle and in the church. This complicates the politics of the novel, which seem on the surface to be pulling readers toward a more narrow view of the world; but as Angela Wright has argued, it is likely Lewis felt compelled to insert his patriotic messages as a way of disguising his many continental sources (Wright 67).²⁵ I

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²⁴ For further pricing information, see the 1796 edition published in the *Critical Review, or, Annals of Literature* by Tobias George Smollet.
²⁵ Wright cites periodicals such as *The Critical Review, Gentleman’s Magazine, The Morning Chronicle, The Ghost*, and *The Pursuits of Literature* as railing against any evidence of French influence in gothic novels. Wright surmises that this type of hostile
agree with Wright’s view that these political messages were likely placations for the critics who would otherwise object to the foreign influences of the text, but I think Lewis’s veil is thin, and I can’t imagine his nationalism was sufficient to obstruct critical readers’ view of the secularizing and pluralistic viewpoints that entered *The Monk* via its continental sources.

Less than a year later, the Bleeding Nun story was remediated for the public stage, but not without some changes. Premiering at the recently expanded Covent Garden theatre, *Raymond and Agnes; or the Castle of Lindenbergh* was a ‘Grand Ballet Pantomime of Action’ by Charles Farley (1771-1859) billed as “founded chiefly on the principal episode in *The Monk*” (Hoeveler, *Gothic Riffs* 114). The sexually charged content of *The Monk* would not have been permitted on the London stage, so it was stripped away. In this ballet, the Bleeding Nun is now Agnes’s murdered mother, whose name is also, confusingly, Agnes. Rather than haunting Raymond every night and claiming him for her own, this maternal ghost directs him to a cloud inscribed, “PROTECT THE CHILD of the MURDER’D AGNES,” then vanishes. The role of the ghost, then, is protective, propelling Raymond back to the still-living Agnes, whom he rescues from a group of bandits. This “splendid and interesting” Farley pantomime played for forty nights straight and reappeared regularly for more than twenty years in London and elsewhere in Britain and overseas. In 1797 when the show premiered, Covent Garden charged “from sixpence to a shilling a head — in the latter case being supplied with two courses, and attended by a superior sort of mixed company” reception prompted many authors and translators to conceal the French inspirations of their work by inserting patriotic, xenophobic, and particularly Francophobic sentiments (67).
(Thornbury). The theatre, then, could reach a much broader cross-section of people from different social and economic backgrounds than the original novel did at a price of over nine shillings. The pantomime was also performed in several other locations in the United States and United Kingdom. According to the “Theatre Register” of *The Weekly Visitor, Or, Ladies’ Miscellany*, it played in New York in January of 1804, set to music by French-American composer Victor Pelissier. It is possible to deduce, therefore, that the Bleeding Nun’s increasing popularity in popular culture to follow was due (at least in part) to the success of this oft-performed production.

The changed content of the Bleeding Nun narrative reflects its new audience; gone are the highly emphasized anti-Catholic notes, to be replaced by the more innocuous ‘maternal care and heroic protection from bandits’ subplot. In pantomime, the ghost’s effect was achieved silently, with gestures, lighting, and set pieces. Specifically, crews suspended blue-grey gauze between the ghost and the audience while shining green light from an Argand lamp from both wings of the stage (Hoeveler, *Gothic Riffs* 115). These visual effects are key to understanding the dual realities presented to the play’s audiences. By displaying a convincing image of a supernatural manifestation, the special effects in the play gave each audience member the chance to imagine the rational and supernatural at the same time, to be enchanted and disenchanted, to view the transcendent and the real. This communicates to the audience that belief can depend on individual preference, which is a central shift necessary to move the viewer to think more pluralistically.²⁶

²⁶ My analysis is based on the theories of Charles Taylor as presented in his book *The Secularizing Age* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007). His theory is that by giving an audience two conflicting realities, neither of which they can discount, literature and theatre force them to think pluralistically. The comments directed specifically to the Bleeding Nun’s dual realities are my own, although inspired by
A few months later, the image of the Bleeding Nun was further extracted from her originating story to become a purely visual phenomenon. Terry Castle tells us that in March 1798, Belgian inventor Etienne Gaspard Robertson (1763-1837) presented the Bleeding Nun in (quite literally) a new light. Robertson’s phantasmagorical shows involved using optics and narration to convince the audience that the ghosts he was conjuring were real. As Castle suggested, in the era before photographs or motion pictures, people reacted very strongly to these projected images, sometimes believing they were real (Castle 145-50). In the Bleeding Nun’s case, one projector was used to make her appear to move toward the audience, while another projector kept the scenery in place. A third projector was used to make the Bleeding Nun appear to float away. The projectors could also slide along on tracks, which could make the ghost’s eyes appear to move, and cause the mouth to open and close.

For the most part Robertson did not give his ghosts voices, so the audience’s primary experience was visual, sometimes accompanied by some spooky music played on a glass harmonica (Castle 149). It was up to the audience whether they imagined the ghost was the lusty murdered murderer from the novel *The Monk* or her maternal theatrical counterpart; the audiences at the phantasmagoria were likely middle class, and it is difficult to determine how many of them could have read the novel or happened to have attended the pantomime. The same pluralistic processes which functioned on the stage at the pantomime were present at these magic lantern shows; again, technology was

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conversations with Diane Long Hoeveler, who wrote about pluralism and secularism in *Gothic Riffs* (2010).
used to present the double view, allowing the audience to experience the real inextricably with the uncanny.

The Bleeding Nun’s next remediation was away from the stage and the phantasmagoria, and into a group of anonymously authored chapbooks, which became a rage in the popular press. These follow the basic outline of Lewis’s Bleeding Nun story, but in remediation they are heavily abridged, so the action is much more concentrated, as is the reader’s dose of horror. In just 43 pages, the anonymous chapbook writer of *Almagro and Claude; or, Monastic Murder; Exemplified by the Dreadful Doom of an Unfortunate Nun* retells the entire incident in which Don Raymond is beset by banditti in the woods, the Bleeding Nun’s tale, and Agnes’s perilous imprisonment. Notable omissions in the extracted chapbook stories include the details of the Bleeding Nun’s ritualistic religious sexual behaviors and Agnes’s cursing condemnations of the clergy. An example of the contrast can be found in a key moment of the Bleeding Nun’s characterization as shown in Table 1-1.

### Table 1-1
Comparison Between Beatrice’s Descriptions in *The Monk* and the Chapbook *Almagro and Claude*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>The Monk</em>, by MG Lewis:</th>
<th><em>Almagro and Claude</em>:</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beatrice de las Cisternas took the veil at an early age, not by her own choice, but at the express command of her Parents. She was then too young to regret</td>
<td>She took the veil at an early age, but when her ungovernable passions began to expand, she contrived to elope from the convent, and fled to Germany</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the pleasures of which her profession deprived her: But no sooner did her warm and voluptuous character begin to be developed than She abandoned herself freely to the impulse of her passions, and seized the first opportunity to procure their gratification. […] She lived at his Castle several months as his avowed Concubine: All Bavaria was scandalized by her impudent and abandoned conduct. Her feasts vied in luxury with Cleopatra's, and Lindenberg became the Theatre of the most unbridled debauchery. Not satisfied with displaying the incontinence of a Prostitute, She professed herself an Atheist: She took every opportunity to scoff at her monastic vows, and loaded with ridicule the most sacred ceremonies of Religion. (Lewis 173)

with the Baron Wildenheim. Here she lived several months as his avowed concubine, professed her-self an atheist, and disgusted the whole country by her grossness. (Almagro and Claude 13)


Certainly this scene has been shortened for practical reasons, but the effect of reading the two scenes is so different as to suggest a rhetorical shift, as well. It is clear that the sexual content has been made less explicit, and the nature of the Bleeding Nun’s “grossness” is
left to the imagination. Suggestions of her wealth and debauchery have been greatly reduced or eliminated, making her a more broadly sympathetic character, and rendering the tale less offensive to most readers. This seems strange, since the next thing the character will do in both cases is act as a pawn to murder her lover’s brother. The person making this abridgement was likely trying to achieve three overlapping goals: pleasing a publisher who planned on a cheap publication (and therefore a short one), appeasing the publisher who wanted to provide a morally decent (not as quasi-pornographic as *The Monk*) publication, and satisfying the author’s own need to sell a product suited to the demands of the audience, and supportive of the author’s moral reputation.

In fact, *Almagro and Claude* does reflect its publishers’ social agendas. It was printed and distributed all over the United Kingdom by partnered publishers Tegg and Castleman in London and Dugdale in Dublin. Four of the nineteen gothic chapbooks that Dugdale and Tegg and Castleman published together are anonymous and clearly anti-Catholic productions: *Almagro & Claude, Father Innocent, The Secret Tribunal; or, The Court of Wincelaus*, and *Phantasmagoria, or the Development of Magical Deception*. *Almagro and Claude* and *Father Innocent*, both of which are based on *The Monk*, are full of events that feature displays of clerical corruption and wealth that the Methodist mentality would have found deeply disturbing and offensive. Bennett Dugdale (1756-1826) converted to Methodism after hearing John Wesley preach in Dublin during his visit to the city in 1773. The reformed Dugdale became a prominent member of the Primitive Wesleyan Methodist Society, frequently preaching at the Methodist chapel and spearheading the drive to raise funds to build a large assembly hall for the Methodists. From his record of publications, we know that he was particularly interested in producing
anti-slavery tracts, Methodist hymnals, and religious pamphlets; this set of gothic
chapbooks was an anomaly for him. His business was not in publishing fiction; he was
mainly a Methodist propagandist who used his publishing firm to produce the sort of
works that he and his associates thought would best advance the cause of Methodism
(Pollard 172). It is strange that Dugdale would be interested in publishing something like
*Almagro and Claude* to begin with, but considering his sensibilities, it makes sense that
the more lavish descriptions of sexual relationships and debauchery were removed. Even
with the most offensive points removed from this scene, the other events of *Almagro and
Claude* are still rabidly anti-Catholic, an agenda well-matched with Dugdale’s other
publishing endeavors.

The businessman behind the chapbook’s short length and rapid production was
likely Dugdale’s London partner, Thomas Tegg (1776–1845). Not as much is known
about Tegg, other than that he worked his way up in the publishing business by making a
reputation for himself as an opportunistic upstart newcomer. Although he amassed a great
fortune as a publisher (his estate was worth £90,000), many of his records and most of his
correspondence have been lost (Branes 45-60). What we do know is that Tegg described
himself as the “broom that swept the booksellers’ warehouses,” by which he meant he
successfully exploited the reprint and remainder trade. Tegg’s particular genius was in
reprinting out-of-copyright works for sale at a much lower price than the originals. Since
in his time works went out of copyright after only fourteen years, this would have
allowed him to start reprinting pieces of *The Monk* without penalty in 1810. There must
have been demand for them sooner, however, because he published the abridgement
*Almagro and Claude* in 1803.
It is impossible to spot an ideological trend in Tegg’s enormous remainders and reprints business because his publications ranged from angler’s guides (for fishermen) to yearbooks: it seems he would publish anything he could get. His chief boast in 1838 was that he had “published more books, and […] at a cheaper rate, than any bookseller in Britain” (Barnes 45). We may have Tegg to thank, at least partially, then, for helping to churn out large quantities and varieties of cheap texts, and for gobbling up gothic fiction with everything else he thought would be profitable to print. While Dugdale’s contribution to the production of *Almagro and Claude* was to rein in its sexual content, Tegg’s was further to democratize the practice of reading by driving the prices of the chapbooks down, and thereby delivering a (less offensive) version of Lewis’s political and secularizing story to the masses.²⁷

In 1809 and 1811, two different updates to the pantomime ballet were made, but neither substantially changed the script. Henry William Grossette added dialogue, which he mainly lifted from *The Monk*. This show, *Raymond and Agnes; or, The Bleeding Nun of Lindenberg, an interesting melo-drama in two acts*, premiered at the Theatre Royal, Norwich in 1809.²⁸ Grossette’s melodrama, like Farley’s pantomime, helped spread the fame of the Bleeding Nun, not just during performances, but as the show was advertised

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²⁷ The price of a chapbook ranged from a half penny to a shilling, depending on length and number of illustrations. This information was usually printed on the cover, but those were so delicate that many (including the cover of *Almagro and Claude*) have been lost. Based on chapbooks of similar length, I would estimate the price between six pence and a shilling, or about the price of a meal or a cheap theatre seat. Patrons could pay a penny extra to have the illustrations hand-colored. See Gary Kelly’s *Fiction and the Working Classes* (2008, p. 218). Robert Altick’s *The English Common Reader* (1957) tracks the price of chapbooks back to the seventeenth century, and addresses the early nineteenth century on pages 263-9.

²⁸ Henry William Grossette’s and John Stokes’s dates of birth and death are unknown. They both appear to have been relatively obscure writers of English melodramas.
and reviewed afterwards in the periodical press. It is important to understand that these two theatrical productions shared the same name, and scholars and reviewers alike often confuse Grossette’s and Farley’s shows. Another version, written by John Stokes, contributes a further complication to this problem by reproducing the same plot in his pantomime, which was called *Travelers Benighted, or the Forest of Rosenwald*, as had been previously used for Farley’s pantomime. According to the *Theatrical Examiner* reviewer who saw Farley’s and Stokes’s shows in the same week, *Travelers Benighted* is the same, scene for scene, as Farley’s pantomime, but with newly added dialogue (*Theatrical Examiner* 645-46). Despite the negative review it initially received in this run at the Haymarket, Stokes’s *Forest of Rosenwald* was so successful that it premiered in New York in 1821. It received a favorable review in the *Saturday Evening Post* on Nov 3, 1821, which also mentions that it has played in “several cities in the United States,” and that it has, “from its abundance of incident, kept the stage for a number of years” (“Article 6”). It is unclear whether this “abundance of incident” in the pantomime was a good or bad thing, but the updated melodrama is wholeheartedly welcomed by the reviewer. *The New-York Mirror: a Weekly Gazette of Literature and the Fine Arts* favorably reviewed it again in the December 1824 edition, when it played at Chatham Garden in New York.\(^29\)

Farley’s is probably the most famous American version of the Bleeding Nun story on the stage because the character was involved in reports of an off-stage disaster. On December 26, 1811 during a performance of the pantomime, the sold-out Richmond

Theatre caught fire with an audience of 648 people of all ages inside (Baker 31). During the opening scene for the second act of the pantomime, a chandelier was inadvertently hoisted into the area above the stage with one of its candles still lit, whereupon the pulley jammed, and it could not be lowered again (Baker 75). During Don Raymond’s opening scene, pieces of hot ash and sparks began to fall on the stage. The actor playing Don Raymond looked up and saw the spreading flames, and shouted, “fire” to the crowded house. There was a panic, there were not sufficient exits, and the building was filled with flammable materials. In the rapid-spreading conflagration that followed, seventy-two people were killed, including the sitting governor of Virginia and several other lawmakers. A member of the theatre company, Alexander Placide, gave perhaps the world’s most frightening non-fictional account of the Bleeding Nun when he wrote “We had just time enough to save ourselves, dressed as we were, and thus, the Bleeding Nun was to be found wandering among the shocked and injured audience members who had escaped” (Baker 50). The fire was national news, and firsthand accounts of people whose memories of going to the theatre to see The Bleeding Nun end in a horrific fiery disaster were still being published in periodicals as late as 1838 (“Burning of the Richmond Theatre” 299).

The theatre (despite or because of this infamous performance) and the chapbooks made the Bleeding Nun a figure in popular demand, and printing shops found other ways to repurpose her as a money-making commodity. A printer named S. Poole created a paper toy in 1817 whose face can be changed from that of a nun to a hideous ghost by pulling a strip of board across the back, as shown in Figure 1-2:
That this type of object would be created, sold, and given to children marks a shift which often occurs when a single character outshines the cast. After reaching a certain level of
popularity, the Bleeding Nun became a commodity like any other, stripped away from the original themes and contexts of *The Monk*, and was simply no longer as frightful, sexual, or provocative as she had been. Hoeveler suggests that “trappings of the gothic had become so thoroughly domesticated by the middle of the nineteenth century that children’s toys were routinely produced from their plots and characters” (Hoeveler, “More Gothic Gold” 144). Alternatively, as EJ Clery describes it, “the ghost was to be caught up in the machine of the economy; it was available to be processed, reproduced, packaged, marketed and distributed by the engines of cultural production... The town has added the supernatural to its list of commodities” (Clery 17). Either way, whether it is the case of a vampire, a ghost, or Frankenstein’s “monster,” it is easy to look at popular culture centuries later and see that these are no longer necessarily frightening or supernatural beings to us, but commercial ones. The presence of this doll (and other gothic toys) as early as 1817 suggests that we can be culturally inured to these creatures within the first generation of their creation.

The next remediation of the Bleeding Nun in a chapbook was in Sarah Scudgell Wilkinson’s *Castle of Lindenberg; or The history of Raymond and Agnes including Raymond’s Adventures with the Bandits in the Forest of Rosenwald, and his being haunted by the spectre of the Bleeding Nun*. Priced at one shilling and printed in 1820, Wilkinson’s chapbook features a subtitle that suggests the theatrical adventures of the Bleeding Nun have made her a popular enough commodity to be requested by name at the booksellers’ shops. With 60 pages to write, Wilkinson can provide more description than the anonymous abridgement *Almagro and Claude*, simply because there is not as much need to compress the story. Wilkinson stands out among chapbookers because she
did not try to imitate the flamboyance of Lewis’s writing; the chapbook is firmly voiced in her own style, which is both less and less erudite than Lewis’s. For example, rather than introducing the nun’s story with a disbelieving, satirical tone like Lewis did, Wilkinson provides a more respectful, almost awed account of the ghost from Agnes. The effect of this subtle shift lends a spookier air to the scene, and a greater sense of foreboding. The change also serves to rectify an awkward transition in Lewis’s novel, where his clumsy importation of Musäus’s satirical wit seemed out of place. In general, Wilkinson’s is a smoother, less emotional telling of the tale. Throughout the chapbook, Wilkinson shifts the story away from Lewis’s gory portrayal, and toward a subtler type of fright more akin to Ann Radcliffe’s terror mode. For example, the Bleeding Nun in *The Monk* is forever bleeding from an open wound in her bosom, but Wilkinson’s nun’s habit features several old blood stains; no wound is mentioned, and no explanation of the stains is given.

The storytelling is generally also less gory. One of the pivotal moments in *The Monk* involves Ambrosio murdering Elvira at the peak of a physical confrontation. She has caught him attempting to rape her daughter, and has physically pulled him away, and screamed for help. They grapple with one another, and his subsequent murder of Elvira is graphically described as he throws her to the bed, kneels on her chest, and smothers her

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30 Gothic studies scholars commonly divide the origins of the gothic into two schools. One, originated by Matthew Lewis, featured bloody purple prose and supernatural ghosts presented rather directly and indelicately on the page, and often considered the basis of visceral horror writing. The other was created by Ann Radcliffe, who was known for writing spooky atmospheres, and for making the reader believe something supernatural is happening, only to explain it later with perfectly rational means. She manages to evoke a frisson of terror without featuring any gore or supernatural creatures in her books. See Dale Townshend’s “An Introduction to Ann Radcliffe” at https://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/an-introduction-to-ann-radcliffe.
with a pillow so violently that upon death her face is black (Lewis 303-04). Wilkinson, apparently horrified at Lewis’s scene, or perhaps careful to avoid any appearance of licentiousness, replaces that entire scene with a single sentence: “Horrid to relate, he entered the apartment at night, and strangled the sleeping invalid” (Wilkinson 59). This is a much less violent end for Elvira than that proposed by Lewis, and demonstrates Wilkinson’s aptitude for shifting the tenor of the story to suit her style, her reader, and the tastes of her publisher, John Bailey (fl. 1799-1828), who was related to the Dean and Munday/Bailey family, and therefore understood the market for more family-friendly publications.

There are also important differences between Wilkinson’s characterization of the Bleeding Nun and the ones provided by Lewis and the *Almagro and Claude* redactor, as demonstrated in Table 1-2:

Table 1-2
Comparison Among Three Characterizations of Beatrice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Monk, by MG Lewis:</th>
<th>Almagro and Claude:</th>
<th>Castle of Lindenberg:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beatrice de las Cisternas took the veil at an early age, not by her own choice, but at the express command of her Parents. She was then too young to regret the pleasures of which her profession</td>
<td>She took the veil at an early age, but when her ungovernable passions began to expand, she contrived to elope from the convent, and fled to</td>
<td>She took the veil at an early age, but her passions became libidinous and sensual. She left her convent with the (then) Baron of Lindenberg, and at his castle lived openly as his mistress.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
deprived her: But no sooner did her warm and voluptuous character begin to be developed than She abandoned herself freely to the impulse of her passions, and seized the first opportunity to procure their gratification. […] She lived at his Castle several months as his avowed Concubine: All Bavaria was scandalized by her impudent and abandoned conduct. Her feasts vied in luxury with Cleopatra's, and Lindenberg became the Theatre of the most unbridled debauchery. Not satisfied with displaying the incontinence of a Prostitute, She professed herself an Atheist: She took every opportunity to scoff at her monastic vows, and loaded Germany with the Baron Wildenheim. Here she lived several months as his avowed concubine, professed her-self an atheist, and disgusted the whole country by her grossness. (Almagro and Claude 13) (Wilkinson, Castle of Lindenberg 40).
with ridicule the most sacred ceremonies of Religion. (Lewis 173-74)


Wilkinson’s version of the Bleeding Nun’s origin story omits many of the sins heaped upon the ghost by Lewis and removes any mention of her atheism. Not only is she a more sympathetic character, but she is also presented in a more dispassionate, moderate tone, and in a manner that removes any question of religion from the equation. In this way a gentler, more careful version of Lewis’s narrative makes its way to the cheap publication marketplace for mass consumption. At this point, twenty-four years have passed since The Monk was published; Lewis has been dead for two years, and times have changed. The events which fueled Lewis’s hysteria and the scandals around him are long past. The Gordon Riots are a faded memory (1780), the French and American Revolutions are over, and it is clear the British populace are not going to follow suit.

There are still anti-Catholic aspects of Wilkinson’s chapbook, as there were still some anti-Catholic members of the public, but Catholics had begun to regain their rights, and sentiments were swaying toward the Catholic Relief Act, which would be enacted in 1829. Lewis’s francophobic, xenophobic, hyperbolic zeal is well-tempered by Wilkinson for this new market, which was very familiar to her. The ending of The Monk, for example, involved the devil himself removing Ambrosio from the Inquisition’s clutches, then throwing him to his death on a mountainside, where he is slowly killed by wild
animals and exposure over the course of a (graphic) week (Lewis 439-42). Wilkinson omits any mention of the devil or demonic entities from her conclusion. Reducing the entire event to a single sentence, she gives Ambrosio an ignominious (gore-free) death on the inquisitors’ wheel.

Beyond her concerns for her own moral reputation with the Literary Fund, Wilkinson was a virtuoso chapbook writer with a keen sense of audience who had been eking out a living this way for nearly twenty years, chapbooking for at least five different publishers, and composing her own novels. Her *Castle of Lindenberg* reflects her hard-earned expertise and audience awareness, and her need to comply with the tastes of her benefactors. If she did not include the devil, it was because her audience and the Literary Fund did not want to read about him. Further, by making the Bleeding Nun less blasphemous and framing her more sympathetically, Wilkinson makes her a flawed woman much like any other. In so doing, she joins writers like Mary Shelley, Charlotte Dacre, and Jane Austen in attempting to delineate attributes of gendered behavior for the sexes. In this case, Wilkinson cautions that lust is an emotion that women should not excessively express.31

At this point, the Bleeding Nun’s character was still being performed in pantomime at Covent Garden (and would be on and off until well beyond 1840), had been commodified as a toy, and had been stripped of some of her horror by Wilkinson. Now she is modified again to participate in the most comedic of theatrical productions. In 1840, the Bleeding Nun appeared in Covent Garden’s “The Castle of Otranto: or

31 For a detailed discussion of this phenomenon, see “Hyperbolic Femininity” in Hoeveler’s *Gothic Feminism* (1998) pp. 123-84.
Harlequin and the Giant Helmet,” by J. R. Planche (1796-1880). This was a new type of entertainment; a mixed-medium pantomime which also incorporated a harlequinade, a burlesque, and a spectacle. The allegorical opening scene features Romance in a ruined monastery in the moonlight. She summons her heroes to defend her, calling on the seven champions of Christendom, which include the Bleeding Nun, Ivanhoe, and Doctor Faustus (Richards 85). These are charged to defend the Castle of Otranto, home of romance, from the forces of the Burlesque, who are also characters from fiction. Here, the Bleeding Nun features as just one of many comically sentimental figures who set the stage and also provide a closing tableau for the show.

It is this version of the Bleeding Nun that made the most definite impression on the youth of the 1840s, because almost as soon as Planche’s production hit the boards, a local printer, J. K. Green (fl. 1790-1860), sent an artist to note details of the show, then created a toy theatre version of it. The juvenile theatre script opens with a bizarre allegorical battle and ends with a rousing chorus of “Rule Britannia,” with clown scenes and charging bulls in between. The Bleeding Nun features mainly in the chorus line at the end, where she dances next to other figures from British literary history, like St. George and Palmerin of England, surrounded by blue devils, various spritely fairy figures, and someone called the Mysterious Freebooter. She has become a bit player in a spectacle for children’s amusement, available for a penny plain, or for two pence in color. Parents could buy their children script-books for four pence, which were marked “juvenile edition with stage directions” (A New Romantic Comic Pantomime). The printed illustration of the Bleeding Nun is not frightening at all, and in fact looks quite similar to the Spirit of Romance in the toy theatre set, shown in Figure 1-3:
After this point the Bleeding Nun became such a regular fixture in popular culture that there is very little cultural meaning still attached to the figure. If anything, she represents a bit of the past that was scary once and is now a novelty.

Over the course of her many remediations, the Bleeding Nun was stripped of her origins, her ideological and moral content was lost, replaced, and lost again, and during

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32 Clive Hicks-Jenkins is a Welsh artist, mainly known for his paintings. Mr. Hicks-Jenkins holds Green’s toy theatre in his private collection, and sent me this photo as a courtesy, as well as scans of the accompanying playbook. I’m grateful for his help.
this process, she became a commodity. The Bleeding Nun gathered audiences for writers, performers, and musicians for decades, and helped to sell books, toys, and tickets long after *The Monk*’s cultural incandescence had dimmed. To view all her different incarnations and draw a single conclusion about her significance is difficult, except when thinking back to the theatre, and the phantasmagoria. In all her various incarnations, the Bleeding Nun is at once spectral and material, transcendent and mundane. In this way she acts as an agent of a much larger shift towards secularization, and in becoming mundane, also becomes an exemplar of the female condition under patriarchy, and her freedom to repent once she has escaped. After all these changes, she becomes a ghost who is welcomed in a family nursery toy set.

It is also helpful, when trying to understand the remediation of the Bleeding Nun to remember what Jane Tompkins described as “cultural work.” Cultural work is a process by which people who share a culture also share texts that either reinforce their ways of thinking and being, or help them to rehearse new patterns of thought and behavior when necessary. Tompkins sees characters and plots in novels “as providing society with a means of thinking about itself, defining certain aspects of a social reality which the authors and their readers shared, dramatizing its conflicts, and recommending solutions” (200). Although Tompkins was not writing about her, an examination of the Bleeding Nun’s commodification over nearly fifty years in the cheap press reveals clear evidence of this relationship between the authors and their readers, and evidence of cultural work that shifts in response to historical conditions. From the earlier to the later chapbook versions of the story, the Bleeding Nun’s character is altered to suit the chapbooks’ broadening audience, particularly with female readers in mind. Wilkinson,
who shared her audiences’ lower-class status, described herself as “knowing how eager the fair sex are for something new and romantic,” and aimed to “please my fair sisterhood, hoping to profit […] thereby” (Potter 12). This statement reflects Wilkinson’s closeness to her readers, her sensitivity to their desires, and her willingness to suit them. At the same time, because she was so prolific, Wilkinson’s chapbooks can be viewed as informing her audience’s tastes: Hoeveler credited Wilkinson with helping to codify the rising nineteenth century readership's understanding of what it meant to read something “romantic” or “gothic” (Hoeveler, Gothic Riffs 216). In this way, the mass market audience of cheap publications and the gothic trope of the Bleeding Nun can be seen to evolve symbiotically, each pushing the other to make the next adaptation.

The cultural work of Wilkinson’s version of the Bleeding Nun is manifested in its contradictions: while the Bleeding Nun is punished for pursuing her own choice of a marital and sexual partner, Agnes’s suffering eventually allows her to marry the man of her choosing. Furthermore, Agnes’s liberty is at least partly due to the interventions of the Bleeding Nun. In this case, the gothic’s notorious ambivalence presents not only conflicting views of marriage, but also conflicting evidence of the power of women in deciding the structure of a family. In other words, it updates the Bleeding Nun narrative to advance a pluralistic view not only of marriage as an institution, but also of female self-determination as a possibility. In endeavoring to weave such contradictions into her chapbook, Wilkinson pioneers a method which would be adopted by later authors of Victorian ghost stories and sensational fiction, who, as Nick Freeman writes, “often combined a surface narrative, which seemed to reaffirm conservative notions of order, with a less easily deciphered set of considerations which challenged or criticized the very
notions the stories’ closure seemed to endorse” (186). Wilkinson’s Bleeding Nun story runs opposite of Agnes’s tale, and the two cannot be disentangled. In this way, Wilkinson presents two conflicting positions on women’s self-determination. In the Bleeding Nun’s case, young Beatrice’s decision to run away from a convent to become Lindberg’s mistress leads her to a dark fate (Wilkinson, *Castle of Lindenberg* 40). Agnes, however, also escapes the convent with a young man; she, however, decides to marry Raymond, and “repaired to their Andalusian Castle, where their presence gave great joy to their vassals, and numerous dependants [sic]” (Wilkinson, *Castle of Lindenberg* 56).

Wilkinson’s version of the Bleeding Nun is a cautionary tale reinforcing conservative views of a woman’s duty, and Agnes’s story directly contradicts it by suggesting women can choose their own futures.

**Periodical Sensational Ghost Stories**

Following the introduction of ghosts to the domestic and ideological territory of the common reader, many other ghosts appeared in periodicals, both in the United States and in England. Perhaps influenced by Wilkinson’s and Watkins’s examples in the chapbooks, a disparate group of mostly-female writers reimagined gothic conventions around ghosts in the mid-nineteenth century and found a market for them predominantly in the material culture of the periodical press.

Harriet Beecher Stowe’s background could not be more different from those of Lucy Watkins and Sarah Wilkinson when she took up the ghost story. Stowe was an acclaimed author after *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852); she should not have needed to write periodical ghost stories to maintain her voice in the marketplace or concern herself with pleasing any benefactors beyond her readers, but still, she found her reputation to be at
stake. She had strong personal reasons to be afraid of being silenced by 1870, when she wrote “The Ghost in the Cap'n Brown House.” After *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, she used her popularity as a platform to enter public discourse beyond abolition and beyond sentimentalism. “The True Story of Lady Byron's Life,” which was published simultaneously in the September 1869 issues of the *Atlantic Monthly* in the United States and *Macmillan’s* in England, was an article in which Stowe colorfully retold the history given to her by Lady Byron before her death. According to Stowe, Lady Byron revealed that Lord Byron had been involved in an incestuous relationship before and during their marriage. Lady Byron was upset, however, that the version of events published by Byron’s last mistress, Countess Guiccioli, was the commonly accepted view of her husband’s life. While the article was written as a refutation of the Countess’s story, at its center is Stowe’s observation that the “heaviest accusation against Lady Byron is that she has not spoken at all; her story has never been told” (Stowe, “The True Story of Lady Byron’s Life”). The article is undeniably sympathetic to Lady Byron’s perspective, and grants her the authority to describe her husband’s life on her own terms. Critics who loved Byron (and others who had reason to discredit Stowe) were incensed, and Stowe found herself at the center of a transatlantic media frenzy of such ferocity that Olive Wendell Holmes called it the “Byron whirlwind” (Lentricchia 95). In the October 1869 edition of *Mr. Merryman’s Monthly*, she is portrayed in a cartoon as a witch who wields supernatural powers to torment Byron beyond the grave, as seen in Figure 1-4:
Figure 1-4: A critical cartoon from the October 1869 edition of *Merryman’s Monthly*. Byron’s head on a satyr’s body with a devil’s tail appears from billowing black smoke pouring from a giant vial of black ink. Stowe, wielding a giant feather pen at him. Behind her are her books *Dred* and *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* stacked under a huge toad. Byron’s speech bubble says, “Woman! Why do you call me up before the world in this monstrous and distorted shape?” The caption reads, “Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe’s Great Incantation, who have we here? The great poet Byron or the D____l?” From “The Wild and Distracted Call for Proof: Harriet Beecher Stowe’s ‘Lady Byron Vindicated’ and the Rise of Professional Realism” by Jennifer Cognard-Black, *American Literary Realism* Vol. 36, No. 2 (Winter, 2004), pp. 93-119. University of Illinois Press.

In this cartoon, Stowe's pen is like an uncontrollable giant wizard's staff, larger than the Stowe character is tall. Stowe is presented in disheveled clothing, a hissing snake at her hem, holding up her skirts without a hand to spare to smooth her untamed coiffure. In a dirty corner behind Stowe, dwarfed and covered by a large toad, are her books *Dred* (1856) and *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, and above her are the alchemical symbols of a skull and a bell jar. Not only is the depiction of Stowe herself unflattering, but the image minimizes the importance of her novels, and accuses her wielding her powerful feather pen and
black vial of ink to sensationally conjure up a Byron who is a devil, rather than honestly describing the man himself. This must have been particularly hurtful for Stowe, who was by many accounts a faithful Christian, and part of a large and devoutly pious family. Her bare arms, lifted skirts, and loose hair in the cartoon seem sexualized, and stand in stark contrast to the carefully buttoned-up and modest presentation Stowe favored when she sat for photographs. To a modern eye, the image is also misogynistic in its determination of Stowe as a small woman attacking a great male figure by conjuring up shameful stories about him.

In 1870, before she published her ghost story, Stowe responded to her critics by reiterating her position: not conceding a single inch of her story, she published a book-length version called *Lady Byron Vindicated* (Cognard-Black 95). In this book, she conscientiously changed her style to adopt a semblance of realism, emphasizing the value of empirical fact and attempting to show the plausibility of the story, while subtly including less obvious appeals to her female sentimental audience. As a result, even though the text contains historical commentary, *Lady Byron Vindicated* operates as a backhanded critique of realism, highlighting the blurry boundaries between fact and fiction. After the extremely misogynist way Stowe was attacked over Lady Byron’s silence, and considering that *Lady Byron Vindicated* was not as well circulated as the previous article, I read her next story, “The Ghost in the Cap’n Brown House,” as a subtler way of communicating the same message to audiences who did not want to give her credence for Lady Byron’s story, or provide her with the circulation and broad audience she thought it deserved.
Even if the commercial interests and connoisseurs of realism could not be bothered to hear her in Lady Byron’s case, Stowe could participate in the traditional double-messaging of the sensational ghost story, and also benefit from the popularity of the haunted house. Susan K. Harris has described double-messaging as a strategy common to women’s writing in nineteenth century fiction, wherein stories often feature sentimental prefaces and conventional endings, but contain subversive or disruptive elements in the middle to “establish an area of female independence, competence, emotional complexity, and intellectual acumen that sets the stage, whether the author intended it or not, for other women to ‘read’ a far different message than the one [they] overtly profess” (10). As I will show, Stowe’s “The Ghost in Cap’n Brown House” is subtly built in this way.

Stowe’s “The Ghost in the Cap’n Brown House,” in which a silent female ghost appears in a powerful man’s house, is told in conversational rhythms that were characteristic of Stowe’s “regional realist” mode. The narrator, in his vernacular grammar, relates his tale to an unnamed fellow fisherman, imposing a male perspective and male authority on the entire story. Cinthy Pendleton, the female protagonist, has been hired to repair the clothing of Captain Brown, who is the wealthiest man in town. By making Cinthy a working-class girl and placing her in the modern day and a real location, Stowe operates within many of the bounds of realism, striving for accuracy and truthfulness. This strategy also mirrors the chapbook strategies that relocated the gothic closer to the lived experiences of their readers. Indeed, the first sections of the story contain not a hint of the supernatural but are focused on portraying Cinthy's anxieties as a young lady looking for work, and on her experiences travelling to the house. In a delicate
transition, Stowe then places her realist protagonist in the realm of a gothic tale. While she is alone in the house, Cinthy feels a presence, and thinks she sees an elusive woman, but is never quite sure she is there. The frisson of the story builds slowly, as in the beginning it seems likely that Cinthy has imagined the woman's presence in the big, empty house. Before long, however, the town is abuzz with the rumor of the mysterious woman in the Captain’s house: is there a woman who secretly lives there? Is she a ghost? Was Cinthy dreaming? Soon enough, everyone in town knows someone who has seen the mysterious woman in the Captain’s windows.

In the middle of the story, the women of the community are the first to express concern. Local church member Sally Dickerson asks the parson to check on the Captain’s lady, to find out why she does not attend church. Unfortunately, the parson and the other men in town refuse to cooperate, so it is impossible to verify anyone's suspicions. The community leaders are loathe to interfere on behalf of anything so indefinite as a ghost-woman, and the captain's respectability goes unquestioned: “. . .there did n't nobody come to the p'int o' facin' on him down, and sayin' squareout, ‘Cap'n Brown, have you got a woman in your house, or hain't you? or is it a ghost, or what is it?” (Stowe, “The Ghost in the Cap’n Brown House” 658) This unwillingness to challenge the authority of the town’s most powerful man reflects a staid sense of propriety and a hierarchy of concerns that ranked a woman’s well-being several rungs beneath a man’s household privacy. In this manner, Stowe reinforces the patriarchal structure as part of the problematic setting of the story in a way that condemns male pride and details female disempowerment. At the same time, Stowe plays upon contemporary discourses that assigned sensationalist notions (like the ghost-woman) to the realm of the feminine and constructed them as a
female pathology subject to male discipline, like Bertha in *Jane Eyre* (1847). In the middle of the story, Cinthy and the townswomen demonstrate some degree of agency; although the captain is secretive, the many women of the town have spread this story throughout their network, and they use their church to trade information until everyone knows there is a woman (or a ghost) being held at the house (658). Cleverly, Stowe never reveals whether the woman at the captain’s house is alive or a ghost, and this ambiguity is the story’s real theme: in the concluding paragraph, Stowe insiststhe women who saw her could have been dreaming, but they both insist they were awake, and that the matter “ain't settled in Oldtown yet” (“The Ghost in the Cap’n Brown House” 659). If the ghostly woman lives and breathes, she might as well be a ghost, because while she is isolated in the captain’s house, she is just as trapped and voiceless.33

By thus equating a woman with a ghost, Stowe creates a metaphor for the state of women’s legal rights in 1870, which many female readers would have been able to decode. A ghost, unacknowledged by the laws of reason, might as well not exist, and given no physical breath, cannot speak. This female ghost, like the later versions of the Bleeding Nun, is uncoupled from any vengeance, motive, or specific history—instead she is a more generalized presence; it is the condition and treatment of women that haunts the Cap’n Brown house. At the same time, a woman whose authority is not recognized by men is trapped in the home and silenced by her sex. Similarly, the professional authorship of a woman who wants to write sentimental or sensational literature is impugned, so that she must modify it for a man's assumption that realism is the higher form of art, an

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33 Charlotte Perkins Gilman will provocatively echo this theme in *The Yellow Wallpaper* in 1892.
editorial position which could be viewed as another form of silencing. By presenting her
ghost in this manner, Stowe employs the gothic tropes of the entrapped woman and the
haunted house to voice deep anxieties about the treatment of women, and the silencing of
their voices and styles. Further, she engages in the methods of “double consciousness”
suggested by Hoeveler in *Gothic Feminism*, by creating a character who adheres to
conventional standards of feminine behavior, and at the same time, subtly implies a
subversive message other women could read. She also partakes in the double-messaging
described by Harris, wherein the style of writing in the beginning and end of the story
conform to a set of conventions and sentimental tone that appealed to the female reader,
while the middle of the book demonstrated a way for women to influence a traditionally
male space.

A generation later, Edith Wharton wrote a domestic ghost story for publication in
*Scribner's Magazine*. “The Lady Maid’s Bell” appeared in the November 1902 edition,
and was her first published ghost story, drawing on many gothic conventions, yet
maintaining the ghost’s close proximity to the contemporary American reader’s family by
placing the ghost in a realistic setting on the Hudson that was reminiscent of the settings
of Washington Irving. The story begins firmly in the realm of realism as Hartley, a young
woman down on her prospects, takes a position as a maid on the recommendation of a
friend. Hartley is more reminiscent of a Theodore Dreiser character, like the eponymous
*Sister Carrie*, than a gothic heroine, in fact. Like Cinthy before her, Hartley brings a
practical, pragmatic view to the story, seeking only to find a way to make a living. Soon
she discovers her employers' family’s sad story; Mrs. Brympton is an invalid, her
husband is often away, and their two children have died. Wharton suggests that Mrs.
Brympton has been sexually abused by her husband, who is a boorish drunk and hates his wife. As Harley observes: “I was leaving my mistress's room rather later than usual, I met him coming up the stairs in such a state that I turned sick to think of what some ladies have to endure and hold their tongues about” (Wharton 552). So far, the dangers of Brympton estate are real, not supernatural at all. By placing this sense of foreboding in the realm of realism, Wharton advances Stowe’s practice of infusing the gothic into her work: Wharton finds the most gothic aspects of reality and places them at the center of the story. Critics cannot accuse Wharton of not being truthful when so many women have experienced the threat of domestic abuse behind closed doors.

At this point, the story changes modes, moving from realism toward gothic sensationalism. At first, the house is just a bit spooky because it is sad and empty, home to an illness, deceased children, and a hateful and violent marriage, and because it is isolated in the countryside. Soon it turns out that Emma, the last maid to serve Mrs. Brympton, has recently died. The door to Emma’s room is kept locked, and no one is permitted to mention it in the mistress’s hearing. Before she died, Emma helped her mistress to make friends with a young man nearby. Hartley thinks she sees a woman in the halls, but all the servants flatly deny anyone was there. Next, Hartley starts to feel nervous in her sewing room, which is across the hall from the locked one. She thinks she hears noises in Emma's old room. Things get scarier when Hartley’s mistress rings for her in the middle of the night, and she hears someone walk out of the mysterious locked room and up the stairs. Soon, Hartley begins to see Emma’s ghost with alarming frequency. The ghost leads her to the house of Mr. Renford, her mistress’s only friend, whose presence is a source of friction in the marriage. The ghost also interferes when Mr.
Brympton attempts to abandon his wife when she is unwell. In the end, however, the mystery of the ghost is left completely unsolved, and her mysterious message remains unspoken. The Brympton marriage is loveless; Mrs. Brympton is trapped there by her illness, unable to escape. Emma’s ghost can only indicate Mrs. Brympton’s problems with her eyes and show them to us in Wharton’s chilling prose. The central theme of “The Lady Maid’s Bell” is the problem of the marriage itself, which is so utterly lifeless and desolate that it is a trap for both husband and wife. Mrs. Brympton’s unnamed infirmity only serves to emphasize her complete lack of freedom. This is another example of the double-message achieved in these sensational ghost stories. A story about a message which cannot be delivered is subtly delivering Wharton’s message: a subversive condemnation of the male-dominated marriage.

The impacts of changing audiences and changing media from the originating ghost in Castle of Otranto to the domestic haunting of “The Lady Maid’s Bell” can best be concluded by considering the ghost’s return to male-authored mainstream fiction, as in Henry James’s The Turn of the Screw. First published in Collier’s Weekly in 12 installments (27 January through 16 April 1898), The Turn of the Screw’s introduction is haunting for anyone familiar with Sarah Wilkinson’s life, because it begins with the acknowledgement that the ghost story it contains has been found in a manuscript, which the unnamed first narrator describes as:

“A woman’s. She has been dead these twenty years. She sent me the pages in question before she died.” They were all listening now, and of course there was somebody to be arch, or at any rate to draw the inference. But if he put the inference by without a smile it was also without irritation. “She was a most
charming person, but she was ten years older than I. She was my sister’s
governess,” he quietly said. “She was the most agreeable woman I’ve ever known
in her position; she would have been worthy of any whatever.” (James 24)

This passage suggests that James acknowledges women’s claim to the ghost story, and then the rest of *The Turn of the Screw*, told by his governess narrator, is his imitation of that form. Indeed, the most direct allusions James makes to gothic literature are not to *Otranto*, but to Radcliffe’s *Mysteries of Udolpho*. The gothic ghost by this time has been indelibly marked by its motion away from the castle and into the familiar domestic space, and by the moral impulses and concerns of so many female authors who had been driven to create ghost stories that suited their purposes and audiences.

As they moved from monstrous triple-decker novels to flimsy chapbooks to the periodical press and theatre, the remediation of ghost stories increasingly pushed back against the stifling and hyperbolic masculinity of Walpole and Lewis. The ghost of patriarchal madness in *Castle of Otranto* was simply not suited for the female-driven cheap publications of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, each time a ghost story was complicated by dual messages, more possible ways of thinking about their predicaments emerged.

By the mid-nineteenth century, it is impossible to determine whether ghosts in literature were more influenced by the ghosts of the stage, or the periodical press, or the other way around. In this way, the gothic ghost functions within what Hoeveler described as a “gothic ideology.” Hoeveler considered ideology an essential and intersectional element of the gothic, which intertwines fiction with other discourses in a way that subtly manipulates readers’ attitudes and beliefs (Hoeveler, *Gothic Ideology* 50). Gothic
ideology is an insidious feature of the text which creates a false sense of reality, and then exploits it. Readers may experience a thrill of fear, for example, when they read a gothic novel about a woman’s ghost in a distant house, but they may not realize that beneath the frisson effect, the story is laced with a strong ideological message about the nature of women in general, which is related to chatter about women’s roles they’ve heard in a nearby pub, and depictions of women they’ve read in the local newspaper. Further, the gothic ideology places sensation and the supernatural at the forefront of the reader’s imagination using a strategy similar to the misdirection of a convincing magician or con artist; it operates by capturing the viewer's attention with a noisy and splashy effect, while quietly doing something else without their knowledge.

In addition to this gothic ideology, the ghost story of the cheap gothic also functioned within a gothic publishing economy. Writers who understood their developing audiences wrote for the material forms those audiences were interested in buying, operating within a rapidly changing print culture which required nimble, responsive, and continuous adaptation. Although both the readers and authors of gothic fiction were increasingly female, their stories were remediated, not just for their physical form, but also to conform with (often male) publishers’ and patrons’ moral constraints. Women who wrote chapbooks were particularly at risk of exploitation by a gothic publishing industry that consumed their work voraciously while also trapping them in poverty. Despite these risks and the need to maintain a virtuous reputation, chapbookers paved the way for the gothic in serial fiction and the periodical press, where the tradition of pluralistic messaging upholds and subverts ideologies about gender and marriage. The gothic ghost story’s remediation from one form to the next demonstrates its flexibility,
not only to meet the needs and serve the tastes of different audiences, but also to
hybridize with other genres like realism to accommodate publishers’ demands. The ghost
story’s many transformations demonstrate the interdependent development of women’s
authorship/readership, the gothic publishing economy, print culture, and publishing
technology.
CHAPTER TWO: VAMPIRES AND SHIFTING METAPHORS

Where ghosts began to haunt us in the relative obscurity of a distant castle, vampires enter popular culture through a series of half-truths and cross-cultural misunderstandings that trouble the boundaries of reality and fiction. Vampires began to appear in firsthand accounts and scientific journals as early as the seventeenth century, and stories about them circulated among readers of science, religion, news, and the occult for nearly a century before the first English gothic story about them was penned by John Polidori. The vampire’s tendency to transgress the boundary between reality and superstition was exacerbated by the nature of the first popular press versions of vampires, which were ethnographic accounts from travelers abroad suggesting that people elsewhere knew vampires to walk and hunt among them.

Perhaps it is due to the vampire’s ability to transgress the boundaries between existence and nonexistence, imagination and reality, history and fiction, the exotic and the nearby that they became a nexus of violation and exploitation tropes in which some boundary (class, race, or gender) is breeched, and resources are drained. These tropes proliferated in the long nineteenth century, when vampires appeared in fiction, travel narratives, chapbooks, poems, periodical tales, editorials, the penny press, and full-length novels. They were used as a metaphor in editorials, by philosophers, in court proceedings, and in parliamentary politics. At the same time, they took center stage at the ballet, the opera, and the theatre. Over the course of this recursive remediation, the vampire came to operate as a powerful rhetorical device against exploitative or predatory penetration across all types of boundaries for the course of a century before Bram Stoker’s *Dracula* (1897). At the same time, the vampire grew increasingly sympathetic
and attractive, eventually exposing the power of exploitative practices in such a way that the vampire could become the hero of a story, rather than the antagonist, and therefore a figure of imaginary empowerment in a time of burgeoning social and economic mobility.

Unfortunately, at the same time the vampire was empowering some people, the reverse tended to be true for women, who instead were cast as the prey to the vampire’s predator. In this way, the vampire metaphor of the nineteenth century is explicitly gendered in nature, as women’s physical boundaries were the ones so often and violently breeched. Vampires began the nineteenth century with very little figurative capacity, but by the end of that time they had developed a versatility that allowed for many types of metaphors; in fiction we find the literal and metaphoric vampire coming together. The duality of a literal monster / villain and the symbolic figure of the vampire becomes increasingly entrenched. In the end, some of these meanings were ephemeral, rooted in a particular time, but the gender and sexuality aspects of the vampire endure.

This chapter begins with the strange origins of vampire stories, and proceeds in a chronological order through the vampire’s development in the English-speaking world and the cheap press. I begin with some of the earliest English-language publications about vampires, which were chapbooks containing inflammatory and xenophobic reports from abroad. These are chapbooks from the early eighteenth century, so they have not yet developed for popular audiences—gothic chapbooks do not do that until after 1796. These chapbooks are not illustrated, and are designed to look and feel as much like non-fiction as possible.

Next, I trace the history of the vampire as it becomes useful to the purposes of xenophobia in England. I examine how the vampire was studied by the French clergy,
and then adapted for French rhetoric and used for economic critique by Voltaire. I also consider a spate of chapbooks with “Accounts from Wallachia” that participated in a type of anti-indigenous xenophobia in the 1770s, and how those stories proliferated in the transatlantic periodical press.

After 1770, I consider the way the vampire evolved through both poetry and the periodical press at the same time, considering the poems of Goethe and Byron, whose work undeniably influenced the vampire to come. In periodicals, however, I also track the way the vampire changes as it continues to be repurposed as a metaphor for exploitation in political and economic arguments.

Finally, this chapter addresses popular gothic fiction, including John Polidori’s *The Vampyre* (1819), which first appeared in periodicals, contrasted with the satirical chapbook *Black Vampyre* (1819). I then examine the effects of long-form serialization on the vampire by reading *Varney the Vampire* (1845-47), a sensational penny serial that constitutes the first full-length vampire novel. After Varney, I touch upon Sheridan Le Fanu’s *Carmilla* (1872), which was published in a periodical and then a short story collection, and Bram Stoker’s *Dracula* (1897), the novel that catapults the vampire into the twentieth century. By reading these vampire stories in different media and markets, I observe the ways they were altered by their context and physical form.

**Obscured Origins: Reports of Vampires Abroad**

The etymology of the word “vampire” has long been disputed, but the word mainly refers to beings that have died, come back to life, then spread death among the living (Butler 28). Stories of vampires appear in wildly different forms in the folklore of six continents, therefore no single account tracing their modern literary origins can claim
to be authoritative. It is also difficult to identify any precise rules for defining vampires’
roles in stories because there are so many different types with conflicting characteristics.
Sir Christopher Frayling identified them as Folkloric Vampires, Fatal Women, Unseen
Forces, Byronic vampires, “camp” vampires, and creative forces (Frayling 62). Indeed,
vampires are such flexible figures that they can take on any of these roles and expand
them.

Although the oral dissemination of many types of revenant narratives were likely
common throughout seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe, the word “vampire”
does not enter the historical record until 1725, when an Austrian military officer named
Frombald used a version of it in a letter to one of his superiors (Butler 31-32). Frombald
describes local Serbian peasant-soldiers’ practice of exhuming dead bodies, staking them,
then burning them to ash, explaining that the Serbians did this to prevent the dead from
climbing out of their graves to attack the living. The Serbians termed these creatures
“vampiri” (Butler 27). It is crucial to understand that Frombald was an outsider and
member of an occupying army, and therefore it is unlikely that his understanding and
retelling of the story was completely accurate. He was an intruder translating a tale from
people of another nationality, language, religion, ethnicity, and class into an official
imperial (and rather obsequious) document. Any perspective so many times removed
from the source is likely to be skewed at best. Nonetheless, Frombald’s tale spread, and
once the word “vampire” had entered the public imagination, it became a phenomenon
that quickly escaped military control.

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34 This isn’t in English, however. The Oxford English Dictionary doesn’t begin to trace
the word “vampire” (or its alternative forms) in English usage until 1741.
A much more infamous report of Serbian vampires was published in a chapbook called *Visum et Repertum* (1732), which was widely translated and distributed in many languages (Barber 15-20). This chapbook is a reproduction of a military report generated similarly to Frombald’s; an Austrian regimental surgeon named Johann Flückinger was dispatched to the Serbian village of Medvegya (or Medveda or Medveja) in 1732 to investigate a number of mysterious deaths. In the course of his investigation, he interviewed a number of villagers who insisted that vampires had bothered a man named Paole, who himself died and became a vampire. They also insisted that the vampire Paole was to blame for a handful of untimely deaths after his own demise. The villagers disinterred Paole’s corpse, drove a stake through its heart, then burned the body to ash to get rid of the vampire for good. They were, however, concerned that others in the area had been infected with vampirism, and blamed those vampires for seventeen other deaths (Barber 15-20). I can only wonder how the Austrian government responded to this report; however, it was circulated so thoroughly as to be published again in the French annual periodical *Le Glaneur*, the purpose of which is to record the important events of the year. From France, the story spread to England via chapbook translation within the year.

One of the first examples of the vampire as a popular metaphor for economic drain also occurred in France. The term “vampire” became a household word among the French after Dom Augustin Calmet published his *Dissertations sur les Apparitions et Sur Les Revenants et les Vampires* in 1746 (Wilson 579). A Benedictine monk, Calmet analyzed the occult, he claimed, not for entertainment or to encourage superstition, but “[for his] own information, and in order to form a just notion of all that is commonly reported concerning the apparitions of angels, daemons, and departed souls. [He] had a
mind to see how far this matter was certain, or uncertain; true, or false; known, or unknown; clear, or obscure” (Calmet iv). A thorough archival researcher, Calmet calmly and reasonably presents many reports of vampirism, including the case of Paole among them (Calmet 202-241). After some cases, he ponders the possibility that they are true or false, presenting an explanation to debunk the superstition if such a remedy is obvious to him, for example if the person had been buried while deeply asleep, but not dead, and so came to rise due to wrongful interment. In other cases, he leaves the case open-ended as if he has not found sufficient evidence to draw a conclusion; for example, the last case in his section on vampires ends on an inconclusive note, in which Calmet muses, “…we have no certain criterion whereby we can distinguish infallibly true miracles from false, or the works of God from the illusions of the devil” (Calmet 221). Katheryn Morris has argued that Calmet was practicing a common philosophical method of his time; he carefully documents superstitious beliefs, and then comments on them if he can draw a conclusion. He then follows the common practice of leaving the matter to other researchers if he finds the evidence inconclusive (Morris 182). By opening the question for further discussion without taking a position, Calmet is practicing a type of impartiality he exhibits throughout his work, treating the vampire in much the same way he approached Biblical angels and demons.

For this reason, Calmet’s Dissertations were provocative among the French philosophers, most notably Voltaire, who was a colleague of Calmet’s but nonetheless was so outraged by his work on vampires that he published a critique many years later. His article in Questions sur Encyclopédie (1772) rails at Calmet’s work, exclaiming:
What! Is it in our eighteenth century that vampires exist? Is it after the reigns of Locke, Shaftesbury, Trenchard, and Collins? Is it under those of d'Alembert, Diderot, Saint-Lambert, and Duclos that we believe in vampires, and that the reverend father Dom Calmet, Benedictine priest of the congregation of Saint-Vannes, and Saint-Hidulphe, abbé of Senon—an abbey of a hundred thousand livres a year, in the neighborhood of two other abbeys of the same revenue—has printed and reprinted the history of vampires with the approval of the Sorbonne, signed by Marcilli! (Voltaire 310-11)

Here, Voltaire positions Calmet as an antiquated scholar, out of touch with contemporaneous thinkers; he seems angry to have to write about Calmet’s work. His response, however, seems calculated, in that after his initial diatribe, Voltaire immediately and explicitly turns the vampire into a metaphor to critique capitalism and the wealthy, writing of Paris and London, “I confess that in these two towns there were stock-brokers, traitors, and business people who sucked the blood of the people in broad daylight, but they were not dead, although corrupt. These real suckers did not live in cemeteries, but in very pleasant palaces” (Voltaire 311). With this statement, Voltaire may have been the first to use the vampire as a metaphor for economic exploitation; if he did not invent the metaphor himself, he may have inspired many of his readers to use similar rhetoric.35 Both Calmet’s Dissertation and Voltaire’s response in Questions sur

35 I stumbled on Voltaire’s Questions sur Encyclopédie as I was trying to find critics who wrote about Calmet in the contemporary French media. For a philosophical view of Voltaire’s vampire, see Gianfranco Manfredi, “Voltaire et les vampires.” Multitudes, vol. 33, no. 2, 2008, pp. 91-99. While Voltaire may have been the first to use the vampire in this way, he was not the last. Karl Marx in Capital (1867) writes, “Capital is dead labour which, vampire-like, lives only by sucking living labour, and lives the more, the more labour it sucks” (Chapter 10, Section 1).
Encyclopédie were translated into English before the end of the eighteenth century. The folkloric vampire, mangled by the process of cross-cultural transmission, skewered by French clerics and philosophers, and charged with economic metaphor, thus proliferated in English-speaking communities who read those types of discourse via cheap print media.

Previous reports of vampirism returned to English chapbooks in the 1770s in many reprints of a story called “Curious Account of Wallachia,” in which the vampire played a supporting role in an overtly xenophobic and sensational account of the Indigenous people of foreign lands. This report of vampirism did not originate in chapbooks directly, however; the direct source for these dreadful “Account of Wallachia” chapbooks was an epistolary travel book by Ignaz Edler von Born, who was a Transylvanian (no kidding) noble born in 1742, and a leading scientist in the Holy Roman Empire (Wilson). His most esteemed work was in metallurgy, which suggests that cultural studies was not his area of expertise; nonetheless, in 1770, Born wrote and published a series of letters entitled Travels through the Bannat of Temeswar, Transylvania, and Hungary (1770), which not only describes the terrain and mineral offerings of these areas, but also ventures to document their people and societies. Born’s third letter features his description of the inhabitants of Bannat: the Wallachians. He depicts their manner of living as “rough and savage,” and suggests they “want for religion, arts, and sciences” (15). He characterizes them as ignorant, barbaric drunks, who are kept in ignorance by their illiterate Popes (at the time a term for all Catholic priests). Born then indulges in great detail with his description of their funeral rites, in which “The grave is filled up, and a wooden cross, with a large stone placed at the head, to avoid the
dead becoming a Vampyr, or a strolling nocturnal bloodsucker. Wine is thrown upon the 
grave and franckincense burnt around it, to drive away evil spirits or witches” (19).

Further, Born views the Wallachians as criminals, observing “Robberies and murthers are 
extremely common among this people. The reason is obvious. They have no true ideas of 
either God or of the soul; how should not they be wrong in their ideas of the social and 
political obligations of man?” (20-21). This description of the people of Wallachia 
reflects Born’s training in elite (and Jesuit) society, which has led him to center notions 
of Western civilization and to devalue other ways of living, a view he makes clear in his 
abhorrence of (what he views as) the Wallachians’s poverty, violence, and superstition. 
By enunciating these views, Born participates in the same tradition of officials visiting 
from outside and reporting on the locals’ belief in vampires; he purports to maintain his 
detachment from the case, but cannot fully suppress his imperialist xenophobic 
perspective. Unlike Frombald or Flückinger, though, Born was not under orders to 
investigate the situation in these regions thoroughly; the sources of his information are 
therefore obscured. He does not include any specific names or descriptions of cases of 
suspected vampirism; he instead uses sweeping generalizations to describe the local 
people and their fear of vampires.

As Born solidifies this stereotype for future use against the Wallachians, his 
disdain for them reminds the reader that although Born himself was Transylvanian, he 
came from a wealthy noble family, was educated abroad, and would therefore have fit 
more into elite society than a village in Wallachia.36 It is, therefore, absolutely clear that

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36 For more on Born, who was quite an accomplished mineralogist and metallurgist, see Schuh’s Annotated Bio-Bibliography in the Mineralogical Record, https://minerallogicalrecord.com/new_biobibliography/born-ignaz-von/
Born, writing from the position of a privileged visitor, is using superstitions about vampirism to advance stereotypes of poverty and incivility of the Indigenous “other” abroad. What Born could not have known, however, was that his story would be reproduced without any context in British periodicals and chapbooks, where it would resonate with England’s pre-existing fears in more extremely xenophobic ways.

Attitudes toward the East were mixed before the nineteenth century. As Gerald MacLean has observed, fears of the Turks and therefore the Ottoman Empire had roots dating back before the crusades in England, and for centuries, MacLean writes, “most commonly reiterated a long tradition of Islamophobic fears, rhetoric, and imagery in which the cruel figure of the ‘terrible Turk’ lusted and savaged his way across a menacingly large empire” (20). Maria Todorova, however, looking at the nineteenth century, observes that by that time Westerners had developed a “peculiar brand of Turkophilia and Slavophobia, together with their mirror-image phenomena of Turkophobia (or rather Islamophobia) and Slavophilism” (62). For Todorova, the Western view of the East was both a type of fascination and revulsion, not unlike a subject of gothic horror. Thinking back, then, to the 1770s, it is possible that the “Accounts of Wallachia” chapbooks satiated a market demand for materials presenting both a fascination with and abhorrence of Slavic and Turkish people, a titillating type of xenophobia which manifests simultaneously as a romanticism about exotic locales and a dehumanizingly racist and class-based horror of the people who live there.
A version of the same story was published in *The London Magazine or Gentleman’s Monthly Intelligencer* (Vol. XLVII) in January of 1779, crediting author “Baron Inigo Born,” but this is obviously a redacted retelling of Born’s original, removed from the context of his book (Boswell 16-17). This redaction engages in a more direct style of rhetoric which even more clearly reflects its anti-Indigenous sentiments.

Specifically, the 1770 version alters the initial presentation of the Wallachian people to compare them to “the uncivilized natives of many parts of America” (17). The same version of this story was anonymously reprinted in the trans-Atlantic popular press.

Copies are extant in *The Weekly Miscellany: or, Instructive Entertainer* (1779), *The Gleaner, or Entertainment by the Fire-Side* (1804), and *The American Magazine of Wonders and Marvellous Chronicle* (1809), and therefore were very likely published in others as well. In each of these periodicals the story about Wallachia is the same; a belief

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37 “Curious account of Wallachia, describing the situation of the country, and the manners and customs of the inhabitants,” *London Magazine, Or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer, 1747-1783*, vol. 48, 1779, pp. 16-18. ProQuest


40 *The Gleaner, Or, Entertainment for the Fire-Side [Compiled by J. Watson]*. 1804. ProQuest

in vampirism is associated with the Indigenous group, who are also maligned as being poorly educated, sexually licentious drunks, criminals, and wastrels. Their resonance with anti-Indigenous accounts from the United States only serves to exacerbate the particular brand of xenophobia they were marketing.

The next chapbook version of this story significantly modifies it by appending it to a quasi-fictional tale of violence from the same region. The title of the chapbook is: *The Life and Extraordinary Adventures of Captain Socivizca: Who Was Commander of a Numerous Body of Robbers, of the Race of Morlachians, Containing Many Bloody Encounters Which Happened Between His Troops and the Turks ... To Which Is Added a Curious Account of the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants of Wallachia; With a Particular Description of That Country.* This chapbook was published at least five times beginning in the latter half of 1769 and through about 1800, and it was distributed so widely as to be found today in dozens of libraries all over the world. (Most gothic chapbooks can only be found in one or two places today, and the majority are likely not extant.) The text of this chapbook redaction of Born’s Wallachian observations is nearly identical to the version in all the periodicals. The part added to the front of the chapbook, however, describes the actual campaigns of a historical figure, Stanislav “Stanko” Sočivica, who was a Herzegovinian brigand born in 1715, and was either a freedom fighter against the Ottoman Turks or a mass murderer and torturer, depending on one’s perspective. Regardless of politics, “Stanko” Sočivica was a real person who was

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42 There is no date impression on what I assume is the first edition, but the second is dated ca. 1770. Here I simply guess the first was less than a year earlier. The edition at the University of Virginia in the Sadlier Black Collection is bound with many other chapbooks published ca. 1800, so I have guessed that the chapbook was reprinted many times, at least until then.
mythologized during his own lifetime, and the version of him in the chapbook is most likely more myth than truth since it reports such outlandish details of his life of vengeance and crime. Sočivica is most infamous for impaling his enemies alive and roasting them over a fire, as well as beheading innumerable people, and the chapbook revels in his violence, painting him sometimes as a noble savage, and other times as a wretched and miserable bandit who longs for a settled life.

Reading the *Curious Account of Wallachia* immediately after this blood-drenched story in the same publication has two effects. First, Sočivica is called a “savage” in the last sentence of the story about him (26). In the appended *Curious Account*, the vampire-fearing people are also called savages (27). They also share a common taste with Sočivica: impaling is their preferred way to kill people (*Curious Account* 30). This use of the word “savage” combined with this horrifyingly specific type of violence implicates the entirety of Wallachia in Sočivica’s notorious violence. Second, Sočivica is famous for eluding authorities, escaping imprisonment, crossing borders, stealing and spending fortunes, and using threats of violence to ensure his freedom. His ability to defiantly prey upon civilization but remain outside its rules connects to the Wallachians, who are depicted as “Having no true Ideas of God or of the Soul, they cannot have any of the social and political Obligations of Human Society” (29). This manner of portraying the Wallachians and Sočivica as outsiders and criminals resonates with the same xenophobia already discussed, which by 1800 had come to the foreground of canonical gothic literature (see Eaton, Tchaprazov, Wester, and Wright). At this point, then, the vampire has taken on quite a bit of ideological weight, even before entering the world of fiction or poetry. The vampire had already come to represent an economic drain, and had become
associated with xenophobia and racism. Interestingly, while the vampire has begun to build its vitae as a monstrous “other” and a folkloric revenant, as of these earlier accounts he is not depicted as a ravisher. The victims of the vampires portrayed thus far have been mainly members of their own communities, and none of the ethnographic reports or sensational chapbook stories of Wallachia have engaged with any gendered or sympathetic views of vampires. In poetry and the periodical press, however, the vampire would transgress new kinds of boundaries, and his ideological usage would, therefore, begin to change along with his material form.

**Vampires Arise in Popular Poetry and Periodical Rhetoric**

After the gothic mode began to reach peak intensity in the 1790s, many finer points about vampires were imagined by poets, who invested a great deal of energy in creating backstories linking vampires with exotic locations or ancient myths and, in so doing, contributed to the construction of the vampire as urban legend and Romantic figure in popular culture while also tapping into the resonating xenophobia and economic drain that was already pervasive in vampire discourse. The earliest such poem was Johann Wolfgang von Goethe’s “The Bride of Corinth,” first published in Schiller’s periodical *Musenalmanach* in 1797. Goethe constructed his German poem by combining an ancient Greek ghost story with vampire elements from a Serbo-Croatian folk ballad (Crawford 46-47) while evoking the thunderous spirit of German Sturm und Drung. “Bride of Corinth” was translated into English in 1853 by Edgar Alfred Bowring, then again in 1859 by William Edmondstoune Aytoun and Theodore Martin. In both of these translations, a young man is ravished and killed by a dead young woman, who confesses:
“Nightly from my narrow chamber driven,
Come I to fulfil my destin’d part,
Him to seek to whom my troth was given,
And to draw the life-blood from his heart.
He hath served my will;
More I yet must kill,
For another prey I now depart.” (Goethe 44)

This translation emphasizes the vampire’s “driven” nature, and the use of the word “prey” sets up the strong dichotomy between the vampire’s animal and human characteristics that would take root and flourish in future vampires. In this case, the gender of the vampire is female; she is cursed to repeat this predation every night. This will not be the last time a vampire female is depicted as uncontrollably preying upon men.

It is important to note, however, that discourses around vampires shifted during the intervening decades separating the original poem’s publication in 1797 and the English translations of the 1850s; in fact, during that period the remediation of vampires would spread them throughout the Anglophone world. The vampire became a common metaphor in English rhetoric for an exploitative entity that drains the resources of another, much in the same way Voltaire had used it in the eighteenth century. For example, in March of 1833, an opinion piece in Destruction, or Poor Man’s Conservative argues against antisemitism by suggesting that usurers of all faiths are the true vampires
which should be driven to the sea (Anonymous 1833). That same month, an article in *The Man: A Rational Advocate* suggests the need for labour to stop supporting priests and armies who direct money toward capital rather than the worker as a way of stifling “the usurious vampire(s), who at once support and are supported by [systems of top-heavy economic distribution]” (Anonymous, *The Man: A Rational Advocate* 1833). Both of these articles suggest that discourses around economic injustice are a particularly apt match for the drain of the vampire with the concept of usury, which is a particularly cruel form of exploitation often levied against the poor.

The vampire again appears in *The Man: A Rational Advocate* in August 1833, this time attached to anti-Tory sentiment, describing the taxing of the middle class “for the benefit of Tory vampires in Church and State,” and referring to William Pitt as the “heaven-born vampire […] cramming down [the public’s] throat twelve hundred millions of debt” (Agrarius 1833). In this case, the political argument is being made in economic terms, and the vampire is again a metaphor for a deadly financial drain, while also emphasizing the toll of this burden in terms of class division. Thomas Allwood, member of parliament from Birmingham, argued on the record that lenders who charge interest were “like vampires that lived on the blood of those around them, or, like pawn-brokers, they flourished more according to the extent of distress” (Allwood). In this speech, Allwood links the vampire to both economic and political abuses of power, as he goes on to describe the ways the government’s previous policies created the conditions of poverty which left the poor no choice but to borrow money at exorbitant rates. A famous Irish

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lawyer, Charles Phillips, used the vampire metaphor in a courtroom speech in March 1819, as well (“Irish Eloquence”). Phillips aligns the vampire’s avarice with the greed of criminals who prey on good citizens, and reprints of his speech circulated widely, appearing as far away as New York in *The Globe* (June 1, 1819).

Another wildly popular poem published between the original Goethe poem and the English translation that takes the vampire across new boundaries is Lord Byron’s *The Giaour* (1813-14). The publication history of *The Giaour* is complicated, since Byron could not stop adding lines to it; in his letters he referred to this poem as “this snake of a poem, which has been lengthening its rattles every month,” and he characterized himself as “bitten” by *The Giaour* upon writing to suspend the proofs again to add more lines (BLJ 323, 336). The first “pamphlet” version of *The Giaour* (Byron himself called them pamphlets) was published by John Murray and circulated privately in March of 1813. It is hard to say why this was not a public release—perhaps because Byron had promised Murray six more poems like his previous one, *Childe Harold*, but instead delivered something quite different. Where *Childe Harold* had been written in the popular style of Sir Walter Scott, every version of *The Giaour* moves Romanticism in a gothic direction, establishing the Byronic hero in his fully dissipated melancholia, and delving deeply into sensationalist descriptions of violence in the East. What followed that original publication was eight more pamphlet editions before the end of 1813, each adding more lines to the original poem. E.H. Coleridge helpfully tabulated the numbers for his introduction to the 1900 edition of *the Giaour*: “The composition of the entire poem in its present shape was accomplished within six months, May-November, 1813, but during that period it was expanded by successive accretions from a first draft of 407 lines (extant in MS) to a
seventh edition of 1334 lines” (Coleridge 79-80). Each edition to which Coleridge is referring is a pamphlet, which is another name for a chapbook, perhaps implying the better social connections and means of the publisher and author involved in the production by using “pamphlet” instead. Figure 2-1 presents two photographs of one of these editions:

![Figure 2-1: Photos of The Giaour in its 41-page June 5, 1813 edition, printed by T. Davison for John Murray. This is the same T. Davidson who printed many chapbooks containing gothic fiction. Author’s original collection.](image)

By September of the same year, Byron describes The Giaour as “that awful pamphlet” and is nearly finished making changes.

In The Giaour vampires are creatures of subjectivity who could be construed as being more cursed than their victims. In this poem, the vampire must feed upon his own

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44 Here Coleridge means ‘composition’ as in the composition of typesetting, not the author ‘composing’ a poem. Byron wrote his first draft of The Giaour in late 1812.
family, and particularly upon his lovely little daughter, who pleads with him endearingly before her blood can be drunk. Byron burdens his vampire with a pitiable fate:

Wet with thine own best blood shall drip,
Thy gnashing tooth and haggard lip;
Then stalking to thy sullen grave –
Go – and with Gouls and Afrits rave;
Till these in horror shrink away
From spectre more accursed than they! (Byron 38-39)

Byron informs the reader that there are dire consequences for taking blood as sustenance, characterizing the vampire as a father who loves his daughter and then placing him firmly among the ranks of monsters with the “gouls” and “afrits.” Byron includes detailed footnotes in *The Giaour*, which strengthen the connections among fictional vampires and their ethnographic counterparts (Byron 72). In this way, Byron not only emphasizes the vampire’s ability to cross the boundary between monstrosity and humanity, but also casts a darker shadow over the increasingly uncertain border between fiction and non-fiction.

The vampire’s transgression of the border between fiction and reality was sustained throughout the nineteenth century in the form of titillating first-person narratives of horrific vampire sightings in the periodical press. These reports placed vampires in contemporary times and in geographic proximity to readers: the vampire in

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45 In blurring the boundaries this way, Byron follows Robert Southey’s lead; his poem “Thalaba the Destroyer” (1800) includes detailed footnotes in which Southey claims to have studied a number of accounts of vampirism from continental Europe in preparation for writing his epic (Southey 316). Although he devotes only a few lines of text to the vampire Oneiza’s return from the grave and does not contribute much to vampire lore, Southey’s extensive notes underscore his vampire’s real-world connections.
Reynolds’s Miscellany and the New York Mercury attacks pedestrians along the Hudson River (Anonymous 1865, 72; Anonymous 1887, 180). This type of narrative was sometimes printed alongside contemporary fiction in these periodicals, but sometimes appeared on the same page as a theater review or an editorial column, a practice that undoubtedly raised readers’ eyebrows. Writers like Charlotte Brontë and Charles Dickens muddied the waters further by bringing realism and the uncanny together in the same stories, creating what Susan Wolstenholme described as “the uncanny disjunction between what is ordinary and familiar and what is strange and terrible, to the undoing of their opposition” (58). This disjunction, perhaps a result of the transition from ethnographic accounts to Romantic poetry, becomes more pronounced in short stories and serial fiction about vampires in the nineteenth century.

**Formative Vampires in Nineteenth-Century Fiction**

Vampires first appeared in English prose fiction following the famous meeting of writers at Villa Diodati in 1816 (Gelder 26). At the Villa, Lord Byron composed a fragment of a vampire story, which was adapted and expanded by his companion John Polidori in his short story “The Vampyre,” in 1819. This chilling tale was first published by Henry Colburn in the New Monthly Magazine with the false attribution “A Tale by Lord Byron,” which ironically led to broad publication of “The Vampyre” on both sides of the Atlantic during the summer of 1819, since works by Byron were in popular demand.

Although Polidori credits Robert Southey’s notes from “Thalaba the Destroyer” (1800) for some aspects of his vampire Ruthven, Polidori’s vampire also reflects the author’s view of Byron’s personality and some influences from Byron’s work. Ruthven is
obsessed with the maintenance of his elite social connections, and consumed by his struggle for control of Aubrey, his wealthy young gentleman friend. Ruthven is presented by Polidori as a cold, highly controlled creature, whose animal urges are carefully kept in check. When Aubrey seeks to prevent him from harming a young woman, he thwarts Ruthven rather easily via social channels:

Aubrey retired; and, immediately writing a note, to say, that from that moment he must decline accompanying his Lordship in the remainder of their proposed tour, he ordered his servant to seek other apartments, and calling upon the mother of the lady, informed her of all he knew, not only with regard to her daughter, but also concerning the character of his Lordship. The assignation was prevented.

(Polidori 8)

Here Aubrey has used his friendship and some social maneuvering to prevent a possible vampire attack. This example demonstrates that although he must eventually feed, Ruthven’s craving for blood does not compel him to bite. When social circumstances work against his thirst, he can exercise self-control and possesses the necessary self-determination to choose not to pursue an intended victim. While Ruthven does eventually gain access to a young woman, he does so by securing her hand in marriage, which is certainly the correct way according to social norms of his time. The subsequent feeding is conducted in subtext; Polidori does not indulge in much description of the event, sufficing it to say, “The guardians hastened to protect Miss Aubrey; but when they arrived, it was too late. Lord Ruthven had disappeared, and Aubrey's sister had glutted the thirst of a VAMPHYRE!” (Polidori 24). The cold restraint with which Ruthven controls his passions and protects his social interests distinguishes him from the vampires to
follow but also makes him monstrous in a different vein from the revenants of Serbian stories. Ruthven is, at his core, a gentleman, aspiring to high station and admiration, and his vampirism is just one facet of his drive for social conquest. Were it not for his eventual blood-sucking, he could be anyone’s wealthy foreign neighbor. In this way, Ruthven reflects many class-related and xenophobic fears of Polidori’s time: the notion of being inside the correct social circle as an all-important goal, the rejection of the “other” from outside the safety of England, and the terror of discovering that the appearances of one’s patron might not match the truth. Ruthven is also the first vampire whose lust for a woman runs parallel with his bloodlust; the institution of marriage is eventually wielded by Ruthven to plunder Miss Aubrey’s blood supply and her marriage bed at the same time. Here the metaphor connecting fangs with the phallus is established—Polidori is ahead of his time by coupling sex with death so explicitly.

Polidori’s *Vampyre* was widely distributed, including reprints in several American publications in the summer of 1819, such as *Robinson’s Magazine of Baltimore* in the

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46 Ruthven is the earliest vampire I found for this study whose bite and bloodlust were related to his desire for sexual conquest. This conclusion is the result of an exhaustive search process of extant chapbooks, a systematic plundering of American Periodicals (Proquest) and British Periodicals (Proquest), as well as searches in collections at the British Library, New York Public Library, University of Virginia, and WorldCat. In each of these searches, I looked for stories before the publication date of Polidori’s *The Vampyre* that contained the following keywords: vampire, vampyre, vampyr, wampyr, wampire, Wallachia, Sočivica, and revenant. My conclusion that Ruthven is the first vampire portrayal to combine lust and bloodlust is based on these searches. As digitization of eighteenth and nineteenth century periodicals continues, it is possible some earlier sexualized vampire attack can be found—but I think it is unlikely. I do not think it is a coincidence that this sexualization of the vampire emerges with the beginning of Romanticism and from Byron and Shelley’s circle.

47 For a discussion of the vampire’s complex sexuality and the bite as a metaphor for sex, see Ken Gelder’s *Reading the Vampire* (Routledge, 1994).
June 26 issue, and Boston’s *Atheneum* on June 15. Around the same time, Charles Phillips’s use of the vampire metaphor in court also appeared in American newspapers.

That summer also gave rise to a complicated quasi-satirical American chapbook called *The Black Vampyre; a Legend of St. Domingo*, published pseudonymously under the name Uriah Derick D’Arcy, though scholars have yet to discover convincing evidence of its authorship. Perhaps due to the author’s satirical purposes, this story pointedly uses the vampire in political and economic commentary. *The Black Vampyre* was certainly written with Polidori’s *Vampyre* in hand and in mind, but it is a very different story, especially in the way it redirects the vampire metaphor away from English xenophobia, marriage, and class tensions, to instead address distinctly American concerns of a very particular moment in time. The intended audience for *The Black Vampyre* was also American, and not limited to the readership of any particular literary periodical publication, or to the wealthier buyers of handsomely bound volumes. Instead, *The Black Vampyre* was published by C. Wiley and Company of New York in a chapbook edition priced at 25 cents; this is very much like an English chapbook, both in terms of the low and accessible price, and the way it is packed with ideological content. It responds to the Panic of 1819 (which caused a recession), to the French Revolutionaries’ emancipation of their colonial slaves (in 1794) and those people’s re-enslavement under Napoleon, to the Haitian Revolution, and to the continuing problem of the transatlantic chattel slave trade.

The original vampire in *The Black Vampyre* is introduced with slavery in the foreground; he is an abductee who has been brought to St. Domingo (now Haiti) on a slave ship:
His ancestors emigrated from the eastern coast of GUINEA, in a French ship, and were sold in ST. DOMINGO remarkably cheap; as they were reduced to mere skeletons by the yaws on the passage; and all died shortly after their arrival, except one small negro, of a very slender constitution, and fit for no work whatever. (D’Arcy 1)

As it turns out, the surviving child is killed and thrown by the plantation owner into the ocean, but returns to the beach in the moonlight as a revenant to beg the plantation owner for food. When the plantation owner, Mr. Personne, will do nothing but continue to assault and attempt to kill him, the boy throws Personne onto a fire, as a result of which the man eventually dies, leaving a weeping wife, Euphemia, and cursing the “guinea-negro” for draining the blood of their infant son.

_The Black Vampyre_ is a heavily intertextual publication, openly participating in discourses with classical scholarship (referencing Homer and Aeschylus), contemporary writers (Byron, Washington Irving, and Sir Walter Scott), citing literary heroes (Shakespeare, Milton, Pope, Defoe), naming politicians and orators like Edmund Burke and Charles Phillips, and making many allusions to events and publications in the New York media at the time. As a result of its entanglement with so many discourses, _The Black Vampyre_ is difficult to interpret two hundred years after composition, but the author has provided some information to help guide readers in the “MORAL” section at the end. One might expect the moral of a tale entitled “The Black Vampyre” to strive toward abolition, but instead, D’Arcy directs his ire at more commonplace forms of thievery specific to New York in 1819, which he says is “perhaps more prolific than any other, in enchanters,—Vampyres,—and the whole infernal brood of sorcery and
witchcraft” (41). D’Arcy’s “MORAL” provides a list of professions, and names each one a type of vampire associated with the economic recession which followed the Panic of 1819. Among these he includes bankers, bank clerks, quack physicians, plagiarists in the literary marketplace, fraudulent traffickers of commercial goods, and himself. He never explicitly draws the connection between imperialism, slavery, and the vampire metaphor; in truth the story is ambiguous in that regard. The climactic battle of The Black Vampire places the vampires on the slaves’ side of an insurrection inspired by their vampiric leader’s exhortation, “O my brethren, we shall be free!—Our fetters discandied [sic], and our chains dissolved, we shall stand liberated,—redeemed,— emancipated,—and disenthralled by the irresistible genius of UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION!!” (36).

Almost immediately following this stirring oratory, however, colonial military forces with bayonets and rifles violently and quickly dispense with the vampires, the slaves, and their rebellion. Meanwhile the plantation owner and his wife, both of whom are now vampires, have stolen an obeah potion (surely a reference to the wealth of wisdom and experience they extracted from Africans who had been enslaved) which allows them both to become human again and live happily ever after. This represents either a resigned acceptance of a status quo which seemed immutable, or a tacit endorsement of it. As Katie Bray has written:

> While The Black Vampyre is not an abolitionist text, it deploys both a self-avowed act of plagiarism and a series of paratextual diatribes about literary theft to gesture at the contemporary hypocrisy of an Anglophone literary market that was vexed by such issues even as it turned a blind eye to the much weightier thefts inherent in chattel slavery. As D’Arcy uses the figure of the vampire both to talk about
slavery in his story and to bemoan the travesty of plagiarism in an afterword, he
invites the reader to contemplate how the literary market and the slave market are
connected. (Bray 5)

I agree with Bray and would further argue that by publishing such arguments and
commentaries in this cheap and accessible form and maintaining this ambiguity towards
slavery as an institution, The Black Vampyre participates in the same sort of pluralistic
approach used in so many chapbook ghost stories (see Chapter 1). By presenting the idea
of abolition via emancipation for readers of any economic class without comment, the
author invites a broader discussion, but only very subtly suggests the direction that
discussion should take. This ambiguity can initiate the type of pluralistic thinking as
described by Hoeveler in Gothic Riffs (6), challenging the reader to contemplate
arguments for and against abolition at the same time. In this way, D’Arcy anchors the
horrors associated with his particular vampire firmly in his own specific place and time,
and creates a type of terror with real resonance with local contemporary discourses,
which could be both abolitionist and racist at the same time. The Black Vampyre is,
therefore, a fascinating snapshot of economic and racial tensions in 1819 New York.

The first full-length vampire novel was James Malcolm Rymer’s Varney the
Vampire. Varney changed the vampire forever by explicitly linking his violence to
gender and his bloodlust to sexual lust. First published as a weekly serial (also known as
a penny dreadful), Varney enjoyed a popular run from 1845 to 1847 and subsequent
reproduction in serial reprints, in addition to two omnibus novel editions. Varney the
Vampire’s opening installment immediately contradicts many aspects of Polidori’s
Byronic vampire and reflects a different set of cultural anxieties. Varney’s particular type
of vampirism is defined in the first chapter by his attack on Flora Bannerworth, in which he is definitely not governed by social rules as Ruthven was, and nothing is left to the imagination, as shown in Figure 2-2:

Figure 2-2: Illustration from the first installment of *Varney the Vampire*. By permission of the British Library. Shelfmark: General Reference Collection RB.23.a.31447.
The entire attack is rendered in thick, erotic, violent detail, both in illustration and text. There are no social maneuvers; instead Varney advances from Flora’s window to her bed without a single word.

When Varney bites Flora, he evinces none of Ruthven’s human affectations or dispassionate self-control. On the contrary, Varney is characterized as a feral snake-like creature, making hissing sounds and mesmerizing Flora with his eyes. This is not an isolated incident; Varney is always depicted as animalistic when the moon has triggered his feeding frenzy. His bloodsucking is like that of a wolf after a fresh kill; people who overhear it describe it as “some animal eating, or sucking some liquid” or “as if some animal was drinking with labour and difficulty” (Rymer 38, 727). Varney’s non-human qualities are likewise emphasized when he makes wolf-like howling noises. As he is about to bite Flora, he emits “a strange howling cry that was enough to awaken terror in every breast” (Rymer 37). In this way, Rymer provides ample openings for readers to understand how Varney’s non-human nature contributes to his monstrosity. This impression is likely reinforced by the illustrations, in which Varney often takes on a monstrous or animalistic appearance. In many other parts of the plot, however, Varney is convincingly and jarringly human. He seeks to maintain wealth and position like Ruthven and is capable of the self-reflection necessary to experience guilt and seek expiation. By emphasizing his human side, Rymer delicately positions Varney as a sympathetic figure who was beloved in mass culture, despite his long history as a blood-sucking fiend.

Varney’s struggle between animal instinct and human control is complicated by the fact that he is an unnaturally selective predator: he only preys on young women. Embedded not-so-subtly in Rymer’s purple prose are troublesome sexual overtones in
Varney’s predation; he explains that, after his first time sucking the blood of a young girl, “I felt [her blood] dart through my veins like fire, and I was restored. From that moment I found out what was to be my sustenance; it was the blood of the young and the beautiful” (Rymer 753). Varney, then, is not just monstrous because he animalistically craves human blood, but he is also monstrous in human terms because he achieves his wealth, power, and status at the expense of innocent young women. Worse, Varney’s attack on Flora combines a vampiric attack with sexual lust in appalling ways, as his hypnotic stare causes her to stand transfixed, bosom heaving and limbs trembling, until Varney culminates the act by dragging her onto the bed by her hair, sweeping his horrific eyes over her body in “horrible profanation” and plunging his fangs into her neck (Rymer 38). Varney himself describes his feeding as “midnight orgies,” which places them firmly in the category of sexual violence (Rymer 627). Here the vampire’s nature as a creature torn between humanity and monstrosity is forever changed, as Rymer combines the imagery of lust and the animalistic vampire attack so that the vampire is not only feared as a predator, but also as a ravisher. Once this connection between sexual lust and bloodlust is made, it proves very difficult for future writers to resist. Twisted up in the fearful notion of the sexual predator, the vampire-as-rapist has been reproduced as a metaphor or in the literal sense countless times in vampire stories since Varney, becoming a sensational part of the vampire’s often hyper-sexualized nature in popular culture.

Rymer also created a new strategy for vampire narratives by using the length of the serial’s run to encourage readers to overlook Varney’s violence and view him more sympathetically. In a run of two years, it was easy for readers’ memories of Varney’s most alarmingly violent history to fade. The unreliable narrator’s recollections become
hazy over time, which helps the reader to forget. Varney’s attack on Flora, for example, becomes more and more benign with each mention: in future installments, Varney claims Flora was not harmed in the attack (which is false, she almost died), and later he claims never to have bitten Flora at all (he definitely did). Readers were not likely to go back to the first installment to fact-check Varney’s claims.

Readers’ memories are also manipulated by the narrative design as Flora’s experience of the attack is suppressed in favor of the accounts of her male relatives. She is unable to speak immediately following the attack and then mysteriously quiet thereafter. By the time a few chapters have passed, Flora’s family has so forgotten about her violation that they allow Varney to move into the house next door without recognizing him (Rymer 87). Meanwhile, Varney’s monthly feedings are deemphasized for a time after Flora’s attack, whereupon the narrative emphasizes other aspects of his personality: his quest for wealth and his good deeds. This shift away from Varney’s feedings to his other activities makes him easier for readers to like.

This combination of being an uncontrolled predator and an ambitious man who rewrites history to his own liking makes Varney a new kind of monster, one who can serve as a figurative substitute for many different types of conquests. Over his long life, he becomes an immense dark mirror reflecting a broad swath of Victorian society’s anxieties. He represents and thereby opens critique for topics as wide-ranging as imperialism, war, violence against women, street crime, financial security and inheritance, marriage entrapment plots, and theft. By encompassing such a broad set of crisscrossing topics, *Varney* could touch a nerve tapping into almost any reader’s fears and beliefs.
Studies of vampire fiction in the nineteenth century often overlook the importance of *Varney* to the creation of the vampire in the popular imagination. Not only was *Varney* a success in its initial run, but the story inspired a dramatic adaptation called *Varney the Vampyre* by H. Young, which was produced in London beginning in 1846 and featured T.P. Cooke, the famous actor who had originated the role of Frankenstein’s monster on the stage (Anonymous, 1864 252). Lloyd’s continued to reprint *Varney* in penny serials, at least until the production of the British Library’s copy, which was printed in 1854. A reporter named John Plummer described seeing a “pert milliner’s apprentice, who [invested] her last penny to purchase a copy of ‘Varney the Vampire’” at a book stall in Whitechapel in 1862 (Plummer 562). Publication and popularity continued such that *Varney* was still the target of complaints in letters to the editor as late as 1867 (Fletcher 325; Forst 281). Finally, a writer for *The Atheneum* in 1870 claimed that “the little Family Herald absolutely extinguished ‘Varney the Vampire,’ and other monsters of the sort” (Anonymous, 1870 12). Although penny fiction publications of *Varney* may have been “extinguished” for a time, the serial returned in 1970 and 1972 in paperback books, was spoofed by playwright Tim Kelly in 1990, published in eBook form in 1998, partially published on Project Gutenberg in 2005, printed by Floating Press and Zittaw Press between 2007 and 2012, and Pulp-Lit Productions and Amazon (for Kindle by e-artnow) in 2020. Although Rymer’s story may not have been the focus of much literary criticism, *Varney* has been read and introduced to new audiences countless times, and his influence on other vampire stories is impossible to measure.

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48 The difference in dates between this source (1864) and the performance (1846) are not the result of a typing error. The 1864 source is Cooke’s obituary, which catalogues his roles over a storied multi-decade career as an actor.
A cadre of popular periodical fiction monsters stalked the press of the nineteenth century after *Varney*, among which one gem emerged: Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu’s 1871 novella *Carmilla*. First published in *The Dark Blue*, a literary magazine, *Carmilla* was then anthologized in Le Fanu’s collection of short stories *In a Glass Darkly* (1872). The title character is a horrifying example of a female vampire who is driven by both bloodlust and sexual desire towards her prey. In daylight, her victim, Laura, describes encountering Carmilla’s all-too-human sexual desires:

Sometimes after an hour of apathy, my strange and beautiful companion would take my hand and hold it with a fond pressure, renewed again and again; blushing softly, gazing in my face with languid and burning eyes, and breathing so fast that her dress rose and fell with the tumultuous respiration. It was like the ardour of a lover; it embarrassed me; it was hateful and yet overpowering; and with gloating eyes she drew me to her, and her hot lips travelled along my cheek in kisses; and she would whisper, almost in sobs, ‘You are mine, you shall be mine, and you and I are one for ever [*sic*].’ (Le Fanu 23)

Carmilla can gain unfettered access to her victim, Laura, because they are both girls of the same age and allowed to fraternize without supervision. In the dark of night, however, Carmilla’s sexual lust is displaced completely by bloodlust, and she takes on a cat-like form to complete her attack and feeding. Part of Carmilla’s particular monstrosity is that she is purely a bloodlusting predator at night but makes convincing advances of love and friendship to gain Laura’s trust during the day. In this way, Carmilla’s character exhibits both an inhuman predatory instinct and a human’s desire for intimacy, while keeping her vampire nature a secret. Her true monstrosity is revealed, however, when it becomes clear
she is not the young woman she claims to be, but is instead an ancient vampire named Mircalla, Countess Karnstein. Once the truth is revealed, Carmilla becomes a monster in the mind of Laura’s father and is located in her grave, beheaded, and burned.

*Carmilla* is obviously a text that explores anxieties around women’s sexuality, homophobia, and lesbianism. Adrienne Antrim Major writes that *Carmilla* “… poses a paradigm of feminine power and lesbian love that might well create terror in the hearts of [Le Fanu’s] contemporaries...” (151). In this way, *Carmilla* breaks new ground for the vampire; instead of positioning women as the victims of vampire’s crimes, Le Fanu casts them in both the vampire’s and the victim’s position, opening the vampire metaphor to include both a critique and an endorsement of women’s sexual liberation. This story can therefore serve as a locus for exploring and reflecting the reader’s fears about intimacy, sexuality, and about the changing roles of women, who had begun to challenge the traditional, patriarchal, heteronormative notions upon which the foundations of conservative society were built.

**The Vampire’s Struggles against their Nineteenth-Century Mythos**

Easily the most famous novel to emerge from the nineteenth century’s remediations of the vampire tale is Bram Stoker’s *Dracula*. First published in 1897, *Dracula* is simple in appearance: it is bound in a single volume, covered in yellow cloth with stark red ink lettering.49 By 1897, the price of bound books had fallen, and *Dracula*, as first published by Archibald Constable and Company (London) was priced at just 6 shillings in its first edition. This would have made *Dracula* a middle-class or better

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49 It is entertaining to wonder if the yellow cover was an homage to *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1890)—wherein the contents of a yellow book seduce and poison Dorian.
publication, but by this time public libraries had begun to serve the reading public of any economic status without fee on both sides of the Atlantic, making *Dracula* available to anyone.

Inside the lurid yellow binding, *Dracula* is a fin de siècle wonder, which toys with genre by imitating many other literary forms within its pages. Some of the parts of Stoker’s story mimic the nineteenth century’s periodical press stories of vampire sightings, taking the form of newspaper articles. Other parts of Stoker’s narrative are delivered in a series of letters and diary excerpts, like Born’s original epistolary travel narrative, also harkening back to the epistolary novel tradition as exemplified by Samuel Richardson’s *Pamela* (1740) and *Clarissa* (1749) or Goethe’s *The Sorrows of Young Werther* (1774). *Dracula*’s innovation, however, does not end with this playful use of genre. Stoker’s update to the vampire’s characterization emphasizes his separation from the reader and from the other characters, making the vampire’s thoughts and motives inscrutable since he is a very mysterious creature the narrators cannot understand. He does share information about himself, but his stories overwhelm Jonathan Harker, who cannot keep up with the vastness of the story except to sum it up like a history of conquest in Europe; Dracula claims his kin “have a right to be proud, for in our veins flows the blood of many brave races who fought as the lion fights, for lordship” (Stoker 27). Although he is sometimes characterized in animal terms, Dracula’s bloodlust is more like a warrior’s lust for victory than an animal’s need for food. His voluminous era-spanning memory and experience separate him from humans in the same way that humans are separated from insects; because of Dracula’s comparatively immense life span and experience, humans bear little significance to the vampire. This dehumanization
of the other characters in Dracula’s view is at the center of what makes him terrifying, as is his desire to relocate to England and to make that territory his next conquest. There is not much pretense in Dracula’s particular type of dominance: as Nina Auerbach describes it, Dracula and Harker assume a number of relationships with one another, but there is always a void between them, so they never become too close: “Both assume the rigid roles of master and servant, [...] monster and human, making no attempt to bridge the distance. Caste, not kinship, determines their relationship” (Auerbach 70). By maintaining this distance between the Count and the people far beneath him, Stoker creates a vampire whose monstrousness is not founded in carnal instincts, but rather in his ambivalence towards humanity. For a creature of such an alien attitude towards human beings to invade England would be an unthinkable type of horror for many readers. His foreignness, however, is reminiscent of the innumerable stories of Wallachia, Byron’s Giaour, and Polidori’s Ruthven, all of which operated within the same xenophobic territory.

Stoker’s three unnamed female vampires link the female vampire’s feeding to her sexuality much more explicitly than Goethe’s “Bride of Corinth” did, and more in a style reminiscent of Le Fanu. Harker describes the females as coquettish, urging each other on, until the fair-haired female seductively approaches him:

The girl went on her knees, and bent over me, simply gloating. There was a deliberate voluptuousness which was both thrilling and repulsive, and as she arched her neck she actually licked her lips like an animal, till I could see in the moonlight the moisture shining on the scarlet lips and on the red tongue as it lapped the white sharp teeth. (Stoker 36)
This is an ambiguous moment in Stoker’s novel, since Dracula storms onto the scene and contemptuously interrupts the females’ quasi-pornographic scene before they can complete their feeding on Harker. It is unclear what may have happened if they had been allowed to continue. What’s certain, however, is that for Dracula, this behavior is unacceptable, not because it is immoral or improper, but because it violates his personal boundary of ownership: “How dare you cast eyes on him when I had forbidden it? Back, I tell you all! This man belongs to me!” (Stoker 37). As demonstrated in this scene, Stoker’s vampires reflect different anxieties depending on the gender of the vampire. While the females reflect fears and repression around sexual desire, Dracula himself resonates with fin de siècle anxieties around blood (miscegenation, race) and conquest (reverse colonialization). By creating so many vampires and having them reflect so many different anxieties, Stoker invited the diversity among a host of very different vampires who followed in pulp and popular fiction.

As society changes, the vampire narrative reflects the most suspicious and reactionary impulses, which are linked to readers’ fascination with terror; where there is uncertainty and change, vampires flourish. Further, despite the vampire’s post-1900 shifting and adaptation to suit each generation’s fears, the archetype has been indelibly marked by their nineteenth-century incarnation as creatures torn between humanity and monstrosity while being employed as rhetorical devices for any type of boundary violation. Nina Auerbach’s Our Vampires, Ourselves (1995) claims that every generation creates its own version of the vampire, which is the vampire that generation deserves. As

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Auerbach describes it, “The alacrity with which vampires shape themselves to personal and national moods is an adaptive trait” (Auerbach 5). This theory may also explain how vampires can consistently reflect the particular horrors of their cultural moment, while maintaining the same central concerns that are universal to any period or locale. It is possible that the vampire’s movements through different media of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries perfectly reflect the level of tension in the surrounding discourse as it relates to xenophobia, gendered violence, and economic concerns linked with class mobility or position in society. As a result, monsters that began as impoverished commoners rising from the grave in Wallachia would evolve to become Dracula, who is their opposite in almost every way, but much more fearsome for the reader of 1898. The metaphor of the vampire’s transgression is therefore flexible; the vampire begins its utility as a figure for economic drains of all types (including slavery), but quickly becomes applicable to political power, patriarchal dominance, and an echo of racist imperialist intentions.

The genius of the vampire’s shifting metaphors is that they make the vampire supremely adaptable for remediation in varying forms and for different audiences. The way the metaphor operates is different depending on the form of publication. In poetry, although the language is figurative, the vampire feels immediate, our knowledge of the vampire is fleeting as the poet’s focus is more on the beauty of the language than on the vampire as a character, and the vampire’s horrific nature is left mostly to the imagination. While the chapbook vampire before Polidori resonated with British audiences to build upon their existing xenophobic impulses, the chapbook vampire in The Black Vampyre relies on complex discursive networks accessible to anyone to make a broad critique of
the exploitation inherent in the publishing trade, comparing it rather plainly to the slave trade—the vampire becomes a cautionary tale for the extraction of labor. Meanwhile, Varney’s ability to manipulate the reader’s memory over the course of two years is purely a function of serial fiction; it creates such a distance between the character’s introduction and the novel’s resolution that readers can forget and forgive his originating sins, and allows a long-term relationship to form between Varney and his reader, who develops sympathy for him over time.
CHAPTER THREE: GENDER, GENRE, AND GOTHIC REMEDIATIONS

Among the ways the gothic changes when it moves to different physical forms, perhaps the most complex transformation of all is what happens to the hero and heroine of the story. Much work has been done on the foundational texts of the gothic to solidify these characters as types. Eino Railo defined the Byronic hero, for example, in *The Haunted Castle* (1827), as an arrogant, intelligent, educated outcast, who somehow balances his cynicism and self-destructive tendencies with a mysterious magnetism and attraction, particularly for heroines. On his web site, Douglass H. Thompson has identified two anti-hero types in the canonical gothic: the Satanic Hero and the Promethean (2017). The Satanic Hero is a hero-villain whose nefarious deeds and justifications of them make him a more interesting character than the rather bland good hero, like Satan in Milton’s *Paradise Lost* (1667). The Promethean is a hero-villain who makes well-intentioned achievements by performing an over-reaching or rebellious act, like Victor Frankenstein when he gives life to his creature. Meanwhile, Thompson and Railo both describe the heroine as The Virginal Maiden. She is beautiful, demure, innocent, and prone to fainting. If she is lucky, the hero will come along and rescue her, but mostly she is horribly tormented or dies. Victoria Nelson holds that the importance of this type of heroine lies in her ill-fated destiny, to be tied to a man of darkness, as “the young person whose untouched sexual energy will nourish the god beyond the grave” (Nelson 103). These character types are generative for pedagogical purposes; they can help readers understand the formulaic nature of the canonical gothic genre, since the character types play into type-scenes and tropes which are often repeated.
On the other hand, a counterbalancing against these types and tropes has always existed; each gothic novel delights in pressing against and toying with social structures and boundaries, often including the boundaries implicit in gender roles. In Matthew Lewis’s *The Monk* (1796), for example, although Antonia is the most passive, angelic, pure-hearted, and helpless heroine imaginable, several wicked female characters explore other ways of being feminine that are more powerful. One of these is Matilda, a woman who disguises herself as a man to seduce a priest, leading directly to his fall. Matilda’s cross-dressing signals that the boundaries around gender in her case are already porous, and as a result the walls of the cloister are permeable, as are the social positions and labels meant to keep people in their places. Similarly, Ann Radcliffe’s *The Italian* (1797) features Ellena di Rosalba, a virgin and orphan whose fortunes are sought by many villains; however, Radcliffe herself abandons the heroine character type in *Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794) by creating Emily St. Aubert, who is a capable, reasonable person able to find her own solutions to her problems.

Clearly from the very inception of the canon, part of the gothic imagination was focused on gender and the exploration of gender-based rules. It is partly in trying to understand this confounding approach to the sexes that scholars of the gothic in the era of second-wave feminism began to refer to works by women, for women, or about women as “female gothic,” as opposed to simply “gothic” (Moers). Thankfully, scholars today are moving away from this terminology, which has often proved unhelpful. There is no productive way to generalize about gender in the gothic, whether it is to group authors together or to think about the way characters behave, other than to say that the genre has
always involved plenty of perspectives from both sexes, and that every defining line in the gothic, including gender, is subject to being blurred.

Within a framework that emphasizes terror, the uncanny, and suspense, heroines in the canonical gothic are trapped and challenged to escape. As this experiment is repeated time and again in gothic tales, heroines are given varying degrees of agency and are either spared by some miracle or corrupted beyond redemption by the things they’ve done to survive. As Fred Botting notes: “Women’s gothic, it seems, straddles contradiction and challenge, persecution and pleasure” (Botting 153). Similarly, David Punter and Glennis Byron write that “[whether] female Gothic should be seen as radical or conservative has been an issue of particular concern” (Punter and Bryon 280). The answer to Punter and Byron’s question is that both radical change and conformity are happening at the same time because the gothic heroine ends her tale at the center of a bifurcated ideology. A bifurcated ideology upholds two truths at the same time, despite the way those truths contradict or contest against one another. The traditional gothic heroine’s fate, when there is a happy ending, brings forward a bifurcated ideology, because it places her back under the calming, stable control of another traditional patriarch, while at the same time, her problems were the result of some patriarch’s misbehavior and instability. This is a condemnation of the patriarchy that upholds it at the same time: a bifurcated ideology.

Diane Long Hoeveler’s *Gothic Feminism* places the heroine’s bifurcated ideology in the realm of deep subversion, concluding that the treatment of women in these stories is useful to feminists in that it alerts the astute reader to the machinations of the patriarchy (Hoeveler 9). Hoeveler views the female-authored gothic as inscribing the
heroine with a type of practiced feminine victimhood, which would then serve to turn an accusing eye on the patriarchy that sustains systems of oppression (Hoeveler 15).

Although Hoeveler disapproves of this manner of expression, she nonetheless views it as a type of secretive feminism. This is just one of many ways in which the gothic heroine figures in a much broader discourse on gender, one which imagines the masculine and feminine locked in some type of struggle against one another, both for the creation of the identities of “man” and “woman,” and for the power dynamics which would continue to trap women in their dismal realities well into the 20th century. As Helene Cixous observed:

…men and women are caught in a network of millennial cultural determinations of a complexity that is practically unanalyzable; we can no more talk about ‘woman’ than about ‘man’ without being caught within an ideological theater where the multiplication of representations, images, reflections, myths, identifications constantly transforms, deforms, alters each person’s imaginary order and in advance, renders all conceptualization null and void. (Cixous 268)

The gothic heroine exists in a continuous crisis because she is at the center of exactly this type of discourse; she is foreordained to exist in heightened circumstances due to the hyperbolic nature of gothic plot formulae, and her role was largely constructed after the publication of Mary Wollstonecraft’s *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792) had sparked the first embers of feminism on two continents.

The canonical heroine’s inability to become an exemplar of feminist liberty, even when she is penned by female authors, is perhaps due to the rapid social changes at the end of the eighteenth century, which contributed to conditions of uncertainty around
gender roles in society at large. Since gender is a cultural construct, when a culture is
generated in a massive shift, it follows that contemporary constructions of gender and
gender roles will shift, too. In the wake of the French and American Revolutions,
mercantilism gave way to the beginnings of industrialization, and just such a shift was underway. Where families had been accustomed to working together in the past, a new ideal emerged after industrialization, by which a man’s work outside the home should support a whole family’s financial needs, leaving women and children at home to complete domestic tasks—establishing the quickly entrenched ideology of “separate spheres” (Hughes).\(^{51}\) This extreme shift in the way people viewed work was directly tied to gender and gender roles. It is, therefore, understandable that the writers of the early gothic novels’ ideas about gender were only as advanced as their own experiences and those reported in their discourse communities.

People like Ann Radcliffe had, after all, not grown up reading gothic novels. With the exception of those in Castle of Otranto (1764), the fictional heroines available to novelists were sentimental characters like Samuel Richardson’s Pamela, who is such a creature of emotion that her sole defense is her convincing ability to faint at the right moment to escape her problems. Mary Wollstonecraft, however, encouraged women to regulate their sensibilities, opting instead to rely on reason and keep a level head. While some of the early gothic heroines are as overwrought and sensitive as Pamela, others unsurprisingly have one hand firmly grasping these past sensibilities while the other

\(^{51}\) There is ample evidence that some working-class women often did not have the option to be housewives. They earned money in a wide variety of ways, sometimes working in factories or mines. For more, see Bridget Marshall’s Industrial Gothic: Workers, Exploitation, and Urbanization in Transatlantic Nineteenth-Century Literature, University of Wales Press, 2021.
reaches toward reason. This is particularly true in the gothic works of women writers; in this way, the founding mothers of the gothic responded to the pressures of societal change and new constructions of gender and attempted to reconcile them with social constructions of what masculinity and femininity were in the past.

Both the authorship and the audience of these works was increasingly female, and the development of the gothic novel coincidentally overlapped the era of first-wave feminism and the explosion of print media for all classes of society. As Claire Knowles observes, “Literacy allowed large numbers of women to participate more actively in the public sphere than they had been able to at any other time in the past; and at the same time, created a readership that demanded gothic stories well into the 1860s” (142). With the birth of consumer culture in Britain came an increasingly powerful middle-class readership of both sexes, which expanded through the end of the eighteenth century and beyond. The resulting expansion of readership spurred the demand for print productions as varied as chapbooks, periodicals, and triple-deckers.

In this way, the development of the gothic heroine, the female author, the female publisher, and feminism can be understood to occur interdependently. By the end of the eighteenth century, women like Radcliffe, Charlotte Smith, Charlotte Dacre and Regina Maria Roche had established their own readership for gothic stories in a competitive literary marketplace, while growing numbers of female readers could gain access to literary works through the circulating libraries that were appearing in ever-increasing numbers in British towns and cities. They paved the way for women stuck at the bottom of society like Lucy Watkins (fl. 1803-1820) and Sarah Scudgell Wilkinson (1779-1831) to scratch out a living writing for people with a lower budget for entertainment. Gothic
fiction was, then, associated from its inception with female readers and writers—from the more expensive work of writers like Radcliffe, Dacre, Roche, and Smith to the hastily produced novels of the Minerva Press (1790-1820) and the chapbooks written and sometimes published by women.

By writing about identities like “male” and “female” and using terms like “masculine” and “feminine,” I do not intend to reinforce the patriarchal, heteronormative readings so often projected back onto the nineteenth century. My use of gender labels and the word “patriarchy” in this chapter is meant to refer to the way people are presumed to participate in heterosexuality, and the way heterosexuality encompasses and structures other heteronormative elements such as familial units, lines of inheritance, and the resulting consolidation of generational wealth and power. Eve Sedgwick’s *Tendencies* (1993) describes the way society values specific meanings and institutions to the extent that they line up neatly as expected. She begins by asking the reader to “[t]hink of that entity, ‘the family,’ an impacted social space in which all of the following are meant to line up perfectly with each other” and continues by listing multiple aspects which are to be aligned:

- a surname
- a sexual dyad
- a legal unit based on state-regulated marriage
- a circuit of blood relationships
- a system of companionship and succor
- a building
- a proscenium between ‘private’ and ‘public’
an economic unit of earning and taxation
the prime site of economic consumption
a mechanism to produce, care for, and acculturate children
a mechanism for accumulating material goods over several generations
a daily routine
a unit in a community of worship
a site of patriotic formation. (Sedgwick 6)  

In the gothic, and particularly where gender figures into the gothic, very often these alignments are challenged or entirely transgressed. Throughout the transmission of gothic stories into chapbooks, periodicals, and penny serials, these transgressions continue, but the characters involved in them are modified over time by the influence of the marketplace to be more realistic and relatable, even as they continue to break social rules about gender. The demands of the marketplace led to characters who were more like their readers, and stories closer to their lived experiences. As a result, the gothic hero and heroine are humanized to the point that their transgressions against their character types both reflect cultural changes and model their future possibilities. In this chapter, I chart the progress of these transformations, starting with the traditional gothic novel, and then working through examples from chapbooks, serial fiction, and the periodical press. As the marketplace developed an appetite for cheap gothic stories, I show how it also drove the exploration of gender roles and interest in characters who could transgress them.

52 Eve Sedgwick’s Tendencies (1993), is a collection of essays and thought on gender and queerness, often located among the foundations of gender studies and queer theory. This quote comes from the book’s introduction, “Queer and Now.” I also recommend Epistemology of the Closet (1990), wherein Sedgwick builds her theoretical framework.
Ann Radcliffe, Mary Wollstonecraft, and Women’s Sensibilities

It is important to note that two of the most influential books in the history of women’s writing, Ann Radcliffe’s *The Mysteries of Udolpho* and Mary Wollstonecraft’s *The Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, were published only two years apart (*Vindication* in 1792 and *Udolpho* in 1794) and could therefore be considered part of the same cultural conversation. Wollstonecraft aimed her foundational feminist treatise squarely at the same predominantly middle-class women who would go on to read Radcliffe’s gothic fiction, and there are several similarities between the philosophies espoused by the two writers. Wollstonecraft believed that middle-class women had been encouraged to be “weak, artificial beings” by a society that discouraged female intellectual endeavor and bodily strength and encouraged the cultivation of emotional responses (sensibility) at the expense of reason. Wollstonecraft goes on to suggest that women ought to cultivate their rationality to be more productive members of society—and further, to take up a position of respectability that would withstand the scrutiny of men. She describes the relationship between men and women as something like the one between predator and prey, writing, “The male pursues, the female yields—this is the law of nature; and it does not appear to be suspended or abrogated in favour of woman. This physical superiority cannot be denied—and it is a noble prerogative! But not content with this natural pre-eminence, men endeavour to sink us still lower, merely to render us alluring objects for a moment” (Wollstonecraft). In this way, Wollstonecraft encourages her readers, after building up their mental and physical strength, to be aware that making alliances with adoring men may undermine their emergence as rational creatures. They must learn to rely on themselves.
Radcliffe’s fiction reflects a similar belief in the importance of female rationality and the improvement of women’s self-reliance. *The Mysteries of Udolpho* is firmly grounded in Radcliffe’s belief that the imagination has powers that can potentially be very useful for women. However, like Wollstonecraft, Radcliffe believes that this imagination needs to be tempered by reason and by rational thought to be most effective. The tempering of the powers of imagination and sensibility by rationality is at the heart of all of Radcliffe’s gothic fiction, where the supernatural phenomena encountered by her heroines always turn out to have perfectly rational explanations.

A framework for reading *Mysteries of Udolpho* as an experiment in more rational definitions of femininity is laid out in the first chapter, when Emily St. Aubert’s early upbringing by her father asserts reason as a central concern. Her father is an intellectual who instructs Emily in rational pursuits. Radcliffe writes, “St. Aubert cultivated her understanding with the most scrupulous care,” and describes this cultivation in terms of a well-rounded scientific and literary education (Radcliffe, Volume 1 Chapter 1). Although Emily is described as the type of child who enjoys roaming the woods near the chateau, her response to the surprises and stimulations of nature is always to return to her studies. By contrast, Madame St. Aubert is less rational, and expresses less control of her emotional sensibilities, acting as a foil to Emily’s emerging good sense. Madame is overcome during her husband’s illness, and then when she is on her own deathbed: “The composure, with which she [Madame St. Aubert] awaited her death, could be derived only from the retrospect of a life governed, as far as human frailty permits, by a consciousness of being always in the presence of the Deity, and by the hope of a higher
world. But her piety could not entirely subdue the grief of parting from those whom she so dearly loved” (Radcliffe, Volume 1 Chapter 1).

Since she dies soon thereafter, we do not hear from Madame again, but it seems clear that she is a sentimental person, thinking of faith and working through emotions which weigh heavily upon her. After her mother’s death, though, Emily’s response demonstrates a sharp contrast to her mother’s way of thinking: “Never had Emily felt the importance of the lessons, which had taught her to restrain her sensibility, so much as in these moments, and never had she practised them with a triumph so complete” (Radcliffe, Chapter 1). Although Emily has inherited her mother’s ability to occasionally faint, she is otherwise firmly devoted to the rational mindset imparted upon her by her father. Upon the loss of her mother, rather than turning to faith or grief, she embraces her ability to manage her sensibilities. By making such an immediate contrast between the two women, Radcliffe emphasizes in her opening chapter that Emily is a different kind of woman than the heroines of the past, who were more like Madame. She also places *Mysteries of Udolpho* firmly in the realm of contemporary discourse on gender with Wollstonecraft.

Throughout the novel, Radcliffe indulges in thrilling and colorful portrayals of seemingly supernatural events. When faced with these supernatural events, the reader is treated to the responses of several lesser characters, and then Emily St. Aubert’s steadfast unflappability. For example, near the end of the novel a man named Ludovico disappears from a locked room in the middle of the night. The passage invites our imaginations to wander, as the many characters nearby (other than Emily) respond with varying degrees of superstitious terror:
Baron St. Foix seemed strengthened in all his former opinions concerning the probability of apparitions, though it was difficult to discover what connection there could possibly be between the two subjects, or to account for this effect otherwise than by supposing, that the mystery attending Ludovico, by exciting awe and curiosity, reduced the mind to a state of sensibility, which rendered it more liable to the influence of superstition in general. It is, however, certain, that from this period the Baron and his adherents became more bigoted to their own systems than before, while the terrors of the Count’s servants increased to an excess, that occasioned many of them to quit the mansion immediately, and the rest remained only till others could be procured to supply their places. (Radcliffe, Book 3, Chapter 7).

By this late in the novel, however, Emily St. Aubert has had ample practice maintaining a level head, and only worries about what may have happened to Ludovico. She is not distracted by this flim-flam from the real threat she faces; she spends this chapter firmly focused on escaping the greedy advances of her predatory suitor, Du Pont. When it is later revealed that Ludovico was abducted by pirates, the reader is reminded not to take after such flights of fancy and sensibility as to think something supernatural had occurred. In this way, Mysteries of Udolpho acts as a training guide for readers, rewarding them for remaining skeptical and using reason. This frightening situation may tempt us to respond emotionally, and to jump to the conclusion that the causes of Ludovico’s disappearance are supernatural, but as always, Radcliffe will later prove us wrong.
As Nelson Smith has observed, it was easy for earlier critics to read Radcliffe through a completely patriarchal lens and imagine the author as wringing her hands, overrun by her own sentiment. However, when viewed by scholars after the rise of feminist criticism, it is clear that Radcliffe is demonstrating the flaws and weaknesses of sensibility (N. Smith 557). By creating the self-possessed, rational Emily St. Aubert, Radcliffe joins Jane Austen in her exploration of sense and sensibility. Further, she creates a gothic heroine who is not a helpless victim, but instead takes agency in her own cause, and is able to escape and evade her way to eventual security (albeit by marrying a harmless man) without sacrificing her femininity or virtue.

**Heroines and Patriarchs in Charlotte Dacre’s Zofloya**

While Radcliffe is critical of sensibility, other aspects of social order are generally maintained within her novel. Charlotte Dacre’s 1806 novel *Zofloya*, however, questions the role of women in a social framework that crumbles around the main characters. Although people in the novel do hold traditional roles in the familiar hierarchies of power and patriarchy, time and again in *Zofloya* the characters who should be least likely to be powerful are the ones who can wield power. For this reason, *Zofloya*’s portrayal of femininity and masculinity is just one among many transgressions as topsy-turvy power dynamics prevail.

Victoria, the heroine of *Zofloya*, is lovely, but wicked from the beginning. Unlike Emily St. Aubert, Victoria is not brought up or educated well; her parents’ indulgences and inconstancies have led her to be vain, amoral, and cruel. By the time she is fifteen,

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53 Although *Sense and Sensibility* wasn’t published until 1811, Austen was already working on it in the 1790s.
her father worries that there is evil in her heart; people shun her because of her violent and overbearing disposition (Dacre 15). Her father, on his deathbed, begs Victoria’s mother Laurina to reform her, saying “Never will the impression of this night fade from the mind of Victoria, if thou wilt yet have courage and resolution to abandon thy guilty career, and to instill into her mind, by thy future example, principles of virtue and honor” (Dacre 20). The way the Marchese, on his deathbed, would have it, Laurina’s behavior will determine whether her daughter Victoria will continue her descent to wickedness, and he places the blame firmly on Laurina if Victoria does not improve. In doing so, he abdicates all responsibility for Victoria’s evil ways, and at the same time, blames Laurina, who is already a fallen woman, and is incapable of such work as redemption.

Victoria is what her parents made her: a person for whom no one has taken responsibility, and who cannot behave virtuously due to her selfishness and jealousy. From the outset, then, Dacre is not positioning Victoria to be a stereotypical virginal maiden heroine, but instead as a fully realized woman who is too psychologically complex and spiritually sinful to simply be a symbol of corrupt femininity.

Further, Victoria’s rages, her cool ability to manipulate people, her driven independence and her viciousness will simply not allow her to be a victim. After Victoria’s mother abandons her in the care of the frightening Signora Modena, Victoria has a momentary loss of self-control, falling in tears on the floor of her room. When she realizes she has been betrayed, “every violent and evil propensity of her nature became increased and aggravated,” and once this happens, her “reason achieves dominance over her other emotions” (Dacre 45). When Victoria’s reasoning mind is at work, which is much of the time, she is capable of great and terrible manipulations. As a result, Signora
Modena is never able to enact any of her cruel plans against Victoria, who manipulates the young servant Catau into helping her escape.

Meanwhile the patriarchal figure of a villain of the story, Ardolph, seems only to want chaos and destruction. Dacre’s narrator describes him as insatiable; he delights in breaking up marriages, in courting beautiful but unavailable women, then “he glories and exults in the widespread havoc he caused” (Dacre 7). When we meet Ardolph, he has already ruined all of his targets in Paris, and recently come to Venice to seek a new hunting ground. Not satisfied with seducing Laurina di Cornari, he also murders her husband, causes her son to run away, and alienates her daughter, effectively destroying the family. He does this purely for his own pleasure, and his glee is monstrous.

In Dacre’s characterization of Ardolph, I see an example of what Teresa Goddu calls “haunting back” applied to gender. As Goddu describes it, a member of a marginalized community “uses the gothic to haunt back, re-working the gothic’s conventions to intervene in discourse that would demonize them” (Goddu 138). Goddu’s original application of the term “haunting back” was used in her book *Gothic America* to describe the work of African-American authors who used the gothic mode when writing about the painful history of slavery; they created monsters out of slaveholders and catchers (131-152). I think it could be useful to imagine Dacre “haunting back” the patriarchs who caused chaos for women around the turn of the nineteenth century by creating Ardolph as the monstrously destructive force he is. Dacre, who was a Jewish woman with three children out of wedlock and a child of divorced parents, knew what it was to experience discrimination and demonization; she was in many ways a marginalized person whose ambition and success defied the odds. While Ardolph’s evils
have no logical explanation beyond his own licentiousness, Victoria’s are, in many ways, justified, and can be understood. By creating these two characters in contrast with one another, Dacre “haunts back” at the Christopatriarchy around her by making a monster out of Ardolph, but leaves Victoria in the category of all-too-human due to the youthful origins of her flaws.

One very interesting aspect of Victoria’s character is how she responds when faced with an example of the virginal gothic heroine character type. Five years after the beginning events of the novel, Victoria has maneuvered and manipulated her way into marriage with Berenza, whom she quite despises. When she meets Berenza’s brother, Henriquez, though, Victoria immediately becomes enamored with him, only to discover that he is in love with Lilla. Lilla is a typical virginal gothic heroine, and Victoria hates her. In her hatred and jealousy, Victoria treats Lilla exactly the same way so many other gothic heroines are treated: with the help of the Moor Zafloya, she abducts Lilla in the dead of night and chains her in a cave, leaving her there to waste away and suffer in the dark. When the abduction does not win Henriquez’s affections, Victoria is enraged and stabs Lilla to death herself. This could be read as a form of commentary; Victoria, compared with Lilla, is full of agency. She gets to speak the truth and is allowed to be cathartically angry at every man who abused her, and every woman whose higher position and silence enabled the patriarchy to control her. This is one example of the way Zafloya’s gender and power dynamics are mixed up; someone like Victoria would be powerless against her fate in a traditional hierarchical household. Instead, she achieves a great deal of agency, and displaces the evilest patriarchs to become the virginal heroine Lilla’s murderer.
Diane Long Hoeveler read *Zofloya* as a deeply misogynistic text in *Gothic Feminism* (1998), because of the way Victoria’s actions are consistently blamed on the misbehavior of her mother (145). In the end, however, I disagree. Although Victoria and Laurina behave terribly, their evil deeds are the result of the machinations of Ardolph and Zofloya, who reveals himself to be the devil at the end of the novel, and he is clearly to blame. Taken as a whole text, then, the messaging of *Zofloya* is less about hating women and women’s bad behavior than it is about protesting the way men consistently mistreat and manipulate them. Victoria is never held up as an example of what women should be, even though a modern reader might find her directness and boldness appealing. Instead, she is betrayed again and again, and treated as a cautionary tale to illustrate what happens when a woman with a weak father meets a series of bad men. When considered alongside Emily St. Aubert, however, Victoria heralds a shift in the way female characters can be presented in the gothic. For all their differences, both Victoria and Emily are both sharply drawn, clearly defined individuals, and their ability to transgress gender norms to resist the traps of the traditional gothic heroine sets an example for the female gothic characters to follow in the nineteenth century.

**Gender in Gothic Chapbooks: *Mary, the Maid of the Inn***

When gothic chapbooks move away from the character type of the virginal gothic heroine and the dissipated hero, they tend to move closer to the contemporary period of the publication, and closer to the lived experiences of their first audiences. An excellent example is *Mary, the Maid of the Inn*, an 1822 chapbook which retells Robert Southey’s 1796 poem by the same title. The setting of the story positions Mary’s character to be more relatable than most of the traditional gothic heroines; the story takes place in the
northern end of England, not some remote or exotic locale. Rather than residing in a castle and hailing from a wealthy family, Mary is the daughter of an innkeeper, and lives in the inn. Southey’s original poem is just over 100 lines long, written in verses of five lines apiece, and therefore does not spend much time on characterization. Mary is described as the poem’s narrator remembers who she was in the past: “The trav’ller remembers, who journey’d this way, / No damsel so lovely, no damsel so gay, / As Mary, the maid of the inn” (Southey). The poem goes on to describe her as a cheerful attendant at the inn, and a courageous person who would walk by the abbey at night, even when it was windy and dark.

By contrast, the chapbook narration of Mary’s story expounds on her character, devoting nearly a full page (out of only 24) to her appearance and demeanor, with an extravagant fold-out engraved frontispiece (Figure 3-1).
Figure 3-1: The frontispiece of *Mary, the Maid of the Inn* held by the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections, University of Virginia. (Figure continues on the next page).
Mary is the “delight of all those who knew her,” with flowing auburn hair, neat clothes appropriate to her station, and her “modesty and virtue were above suspicion” (*Mary, the Maid* 7). In some ways, Mary adheres to the character type of the virgin heroine, but since her profession is to be a barmaid, she shakes off Hoeveler’s theory of the
professional victimhood (*Gothic Feminism* xiii) as practiced by the traditional gothic maiden. Mary has a profession, and it is serving food and drinks to the inn’s clientele.

Mary has two main problems in the beginning of the chapbook. The first is purely the invention of the chapbook’s anonymous author: Mary’s mother, Mrs. Kathleen Simpson, who does not appear in the Southey poem. She is an almost grotesque example of an officious woman in charge of a business. Mr. Simpson is described as having no talent for management, so “whenever it pleased her, Mrs. Simpson wore the breeches!” (*Mary, the Maid* 5). Mrs. Simpson is further described as a “masculine, sour looking female, robust and corpulent, with a ruddy complexion, borrowed from the brandy bottle, and carotty hair; a woman with whom good humour had long since shaken hands and parted…” (*Mary, the Maid* 5). Mrs. Simpson rules the inn with an iron fist, and the narrator provides an example in which Mary accidentally breaks a vase, and Mrs. Simpson treats her with humiliating language and physical cruelty. By characterizing Mary’s mother in this way, the chapbook’s anonymous author explains why Mary so often wanders the heaths and ruined abbey outside her home and emphasizes Mary’s virtue by comparison. Further, this depiction of a woman who is masculine and in charge of the family troubles the gender stereotypes that were the norm, showing that the patriarchy in the Simpson family has been disrupted.

Mary’s other problem is that the inn is constantly filled with swains who want to marry her, and one particularly frequent tavern-goer who has attracted her father’s approval. Mrs. Simpson protects Mary, but Mr. Simpson has been entertaining the idea of matching Mary with his patron Richard Jarvis. Mrs. Simpson despises Jarvis as a “lazy, ill-looking, ‘scape gallows, good for nothing fellow” (*Mary, the Maid* 12), but Mary, in
defense of her father, defends Jarvis, saying, “I’m sure he’s a very pleasant, sober, good natured young man” (Mary, the Maid 12). This family debate ends with Mary’s mother daring Mr. Simpson and Mary to find out Jarvis’s real character and prove her right.

Just as in Southey’s poem, the men in the inn’s dining area are drinking on a stormy night, telling each other scary stories about the ghosts that haunt the nearby abbey, when one dares Mary to go there to prove her courage. Unlike the poem, however, in the chapbook version, it is Mary’s mother who insists “the girl aren’t afeard of the ghostisis [sic] running after her, and burying her with themselves in the ruins,” and then insists that Mary should go to the abbey in the dark to settle a bet. She says, “I am mistress here, and it is not as she wills, but as I chose; and therefore, go she shall, if you desire it” and then sends Mary out into the night (Mary, the Maid 17-18). Here, Mary’s mother does exactly the thing a gothic patriarch would do: she abdicates her position as her daughter’s protector. By being a woman and doing such a thing she further twists the gender dynamics of the story; it is Mary’s mother who usurps the patriarch’s authority and grants her daughter so much agency.

The entire family is eventually doomed because of the series of events that ensues; while she is on her late-night hike to the abbey, Mary discovers that Jarvis is a murderer. Mary’s father dies from the shock, her mother commits suicide, and Mary, who blames herself when Jarvis is executed for murder, goes insane and becomes a wild woman who lives apart from society until she eventually freezes to death in the snow. The chapbook is unambiguous in its condemnation of Mary’s mother’s masculinity, of the family’s upside-down power structure, and of their relationship with Jarvis, the murderer. Not only are the women in the story not traditionally gothic heroines or
matrons, but they also are not pursued or trapped in the traditional way. Instead, Mary has uncovered secrets, and has knowledge she should not have; she is tormented to death by it. If anything, *Mary Maid of the Inn* demonstrates a cynical view of what happens if Emily St. Aubert is a commoner. While in *Mysteries of Udolpho*, Emily’s knowledge and ability to find the truth of things empowers her and leads her to a happy ending, Mary, the innkeeper’s daughter’s ability to find the truth only brings her family to ruin, and herself to an icy end. This difference reflects the chapbook audience’s and author’s proximity to someone like Mary, since readers and chapbookers alike could easily find themselves in similar (but less hyperbolic) circumstances. It further emphasizes the precarious situations of well-informed women in the chapbook’s readership. They could very well hold information with the potential to expose them to negative social consequences. In this way, the needs of the readers shapes Mary’s fate when the chapbook is written for them.

**Gender in Gothic Chapbooks: The Fiery Castle**

Much of the gender-role subversion in the gothic chapbook *The Fiery Castle* is revealed in the full title and subtitle: *The Fiery Castle, or the Sorcerer Vanquished, A Romance: Relating the Wonderful Adventures of a Female Knight, in which is described her Attack on Rudamore Castle, to release a lovely maid, detained there by a Sorcerer, and Glorious Victory over the Guardian Demons of the Gate: with her Achievements in the Temple of Illusion, in which she Resists the Allurements of the Spirits, Releases her Beloved Knight from the Dungeon of Torture, and causes the Fatal End of the Sorcerer.* It was not unusual for gothic chapbooks to feature such long titles, especially, as Franz Potter has observed, for W. Mason, who printed this 1810 English chapbook, and at least
15 others (Gothic Chapbooks, Bluebooks and Shilling Shockers 94). If the gender nonconformity of the story was not clear enough in the lengthy title, this chapbook features a colorful frontispiece showing the main character, the unnamed Female Knight, wielding a sword against two demons in front of a burning castle (Figure 3-2).
Figure 3-2: Frontispiece of *The Fiery Castle* held by the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections, University of Virginia.
The title *The Fiery Castle* might be a play on words for “Fairy Castle,” since the story seems to have been inspired by the third book of Edmund Spenser’s epic poem *The Fairie Queen*, which features the escapades of the female knight Britomart. In Spenser’s story, Britomart rescues the man she will eventually love from enslavement at the hands of a wicked slave-mistress and is then destined to beget the English monarchy. Other than featuring a fairy queen and a female knight as major characters, another trope the two stories share is the confusion that ensues when gender concepts are disrupted in the hierarchical structure of heteronormative patriarchy.

In Spenser’s story, Britomart, the female knight, is on a lengthy quest to find a man Merlin has shown to her in a magic mirror. She does not understand her feelings for him yet, but Merlin says she will one day marry him. During her many travels, she meets Malecasta, a lady who hosts Britomart along with many other knights at her banquet table and makes lewd advances toward Britomart, understandably mistaking her for a man. For her part, Britomart is too naïve to recognize or rebuff Malecasta’s advances. After she has gone to bed, however, Malecasta sneaks into her bedchamber:

> Now whenas all the world in silence deepe
> Yshrowded was, and every mortall wight
> Was drownéd in the depth of deadly sleepe,
> Faire Malecasta, whose engrievéd spright
> Could find no rest in such perplexéd plight,
> Lightly arose out of her wearie bed,
> And under the blacke vele of guilty Night,
> Her with a scarlot mantle coveréd,
That was with gold and Ermines faire envelopé.

Then panting soft, and trembling everie ioynt,

Her fearfull feete towards the bowre she moved. (Spenser 247)

When climbing into bed with the sleeping Britomart, Malecasta accidentally causes her to wake, jump from bed, and draw her sword. There is such a commotion that all the knights come charging in, discovering Britomart’s true gender. In this situation, the female knight is not the one who is seduced by a pretender, but she accidentally becomes the seducer, purely through Malecasta’s mistake, and no fault of her own. In the confusion that follows, Britomart is wounded, but not fatally. After her gender is revealed, there are no more bedroom seduction scenes in her story. There are, however, more cases of people mistaking her for a man, and therefore putting her in awkward situations during which she is responsible for claiming (and protecting) a maiden, which causes further disruption to the patriarchs around her, who sometimes enlist her help, but at other times are angry that she interferes with their plans.

In the story most closely related to the one in the chapbook, Book III Cantos xi and xii contain the tale of the despairing knight Scudamore and his beloved Amoret. Scudamore is languishing in despair when Britomart finds him, because Amoret has been abducted by a sorcerer and is being held captive. Britomart promises to help, and together they charge off to the castle where Amoret is being held. When they arrive, the gates are on fire, and only Britomart can pass the flames. Inside, she finds a room decorated with the love affairs of the various gods, featuring a statue of Cupid, and with the motto “Be Bold” inscribed above the door. In the next room, to emphasize the danger of false love, is a golden room with carvings,
Wrought with wilde Antickes, which their follies playd,
In the rich metall, as they living were:
A thousand monstrous formes therein were made,
Such as false love doth oft upon him weare:
For love in thousand monstrous formes doth oft appeare. (Spenser 388).

This presentation is part of the story’s central purpose—it is a way of challenging and proving Britomart’s chastity; a type of allegorical ravishment, one she demonstrates she can easily shake off. Despite the many reminders she encounters of the amorous escapades of the gods, Britomart sensibly lies in wait until the castle is quiet, then charges into another room and rescues Amoret just before the sorcerer is about to kill her.

The lovers Amoret and Scudamore are reunited, and Britomart escorts them to their next destination, which finally leads her to encounter her own intended objective, the knight Arthegall.

In Book V, when Britomart meets Arthegall, he mistakes her for a man, and the two meet in a sword duel. As they are knocking pieces of each other’s armor off, Arthegall proves himself the only knight in the epic who can best Britomart in battle. The armor, like most things in an allegory, is deeply symbolic. It represents a person’s participation in the role of a knight, and all the incumbent concepts of honor that accompany such knighthood. As soon as Arthegall splits her helmet and discovers her femaleness, Britomart’s knighthood disappears, and now the two are in love (at first sight) and the battle ends. Relying on Deleuze and Guattari’s concept of assemblage, John Henry Adams has suggested that:
Britomart, in putting on armour, enters into a partnership with the physical objects that make up her new gender assemblage together with her. It is not a case of clothes making the wo/man, but rather a question of what kind of wo/man a human subject can make in collaboration with the clothes. An assembled gender is determined neither by a physical body nor by a costume, but is instead defined by a collection of agentive parts, human and inanimate, that interact within a given network to produce a particular identity. (Adams 3)

Adams has moved beyond thinking of the armor as merely symbolic of the values and virtues of knighthood to thinking of the armor as producing a different identity for Britomart; each piece interacts within the network surrounding Britomart and her own actions to communicate a male gender. No one can discern her femaleness unless she removes her armor, or in the last case, it is torn off. This is a good way to explain the function of Britomart’s armor and how cross-dressing works with gender in *The Faerie Queene*.

The anonymous author of *The Fiery Castle* takes a great many liberties with Spenser’s poem, making significant departures in the way characters are made to suffer and be redeemed through gendered interventions. With the shift from poetry to prose, the remediation also makes *The Fiery Castle* much more accessible to readers than Spenser’s original. From the beginning, the unnamed Female Knight in the chapbook does not hide her gender; she is openly female, wearing only the parts of her magical armor that “accord with her sex” (*The Fiery Castle* 1). Her armor only serves its physical purposes, so it is not a disguise; people know she is female right away. In this way, the chapbook breaks with Spenser from the start; instead of becoming male and hiding her gender to be
a knight, The Female Knight can be a knight by taking the role upon herself, maintaining her femininity throughout, even as she is cross-dressed. This proposes an entirely fresh way of thinking about the physical trappings of gender, as it is not the Female Knight’s armor that makes her knightly, but her own courage.

The Female Knight does not come from a family of warriors. She is introduced as the daughter of a fairy queen and a sorcerer, who has shown her the man she will someday marry in his enchanted mirror. In this, the story closely matches Spenser’s original—except where Britomart was initially hesitant to feel affection for her future spouse, the Female Knight immediately demands to take up the sword and go on an adventure to find her intended. While Britomart is a representative of chastity, the Female Knight’s parents present her with a girdle that reads, “Be Virtuous and Conquer” (The Fiery Castle 1). Depending on the reader’s concept of virtue and conquest, this may mean something very different from being chaste.

Like Britomart, the Female Knight stumbles upon a male knight who is in despair because his intended bride has been abducted by a sorcerer named Rudamore. When she finds the knight, he is lying on the ground, “in all the agonies of despair, his arms lying in different places around him, as if never to be re-assumed” (The Fiery Castle 4). In his utter dissipation, this knight has given up all hope of rescuing the fair Dellaret; he considers Rudamore’s castle unassailable. In fact, when the two arrive, the gates are on fire and guarded by two demons. Because of her fairy blood and sorcerous parentage, one stroke of the Female Knight’s sword is enough to drive them away, and the two knights can begin to explore the castle. This is very different from Spenser’s original story, in which only Britomart is able to enter, leaving her male companion knight outside. The
author of the chapbook has decided to put both the female and male knights to the test, inviting the reader to make an obvious comparison.

Rather than testing the chastity and virtue only of the female knight, the anonymous author separates the Female Knight from her male companion and sends them both through the tests in the Temple of Love and Illusion. Rudamore, the villainous sorcerer, assigns his many spirits to “charm the senses, and excite the appetite to mutual enjoyment, and to perfume the area with odours such as Venus used to breathe when she invited her lovers to enjoy with her the entertainments prepared by Cupid” (The Fiery Castle 8). Beyond creating an atmosphere infused with sensuality, Rudamore instructs his most attractive spirits to “display the scenes of courtship and progress of love, until the Female Knight shall kneel to Cupid, who shall keep her bound in his roseate fetters” while he plans ways to corrupt her male companion himself. The two are led through a lavish ceremony by spirits who appear as Adonis and a form rivalling Venus, each according to their heterosexual match. Each is seductively presented with a cup of what appears to be nectar, “of which the Female Knight would have drank [sic], had not a fairy, who was her mother, caused the cup-bearer to trip over her feet,” allowing her to see its poisonous nature (The Fiery Castle 13). In this way, the supernatural interference of the Female Knight’s mother protects her, demonstrating an upside-down sort of power, in which two females are triumphant over a male authority. Further, through shared wisdom, they can understand some of the sorcerer’s tricks.

Meanwhile, the companion male knight is tested. A spirit impersonates Dellaret, tricking the companion knight into believing her identity and encouraging him to join the increasingly orgiastic crowd of spirits, although he worries that, “her permission to
partake of the pleasure with which the temple of love appeared to be abound, was purchased by the sacrifice of her virgin purity to the abominable desires of Rudamore; nor was he more assured of her not being the votary of all the libertinism that seemed to prevail in this voluptuous mansion” (*The Fiery Castle* 14-15). This misogynistic idea, running so many years ahead of our understanding of rape culture, nonetheless suggests the demonization of a rape victim, assuming that Dellaret has indeed been abused by Rudamore and thereby become debauched. The knight’s concerns about Dellaret’s morality are not enough to keep him from being seduced, however; he is further duped by the spirit claiming to be Dellaret until he “pressed the deluding spirit to his bosom with such transports of impassioned energy” and does the spirit’s bidding, so that Dellaret herself is forced to watch as he is married to the deceptive spirit at the altar of Hymen, and then consummates that marriage with the hag-like spirit who was impersonating her. The male knight is, in this case, too easily fooled by the wiles of a female spirit, and despite his own misgivings, loses his moral battle.

The Female Knight is faced with a similar test. The spirit who is impersonating her intended husband does a convincing job, but her “female pride conquered female impatience, and although impassioned with his charms, she received his inviting allurements with complacency” (*The Fiery Castle* 25). Eventually, however, she is convinced, and follows him to Hymen’s altar. Again, the Female Knight’s fairy mother intervenes, casting a magical spell that interrupts the scene, and says, “You have been deluded with his semblance, which the arch fiend had assumed for your destruction. You are, for this time, saved; be, for the future, circumspect and vigilant, that you may preserve your virtue and conquer” (*The Fiery Castle* 27). Thus, the guidance and
protection of a strong maternal figure again saves the Female Knight, and again upsets the power of the patriarch in his own castle. In the end, the Female Knight saves both Dellaret and her companion knight, as well as the young man her father had shown her in the magic mirror; but it is only because her mother, the fairy, consistently guides her blade.

In many ways *The Fiery Castle* is the opposite of *Mary, Maid of the Inn*. The Female Knight’s mother is consistently in her corner, and together the women rescue everyone else, and enjoy a happy ending. This chapbook quite fantastically endorses a woman’s decision to take up arms and take charge. Published in 1810, *The Fiery Castle* brings readers into conversation with both Spenser’s patriarchal assumptions and contemporary discourse in the wake of Mary Wollstonecraft’s *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*. For this reason, despite being half-fairy and tinged with sorcery, the Female Knight has more in common with an 1810 reader than the traditional gothic heroine: she possesses a level of practical ability that connects to a reader after Wollstonecraft’s intervention, and when she relies on anyone, it is her mother, not a man.

**The Gothic Chapbook: Castle of Montabino**

Where *Mary the Maid* and *Fiery Castle* were both experiments by anonymous authors in turning the patriarchy upside down in different ways, *The Castle of Montabino,* or, *The Orphan Sisters: An Original Romance* (1810) is like a laboratory set up to compare different kinds of heroines who are all confronted with the same gothic villain patriarch. In this chapbook, prolific author Sarah Scudgell Wilkinson writes a wholly original story which demonstrates her ability to “combine typical gothic elements with more realistic aspects of daily life, making subtle statements about societal constructs and
the social position of women” (Baines). Further, *Castle of Montabino* demonstrates Wilkinson’s unerring ability to know her audience and represent aspects of their lives on the page.

Among the cast of characters is a pair of sisters, orphaned and trapped in a tower by a patriarchal madman. In contrast with the sisters are two other heroines. Not only do these female characters face the same patriarch run amok, they also must each work through an economic trap. In every case, the female body and safety are at risk, along with their economic status. As Edward Copeland points out, this is a frequent obsession of the gothic when written by women: “Gothic terror in women’s fiction is unremittingly economic” (36). Wilkinson, who herself endured a lifetime of poverty and raised a daughter without a father, was able to write about this economic struggle from her own difficult experience (Potter, “Writing for the Spectre”). By devoting her attentions so thoroughly to the plight of these women in this gothic puzzle, Wilkinson gives a dark view of the many gender-related difficulties she and her female readers faced.

The first gothic heroines we meet in *Castle of Montabino* are the sisters, Emillia and Theresa. They are orphans in peril; in the first paragraph they are introduced as sitting among the few remaining belongings of their deceased aunt, at the top of a tower which is “washed by the Arno River, defended from its slow but yet subduing ravages by a rugged cliff which bounded the foundation” (Wilkinson, *Castle of Montabino* 1). The path out of this tower is a haunted and dark labyrinth. This type of entrapment is common for gothic heroines; Isabella in *Castle of Otranto* is the first such trapped heroine; she is caught in the cloisters of the castle, chased by Manfred, trapped by both the darkness and her own fear:
Words cannot paint the horror of the Princess’s situation. Alone in so dismal a place, her mind imprinted with all the terrible events of the day, hopeless of escaping, expecting every moment the arrival of Manfred, and far from tranquil on knowing she was within reach of somebody, she knew not whom, who for some cause seemed concealed thereabouts; all these thoughts crowded on her distracted mind, and she was ready to sink under her apprehensions. (Walpole, Chapter 1)

Unlike Walpole’s originating panicked heroine, Theresa and Emillia, while trapped in Montabino tower with a man who wants to murder them, have managed to cling to their sensible pragmatism because they have a plan for escape before the chapbook even begins. They have established communication with a group of boaters on the river, and their only real concern is whether their rescuers will come. The sisters exclaim, “‘They will not come,’ with a heart piercing sigh – ‘and our castles of hope will turn to the caverns of despair’” (Wilkinson, Castle of Montabino 2). Quickly, however, the sisters communicate their plans via lowered basket and Newfoundland dog to their mysterious rescuers on the boat, and in turn they receive a note with escape plans complete with directions to a secret corridor. The plans are solidified for the following night. Following their rescuers’ notes, the two girls can escape the castle completely under their own power. In this way, they demonstrate that they are like Emily St. Aubert in Mysteries of Udolpho: access to knowledge helps them overcome their obstacles.

When they reach their rescuers at a nearby coach, we learn that they have not been rescued by a heroic or chivalrous gentleman. In fact, their rescuers are a boatman, who “was ardent in his congratulations on their escape from the Castle of Montabino,”
and an elderly woman named Beatrice, who has been “recommended for fidelity and other requisite qualifications in her station, by an amiable lady whom she had long served” (Wilkinson, *Castle of Montabino* 6). Neither of these is truly a rescuer; they are serving as escorts once the girls are already out of danger. In this case, reading a note is the key to freedom. This seems to suggest a path to liberty for women via reading; but Wilkinson’s views on reading are much more complex than that. While sometimes reading can lead to liberation, as we will see later in *Castle of Montabino*, sometimes reading can lead to ruin.

Once the girls escape, there is a transition in narrative voice, and now Wilkinson delivers the tale of the Countess of Montabino. The girls had thought the countess was dead, but they were fooled out of necessity by the Countess’s escape via faking her own death. The Countess, who has always been alive, is the one who provided the girls with their written instructions for escape. She tells the girls the story of her life; as a young woman with a large family fortune, she was matched with the Count in a mercenary marriage. “I discovered that the Count had, by a pursuit of modern vices, greatly injured his fortune,” she explains, “and that his principal motive for an alliance with me was the clearing of these embarrassments by the portion I should bring” (Wilkinson, *Castle of Montabino* 13). The count does not make up for his greedy motivations with a gentle disposition. In contrast, she says, “My husband’s disposition now displayed itself: he was cruel, morose, and revengeful; to his dependents and domestic every revolving day shewed some instances of his tyranny, nor did I escape being perpetually harassed [sic] by his temper” (Wilkinson, *Castle of Montabino* 14). Over time, however, the Countess’s fortune is depleted by her husband’s greed, and he needs to seek a larger one.
This is how we learn that the reason the Count wanted to murder the Countess’s two nieces was because they were wealthy heiresses. The Countess explains, “I was left sole guardian and executrix to his [her brother-in-law’s] two lovely infants, and their immense fortune. […] From the moment that I received you under my care, the Count never suffered me nor my precious charges to leave the Castle of Montabino, and I could perceive that he was plotting designs against our peace” (Wilkinson, Castle of Montabino 14). With this explanation, Wilkinson contrives to suggest that not only is the Countess’s financial security threatened by the count, but the girls’ is also. Furthermore, the reason the Count is abusive and dangerous to these women is because he is after their money. In the end, when his plans prove to be foiled and he can no longer extract wealth from the girls or their aunt because all three have escaped, the Count commits suicide. It is as though his only purpose in life was to gain wealth by exploiting women; once he can no longer do this, he no longer wishes to live. When the Countess and her nieces return to Montabino to liberate the servants, they discover another of the Count’s prisoners—his mistress Harmina, who cries, “What, you are come to end my miseries; – two of my innocents are gone since I came to this hateful place; the third is near expiring! O, slay her with her mother, – she sleeps! – she will not feel the blow” (Wilkinson, Castle of Montabino 19). Once Harmina is comfortable and her daughter is safe, she provides the next example of a heroine in Castle of Montabino.

Harmina’s story is very different from the rest. She is not a noble heiress; she is a jeweler’s daughter. She receives a top-notch seminary school education so she can serve her family by educating her many younger siblings. Unfortunately, Harmina’s education leads to her destruction—she has become corrupted by reading novels and romances:
Through bribing one of the maids at the seminary from the fidelity she owed the lady that employed her, the scholars procured romances and novels. And for want of a person able to select them, they read indiscriminately the good and the bad; and unfortunately, many that had a pernicious tendency. (Wilkinson, *Castle of Montabino* 21)

Harmina’s love of novel-reading goes beyond mere distraction. She has fallen into the trap of believing what she reads. She becomes disenchanted with her position as her siblings’ governess; after all, “she had read, nor did she for a moment allow herself to suppose it fiction, of several young ladies, who had spirit enough to emancipate themselves from similar situations, and seek a better fortune” (Wilkinson, *Castle of Montabino* 21). Unfortunately, when she is adventuring on her own, Harmina attracts the attention of the Count of Montabino, who meets her in an inn. Over a long period of time, he seduces Harmina and entraps her in his castle as his mistress, falsely claiming that he cannot marry while awaiting an inheritance from his uncle. She bears him three children while being secretly held captive in a villa, not allowed to see her family.

When she discovers the truth about the Count, she attempts to escape with her children, but the Count has them locked in one of the towers of his castle. Harmina’s two youngest children die within their first week in the tower; the Count has given their care to the servant Gusman, who is stealing their funds and has “literally designed to starve her gradually out of existence [sic]” (Wilkinson, *Castle of Montabino* 26). In this way, although Harmina has fancied herself a heroine in a romance novel, she instead is a heroine entrapped in a gothic one. Harmina ends her tale in a convent, her daughter a ward of the old Countess. Wilkinson ends the tale with a didactic statement about
Harmina and the nieces: “Their lives were exemplary [sic], and their story shews that virtue will meet its reward, and vice its punishment” (Wilkinson, Castle of Montabino 27). The girls are virtuous; they read some instructions, sneak out in the middle of the night to follow them obediently, and escape their confinement. This escape, in Wilkinson’s critique, is well done, and merits a happy ending. Harmina, however, reads something false; she reads romance, and is led astray by it. Wilkinson’s implication is that all fiction, for female readers, is dangerous, at least for women who confuse imagination with reality. Harmina is therefore set up as an example of a person whose vice will be punished. The Count, for all his evils, is not mentioned in the ending, and his influence vanishes after his suicide. Part of Wilkinson’s social critique is that no one seems to place the blame for Harmina’s situation on the Count—it is Harmina’s fault; while the nieces can do no wrong, Harmina can do no right. As Aishah Alshatti reads this:

The moral tale offered by Hermina’s narrative is in direct contrast to the frame in which it is embedded. The major plot centering around the two sisters with all its stock gothic tropes is highly fantastic and improbable, whereas, the embedded narrative of Hermina, although it showcases some gothic tropes (e.g., locking Hermina and her children in a turret) is a more realistic tale that includes contemporary concerns about female virtue, the corrupting power of novel reading, and filial disobedience. This can be read as a critique of the way
Wilkinson’s readers are treated for engaging with cheap fiction; and the way
Wilkinson herself struggled as a female author of fiction. (169)\(^5^4\)
Alshatti views this as a didactic impulse on Wilkinson’s part, bringing her chapbook into
alignment with the popular chapbooks of Hannah More. I can appreciate that connection,
however I think Wilkinson’s writing about the dangers of fiction reflect her knowledge of
her audience and the types of materials they enjoyed reading. It suggests a tacit alliance
between the beleaguered author and her lower-income or middle-class readership; an
alliance which could perhaps not exist across the gap between someone like Ann
Radcliffe and a wealthier reader of her novels. Wilkinson has lived Harmina’s life. She
understands its consequences.

This lesson also goes beyond a simple commentary on reading. It is about
discovering an unpleasant truth. Harmina’s imprisonment begins when she discovers the
truth of her husband, just like Mary, the Maid’s madness begins when she discovers the
truth of Jarvis. Like the anonymous author of *Mary, Maid of the Inn*, Wilkinson warns
women to use extreme caution when they gather knowledge, as if a woman’s knowing
too much is somehow more dangerous than remaining in ignorance.

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\(^5^4\) Alshatti is using a different edition of the chapbook (printed by Bailey in 1809). In
general, chapbooks’ spellings and punctuations vary between printings, because
chapbooks were mostly not stereotyped or stored in formes, but instead freshly typeset
for each run as necessitated by demand. The edition I read, however, was published by
Orlando Hodgson in 1810, and I doubt he would have had access to Bailey’s type in any
case. I can only guess that Hodgson hired printers Plummer and Brewis to set a new
edition based on Bailey’s original and decided to change the characters’ names and
attribute the story to his own anonymous author.
Serial Murder and a Sophisticated Economic Trap in *String of Pearls*

Although chapbooks declined in popularity in the 1830s, they were almost immediately replaced in the marketplace by new types of gothic publications. The chapbook audience raised a new generation with an appetite for the gothic sensation in print; an even hungrier, increasingly literate audience matured into the mid-century as they gobbled up a loaded slate of sensational thrills each week in the bloodthirsty penny press. By all accounts, Edward Lloyd nearly singlehandedly launched this literary trend. He had been a chapbook publisher himself when he got his start with the printing press as a teenager, also producing greeting cards. By 1832 he had published his first magazine, the low-priced *Weekly Penny Comic Magazine; or, Repertory of Wit and Humour*. In 1835, he began to publish very cheap books in parts, beginning a series and continuing it for as many installments as buyers were interested in buying. What was most compelling about these might be their low price compared to other publications and the cost of living when Lloyd’s penny parts entered the marketplace. For example, in 1847, the year *Jane Eyre* was first published, cost comparisons are listed in Table 3-1:

Table 3-1
Comparing Prices among Common Items and Costs in 1847

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single-volume novel (<em>Pickwick Papers</em>)</td>
<td>21 shillings (Mack x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Triple-decker, like <em>Jane Eyre</em></td>
<td>30 shillings and 6 pennies. This was the price set by Mudie’s library that</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
any publisher was required to demand (Landow)

Charles Dickens’s cheap edition books in parts (for example, *Pickwick Papers*)

1 shilling per part, 2 shillings for the final part. Total cost for the entire series: 20 shillings. (Mack x)

October 8, 1847, Dickens released a cheap edition of the entirety in wrappers for 4 shillings 5 pence, or in cloth for 5 shillings. (Norman)

Weekly installment serial fiction from Edward Lloyd (or one of Lloyd’s magazines), including *Oliver Twist*, his knock-off of Dickens’s book

1 penny (1/12th of a shilling) (Mack x)

Loaf of bread

8 pennies (Great Britain Board of Trade 224)

Suit of clothes (average in UK)

56 shillings 88 pence (Clark “Earnings” 57)

Rent of an average house in London (most people lived in shared houses called tenements, and paid a portion of this)

90 pounds per year (Clark, “Housing” 21)

Income of an average laborer in London

40 pounds per year (Bowley 133)

These prices meant that anyone could afford to develop a reading habit by reading Edward Lloyd’s publications, even at the very bottom of the economy. They were even cheaper than chapbooks had been: most chapbooks in the 1820s cost 6 pennies each. Lloyd’s books in parts at a penny apiece were a publishing industry breakthrough.

Furthermore, Lloyd’s books in parts were more than a simple knock-off of Dickens’s serials. In the same way the chapbook writers adapted their retold tales for a different audience, whoever wrote Lloyd’s versions of Dickens (mostly Thomas Peckett Prest) made many changes. As Adam Abraham wrote, “Oliver Twist remains very much a middle-class text: Dickens’s Oliver is saved from the potential corruption of London’s criminal underworld through the machinations of Brownlow’s bourgeois benevolence and the revelation of the orphan’s true parentage. Oliver Twiss, in contrast, offers more extensive scenes of the lives of servants and the pleasures of the masses, such as a cheap theatre […] and a ‘hop’ or ball that some of the characters attend” (Abraham). Aside from adding this new content, Prest’s spin on Oliver Twist changes the characters to better reflect a rough-and-tumble lower-class life. Prest’s Oliver Twiss leaves the poorhouse after being punished for fighting bullies after they attacked a young girl. Nancy is now known as Poll Smiggins and is given a more sexually explicit backstory. Bill Sikes is rewritten as Jem Blount, and rather than experiencing remorse for killing Poll, he becomes a serial killer who evades justice until he is killed by accident (Abraham). As a result of these substantive differences, Kristen Starkowski does not
believe we should consider these phenomena of print culture to be “plagiarisms.” She writes:

[these] attempts to generate a mass reading culture fuelled the creation of spinoffs that were ultimately quite different: they were tailored to appeal to a working-class readership, particularly through the extension, addition, and reversal of character position. More importantly, these adaptations expand our sense of the nineteenth-century working-class literary market and add to our critical vocabulary surrounding character and adaptation. (Starkowski 271)

I agree with Starkowski; Lloyd’s penny serials continue a practice of adaptation that had begun in the chapbooks, but on a much larger scale, and at an even cheaper price. They reflect the publishers’ knowledge of their readership, and their desire to market popular works that would sell well. By making the characters’ lives and stories more similar to the lived experiences of their readers, these adaptations made Dickens’s stories more approachable to them—just as the anonymous author of The Fiery Castle did with Spenser, and Sarah Scudgell Wilkinson did with Matthew Lewis.

Although he famously built his publishing house audience by producing these alternative versions of Charles Dickens’s stories, as early as 1836 Lloyd also published wholly original works by unknown authors in very cheap serial installments, demonstrating that he “was alive to the potential market available to any publisher willing to provide the rapidly expanding audience of working-class readers with even cheaper and more sensational reading material” (Mack ix). Most of these are stories about pirates or highwaymen. Building on the success of these early publications, Lloyd’s press was soon on the cutting edge of technological improvements of the time, exploiting
advancements like the steam-powered press, cheaper paper, and the abolition of the stamp tax on newspapers to make massive quantities of cheap print profitable (edwardlloyd.org).

Lloyd was also a major figure in changing the reading demographics of the publishing industry at the time. According to Collins:

Lloyd tested new titles on the ten-year-old boys and girls who worked in his print-room or in his kitchen; most often it had to be read to them. These could spare a penny a week for a “comic,” and many probably formed impromptu circulating libraries of their own, each member buying an issue and then passing it around her friends. The majority of Lloyd’s titles seem to be aimed at girls rather than boys. (Collins 8)

Lloyd’s child test-audiences must have had a knack for providing excellent feedback; the penny serial became a wildly popular phenomenon of print culture, selling many more copies than traditional novels at the time. As C.A. Stonehill, a mid-century bookseller, wrote, “It is highly probable that in its day more people read Thomas Prest's ‘First False Step’ or ‘The Maniac Father’ [both serial fiction] than had ever heard of a book published in the same decade entitled Jane Eyre” (Haining 14). Lloyd started the trend, and many others followed; penny serials, often maligned by the name “penny dreadful,” became more and more popular as the nineteenth century progressed, and then their production skyrocketed after 1855 when the cost of paper suddenly fell again (Springhill 567). When The String of Pearls was published beginning in 1846, it was so popular that it ran in countless editions and has remained in print, making its way to bookshelves, the stage, and the screen for nearly two hundred years. The so-called “Victorian” imagination, it
seems, was more bloodthirsty, explicit, and paranoid than we tend to acknowledge (Crone 7). It is undeniable that The String of Pearls conducts the spirit it inherited from the gothic novel and chapbook into a new medium—but it also made many modifications to the gothic that suited penny serials’ much more varied audience.

Another of Lloyd’s contributions to the changes in the reading audience was an increased sensationalism in news reporting. Lloyd’s Weekly London Newspaper launched in 1842 and built its success on its sensationalist coverage of criminal justice and aggressive marketing when reporting particularly notorious murders. Although English official crime statistics were not compiled and recorded until 1857, it is estimated that there were around 1.5 homicides per 100,000 people in England during the first half of the nineteenth century (Nagy 12). To understand that number in context, the United Kingdom’s most recent national homicide rate is 1 per 100,000 in 2021, and the United States’s is 7.5 per 100,000 as of 2020 (ONS.gov.uk and CDC.gov). This means that the homicidal atmosphere implied by Lloyd’s sensational newspapers and The String of Pearls is greatly exaggerated; London likely was not any more dangerous than any other big city. Sweeney Todd’s murdering spree may not correspond to a contemporary crime wave, but it does resonate with contemporary sensationalist discourse about crime and criminality, and a cultural obsession with graphic violence. It also indicates that the penny serials, by embracing these obsessions, were serving a readership that demanded sensational and criminal content.

A Note on the Text and Author

The String of Pearls has never been out of print, but it has undergone countless changes over the long history of the text. My analysis is based on the first edition, which
began its run in 1847, and can be found in the British Library. I chose this edition because it was closest to the period of the chapbooks and foundational gothic novels, and because I think it is the best edition. The first edition was published anonymously; for that reason, I have called the author “unknown.” Authorship has been attributed to five different authors with relationships to Lloyd, and often to prominent writers like Thomas Peckett Prest or James Malcolm Rymer. For my purposes, however, it does not matter which member of Lloyd’s team of serial scribblers was the author. In the end, we can all agree that Lloyd himself had the most influence on the shape of *The String of Pearls* and the many editions that would follow called *String of Pearls, or The Demon Barber of Fleet Street*, creating the momentum that carried Sweeney Todd adaptations to the present day.

**Origins and Sources**

Like many of Lloyd’s serial stories, *The String of Pearls* is not a completely original tale; there is a strange history to be discovered in its sources. First, there was a small story in the *Annual Register* in 1784 about a barber near Fleet Street who cut a man’s throat from ear to ear, and then ran away (PBS.org). Although this story may have been an influence on *The String of Pearls*, it seems unlikely, since it was published at least two decades before Lloyd was born.

The story of the demon barber of Fleet Street may be loosely founded in police stories from Napoleonic France, which in turn may have been influenced by much older French folklore. In 1799, Joseph Fouché was named the first French Minister of Police by Napoleon. While serving in that position, Fouché developed a reputation as a spy and duplicitous political operative that earned him the distrust of nearly everyone in France,
so his reports should be viewed with skepticism (Mirante). According to rumors and Fouché’s own police reports, a Parisian barber (perruquier) kept a shop on the Rue de la Harpe, while a baker ran a pie shop next door. The barber murdered his patrons, taking the bodies down to the basement where the wall had been knocked down. There the bodies could be moved to the basement of one of the best pie shops in the city, implying that they were baked into the pies. Fouché claims the two, named Becque and Mornay, were tried at the Palais de Justice in 1801, found guilty, and sent to the rack to die (Mirante). It is entirely possible that Fouché invented this tale; he died a political self-exile, leaving no proof of the veracity of his claims. There is no other record of these crimes, and Fouché’s own son discredited him for his many treasons and manipulations after his death, so it is difficult to trust Fouché. Also, I have not been able to access Fouché’s reports myself. The Archives de la Préfecture de Police de Paris do not have an online catalogue or a web site, and I have not been able to find a scholar who has seen the records. For this reason, I presume that scholars like Rand Mirante and journalists at PBS all believe these records existed because of the persistence of the rumors, secondhand accounts, and the furor and paranoia these murders caused.

It is also possible that Fouché did not entirely invent the story, but was instead remembering a folk story of obscured origins. To this day there is a popular French myth describing a similar story, called “L’Affaire de la rue des Marmousets ou la légende du barbier et du pâtissier sanguinaires,” which I translate to mean “The Affair on Marmouset Street: or the Legend of the Bloodthirsty Barber and Pastry Baker.” This story has been told about Paris since at least 1828, and most likely before then, considering that the accounts from 1828 reference lost ballads as the source of their tale (Béraud). The same
story has been posted by modern French media as recently as April 7, 2022 (Martin). In
these stories, the barber and the baker are serial killers and people-pie-makers who prey
mainly upon students from the nearby seminary of Notre-Dame. King Charles VI enjoys
eating the pies, because the human meat is particularly succulent and tender; but his
tastes are questionable, since he started out as King Charles the Beloved, and was later
known as King Charles the Mad (3 December 1368 – 21 October 1422). The baker and
barber’s plot is uncovered when one of their victims’ dogs barks to reveal their crimes.
Many of the elements of this story and Fouché’s are similar. What both of these French
stories share is the idea of people in France turning on one another, becoming barbaric,
and even resorting to cannibalism, which had been a common trope of the revolutionary
era that had blended into urban legend during the Napoleonic wars.\textsuperscript{55}

The closest link between these stories and Lloyd’s publication of \textit{The String of}
\textit{Pearls} is a story called “A Terrific Story of the Rue de la Harpe,” anonymously published
in Henry Fisher’s London-based monthly magazine \textit{The Tell-Tale} in 1824 and again in
1825. Reprinted in its entirety in Robert Mack’s \textit{The Wonderful and Surprising History of}
\textit{Sweeney Todd}, this story very closely mirrors the account formerly attributed to Fouché,
including the name of the street (Rue de la Harpe) and the ghastly teamwork of the barber
and the pastry-maker. The reason this is the most likely source for Prest is that the \textit{Tell-}

\textsuperscript{55} For more information on the connections between revolutionary politics, violence, and
urban myth, see Hand, Richard J. “The Wonderful and Surprising History of Sweeney
Todd: The Life and Times of an Urban Legend.” \textit{Gothic Studies}, vol. 11, no. 1, May
2009, pp. 139+. \textit{Gale Literature Resource Center},
link.gale.com/apps/doc/A381057946/LitRC?u=anon-d705b1a5&sid=googleScholar&xid
=60dc460f. Accessed 2 January 2023. For a nuanced understanding of ‘guillotine
cannibalism’ and revolutionary bloodlust, see Sagan, Eli. \textit{Citizens and Cannibals: The}
\textit{French Revolution, Struggle for Modernity, and the Origins of Ideological Terror}.
Tale was published in English, circulated in London, and reprinted again in The Terrific Record in 1841, during Prest’s time of employment with Lloyd, and less than five years before the first installment of The String of Pearls was set in type. These stories partake in a new tradition, mixing fiction and urban legend in a way that makes them seem to be true crimes. It is their nearness to reality that makes these stories work so well; people still whisper about murder when they walk down the Rue de la Harpe in Paris, and they still remember Sweeney Todd, even though there is no record such a person ever lived or worked on Fleet Street. Whether people believed the tales were true or not, they believed they could be; they were the kinds of stories that fit with readers’ views of reality. These reality-adjacent stories helped create the more realistic gothic that would come to dominate the mid-century.

Characters in The String of Pearls

The String of Pearls features two major male characters, Mark Ingestrie and Sweeney Todd, and two female characters, Margery Lovett and Johanna Oakley. One thing they all share is their lack of nobility; no one in this tale is an heiress or a wealthy landowner. As Dick Collins has pointed out, as a result of the shift to a broader, lower-income audience, penny serials feature “a corresponding ‘fall’ in the social class of the characters; […] the heroine is working-class, at most lower-trade (for example, an apprentice girl, a spectacle-maker’s daughter) and very often a peasant on the land. The typical hero, when not a criminal, is an apprentice, a sailor, sometimes a solicitor” (Collins 8). This transition is amply demonstrated in The String of Pearls; Mrs. Lovett is a baker, Johanna is the daughter of the spectacle-maker, Todd is a barber, and Mark Ingestrie is a sailor. All of these are realistic situations for Londoners in the 1840s, and
although there was not a historical barber shop on Fleet Street, there could have been. There are no distant castle towers in this story, and no banditti in the woods. Instead, there are the people next door and the strange things they do, which is the true horror of urbanization.

The story begins outside the city, however, far removed from Sweeney Todd's bloody shop. As suggested by the story's title, the entire plot is subtly strung together by a piece of jewelry: the string of pearls. The pearls were acquired mysteriously by Mark Ingestrie, an impoverished youth who cannot afford marriage, so he tries to gain wealth and social mobility by setting sail in the British merchant navy, joining a fleet of ships which dominated the seas in the nineteenth century and which used a combination of legitimate shipping and the piracy of foreign-registered ships to gain wealth (McCarthy 24). Sailing was a dangerous trade, and any ship can sink; poor Mark Ingestrie is thought to have been killed in a fiery shipwreck shortly after directing his colleague to deliver the string of pearls to his beloved, Johanna (Chapter 6). This incident sets the entire plot of the penny serial in motion, because the pearls provide the motivation for Sweeney Todd to kill the man who is carrying them. Further, it is not his habit of serial murder which leads to Todd’s capture, but instead his theft of the pearls and subsequent attempts to fence them. The interesting thing to note, however, in the story of the pearls, is Johanna’s reaction when she hears about them:

But what are pearls to me? Oh! would that they had sunk to the bottom of that Indian sea, from whence they had been plucked. Alas, alas! it has been their thirst for gain that has produced all these evils. We might have been poor here, but we should have been happy. Rich we ought to have been, in contentment; but now all
is lost, and the world to me can present nothing that is to be desired, but one small
spot large enough to be my grave. (Unknown Chapter 6)

Here the pursuit of wealth on the high seas is both a death trap and a path to wealth in the
same breath, and Johanna regrets Mark’s embarkation. Her parents are the ones who have
indirectly driven Ingestrie to sailing, since they insisted on his accumulating some wealth
before marrying Johanna; I think she is referring to her parents when she mentions “their
thirst for gain produced all these evils.” Johanna does not dwell on the moral implications
of Ingestrie’s exploitation of the British imperial reach, or the systems around marriage
which kept them apart, but instead bemoans the poverty and resulting greed that led to his
demise. It seems, then, that although the details and economic setting are different, the
gothic of 1846 is still obsessed with the economic plight of women; and it has expanded
that concern to also encompass the financial folly of her intended love, Mark. Although it
seems in this moment that Johanna regrets that the pursuit of wealth has led to many
evils, tacitly condemning the dangers of reaching for class elevation, this passage fits
within a longer arc of the story, in which the pearls and Mark Ingestrie are both
eventually restored to Johanna. Their positive “happily ever after” ending serves to
endorse Ingestrie's participation in the naval aspect of the British imperialist project as a
path to financial stability, and supports the aspirations of other impoverished youth along
similar lines. Further, it reinforces the central concern that The String of Pearls inherits
from Sarah Wilkinson’s day: that the ultimate vulnerability a person can face is poverty,
which leaves them open to any type of exploitation or torment—it is, after all, poverty
that sends Mark Ingestrie into the path of the jewels, and the presence of those jewels
provides Sweeney Todd with ample motive for murder. What makes The String of Pearls
different from the chapbooks is that Mark Ingestrie is as much a victim of his poverty as Johanna—so this type of financial targeting is no longer as gendered as it had been.

Mark Ingestrie is simultaneously the hero of the story and a man who is outside the accepted bounds of society. According to Dick Collins, this makes him a perfectly acceptable hero for the penny serials’ new audiences (Collins 6). It does not, however, endear him to Johanna’s father, the old spectacle-maker. He condemns Mark, saying to Johanna:

You know I have your happiness so much at heart that, if Mark had been a worthy man and an industrious one, I should not have opposed myself to your union; but, believe me, my dear Johanna, that a young man with great facilities for spending money, and none whatever for earning any, is just about the worst husband you could choose, and such a man was Mark Ingestrie. […] He is a good-enough-looking lad, and has, I believe, a good ability, if he would put it to some useful purpose; but if he goes scampering about the world in an unsettled manner, you are well rid of him, and as for his being dead, you must not conclude that by any means, for somehow or another, like a bad penny, these fellows always come back. (Unknown Chapter 2)

Here, the problem with Mark is not his parentage, or the class of person he is, but his lack of a profession that meets the merchant spectacle-maker’s standards. The merchant navy, it seems, does not have a reputation for returning men to England with wealth and good marital intentions. Johanna’s father breaks new ground for the gothic with his care for Johanna. Unlike a parent in so many gothic novels, he does not abandon Johanna to her fate. He tries to protect her and does not wish her to be trapped in a bad marriage. This
represents a more realistic portrayal of a paternal figure—Johanna’s father is problematic because he withholds his consent for the spouse that his daughter wishes to marry.

There is nothing traditionally gothic about Margery Lovett at first glance. She is a successful businesswoman whose pie shop is described as outrageously popular among the young gentlemen from the nearby law school. In Chapter 4, the narrator introduces her as something of an afterthought; the narrator’s voice first lovingly describes her pies, and then Mrs. Lovett as the creator of said magnificent pies, is described as follows:

There was a Mistress Lovett; but possibly our readers guessed as much, for what but a female hand, and that female buxom, young and good-looking, could have ventured upon the production of those pies. Yes, Mrs Lovett was all that; and every enamoured young scion of the law, as he devoured his pie, pleased himself with the idea that the charming Mrs Lovett had made that pie especially for him, and that fate or predestination had placed it in his hands. And it was astonishing to see with what impartiality and with tact the fair pastry-cook bestowed her smiles upon her admirers, so that none could say he was neglected, while it was extremely difficult for anyone to say he was preferred. This was pleasant, but at the same time it was provoking to all except Mrs Lovett, in whose favour it got up a sort of excitement that paid extraordinarily well, because some of the young fellows thought, and thought it with wisdom too, that he who consumed the most pies would be in the most likely way to receive the greatest number of smiles from the lady. Acting upon this supposition, some of her more enthusiastic admirers went on consuming the pies until they were almost ready to burst.

(Unknown Chapter 4).
This introductory passage demonstrates that Mrs. Lovett is no traditional gothic heroine. Although she is sexualized and described in terms of her flirtatious smile, it seems she is wielding her power successfully over her clientele, including keeping complete control of them. Rather than seeking a position of security via marriage, or being victim of a mercenary marriage plot, Mrs. Lovett uses her wiles for capitalist purposes. Her ample bosom and beaming smiles lead directly to profits.

Later, we discover that Mrs. Lovett does bear some resemblance to the gothic archetypal prioress: the unforgiving female who wields unfettered power over her imprisoned subjects. Mrs. Lovett’s reasons and actions are very different from the traditional gothic trope; though she does keep a prisoner in the vault beneath her shop, her purposes are not to align with Catholic austerities—she keeps a prisoner for capitalist purposes. She needs a laborer to operate her pie-baking machinery and does not communicate any sympathy or morality on the subject. If anything, she demonstrates the cold reality of the relationship between employer and employee in so many informal and exploitative labor relationships.

Mrs. Lovett and Sweeney Todd both commit all their crimes in their workplaces and within their professional roles, each of which is a gendered profession. Mrs. Lovett, baking pies in a shop, is perhaps participating in the most quintessentially English women’s work possible while she also happens to participate in a pie-based murder system. Her shop is filled with young men but dominated by her assertive feminine power. Meanwhile, Sweeney Todd’s barber shop is traditionally a space reserved for males, whether they are getting a shave and a haircut or having their throats cut and then being disposed of via a trapdoor to a basement corpse storage room. Perhaps the most
diabolical aspect of Lovett and Todd’s relationship is their cooperation, which crosses the physical and gender borders between their shops. Together, they operate as an industry unto themselves; they are a machine that makes meat pies out of people, perhaps also symbolizing the rising industrial spirit and harsh economic realities of London. The results are gruesome, both in the explicit portrayal of Sweeney Todd’s hapless customers, whose shaves are far too close, and Mrs. Lovett’s customers’ ghoulish yet unknowing complicity as they indulge in meat pie-based cannibalism. It is as if Lloyd’s unknown author has imagined what would happen if women and men worked together side by side and decided it would lead to mass murder.

The gender boundary between professional spaces is not the only one crossed in The String of Pearls. Johanna, who does not initially know what has happened to Mark Ingestrie, consults her good friend Arabella for advice. Hilariously, Arabella describes herself as an expert in difficulty, saying, “you could not have come to a better person, for I have read all the novels in London, and know all the difficulties that anybody can possibly get into, and, what is more important, too, I know all the means of getting out of them, let them be what they may” (Unknown Chapter 13). It seems, then, that Arabella represents the safer kind of female reader, one whose reading has not led her to ruin but instead to some form of liberation. Johanna describes her problem as a breakdown in communication; she has no way of knowing whether Mark is truly dead. Before he set sail, he suggested to Johanna that he planned to sail under a pseudonym. She thinks the sailor named Thornhill who disappeared after visiting Sweeney Todd’s shop might be Mark Ingestrie in disguise, but she does not know how to track him down. Taking a page out of The Fiery Castle or “Faerie Queene,” Arabella advises Johanna to disguise herself
as a young boy and infiltrate Sweeney Todd’s shop. The goal of this transgression is to discover some evidence of whether Thornhill had been a pseudonym for Mark Ingestrie; and if so, whether he is being kept prisoner in the barber shop or has perhaps been slain.

Simply by disguising herself as a boy, Johanna transgresses gender norms. Further, in taking the initiative to spy on a mass murderer in hopes of finding news of her fiancé, Johanna takes far more liberty with her safety and position than might be wise. For comparison, it is useful to remember Charlotte Brontë’s presentation of the uncomfortable restrictions placed on Victorian women by their social roles in _Jane Eyre_ (1847):

> Women are supposed to be very calm generally: but women feel just as men feel; they need exercise for their faculties and a field for their efforts as much as their brothers do; they suffer from too rigid a restraint, too absolute a stagnation, precisely as men would suffer; and it is narrow-minded in their more privileged fellow-creatures to say that they ought to confine themselves to making puddings and knitting stockings, to playing on the piano and embroidering bags. (Brontë Chapter 12)

Like Jane, Johanna is not willing to suffer in restraint; she is not content making puddings and knitting stockings. Her actions are a bit more extreme than Jane’s, though; even though she is terrified of Sweeney Todd and knows full well that he is dangerous, she places herself within his reach, risking her life in the process. She is not satisfied until she has found Mark Ingestrie and restored their engagement.

Sweeney Todd is difficult to parse in terms of gender, because he is in many ways more monster than man. His appearance is strangely inhuman, he is “a long, low-jointed,
ill-put-together sort of fellow, with an immense mouth, and such huge hands and feet, that he was, in his way, quite a natural curiosity; and, what was more wonderful, considering his trade, there never was seen such a head of hair as Sweeney Todd's” (Unknown Chapter 1). The unknown author goes on to describe Todd’s hair as a combination of a shrub and a bundle of wires, full of combs. When characterized in terms of the kind of man he is, Todd is first and foremost an amoral capitalist:

There can be no doubt but that the love of money was the predominant feeling in Sweeney Todd's intellectual organization, and that, by the amount it would bring him, or the amount it would deprive him of, he measured everything. With such a man, then, no question of morality or ordinary feeling could arise, and there can be no doubt that he would quite willingly have sacrificed the whole human race, if, by so doing, he could have achieved any of the objects of his ambition” (Chapter 17).

Todd is so singularly focused on his lust for wealth that he demonstrates no interest in a sexual agenda, in marriage, in family, or any other goals that might humanize him. Even the people who are closest to him are disposable; once he has sold the pearls, he does not hesitate to plan the destruction of his apprentice Tobias Ragg and all of his neighbors by covering his tracks, exclaiming, “dead men tell no tales, nor women nor boys either, and they shall all die; after which there will, I think, be a serious fire in Fleet-street. Ha! ha! it may spread to what mischief it likes, always provided it stops not short of the entire destruction of my house and premises” (Unknown Chapter 17). Unlike the gothic patriarch who could be driven by lust, or by a marriage plot, or by the devil himself, Todd is only motivated by money.
One way Sweeney Todd is not a traditional gothic patriarchal figure is that his cruelty is not enacted on his family, or on the objects of his amorous attentions. His most personal barbarity is aimed at his first apprentice, Tobias. Rather than a familial relationship, this is an industrial one; the cruel power imbalance exists between business owner and worker. This reinforces the close connection in *The String of Pearls* among money, capitalist motives, and evil. Lloyd’s author does not provide a clear description of Tobias; instead, we are introduced to the apprentice only by his behavior as he reflects the monstrosity of Sweeney Todd, and his financial indebtedness to his employer:

Sweeney Todd is sitting in his shop looking keenly in the face of a boy, who stands in an attitude of trembling subjection before him. “You will remember,” said Sweeney Todd, and he gave his countenance a most horrible twist as he spoke, “you will remember Tobias Ragg, that you are now my apprentice, that you have of me had board, washing, and lodging, with the exception that you do not sleep here, that you take your meals at home, and that your mother, Mrs. Ragg, does your washing, which she may very well do, being a laundress in the Temple, and making no end of money; as for lodging, you lodge here, you know, very comfortably in the shop all day. Now, are you not a happy dog?” (Unknown Chapter 1).

This is all the description of Tobias we are given; the author omits any physical characteristics at all. What’s presented as important to the reader is not Tobias’s age (which is never specified) or his gender, but rather his position under Sweeney Todd’s authority, who seems to believe Tobias to have been bought-and-paid-for. Even when Sweeney Todd threatens and abuses Tobias, the apprentice is not given any description.
beyond his behavior as he cowers in terror, and his reluctant obedience. As the first person to uncover the depths of Todd’s crimes, Tobias is a threat, and thus reveals more of Todd’s inhumanity and backwards morality. Todd, as he plans to murder Tobias, thinks, “what a relief it will be to me when this boy is in his grave, as he will be soon, or else I have forgotten all my moral learning, and turned chicken-hearted—neither of them very likely circumstances” (Unknown Chapter 17). Poor Tobias is thrown in a madhouse by Todd, and is consequently driven mad by the experience. In the end, Tobias serves as a focus for Todd’s cruelty between murders, and once he is no longer Todd’s apprentice, he makes way for Johanna to step into the role of Todd’s new apprentice. Tobias had never been physically described, and what little we knew about his character has been wiped away by his descent into madness. It is as if he leaves a blank spot at the shop, which would be easy enough for anyone to fill. In this way, he may represent the industrial worker; possessing few skills and denied access to the means of production, these workers’ nightmare was to be like Tobias: interchangeable. This is just one way that The String of Pearls condemns the dehumanization and desperate plight of the working person during the industrial revolution.

This brings us to Mark Ingestrie, who has not been dead and eaten, but instead is in the process of being consumed in another industrial worker’s nightmare scenario. In the first ten installments, Mark is missing, and presumed to have either been killed in a shipwreck or killed by Sweeney Todd. When we finally meet Mark in the eleventh installment, he is disguised as Jarvis Williams. Half-starved and desperate, he begs Mrs. Lovett for employment. In so doing, he unwittingly becomes a worker in the murder-pie industry, which is far more mechanized and dehumanizing than we might previously
have realized. As it turns out, Mrs. Lovett’s retail operation is only the tiniest portion of her business, and what she has achieved is a mechanized meat pie factory system that produces thousands of pies per day and distributes them to shops and homes all over the city. When Mark Ingestrie becomes her new cook, she wields such power over him that he cannot negotiate a reasonable position as an employee. Instead, Mrs. Lovett insists to Mark, “you must live entirely upon the pies, unless you like to purchase for yourself anything else, which you may do if you can get the money. We give none, and you must likewise agree never to leave the bakehouse” (Unknown Chapter 11). Ingestrie’s position requires him to work for pies, not pay, and to lose his freedom, spending night and day in the bakehouse. His situation of employment is highly exploitative, and any attempt to escape is ill-advised. The reader knows that Mrs. Lovett’s threats are not idle; the previous cook has just been murdered by Sweeney Todd. When she says, “I warn you, that any attempt to leave here will be as futile as it will be dangerous,” she is completely honest with Mark. His freedom is not the only aspect of his humanity Mark has surrendered to work for Mrs. Lovett; he has also given up any notion of his skill or expertise. In his new position, he is not really a cook; his job only requires him to turn various cranks to power the machinery that makes the pies. Still another crank elevates a tray of pies upstairs to the pie shop. When he asks any questions to try to learn more about pie-making, Mrs. Lovett says, “That's no business of yours” (Unknown Chapter 11). In this way, he finds himself reduced to serving as essentially another machine in Mrs. Lovett’s basement.

After four straight days of cranking out pies (and eating many of them), Mark finally tires of his situation. As Mrs. Lovett is lowering a sack of flour through the
trapdoor, he calls out to her to ask to resign. He shouts, “I cannot be made into a mere
machine for the manufacture of pies. I cannot and will not endure it—it is past all
bearing” (Unknown Chapter 23). Mrs. Lovett ignores him as if she has not heard what he
said, but upon further exploration, he finds that his situation is much worse than he
originally feared. A crisp white slip of paper mysteriously arrives in the vault, informing
him that he must keep making pies. The piece of paper warns,

You are a prisoner, and were such from the first moment that you set foot where
you now are; and you will find, unless you are resolved upon sacrificing your life,
that your best plan will be to quietly give into the circumstances in which you find
yourself placed. Without going into any argument or details upon the subject, it is
sufficient to inform you that so long as you continue to make the pies, you will be
safe; but if you refuse, then the first time you are caught asleep your throat will be
cut. (Unknown Chapter 23)

Suddenly, Mark Ingestrie knows the reality of his situation, and he begins to despair.
Strangely, his situation is like those of the countless gothic heroines who have been
entrapped in various towers, cloisters, and labyrinths in castles like Otranto or
Montabino. The difference in the penny serial, though, is that it is our hero who is
entrapped, not the heroine, and he is not in a castle; he is in Mrs. Lovett’s vault, which is
for all intents and purposes, a factory. What’s more: it is a factory of domestic activity. In
keeping with the penny serial’s sympathy for the industrial worker, Mark’s position is
less determined by his gender than it is by his poverty; it is financial desperation that
leads to his entrapment as an unskilled laborer in a female-dominated space. As it did
with Tobias Ragg, the penny serial gives utmost sympathy to the worker who is trapped
in the growling underbelly of a consumer-driven machine. In the end of the series, Mark is only able to make his escape by using the machinery for his own purposes. This is as near a Marxist critique as I can make; he seizes the means of production from Mrs. Lovett, using her pie-elevator to propel himself out of the vault and into the pie shop, where he informs everyone that the pies are made of people, believing that in so doing, he will put an end once and for all to Mrs. Lovett’s meat pies.

In the end, though, it is not Mark Ingestrie who heroically curtails Sweeney Todd’s murderous barbering. For that, an entire committee of people are responsible; Sir Blount (a magistrate), Johanna, Tobias, and Colonel Jefferey, a friend of one of Mark’s former shipmates. Mark himself is not much of a hero, in either the classical or the gothic sense; he frees himself immediately before this group arrives at the pie shop to liberate him. He is also not a hero in the romantic sense. For most of the serial, Mark Ingestrie has given up on Johanna, and only wants his job making pies so he can start over somewhere else. If anything, his reunion with Johanna is a side-note in the final installment compared with the end of the people-meat-pie industry, the prosecution and hanging of Sweeney Todd, Mrs. Lovett’s death by poisoning, and the discovery of their victims’ less edible remains beneath St. Dunstan’s church. Mark and Johanna’s “happily ever after” is nearly an afterthought.

Gender roles in The String of Pearls are both less defined and less important to the story than they were in the classical gothic novels. The horror in this story is not tied up in family affairs, marriage plots, or estates, all of which were deeply entangled in the characters’ gender as an organizing principle. Instead, most everyone in The String of Pearls is caught up somehow in either the consumer end of the economy, or the money-
making side of the economy; the fact that the pie-shop and barber shop are gendered workplaces that are then penetrated by the other gender is only one aspect of the capitalist nightmare of their simultaneous collapse. Only Johanna, in her impassioned concern for Mark’s disappearance briefly bears any resemblance to her female gothic ancestors as she expresses her worries; but then she dresses up as a boy and cooperates with a magistrate to bring down a serial killer, which is distinctly not something a traditional gothic heroine could do. While *The String of Pearls* is sympathetic many times over to the laborers of London, it does not demonstrate as much interest in the affairs of the heart; nevertheless, it does end with Johanna safely placed in the institution of marriage to Mark. In this way, it tips its hat to the gothic tradition of upholding heteronormative patriarchy in all its happy endings, while in the rest of the serial, the story had been subversive of gender roles. The main message of *The String of Pearls*, though, seems to be that both genders are firmly and equally caught in the rise of industrialization, urbanization, and capitalism. In this, the genders have both transformed somewhat, in that they are brought together under the same system. Going forward in the cheap gothic, it seems that poverty increasingly presents a threat to rival patriarchy.

**Gender and Realism in *Taming a Tartar***

Although she never claimed authorship of them during her lifetime, Louisa May Alcott wrote an unknown number of short stories and novellas (thirty have been found) for periodical publication in the 1860s. Employing a similar method as was used in *The String of Pearls*, Alcott weaves the real with the gothic to create a valuable commercial product. In her personal correspondence, she described her plans, saying:
I intend to illuminate the Ledger with a blood & thunder tale as they are easy to “compoze” & are better paid than moral & elaborate works of Shakespeare so dont be shocked if I send you a paper containing a picture of Indians, pirates, wolves, bears & distressed damsels in a grand tableau over a title like this “The Maniac Bride” or The Bath of Blood A Thrilling Tale of Passion.56 (Stern vii)

For Alcott, according to this missive, the profit motive was a particularly important one, and as a savvy writer who understood her audience, she saw a market that people like Lloyd and Wilkinson had understood in England before her. “The Maniac Bride” may even be a reference to “The Maniac Father,” which was a Thomas Peckett Prest serial published by Lloyd in 1842. Madeleine Stern, who has documented Alcott's economic needs as an unmarried woman with debts to pay, also asserted that there was an ideological purpose underlying Alcott’s sensational thrillers. Through an extensive analysis of Alcott’s correspondence, Stern finds hallmarks of a nineteenth-century version of feminism, which emphasized egalitarianism, independence, androgyny, and sexual harmony (15). Alcott was also strongly abolitionist in her later work and advocated rather loudly for female suffrage, dress reform, and education reform at a time when a good woman was a passive one.

Although she seems to have been unafraid to express her views, there was something in her thrillers that Alcott may have found too disturbing to associate with her professional career. It is also possible she believed her established audience would take offense at her more sensational work. Whatever the rationale, some concern led Alcott to publish her sensational tales in periodicals either anonymously or pseudonymously (as

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56 Letter from Louisa May Alcott to her friend Alfred Whitman, June 22, 1862.
AM Barnard, for example). Her pseudonymous works include a few ghost stories, such as “The Abbot’s Ghost: or, Maurice Treherne’s Temptation,” published in the Christmas edition of James R. Elliott’s *Flag of our Union*, a serial in which a large cast of characters is tangled in several marriage plots that are disrupted and rearranged by the appearance of the ghost of the Abbot. The most compelling examples of Alcott’s blending of realism and gothic tropes, however, can be found in her many anonymous stories published in Frank Leslie’s *Illustrated Newspaper* and *Chimney Corner*. One of these, “Taming a Tartar,” was published serially in 1867.

Intriguingly, although Alcott seems to have been familiar with penny serials enough to make fun of their titles in her correspondence, she does not buy into some of their departures from the more traditional gothic triple-deckers. “Taming a Tartar” is a startlingly complicated exploration of man as monster, a character type taken straight out of *Castle of Otranto*. In Walpole’s novel, Manfred, the patriarch of Otranto, is desperate to secure the future of his estate. When his only son is killed by supernatural forces, Manfred becomes a tyrannical monster, terrorizing his own family and hunting his son’s fiancée in an attempt to violently and sexually claim her as his own. Many villains of the gothic have followed this character type, being driven to evil deeds by supernatural forces or influences, like Ambrosio in *The Monk*. Alcott employs aspects of this character type when constructing the villain of “Taming a Tartar.”

Another way “Taming a Tartar” adheres to the traditional gothic canon is in its faithful use of a traditional gothic setting. A first-person narrative told by a young Englishwoman named Sybil, “Taming a Tartar” takes place in France. Foreign settings were common in the gothic tradition; canonical gothic novels were almost never set near
their authors' homes; for example, Walpole's *Castle of Otranto* was in Spain, while he lived in England. Matthew Lewis’s *The Monk* was set in Italy but written in England. Ann Radcliffe’s *The Italian* was also set in Italy and written in England. Scholars like Angela Wright have argued that by setting the gothic at a distance, the originating novelists served their own xenophobic and nationalistic purposes, reassuring their readers that such atrocities and horrors could not exist in the house next door (80). It was not until the penny serials that very many gothic stories began to take place near their readers’ homes. By contrast, the American version of realism very often included settings familiar to Americans, and in their own time, or near enough. By setting her story at a distance, Alcott may also have intended to step away from the American realist mode, and into the gothic mode as she envisioned it.

While the setting is foreign and traditionally gothic, however, the main character Sybil is an ordinary, pragmatic girl who rolls up her sleeves to help others, and whose attitudes and demeanor would fit perfectly into an American Realist novel. In “Taming a Tartar,” Sybil must find a way to deal with the princess’s half-brother Alexis, who is the family’s violent, ruthless patriarch and keeps his sister in constant terror that he will return her to certain death in Russia. While the princess becomes the gothic heroine (who is traditionally powerless to help herself or anyone else), Sybil is a Realist protagonist who intercedes on her behalf using logical, practical good sense. Rather than attempting to subdue him, the Parisians regard Alexis as if he were a dangerous exotic animal. In keeping with this view, Sybil decides early in the story that she will “handle” this monster on her lady’s behalf, because “the princess would as soon think of firing the Tuileries as opposing her brother” (Alcott 588). With this description, Alcott sums up the
troublesome relationship between the siblings, whose gender inequality underpins the plot. She also creates the framework for a bifurcated ideology by reinforcing traditional patriarchal norms with the princess’s plight, balanced against Sybil’s ability and agency. Alexis, for his part, is overcome by his own violence and rage, which hearkens back to the wicked male character type originated by Walpole. Alexis is also clearly racialized, even in Alcott’s most neutral description:

The costume suited the face; swarthy, black-eyed, scarlet-lipped, heavy-browed and beardless, except a thick mustache… A strange face, for even in repose the indescribable difference of race was visible; the contour of the head, molding of the features, hue of hair and skin, even the attitude, all betrayed a trace of the savage strength and spirit of one in whose veins flowed the blood of men reared in tents, and born to lead wild lives in a wild land. (Alcott 585)

As Teresa Derrickson has argued, the racial undertones of Alcott’s description and the extreme “othering” that follows run contrary to Alcott’s progressive views on race as expressed in her non-fiction writing. While Alcott was a noted abolitionist, her views on race were decidedly nineteenth century, in that she believed a person’s outward appearance reflected their worth; for example, she felt her own dark hair and complexion made her less feminine than her blonde sister May (Derrickson 46). This racialized portrayal of Alexis may also have reflected Alcott’s response to what she knew of her audience and the literary marketplace’s biases about race and color. For example, Nathaniel Hawthorne’s female characters who are darker are more transgressive, while the fair ones are demure. The popular Byronic heroes of the time were consistently dark and brooding fellows, like Rochester in *Jane Eyre* or Heathcliff in *Wuthering Heights*. By
painting Alexis in this way in *Taming a Tatar*, Alcott certainly participates in a complicated discourse that links the gothic bad boy with the rhetoric of race.

The conclusion of *Taming a Tatar* is confusing in ideological terms. Alcott carefully characterizes Sybil as a strong, pragmatic, independent woman who is in command of her own affairs, which is certainly a challenge to the traditional gothic conception of womanhood. Sybil’s efforts to “tame” Alexis are successful, but by the end she has fallen in love with him and decided to marry him. So on the one hand, she has achieved dominance over a man, and thereby implicitly subverted male power by removing a man’s aggressive tendencies and supplanting his role as the dominant one in the home. In the last line of the story, she promises not to obey him (Alcott 616). On the other hand, she also does not resist the traditional heteronormative patriarchal imperative for all young women to seek marriage as the only possible happy ending. In this story, a monstrous man is better than no man at all; thus in many ways, as she transforms Alexis, she settles for him, and also transforms herself into his helpmate.

As a feminist ideological project, then, Alcott’s results with “Taming a Tartar” are mixed. Derrickson reads Sybil’s civilizing influence over Alexis as making her an instrument of white male power, and thereby operating in favor of the same institutional forces that subjugate women. In the last exchange between Sybil and Alexis, she orders him to free his serfs, in what is a clear indictment of slavery. Still, Alcott’s nineteenth-century perspective does not allow her to see how “Taming a Tartar” has reinscribed racist thinking in some ways while repudiating it in others. What she does achieve, though, is to place a Realist protagonist convincingly in a gothic story to voice both a pointed and subtle social critique, and surely she made the profits that were her original
goal. The transformations made to the heroine are convincing and impactful, as Sybil is the type of heroine we will see in gothic fiction of the future: fully capable of saving the princess without any external or supernatural aid. In this, she is a feminist dream, although she does reveal the difficulty that has faced the women’s movement, which has so often relied on racial differences to make advancements.

As the gothic developed in cheaper nineteenth-century fiction, then, role reversals and the upsetting of traditional gendered power dynamics continued to come into play, while at the same time, both the hero and the heroine became more realistic characters. Subjects of gender-related fictional exploration ranged widely, including the terrors of urbanization, of gender role conformity, rape and domestic violence, class tension and social conventions, sexual predation, and the constant battle for control of women’s bodies. The canonical gothic heroine represented the dream of escape and her own powerlessness to crawl out from beneath the patriarchy. As much as that heroine might inspire us with her cleverness or ability to escape her difficulties, most canonical gothic stories torment heroines by exacting an enormous price for any agency they can muster, and always conclude by locking them firmly into a strictly regulated position beneath the heteropatriarchal hegemony. If she achieves a victory, that means attaining a position of equilibrium within the existing gendered power structure in which she will no longer be endangered, but her ability to reason remains intact, just in case it is ever needed. In this way, the gothic tale presents a fantasy of a radical new freedom and reinforces the conservative power of the patriarchy at the same time. Meanwhile the male characters in the gothic have become more diverse in terms of class and position, growing increasingly
more defined by their jobs. At the same time, the boundaries between genders have remained easy to transgress in cheap fiction, just as they were in the canonical gothic.
CONCLUSION

Gothic remediations of the nineteenth century are important because they established the gothic tale’s mass popularity as an avenue for readers to escape their individual realities and explore imaginary ones through an elevated, sensationalized experience—for less than the price of a loaf of bread. By studying the transformation of gothic characters and stories as they move among different types of publications in the nineteenth century, I demonstrate how they developed their staying power with contemporary audiences, and those to come in later generations. Each time they are remediated from form to form (triple-decker novels to chapbooks, to theatrical scripts, to periodicals, and to penny serials—in any order) gothic stories and characters are altered by the shape, size, and technological capacity of each new form. They also adapt to reflect the tastes and views of their new audiences, and to hybridize genres—combining with realism in the nineteenth century is just one example of the way the gothic thrives in hybridization. The gothic mode itself remains stable, as an infinitely adaptable organism that relies on a few basic elements to survive; each remediated story maintains its ambiguity and pluralism, its obsession with boundaries, liminalities, and entrapment, and its fascination with economic and physical security. What’s different in the cheaper forms of nineteenth century fiction is its close proximity and resemblance to readers’ lived realities and their manner of being.

As I have shown, remediation changed the way ghosts haunted us by placing them in our own neighborhoods. After the nineteenth century’s remediations, the ghost is released from the castle and firmly rooted in domestic spaces belonging to common people. This enables the ghost to transition from its hyperbolic roots, which were mainly
xenophobic and often anti-Catholic, and into a position to explore the more pressing dangers around the safety and security of our families and homes. Meanwhile, the vampire, which began as a folkloric revenant that fed upon its own family and community, moved in the opposite direction—from the domestic space and into a public one. After being used as a metaphor by philosophers, politicians, and pundits in nineteenth-century periodical pieces of varying length and complexity, vampires developed a capacity to serve as a metaphor with increasing flexibility.

People in gothic stories have perhaps changed the most and the least by the constant remediation of the gothic story. Perhaps this is because the way we think about people has changed so much, but humanity and the structures that we’ve built into our societies have not. Heroines in gothic stories after the turn of the twentieth century are still trapped in a white supremacist, heteronormative, capitalist patriarchy—they may have more agency than their late eighteenth-century counterparts, but that only serves to emphasize and critique their entrapment. A strong example is Daphne du Maurier’s *My Cousin Rachel* (1951), in which the heroine is both powerful and dangerous. It is suggested several times that Rachel might be taking advantage of Philip and angling to steal his fortunes, and that she may have murdered her last husband. A suspense driven by jealousy and a threat to the safety of the home gives this story and this relationship a strongly gothic atmosphere. In the end, however, Rachel has sex with Philip and refuses to marry him, thereby breaking the patriarchal norm, after which she is just as betrayed and punished to death as any other gothic heroine.

From the hero’s side of things, du Maurier’s intervention is more extreme; the hero of *My Cousin Rachel* becomes the villain in the end. The pressure to take control of
a financial and domestic estate is still fully present, but Philip is more conscious of his own misogyny. He admits he does not understand women, and has the impression that they are unpredictable and unstable. He views sex as a contract leading to marriage, and attempts to strangle Rachel when she does not agree. In the end, Rachel has become financially independent, but before she can get away, Philip uses a weak bridge at his house to cause her to fall to her death. The way gender works in this story reflects a twentieth-century awareness that had internalized the clash between first-wave feminism and the first Disney princesses, like Snow White (1937) and Cinderella (1950), whose stories insisted that women still need to be rescued. A gothic hero after this time period either must change at a fundamental level, or become part of the machine that tortures the heroine. The results going forward are mixed, and as of this writing, the gothic hero is still a character fraught with conflict and confusion.

Human characters underwent the most complicated changes when they were remediated for different forms, and in the end, they became more relatable. Under the influence of readers who enjoyed realism, they became less like character types and more like real people, even if they were monstrous ones. By constantly adapting for new audiences and new forms, and by amplifying the voices of writers with close ties to those audiences, the gothic survived and gained new territory in the changing literary marketplace that led to the gothic revival of the fin de siècle.

Gothic stories like Toni Morrison’s Beloved (1987) further complicate the gender dynamics of the gothic by placing the characters in obvious conflict with more than one form of structural oppression. Sethe is haunted by the ghost of her baby, and also by her past actions in slavery. This story tortures its heroine by turning both her strengths and
her traumas against her; she is haunted by the things she did to save her children from slavery, and by the white people who tormented her. In this way, Sethe’s gender role in motherhood and her racial and economic position are all operating together to haunt her, as Morrison alters the ghost story to perform a critique of the systems that make Sethe’s life so difficult.

By raising questions about the gendered nature of work in the context of increasing urbanization and industrialization, the cheap mid-century gothic also illuminated the very real dangers of rising economic systems that imperiled both genders in different ways, while also dividing men and women by presenting new reasons for them to fear one another. The gothic heroine has since become a vehicle for examining abuse, violence toward transwomen, puberty’s physical and psychological challenges, invasive or unwanted medical procedures against women, stalking, exploitation, and gaslighting. Meanwhile the way men have been portrayed in the gothic since then has only increased in diversity, as more and more different ways of being male were presented in the gothic, starting with the different types of men portrayed in Dracula. Volumes could (and should) be written on the many ways the queer gothic has further shaken up constructions and assumptions around gender in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. By always making space for transgression, the cheap press of the nineteenth century not only sustained the gothic as a popular genre, it established the gothic as a mode that would continue to allow for gender roles to break down, and for readers to imagine a world with fewer gender barriers.

The process of gothic remediation I traced in each chapter continues to occur. Gothic ghost stories in the early twentieth century found a new home in pulp magazines
in the 1920s, and in short story collections. Eventually they were modified for television and film, and some ghosts broke away from the gothic mode altogether, like *Casper the Friendly Ghost* (1945) who barely touches upon darkness at all. Ghosts continue to perforate the rules of genre in the literature of the twenty-first century. Neil Gaiman’s *Graveyard Book* (2010) is haunting, but the ghosts there are not the scary thing; the people are. In Rivers Solomon’s *An Unkindness of Ghosts* (2017) the “ghosts” are white people on a slavery-driven intergenerational spaceship which is powered by racial trauma—in a science fiction setting.

The continuing evolution of vampires spins in cycles between literature and visual media. After *Dracula* comes *Nosferatu* (1929) and the film adaptation of *Dracula* (1931) with Bela Lugosi, after which the vampire was forever visually changed to be a handsome, attractive, and even romantic figure, if still a tragic one. Anne Rice intervenes in 1976 by creating vampires in *Interview With the Vampire* who cannot sexually ravish people, but Charlaine Harris brings them back to the bedroom with her Sookie Stackhouse series starting in 2001. Each of these cases is later amply explored on screen; in Rice’s case featuring Tom Cruise and Brad Pitt in 1994, and in Harris’s with *True Blood* on HBO starting in 2008. Between these two came *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* and *Angel* in film and on television, and Stephanie Meyer’s *Twilight* novels, which adapt the vampire for teen readers, followed by *Vampire Diaries* in 2009. All of these vampire stories, from 1976 onward, explore the vampire’s nature as an outsider and a romantic figure, wondering if it is possible for them to have humanity, and to be more than a metaphor for exploitation. *What We Do in the Shadows* (2019), featuring a group of vampires living on Staten Island is perhaps the most extreme example of the
humanization of the vampire; although it is drenched in blood and corpses, the show centers on the trouble the vampires have because they are roommates for hundreds of years, and struggle to keep up with the changing times. They are completely sympathetic characters and not frightening in the slightest; they are thus seemingly unrelated to the revenants of Wallachian tales, despite their vaguely European accents.

The main lesson that I take from my project is that the gothic is still with us because every time it is remediated, it is reenergized by the tastes and interests of the new audience. Although it seemed conventional in its earliest incarnations, it is the gothic’s ability to adapt that gives it staying power and lasting appeal. Over time, as stories of ghosts, vampires, heroes and heroines became more secular and less obsessed with the exotic and elite, they less often recited the strictures of morality and identity, and instead reflected and contributed to the changes that occurred in the culture that produced them. My initial question about what happened to the gothic between 1820 and Dracula (1897) has been answered: remediation gave it new life again and again, and with each generation, it evolved to thrive in new environmental and cultural conditions. As long as humans remain caught between the traditions of the past and ideas of the future, the gothic will find a way to resurrect itself.
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BLJ—See Byron’s Letters and Journals (BLJ) below.


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---. *The History of Crazy Jane... With a frontispiece by Bewick.* Alnwick: printed by W. Davison, 1813.


APPENDIX

Chapbooks located and surveyed for this project

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Location</th>
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<tr>
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<td>A Tale of Mystery; or, The Castle of Solitude. Containing the dreadful imprisonment of Count L. and Countess Harmina, his Lady.</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Albani; or, The Murderer of His Child. Containing the Different Views of His Character, as a Libertine in Palermo, an Officer in the Spanish Service, A Planter in the Island of Cuba, and an Independent Gentleman, on His Return to Italy.</td>
<td>1803</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Allan the Freebooter, or The Witch of Glenross; with an Account of the Sufferings of Roderick the Laird of Glenross, and his Beautiful Bride Malvina, Destruction of the Princely Hall of Glenross, and Marriage of their Daughter Helen to the Freebooter.</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
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<td>Barrett, C. F.</td>
<td>Allanrod; or, The Mysterious Freebooter: A Historical Tale of the Sixteenth Century</td>
<td>1806</td>
<td>NYPL. Pforzheimer Gothic Novellas Vol 2</td>
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<td>Alphonso and Elinor; or, The Mysterious Discovery. A Tale</td>
<td>1800</td>
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<td>Wilkinson, Sarah</td>
<td>Arthur and Ellinor; or, The Fatal Effects of Feudal Quarrels: A Romance</td>
<td>1810</td>
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<td>Corry, John</td>
<td>Arthur and Mary: Or the Fortunate Fugitives</td>
<td>1803</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Barbastal; or, The Magician of the Forest of Bloody Ash. A Romance.</td>
<td>1807</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Crokenden, Isaac</td>
<td>Berthinia; or The Fair Spaniard. A Romance</td>
<td>1802</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Blanche and Carlos; or, The Constant Lovers: Including The adventures of Valville and Adelaide, A Mexican Tale.</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Blood-Stained Mantle; or, A Sister's Revenge. A Legendary Tale</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Canterbury Tales. Containing The Great Devil's Tale; or, The Castle of Morbano; The Old Abbey Tale; or, Village Terrors; The British Sailor's Tale and The Knight's Tale</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Canterbury Tales. Part 2, A Winter's Tale; or, The Desolate Mansion. A Forest Tale; or, The Midnight Hour. The Fair Russian's Tale. And The Indian's Tale.</td>
<td>1802</td>
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<td>Genlis, Stéphanie Félicité</td>
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<td>1804</td>
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<td>Wilkinson, Sarah</td>
<td>Castle of Lindenberg: or The History of Raymond and Agnes; including Raymond's adventures with the banditti in the forest of Rosenwald, and his being haunted by the spectre of the bleeding nun. Abridged from The monk, written by the late G.M. [sic] Lewis. By Sarah Wilkinson.</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
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<td>Watkins, Lucy</td>
<td>Cavigni of Tuscany: A Terrific Romance.</td>
<td>1814</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Cecilia: Or, the Victim of Treachery. To Which Is Added, Edward &amp; Egwina. The Prince and Shepherdess, an Interesting Tale</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
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<td>Arlincourt, vicomte d'</td>
<td>Charles the Bold, or, The Recluse of the Wild Mountain: a tale of the fifteenth century</td>
<td>1825</td>
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<td>Wilkinson, Sarah</td>
<td>Chateau de Montville or the Golden Cross</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Children of the Priory; or Wars of Old</td>
<td>1802</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Clairville Castle; or, The History of Albert &amp; Emma</td>
<td>1805</td>
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<td>Wilkinson, Sarah</td>
<td>Conscience; or, The Bridal Night. A Interesting Venetian Tale; Portraying the Unfortunate Fate of Lorenzo and Elmira. Written and Arranged from the Celebrated</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>British Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Year</td>
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<td>Ryder, Frances Mary</td>
<td>Tragedy of J. Haynes, ESQ. by Sarah Scudgell Wilkinson.</td>
<td>1807</td>
<td>University of Texas, Austin</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Cronstadt Castle; or, The Mysterious Visitor. An Original Romance</td>
<td>1803</td>
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<td>Ludlam, George</td>
<td>Dalmanutha; or, The Monster of Venice. A Romance</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>De la Mark and Constantia; or, Ancient Heroism. A Gothic Tale</td>
<td>1803</td>
<td>British Library, University of Virginia</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Der Frieschutz, or the Fatal Bullet and the Forest Fiend. (Translated from the Legendary Tale on which the popular drama is founded.)</td>
<td>1825</td>
<td>Online</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Domestic Misery; or, The Victim of Seduction. A Pathetic Tale; Addressed to the Unprincipled Libertine.</td>
<td>1803</td>
<td>British Library, University of Virginia</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Don Algonah; or, The Sorceress of Montillo</td>
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<td>Barrett, C. F.</td>
<td>Douglas Castle; or, The Cell of Mystery. A Scottish Tale</td>
<td>1803</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Duncan; or, The Shade of Gertrude. A Caledonian Tale.</td>
<td>1810</td>
<td>British Library, University of Virginia</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Dunleith Abbey: or, Malevolence Defeated: in which is displayed the retributive power of Providence over those who injure the innocent.</td>
<td>1809</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Durward and Isabelle</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Eastern Turret; or, Orphan of Navona</td>
<td>1804</td>
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<td>Edmund and Albina; or, Gothic Times. A Romance</td>
<td>1801</td>
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<td>Wilkinson, Sarah</td>
<td>Edward &amp; Agnes; or, The Twin Orphans of Rosemount Farm. A Village Tale</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Edward and Eleonora: Or, the Adventures of a Stroller. A Romance</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Edwin; or, The Wandering Fugitive. An History Founded on Facts.</td>
<td>1805</td>
<td>University of Oxford</td>
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<td>Corry, John</td>
<td>Edwy and Bertha: Or, the Force of Connubial Love</td>
<td>1802</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<td>Barrington, George</td>
<td><em>Eliza; or, The Unhappy Nun: Exemplifying the unlimited tyranny exercised by the Abbots and Abbesses the ill-fated victims of their malice in the gloomy recesses of a convent. Including The Adventures of Clementina; or, The Constant Lovers. A true and affecting tale.</em></td>
<td>1803</td>
<td>Online, University of Virginia</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>Ellen Le Clair; or, The Mysterious Minstrel. An English Romance of Former Times</em></td>
<td>1821</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>Entertaining Gothic Stories. Including Raymond Castle; or, The Ungrateful Nephew; Adela; or, The Ruin of the House of Albert; Fitzalan and the Usurper Fitzurban; Vildac; or, The Horrid Discovery and Henry; or, The Portrait of Mary</em></td>
<td>1820</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>Ernestina or the Fair German</em></td>
<td>1803</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>Ethelinda; or, The Fair Maid of the Inn. An Interesting Tale</em></td>
<td>1812</td>
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<td><em>Fair and Fatal Warnings; or, Visits from the World of Spirits</em></td>
<td>1810</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>Fair Rosamond; or The History of Lady Clifford, Mistress of King Henry the Second, inluding the manner of her seduction and her untimely end by poison administered to her by Queen Eleanor.</em></td>
<td>1824</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>Fatal jealousy or, Blood will have blood!: containing the history of Count Almagro and Duke Alphonso; their combat in the dreadful tournament and the death of the beautiful Bellarmine, through the artifice of Sophronia, her rival.</em></td>
<td>1807</td>
<td>University of Virginia, NYPL Pforzheimer Gothic Novellas Vol 2</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>Fatal Vows; or, The False Monk. A Romance</em></td>
<td>1810</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>Father Innocent, Abbot of the Capuchins, or, The Crimes of the Cloister</em></td>
<td>1803</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>Faustus: His Life, Death, and Descent into Hell. Being an Orginal Tale from the German, on which the Drama is founded.</em></td>
<td>1825</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>Female Intrepidity; or, The Heroic Matron. A Tale</em></td>
<td>1810</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>Fernando of Castile; or, The Husband of Two Wives. Also sold as Friburgh-Castile, or, The Wife of Two Husbands</em></td>
<td>1802</td>
<td>British Library, University of Virginia</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>Feudal Days; or, The Noble Outlaw. A Historical Romance</em></td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>Florian de Videmont, chieftain of the Blue Castle, or, Lorenzo, the starving prisoner: and the saviour of Almagro and his two daughters: from the horrors of the Red Chamber.</em></td>
<td>1807</td>
<td>NYPL Pforzheimer Gothic Novellas Vol 2</td>
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<td>Watkins, Lucy</td>
<td><em>Frederic &amp; Sophia: or the Fortunate Discovery</em></td>
<td>1817</td>
<td>British Library</td>
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<td>Author/Anonymous</td>
<td>Title</td>
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<td><em>Ghosts! Spectres! Apparitions! The New Life After Death; or, Secrets of the Grave Laid Open</em></td>
<td>n.d.</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
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<td>n.d.</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>Gothic Legends. A Tale of Mystery.</em></td>
<td>1802</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>Gothic Stories: Sir Bertrand, by Mrs. Barbauld; Sir Gawen, from the Speculator; Edwin, from the Universal magazine.</em></td>
<td>1797</td>
<td>Online</td>
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<td>Watkins, Lucy</td>
<td><em>Henry and Eliza. A Pathetic tale</em></td>
<td>1820</td>
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<td>Healey, Miss</td>
<td><em>Henry Sinclair: or, The Ghosts of Haverford Hall</em></td>
<td>n.d.</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>Hermit of the Lakes; or the Revengeful Brother</em></td>
<td>n.d.</td>
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<td>Douglas, Robert</td>
<td><em>Highland Heroism; or, The Castles of Glencoe and Balloch</em></td>
<td>1803</td>
<td>British Library, Online, New York Public Library, Pforzheimer Romances</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>Horatio and Camilla; or, The Nuns of St. Mary</em></td>
<td>1804</td>
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<td><em>Horrible Revenge: Or, the Monster of Italy!! a Romance of the Sixteenth Century. Also, Hopeless Love, an Interesting Tale</em></td>
<td>1812</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>Ildefonzo &amp; Alberoni; or, Tales of Horror</em></td>
<td>1803</td>
<td>British Library, University of Virginia</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>Imperial Clemency, or, the Murderers Reprieved[.] An Interesting Tale.</em></td>
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<td>Wilkinson, Sarah</td>
<td><em>Inkle and Yarico; or, Love in a Cave. An Interesting Tale</em></td>
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<td><em>Itanoka, the Noble Minded Negro: An Original Tale</em></td>
<td>1810</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>Ivanhoe; or, The Jew and His Daughter. An Interesting Old English Tale</em></td>
<td>1820</td>
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<td>Wilkinson, Sarah</td>
<td><em>Ivy castle, or, The eve of St. Agnes: being an interesting history of the Wilmington family, including memoirs of Lord Colville and Agnes St. Eustace: founded on facts.</em></td>
<td>1825</td>
<td>British Library</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>Kilverstone Castle; or, The Heir Restored. An English Gothic Story. Founded on a Fact which happened on the Dawn of the Reformation.</em></td>
<td>1799</td>
<td>Online, University of Virginia</td>
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<td><em>Knight of the Broom Flower; or, Horrors of the Priory. A Romance. To which is added Warrington Grange; or, Victims of Treachery. A Tale.</em></td>
<td>1804</td>
<td>Online, British Library</td>
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<td>Sarrett, H. J.</td>
<td><em>Koenigsmark the Robber, or, The Terror of Bohemia; in which is introduced Stella, or, The Maniac of the wood, a pathetick tale.</em></td>
<td>1803</td>
<td>British Library, University of Virginia</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>Koenigsmark the Robber; or, The Terror of Bohemia; in which is included, the Affecting History of Rosenberg and Adelaide, and Their Orphan Daughter.</em></td>
<td>n.d.</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>Lermos and Rosa; or, The Fortunate Gipsy: An Interesting Adventure, which really happened in Spain, about forty years ago.</em></td>
<td>1803</td>
<td>British Library, University of Virginia</td>
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<td><em>Lewis Tyrrell; or, The Depraved Count including the pathetick adventures and tragical end of Ella Clifford and Oscar Henry Hampden; or, The victims of treachery. An English tale of the fourteenth century.</em></td>
<td>1804</td>
<td>British Library, University of Virginia</td>
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<td><em>Life of Buonaparte: To Which the Atrocities of the First Consul Are Faithfully Recorded, and Warning to Britons Against Threatened Invasion</em></td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<td><em>Life of Jemima: Or, the Confessions of an Unfortunate Bastard, Who, by the Antipathy of Her Parents, Was Driven to Every Scene of Vice and Prostitution! Containing Some Particulars of Her Early Years; With General Remarks on Public Hospitals</em></td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<td>Wilkinson, Sarah</td>
<td><em>Lissette of Savoy; or, The Fair Maid of the Mountains. An Interesting Tale. To which is added Ethelred and Lidania; or, The Sacrifice to Woden. A Saxon Tale</em></td>
<td>1804</td>
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<td>Couvray, Jean-Baptiste</td>
<td>Lodoiska; or, The Tartar Robber. A Historic Tale. From the Life of the Chevalier de Faublas.</td>
<td>1811</td>
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<td>Wilkinson, Sarah</td>
<td>Lord Gowen; or, The Forester’s Daughter. A Historical Romance of the Twelfth Century. To which is added The Barons of Old. A Historic Tale</td>
<td>1803</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Love and Madness: Being the History and Entire Correspondence of the Reverend James Hackman and Miss Martha Ray</td>
<td>1805</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<td>Lubin and Rosetta; or, Love and Innocence a Pastoral Tale</td>
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<td>Chamberlain, Frederic</td>
<td>Lucretia; or, The Robbers of the Hycanean Forest</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
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<td>Magician; or the mystical Adventures of Seraphim</td>
<td>1803</td>
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<td>Wilkinson, Sarah</td>
<td>Maid of Lochlin; or, Northern Mysteries. A Scottish Romance</td>
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<td>Malouka: Or, the Pious Mussulman. An Arabian Tale</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Manfredi; or, The Mysterious Hermit, an interesting and Original Romance</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
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<td>Barrett, C. F.</td>
<td>Mary Queen of Scots, or the Royal Captive of Fotheringay Castle: A Scottish Legendary Tale, Founded on the History and Manners of the Sixteenth Century.</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>British Library, Online</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Mary, the maid of the Inn, or, The secrets of the ruins: a melancholy and interesting narrative: shewing the singular way in which she discovered her lover to be both a robber and a murderer; with an account of his trial, conviction, and execution: together with her madness and forlorn wanderings, until she is found frozen to death:</td>
<td>1823</td>
<td>University of Virginia, Online</td>
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<td>Matilda and Fanny; or, The Sisters of Rosedale</td>
<td>1828</td>
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<td>Matilda: Or the Adventures of an Orphan, an Interesting Tale</td>
<td>1802</td>
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<td>Maximilian and Selina; or, The Mysterious Abbot. A Flemish Tale</td>
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<td>Lawler, Dennis</td>
<td>Midnight Spells! or, The Spirit of St. Osmond. A Romance</td>
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<td>Monkcliffe Abbey. A Tale of the Fifteenth Century. To which is added Lopez and Aranthe; or, The Suicide</td>
<td>1803</td>
<td>British Library, Online, University of Virginia, NYPL Pforzheimer Tracts Vol 3</td>
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<td>Wilkinson, Sarah</td>
<td>Monastic Ruins; or, The Invisible Monitor: A Romance. To which is added The Brazier. A Tale</td>
<td>1805</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Monkish Mysteries; or, The Miraculous Escape: Containing the History and Villainies of the Monk Bertrand; the Detection of his impious Frauds, and subsequent Repentance and Retribution.</td>
<td>1802</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Monks of Cluny; or, Castle-Acre Monastery. An Historical Tale.</td>
<td>1807</td>
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<td>1805</td>
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<td>Crookenden, Isaac</td>
<td>Morella de Alto; or the Crimes of Scorpino Developed</td>
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<td>Grosset, Emilia</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Norval and Julia; or, The Mysterious Rock. Where Julia's Mother was Immured for more than Ten Years by her Cruel Husband. A Scottish Tale</td>
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<td>Wilkinson, Sarah</td>
<td>Oakcliffe Hall; or, the Fatal Effects of Feudal Quarrels. A Tale of the Fifteenth Century</td>
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<td>Prophetic Nuptials; or, the Fatal six, and the happy seventh. A romance of intense interest</td>
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<td>By A Young Gentleman of Note</td>
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<td>Rochester Castle; or, Gundulph's Tower. A Gothic Tale</td>
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<td>Rodolpho; or, The Tomb of Ferrados. A Scottish Legend. To which is added, The Spirit of the Black Forest</td>
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<td>Romances and Gothic Tales. Contents: The Ruins of the Abbey of Fitz-Martin --The Bleeding Nun of St. Catherine's --The Castle on the Beach; or, A Sea-Side Story - -The Mysterious Monk; or, The Cave of Blood --Courtney Castle; or, The Robbers' Cavern --The Castle of Hospitality; or, The Spectre</td>
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<td>Watkins, Lucy</td>
<td>Romano Castle; or, The Banditti of the Forest. A Romance.</td>
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<td>Crookenden, Isaac</td>
<td>Romantic Tales. The Revengeful Turk; or, Mystic Cavern. The Distressed Nun; or, Sufferings of Herselia di Brindoli of Florence. And the Vindicative Monk; or, Fatal Ring</td>
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<td>Roxalana; or, The Step-Mother. A Historic Tale</td>
<td>1806</td>
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<td>Rugantino, or, The bravo of Venice: on which is founded the popular melo-drama now performing, with the most unbounded applause, at the Theatre-Royal, Covent Garden. Abridged from the German.</td>
<td>1805</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Sebastian and Zeila: Or, the Captive Liberated by Female Generosity</td>
<td>1802</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Shrewtzer Castle: or, The Perfidious Brother. A German Romance. Including the Pathetic Tale of Edmund's Ghost.</td>
<td>1802</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Somerset Castle; or, The Father and Daughter. A Tragic Tale. To which is added Ghost and No Ghost; or, The Dungeon.</td>
<td>1803</td>
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<td>Spectre of the Turret: Or, Guolto Castle. A Romance</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>St. Clair of the Isles and the Fair Ambrosine: an historical romance showing how the rightful heir to the House of Roskelyn was, by the perjury and treachery of his unnatural mother, outlawed to a small barren island on the western coast of Scotland and deprived, for many years, of his vast domains; the noble and disinterested conduct of the heiress of Kintail, who assumed male attire in order to carry pecuniary relief to the noble outlaw, and how, after the many various vicissitudes and dangers to which they were exposed, they at last obtained that justice to which they were entitled.</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>St. Leance; or, The Castle of Rugosa: giving an account of the invisible hand, that long infested the Pyrennean Mountains: and describing the death of the lovely Constance, the Earl of Rugosa's daughter, under the most dreadful circumstances that can befal human nature.</td>
<td>1821</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<td>Crokenden, Isaac</td>
<td>Story of Morella de Alto; or, The Crimes of Scorpion Developed</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Surprising Achievements of Oswick, the Bold Outlaw, Chieftain of a Band of Robbers: Containing Also an Interesting Account of Enna, His Fair Captive, as Related by Her Son to King Alfred. A Tale of the Eighth Century</td>
<td>1806</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Tales for the Farmers' Ingle-Neuk: Consisting of the Murderer Discovered, the Spoiled Child, the Broken Bridge, and Domestic Management</td>
<td>1826</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Tales of Superstition; or, Relations of Apparitions containing the story of Henry Bell, Apparition of Sir John Owen, the Danish Witches, &amp;C.</td>
<td>1803</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
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<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Tale of Terror: or, A Spectre without a Castle! To which is added Brazen Mask or the Mysterious Chief, a polish legend.</td>
<td>1803</td>
<td>NYPL, Pforzheimer Tracts Vol 3</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Tales of Terror! or, More Ghosts.</td>
<td>1802</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Tales of wonder: containing Logani di Montigni, an interesting tale: The Moorish witch, a tale, from the Spanish: Shipton's prophecy: and Sibley's astrological aphorisms.</td>
<td>1803</td>
<td>New York Public Library</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Tales of Wonder. Contents: The Castle of Enchantment; or, The Mysterious Deception.--The Robbers Daughter; or, The Phantom of Grotto.--The Magic-Legacy &amp; c</td>
<td>1801</td>
<td>Online</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Abbot of Kennaquair: a romance; describing some of the most memorable particulars in the Scottish History as the Regent Murray; Mary of Scotland; the Lochlevin family, &amp;c.; Dissolution of Monasteries, and numerous interesting events: to which is added, the affecting tale of Anningait and Ajut; or, The Greenland lovers.</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>New York University</td>
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<td>Wilkinson, Sarah</td>
<td>The Adopted Child; or, The Castle of St. Villereagh. Being the Interesting History and Adventures of Edward Hartford</td>
<td>1805</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Affecting History of Caroline: Or, the Distressed Widow. A True Tale</td>
<td>1805</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Affecting History of Louisa, the Wandering Maniac: or, “Lady of the Hay-Stack”; so called, from having taken up her residence under that shelter, in the village of Bourton, near Bristol, in a state of melancholy derangement; and supposed to be a daughter of France I. Emperor of Germany. A Real Tale of Woe.</td>
<td>1803</td>
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<td>Brown, A.</td>
<td>The Alpine Wanderers; or, The Vindictive Relative</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
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<td>Wilkinson, Sarah</td>
<td>The Ancestress; or, Supernatural prediction of horror accomplished: being the history of the fatal loves of Janomir and Bertha, and the extinction of the house of Eschen.</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>University of Michigan</td>
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<td>Belmont, Harvey</td>
<td>The Avenger; or, Mysterious Assassin. A Terrific Tale.</td>
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<td>British Library, University of Virginia</td>
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<td>The Banditti of Monte Baldo; or, The Lass of the Lake. A Romance</td>
<td>1805</td>
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<td>Barrett, C. F.</td>
<td>The Black Castle; or, The Spectre of the Forest, A Historical Romance. By C. F. Barrett Founded on the Spectacle of that name, Performed at the Amphitheatre of Arts, with unbounded Applause, for Nearly One Hundred Nights. To which are added Tracy Castle; or, The Parricide Punished. Fate of Edeliza; or, Sacrifice to Superstition</td>
<td>1800</td>
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<td>The Black Valley; or, The Castle of Rosenberg. A Romance. To which is added The Maid of Inn</td>
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<td>D'Arcy, Uriah Derick</td>
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<td>The Bleeding Nun of the Castle of Lindenberg; or, The History of Raymond &amp; Agnes</td>
<td>1823</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Bloody Hand; or, The Fatal Cup. A Tale of Horror! In the course of which is described the terrible dungeons and cells in the prisons of Buonaparte.</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Bravo of Perth; or, Voorn the Tiger. Consisting of the Uncommon Adventures, and Escapes, of a Bold and Resolute Scotch Outlaw of the Fourteenth Century.</td>
<td>1809</td>
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<td>The Captive Fair, and Enchanted Rock; or the Legend of Sir Eltram. A Romance. Translated from an Ancient British Manuscript.</td>
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<td>The Captive Prince; or, Love and Madness: An Heroical Tale of the Fifteenth Century</td>
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<td>The Castle of Mirandola, or, The life and tragical end of the Duke of Mirandola and his family through the treachery of Gheraldi, a monk, and Isabella, the duke's sister : the unfortunate loves and death of Guido and Isidora, &amp;c.</td>
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<td>The Castles of Montreuil and Barre; or, The Histories of the Marquis La Brun and The Baron La Marche. The Late Inhabitants and Proprietors of the Two Castles. A Gothic Story</td>
<td>1810</td>
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<td>Ryder, Frances Mary</td>
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<td>The Chateau de Montville; or, The Golden Cross. An Original Romance</td>
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<td>The Children of the Priory; or, Wars of Old. An Historical Romance.</td>
<td>1802</td>
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<td>Wilkinson, Sarah</td>
<td>The Convent of St. Usurla; or, Incidents at Ottagro. An Italian Romance.</td>
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<td><em>The Curfew; or, the Castle of Baron de Tracy. On which is founded the popular play performed with unbounded applause at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane.</em></td>
<td>1807</td>
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<td>Wilkinson, Sarah</td>
<td><em>The Deformed Mendicant, or, English exiles; being the history of Sir Everard Mortimer, and his daughter Margaret. A Historical Legend of the Seventeenth Century.</em></td>
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<td>University of Minnesota</td>
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<td>1825</td>
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<td><em>The escape, or, The strange and singular adventures of Joseph Pignata: with a particular account of his being arrested by order of the Inquisition, and confined in a dungeon: the cruel sufferings he underwent while there, and miraculous escape; his uncommon adventures afterwards to enable the pursuit of the officers of the Inquisition / from the German of Augustus von Kotzebue, by Benjamin Thompson.</em></td>
<td>1804</td>
<td>New York Public Library</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The extraordinary confession, life, and singular adventures, of Wolfe; who was thirty years a notorious robber, murderer, and captain of a gang of fifty-three thieves. To which is added The wandering fugitive; or the surprising escapes of Frederic Winson, an assassin [sic].</em></td>
<td>1799</td>
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<td>Leinstein, Madame</td>
<td>The Fatal Scarf; or, A Sister's Vengeance. A Legend of Cuth-Ionor</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Fiery Castle, or, Socrerer Vanquished: a Romance: Relating the Wonderful Adventures of a Female Knight, in Which Is Described Her Attack on Rudamore Castle, to Release a Lovely Maid, Detained There by a Sorrcerer, and Glorious Victory Over the Guardian</td>
<td>1802</td>
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<td>Wilkinson, Sarah</td>
<td>The Fortunes of Nigel: A Tale, by the author of Waverley, epitomized from the original by Sarah Scudgell Wilkinson</td>
<td>1822</td>
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<td>The Ghost of Golini; or, The Malignant Relative</td>
<td>1804</td>
<td>NYPL Pforzheimer Gothic Novellas Vol 2</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Heiress of the Castle of Morlina; or, The Domains of Isabella di Rotaldi Restored: To which is added The Story of Shabracco and Sabrina; or The Mystery Developed</td>
<td>1801</td>
<td>British Library, Online, University of Virginia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Hag of the Lake; or, The Castle of Monte Falcon. A Romance</td>
<td>1812</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Haunted Castle; or, The Child of Misfortune. A Gothic Tale.</td>
<td>1801</td>
<td>Online, British Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>Giberne, Charles</td>
<td>The Haunted Tower; or, The Adventures of Sir Egbert De Rothsay</td>
<td>1822</td>
<td>British Library</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Heiress of the Castle of Morlina; or, The Domains of Isabella di Rotaldi Restored: To which is added The Story of Shabracco and Sabrina; or The Mystery Developed</td>
<td>1802</td>
<td>Online</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Hermit of the Lakes; or, The Revengeful Brother. A Tale of Truth.</td>
<td>1806</td>
<td>Online, British Library</td>
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<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Year</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The Hero of Scotland; or, Battle of Dumbarton. A Historical Romance. In which the love of liberty and conjugal affection, are exemplified in the characters of Sir William and Lady Wallace</em></td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>Online, Library of Congress</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The History of Cecilia; or, The Beautiful Nun by Madame Genlis.</em></td>
<td>1804</td>
<td>Online</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The History of Count Bertram, an Italian nobleman, whose ambition roused the jealousy of a rival courtier, etc.</em></td>
<td>1816</td>
<td>Online</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wilkinson, Sarah</td>
<td><em>The History of Crazy Jane</em></td>
<td>1818</td>
<td>British Library</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The History of Emma, or the Victim of Depravity: wherein is exemplified the miserable effects of not curbing the propensities of our passions. To which is added the life of the abandoned Kitty Clark.</em></td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>British Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Pierre, Bernard</td>
<td><em>The History of Paul and Virginia: Or the Shipwreck</em></td>
<td>1802</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The History of the Renowned John of Calais, and the Beautiful Constance, Princess of Portugal. To which is added The Monk and Spectre. A Romance</em></td>
<td>1803</td>
<td>British Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The History of Zoa, the Beautiful Indian, daughter of Henrietta de Bellgrave</em></td>
<td>1815</td>
<td>British Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The Horrible Revenge; or, The Assassin of the Solitary Castle.</em></td>
<td>1828</td>
<td>British Library, University of Virginia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Crookenden, Isaac</td>
<td><em>The Horrible Revenge; or, The Monster of Italy!! A Romance of the 16th Century. Also, Hopeless Love. An Interesting Tale</em></td>
<td>1808</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The Horrors of the Secluded Castle; or, Virtue Triumphant: Containing an interesting narrative of the captivity of Anna, the fair orphan: including also an account of many important circumstances that occurred during her confinement Founded partly on fact.</em></td>
<td>1807</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Watkins, Lucy</td>
<td><em>The Interesting Orphan, Emilia Beauclerc.</em></td>
<td>1815</td>
<td>British Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The Invisible Ring; or, The Water Monster and Fire Spectre. A Romantic Tale, Founded on the popular Aquatic Melo-Drama, As performed with universal Applause at Sadler's Wells.</em></td>
<td>1806</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vincent, Henry</td>
<td><em>The Irish Assassin; or, the Misfortunes of the Family of O’Donnell.</em></td>
<td>1810</td>
<td>British Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Irish freebooter, or, Surprising adventures of Captain Redmond O'Hanlan: a celebrated robber, who for many years commanded a banditti, and laid a considerable part of the country under annual contributions. Together with The life and adventures of Humphrey Kynaston, who, after spending a splendid fortune, commenced robber and supported hundreds of the poor by his depredations on the rich.</td>
<td>1823 New York Public Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oulton, Julia</td>
<td>The Iron Chest. A Tale</td>
<td>1810 University of Oxford</td>
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<tr>
<td>Crookenden, Isaac</td>
<td>The Italian Banditti; or, The Secret History of Henry and Matilda. A Romance</td>
<td>1809 University of Virginia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Jealous Mother; or, The Singular Adventures and Miraculous Escapes of a Young Lady of Fortune.</td>
<td>1808 British Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The journey to Carlsbad, or, The inexpressible terror the Countess Cecilia, and her daughters, were thrown into on the road by that extraordinary impostor Curly Pate, the purse-maker; their entertainment at the magnificent castle of my Lord Giantdale, and many other facetious adventures.</td>
<td>1805 New York Public Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Life and Extraordinary Adventures of Captain Socivizca: Who Was Commander of a Numerous Body of Robbers, of the Race of Morlachians</td>
<td>n.d. University of Virginia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Life and history of George Barnwell: who, from the highest character and credit, fell to the lowest depth of vice through the artful stratagems of a woman of the town: detailing his love for Maria, the steps which led to his own ruin, and ultimately to the murder of his uncle, his affecting execution, and the death of Maria through a broken heart.</td>
<td>n.d. University of Virginia</td>
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<td>Guion, Miss</td>
<td>The Life and Singular Memoirs: Of Matilda, Countess de Lausanne; Or, the Unfortunate Victim of Parental Ambition: A Gothic Story. To Which Is Added the Castle of Formosa; Or the Treacherous Moor: And the Rivals; Or Love and Superstition; A Teneriffe Tale</td>
<td>1802 University of Virginia</td>
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<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The life, sufferings, and uncommon vicissitudes [sic] of Thetis, Dutchess de Lancy: explaining her birth on an uninhabited island, where she lived till she was sixteen years of age: the misfortunes and death of her parents, and her surprising release from that desolate place by the Duke de Lancy, to whom she was afterwards married: the dreadful calamities she experienced after -- till she retired to a monastery, there to end her wretched days.</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>University of Virginia, Online, NYPL Pforzheimer Gothic Novellas Vol 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Life, Surprising Adventures, and Most Remarkable Escapes of Rinaldo Rinaldini, Captain of a Banditti Robbers</td>
<td>1801</td>
<td>Online, British Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Life, Voyages, and Surprising Adventures, of Mary Jane Meadows: A Woman of Uncommon Talents, Spirit and Resolution</td>
<td>1802</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Loves and Adventures of Sir Gerard, The Valiant Knight, and The Enchanted Emma</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Magician; or, The Mystical Adventures of Seraphina. A German Romance. To which is added The Arabian Lovers. A Tale</td>
<td>1803</td>
<td>Online; University of Virginia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The maid and the magpie; or, Which is the thief? A pathetic tale. Founded upon the well-known fact of an interesting female, who was condemned to death upon ... evidence of stealing various articles of plate, which were afterwards found to have been stolen by a magpie.</td>
<td>1810</td>
<td>New York Public Library JFB 77-244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilkinson, Sarah</td>
<td>The Maid of the Ocean; or, The Prince of Persia. An Aquatic Romance. To Which is Added, Orlando; or, The Knight of the Moon</td>
<td>1804</td>
<td>British Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Midnight Assassin; or, Confession of the Monk Rinaldi</td>
<td>1802</td>
<td>Online, British Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Midnight Bell or the Abbey of St. Francis</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>New York Public Library Pforzheimer Romances</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Midnight Groan; or, The Spectre of the Chapel. A Gothic Romance.</td>
<td>1808</td>
<td>British Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Midnight Hour; or, the Fatal Friendship. A Simple Tale.</td>
<td>1808</td>
<td>Online</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Midnight Monitor; or, Solemn Warnings from the Invisible World; BEING AUTHENTIC NARRATIVES OF THE WONDERFUL INTERPOSITION OF DIVINE PROVIDENCE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF HORRID MURDERS; INFLUCTION OF IMMEDIATE AND AWFUL PUNISHMENTS, AND OTHER REMARKABLE AND TRULY ASTONISHING EVENTS BY THE VISIBLE APPEARANCE OF GHOSTS! SPIRITS! &amp; APPARITIONS! TO WHICH ARE SUBJOINED, INSTANCES OF ALARMING AND PORTENTIOUS DREAMS, VISIONS, TRANCES AND TERRIFIC SENSATIONS, WITH THEIR REALIZATION AND OTHER NOCTURNAL PRODIGIES. THE WHOLE COLLECTED FROM SOURCES OF UNDOUBTED VERACITY, AND INDISPUTABLE AUTHORITIES ANNEXED TO EACH NARRATIVE.</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watkins, Lucy</td>
<td>The Miser, or Interesting Memoirs of Harry Pemberton, Esq. A True Story</td>
<td>1810</td>
<td>British Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Misfortunes of Love; or, The Adventures of Henry and Julia. To Which is Added, the Pathetic History of Leonora.</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>British Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Monk, A Romance in which Is depicted the Wonderful Adventures of Ambrosio, Friar of the order of capuchins, who was diverted from The track of virtue, by the Artifices of a Female Demon, That entered his Monastery disguised as a Novice, and after seducing him from his vow of celibacy, presented him with a branch of Enchanted Myrtle, to obtain the person of the beautiful Antonia of Madrid; how he was discovered in her chamber by her mother, whom he murdered, to keep his crime a secret; and the particulars of the means by which he caused the body of Antonia to be conveyed in a sleep to the dreary vaults of his own convent, where he accomplished his wicked machinations on the innocent virgin, whom he then assassinates with a dagger, presented him by his attendant fiend, who afterwards betrays him to the judges of the inquisition, in the dungeons of which he is confined, and suffer torture; and how, to escape from thence, he assigns over his should and body to the devil, who deceives him, and inflicts a most ignominious death.</td>
<td>1818</td>
<td>Online</td>
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<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Year</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Monster Made By Man, or, The Punishment of Presumption.</td>
<td>1825</td>
<td>Online</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wilkinson, Sarah</td>
<td>The Mountain Cottager; or, The Deserted Bride</td>
<td>1805</td>
<td>British Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wilkinson, Sarah</td>
<td>The Mysteries of the Castle del Carmo: Including the Memoirs of Laura Woodland, the Interesting Penitent.</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>New York Public Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Mysteries of Udolpho: A Romance, Founded on Facts; Comprising the Adventures &amp; Misfortunes of Emily St. Aubert ... To Which Is Added, Adolphus and Louisa, or the Fatal Attachment, a Tale of Truth</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Mysterious Bottle of Old Hock. An Ancient Legend.</td>
<td>1825</td>
<td>Online</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Mysterious Bravo; or, the Shrine of St. Alstice: A Caledonian Legend</td>
<td>1823</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Mysterious Bride; or, The Statue Spectre</td>
<td>1802</td>
<td>British Library, Online, University of Virginia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Mysterious Foundling; or, The Heir Restored in which is included, The Adventures of an Misanthrope.</td>
<td>1808</td>
<td>New York Public Library, online</td>
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<tr>
<td>Crookenden, Isaac</td>
<td>The Mysterious Murder; or, The Usurper of Naples. An Original Romance. To which is prefixed The Nocturnal Assassin; or, Spanish Jealousy. By Isaac Crookenden, Author of Fatal Secrets, &amp;c.</td>
<td>1806</td>
<td>Online, University of Virginia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Mysterious Omen; or, Awful Retribution. An Original Romance</td>
<td>1812</td>
<td>British Library, Online</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Mysterious Pilgrim; or, Fatal Duplicity. An Italian Romance. To which is added The Hibernian Mendicant. A Tale</td>
<td>1810</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Mystery of the Black Convent. An Interesting Spanish Tale of the Eleventh Century.</td>
<td>1805</td>
<td>Online, University of Virginia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Mystic Tower; or, Villainy Punished. A Romance</td>
<td>1802</td>
<td>Online, University of Virginia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Night Hag; or, Saint Within's Chair. A Romance.</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The Nun</em>; or, <em>Memoirs of Angelique</em>; an <em>Interesting Tale. Also the Adventures of Henry de Montmorency</em>: A Tale. To which is added <em>The Surprising Life of Mrs. Dholson.</em></td>
<td>1803</td>
<td>Online, British Library, NYPL Pforzheimer Gothic Novellas Vol 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The Old Castle</em>; or, <em>The Forty Knights and the Fair Penitent. A Romance.</em></td>
<td>1810</td>
<td>Online</td>
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<tr>
<td>Genlis, Stéphanie Félicité</td>
<td><em>The Old Castle</em>; or, <em>The Forty Knights and the Fair Penitent. A Romance.</em></td>
<td>1810</td>
<td>British Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The Orphan of the Alps</em>; or, <em>The Victim of Duplicity.</em></td>
<td>1806</td>
<td>Online, British Library</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The Orphan of the Castle</em>; or, <em>The Haunted Tower. A Gothic Story. To which is added Heir of the Castle. A Historic Tale</em></td>
<td>1803</td>
<td>British Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The Parental Murder</em>; or, <em>The Brothers. An Interesting Romance</em></td>
<td>1807</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wilkinson, Sarah</td>
<td><em>The Pastor’s Fireside</em>; or, <em>Memoirs of the Athelstan Family</em></td>
<td>1822</td>
<td>UCLA, Online</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The Peasant Boy</em>; or, <em>The Events of De Courcy Castle. To which is added Celestina. A Tale.</em></td>
<td>1805</td>
<td>British Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The Penitent Daughter</em>; or, <em>History of Elinor de Burgh</em></td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>Online, University of Virginia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrett, C. F.</td>
<td><em>The Perilous Cavern; or, Banditti of the Pyrenees. Translated from the French by C.F. Barrett, Author of 'Douglas Castle, ' &amp;c. &amp;c. On this History was founded, the popular Spectacle of The Perilous Cavern, or, Daring Brigand, Performed at the Paris Theatre 200 successive Nights; and also at Astley's Amphitheatre, Westminster Bridge, with unbounded Applause.</em></td>
<td>1803</td>
<td>British Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The Peruvian Daemon, or, Conjugal Crimes: Containing scenes of terror in the Moorish castle of Honardo, and the banditti chamber of the Alpine Mountains.</em></td>
<td>1807</td>
<td>University of Virginia, NYPL Pforzheimer Gothic Novellas Vol 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wilkinson, Sarah</td>
<td><em>The Pirate; or, The Sisters of Burgh Westra</em></td>
<td>1822</td>
<td>Online</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The Prince of the Assassins; or, The Cruel Saracens</em></td>
<td>1804</td>
<td>Online; British Library, University of Virginia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The Priory of Alba and the Castle on the Cliffs. A Romance of Ancient Times in which is described the Affecting History of Horatta, the only Daughter of the Count Ottagia, and the Adventures of the Brave Leander.</em></td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>University of Virginia, Online</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The Recess. A Tale of Past Times</em></td>
<td>1802</td>
<td>British Library</td>
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<td>Author</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The Recluse of the Woods; or, The Generous Warrior. A Gothic Romance.</em></td>
<td>1809</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The Revenge, or, Affecting history of Count Lorimar: a tale of terror.</em></td>
<td>1823</td>
<td>British Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The Rival Knights; or, The Fortunate Woodlander. A French Romance</em></td>
<td>1805</td>
<td>University of Virginia, Online</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The Robbers of the Forest; or, The Unfortunate Princess. To Which is Added, the True Story of the Lady of the Rock.</em></td>
<td>1805</td>
<td>British Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The Royal and Noble Lovers: Or, the History of the Great Earl of Essex and Queen Elizabeth</em></td>
<td>1806</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wilkinson, Sarah</td>
<td><em>The Ruffian Boy; or, The Castle of Waldemar. A Venetian Tale</em></td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Radcliffe, Mary Anne</td>
<td><em>The Secret Oath; or, Blood-Stained Dagger. A Romance</em></td>
<td>1802</td>
<td>British Library, University of Virginia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The Secret Tribunal; or, The Court of Wenceslaus. A Mysterious Tale</em></td>
<td>1803</td>
<td>British Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crokenden, Isaac</td>
<td><em>The Skeleton; or, Mysterious Discovery. A Gothic Romance. By Isaac Crokenden, late assistant at Mr. Allen's Academy, Chichester.</em></td>
<td>1805</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The Soldier's Daughter; or, The Fair Fugitive. A Pathetic Tale</em></td>
<td>1804</td>
<td>British Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oulton, Julia</td>
<td><em>The Solemn Warning; or, The Predictions Verified. A Romance</em></td>
<td>1810</td>
<td>Online, University of Virginia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wilkinson, Sarah</td>
<td><em>The Sorcerer's Palace; or, The Princess of Sinadone. Being the Romantic Adventures of a Knight of the Round Table.</em></td>
<td>1805</td>
<td>British Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The Southern Tower; or, Conjugal Sacrifice and Retribution</em></td>
<td>1802</td>
<td>British Library; online</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wilkinson, Sarah</td>
<td><em>The Spectre, or the Ruins of Belfont Priory</em></td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>New York Public Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The Spanish Exile; or, The Mysterious Monk: a romance of the 17th century. Describing, amidst a variety of interesting incidents, the courage, consistency and virtue of a Spanish grandee who, through a course of fortuitous circumstances, had been raised from the humble situation of a peasant's son, to the highest dignity of the Spanish cabinet; embracing an account of his exile and mysterious return, his exposure of a base conspiracy against the life of his sovereign, and his happy marriage with the idol of his soul, the niece of his most Catholic and Christian majesty, the Spanish king.</em></td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>British Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The Spanish Hero: or, History of Alonzo the brave, containing an authentic account of the wars between the Spaniards and the Moors, in the reign of Alphonso III;</em> to which is added, <em>A correct description of the Spanish Inquisition; and an account of the cruel punishment inflicted on its victims at the inquisitorial delivery, named an Auto de Fe.</em></td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The Spectre Mother, or, the Haunted Tower</em></td>
<td>1823</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<td>Crookenden, Isaac</td>
<td><em>The Spectre of the Turret; or, Guolto Castle. A Romance</em></td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>British Library, online</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wilkinson, Sarah</td>
<td><em>The Spectre; or, The Ruins of Belfont Priory. By Sarah Wilkinson</em></td>
<td>1806</td>
<td>Online, New York Public Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wilkinson, Sarah</td>
<td><em>The Spectres; or, Lord Oswald and Lady Rosa Including an Account of the Marchioness of Civetti, Who was basely consigned to a Dungeon beneath her Castle. By her eldest Son, whose cruel Avarice plunged him into the Commission of the worst of Crimes, that stain the Annals of the Human Race. An Original Romantic Tale, By Sarah Wilkinson.</em></td>
<td>1814</td>
<td>New York Public Library</td>
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<td>Grosett, Emilia</td>
<td><em>The Spirit of the Grotto, or, The castle of St. George, a Romance: To which is added, the maid of the hamlet, or, The Nocturnal elopement, a tale founded on facts</em></td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>University of Oxford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The Story of the Broken Sword, on which is founded the popular melo-drama now performing at Covent Garden Theatre, describing a victim to the vice of gaming; with the artifice made use of to delude a faithful servant, that he might accomplish the atrocious acts of robbery and murder, by sacrificing the life and property of his most intimate friend to discharge his debts of honor; with the means made use of to crimininate an innocent person and assassinate the only evidence of his guilt, but retributive justice at length dooms him to suffer an ignominious death.</em></td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>Online</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wilkinson, Sarah</td>
<td><em>The Subterraneous Passage; or, The Gothic Cell.</em></td>
<td>1803</td>
<td>Online</td>
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<tr>
<td>Corry, John</td>
<td><em>The Swiss Revolution: Or, the Fall of Albert</em></td>
<td>1803</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The Tartarian Prince; or, The Stranger. A Historic Tale</em></td>
<td>1804</td>
<td>British Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The Three Ghosts of the Forest. A Tale of Horror</em></td>
<td>1803</td>
<td>British Library, Online, University of Virginia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Author</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The Tomb of Aurora; or, The Mysterious Summons. A Romance. To Which is Added The Prisoner; or, The Fortress of Howlitz. A German Tale.</em></td>
<td>1807</td>
<td>British Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wilkinson, Sarah</td>
<td><em>The Travelers; or, Prince of China. An Interesting Story. Founded on the Popular Operatic Drama, Performing at the Theatre-Royal, Drury Lane.</em></td>
<td>1806</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The Treacherous Danish Knight: Or, the Border Lords, and the White Plume. A Beautiful and Original Romance. Including the Affecting Tale of Edith, the Forester</em></td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The True and Affecting History of Henrietta of Bellgrave: A Woman Born Only for Calamities ... Containing a Series of the Most Uncommon Adventures ... By Sea and Land.</em></td>
<td>1799</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The True and Affecting History of the Duchess of C</em>***, Who Was Confined By Her Husband in a Dismal Dungeon, Under Ground, Where Light Never Entered, and in which nothing except A Straw Bed; Bread and Water being Her only Support, and that Conveyed By Means of a Turning-Box, by her Relenting Husband, Whom she saw but once during her imprisonment of nine years in which course of time she frequently suffered the severity of extreme Hunger, Thirst, and Cold. But Happily A few Days before her Tyrant's Death, he disclosed the Secret of Subterraneous Abode to a Friend; form which she was soon after released by her Parents.*</td>
<td>1810</td>
<td>British Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The True and Surprising History of a Savage Girl</em></td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The True History of Henrietta Bellgrave</em></td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>British Library</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The Twin Sisters; or, Two Girls of Nineteen</em></td>
<td>1830</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The Two Sisters; or, The Cavern. A Moral Tale</em></td>
<td>1807</td>
<td>Online</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The Vampire; or, Bride of the isles: a tale, founded on the popular superstition of Caledonia. From which is taken the much-admired piece of that name now performing with unbounded applause at the English Opera House in the Strand.</em></td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The Victim of Seduction: Exemplified in the Memoirs of Clara Montford</em></td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Author</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Village Maid; or, The Interesting Adventures of Montsirant</td>
<td>1804</td>
<td>British Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wilkinson, Sarah</td>
<td>The Voyages and Adventures of Edward Teach: Commonly Called Black Beard, the Notorious Pirate. With an Account of the Origin and Progress of the Roman, Algerine and West India Pirates</td>
<td>1805</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wilkinson, Sarah</td>
<td>The Water Spectre; or, Kitty o'the Clyde, a Romance.</td>
<td>1805</td>
<td>British Library</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Welch Cottage; or, Adventures of Belinda Beaumont. A Tale</td>
<td>1805</td>
<td>British Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wilkinson, Sarah</td>
<td>The White Castle; or, The Island of Solitude. A Gothic Romance. To which is added, The Cabinet; or, Fatal Curiosity. An Arabian Romance</td>
<td>1803</td>
<td>British Library, University of Virginia</td>
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<td>Wilkinson, Sarah</td>
<td>The White Pilgrim; or, Castle of Olival: an interesting and affecting tale, founded on singular facts</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wilkinson, Sarah</td>
<td>The White Pilgrim: Or, Castle of Olival: An Interesting and Affecting Tale, Founded on Singular Facts</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Wife and the mistress; or, The Italian spy. A domestic tale, from the Milanese: containing matrimonial infelicity. Intriguing countess, fascinating marchioness, and her green and silver ridicul with many other curious particulars of a noble and well known family in the last century</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>University of Oxford</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wilkinson, Sarah</td>
<td>The Wife of Two Husbands; or, Fritz, the Outlaw. An Interesting Tale.</td>
<td>1804</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Woman of the Town: Or, Authentic Memoirs of Phebe Phillips; Otherwise Maria Maitland; Well Known in the Vicinity of Covent Garden</td>
<td>1825</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<td>Author</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The Wood Daemon; or, “The Clock Has Struck”</em> A GRAND ROMANTIC MELODRAMA, IN THREE ACTS [IN PROSE]. WRITTEN BY M. G. LEWIS, ESQ. AS IT IS PERFORMED AT THE THEATRE ROYAL, DRURY LANE.</td>
<td>1807</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>The Woodcutter’s Daughter, or, The Forest of Lindensdorf. A Romance. To which is added The Reward of Seduction, or, The Ruins of Brackenbury Hall. A Modern Romance.</em></td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>Online</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>Theodore and Clementina; or, Crusades against the infidels of Palestine: containing an account of the captivity of Theodore, and his escape from the Holy Land; with his arrival at his castle just in time to stop the celebration of his wife's marriage with a neighbouring baron</em></td>
<td>1825</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<tr>
<td>An Etonian</td>
<td><em>Theodore and Emma; or, The Italian bandit; in which the fatal effects of revenge are portrayed in the character of the marquis de Rovigno, who, disappointed at the preference given to the count de Valenza by the daughter of the duke of Parma, enrols himself in the company of a daring banditti, in order to accomplish his diabolical scheme of assassinating the count ... with other cruelties practised by the marquis and his son Waldemar, who, in the engagement with Theodore, accidentally kills his own father! Also, the melancholy catastrophe which attends the counts de Valenza and Ravenna, in the deaths of Theodore and Emma.</em></td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>UCLA, Online</td>
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<tr>
<td>An Etonian</td>
<td><em>Theodore and Emma: Or the Italian Bandit</em></td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wilkinson, Sarah</td>
<td><em>Therese; or, The Orphan of Geneva. An Interesting Romance</em></td>
<td>1822</td>
<td>Online</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>Three Ghosts in the Forest; an Original Romance</em></td>
<td>1803</td>
<td>New York Public Library Pforzheimer Romances</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>Twelve O’Clock; or, The Three Robbers. A Romance.</em></td>
<td>1807</td>
<td>British Library</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>Ulric and Gustavus; or, The Unhappy Swedes. A Finland Tale</em></td>
<td>1803</td>
<td>British Library, University of Virginia</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>Undine the Spirit of the Waters</em></td>
<td>1824</td>
<td>British Library</td>
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<td>Wilkinson, Sarah</td>
<td><em>Waverley; or, The Castle of Mac Iver. A Highland Tale of Sixty Years Since. From the pen of the celebrated author of “Kenilworth,” &amp;c.; epitomized from the original by Sarah Scudgell Wilkinson.</em></td>
<td>1821</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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<td>Author</td>
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<td>Wilkinson, Sarah</td>
<td><em>William and Emily; or, the Cruel Deception. A Domestic Tale, founded on Facts.</em> By Sarah Wilkinson.</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>New York Public Library, British Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>William of the wood; or, The royal fugitives. An interesting tale.</em></td>
<td>1804</td>
<td>British Library</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>Wonderful Tales. Contents: Charles and Mary, The Three Suicides, The Suicide of Frederic and Jeanette, and Ubaldo</em></td>
<td>1802</td>
<td>University of Virginia, British Library</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>Youthful heroism, or, The exemplary son, who nobly distinguished himself at a very early age, by uncommon virtues, and eminent courage.</em></td>
<td>1807</td>
<td>British Library, Online</td>
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<td>Wilkinson, Sarah</td>
<td><em>Zittaw the Cruel; or, The Woodman’s Daughter. A Polish Romance</em></td>
<td>1804</td>
<td>University of Virginia</td>
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