JOURNEY INTO FEAR: NINETEENTH CENTURY TRAVEL, TRANSPORTATION, AND THE DISQUIETING EFFECTS OF CHANGE

by

Melissa J. McCoy

A DISSERTATION

Presented to the Faculty of

The Graduate College at the University of Nebraska

In Partial Fulfillment of Requirements

For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Major: English

Under the Supervision of Professor Laura M. White

Lincoln, Nebraska

May, 2018

JOURNEY INTO FEAR: NINETEENTH CENTURY TRAVEL, TRANSPORTATION, AND THE DISQUIETING EFFECTS OF CHANGE

Melissa J. McCoy, Ph.D.

University of Nebraska, 2018

Advisor: Laura M. White

One of the many changes to emerge in nineteenth-century Britain was the proliferation of transportation. Road improvements brought increases in public and private coaching, shipping and transportation by water increased, and steam power and the advent of the railway changed the face of travel forever. As modes of transportation became more varied and accessible, the reading public increased, and so did the variety of genres available for public consumption. Technology seemed to feed the public interest in stories incorporating supernatural and Gothic elements, perhaps as readers who became more indoctrinated in the rapid changes of industrialization began to worry that something more primal and, perhaps sinister, was being overlooked.

The subject of this work is the analysis of nineteenth-century Gothic and sensational novels in the context of modernity and it seeks to connect the use of modes of transportation in British literature of the period to the anxieties inherent in a rapidly-changing culture. Works explored include Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey,* Charles Dickens's "The Signal-Man," Wilkie Collins's *The Woman in White,* Bram Stoker's *Dracula,* Sheridan Le Fanu's *Uncle Silas,* Charlotte Brontë's *Villette,* Rudyard Kipling's *Kim,* Arthur Conan Doyle's "The Adventure of the Engineer's Thumb," and William Hope Hodgson's "The Derelict." Close readings of these works

through the lens of transportation changes show that an association of the supernatural with modern emergent forms of nineteenth-century travel functions as a surrogate for latent concerns about the implications of technology. Additionally, common fears about shared spaces of public transportation and the mingling of people who accessed travel networks are considered as these anxieties appear in the plots of popular fiction of nineteenth-century Britain.

Acknowledgements

There are many people to whom I owe gratitude at the conclusion of this journey, not the least of which is my dissertation reading committee comprised of Dr. Kenneth Price, Dr. Peter Capuano, Dr. Kenneth Winkle, and especially my advisor, Dr. Laura White, whose support and extra effort during the last weeks when I would send her heaps of pages for approval went above and beyond expectations. I thank you for that, Laura.

I also want to give special thanks to my mother, Clarice Jean Tegtmeier, who instilled a love of literature in me from the time I was small. I will never forget the joy and wonder I felt opening the box of books she ordered for me because she wanted me to be exposed to "the classics." Thanks to her, my childhood was filled with *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, *Little Women*, *The Five Little Peppers*, and *Heidi* to name just a few titles, and my imagination was stimulated and expanded as a result. Thank you, Mom, for seeing to it that your children were educated and cultured. When you are proud of me it lights up my spirit! I wish to thank Rebecca McCoy for her encouragement and love and for being my sister. I also thank my brothers, Matthew and Luther McCoy, for their unending support and unerring ability to keep me humble.

Last but certainly not least, I could not have completed this degree were it not for the support provided by my spouse and best friend, Paul D. Muff. You gave me confidence when I needed it most, you motivated me, you provided emotional support through the low points, and also celebrated the triumphs with me. Moreover, you believed in me. This doctorate is as much yours as it is mine. I dedicate this project to you, with much love.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Introduction

> Next to speech and its kindred arts, reading and writing, the power of locomotion is the most important agent in human civilization; and, as a consequence, facility of locomotion is highly desirable. If locomotion be painful to a human being, the minimum of it will be performed, inasmuch as the power of seeing new faces, places, scenery, and other objects, is desired by almost all human beings; and this desire is only kept in abeyance by the consciousness or the fear that the pain caused by indulging it will be greater than the pleasure arising from its gratification.
>
> – William Bridges Adams in *English Pleasure Carriages*, 1837

The year that William Bridges Adams released his treatise on carriages was a time of transition. William the IV died in June of 1837 followed by the accession to the throne of Victoria who, at eighteen years of age and unmarried as well as female, was the target of doubts and reservations by virtue of her age and her gender. The British economy had taken a nosedive, unemployment was high, and the population was dramatically increasing for reasons no one could adequately explain. Meanwhile, significant changes were underway in technology, notably in the area of transportation. Roads had been vastly improved over previous decades, allowing for carriages to travel faster and ride more smoothly. Carriage ownership had become a marker of class distinction while an explosion of vehicles for hire made travel accessible to virtually anyone able to pay a fare. But a new form of transportation had emerged, the railway. By 1837, the mail-coach, a system for transporting letters and passengers that had been in operation for fifty

or sixty years was in the process of being rendered obsolete by the advent of the locomotive, which carried the mail twice as fast. Within a decade, the last of the London mail-coaches would cease to run. Meanwhile, the way canals were used was also altered by the emergence of railways and shipping options changed with the employment of steam power.

In the midst of all this change, it is no surprise that an English public would feel a sense of uncertainty. Change, it is said, is the one thing that is ever constant. And yet the transforming energy of the nineteenth century was unique and unlike anything ever experienced before. In 1833, Edward Bulwer-Lytton wrote "Every age may be called an age of transition – the passing on, as it were, from one state to another never ceases; but in our age the transition is *visible*" (165). And he goes on to declare that this visibility of change has a negative effect, saying:

> I have said that we live in an age of visible transition – an age of disquietude and doubt – of the removal of time-worn landmarks, and the breaking up of the hereditary elements of society – old opinions, feelings – ancestral customs and institutions are crumbling away, and both the spiritual and temporal worlds are darkened by the shadow of change. . . . To me such epochs appear but as the dark passages in the appointed progress of mankind – the times of greatest unhappiness to our species – passages into which we have no reason to rejoice at our entrance, save from the hope of being sooner landed on the opposite side. (166)

These were dire words, to be sure. But Bulwer-Lytton's gloomy appraisal of the transitional nature of the nineteenth century was one not shared by all. Equal to the

apprehension inspired by change was a spirit of marvel at advances in technology, the final defeat of Napoleon, the balancing of economic downturn by financial booms, and the accessibility and ease of transportation as it developed throughout the century was certainly seen by many to be an improvement rather than something to dread.

Yet we see through the literature of the nineteenth century, a tendency towards, not only more employment of novelistic realism and an expanding reading public, but the use of travel as a literary device. A Jane Austen heroine fantasizes an involvement in an Ann Radcliffe inspired mystery, only to find that in real life her reputation and safety are jeopardized by breaking social rules and riding in carriages with men of questionable character. A mysterious apparition appears on the tracks in a Dickens short story to warn a train signalman of impending catastrophe. In Bram Stoker's thriller, a monster sails to the coast of England in a box of dirt and then sails back home, pursued by a band of would-be vampire hunters who travel by the more modern railway. Travel is manifestly used as a disquieting component of the nineteenth-century Gothic and the sensational novel. Modernity itself created tensions and misgivings and it is no surprise that improvements in the physical mobility of society became a focal point for anxiety. What is it about nineteenth-century transportation that makes it so often a locus of fear and a vital device of literature to incite tension and even horror?

Travel itself can certainly be unsettling as any time one finds oneself in a strange place interacting with unknown geography, culture, and people, there is fodder for unease. But the nineteenth century seems peculiarly to invest transportation scenes in literature with anxiety as the novel developed alongside advances in transportation. The rise in popularity of the Gothic and sensational novel is in concert with the rise in the

prevalence and speed of public transport. Clearly there is an aspect of modernity found in travel that induces its own brand of anxiety and fear, thus making transportation a useful trope in Gothic and sensation literature.

The nineteenth century saw unprecedented changes and improvements in British transportation. From the modifications of roadways that began in the 1700's and continued throughout the next century to the advent of the railway in the early nineteenth century along with changes in sea transport, all fueled by the inventions of industrialization, by the end of the 1800's, travel looked very different than it had at any time in prior history. Much has been written regarding these improvements and changes in methods, means, and efficiencies of transportation. In recent years, scholars such as Jo Guldi have offered detailed accounts of how public transportation came about and have outlined the political and geographical elements of the improvement of roads alongside the resulting transformation of social and cultural relationships. Other scholars such as Jonathan Grossman offer further commentary on the effects of shared spaces in public transport and how these spaces contribute to the plots of literature. What has not been thoroughly explored yet is something inherently darker, which is the fear that arises with advances in technology and how that fear is articulated in culture, particularly in literature. As people became more mobile, able to get from one place to another in shorter timeframes, as cultures and classes collided in the shared spaces of public coaches, trains, and ships, and as vehicles themselves became less homespun and more standardized, tensions emerged. There were dangers inherent in the various modes of travel, both real and perceived. Meanwhile, as the reading public expanded, the new modes of transportation as well as the cultural developments which came with the

advances started showing up as literary mechanisms to create fear and unease. These apprehensions, both imagined and real, manifested in the plots of the Gothic and sensational novels as well as domestic fiction and the more conventional plots popular with mass market readers, consumers reflecting an increased demand for literature that, it must be said, is directly related to the leisure time spent during transport. The tropes of fear related to travel are central to this study, which will examine nineteenth-century works, including Gothic, sensational, and domestic fiction, in the context of modifications in transportation and the corresponding rise in anxieties. In order to understand the impact of improvements and changes in methods and modes of transportation, it is necessary to trace those modifications over the span of two centuries to give a contextual understanding of the enormous scale of the changes.[1]

Improvements in Roads

The eighteenth-century conditions for travel in Britain were difficult at best. A person wishing to journey from one place to another would find rutted dirt roads that were impassible for portions of the year, punctuated by holes sometimes deep enough to fall into, and mired in mud during rainy periods. The occasional cobblestone street in a well-to-do village or city provided the only interruption of these inadequate dirt tracks, making long distance travel an incredibly difficult and often impossible undertaking.

---

[1] The introduction to Jo Guldi's *Roads to Power* briefly describes a history of roads as they were throughout Europe prior to the eighteenth century, which is where my description of British road development begins. Guldi explains travel as it functioned in the ancient world, beginning with trade routes that stretched from China to connect with the Mediterranean in the first millennium B.C. and goes on to describe the changes in roadways during the Roman Empire through the building of military roads under Henry IV and Louis XIV and into the eighteenth century in Britain.

Road atlases were both unwieldy, expensive, and impractical for most potential users. Further, such atlases diagrammed footpaths as straight lines, which little represented the reality of a traveler's experience, which was to find that roads often turned, twisted, and skirted landscape features.

Landmarks were notated on maps but travelers understood the necessity of asking directions of locals and to adjust routes according to weather and road conditions. In the early eighteenth century, for freight purposes, roads were secondary to ocean, river, and canal transport while maps focused more on the roads connecting river and seaports over the roads that connected inland villages.

It was British military control of Scotland that initially created a need for better roads to facilitate movement of troops charged with policing the Highlands and confiscating land belonging to rebel lairds. As Jo Guldi reports, "Modern road construction emerged in the military laboratory of Scotland between 1726 and 1773 as a craft known to soldiers and surveyors" (27). Roads and bridges were thought to be the means through which Scotland could be subdued to English power.

The first trigonometric survey in Britain was conducted as a result and Scotland was subjected to a depiction on accurate maps outlining the routes that would be created. Between 1726 and 1750, Jo Guldi outlines that some 900 miles of roads and about 1000 bridges were constructed or improved by British soldiers to create pathways into and throughout Scotland. Military road builders developed tools of "sighting, foundation building, labor management, and trigonometric surveying" which allowed roads to cover more distance, penetrate further into previously inaccessible areas, and to be more stable and permanent structures, knowledge that would later evolve into the discipline of civil

engineering (Guldi 27). Afterwards, those soldiers, armed with the technology of road-making, hired themselves out to local governments as facilitated by the advent of turnpike trusts (Guldi 16-18).

The establishment of turnpike trusts in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries led to local road improvements, effectively beginning what is commonly called the "transportation revolution." Turnpike trusts were organizations which collected tolls and offered mortgages in the service of financing road improvements. Prior to the implementation of these trusts, parishes, local governing bodies under jurisdiction of the state church through counties or royal appointment, collected property taxes and required labor (up to six days per year) from residents in order to raise the funds to maintain roads and finance road improvements. Parish magistrates were charged with the responsibility for overseeing a variety of local services including the maintenance of local roads. This method of road maintenance was not very efficient, primarily because of the fact that travelers who used the roads were frequently not local parishioners and therefore did not pay for the privilege of using roads maintained by the labor and taxes of communities. Key roads that led into major metropolitan areas such as London were especially vulnerable to being overused to the extent that the local parishes were unable to sustain upkeep. Wagons and carriages on some roads did such extensive damage that local taxes collected of parishioners could not sufficiently fund repairs. Of specific concern were remote areas of Scotland, which were not served by the finances of robust tax or trust structures even though, as critics noted, the opening of those areas to commerce would be a boon to a free market economy. And not to be discounted were the dangers of local neglect of roads. As Jo Guldi reports, "The Holyhead Road Committee described dozens

of cases of broken legs, terrified passengers, horses collapsing from exhaustion, broken coach poles, and bodies hurled off the tops of coaches," all a result of dismal road conditions (112). Roads were continuously subjected to heaping and building up of gravel, which put carts at risk of being overturned and also occasionally flooded houses next to the roadways as water runoff during rainy periods had nowhere to go but to the sides (Laugero 52).

In the mid-eighteenth century, particularly in the 1750s and 1760s, hundreds of trusts were established along thousands of miles of road until the 1830s saw about 1000 trusts controlling approximately 20,000 miles of road (Bogart, "The Turnpike Roads of England and Wales" 9). Large cities such as London, Leeds, Birmingham, and Bristol as well as areas in the West Midlands and West Yorkshire coal country were prolific in the creation of turnpike roads in the late eighteenth century, a development fueled by both industrialization and an increase in population (Bogart, "The Turnpike Roads of England and Wales" 14). Travelers along turnpike routes would encounter a trust gate where they would pay a toll in exchange for a ticket that allowed them to pass along the roadway. These trusts brought military technology to towns and saw an increase of four times the amount of spending on roads from 1730 to 1800 (Bogart, "Turnpike Trusts and the Transportation Revolution" 479). This increase in spending coincided with a sharp decrease in the amount of time it took to travel as new and better roads made travel and freight hauling more efficient.[2] Bogart calculates that "between 1750 and 1800, average

[2]For a thorough discussion of whether or not turnpike trusts directly contributed to a decline in freight charges (40% reduction) and a decline in passenger times (60% decline), see W.T. Jackman, W. Albert, and E. Pawson, as cited in Bogart, who notes that all three studies set forth that road improvements funded by turnpike trusts allowed for an increase in the amount of freight that could be handled by horse-

journey speeds increased from 2.6 to 6.2 miles per hour. By 1829, average journey speeds had increased to 8.0 mph with some coaches reaching speeds above 10 mph" (The Turnpike Roads of England and Wales 27).

Over time, the military techniques of using trigonometry to survey landscapes infiltrated its way into the parishes where landowners and merchants charged tolls and local governments hired surveyors and road builders with skills acquired through military experience. The former techniques of "heaping and piling" were abandoned in favor of layering foundations, which were constructed with pebbles imbedded in sand or bound heather over which stone and gravel could be layered in boggy areas. John Metcalfe emerged as the late eighteenth-century's arguably most respected roadmaker; his method was to "dig out the surface material in the road, ensure that the foundation was firm and well drained, and then construct a convex road surface using sorted, well broken stone" (Laugero 52). These layering techniques became standardized in Britain by the 1760's. Hills and rocks were blasted and hauled away to create level road pathways. In spite of this standardizing of road construction methods, localities still varied greatly in the quality of road conditions as local soil, landscapes, and personalities as well as the skill of road-builders had impact:

> Parts of Lancashire, for instance, had limestone close at hand, which knit together for a good surface. But elsewhere in the county, stone and gravel were not hard enough to support the increasing weights and volume of

---

drawn conveyance and also facilitated faster passenger travel. Bogart does allow that D. Gerhold suggests that these same increases were actually generated by better horse breeding methods as well as advancements in carriage construction.

> transport, so costly paving stones were imported from Wales. Turnpike roads near Manchester, for example, cost £2,000 a mile to pave. (Evans 4)

By 1803, Parliamentary road-building came into play to use military techniques to connect London with Dublin and Edinburgh (Guldi 46).

Laws were created in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to regulate carriages, requiring that wheel construction, number of horses, number of passengers, and length of axles meet specifications so as to limit the potential damage that might be done to roads. "Flying Machines" emerged, dubbed so because of their speed and also because of their spring systems, which not only allowed for faster travel but increased comfort. They were reported to be sufficient to travel from Oxford to London in thirteen hours. The Post Office, which began demanding local parishes make improvements when poor roads delayed mail coaches in the late 1700's and which compiled data on timetables and issues of delivery, was consulted on the kinds of road surfaces that would facilitate the fastest postal delivery throughout Britain. The regular mail coaches took on travelers and made postal services as well as passenger travel less of a novelty. Wheel construction and design was at issue and multiple alternatives to the wooden-spoked wheel were proposed as wheels tended to sink into road materials, creating ruts that held water and disintegrated tracks into impassibility. Nothing proved to be superior to the actual design of the wheel with spokes extending from a hub to a rim but beginning in 1753, a series of Broad Wheel Acts regulated the width of wheels as the narrower construction was acknowledged to be more destructive to road surfaces. Carts with wider wheels received a reduction in tolls to encourage width of more than nine inches, which was thought to compress the materials beneath, making for a more solid and smoother roadway (Laugero

52). Friction was a continuous problem until an axle was patented in 1792 that accurately ground together the axle with the wheelbox that turned on it and the rotation supplied oil to the rubbing surfaces allowing for longer life and more durable construction (Evans 23).[3] Ultimately, the solution to damage created by varying types of wheels was found in the improvement of road materials that would resist destruction.

John Louden Macadam, a magistrate and turnpike trustee, served as a turnpike surveyor and joined other surveyors in proposing ideas to unify road construction into a centralized project. In 1819, he wrote *Remarks on the Present System of Road-making*, which described his method for road construction, based on scientific principles that would create an "impermeable crust, cover, or coating" that would prevent water from penetrating to the foundation beneath, thus keeping the road structurally sound (Laugero 52). Macadam ushered in a new "professionalization" of the trusts and also of the science of roadbuilding. He advocated that administrators of trusts must also be specialists who understood the proper techniques of building and maintaining roads. Macadam's suggestion to create a "general rule" of a gravel road that would be the standard for all roads presented an idea for a unifying construction method that many criticized, questioning whether the proposed military method was the best and pointing out that the expense would be prohibitive. Another civil engineer, Thomas Telford, put forth a different option, which was to use local stones for deep foundations topped with heavy flagstones. Still another proposal was to vary road construction according to local materials and traffic loads, which would be a more flexible and inexpensive method.

[3] The Collinge patent axle of 1792 went on to be the standard for the wheels of early motorcars (Evans 23).

This third proposal, put forward by Henry Parnell, would classify roads and assign construction methods according to the amount of travel the road anticipated.

Ultimately, Macadam waged a massive lobbying and publicity campaign, complete with pamphlets exalting his experience and knowledge of roadways. His road construction methods and standardized rules were adopted by Parliament in 1817, thus making Macadam's name and his method, "Macadamizing" synonymous with a newer consistent type of road construction throughout Great Britain. The result was a raised road covered with fine gravel rather than the potentially slippery flagstone recommended by Telford. The methods of construction were modified over time to correct for inaccuracies in Macadam's formula and ultimately, Telford's ideas and rules prevailed, particularly in urban areas. However, Macadam, largely as a result of his publicity campaign, remained the name closely associated with the standardized technologies of road building and improvements. The remarkable thing about the road improvement project was the centralization of the effort with engineers working as representatives of Parliament, a system which took the onus of responsibility from local governments and lodged it at a higher level for the sake of national interest. Thus the infrastructure of Great Britain became a state-sponsored affair, which centralized funding and regulation but alternatively, disregarded local landscapes, supplies, and trafficking patterns. By 1848, roads connected virtually every village and locality in Britain, with highways that were level and sufficiently wide for vehicles to pass.

The backlash against this centralized movement was the emergence of localists, proponents of leaving parishes and communities in charge of roadways in their own jurisdictions. Turnpike trusts, however, were subject to criticism because of local

corruption and the heavy tolls exacted on local travelers who, in taking goods to a local market for instance, would be required to pay a toll every time they crossed a parish line. Localized complaints emerged about the number of gates and tolls encountered in routine travel, leading to a Road Book published by John Cary in 1790 to indicate where toll gates were located around London. He showed that in a twenty-one mile journey from London to St. Albans "one would encounter four turnpike trusts consisting of seven gates and make four payments" (Laugero 54). These tolls were widely regarded as an unjust burden on the poor. Roads that served market competitors could be neglected in favor of roads that served freight mobilized by members or those connected to members of trust boards. Centralizers argued for a national board to regulate control of turnpikes all over the country, which localists argued instead set the stage for diversion of funds away from localities in favor of pet projects that served specific interests and ignored the needs of neighborhoods and, especially, areas outside of major trade routes and municipalities. In spite of the diversion of millions of pounds to the parliamentary road construction, localists demanded transparency and accountability to parishes and local governing bodies. Likewise, centralizers drew attention to accounts of local abuse of toll funds. By the mid-nineteenth century, an ongoing political debate raged regarding the funding of roads throughout Britain, seeing shifts from localism to centralization throughout the century in response to the results of temporary favor of both movements. Ultimately, a complex system of centralization with restraints put on by local government was the outcome, which, Jo Guldi says, set the tone for railroad governance (152).

Along with roads utilized primarily by horse-drawn conveyance, footpaths were constructed alongside the roadways so as to mitigate the possibility of pedestrian

accident, which was a sadly frequent occurrence. In 1806 alone twenty-four people were either thrown from or run over by horse-drawn vehicles and pedestrians were particularly in danger when crossing a road or when horses ran away (Hair 9). Footpaths were considered a luxury in the countryside and frequently fell into disrepair on turnpike trust roads as foot travelers were typically not charged tolls; however, in urban areas, pedestrians could find themselves in perilous proximity to coach wheels. Thus in the mid-nineteenth century, regulations were put into place to mediate the dangers of those on foot being too close to vehicles pulled by horses.

As roads were improved, the resulting social implications were profound. Travelers more commonly once relied on the directions of others and traveled in pairs or groups, bound by commonalities such as shared military movement (easily identified by uniforms), journeymen moving from place to place, or religious pilgrims (such as Methodists relocating from one religious community to another) and were able to easily identify other members of their community, either by uniforms, secret handshakes, or shared songs or other identifiable signs, and who served to protect and support one another from the possibility of attack or theft. The new world of travellers made foot travel more isolated as walkers trod upon wider roads and used maps that alleviated the necessity of asking strangers for directions (Guldi 20-21). Poor travelers became suspect as British elites feared they carried radical ideas and laws were passed, in response to conflicts over vagrancy, that suppressed groups united by mobility. Gypsy bands, in particular, kept to back roads to avoid harassment. As Guldi states, "New laws systematically demonized and penalized mobile communities of working-class travelers, paralyzing the vision of a nation united by its roads" (22).

Coaches were introduced into England during the reign of Elizabeth I. The first of this type of closed vehicle, four-wheeled and typically pulled by two or four horses, was reported to have been given to the queen by a Dutch admirer and the popularity of horse-drawn vehicles with comfortably outfitted interiors caught on quickly. By the end of the sixteenth century, it was quite common for private families of means to maintain private coaches. By 1837, when William Bridges Adam wrote *English Pleasure Carriages*, he comments on "the greater number of those who can afford to indulge in the luxury of carriages" (260) and notes that there were, at that time, three modes for obtaining the use of a carriage – hiring them for short periods such as a few weeks or months, not optimal because of the likelihood of getting a substandard vehicle; leasing them for a determined number of years; and finally, purchasing them ready-made or made to order (260). He goes on to detail the extreme care that carriages require to keep them out of the deteriorating effects of moisture and sunlight. Combined with the accompanying requisite ownership and caretaking of horses, an expensive and troublesome endeavor in its own right, it is clear that keeping a carriage was no frivolous undertaking.

Meanwhile public transportation sprang up through the availability of "hackney coaches." These carriages for hire emerged in urban areas such as London and Westminster, which collectively had 50 hackney coaches in 1637 (Adams 46), and were overseen from 1694 by the Hackney Coach Commissioners who monopolized licensing of vehicles for hire that charged either by the distance of a journey or the time it took to complete it (Dobraszczyk 122). By 1716, that number had grown to 800 (Adams 46). One of the perhaps troubling aspects of these hackney coaches was that the fees were not standardized and, seemingly, a hackney driver could charge whatever he wanted, a

situation that led to drivers being much maligned in the popular press and deeply distrusted by the public.

Figure 1.

Fare guides were published but they tended to be confusing and impractical. In 1831, the market for cabs or carriages for hire was opened up and the Hackney Coach Commissioners was abolished. Omnibuses, large four-wheeled carriages, designed with a joint in the middle, allowing flexibility for facile turns even in narrow streets, had arrived on the scene in 1829 and offered free newspapers and magazines to patrons (Adam 297). Omnibuses had been introduced in Paris in 1819 and the first ones in England were built to carry up to twenty-two passengers (Moore 10). Adams predicted that the presence of cabs and omnibuses would only increase as a "natural result of railroads" given that these vehicles were useful to the passenger in getting to and from railway stations (299).

The cabriolet, a light-weight, two-wheeled, open vehicle with a folding hood and drawn by one horse, replaced the heavier hackney carriage. Its name was shortened to "cab" and it was also used in conjunction with the word "hansom" as "hansom cabs," which were also one-horse vehicles were not open but featured a closed cabin with wooden doors, windows, curtains, and a trap door in the ceiling through which one could communicate with the cab driver.[4] By 1853, a new Hackney Carriage Act was in place that put the cab trade under stricter regulation, reduced fares, and required cab drivers to display lists of fares at the cab-stands.[5] The Metropolitan Police were tasked with overseeing the charging of fares so as to stave off abuses by cab drivers and thus produced their own fare book so as to mediate any disputes that might arise between "cabby" and passenger. The table of fares included in the book was considered by police

[4] Even today, we still call vehicles for hire "cabs."
[5] Dobraszczyk notes that the 1853 act was in response to "widespread extortion of visitors by cabmen during the Great Exhibition" of 1851 (124-125).

to be the "final authority" on fare amounts for distances and passengers who disputed fares could take complaints directly to the local police station. Customers complained that the fare book was bulky, difficult to interpret, and virtually impossible to read in the jostling and dark interior of a cab. Fare distances listed in the fare book were routinely found to be incorrect, corrections were made, and the result was a variety of editions with variant fares in circulation by the 1850s.

The post coach was introduced in 1784 and allowed a new class of travelers increased mobility, as passengers could accompany the mail. As time went by, post office authorities, seeing the success of the omnibus, copied the coach design so as to accommodate more mail as well as passengers. The emergence of these forms of public transportation contributed to a new consumerist economy with a new set of tools that included maps, public coaches, and guidebooks, eliminating the reliance on conversation with strangers to find one's way. This new class of traveler, made up of merchants, shopkeepers, and other business travelers, often developed a strategy of "small talk" to find a way of identifying the purposes and intents of travelers who shared spaces with them. This small talk was not born of necessity but helped strangers place one another in the context of an increasingly class-mobile society (Guldi 155).

The coach interior was essentially two "frontally joined sedan chairs" so that coach travelers, finding themselves facing one another, tended to be quite verbose (Schivelbusch 74). The conversations and friendships struck up during coach travel were unique to that mode of public transportation as train passengers tended to stay more isolated as we shall see.

Ultimately, improvement in roads brought about a variety of options in public transport, created a more mobile society, and enhanced the efforts of industry and business. Road improvements contributed to the explosion of populations in urban centers and made travel an option for people of varied socio-economic classes. While these changes were generally regarded as enhancements to the quality of English life, the rapidity with which they were employed occasioned cultural anxiety.

Trains

In 1825, the Stockton-Darlington railway opened, beginning the transformative age of the railroad. Soon virtually every aspect of modern life was impacted as the corners of Britain became more accessible, communications were made more rapidly, and the geography of leisure and work now often allowed more distance between home and work. Remote locations that had been colonized by the British suddenly became more available as the train system opened a pathway between the modern and the more rural and primitive.

The use of rails to guide freight-bearing vehicles was set in place in England beginning in the seventeenth century, as wooden planks were secured to stones and wagons were fitted with a peg or dowel to run between the "rails." Later wood was replaced by cast iron for the rails and the peg was made obsolete by flanged wheels that ran along the iron rails. This system of wagon rails for transporting heavy goods such as coal and stone was facilitated primarily in mining areas of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England. The wagons were initially pushed by men then, later, pulled by horses. Meanwhile, as the Industrial Revolution increased the need for transporting goods and,

especially, coal, the newly improved roads and turnpikes proved incapable of handling the volume of freight.

The steam engine first was developed in the early 1700's but seemed to hold little promise for practical use for the purposes of transportation. The initial design was to create a partial vacuum which then utilized pressure to create a power stroke, requiring very high pressure, thought at the time to be excessively dangerous. By the end of the century, however, engines that created pressure to push a piston inside a cylinder were undergoing experimentation. The first engines for transportation usage were designed as road vehicles, an endeavor which quickly fell by the wayside as it became evident that the roadways could not handle the sheer mass of the machines. In addition, these early steam coaches "wore out quickly, used too much water, vibrated from the slow, large cylinder engines, and were smelly and hot" (Beaumont as quoted in Evans 27).[6] Industrial steam power, manufactured predominantly by the Birmingham company of Boulton and Watt, was first sold in 1786 to the Albion Mills, a London flour mill built by Matthew Boulton who had commissioned James Watt to build a steam engine that could grind corn (Waller). The engines inspired anxiety in Londoners who feared jobs would be both supplanted by the new technology and also that those who had jobs would be endangered by working near the intimidating machinery. The new engines were useful to mass production, however, and by 1804 more than 110 steam engines were in use in London while just 32 were running in Manchester. Just a few years later, in 1825, "on the cusp of the railway era and a massive expansion of the Lancashire textiles industry,

[6] Francis Evans suggests that in addition to the mechanical issues of the steam coach, there was resistance from horse owners and coaching companies. High turnpike tolls were also a drawback to the efficacy of steam-powered road vehicles (29).

there were about 290 steam engines in London compared with 240 in Manchester, 130 in Leeds and 80 to 90 in Glasgow" (Waller).

Meanwhile, in 1803 and 1804, two new public railway lines opened, each designed in such a manner as to allow a single horse to pull five or six wagons loaded with about three tons of material on a tram plateway. The second line, the Swansea Railway, ran about eight and a quarter miles between Wandsworth and Croyden and then was extended another eight miles on to Merstham. That line soon changed from a freight line to a passenger line, again merely horse-drawn, yet remarkable in that it was the first railway designated for passenger and public use.

In the industrial towns of Manchester and Liverpool, where population numbers were exploding, the demand for cotton and coal increased greatly. Britain's long coastline with its many natural waterways was conducive to the creation of canals and, beginning in 1750, the elaborate canal systems of France and Holland began to be emulated. The diminished friction of pulling a barge across water as opposed to the difficulty of transporting masses of goods on roadways made water an attractive alternative. Fragile loads were less subject to the jarring and jolting conditions of roads if transported on water and, as Evans notes, a horse, "which moved one ton on land could pull 30 tons or more in a floating barge" (7).

Hydraulic skill in engineering was employed to create artificial waterways funded by private capital and the promise of profits in extensive canal systems which used locks to facilitate the movement of barges along water. Unfortunately, the cost of constructing and maintaining canals proved to be prohibitive and technical problems proved insurmountable in the end. Canal usage ultimately fell to the advent of the railroad, as

greed and overcharging inspired frustrated industrialists to turn away from canal and river companies in favor of building a railway in the early part of the century (Evans 9).[7] Many canal systems were sold to railway companies who either shut them down or used them to deliver freight to be transported by the railway system.

In the early nineteenth century, however, canals were still considered viable and one of the only reliable methods of handling large amounts of freight. Cottrell and Ottley make reference to an undated report that they estimate to have been created in 1813 or, less likely, 1818, looking into the feasibility of a canal connecting Stockton, Yarm, Darlington, and the western parts of the county Durham (88). A group of potential investors and interested parties subscribed to this report and to subsequent documents whose goal was to make Stockton a port for exporting coal. A survey found that the cost of building and transporting via railway would be advantageous because the transferring of loads required by canal systems could be avoided and the terrain was favourable for the installation of a railway (Cottrel and Ottley 89-90). Financing was secured, parliamentary approval given, and the project moved forward.

In 1825 the famous line from Darlington to Stockton opened, using a combination of horses and steam locomotives traveling on wrought iron rails, although any coaches carrying passengers were restricted to being pulled only by horses as steam engines were still considered too dangerous.[8] Passenger travel was originally a secondary consideration

---

[7] For a thorough description of the engineering issues that emerged from "problems of water supply, the nature of locks, and the behavior of a barge in the water," see Evans, pp. 11-16. In spite of efforts to ameliorate the technical problems of canals, these issues ultimately crippled the usage of canals in favor of the emerging railway.

[8] Two Darlington and Stockton Railway steam engine boilers exploded in 1828, one at the Aycliffe Lane Station and another at the Simpasture Junction, both in County Durham (Yorke 12). In spite of the fact that the explosions were attributed to

in the construction of the Stockton & Darlington Railway; however, in the northwest, the Liverpool & Manchester Railway was being envisioned as a carrier of both passengers and freight from the beginning. In 1821, a wealthy Quaker corn merchant, Joseph Sandars, and a colliery owner, William James, met and proposed the railway, which was passed by Parliament in 1826 and opened for business in 1830 (Challis and Rush 188). Both the Stockton & Darlington and Liverpool & Manchester railways became models for privately financed and proposed railways throughout Great Britain. Railroads were envisioned by local merchants and tradesmen and then promoted by neighbors and interested parties who worked together to raise money and invite subscriptions. Surveyors were hired (many of whom came armed with skills from military and turnpike trust road-building) to determine whether or not grades were sufficiently low to allow for hauling and to estimate what sort of earthworks would be required along as well as to project expenses of such features as tunnels or cuttings.

Because of the costs associated with burrowing through hillsides and valleys to maintain a modest gradient, rural area rail lines often meandered around land features in their path to connect villages. Lack of representation and protests against the railway in specific neighborhoods also had consequences for railway routes. Quaker families who were affluent merchants in municipalities that would have benefited from the railway were prohibited by their religion from serving on Parliament so were not represented in the decision-making process regarding the path of the rails, resulting in strange routes that seemed to ignore relatively sizable towns.

---

operator error as opposed to a problem inherent in the engine itself, public sentiment continued to view the steam engine as too dangerous to pull passengers.

The new railways used wrought iron rails which allowed the wheel to run on top, a construction technique still in use today. A competition was staged for the best locomotive and an engine called *Rocket* created by Robert Stephenson was the winner and became the standard for the new trains. Companies who were invested in the railway for shipping needs were surprised to learn of the demands of passengers who wished to be transported on this new technology. By the early 1830s London was linked to Birmingham, Bristol, and Southampton and there were just under 100 miles of railway. By 1852, "railway mania" had grabbed the nation with approximately 6,600 miles of track open with as many more miles awaiting approval (Freeman 1). In 1847 about 45,000 people were employed by the railway companies (Yorke 15) and the railroads in Britain were providing passenger service to over 139,000 people per day and profits for railroads exceeded £8.5 million per year (Fyfe 105).

A significant development that resulted from the rapid growth of railways in varying geographic regions was the way in which Great Britain's railroads dealt with the problem of time. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, each British town still used a sundial to set its clocks. The result was that some cities were behind or ahead of others with regard to the "actual time" as dictated by the position of the sun.

As Schivelbusch reports, "London time ran four minutes ahead of time in Reading, seven minutes and thirty seconds ahead of Cirencester time, and fourteen minutes ahead of Bridgwater time" (43). When travel was slow enough, as when horse-drawn land carriages were used, the varying local times weren't significant. But with railways shortening the time and, seemingly, the space between destinations and with the requirement that they run on schedules, the time disparities became a pressing problem.

In the 1840s, the various rail companies formed a national network and introduced Greenwich Time as "railway time" or standard time and it became the basis on which train timetables were set. In 1880, railroad time became general standard time in England (Schivelbusch 44).[9]

Concurrently, the change in the amount of time it took to cover a distance was a disconcerting feature of railway travel. The average train speed was approximately three times the speed of the stagecoach. So, as Schivelbusch points out, the distance between two points essential shrank to one-third of what it had been prior to the advent of the locomotive (34).

Before the emergence of the railway, publisher Robert Chambers recalled, there was a daily mail-coach between London and Edinburgh, capable of carrying four people and taking three days to arrive. By 1832, improved roads allowed that same journey to be completed in just under forty-four hours but in 1859, the railway could make the journey in ten and a half hours, remarkable in that a letter from London written in the late afternoon could be at Edinburgh by breakfast the next day (Fyfe 101). An 1862 *Lancet* publication claimed that traveling by rail saved about "one hour in each twelve miles" as compared with "the best of other modes of conveyance" (*The Influence of Railway Travelling on Public Health* 6).

Schivelbusch writes that this alteration of sense of spatial relationships both diminished space but also expanded it. New areas were now included in the transportation network and "by establishing more transport lines to ever more outlying areas, the metropolis tended to incorporate the entire nation" (35). This phenomenon,

[9] Likewise, the four time zones of the United States were also created because of the need to standardize railroad timetables.

Schivelbusch argues, created the creeping of urbanization and suburbs into the landscape of the countryside, changing the geography irrevocably. The change in space-time relationship brought about by railroad speed also served to isolate localities as trains departed from and arrived at specific destinations and rendered the space between them essentially non-existent to the traveler's experience (Schivelbusch 38).

Ultimately, Schivelbusch argues, railways robbed communities of their unique identities because of the transportation of goods to geographic regions away from their origins. This relocation of goods created "commodities" that were attributed to the localities where they were sold, rather than where they were actually produced. As Newhouse reports, the "village remote from the railway station felt more isolated than before…" (36). In addition, railways detracted from the identity of space between destination stations as the geography along the route was superfluous to travelers who did not notice the landscape that whizzed by outside the relative comfort of the railway carriage. Standardized time even robbed localities of autonomous timekeeping (33-44).

Towns expanded in answer to the need for both labor and the increased accessibility, which demanded stations in new locations. Each railway company produced its own locomotives, coaches, and wagons, all emblazoned with a company crest and colors. By mid-century, smaller companies were swallowed up by a few larger ones. Pullman was a company notable for offering unsurpassed luxury in its accommodations to travelers. National railroad companies such as the London and North Western, the Great Northern, and the Great Western Railway or GWR (facetiously referred to as "God's Wonderful Railway") emerged and pursued and signed exclusive

contracts with large collieries in order to guarantee a steady stream of business (Channon 72).

While roads were improved, long journeys overland in horse-drawn conveyance were still slow and bouncy when compared to rail travel. By the mid-nineteenth century, over 70 million passengers a year were traveling by train. Stations were comprised of a platform that ran the entire length of the train so that passengers could board any car easily. There was also a building, which functioned as a shelter for waiting travelers and those who came to greet those debarking. Tickets were issued inside the station building. Luggage wagons and areas to accommodate freight and cattle were essential parts of train depots whose size varied greatly between rural villages and urban stations. Early depots quickly found it necessary to have toilets and hot drinks available, just as coaching inns had done for decades for road travelers, as neither comfort was available aboard train cars until late in the nineteenth century. Instead, trains would make "refreshment stops" that allowed passengers to attend to bodily functions as well as have hot water to fill flasks, which sufficed for heat in the early days. Later, when trains incorporated heat, toilets, and concessions, the result was the ability to make longer journeys without stopping. According to Yorke, the Pullman Company line became synonymous with luxury travel and originally three classes of passenger tickets were sold (First, Second, and Third). Some trains were devoted to carrying exclusively first class or second and third class ticket holders alone. By the end of the nineteenth century, second class was no longer in

usage and trains carried both first and third class passengers, the mixing of fare classes a practice still in use today (21).[10]

The emergence of rail travel gave rise to a new and extended reading audience. Railway bookstalls arose in response to a newly created mass market for readers wishing to pass the time while commuting. As Samuel Phillips asserted in 1851:

> Millions of readers have been created under a new system of travelling which places within reach of the wayfarer the moment he starts upon his journey, facilities unknown to the traveller of former days, and certainly advantages hitherto supposed to demand perfect repose, and the tranquility of home and the fireside. Men read with avidity in the railway carriage, and it must surely be worthwhile to consider whether the matter offered them at the stations for perusal is conducive to intellectual improvement, or utterly deleterious in its quality and tendency. (iv)

Phillips goes on to reflect that a "continual pouring out of worthless literature through all the mighty channels that have opened" has the potential to undermine education, moral, and social improvement (iv). The reading public exploded because of rising literacy rates, cheaper printing costs, and a rise of the middle-class with its expectations of self-improvement. In the wake of this rise, there was debate about whether or not the quality of what was offered to the traveling readership was moral and suitable. Virtually every traveler purchased something from the station bookstall; this is confirmed by *The Railway Traveller's Handy Book of Hints, Suggestions, and Advice, Before the Journey, on the Journey, and After the Journey*, a popular guidebook for travellers, which

[10] The somewhat derogatory "third class" terminology has been replaced by a "standard" fare or "second class" (Yorke 21).

advocates purchasing a book or newspaper as an "excellent weapon of defense against bores" (Phillips 78). Indeed, Schivelbusch discusses how the tedium of the railway journey, along with the knowledge that every traveler in a compartment was experiencing the same impatience and boredom, functioned as a social barrier and reading strengthened the wall between passengers (68). Travelers, he argues, no longer established rapport with one another nor did they do much but think about reaching their destination…and read (68). In addition, reading provided something to do in the absence of the pleasure of viewing the scenery on the journey which the speed of the locomotive made impossible, thus creating a desire for something to occupy and entertain passengers (Schivelbusch 64). Dickens's *Household Words* was one serial which could routinely be purchased at railway bookstalls while novels by Edward Bulwer-Lytton and Captain Frederick Marryat were by far the best-sellers at stations, although passengers also purchased poetry and non-fiction (Fyfe 144).

The railroad transformed social life and an individual's experience of time and space in such significant was as to be virtually impossible to outline entirely. It is clear, however, that everything from the way people interacted to how they spent leisure time, and even how they perceived their nineteenth-century world, was impacted by this rapid-moving, culture-shaping innovation called the railway.

Ships

Scholars and historians have made much of the technological advances that brought road improvements and the railroad to Great Britain. What has been less at the forefront of transportation discussions about the nineteenth century was the changes in sea-faring

vessels. The steam engine, long considered to be revolutionary in terms of what it did for land transportation, was in use on water more than a decade prior to the advent of the railway. American pioneer Robert Fulton built the first steamboat, which made its maiden voyage up the Hudson River in 1807. Early steamboats used copious amounts of coal, a fact which relegated them mostly to short journey usage on rivers and minor coastal routes. However, later modifications served to reduce the consumption of coal, thus making the steam ship more viable for longer distances. Other improvements included the use of iron and, later, steel instead of inferior materials, as well as a shift from paddles to screw propellers. Ballasts were made watertight, hatch sizes were increased to facilitate ease for loading and unloading cargo, and ships were outfitted with derricks and winches, all of which contributed to a greater ability to handle loads efficiently. Schooners also benefitted from cargo-handling machinery, and were favored for smaller loads of low-value goods as well as passenger travel.

Coastal shipping was a crucial component of British transportation in spite of the advent of the railroad. According to John Armstrong, coastal cargos increased by an estimated 1.5% per anum between 1830 and 1914, which indicates that there indeed was a place for coastal shipping transport in spite of the increasing importance of railroads. "Coasters," as coastal ships were called, were often run on scheduled routes between particular ports and tended to operate in communities too isolated to be attractive to railway boosters (178). But coasters could also compete with railways in larger markets, particularly in specific trades such as coal. Investments in larger ships and faster methods of unloading as well as the building of coastal power stations and gasworks, both of which required great quantities of coal, made coastal shipping very competitive; by 1898

more coal was brought to London via coaster than via railway (Armstrong 180). Advances in steam usage and the increased viability of iron and steel also assisted in making shipping via water a more attractive option as larger and more powerful ships were able to travel faster and carry more. Improvements in shipbuilding went hand in hand with increased industrialization and were reflected in the ability of vessels to haul increasing masses: "In 1840 the average collier brig carried about 220 tons of coal from Newcastle to London. By 1880 the average load on this route, mostly carried by screw colliers, had increased to 700 tons and by 1900 to over 1100 tons" (Smith 180).

There were three types of coasters, each used in specific markets. The first was the liner, which offered frequent services with departures and arrivals adhering to schedules – much as railroads and post and stage coaches did. Liners tended to operate from major ports which had the most contemporary cargo-loading equipment so that quick turnarounds could be made and the large and fast ships could compete with railway freighting. Liners were able to carry longer-distance freight at a lower expense than railroads; moreover, freight trains were not given priority over passenger trains and so when freight trains arrived at their destination, more time had to be taken in unloading them. Wagons or rail cars, which were often privately owned and lacked continuous brakes, would slow down a train's progress as trains would have to stop before descending a gradient in order to allow brakes to be applied to each car. Coastal liners, in many instances, thus offered a less expensive and more reliable alternative to the freight train. And, unlike the other types of coasters, liners carried high-value goods as well as livestock and passengers.

The second type of coaster was the steam tramp. These ships ran according to cargo needs rather than on a set schedule. Unlike liners, they typically had minimum requirements for tonnage in order to be consigned. They were fast but less reliable, simply because their service was dependent on the location of a vessel at the place needed at the right time. The cost was less than for a liner which perhaps compensated for somewhat slower and less reliable service.

The sailing ship was the cheapest form of shipping. Its usage peaked early in the nineteenth century but continued into the twentieth century. Sailing ships were the least reliable form of water transport because of their reliance on favorable weather and tides. Their arrivals were unpredictable and, while it was possible for them to make good speed, they often didn't. Because of the unreliability and inexpensive nature of sailing ships, they tended to be used mostly for bulk freight of lesser valuable and hauled items such as coal, stone, and sand.

The ultimate boon to the water transport industry was a result of technology which allowed for improvements in vessels, primarily beginning with coastal ships but spreading to ocean liners that carried passengers across vast bodies of water with more speed and security. Ocean-going steam ships proliferated in the 1840s after an 1838 venture of the steamship *Sirius* which arrived in New York eighteen days after departing from Cork, thus becoming the first British steamship to cross the Atlantic (Fyfe 177). Her crossing was highly celebrated and the excitement was only enhanced by the subsequent arrival hours later of another steamship, *The Great Western,* which departed four days after the *Sirius* from Bristol (Fyfe 177). Steamships had already been in use in British coastal shipping as well as on rivers and lakes; however, the successful transatlantic

journeys of these two ships heralded a new era of regular steamship crossings that transformed mail delivery and travel options (Fyfe 178).[11]

It is important to not overlook shipping as a continuously viable means of transport, even in the age of the railway, as the cost structure for ships did not include laying track and the surveys and earthworks that allowed for the railways to be built. Shipping companies did not have to purchase land, nor did they have to hire labor to oversee the maintenance and safety of rail lines.[12] The advantage of steamboats, both in transatlantic and more local services was the diminishment of limitations from weather and tidal conditions. Their drawback was the requirement of copious amounts of coal, which required refueling stops on longer journeys making some transportation more feasible by sailing ship. However, while steamers were not necessarily faster than land transport, they did offer greater speed, reliability, and punctuality than sailing ships. And they could carry much more than could land options. As Fyfe points out, in the 1830s a journey from Leith to London took about three days via steamship while the mail coach could make the journey in just 43 hours. But the mail coach, unlike the steamer, couldn't carry cargo and was limited in the number of passengers it could accommodate (179). Thus, shipping was, in many cases, an affordable and certainly important means of transportation that, in spite of the lack of attention paid by scholars in favor of roads and railways, did experience growth during the nineteenth century. The idea of shipwrecks is

---

[11] The Americans actually claimed the first transatlantic crossing with the *Savannah* in 1819; however, much of that journey was made using sails so the British crossings not only were the first westward journeys but also the first transatlantic crossing to be made entirely under steam power (Fyfe 179).

[12] Armstrong reports that in addition to "being complementary, there frequently was outright collusion between railway companies and coastal liner firms to fix freights, prices, frequencies and terminal charges, especially in long distance trades" (188).

one that is threaded throughout the novels of the nineteenth century and we will later engage with a story that features a ship carrying terrifying cargo.

The transportation changes outlined here had a profound effect on British culture in the nineteenth century. That those changes created anxiety and that the anxiety became manifest in the arts, particularly in literature, is the subject of this study. In the chapters to follow, we will explore the fears and misgivings that arose with the modifications in transportation methods. This collective anxiety as it relates to transportation as a function of modernity is the subject of this study, particularly as that fear is expressed and articulated in a variety of ways in the literature of the time. In the chapters to follow, we will look closely at works of Austen, Brontë, Dickens, Collins, Le Fanu, Stoker, and several short stories of the time period, using the various approaches of historical, Freudian, and phenomenological analysis while looking through the lens of anxieties about the modernity of travel in an attempt to better understand the zeitgeist of British nineteenth century culture, which is defined by the concepts of change, modernity, and turbulence.

Chapter One

Travel and the Anxieties of Change

> Swift to its close ebbs out life's little day;
>
> Earth's joys grow dim; its glories pass away;
>
> Change and decay in all around I see;
>
> O Thou who changest not, abide with me.
>
> – Verse 2 of "Abide With Me" by Henry Francis Lyte

The Anglican hymn, "Abide with Me," is a prayer for God's presence during change, an aspect of the nineteenth-century British world that penetrated almost every facet of life. Granted, the lyrics were written in 1847 as the writer lay dying from tuberculosis, death being the ultimate transformation, but the words also invoke the "spirit of the age" as David Newsome indicates, saying:

> In the second verse of the Evangelical H.F. Lyte's "Abide with me" occur two lines, which since they were written, have been sung by millions, unaware of the actual context of the somber words:
>
> > Change and decay in all around I see,
> >
> > O Thou who changest not, abide with me.
>
> Common to all these expressions of deep unease is the yearning for stability, some safe and sure anchorage within a frighteningly fast-changing world. (38)

Change, even if it appeared to be in the spirit of improvement was, as we have seen, unsettling. The energizing of transportation as a result of the Industrial Revolution and the changes it inspired served to create networks and created the opportunity for shared

experiences that crossed boundaries of class, culture, and locale. As people became more mobile and found it less onerous to be transported distances, fears and anxieties arose as is often the case with new technologies. Some concerns were founded on real grounds and others more of the stuff of paranoia. Something as commonplace as travel changed rapidly in form and accessibility, and states of uncertainty played out in nineteenth-century culture, including in popular literature as well as music and art.

Road transportation has a long history of association with danger and fear. As P.E.H. Hair points out, the horse is one of man's most dangerous tools (7). In 1840 there were nearly 1000 deaths caused by road traffic in England and Wales (Ishaque and Noland 117). Hair reports that in 1865, the "Registrar General noted that street accidents by horse carriages kill more people in a year than railways" (8). The *Lancet* publication "The Influence of Railway Travelling on Public Health" makes this point as well, noting that "in the metropolis alone there were 70 persons killed and 910 injured by coach and carriage accidents in 1859" compared to 13 killed and 386 injured by rail accidents, a significant point because as railway travel increased, so did the fear of train disasters (8). The public was cognizant of safety issues of travel involving horses and the vehicles they pulled. Seventeenth-century British poet, John Taylor (1580-1653) labeled hired coaches "Hackney hell-carts" in his 1623 essay, "The World runnes on Wheeles: Or Oddes betwixt Carts and Coaches." More than two centuries later, William Bridges Adams warns of the dangers of Cabriolet driving since they are

> . . . much used at night and driven at a very rapid pace, many accidents have happened, in consequence of which some of those who use them have adopted the practice of hanging bells round the horse's collar, as is

> done in many countries where sledges move rapidly and noiselessly over the hardened snow. On paved streets the Cabriolets make noise enough; but on those which are Macadamised, two of them may run foul of each other at night before the sound can efficiently warn the car. (251)

The thought of driving at night only to suddenly collide with another vehicle which appears without warning is the stuff of nightmares. Spooked horses, unbalanced vehicles, and the occasional road obstacle or collision were all dreaded occurrences, even when road conditions presumably mitigated such disasters.

With the improvement of roads, which was seen as a civilizing force, more people entered the world of public transport, creating an atmosphere of superficial interactions amongst travelers and mingling people who came from all walks of life, social classes, vocations, and who held varying motives for their encounters with others. Because travel forced the proximity of people in closed spaces, it did not take long for the spread of disease to become associated with carriage spaces. As Matthew L. Newsome Kerr notes, the *Lancet* pontificated on the matter in 1860, saying:

> It is not very agreeable to suspect the that previous occupant (and not ten minutes ago) of the cab we have just got into had small-pox or typhus, scarlatina, scabies, favus, or choleraic diarrhea; that all the windows were of course carefully closed by the sick man's ignorant but naturally anxious relatives; or that the patient spat about or vomited amongst the straw beneath our feet. We might draw an even more repulsive picture, which yet a Londoner would know to be not untruthful. (*Lancet*, August 1860 as quoted in Kerr 283)

Indeed, many newspapers, sanitary reports, and other popular press issued warnings about how the mix of people created a seeming stew of filth, disease, and pestilence for the respectable, clean, and healthy folk who unknowingly jeopardized their own well-being through the mere act of entering a coaching space.

In addition, as noted previously, people using cabs had to be on guard against being cheated by drivers. Guidebooks cautioned strangers to be vigilant about knowing fares to avoid being overcharged and also to beware of leaving their luggage and other personal items unattended. Cab drivers were sometimes known to be in cahoots with common thieves and pickpockets and might be capable of conspiring to relieve an unwary passenger of his or her valuables.

There were all kinds of fears of petty and more severe crime associated with travel, particularly when strangers visited urban areas. In 1819 *The London Guide and Stranger's Safeguard Against the Cheats, Swindlers, and Pickpockets* offers dire warnings to the stranger to London against a variety of possible crimes that might be committed against the traveler who acts without prudence, from being passed fake money, to being attacked and robbed, to being kidnapped and sold into service on a ship! Newcomers are advised to be especially vigilant around cabstands and inn yards. Fraud, theft, violence are all connected with coach travel as the following passage suggests:

> Those who PROWL THE STREETS all day upon the look-out, make a dead stand-still whenever people are getting out of hackney, or stage coaches, to see what may turn up a profit. If a box, or other package, is left a little astray, while the passenger is overjoyed at the meeting of his or her friend, advantage is taken of the circumstance, and it becomes fair game.

> It may so happen, if it be a hackney coach, that the driver and the thief may be acquainted; and then the former places some of the luggage conveniently for carrying off…(*The London Guide and Stranger's Safeguard Against the Cheats, Swindlers, and Pickpockets* 108)

The London Guide and Stranger's Safeguard also warns to be on the look-out for "wagon dodgers," thieves who follow after carts and wagons, understanding that they often carry goods that are either being taken to market or that have been purchased. Either way, country people who drive wagons to and from urban areas, can be viewed as a fair target for criminals. Travelers were also cautioned to beware of strangers misrepresenting themselves. Men pretending to be clergyman pose a particular danger to the hapless visitor, as do those who pretend to be of other professions, particularly doctors or lawyers. Visitors to urban areas are warned to beware of the sycophant who may ingratiate him or herself with nefarious purposes in mind and who may be found in such places as hotels and public houses. Meanwhile, trains, with their compartments and carriages, isolated from the outside world and even from the rest of the passengers and railway staff, became potential crime scenes, allowing for violence to be done unheard and unseen by others. Two murders that took place in train compartments in the early 1860's, both unsolved as the murderer likely shared the compartment with the victim then left undetected after committing the crime, created a heated sense of mistrust among first-class passengers, suspicions which will be examined more fully later.

The railway brought other fears and contributed to the overall general turbulence of the age. As Michael Freeman states:

> The sight of a moving cylindrical contraption on wheels, belching smoke and fumes, but without any visible means of animate propulsion, brought desperate fears and anxieties, as well as awe and admiration. Many thought that there was something supernatural about steam locomotion. Why else did engineers give their contraptions names like 'Wildfire', 'Dragon', and 'Centaur'? (13).

The mere speed, allowing for movement at unprecedented rates, was shocking and exhilarating. The first public railway opened to passengers, the Liverpool & Manchester line, was intended to travel at 10 mph, a speed that Robert Stephenson was confident he could double with his "Rocket engine." Directors feared that such high speed would be too unnerving for the public; nonetheless, engineers prided themselves on designing ever more rapid-moving and efficient machines. By the 1850's average trains in Britain traveled around 25 miles per hour with top speeds around 40 mph while the GWR (Great Western Railway) routinely reached almost 60 miles per hour (Fyfe 102). Indeed, the speed of travel served as something of a metaphor for the rapidity of change in the nineteenth century. We see this idea expressed in an 1848 edition of *Punch* magazine with the cartoon that shows a train with a "Reform" sign hanging on it and a passenger refusing to board under the auspices of it "being too fast" for him. His assertion that he will go by the "Parliamentary Train" highlights the irony of the seemingly slow-moving machinery of government juxtaposed against a fast-moving nation in the thrust of change.[13]

[13] *Punch* cartoons often contrasted a sleepy government with an awake nation (Vieira 73).

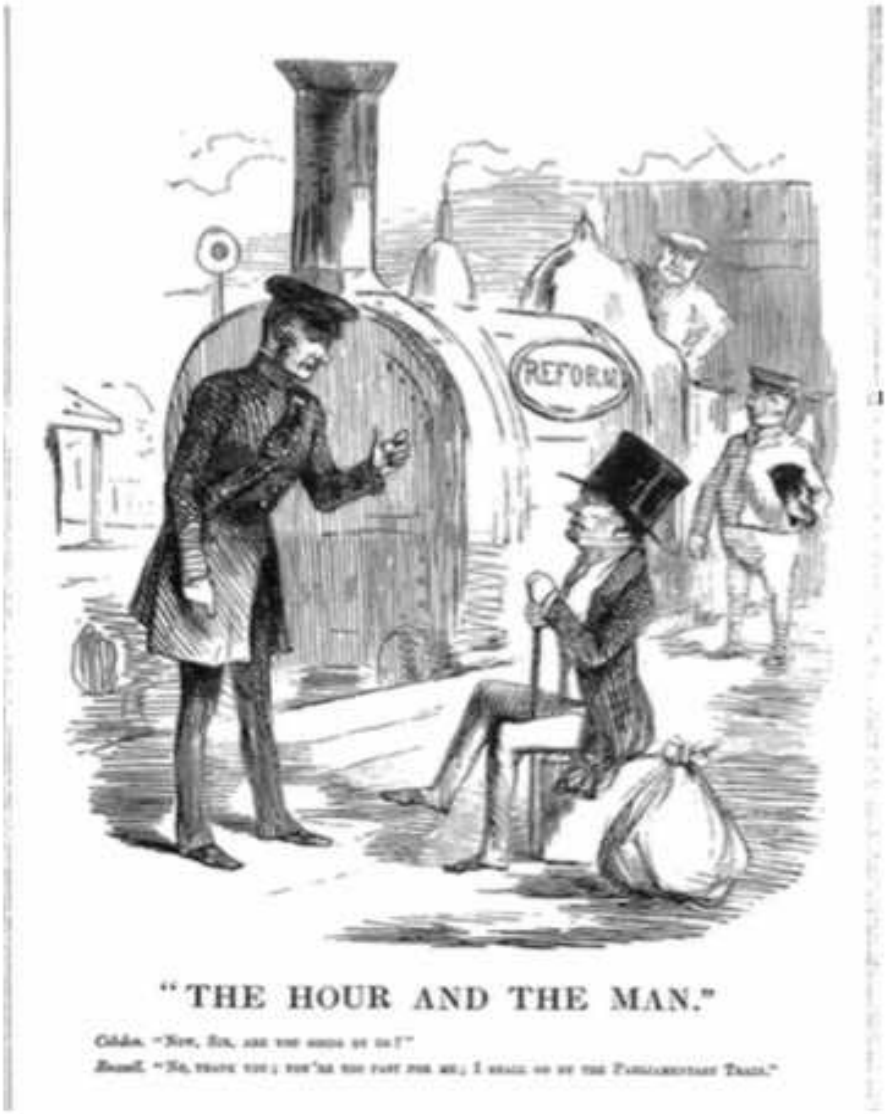


Figure 2.[14]

[14] 1848 was known as "The Year of the Revolution" and saw political upheavals across Europe that had the goal of displacing monarchical systems in favor of more democratic states. This year also saw deep unrest among the working classes in England who revolted against the technological changes that created unfavorable labor situations.

The force of change, as it relates both to the speed of travel and the rapidity of technological advances was forefront in nineteenth-century conversations. Newsome speculates on the attitude of Thomas Arnold (1795-1842), an education reformer and supporter of the Anglican church, and summarizes his thoughts on the swiftness of cultural shifts brought about by technology:

> But he was deeply concerned, as he looked about him, that a process of change was taking place in almost every aspect of life, and that the pace of the changes tended to be faster than society could assimilate. Everything seemed to be on the move: population growth, industrialization, the clamour of the Radicals to attain universal suffrage and to push forward to the realization of democracy. In such a state of excessive acceleration, society could easily go off the rails (to which it had recently taken). (15)

Schivelbusch comments on the perceptions of speed, particularly how it changes the traveler's ability to comprehend the landscape. He states that the "stimulus increase produced by increased velocity is experienced as stressful" and goes on to lament that "the speed causes objects to escape from one's gaze, but one nevertheless keeps on trying to grasp them" (57). He notes that older modes of travel, specifically walking and horse-powered conveyance, allowed the pleasure of observing the landscape and remarking upon it. The speed of the train renders such activity virtually impossible and thus creates the irony that travelers, bored with a journey without scenery, become impatient in spite of the fact that they are covering distances more quickly than ever before. At slower travel speeds, the traveler could see the landscape close to him and actually saw himself as part of the foreground, joining him to the landscape. Velocity made this impossible,

removing the traveler from that experience, creating a sort of barrier between the traveler and the landscape foreground.

Not only does speed alter the perception and interaction with landscape and also, nature, Schivelbusch argues that the very perception of time shifted with the standardization of time, the reliability of transportation schedules, and the seeming shortening of distance between locations. And the railway brought yet another odd distortion of the sense of time; that of the experience of the person who has suffered through or been witness to a train accident. Nicolas Daly recounts one of the most horrific railway disasters, that of a collision between an Irish mail train and two wagons that had come loose from a goods train. The wagons carried multiple tons of highly flammable paraffin when it collided with the mail train between Abergele and Llanddulas in Wales in 1868, combusting so immediately that one of the survivors said:

> Not a sound, not a scream, not a struggle to escape, or a movement of any sort was apparent in the doomed carriages. It was as though an electric flash had at once paralyzed and stricken every one of their occupants. So complete was the absence of any presence of living or struggling life in them that . . . it was imagined that the burning carriages were destitute of passengers. (Daly 22)

Thus something Daly calls "machine time" emerges, a perception that occurs with accidents involving technology as humans find themselves unable to pace themselves with machines quickly enough to intervene when something goes horribly wrong (23). The comprehension of the futility of a person to frustrate the ability of the machine to do damage is indeed frightening and fuels the anxious imagination.

A shift that occurred with transportation was the movement from a locally-based or even family-structured enterprise to ones that were more complex and corporate. Before 1830, road freight was almost exclusively mobilized by family-based business as was coastal shipping, with about 80 percent of vessel owners in 1825 residing within 20 miles of the port where the ship was registered and half of those owners living in the port itself (Freeman 28). In contrast, railway legislation allowed for large entities to construct and operate and, subsequently, control entire lines without allowing any sub-contracting or usage outside of the corporate structures (Freeman 28). The result was the first of the modern big businesses in Britain and introduced a structure that separated ownership from management (Channon 70). This separation left railway directors essentially unchecked and unaccountable unless profit failings or other significant issues attracted the attention of boards of investors. The railways undermined local economies with a shift from local reliance for such essentials as food and clothing, a move that created anxiety and resentment. Cultures were modified as urbanization and industrialization rose to compromise the local sense of community in previously provincial regions. The prospect of these entities being owned by what must have seemed to be a shadowy group of investors, removed both geographically and managerially, was unsettling. Railway directors who wielded essentially unchecked power seemed to be moving into the role of the "new elite" which added to the overall confusion about class and belonging and because of the questionable ethics of this particular group, as well as that of the stock-holders, fears arose that the social hierarchy was becoming tainted with immorality.[15]

[15] The image of the railway director as a callous, unfeeling, capitalist flunky changed somewhat at mid-century. It became more understood that railway investment boards were comprised mostly of men of good standing from old families solidly

Christian theology came into play as the question of whether or not trains should run on the Sabbath became a hotly contested topic under the press of Evangelical thinking. To the horror of those of a religious mindset the public seemed reluctant to abstain from travel on Sundays. In *Barchester Towers*, when confronted with the impropriety of Sabbath travel by reformist clergy, Dr. Grantly darkly commented that "if you can withdraw the passengers, the company, I dare say, will withdraw the trains" (Trollope 37). Thus we see a connection between railways and the disintegration of Christian practices. The connection of railways with the devil and even hell was a trope found in the quotes of the likes of Thomas Carlyle who famously likened his first train ride to "Faust's flight on the Devil's mantle" (Froude 144). Schivelbusch points out that trains were commonly described as "projectiles," employing a metaphor for something destructive and fast. Weapon imagery was frequently invoked as a train and its passengers are "shot through the landscape" (54). Often we see the locomotive being anthropomorphized into a supernatural or even evil creature, a theme that permeates satire as well as first-hand accounts of journeys and even art. A notable example is the 1853 painting by John Martin, "The Last Judgement." The work depicts progress as an impetus of decay, as described by Newsome:

> It depicts two sets of people divided by a great gulf, and on the horizon, bathed in celestial light, there is an angelic host. Those on the left of the picture, attired in somber Protestant garb, have an air of smugness about them, as they look to the light in joyous expectation. Those on the right,

---

grounded in a history of aristocracy. Media cartoons, however, continued to portray directors as more concerned with profits than with putting practices in place that would prevent railway accidents

> however, are scrabbling desperately on a cliff face to prevent themselves from slithering into the fiery pit below. An avenging angel hovers above them to remind them that their frantic efforts are in vain. These are the reprobates, some in gorgeous raiment, and one looking more uncomfortable and more affronted than the others, with the papal tiara on his head. The picture repays careful study. Sure enough, a train is there. It is just about to plunge headlong into the abyss from which there can be no return. (38)

Travel by sea had always held potential for disaster as the nature of taking a vessel onto the ocean certainly holds the possibility of dangers arising from storms or shipwreck. Steamboat boilers were known to explode with fatal results; one burst at Hull killing nineteen people in 1837. Sailing vessels regularly succumbed to the trials of ocean travel. Certainly, nineteenth-century literature made full use of the opportunity for convenient killing off of characters as we see in the example of Lucy Snowe's fiancé whose return home seems to be unlikely in the final pages of *Villette*. In addition, new trade routes and emerging markets for trade brought the fear of spread of disease and contact with potentially subversive cultures.

Whether transportation was by land, rail, or sea, the emergence of a more public usage of transportation in the nineteenth century created a variety of fears. Aside from the threat of accident, one of the more pressing had to do with the mingling of people. Population growth in urban centers was exploding at an unprecedented rate. In a mere 100 years time, the population of London grew breathtakingly from 818,129 in 1801 to 5,328,855 by 1901 (Ishaque and Noland 117). Such a preponderance of people

congregating in a geographic location, potentially sharing the spaces of public transportation at a time when class distinctions and boundaries were under increasing challenge, gave rise to new fears about being in close proximity to others. To this unnerving aspect of public transportation one adds the traveler's disquietude of not being in control of speed and all the assorted problems of steering, weather, obstacles, direction, safety, and security. Regardless of the mode of transport, it was, in some way, all new to nineteenth-century people, and allowed new fears, phobias, and misgivings to emerge.

The energizing yet destabilizing force of progress in the nineteenth century had a profound effect on culture and the arts. As Nicholas Daly relates in *Literature, Technology, and Modernity, 1860-2000*, a new form of stage production, the melodrama, emerged from this fevered anxiety in mid-century, a time when theater construction and attendance experienced a boom. The growth of the theater was due in large part, according to Daly, to the accessibility created by the transport revolution (20). Audiences were able to travel to theaters by omnibus or train and ironically, the emerging genre of the melodrama is typified by the plot trope of a victim being tied to railroad tracks in the path of an oncoming train. Matthew Wilson Smith says the melodrama is characterized by the confusion between good and evil, where "right is mistaken for wrong and wrong for right" (499). The melodrama typically features a cunning and evil villain who subverts morality by pretending to adhere to it. Likewise, a morally pure character is often mistaken for a villain. Perhaps the didactic value of the melodrama could be to reveal the inherent fallacy of mistaking someone's exterior appearance for

that same person's interior being. Smith demonstrates this point with an example from Dickens's work:

> For Oliver Twist, say, the equivalence between inward condition and outer appearance is perverted from the start, as character after character mistakes his poverty for a sign of his inward character, a perversion that is a source of much of that novel's narrative energy and moral outrage. But at the same time, the novel insists on an equivalence between appearance and inner condition through the fact that, despite his desperate upbringing, Oliver always speaks like a young gentleman. From a naturalist standpoint, Oliver's refined speech is an absurdity, but from a melodramatic perspective it is just as necessary as Fagin's "villainous-looking and repulsive face" or Mr. Brownlow's "very respectable-looking appearance." (500)

The reader understands that the goodness of Oliver's interior character does not match his impoverished exterior. The reader recognizes, as well, the genteel manner of Oliver's speech as well as his thought processes. We see what the novel's inhabitants do not; that it is ineffective to judge by outer appearances, especially in the world of social mobility the Victorians inhabited. It is capable of being a world of deception and confusion where people may very well not be who they appear to be. This deception and misunderstanding is one of the many inspirations for the unease that characterizes nineteenth-century life in the midst of breathtakingly rapid industrialization and change and, as we shall see, is an anxiety exploited in Gothic and sensational novels.

Fears about modernity were fueled by the advances of technology. Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* had warned in the early nineteenth century that science would be the ruin of humankind. Technology frightened many people, displaced workers, and changed the way business was done. Even something as seemingly innocuous as the horse-drawn conveyance for public use, which rose in popularity with the improvements of roads and the congregation of people in metropolitan areas, created consternation. The omnibus was introduced to England in the summer of 1829. Busses were considered to be convenient and affordable and yet, the discomfort and concerns about overcrowding and dangers of upset are made plain in a July 31, 1841 issue of *Punch* (or the London Charivari) in a humorous poem titled "The Omnibus." The piece outlines the unpleasantness of this particular mode of travel and details a man and wife forced into separate coaches where they must endure the uncomfortable sensation of being packed in until "Jamm'd to a jelly." Both coaches embark only to collide with one another and, in a twist of irony, both the husband and wife die. In spite of the hyperbole as regards the unpleasantness of the omnibus experience, which is amusing, the unattributed poem points to what the underlying sentiments must have been about public coaches. They were dangerous, uncomfortable, and yet, efficient. The poem actually sets the omnibus as a Gothic structure in the opening lines:

> The horrors of an omnibus
> Indeed, I've cause to curse;
> And if I ride in one again,
> I hope 'twill be my hearse.

Thus, the vehicle of public transportation is not only the means by which death occurs but is drawn parallel to the most macabre of images, that of the conveyance that takes away the dead.

Public road transportation via horse-drawn carriage creates its own interesting paradigms as we shall see. Aside from the threat of accident, which was a very real fear, public conveyances such as the cab, the stagecoach, and the omnibus created shared spaces that incited anxiety about the "other" with whom one shares an intimate space. What we have not yet touched on is the idea of the cab as a means by which a hapless victim could be controlled, a situation that we shall see created in some of the works investigated in the chapters to come.

But no form of transportation could be said to incite as much anxiety and fear as that of the train. The mere sight of a monstrous, steam-belching hunk of metal propelling its way down a set of tracks incited a level of disquietude to fire the anxious imagination. Monique Sontag suggests that early metaphors used to describe railways often draw parallels to "monsters, dragons, beasts, etc." (39). Even the mechanism that powered the locomotive was subject to personification as a working minion of sorts in a description given by Adams in 1837:

> Steam is a mere labourer – a drudge who performs his work without speech or sign, with dogged perseverance but without emotion. By dint of the garb in which he is clad, the machine which serves him for a body, he sometimes puts on the appearance of a live thing, shaking his polished metal clothing like an armoured knight: but this is only when he is stationary. His travelling garb is rough and rude, his breath is sulphureous, his voice is hissing, his joints creak, the anointing of his limbs gives forth an unpleasing gaseous odour, he carries with him a kitchen and a fuel chamber, and his whole appearance is black and

> unsightly. He may be personified when speaking *of* him; but no one pats his neck or speaks *to* him in a voice of encouragement. It is not so with a horse or horses. They are beautiful and intelligent animals, powerful yet docile; creatures that respond to kindness, and shrink from cruelty and injustice. (*English Pleasure Carriages* 198)

In this quotation we see steam power behind the locomotive relegated to a beast of burden while the horse is extolled with human-like characteristics. Now the horse is relegated to the rational and the steam engine is an unthinking, unfeeling automaton that is gruesome and ceaseless in its forward movement.

The field of medicine became rife with speculation about the effect on nerves and physiology that both the speed of travel and the jostling of the train might incite. The *Lancet*, Britain's foremost medical journal published "The Influence of Railway Travelling on Public Health" in 1862 to report the findings of a "scientific commission" dedicated to an inquiry on the health effects of travel. It quotes an 1859 address to the Committee of the House of Commons by Lord Shaftesbury:

> The very power of locomotion keeps persons in a state of great nervous excitement, and it is worthy of attention to what an extent this effect prevails. I have ascertained that many persons who have been in the habit of travelling by railway have been obliged to give it up in consequence of the effect on the nervous system. I think that all these things indicate a tendency to nervous excitement, and in what it may issue I do not know. (5)

The *Lancet* publication blamed vibration, describing it as an onslaught of jolts that happen in such rapid succession as to be perceived as a continuous vibration, which masks the real situation, which is that the passenger is subjected to constant violent jarring. It notes that the effects of jolts are subject to what class of carriage in which the passenger is situated as third-class carriage passengers, deprived of the springs and padded seats of the more expensive coaches, feel the sensations more acutely and may even feel bruised after a long journey (26). Second class passengers are afforded covered seats, which helps ameliorate the unpleasant sensations and first class passengers are in the best situation because of thickly padded cushions (27).[16] The consistent jarring experienced by third class passengers, who made up over half of the traveling public, was the reported source of muscular, spinal, brain, and mental injuries, not to mention symptoms of fatigue (41-42). Crowded rail coaches were a source of poor ventilation and impure air, unpleasant conditions which included offensive body odors. A contributing physician, Dr. C. J. B. Williams, describes the "bodily and mental fatigue" caused by the "shaking and noise" of rail travel:

> The shaking motion of a railway carriage is commonly most felt in the back, loins, waist, and head; but any limb or part tender from disease is likely to suffer from it. The noise obviously most affects the head, and it adds much to the suffering and fatigue of those who are sensitive in the organ of hearing or in the membranes of the brain. But if the journey is

[16] Schivelbusch compares the upholstery in the first-class compartment of the nineteenth-century train to the modern-day air bag in automobiles, arguing that both provide safety as seat padding in trains protected passengers from the effects of vibration and jolting and air bags protect against collision, but both are also invisible and, as such, don't perpetuate fear of an imminent accident (162).

> prolonged, that which first excites pain and irritation may in the end cause faintness and exhaustion in weakly persons; and this may be followed by feverish reaction, lasting for some days. I know of some invalids who thus suffer so much from railway travelling that they therefore prefer to submit to the delay and inconvenience of posting (95).

Various physicians weigh in on the perils of frequent train travel in the *Lancet* publication, warning of the dangers that can result, which include aggravation of heart conditions, asthma, inflammations of brain and spinal cord, and virtually any other health condition one can identify (96-111). It is noted as well that the stress of hurrying to catch and board a train before departure has a detrimental effect on health and is particularly dangerous to those passengers with heart maladies (98). There were "recorded several of serious mischief, and even death, from persons in ill health hurrying to catch trains, and sitting down, heated and breathless, in the draught caused by the moving of the train which they have just managed to be in time for" (151).

"The Influence of Railway Travelling" introduced the occurrence of specific new effects on travelers who were involved in railway accidents, noting that even if they did not appear injured or affected at the time of the incident, there were symptoms that frequently appeared later. This set of symptoms was called "secondary effects" and were noted to be "often far more serious than the primary" (121). Symptoms of both mental and physical deterioration might appear after significant time had passed and created controversy in the courtroom as passengers suffering disabilities tried to receive compensation from the railroads. Physicians struggled to diagnose these late-onset symptoms, and created names for ailments such as "railway spine" and "traumatic

neurosis," both of which are terminology for what we would now define as either whiplash or PTSD (Post Traumatic Stress Disorder), as original descriptions displayed difficulty in whether to ground these ailments in pathology or psychopathology.[17] Initially, the explanation for "railway spine" was a microscopic deterioration of the spinal cord after the impact or shock of the accident but beginning in the early 1880s, the idea began to take hold that, rather than a pathological issue, it was in actuality, a psychopathological disorder (Schivelbusch 136). John Eric Erichsen, a British physician, compiled a series of lectures into a treatise on the issue in 1866, saying:

> I will not confine my illustrations to cases drawn from Railway Accidents only, but will show you that precisely the same effects may result from other and more ordinary injuries of civil life. It must, however, be obvious to you all, that in no ordinary accident can the shock be so great as in those that occur on Railways. The rapidity of the movement, the momentum of the person injured, the suddenness of its arrest, the helplessness of the sufferers, and the natural perturbation of mind that must disturb the bravest, are all circumstances that of a necessity greatly increase the severity of the resulting injury to the nervous system, and that justly cause these cases to be considered as somewhat exceptional from ordinary accidents. This has actually led some surgeons to designate that peculiar affection of the Spine that is met with in these cases as the "railway spine" (9).

[17] Likewise, in cases deemed as "shell shock" during World War I, physicians struggled to conclude whether the term reflected physical or emotional damage. It wasn't until World War II that the diagnosis terminology was changed to "combat stress reaction" in cases that were specifically incidents of mental trauma.

Erichsen goes on to discuss the effects of jarring or shaking of the spinal cord, incidents that were lumped into the pathological terminology of "concussion of the spine." He argued that the seemingly invisible effects of railway collisions were essentially the same sort of concussions of the spine that one experienced in severe falls or blows to the back (48). The resultant conditions included numbness, tingling sensations, paralysis, motor skill impairment, and psychological effects such as confusion, depression, and memory issues as well as disruptions of sight and hearing and sometimes even death (24-54). Erichsen submits that frequently, these effects do not happen immediately:

> One of the most remarkable phenomena attendant upon this class of cases is, that at the time of the occurrence of the injury the sufferer is usually quite unconscious that any serious accident has happened to him. He feels that he has been violently jolted and shaken, he is perhaps somewhat giddy and confused, but he finds no bones broken, merely some superficial bruises or cuts on the head or legs, perhaps even no evidence whatever of external injury. He congratulates himself upon his escape from the imminent peril to which he has been exposed. He becomes unusually calm and self-possessed; assists his less-fortunate fellow-sufferers, occupies himself perhaps actively in this way for several hours, and then proceeds on his journey.
>
> When he reaches his home, the effects of the injury that he has sustained begin to manifest themselves. A revulsion of feeling takes place. He bursts into tears, becomes unusually talkative, and is excited. He

> cannot sleep, or, if he does, he wakes up suddenly with a vague sense of alarm. The next day he complains of feeling shaken or bruised all over, as if he had been beaten, or had violently strained himself by exertion of an unusual kind. This stiff and strained feeling chiefly affects the muscles of the neck and loins, sometimes extending to those of the shoulders and thighs. After a time, which varies much in different cases, from a day or two to a week or more, he finds that he is unfit for exertion and unable to attend to business (95-96).

Erichsen goes on to say that cases vary in the amount of time that passes between the accident and the onset of the symptoms he describes:

> But during the whole of this interval, whether it be of short or of long duration, it will be observed that the sufferer's condition, mentally and bodily, has undergone a change. His friends remark, and he feels, that "he is not the man he was." He has lost bodily energy, mental capacity, business aptitude. He looks ill and worn; often becomes irritable and easily fatigued. He still believes that he has sustained no serious or permanent hurt, tries to return to his business, and finds that he cannot apply himself to it, takes rest, seeks change of air and scene, undergoes medical treatment of various kinds, but finds all of no avail (97).

Erichsen then submits to his colleagues that hysteria is often mistakenly diagnosed for these conditions, when actually it is concussion of the spine which is to blame (126).[18] He essentially scolds his colleagues for making a misdiagnosis of hysteria when it should

[18] Erichsen dismisses this mistake as an extraordinary error given that hysteria is "known" to be a disease of women and particularly of young women (26).

be clear that a deterioration of the whole nervous system in the aftermath of the shock of an accident has its roots in the "natural enough" trauma that has occurred (128). Ultimately, as Schivelbusch points out, Erichsen seems to have trouble deciding whether the mental deterioration suffered by an accident survivor has its roots in pathology or psychopathology (142). This is perhaps understandable given that Erichsen was dealing with an emerging set of symptoms that, while not introduced by the railway, were now being seen with such frequency because of the incidence of railway accidents as to require attention and understanding. Erichson was simply attempting to create new paradigms of medical comprehension. In 1875, Erichsen published a revised and expanded version of his book in which he reverses his ambivalence about the issue of pathology versus psychopathology in favor of an assertion that the mental shock suffered in the aftermath of an accident was due to the influence of fear rather than a physical affliction. Interestingly, Schivelbusch suggests that Erichsen's original impulse to connect symptoms with pathological causes was helpful to the victims of accidents when they were seeking compensatory damages from railroads (147).[19]

Charles Dickens famously experienced a horrific train accident with long-term consequences to his mental and possibly physical health. While returning to London from the coast after a visit to France, Dickens's train approached a viaduct outside of Staplehurst at approximately 50 miles per hour, the driver unaware that repair work was being done on the track and two rails had been lifted from the line. The train conductor was alerted to the danger ahead by a flagman but not in time for the brakes to engage before the train jumped and its cars plummeted into the river below, with Dickens's car

[19] It was not until well into the twentieth century that mental suffering or damages from mental shock or terror were considered compensatory (Schivelbusch 146).

left dangling from the bridge at a precarious angle. Dickens was able to escape the car and assist his companions to safety, before doing what he could to assist other injured and dying passengers. The scene must have been horrific and it affected Dickens to his dying day, five years from the exact date of the accident. Remarkably, Dickens remembered that his manuscript for *Our Mutual Friend* had been left behind on the railcar and he climbed back into the teetering, swaying carriage to retrieve it. Afterwards, he took lodging at Falstaff Inn at Gad's Hill and told the landlord that, "I never thought I should be here again." His son saw that his father was "greatly shaken, though making as light of it as possible – how greatly shaken I was able to perceive from his continually repeated injunctions to me by and by, as I was driving him in the basket-carriage, to 'go slower, Charley' until we came to foot-pace, and it was still 'go slower, Charley'" (Ackroyd 961).

Figure 3.

Some days after the accident, Dickens still found himself suffering from what he called "the shake." He reported feeling faint, sick, and off balance. His terror of traveling by train hampered his professional life as he withdrew from public engagements and "the shake" made the physical act of writing a challenge. His son reported that his father "never altogether recovered" (Ackroyd 963).

Accidents became a dreaded part of the nineteenth-century travel culture and train accidents in particular captured the darker side of the Victorian imagination. A monthly publication that was adjunct to Dickens's *Household Words* was *Household Narrative of Current Events* and a section with the heading "Narrative of Accident and Disaster" recounted the tragedies of collision, derailment, and boiler explosion. The Staplehurst disaster occurred in June of 1865, and certainly influenced the short story "The Signal-Man," which was published as part of the "Mugby Junction" collection in the 1866 Christmas edition of *All the Year Round*.

A timing system operated in early railways, overseen by policemen along the lines who were responsible for checking clocks to ensure that trains left a station no sooner than ten minutes after the previous train's departure. As Yorke says in *Steam Railways Explained*, "It doesn't take much imagination to see problems with this simple scheme: if a train broke down out of sight of a policeman, he would wave on the next train oblivious to the danger" (60). The timing system was soon enhanced by signal posts that communicated danger ahead by a signalman who used arms, discs, or lamps on the posts to warn train operators of any danger ahead on the line. By the time Dickens wrote "The Signal-Man" a type of signal post had been developed that had two positions: stop and safe to pass. Setting the signal took more skill than was immediately apparent as the

arm of the signal post was triggered by the release of a lever which drags a wire along a series of pulleys and cranks, which weren't always lubricated and free-moving. Thus, a good signalman had to develop a technique that allowed a brief pause as he navigates the difficulty of pulling or releasing against the friction of the lever. In order to facilitate safe passage, the rail line is divided into sections or blocks and it is the job of the signalman to ensure that only one train is in any block at a time. The telegraph became the method by which signalmen communicated to one another that a train had left a block and that it was now open and ready to receive the next locomotive. Each signalman typically had a box from which he worked where his levers were available. The signalman had to remember where all the trains were at any given time so that he could avoid setting signals to the wrong routes. One could only imagine the ensuing catastrophe if a signalman were to get it wrong.

As if the prospect of a railway accident was not frightening enough on its own, Dickens's "The Signal-Man" presents a phantom who is in the business of foretelling accidents and does so three times. Unfortunately, the apparition doesn't go so far as to specify when and where the incidents will take place, nor is any indication given of how the disasters might be prevented. And that is a point worth exploring. Matthew Wilson Smith quotes an essay by George W. Thornbury called "My Railway Collision," which was published in the 1860 edition of *All the Year Round,* in which the author expresses his dismay that "It was no one's fault," thus dispelling any sense of accountability for an accident of signaling that caused two trains to collide (505). The feeling of inevitability and indeterminate happenstance was pervasive in the sentiment about railway travel and the all-too-frequent and subsequent tragedy. Science and technology can determine with

great precision the time a train will arrive or depart, the speed at which it will travel, and the direction and specific path or track it will take is predetermined by the nature of the railway structure. But freak accidents, despite the presence of a ghostly prophet who warns chosen observers thus indicating the incident to be predestined, are really random and unpredictable. They are disasters that transcend class, money, and title. There is a sense of inevitability about such disasters and a feeling of futility when it comes to prevention and acknowledgement that they can strike at any time. At least it would seem so in the narrative of Dickens's short story.

The tale begins with the narrator calling down to a railway signal-man who stands in a cutting that allows track to move through the bedrock of stone below. Remarkably, the narrator notes that the signalman looks, not up toward the source of the call but down the line into presumed nothingness. When the narrator makes his way down to join the signal-man on the tracks, he describes the scene in which he finds himself:

> His post was in as solitary and dismal a place as ever I saw. On either side, a dripping-wet wall of jagged stone, excluding all view but a strip of sky; the perspective one way only a crooked prolongation of this great dungeon; the shorter perspective in the other direction terminating in a gloomy red light, and the gloomier entrance to a black tunnel, in whose massive architecture there was a barbarous, depressing, and forbidding air. So little sunlight ever found its way to this spot, that it had an earthy, deadly smell; and so much cold wind rushed through it, that it struck chill to me, as if I had left the natural world. (Dickens)

The language describing the cutting is distinctly Gothic, using wording one might employ in the more atavistic setting of a dank and ruined church or a tomb. The landscape is such that one might wonder if a lonely signal-man working in such a solitary and depressing place could begin to imagine things. In fact, the narrator himself wonders if "there may have been infection in his mind" but not before he wonders, oddly, if the signal-man was a "spirit, not a man." Meanwhile, the signal-man assumes the narrator is the specter he has seen before, although the reader doesn't make that connection until after the signal-man divulges what he has experienced. There on the tracks, where the massive machines created by human innovation rumble through at speeds not experienced prior to this advent of technology, two men face each other without full confidence that the other is not the stuff of the paranormal. The setting as well as the experience is thus brushed with the paint of the Gothic, bringing a seemingly commonplace event of two men encountering one another in the modern world into the realm of the extraordinary. This juxtaposition of technology with the laws of nature as molded by human innovation has invoked a deep suspicion that what appears to be real is actually powered by the supernatural.

Smith points out that the narrator "saunters to and fro at his leisure" as he walks out to enjoy a lovely evening, while the signalman is tied to industrial time, responsible for monitoring the spacing of trains to ensure the safety of passage (516). The signal-man, firmly tethered in the technology of standardized time and the heavy responsibility of oversight, works in a solitary environment; however, in this tale, his solitude is interrupted by the seemingly carefree narrator and also the paranormal character who, it must be noted, the narrator never sees. We also understand that the signal-man's employ

has been disrupted by two accidents; one a collision, the other a forced stopping because of the death of a passenger. For the signal-man, whose work is characterized by precision of timing and record-keeping, the disruption of the temporal nature of the railway's function, whether by visitor or accident, must be noted as disorienting and in opposition to the very nature of what the signal-man is employed to do.

The signal-man describes his work life there in the dark chill of the cutting, telling the narrator he is unable to spend much time "above these lower shadows" because he is, effectively, tethered to the technology of his "electric bell" which presumably informs him of an approaching locomotive and the appropriate signal that must be conveyed. Thus the pinnacle of invention, the technology that changed the face of travel, creates the Gothic space where the working character is imprisoned.

The narrator shares his own discomfort in leaving that evening, after making an appointment to return the next day so the signal-man might share what it is that has him "troubled." He describes a "very disagreeable sensation of a train coming behind me" as he walks towards the path that will take him out of the cutting. Again, the modern machine is a source of fear, something that creates dread as it is as intractable as the forces of nature in spite of the fact that its very essence is predictable, controlled by human forces, and subject to the rules of science. The machine, created by man, has become the monster and triggers an inherent fear that, large and lethal as it is, it may have the ability to break from human control.

The next evening, the signal-man describes his encounter with a phantom-like creature he makes out to be supernatural. The apparition cried out in the same way the narrator had called the night before with the addition of a warning to "Look out!" When

the signal-man approached, he claims the figure vanished. The narrator suggests that there was surely a scientific explanation for what he'd seen saying that "this figure must be a deception of his sense of sight; and how that figures, originating in disease of the delicate nerves that minister to the functions of the eye, were known to have often troubled patients, some of whom had become conscious of the nature of their affliction, and had even proved it by experiments upon themselves." He goes on to explain that the wind was surely the source of the cry he thought he'd heard, all the while ignoring "the slow touch of a frozen finger tracing out my spine." The signal-man acknowledges that all the narrator has said could be true; however, several hours after he saw the apparition, there was a horrific accident on the line and "the dead and wounded were brought along through the tunnel over the spot where the figure had stood."

The signal-man goes on to explain that months later, the specter appeared again, this time saying nothing, merely standing with its face in its hands in an attitude of mourning. That same day, a train had come through and the signal-man had seen that there was some sort of commotion happening aboard so he signaled for the train to stop and it was discovered that a young lady had passed away on board. Again, the body was brought into the signal-man's view, although this time laid on the floor in his office. And more recently, the signal-man reports, the specter has appeared intermittently over the past few days, waving, warning, and causing his bell to ring. He knows, because of what transpired previously, that an accident is imminent. He does not know when, how, or why it will occur. And it is the lack of specificity that he finds so disturbing. If a catastrophe is set into the fabric of reality so as to be predictable, what is the point of the

prediction, if it is not preventable or if the prophecy does not include sufficient information as is needed to thwart such an occurrence?

The narrator's solution to the confidences of the signal-man is to bring science into the situation, commenting that he "ultimately resolved to offer to accompany him…to the wisest medical practitioner we could hear of in those parts, and to take his opinion." Sadly, the narrator never gets a chance to make such a suggestion as when he visits the following evening, he finds that the signal-man has been run down by a train and that the engineer reports yelling the exact words and making the exact gestures that the specter had done in the signal-man's account of his ghostly encounters.

There are varying ways one might read such a tale, including the possibility that the signal-man, mentally challenged by the isolation of his work and the unpleasantness of his work environment, imagined something that was bound to take place, given the dangers of train travel and the possibility of something going awry with at least one of the many passengers on any given journey. It could be that the signal-man suffered from depression caused by the solitary nature of his vocation and began hallucinating what ultimately was a self-fulfilling prophesy, brought to fruition by his own failure to heed the approaching train as he walked along the tracks. Or, if one chooses to assume the signal-man was the victim of some sort of vision, perhaps sleep deprivation could be blamed. The *Lancet's* 1862 publication expressed concern about the long hours expected of signal-men, citing one such worker who disclosed that he was working a twenty-four-hour shift when a collision occurred in a tunnel on the Brighton line, saying "Twenty-four hours I consider as a hard day's work. I am always glad when it is over—I know that" (11). Another signal-man on another line revealed that "on one occasion he was for

forty-six hours without taking his clothes off, and during this time in charge of passenger-trains, having only an hour and a half's rest" and went on to say that he believed he was "not equal to his work during the last hours, being dead beat" (11). Under such work conditions, it would not be out of line to presume that an exhausted worker might become delusional and hallucinate.

It also could have been that the signal-man suffered hallucinations induced by the perhaps overwhelming shock of fast-moving advances in transportation, changes that happen seemingly faster than science can accommodate, as evidenced by the running of trains without a full technology in place that might alleviate the circumstance of accident. Certainly, just the speed of train travel itself was disorienting and while the signal-man does not actually ride the train in this tale, speed is partially to blame for railway accidents, whether the injury is done to a passenger or someone outside the train. The view the traveler sees outside the train is also an exercise in disorientation as depicted by a Victor Hugo letter in 1837 and quoted in Schivelbusch:

> The flowers by the side of the road are no longer flowers but flecks, or rather streaks, of red or white; there are no longer any points, everything becomes a streak; the grainfields are great shocks of yellow hair; fields of alfalfa, long green tresses; the towns, steeples, and the trees perform a crazy mingling dance on the horizon; from time to time, a shadow, a shape, a spectre appears and disappears with lightning speed behind the window: it's a railway guard. (55-56)

Hugo's words show how, in addition to the metaphors frequently assigned to trains, even the landscape is anthropomorphized, becoming "shocks of yellow hair," "long green

tresses," and allowing trees to "perform a crazy mingling dance." And the allocation of the word "spectre" sometimes seen as "shadow" or "shape" to a railway guard opens the door for a more paranormal reading of Dickens's tale.

Daly argues that something very relevant to the Victorian perception of time is at work, specifically the notion of "machine time." As he notes, because of the inability of humans to intervene in accidents of technology, rescues are rarely successful. And the accidents happen so quickly, he says, that they are almost "too quick for the eye, perception taking place after the event: if you see it, you are still alive" (23). Thus what the signalman sees is really the accident happening before its occurrence, which is the only scenario in which a rescue would be possible (23). I would argue that it is more than the perception of the rapidity of the catastrophe and, rather, the unsettling thought that impending accidents could be already established in the blueprint of fate that is the theme we are to contemplate. The specter was a metaphysical embodiment that somehow slipped through the veil that divides the all-knowing or supernatural world from the real world as we experience it. If that is the case, then travel catastrophes could be seen as unavoidable, pre-destined, and legitimately feared. Something as modern as a train has thus invoked deep-seated fears of otherworldly matters.

Peter Ackroyd alludes to another idea that may shed light on the tale of "The Signal-Man," saying that Dickens's son, Henry recalled the panic his father experienced after the Stapelehurst disaster whenever a jolt was felt on a train. Dickens would grip the seat in panic and sometimes, even without the prerequisite jolt, he'd suddenly "fall into a paroxysm of fear, tremble all over, clutch the arms of the railway carriage, large beads of perspiration standing on his face, and suffer agonies of terror" (Ackroyd 963). During

these episodes of extreme anxiety, it was as though Dickens was unaware of his surroundings, staring instead at nothing but "that most awful scene" (Ackroyd 963). Ackroyd suggests that Dickens was "thus turned into a medium for recurrent and conscious nightmare; once he had seen the characters of Smollett and Fielding around him, now he saw only the dead and the dying" (964). If indeed, Dickens suffered from such grave anxiety, affecting him to the point of near psychosis, he may well have explored his own nightmares in his creation of the specter who appears to the signal-man. As Ackroyd asks "Was it as if some terror from his own imagination had now come alive, just as the dead had surrounded him at Staplehurst…?" (964).

No matter how one reads "The Signal-Man" and no matter what meaning one ascribes to it, the indisputable fact is that railway accidents were an occurrence that created disquietude in the culture. Indeed, the contemplation of travel mishaps would understandably make one question the march of progress and ask whether or not we were all better off or at least safer before we began harnessing science and technology in ways that "improve" upon nature's state of being. Dickens's short story certainly goes far in embodying many of the nineteenth-century fears about technologically advanced forms of travel.

Chapter Two

The Carriage as a Gothic Space: The Modernity of Roads and Newspapers

> But, finally, that particular element in this whole combination which most impressed myself, and through which it is that to this hour Mr. Palmer's mail-coach system tyrannises over my dreams by terror and terrific beauty, lay in the awful *political* mission which at that time it fulfilled. The mail-coach it was that distributed over the face of the land, like the opening of apocalyptic vials, the heart-shaking news of Trafalgar, of Salamanca, of Vittoria, of Waterloo. These were the harvest that, in the grandeur of their reaping, redeemed the tears and blood in which they had been sown --Thomas De Quincey, "*The English Mail-Coach*"

De Quincey's 1849 essay, "The English Mail Coach," is a restrospective on the changing modes of travel in the nineteenth century and expresses his nostalgia for the system employed to carry both letters and passengers created in 1784 by John Palmer. The mail coach was an improvement over the previous method of letter delivery, which was facilitated by postboys on horseback who were susceptible to robbery and violence by highwaymen. By the time De Quincey writes "The English Mail-Coach," the last of the London mail-coaches had ceased operation and his reflection on the "glories of motion" was a nostalgic piece written in tribute to a means of travel now obsolete.[20] The passage quoted above is a commentary on the system of communication brought about by

[20] Jarvis notes that "by 1837 the Manchester and Liverpool Railway was carrying four mails a day at a speed of twenty miles per hour (twice that of the mail-coach on a good road)…" (75)

the mail-coach, one of bringing news to the far corners of the nation, reflected in *Northanger Abbey*'s famous speech by Henry Tilney in which he invokes a current society laid open by its "roads and newspapers," a transparency he sets forth as an opposition to the Gothic notions held by Catherine Morland. This chapter will show that Austen undermines Henry's ideation of a country rendered safe by modernity and its features. She transforms the traditional Gothic setting into one of modernity's creatures – the carriage space.

The horse-drawn conveyance has a long history and is threaded into the very fabric of nineteenth-century culture. Beginning in Elizabethan times, it was an object of pageantry providing an observing public with a moving picture view of royalty and nobility. Over time the coach in England became accessible to all who tapped the stream of social mobility, which was notably tied with physical mobility. By the end of the eighteenth century, not only were upper-class individuals able to purchase their own vehicles but the widespread availability of rentals and fare-paid equipages such as the hackney, stage, and cab, filled the roads and streets with travelers of all classes and occupations and became a setting for an intimate intermingling of people who might otherwise remain quite segregated.

Consider the typical *vis a vis* arrangement of a coach interior and the possibilities for interesting interaction become tantalizing. It is no wonder that the space of a closed carriage becomes a canvas for literary scenes fraught with implications, innuendoes, and peccadillos. The enclosed space itself forces intimacy as bodies are pressed together in close proximity. Travelers find they must exert effort if they wish to avoid eye contact with those facing them, and the mutual occupation of a small area for an extended period

of time sets the conditions for conversation or, at the very least, shared experience. Meanwhile, the perceived intimacy and anonymity of the carriage occupants gives a false sense of security as, with curtains drawn the public can be witness to the fact that there are people within but are not privy to the actions of those inside, while an open carriage subjects the inhabitants to the curious gaze of all who care to notice. One needs look no further than to *Madame Bovary* or *Sense and Sensibility* to find scenes rife with opportunity for all sorts of misdeeds that can only occur in a private space and yet are observable from the exterior or because the inhabitants were seen either entering or exiting the vehicle.

Meanwhile, as the accessibility and efficacy of carriage travel increased, so did the image of the home as a domestic sphere, safe from the disturbances of the outer world, a place ruled by the feminine and perceived by the nineteenth-century imagination as a place of comfort and security. Any situation that removes a character, particularly a female, from the relative safety of the home becomes a setting rife with possibility for Gothic action. As women became increasingly seen as the "rulers of the domestic sphere," the idea of the "angel of the house" became synonymous with safety, security, and regulated behavior that was insulated from the increasingly frightening world of modernity. As Kate Ferguson Ellis remarks, "The redefinition of 'home' and woman's place in it that began in the middle of the eighteenth century addressed the issue of violence and danger in a new way. The world is a dangerous, violent place, but it is possible to exclude those elements from the home, and to keep women 'innocent' of them" (7-8).

Austen was apparently quite interested in what happened to heroines removed from the safety of the domestic sphere. Four out of the six completed novels begin with a heroine leaving home, either cheerfully as in Catherine Morland's case, or under financial duress such as we see in the situations of Fanny Price, the Dashwoods, and Anne Elliot. All of these novels deliberately explore life outside of the idealized domestic sphere. Even Elizabeth Bennet, while not turned out of her home, takes two journeys, both of which are significant to her education and self-understanding. Much of Austen's work is based on the wanderings of her heroines and their journeys towards the culminating event of uniting with a partner, after which, we can assume, each of the female protagonists settled into traditional domestic life. In the case of Catherine Morland, little is told of her home life other than she is very happy to leave it. The narrator somewhat flippantly discloses that Catherine's departure is merely a literary device as "Something must and will happen to throw a hero in her way" (17). By the end of the novel, we know of Catherine's plans to settle with Henry in Woodston. We are given no picture of this domestic life other than the pre-engagement tour of Woodston and we see nothing of the wedding, or anything that comes afterward. It is what happens in between that is important and that is her journey.

Jane Austen places a great deal of the action of *Northanger Abbey* in the tourist city of Bath, a place she herself lived briefly and where she wrote (at least in part) and attempted to sell her first work, which was originally titled *Susan* and later edited and renamed *Northanger Abbey*. Whether or not Austen actually wrote the bulk of the novel

while living in Bath has been a point of debate.[21] Jeanine Barchas works out that she probably did write at least part of it in the city and points to Austen's nephew's memoir that submits that the manuscript was sold to a Bath publisher in 1803.[22] As Barchas notes, the novel's action in Bath is somewhat surprisingly devoid of descriptions of the sights of Bath, which suggests that Austen wrote for a Bath audience, well-familiar with the landmarks and attractions. She may also have assumed that audiences from outside of Bath would not miss such descriptions because of the popularity of the city as a tourist destination, rendering many readers already familiar with its features (Barchas 57-64). This tourism, a function of improved roads and the accessibility of transportation, becomes an essential component to a full understanding of Austen's intent.

One of the keys to the plot is the mistaken assumption that Catherine is an heiress, a supposition embraced first by John Thorpe and later by General Tilney. Scholars have long noted that the Allens, Catherine's guardians and traveling companions, share a surname with Ralph Allen, a wealthy man who had the distinction of being Bath's "richest inhabitant to date" and was frequently referred to as "the Man of Bath" (Barchas 57). As Barchas points out, a young woman who suddenly inherits wealth because of the

---

[21] Recent scholarship such as a 2013 article by Richard Berger asserts that Austen could not have written the novel while she lived in Bath as she moved there in 1801 and the book was reported by her family to have been written earlier. He does, however, acknowledge that Austen stayed in Bath in 1797 and certainly worked on the novel, then titled *Susan,* at that time. He also acknowledges that there is evidence to suggest that Austen did do "some proof-work" on the novel after she moved there (3-7).

[22] The manuscript was sold for £10 but was not published. Austen tried to get the rights back but was threatened with legal action by the publisher. The manuscript was finally sold back to Austen's brother for its original purchase price in 1816. Scholars show evidence the book was revised for publication but the work was not published until after Austen's death when it was released in a four-volume set with *Persuasion*.

death of a relation is a frequent feature of Gothic novels but, as a parody of the genre, *Northanger Abbey* creates the possibility that Catherine, to the stranger's eye, might be the goddaughter or heir to the wealthy Allens associated with Bath, when the fact of the matter is that her friends are no relation to the rich Allens and Catherine is no heiress. The misunderstanding, made first by John Thorpe and later embraced by General Tilney would have been considered a witty plot point by those familiar with Bath and its notable inhabitants.

Likewise, contemporaries of Austen familiar with the area of Bath would recognize her references to Blaize Castle, the place John Thorpe is so anxious to take her that he lies to her to encourage her to accompany him. He claims to have seen the Tilneys riding out of town, thus freeing her from her engagement with them. He is aware of Catherine's interest in all things Gothic and whets her interest with his answers to her questions about the landmark:

> 'Blaize Castle!' cried Catherine; 'what is that?'
>
> 'The finest place in England – worth going fifty miles at any time to see.'
>
> 'What, is it really a castle, an old castle?'
>
> 'The oldest in the kingdom.'
>
> 'But is it like what one reads of?'
>
> 'Exactly – the very same.'
>
> 'But now really – are there towers and long galleries?'
>
> 'By dozens.'
>
> 'Then I should like to see it; but I cannot – I cannot go.' (85)

John Thorpe's replies to her questions are patently misleading and untruthful. He claims that, not only did he see the Tilneys driving in the other direction, but that he overheard Henry call out to someone that they were going to "Wick Rocks" an assertion we learn to be a lie (86). His deceptions do not end there, as we shall see.

Austen's Blaize Castle is most certainly a reference to the actual Blaise Castle, which was a structure built on an estate about 17 miles from Bath. It is not by any stretch of the imagination "The oldest in the kingdom," rather, it was a folly built in 1766 by a Bristol merchant. It did not feature "towers and long galleries" as it wasn't really a castle at all but a mansion built with ornamental turrets and parapets. As Christine Alexander notes, "references to Blaise Castle would have been particularly topical in 1798 when Austen embarked on the writing of *Northanger Abbey,* since Humphry Repton, the leading landscaper of the day, had just completed his controversial new designs for the Blaise Castle estate" (19).[23] Alexander goes on to point out that Austen never corrects Catherine's ideas about what Blaize Castle (or Blaise Castle) is as she "expects her readers to understand her reference to Blaise and those who do not understand are, like Catherine, taken in and become part of the joke" (19). In light of the modern-day reader's probability of missing the irony of the true characteristics of Blaise Castle, a depth of understanding is gained from knowing what it really was – a sham. Austen writes for a travel-savvy audience, making the idea of the Gothic conventions parodied in the novel all the more humorous to her contemporary readers. Austen's ironic

[23] Alistair Duckworth reports that during Austen's writing life "Humphry Repton (1752-1818) was a figure of controversy, the butt of satire, and a man whose name must frequently have been on the lips of anyone connected with the land" (41). Duckworth uses Repton's writings and plans for landscaping as a negative example of the sort of "improvements" Austen tends to invoke as a didactic measure of the moral grounding of society in the traditional structures of family and past.

employment of a well-known landmark, makes clear that Catherine Morland is woefully ignorant of the issues of the day, making her an easy target for the duplicity of the likes of John Thorpe. Catherine is notably unobservant and perhaps even obtuse, which is partially to blame for the troubles she encounters.

The term "Gothic" was first used as a literary term in 1764 when Horace Walpole subtitled his tale *The Castle of Otranto: A Gothic Story*. The word was applied originally as a sort of joke as the term at that time meant something that came from the Middle Ages, which Walpole suggested was the origin of his tale, claiming it to be a very old but true story that had been rediscovered by the author. His preface, which made these claims, served to deceive readers who were, perhaps, none too pleased to discover the truth when he released a new edition with a new preface that disclosed that the story was not true at all, nor was it some ancient discovery, but was instead an original work. Nevertheless, Walpole's novel is commonly considered to be the first example of the literary Gothic, which came to be defined by the narrative props introduced by Walpole including remote settings, ruined buildings that often had religious functions, religious associations (particularly Catholic) with the superstition and misplaced power, and the ever-present trope of a young woman who is victimized and abused by a depraved perpetrator. *The Castle of Otranto* has at the heart of its complicated plot an exploration of aristocratic legitimacy that Andrew Smith says can be read as an allegory of political decline (23). Smith's idea is one that is notably relevant to the eighteenth century with its usurping of aristocratic privilege in favor of new economies generated by trade, activities that were both a function of and the result of a burgeoning middle class. This idea of

shifting class structures is one that is pervasive in other Gothic works and certainly is threaded through Austen's novels, including *Northanger Abbey*.

A few years later, Ann Radcliffe became the most widely read, as well as the most well-paid, Gothic novelist of the eighteenth century, writing her most popular works in the 1790s. Her novel, *Mysteries of Udolpho*, made her works wildly popular and told the tale of the orphaned Emily St. Aubert who is treated badly by her guardians, subjected to imprisonment, threatened with the loss of her fortune, only to be freed and reunited with her lover in the end. Radcliffe is considered to be the first to compose a work of the "enlightened" Gothic, meaning that the seemingly supernatural events are shown in the end to have perfectly rational explanations where as the "traditional" Gothic incorporates paranormal occurrences and hauntings that are understood to be real within the framework of the novelistic (Lenckos 107). The work is set in sixteenth-century France and northern Italy and features sumptuous descriptions of the scenery of exotic locales, typical in Radcliffe's novels. Early in the novel, as Emily travels with her father, she has an experience of the sublime as she views the glorious "pine forests of the mountains upon the vast plains, that (enriched with woods, towns, blushing vines and plantations of almonds, palms, and olives) stretched along, till their various colours melted in distance into one harmonious hue that seemed to unite earth with heaven" (14). Notably, for the purposes of the comparisons discussed in this chapter, we are given an account of the condition of the pre-improved roadway as the "ruggedness of the unfrequented road often obliged the wanderers to alight from their little carriage" (14). Radcliffe's heroines do leave their homes but their journeys are inundated with the picturesque, until they end up captured and abused.

Mysteries of Udolpho is one of the sources for Jane Austen's Gothic parody, *Northanger Abbey*. Similarities can be found as Gothic convention and include the presence of a female protagonist who navigates a world where she is the object of exploitation by villainous men, travels to an atavistic setting such as an ancient castle or, in Catherine Morland's case, a repurposed abbey, discovers a secret, and ultimately grows from the experience. Both novels feature a heroine on a journey which takes her from her home but brings her full circle back to the place where she began. Emily St. Aubert returns to the scene of her happy childhood and Catherine Morland returns home before taking her place at a country parsonage, not unlike the one where she grew up (but even better: she describes the village of Woodston as a place "she preferred…to any place she had ever been at" and is delighted by the parsonage with its drawing-room that was "the prettiest room in the world!" (213-214).)

The idea of the journey acting both as an opportunity for cultural and geographical expansion is at play but also and perhaps more importantly is the metaphorical journey that allows the heroine of the Gothic novel or, in the case of *Northanger Abbey*, the Gothic parody, to have an experience in a Gothic setting, to overcome a dangerous encounter with an overbearing male, and ultimately to reach a place of maturity that allows her to be united in matrimony with a partner worthy of her. However, in contrast to Radcliffe's employment of a Gothic journey to secluded castles in picturesque and exotic landscapes, Austen contains Catherine within local and well-travelled geography, allowing for an update of the Gothic by locating it in the world of modernity.

Northanger Abbey presents a quintessential example of how a carriage and the anxieties of displacement from home are Gothicized. Space, particularly domestic space, is important in Austen's work.[24] Two of her six novels are named after the houses where the significant narrative action takes place. In *Northanger Abbey*, any Gothic elements, real or perceived by the protagonist, are heightened by the fact that Catherine is away from her home for most of the novel. The times that Catherine is grounded in safety are at the beginning and ending of the story when she is encompassed in the warmth of the protection of her familial home. Feminine propriety plays into the reader's feelings of anxiety on Catherine's behalf also as the activities in Bath put her in a vulnerable position which could easily see her reputation compromised with her unintentional violations of the social and moral code for young ladies inherent in the conventions of the time. Indeed, the Gothic parody that Austen creates is based in part on the Gothicizing of courtship rituals, which, in Catherine Morland's case, include scenes of entrapment and virtual imprisonment, leading to her fear of being perceived as having breached the behavioral strictures approved for young unmarried women. Ultimately, Catherine's Gothic experience proves to be without the traditionally expected features of ghosts, hints of the supernatural, and ruined religious structures, rather, her peril is the result of cultural violations fueled by misunderstandings and her own lack of attention to social norms.

---

[24] A comprehensive treatment of the usage of home space in Austen's novels is given by Birgitta Berglund in her chapter titled "VII. Place and Plot. The House as Symbol." Berglund makes a compelling case that home in Austen's novels "reflect their owners, bearing witness to their tastes and dispositions, their values and morals" (130).

Simone Broders points out the unique social implications associated with female travel. As she notes, Austen writes during a time in which "travelling in the institutionalized form of the Grand Tour was still considered the mark of a gentleman" (917). Travelling was perfectly acceptable as long as it was for the purpose of learning and expanding knowledge, while traveling for the sake of curiosity was widely considered a useless venture and thought to be undesirable as it reflects "idle wanderlust," which Broders says detracts from the "true purposes of travelling, education and improvements" (917). Broders goes on to discuss female curiosity which, she says, is "judged more harshly" given its ties to the "original sin" that occurs in the book of *Genesis* and leads to the downfall of the human race. As such, Catherine Morland's curiosity, which has its grounding in the books that Catherine reads, is stigmatized. Like her reading of Gothic novels, which fuels her curiosity, her inquisitive nature is framed as a decidedly feminine characteristic that creates danger and the probability that the hapless female, ruled by her own lack of control over her curious mind, will bring herself into harm's way. Catherine herself, notes her reading of novels to be the source of mortification:

> Her thoughts being still chiefly fixed on what she had with such causeless terror felt and done, nothing could shortly be clearer, than that it had been all a voluntary, self-created delusion, each trifling circumstance receiving importance from an imagination resolved on alarm, and every thing forced to bend to one purpose by a mind which, before she entered the Abbey, had been craving to be frightened. She remembered with what feelings she had prepared for a knowledge of Northanger. She saw that the

> infatuation had been created, the mischief settled long before her quitting Bath, and it seemed as if the whole might be traced to the influence of that sort of reading which she had there indulged. (199-200)

Catherine, as the protagonist in a failed Gothic story created in her own mind, recognizes that the Gothic genre itself has created her fall. Thus, the genre has collapsed upon itself when brought forth into Catherine's modern world. Nonetheless, Catherine is a Gothic heroine, albeit the heroine of a parody. As Broders demonstrates, Gothic heroines are notably mobile, led by curiosity to travel and view the sublime, to explore dungeons and secret rooms and passageways, and driven to discover secrets (918):

> The Gothic novel releases the heroine from the patriarchal stigmatization of female curiosity insofar as her curiosity becomes the driving force behind her psychological journey, the crossing of the boundaries which limit her former identity as domestic woman or innocent object of male desires. Not normally being the reason behind the heroine's departure from her home, her "comfort zone," as she is abducted or has to escape from a villain, curiosity becomes the chief motivation to pick up the courage to reveal the Gothic mysteries and the secret laws surrounding her. Whereas male curiosity may provide her with occasional glimpses of knowledge useful for the reader to piece together the narrative, it is female curiosity that provides a deeper knowledge essential for the heroine's transformation: it contributes to correct assessments of evil characters, discloses mistaken identities, and forms new ties, both with other characters in the novel and with herself. The educational aspect of this

> "Grand Tour of the Mind" transforms the Gothic heroine not only into the stereotypical role of the female caretaker of others, namely in the home she is going to build with the Gothic hero, but also of herself, relying on the knowledge she has gained from her adventure. (Broders 928)

Broders's argument holds to a point as it may be sound reasoning that the curiosity of the Gothic heroine is what leads to her ability to be more discerning and contributes to her psychological transformation. If, however, the Gothic is a device that frees female curiosity from the judgment of patriarchy then how do we explain the punishment that the Gothic heroine virtually always experiences at the hands of an abusive (and patriarchal) villain? Indeed, Catherine's curiosity is what leads to her misunderstanding of the circumstances of the death of Henry Tilney's mother, a mistake for which she is humiliatingly chastised. It is true that the Gothic typically features a curious heroine who strives to understand a secret inherent in the plot. But her ultimate reunion with a hero, seen both in Emily St. Aubert's reunification with Valancourt and in Catherine Morland's culminating relationship with Henry Tilney, creates a stifling of the heroine's wanderlust for travel as well as her curiosity. Our understanding is always that the heroine's ultimate landing is in a home setting, happily married, and ensconced in the patriarchal structures of domesticity. It is Henry, after all, whose rebuke reminds Catherine that although she has traveled away from home, she is not in the foreign geography where the Gothic adventure usually takes place:

> Remember the country and the age in which we live. Remember that we are English, that we are Christians. Consult your own understanding, your own sense of the probably, your own observation of what is passing

> around you – Does our education prepare us for such atrocities? Do our laws connive at them? Could they be perpetrated without being known, in a country like this, where social and literary intercourse is on such a footing; where every man is surrounded by a neighbourhood of voluntary spies and where roads and newspapers lay every thing open? Dearest Miss Morland, what ideas have you been admitting? (196)

Henry's admonishment serves not only to invoke the structures of modernity as the reason the Gothic is prevented from invading real life but also to remind Catherine of her place as a woman, moreover an English woman. Her life as a member of the civilized society he describes with the regulatory behaviors of "spying neighbors" and the transparencies afforded by "roads and newspapers" is not one of a Gothic heroine. Henry's assertion is that such a life is an impossibility in the improved and networked England in which she lives.

Paul Morrison questions Henry's ideology, which he frames as "heimlich" or homelike in his proclamation of living in "a country like this where roads and newspapers lay everything open," saying that "his ideologically comforting…dispensation of light or enlightenment that is now and is England, is the symmetrical opposite of the carceral economies, the gothic spaces, of the other country and time" (2). Morrison's argument is that *Northanger Abbey* contains the presence of an "unheimlich" movement that is "subversive of the oppositions here/there, now/then, light/dark, open/closed, the various binarisms that structure his [Henry's] celebration of 'a country like this'" (2). Using Freud's definition of the "unheimlich" from "Das Unheimliche" which is "a word the meaning of which develops in the direction of ambivalence, until it finally coincides with

its opposite" and invoking the Freudian idea of the "return of the repressed," which occurs "either when infantile experiences, which have been repressed are once more revived by some impression, or when primitive beliefs which have been surmounted seem once more to be confirmed" Morrison submits that an unstable opposition is created "between the primitive and the civilized that is everywhere operable in Henry's ethnocentric ideology of the *Heimlich" (3):*

> Yet if the instability of the opposition subverts Henry's ethnocentrism, it nevertheless remains the basis of the sexual politics of "a country like this," of the power Henry wields over Catherine and Eleanor, for *Northanger Abbey* is everywhere given to a gender specific version of the modality of power that Foucault, who will also figure prominently in what follows, terms "panoptic" or "disciplinary." And panoptic power, like the Freudian "uncanny," also involves the "return" of the "repressed," the recovery of "primitive" technologies of the carceral, the gothic dungeon, in the civilized or enlightened mode of "compulsory visibility." *Northanger Abbey*, I shall argue, reinscribes the gothic carceral as the carceral positioning of the reading subject, a fully gendered subject, in relation to the literature of the carceral. (3)

Gilbert and Gubar write at length about the confining world of female authors and of all women navigating nineteenth-century life, including readers. They note that "Austen admits the limits and discomforts of the paternal roof, but learns to live beneath it" (121). Austen's heroines, Gilbert and Gubar say, are so confined that to leave the home and

relieve the tedium of domestic life, they must depend upon opportunities provided by others:

> What characterizes the excursions of all these heroines is their total dependency on the whim of wealthier family or friends. None has the power to produce her own itinerary and none knows until the very last moment whether or not she will be taken on a trip upon which her happiness often depends (122).

The possibility of excursion is perhaps one explanation for the pervasive interest in the horse and carriage in Austen's work, probably because of the freedom represented by the ability to leave the domestic sphere. Gilbert and Gubar point out that the story, "The Three Sisters," from Austen's juvenilia features a woman preparing to marry a man she despises because he has three thousand a year and "a postchaise & pair, with silver Harness, a boot before & a window to look out at behind" (Austen *Minor Works* 63). Fanny Price overcomes her initial fear to desperately want a horse as does Marianne Dashwood. As for Catherine Morland, we shall see the spaces of the gig, the curricle, and the hack coach, while representations of freedom, become vehicles of both social and physical imprisonment where the Gothic elements of the novel take place.

Catherine's Gothic speculations are an emblem both of her freedom and her vulnerability to incarceration. The action of the novel puts her outside of the control of paternity and she is not yet married, thus she operates without male authority, which is a cornerstone of the Gothic and its ability to put heroines in dangerous situations. As Morrison points out, Emily St. Aubert's observations regarding supernatural occurrences and conjectures about her parents' marriage were as erroneous as were Catherine's

suppositions about the fate of Mrs. Tilney, and also happen at a time when she "can no longer be defined as anybody's daughter, and when she is not yet effectively under Valancourt's control, when she is not yet anybody's wife" (4). And yet, while Emily's plot is dependent on her separation from the world where her father resides, Henry's ideology is dependent on the separation of Henry and Catherine's world from the circumstances in which Emily and Montoni reside. The world of Austen's England is not the world of the Gothic. It is a modern world with "roads and newspapers" and Austen undermines the traditional Gothic with a new setting, the vehicle that travels the roads that allow transparency and regulation: the carriage.

Austen creates the backdrop for a potential Gothic experience early in her novel. The opening pages of *Northanger Abbey* feature a tongue-in-cheek narrative setting up all the satiric ways in which Catherine's tale is not that of the traditional Gothic heroine. We are told that her father "was not in the least addicted to locking up his daughters" (1). And when Catherine departs for Bath with the Allens "neither robbers nor tempests befriended them, nor one lucky overturn to introduce them to the hero" (6).[25] We are given to understand that Catherine is in such a state of mind, perhaps unduly influenced by the novel in which she is engrossed, to actually welcome the assault of robbers or the happy accident that might engage her with a dashing heroic figure. However, in Austen's narratives, these remarked absences of the unpleasant in opening descriptions can serve

[25] Austen's 1817 unfinished novel *Sanditon* begins with an accident in which a carriage topples over.

as a warning of what is to come.[26] Catherine will soon experience something that will certainly confront her with disagreeableness.

Catherine's initial feelings upon arriving in Bath are happy ones but she is soon subjected to the rolling emotions of being young and single and without acquaintances in a place where dancing and socializing are the paramount events. She quickly meets the other characters of importance, particularly Henry Tilney, upon whom she develops an instant crush. She also makes the acquaintance of John Thorpe and his sister, Isabella, developing a fast friendship with the latter. She tolerates and even pretends to like John Thorpe, who makes it clear that he has designs on her, even though she does "not like him at all" (50). And her instincts prove to be correct as he behaves in a boorish and manipulative manner, indulges in vulgar speech, and treats her with disrespect, ignoring her and leaving her alone and neglected until he sees her interest in someone else. Catherine is aware of his shortcomings and tries to avoid him but puts up with him both when Henry Tilney is not available and also for the sake of her brother who is friends with the Thorpes and has a budding relationship with Isabella.

A key development occurs when the repulsive John Thorpe deceives Catherine into believing that her friends, the Tilneys, have ignored their plans to go walking with her. He promises to give her a longed-for Gothic experience by taking her to Blaize castle, which she imagines to be like Udolpho Castle, the object of her current literary obsession. It is noteworthy that it is her engagement with the imaginary, her desire to bring the world of the Radcliffe novel into her reality, that creates the situation in which

---

[26] In Austen's *Emma* the narrator tells us on the first page that Emma has "lived nearly twenty-one years in the world with very little to distress or vex her" (E 1). This assertion serves to alert the reader that trouble is soon to come.

she overlooks the very real opportunity for an unsavory character to effectively imprison her. Mr. Thorpe is no handsome hero. He is a boor. Catherine's descent into her literary fantasy leads her into danger in her real environment. Worse, Catherine fails to recognize that "the threat of sexual violence is real" as noted by Fuller who points out that when Catherine asks in reference to Blaize Castle if they might "go all over…up every staircase, and into every suite of rooms?" John Thorpe replies, "Yes, yes, every hole and corner" a comment that Fuller argues holds a sexual threat:

> John's response is disturbingly fraught, as the term "hole and corner" refers to clandestine, especially clandestine sexual, schemes. John diminishes – atypically for him – the putative large spaces of Blaize Castle into small, hidden enclosures: loci for illicit sexual relations and emblems of female genitalia. John would like nothing better than to trap Catherine into a dark corner – and hence into marriage with him. (95-96)

As noted earlier, virtually everything John Thorpe says about Blaize castle is a lie and as they progress on their way, Catherine realizes that the Tilneys did not break their appointment with her at all, that in fact, they are walking on their way to meet her to go for their promised walk. She sees the Tilneys and notes that they see her, as well:

> 'Stop, stop, Mr. Thorpe, she impatiently cried, it is Miss Tilney; it is indeed. --How could you tell me they were gone? – Stop, stop, I will get out this moment and go to them.' But to what purpose did she speak? – Thorpe only lashed his horse into a brisker trot; the Tilneys, who had soon ceased to look after her, were in a moment out of sight round the corner of Laura-place, and in another moment she was herself whisked into the

> Market-place. Still, however, and during the length of another street, she intreated him to stop. 'Pray, pray stop, Mr. Thorpe. – I cannot go on. – I will not go on. – I must go back to Miss Tilney.' But Mr. Thorpe only laughed, smacked his whip, encouraged his horse, made odd noises, and drove on; and Catherine, angry and vexed as she was, having no power of getting away, was obliged to give up the point and submit. (87)

John Thorpe's refusal to adhere to Catherine's demand that he stop functions as a Gothic abduction. She is effectively imprisoned both physically as it is impossible for her to get out from a moving vehicle without serious injury but also socially as the open carriage allows for the gaze of the public and particularly that of the Tilneys to observe her and draw conclusions that she cannot refute. Fuller points out that Austen begins with a "comic social encounter" but recognizes that it easily could descend into a Gothic scene with real consequences:

> Austen makes him *seem* a laughable villain with his mediocre looks, clumsy manners, and vulgarity, but these qualities add to his menace. He is rude and unfeeling towards his mother and sisters, showing his lack of respect towards and objectification of all women…His lies, blatant violation of Catherine's wishes and delight in violating them show him fully capable of coercion and rape. (96)

And yet, horrifying as all this seems, does the reader ever fully embrace the idea that Catherine is in the sort of danger, particularly the sexual threat, that Fuller suggests? Certainly, Catherine herself never fully considers herself in a Gothic situation with Thorpe. She dresses him down severely – "How could you deceive me so, Mr. Thorpe?"

– and the narrator tells us she is "angry and vexed" (87). But she is not frightened; rather, her anger seems to be directed at the idea that the Tilneys would think badly of her: "They must think it so strange; so rude of me! To go by them, too, without saying a word!" (87).

Duckworth suggests that John Thorpe is merely a "deflationary" foil against the more truly Gothic tyrant, General Tilney. He assesses John Thorpe as a "grotesquely comic anti-villain" and suggests that when we read the carriage scene with its Gothic elements, "we see the joke and hardly consider him another Gothic tyrant" (84). But later, when we encounter the conduct of General Tilney, "it is not unreasonable to suggest that, as readers, we have been lulled into a false sense of security, only to have our complacency dislodged at the abbey" (Duckworth 84). Indeed, Catherine initially misunderstands General Tilney to be a decent man as much as he mistakes her for an heiress. Later, on the trip to Northanger, when he suggests that she ride alone with Henry in his curricle, she trusts his judgment as "he could not propose any thing improper for her" (156). She does, however acknowledge that something about him makes her uneasy; there is something beneath his surface charm that is unsettling and "always a check upon his children's spirits" (156). She also notices his temper and his control over those around him.

Catherine's real peril is the result of her falling under the spell of fiction. Many scholars have pointed out the ways in which Austen is demonstrating the detrimental influences of literature. Gilbert and Gubar argue in the seminal work *The Madwoman in the Attic* that Austen's goal is to "demystify the literature she has read" because "she seeks to illustrate how such fictions are the alien creations of writers who contribute to

the enfeebling of women" (120-121). Perhaps this is her motive; however, it is hard to imagine that Austen embraced an entirely feminist attitude. Her female protagonists are, after all, dependent women who are driven through the mechanics of plot towards that zenith of female life in the early nineteenth century: marriage and domesticity.

The carriage incident would not be as traumatic as it seems to be were the open vehicle not only an opportunity for confinement but also a public space where Catherine is visible and thus susceptible to perceived wrongdoing. We, the readers, know that Catherine did not wish to break her date with the Tilneys; however, the Tilneys are unaware that Catherine is held in Thorpe's carriage against her will and therefore, conclude that she has deliberately slighted them. The open space of the carriage offers unique authorial license in that, because it is a moving vehicle, escape without bodily harm is impossible and yet the imprisonment occurs in full sight of the surrounding public without appearing to be anything more odious than a minor violation of social rules.

That the space of a carriage, or any other vehicle of transport, is unique is essential to a discussion of a carriage as a particularly effective Gothic space. In *The Practice of Everyday Life,* Michel de Certeau describes the concept of space as a "practiced place" which is distinguished by the actions that take place within the perceived boundaries of a given location (117). A given space is defined, not only by geographic or perceived boundaries but also by the experience an individual brings to a space, the awareness of whatever history might be associated with that space, and any sociological considerations that might be attached, as well as the specific operation conducted in a given space. Catherine Morland brings to her carriage ride with John

Thorpe mixed concerns and feelings: a desire to be somewhere else, concern about Thorpe's motivations, anxiety about his conclusions regarding her submission to his demand that she spend the day riding with him, and her own doubts about the propriety and consequences of being seen in public with him. Catherine's uncertainty about the seemliness of riding with a young man is qualified by Mrs. Allen's assertion that it is not proper:

> 'Young men and women driving about the country in open carriages! Now and then it is very well; but going to inns and public places together! It is not right; and I wonder Mrs. Thorpe should allow it.' (83)

Catherine's response to Mrs. Allen's speech demonstrates her horror:

> 'Dear madam,' cried Catherine, 'then why did not you tell me so before? I am sure if I had known it to be improper, I would not have gone with Mr. Thorpe at all; but I always hoped you would tell me, if you thought I was doing wrong.' (83)

In this instance, Catherine fully understands that she has overlooked something important. She has disregarded social propriety and the effect of the panoptic or public gaze, which is a very real danger for young women in the early nineteenth century. Reputations were guarded carefully and while Catherine has obsessed with the Gothic conventions of the novelistic, her real danger has been her incautious association with the unsavory character of John Thorpe, a man who does not treat her with respect, physically endangers her in his carriage, and is unconcerned about damaging her social image. The world outside of the novel holds dangers that are both unappealing and unromantic and is a world where modern life with its carriages and faster conveyances demands to be

treated with one's attention and care. Catherine's journey into maturity is the bringing about of her understanding of the need for her to be attentive to her real life.

Ownership of carriages in the nineteenth century indicated wealth and status but authors who wish to incorporate a social critique in their novels tend to undercut the idea of vehicle denoting class. When little Osborne in the opening pages of *Vanity Fair* is confronted by Dobbin, who suggests that Osborne's family being merchants evens out any class disparity, Osborne quips that his father is a gentleman and adds that he "keeps his carriage," as if this fact further proves family superiority (43). Later, however, after Dobbin wins an altercation in defense of Osborne, thus asserting his physical prowess, Osborne's attitude changes. He expresses admiration of Dobbin having a pony in a letter to his mother and admits that, "I wish Papa would let me have a Pony…" showing that his young and malleable admiration of an older and bigger boy has expanded his view to see that perhaps a carriage isn't the thing to which to aspire after all. His champion rides a pony and he'd like to do so also. He goes on to say of his little sister that he's "cutting her out a Coach in cardboard," thus relegating the carriage to a childish plaything (48). The idea of "keeping a carriage" as a sign of class distinction becomes an infantile concern, thrown over for admiration of sacrifice and character.

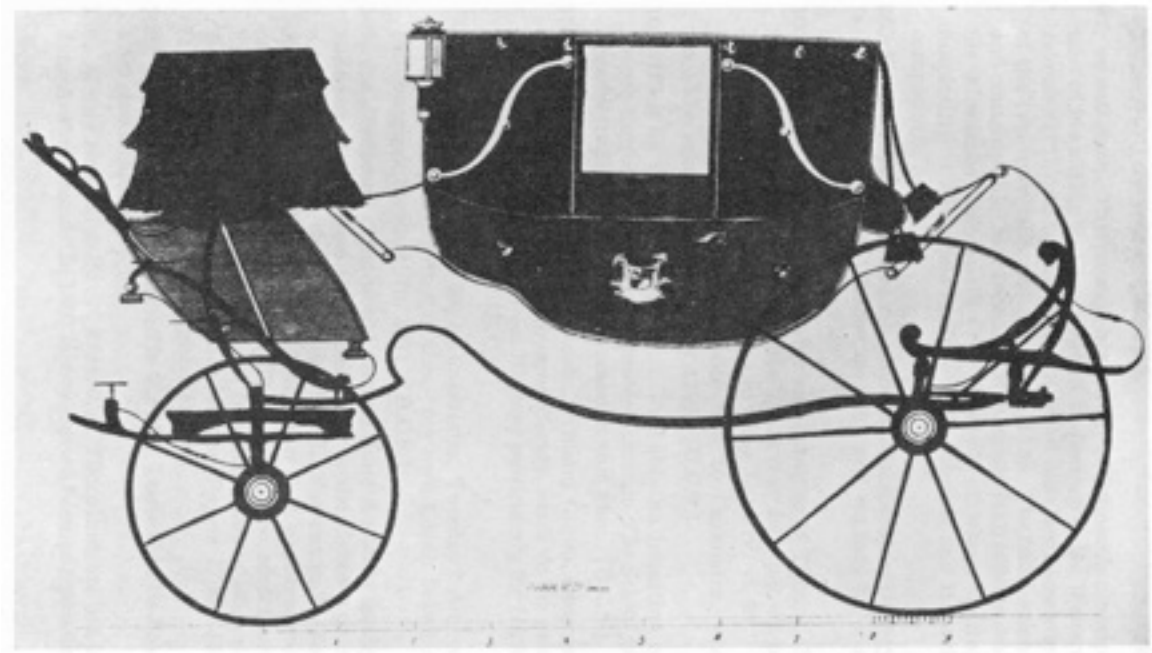
Likewise, Dickens takes a shot at carriage convention in *Great Expectations* as Uncle Pumblechook is described as a man who is a "well-to-do corn-chandler in the nearest town and drove his own chaise-cart." We are to infer that the commentary about his vehicle reinforces his "well-to-do" status (24). And yet, because of who Pumblechook is as a character, we are given to understand that the cart does not make the man, so to speak, as Pumblechook is a social-climbing fraud.

Austen shows a "recurrent interest in the horse and carriage" as noted by Gilbert and Gubar (123). As previously suggested, her heroines tend to ramble, visit, and take excursions as a way to escape the tedium of everyday life and these ventures tend to be employed in significant plot points; Emma Woodhouse is subjected to Mr. Elton's unwanted advances when she is stuck alone with him in his carriage, Jane Bennet is fortunate to stay under the same roof with Mr. Bingley when she falls ill after riding in the rain to visit his sisters, and Elizabeth Bennet changes her opinion of Mr. Darcy after riding with her relatives to visit his ancestral home. But Austen also uses discussions of carriages and their types to implicate a kind of vulgar bragging about class. Mr. Collins prattles on about the carriages owned by Lady Catherine De Bourgh as a way of distinguishing her as a lady of great importance and, indeed, Lady Catherine assesses Elizabeth by asking what sort of carriage her father keeps. And we cannot forget Mr. Elton's wife in *Emma* who brags boorishly about Mrs. Suckling (her sister-in-law) and her barouche-landau, a long, low-slung vehicle with seats that face each other and a retractable leather top. The barouche-landau is a luxury vehicle, primarily because its use is designated for summer sightseeing. One would assume that the owner of such a vehicle is of means to afford something built merely for frivolous pleasure, which is Mrs. Elton's point, although, rather than giving her the status she craves, she merely looks foolish for repeatedly bringing it up. It is one thing to brag about owning a fancy vehicle, it is quite another to brag about merely being associated with someone who does.

Austen similarly undermines the idea of vehicle ownership as a marker of class in *Northanger Abbey.* Catherine Morland expresses a preference of Henry's lighter curricle over General Tilney's:

> A very short trial convinced her that a curricle was the prettiest equipage in the world; the chaise-and-four wheeled off with some grandeur, to be sure, but it was a heavy and troublesome business, and she could not easily forget its having stopped two hours at Petty-France. Half the time would have been enough for the curricle, and so nimbly were the light horses disposed to move, that, had not the General chosen to have his own carriage lead the way, they could have passed it with ease in half a minute. (156-157)

The curricle, like a gig, is a sporty two-wheeled vehicle, especially popular with un-married males. However, unlike a gig, the single-horse vehicle John Thorpe proudly



A BAROUCHE-LANDAU BY GODIOL
From *Le Beau Monde*, 1806

Figure 4.

Figure 5.

owns, the curricle is pulled by two horses, and therefore has twice the horsepower of a gig. Because of the expense of keeping two horses, a curricle would be a carriage requiring more income to maintain. The general's chaise and four, by contrast, is a heavier vehicle. General Tilney's vehicle requires some significant wealth as there are four horses to feed and board as well as post-boys who are outfitted in livery costume:

> At last, however, the door was closed upon the three females, and they set off at the sober pace in which the handsome, highly-fed four horses of a gentleman usually perform a journey of thirty miles: such was the distance of Northanger from Bath, to be now divided into two equal stages…The tediousness of a two hours' bait at Petty-France, in which there was nothing to be done but to eat without being hungry, and loiter about without any thing to see, next followed – and her admiration of the

> style in which they travelled, of the fashionable chaise-and-four – postilions handsomely liveried, rising so regularly in their stirrups, and numerous out-riders properly mounted, sunk a little under this consequent inconvenience. (155-156)

The "four" refers to the four horses that pulled this carriage and postilions were men or frequently, boys, who rode the horses as there was no seat for a driver. A chaise and four would have required three postilions, two for the lead horses and one for the left horse closest to the passengers. The carriage type was a sort of coupe, meaning that the front of the vehicle looked cut-away, which allowed the passengers to have a front window as well as windows on the sides. When one considers the upkeep of the horses and the expense of the postilions and the out-riders, it is apparent that ownership of a coach of this type would require considerable expense. Catherine's acknowledgement that the chaise-and-four served to slow them down indicates her recognition that the heavier carriage, with its "handsomely-liveried postilions and out-riders" is less functional and more a signifier of status.

Catherine remembers Mrs. Allen's earlier admonition that riding alone in an open carriage with a young man isn't quite proper but discards any misgivings, telling herself that General Tilney wouldn't propose such an arrangement if it weren't appropriate. Her rejection of both the General's more traditional carriage and the dictates of propriety shows a selection of performance over status symbol and social mores as well as a preference for the driver who signifies youth, vigor, and prospects for the future. General Tilney and all he represents -- old world arranged marriages, the endorsement of wealth and class over love matches -- is preempted by Catherine's admiration of the more

modern and more attractive Henry. Catherine eschews class mobility for a more sensible model, that of domestic bliss, her true goal throughout the novel.

The carriages also indicate distinctions between her suitors, John Thorpe and Henry Tilney, in the types of vehicles they own. Catherine's journey to Bath, although not an overt move towards class mobilization, is made in hopes that she may meet a suitable partner who will provide an opportunity for financial betterment. Thorpe, who is obsessed with carriages and "cattle" is quite proud of his gig, which he describes as "Curricle-hung, you see; seat, trunk, sword-case, splashing-board, lamps, silver-moulding, all you see complete; the iron-work as good as new or better" (30).[27] He tells

[27] Frank E. Huggett describes a gig as "by far the most common carriage." He asserts that in "1865 no less than half of the 272,466 carriages in the country were one-horse, two-wheeled vehicles." He also makes it clear that most gentlemen who purchased gigs did so without being able to afford to support them, leading them to be nicknamed "bankrupt carts" (58). In contrast, a curricle is described as "a swift, stylish, hooded carriage, supported by large C springs, and with a pole and bar instead of shafts so that it could be drawn by a pair of horses." The curricle was popular with dandies beginning in Regency times and was the "first carriage bought by Charles Dickens after he had had his first great success with *Pickwick Papers* in 1837" (19).

Figure 6.

Figure 7.

Catherine the cost (fifty guineas), a revelation that is not only vulgar in itself but also reveals the limited means he has to spend. Contemporary readers of Austen would not have missed the distinction between the vehicles associated with the two men and would have had reinforced assumptions about the differences in wealth between the prospective suitors.

Furthermore, Catherine cannot help but distinguish between the temperaments of the two men as evidenced in the way they handle their horses. "Henry drove so well, -- so quietly – without making any disturbance, without parading to her, or swearing at them; so different from the only gentleman-coachman whom it was in her power to compare him with!" (157). It may be argued, however, that Henry Tilney provides an experience not completely unlike the captivity Catherine endures in John Thorpe's gig. Once Catherine is alone with him, Henry inundates her with Gothic imagery, teasing her by feeding her imagination of what awaits her at Northanger Abbey. He asks: "And are you prepared to encounter all the horrors that a building such as 'what one reads about' may produce? – Have you a stout heart? – Nerves fit for sliding panels and tapestry?" (157-158). He primes her for the Gothic encounter she desires and, as such, arguably does her a disservice, unwittingly setting her up for the fall that is to come.

Catherine's stay at Northanger Abbey is plagued by her imaginings of Gothic happenings, fueled by the conversation with Henry in his carriage. The culmination of her fantasies is realized when she constructs her own narrative of a dreadful scenario in which Mrs. Tilney is alive and kept imprisoned by her husband, whom Catherine surmises to have not felt affection for his wife. Her ideations are repudiated by Henry's admonishment:

> 'Remember that we are English, that we are Christians. Consult your own understanding, your own sense of the probable, your own observation of what is passing around you – Does our education prepare us for such atrocities? Do our laws connive at them? Could they be perpetrated without being known, in a country like this, where social and literary intercourse is on such a footing; where every man is surrounded by a neighbourhood of voluntary spies, and where roads and newspapers lay everything open?' (197)

Henry's indignation, when he realizes that she has mistakenly attributed Mrs. Tilney's death to her husband, Henry's father, may be argued to be a tad heavy-handed when one considers that he stoked the fire of Catherine's fantasy world. Yet his assertion when faced with her fantastic misunderstandings is that they do not live in the archaic and secluded world of the exotic lands where the traditional Gothic resides. Theirs is a civilized society where transparency and the gaze of the "neighbourhood of voluntary spies" provides safety from the actualization of Gothic fantasy.

The actual horror that Catherine experiences is ultimately in the abrupt declaration of General Tilney that she must leave Northanger Abbey, unthinkably without warning and without so much as a servant to accompany her. To turn a young woman, inexperienced and frightened, out without so much as a consideration for how she is to pay for her journey is the ultimate affront. She is subjected to the navigation of public transportation, a feat her mother claims may have done her good, saying, " . . . now you must have been forced to have your wits about you, with so much changing of chaises and so forth" (234-235).

We can analyze just how much Catherine must have needed her "wits" about her by looking closely at what her journey home must have been like. Her trip home stands in stark and deliberate contrast to the other journeys she takes through the course of the novel. She was to leave Northanger at seven in the morning, the time which General Tilney had ordered the carriage to arrive to collect her. Eleanor tells us that she is to take "a journey of seventy miles, to be taken post by you, at your age, alone, unattended!" as there is no servant that will be sent to accompany Catherine (226). What we know of her trip is what the narrator tells us: "Her youth, civil manners and liberal pay, procured her all the attention that a traveller like herself could require; and stopping only to change horses, she travelled on for about eleven hours without accident or alarm, and between six and seven o'clock in the evening found herself entering Fullerton" (232). Because we know she travelled by post-chaise, we can surmise that she had to change horses approximately every ten to fifteen miles, meaning that she would have endured stopping for fresh animals at least five times. The time it took for her to travel would indicate that they travelled just over six miles per hour, typical for a coach at that time. Therefore she did not pause to eat or, if she did, she didn't take long to do so. At each post station, she would have needed to explain her destination and rely upon the decency of the post-masters (the men who rode on the back of one of the horses that pulled the carriage) to handle her with propriety and make sure she was taken where she wished to go. That General Tilney, a man in a paternal role who held a place in society, "so polite, so well-bred," should turn a young woman out to fend for herself and navigate the system of post-coaching without money or a companion was "as incomprehensible as it was mortifying and grievous" (226). As we have seen by the warnings provided by *The*

London Guide and Stranger's Safeguard noted in the previous chapter, there were potential dangers she might have faced on such a journey. The narrator makes a point to provide a comparison between the earlier journey to see Henry's parsonage and the trip from Northanger home:

> Unfortunately, the road she now travelled was the same which only ten days ago she had so happily passed along in going to and from Woodston; and for fourteen miles, every bitter feeling was rendered more severe by the review of objects on which she had first looked under impressions so different. Every mile, as it brought her nearer Woodston, added to her sufferings, and when within the distance of five, she passed the turning which led to it, and thought of Henry, so near, yet so unconscious, her grief and agitation were excessive. (230)

Through this passage, Austen lets us know that Catherine has changed. Her longing for a home of her own is activated here and her agony over seeing the landscape that reminds her of Henry indicates her own desire for the fulfillment of her journey to be achieved by her finding a place where she can assume the domestic role that is her destiny. Her current Gothic circumstances, unrecognized as anything more than an extreme incivility that has been imposed upon her, will be resolved by her finding a partner and marriage, arguably, by her ultimate imprisonment in the "domestic carcerel."

Respectable women did not travel alone, both because of the issues of safety and also because of the implications of a young woman alone and the potential sexualized underpinnings. In spite of Henry Tilney's declaration that being English provides the

protections and transparency afforded by "roads and newspapers," the actuality was quite different, Kate Ferguson Ellis argues:

> It is in fact because it is not safe for a woman, even "in the central part of England," to travel seventy miles alone that the general's precipitous and unexplained expulsion of Catherine relieves Henry of the duty of filial obedience and allows him to play a role that has, as we will see, the stamp of the Gothic on it: the child who rebels against a parent and whose rebellion is vindicated. The rebellion of Gothic children is confined to the matter of marriage choice, and *Northanger Abbey* is a Gothic novel as well as a parody of the genre. But the event that forces Henry to alter his view of his father means that he is not a Mr. Knightley, not an old, experienced father-lover who always knows best. Rather, he is an Austen male with a blind spot, one who needs to step back from his unexamined relationship to male privilege, embodied in his father, just as Catherine needs to step back from her unexamined Gothic imagination. (4)

Ellis goes on to explain that Henry's understanding of the "neighbourhood of voluntary spies" is not the active community ready to protect its members or those who pass through such community. He believes that there is a "modern enlightenment" at work, facilitated by the improvement of roads and the transparency of the availability of newspapers (5). The actuality is, as we have seen, somewhat different. Road improvements served to change communities and create a suspicion of strangers that was bolstered by the rise in an ideology that favored domestic privacy. The world of male security does not extend to women traveling alone and ultimately, Henry is faced with

that realization and must act accordingly. As Raymond Williams argues, the idea of community is "very precisely selective" in Austen's novelistic world:

> Neighbors in Jane Austen are not the people actually living nearby; they are the people living a little less nearby who, in social recognition, can be visited. What she sees across the land is a network of propertied houses and families, and through the holes of this tightly drawn mesh most actual people are simply not seen. To be face-to-face in this world is already to belong to a class. No other community, in physical presence or in social reality, is by any means knowable. (166)

Williams's description of the closed community in Austen's work is the structure within which the Gothic elements are allowed to emerge. The outside world cannot and will not observe the indignities to which she is exposed when General Tilney turns her out and, because of the community's turn of the gaze, she is very much alone in her journey home, exposing her to the potential dangers of a woman traveling alone. In spite of the modernity of "roads and newspapers," transparency only exists insomuch as the outside world is willing to gaze at someone from out of the bounds of community and intervene. Ellis exposes the influence of modernity on the convention of the Gothic:

> For readers of this genre, the ideological framing of violence, and of women's relationship to it, occurred in a context of industrialization and urban expansion. When the conditions that govern daily life appear to be created by man rather than by God, there is a need to redefine what is natural. Conversely, certain occurrences once thought to be outside of human control are now perceived as manageable. I am suggesting that

> danger to women, coming from a man-made world of agricultural and industrial improvements, came to be perceived in the latter part of the eighteenth century as controllable by the human operation of setting apart the home as a "haven" from "all that." The vision of home as a heaven created by human endeavor, which could draw out the benevolent aspects of technology to serve as a protection from the harmful effects of the same technology, is an essential precondition for Gothic fiction. (8)

Thus, when a traveling woman is employed as an aspect of the novelistic, the dangers are able to act on her because of her emergence from the home. Within this framework, travel is an essential component of putting the heroine into the Gothic space.

When Mrs. Allen exclaims her alarm about "Young men and women driving about the country in open carriages!" she is somewhat ambiguous about the rules that govern the behavior in question. "Now and then it is very well; but going to inns and public places together! It is not right..." (83). But who defines the limitations of "now and then?" It is unclear because this is somewhat new territory. Carriages were not owned by everyday people just a few years prior to the early nineteenth-century world of Austen. The inexpensive gig that John Thorpe owns was newly invented and just coming into vogue as something that a young man could afford to purchase and, for the additional price of a horse and its upkeep, drive.[28] The idea of going for a drive for the sake of entertainment could only emerge once roads were improved so as to allow such a drive to be more satisfactory than the jostling, jolting, rut-navigating affairs they must have been during the previous decades. Mrs. Allen senses that something is not right but does not

[28] The first mention of the word "gig" in the OED, defined as a "light two-wheeled one-horse carriage," occurs in 1791.

have the clarity of a strict social rule regulating this behavior. In fact, the first time Catherine asks her permission to go for a drive with John Thorpe, her response is "Do just as you please, my dear" (61). The ambiguity perhaps is rooted in the dual ideas that a young woman should not be alone with a man and yet the open carriage presumably is a guard against impropriety because the inhabitants are visible. Yet it is precisely this visibility, this rendering of young women to the panoptic gaze that becomes problematic.

Catherine longs for the Gothic experience of the promised abbey without acknowledging that she has already had a peak Gothic episode in Bath in John Thorpe's carriage. She has already suffered virtual incarceration and manipulation and threat against her safety. Much as in the Gothic plot, John Thorpe lies to the heroic characters, the Tilneys, about her circumstances, he physically subdues her, he uses the public gaze for his own purposes by staging a situation that misrepresents her when he drives by the Tilneys. And, finally, her physical well-being is put at risk by his reckless driving and somewhat brutal treatment of his horse.

At the abbey, Catherine is mortified when she realizes that she has been grossly mistaken in her conjectures. Her Gothic novel, of which she is the heroine, has fallen flat. It never occurs to her that she has mistakenly embraced the anticlimax of her own plot; her moments of Gothic heroics took place in Bath and will be encountered later again through the actions of Henry's father.

General Tilney's dismissal of her to travel home on her own is likewise anti-climatic. In spite of the egregious violation of social niceties, the serious dismay of Eleanor, and the potential danger for a young woman traveling alone, Catherine is not afraid: "The journey in itself had no terrors for her; and she began it without either

dreading its length, or feeling its solitariness" (230). Indeed, she seems to barely notice that she is alone, vulnerable, and without a safety net should something go wrong. No one in her family knows she is on that coach bound for her home, not to mention do they have any knowledge of what time she is to arrive. But once again, Catherine misses that she is having a potentially Gothic experience. And fortunately, she suffers no mishap during the journey, in spite of being so distracted and suffering such "ignorance of her route" that she had to depend on the "postmasters for the names of the places which were to conduct her" to her home (232). But the narrator assures us that Catherine "met with nothing, however, to distress or frighten her" (232). This should not surprise us. Austen is not known for subjecting her heroines to any real horrors; rather, the worst that happens to them is a mortification that proves necessary to their maturation. But she leads us to the edge by allowing us to imagine how bad Catherine's trip might have been. Moreover, it is clear that General Tilney's behavior is no less than villainous: "Catherine, at any rate, heard enough to feel, that in suspecting General Tilney of either murdering or shutting up his wife, she had scarcely sinned against his character, or magnified his cruelty" (247).

In the end, Austen succeeds in reframing the Gothic in the strictures and controls of the modern world. The England of smooth roads and the availability of the technology that allows average people to travel easily is where Catherine's Gothic adventures lie. Her foray into what she expects to be Gothic, the world of the ruined abbey, turns out to be disappointingly mundane, even an exercise in recognizing that it is futile to find the world of the novel in the real world. The conventional is where danger lies and the atavistic has been updated. The exotic world of the European picturesque created by Ann

Radcliffe has been supplanted by the modern world with its systems of transportation. The irony of Austen's parody is that the modern world with its "roads and newspapers" has become the new Gothic space where danger lurks. The atavistic or traditional Gothic spaces are rendered benign, parodied into impotence, while the changing landscape of British industrialization is troped as the world where danger lurks and where the tenets of the Gothic can be a true threat to safety and happiness.

Chapter Three

A Journey into Captivity

O Luxury of Travel! Joy refined!
To fly steam-harness'd, in the ponderous train,
And feel the victory of mighty Mind
O'er space and time, for uses not in vain!
Yet ever in this world must loss and gain
Balance each other. Is it speed we prize?
'Tis edged with danger, equipoised by pain,
And aids our business but to cheat our eyes.
Th' unsocial Rail affords no varied pleasure
Like yours, ye coaches of a former day:
Apt for our haste, delightful for our leisure; --
We miss the cantering team, the winding way,
The road-side halt, the post horn's well-known air,
The inns, the gaping towns, and all the landscape fair.
"The Stage Coach and the Steam Carriage" – Charles Mackay

A careful reading of Charles MacKay's 1856 poem, "The Stage Coach and the Steam Carriage," provides insight into the cultural dilemma created by the advent of the railway. Suddenly, the stage coach becomes precious and nostalgia develops for this form of transportation which is in danger of being supplanted by the railway. A wistful affection appears at mid-century in novels, stories, and poetry. MacKay's poem highlights both the wonder of expediency provided by steam engine but also displays a

certain sentimentality for the soon-to-be outmoded (he imagines) horse-drawn conveyance.[29] As John Dussinger notes, "Already in the 1830s, little more than a decade after Jane Austen's death, the complete triumph of steam power, in the form of the new railway system, over horse power had awakened nostalgia for the almost obsolete means of transportation, and De Quincey's sentimental carriage cut could afford to luxuriate in rhetoric about the 'glory of motion'...." (133). De Quincey's 1849 essay, "The English Mail-Coach," is a work that invokes sentimentality for travel by horse-drawn conveyance, a mode of transport that he exalts as a glorious development that is nationally unifying as the "connection of the mail with the state and the executive government – a connection obvious, but yet not strictly defined – gave to the whole mail establishment an official grandeur which did us service on the roads, and invested us with seasonable terrors" (8). Those terrors of which he speaks are a result of the deference afforded to the mail-coach which was an emissary of government; indeed "the king's message on the high road" was unrelenting in its mission and disregarded anything in its path (9):

> Tied to post-office allowance, in some cases of fifty minutes for eleven miles, could the royal mail pretend to undertake the offices of sympathy and condolence? Could it be expected to provide tears for the accidents of the road? If even it seemed to trample on humanity, it did so, I felt, in discharge of its own more peremptory duties. (De Quincey 9)

---

[29] Monique Sontag's essay, included in *Discourses of Mobility – Mobility of Discourse: The Conceptualization of Trains, Cars and Planes in 19th- and 20th-Century Poetry,* provides an in-depth analysis of MacKay's poem within the context of cultural attitudes towards the railway in the mid-nineteenth century.

De Quincey's admiration for the mail-coach system is as strong as is his disdain for "the new system of travelling," a mode allowing a circumstance in which "iron tubes and boilers have disconnected man's heart from the ministers of his locomotion" (12). Thus, if we embrace De Quincey's sentiment, carriage travel is the mode of transportation that invokes the heart as well as a national solidarity or at least a collective spirit of unity. He contrasts the sense of oneness inspired by the arrival of the mail-coach as opposed to the individuality experienced at a railway station:

> Thus have perished multiform openings for public expressions of interest, scenical yet natural, in great national tidings; for revelations of faces and groups that could not offer themselves amongst the fluctuating mobs of a railway station. The gatherings of gazers about a laurelled mail had one centre, and acknowledged one sole interest. But the crowds attending at a railway station have as little unity as running water, and own as many centres as there are separate carriages in the train. (De Quincey 13)

We understand, then, a certain suspicion of train travel as it facilitates separation rather than unity and eliminates a nostalgic connection to the travel experience. That being the case, the employment of an earlier form of travel in the literature of post-railway explosion must have meaning that pushes beyond mere availability. Certainly travel by the more old-fashioned mode of the horse-drawn carriage is used when trains do not access the particular geography travelled. But, I would submit, more is at work here. As we shall see, travel by horse-drawn conveyance can be a literary device used to invoke something more primitive and archaic, even atavistic.

In spite of Dussinger's assertion that the carriage had become "almost obsolete," the truth was that coaching, particularly in the realms of public transportation, became, if anything, more prevalent as roads and vehicles underwent improvements and by mid-century was heavily employed in both rural and urban areas. According to Henry Charles Moore, the end of the century saw 11,252 licensed cabs in London alone (279). The horse-drawn vehicle became the means of transportation utilized in support of railway travel in conveying passengers to and from railway terminals or for when taking a train was either not feasible or, because of the limitations of the rails, impossible. The undertaking of travel by carriage becomes an archaic foil against the more contemporary steam locomotive; it was simple, old-fashioned, and seemingly innocent, making it the perfect vehicle to provide an aspect of mystery to an otherwise modern tale. As Jonathan Grossman submits, Charles Dickens nodded to this nostalgia for the world of coaching in *Pickwick Papers,* in which "the railways metonymically represent modern industry" and "the coaches, a pre-industrial past" (24). Modern roads create the bridge between the old, traditional mode of travel and something more new, more structured with the advent of public transportation and yet not quite as progressive as the railway, which emerged with great force beginning in the 1840's.

One should not imagine that carriage travel in the mid-nineteenth century in any way resembled what it looked like a century prior. The massive improvements in roads in the late eighteenth and early the nineteenth century allowed a stage-coach system to be created that featured fast-driving, regular round-trip journeys that were available

continuously and ran on regular schedules.[30] The mail coach, introduced by John Palmer late in the eighteenth century, had a primary function of carrying letters but also could accommodate up to four passengers, allowing would-be travelers to ride for a modest fare and thus making journeys more accessible for everyone, not just those wealthy enough to afford to purchase their own carriage. But by the 1850s the mail coach was rendered obsolete by the railways.

In nineteenth-century literature, carriage travel can often be associated with danger and the loss of control of one's person. It is seen in numerous works to function as an opportunity for a villain to gain authority over a victim and transport that person to a place where more misdeeds are initiated. This opportunity is not afforded by train travel, which allows most criminal behavior to be observed by other passengers. The carriage journey allows privacy and therefore can be manipulated into something that can be mysterious and even perilous. To add to these worries, by mid-century, there were very real fears of catching diseases by riding in a public coach that has recently been inhabited by an infected passenger. As Kerr notes, the 1860 *Lancet* report on the threat of the possibility of being infected in a public vehicle includes the statement: "We might draw an even more repulsive picture which yet a Londoner would know to be not untruthful" (283). Kerr reads this telling line as an indication of what the editorialist "withholds from polite discussion" – that the possibilities of contamination are not contained to a physical hazard but that the possibility of moral peril is inherent also in the shared spaces that mix "bodies, classes, and substances" (284).

---

[30] Jonathan H. Grossman writes that the railways modeled their systems on the existing stage-coach networks and that the stage coach's emergence as a thoroughly modernized form of travel coincided with the advent of the railway.

The fear of catching an illness was a real threat and when one considers an unseen danger that has the potential to be debilitating if not lethal, anxiety results. That particular sensation of the fear of what cannot be seen is exemplified in literature that invokes the carriage in a way that intersects with the paranormal, the atavistic, and immoral, which offers the potential for permanent transformation in a negative way. By virtue of its very purpose, the horse-drawn vehicle is intended to transport a person to a different, if not new locale, creating the potential for a person to feel displaced and not him or herself. The carriage space is one that is frequently occupied by a lone traveler under the control of a driver, distinguishing it from a train, which accommodates numerous passengers. Once a person allows him or herself to be under the superintendence of a driver, the possibility of being taken to a location under duress is implicit and, in literature, can result in the risk of corruption, which is as much a threat as is infectious disease. Aberrational plot devices abound, including a situation where harm can be done to the traveler under the dominant power of the person who has command of the horses conveying the vehicle. The threat of illness is replaced by an equally hideous possibility, that of being so drastically changed by an experience, perhaps in such a manner as to be permanently eliminated or never seen again. As Kerr says, "That infected cabs and omnibuses haunted a generation of Londoners should be read as a cultural event in which Victorians attempted to sort out contradictory desires regarding mobility, circulation, and visuality with regard to the profuse but ultimately also diffuse notion of contamination" (285).

Both Le Fanu's sensation novel, *Uncle Silas,* and Bram Stoker's *Dracula* document an entry into the frightening unknown via carriage. Both novels employ

railway travel and yet for Maude Ruthyn and Jonathan Harker, the access into a dangerous world where false imprisonment awaits comes by carriage travel, which as we shall see, facilitates encounters that create an entryway to a spiritualistic or ritualistic experience with people who are deemed local, lower class, indigenous, or marginalized as are the "gypsies" who appear in Le Fanu's work.

To understand the full implications of Maud's encounter with the black-haired, black-eyed girl who is a member of the "wild tribe of the human race…children of mystery and liberty," it is helpful to have a basic understanding of the political situation of Ireland within the imperialist governing body of Britain (191). Marjorie Howes argues that *Uncle Silas* functions as an allegory for the decay of the Anglo-Irish aristocracy, a disintegration that, she maintains, occurs from within the structures of families and genealogy:

> Anglo-Irish literature, as distinct from Irish literature written in English, can be defined as the literary production of the social and political caste whose domination of Ireland under British rule was known as the Protestant Ascendancy. The Anglo-Irish were a local ruling class whose pretensions to aristocracy belied their profoundly middle-class character, and whose imaginative construction of an authoritative aristocratic political and cultural tradition belied their dependence on English centers of power for their strength and legitimacy in Ireland. (164)

The Protestant Ascendancy fixed the Anglo-Irish in a liminal state which was a hybrid of cultural belonging; they were both connected to the Irish in heritage but also embraced the empowerment of alliance with English assimilation. As Protestants, they stood

counter to the Irish religion, Catholicism. Under the overarching structures of British rule, Ireland was undergoing a cultural purge of sorts. National schools were implemented where children were forbidden to speak their native Irish language and were taught English culture in the form of history and literature. The idea was to abolish what was "barbaric" in favor of the more structured and sophisticated British model. Implicit in the imposition of this cultural reprogramming was the fear that the Celtic integration would backfire and have a degenerating effect on British culture. Marjorie Howes writes:

> The specters that haunted the colonial and especially the Anglo-Irish imagination were racial assimilation that, it feared, would sap the strength and purity of England, and assimilation as the descent of the British to the political and social level of the barbarous Irish. In Ireland such anxieties did not merely express colonial fears of "going native"; they represented an acute awareness that the shape of the relationship between the Protestant Ascendancy and the Catholic Irish was in fact changing, albeit slowly. The history of the Anglo-Irish in the nineteenth century is one of a gradual diminution of wealth and power. (170)

Gaylin explains the complexities of the Anglo-Irish as rife with inherent anxieties about inheritance, both literal and cultural, compounded with a recognition of not being fully British nor completely "allied with the greater native Irish Catholic population" (102). Because the Anglo-Irish are connected with England's religious and socio-economic structures, their simultaneous immersion in Irish culture creates a binary of Irish heritage representing both the "foreign and familiar," a scenario that Gaylin suggests is both

Heimlich and *unheimlich* (102).[31] Thus in Le Fanu's centering of his tale within the Protestant Ascendency, what is homelike is also unfamiliar, invoking a sense of the uncanny throughout the narrative which hearkens to the sense of Irish dislocation felt in their home country under British unification; in essence, the tale is an allegory of what it feels like when home is no longer familiar and when cultural heritage is threatened.

While set in England, scholars note that *Uncle Silas* is a displaced novel. It is based on an 1833 short story titled "Passage in the Secret History of an Irish Countess" and then later was reprinted with minor edits as "The Murdered Cousin" in 1851. The short stories were set in County Cork, Ireland but Le Fanu resituated the geography in Derbyshire at the request of his publisher, Richard Bentley, who wanted a novel set in an English locale to accommodate the preferences of British readers (Gaylin 102). Howes notes that "Le Fanu's critics have generally agreed on its [the novel's] underlying 'Irishness'" (167). Indeed, "The Murdered Cousin," the short story on which *Uncle Silas* is based, opens with the narrator telling us that it is a "story of the Irish peerage" (2).

The opening of "The Murdered Cousin" gives us few details of the heroine's home. We know from the first-person narrator that her mother died, leaving her in infancy to the care of her father who was "an oddity" and that her "religious instruction was prosecuted with an almost exaggerated anxiety; and I had, of course, the best masters to perfect me in all those accomplishments which my station and wealth might seem to

---

[31] Sigmund Freud writes, "The German word *unheimlich* is obviously the opposite of *Heimlich, heimisch*, meaning "familiar," "native," "belonging to the home"; and we are tempted to conclude that what is "uncanny" is frightening precisely because it is not known and familiar" (2). He is careful to clarify that not all things that are novel are frightening and uncanny but that all things that are new and unknown have the potential to be so.

require" (2). These narrative disclosures fix the family within the structures of landed gentry and put religion at the forefront of educational concern.

We may contrast this opening with the opening of Le Fanu's subsequent novel, released some thirteen years after the short story. In the opening of *Uncle Silas*, as in the short story, the narrator is also the protagonist who sets the scene:

> It was winter – that is, about the second week in November – and great gusts were rattling at the windows, and wailing and thundering among our tall trees and ivied chimneys – a very dark night, and a very cheerful fire blazing, a pleasant mixture of good round coal and spluttering dry wood, in a genuine old fireplace, in a somber old room. Black wainscoting glimmered up to the ceiling, in small ebony panels, a cheerful clump of wax candles on the tea-table; many old portraits, some grim and pale, others pretty, and some very graceful and charming, hanging from the walls. Few pictures, except portraits long and short, were there. On the whole, I think you would have taken the room for our parlour. It was not like our modern notion of a drawing-room. It was a long room too, and every way capacious, but irregularly shaped. (9)

This is a home that figures prominently in the novel's first of three volumes and provides the structured life against which the world Maud encounters while living with her uncle is contrasted. That the novel's opening submits such a thorough description of the parlour or center of family life is telling in its details. The cheerful fire within contrasts with the stormy darkness of the night outside, indicating that within the walls of the home lies safety and stability which is not matched in the outer world. The "tall trees and ivied

chimneys" show longevity; this is a home with a heritage, a history which the mention of the portraits reinforces. The home has a storied past, has been occupied for generations, and is not modern but irregularly shaped, indicating that in spite of tradition, something slightly different is at work here; tradition has been "irregularized."

The narrator, Maud Ruthyn, who is seventeen, goes on to tell us about her father, saying that he was of "Mr. Ruthyn, of Knowl, so called in his county, but he had many other places; was of a very ancient lineage, who had refused a baronetage often, and it was said even a viscounty, being of a proud and defiant spirit, and thinking themselves higher in station and purer of blood than two-thirds of the nobility into whose ranks, it was said, they had been invited to enter" (9). Maud's father is part of a tradition of eschewing what his family considers to be superficial offers to enter the class of nobility. Their pure blood-line suffices and supersedes title. The disclosure here fixes Maud's heritage, while English in this version of the novel, outside of the structures of the British socio-economic systems.

The people from the outside world who come within Knowl, set in juxtaposition against the durability of the home's interior, are people who bring an essence of danger to the order. Dr. Bryerly, a man the housekeeper describes as a "great conjurer among the Swedenborg sect," pays a visit which is misinterpreted by Maud as an incident of suspicious behavior she assumes is some sort of collaborative dabbling in the occult between the doctor and her father. In actuality, Dr. Bryerly's visit is a medical call as the doctor has diagnosed her father with a fatal aneurism, a condition which leads to his

death (11).[32] The arrival of Madame de la Rougierre is another significant outsider who enters; she is described by Maud at her first appearance as a frighteningly hideous figure with "large and hollow features . . . smiling very unpleasantly" who "began gobbling and cackling shrilly" (14). Later, Maud says she is "tall, masculine, a little ghastly perhaps" with "bleached and sallow skin…hollow jaws, and the fine but grim wrinkles traced about her brows and eye-lids" (27). The account sets Madame as almost cadaverous and, indeed, we see later in the novel that Madame is, in effect, an administrator of death, certainly evil, and a criminal figure who takes Maud on an uncanny journey and meets with the gruesome end that is intended for Maud herself.

Only Maud's cousin, Lady Monica Knollys, brings a sense of gaiety and happiness to the home. She takes on the role of Maud's champion, seeing Madame de la Rougierre and recognizing her as someone unpleasant from the past determines to do something about it without disclosing what disagreeable things she knows about Maud's odd governess. She does, however, explain to Maud the circumstances of her Uncle Silas being suspected of murder and the ways in which Silas has alienated himself from his neighbors and friends. Monica also asserts that Maud's father does not believe the suspicions as he is "very proud of his family" and had actually attempted to prosecute those who had slandered Silas's character. Monica functions as the family historian, explaining to Maud how well-connected her father was with English officials, saying

[32] Maud's father, Dr. Byerly, and her uncle Silas are all followers of the mystic, Emmanuel Swedenborg, whose doctrine is that the spiritual world is real and the physical world experienced by humans is merely a symbolic reflection of it. His ideas are that one can experience the world through inward vision. Swedenborg's ideas were considered heresy by many and yet were embraced by numerous romantic and transcendentalist artists, including William Blake and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

"had had a very great influence with the Government" (66). Monica also discloses that Maud's father has been paying Silas an allowance that allows him to continue to live in a home that is "in a very wild, neglected state" (67). Thus, a distinction is revealed between Maud's father, Austin, and his brother, Silas. Unlike Maud's father who is respectable, orderly, connected, and functions well within English social and governmental structures, Silas is an outcast. He has been scorned, shunned, and maligned and based on Monica's assertions about the state of his home, chooses to eschew the propriety of upkeep that indicates respectability in a Victorian world. He is landed but does not care for his own property, nor is he able to fund his own living expenses. He is representative of the degenerating values of the Anglo-Irish, unwilling, perhaps, to fully assimilate to British conventions and yet unable to embrace the heritage that is distinctly Irish.

The death of Maud's father precipitates her journey to go to her Uncle Silas. Her father, having trusted in the innocence of his brother, seeks to prove that his brother is worthy of trust. He uses his daughter as living proof, since on the occasion of her death, Silas would stand to inherit her fortune. Austin Ruthyn, who operates both within and outside of the boundaries of English structures as evidenced by his connections and respectability as well as his heritage of shunning a title and his following of a religion that is outside of the Anglican traditions, presumes that the expectations of ancestral values apply to his brother, as well.

When Maud leaves the order and stability of Knowl, she is unaware she is moving towards the symbolic decay and decadence of a declining Anglo-Irish social caste

system. She has long been fascinated with the portrait of her uncle at Knowl and has hopeful expectations for what her life with him might be.

Maud's travel experience signifies a connection with the archaic. The journey to Bartram-Haugh, Silas's home, is settled to be taken by carriage rather than railway as it will save "five-and-twenty miles" and Maud will travel sixty miles "by the post road – the pleasantest travelling, if the mind were free" (187). She could go by train but chooses the alternate form of transport. She notes that it is possible to see the distant landscapes from the window of the train, were she to go that way, "but it is the foreground that interests and instructs us, like a pleasant gossiping history; and *that* we had, in the old days, from the post-chaise window" (188). The implication here is that from the railway window, she would miss out on what she is able to see from the carriage, which is "Something of all conditions of life – luxury and misery – high spirits and low; -- all sorts of costume, livery, rags, millinery; faces buxom, faces wrinkled, faces kind, faces wicked; -- no end of interest and suggestion, passing in a procession silent and vivid, and all in their proper scenery," an assertion that Schivelbusch supports in his commentary on the spatial implications of rail travel (188). The more modern mode of transportation, the railway, stands in opposition to the kind of experience that Maud craves. The choice to take the carriage was one made for the sake of saving distance; however, the result is to allow Maud an immersive experience in both culture and landscape, an experience she clearly desires.

She is saddened to see familiar places diminish in the distance and therefore "was relieved" to get "into a "country that was unknown to me, the new scenery and the sense of progress worked their accustomed effects on a young traveller who had lived a

particularly secluded life" (188). Her journey by carriage engages with "the heart" referenced by De Quincey and her descriptions of the landscape and scenery are reminiscent of Radcliffe's employment of the picturesque. Maud is curious and scales a mountain for the first time, enjoying the "magnificent view" and the "gorgeous and misty" scenery (189). When the sun goes down, it is almost possible to see the destination of Bartram-Haugh in the distance but "mist was gathering over us all by this time" (190). Maud's vision is veiled. She has not yet traveled into the world of her uncle's domain. She first must pass through a metaphorical gateway by facing a group of people who symbolize the disenfranchisement of the Irish and the world of lawlessness that she is about to enter:

> And now we rapidly descended the mountain side. The scenery was wilder and bolder than I was accustomed to. Our road skirted the edge of a great heathy moor. The silvery light of the moon began to glimmer, and we passed a gipsy bivouac with fires alight and caldrons hanging over them. It was the first I had seen. Two or three low tents; a couple of dark, withered crones, veritable witches; a graceful girl standing behind, gazing after us; and men in odd-shaped hats , with gaudy waistcoats and bright-coloured neck-handkerchiefs and gaitered legs, stood lazily in front. They had all a wild tawdry display of colour, and a group of alders in the rear made a background of shade for tents, fires, and figures. (190)

She asks the groom if the people she sees are, indeed, "gipsies." He responds affirmatively, "glancing with that odd smile, half contemptuous, half superstitious, with which I have since often observed the peasants of Derbyshire eyeing those thievish and

uncanny neighbours" (190). The gypsies are not members of the social structures that Maud inhabits; they are outsiders, labeled as both "uncanny" and untrustworthy.

Gypsies became more commonplace in the nineteenth century because of the displacements caused by industrialization and the decline of the cottage industry economy. Such socially disadvantaged groups who became nationally migratory were considered with suspicion and perceived as "culturally and ethnically different" (Renouard in Chabanet and Royall 12). They were typically lower class, and generally considered to be vagrant, and perhaps even shifty. Early nineteenth-century reports outline allegations, mostly untrue, that gypsies kidnapped children, using them both for work and to fulfill emotional needs.[33] Indeed, Matthews explores the proliferation of Victorian children's literature in which the trope of gypsies kidnapping children to put them to work appears not only as a didactic method of imparting to children the values of culture and the expectations of behavior but also an anxious exploration of legitimacy, the concept of racial purity, and desire for social order, writing that the "sheer number of these stories is the result of a compulsive repetition, the need to repetitively stage anxieties about the stability of families" (150).

Despite the stereotype that gypsies kept to themselves and lived in a secret and isolated society, they were actually very connected with settled populations:

> Gypsies lived in per-urban encampments or even cheap lodging in cities over winter alongside working-class populations, making and selling goods, moving in regular circuits across the countryside in the spring and

[33] One such report was detailed in an 1832 edition of *The Evening Mail* which reported two adolescent girls were abducted by Gypsies, allegations, which were ultimately found to be fabrications.

> summer, picking up seasonal work, hawking and attending fairs. Far from being 'a separate people,' their economic survival in fact depended on close engagement with the wider population. (Taylor 17)

Thus, gypsies were connected to the structures of society and yet lived outside of them by virtue of their nomadic tendencies. They were seen as people who eschewed modern responsibilities, escaping the draft through constant nomadic movement and evading rationing because they begged and stole and foraged for food.

That the gypsies show up at the precise moment when Maud is entering the neighborhood of Bartram-Hough expresses a disquietude about her claiming a home that is both familiar as it is part of her ancestral birthright and yet strange as it is unknown to her and the area is inhabited by a people she recognizes as "uncanny." She admires them as "children of mystery and liberty," perhaps seeing in them the freedom that she cannot enjoy herself as a woman and also as a member of a class that must subscribe to Victorian regulation and the panoptic gaze as indeed as we see employed in most Gothic and sensational works. Maud is effectively owned by patriarchy. Her father's death means that he has "left her" to her Uncle Silas, a man she doesn't even know but who now will take guardianship of her, effectively possessing her.

Gaylin describes the gypsies with whom Maud interacts as symbolic of the state of the Protestant Ascendancy under British unification:

> In the larger allegory of Irish disenfranchisement and expropriation, the gypsies – a poor, landless people who live in an uneasy relationship with the country's other inhabitants – represent the native Irish Catholics, whose relationship to their own land and labour is spectral at best. Maud's

> sympathy for and identification with these 'uncanny neighbors' anticipates the attempt later to alienate the heiress from her property and denies an easy binary of working-class versus upper-class allegiances. Instead, it reminds us that the category of Anglo-Irish itself is riven by multiple identifications. (103)

Maud is an Englishwoman with British heritage and yet her entry into the world of Uncle Silas would seem to indicate that she is entering a different world. Her travel to Bartram-Haugh is cast quite differently than in its antecedent short story which does not tell us much of her journey nor does it include the encounter with the gypsies, The presence of the gypsies with all the meaning attached to their cultural habits seems to represent that Maud has entered a land that is foreign. Allegorically, Uncle Silas and Bartram-Haugh represent the corrupting influence of the undermining of Irish heritage that occurs with the attempts at British assimilation. It is Bartram-Haugh where lawlessness and disorder resides, allowing for addiction, uncivilized behavior as evidenced by Maud's cousins, and violence. Le Fanu's original work, "The Murdered Cousin," takes place in Ireland, thus eliminating the need for an allegorical passageway into the world of Uncle Silas and Bartram-Haugh, which is the world where the Gothic action takes place, and which represents the disorder and disintegration of Irish culture under British rule.

Maud's encounter with the gypsies is also symbolic of her traversing back in time, using a chosen outmoded form of transportation that takes her backwards in progress into a world where British influence has done little to tame the wildness of the people. Unlike Austen's more civilized world in which Henry Tilney cries, "We are English. We are Christian," we can imagine, amidst these exotic peasants that Maud is interacting with

lawlessness, both outside of the laws of nature and the laws of society. She has her fortune told and, we are given to believe, pays too much for it:

> 'Give me some money, Mary Quince. No *not* that,' I said, rejecting the thrifty sixpence she tendered, for I had heard that the revelations of this weird sisterhood were bright in proportion to the kindness of their clients, and was resolved to approach Bartram with cheerful auguries. 'That five-shilling piece,' I insisted; and honest Mary reluctantly surrendered the coin. (191)

Much can be read into her idea that the more she pays, the more pleasant will be the prediction that she receives. It is as though by sharing her wealth, a function of the more structured world, with the actors of the less regulated world, she gains entry into the insights available to those who eschew the progress of industrialization and live close to the land, thus intermingling the new with the old. Yet, by paying for a more "cheerful" prophesy, she shows she is unwilling to succumb fully to the whims of the supernatural nature of fate. Certainly, the fortune she is told is a foreboding one, but comes with the assurance that all will be well – order will win over the chaos of lawlessness and immorality that she will encounter at the hands of her uncle Silas. Again, as seen in *The Signal-Man*, fate is predestined. The implication is that the world Maud is about to enter will present dangers that are, as of yet, unseen and unknown, except to those people who are untainted by societal structures that serve to separate them from the supernatural stream of consciousness that Maud pays money to access. In this transaction, the old world intersects with the new world. One does not exist or function without the other.

Maud's interaction with the gypsies presents an acknowledgement that she is of a different social class and enjoys a more modern and sophisticated life. By paying money for insights from the spiritual realms, she both embraces and eschews the mystical Swedenbourgism of her patriarchal figures. Through her interplay with the supernatural she has intersected the two worlds, claiming both the genealogy of her aristocratic ancestry but also the primitive that has been discarded in favor of a more genteel existence. Her encounter, it is important to note, can only occur via a horse-drawn conveyance. Maud orders the carriage stopped and her wish is obeyed, a scenario which could never occur on a train. The coach's groom's "odd smile, half contemptuous, half superstitious," demonstrates that the locals are aware of a need for caution and seem to have misgivings about what spiritual connections the gypsies are able to traverse. As Maud sees the "tall, lithe" smiling girl who is "inexpressibly handsome" through the coach window, it is as though she is observing another version of herself through a looking glass, a less privileged, less pampered, but more strong and self-sufficient version of herself, the part of herself that has ancestry fixed in Irish culture. She is warned that she will encounter enemies and assured that she has the inner fortitude to face them.

Bram Stoker's *Dracula* presents a similar encounter with peasantry that functions as a sort of gateway into another world. Jonathan Harker, on his way to the Count's castle, has his own encounter with the peasant class, the people native to the foreign country in which he finds himself. The people are, as in the case of the gypsies encountered by Maud, simple folk who live close to the land and are presumably members of a lower class carrying on the drudgery (or thievery as in the case of the

gypsies) of their predecessors. The locals give Harker every indication that they know something he doesn't and that the path he is on is a frightening one.

Harker's journey begins via railway and his very first sentence in the journal entry that comprises the first chapter harkens to the travel narratives that were so popular at the time, telling us that his train was late, which is our first indication that the modern world has its limitations, at least as far as reliability is concerned. He notes that he was impressed by the idea of "leaving the West and entering the East" upon crossing the Danube River and comments on the culture of the region he has entered, specifically, the food, the people and their nationalities. He tells his reader that he will be going to the "extreme east" where the people "claim to be descended from Attila and the Huns" (10). Every indication is that he is leaving a modern world for a more primitive one. He laments sleeping poorly, having bad dreams, and being annoyed by the howling of a dog. His declaration that "It seems to me that the further East you go the more unpunctual are the trains" is a commentary on his progressive removal from the regulatory structures provided by industrialized civilization (11). The further he travels, the less he finds of modern comfort, convenience, and reliability. But it is more than that; he is entering the domain of the primitive, the supernatural, and the dark danger that lurks where modernity hasn't yet arrived.

Harker continues his travel by rail, noting the peasants that he sees at each station and describing them in the colorful way that is not so different from the way Maud Ruthyn describes the gypsies she sees on her own journey:

> Some of them were just like the peasants at home or those I saw coming through France and Germany, with short jackets and round hats and

> homemade trouser; but others were very picturesque. The women looked pretty . . . They all had full white sleeves of some kind or other, and most of them had big belts with a lot of strips of something fluttering from them like the dresses in a ballet, but of course petticoats under them. The strangest figures we saw were the Slovaks, who are more barbarian than the rest, with their big cowboy hats, great baggy dirty-white trousers, white linen shirts, and enormous heavy leather belts, nearly a foot wide, all studded over with brass nails. They wore high boots, with their trousers tucked into them, and had long black hair and heavy black moustaches. They are very picturesque, but do not look prepossessing. (11)

The peasantry is both familiar, "just like the peasants at home," and exotic. The Slovaks "who are more barbarian than the rest" are, like the Maud Ruthyn's gypsies, outside of the boundaries of societal structures, another indication that Harker is penetrating further into a world where the regular social rules do not apply.

Finally, Harker reaches the limits of where he is able to travel by train. He follows the Count's instructions and stays at a hotel where the landlady is "in the usual peasant dress – white undergarment with long double apron, front, and back, of coloured stuff fitting almost too tight for modesty" and the landlord gives Harker a message from the Count directing him to take a stagecoach to meet Dracula's own carriage at the Borgo Pass. When Harker asks the landlord for the details of his coach journey, "he seemed somewhat reticent, and pretended that he could not understand my German" (12). The landlord and landlady give more indications that there was something amiss:

> He and his wife, the old lady who had received me, looked at each other in a frightened sort of way. . . .When I asked him if he knew Count Dracula and could tell me anything of his castle, both he and his wife crossed themselves, and, saying they knew nothing at all, simply refused to speak further. It was so near the time of starting that I had no time to ask any one else, for it was all very mysterious and not by any means comforting. (12)

Later, the landlady, clearly distressed, informs Jonathan that it is the eve of St. George's Day, a feast day that commemorates a Roman soldier who was supposed to have slain a dragon to save a maiden. The landlady begs Jonathan not to leave on such an inauspicious day, saying that "tonight, when the clock strikes midnight, all the evil things in the world will have full sway" an idea Jonathan finds ridiculous but again states that he "did not feel comfortable" (12-13). The use of the word "comfort" twice in short order indicates that, in spite of Jonathan's determination to continue his journey, he is not in a state of physical ease and freedom from pain and constraint. The use of the term "comfort" indicates a sense of foreboding as he will soon indeed experience a lack of freedom and be under constraint.

The landlady presses a crucifix on him "for your mother's sake," which he accepts, still declaring himself not "feeling nearly as easy in my mind as usual" (13). He notes that the coach driver and the landlady are talking about him and he also understands that the people gathered around the door of the inn were looking at him "pityingly" and are talking about him, using their words for the English equivalent of Satan, hell, witch,

and werewolf or vampire. They employ the sign of the cross as a guard against evil supernatural forces:

> When we started, the crowd round the inn door, which had by this time swelled to a considerable size, all made the sign of the cross and pointed two fingers towards me. With some difficulty I got a fellow-passenger to tell me what they meant; he would not answer at first, but on learning that I was English he explained that it was a charm or guard against the evil eye. This was not very pleasant for me, just starting for an unknown place to meet an unknown man; but every one seemed so kind-hearted, and so sorrowful, and so sympathetic that I could not but be touched. I shall never forget the last glimpse which I had of the inn-yard and its crowd of picturesque figures, all crossing themselves, as they stood round the wide archway…(14)

This passage echoes in two ways Maud Ruthyn's encounter with the gypsies. The peasants in the doorway of the inn place a charm on him and he is given a crucifix. Similarly, Maud has a charm given to her by the gypsy girl but in her case, in the form of a pin that was supposed to hold some sort of magic protective powers. And like Jonathan, Maud watches as those people she has encountered who seem to be connected with the supernatural diminish as she leaves them:

> She stood on the road-side bank courtesying and smiling, the first enchantress I had encountered with, and I watched the receding picture, with its patches of firelight, its dusky groups, and donkey carts, white as skeletons in the moonlight, as we drove rapidly away. (192)

Both Maud and Jonathan express a certain wistfulness as they watch the local people fade into the backdrop, an experience that could not be had if they were traveling by train. Neither comments on any emotional attachment to the people they are leaving behind and yet, as readers who feel the impact of foreshadowing, we sense that in both cases, they are leaving behind the security of a group of concerned locals, people who understand, albeit with the insight of the supernatural, that in both cases the travellers are journeying towards danger.

Through all this, Jonathan Harker is somewhat soothed by the beauty of his surroundings, much as Maude found solace in her view of the landscape, reminiscent of Emily St. Aubert's experience of the picturesque in *Mysteries of Udolpho*. Jonathan notes that the driver "was bent on losing no time" and flew over the rugged road "with a feverish haste" (14). He reflects on the traditions of the Carpathian roads, which was to keep them in disrepair "lest the Turks should think that they were preparing to bring in foreign troops, and so hasten the war which was always really at loading point," an observation that shows he is in a foreign land which views technology in a decidedly different way from the British and can be read as a subversion of progress (14-15).

As the journey progresses, Jonathan's travel companions become agitated and express superstitious behavior, in their own primitive way trying to be helpful by placing charms on him; the driver even attempts to impede his connection with the conveyance that will take him to Dracula's castle:

> It was evident that something very exciting was either happening or expected, but though I asked each passenger, no one would give me the slightest explanation. This state of excitement kept on for some little

> time…I was now myself looking out for the conveyance which was to take me to the Count. Each moment I expected to see the glare of lamps through the blackness; but all was dark. The only light was the flickering rays of our own lamps, in which the steam from our hard-driven horses rose in a white cloud. We could now see the sandy road lying white before us, but there was on it no sign of a vehicle. The passengers drew back with a sigh of gladness, which seemed to mock my own disappointment. I was already thinking what I had best do, when the driver, looking at his watch, said to the others something which I could hardly hear, it was spoken so quietly and in so low a tone; I thought it was 'An hour less than the time.' (16-17)

The driver announces to Jonathan that no carriage has arrived and that he should go with them on to Bukovina and wait for the Count's carriage to meet him there. During this conversation, the horses start to "neigh and snort and plunge wildly" (17):

> Then amongst a chorus of screams from the peasants and a universal crossing of themselves, a calèche with four horses drove up behind us, overtook us, and drew up beside the coach. I could see from the flash of our lamps, as the rays fell on them, that the horses were coal-black and splendid animals. (17)

The vehicle was, of course, the Count's, a calèche or light carriage with a collapsible top that, along with the magnificent four horses, indicated wealth. The driver, who is later revealed to be Dracula himself, helps Harker "with a hand which caught my arm in a grip of steel," effectively beginning Jonathan Harker's imprisonment (17).

In both *Uncle Silas* and *Dracula* as the protagonists make the journey away from modern society, they move closer to their own carceral experiences. Challenges are predicted by the locals in both cases and, in both instances, are concerning but ultimately ignored by the protagonists. It is as though the movement away from all that is modern is what opens the possibility of the supernatural, even evil, to act in the plot.

Jonathan Harker is told explicitly by his host that he has traveled to a place ungoverned by the rules of modern life and, indeed, even by what natural laws he has come to accept:

> 'We are in Transylvania; and Transylvania is not England. Our ways are not your ways and there shall be to you many strange things. Nay, from what you have told me of your experiences already, you know something of what strange things here may be.' (26-27)

The Count's speech stands in opposition to the assertions of Henry Tilney of *Northanger Abbey* who cries, "We are English. We are Christian." Henry assumes that nothing frightening, strange, or Gothic can occur because of the "roads and newspapers" that lay everything open. When Harker questions Dracula further about some of the "strange things" he has seen, Dracula's response is to turn to images of the past, of previous wars, concealed treasure, and the idea of the land "enriched by the blood of men, patriots or invaders" (27). The region where Harker finds himself is firmly entrenched in the past with its unearthly happenings that are far removed from modernity.

By the end of the second chapter, Jonathan Harker reveals his horrible discovery that "The castle is a veritable prison and I am a prisoner!" (32). In the continuation of his journal entry, he comes to understand that no other soul inhabits the Count's castle, and

thus he determines that Dracula was himself the coach driver. His imprisonment began the moment he boarded the Count's carriage and he has been under the control of his captor ever since.

In Maud Ruthyn's case, all has the appearance of being as well as it could be during her journey to her uncle's estate, Bartram-Haugh, considering that she is recently bereaved and must leave her childhood home to reside with a relative she has not met before. She describes the journey to her new residence as being anticipated with a "not unpleasurable excitement" and finds it actually "delightful" to navigate the Derbyshire mountains as she had "never scaled a mountain before" (188-189). But soon the descriptions take on a decidedly more sinister tone as the sun begins to set and the terrain is found to be "lying in cold grey shadow" with mist "gathering over us by this time" (190). As they descend the other side of the mountain they have navigated she says the "scenery was wilder and bolder than I was accustomed to" (190). This change in tone with the gloom of what she observes leads to her encounter with the gypsies which results in, like what Harker experiences, interactions with a peasant class which foretell the peril she will soon confront.

The gypsy girl is seemingly forgotten in the pages to come as Maud's travels bring her to the ancestral home of her uncle. The descriptions of the house with its "pair of tall fluted piers, of white stone, all grass-grown and ivy-bound, with great cornices" are likened to an "enchanted castle" (193). Like Jonathan Harker, Maud Ruthyn has been transported to a place that seems to have been stopped in time and overcast with mystical attributes; they both end up in a traditional Gothic setting.

But unlike Harker, Maud's imprisonment isn't obvious right away. All seems well and she perceives only kindness from her odd uncle. It isn't until she catches a glimpse of Madame de la Rougierre, the governess who had been banished from her father's house for misbehavior, that she begins to suspect all is not as it seems. A further hint of the imprisonment to come is initiated when Uncle Silas refuses to allow her and her cousin to visit her beloved aunt who lives relatively nearby and then, when the cousin is sent away, the reader senses that Maud's isolation could be a very dangerous thing.

Ultimately, the reader's awareness that Maud has been effectively imprisoned and is in mortal peril comes later in the novel. She has been sequestered and is left under the control of the untrustworthy Madame de la Rougierre. Her uncle informs her that Madame will convey her to join her cousin in France and this journey is to happen without her beloved maid, Maud's last bastion of safety.

A carriage conveys Maud and her creepy guardian away from the world of the primitive, towards the modern. The railway takes them to the bustling world of London, a place that, she remarks, would have been exciting for her to visit "under happier circumstances" (408). They stay at a house where the hostess, who is an old friend of Madame de la Rougierre, talks to Maud about "nuns and convents," atavistic images that are found in more traditional Gothic tales. This brief conversation hints toward the uncanny events that are about to transpire. Maud is again taken by train, at the directive of a letter from her uncle, ostensibly to Dover, although Maud is suspicious at the way "Dover" is emphasized by its being underlined in the letter. She wonders if she has been drugged as she is unaccountably weary and spends the train journey and the ensuing carriage ride in a foggy sleep state. The carriage takes them to a mysterious and dark

place which Madame tells her is a hotel and she is whisked indoors, through unlit passages and stairs to a shabby dormer where Madame claims they have arrived at her "dear old room" and she proceeds to lock the door and direct Maud to her sleeping quarters (416). At this point, Maud produces the charm she has been given by the gypsy girl, which she sticks into the bolster of her bed only to find later, to her dismay, that it has disappeared. As her perilous situation dawns on her, she turns to the superstitious object for comfort but even that has been taken from her. She looks out the window and is greatly agitated to realize that she is back at Bartram-Haugh. She has experienced the uncanny circling described by Freud in his account of trying to walk away from an unsavory part of an Italian town only to find himself repeatedly back where he began.[34] This experience is echoed by one Jonathan Harker has after boarding the Count's conveyance and finds, to his horror, that he is traveling in a circle:

> The carriage went at a hard pace straight along, then we made a complete turn and went along another straight road. It seemed to me that we were simply going over and over the same ground again; and so I took note of some salient point, and found that this was so. (18)

In the case of both Maud Ruthyn and Jonathan Harker, the carriage journey allows them to be controlled by another and disoriented by a circuitous route so that they can be imprisoned for diobolical purposes. In both cases, the authors distinctly use Gothic imagery and superstition to foreshadow these events, creating tension in themselves, as

---

[34] Freud recounts an episode where he was "walking through the deserted streets of a provincial town in Italy" and when he "hastened to leave" found himself after wandering for a time "back in the same street." He describes situations that involve an "involuntary return to the same situation" as resulting in a "feeling of helplessness and of something uncanny" (10-11).

well as the reader, inspiring empathy and dread. The horse-drawn vehicle becomes an emblem of that which allows for a distortion of reality implicit in the understanding that they are away from the controls of the modern world and unable to help themselves.

The underpinnings of the anxieties about being taken captive may be rooted in the nineteenth century awareness of the slave trade, ended in Britain in the early 1800's and abolished on British outposts in 1838 but still happening in the Americas and other countries until much later in the nineteenth century, a circumstance that greatly concerned British abolitionists.[35] The generalized understanding of British colonial activities served to heighten a deep understanding that, at least in other parts of the world, people were kidnapped and used for whatever purposes the captors chose on a regular basis. At the very least, a fear of being captured and imprisoned was an anxiety that may well have been a stand-in for other, more regular fears, such as those of being infected or corrupted by encounters with "others" in remote regions accessed by transportation.

Additionally, for Maud Ruthyn and Jonathan Harker, their shared experience of being taken into a world that is ungoverned by the rules of a more civilized society, had to do with anxieties about social decay. As discussed previously, *Uncle Silas* functions as an allegory for the degeneration of Anglo-Irish traditions. It should be noted as well that Bram Stoker was also Irish and, as an Irishman living in Britain, his allegiances were split and he was well aware of the effects of Britain's colonization practices and attempts to assimilate cultures. That Count Dracula, a foreigner, subjugates a British subject could be read as a fear of what Stephen Arata frames as "reverse colonization," a concept that is

[35] A year after the publication of *Uncle Silas* Harriet Beecher Stowe published *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, an novel written to further the cause of abolition of U.S. slavery; the book was wildly popular in Britain, selling a million copies in the first year of its release.

significant as we shall see. As he notes, "Dracula's invasion of Britain would conceivably have aroused seldom dormant fears of an Irish uprising" (633).

At the very least, the imprisonments of Jonathan Harker and Maud Ruthyn both suggest a representation of helplessness to act within the structures of a rapidly changing modern world. Metaphorically, they are unwilling participants in events beyond their control. That these incarcerations occur by removing them from the structures of modern life speaks to the underlying anxieties of an industrialized society that in spite of a structured world with modern improvements, schedules, and conveniences that are increasingly accessible, there are dangers that lurk beneath the veneer of this seeming order. Jonathan and Maud have each been taken "off the rails" both literally and figuratively. Both of them manage to overcome their imprisonments, much to the relief of the reader, but the fear and lesson is there for the taking; in spite of the appearance of a modern world, structure and order are an illusion. Behind modernity, there are pockets of human culture still capable of immorality, depravity, and chaos that threaten stability.

Chapter Four

Control, Identity Theft, and the Solution of Schedules

> No person should travel by railway without having his card of address about him, setting aside the painful catastrophe of an accident, there are numerous emergencies when this simple voucher of respectability and personal identity is calculated to play an important part, and in the absence of which, it is just possible for a person to be regarded with suspicion, treated with indignity, and, for a time, even deprived of his liberty. The most immaculate of railway travellers may bear an unfortunate resemblance to an accomplished swindler who once came by the same route, or be the very counterpart of some notorious offender, "wanted," in the *Hue and Cry*. True, the possession of a card of address would not be in itself sufficient evidence of innocence and respectability, but this would go far to establish the truth, and, taken in connection with corroborative testimony, would probably clear up all doubts.
>
> --*The Railway Traveller's Handy Book of Hints, Suggestions, and Advice, Before the Journey, on the Journey, and After the Journey* (33-34)

The advice set forth in *The Railway Traveller's Hand Book* indicates that it would not be entirely unlikely for someone to be mistaken for another, nor would it be entirely unusual for a "swindler" to be an unwitting traveller's coach companion. The concern about innocent travellers being in the proximity of unsavory characters is one that emerges in the nineteenth-century culture. The increasing inability to ascertain class distinctions in people only adds to the disquietude that permeates a population which finds itself suddenly able to move from one place to another quickly but also to do so

amongst a throng of unknown others. People may not be who they appear to be and in the congregation of strangers, one might be easily mistaken for another.

The concerns about mistaken identity become even more pronounced when one considers the nineteenth-century preoccupation with fraud and identity falsification. In 1824, banker Henry Fauntleroy was hanged for forgery. He was the son of a banker who had been a founder of Marsh, Sibbald, & Co. and young Fauntleroy clerked at the bank for several years before taking over as managing partner upon his father's death in 1807. Fauntleroy sold stocks to customers and then forged their signatures in order to sell the stocks and use the money, unbeknownst to the investors, to keep the bank from suffering in the wake of bad speculations. He admitted to the crime of forgery in writing, saying, "In order to keep up the credit of our house, I have forged powers of attorney, and have thereupon sold out all these sums, without the knowledge of any of my partners" (Egan 44). The case was notorious and captured the imagination of the English public who gathered en masse for the execution and even concocted a widespread legend that Fauntleroy's life had been spared by his ingenious insertion of a silver tube in his throat and that he lived quietly and comfortably abroad.

Certainly Wilkie Collins was well aware of the scandal. It was the subject of his short tale, "Brother Morgan's Story of Fauntleroy," which was included in *The Queen of Hearts* in 1859. Indeed, the account of Fauntleroy's misdeeds and public hanging was indicative of the power of financial forgery to be predominant in public imagination in the nineteenth century, a prominence that Sara Malton says was partially explained by a "particularly sanguine period" in the first part of the century when forgery was a capital crime and a great number of executions took place as a result of forgery convictions (2).

By 1837, forgery was no longer a hanging offense but as Malton writes "the conception of forgery as an act of intensely dangerous social and economic disruption would resonate throughout the nineteenth century" (2). The presence in the collective memory of forgery as a capital crime informed the severity of the offense in the imagination and was tied into the tension of a changing economy and class structure. In a new cultural and economic climate that allows for the individual to create his or her own fortune and social standing, the idea of the possibility of forgery as a component of that self-making is one that creates apprehension. When considering the additional possibilities that technology offers, the potential for deception and fraud increases dramatically, an idea that Wilkie Collins explores thoroughly in *The Woman in White*, as we shall see.

By the mid-nineteenth-century, sentimental nostalgia for the horse-drawn conveyance was a recurring theme in poetry and literature as we have seen. In spite of the fact that improved roads and vehicles had made public coaching an exploding industry, the modern railway was widely thought to pose a threat to the survival of the carriage. The actuality was that the two modes of transportation were quite interdependent as we see in *The Railway Traveller's Handy* Book:

> The railway traveller will seldom experience any difficulty in meeting with a conveyance to take him to the station. Omnibusses, cabs, flys, etc., customarily journey stationwards conformably with the departure and arrival of the various trains, while in the streets of London, and other large cities, a vehicle is always within hail. (35)

Certainly, train travel became a preferred way of going distances quickly but one must first get to the train station and, upon arriving at the chosen terminus, one must go from

the station to the ultimate destination. Thus train travel is rendered virtually useless without the adjunct use of the horse-drawn conveyance. In spite of this fact, however, there was still a feeling of nostalgia for the old method of going longer distances, that of the stage or mail coach. Wilkie Collins's first published work was a fantastic tale that appeared in a magazine in 1843 called *The Last Stage Coachman,* which featured a conveyance driver whose occupation had been supplanted by the railway.[36] Jonathan H. Grossman writes that "Dickens realized the historic transformations wrought by stage coaching in his time initially by celebrating its unifying, communal dimension in *The Pickwick Papers* (1836-7), his first novel" (17). But, Grossman argues, the stage-coach system, which ran on improved roads, strict schedules, and which significantly increased the speed at which journeys could be accomplished, was really just one step in an ongoing revolution of transport technology that moved towards rails being laid as a further progression of the movement towards smoother and faster travel. He writes that *The Pickwick Papers,* "whose plot runs from 1827 to late 1828, depicts the final days of a fast-driving, long-distance stage-coach system that the steam-driven passenger railways were taking over" (32). The shared spaces of coaching as presented in Dickens's first novel are simply a point along a continuum of technological advancement that had in common the attributes of increased speed and multiplied possibilities of encounters with unknown others, both of which are significant aspects of the anxieties associated with nineteenth-century travel.

---

[36] The Stage Coachman of Wilkie Collins's short story does get his own, though. By the end of the tale, he is driving a phantom coach into the heavens, equipped with a luggage rack occupied by souvenirs of railway accidents and "a railway director strapped fast to each wheel" as well as a co-driver who wears clothing made of the skin and hide of engineers and railway police.

Certainly *The Pickwick Papers* romps its characters good-humoredly through a series of networks webbed within the constructs of public transportation. Fun was had by all, it would seem, and Dickens's tone does indeed seem celebratory. But beneath the surface of the veneer of plot that seems almost too silly to fall into the category of realism, true issues do come to light. The grumpy coachman who assaults Mr. Pickwick is a character that Victorians would recognize all too well from their own encounters with drivers as coachmen had become something of a caricature of bad behavior in the press. And another, arguably more serious issue comes to light in the Pickwickians's first adventure when Mr. Winkle's clothing and identity are taken by a mysterious stranger who he encounters on the stage coach.

All's well that ends well and Mr. Winkle ultimately avoids taking part in the duel that his identity thief got him into. But in celebrating the aspects of coaching, Dickens is also drawing attention to the new dangers that shared transportation spaces can create. One can be exposed to anyone, whether a corrupt clergyman or a common criminal, and perhaps one won't realize the danger until it is too late. In the case of Mr. Winkle, his reputation is jeopardized and ultimately, his life is even at risk because of the way a stranger in a coach studied him, stole his clothing, and subsequently portrayed him.

As we explored in the previous chapter, one of the aspects of carriage travel utilized in novels was of the possibility of being controlled by another and taken to an unknown location, resulting in disorientation and the possibility of harm being done to the traveler. The idea of being held captive is one thing but the option of the captor taking on and using one's identity is quite another. It may be surprising to modern-day readers to learn that the fear of identity theft is nothing new. Indeed, it was a trope used

successfully as key plot points in a number of Gothic and sensation novels of the nineteenth century. The danger as it relates to travel is not only that a person might be taken somewhere and sequestered while his or her identity is used, usually for the purposes of financial theft, but also that a stranger might misrepresent him or herself for similar purposes. The expansion of ease of travel along with the propensity for meeting someone unsavory in a shared public transportation space was fodder for the possibility of all sorts of identity-related situations that could end up to the detriment of the unsuspecting traveler.

Jonathan Harker's imprisonment provides an example of identity being controlled to further villainous plots. The Count requests that he write letters and dictates what he is to write, a situation that Jonathan understands as grave: " . . . I understood as well as if he had spoken that I should be careful what I wrote, for he would be able to read it" (37). The Count instructs him to date his missives using both present and future days, which Jonathan interprets to be an indication of the timeline of the span of his own life expectancy:

> I therefore pretended to fall in with his views, and asked him what dates I should put on the letters. He calculated a minute, and then said: --
>
> 'The first should be June 12, the second June 19, and the third June 29.'
>
> I know now the span of my life. God help me! (45)

When he tries to send letters of his own, the Count intercepts them. Jonathan's communication with the outside world is thus controlled and manipulated. The Count even goes so far as to wear Jonathan's clothes for the purposes of plundering town and kidnapping children, effectively usurping Jonathan's identity in a way that leaves him

unable to communicate with the outside world of both the more regulated Britain as well as in the local world of the supernatural where lawlessness is rampant and yet where, because of the Count's acts, Jonathan is also now implicated in the commission of odious crimes.

The circumstances of Jonathan's manipulated communications are not necessarily novel to the time period; however, it is notable that the methods are dependent on the technologies of modernity. It is only through railway transportation that Jonathan is brought far enough into an exoticized East to be put in a situation where he is under the control of the Count, first in the journey to the castle via the Count's coach and four and then during his actual imprisonment there, where the trappings of modern transport allow his letters to be delivered home to the people and in the manner chosen by his captor.

Similarly, Maud Ruthyn is required by her uncle to write to her Aunt Knollys of plans to be moved to a school in Paris, plans which prove to be a false front for her to be returned to Bartram-Haugh where a murder conspiracy awaits her which will allow her Uncle Silas to take over her fortune, a scheme that she ultimately thwarts. Only because Maud succumbs to his wishes, saying that her "hysterical state had made me far less combative than I might have proved some months since," is he then able to orchestrate the circular journey that brings her back under his control without being obstructed by Lady Knollys (406).

In both these cases, the correspondence of incarcerated characters is controlled in such a way as to undermine their abilities to communicate on their own behalves. In other novels more overt tactics are employed to literally steal the identities of others. Wilkie Collins's *The Woman in White* depends greatly on mistaken or stolen identities

and also employs the idea of the double, which is a concept to which Freud devotes great attention in his treatise, "The Uncanny" and which provides further implications to the complications of identity presented in the plot.[37] From the early pages when the aptly named Walter Hartright, walking back to London, feels "the touch of a hand laid lightly and suddenly" on his shoulder on a seemingly deserted road, we are given to understand that the woman he encounters is significant in an uncanny way. He later realizes that his drawing pupil at Limmeridge House, Laura Fairlie, is an "ominous likeness" of the woman in white he met on the road a few days earlier. He recognizes the shadow this likeness casts over the ensuing events of his life saying in his narrative voice, "To associate that forlorn, friendless, lost woman, even by an accidental likeness only, with Miss Fairlie, seems like casting a shadow on the future of the bright creature who stands looking at us now" (62). Indeed, the identical appearance of the two women is what allows the villains of the tale to attempt to switch them in an attempt to grab Laura Fairlie's fortune later in the novel. But it also sets the stage for Collins's exploration into the idea of shifting identities, heritage, and class.

Sir Percival Glyde and his friend, Count Fosco, are the perpetrators of the impending scam that is attempted against Miss Fairlie, who becomes Lady Glyde in an act of marriage that she acquiesces to in order to fulfill a promise to her deceased father. Her lack of conviction and inability to break from the conformity demanded by her

---

[37] Freud explains that one of the most prominent themes of uncanniness is that "concerned with the idea of a 'double' in every shape and degree, with persons, therefore, who are considered identical by reasons of looking alike. . ." (9). He says that the employment of a double can be an idea that comes from "the primary narcissism which holds sway in the mind of the child as in that of primitive man; and when this stage has been left behind the double takes on a different aspect. From having been an assurance of immortality, he becomes the ghastly harbinger of death" (9).

family connections demonstrate her lack of firm identity. It is her personless or selfless behavior that sets her up to ultimately lose her identity and be exchanged for a person who has been committed to an asylum. Whereas she becomes confined by her marriage, unable to move freely or behave as she wishes, later in the novel, after her incarceration in the madhouse, Lady Glyde ultimately is blank, without identity, without memory. She is like a malleable child who must be reconstructed by the care of her friends who handle her with kid gloves and only gradually put the pieces of who she is back together. Unbeknownst to all until much later, however, she isn't the only one whose identity is in question.

Sir Percival Glyde, we are to learn, is not who he claims to be. He is not the heir to any estate; rather, he has usurped the identity of the owner of Blackwater Park, a commentary on the highly fluid state of class mobility. It is in his extreme effort to protect the secret of what he has done that he meets his ultimate demise. His identity is merely a cover for what he really is, a criminal and a scapegrace. His inability to function in the world into which he has forgered his way leads to him finding himself in desperate need of money, thus requiring that he marry an heiress. His assumed title is merely that, as his behavior is not in concord with decent society as shown early in the novel through Anne Catherick's first interactions with Walter Hartright:

> 'Ah! You *don't* know him,' she said, with a sigh of relief. 'Are you a man of rank and title yourself?'
>
> 'Far from it. I am only a drawing-master.'
>
> As the reply passed my lips – a little bitterly, perhaps – she took my arm with the abruptness which characterized all her actions.

> 'Not a man of rank and title,' she repeated to herself. 'Thank God! I may trust *him.*' (27)

This conversation says much about the topsy-turvy world of *The Woman in White* in which heritage, entitlement, and economic station are all very confused. Anne Catherick makes assumptions about men with titles based on her own experiences, which are, ironically, formed on deceptions and misunderstandings; she has been abused and unjustly incarcerated by a man she believes to have a title that he does not; a man who believes she has information about his legitimacy, which she does not; and a man who the general public of her home locality believe to be her father, which he is not. The assertion that Walter makes about his perhaps saying "a little bitterly" that he does not have a title, indicates his belief that he deserves one, which, given his righteous and decent nature, would also indicate that a title is something bestowed upon the deserving, perhaps a person who is "right-hearted."

Sadly, Walter Hartright, who truly loves Laura Fairlie, must in all decency step aside and allow the woman he loves to fulfill the promise she has made and marry Sir Glyde. Hartright is not of sufficient class or means to win her hand himself (thus the justness of his self-proclaimed bitterness) and the irony is that Sir Glyde, not being who he says he is, has even less legitimate claim to Laura Fairlie.

But it is Walter Hartright who exposes the fraudulent means by which Percival Glyde has created his identity and laid claim to property which is not his birthright or his inheritance. Hartright discovers that Sir Glyde has forged the record of his parents's marriage in the church vestry records, an act which shocks him "beyond the wildest reaches of my imagination" (510). He frames the forgery within the cultural awareness

of the times, noting that "The disclosure of the secret might, in past years, have hanged him – might now transport him for life," an assertion that resurrects the memory of a time just two decades prior when such an act was a capital crime and now, after an 1832 act that removed death as a punishment for forgery, would likely result in Percival Glyde being deported to Australia. Walter Hartright expresses full awareness of the recklessness and potential result of Percival Glyde's actions:

> The disclosure of that secret, even if the sufferers by his deception spared him the penalties of the law, would deprive him, at one blow, of the name, the rank, the estate, the whole social existence that he had usurped. This was the Secret, and it was mine! A word from me; and house, lands, baronetcy, were gone from him for ever – a word from me, and he was driven out into the world, a nameless, penniless, friendless outcast! The man's whole future hung on my lips – and he knew it by this time as certainly as I did! (510)

The revelation of Percival Glyde's identity or lack thereof is one that Malton says "has debased not only the primary figures of the plot, principally Laura Fairlie, but also the annals of English history, the baronetcy, and the rightful heir to the Glyde name" (43). As such, his duplicity touches on a fear that lies at the heart of the dynamic nineteenth-century world, which is that the agents of change, which include class mobility, work so quickly that nefarious characters may be able to navigate the modern world in such a way as to turn the idea of becoming self-made into a criminal act of declaring a heritage to which one has no claim. Likewise, in the case of Laura Fairlie, she is robbed of not only her claim to inheritance but of her ancestry and identity.

Sir Glyde and his accomplice, Count Fosco, switch Anne Catherick, Laura's double, with Laura herself. Their plan is to control Anne and overtake Laura's fortune. As their luck would have it, Anne Catherick dies while in their custody and Laura, safely sequestered in the insane asylum where poor Anne had been previously relegated, is presumed to be the dead woman while Anne Catherick is presumed to be the one incarcerated. As such, Laura has not only had her true selfhood as well as her freedom stripped, she has had the identity of a bastard, the impoverished daughter of a scorned woman, imposed upon her.

After being released from the asylum, Laura, traumatized by her incarceration and escape, is emotionally a blank canvas. She is without identity, without memory, and seems childlike and unable to assume the role of who she is. The trauma she has endured has, in essence, stolen her sense of self. In fact, she is not the Laura Fairlie she ever thought she was as her own family identity turns out to be false. She is, in actuality, the half-sister of Anne Catherick, a girl who was ostracized, shut away from polite society, and described as "crazy and queer" by her own mother (536). The two women were physically almost identical, shared a love for Mrs. Fairlie, Laura's mother, and could have lived as sisters but for a trick of fate that consigned them to very different lives in spite of their shared paternity.

The question of identity in a transforming age is one that underpins many nineteenth-century British novels. In a time of industrialization and shifting classes, a person's role in society is a confusing and fluid thing. We see this again and again, beginning with the exploration of marriage and class mobility in Austen's work, moving

through Dickens's many tales exploring identity and class, and even in *Uncle Silas,* a tale of shifting identity structures, as Howe argues:

> Maud's journey from Knowl to Bartram-Haugh is not a transition from one location to the other or from purity, innocence, and safety to corruption and danger. Rather, it marks a process of revelation. This process has its parallel in Maud's circular journey away from Bartram-Haugh, under her Uncle Silas's assurance that she is on her way to France, only to find herself even more securely imprisoned in Bartram-Haugh. The barbarous crime and decay rampant in Silas's rotting mansion form the inverted mirror image of Austin's cultured preoccupation with family name and lineage. (Howe 176).

Maud's father, who is landed, connected, and invokes heritage via the ancestral portraits seen throughout his drawing room, stands in opposition to his brother who has tainted the ancestry through the erosive presence of the bad habits of gambling, addiction, and even a marriage outside the class structures. His marital choice contributes to a genealogical degradation that is exemplified through his course and boorish offspring, Dudley, a character Maud finds repulsive and who is the incarnation of the decay of the family. Maud, as an heiress, is targeted by Dudley for a marital alliance that he neither has the power to give, as he is already married, nor that he is worthy to achieve in spite of the supposed privileges of his birth, in that he has not only married a woman who is furthering the decay of his lowering social status but he also does not express the gentility that Maud's upbringing requires. Thus again, two people with similar ancestry find

themselves in vastly different circumstances, pointing to the shadowy side of class mobility when it acts to degrade standing rather than improve it.

Wilkie Collins's work provides no exception to the exploration of shifting identities in an industrial world. Everyone's identity becomes confused and lineage, inheritance, and fortune are seemingly up for grabs as few are truly eligible for that to which they stake claim. By the conclusion of the novel, it all becomes sorted out in satisfactory fashion. Laura Fairlie reclaims her rightful identity and inheritance. Walter Hartright manages to respectably climb the hill of social mobility, a point that is driven home at the very end of the novel when his son is introduced to him as "the Heir of Limmeridge" (626). Percival Glyde is exposed for who he truly is, a forger and a bastard who has no claim to his title or his land. And yet, the ending is not entirely satisfactory because Glyde's identity is not disclosed to the world at large. Because he remains, in death, the man who he claimed to be in life, his false identity continues to live on thus creating a continuation of anxiety about the possibility of traversing class mobility in an illegal or immoral way. This possibility is one that is additionally facilitated by travel culture that puts strangers in proximity to one another. If a baronet could be merely passing as such, who else might not be who he or she appears to be? The question of identity serves to not only create anxiety but also to create caution and the inclination to put up barriers against others, an act that serves to further seclude and isolate people living under the burden of general apprehension.

Collins's novel is notable in its usage of the variety of means of transportation available to him. Walter Hartright's first encounter with Anne Catherick occurs while he is walking, which is the most natural and instinctive means of transportation available to

humankind. Moreover, he walks at night and therefore is ripe for an eerie or uncanny experience, which he is given when a hand touches him, seemingly from out of nowhere:

> I had now arrived at that particular point of my walk where four roads met – the road to Hampstead, along which I had returned; the road to Finchley; the road to West End; and the road back to London. I had mechanically turned in this latter direction, and was strolling along the lonely high-road – idly wondering, I remember, what the Cumberland young ladies would look like – when, in one moment, every drop of blood in my body was brought to a stop by the touch of a hand laid lightly and suddenly on my shoulder from behind me. (23)

Not only is the touch of the hand an uncanny experience, sensationalized by Walter's blood being brought to a stop, but there is another layer of the uncanny at work here, although it is not revealed until later. Walter's idle wonderings of "what the Cumberland young ladies would look like" is answered when he turns and sees the "solitary Woman, dressed from head to foot in white garments" who had seemingly "sprung out of the earth or dropped from the heaven" (24). It is as though his own thoughts had summoned her. In perusing the woman in white, he sees what the Cumberland ladies look like, at least one of them as the woman who stands "in the dead of night and in that lonely place" is the double, indeed as we learn much later, the half-sister of the pupil he has been hired to instruct and with whom he will fall in love.

The Woman in White is not a Gothic novel in that it doesn't employ the atavistic settings of the enchanted castle, or ruined religious structures, nor does anything magical occur. *The Woman in White* is generally considered to be the premier "sensation novel,"

a sub-genre of fiction that is categorized, according to Lyn Pykett, by salacious unspoken marital details and mysterious women.[38] Although there may be Gothic elements, *The Woman in White* contains nothing that is truly paranormal although the novel begins in such a way as to make the reader think that perhaps a ghost story is to ensue. Walter Hartright's description of the owner of the hand "laid lightly and suddenly on my shoulder from behind me" as an "apparition" dressed all in white who has seemingly appeared from nowhere lends to the spookiness of the scene and leaves the reader wondering if the woman in white is real flesh and bones or otherworldly. An odd conversation ensues and it isn't until the woman performs the remarkably human task of getting into the cab that Hartright hails for her and is driven hastily away, breathless with panic, that we as readers become certain that this strange character is not a specter, but is a real living woman. The tangibility of the cab and its driver who asserts his horse to be exhausted ground the narrative in realism, leaving its reader curious to know who this woman is but relieved (and perhaps slightly disappointed?) to learn that she is not a ghostly creature but rather a real woman with a mysterious panic to get somewhere else. Rather than a ghost tale or Gothic story, Wilkie Collins's work is, as a sensation novel, more of an exploitation of the dread of encountering amoral actors, something that is perceived more likely to happen when one meets people who ultimately are not who they pretend to be, and something that is one of the disquieting results of the mix of people including those share the spaces of public transport.

[38] Pykett points out that both Wilkie Collins as well as his good friend and frequent companion, Charles Dickens, were involved in marital "irregularities" that required the women in their relationships to keep secrets (17).

Later, as he makes his way to Limmeridge, we are given to understand, albeit subliminally, that something out of the ordinary is about to happen. Walter Hartright's train breaks down, leaving him arriving in an unfamiliar place later than he'd intended. As in *Dracula*, when Jonathan Harker's train is said to be late in the very first paragraph of his journal entry, the failure of modern technology can be read as a signal that we are about to enter a plot where the rules of civilized society do not apply. But unlike *Dracula, The Woman in White* does not employ any real paranormal or supernatural happenings; rather, it is the tainted morality of the actors, as well as characters being found to have shifted into identities that do not belong to them, who bring the horror to the action.

If there is anything outside of the normal rules of science at work, it is perhaps the seeming sixth sense employed by Walter Hartright throughout the novel. His first encounter with Anne Catherick can be read as a sort of supernatural manifestation in response to his internal musings, as already noted. When he interviews Mrs. Catherick, he is able to discern her reaction to very specific words -- "I saw the change pass over her; I saw that hard, firm, fearless, self-possessed woman quail under a terror which her utmost resolution was not strong enough to resist – when I said those five last words, 'the vestry of the church'" – indeed, his observation of her alteration of expression leaves such a strong impression that he becomes convinced that the vestry of the church is exactly where he will find the evidence regarding Percival Glyde's deception, a hunch that turns out to be correct (490). And when he sees the record of the marriage of Sir Glyde's parents written in a small space in the church register he recalls the mention of a second copy in another town and is suspicious enough to seek it out, thus finding the

proof he requires. While all these incidents are not quite the stuff of the paranormal, they are remarkable and, perhaps, are testament to the character of Walter Hartright who is sufficiently gifted to be able to navigate the social structures in order to win the woman he loves who also happens to be an heiress. Indeed, he is certainly well-versed in navigating the structures of technology as it applies to transportation.

Walter Hartright is one of many characters who nimbly move through the transportation networks with an aplomb that shows a well-grounded assimilation to modern life, particularly urban culture. His opening encounter with Anne Catherick is rife with innuendo as well as significant in that it shows, not only Hartright's decency, but also his competency. He hails the cab, assures himself that the driver is "sober as well as civil," and offers to see her to her destination, an offer she refuses:

> 'No, no, no,' she said, vehemently. 'I'm quite safe, and quite happy now. If you are a gentleman, remember your promise. Let him drive on, till I stop him. Thank you – oh! Thank you, thank you!' (30)

Her entreaty that Walter remember that he is "a gentleman" invokes a Victorian understanding that the space of the cab is imbued with sexual connotations. Cabs were often the literal and figurative vehicle for the sex trade as Middlebrook explains:

> Far more common were the number ("a tenth" or possibly "a twelfth" of the whole number of cab drivers) of what are known as "fancymen", that is, drivers who live with "women of the town" (as Mayhew refers to prostitutes) and are supported, wholly or partially, by the income derived through the money made from prostitution. . . . We can pull into sharper focus the relevance of perceptions of female prostitution as a means of

> illuminating the nocturnal encounter between Walter and Anne Catherick in *The Woman in White*. Each party is nervous for different reasons: Hartright fears being suspected by the cabman, or indeed by anyone else who might observe the scene, of soliciting a prostitute. Equally, Catherick finds herself in a position liable to be misconstrued, and in danger from whomever she might ask for help, as well as from the authorities. (68-69)

Hartright's understanding of the implications of assisting Anne does not impede his impulse to help her, although at the last moment, he almost thinks better of it:

> My hand was on the cab door. She caught it in hers, kissed it, and pushed it away. The cab drove off at the same moment – I started into the road, with some vague idea of stopping it again, I hardly knew why – hesitated from dread of frightening and distressing her – called, at last, but not loudly enough to attract the driver's attention. The sound of the wheels grew fainter in the distance – the cab melted into the black shadows on the road – the woman in white was gone. (30)

Walter's impulse to stop her escape is, as Middlebrook indicates, a marker of his initial lack of understanding of the significance of the interaction and yet is evidence of his inclination to exert a masculine or paternalistic authority. Middlebrook writes, "The hand on the cab door is a literal reminder of Walter's control . . ." and yet Walter allows Anne to assert her own command of her situation when she kisses his hand and pushes it away (73). But Anne is ill-equipped to handle her life circumstances with any mastery. Walter watches her go and calls out ineffectually, thus setting the wheels quite literally in motion, "essentially prefiguring her fate: the wheels that sound fainter in the distance are

indicative of the inevitability of her decline as she heads irretrievably towards death (a theme with which she is associated time and again)" (Middlebrook 73).

In this instance, Walter acquiesces to destiny but throughout the rest of the novel, he utilizes the structures of transportation to mold fate to what he recognizes as a just end. He journeys to Carlisle via train, and endures a break-down which requires him to use his wits and knowledge of transport technology to arrive at his destination in spite of the fact that when he arrives at the station and is driven to Limmeridge house in a pony-chaise, "The roads were bad and the dense obscurity of the night increased the difficulty of getting over the ground quickly" (33). He survives a shipwreck in the Gulf of Mexico and was "one of the few saved from the sea" (406). He travels between London, Old Welmingham, and Knowlsbury by train in pursuit of clues that will establish Laura's identity as her own, rather than that of the woman who lies in a grave marked with Laura's name. And, perhaps in the incident which best demonstrates his proficiency at navigating urban transport networks, he evades Sir Glyde's spies in London:

> On leaving the office, the first precaution to be observed was to abstain from attracting attention by stopping to look about me. I walked towards one of the quietest of the large squares on the north of Holborn – then suddenly stopped, and turned round at a place where a long stretch of pavement was left behind me.
>
> There were two men at the corner of the square who had stopped also, and who were standing talking together. One moved, as I came near, and turned the corner leading from the square into the street. The other remained stationary. I looked at him as I passed, and instantly recognized

> one of the men who had watched me before I left England. . . . There was no choice but to oppose cunning by cunning. I turned into the street down which the second man had disappeared, and passed him, waiting in a doorway. He was a stranger to me; and I was glad to make sure of his personal appearance, in case of future annoyance. Having done this, I again walked northward, till I reached the New-road. There I turned aside to the west (having the men behind me all the time), and waited at a point where I knew myself to be at some distance from a cabstand, until a fast two-wheel cab, empty, should happen to pass me. One passed in a few minutes. I jumped in, and told the man to drive rapidly towards Hyde Park. There was no second fast cab for the spies behind me. I saw them dart across to the other side of the road, to follow me by running until a cab or a cabstand, came in their way. But I had the start of them; and when I stopped the driver, and got out, they were nowhere in sight. (446-447)

Once again, as in the opening scene when Hartright assists Anne Catherick, Percival Glyde has been thwarted through Walter's knowledge of transportation practices and, in this case, through his awareness of his surrounding environment. He exerts caution, notices his pursuers, and then situates himself such that he can access public transportation in such a way as to escape without the men following him having the same opportunity. As Middlebrook notes, "In both instances, unsuccessful pursuit is linked directly to Sir Percival, a manipulative figure who uses legal systems and institutions (the asylum) to control others" (67). But Walter Hartright's understanding of transportation

networks and his ability to use them to his advantage are ultimately what allow him to prevail and instigate Sir Percival's demise along the way.

In the case of *The Woman in White*, moving away from what is modern is not necessarily a trope that indicates entry into a world governed by superstition as we've seen in other examples. Rather, it is the modern world and its technologies which can be used and even manipulated for dark purposes. Throughout the narrative, public transportation and its schedules figure predominantly. The departure and arrival times of trains set a structure around which the villains of the novel are able to plot and plan their various moves. It is an understanding of train schedules that enables Count Fosco to intercept Marian as she attempts to get word to the family solicitor that she believes her sister is in danger of, at the very least, being bilked out of her fortune and, at the worst, being harmed. Likewise, the travels of Madame Fosco as she goes back and forth to prepare for the arrival and transport of Lady Glyde and the kidnapping of Anne Catherick are not possible without the railway, which enables her efficient movements. We know from Marian's calculations about when a messenger would be able to arrive with a message from the family solicitor that someone taking the 11:00 am train would arrive at Blackwater Park at twenty minutes after 1:00 pm. Presuming the train ran anywhere from 60-70 miles per hour (typical for the timeframe), one could assume that Blackwater Park was anywhere from 140 to 160 miles from London, a distance that could not have been so easily traversed in short order via any method other than railway. Indeed, traveling such a distance by horse or carriage would not be possible in one day, much less in a couple of hours. The technology of the train, then, can be used to facilitate criminal activity. Certainly, for business and social reasons, expedited travel in the nineteenth

century was an immense efficiency but it also allowed access to a mobility that facilitated less noble activity. In this way, *The Woman in White* exploits a perhaps valid fear, that technology, while bringing benefits, has a dark side that can be exploited by those who wish to do harm. The mechanisms of travel can present a danger to the unwary.

Sir Percival and Fosco plot to kidnap Anne Catherick, take her to a place secured by Count and Madame Fosco, and then, under the guise of returning Laura to her uncle via a brief rest in London, switch the two women thus leaving Lady Glyde incarcerated in an insane asylum and Anne Catherick under the control of the criminal masterminds who would either force her to sign over Lady Laura's money or, perhaps their plan all along was to murder her, leaving Sir Percival a widower's inheritance.

Anne Catherick is captured through a partnership of duplicity between Madame and Count Fosco that makes use of the systems of transportation. Her abduction begins when the Count gains the trust of her companion, Mrs. Clements, while in the neighborhood of Blackwater Park, the estate inhabited by Percival Glyde and his guests, the Foscos. The Count arranges to assist the two in boarding the train that will take them to London where they will meet Lady Glyde (Laura Fairlie):

> At the appointed day and time (when they had not been quite so long as a week in Hampshire, altogether), they arrived at the station. The Count was waiting there for them, and was talking to an elderly lady, who appeared to be going to travel by the train to London also. He most kindly assisted them, and put them into the carriage himself; begging Mrs. Clements not to forget to send her address to Lady Glyde. The elderly

> lady did not travel in the same compartment; and they did not notice what became of her on reaching the London terminus. (463)

The "elderly lady" was Madame Fosco and the simultaneous mixing of people along with the isolation inherent in railway travel provided the mechanisms that allowed her to be noticed but later to escape notice. In London, Madame Fosco lures Mrs. Clements away from her companion, leaving Anne Catherick vulnerable:

> At the end of that time, a lady (the same elderly lady whom they had seen at the station) called in a cab, and said that she came from Lady Glyde, who was then at an hotel in London, and who wished to see Mrs. Clements for the purpose of arranging a future interview with Anne. Mrs. Clements expressed her willingness (Anne being present at the time, and entreating her to do so) to forward the object in view, especially as she was not required to be away from the house for more than half an hour at the most. She and the elderly lady (clearly Madame Fosco) then left in the cab. The lady stopped the cab, after it had driven some distance, at a shop, before they got to the hotel; and begged Mrs. Clements to wait for her for a few minutes, while she made a purchase that had been forgotten. She never appeared again. (463)

Mrs. Clements becomes alarmed and returns home to find Anne gone. It is not until later, during the disclosure of Count Fosco's confession, that we learn what happened to Anne:

> . . . I sent my wife, in a cab, to clear Mrs. Clements out of the way. . . In the meantime, I had followed in another cab, with a note for Anne Catherick, merely mentioning that Lady Glyde intended to keep Mrs.

> Clements to spend the day with her, and that she was to join them, under care of the good gentleman waiting outside. . . The 'good gentleman' sent in this note by a street boy, and paused for results, a door or two farther on. At the moment when Anne appeared at the house-door and closed it, this excellent man had the cab-door open for her – absorbed her into the vehicle – and drove off. (608)

Anne's ultimate fate is horrific. Upon realizing she has been tricked, she is "seized with convulsions" and dies under the care of her abductors (609). Meanwhile, the Count has realized that she has died on the 25th of July and Lady Glyde was taking a train to arrive on the 26th, a fact that ultimately unravels the truth of who really died.

The modern world is suspect because it facilitates the mobilization of plots to move people around but it can also function as the ultimate demise of the criminal plot and proves useful for evading detection both for good and evil by virtue of schedules, which can be consulted to create a timeline of events. George Bradshaw's famed timetable of railway schedules was first issued in 1838 and released in a new edition in the 1840s. It was a book that listed times of trains to and from every station in Britain and was so well-known that the name "Bradshaw" became a synonym for "timetable" (Esbester 156). *The Railway Traveller's Handy Book* devotes considerable text to the Bradshaw:

> This work contains a mass of information compressed into the very smallest compass, but on that account and by reason of various signs and symbols having to be made use of, it is not so easy of interpretation as it might be. This fact has given rise to innumerable witticisms on its

> unintelligibility. And we must confess, that although we are acquainted with a few of the initiated to whom Bradshaw is as easy as A B C, we have never yet met with a lady who did not regard it as a literary puzzle, while the majority of the sterner sex have failed to master its intricacies. (11)

The Railway Traveller's Handy Book goes on to "furnish a key to some of the most prominent difficulties, in a few brief suggestions which may be collectively termed 'How to read Bradshaw'" (11). That public transport via railway is not exactly easy to navigate seems to be evident. The schedules and timetables, while essential for safe and punctual travel, create their own anxieties related to the interpretation of the schedules as well as the apprehension inherent in the act of making it to the station on time, changing trains, and arranging for appropriate transport to and from the station. Certainly this disquietude about schedules and transportation navigation is not exclusive to rail travel as an understanding of the systems of cabs and omnibuses was required for urban travel as well.

It is, in fact, public transportation schedules and records that provide the factual material through which Walter Hartright and Marian are able to prove that Laura couldn't possibly have died and is, in fact, the woman she claims to be and the woman they know her to be. Moreover, the structures and schedules associated with transport for hire are what provide the framework on which Walter and Marian are able to lay facts until the entire conspiracy can be reconstructed. At the same time that *The Woman in White* rubs against the fear of transportation technology being used as an instrument of crime, it also shows us that structure and uniform practices used in public transportation provide a

record of a person's movements that can be used to solve a crime. Much in the way that today's law enforcement is able to use an electronic footprint to piece together a timeline of a person-of-interest's whereabouts, Marian Halcombe and Walter Hartright use contemporary records of travel to prove that Laura arrived in London after she had allegedly died. Anne Catherick, who was being passed off as Laura, had actually expired prior to Laura's debarking the train after which she was whisked away by a paid cabbie to an unknown place where she must have been drugged and then transported to the asylum. Ultimately, Marian and Hartright are able to piece together this very evidence, both because of the Count's admission and timeline and also because of the records of the cabbie who picked Laura up from the train station. And it is the train that finally transports Walter Hartright, Laura, and Marian, along with the lawyer and the cab driver back to Limmeridge station and to Limmeridge house where the gravestone with Laura's name on it is corrected and her true identity is established at last.

Nicolas Daly maintains that the creation of the nervous sympathetic response in sensation literature may be attributed to the railway and the understanding of it as "more than a simple mode of transport" (37). He lists numerous examples from *The Woman in White* in which characters react from nervous overstimulation, an effect, he argues, that has its roots in a synchronization of readers with modern technology. From Hartright's shaking hands to Anne Catherick's "nervous, uncertain lips" to the fit of trembling Sir Percival Glyde experiences, the connection for Daly comes from the vibration of the railway, which "stood as both agent and icon of the acceleration of the pace of everyday life, annihilating an older experience of time and space, and making new demands on the sensorium of the traveller" (37).

The demands of time and space certainly add to the sensations experienced by the reader through the sense of urgency and discomfort that is skillfully connected to the travel components of the narrative of *The Woman in White*. Beginning with Anne Catherick's panic to get away from the men pursuing her to take her back to the asylum to Hartright's consternation upon arriving at Limmeridge much later than he had planned because of travel delays, to Laura and Marian's dismay that a letter to a London solicitor would not arrive in time to thwart Percival Glyde's plot to force Laura to sign away her claim to her property, and Walter Hartright's dependence upon the train schedules to get him to and from London and the various places where he searched for the clues that would prove Laura's identity, the novel is full of references to train schedules, moments to spare, and distress because methods of transportation were not available at the precise moments needed. The reader feels the sense of anxiety along with the novel's characters as this modern sense of speed is entirely relevent today as it was to the nineteenth-century reading public.

The same sort of empathetic urgency is employed in Bram Stoker's *Dracula*, particularly in the scenes that drive toward the culmination of the novel as Mina Harker and her four companions race to apprehend the monster who threatens to destroy them all. The characters are able to make use of modern travel and its trappings of schedules and predicted departures and arrivals but only as long as their information is accurate and reliable.

The band of friends pursuing the Count know that he is trying to get back to Transylvania and, determined to make an end of him by stabbing him through the heart and beheading him, learn -- through revelations Mina is able to disclose while under

hypnotism -- that he is aboard a ship. To determine what vessel he is on, they consult Lloyd's of London, the provider of insurance for the shipping industry, to get a list "of all ships that sail, however so small" (275).[39] They find record of the *Czarina Catherine*, that has set sail for Varna and learn the wharf from which the vessel departed. They go to the wharf and discover that, indeed, a "tall man, thin and pale, with high nose and teeth so white, and eyes that seem to be burning" had made an inquiry regarding a ship on which he wishes to place a box for transport (276). They also learn that the ship had not sailed at the time of scheduled departure as related by Van Helsing:

> A thin mist began to creep up from the river, and it grew, and grew; till soon a dense fog enveloped the ship and all around her. . . . The water rose and rose; and he [the captain] began to fear that he would lose the tide all together. He was in no friendly mood, when just at full tide, the thin man came up the gang-plank again and asked to see where his box had been stowed. Then the captain replied that he wished he and his box – old and with much bloom and blood – were in hell. But the thin man did not be offend, and went down with the mate and saw where it was place, and came up and stood awhile on the deck in fog. He must have come off by himself, for none notice him. Indeed they thought not of him; for soon the fog began to melt away, and all was clear again. My friends of the thirst and the language that was of bloom and blood laughed, as they told how the captain's swears exceeded even his usual polyglot, and was more than

[39] Lloyd's of London began as Lloyd's Coffee House and began creating a list of ships due to arrive and depart from English ports as early as 1692 for the purpose of allowing shipping agents and insurance underwriters to negotiate coverage for trading vessels.

> ever full of picturesque, when on questioning other mariners who were on movement up and down on the river that hour, he found that few of them had seen any of fog at all, except where it lay round the wharf. However the ship went out on the ebb tide; and was doubtless by morning far down the river mouth. She was by then, when they told us, well out to sea. (276-277)

Thus the band of vampire-hunters know that Dracula is in his box, aboard the ship, and is using his supernatural powers to create weather features that he can use to his advantage. He is "on the sea, with the fog at his command" and they reassure themselves that they will be able to make the trip to Varna faster than the ship will be able to get there (277).

The strength of science and technology is pitted against the powers of the supernatural throughout *Dracula*. Dr. Van Helsing illustrates this in his declaration that "All we have to go upon are traditions and superstitions," an assertion closely followed by his question as regards the belief in vampires, "A year ago which of us would have received such a possibility, in the midst of our scientific, matter-of-fact nineteenth century?" (210). The oppositional forces of science and the supernatural are the source of the novel's inherent tension. The group pursuing Dracula put plans in place that incorporate paranormal influences with science-based facts as Van Helsing outlines:

> The *Czarina Catherine* left the Thames yesterday morning. It will take her at the quickest speed she has ever made at least three weeks to reach Varna; but we can travel overland to the same place in three days. Now, if we allow for two days less for the ship's voyage, owing to such weather influences as we know that the Count can bring to bear; and if we allow a

> whole day and night for any delays which may occur to us, then we have a margin of nearly two weeks. Thus, in order to be quite safe, we must leave here on the 17th at latest. Then we shall at any rate be in Varna a day before the ship arrives and able to make such preparations as may be necessary. Of course we shall all go armed – armed against evil things, spiritual as well as physical. (281-282)

Van Helsing's strategy as stated is a thoroughly modern one that works out a schedule dependent on knowledge of past journeys and the land travel network system that will allow the group to arrive at their destination with extra time built into the plan. Yet it also accounts for the paranormal powers the Count has at his disposal and prepares for the inevitable encounter with the "spiritual." Jonathan Harker's journal entry made a few days later records their arrival at Varna:

> We left Charing Cross on the morning of the 12th, got to Paris the same night, and took the places secured for us in the Orient Express. We travelled night and day, arriving here at about five o'clock. (289)

The plan has not been fool-proof, however, as in spite of Mina's trance-induced assurances that the Count is still aboard the *Czarina Catherine*, the ship never arrives at Varna. They had expected it to port on the seventeenth of October and after waiting a week, they finally receive a telegram from Lloyd's that the ship arrived in Dardanelles on the twenty-fourth. They assume that the ship will make its way to Varna within a day and continue to wait "all in a fever of excitement" (291). They learn after four more days of waiting that the ship went on to arrive at Galatz, a port significantly further up the Black Sea coast in the lower Danube.

The telegram that notifies them that the *Czarina Catherine* with the cargo they pursue has eluded them brings despair to the group of vampire-hunters. Dr. Seward's diary outlines the reactions of shock evident in his companions; he observes "I suppose that nature works on such a hopeful basis that we believe against ourselves that things will be as they ought to be, not as we know that they will be" (293). Their next plans are, predictably, based on their knowledge of technology, specifically Mina's knowledge:

> 'When does the next train start for Galatz?' said Van Helsing to us generally.
>
> 'At 6:30 tomorrow morning!' We all stared, for the answer came from Mrs. Harker.
>
> 'How on earth do you know?' said Art.
>
> 'You forget – or perhaps you do not know, though Jonathan does and so does Dr Van Helsing – that I am the train fiend. At home in Exeter I always used to make up the timetables, so as to be helpful to my husband. I found it so useful sometimes, that I always make a study of the timetables now. I knew that if anything were to take us to Castle Dracula we should go by Galatz, or at any rate through Bucharest, so I learned the times very carefully. Unhappily there are not many to learn as the only train tomorrow leaves as I say.' (293)

In this disclosure, Mina uses the Count's own devices against him. Early in the novel, during Jonathan Harker's imprisonment, he notes the "vast number of English books, whole shelves full of them, and bound volumes of magazines and newspapers" evidence of the Count's efforts to acquire English cultural assimilation in preparation for his later

invasion of Britain. Another time, he enters the library to find "the Count lying on the sofa reading, of all things in the world, an English Bradshaw's Guide" (28). The Count is presumably well-versed in the railway schedules of England. Likewise, Mina has prepared herself for navigating Dracula's landscape.

The band travels to Galatz "in an agony of expectation" (299). Mina's trance disclosures continue to place Dracula on a boat. Dr. Seward reports, "We are due to arrive between two and three in the morning; but already, at Bucharest, we are three hours late, so we cannot possibly get in till well after sun-up" (299). The late train mirrors Jonathan Harker's delay in getting to Bucharest on the very first page of the novel and indicates that, as before, traveling further east and away from the regulated world of England subverts the rules of reliable schedules.

Dracula's pursuers are once again thwarted as the captain of the *Czarina Catherine* explains that they had made excellent time with the assistance of a strange wind "as though the Deil himself were blawin' on yer sail for his ain purpose" and that a fog had travelled with them which caused them to over run their destination and didn't clear until they found themselves "just in the river opposite Galatz" (301). He tells the group that the box marked for Count Dracula had been taken by a man with an order to do so, which pleased the Captain who had begun to feel "uneasy" about the box saying, "If the Deil did have any luggage aboord the ship, I'm thinkin' it was nan either than that same!" (302).

The group in pursuit must split up to continue the chase, some of them renting a steam launch to go up the river, others proceeding on horseback, and still two more departing to purchase horses and a carriage to go on that way. They determine this after

Mina uses a process of reasoning to determine the possible means by which the Count may continue his journey, listing out the options, -- 1. By Road, 2. By Rail, 3. By Water -- and eliminating those that do not pass her test of logic (304). Once again, much as Jonathan Harker did earlier, they penetrate further east but unlike Harker's earlier journey which leads to imprisonment, they proceed by various means of transport and are strengthened by virtue of their numbers.

Again, as they move eastward into more primitive territories that are unregulated by schedules and structures, they encounter the local peasantry, who Mina determines to be "very, very superstitious" (312). She and Van Helsing, traveling by carriage, note the picturesque views as did Jonathan on his journey, and also remark on the conditions of the roads "used but little, and very different from the coach road" and mention the "rough road, for a road of an ancient and imperfect kind there was" (314-316). Meanwhile, the steam launch which is notably the one form of modern transportation in utilization by the group, suffers an accident and Jonathan Harker and Lord Godalming are forced to go on by horseback and "follow on the track" (318). The novel is determined to end as it began, with archaic forms of travel and encounters with the primitive locals. Indeed, the final encounter with Dracula comes when the horses overtake the wagon driven and guarded by gypsies, which carries the box holding Dracula. A fight ensues, the box is overturned, and Dracula is obliterated once and for all.

Like *The Woman in White*, *Dracula* is a novel that dependent upon modern transport both to facilitate evil and also to thwart it. Both narratives are set in a period when train travel had become commonplace and so regular and accessible that the characters of the novel are easily mobilized to go essentially wherever they wish, quickly

and efficiently. Because multiple forms of transport figure to be so essential to both plots, it is hard to ignore the fact that characters are easily manipulated into precarious situations by virtue of their geographic mobility and yet, as each novel explores, the proverbial upside is that those movements are recorded, traceable, and predictable. Technology, it would seem is both a source of danger yet provides the means to create safety. And more is at work, as well. The distinctly Victorian fears of a variety of misdeeds -- including forgery, control, abduction, captivity, identity theft, and people impersonating someone they are not – are all encountered in these novels with modern transportation playing a significant role in both the evil and in the resolution. In this way, the complexities of nineteenth-century thought about technology are encountered as both the dangers and the benefits of progress are explored.

Chapter Five

The Disconcerting Experience of Dislocation

> . . . in the first place a great deal that is not uncanny in fiction would be so if it happened in real life; and in the second place that there are many more means of creating uncanny effects in fiction than there are in real life.
>
> The story-teller has this license among many others, that he can select his world of representation so that it either coincides with the realities we are familiar with or departs from them in what particulars he pleases. We accept his ruling in every case.
>
> ("The Uncanny" Sigmund Freud p. 18)

An October, 1792 journal entry of a Madame de Genlis tells of a strange incident that involves the great-uncle of Sheridan Le Fanu, a man named Richard Brinsley Sheridan, whose name the great-nephew shared. The woman had attended a social event at Sheridan's home in London with her daughter, Pamela, and the daughter of the Duc D'Orleans, a girl named Adelaide. Sheridan saw the group of woman off and they traversed the coach-road to Dover from which they planned to embark for France. Madame de Genlis noticed they were taking an unknown route and questioned the postilions, whose refusal to reply filled her with terror. The coach actually returned them to London to Sheridan's residence where he questioned the postilions and, to Madame's discerning eye, seemed to be feigning surprise at their actions. Her memoires indicate

that she was convinced his plan was to abduct her daughter, Pamela, to whom he had already proposed marriage.[40]

The account of Sheridan's alleged deliberate diversion of the women's coach in an attempt to abduct a young woman is widely believed to be the basis for his relative, Sheridan Le Fanu, to write a similar incident into the plot of *Uncle Silas*. Like his kinsman's victim, Le Fanu's protagonist, Maud Ruthyn endures a diversion of her coach at the hands of her creepy governess and at the directive of her own uncle.

In 1919, Sigmund Freud famously described the uncanny as that which "belongs to all that is terrible – to all that arouses dread and creeping horror; it is equally certain, too, that the word is not always used in a clearly definable sense, so that it tends to coincide with whatever excites dread" (1). The word itself, then, belies definition but is loosely understood to apply to what incites fear, unease, nervousness, and Freud's suggestion of "creeping horror," is perhaps particularly loathsome. Why does the idea of a fear that "creeps" seem so much more agitating than the shock of someone jumping out from behind a door?

And yet, it might be argued, it is that slow onslaught of anxiety that captures a reader and requires, insists, that the page be turned and that the observer move rapidly to the satisfaction of the tale at hand. One hopes that the ending does truly satisfy rather than disappoint. In the Gothic and the sensation novel, one doesn't know what one will get until the end is reached. It is a different sense of fear that is aroused with the uncanny. It is hard to define and yet we understand it to be that sense of unease that slowly sets in until one is convinced that, despite hopes to the contrary, all is not well.

---

[40] Accounts of this incident can be found in a number of sources, including Victor Sage, W. J. McCormack, and Sage's Introduction to *Uncle Silas.*

Freud tells us that the German word *unheimlich*, which is perhaps best described as the German translation for "uncanny," is the opposite of *heimlich*, which means literally, "belonging to the home." Freud goes on to describe such uncanny elements as the concept of the "double" which may become manifest in mirror reflections, dreams, or shadows, but also in the paranormal ideas of ghosts and spirits. Closely tied with the idea of the double is recurring "situations, things, and events" which can bring about a disquietude. In outlining such an emotional state, Freud supplies an example in the unsettling happenstance of returning to the same place when one believes one should be moving somewhere new. He describes an experience he himself had in Italy, where after wandering about to get away from an undesirable section of town he found himself . . .

> . . . back in the same street, where my presence was now beginning to excite attention. I hurried away once more, but only to arrive yet a third time by devious paths in the same place. Now, however, a feeling overcame me which I can only describe as uncanny . . .(11)

This literal definition of "uncanny" could be argued to have everything to do with travel, which, by its very nature, takes people away from home to the unfamiliar. In *The Poetics of Space*, Gaston Bachelard examines the places we inhabit, beginning with the "hut dreams" that are the embodiment of the human desire for a place and hearth of one's own. Perhaps more relevant to this study of travel and its relationship to human fears is the chapter Bachelard devotes to "shells," in which he postulates that a shell is merely a home that moves with the creature that inhabits it. In such a framework, is not the horse-drawn carriage or the train, with plush seats, windows through which to view the passing scenery, and the function of moving the inhabitant from place to place, a sort of

transportable home or a shell that allows travel within the semblance of the protection of a hut of sorts? Lucy Snowe, in Charlotte Brontë's *Villette,* describes a carriage ride with her friends as "warm and snug as at a fire-side," connecting the idea of domestic comforts to a vehicle's interior.[41] Thus, the travel compartment, functioning as a traveling home, is both *heimlich* and *unheimlich,* making the vehicles of transportation uncanny by the nature of their uses. As such, does not the travel experience become more decidedly *unheimlich* when the traveler has the creeping realization that the shell has not moved to a new spot as the traveler thought but has instead eerily gone in a circle only to end where the traveler began?

Arthur Conan Doyle's "The Engineer's Thumb" features a crime committed through the trick of luring someone into a carriage, only to convey the person in a confusing circle creating his disorientation of thinking he is somewhere else when, in actuality, he is back where he started. In this particular caper, a hydraulic engineer is commissioned to investigate a faulty machine that is being used, unbeknownst to him, to counterfeit money. Because the operators of the machine do not want the engineer to have any idea what they are doing or where they are located, they tell the engineer a concocted story about "fuller's earth" processing and also give him a false location, saying they are at a farm seven miles away from the rail station by which he is to arrive late in the evening (so as not to attract surveillance). The story begins with the engineer's arrival at Sherlock Holmes's apartment with a "handkerchief wrapped" around his hand

---

[41] In *Homesick: The Domestic Interiors of Villette,* Monica L. Feinberg analyzes Brontë's novel in terms of Lucy Snowe's allegorical journey to search for a sense of home. As such, Lucy finds a familial connection with the Brettons and frequently uses domestic metaphor as a way to describe what she desires, which in this case, is the feeling of home she finds with the Bretton family.

"mottled all over with bloodstains" (114). He proceeds to tell the story of being contacted by a Colonel Lysander Stark, who had requested his assistance in fixing a hydraulic press. The engineer had traveled to do so, following the Colonel's directives but found the journey somewhat unusual. Ultimately, he realizes the press is being used for a purpose other than what he had been told, at which point the Colonel and his accomplice try to kill him and manage only to chop off his thumb during the engineer's escape.

The railway itself is a product of modernity and yet, when the engineer arrives at the station where he's been instructed to go to await further transport, he finds himself in a disconcerting if not eerie situation. He is not at the bustling railway station he left behind when he departed from London's Paddington station and then switched trains again at Reading. He arrives at the "little dim lit station" of Eyford and notes that he is "the only passenger who got out there, and there was no one upon the platform save a single sleepy porter with a lantern" (119).[42] By Freud's definition of the *unheimlich*, we already sense that the uncanny is at work. The engineer is clearly not home, indeed, is not encountering anything familiar.

The engineer then meets up with the person who has solicited his services and is put into a carriage to be taken on a lengthy drive which he recounts to Sherlock Holmes:

---

[42] A note by Leslie S. Klinger in *The New Annotated Sherlock Holmes: The Complete Short Stories: The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes and the Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes (Vol. 1)* discloses that "There is no Eyford in Berkshire or anywhere else in England, for that matter. Joseph H. Gillies identifies the town as "Twyford" near the borders of Oxfordshire" (272). And the point we are to take from this imagined village is that it is remote and far away from urban life, where modernity resides.

> He drew up the windows on either side, tapped on the woodwork, and away we went as hard as the horse could go. . . . Away we went then, and we drove for at least an hour. Colonel Lysander Stark had said that it was only seven miles, but I should think, from the rate that we seemed to go, and from the time that we took, that it must have been nearer twelve. He sat at my side in silence all the time, and I was aware, more than once when I glanced in his direction, that he was looking at me with great intensity. The country roads seem to be not very good in that part of the world, for we lurched and jolted terribly. I tried to look out of the windows to see something of where we were, but they were made of frosted glass, and I could make out nothing save the occasional bright blurr of a passing light. . . . At last, however, the bumping of the road was exchanged for the crisp smoothness of a gravel drive, and the carriage came to a stand. (120)

The effects of such a trip, with the passenger unable to see where he is, and the recurring "passing light" are such to be disorienting. The time that has passed seems incongruent with the distance he is told they are going. Even worse, the man who has solicited his services stares at him in an unsettling way. The engineer, in spite of being by virtue of his vocation grounded in modernity, finds himself controlled by another and in a distinctly uncanny situation.

Later, it is discovered that the engineer was not taken out of town at all, at least not for any length of time. Instead, he was taken six miles out and six miles back, to give the impression that he'd been taken to a remote location when, in actuality, the forgery

operation was right there in the little town of Eysford. The subterfuge is discovered by Sherlock Holmes after extracting the information that the horse appeared fresh when the engineer was whisked into the carriage. Clearly the horse had not already covered the seven miles that would be required to come get the engineer from some outlying location. As we have seen in other examples, the mechanisms of transportation both become the instruments of misdeeds but also can provide the clues that unravel the mystery.

It requires the horse-drawn conveyance to pull off the ruse, giving the inhabitant a sense of moving away from the modern and more into the world of what is unknown, archaic, and untouched by modernity. In this more primitive world where the roads are unimproved and the train station eerily abandoned, the modern rules do not apply, as we have seen in other works.

Nor, in some cases, do the rules of nature. In Dracula's opening "journal entries," Jonathan Harker is taken further and further into eastern lands where the people and modes of transport become increasingly primitive the further he goes. As has been discussed in earlier pages, he encounters locals who readily invoke the supernatural through various signs and signals that we are given to understand are to offer spiritual protections to Harker as they know what he does not, that he is entering a world of danger where the unimaginable resides, that which is beyond physical and scientific understanding.

When Harker meets up with the Count's coach, he essentially puts his own wellbeing into the power of another. He is not in control of the coach and we feel his unease as he states, "I felt a little strangely, and not a little frightened . . ."(18). His description of the ensuing carriage ride becomes all the more unnerving as he reports, "It

seemed to me that we were simply going over and over the same ground again; and so I took note of salient point and found that this was so" (18). His experience is echoed in Freud's writing of "an involuntary return to the same situation" and the result of a "feeling of helplessness and of something uncanny" (11). It would seem, if one adheres to Freud's definition, that a way to heighten a feeling of anxiety would be to have the experience of traveling the same ground over and over without being in control of the movement. In Freud's account of his eerie misadventure, he was able to change his movements and find a familiar place. Jonathan Harker, however, is completely at the mercy of his driver. He suggests that he is afraid to ask why they are traveling the same road multiple times and comes to suspect that for some unknown reason, his driver is delaying their travel until the hour of midnight with the associated unearthly connections is reached.

The tale continues with further uncanny events. The sight of a mysterious blue flame, the howling of wolves, the driver's ability to calm jittery horses with some mysterious form of communication, and finally, wolves which surround the carriage who appear inclined to attack, only to be scattered by a mysterious wave of the driver's arm, are occurrences rendered more frightening because of the means of travel being utilized. The carriage takes its passenger deeper into the unknown, farther away from the modern world, into a place rife with the supernatural. Harker is exposed to the natural world by the open carriage and yet he is so far into a world he does not know or understand that it seems impossible for him to escape. In his case, the circular movements of the conveyance would seem to serve no other purpose than to unsettle him, even disorient him. In this way, the Count is more easily able to exert full control of Harker and to

demand compliance. He also makes sure that Jonathan Harker is unable to retrace their journey easily.

Charlotte Brontë's *Villette* presents the dangers of travel illuminated by the uncanny in a novel that uses transportation and its effects as an allegory for the life journey but also as a literal journey as Lucy Snowe embarks on a ship to set sail for a new life in a chapter aptly titled "Turning a New Leaf." The trip is relatively uneventful with the exception of navigating some choppy seas, during which, "articles of furniture began to fall about and it became needful to lash them to their places" (63), events which stand in juxtaposition to Lucy's earlier description of her godmother's home where the "large peaceful rooms, the well-arranged furniture, and the clear wide windows, the balcony outside, looking down on a fine antique street, where Sundays and holidays seemed always to abide – so quiet was its atmosphere, so clean its pavement – these things pleased me well" (7) are given as account of the one place she describes as providing a sense of home. We know she stays there twice a year and, at the novel's opening the narrator tells us she has been absent from her own home six months, acknowledging that her godmother's home is a permanent residence for her as much of the year as her own familial abode. Her journey to her new life sets forth the representation of home as being in complete upheaval, subject to the roughening of the seas that carry her to her destination.

Lucy lands in the little town of Villette, mostly by chance as her casual ship acquaintance, Ginevre Fanshawe, carelessly suggests that she go to the school where she was destined to study, a place where Lucy does end up, seemingly by accident. At Madame Beck's school, Lucy feels herself to be an outsider, a typical experience for her.

It is a place to live and work but it is not a home. Lucy, it seems, is doomed not to find a place that feels like home to her.

Never is the school's inability to be her home more distinct than during "the long vacation." Her loneliness in the absence of the students and teachers is felt keenly. Her deep depression manifests itself in the "fever" that "forbade me to rest; a want of companionship maintained in my soul the cravings of a most deadly famine" and we are taken with her narrative on a journey inside her sickened mind (175). In moments when she claims herself to be "not delirious: I was in my sane mind," she sees the empty beds as spectral and imagines heads of death "huge and snow-bleached – dead dreams of an elder world and mightier race lay frozen in their wide gaping eye-holes" (177). The wild wanderings of her mind thus take her to a more atavistic world where again we are given to understand other-worldly and supernatural happenings are expected. These things in fact appear in her visions incited by the furniture of her stand-in "home" which is incredibly *unheimlich* (unhomelike) in the absence of inhabitants. Lucy's understanding that she is adrift, without a home, brings her in a feverish state to a brink, in which she hallucinates, effectively bringing the uncanny into her experience.

During her nocturnal travels that evening, she is drawn to a church, hoping to experience divine intervention in her feelings of being unloved. In Gothic narratives, churches are often Gothicized; and this one is "an old solemn church" and a Catholic one at that, notable because Lucy is a Protestant and as such, more susceptible to seeing Catholic dogma as the stuff of the supernatural and superstitious. It is as though Lucy requires a paranormal experience. She invites that which is unearthly and embraces it

until she brings her journey to an uncanny circling in her return to the place where she began.

After her encounter with the priest, while trying to find her way to the closest thing she has to a home, the Pensionnat, she loses consciousness and describes a psychological journey:

> Where my soul went during that swoon I cannot tell. Whatever she saw, or wherever she travelled in her trance on that strange night, she kept her own secret; never whispering a word to Memory, and baffling Imagination by an indissoluble silence. She may have gone upward, and come in sight of her eternal home, hoping for leave to rest now, and deeming that her painful union with the matter was at last dissolved. While she so deemed, an angel may have warned her away from heaven's threshold, and, guiding her weeping down, have bound her, once more, all shuddering and unwilling, to that poor frame, cold and wasted, of whose companionship she was grown more than weary. (185)

We see here, the encapsulation of Lucy's despair and the full goal of her journey. In her soul's travel, she arrives at her "eternal home," which is ultimately the thing for which she seeks her entire life. Where home resides is, for Lucy, the ultimate question that she seeks to answer. The current barrier to her happiness is to learn that, at least for now, even Heaven cannot be home for her.

After she regains consciousness, she once again is in a mildly hallucinatory state, again noting that "all my eye rested on struck it as spectral" (185). It is though she has journeyed into a world so completely outside of the natural experience that she must re-

enter the veil of earthly world through a portal where once again, she sees the supernatural in everyday objects. She even sees herself as other-worldly during her transition from a soul outside herself to a bodily creature, observing herself in a mirror and remarking, "I looked spectral; my eyes larger and more hollow, my hair darker than was natural, by contrast with my thin and ashen face" (186). In this moment, she sees the ghostly in herself and notes that as she looks at the furniture in the room, it appears familiar to her and she associates distant memories with the various objects. Her experience comes back to the world of reality and yet, the sense of uncanny is overbearing because she has travelled in the uncanny circle. She is back in the home of her godmother, who has been displaced to Villette. The man who has brought her here is none other than the young man she remembers from childhood, a disclosure that is surprising to the reader as Dr. John has figured into the narrative for some time without Lucy as narrator revealing that he is also Graham, the son of her godmother, a trick of narrative that, as we shall see, supports the idea of the narrator as not being entirely reliable.

Lucy's allegorical journey has thus far, gotten her nowhere. She is back where she began and, once again, she will wish for Graham, aka Dr. John, to give her the attention and love which is seemingly always bestowed on someone else. She will not find home here with the Brettons now just as she did not in her earlier life. Lucy has landed in a circle where the familiar is comforting but this stand-in home will fail to provide her with the sense of home that she truly desires. David Sandner relates this idea to Freud's understanding of the uncanny: "Even in a scene where Lucy Snowe returns home, there is no home to be found" (71). Her narrative of circling back to where she

began includes her ongoing sense of loss, of homelessness, of being forever adrift looking for a place to land.

As Lucy's literal journey begins with an ocean voyage, so her figurative pilgrimage begins and ends, as well. Shipwecks were a common concern in nineteenth-century England. As Rainer K. Baehr reports that between 1826 and 1830 alone, about two thousand people died per year as a result of British shipwrecks (5). Likewise, Staniforth's analysis of ocean disasters that befell British ships en route to and from Australia, notes their effects, the inculcation of fear in the public mind:

> In the popular imagination the ocean represented hazard and uncertainty – an alien environment in which the possibility of shipwreck loomed large. Passengers felt themselves to be at the mercy of the elements and being directly exposed to the extremes of the weather in a moving structure was a new and disconcerting experience. This fear of shipwreck can be seen in a letter from P. Harnett to his brother from Cape Town in 1832 who writes that: "you and the family must have been frequently tormented by anxious hopes and fears of my safety or probably have heard that the vessel was wrecked and as a matter of course that I was lost". (45)

We see this fear come to life in the pages of *The Woman in White* through Marian's nightmare about Walter Hartright:

> I saw him for the third time, in a wrecked ship, stranded on a wild, sandy shore. The overloaded boats were making away from him for the land, and he alone was left, to sink with the ship. I cried to him to hail the hindmost boat, and to make a last effort for his life. The quiet face looked

> at me in return, and the unmoved voice gave me back the changeless reply. 'Another step on the journey. Wait and look. The Sea which drowns the rest, will spare *me.'* (274)

We later learn that Marian's nightmare was more than the result of misplaced worry. Walter Hartright was indeed shipwrecked as he reports when he resumes his narrative near the end of "The Second Epoch":

> Early in the summer of 1850, I, and my surviving companions, left the wilds and forests of Central America for home. Arrived at the coast, we took ship there for England. The vessel was wrecked in the Gulf of Mexico; I was among the few saved from the sea. (406)

The nineteenth-century apprehension of death at sea comes into play as Lucy Snowe's allegorical journey comes full circle, bookending the two shipwrecks in her narrative. The first, which comes early in her story, stands as a metaphor for Lucy losing her family and her home and being left friendless and destitute. The particulars of Lucy's home life are obscured by her narrative. Indeed, whether or not she has a traditional sort of family with a mother or father in the home is left to speculation as when her narrative begins:

> In the autumn of the year -- I was staying at Bretton; my godmother having come in person to claim me of the kinsfolk with whom was at that time fixed my permanent residence. I believe she then plainly saw events coming, whose very shadow I scarce guessed; yet of which the faint suspicion sufficed to impart unsettled sadness, and made me glad to change scene and society (8).

This passage discloses that "events" were predicted that would have an impact on Lucy. Indeed, the narrator leaves room for speculation about the nature of home for Lucy as we are not told of any physical description of rooms or a house in the way we are given details of the place she stays at Bretton. Neither are we given any details about the "kinsfolk" from whom she is taken other than she is fixed there "at that time," an assertion that implies a sort of transitory existence with persons who are not her father or mother. Mary Ann Kelly, who reads *Villette* as an account of grief and a protagonist's inability to deal with a deep sense of loss, notes with regard to Lucy Snowe, that she has little family stability and "has only what she realizes is the temporary respite from chaos at her godmother's in Bretton" (344). It is, perhaps, going too far to assume her family life is chaotic; indeed, there are many other possibilities including Lucy Snowe's family being quietly neglectful, harsh, or even besotted with fatal illness, madness, or alcoholism. We do not know. We are aware, however, that there are things associated with Lucy's family that cause her anxiety and dread as illustrated while she is at Bretton:

> One day a letter was received of which the contents evidently caused Mrs. Bretton surprise and some concern. I thought at first it was from home, and trembled, expecting I know not what disastrous communication; to me, however, no reference was made, and the cloud seemed to pass. (8)

Even Lucy seems uncertain of what the painful nature of home is; she is unsure about what sort of news might be imparted to her, only having the feeling that it would be "disastrous." If she is able, she chooses not to reveal the particulars of home, saying that she quit Bretton "little thinking then I was never to visit it: never more to tread its calm

old streets" and went home, an action that she presents to her reader in a rather tongue-in-cheek fashion:

> It will be conjectured that I was of course glad to return to the bosom of my kindred. Well! The amiable conjecture does no harm, and may therefore be safely left uncontradicted. Far from saying nay, indeed, I will permit the reader to picture me, for the next eight years, as a bark slumbering through halcyon weather, in a harbor still as glass – the steersman stretched on the little deck, his face up to heaven, his eyes closed: buried if you will, in a long prayer. A great many women and girls are supposed to pass their lives something in that fashion; why not I with the rest? (39)

Thus, whatever transpired during those eight years is suppressed in the narrative much as we might assume it is also repressed in Lucy's consciousness. The question, "why not I with the rest?," is perhaps the overarching theme of Lucy's life journey. She seems to be forever on the outside observing and even engaging with her own memories through the vicarious experiences of others, as Mary Ann Kelly suggests:

> Lucy recalls becoming preoccupied at Bretton in watching what she perceived to be Polly's agonizing loss of her father, though he is only taking a trip. Lucy's repeated attempts to relive the loss of her family, or study it through the experience of others, leaves no interlude but one in the novel where she can quietly face her memories. It is a moment from which she emerges unsuccessful during her "vacation" in Villette. Her resistance is tremendous and therefore she does not grow. The narrator

> seems unaware of the exact nature of her preoccupations, but feels compelled to rehearse and re-create the loss of grotesque and troublesome protectors like Miss Marchmont, Madame Beck, Graham, Bretton, and M. Paul, apparently understanding only that she is one of few on earth born to suffer more than others. (345)

Lucy Snowe does not seem to truly engage with life. Perhaps as the result of unnamed trauma, she creates walls that keep her from pursuing happiness. Gilbert and Gubar suggest that the trauma she has experienced comes from the "destructive strictures of patriarchy" (400). When she asks the question, "why not I with the rest?," the irony inherent in her wondering is that she prevents herself from the life experiences she craves through her own acceptance of defeat. As Gilbert and Gubar say, she

> . . .is bound by the limits of her own mind – a dark and narrow cell. Living inside this tomb, she discovers that it is anything but imageless; it is a chamber of terrible visions, not the least of which is that of being buried alive. (401)

The image the narrator offers of the steersman with closed eyes "buried, if you will, in a long prayer" speaks to this idea of self-repression. If Lucy is a "bark slumbering through halcyon weather," then the person controlling the movements is literally asleep at the wheel metaphorically waiting for fate to take over the task at hand. Lucy has given up control, succumbed to a destiny that she assumes will bring her no stability in spite of her yearning and seeking for it throughout the narrative. Her resolve to accept what has happened to her is expressed through the continuation of the metaphor of ocean travel:

> Picture me then idle, basking, plump, and happy, stretched on a cushioned deck, warmed with constant sunshine, rocked by breezes indolently soft. However, it cannot be concealed that, in that case, I must somehow have fallen over-board, or that there must have been wreck at last. I too well remember a time – a long time, of cold, of danger, of contention. To this hour, when I have the nightmare, it repeats the rush and saltness of briny waves in my throat and their icy pressure on my lungs. I even know there was a storm, and that not of one hour nor one day. For many days and nights neither sun nor stars appeared; we cast with our own hands the tackling out of the ship; a heavy tempest lay on us; all hope that we should be saved was taken away. In find, the ship was lost, the crew perished. (39)

She does not give us the specifics of her loss or how it came about, choosing instead to describe it through her invention of the sinking of a ship. Again, she suppresses the truth of what she has endured and even the metaphors become suspect. Her somewhat supercilious permission of allowing the reader to "picture" her carefree existence as a small sailing ship stands in juxtaposition to her later asking that she be pictured as "idle, basking, plum, and happy" enjoying the soft breezes under the sun. If she is as she is asked to be pictured, then the consequential events represented by falling overboard or wrecking (she cannot decide which it is) are decidedly more jarring than if she is, in actuality, unhappily dealing with a family life that is disruptive and chaotic or perhaps, ruined. The narrator is so ambiguous as to be rendered untrustworthy and regards the reader as privileged enough to warrant a perversion of narrative; because the reader has

the audacity to conjecture that Lucy has something of a normal home life, the narrator will mete out ironical fulfillment of those expectations with the understanding that the reader will perceive her irony and determine the narrative to be a false one.

The metaphor is revisited in the final pages of the novel. The last chapter of *Villette* first invokes the idea of fate through the image of the Juggernaut, a Hindu cart designed to carry a deity figure and which crushes devout religious followers beneath its wheels. In practical usage, the term also means something destructive and unstoppable and it is as though Lucy anticipates a horrific destiny awaiting as she says, "Seeing him draw night, burying his broad wheels in the oppressed soil – I, the prostrate votary – felt beforehand the annihilating craunch" (543). The narrative assertion that, in spite of "many parallels in Life's experience" the anticipating of the crunch of the wheel was "all the torture" (543). Finally, the "great Juggernaut, in his great chariot, drew on lofty, loud, and sullen" (543). Yet, in spite of the imagery of destruction, we understand Lucy Snowe to be content and successful. Her school has been expanded, thanks to an unexpected windfall. But she waits for her love to return and the waiting is torment.

The final two pages bring us again the extended metaphor of storm and shipwreck. Or is it a metaphor? Again, the narrator is deliberately ambiguous:

> I know some signs of the sky; I have noted them ever since childhood.
>
> God, watch that sail! Oh! Guard it! (545)

The connection of "signs of the sky" to Lucy's childhood memories is a deliberate one the narrator uses to remind us of the other time when "there was a storm" and "neither sun nor stars appeared" which we assume alerts us that the metaphor is once again at work to stand in for something happening that is too horrible to recount. Yet

again, it is unclear whether we are to trust the narrator as she tells us of a lengthy storm that "did not cease till the Atlantic was strewn with wrecks," a circumstance that seems more real than metaphorical (546). She does allow the reader some hope that perhaps there is opportunity "to conceive the delight of joy born again fresh out of great terror…Let them picture union and a happy succeeding life" (546)[43] But again, she is "allowing" the reader to cling to hopeful thoughts that do not allow for anything that might be an alternate, less pleasant ending. The ambiguity is unsettling and draws a full circle outside of the interior circles that Lucy experiences in the life of her own tale of arguably unhappy existence. Sandner ties the circling of Lucy's search for home and happiness to Freud's idea of what is uncanny:

> In the uncanny as Freud relates it, the meaning of Heimlich and unheimlich, canny and uncanny, become confused in common usage, merge and mean their opposites: the supernatural becomes the natural, the other is distressingly discovered to be the self, the unheimlich Heimlich. This leads to a claustrophobic apprehension of self which undermines the notion of having a home at all. The shipwrecks remain equivocal, oscillating between loss and home, never safely self or other, because they express Lucy Snowe's own interior state of being. She is neither safe inside nor safe outside looking in at something known, desired, but as yet

[43] The endnotes provided by Helen Cooper in the Penguin edition of *Villette* make clear that Brontë leaves the ending ambiguous in deference to her father who requested that she give the tale a happier ending. A letter she wrote to her publisher demonstrates that she sees no happy ending for Monsieur Paul; he either succumbs to a shipwreck or sees an equally unpleasant end by being required to marry Lucy Snowe.

> unattained; instead, Lucy is unable either to lock or knock at the door of her heart; she remains only in the vertiginous state of the uncanny. (71)

As Sandner asserts, the Gothic is dependent upon the uncanny and the "collapse of home" as well as the discovery and return of what was thought to be buried safely, in Lucy's case, her repression of what is left unstated about her life. Her early memories return to haunt her as, being deprived of a sense of home with all the stability that entails, she is never able to create that for herself until, perhaps, the end of the novel when in spite of the potential tragedy of her lost love, she has actually established something for herself -- a life, a career, and a home of her own -- although it is a home that has been given to her by M. Paul with the expectation that they will share it together one day. Thus, even the home that ultimately is hers is a sad distortion of what it should be and was hoped to be.

That Lucy's story begins and ends with the metaphor of the shipwreck speaks to the uncertainty of travel, not only as it literally applies to the dangers of ships, trains, and carriages, but also allegorically of the journey of life. We either pass through in relative safety or we are tossed about on the ocean of perilous circumstance. In the case of Lucy Snowe, we are perhaps asked to ascertain whether Lucy's happiness is dependent on the metaphor she carries in her interior; that of the wrecked ship, seeing herself as homeless and perpetually adrift, a state that is uncanny according to Freud's assertion that what is uncanny is *unheimlich* or unhomelike. Lucy, with no home of her own ever described in her narrative, must create her own interior sense of identity and wellbeing, finding a space of home within herself. The reader is left to determine whether she is able to do that in spite of outer circumstances which are signaled with the image of the shipwreck,

which is itself one of the disquietudes of travel standing in for the apprehensions of finding happiness in life.

In literature the uncanny is distinctive because, as Freud states, "it is a much more fertile province than the uncanny in real life, for it contains the whole of the latter and something more besides, something that cannot be found in real life" (18). In the works we have encountered to this point, we have seen many of Freud's examples of the uncanny at work, including the double, dismembered limbs (or digits, as in the case of "The Engineer's Thumb"), the disconcerting experience of traveling over the same ground or arriving in the same spot from which one departed, and even the invocation of the evil eye. What we have not yet discussed is what will be addressed in the final chapter, which is an important aspect of the availability and ease of nineteenth-century travel, that of encountering the "other" of foreign lands, an occurrence especially profound in later nineteenth-century British colonial outposts.

Chapter Six

The Encounter with the "Other"

> What admirable things are roads! Admirable for their beauty, admirable for their utility; admirable, often, for the grandeur, either of their extent or of their conception; admirable for their testimony to the civilization of the countries through which they pass, and for their influences upon the advance of that civilization.
>
> (*Roads and Railroads, Vehicles and Modes of Travelling* p. 1)

Great Britain was an imperialist country long before the nineteenth century with initial trading companies set up in places such as Turkey, Russia, and the East Indies beginning in the sixteenth century and accelerating in the seventeenth century with colonies established in the Americas, West Indies, Africa, and India. The nineteenth century saw further expansion of British imperialism in such places as Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific Islands and gave rise to a domination of China in concert with other European powers. The idea of British travel to remote locations resulting in encounters with people in colonial outposts brings its own set of issues and anxieties, which are explored by late nineteenth-century authors such as Rudyard Kipling, Bram Stoker, and others, as we shall see.

Sir Richard Francis Burton famously explored the exotic lands of the east and wrote about his adventures in Asia, Africa, and the Americas, completing a pilgrimage to Mecca while disguised as a South Asian Pashtun. He became an

icon of British expansion and in 1862 wrote a letter to the *Times* in which he quotes M'Gregor Laird, a speculator who settled and opened trade on the Upper Niger River :

> As far back as 1856 the late Mr. M'Gregor Laird, one of Africa's best and noblest friends, wrote as follows concerning the Cameroon Mountains and Amboise Bay, in West Africa: --
>
> 'The great value of this position to this country is undoubtedly its extraordinary adaptation for a penal settlement. Supposing, by black labour, a good road made to the superior level from the port, European prisoners might be kept there in perfect security; any attempt to escape would be defeated by the climate. They would displace no native population, for that is confined to the low ground. They would be completely isolated, and governed with greater ease than convict stations surrounded by white settlers. Employment could be found to any extent in cutting timber, making roads, and raising their own provisions. As long as they remained on the high land they would be safe; the penalty for leaving it would be levied by Nature herself. Ground could be allotted to the well-behaved, and the great source of depravity would be removed by allowing intermarriage with the native women. A mixed race would be the result, which experience has proved to be the most efficient way of improving mankind. As long as transportation continues, and the difficulty of finding a practical substitute for it is generally acknowledged, there is no part of

> the world where a convict can be placed with less injury to his fellow-creatures and with greater chance of reformation for himself.'
>
> I can confirm, from personal experience, every word above cited. – Sir Richard Francis Burton in "Transportation," a letter to the *Times*, December 31, 1862.

The excerpt from Burton's letter to the Editor of the *Times* exposes a variety of controversial aspects of British colonialism. The willingness to use indigenous people for the purposes of implementing technology, the desire to deposit undesirables in a foreign land, and the assertion that a mixing of races would be an "improvement" all speak to the attitudes of nineteenth-century imperialist thought. The presumption was that the world belongs to the British and where they can penetrate, they can exert their collective will.

David Newsome explains the rationalization for this "sort of Empire-fever," writing, "The Victorians had a very strong sense of mission: not only to proclaim the Christian gospel, but also to civilize peoples of a totally different culture by the inculcation of Western standards and ethics" (134). The real impetus was perhaps, less high-minded and definitely more commercially motivated. British outposts were new markets for manufactured goods such as cotton and the ironworks as well as sources of raw materials and other desirable goods and, as such, imperialist policies were designed for the acquisition as much foreign territory as possible so that trade potential could be exploited.

Such expansions appealed to the British public as a source of national pride and were particularly popular with the working classes who saw economic benefits in

imperialist policies. Imperialism also reinforced a sense of racial superiority amongst British of Anglo-Saxon descent who found solidarity in the power of the common racial heritage and found, as Antoinette Burton comments that "the domestic underclasses and white ethnic minorities who were prominent in the colonial enterprise could and did become the imperial 'overclasses' by virtue of their essential Britishness" (484). In this way, British subjugated classes found a sort of social mobility through colonialism. Indeed, the general inclination of Britons was to view home as the seat of civilized behavior, progress, and universal racial and cultural superiority, all of which stood triumphantly over colonial cultures located on the "dark continent" and other places that shared the common trait of being as-of-yet un-tempered spaces waiting to be saved by British domestication. But empire-building was not uniformly supported and did not come without unexpected consequences, not the least of which were the cultural implications of forced assimilation and the issues of potential reversal effects of foreign cultures influencing British life. Indeed, the cultures the British attempted to appropriate were often found to be distinctly distasteful. One such example lies close to home, when England examined the union with Ireland which occurred in 1800. While England benefitted from the Irish who played a significant role in railway construction, as Newsome notes, the British were less than grateful:

> Instead they looked with repugnancy at their ghetto-mentality (almost as bad as the Jews, people thought), and the revolting squalor of the urban dens and "rookeries" which housed them. They were poor, dirty, bug-ridden, intemperate, and – above all – Roman Catholic. Even their fellow workers in the laboring class regarded them with distrust. They

> constituted a threat to the labour market by their acquiescence in lower wages; and in the event of a strike, they had been known to act as "knobsticks" – the north-country term for strike-breakers. All in all, England would have been happier without them. (128)

Notable also, Newsome says, is the fact that the English weren't emigrating to Ireland, quite the opposite. The movement of the Irish was inclined either towards England or to the United States (128).

Likewise imperialism brought the fear of moral decay, not only from contact with other cultures, often considered pagan, exotic, or primitive, but from the actions taken on behalf of the Queen in outposts. The exploitation of African peoples for the slave trade is one illustration as well as the disconcerting contemplation of what it must have been to be a colonized country, forced to acquiesce, with new technologies and religious strictures imposed upon a people who didn't ask for them.

Colonialism and the opening of outpost territories resulted in contact with the "other," embodied in members of other socio-economic classes, races, or cultures. We have already explored some of the ways carriage travel facilitated contact with more primitive peoples, as in *Uncle Silas* and *Dracula,* a travel towards places untainted by modernity and its technologies, which can function as a gateway to usher in the potential for danger and imprisonment, the compromise of identity, the supernatural, and, in some cases the threat of bodily harm or even death. We have seen this concept acting in multiple Gothic and sensational works. But there is often something further at work that goes beyond the idea of traveling to a place untouched by modernity and the implied safety inherent in the taming of science and nature.

The fear of "the other" is well documented. Sociologists have written extensively on the topic and the idea that encounters with others can have a detrimental effect on the imperialist culture is one that has been thoroughly explored as demonstrated by Edward Said's question: "Can one divide human reality, as indeed human reality seems to be, genuinely divided, into clearly different cultures, histories, traditions, societies, even races, and survive the consequences humanly?" (53). Literature throughout modern time employs the trope of other as something exotic, frightening, and dangerous in a variety of ways. Travel and the expansion of accessibility of places to the common person ignites that fear in ways previously unexplored. The idea of bringing technology to the primitive brings its own opportunities to exploit the belief in the supernatural in the indigenous "other."

Sumangala Bhattacharya explores this very idea extensively, quoting Sir John Kaye, an officer of the British Army stationed in India who "declares that the advent of railways and the telegraph showed the venerated native (Hindu) priesthood to be 'as feeble and impotent as babes and sucklings'" and goes on to postulate that bringing trains into pagan cultures would offer proof that the Europeans could harness the laws of nature and create massive examples of technology that the natives would see as deities" (415). The idea of imposing the supernatural on the indigenous people of an outpost region through technology brings a new form of oppression to the colonial masses. Whether it really was an effective tactic or not is a different matter and yet the idea of technology and modernity being so linked to what is otherworldly is an intriguing one. Rather than masking the effects of the supernatural as we have seen in novels where the further one

removes oneself from technology, the more danger is present, in the structures of Colonialism, bringing technology and introducing it as "magic" is a form of control.

Indeed, as Bhattacharya points out, the railways in Kipling's *Kim* function as a "Gothic spectacle":

> The Lahore railway station, the first stage of Kim and the lama's journey to Benares, illustrates the latent instability of colonial authority. The "fort-like" architecture of the railway station is a reminder of the post-Mutiny military imperative of constructing public spaces so as to be defensible against native insurgency. The result is a disorienting, large interior, with a "maze of girders" overhead and a vaulted ceiling creating a "hollow echoing darkness." Defying description, the transcendent darkness of the station, interrupted by lightning flashes of "sizzling" electric lights is "black in the end of night." Rows of native passengers rolled up in blankets on the floor as they wait overnight for the train, add a macabre touch to the "gigantic stone hall paved, it seemed, with the sheeted dead." (418-19)

Whereas the atavistic is usually what is considered Gothic, here again, we have, much as in Dickens's "The Signal-Man," the modern taking on the aspects of the frightful and the macabre. It is not always necessary to move away from modernity to find what is other-worldy. In fact, it is perhaps more sinister to find that the supernatural does not always exist in the primitive or natural world, but rather that the creations of industry have their own power to tap into what belies the rules of nature.

Meanwhile, *Kim* demonstrates another aspect of the shared travel space, that of the notion of forced contact with an "other" deemed undesirable. After the lama boards the train, able to afford a seat in a compartment where a mix of people are housed, a comment is made by a money lender:

> 'I say,' began the money-lender, pursing his lips, 'that there is not one rule of right living which these *te-rains* do not cause us to break. We sit, for example, side by side with all castes and peoples.' (31)

British technology serves to influence Indian culture by forcing the destruction of social barriers. The sharing of transportation spaces back in Mother England causes similar consternation and yet, with the more structured separation of castes in Indian society, the mixing of social classes could be argued to be its own distinct form of horror imposed on the colonized territory.

As we have seen, the shared spaces of transportation create specific fears related both to the possibility of encountering unsavory characters but also to the real threat of exposure to disease, anxieties which are explored in literature that features encounters with unfamiliar or foreign people and lands. As Matthew Newsome Kerr notes, "The social distinction conferred by vehicles marked the entire century, during which closeness to "the people" continued to be an ambiguous source of both veneration and vexation" (286). His analysis of the rise of concerns about diseased people riding in public coaches and infecting the subsequent passengers includes the nuances of spread of sickness as it relates to class. While public transportation made mobility more accessible to everyone, it does not escape notice that those who could afford to own and operate a private

carriage escaped the unpleasantries experienced by those who could only manage to pay for the occasional cab, which allowed "persons of different social classes" to occupy "the same seat for the same fare" (289). Aside from the possibility of being conveyed in a vehicle that may have recently transported a sick passenger contaminated with a disease such as the dreaded smallpox, spaces of public transportation were notoriously shabby, dirty, and foul-smelling. Certainly the cab was a convenience, readily available and quick, and did not require the preparing of horses and carriage that privately owned vehicles would demand. Cabs became part of the snarl and clog of London traffic as by mid-century cab travel became increasingly common and allowed even the well-off to save money by ending the practice of keeping horses and maintaining private carriages. However, the hackney-coach or cab did develop a stigma. As well as being famously unclean they created a discomfort as the space of a rented vehicle might accommodate people from the aristocracy but also from the slum. An additional discomfort arose from the idea of sharing a space with someone of another race or culture. The spaces of shared transportation create a danger, not only of a literal infection but also of exposure to filth, displeasing experiences such as foul odors, and the possibility of moral infection because of the variety of types of people who occupy these public spaces.

Indeed the very notion of entering into territory previously unexplored or unfamiliar presents the fear of encountering some unknown other that is infectious or presents a new form of contamination. As Battacharya points out the railway can expose imperialists to corruption from unformed or subversive ideas that grow in pockets of a region that were previously untouched:

> While railways act as networks of imperial knowledge and power, they can also help to bring the monstrous to the metropolis. The familiar presence of railways as a feature of modern life invites a kind of naiveté about its dangerous potential, thereby enabling the East to infiltrate the West. . . . Railways allow the corruption of native princes to become known to the outside world, erasing the distance between the "unknowable" hinterland and the colonial centers. (421)

We see an exploration of this idea at work in *Dracula* as Jonathan Harker's journey deeper into the exotic east brings about an opening for an intensely criminal mind to journey west. Count Dracula infects western culture both with his evil intentions and, literally, with his bloodlust that results in creating others like him. His monstrous need to "turn" others into monsters themselves is a form of fast-spreading corruption, passed along through physical contact that has been allowed by the interactions between Britain and the less modern lands to the east. Dracula's "kiss" provides an affliction that spreads through bodily contact, in this instance, through his draining the blood of his victims, but along with the physical contagion he provides in turning his victims into the "undead" there is also the very real threat of the spread of evil, of moral decay, of hedonism.

It is noteworthy that, as Antoinette Burton and others have suggested, the British idea was that "the movement of ideas, culture, and 'improvement' was presumed to flow in one direction: from home to away," an idea that she presumes is problematic by virtue of the tendencies of Victorians to relegate imperialism to something that happens elsewhere, thus overlooking the ways in which British culture subsumed some of the colonial influences. *Dracula* points out another potential unexpected consequence of the

flow of ideas to an outpost territory, that of assimilation being used against Empire. Jonathan Harker initially reacts with delight at the discovery of "a vast number of English books, whole shelves full of them. . ." at the Count's castle (25). He finds the collection remarkable:

> The books were of the most varied kind – history, geography, politics, political economy, botany, geology, law – all relating to England and English life and customs and manners. There were even such books of reference as the London Directory, the "Red" and "Blue" books, Whitaker's Almanack, the Army and Navy Lists, and – it somehow gladdened my heart to see it – the Law List. (25)

The "'Red' and 'Blue' books Harker notices may be government publications, according to a footnote in the Norton Critical Edition (25). Notes by editors, Lisa M. Miller and Stacey MacPherson, from a 2006 release suggest "It is quite possible, but not certain, that the 'Red' book contains maps of London streets; the 'Blue' book may have been a collection of 'taxi' (Hackney coach) routes through the city" (Stoker, 338). Certainly, the Count is interested in travel networks as a bit later, Jonathan walks in on him to find him "lying on the sofa, reading, of all things in the world, an English Bradshaw's Guide" (28). The Count explains his English books, saying:

> "These friends" – and he laid his hand on some of the books – "have been good friends to me, and for some years past, ever since I had the idea of going to London, have given me many, many hours of pleasure. Through them I have come to know your great England; and to know her is to love her. I long to go through the crowded streets of your mighty London, to be in the midst of the

> whirl and rush of humanity, to share its life, its change, its death, and all that makes it what it is." (26)

The Count goes on to express his desire to speak English well, saying, "You shall, I trust, rest here with me a while, so that by our talking I may learn the English intonation; and I would that you tell me when I make error even of the smallest, in my speaking" (26). Notably, in this request, Dracula does indeed make an "error" in leaving off the article before the word and equally notably, Jonathan does not correct this omission. Up to this point, the Count's mastery of the English language has been impeccable. Notes in the Norton edition ask, "Is this a test? Who is testing whom?" which are questions worth exploring (26). The feigned difficulty with the language and Jonathan's allowance of the Count's seeming ignorance would indicate a mirroring of lack of transparency. Jonathan Harker comes to Transylvania with a sense of his own superiority as an Englishman, commenting with a hint of condescension that "there are no maps of this country as yet to compare with our own Ordnance Survey maps" and observing, "It seems to me that the further East you go the more unpunctual are the trains" (10-11). Later, as Jonathan is shaving, the Count startles him by approaching him, which Jonathan does not see as, "…there was no reflection of him in the mirror!" (31). Carol Senf argues that his "inability to 'see' Dracula is a manifestation of moral blindness which reveals his insensitivity to other and (as will become evident later) his inability to perceive certain traits within himself" (164). Indeed, Jonathan, with a sense of English imperialistic supremacy, is forced to acknowledge that he is mistaken regarding his assumptions about the nobleman he finds in a foreign land, an idea that Senf explores further:

> While journeying from London to Transylvania, Harker muses on the quaint customs which he encounters; and he notes in his journal that he must question his host about them. Stoker uses Harker's perplexity to establish his character as a very parochial Englishman whose apparent curiosity is not a desire for understanding, but a need to have his preconceptions confirmed. However, instead of finding someone like himself at the end of his journey, a person who can provide a rational explanation for these examples of non-English behavior, Harker discovers a ruined castle, itself a memento of bygone ages, and a man who, reminding him that Transylvania is not England, prides himself on being an integral part of his nation's heroic past. . . . (164)

Dracula's invocation of who he is in a world which Jonathan, an Englishman, would find inferior, indeed, a world ripe for British empire-building, is a surprising expression of dominance in spite of the seeming primacy of British culture with its modernity:

> Well I know that, did I move and speak in your London, none there are who would not know me for a stranger. That is not enough for me. Here I am noble; I am *boyar*; the common people know me and I am master. But a stranger in a strange land, he is no one; men know him not – and to know not is to care not for. (26)

The assertion of what a stranger is in a strange land again functions as a mirror, in which Jonathan does not see Dracula or rather, who he is in proximity to Dracula. The Count is speaking of himself, in hypothetical terms that anticipate his journey to London but he is also asserting who Jonathan is, as in his current situation what he has not yet recognized

is that as "a stranger in a strange land" he is not known and no one cares about him. Jonathan will soon learn how relevant this statement is to his own plight as he finds himself imprisoned and also learns, to his dismay, that Dracula's "common people" are loyal to their "master" and will not help him. English supremacy holds no sway here.

Stephen Arata describes the degenerative effects of the monster in *Dracula* as reverse colonization, a phenomena he says becomes prevalent in the popular fiction of the latter part of the nineteenth century (623).[44] He says that in each example, the reversal that occurs when "the colonizer finds himself in the position of the colonized, the exploiter becomes exploited, the victimizer victimized" (623). He relates these fantasies to the perceived decline of empire as it falls to "racial, moral, spiritual" decay which in turn led to fears of primitive people and worries about the vulnerability of a degenerating culture. Arata also says that guilt plays into these narratives as they "contain the potential for powerful critiques of imperialist ideologies" and "provide an opportunity to atone for imperial sins" (623).

Indeed, the idea of reverse colonialism first expresses itself in *Dracula* when Jonathan realizes that he is an implicit and unwitting actor in endangering his motherland: "This was the being I was helping to transfer to London, where, perhaps for centuries to come he might, amongst its teeming millions, satiate his lust for blood, and create a new and ever-widening circle of semi-demons to batten on the helpless" (53-54). His horror upon realizing the danger Dracula's imminent invasion of England could

---

[44] Arata lists a number of "fantasies of reverse colonization" that emerged in the latter nineteenth century: Rudyard Kipling's early fiction ("The Mark of the Beast," "At the End of the Passage," *The Light that Failed*) in Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes stories (*The Sign of Four, "*The Crooked Man"), in H.G. Wells's science fiction tales (*The Time Machine, The War of the Worlds*), and in many of the numerous adventure novels of G. A. Hope, Henry S. Merriman, and John Buchan (623).

wreak is palpable and dawns upon him slowly as he ostensibly puts together that the Count had been studying culture and language. Moreover, he realizes that Dracula has been assimilating himself through mastery of the icon of British modernity – its travel networks -- which will allow him not only to move freely but also to understand the movements of anyone who might oppose him, an understanding that proved beneficial to him, as we have seen. His reading and study of English society and culture again invokes a mirror reflection of British behavior in other countries as exemplified by Sir Richard Francis Burton here explaining how he entered Mecca:

> The outline of my journey is this. Early in April 1853 I left Southampton disguised in Persian dress, and landed at Alexandria regretting that I had not at once assumed an Afghan costume. . . . there I lived about 5 weeks, collecting information about El Hejaz and refreshing my remembrance of things oriental. . . . My stay at the capital of Egypt lasted 6 weeks, during which time I became an Indian doctor, and supplied myself with the preposterous outfit with which Easter travellers to El Hejaz are wont, about as sensibly as our East India cadets, to encumber themselves. In July, after some difficulty about passports at Cairo, I went to Suez, fell in with a Mecca boy and a party of respectable Medinites, who, believing me to be a Sulaymani or Afghan pilgrim, offered to take me to their native city. (209)

Burton studies and assimilates the culture and dress of the land he traverses as a means of gaining access to information that will further British imperial cause, which includes determining whether there is a viable market for horses in the "Great Eastern Desert."

His efforts at "passing" are echoed by Dracula, who creates the same assimilative effects in England. Likewise Jonathan realizes that his own advice regarding the methods and means of ship consignment will provide the vehicle for the Count to advance to England. Once there, Dracula will use his knowledge of culture and British transportation systems to exact his plan to unleash himself upon an innocent population that awaits him.

The narrative of the Count's journey to an unsuspecting England is told through the accounts of a newspaper clipping describing "one of the greatest and suddenest storms on record" that produced "results both strange and unique" (75). Those results are described in the account of the discovery of a derelict ship with a dead seaman "lashed to the wheel" (78). The horror of this discovery is somewhat tempered by the means in which the news is delivered, the newspaper, one of the features of the modern world which lends to a sense of transparency and offers the security of the collective; if everyone knows about something dangerous, that danger seems somehow mitigated. The log of the *Demeter,* the Russian ship from Varna, found in the aftermath of the storm likewise begins with distinctly brief and businesslike accounts of the movements of the ship and the mood of the crew. Quickly, however, the log entries become more lengthy and detailed as the odd happenings, presumably indicative of the Count's presence aboard ship, describe the fear, horror, and ultimately death that spread throughout the crew as one by one, the seamen disappear and those left disclose sightings of a man or a specter. Finally, only the captain is left to declare that he "shall not leave my ship" and determines to "tie my hands to the wheel when my strength begins to fail" (84). The log is a feature of the modern world, as are the news clippings and typewritten journal entries created by other characters. These hallmarks of modernity stand in opposition to the

monster who embodies the supernatural and has come from a foreign land to threaten the structures of British culture, dominance, and perceived racial supremacy.

Dracula is a threat to English primacy, not only because of his "otherness" as characterized by his being of the Carpathians, a geography Arata describes as being rife with "polyracial character" and the homeland of "Berserker, Hun, Turk, Saxon, Slovak, Magyar, Szekely," but also because he is vampiric (628). As such, his menace is twofold; he is a warrior and also a sexual threat as his vampiric nature is to propagate his likeness through the colonization of the body. His acts of assault against humans are transformative, making them like him. Arata writes, "Having yielded to his assault, one literally 'goes native' by becoming a vampire oneself" (630). Dracula's attack is a metaphor for sexual assault and murder as by subduing his victim, the person loses identity in favor of becoming one of his, effectively a family member sharing his traits and desire to subjugate others.

Moreover, the vampire proves to be of a race that is startlingly superior to that of the British: robust, vigorous, and terrifyingly fecund. Arata discusses the distinctions between vampire and British:

> The vampire serves, then, to highlight the alarming decline among the British, since the undead are, paradoxically, both "healthier" and more "fertile" than the living. Perversely, a vampiric attack can serve to invigorate its victim. . . . Indeed, after his attack, Lucy's body initially appears stronger, her eyes brighter, her cheeks rosier. The corresponding enervation that marks the British men is most clearly visible in Harker (he is "pale," "weak-looking," "exhausted," "nervous," "a wreck"), but it can

> be seen in the other male British characters as well. Harker and Dracula in fact switch places during the novel; Harker becomes tired and white-haired as the action proceeds, while Dracula, whose white hair grows progressively darker, becomes more vigorous. (631).

Indeed, as well as being physically more virile than his British counterparts, Dracula is perhaps more western, as Arata goes on to suggest:

> No one is more rational, more intelligent, more organized, or even more punctual than the Count. No one plans more carefully or researches more thoroughly. No one is more learned within his own spheres of expertise or more receptive to new knowledge. (637)

If the Count, the embodiment of the colonial "other," is more western and more physically robust than the British, then at least he is seemingly morally inferior. His actions are violent, barbaric, and outside of any sense of decency as Mina Harker claims: "The Count is a criminal and of criminal type" (296). But the reversals of imperialist and "other" hold throughout the narrative as the influence of Dracula's behavior infects and assumes control in the British characters. This reversal is partly illustrated when Jonathan confronts the Count in his coffin in the castle chapel:

> A terrible desire came upon me to rid the world of such a monster. There was no lethal weapon at hand, but I seized a shovel which the workmen had been using to fill the cases, and lifting it high struck, with the edge downward, at the hateful face. But as I did so the head turned, and the eyes fell full upon me, with all their blaze of basilisk horror. The sight

> seemed to paralyse me, and the shovel turned in my hand and glanced from the face, merely making a deep gash above the forehead. (54)

Jonathan, the civilized Englishman in a strange land, while physically intact and escaping the sexual invasion with which he has been threatened, has been morally converted into the barbarous. As Senf notes, "Behavior generally attributed to the vampire – the habit of attacking a sleeping victim, violence, and irrational behavior – is revealed to be the behavior of the civilized Englishman also" (165). The reversal of the roles of conquerer and conquered here also reveal something else; Jonathan is unable to complete the task of subjugation that Dracula so easily completes in his victims. Even in the act of embracing the brutality of his victim, the Englishman proves himself inferior.

Likewise, as Senf points out, Jonathan also nearly succumbs to the sexual promiscuity embodied by the vampiric acts (166). It is through the bite of the victim that the fertility of the vampire is activated, turning the victim into the image of the victimizer. When Jonathan encounters the three seductive female creatures in the castle, he is ready to set his morality aside, admitting, "I felt in my heart a wicked, burning desire that they would kiss me with those red lips" (42). At the moment when he is ready to accept the embrace of one of the vampire women, his willingness is poignant and the sensuality is explicit:

> Lower and lower went her head as the lips went below the range of my mouth and chin and seemed about to fasten on my throat. Then she paused and I could hear the churning sound of her tongue as it licked her teeth and lips, and could feel the hot breath on my neck. Then the skin of my throat began to tingle as one's flesh does when the hand that is to

> tickle it approaches nearer – nearer. I could feel the soft shivering touch of the lips on the supersensitive skin of my throat, and the hard dents of two sharp teeth, just touching and pausing there. I closed my eyes in a languorous ecstacy and waited – waited with beating heart. (42-43)

The vampiric pornography of the scene is disrupted by the intrusion of the Count who "hurled the woman from him" and chastised the three vampiric ladies vehemently before pointing at a bag, "which moved as though there were some living thing within it" (43). The women descend upon the contents -- which Jonathan surmises to be a child -- and he succumbs to his horror by losing consciousness. Again, he is unable to fully embrace the immorality he momentarily craves. Infected by the corruption of the "other," he gives in to his desires but is thwarted and, in an act that is distinctly both unheroic and unmanly, he faints. Lacking the warrior-like virility and fecundity of the colonial "other," he fails to be able to act on his desires and is rendered effectively impotent. He embodies a weakening British morality as well as the fear that a declining empire is rapidly finding itself unable to assert itself.

Again the violence of the vampire is connected with its adversary in the scene in which Lucy is executed, a scene Senf argues is "filled with a violent sexuality" (167):

> But Arthur never faltered. He looked like a figure of Thor as his untrembling arm rose and fell, driving deeper and deeper the mercy-bearing stake, whilst the blood from the pierced heart welled and spurted up around it. His face was set and high duty seemed to shine through it; the sight of it gave us courage, so that our voices seemed to ring through the little vault.

> And then the writhing and quivering of the body became less, and the teeth ceased to champ, and the face to quiver. Finally it lay still. . . The hammer fell from Arthur's hand. He reeled and would have fallen had we not caught him. The great drops of sweat sprang out on his forehead, and his breath came in broken gasps. (192)

The imagery of sexual violence cannot be missed here. As Senf comments, "the scene resembles nothing so much as the combined group rape and murder of an unconscious woman; and this kind of violent attack on a helpless victim is precisely the kind of behavior which condemns Dracula in the narrators' eyes" (167). In encountering the "other" the imperialists become forced to assimilate the barbarism they abhor and are required to commit their violence against one of their own countrywomen. In order to stop her from proliferating the invading race, she must be sacrificed and the act they perform on her mimics the vampiric sexual violation that brought her to a sort of bi-racial state of being: no longer the lovely and lively Englishwoman ready to become a wife but a threatening creature who has been effectively bred into the capacity for promiscuity by the vampire's bite.

Stoker ends his fantasy in a more conventionally imperialistic way. A battle occurs in the primitive land with the British engaging the natives and triumphing. There is nothing sexual about the way Dracula meets his end. His opponents use prevailing weaponry to fight their way to possession of his box and, opening it, Jonathan's "great knife" slashes the Count's throat and Mr. Morris's "bowie knife plunged into the heart" (325). Remarkably, Jonathan has found his imperialistic strength and imperial order has been restored.

The novel ends much as it begins, with a travel narrative, a form very familiar to a Victorian reading public. Jonathan's tale commences with journal entries that record his observations of the picturesque and his commentary on the peoples and landscapes he encounters. The close of the tale includes a final note that briefly accounts Jonathan and Mina's "journey to Transylvania" viewed now through the lens of what they "had seen with our own eyes and heard with our own ears" (326). Jonathan remarks that "every trace of all that had been blotted out," a comment which is magnified by his revelation that "in all the mass of material of which the record is composed, there is hardly one authentic document" (326). It is as though none of the fantastic tale had happened at all, in which case no lessons are learned and the British continue to penetrate foreign territories without concern about consequence. Yet the experience of travel through country that should provide the pleasures of the picturesque is tainted with the stain of colonialism. Jonathan and Mina can no longer see Transylvania with unclouded eyes as the effects of Britain's encounter with "other" and the opening for "other" to encounter Britain cannot be escaped.

In a similar way, William Hope Hodgson's 1912 short story, "The Derelict" brings home the idea of other juxtaposed with preternatural encounter. It begins with a Doctor on board a ship that traverses the north Atlantic, contemplating the very essence and nature of life as a biological form and discussing his ideas with the narrator. Science, it would seem, is the topic of the day as it naturally was in the late nineteenth Post-Darwinian century. Everything could be explained by science except those things which couldn't be. Life and the spark that animates was yet to be boxed up by industrial-era science. And yet, the old doctor is willing to try, insisting that life is "a matter of

chemistry – conditions and a suitable medium" while still recognizing there is something more at work, saying "given the conditions, the brute is so almighty that it will seize upon anything through which to manifest itself" thus anthropomorphizing chemical reactions, which, ironically undercuts his own argument (Hodgson).

"Life's a kind of spiritual mystery," says the narrator, insisting that science does not have the capacity to explain everything (Hodgson). The doctor responds with a story, through which he intends to explain that life, as he sees it, is merely a chemical reaction that occurs under the correct conditions. He recounts a time when, after a run to Madagascar on a ship where he was situated as doctor, his crew got the ship through a difficult storm only to spy a derelict not far away, a ship that clearly has been floating about unmanned or unmoored for some time. When he and a group of men approach the vessel, they can see that it is surrounded by a sort of scum, something they've not seen before and something that is both not native to England nor, as they think, to the waters they traverse:

> There were . . . great clumpings of strange-looking sea-fungi under the bows and the short counter astern. From the stump of her jibboom and her cutwater great beards of rime and marine growths hung downward into the scum that held her in. Her blank starboard side was presented to us – all a dead, dirtyish white, streaked and mottled vaguely with dull masses of heavier colour. (Hodgson)

They approach the vessel and the doctor admits to feeling "a queer little sense of oppression that amounted almost to nervousness" (Hodgson). Darkness was falling and something about the scum is unfamiliar enough as to be uncanny. They board the derelict

ship and encounter a mould (mold) unlike anything they've seen before. It is like a skin and only indents, rather than crumbles, when they walk on it. It lay in mounds "all dirty-white and blotched and veined with irregular, dull, purplish markings" (Hodgson). The doctor smells something and recognizes it as a rodent-like smell, which makes him nervous. If the ship is infested with rats, they will be hungry and rats are capable of attacking humans. In addition, although he doesn't say it, a normal fear would be that rats would be spreaders of disease. The doctor understands rodent behavior and expresses fear that "vast number of hungry rats" would "prove exceedingly dangerous" (Hodgson).

As they continue to examine the mold, it proves to be even odder than they had first thought. They tread upon it, kicking it, listening to the doughy thudding sound it makes. The captain kicks at a mass of it for a second time and the "result of his kick was startling, for the whole thing wobbled sloppily, like a mound of unhealthy-looking jelly" and then, where his boot had made gapes in the "mould-like stuff" a purple fluid was "jetting out in a queerly regular fashion, almost as if it were being forced out by a pump" (Hodgson). The crew aboard the derelict ship become increasingly uneasy and begin to detect a rhythmic thumping coming from below deck. One seaman runs away, in spite of the captain's stern yells for him to return and moments later:

> The man who had run from us . . . was swaying from side to side, and screaming in a dreadful fashion. He appeared to be trying to lift his feet, and the light from his swaying lantern showed an almost incredible sight. All about him the mould was in active movement. His feet had sunk out of sight. The stuff appeared to be lapping at his legs and abruptly his bare flesh showed. The hideous stuff had rent his trouser-leg away as if it were

> paper. He gave out a simply sickening scream, and, with a vast effort, wrenched one leg free. It was partly destroyed. The next instant he pitched face downward, and the stuff heaped itself upon him, as if it were actually alive, with a dreadful, severe life. It was simply infernal. The man had gone from sight. Where he had fallen was now a writhing, elongated mound, in constant and horrible increase, as the mould appeared to move towards it in strange ripples from all sides. (Hodgson)

The others make a mighty effort to escape in a harrowing flurry of activity. They manage to fling themselves into a boat below but then "saw the thing again:"

> We had not been mistaken. A great lip of grey-white was protruding in over the edge of the boat – a great lappet of the mould was coming stealthily towards us – a live mass of the very hull itself! And suddenly Captain Gannington yelled out in so many words the grotesque and incredible thing I was thinking: 'She's alive!' (Hodgson)

They see that the "mass of living matter coming towards us [is] streaked and veined with purple, the veins standing out, enormously distended" (Hodgson). It quivers and appears to pump something akin to blood, as evidenced by the infernal thudding they hear from below, which seems to resemble the beating of the heart of some kind of primal life-form. After an intense time fighting off the mold while trying to get to the boat on which the rest of the crew remained, they manage to escape mostly unscathed, although the second mate's feet have been sucked under the mold. When the doctor examines them he sees that the "soles of them had the appearance of having been partly digested" (Hodgson).

At the conclusion of the tale, the doctor expresses his belief that if they'd known what the cargo of that deserted ship held they'd be able to ascertain the chemical compositions necessary for life to be created. He expresses regret that he did not have that information saying, "If I could have had her bill of lading, it might have told me something to help" (Hodgson). If, like the characters in *Dracula,* he had the benefit of the kept records associated with modern travel, he might have been able to ascertain what chemical components worked together to create the horrific mold. He assumes that science holds the answer, unwilling to think that it could have been something supernatural or something from an unknown region of the world that had not yet been encountered.

The significance of the crewmen being in danger of being absorbed by the strange life form is telling. They have made the imperialistic act of boarding a ship that is not theirs and have met up with something unknown, some other part of creation, and what is feared is that what has been encountered will consume the men, obscuring their identity, and subsuming their very beings into this larger mass. The scum has the power to attract and hold, metaphorically representing another culture that has the ability to seduce and effectively obliterate the original identities of those who are sucked into it. Culture and life that are unknown are dangerous. They have the power to obscure who one really is and distort nationalism and even morality. Indeed, this is what Arata argues is the overarching metaphor of Dracula when read through the lens of reverse colonization, that of culture being in jeopardy because the colonized becomes the invader, the oppressor, and subsumes the cultural identity of the oppressed.

The story of "The Derelict" is particularly horrific because of its setting, on the ocean, well away from any vestiges of what is familiar. Far from civilization, on the primordial sea, the rules of modern life do not apply; rather, a life form unrecognizable, a mutation of what is known to be typical, has taken a murderous form. There is no other help for the crew other than what they can provide for themselves. They alone are encountering another life form and, as a tribe that has penetrated the unknown region of the ship, they are alone and thus endangered.

It is the unknown, the dark musty things buried deep in our past and indeed, deep in the subconscious mind that are tapped into here and brings us what is horrifying in the tale of "The Derelict." And this is what the Gothic and the sensation novel does; our deepest fears are activated and we follow along with a morbid interest, unable to tear our eyes away from the words that lead us along the path of fear with the hope that our need for a satisfying ending is fulfilled.

Conclusion

Travel, technology, and the changes wrought by modernity incite fears of the unknown. We fear that in harnessing nature, tampering with the way things are, we unleash some potential for something even more harmful than previously imagined to emerge. Not much has changed since the late nineteenth-century writings of "The Mystery of the Derelict" and *Dracula*. In twenty-first-century life, we fear many things; that our ventures into robotics may produce machines capable of thought and world domination to impose their own rules upon us; that vehicles which are able to drive themselves without human guidance may go rogue and cause more harm than intended; that humans harnessing science and reluctant to think about the consequences may change the environment of our planet so as to make it uninhabitable; and that encountering others brings the possibility of our being victimized as illustrated by eminent physicist, Stephen Hawking, who said, "If aliens visit us, the outcome would be much as when Columbus landed in America, which didn't turn out well for the Native Americans." None of these fears are new; rather, they are just amalgamations of the technologies that have come before, rife with the possibility of destruction and as technology "improves" or increases, the possibility of the decimation of humanity only becomes worse.

It is part of the human condition to struggle to make sense of the natural world and to use the laws of nature for our own benefit. None of this seems to come without a price, a concept that literature has historically explored. The nineteenth century, with its quickening of technological increases was, perhaps, the beginning of the embodiment of those fears in literature. To study and understand those fears gives us glimpses of our

own self-imposed limitations as well as a full comprehension of the opportunities that we possess. What exploring our anxieties gives us is the ability perhaps to thwart those improvements that have the potential to threaten us on an existential level.

In her 1862 essay "Sensation Novels," written for *Blackwood's Magazine*, Margaret Oliphant declared, "it is only natural that art and literature should, in an age which has turned to be one of events, attempt a kindred depth of effect and shock of incident" (247). Thus, art and literature reflect reality and, to say the nineteenth century was "one of events" does not present the full picture. As we have seen, the age was one rife with misunderstandings and false securities. Beginning early in the century with *Northanger Abbey* and Henry Tilney's assertions that being English, Christian, and technologically advanced restrain immorality and crime, to later in the century when imperialistic impulses were fueled by a false sense of impervious superiority, modernity tends to create an illusory security.

But in spite of the enthusiasm for technology and the dangerous confidence it instills, a rapidly changing world creates disquietude for its inhabitants. When the dynamism brought about by technology includes mechanisms for moving human bodies through space and time at an unprecedented rate, it is no wonder that literature and art respond accordingly, exploring the possibilities for physical and emotional catastrophe as well as the inherent ability of the darker natures of humanity to use those technologies for ill. Necessarily, the possibility for the paranormal to occur must be part of the equation as the rapid transportation of the body is both subject to the laws of science and yet, as a radical distortion of the body's natural resting state, seemingly operates outside the laws of nature. The idea of a force beyond what is visible in the natural world being stirred by

the meddling of humanity in bending the laws of nature to suit our need for convenience and efficiency is one that appears, not only in the works considered in these pages, but in many other works as well from the nineteenth century and beyond. Indeed, we see these tropes still in our twenty-first-century art, in film, novels, and multi-media representations. There is something in the consternation of uncertainty of harnessing science that leads ordinary people to wonder, "Where is it all going?" In spite of the tropes of fear, violence, and supernatural creatures and monsters, the end result is usually one of reassurance. Humans find a way to overcome what they have created, which is perhaps what fascinates readers about the genres that stimulate fear; we are drawn to explore how far-reaching science might hurt us and then we applaud when characters find a way to overcome the disturbances for which they are responsible.

Works Cited

Adams, James Eli. *A History of Victorian Literature.* Wiley-Blackwell, 2009.

Adams, William Bridges. *English Pleasure Carriages, Their Origin, History, Varieties, Materials, Construction, Defects, Improvements, and Capabilities*C. Knight & Co., 1837.

Albert, William. "Popular Opposition to Turnpike Trusts in Early Eighteenth-Century England." The Journal of Transport History; Feb. 1, 1979; 5, 1-17

---. *The Turnpike Road System in England 1663–1840*. Cambridge University Press, 1972.

Alexander, Christine. "The Prospect of Blaise: Landscape and Perception in *Northanger Abbey*." www.jasna.org/assets/Persuasions/No.-21/alexander.pdf

Arata, Stephen D. "The Occidental Tourist: 'Dracula' and the Anxiety of Reverse Colonization." *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 4, 1990, pp. 621-645.

Armstrong, John. "Coastal Shipping: The Neglected Sector of Nineteenth-Century British Transport History." *International Journal of Maritime History*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 1994, pp. 175-188.

Austen, Jane, and R. W. Chapman. *The Novels of Jane Austen*. 3rd ed. [with revisions.]. Oxford University Press, 1965.

---."The Three Sisters, a Novel." *Minor Works*. Oxford University Press, 1988.

Baehre, Rainer K., editor. *Outrageous Seas: Shipwreck and Survival in the Waters Off Newfoundland, 1583-1893*. McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999.

Barchas, Janine. *Matters of Fact in Jane Austen: History, Location, and Celebrity.* The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012.

Beaumont, W. Worby. *Motor Vehicles*. Cambridge University Press, 1900.

Berger, Richard. "Hang a Right at the Abbey: Jane Austen and the Imagined City." *Jane Austen: Pleasure, Passion, and Possessiveness in the Jane Austen Community,* edited by Laurence Raw and Robert G. Dryden, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, pp. 119-141.

Berglund, Birgitta. *Woman's Whole Existence: the House as an Image in the Novels of Ann Radclife, Mary Wollstonecraft, and Jane Austen*. Lund University Press, 1993.

Bhattacharya, Sumangala. "'Those Two Thin Strips of Iron': The Uncanny Mobilities of Railways in British India." *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 37.5 (2015): 411–430.

Bogart, Dan. "The Turnpike Roads of England and Wales." https://www.campop.geog.cam.ac.uk/research/projects/transport/onlineatlas/britishturnpiketrusts.pdf

----. "Turnpike Trusts and the Transportation Revolution in 18th Century England." *Explorations in Economic History,* Vol. 42, 2005, pp. 479-508.

Brock, Marilyn, ed. *From Wollstonecraft to Stoker: Essays on Gothic and Victorian sensation fiction.* McFarland & Co., 2009.

Broders, Simone. "The Fast and the Curious: The Role of Curiosity in the Gothic Heroine's 'Grand Tour of the Mind.'" *English Studies*. Vol. 98, No. 8, 2017, pp. 917-930.

Brontë, Charlotte. *Villette*.1853. Penguin, 2005.

Brunner, José. "The Naked Mother Or, Why Freud Did Not Write About Railway Accidents." *Psychoanalysis and History,* Vol. 9, No. 1, 2007, pp. 71–82. *Edinburgh University Press Journals*.

Burton, Antoinette. "Rules of Thumb: British history and 'imperial culture' in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Britain." *Women's History Review*, Vol. 3, No. 4, 1994, pp. 483-501.

Burton, Richard Francis. "Journey to Medina with Route from Yambu." 1854. Burtonia.org

Byrne, Aoife. "'Very Knowing Gigs': Social Aspiration and the Gig Carriage in Jane Austen's Works." *Persuasions*, Vol. 37, 2015, pp. 198-207.

Caplan, Eric Michael. "Trains, Brains, and Sprains: Railway Spine and the Origins of Psychoneuroses." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, Vol. 69, No. 3, 1995, pp 387-419.

Carroll, Noel. *The Philosophy of Horror, or, Paradoxes of the Heart.* Routledge, 1990.

Challis, David Milbank and Rush, Andy. "The Railways of Britain: An Unstudied Map Corpus." *Imago Mundi*, Vol. 61, No. 2, 2009, pp. 186-214.

Channon, Geoffrey. "The business morals of British railway companies in the mid-nineteenth century." *Business & Economic History*, Vol. 28, No. 1, 1999, pp. 69-78.

Choi, Tina Young. "The Railway Guide's Experiments in Cartography: Narrative, Information, Advertising." *Victorian Studies,* Vol. 57, No. 2, 2015, pp.251-283.

Collins, Wilkie. *The Woman in White.* 1860. Penguin Books, 1999.

Conan Doyle, Arthur. "The Adventure of the Engineer's Thumb." 1892. *Great Works of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle*, Chatham River Press, 1984, pp. 114-126.

Corbin, Alain. *Time, Desire and Horror: Towards a History of the Senses*. Wiley, 1995.

Cotrell, P.L. and Ottley, G. "The Beginnings of the Stockton & Darlington Railway: People and documents, 1813-25: a celebratory note." *The Journal of Transport History*, Volume 3, No. 2, 1975.

Daly, Nicholas. "Blood on the Tracks: Sensation Drama, the Railway, and the Dark Face of Modernity." *Victorian Studies,* Vol. 42, No. 1, 1998, pp. 47–76.

---. *Literature, Technology, and Modernity, 1860-2000*. Cambridge University Press, 2004.

De Certeau, Michel. *The Practice of Everyday Life.* Trans. Steven F. Rendall. University of California Press, 1984.

De Quincey, Thomas. *The English Mail-Coach and Other Essays.* [1849] JM Dent & Sons, 1912.

Dickens, Charles. "The Signal-Man." *Three Ghost Stories*. 1866. *Project Gutenberg*, 1998.

---. *Great Expectations.* 1861. Penguin Books, 1996.

Dobraszczyk, Paul. "Useful Reading? Designing Information for London's Victorian Cab Passengers." *Journal of Design History*, Vo. 21, No. 2, 2008, pp.121-141.

Downes, D. "'Excellent Monsters: The Railway Theme In Dickens's Novels." *English,* Vol. 61, 2012, 382–393. *CrossRef*. Web.

"Dreadful Accident on the South-Eastern Railway, and Loss of Ten Lives." *Illustrated London News*, 17 June 1865, p. 571+. *The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003*, http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/5phjW1. Accessed 23 Jan. 2018.

Dussinger, John. A. "'The Glory of Motion': Carriages and Consciousness in the Early Novel." *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1989, pp. 133-146.

Esbester, Mike. "Nineteenth-Century Timetables and the History of Reading." *Book History,* Vol. 12, 2009, pp. 156-185.

Egan, Pierce. *Pierce Egan's Account of the Trial of Mr. Fauntleroy for Forgery.* Knight and Lacey, 1824.

Elliot, H. *New and Practical Guide Through London, and its Environs; by Railway, Steamboat, or Omnibus.* H. Elliot, 1857.

Ellis, Kate Ferguson. *The Contested castle: Gothic Novels and the Subversion of Domestic Ideology.* University of Illinois Press, 1989.

Erichsen, John Eric. *On Railway and Other Injuries of the Nervous System.* Walton & Maberly, 1866.

Evans, Francis T. "Roads, Railways, and Canals: Technical Choices in 19th-Century Britain." *Technology and Culture,* Vol. 22, No. 1, 1981, pp. 1-34.

Freeman, Michael. *Railways and the Victorian Imagination*. Yale University Press, 1999.

Freud, Sigmund. "The Uncanny." 1919. Penguin, 2003.

Froude, James Anthony. *Thomas Carlyle: A History of His Life in London 1834-1881.* Charles Scribner's Sons, 1884.

Fuller, Miriam Rheingold. "'Let me go, Mr. Thorpe; Isabella, do not hold me!': *Northanger Abbey* and the Domestic Gothic." *Persuasions*, Vol. 32, 2010, pp. 90-105.

Fyfe, Aileen. Steam-Powered Knowledge: *William Chambers and the Business of Publishing, 1820-1860*. University of Chicago Press, 2012.

Gardner, Laura. "Archive: When GMT took over from sundials." *Professional Engineering,* Vol. 20, No. 18, 2007, p. 80.

Gaylin, Ann. "Ghostly Dispossessions: The Gothic Properties of *Uncle Silas.*" *Troubled Legacies: Narrative and Inheritance*, edited by Allan Hepburn, University of Toronto Press, 2007, pp. 87-105.

Gerhold, Dorian. "Productivity change in road transport before and after turnpiking, 1690–1840." *Economic History Review*, Vol. 49, 1996, pp. 491–515.

Gilbert, Sandra M. and Gubar, Susan. *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination*. Yale University Press, 1979.

Grossman, Jonathan H. *Charles Dickens's Networks: Public Transport and the Novel.* Oxford University Press, 2012.

---. "Living the Global Transport Network in *Great Expectations*." *Victorian Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Social, Political, and Cultural Studies*, Vol. 57, No. 2, 2015, 225–250.

Guldi, Jo. *Roads to Power: Britain Invents the Infrastructure State.* Harvard University Press, 2012.

Hair, P. E. H. "Deaths from Violence in Britain: A Tentative Secular Study." *Population Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 1, 1971, pp. 5-24.

Hardy, Thomas. *Tess of the d'Urbervilles.* 1891. Penguin, 2008.

Hodgson, William Hope. "The Derelict." 1907. https://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/h/hodgson/william_hope/derelict/

Howes, Marjorie. "Misalliance and the Anglo-Irish tradition in Le Fanu's *Uncle Silas*." *Nineteenth-Century Literature*, Vol. 47, No. 2, 1992, pp. 164-187.

The Influence of Railway Travelling on Public Health. From "The Lancet." Robert Hardwicke, 1862.

Ishaque, Muhammad M. and Noland, Robert B. "Making roads safe for pedestrians or keeping them out of the way?: An historical perspective on pedestrian policies in Britain." *Journal of Transport History,* Vol. 27, No.1, 2006, pp.115-137.

Jackman, W.T. *The Development of Transportation in Modern England*. Cambridge University Press, 1916.

Jarvis, Robin. "The Glory of Motion: De Quincey, Travel, and Romanticism." *Yearbook of English Studies,* Vol. 34, 2004, pp. 74-87.

Kelly, Mary Ann. "Paralysis and the Circular Nature of Memory in 'Villette.'" *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol. 90, No. 3, 1991, pp. 342-360,

Kerr, Matthew L. Newsom. "'Perambulating Fever Nests of Our London Streets': Cabs, Omnibuses, Ambulances, and Other 'Pest-Vehicles' in the Victorian Metropolis." *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 49, No. 2, 2010, pp. 283–310.

Kipling, Rudyard. *Kim*. 1901. Barnes & Noble, 2003.

Laugero, Greg. "Infrastructures of Enlightenment: Road-Making, the Public Sphere, and the Emergence of Literature." *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 1, 1995, pp. 45-67.

Lenckos, Elisabeth. "From Sublime Abbey to Picturesque Parsonage: The Aesthetics of *Northanger Abbey* and *The Mysteries of Udolpho*." *Persuasions: The Jane Austen Journal*, Vol. 32, 2010, pp.105-114.

Le Fanu, Sheridan. *The Murdered Cousin.* [1851], ebooks @Adelaid, https://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/l/lefanu/cousin/

---. *Uncle Silas.* [1864] Penguin, 2000.

Lock, C. "Hardy and the Railway." *Essays in Criticism,* Vol. 50, No. 1, 2000, 44–66. *CrossRef*. Web.

The London Guide and Stranger's Safeguard against the Cheats, Swindlers, and Pickpockets that Abound within the Bills of Mortality: Forming a Picture of London as Regards Active Life. J. Bumpus, 1819. https://archive.org/details/londonguidestran00lond

MacKay, Charles. "The Stage Coach and the Steam Carriage." *The Lump of Gold: And Other Poems.* G. Routledge & Co., 1856.

Malton, Sara. *Forgery in Nineteenth-Century Literature and Culture: Fictions of Finance from Dickens to Wilde.* Palgrave MacMillan, 2009.

Matthews, Jodie. "Back where they belong: Gypsies, kidnapping and assimilation in Victorian children's literature." *Romani Studies 5,* Vol. 20, No. 2, 2010, pp. 137-159.

Matus, Jill L. "Trauma, Memory, and Railway Disaster: The Dickensian Connection." *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 3, 2001, pp. 413–436. *CrossRef*. Web.

McCormack, W. J. *Dissolute Characters: Irish literary history through Balzac, Sheridan Le Fanu, Yeats and Bowen*. Manchester University Press, 1993.

Middlebrook, Ian. "London Cabs, Wilkie Collins and *The Woman in White*." *The Journal of Transport History,* Vol. 37, No. 1, 2016, pp. 64-80.

Mighall, Robert. *A Geography of Victorian Gothic Fiction: Mapping History's Nightmares.* Oxford University Press, 1999.

Moore, Henry Charles. *Omnibuses and Cabs: Their Origin and History*. Chapman & Hall, 1902.

Morrison, Paul. "Enclosed in openness: *Northanger Abbey* and the Domestic Carceral." *Texas Studies in Literature and Language.* Vol. 33, No. 1, 1991, pp. 1-23.

Newsome, David. *The Victorian World Picture.* Rutgers University Press, 1997.

Oliphant, Margaret. "Sensation Novels." *Selected Works of Margaret Oliphant, Part 1. https://www.scribd.com/document/57840418/Sensation-Novels-From-Selected-Works-of-Margaret-Oliphant-Part-I#download*

"The Omnibus." *Punch and London Charivari* (London, England) 31 July 1841: n.p. *19th Century UK Periodicals.*

Pawson, E. *Transport and Economy: the Turnpike Roads of Eighteenth Century Britain*. Academic Press, 1977.

Phillips, Samuel. *The Literature of the Rail republished from "The Times" of Saturday, 9th August, 1851*, John Murray, 1851.

Punter, David, ed. *A Companion to the Gothic.* Blackwell Publishers, 2000.

Radcliffe, Ann. *The Mysteries of Udolpho*. 1794. J. Limbird, 1824.

The Railway Traveller's Handy Book of Hints, Suggestions, and Advice, Before the Journey, on the Journey, and After the Journey. London: Lockwood and Co., 1862.

Roads and Railroads, Vehicles, and Modes of Travelling of Ancient and Modern Countries with Accounts of Bridges, Tunnels and Canals in Various Parts of the World. London: John W. Parker, 1839.

Sage, Victor. Introduction. *Uncle Silas,* by Sheridan Le Fanu, London: Penguin, 2000.

---. "Resurrecting the Regency: Horror and Eighteenth-Century Comedy in Le Fanu's Fiction." *Victorian Gothic: Literary and Cultural Manifestations in the Nineteenth Century* edited by Ruth Robbins and Julia Wolfreys, Palgrave, 2000, pp. 12-30.

Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. London: Routledge & Kegan, 1978.

Sandner, David. "The Little Puzzle: The Two Shipwrecks in Charlotte Brontë's *Villette.*" *English Language Notes*, Vol. 36, No. 3, 1999, pp. 67-74.

Schivelbusch, Wolfgang. *The Railway Journey : The Industrialization of Time and Space in the Nineteenth Century*. University of California Press, 2014.

Senf, Carol A. "'Dracula': The Unseen Face in the Mirror." *The Journal of Narrative Technique,* Vol. 9, No. 3, 1979, pp. 160-170.

Smith, Andrew. *Gothic Literature: Second Edition.* Edinburgh University Press, 2013.

Smith, Matthew Wilson. "Victorian Railway Accident and the Melodramatic Imagination." *Modern Drama*, Vol. 55, No. 4, 2012, pp. 497-522.

Sontag, Monique. "Beyond the Peak of the 'Railway Mania': Nostalgia and Reconsideration of a Former Utopia in Charles Mackay's 'The Stage Coach and the Steam Carriage' (1856)." *Discourses of Mobility-Mobility of Discourse: The Conceptualization of Trains,*

Cars and Planes in 19th- and 20th-Century Poetry. Edited by Peter Wetzel and Sven Strasen. Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2010, pp. 33-42.

Staniforth, Mark. "Shipwrecks: Images and Perceptions of Nineteenth-Century Maritime Disasters." *Sydney Studies in Society and Culture*, Vol. 7, 1992. https://openjournals.library.sydney.edu.au/index.php/SSSC/article/view/8135

Stoker, Bram. *Dracula.* 1897. W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1997.

Stokes, John. "Encabsulation': Horse-Drawn Journeys in Late-Victorian Literature." *Journal of Victorian Culture,* Vol. 15, No. 2, 2010, pp. 239-253.

Taylor, Becky. "A People on the Outside." *History Today*, Vol. 61, No. 6, 2011, pp. 17-19.

Taylor, James. "Business in Pictures: Representations of Railway Enterprise in the Satirical Press in Britain 1845-1870." *Past & Present,* Vol. 189, No. 1, 2005, pp. 111-145.

Thackeray, William Makepeace. *Vanity Fair*. 1847. Random House, 1999.

Trollope, Anthony. *Barchester Towers*. 1857. Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1992.

Vieira, Ryan A. *Time and Politics: Parliament and the Culture of Modernity in Britain and the British World.* Oxford University Press, 2015.

Waller, David. "Technology capital then and now." *History Today*. Vol. 65, No. 11, 2015, pp. 36-38.

Wenzel, Peter, and Sven Strasen, eds. *Discourses of Mobility-Mobility of Discourse: The Conceptualization of Trains, Cars and Planes in 19th- and 20th-Century Poetry*. Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier (WVT), 2010.

Williams, Raymond. *The Country and the City.* Oxford University Press, 1973.

Yorke, Stan. *Steam Railways Explained: Steam, Oil & Locomotion*. Countryside Books, 2007.

Young, Simon. “Fairies and Railways: A Nineteenth-Century Topos and its Origins.” *Notes and Queries,* https://doi-org.libproxy.unl.edu/10.1093/notesj/gjs095