

Laying in the Dark: The Literary Night in Nineteenth-Century American Prose

Sarah Cullen

School of English

Trinity College Dublin, The University of Dublin

Supervisor: Professor Stephen Matterson

Thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

2020



Trinity College Dublin

Coláiste na Tríonóide, Baile Átha Cliath

The University of Dublin

Content

Acknowledgement.....	ii
Declaration.....	iv
Abstract.....	v
Introduction.....	1
Chapter One: The Uncertainty of Evening in the Early Republic Seduction Narrative.....	38
Chapter Two: Curfews and Masculinity in American Prose From 1820.....	97
Chapter Three: Nocturnal Rebellion in the Antebellum Slavery Narrative.....	147
Chapter Four: Gilded Age Ghostly Kinship in Women Writers' Gothic Short Stories.....	201
Conclusion: Night Studies in the Twentieth Century.....	254
Bibliography.....	268

Acknowledgement

I would firstly like to thank my supervisor, Professor Stephen Matterson, for his support, guidance, and patience throughout the completion of my PhD. His wide-ranging knowledge and advice has ensured that my enthusiasm for researching the American literary night has never flagged. I would also like to thank the academic and administrative staff of the School of English at TCD for creating such a supportive and welcoming environment. My thanks as well to the academic network Irish Association of American Studies for encouraging my scholarship. In particular I would like to acknowledge the support Dr. Jennifer Daly and Dr. David Coughlan who provided me with the opportunity to organise the association's postgraduate symposium. I am also infinitely grateful to Dr. Ron Callan, who has kindly provided feedback on my research throughout the years.

I also wish to acknowledge the financial and professional support of the Irish Research Council, who awarded me a Government of Ireland Postgraduate Scholarship in 2017. My thanks as well to the Eccles Centre for American Studies whose fellowship permitted me to visit the British Library in June 2017, and the Trinity Trust Travel Grant which supported my international conference travel in 2016.

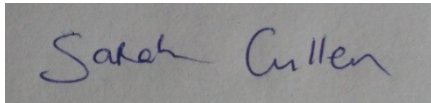
I am also indebted to family and friends, whose generosity has made the last four years a joy. There are many people, both with and sadly no longer with us, whose encouragement and example has enabled me to follow my dream of writing a doctoral thesis. In particular, all my love goes to my aunts, Clíodhna and Linda. Without their enduring and all-encompassing support I would not have had the strength to embark on a doctoral programme. My eternal gratitude goes out to my great friends, Dr. Eoin O'Callaghan and Dr. Dara Downey. Eoin's infinite kindness and selfless guidance enabled me to successfully navigate the IRC application process and beyond. Dara has, meanwhile, been a fountain of wisdom, not to mention expertise, throughout my academic career. Thanks as well to my boyfriend, Victor, whose continual support ensures that I remain grounded and remember the important things in life.

One of the pleasures of my research has been the opportunity to share the family home as a space of work with my mum, Eithne, dad, Stephen, and brother, Tommy. It has made me infinitely proud that our house is a space of creativity in which we can focus independently on our own projects before coming together at the end of the day in solidarity and support. It is that spirit of friendship and love with which I hope to go forward in life. This thesis is dedicated to my father, as promised.

Declaration

I declare that this thesis has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at this or any other university and that it is entirely my own work. I agree to deposit this thesis in the University's open access institutional repository or allow the Library to do so on my behalf, subject to Irish Copyright Legislation and Trinity College Library conditions of use and acknowledgement.

Signed,

A rectangular box containing a handwritten signature in blue ink. The signature is written in a cursive style and reads "Sarah Cullen".

Sarah Cullen

Abstract

This thesis examines nineteenth-century American prose via the lens of night studies, to demonstrate how the literary night is used to construct and challenge issues of gender and race in the United States. A major narrative in American literature is a nocturnal journey through which characters both literally and figuratively risk losing their way in the new continent. The nightscape is therefore a crucial space in which American characters navigate their uncertainties and prejudices, exacerbated by the literal fears inherent in the darkness.

The thesis focuses primarily on social justice texts – seduction novels, slavery narratives, and women's gothic stories – to highlight how the literary nightscape has been used as a site of protest throughout the century. In doing so, these social justice texts rewrite the literary night as a space for action and activism for white women and people of colour, demonstrating the possibilities that are typically denied to them in daytime society. These texts do so with the use of various literary strategies, including dark sousveillance, closer reading, and the re-appropriation of genres such as sentimentalism and gothicism.

These social justice texts are compared to texts written primarily by white male authors which reinscribe notions of white male supremacy, such as pro-slavery novels, Indian hating literature, and self-making narratives. Examining these texts demonstrates how the night has been carefully curated by white patriarchal America to ensure white male supremacy. While this thesis argues that the literary night can be used to explore the socio-political milieu of any society, it focuses on U.S. literature in the nineteenth-century because the newly emerging nation was preoccupied with nocturnal policing, shown through the rigid demands of laws regarding coverture, chattel slavery, and Indian removals, women's night work, and Jim Crow. In particular, such nineteenth-century nocturnal narratives created and reinforced white supremacist beliefs regarding race mixing, the apex of fears regarding race and gender.

Doing so, this thesis also explores what I have termed the “nocturnal gothic.” While gothic studies have been perpetually preoccupied with night

and darkness, relatively little has been said about why gothic literature is so dependent upon these themes and motifs. The nocturnal gothic focuses on how literature came to address the night time in the face of swift and unprecedented industrial changes, demonstrating how some writers attempted to cling to the dichotomies of good versus evil codified in the day and night, while others nuanced them to examine preconceived notions of race, gender, and class in American society.

This thesis argues ultimately that, in order to discover who controls a nation, one must identify who controls the narrative of the night. Night studies, as a result, highlights how the nineteenth-century literary night is a key battleground for the possibilities of freedom and captivity in the United States. If American literature explores white American fears of race mixing, an activity that was seen as shameful yet necessary to nation building such as chattel slavery and coverture and, as a result, needed to remain hidden, the nocturnal gothic disrupts this narrative by highlighting the often hidden mechanisations of the forced sexual encounters that perpetuate economic and political systems in the United States.

Introduction

Edge of the Night

During their exploration of the Pacific Northwest, in the winter of 1805, Captain Meriwether Lewis and Second Lieutenant William Clark introduced a new group of rules to govern movement at night inside and outside Fort Clatsop, Oregon, the final encampment on their Corps of Discovery. Writing about what Lewis and Clark recorded in their journals, Duncan Faherty has observed that

As well as instituting a practice of ejecting all visitors at dusk, this mandate included instructions for building "a Sentinel Box" to house an around-the-clock-guard (6:146). Such practices flew in the face of native hospitality, and marked the first and only time during the expedition that the Corps so rigidly entertained such policies. While the Clatsops were at first offended by the Corps' behavior (Clark records that the Clatsops were "very impertenante and disagreeable" when initially asked to leave), Lewis and Clark persevered (6:146). (73)

Despite the sustained and crucial dependent relationship the white explorers had had with the native Clatsops for food, and continued to have for other resources such as timber, as soon as Lewis and Clark recognised the possibility of segregation and a disavowal of that dependence (and hence, a re-establishment of a white "civilisation") they established a racial barrier that came into effect each night. As Faherty puts it,

With the boundaries between the Corps and the Clatsops blurred, Lewis and Clark became more insistent on the lines of demarcation. The captains may have been wary of their men contracting venereal disease and of pilfering, but they also believed that they needed to reinscribe presumptive hierarchies. By shutting the gates at sunset, Lewis and Clark created the illusion that they had marked off a portion of the region as U.S. territory. (74)

The boundaries which were blurred, thanks to the daily interactions and collaboration between the Corps and the Clatsops, would have become exacerbated at night: a fear of venereal disease could also mean a fear of race mixing. Such a move demonstrates how highly Lewis and Clark valued this demarcation. Despite risking the loss of "native hospitality," trading partners, and even more fundamentally, lifelines to food and valuable resources, it appears that reinscribing "presumptive hierarchies" of race was a more pressing matter to the white pioneers. While such a racial curfew was not new in the establishment of a white America – rules demarcating movement and visibility of people of colour in the eighteenth-century night can be found in New York (Browne 67) and Boston¹ – it is, as Faherty has pointed out, interesting to see how these measures were made in such haste and even risked the destruction of the white party. Maintaining such distinctions, it appears, was a key element in Lewis and Clark's (and by extension white colonialism's) establishment of their new world.

However, such a move was also intensely gendered. Despite white America's aversion to race mixing, there were times when such a move was considered advantageous to white supremacy. Peggy Pascoe has pointed out that

White men who married into Indian tribes drew Indians into trade networks that paved the way for future encroachment on Indian land. White men who lived with Indian women established land claims that the U.S. government helped defend by moving Indians to reservations. After the formation of Indian reservations, White men and women claimed the land then "opened up" to settlement. (95)

There is a similar contradiction in Fort Clatsop, in which the official line – that of a distinction between the races – was being regularly undermined by

1 Boston law of 1768 stipulated that "no Indian, Negro or Molatto (sic) Servant or Slave, may prefume to be abfent from the Families whereto they refpectively belong, or be found abroad in the Night-Time after Nine a Clock; unlefs it is upon fome Errand for their refpective Masters or Owners" ("Laws").

unofficial activity between white men and native women. Not only were the white men trading supplies for sex with the Clatsop and Chinook women, there are claims that Lewis fathered a child with a native woman named Winona, and may even have married her in a native ceremony he was unwilling to officially acknowledge (Thompson 24-37). In this way, the white colonisers were able to take advantage of their connection to the native populations – and particularly the women – while officially disavowing that connection. Here the night became a space in which white society, seen primarily in white male individuals, took the opportunity to compare and contrast their refined and cultivated civilisation alongside that of “primitive society,” be this in the shape of Native Americans or African Americans, all the while flagrantly defying its own rules. It is for this reason that the establishment of the United States coincided with the establishment of curfews.

While Lewis and Clark jealously guarded the gates of Americana against aboriginal threats, it must be remembered that the American night was simultaneously recognised as somewhere in which the white underdog could succeed against all odds: something which, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, must have been evident. After all, in 1775 it was (at least nominally) the victory of a small amount of militia men in Concord and Lexington who, recognising that the larger British forces were intending to use the cover of the night to invade, turned their attempt on its head and instead used their own advantage in the dark to rally. During the 1825 fiftieth anniversary celebrations for the momentous occasion that shaped the course of the revolutionary war, Massachusetts senator Edward Everett claimed that

It was the people, in their first capacity, as citizens and as freemen starting from their beds at midnight, from their firesides, and from their fields, to take their own cause into their own hands. Such a spectacle is the height of the moral sublime, when the want of every thing is fully made up by the spirit of the cause; and the soul within stands in place of discipline, organization, resources. (513)

Such an act is highlighted in the much-celebrated story of Paul Revere's night ride to Concord to raise the alarm. As observed by John McWilliams:

At the very moment when fulsome oratory about Revolutionary forefathers died away in the breaking out of civil war, Longfellow sent Paul Revere on his mid-night ride through so many schoolchildren's heads that the whole episode slowed to a poetic jog trot, broadly and badly recited. (2)

This victory against the British signalled the beginning of the American struggle for independence and highlights the importance of the night as a battleground for American freedom.

Yet, this did not appear to be a freedom that white male Americans wished to extend to the others who shared their newfound country. This was illustrated by the white response to Nat Turner's rebellion in Virginia in 1831. Not unlike Concord and Lexington, Turner had summoned a small band during the night to rebel against a larger group which threatened their ability to self-rule: however, these black men, both free and enslaved, were not praised for taking "their own cause into their own hands" nor admired for the "spirit of the cause". Instead, in the rebellion's aftermath, many southern states heightened or added to their black codes, including laws forbidding nocturnal gatherings (Cromwell 230-1). While public sentiment began to swing towards ideas regarding eventual emancipation, the reasons for doing so were as selfish and self-serving as Lewis and Clark's Clatsop curfew. Instead of recognising the importance of freedom amongst the southern black population, the white population now viewed slavery as a danger in which Turner's rebellion could be re-enacted. As recorded by William Lloyd Garrison, the Virginian delegate James McDowell lamented that "a peaceful and confiding State" had been turned "into a military camp:"

which barred every door, penetrated every bosom with fear or suspicion, which so banished every sense of security from every man's dwelling; that, let but a hoof or horn break

upon the silence of the night, and an aching throb would be driven to the heart. The husband would look to his weapon and the mother would shudder and weep upon her cradle. (qtd. *Atlantic*)

Night, it seems, was only a danger towards the white landowner and his family, who was always the protagonist in white America's nocturnal narratives.

The Long American Night of the Soul

This research on literary constructions of gender and race in the long nineteenth century (1789-1914) was initially prompted by a consideration of how the nightscape shapes the protagonist's journey in what is perhaps Nathaniel Hawthorne's best-known gothic short story, "Young Goodman Brown" (1835). Disturbed by the thought of his newly-wed wife Faith's sexuality (and hence autonomy), the eponymous protagonist decides to leave her alone overnight and wanders into the nearby forest for an unexplained meeting with an elderly man who is strongly hinted at being the devil. Goodman Brown joins him on a journey through the forest, where Indians hide behind every tree, just out of sight. In the centre of the forest he discovers his upstanding neighbours, congregated in a witches' coven, discussing their many sins. To make matters worse, he discovers that his wife is also in attendance, and that the two of them are about to be "taken into communion to-night." At this point Goodman Brown cries that his "Faith is gone!" and he joins in the chaos of the nocturnal world. The story concludes with Brown waking the next morning, uncertain of whether the proceeding night had been a dream or reality. However, either way, "A stern, a sad, a darkly meditative, a distrustful, if not a desperate man, did he become, from the night of that fearful dream" (276-89). Throughout this short story, the night takes on the shape of many of the fears a nineteenth-century white American man might have including white female deviance, the threat of rebellion from people of colour, and his own complicity in the American empire. "Young Goodman Brown," furthermore, is not alone among Hawthorne's writing in its depiction of a night journey (Leavis 195): variations on the theme can be found in *The Scarlet Letter* (1850), "My

Kinsman, Major Molineux" (1832), "Roger Malvin's Burial" (1846), "Ethan Brand" (1850), and "The Hollow of the Three Hills" (1851), to name just a few. Thinking about Hawthorne in such terms prompted me to consider whether the literary American night as a whole shared similar anxieties.

My work is part of a new field of study which has begun to address the overlooked influence of night on human culture. "Night studies," as I will call it, is a relatively neglected area of criticism, with few scholars recognising the extent to which night can be examined as a sphere of social and political action. In 1991, the connection between night and social studies was demonstrated by culture scientist, Joachim Schlör, who illustrated a clear link between culture and nocturnal activity in his seminal and recently reprinted work *Nights in the Big City*. Subsequently, critics like sleep historian A. Roger Ekirch and Paul Bogard have expanded on Schlör's work, examining night as an arena for human expression. Night studies has occasionally been used to investigate patterns of nocturnal activity pertaining to literature. However, as a literary offshoot of a wider cultural and ecological field it is still considerably under-examined. Early works in the field, such as Wendy Barker's *Lunacy of Light: Dickinson and the Experience of Metaphor* (1987) which examines the interplay of night and day in Emily Dickinson, have now been joined by studies such as Elisabeth Bronfen's *Night Passages: Philosophy, Literature, and Film* (2008, trans. 2013) exploring the use of literary nocturnal spaces, *Dark Nights, Bright Lights: Night, Darkness, and Illumination in Literature* (2015), edited by Susanne Bach and Folkert Degenring, a collection of essays examining the interconnectedness of night and illumination across a range of literary texts, and Richard Leahy's *Literary Illumination: The Evolution of Artificial Light in Nineteenth-Century Literature* (2018) which highlights how developments of lighting technology during the nineteenth century in British literature definitively altered the treatment of light as literary motif, as well as responses to darkness. Recent international conferences I have had the opportunity to present at on the topic of darkness, such as Island Dynamics' Svalbard *Darkness* excursion which addressed topics such as light pollution, dark ecologies and darkness in mythology and literature (January 2019) and *Thrill of the Dark*, focusing on dark tourism and gothic representation in literature, film and video games (Birmingham, April

2019), highlight the increasing relevancy of night studies as an area of global research. My research trips have also enabled me to participate in the growing interest in the preservation of dark skies. I have visited Pennsylvania's Cherry Springs State dark sky park, as well as experiencing Svalbard's twenty-four hour arctic night. In November 2019 I also presented at the interdisciplinary fourteenth European Symposium for Protection of Night Sky taking place in Mayo's own international dark sky park.

While my research takes this new approach to the field of night studies, it finds itself in accordance with other recent studies on the links between the nocturnal world and politics in the United States. Simone Browne's *Dark Matters: On The Surveillance of Blackness* (2015) examines how eighteenth-century lantern laws, in which slaves were forced to carry lanterns when out at night, were precursors for modern day surveillance on minority populations, and Jonathan Crary's *24/7: Late Capitalism and the Ends of Sleep* (2013) delineates how constant political and economic activity has invaded every hour of the day and night. Meanwhile, James W. Loewen's 2005 *Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism*, an exposé on towns across the states which systematically prevented black individuals from residing in their towns after dark throughout the twentieth century, was updated with a new edition in 2018.

The various genres examined in this thesis were selected for several reasons. Primarily, to demonstrate how pervasive nocturnal journeys are throughout prose of the period. Whether the night is a key focus of the text or a small element, this research demonstrates how night is a metanarratological concern throughout the century. These genres were also selected as each explores and expands upon the Indian captivity narrative, described by Bernice Murphy as helping to "establish the blueprint for an independent American literary culture" (37). The Indian captivity narrative, which originated in the seventeenth century, was used to explore white settlers' encounters with the native populations in the American continent, focusing on the experiences of white men and women captured by native groups, often as prisoners of war. These stories were modelled on a Christian movement from innocence to experience. Of particular interest for this thesis are the ways in which the genre balances ideas of captivity and

freedom (Anderson 342-4). As propaganda for Puritan society, the captive's time with the native group had to be represented as terrifying and dehumanising: however, the Puritan captive had to maintain their virtue while among these so-called barbarians (Faery 127). Meanwhile, upon escaping or otherwise being freed from captivity, the Puritan village could not be too safe a place: the threat of further native attacks was crucial to maintaining the status quo. Neither captivity nor freedom, then, could exist without dependence upon the other.

In the nineteenth century the conventions of the Indian captivity narrative expanded into new genres, such as the novel, short story, essay and biography, as the nascent state grappled with policies of enslavement and freedom (Anderson 344). Even in literature without literal captivities, the memory remains: in "Young Goodman Brown" Brown fears "There may be a devilish Indian behind every tree" (277). Nineteenth-century American literature therefore displaced its history (and indeed present) of native displacement and removal – along with that of the enforced movement of African Americans – onto its environment. In other words, in order to deflect from their guilty consciences regarding the atrocities continually performed in the name of American freedom, white America had to frequently define itself as under the threat of capture (Maddox 11). By necessity, white America became the city upon the hill which was constantly under siege from the ravages of non-white populations. The darkness of the night, the literal opposite to images of western Enlightenment, represented the barbaric threat that white civilisation needed to fight against: whether that be with slave patrols, curfews, or electric light. The night, with its proximity to civilised society (that of the day), was a convenient short-hand for the continuing risk of captivity, enabling the conventions to permeate narratives of the city into the twentieth century.

Many of these texts were, furthermore, selected because of their social justice designs. These are narratives which highlight the injustices perpetuated against white women and people of colour in the emerging nation. Chapters One, Two, and Four in particular examine genres (seduction and slavery narrative and gothic short story) that played upon the conventions of the Indian captivity narrative to turn the outward gaze inward: to highlight the dangers of white society, in which white masculine

freedom depended upon the captivity of white women and people of colour. These genres demonstrate how the night became a space of captivity controlled by a patriarchy which prevents the freedoms of white women and people of colour. To take an example, Hannah Crafts in *The Bondswoman's Narrative* (written in the 1850s, not published until 2002) writes of an escape from slavery:

That very night we must set forth. We must leave the hospitable cottage and its inmates without thanks or ceremony. Under the broad heaven, with the free air, the free leaves, the free beauties of nature about us, we could breathe freer than there, but could we hope to escape? (64)

Here the freedom of the nocturnal wilderness denotes opportunity or possibility, but it is only a pathway to escape, rather than the freedom white citizens enjoy. It also represents a movement away from the safety and civilisation of the cottage: freedom in the night comes with a high penalty, risking injury, and possibly death. The social justice which the texts argue for is therefore frequently highlighted through its absence.

A focus on night imagery brings with it its own particular challenges and opportunities. Indeed, it is hard to think of many aspects of the English language beyond light and dark imagery in which terms are used in both literal and figurative terms so extensively. A particularly pertinent example from the period in question comes from the Indian captivity narrative, *An Account of the Remarkable Occurrences in the Life and Travels of Colonel James Smith* (1799). After seeking refuge from a snow storm in the hollow of a large tree, Smith describes his attempt to free himself the next morning from under the snowdrift. Awaking, he finds that "all was dark—not the least glimmering of light was to be seen." Discovering that he is trapped under a large quantity of snow, he "then felt terrified—among all the hardships I had sustained, I never knew before what it was to be thus deprived of light." Unable to free himself, Smith prays "to Almighty God to direct and protect me as he had done heretofore." He is then able to move a "considerable quantity of snow" and he

immediately received light; so that I found a very great snow had fallen, above what I had ever seen in one night. I then knew why I could not easily move the block, and I was so rejoiced at obtaining the light that all my other difficulties seemed to vanish. I then turned into my cell, and returned God thanks for having once more received the light of heaven. (212)

Here we can see how spiritual light and darkness is juxtaposed with literal light and darkness, particularly in the final lines where the act of Smith obtaining sunlight in his darkened hollow becomes the spiritual act of receiving the light of heaven. By employing such widely understood and loaded terms (Lively 14-5), then, Smith is able to merge the literal and the metaphorical. Leahy has quoted Michael Ferber's claim in *A Dictionary of Literary Symbols* that "Light and Darkness are probably the most fundamental and inescapable terms, used literally or metaphorically, in the description of anything in life or literature" (qtd. 1). Indeed, the use of such widely recognised and heavily euphemistic terms greatly aided in making the project of manifest destiny appear natural or inevitable, just as terms regarding the Enlightenment were used to align electricity with progress in its march to dispel the barbaric. Here, Smith must struggle against the nocturnal American forces which try to keep him in spiritual darkness. It is the enlightening forces of a Christian god that justify and enable white men to break through to the coming day of Enlightenment. A microcosm of American expansionism, this passage demonstrates how euphemistic language can be used to endorse Euro-American dominance – and indeed, does so linguistically by controlling the space between the figurative and metaphoric.

What We Do In The Shadows

The title of this thesis pays homage to the writing of the great and recently passed Toni Morrison's *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination* (1992). This critical work was a huge influence on my thesis, highlighting to me the way characters of colour have been written by white authors throughout American literature to broadcast their own fears,

biases and beliefs about race and, in doing so, revealing more about white culture than they likely ever anticipated. Using this framework I was able to consider how the nightscape is similarly used by white (frequently male) authors to reveal their fears and biases regarding race and gender and, as a corollary, how minority authors responded to these fears and biases, creating alternative nightscapes in which they could achieve greater degrees of freedom and autonomy. "Laying in the Dark" felt like a particularly apt title, as so much of America gothic literature pertains to fears of the uncertainty of what might be lying in wait in the oncoming night, whether that be native forces, a nefarious seducer, or a lynch mob. The title, moreover, hints at the fear at the heart of American literature and indeed nation building: that of unsanctioned sexual union taking place often hidden in metaphorical and literal darkness. What makes these acts of domination so shameful are that they are the cornerstone upon which U.S. institutions, including chattel slavery, land expansion and coverture, depend. The title "Laying in the Dark" therefore highlights the troubling relationship the United States has with its closest and most regular form of wilderness.

Considering American literature's preoccupation with the Enlightenment and its corollary, the darkness, this thesis also explores what I have termed the "nocturnal gothic." While gothic studies have been perpetually preoccupied with night and darkness, relatively little has been said about why gothic literature is so dependent upon these themes and motifs. In the preface to Eugenia C. DeLamotte's gothic criticism, *Perils of the Night: A Feminist Study of Nineteenth-Century Gothic* (1990), DeLamotte claimed that "the Gothic had always known [...] the way the perils of the soul in its darkest night reflect, in magnified and revealing forms, the quotidian realities of life in the daylit world of money, work, and social rank" (vii). This is something with which DeLamotte is clearly concerned, as demonstrated by the title. However, as much as *Perils of the Night* is informative in many ways, examining how the boundary of the self is challenged in gothic literature, there is less said about the actual workings of night itself. Perhaps this is because allusions regarding night and day are interpreted on a metaphorical level more often than a literal one.

In comparison, while night and the elements associated with night time have always been of key importance in gothic writing, the nocturnal gothic is predicated on these elements. In other words, the nocturnal gothic can be seen as an attempt to demonstrate *why* the gothic is so preoccupied with night and darkness, and the gradations thereof. As highlighted by Leahy, literary attitudes towards the dichotomy of light and darkness as good and evil changed during the nineteenth century, due to the introduction of artificial light which blurred those preindustrial boundaries (1-5). The nocturnal gothic, then, focuses on how literature came to address the night time in the face of swift and unprecedented changes, demonstrating how some writers attempted to cling to the dichotomies of good versus evil found in the day and night, while others nuanced them to examine preconceived notions of race, gender, and class in American society.

This research builds upon some of the approaches that have been taken towards night studies in order to demonstrate that night spaces are highly political. My research is in agreement with Bronfen's argument that "our modern idea of the night was in fact constructed by an Enlightenment that sought to deplore it by exiling it from the realm of reason" (2). It demonstrates how the American nightscape is an intensely political space curated in order to exclude people of colour from the conventions of American society. Indeed, I argue that the nightscape is more political than the dayscape, due to the obfuscation of the politics taking place. As argued by Morrison, the term apolitical is the "most obviously political stance imaginable since one of the functions of political ideology is to pass itself off as immutable, nature, and 'innocent'" ("Unspeakable" 169). "If any real lynching's going to be done," we learn in *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884), "it will be done in the dark, Southern fashion; and when they come they'll bring their masks" (324). By wearing masks under the cover of darkness, individuals in the lynch mob are able to blend into their surroundings, enabling them to maintain plausible deniability (or innocence) rather than risk being seen as more monstrous than those they attempt to scapegoat. Goodman Brown and his analogues do not want to be reminded of, or associated with, the distasteful action their nation building demands.

The nineteenth-century project of American nation building, then, depended upon using the literary night as a propaganda tool to highlight the supposed dangers that men of colour posed to white women: that of race mixing.² If Goodman Brown discovers Faith out of bounds of the designated Puritan space, at midnight, in a forest populated by Indians, who can know the extent of their relations? Such a sentiment also had to be challenged in literary terms: in his defense of Nat Turner's nocturnal uprising in the *Atlantic*, Lloyd Garrison attempts to dispel fears that the rebelling black men wanted to kidnap white wives by quoting a fictional rebel from Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel, *Dred* (1856):

Whom the Lord saith unto us, 'Smite,' them will we smite.
We will not torment them with the scourge and fire, nor
defile their women as they have done with ours. But we will
slay them utterly, and consume them from off the face of
the earth. (460)

Annihilation, it appears, was preferable to losing a white woman to the horrors of race mixing.

This Land is My Land

In order for fears regarding race-mixing to be believed, however, the highly curated American nightscape had to be represented as the space in which social and political policies could be enacted under the guise of being "natural" or "inevitable." To take a salient example, native anger regarding genocide and policies of replacement had to be represented as monstrous

² I use the itself out-dated (but arguably more transparent) term "race mixing" here to highlight the constructed nature of race itself and the fear thereof. This introduction examines the entire nineteenth century, while the term "miscegenation" was not coined until 1864 (it is also associated with other dehumanising terms such as "hybridity"), and its previous term "amalgamation," was borrowed from metallurgy and brought into use in the 1810s (Pascoe 1). These terms are therefore more historically specific than required here.

and alien. In what Louise K. Barnett has termed "Indian Hating literature" (129-31), anxieties regularly centre around native violence perpetuated against white settlers after sundown: Robert Montgomery Bird's novel *Nick of the Woods: Or, Adventures of Prairie Life* (1837) concerns itself with a group of white Virginian settlers targeted by a group of Shawnee, depicted by Bird as ruthless and bloodthirsty. The hostilities were started when "the blood of nine poor white persons was shed by their brothers in a single night" (108) and continue as the current band relentlessly pursue the Virginians night and day. Not only are the Native Americans depicted as remorseless in their violence – killing whole families and seemingly without a rational motive – they do so when white society is at its most defenceless. Even in literature comparatively more sympathetic to Native Americans, such as James Fenimore Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826), a frontier romance of white pioneering amidst the Native American populations, the encroaching night is made synonymous with native violence. The woods, "suddenly deprived of [the sun's] light," reminds Heywood, the Englishman, that "the hour the savage usually chose for his most barbarous and remorseless acts of vengeance or hostility, was speedily drawing near" (40-1). Here the nightscape is used to portray people of colour as a dangerous and invading force: their appearance is made synonymous with the "dusky hue" which signals nightfall.

As a result, it fell upon Native American writers to deconstruct white accusations of nocturnal barbarity. In *Autobiography Of Ma-Ka-Tai-Me-She-Kia-Kiak, Or Black Hawk* (1833), the first direct literary challenge to the white narrative of frontier hostilities, the Sauk leader criticises the Euro-centric approach to battle:

Instead of stealing upon each other and taking every advantage to kill the enemy and save their own people as we do, which, with us is considered good policy in a war chief, they march out in open daylight and fight regardless of the number of warriors they may lose. (Loc 425)

Cooper's hour of "barbarous and remorseless acts" is reframed as a time of prudent and intelligent action, demonstrating that among Sauk warfare

there is constraint and modesty which is absent in the white British and American methods.

Even supposedly moderate representations of native groups essentialised the nightscape. Hawthorne's guilt regarding injustices enacted by the Puritans and, later, his own society against the native populations brought further awareness to depictions of Indians: in his historical sweep of America, beginning with the first white settlers in "Main-street" (1849), he mentions

Wappacowet, [...] the priest and magician, whose incantations shall hereafter affright the palefaced settlers with grisly phantoms, dancing and shrieking in the woods, at midnight. But greater would be the affright of the Indian necromancer, if, mirrored in the pool of water at his feet, he could catch a prophetic glimpse of the noon-day marvels which the white man is destined to achieve [...] (1024)

Hawthorne views "the noon-day marvels" of "the white man" as more horrifying than the nocturnal activities of the Indian and anticipates a "noble Museum, where [...] a few Indian arrow-heads shall be treasured up as memorials of a vanished race!" (1024). While Hawthorne demonises white society, he does little to deconstruct the view of Indians as savage – indeed, it is almost an insult that whites could act worse than they do – and, while alluding to the extinction of the native, he falls short of laying the blame on white America. Again, it is up to Native American authors themselves to clarify such euphemistic discourse: in her autobiography and memoir, *Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims* (1883), Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, a Piute leader and advocate for the rights of Native Americans, highlights how the decline of the Native population is a sustained and intended act of genocide perpetrated by whites. In one of the many instances of white violence she encounters, she describes the death of two white men near the Piutes' land on the Carson River:

MacWilliams and McMullen, went off the same night, and camped in the mountains. Someone came in the night and

killed them both, and after they had shot them with guns or pistols, they placed arrows in the wounds to make it appear as if Indians had killed them. The next day news came in that Indians had killed John McMullen. They were asked how they knew that Indians had killed him, and they answered, –
"We know, because it was done with arrows." (38)

Here, Hopkins demonstrates how white nocturnal violence is carefully shaped in order to scapegoat the native Piutes and foment further animosity from the white settlers. Hawthorne's lament for the lost Indian is made ironic in ways he may have been unwilling to recognise. Like the majority of white nineteenth-century American authors, Hawthorne viewed the decline of the aboriginal populations as inevitable in the context of American industrialisation (Moore, *Salem* 131). The "treasured Indian arrow-heads," are invoked by Hawthorne as a relic of a by-gone era, yet they are in fact used to frame their very owners for crimes they did not commit. This makes it clear how the Indian decline was far from inevitable and, indeed, that native tools were being utilised by white America in the ongoing genocide.

Here is charted one example of the white metanarrative which designated the nightscape as a space characterised by fear, chaos and senseless violence, or primitive practices perpetrated by native peoples acting on their natural inclinations. Such narratives were used to alternatively legitimise white supremacy or assuage white guilt. This narrative was challenged and undermined by the very minorities who were being targeted and annihilated by this rhetoric, demonstrating that not only were native populations neither barbaric nor disorganised in their war methods, but that such a view of them was a facade carefully manufactured to deflect blame from the whites themselves.

This thesis therefore argues for a historically and spatially located examination of the nightscape, to demonstrate how interrogation of the literary night enables insight into the socio-political context of a text or texts. An example of such an undertaking can be seen in Robert Mighall's work *Sunshine: One Man's Search for Happiness* (2009). There, Mighall observes that Robert Louis Stevenson lived in London during the 1880s, a

decade in which the city saw almost no sunshine. He wrote *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* in Bournemouth in 1885, "where he had fled to find a more forgiving climate for the bronchial complaint that eventually killed him. Racked in the agony of constricted lungs, small wonder he imagines a nightmare city cloaked in a suffocating pall that cuts off the light of heaven" (25). The industrialisation of late-nineteenth-century London, in which the very air being breathed by the working classes is exploited for capitalistic gain, is reflected throughout *Jekyll and Hyde*, a world in which the narrator imagines a wealthy figure wandering through a smog-filled darkness in "labyrinths of lamplighted city, and at every street corner crush a child and leave her screaming" (15).

Rather than providing for one overarching or inevitable narrative, the literary night alternatively reflects, builds upon or challenges the politics of the wider social and political milieu. As is argued throughout this thesis, the nineteenth-century American literary night is a compelling area of night studies because the United States was and, indeed, remains preoccupied with nocturnal policing of its citizens. Such a trend has continued to the present day, with hundreds of towns across the country enforcing curfews on its youth populations. Unsurprisingly, these curfews disproportionately impact upon minority groups (Root). This is examined in relation to night watches and patrols which curtailed the movements of people of colour and poor whites, the rules surrounding night work and property rights which infantilised white women, and the discriminating proliferation of electric lighting which ensured the continuing freedoms of wealthy white men. The nightscape is constantly in dialogue with the wider justices (or injustices) of the nation. Ralph Waldo Emerson's assertion in his foundational essay "Nature" (1836) that "Nature never wears a mean appearance" (215-6) rings somewhat hollow when compared to the experience of those for whom America's climes have been weaponised against them. Such a reading of the night is challenged by Frederick Douglass. Fearing that white America was forgetting the considerable contributions African Americans had made to the nation in the post-bellum era, Douglass proclaimed in a speech to a black audience in 1889, "Now, what of the night? What of the night? Is it cheered by the beams of celestial light and hope, or is it saddened by ominous clouds, darkness, and distant thunder? You and I should be brave

enough to look the facts fairly and firmly in the face" ("Nation's" 729). The American night as experienced by the black individual is considerably altered by the views and prejudices of the majority white populous. This similarly challenges critic Yi-Fu Tuan's argument that "Beyond the home base is a threatening and confusing world: this may be forest, bush country, or desert. Transcending these geographical differences is night, which penetrates the center of home and makes even familiar objects seem strange" (21-2). While Tuan may be correct that night in a very general sense transcends "geographical differences," the form night takes is itself considerably different from geographical region to region, from season to season and indeed moment to moment.

Women in White

Indeed, if the night is, as Bronfen suggests, a metaphorical construct of Enlightenment serving to exile it from "the realm of reason" (2), it is particularly interesting to see who in the dominant American narrative is seen to populate the night, and who must be protected from it. Roderick Nash claims that in preindustrial Puritan America, "There was a quality of mystery about the wilderness, particularly at night, that triggered the imagination" (10). From as early as Cotton and Increase Mather's writings, particularly in the captivity narratives of Mary Rowlandson and Hannah Duston, the American night becomes a propaganda tool of Puritan control, one in which white women should be safely ensconced within the boundaries of the village, protected from the dangerous natives without.³ As a result, the night outside the Puritan village is the place that, according to *A Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson* (1682), is filled with "the roaring, and singing and dancing, and yelling of those black creatures [...] which made the place a lively resemblance of hell" (259). The nightscape was a vehicle by which to reinforce and

³ This remains the case in relation to Hannah Dustan's violence towards her Native captors. Michelle Burnham has observed that "[... Cotton] Mather's careful explanation of Dustan's motivation and his strategic veiling of her own aggression suggest that her act may have represented as much of a threat as it did a response to one" (54). Dustan's actions render her monstrous: Puritan wives and mothers should never need to engage in warfare.

establish the victim narrative that would keep the early Puritan society in line.

In the face of overriding evidence of white domination and tyranny in the nineteenth century, the nightscape continued to be a handy propaganda tool with which to indemnify white America. "Until the twentieth century," Steven Stoll has observed,

wilderness served as a relative, not an absolute, category. It defined places and times when humans did not yet control their environment or where they had lost that control. When the scrub and brush of southern "oldfield" fallow turned to woods, planters said that the wilderness had returned. More often, farmers referred to forests and woods, which could mean wartorn frontiers, woodlots, or the backwoods – where families created clearings with fire. (57)

Settled spaces in the nineteenth century were gained and reclaimed by the wilderness with regularity, and the success of "civilisation" was far from certain (64). A literal reminder of the "dark continent" their ancestors had encountered, the literary night became a wilderness space, one in which white characters could maintain their status as the underdog while justifying practices of so-called self-defence against the dangers of being "reclaimed," or sliding back into barbarity.

Examining nocturnal stereotypes from nineteenth-century American literature reveals a significant amount about how representations of race and gender relate to this dangerous realm of non-reason. Characters of colour are, throughout the century, regularly identified by their "dusky" outlooks. In his aptly named book, *Born for the Shade: Stereotypes of the Native American in United States Literature and Arts, 1776-1894*, Klaus Lubbers points out that the claim that natives were "born for the shade" was made by Edward Everett, "perhaps the staunchest defender of Manifest Destiny ideology throughout the 1820s" (305). Barnett notes that in frontier romances such as *Hope Leslie*, *The Witch of New England*, and *Logan*, "Writers frequently use imagery of light and darkness to describe the relative positions of the two races [whites and Indians] [...]" (46). Native

peoples were doomed by inexorable ties to this pre-Enlightenment realm of non-reason, and could not survive in the American world of fast-paced industry.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, considering Morrison's observation that for white America both the native and African populations were viewed as "ancient race[s] [...] stripped of articulateness and intellectual thought" ("Unspeakable" 175), black characters are represented similarly. Pro-slavery literature represents African Americans as naturally gloomy. In Caroline Lee Hentz's novel *The Planter's Northern Bride* (1854) the narrator claims that "no lingering ray of former genius or art, streaming on her night of darkness, tells that poor degraded Africa ever enjoyed a more exalted destiny" (Loc 5102-10). Representations of African Americans who were unable to access the sunlight of intelligence were used to justify slavery and attempts to expel freemen from American society: quoting from the poet William J. Grayson, Sterling A. Brown argues that "When slavery should end, and some authors foresaw this eventuality 'in God's good time,' Negroes were to be sent back to carry to benighted Africans the torch lighted in American bondage" (289). Slavery apologia from the reconstruction period represented the end of slavery and the planter's loss in the Civil War as the closing of a darkening day in which Southern blacks similarly declined. Thomas Nelson Page's short story "Ole 'Stracted" (1887) is about an infirm elderly ex-slave who is unaware that slavery has been over for forty years. He dies loyally waiting for his master to return in the night (Christmann 239).

In representing characters of colour in this way, white America could assure itself of the uncivilised nature of non-white populations. The night was therefore represented as the natural home of racial groups which were unable, due to their own failings, to prosper in the United States: American men had, as argued by Emerson, struggled against "the immense forces of night" to reach his "moment of adult health" (*Representative* 46-7). Non-white populations, white America convinced itself, were doomed to extinction or obsolescence because of their inability to do the same.

White women, in comparison, were represented as naturally sunny or light. Barbara Welter's work on the nineteenth-century "Cult of True Womanhood" highlights how often white American women were described

in literature in terms of light imagery: quoting from *The Young Ladies' Class Book* from 1831 she writes, "'the vestal flame of piety, lighted up by Heaven in the breast of woman' would throw its beams into the naughty world of men" (qtd. 152). In Washington Irving's short story, "The Wife" (1820), the male narrator claims that "There is in every true woman's heart a spark of heavenly fire, which lies dormant in the broad daylight of prosperity; but which kindles up, and beams and blazes in the dark hour of adversity" (195). Throughout Hawthorne's *The Blithedale Romance* (1852), Zenobia's beauty is described in relation to sunlight: "bright as the very day that was blazing down upon us, only not, by many degrees, so well advanced towards her noon" (82). White women were, in this way, an antidote to the darkness of the world into which their husbands were required to venture to provide for them and protect them, rendering them both beautiful but necessarily fragile. Women may, as Emerson claims, "emit from their pores a colored atmosphere, one would say, wave upon wave of rosy light," but "There is no gift of nature without some drawback." They were, as a result, "More vulnerable, more infirm, more mortal than men" ("Woman" 1855, 412).

Life Among the Lowly

These two nocturnal positions were necessarily juxtaposed for the promulgation of American values, and the apex of these views can be found, perhaps unsurprisingly, in the bestselling American novel of the nineteenth century, Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life Among the Lowly* (1852). Here, kind and virtuous white abolitionists spread their sunny white benevolence onto the gloomy black victims of slavery. The tragic mulatta, Eliza, is saved from the dangers of the South by a caring Quaker family: upon waking in the morning after a night of terror, Eliza becomes "conscious" that one of the Quaker matriarchs, Ruth, emits "a kind of sunshine beaming down upon her from her large, clear, brown eyes" (130). The most egregious example is found in the virtuous white Eva (Thomson 566). Eva is a "true woman" who is even truer and more virtuous because she dies young, long before she can risk becoming a wife. Eva is "as daylight and sunshine" to her "faithful servants" (255).

Referencing Stowe's nonfiction *A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1853), Ibrahim X. Kendi notes that in the "double-character" of "the naturally Christian Tom/Eva," Stowe highlighted "her conception of Blacks being more feminine, 'docile, child-like and affectionate,' which allows Christianity to find a 'more congenial atmosphere' in Black bodies" (194). Eva's sunshine, in this way, becomes a sentimental version of the violent masculine phenomenon of the "blinding whiteness" which Morrison observes in Edgar Allan Poe's *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym of Nantucket* (1838).

Because they appear almost always in conjunction with representations of black or Africanist people who are dead, impotent, or under complete control, these images of blinding whiteness seem to function as both antidote for and meditation on the shadow that is companion to this whiteness – a dark and abiding presence that moves the hearts and texts of American literature with fear and longing. (*Playing* 33)

This whiteness, as Morrison notes, "terrified the natives and killed Nu-Nu" (32): it acts as a horrifying colonial force, attempting to "purify" the island of its blackness. Eva's own light is not unlike this "blinding whiteness," as it keeps the naturally dusky black slaves in her thrall, and leads to Tom's death. Eva's influence means he has nowhere to go but death after his figurative baptism in the Mississippi (Ammons 171). In the run-up to Tom's death, Stowe writes of his earthly demise in imagery of night and day:

We have walked with our humble friend thus far in the valley of slavery; first through flowery fields of ease and indulgence, then through heart-breaking separations from all that man holds dear. Again, we have waited with him in a sunny island, where generous hands concealed his chains with flowers; and, lastly, we have followed him when the last ray of earthly hope went out in night, and seen how, in the blackness of earthly darkness, the firmament of the

unseen has blazed with stars of new and significant lustre.
(378-9)

Tom's life, particularly since his encounter with Eva, has been a struggle not only with slavery but with his own inherent blackness which inhibits him from achieving the Christian death Stowe requires. It is on a "sunny island" in which his "chains" are "concealed" (in other words, when within Eva's benevolent rays) that Tom felt close to Heaven. However, his chains are only concealed rather than gone, and in order to permanently achieve such a feat he must overcome his own blackness.

Therefore Tom must pacifically endure a night of horrific torture at the hands of Legree only to emerge and expire two days later after forgiving his tormentor. In his dying state Tom's black body fights against his whitening: "the laws of a powerful and well-knit frame would not at once release the imprisoned spirit." However, ultimately his blackness cannot save him from the overwhelming whitening, nor could Stowe permit it: we learn that, while dying, "By stealth, there had been there, in the darkness of the night, poor desolated creatures, who stole from their scanty hours' rest, that they might repay to him some of those ministrations of love in which he had always been so abundant." Tom is no longer like his former fellow slaves, the "poor desolate creatures" of the night who sneak out to show him their love. Instead they are "poor disciples" who "had little to give,—only the cup of cold water; but it was given with full hearts" (386). They are not there to save his physical black body, which cannot withstand the transformation to Christian martyr. Like their love and reverence for Eva, their purpose is to spirit his soul away to the sunshine of heaven. In other words, Tom is becoming a true Christian leader, but in doing so he must also die, because his black body cannot accommodate Christian light.

Eva, in her own life and death, also struggles with darkness. In her self-taught religious instruction, "The light shines only on a small space around her; therefore, she needs must yearn towards the unknown; and the voices and shadowy movings which come to her from out the cloudy pillar of inspiration have each one echoes and answers in her own expecting nature" (240). Eva is constantly surrounded by black bodies (and indeed

impure white bodies) that she must uplift. While her power may be transformative, it is also exhausting, leading to her childhood sickness and youthful death. Like Judith Fetterley observes of *Little Women's* Beth Marsh, Eva is the "perfect little woman." When Beth dies, "Implicitly, a connection is made between the degree to which she fulfills the prescription for being a little woman and the fact that she dies" (379). Eva similarly dies because fulfilling her gendered and racialised role of purifying the nation requires her to remain weaker than the blackness even as she annihilates it. In this way, the death of the child, the basis of much sentimental fiction, is intensely related to America's literary juxtaposition of light and darkness. The light must "shine only on a small space around her" to reinforce the meekness of white (innocent) femininity withstanding a far more powerful blackness. Any other outcome – such as Eva's survival into adulthood accompanying a commingling of the African darkness and Euro-American light – would risk the possibility of race mixing. Tom's loyal nightly presence outside her sickroom leading up to her death therefore enables her to secure her place in heaven as surely as it kills her physical body, just as Tom's soul will soon be saved in time by other "poor desolate creatures," the loyal slaves whose nightly vigil has rendered them into "poor disciples."

Long Day's Journey into Night

An examination of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* therefore demonstrates how crucial night imagery is in the construction of race and gender in the United States, highlighting further why Goodman Brown's night journey would leave him "A stern, a sad, a darkly meditative, a distrustful, if not a desperate man" (288). At the heart of the American night is the shameful realisation that the country depends upon the very race mixing it seeks to shun. The night draws attention to the shameful machinations required – and entered into by everyone who benefits economically or socially – to maintain social and economic hierarchies in America. Indeed, when an examination of prose from the long-nineteenth century is conducted, Goodman Brown's nocturnal journey is replicated throughout: Hannah Webster Foster's *The Coquette* (1797), Charles Brockden Brown's "Somnambulism" (1805), Hawthorne's own *The Blithedale Romance* (1852), Herman Melville's "Benito Cereno" (1855), Harriet Prescott Spofford's "The

Amber Gods" (1863), Elia W. Peattie's "The Shape of Fear" (1898) and Edith Wharton's "Ethan Frome" (1911) all concern themselves with men and women whose refusal to admit their complicity in the underbelly of American life – quite literally, their refusal to recognise the importance of what happens in the night time and how it relates to them – results in them becoming unrelentingly stern, sad, darkly meditative, distrustful, and desperate. One could argue that the literary nightscape highlights what Anthony Giddens has observed of the problem of self-making in modernity:

The existential question of self-identity is bound up with the fragile nature of the biography which the individual 'supplies' about herself. A person's identity is not to be found in behavior, nor – important though this is – in the reactions of others, but in the capacity to keep a particular narrative going. (54)

The American night, with its disruptions and contrasting voices which are often ignored or unseen in the American day, threatens to impede or derail the overarching narrative of progress or Enlightenment even as a narrator may attempt to smooth over the inconsistencies. Interestingly, some of the best exemplifiers of this trope end in combustion: quite literally in Charles Brockden Brown's American family gothic novel *Wieland* (1798), in which the family patriarch burns to death at the stroke of midnight. Later, in William Dean Howells' realist novel, *The Rise of Silas Lapham* (1885), the failing fortune of another eponymous patriarch is rendered literally when his newly-purchased lavish home burns to the ground overnight. In both, the Franklinian doctrine of self-making fails in the face of the uncaring American night.

In comparison, experiences of individuals having successful American night journeys tend to be found outside the gothic mode. In Maria Susanna Cummins' sentimental novel *The Lamplighter* (1854), Gertrude or Gerty Flint learns to navigate the American night by encountering others whose life experiences have enabled them to embrace the night time. Gerty is adopted as a young orphan by a kind elderly lamplighter, and later cares for a blind woman whose experience of darkness has helped her to grow in

piety. The night in *The Lamplighter* is a space in which Gerty similarly transcends the vagaries of her physical existence. The novel concludes with a rumination on how God is the ultimate lamplighter, enabling true believers to find their way to Heaven in the darkness of their earthly existence:

As the sun sinks among gorgeous clouds, as the western light grows dim, and the moon and the stars come forth in their solemn beauty, they utter a lesson to his awakened soul; and the voice of nature around, and the still, small voice within, whisper, in gentlest, holiest accents,

"The sun shall be no more thy light by day, neither for brightness shall the moon give light unto thee; but the Lord shall be unto thee an everlasting light, and thy God thy glory."

"Thy sun shall no more go down, neither shall thy moon withdraw itself; for the Lord shall be thine everlasting light, and the days of thy mourning shall be ended." (378)

Hawthorne's romantic texts similarly conclude with a sense of certainty in a higher power. "Night Sketches: Under an Umbrella" (1838) concludes with the belief that if humans (referred to as "night-wanderers") "bear the lamp of Faith, enkindled at a celestial fire, it will surely lead us home to that Heaven whence its radiance was borrowed" (549). Unlike Goodman Brown, the night in romantic texts affirms that the American night can be successfully navigated, suggesting that Hawthorne was aware of how each person experiences the night differently, depending on their personal outlook. What one takes to be a challenge to their faith could for another be perceived as an affirmation of evil. The reaction of Hawthorne's characters to their own personal night-time is as varied as there are stories told.⁴

4 Hawthorne and Cummins made a similar nocturnal argument yet Cummins' novel alone became a best-seller while doing so. This adds further nuance to Hawthorne's written complaint that "America is now wholly given over to a d—d mob of scribbling women." In the same letter he rhetorically asks, "What is the mystery of

In the hands of less able authors, the significant and enduring connotations connected to night imagery threaten to destabilise the author's intended use, as seen in Thomas Nelson Page's lament for the antebellum South, found in his short story collection *In Ole Virginia* (1887). The short story "No Haid Pawn," as James Christmann puts it, "tells of the white narrator's journey through an inhospitable swamp into an allegorical heart of darkness of American slavery" (239). A wealthy white southerner stays out too late while hunting and is forced to find shelter in an abandoned plantation mansion. Back in the antebellum period, this mansion was the scene for activity on the Underground Railroad, and the narrator informs us that this discovery led to "the sudden darkening of a shadow that always hung in the horizon. The slaves were in a large majority, and had they risen, though the final issue could not be doubted, the lives of every white on the plantations must have paid the forfeit" (174). The narrator and hence Page place the blame for the horror of this period on outside sources – on the presence of abolitionists and a southern créole plantation owner who refused contact with his Virginian neighbours – yet the story's imagery belies this reading. Upon entering the derelict mansion to shelter from the coming storm, the young man describes in gothic detail the space that is being reclaimed by the swamp around it: the walls are "black with mould" and "almost the entire plastering had fallen with the damp" (179). The narrator, by his own admission, has found himself in a different predicament to the one he was anticipating:

I had expected that the storm would, like most thunderstorms in the latitude, shortly exhaust itself, or, as we say, "blow over;" but I was mistaken, and as the time passed, its violence, instead of diminishing, increased. It grew darker and darker, and presently the startling truth dawned on me that the gloom which I had supposed simply the effect of the overshadowing cloud had been really nightfall. I was shut up alone in No Haid Pawn for the night! (180)

these innumerable editions of *the Lamplighter*, and other books neither better nor worse?" (qtd. Williams 74)

Goodman Brown-like, it is hard to know how much the narrator will consciously acknowledge, considering what he has subconsciously recognised. The darkness is not an external darkness, but is one that has been seeping in from both below and above. Page has attempted to tell one story, but as Giddens implies, this is not always possible. Here, another narrative has gotten in the way. The darkness Page ends up describing is not a foreign darkness but a home-grown darkness: the Virginian night in which the ghosts of slavery have returned.

An example such as "No Haid Pawn" articulates why interrogating the nightscape in nineteenth-century American prose is a particularly useful method of analysis. Drawing on the work of Rogers Smith, Elizabeth Maddock Dillon has written that,

Americans have historically found it difficult to embrace the "dauntingly high" requirements of liberal or republican theory and have instead chosen to define themselves in relation to ascriptive categories of identity or "civic myths" that make them feel "proud and confident about who they are and about their futures, both as individuals and a national community" (38). In other words, because republicanism gives individuals and communities little means of constructing a stable and particularized identity, communities and nations turn to fixed identity categories (such as race and gender) and graft these categories into their self-understanding as "civic myths" in order to fashion a defined and adhesive community. (*Gender* 180)

Dillon talks here about the American reliance upon "fixed identity categories (such as race and gender)" as alternative to "a stable and particularized identity." While theoretically American society worked on the basis that every citizen should be "equal," American liberalism and republicanism has almost always fallen short of this ideal, ascribing rights and opportunities to the privileged few. The literary gothic night demonstrates the uncomfortable logical conclusions – which often complicate or undermine the daytime assumptions – of American ideologies. In response, categories

of "fixed identity" have to be maintained by strict and often violent regulation, belying the belief that these identities should be fixed.

This highlights why the American literary night time is particularly preoccupied with anxieties regarding race and gender. Losing the distinctions between "stable and particularized" identities – in particular the categories of white women and men of colour – is the outcome of race mixing, a major threat to the nation. As Welter argues in relation to the cult of true womanhood, "The marriage night was the single great event of a woman's life, when she bestowed her greatest treasure upon her husband, and from that time on was completely dependent upon him [...]" (154-5). If prearranged and economically advantageous consummation with a white man was the "single great event of a woman's life," then every other night (particularly in the lead up to this event) was a danger to the purity of American womanhood and therefore to the nation. This is why, in Lydia Maria Child's *Hobomok: A Story of Early Times* (1824), a white woman would only break curfew to marry an Indian man when in an advanced state of desperation (Gould 129), and why, in Stephen Crane's "Maggie," (1893, 1896) a beautiful Irish-American girl who has desperately resorted to sex work inevitably drowns in a gruesome midnight scene.

The American literary nightscape, this thesis argues, becomes a space of violence as white America attempts to police any of its citizens that fall outside proscribed fixed identity categories such as race and gender: in other words, anyone who is unable to or refuses to adhere to the requirements of (wealthy) white masculinity. It is for this reason that every American regulation addressed throughout this thesis, both legal or cultural – coverture, Indian removal, chattel slavery, laws governing women's work, miscegenation laws, lynching and sundowning – is concerned, whether directly or indirectly, with the removal of bodies of colour under the pretext of protecting white female bodies. The fact that so many of these regulations are preoccupied with the location of white female and black male bodies at night attests to the unique threat that the nocturnal world posed to white America's nation building. And indeed, American literature explores the uncertainties and possibilities – in other words, the uneasy freedom – of the nocturnal world even as it recognises the horrors of its rigid policing. The night is the place in which slavery narrative author Henry

Bibb can claim he would prefer to be chased by “howling wolves in the Red river swamp” than “on the cotton plantation” (131). It is where Mary Tappan Wright’s character Mrs. Banks can claim that “we women think strange things!” (“Haggards” 115). Bibb’s preference and Mrs. Banks’ thoughts may appear strange, but they may be necessary for survival. In this way, exploration of the night aligns with Kara Keeling’s recent discussion of “queer temporality.” She writes that

“Queer temporality,” in my formulation, names a dimension of time that produces risk. In terms of financial management, it is well known that “time” itself produces risk. Here, “queer temporality” names that dimension of the unpredictable and the unknowable in time that governs errant, eccentric, promiscuous, and unexpected organizations of social life. (19)

Night is a queer temporality in nineteenth-century America: a space of “errant” and “promiscuous” organisation, seen in Native American gatherings, black men and women escaping from slavery, interracial and abolitionist meetings, and female night work. These actions clearly threatened or “risked” the regular or acceptable management of American nation building, as demonstrated by the violent response by the white patriarchy. White America’s violent response to aberrant nocturnal activity is therefore its attempt to reduce the possibility of unknowability or unpredictability. We see this in the most literary terms throughout American literature, in the careful attempt to control and prevent the proliferation of letters in *Charlotte Temple*; the wanted posters and circulars sent around to curtail the movement of fugitives in the slavery narratives as well as *Huckleberry Finn*; and the prohibition against Charlotte Perkins Gilman, author of “The Yellow Wall-Paper,” from her doctor to “never touch pen, brush or pencil as long as you live” (“Why” 804). This indeed is the typical response to queer temporality, as Keeling notes, “quotidian violence [...] secures the existing organization of things” (16). We can therefore see how these small acts are on the same spectrum as larger acts of violence such as lynching:

The quotidian violence that holds existing reality in place does so in part by making the concepts “queer” and “Black” appear as aberrations while at the same time generating those concepts as sutures through which existing reality disavows its founding genocidal wars against Black and many other native peoples. (16)

This is also why black activists had to struggle in literary terms against charges of miscegenation during reconstruction. In her pamphlet “Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in All Its Phases” (1892), Ida B. Wells-Barnett challenges the popularly-held view of black men as aberrations or sexual predators who prey on white women, a falsehood propagated, she claims, in order to counter white America’s own acts of genocide. She includes a letter from Colonel A.S. Colyar from Nashville who was disgusted by the “dastardly submission to the mob reign.” Lynching, he writes, now happens “in the largest cities and in the country towns; we do it in midday; we do it after full, not to say formal, notice, and so thoroughly and generally is it acquiesced in that the murders have discarded the formula of masks” (39). Unlike *Huckleberry Finn’s* antebellum South, in which lynching was performed “in the dark” and in “masks” (324), at the beginning of the so-called progressive era, lynchings are no longer a secret midnight shame. They are now being performed at “midday” and without the anonymity, or at the very least the plausible deniability, that masks afford their wearers.

Wells contrasts these acts of white violence alongside the vitriol used by white groups to justify it. Demonstrating the dishonesty of papers such as Tennessee’s *The Daily Commercial* which used an increase in lynchings rather than any increase in rapes as evidence of Southern black criminality, she includes a news story which claims that “No man can leave his family at night without the dread that some roving Negro ruffian is watching and waiting for this opportunity” (32). Wells-Barnett clearly identifies that lynching was a method of scapegoating black men, using her data to demonstrate that many of the men killed for charges of rape against white women had never been found guilty of the crime. Highlighting the hypocrisy, she writes, “The miscegenation laws of the South only operate

against the legitimate union of the races, they leave the white man free to seduce all the colored girls he can" (19).

In the same year, African American author Frances Ellen Watkins Harper wrote the novel *Iola Leroy, or Shadows Lifted* (1892), rejecting the idea that freed black women, now eligible to marry, would now become the marital possessions of white men. Pascoe has noted that in the reconstruction era,

southern judges tried to reconstruct White male privilege in a world without slavery. Before the Civil War, prohibitions on marriages between White men and Black women had been regarded as necessary—if sometimes uncomfortable—restraints on the rights of White men. But in a postwar world in which Black as well as White men claimed the privilege of marriage, prohibitions on the rights of White men to marry Black women took on a new cast. No longer justifiable as a necessary part of the system of slavery, they were increasingly vulnerable to challenge as unjustifiable restrictions on the rights of White men. (42)

The eponymous protagonist is a beautiful mulatta who was sold into slavery following the death of her wealthy white father. Iola's experience of slavery is quite literally her experience of blackness as up until that point in her life she had passed for white (and indeed, not knowing her mother was a slave, she had believed herself to be white). Iola's claim, therefore, that "Thoughts and purposes have come to me in the shadow I should never have learned in the sunshine" (95) highlights as much about the importance of Iola's discovery of her own personal genealogy and history as it does about enduring and learning from trauma. *Iola Leroy* therefore becomes a way for the African American community to reclaim dark or nocturnal imagery as their own. Carla L. Peterson has observed that in Iola's decision after the Civil War to marry Dr. Latimer, a black man instead of Dr. Gresham, a white,

she resists a world view that is based on a separation of public and private spheres as evinced by Dr. Gresham's inability to comprehend the relationship between his desire to marry Iola and national race relations [...] Thus, at the novel's end Iola enters instead into a marriage with Dr. Latimer in which both husband and wife are shown to be equally committed to the elevation of their race, Iola's privatization is no longer at issue, and public and private concerns neatly converge. (101)

In this way, Iola rejects Gresham's white world of passing, and makes the free choice in marrying Latimer to celebrate and recognise blackness as a more desirable option for the process of nation building. After the conclusion of *Iola Leroy* comes a note which ends with the lines of poetry:

There is light beyond the darkness,
Joy beyond the present pain;
There is hope in God's great justice
And the negro's rising brain.
Though the morning seems to linger
O'er the hill-tops far away,
Yet the shadows bear the promise
Of a brighter coming day. (219)

The shadows themselves "bear the promise / Of a brighter coming day." African Americans can emerge out of the darkness of slavery while retaining their blackness. *Iola Leroy* is therefore a response to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, rejecting the claim that African Americans must overcome their blackness through intermarriage in order to become proud, educated citizens of the United States. The *Shadows Lifted* in the novel's subtitle are not the horrors of slavery being removed, as they are in Uncle Tom's death: rather they are the African Americans themselves. The "Shadows" are the race which is being "Lifted" in society by members of that society themselves: Iola, Dr.

Latimer, and Harper herself, black citizens who do not have to turn their back on their blackness. As Iola says, “beyond the shadows I see the coruscation of a brighter day; and we can help usher it in” (193). Rather than leaving behind the shadows and moving towards a “brighter day,” they will “usher” the brighter day towards them, living as shadows in a more tolerant era.

Thesis Breakdown: Bedtime Reading

The years examined throughout this thesis, 1789-1914, were defined by historian Eric Hobsbawm as “The Long Nineteenth Century” in his trilogy of best-known works which explores world events through the influences of the European industrial evolution and the French revolution. In relation to literature, these years dovetail well with American prose: William Hill Brown’s *The Power of Sympathy* was the first novel published in the United States in 1789, while World War One is also regularly observed (as in the *Norton Anthology of American Literature Volume D*) as the beginning of American modernism. While arguing that race mixing is the fear at the heart of the American literary night, I do not wish to fall into the ahistorical trap of claiming that conceptions of race and gender remained constant throughout the long nineteenth century, or that there were not numerous sustained challenges to this metanarrative. The literary night was written and rewritten throughout the period as authors responded to, added to, and questioned their historical and cultural milieu. Certain chapters are more concerned with race or gender, with Chapters Two and Three more directly addressing issues of race and Chapters One and Four more concerned with issues of gender representation. However, my overall argument demonstrates how nineteenth-century conceptions of race and gender are intrinsically linked. This is seen in the ways in which the various aspects of my thesis, including my introduction and conclusion, are in dialogue with each other. In particular, Chapters Three and Four are a response by people of colour and white women to many of the gendered and racial assumptions made in Chapter Two by white male writers. It also attempts to identify the limitations of rebellious gothic literature written by white women and black men which fails to include the experience of black women.

Chapter One examines seduction and gothic novels and prose published in early America from the period 1789-1812. This chapter argues that the nightscape was used to highlight the failings of paternalist republican policies which infantilised white women, such as coverture, and demonised native populations, as in early Indian removals, in order to justify white male expansionism. In a burgeoning state, uncertain of the type of class distinctions already established in Britain, fear of the sexual possession of American women was linked to Englishmen and other white men whose proclivity towards gambling and philandering undermined the possibilities of building an open and honest society. Frequently, the emblems of the white American establishment are entrusted with the safety of female characters in order to protect them from outside forces. As a result, nocturnal activity is ignored – often by the narrators themselves – only to emerge later on in horrifying and threatening forms, such as genocide, murders (and attempts), spousal abuse and unwanted pregnancies. The authors demonstrate that the American nightscape has intentionally been shaped by corrupt men. Women risk their lives when caught out in the American night not because it is inherently more dangerous for women than for men, but because of systemic inequalities which ensure that women remain destitute and powerless under the control of fathers and husbands.

Fears of nefarious British influence waned in the aftermath of the civil war of 1812, and along with a movement towards immediate abolition in the 1830s, fears of race mixing became far more prominent in literature (Lemire 2). As a result, Chapter Two explores some of the touchstones of American literature from 1820-1900 to illustrate how the image of white masculine America was constructed, complicated, and challenged through representations of the American nightscape: particularly through the erection of curfews, which were introduced to protect white women from men of colour, in a bid to proclaim white dominance. Exploring the influence of Benjamin Franklin's *Autobiography* (initially printed in French in 1791 and in English in 1793 and with regular reprints throughout the nineteenth century) – one of the key figures of the American Enlightenment and the “father of lights” – on genres including the biography, the frontier romance, the coming-of-age novel, the essay and the short story, this chapter

highlights how the literary nightscape was a space in which the signifiers of white masculinity, such as the pioneer, the self-made man, and the flâneur dominated. It will also highlight how writers of colour and white female authors incorporated and appropriated these nocturnal figures for their own narratives.

During the lead-up to the Civil War, black authors had to contend with clichéd stereotypes which suggested that they were “naturally gloomy” and therefore unfit for daytime society, while simultaneously recognising that the night was a crucial time in which black men and women could (and did) escape slavery. Chapter Three focuses on this contradiction, examining antebellum slavery narratives from 1831-1865 to demonstrate how the literary night was used by black authors and their white editors to argue for abolition. These narratives’ portrayal of night challenged idealised pro-slavery arguments, as well as assimilationist arguments found in *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, which depicted the night as natural and agreeable to the enslaved. This chapter examines how literary strategies of dark sousveillance used by the narrators highlight black men and women’s intelligence and capabilities as they support their families, become entrepreneurs, and conduct ingenious escapes from chattel slavery all the while acting as an exposé on the nefarious activities of white slaveholders. It demonstrated the ingenuity of the black individual who can endure and succeed in the American night, while rejecting the premise that they are naturally attuned to the darkness. Finally, it also demonstrates how the narrators’ representation of the Southern nightscape is used to divert attention away from the crucial machinations of abolition, the Underground Railroad.

The final chapter is concerned with white women’s gothic short stories in and around the Gilded Age, from 1890-1910, to illustrate the ways in which women attempted to carve out the night as a space of their own. The night became a crucial space of discovery as women began to explore their lack of rights in the home and wider society. The characters are often isolated and lonely thanks to their husbands who have relocated them far from family and friends. Ghost stories and other gothic narratives become the way in which authors and female characters, often long-lost to each other, connect in the nightscape, calling upon the economic and social

ties between women that industrialisation was threatening to take from them. In particular, it demonstrates literary strategies of closer reading and one-way relationships used by regionalist writers in order to invoke kinship between female readers. As a result, these gothic stories function as warnings, outlining the horrors American women becoming increasingly isolated due to the onward march of industrialisation. Chapter Four therefore focuses on how these writers argued for identification between women and the limits of an approach which centred on wealthy white women.

The conclusion discusses avenues for further research into night studies, considering some of the questions regarding American citizenship explored in the literary nightscape from the end of the nineteenth century up to the start of World War One. After examining ways in which early twentieth-century writers expound and comment upon the nineteenth-century literary night journey, the conclusion finishes with a brief consideration of the night throughout twentieth-century literature. American control over the night time is currently at an all-time high. The conclusion continues the argument made throughout the thesis, in doing so illustrating how the nineteenth-century nightscape has reverberations in the United States up to the present day.

Chapter One: The Uncertainty of Evening in the Early Republic Seduction Narrative

Virtue Rewarded?

Following one of her encounters with the untrustworthy Montraville, the eponymous protagonist of Susanna Rowson's seduction novel, *Charlotte Temple* (1791 Britain, 1793 United States), confides in her mentor that "I cannot think we have done exactly right in going out this evening, Mademoiselle[.]" Correcting herself, Charlotte continues "nay, I am sure it was not right; for I expected to be very happy, but was sadly disappointed" (27). Charlotte may be correct in saying it was not right, yet it is telling that she could not brand it as wrong. After all, her furtive evening activity, while far from encouraged by society, is not strictly forbidden either. *Charlotte Temple's* British evening is a space of uncertainty in which the innocent Charlotte can be courted by Montraville, who can conduct his underhanded affair while still maintaining a sheen of civility, enabling him to transport the naive Charlotte to New York, where she dies, after giving birth, in the American night.

Indeed, the American seduction narrative as a genre itself charts a movement from Britain to the United States. The seduction narrative had its origin in England, seen predominantly in Samuel Richardson's *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded* (1740) and *Clarissa: Or the History of a Young Lady* (1748), and was a looming presence on the American landscape. The early American seduction plot was highly influenced by Richardson's novels which were referenced repeatedly in American literature and informed the shape of many narratives (Tawil 255-95). As a result, the novels considered in this chapter all struggle with a decidedly British form, along with the fallout of an English patriarchal system in a nation that was ostensibly attempting to repudiate its British roots. The American seduction narrative therefore has some distinct qualities which differentiate it from its British origins, all the while remaining within its influence.

This is exemplified in the role of the evening throughout the early American seduction novel: narratives in which young women, due to their lack of rights, are taken advantage of by profligate men – often Englishmen

– who propose marriage but ultimately abandon these women to lives of destitution and social ostracism, often culminating in death. Anxiety regarding British rule continued throughout, particularly a fear that America would be seduced into an unwanted reunion with Britain. The genre, however, was also appropriated for American concerns, with Donna R. Bontatibus pointing out that

rape was not committed solely by the British as a means of colonialist terrorism against the male American estate. Rather, rape was being committed also by Americans upon other Americans as the ultimate reenactment of the relationship between colonizer and colonized. (21)

This is highlighted by the fact that several of these seduction narratives were based on local or national incidents in which men, considered pillars of the community, were discovered to have had secret affairs in which they abandoned young women after they became pregnant. While these events shocked the nascent nation, it was the women who suffered the fallout of the affairs. The seduction narrative was written in response to such incidents, challenging the nation to break the cycles of corruption they had brought over from Britain.

Rowson wrote *Charlotte Temple*, as many other novels of the early republic were, to protest the ease with which men like Montraville were able to control the fates of young women like Charlotte. Neither entirely day or night, the fact that Montraville continually visits her in the in-between evening time may cause Charlotte to question the acceptability of her actions, and worry if she is betraying her parents' trust: however, the cajoling of her friends, Mademoiselle La Rue and Belcour, both of whom are working for Montraville, convinces her to continue her courtship, going so far as to accompany Montraville to America where, she is made to believe, he will marry her. Essentially kidnapped and brought to America, Montraville reneges on their marriage agreement, Charlotte is abandoned, pregnant and destitute on a wintery New York night and dies soon after giving birth. The seduction plot in *Charlotte Temple* therefore tracks a movement from the British day into the American night, with the ambiguities in the evening proving conducive to the actions of the bad-intentioned seducer.

Similarly, in Hannah Webster Foster's *The Coquette* (1797), the evening becomes a time of uncertainty or liminality when men can rely on women's polite and accepting status to pressure them into meetings they would prefer to avoid and that might – if held any later in the day – otherwise be considered unacceptable by their society. Thanks to the demure and accommodating positions she is expected to adopt while steadfastly maintaining her virtue at all costs, the protagonist Eliza Wharton finds herself only able to parry away the advances of one of her suitors, Sanford, for so long, before she ultimately falls pregnant and flees her community. *The Coquette* underscores the double standards of a society which demands that women be held accountable for the behaviour of men: Eliza frequently find herself in dubious and uncertain situations during the day, expected to both act as an accommodating host to her suitors, while also demonstrating her desire to remain chaste and indifferent to her desires, in deference to her friends and family. As a result, the evening, in which Sanford is able to negotiate more and more time with the ambivalent Eliza, becomes the time in which the rules of respectability are stretched to meet Sanford's own dishonourable intentions.¹ The evening consequently becomes a space of uncertainty in both *Charlotte Temple* and *The Coquette* which challenges the dichotomy between night and day, and undermines the logic of patriarchal beliefs which assume that women can be successfully protected from unwanted and unworthy male attention in the private sphere. As the daytime blends into the nighttime, the conventions and practices of the public and private spheres blend into each other, ultimately leading to the unwanted pregnancies and social ostracisation of both protagonists.

Examining seduction and gothic novels from the period 1789 to 1812, this chapter argues that the literary nightscape was used to highlight the failings of the paternalist policy of coverture which heavily policed the lives of white women. Coverture was a doctrine of English common law

1 The garden is the novel's key motif in regards to Eliza's uncertain societal position. A garden is a manicured wilderness, which is situated somewhere between the order of society and the disorder of the natural world: it is in close proximity to the shelter of the home, but it is still somewhere in which to escape the watchful eye of her friends.

introduced into medieval courts which ensured that the husband maintained legal and economic control in marriage. Tim Stretton and Krita J. Kesselring write,

The main consequences of coverture at common law changed little from at least the twelfth century until the latter decades of the nineteenth century. Upon marriage a wife lost the ability to own or control property, enter into contracts, make a will, or bring or defend a lawsuit without her husband. A married woman's real property – her lands – fell under her husband's control. (Loc 246-58)

Under the legal system of coverture, a woman's legal identity was absorbed into or "covered" by that of her closest male relative. This meant that women could not own property and had no legal personhood distinct from that of her husband. As Cathy N. Davidson writes, "a woman's status as a *feme covert* effectively rendered her legally invisible. [...] For the most part, in 1800, by law and legal precedent, a married woman's signature had no weight on legal documents and she had no individual legal identity" (*Revolution* 194-5). Coverture was enacted in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries supposedly as a way of protecting white women who would be unable to protect themselves otherwise (Stretton Loc 392). By curtailing the freedoms of women (and indeed, as will be argued, using coverture to justify the oppression of native groups), wealthy white men were able to benefit in the construction of the new republic in ways denied to minority groups. This is not to say that coverture was a problem that only affected married women: Davidson has also noted that "Before marriage, a young girl was typically considered the property of her father" (*Revolution* 194). As has already been demonstrated in *Charlotte Temple* and *The Coquette*, coverture did not prevent ill-intentioned suitors from taking sexual and economic advantage of unmarried women or *feme sole*, as they were known in common law. Indeed, coverture as represented in literature often leads to exploitation of young unmarried women.²

² As Karen A. Weyler highlights, "Let me make clear that I concede that Eliza is responsible in part for her downfall. However limited her options, she does make choices that, in negotiating the rules of the polite society to which she aspires,

Frequently, within prose from the early period, the emblems of the white American establishment are entrusted with the safety of the female characters in order to protect them from outside forces, despite the fact that it is often husbands, suitors, and male relatives who end up inflicting the most damage on women.

This literary struggle against coverture, then, was also a struggle against enduring British influence. As identified by Rogers M. Smith, "Americanist outlooks always justified patriarchy by endorsing the subordinate status of women prescribed in the English common law of coverture and British custom" ("One" 240). Moreover, as identified recently by historian Lindsay Moore, due to the lack of alternative legal jurisdictions other than common law – such as equity and ecclesiastical law, as found in England – colonial women may in fact have had fewer legal options than their counterparts in England (Loc 2384). Under these conditions, it is unsurprising that night is a place of fear and confusion, as seen in Brockden Brown's *Clara Howard* (1801). "But well know I the dangers and toils of a midnight journey in a stage-coach, in America," writes Clara as she nervously awaits the arrival of her fiancé Edward at the conclusion: "This is a land of evils; the transitions of the seasons are so quick, and into such extremes. How different from the pictures which our fancy drew in our native land?" (263-4). The dangerous night that worries Clara may in fact have impeded or prevented Edward's journey. *Clara Howard* concludes here, with no indication of whether Edward survives the night. Clara is aware of how America has not delivered the benefits they were promised in England: things are not necessarily better, and may in fact be worse. Night time in early America would have been an experience of isolation. Without lighting or any technology to connect neighbours, wary of the threat of predatory animals (Weinstock, *Charles* 32), the considerable darkness of the American night must have exacerbated any daytime fears early settlers had, particularly those who remembered the relative safety of Britain's landscape.

render her vulnerable to Sanford's machinations and magnify her desire for him. Nonetheless, it is the law of coverture that enables Sanford to express disdain for accepting a civil appointment and becoming what he calls a 'downright plodding money-catcher, for a subsistence [sic]'" (198). (12)

A consideration of contemporary British seduction narratives suggests some interesting ways in which British and American seduction narratives of the same period may diverge. Examining four of the most popular British novels featuring seduction narratives of the 1790s, Katherine Binhammer has observed that “these texts write beyond the usual ending of seduction, and concentrate their narrative energy on recounting the heroine’s struggle to recover post-fall” (149). As we have already seen, this contrasts with the popular American seduction novels of the 1790s (*Charlotte Temple* and *The Coquette*) in which the seduction narrative *does* provide primary focus, concluding with the heroine’s swift death in the aftermath of the seduction. In the British novel, anxiety regarding the act of seduction itself, while certainly still evident, is not the driving force: as a result, anxiety regarding evening and nocturnal activity does not take on the same shape. In Mary Wollstonecraft’s novels, marriage rather than courtship becomes the main concern and, as a result, her literary night explores different anxieties. *Mary: A Fiction* (1788), her only complete novel, is a gothic text in which no seduction takes place. It focuses instead on the depression of the protagonist, Mary, who is forced into a marriage of convenience at an early age. Her short life is one of loneliness where friendships and love are quickly ended through estrangement and death. The nightscape is a space in which Mary experiences the horror of death from an early age, starting with her mother “expir[ing ...] in her arms” (95), and soon becomes a place in which she contemplates her existential fear of loneliness. Her arranged marriage, identified by B. Overton as an empty marriage “in which the heroine is married at the age of 17 to a boy of 15 in order to extricate two estates from litigation in Chancery” (145), is a considerable obstacle to her happiness as demonstrated by the novel’s final line that she is hoping only for death and a “world *where there is neither marrying, nor giving in marriage*” [emphasis original] (148).

In Wollstonecraft’s unfinished seduction novel, *Maria; or, the Wrongs of Woman* (1798), the protagonist married her seducer, but as identified by Binhammer, the focus is not the seduction but her experience post-fall. Confined to a mental institution by her husband, the narrative follows her attempts to free herself and to achieve a reunion with her daughter. As in

Mary, the nightscape here illustrates Maria's fears of a post-fall world in which darkness is inimically tied to womanhood and motherhood in late-eighteenth-century Britain. Early on, while in her cell, we learn that

The retreating shadows of former sorrows rushed back in a gloomy train, and seemed to be pictured on the walls of her prison, magnified by the state of mind in which they were viewed – Still she mourned for her child, lamented she was a daughter, and anticipated aggravated ills of life that her sex rendered almost inevitable, even while dreading she was no more. (162)

Darkness for the married Maria is therefore used to explore the long-term effects of coverture for wealthy women: second-class status including a lack of a voice in public forums and lack of control over their families. This is contrasted with the narrative of Jemima, the poor woman who is initially Maria's jailer and later becomes her friend. Unlike Maria, Jemima was born into poverty and consequently the nightscape posed a very immediate threat to her safety. At sixteen Jemima was raped by the master of the house in which she worked as a servant. Upon discovering this, his wife "declared that [she] should not stay another night under the same roof with an honest family" (195). After risking a dangerous abortion, Jemima becomes a sex worker in order to make a living. This included being regularly assaulted and robbed by members of the night watch, knowing that sex workers had no recourse to the law. The nightscape is therefore represented differently for unmarried and working class women. Of course, this is not to say that there aren't similarities: Maria, like Jemima, is vulnerable to nocturnal assaults, as Maria's husband Venables rapes her throughout their marriage. Focusing more on longer-term effects of coverture – in other words, unfulfilling and violent marriages – rather than seduction itself, the literary night in British gothic and seduction novels from the 1790s takes on the shape of a longer, more protracted existential dread of a long, lonely life of inequality and injustice.

By the end of the period in question, the exploration of seduction in British and American literature had diverged even more. In Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* from 1813, Lydia Bennet's seduction, while a crucial

plot driver for the wider story, ultimately concludes among the successful marriage plots. Organised evening activities, particularly balls, are for the most part largely successful in regulating the young characters' nocturnal activity, providing them with a socially accepted space in which to encounter prospective marriage partners. Lydia's seduction is an outlier which threatens to dominate: receiving the shocking news from her older sister, Jane, Elizabeth learns that "[Lydia and Wickham] were off Saturday night about twelve, as is conjectured, but were not missed till yesterday morning at eight" (201). The discovery of this elopement certainly poses a danger to the Bennet sisters' future marriage prospects and hence the overall narrative. However, unlike the American seduction plot, societal machinations prevent the seduction from overwhelming the marriage plots by instead becoming one of them (FitzGibbon 588). As a result, gothic anxiety regarding subversive nocturnal activity is smoothed out by the novel's romantic conclusion. This correlates with Ashley Tauchert's assertion that "The narrative complexities of Austen's six novels are uniformly resolved in the heroine's marriage" and, moreover, "The narratives offer little concrete evidence for the material or symbolic oppression of women, and little sense of the struggle between reason and female embodiment central to Wollstonecraft's mode" (149). Unlike Wollstonecraft, in which the night and darkness are directly related to her characters' sociologically inferior position (and hence their mental instability), in Austen the darkness does not threaten as the female characters do not suffer similar oppression (or the fallout of mental instability).

As a result, it is perhaps unsurprising that *Charlotte Temple* found a huge American audience rather than an English one, remaining the most popular American novel until it was supplanted by *Uncle Tom's Cabin* half a century later (Douglas, Introduction vii-viii). Still under the thrall of the Richardsonian narrative, American audiences were now able to read their own version of *Clarissa*: a young innocent girl seduced by a British soldier from the English day into the American night³, *Charlotte Temple* illustrates

3 The movement from Britain to America has been identified as being crucial to the plot by various critics. Davidson asks "Why was Charlotte Temple – a penniless and pregnant British schoolgirl who was educated and misled by a French teacher, seduced by a British soldier, and abandoned on American soil – *the* single most

how coverture, which finds its origin in the English day, has endured and grown even more monstrous in the darkness of the American continent. In this way, the darkness of coverture, the most shameful effects of which are felt in the darkness of the American night, demonstrates one of the clear ways in which America remained legally and culturally dependent upon England.⁴

This chapter demonstrates how novels of the early republic use the nightscape to highlight the shameful and often hidden dangers of coverture that signal a failure to break with the conventions of Britain and hence their failure to redress the systems of inequality upon which American depended post-revolution. In the first American seduction novel, William Hill Brown's *The Power of Sympathy*, the act of seduction is described as a "black [...] die" and the "blackest ingratitude," and is a horror that is visited almost exclusively on the victims of seduction rather than the seducers themselves (44, 38). The text's seduction subplots highlight the disastrous mental breakdowns and social ostracism the victims endure, described in terms of dark and night imagery. In regards to Ophelia, a woman who has a relationship with her brother-in-law and kills herself as a result, the reader learns, "She felt like a poor wanderer about to return to a tender parent, and flattered herself with the hopes of a welcome, though unbidden to return. She owned the way was dark and intricate, but lamented she had no friend to enlighten her understanding, or unravel the mysteries of futurity" (41). In another, a young man whose betrothed was attracted away and subsequently kidnapped by a wealthier suitor drowns himself: "The object of his love had flown from him, and with her, all the light of his popular fictional figure of the early national period?" (*Revolution* 5). In their dismissive summation of *Charlotte Temple* as "an otherwise none too interesting work", Richard Ruland and Malcolm Bradbury argue that the interest generated comes from its dramatisation of "the move of its materials across the Atlantic, telling of a pure young British girl encouraged by her soldier-seducer to elope from Britain to the United States where she, as usual, dies pathetically, and he, as usual, repents" (84).

4 As noted by Bontatibus, "the seduced woman [in many seduction novels] represents not only the legal system's failure to protect the rights of women, but also the nation's failure to include women in its declaration of freedom and independence" (81).

soul –Darkness and grief had encompassed him – he had no resource, no consolation, no hope” (51). While the victims – frequently those in poverty – of seduction are plunged into a darkness wherein they feel cut off from their community and from any sense of justice, the seducers themselves remain viewed as pillars of the community. With respect to Giddens’ claim that “A person’s identity” is found “in the capacity to keep a particular narrative going” (54), the night in early American prose demonstrates the constructed or unfeasible nature of coverture by highlighting how debilitating or inhibiting – not to mention dangerous – a structure it is for everyone involved in the process. Individuals’ narratives are frequently cut off in a night-like darkness, to demonstrate how coverture literally ends livelihoods and lives.

Illustrating how detrimental coverture is to the women directly affected by it, primarily in the form of nocturnal discoveries of illegitimate pregnancies and familial destruction, many of these authors show that the American narrative of the virtuous woman in the New World, safely ensconced in the home, is not the result of the current workings of coverture. While some men may genuinely attempt to protect women at night by keeping them safe under their own roof, that act may fail precisely because frequently it is other men, such as husbands and brothers, that end up inflicting the most damage. It further demonstrates that coverture is not a system that can be restructured or reworked to ensure that trustworthy men are in charge, as it is not always strangers or suitors but often family members and husbands that pose the biggest danger. These novels also demonstrate how coverture negatively effects the thought processes of the men who alternatively attempt to infantilise or seduce women (or both), and indeed the night disrupts the narrative of Enlightenment by highlighting the oppressive forces employed by white men against native groups under the pretext of protecting white women’s virtue.

Private vs. Public

According to Dillon, constructions of American masculinity in the late eighteenth-century were predicated on a woman’s “private” status as a matter of “public domain,” and that female roles had a far larger impact in

the public domain than is often admitted (*Gender* 160). Dillon quotes Joan Gunderson's argument that for men such as Thomas Jefferson, "independence was essential, and they could enhance their independence by stressing the dependence of others (including women) on them" (qtd. 159). We can therefore see how the nocturnal policing of women becomes a way in which men can ensure dominance in society. A particularly illustrative example can be found in Clara Wieland's sleepwalking scene in Brockden Brown's gothic novel *Wieland*. In this scene a woman is where she should not be: out at night, attempting to navigate the masculine dominated wilderness of Pennsylvania. She is, consequently, influenced at every turn by the men around her, and in many ways used as a vehicle by which they can get what they want.

Exhausted after a "toilsome day," in Mettigen, her family-owned land in the Pennsylvanian countryside, Clara retreats to a secluded spot by the river to take an afternoon nap. She soon falls asleep and dreams that she is walking "in the evening twilight" towards her brother, Theodore, who is "beckoning and calling [her] to make haste." Unknown to her there is a deep pit between her and her brother; it is only a second person (who turns out to be Carwin, a vengeful Irish labourer) grabbing her by the arm and calling out to her to "Hold! hold!" that shocks Clara out of her onward march. This simultaneously wakens her from her dream and she finds herself in the darkness of a moonless night, unable to move as she "could not take a step without hazard of falling to the bottom of the precipice" (*Wieland* 54-5). It is not until Henry Plyel, her fiancé, who has been searching for her, arrives with a lantern, that Clara is able to return home.

If, as argued above, men demonstrate their civic independence via female *dependence*, throughout *Wieland*, Clara represents to each of these three men the possibility of masculine independence. However, such an outcome, in the climate of eighteenth-century republicanism, is a zero-sum game in which only one of them can get what they want. Both a microcosm of the text as a whole and prophetic of its conclusion, in this scene of nocturnal wilderness the gender power dynamics are played out to their logical conclusion. As she is throughout the novel, Clara is buffeted about by forces beyond her control. Throughout the text, Theodore and Plyel are literally embroiled in a dispute over land ownership, while Carwin uses his

powers of bilquism to haunt Mettingen and challenge the Wieland family's sense of safety and certainty. Clara's allegiance to any of the men could greatly improve their chances of legitimising their own claims over the others – or, in the case of Carwin, cause havoc for the wealthy class. The three men's actions in the nocturnal wilderness scene therefore demonstrate how each of them manipulate Clara towards their own ends. Both within this scene and throughout the text, each of the men isolate and undermine Clara in an attempt to keep her fearful and dependent upon each of them: this climaxes in a midnight encounter between Clara and Theodore in which he attempts (as he does in Clara's dream) to murder her. Carwin once again uses his bilquism in an attempt to prevent the murder, and Clara's survival is followed by her marriage to Plyel and emigration to Europe, just as Plyel rescues her after her sleepwalking has left her terrified and alone.

Clara's ordeal as a gothic heroine in the nocturnal wilderness reflects the female experience of inheritance and marriage in the New World: Dillon argues that the concept of "romantic marriage" emerged in the eighteenth century and did so in order to transfer the balance of power from the aristocratic to wider society. Dillon describes such an act in terms of land ownership. She writes that the model of "affectional marriage" challenged the established inheritance laws and marriage patterns which were "aimed at maintaining large acreages of landed property." Romantic marriage, instead, corresponded "to a commercial society in which property is no longer primarily a matter of heritable real estate but is transactional and capitalist" (*Gender* 156-7). Such a conception of marriage is directly linked to the possession of women: women are still not endowed with any freedom, becoming instead the "key" to land ownership, while men must then vie for power with each other through manipulation of and violence towards women. This chapter argues that the fictional output of the early American republic demonstrates how women, despite the fact that – or rather *because* – they are considered private figures, suffer the fallout of male public frustration. America's coverture laws are therefore shown to be inadequate as they depend upon the whims of often irrational and dangerous men. As a result, nocturnal male violence against women is ignored – often even by the narrators themselves – only to emerge later on

in horrifying and threatening forms, such as genocide, murders (and murder attempts), suicide, spousal abuse and unwanted pregnancies. Many of these novels are replete with ill-intentioned seducers such as Montraville, Sanford and Carwin. However, while these characters are all revealed – often clearly and from early on – to be bad influences and dangers towards the women they target, the authors do not place the blame (certainly not solely) on the women themselves. Whether one believes they should be meeting with these men or not, what the authors point out is the fact that they feel compelled to meet covertly in the first place is the reason that these women end up being tricked into further nocturnal dalliances.

These covert dalliances are put into contrast when considered alongside *Story of Margaretta* (1792), a seduction novel written by Judith Sargent Murray with the express purpose of providing “‘object lessons’ for women in the areas of marriage, child rearing, and education” (Scobell 16-7). Here, Margaretta Melworth is given scope to discover the dangers of a seduction under the watchful eye of her guardians. Learning from Margaretta that she has grown attached to suspected rake Sinisterus Courtland, her adoptive parents, Mr. Vigillius and his wife, Mary, permit her to spend an evening in his company. Upon observing his behaviour – particularly in relation to other young women – Margaretta begs her guardians to desist, telling them that “never more do I wish to behold the man who hath this evening passed your doors; [...] and never shall my soul bind itself in alliance with an unworthy pretender” (195-6). Murray’s novel argues that transparency and honesty within the family sphere can protect young women from the dangers of seduction: while Margaretta may err in falling for Sinisterus, sharing her thoughts and feelings with her sympathetic parents ensures that they can correct the course. In an address to the reader, who Mr. Vigillius terms “dear children,” he informs them as follows:

If you entertain the shadow of a preference for any other object; if your long cherished attachment experiences abatement – shrink not from the voice of public censure – *you are still at liberty* – other pursuits yet open themselves before you – your most direct step is an open declaration of

what passes in the inmost recesses of your bosoms, to parents, who will not fail to patronize and uphold you in every action, which is, strictly speaking, the result of undeviating rectitude. [emphasis original] (223)

As a result, the Vigilliuses are able to shepherd Margaretta safely along to a reputable marriage at a respectable age. Highlighting the success, we learn that the evening before her wedding is spent entertaining her parents "at our first request, with many of our favourite airs, upon her piano forte. I did not perceive her heart flying though her bodice! and her tremors being of the governable kind, she was all her own agreeable self" (225). Unlike Charlotte Temple, who keeps secrets from her parents, or Clara Wieland who is distrusted by her family, Margaretta's move towards seduction does not decide her fate or plunge her into the darkness of the American night as her evenings are not spent hidden away from her family in the company of her seducer. Even their name, Vigillius, suggests their careful night watch or vigil. Margaretta, as the only heroine among the narratives to achieve a successful and happy marriage, demonstrates how disaster can be averted by family supports and a more considerate approach to night watching.

He's a Good Man

However, where *Story of Margaretta* shows its shortcomings are precisely in its belief that a supportive family alone is enough to ensure the safety of its daughters, something that is highlighted in other narratives (not to mention that, as will be explored later, *Margaretta's* own internal logic challenges this idea). Sometimes seductions succeed because the woman is alone and vulnerable, but other times seductions succeed despite the positive influences of caring families – particularly fathers. The dangers of the inevitable coming night mean that women cannot be kept safe from seduction indefinitely. In Brockden Brown's *Ormond*, Stephen Dudley's loss of fortune means his daughter Constantia falls prey to many men, from sexual abusers on the street to the wealthy and well-connected Ormond, who proves relentless in his desire to marry Constantia against her wishes. His unbound entitlement coupled with his covert and far-reaching influences lead to Stephen Dudley's own death. The latter is murdered in his bedroom,

while sleeping, by an assassin sent by Ormond to render Constantia more vulnerable to his advances. In Tabitha Tenney's *Female Quixotism* (1801), Dorcasina Sheldon's father's wealth and benevolence cannot prevent her nocturnal encounters with various men who attempt to seduce her. Throughout the novel, which spans her life from her twenties to fifties, Dorcasina is the target of four seduction attempts – including a kidnapping and various deceptions via impersonation – perpetrated by men in order to marry into the Sheldon family's fortune or simply to entertain themselves. In other words, no matter how good men may try to protect their daughters, there are forces beyond their control which undermine their best efforts.

This is highlighted in *Charlotte Temple*: Charlotte's father, Henry Temple, may provide his daughter with a loving atmosphere in which to grow and the necessities for spiritual and educational improvement, but even within this atmosphere she encounters danger. Indeed, Montraville may seduce Charlotte in the evening when she has finished her day in boarding school, but it could certainly be argued that the seduction starts earlier, when Charlotte's teacher and confidante, Mademoiselle La Rue, convinces her to stay out late in the first place. La Rue, we learn, was herself seduced by gentlemen she met at church who convinced her to come out at night with them. Nowhere is safe from corruption. Charlotte's father may have sent her to a school of good repute, but there is little he can do to shield her from every unreliable figure she may encounter. Touching on this corruption, Robert Lawson-Peebles has claimed that

The moral landscape of *Charlotte Temple* is polarised. It is not the usual Atlantic polarity, examined most comprehensively by Henry James, between a virtuous but embryonic New World and a corrupt but sophisticated Old World. The representative Great Good Place is Charlotte's childhood home, somewhere in southern England, where 'Plenty, and her handmaid, Prudence, presided at their board, Hospitality stood at their gate, Peace smiled on each face, Content reigned in each heart, and Love and Health strewed roses on their pillows' (21-2). The Great Bad Place

is everywhere else: Britain and the United States differ only in the extent of their degeneracy. (160)

While Charlotte's childhood home may indeed be the "Great Good Place," and a place in which virtue can flourish, it is not a place where Charlotte can be permitted to reside eternally if Charlotte's parents are to give her an opportunity to get an education and marry: in other words, to participate as a member of the republic. Indeed, Rowson demonstrates this by contrasting Charlotte's experience with the far more fortunate relationship set up between her parents. When Charlotte's father, a relatively well-off and well-intentioned son of an earl, chose to marry Lucy née Lewis, this act lifted her out of poverty and into a life of virtue. We learn that throughout her youth, she has been supporting her father by paying off his creditors through needlework and painting, and moreover, according to her father, "She leaves me every night, and goes to a lodging near the bridge; but returns in the morning, to cheer me with her smiles, and bless me by her duteous affection" (15). By marrying Lucy, Henry Temple ensured that she would no longer be required to risk the dangers of nightlife and the damage that can do to a woman's reputation. Financially stable, Lucy Temple is able to live contentedly with her family in a Great Good Place. Lucy's virtue is constructed because her love and desires happen to align in those of a generous and wealthy man, something that her daughter, Charlotte, is simply unlucky to miss out on. The Great Good Place that her father has created under his benevolent rule is an oasis in a world of Big Bad Places that Henry cannot mitigate against: the laws of coverture mean that even the best of men can protect only his own wife against the dangers of the night. Rowson demonstrates that this virtue is a construct of wealth and class and is, in particular, a result of British and American women's lives under the ruling of coverture.

Inside Man

However, while men may at times use their wealth and influence to create a Great Good Place for their wives and daughters, these novels also recognise that danger frequently comes from men within a woman's social circle. *Wieland* is once again useful in this regard, for, while Carwin may be

a menacing presence, it is Clara's brother Theodore who proves to be the biggest threat to her safety and that of his own wife and children. Theodore has been, for all intents and purposes, a model citizen throughout his life. His sudden nocturnal turn, in which he murders his wife Catharine and their two children as well as another female relative before turning on Clara, demonstrates that women and children in the republic have no recourse to safety, not even in their own home. Since Clara's legal identity is covered by Theodore, Brown illustrates how coverture not only fails to protect women but can actively put them in harm's way (Barnard, *Wieland* 21). America's coverture laws put women in perilous situations – *especially* when they are under the protection of male relatives. Because American society demands that Clara must depend entirely on her brother for her safety, when his actions lead her into danger she has no way of rescuing herself. The disorienting darkness of the American night highlights Clara's plight in a masculine-dominated society.

Leonora Sansay's 1808 gothic novel *The Secret History of Saint Domingue* also demonstrates how marriage laws put women in danger, this time with a focus on the experience of married women. As Davidson has observed, "The wealthy woman, as much as the poor, is still dependent upon a husband's good sense and good will. All women are thus potential paupers and married women especially so" (*Revolution* 226). Taking place on the French colony of Saint Domingue (now Haiti) during the years 1802-5, the female characters there would be subject to coverture's analogous French concepts. 1804, the same year that Haiti became a republic, was also the year that the Napoleonic code was established, in which a wife had fewer rights than a child and divorce by mutual consent was abolished (Gregory 62-4). From the outset, *Secret History* demonstrates how such laws can lead to danger as an American woman's recently arranged marriage drags her into a war zone to unite with her husband. Clara and her sister, Mary, are forced to navigate the volatile situation as the French army and their allies fight against the native population for possession of the island. Clara has recently married a French planter, St. Louis, and has left Philadelphia to join him, while the unmarried Mary accompanies her. It is through Mary's letters back to a friend in America detailing Clara's exploits that the majority of the narrative is told. Yet, despite Mary's close

observation of her sister, and Clara's often erratic behaviour, it is not until Clara discloses the abuse she herself has suffered at the hand of her husband that Mary recognises the reality of the submerged, darker side of marriage she has ignored.

When Clara goes missing, Mary (and hence the reader) is finally made aware of the violence Clara endured under St. Louis' control. Writing to Mary from the safety of a convent, Clara tells her sister

St. Louis, after his arrival at St. Jago, had connected himself with a company of gamblers, and with them passed all his time.—Often returning at a late hour from the gaming table, he has treated me with the most brutal violence,—this you never knew; nor many things which passed in the loneliness of my chamber, where, wholly in his power, I could only oppose to his brutality my tears and my sighs. (137)

Clara further informs Mary that after a particularly violent night in which he threatened to "destroy" Clara by "rubbing aqua-fortis in my face" she decided to escape, leaving at midnight for an "obscure village" where she received help from a friend (138-9). Clara has therefore been the heroine of a gothic seduction narrative that not even her closest confidante and sister was aware of. In the vein of Anne Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794), she has been at the mercy of her husband's whims at all times. Radcliffe's heroine, Emily St. Aubert, is locked in her room by her husband at night. To add to her distress, the room can only be opened from the outside, highlighting the lack of control Emily has over her personal safety and chastity. The whole island of Saint Domingue takes on the dimensions of a Castle of Udolpho as Clara does not feel safe to disclose her captivity to anyone, not even her sister. Dillon observes that Mary's discovery of this nocturnal violence is at the heart of *Secret History*:

What is detailed in this letter, then, is the *secret* that lies between the sisters – what Mary "never knew" – about the level of physical, psychological, and sexual violence contained within the marriage between Clara and St. Louis. This language suggests that what is most hidden within the

colonial scene is not interracial violence but the violence of men turned upon women. ("Secret" 92)

Napoleonic marriage laws have acted as a convenient cloak for St. Louis's abuse, as in the daytime he can pass as a concerned and caring husband: at one point we learn from Mary that, after being assured that "Clara had not been faithless," St. Louis "went into the room in which he had confined [Clara], threw himself at her feet, and burst into tears." In response to which, Clara "leaned over him, and mingled her tears with his" (86). Despite literally confining her, St. Louis is able to manipulate Clara's emotions in order to appear like a caring spouse in front of Mary. His possessive and controlling actions are accepted and made to appear like those of a loving husband. It is only through a literal description of the abuse Clara suffers when alone with her husband at night that wakens Mary to the lie she has believed for so long.

In this way, the nightscape is crucial to unmasking the fact that it is frequently male relatives that are to blame for the suffering of women in their care. This is also the case in *The Power of Sympathy*. The novel's main storyline, that of the courtship between Harrington the younger and Harriot, ends in tragedy when it is revealed that they are half-siblings: sharing a father, Harriot was the result of a secret affair which was subsequently kept secret after the death of her mother in childbirth. Observing, as Elizabeth Barnes has, that a "father's act of seduction" acts as the "catalyst and moral exemplum" for his children (605-9), the way in which the elder Harrington's sins are revisited on his children is made clear in a letter from Myra (Harrington's sister and Harriot's half-sister) to Harriot. Not yet knowing the tragedy awaiting Harrington and Harriot, and discussing another recent incident of incest in the community, she claims that "Surely there is no human vice of so black a die—so fatal in its consequences—or which causes a more general calamity, than that of seducing a female from the path of honour" (44). To add further irony, the younger Harrington has also included a poem entitled "The Court of Vice" to Harriot on the subject, in which he describes "a solemn night of state" in which all the vices are put on trial for their crimes. Seduction is the final vice addressed in the poem:

'With thee, SEDUCTION! are ally'd
 'HORROUR, DESPAIR and SUICIDE.
 'YOU wound—but the *devoted* heart
 'Feels not alone—the poignant smart:
 'YOU wound—th' electrick pain extends
 'To fathers, mothers, sisters, friends.
 'MURDER may yet delight in blood,
 'And deluge round the crimson flood;
 'But sure his merits rank above,
 'Who murders in the mask of love.' (47)

Seduction is seen as particularly dangerous because it is so hidden: it comes out of the night (often literally), from an individual who wears “the mask of love” and seems on the surface to have the best intentions for the victim. Unlike the other personified vices, which describe themselves in the poem, seduction is unwilling to speak for itself. It remains unvoiced, a secret shame throughout the community, making it doubly dangerous because it *remains* hidden for many years: were Harrington the elder or any of his confidantes to have disclosed the truth behind Harriot’s birth at any time over the sixteen years before she met her half-brother, both his children’s deaths could have been avoided. As is seen throughout the novel’s plots and subplots, the results of seduction are that whole families are destroyed. When Harrington and Harriot first declare love for each other, Harrington is able to tell his friend Worthy that “joy and love encompass me [...] the prospect is fair and promising as the gilded dawn of a summer's day” (32). However, like other victims of seduction, both of them are soon plunged into the darkness of social ostracism and death. The Harrington household, which would in an ideal republic be a Great Good Place, is destroyed from the inside by a dark secret.

Secret Witnesses

Violence is therefore the hidden nocturnal reality for so many women (and men) throughout these gothic and seduction narratives; however, often the ultimate revelation is not that the violence was hidden, so much as the extent to which such violence was known all along within the

community but never admitted. Indeed, in *Female Quixotism*, upon the revelation of the true nefarious history of Dorcasina's final seducer by the local community, what is demonstrated is how a corrupt individual can be enabled to elide scrutiny due to public favour. When the villainous Mr. Seymore's creditors arrive to imprison him, we see how quickly his respectable facade crumbles:

Coming suddenly upon Seymore with an officer, just as he had dismissed his afternoon school, to the great astonishment of his scholars, by whom he was surrounded, and almost adored, they carried him, for the night, to the nearest public house, his creditor intending to have him conveyed in the morning to the county gaol. The story of his being a married man and a villain rapidly circulated. "A married man," exclaimed one old woman, her eyes turned to heaven, "and a courting another woman! Lack a day! who would have thought it?" "I am sure, with that sanctified look," cries another, "I shou'd sartainly as soon have thought of calling Mr. H. a hypocrite." "As for my part," cried, a third, though I didn't love to say nothing about him, I thought he was no better than he shou'd be, since he kept our Sal one day after school and kissed her cause he said her sum wasn't additioned right. Thinks says I to myself that's a queer sort of a punishment, and Sal hasn't never been to school since." [sic] (310)

Here, the self-righteous community illustrates how they had participated in the underlying corruption which permitted Seymore to operate, moving from feigned innocence to a demonstration of complicity. While the first woman deflects from any guilt by rhetorically asking "who would have thought it?" the second unwillingly admits partial blame, as they were duped by his mask of love or "sanctified look." By the third woman, they have admitted they knew all along that Seymore was assaulting girls and said "nothing about him." Because Seymore is now being removed and relegated quite literally to the night where he can be conveniently ignored, the community is now able to enjoy a feeling of superiority over him.

Tenney highlights an over-zealous attempt by a large group of individuals attempting to shield against criticism of their own complicity.

This passage illustrates how quickly a community will move to distance themselves from guilt relating to female violence. This accords with the wider intention of many of the novels which were to highlight such hypocrisy: both *Sympathy* and *The Coquette* were written as protests against real-life seductions that had taken place in the early republic, in which the culprits had gone unpunished (or were unknown), while the female victims had been excoriated and branded guilty.⁵ *Wieland* was based on a real-life Pennsylvanian case of an upstanding member of the community who, seemingly without explanation, murdered his whole family and escaped captivity twice (Kafer "Revolutionary" 488). Finally, *Secret History* was inspired by Sansay's own experiences on Saint Domingue during the Haitian revolution (Hunt 31). These novels were used in quite literal ways to highlight the injustices that were often known about but for which the victims never had recourse to justice. As were their progenitors, *Pamela* and *Clarissa*, many of these texts are also epistolary novels in which the writers have carefully censored the narratives they intend to relate to their audiences. These letter writers are often friends and relatives of those who suffer the fallout of systemic male violence and who would prefer to feign ignorance in relation to the plight of the heroine rather than admit that they ignored her plight in a bid to save their own reputation. The epistolary form is used to circumscribe the details of unsavoury nocturnal seduction and other male-on-female violent encounters that would, in one way or another, indict them as an accessory to the crime or admit their failure to intervene. By the end of the novel these narrators have become Goodman Browns, forced with a choice to either become "a stern, a sad, a darkly meditative, a distrustful, if not a desperate [individual]" (288) or recognise their complicity in the project of American nation-building.

⁵ Bryan Waterman has argued that "In novel form stories such as Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* and *Clarissa* gained new meanings and uses over time and in different geographic settings, and by the end of the century it seemed impossible to pick up a periodical without some mention of courtship, marriage, or seduction, often in fictional narratives that, like *The Coquette*, claimed to be founded in fact" (326).

Davidson has noted that Hill Brown wrote *Sympathy* in response to the real-life seduction of Fanny Apthorp by her brother-in-law and future attorney general of Massachusetts, Perez Morton. The fallout was that Apthorp became pregnant and ended her life with poison, while Morton went unpunished and indeed had a successful political career. A personal friend of John Adams and James Bowdoin, Morton's name was protected from public scrutiny and the scandal was instead blamed on the actions of the now deceased Apthorp. Hill Brown, who was a neighbour of Apthorp, wrote his novel to draw attention to Morton's actions: many of the characters in *Sympathy* are thinly-veiled representations of real-life individuals, the most obvious being Morton who is only slightly renamed Martin (*Revolution* 162, 174-5). Martin's storyline is one of several subplots in Hill Brown's book, but is related thematically to the main narrative. As Davidson writes,

The Power of Sympathy is not a tale of seduction telling the women that they should have been more careful. It is more a condemnation of men like Martin/Morton and the Honorable Mr. Harrington and also of those such as Mrs. Holmes or the Reverend Holmes, who supported the authority of a Martin or a Mr. Harrington and defended their acts – the low-level Adamses and Bowdoin of the novel. (*Revolution* 178-9)

While the victims of Mr. Harrington and Martin/Morton's seductions suffer in an emotional and social darkness, unable to seek recourse thanks to their lack of friends in high places, those in high places are perpetuating the crimes which destroy lives.

It is particularly ironic, then, that Mrs. Holmes, one of the individuals who has protected Harrington the elder from disrepute, is also the one who uses nocturnal imagery in an attempt to protect Harriot (who she adopted as her own daughter in order to protect Harrington's name) from seduction attempts. Before Mrs. Holmes has even learned of the romantic connection between the half-siblings, and while educating Harriot about the dangers of consorting with young men, she informs Harriot that "A prudent commander would place a double watch, if he apprehended the enemy were

more disposed to take the fort by secrecy [sic] and undermining, than by an open assault" (54). Evidently, knowing that seducers can appear (and indeed do appear) in the guise of pillars of society, and will go to extreme lengths to hide their crimes, Mrs. Holmes puts the onus on Harriot to protect herself from the advances of dishonest men. This is made further clear as Mrs. Holmes pontificates at length regarding how "a woman may be accessory [sic] to her own ruin" (73). In other words, Mrs. Holmes takes it upon herself to educate Harriot regarding how to avoid seduction rather than addressing the underlying issues regarding coverture. Later, when reluctantly – and after much dithering on the subject – warning the Harrington family of the implications of Harrington and Harriot's relationships, she claims "It is the duty of a centinel [sic] to give the alarm at the approach of what he may think such—and if the result does not prove to be a real evil—he has but performed his duty, and the action is meritorious" (59). If indeed Mrs. Holmes is a sentinel or a watcher, she has been carefully paid to look the other way for years. Being one of the few individuals privy to Harrington the elder's crimes, she was witness to the death of Harriot's mother and agreed to take Harriot on as her ward along with her husband, the local reverend, another pillar of the community. She has, in other words, witnessed the horrors of the darkness endured by victims of seduction, and has decided to keep quiet about it, being prepared to speak only when Harrington the elder finally risks public reprobation. In this way, she acts as a counterpoint to Margaretta's "vigilant" guardians the Vigilliuses. Guardians like Mrs. Holmes are proof that those entrusted with the virtue of young women are not necessarily going to "uphold [them] in every action" as Mr. Vigillius claims (223). By placing such night imagery in the mouth of a hypocritical character, Hill Brown demonstrates how society is set up to ensure the silence of its victims: the institutions set up ostensibly to protect the public good (such as the night watch) have long been the tools of the wealthy – those like Adams and Bowdoin – who use them to maintain their own status and economic position.

Foster's novel *The Coquette*, meanwhile, as noted by Bontatibus, was "purportedly based upon the seduction of an esteemed Connecticut woman named Elizabeth Whitman whose failure to disclose the identity of the father of her still-born child roused debate throughout the nineteenth

century" (7). Whitman's body was found in a rural Connecticut tavern, where she had died after giving birth. Although the identity of the child's father was never discovered and few details known about Whitman's affair, narratives such as Foster's have painted her as the victim of seduction (Waterman 325). In *The Coquette*, it is not until the end of the narrative that the distress that Eliza Wharton (Whitman's fictional counterpart) has been enduring all along is discovered, when her nocturnal exploits must finally be discussed in high society. According to the exchange of letters which make up the text, Eliza's interactions with Sanford take place almost entirely in her friends' gardens during the day or evening, and are comprised of both meetings prearranged between Eliza and Sanford as well as supposedly spontaneous encounters (which are in fact premeditated by Sanford). The reality of Eliza's pregnancy is only disclosed late in the novel, in which one of her friends writes that Eliza has left her room in the middle of the night to meet with a man who, it turns out, is Sanford. This, the reader then learns, is not the first time this has happened: Eliza at this time, is almost at full term, meaning at least one covert encounter has taken place months previously. The epistolary form of *The Coquette*, then, belies the dark underside of Eliza's society. While the characters discuss solely the activities of the day time, Eliza's true story, which has been hinted at only in subtext (Eliza mentions that she has had trouble sleeping, and several of the characters observe her changed countenance) has played out in secret, below the sheen of daytime society. The gradual discovery of Eliza's nighttime secret is unearthed in a similar fashion to that of Yone's in Harriet Prescott Spofford's "The Amber Gods" or Miles Coverdale's in Hawthorne's *The Blithedale Romance*: the light of day has (most likely wilfully) blinded the characters to the uncomfortable secret that has only been whispered about in the dark. In this way, Foster highlights the wilful ignorance of Eliza's so-called friends who ignored her signs of distress, choosing instead to quite literally paper over an embarrassing situation in their correspondence.

Similarly, the secret of *Secret History* is not only, as Dillon suggests, "what Mary 'never knew' - about the level of physical, psychological, and sexual violence contained within the marriage between Clara and St. Louis" (92) but also Mary's concession she has known for much longer than she

would like to admit. When Mary receives the shocking revelation from Clara, Mary has already – by her own admission – witnessed St. Louis's violence. In one letter Mary describes how

Nothing can be more brutal than St. Louis in his rage! The day of his affair with the general, he threw [Clara] on the ground, and then dragged her by the hair:—I flew to her, but his aspect so terrified me that I was obliged to withdraw: and when his fits of tenderness return he is as bad in the other extreme. He kneels before her, entreats her pardon, and overwhelms her with caresses more painful to her than the most terrible effects of his ill-humour. (87)

Mary has seen St. Louis "in his rage" against Clara, and has herself been "terrified" by his actions. Only wilful ignorance could permit her to believe that "his fits of tenderness" can enable her to avoid considering what St. Louis would be capable of doing to Clara behind closed doors, particularly when she is also cognisant of the fact that he punishes Clara by imprisoning her in their home. Mary has seen that St. Louis behaves both emotionally and physically abusive towards Clara, and yet she continues to behave like Mrs. Holmes and Eliza Wharton's friends: night watchmen who have been paid to look the other way. *Secret History* demonstrates how even those closest to victims of violence can ignore what is right in front of them, thus perpetuating cycles of seduction until it erupts in front of their eyes, and becomes impossible to ignore.

It is in this very action of "covering up" in coverture that demonstrates one of the key contradictions of Murray's *Margaretta*. Shortly after her marriage to the upstanding Edward Hamilton, Margaretta fears that he may in fact be a seducer as he relegates himself to his study which, "Edward had consecrated [as] the scene of his most retired moments; thither, at certain hours of the day, she knew that he repaired" (239) and therein spends a considerable amount of time with Margaretta's friend, Serafina. We eventually learn that he is not a seducer. He is instead trying to pay off gambling debts that he amassed before their marriage while pining for Margaretta. Serafina, meanwhile, is his half-sister. Unlike Margaretta, then, Edward is permitted space in which to conduct his covert

affairs: when still under the belief that he may be having an extramarital affair, Margaretta's mother encourages her to acquiesce and try to win him around, rather than confronting him. Sara Scobell identifies this, writing that

An instance of Murray's conservative Federalism coming to bear on her female ideology occurs in a chapter of the *Margaretta* series. In the installment [sic] focusing on Margaretta's marital crisis, the heroine's mother writes to her daughter a letter advising her how to act in this trying situation. Mrs. Vigillius instructs her child to win her way back into her husbands [sic] heart (though he was the partner suspected of being unfaithful) through gentleness and submission. [...] To Judith, the necessity of preserving an orderly society, even if that preservation calls for the binding of women to a wholly subordinate position, transcends anyone [sic] person's desire to alter the conventional gender roles of the early republic. (19)

These feminine demands are compounded by Murray's further requirement that Margaretta remain open and honest at all times. Despite the grief and upset that Margaretta endures and the very real danger that Edward's actions pose for the family, the narrative hinges on Margaretta's mistake as the cause of their misfortune: that of her brief attraction to the rake, Sinisterus, and the implication that his marriage night was shared with Margaretta instead of another woman. In other words, Margaretta's brief lack of transparency, leaving Edward metaphorically in the dark regarding her true feelings for him – the implication being that she loved him and not Sinisterus – is blamed for *Edward's* failure. Considering that Murray's belief in the education of women as illustrated in "On the Equality of the Sexes" (1790) was couched in the wider belief that women were naturally dependent upon men, *Margaretta* inadvertently demonstrates one of the ways in which the double standards of coverture affect women even in advantageous circumstances. By taking control of Margaretta's business affairs, Edward does not need to share details of business transactions that directly affect his wife's economic safety. This means Margaretta's

transparency alone cannot overcome the injustices of a society in which her husband's covert activity is permitted. Indeed, the text all but admits this. Edward's serious gambling debts are only settled upon the use of a contrived *deus ex machina*: the entrance of Margaretta's estranged biological father, who is able to cancel their debts and save the young family from destitution and separation. Only a healthy injection of outside money can avert a problem that is itself a facet of coverture.

Numerous other novels of the early republic demonstrate the shortcoming of the Vigilliuses' request that Margaretta must be open and honest in her discourse, crucially in relation to her correspondence. When letters are not being carefully tailored to transmit certain narratives as in *Secret History* and *The Coquette*, these novels demonstrate how even honest correspondence can be diverted by vindictive individuals (*Charlotte Temple*), simply misunderstood (*Wieland*) or unfinished and impossible to decipher (*Lucy Temple*), and how forgeries and fakes can be transmitted (*Kelroy*, *Jane Talbot* [1801]). In other words, no matter how honest and open a young woman may be, unless such a practice is adopted by all men in their lives, women will remain in danger. Indeed, it is telling that, in *Margaretta*, an epistolary novel dependent on openness and transparency in correspondence, we do not read a single letter from Margaretta's husband. Edward Hamilton's privileged position as husband permits him to conduct his covert activities in the dark, his decision to eventually reveal his secrets his prerogative rather than his duty. Murray's narrative, perhaps unwittingly, illustrates the double standard which creates situations that enable men, particularly husbands, to become seducers. If Edward's secrecy regarding his business affairs can be read as secrecy regarding an illicit affair, we must ask what safeguards are in place to ensure a husband does not in fact become a seducer.

As a result, Rowson, Foster, Tenney and other early American novelists were aware that women would need to be prepared to protect themselves against such underhanded and manipulative attempts on their safety and livelihoods. Many of these authors were also educational theorists and teachers who advocated for the improvement of female education, recognising that in the aftermath of the Revolutionary War, women had not been granted the social and economic benefits that

American men had given themselves (Bontatibus 23). As well as a warning against the dangers of seduction, novels of the early republic were also tools of education in more practical ways. The seduction novel actively argued for improving the education of American women – particularly through reading proscribed texts – as a way of ensuring they could successfully equip themselves with the knowledge required to avoid seduction. Davidson has claimed that

The high correlation between increased female literacy and decreased fertility suggests that education with a sense of control over one's body, over one's role in the reproductive process, and even some control over one's husband. I am not being entirely facetious, therefore, when I suggest that, with its double focus on improving female literacy and controlling sexuality, the sentimental novel may well have been the most effective means of birth control of the time.

(*Revolution* 193)

Furthermore, one of the practical didactic purposes of these novels was to argue that education had to be uncoupled from nocturnal control. Charlotte's teacher Mademoiselle La Rue is largely responsible for Charlotte's seduction, by convincing her to meet with Montraville after hours. However, rather than suggesting that Charlotte should not have received an education and remained instead safely at home with her father, Rowson argues that current systems of education are dangerously flawed. As Ann Douglas has pointed out, La Rue was herself a victim of seduction and in turn learned how to manipulate those around her, which is how she gained her employment as Charlotte's teacher in the first place (Introduction xxxii). Similarly, nothing will change as long as individuals with vested interest in the status quo who support the seducer at the expense of the victim remain in charge of female education, such as Mrs. Holmes in *Sympathy*. *Story of Margaretta* is once again at odds with the other novels, hinting that the required system of education is attainable under coverture, as the Vigilliuses are successful in educating Margaretta. However, even here Margaretta's success is tempered by one of the novel's secondary story lines. One of Margaretta's peers, Frances Wellwood, who

was born to a wealthy family but left without parents or guardians after their death, ends up marrying Sinisterus Courtland not long after Margaretta avoided his seduction attempt. Writing to Frances, Margaretta admits how lucky she herself was not to become one of his victims:

Doubtless, if the ever honoured guardians of my unwary steps, had not still been continued to me, *ensnared as I too certainly was*, Miss Wellwood's *wrongs would not have exhibited a solitary trait in the history of the unfeeling despoiler!* [emphasis original] (210)

Margaretta's safety is ensured by not only the education but the high vigilance of the Vigilliuses. Without this formidable safety net – which can only be attained by the wealthy – women are extremely vulnerable. It appears that Margaretta's education, composed as it is of constant evening surveillance, is more of a preventative than a cure. Women would continue to be led astray if female education remained as little more than nocturnal policing.

That's not me

As demonstrated above, coverture is so dangerous to society because, through social collusion, its negative effects remain unmentioned until it is too late to undo the damage. As a result, every man has the potential to become a seducer – no one can be certain of who, as Hill Brown terms it, "murders in the mask of love" (47). Mr. Vigillius may entreat his daughter to "an open declaration of what passes in the inmost recesses of your bosoms, to parents" (223), but this cannot prevent even the most well-intentioned suitor from destroying a woman's life, leading her into the darkness of social ostracism, poverty, and even death, if a loss of fortune changes his prospects. In illustrating this, the authors highlight how the conventions of masculine society render American as well as British men unfit for the purposes of coverture.

The Power of Sympathy demonstrated this by showing how Harrington the elder's seduction has a damning effect on his son's courtship. Hill Brown's novel starts off where *Pamela* ends, with a rakish youth who has recognised the importance of partnership rather than a

master/servant relationship (Armstrong 115). Early on, Harrington resolves to marry Harriot rather than seducing her, rejecting the idea that "the crime of dependence" should be "expiated by the sacrifice of virtue" (14). In other words, Harrington rejects the role of seducer, realising that under the rules of American society a poor woman becomes vulnerable to any man who enters into extramarital relations with her. Harrington's own good intentions, however, are not enough in a society which is built upon the actions of men who abuse women and indeed, whose abuse is legitimised both legally and socially. Despite Harrington the younger's (ultimately) well-intentioned actions towards Harriot, he inadvertently throws her life into disrepute or worse due to charges of incest. He has therefore become a seducer against his wishes. The seduction coming from an individual who wears the mask of love has come from Harrington himself, someone who did not even know he was wearing a mask.

Another well-intentioned courtship that, like *Sympathy*, ends in the darkness of death and despair for its lovers is Sansay's second novel, *Laura* (1809). Set in and around Philadelphia, it concerns the relationship between the eponymous Laura, a lonely young woman who recently lost her mother, and Belfield, a medical student and younger son of a wealthy Philadelphian family. Despite Belfield's genuine intentions to take care of and marry Laura he proves himself to be ill-equipped for the task. This is demonstrated early on by his attempts to woo Laura. While he does not coerce Laura into an evening meeting, as Montraville or Sanford do, he does try to convince her of his worthiness through nocturnal wooing. This has a particularly strong effect upon Laura whose mother has just died and left her feeling entirely alone in the world. We learn that, following her mother's death, "The world contained no being from whose voice she could expect consolation, on whose bosom she could seek repose. The seclusion in which she had lived, gave a shade of melancholy to her disposition, which rendered her more exquisitely sensible of the forlornness of her fate" (163).

Belfield's courtship therefore has considerable influence on Laura because marriage to a caring individual would be her only hope for a less lonely life – it would, she believes, lift her out of the "shade of melancholy" and bring her back into regular society – and stands in direct comparison to her step-father's desire to see Laura secure a wealthy future by marrying a

rich Englishman – once again we encounter genre conventions of anxiety regarding British rule – to whom she has no emotional attachment. Laura and Belfield's attachment to each other is therefore represented by Sansay as one that sprung out of lonely desperation on the half of Laura, and that of naivety and inexperience on the half of Belfield. It is an attachment that has been cultivated in the shade or darkness of Laura's depression (hence Belfield's evening courtship) and is unlikely to be fit to withstand the vicissitudes of Philadelphia society. These themes can be seen throughout their courtship as demonstrated in the following passage:

"I am your creature," Laura would say to him, "before I knew you all around me was darkness and desolation; the morning brought no gladness to my heart, the shades of evening cast only an additional gloom over my sufferings; by what magic have you wrought this change? how in your presence has

"Grief forgot to groan, and love to weep?"

Still I weep, but not in sadness, still I regret, but my grief is without pangs!"

If Belfield heard not these questions with stoical equanimity; if his answers were impressed on the rosy lips of Laura, we must remember that Belfield was only twenty, and that he had never loved before. (172)

Laura and Belfield's relationship may bring joy in the short term as they spend their evenings together, but Belfield is "only twenty" and Laura even younger. And the happy time they spend together also proves to be the downfall of their relationship: the nights underscore the long-term problems inherent in an unmarried relationship in the early republic. When Laura becomes pregnant, described by Sansay as "the fatal moment" in which "the deepest shades of night veiled Laura's blushes!" (176), her unmarried state becomes a serious problem. In a desperate bid to find her shelter as she will be unwelcome in Belfield's family home, Belfield arranges for Laura to reside for a night (unbeknownst to both of them) in a brothel. There, one

of the clients, Melwood, attempts to grope her. Despite avoiding his advances and escaping the establishment, and thus successfully protecting her virtue in this encounter, Laura cannot avoid public scrutiny. While out on a drunken evening, Melwood mentions his encounter with Laura within hearing of Belfield. When he demands that "the name of that young lady must not be trifled with!" the response from Melwood is that "I presume that I may mention the name of a girl met at Mrs. W-s, in any manner I please!" (213). Belfield takes the insult against his betrothed personally, leading to a duel and his death. As Michael L. Drexler observes,

When Belfield dies in a duel in an effort to protect his wife's reputation, Laura finds herself once more alone in the world, only now pregnant, having only her intuitive wit and wisdom to guide her. Though Sansay appended a heavy-handed moral signature to the end of *Laura* [...] her indictment falls as squarely on Belfield and his reckless participation in the violent code of gentlemanly honor (dueling). Belfield has to duel to reclaim Laura's reputation because he had previously been unwilling to claim her publicly as his wife. His reticence leaves Laura subject to accusations that she is a prostitute. Thus the stupid violence of the duel is critiqued alongside Belfield's failure to publish his attachment. (33)

Belfield's actions throughout the narrative have turned him inadvertently into a seducer, not through any cruel streak but because he is literally not prepared for the American night: he has nowhere safe to house his soon-to-be wife and unborn child. Furthermore, he is unable to remove his ego from the equation when Laura is accused of being a "lady of the night." As a result, Belfield dies. Laura does not die and instead she became a mother and marries again: however, the conclusion stresses that she never again escaped from the depression that was alleviated in Belfield's presence.

Characters such as Harrington the younger and Belfield highlight how the rules of coverture negatively influence all courtships within the early republic. Harrington illustrates how even a courtship based on the ideals of equality and respect for women cannot flourish if founded in a society based upon hidden nocturnal horrors. Meanwhile, Belfield's courtship takes place

within the evening and evolves within the nightscape just as Montraville and Sanford's does, highlighting how intention is blurred in a society in which women must be constantly on guard against the dangers of pregnancy or even the implications of extramarital sexual activity. Neither Harrington nor Belfield are prepared for the midnight reality of coverture and suffer death as a result. Similarly to the fathers of Charlotte Temple and Constantia Dudley, these suitors cannot protect the women they wish to cover from licentious and avaricious men. However, these well-intentioned men are more directly to blame for the loss of happiness and wealth experienced by the women they court, as often their actions directly (if unintentionally) lead to, as Harrington the younger terms it, "seducing a female from the path of honour" (44).

Considering the conduct of literary suitors from early America in this fashion causes one to evaluate the actions of Arthur Mervyn, whose own actions turn him into a suitor on at least one occasion. Brockden Brown's picaresque gothic novel *Arthur Mervyn* concludes with the news that he is about to marry Ascha Fielding, a Portugese Jewess who may also be a former sex worker (Kafer *Charles* 136). Barnard and Shapiro also observe that Ascha is most likely a Sephardic Jew, meaning she may be Afro-Caribbean (*Arthur* xl). She and Mervyn become close in a series of midnight engagements in which Ascha makes clear the importance of night to their relationship by singing and changing lines from Milton's *Comus* (1634):

Now knit hands and bear the ground

In a light, fantastic round,

Till the tell-tale sun descry

Our conceal'd solemnity (297).

Changing lines of *Comus* – from a masque of chastity to one about married love – is one of the many suggestions that Arthur is carefully curating his telling of his relationship. The abrupt, romantic ending to an otherwise gothic narrative also hints that Arthur may be trying to shift the reader's attention away from other details: it must be remembered that Arthur had the opportunity to enter into a far more conventionally acceptable marriage

to Eliza Hadwin, a younger white girl whom Mervyn rescued from poverty when her father and elder sister died. Despite Mervyn's initial attraction to her he will not marry her, his reasoning being that she is too young to be a wife. Significantly, he refuses to spend time at night with her; he refuses to share a house with her and his overnight visits to the Hadwin household are mentioned very briefly. It is Ascha with whom he spends the amorous hour of the night, and this is underscored by their decision to marry at night time. However, the nocturnal patterns that we have observed enacted by untrustworthy suitors throughout early American seduction novels demonstrate that to be discovered courting a woman whom one does not intend to marry at night is frowned upon. In this way, Mervyn, who has demonstrated his quick ability to learn and fit into city life may also be pre-empting charges of untrustworthiness by protesting his innocence in relation to Eliza. This is in line with Teresa A. Goddu's argument that

[t]he novel offers two conflicting readings of Arthur: he is either cured by Stevens, become [sic] once again a stable citizen who serves public virtue, acts by reason, and speaks a self-evident language, or he remains infected with Welbeck's gothic world view, an economic man who serves private interest, is ruled by passion, and spreads a diseased discourse. (40)

In a work in which Arthur's every action can be (and has been) read as highly equivocal, Arthur's marriage to a wealthier woman following a courtship of a poorer one calls for scrutiny.

Considered this way, the early American seduction narrative becomes a rumination on the uncertainty of class and socialisation in the emerging republic. It builds upon contemporary British seduction narratives which challenged "the polarization of male characters into heroes and villains" (Binhammer 156). Where many British narratives had two characters, a good suitor and a seducer whose actions often challenged these mutable definitions, in the American narrative these two characters blend into one. Like Arthur Mervyn, seducers and good men can be impossible to tell apart, and indeed, may be one and the same. Discussing Montraville, Davidson identifies the uncertainty regarding how his actions should be read:

perhaps Montraville is the real villain in that his villainy is so sanctioned by his society that it can pass as virtue. Rowson's larger point here well might be that a standard double standard of sexual conduct allows even a relatively decent young man to become, indirectly and second hand, a murderer. (*Revolution* 217)

Much like Edward's secrecy in *Margaretta*, which cannot be separated from the actions of a seducer or villain, Montraville's actions cannot be fully separated from those of an upstanding gentleman or, indeed, the well-intentioned but ultimately futile actions of *Laura's* Belfield. *Wieland's* Carwin intensifies the confusion or uncertainty of identification in the New World. While ostensibly a poor Irish worker with little power in the daytime, his biloquial powers endow him with a considerable influence over the residents of the Wieland estate at night, leading them to paranoia and violence as they hear disembodied voices. Carwin is in many ways a seducer of the wealthy members of the Mettigen family without physically seducing any of them: the only physical affair he conducts is with one of Clara's maidservants. While Carwin becomes a character of intrigue and perhaps romantic interest for Clara, the typical seduction arc is cut short when he backs away from his rape attempt. In contrast, Carwin is able to use his biloquial powers to lure her brother Theodore into believing he is hearing the voice of God. Carwin, as a result, becomes a seducer despite defying all the conventions of the seduction narrative. In this way, the literary American nightscape becomes a space of uncertainty as British class and literary conventions are overturned in terrifying gothic fashion.⁶

⁶ Night challenged the carefully policed boundaries between class which were often denoted primarily by clothing. As Ekirch notes, "at night, appearance mattered less, and standards changed. For some persons, darkness disguised garments too dirt or torn to be worn during the day. [...] Outer clothing, in general, became less varied and more functional. Colors were plainer" (135).

No Home to Go To

Indeed, in the American seduction narrative, class systems are further undermined as a women's social position can be changed in the course of a single night. Women are frequently at the risk of public scrutiny for being found in public at night. As in *Laura*, when unbeknownst to her, the protagonist resides for a night in a brothel, poor unwed women are at risk of being labelled prostitutes or otherwise open to attack from predatory men quite simply for being found in the wrong place at night. Throughout *Ormond*, Constantia attempts to navigate the streets of Philadelphia, particularly at night, while earning a living in order to support her family. This results in her being engaged by men who try to force her into sexual activity. During one particularly vicious encounter, two men physically restrain her and begin groping her, arguing over who should rape her first. Their attack is cut short by another man, Balfour, who has noticed the struggle and manages to break Constantia free. However, even this good deed acted by this stranger is not done for its own sake: Balfour proposes marriage to Constantia soon afterwards, because he "was not destitute of those feelings which are called into play by the sight of youth and beauty in distress" (64). Even the supposedly good man in this brief narrative who wishes to protect women does so out of the belief that a woman's virtue should be *his* reward. When Constantia declines Balfour's offer Balfour's sister, enraged by Constantia's refusal, begins spreading rumours encouraging their neighbours to boycott Constantia's sewing business. As Barnard and Shapiro observe, the Balfours' resentment "bring[s] Constantia and her father to their lowest point" (*Ormond*, Note 67). Constantia's misfortune to be caught out at night means that she is rendered penniless and friendless, forced to find work as a servant and requiring her to look for the money owed to her father by Ormond's friend. As a result it leads to her encountering Ormond, the man who will murder her father and attempt to rape her as well. While the focus of *Female Quixotism* may be a wealthy woman, throughout the narrative Dorcasina Sheldon's maid Betty is forced to risk her safety both as a result of extreme weather and violent men while doing her mistress's bidding at night.

Indeed, Tenney's novel demonstrates that even wealthy women are not safe from such nocturnal assumptions. While Dorcasina is mainly

preyed upon by men intent on accessing her fortune, Bontatibus notes that *Female Quixotism* also highlights how venturing forth into the night unescorted could endanger women's lives:

After she travels to a local inn with O'Connor, Dorcasina discovers that he is a fortune-hunter and thus rejects him as a prospective husband. Because he has been found out, O'Connor decides to seek revenge against Dorcasina. When he sees a gang of boys outside the inn, O'Connor falsely warns them that Dorcasina is a disguised hooligan who has come to raise havoc. At this point, the narrator compares Dorcasina to a "poor timid hare" who has been beset by "hunters" (ibid., 60). After Dorcasina frees herself from O'Connor, she sets out for her home. Suddenly, she is overcome by the rowdy boys who are "hallowing, and endeavoring with all their might to overtake her" (ibid.). Exhausted from trying to escape them, Dorcasina is overtaken by the pack. At this point, the boys "strip" off parts of her clothing – her gown, bonnet, and handkerchief – and leave her with only some "tattered remains" (ibid.). After much struggling, Dorcasina frees herself from her assailants and runs for safety. (94)

As Bontatibus has herself identified, this nocturnal attack by rowdy boys from the village is a result of the actions of a vengeful seducer who, like Balfour's sister, has set public opinion against the woman he believes has slighted him. Public scrutiny can indeed have drastic effects for wealthier women. In *Wieland*, both Clara's brother and suitor are convinced that Clara is being visited by Carwin after hours, when he is in fact, unbeknownst to her, seducing her maidservant. This leads to jealousy on behalf of Plyel, leaving Clara feeling distressed and alone, and is one of the factors involved in Wieland's almost fatal anger against Clara. Meanwhile, in *Margaretta*, a misunderstanding almost leads to the destruction of Margaretta's family and hence her economic safety. Arriving back in town from a business venture, Margaretta's future husband Edward learns that Margaretta's former seducer, Sinisterus Courtland, is getting married that

night. Not realising that Margaretta is no longer attached to him, Edward believes that he is marrying her. Distraught in this belief, he flees and resorts to gambling in his grief. While this misunderstanding is corrected and Margaretta and Edward marry, the mistake has taken its toll. Edward's gambling has left them with considerable debts which, except for a final unexpected windfall would have led to Edward embarking on potentially lethal transatlantic business ventures in a bid to please his creditors.

Consequently, the night time poses significant threats to the safety and well-being of women across the social strata, as even the implication of relations with men at night can lead to social and economic (when not literal) death. To add to this injustice, even *awareness* of this implication can cause irreparable damage. As seen in *Charlotte Temple*, Charlotte was intentionally misled regarding the damage to her reputation as a result of her liaisons with Montraville. Believing that her parents will never permit her to return home, she unwillingly agrees to marry him: yet Rowson is careful to reiterate throughout the novel that both her father and mother desire only to forgive Charlotte and welcome her back. Charlotte's naive fear of losing her virtue – of the American darkness – is therefore one of the contributing factors which enables her seducer to deceive her.

Alongside the emotional toll of such public scrutiny, the women suffer the very physical effects of abandonment by their suitors, friends and neighbours. Unable to afford rent and denied occupancy in the Belfield family home, *Laura* traces the eponymous character's desperate movements across Philadelphia as she attempts to seek shelter and a bed from friends, relatives and even strangers throughout her pregnancy. In stark contrast to Franklinian narratives of upward social mobility as found in Horatio Alger's "Rags to Riches" series or Cummins' *The Lamplighter*, Laura's movement is not characterised by the accumulation of wealth or social status along the way. Where Alger's male avatars are able to afford more lavish quarters as their ability to earn money and respectability similarly rise, and Cummins' female protagonist Gerty's increasingly desirable quarters are as a result of her social skills and education, Laura's movement is not accompanied by either social or economic accrual. Indeed, the novel's mid-point coincides with Laura's economic and social low-point in which, unable to find anywhere to shelter overnight, she resorts to

sleeping on her mother's grave (187). In this way, female characters in the early republic are denied the ability to self-make that was seen in Franklin's *Autobiography* as intrinsic to masculine freedom. Such freedom, moreover, is critiqued as not the ability of a single individual to stand unfettered against society, but instead the result of a network of men who serve to work together to consolidate power while simultaneously excluding women from positions of power and influence.

Like *Charlotte Temple*, *Ormond* and Sansay's own *Secret History*, *Laura* demonstrates how coverture can lead to economic (and hence literal) nomadism as women are forced to protect themselves from the vicissitudes of the American night without any rights or guarantee of protection from the men supposedly there to cover them. If, as Michel de Certeau argues, "stories [...] traverse and organize places" and are ultimately "spatial trajectories" (115), these novels highlight how women's trajectories are away from safety and certainty, as they are moved further and further away from the centre of American society, often eventually becoming displaced from the republic itself through death or removal to Europe. Male relations and suitors in these stories are at best ineffectual, such as Constantia and Charlotte's fathers, and often contribute to women's suffering, like Belfield and Laura's stepfather: that is, when they are not directly responsible for it, as Ormond, Montraville, and St. Louis are. The satirical *Female Quixotism* provides a curious commentary on this convention. Although Dorcasina's father was poorly equipped to prevent his daughter from being seduced by strangers and acquaintances during her midnight wanderings (due to Dorcasina's romantic reading habits), while alive his position as head of the family meant Dorcasina was less willing to consent to her suitors without his approval and, indeed, they were unable to access the Sheldon family fortune. After Mr. Sheldon's death, the Sheldon family's friends decide that the only way to further protect her from greedy suitors is to effectively keep her prisoner at the rural home of some trusted associates. Such an action has distinctly Richardsonian overtones, reminding the reader of the kidnap of Pamela or Clarissa. In doing so, Tenney is demonstrating the extreme lengths society must go to in order to avoid seduction as a result of coverture. While trying to avoid the influences of a Lovelace or a Mr. B, Dorcasina's friends end up

replicating many of their actions. They are, furthermore, like the communities in *The Coquette* and *Sympathy*, choosing to isolate and disempower the victims of seduction rather than addressing the underlying problems of coverture at the source.

Bedrooms frequently act as the synecdochal centre for night time revelation in many seduction and gothic works, as the night penetrates the areas where people are at their most vulnerable and exposed. In doing so, such authors distort or reconfigure what are traditionally thought of as domestic spaces into political spaces. The consequences of political, economic and social decisions, made primarily by men, have ramifications for feminine or personal arenas. As demonstrated in these novels, these ramifications are often unwelcome and frequently dangerous, showing how, like in *Laura*, female characters are given little to no opportunity to secure economic or even personal safety. The reader sees this in *Charlotte Temple* when Montraville deposits Charlotte in a small house outside New York where she remains isolated and alone. Montraville treats her as a mistress: "Sometimes, indeed, he would steal out at the close of evening, and pass a few hours with her" (55). In her unmarried state, Montraville chooses to visit Charlotte only clandestinely, enabling him to court a richer woman in the city. A further nocturnal event changes Charlotte's life for the even worse: one of Montraville's former friends, Belcour, intent on fomenting animosity between Charlotte and Montraville to make Charlotte his mistress, sneaks into Charlotte's chamber at night so that Montraville will discover him beside her the next morning. Charlotte is at this time pregnant, but Montraville chooses to disavow Charlotte, agreeing to give her just enough money to take care of her child but refusing to ever see her again. Charlotte, who refuses Belcour's advances, is evicted as Montraville is no longer paying rent at just the same time as she is about to go into labour. Charlotte becomes the vehicle through which Montraville and Belcour can act out their frustrations on each other, the fallout of which is Charlotte, like *Laura*, spirals downward in social respectability and is rendered homeless. Female characters in these narratives essentially endure a series of movements from place to place in which they have little to no say.

Meanwhile, Clara Wieland's bed chamber is the site of many of her horrific experiences. Part of the terror of Clara's plight is the disturbing ease with which individuals are able to invade her inner sanctuary: the place which represents both what little freedom she has as a late eighteenth-century female and her highly-prized virginity. Throughout her story both Carwin and Wieland (and to a lesser extent Plyel when he intrudes and reads her diary without her permission) become nocturnal trespassers on her inner sanctuary which leads in no small way to Clara's feelings of helplessness and increasing vulnerability. And, of course, it ultimately leads to Wieland's attempted murder of Clara. Throughout much of Brockden Brown's work bedrooms are the site of numerous acts of violence enacted by influential men on women and other members of the community who are in precarious economic and social situations. In this way, Brown demonstrates that there is no divide between private and political spheres, as at all times women are at the mercy of the men who wish to marry them for their own selfish ends. In the process of seducing a woman, these suitors often stop at nothing to possess that which they believe they are entitled to. In *Ormond*, Constantia Dudley's father is murdered in his bedroom by an assassin sent by the eponymous villain. Constantia and her father, who lost their wealth not through personal failings such as avarice or gambling but due instead through the actions of a deceptive and greedy employee, are forced due to poverty to rent their lodgings from the wealthy Ormond. Using his network of business associates, he is able to hire an assassin to kill Constantia's father in his sleep in order to ensure she has no other living male relatives. Such a plan is made possible because Ormond has secret access to the bedroom due to his status as the landlord. "The unsuspected door which led into the closet of your father's chamber was made, by my direction," we learn from Ormond. "By this avenue I was wont to post myself where all your conversations could be overheard. By this avenue an entrance and retreat were afforded to the agent of my newest purpose" (214). *Ormond* demonstrates how the literal architecture of Philadelphia is composed to ensure the success of coverture, enabling the dominance of wealthy white men on those they prey on. Within this discussion of Philadelphia's architecture, Arthur Mervyn should once again come under question, as a man for whom the city – and its bedrooms – is

surprisingly easy to transverse. Jeffrey Andrew Weinstock has argued that the representative figure of *Arthur Mervyn* is "a man trapped in a closet at night in a strange house in a strange city overhearing the intimate details of the lives of people he has never seen" (*Charles* 89). Arthur has many stories of hiding in bedrooms which he conveniently explains away as innocent misunderstandings: however, when examined alongside Ormond's story above, his explanations begin to sound more like excuses to hide deeper machinations. Considering how he participates in the disposal of a dead body alongside Welbeck, a businessman engaging in illegal practices, Arthur may be more like one of Ormond's agents, covertly controlling Philadelphia under the darkness of night.

As a result, Brown's novels demonstrate that women can do everything demanded of them and still suffer nocturnal punishment, quite simply for existing. Or, perhaps to put it in its historical context, these narratives demonstrate how many varying (and often contradictory) demands were made of American women in the early republic. If men such as Ormond and Arthur are controlling Philadelphia through clandestine and underhanded methods, demanding that women retain their virtue is little more than scapegoating. These narratives illustrate the impracticalities of a society which holds women to impossibly high standards. Where *Charlotte Temple* and *The Coquette* have protagonists who have been indoctrinated to believe that they should never deny a suitor his demands which leads to unwanted pregnancy and their early deaths, Brockden Brown's gothic take on the seduction narrative shows that women who avoid such submission to the demands of unworthy male influences are still punished for it. Because of their differing social class, the protagonists of *Wieland* and *Ormond* are considerably different while still adhering to the requirements of American femininity, already highlighting how ambiguous such ideals are. *Wieland's* Clara, the daughter of a wealthy planter family, remains a passive spectator on much of the novel's action: yet, her obedience and deference to the men around her are no shield against the masculine forces that tear apart her family and destroy her mental health. *Ormond's* Constantia, the daughter of a once-wealthy printer whose loss of fortune has left them destitute, spends much of her narrative actively utilising her skills in order to keep her small family fed, sheltered, and safe from the dangers of Philadelphia's yellow

fever epidemic: however, her pragmatic and canny actions cannot protect her from encountering violence from both male acquaintances and strangers. Both *Wieland's* Clara and *Ormond's* Constantia may survive the nocturnal attacks made on their lives by unworthy men at the close of their narratives, but these aborted acts of male violence still take their toll. *Wieland* and *Ormond* both conclude with Clara and Constantia leaving Philadelphia for Europe. If as, Burnham argues, despite Charlotte Temple's seduction, "her virtue was never lost" (79). Brockden Brown's gothic takes on the seduction narrative demonstrate that a woman may do everything correctly and yet still suffer inordinately for it. Virtue has little bearing on whether a woman will suffer in the early republic. Evidently, there is no place in the American night for women who subvert the conventions of the seduction narrative, just as there is no place for Charlotte Temple or Eliza Wharton.

Killing in the name

While some of the gothic novels explored, such as the work of Sansay, illustrate negative effects coverture has on men within courtship and marriage, Brockden Brown's frontier gothic novel *Edgar Huntly* (1799) illustrates how coverture negatively impacts men who are unable to adhere to the demands of republicanism which required men to have wealth in order to embark on marriage. In this way, *Edgar Huntly* can be used to relate coverture to other methods of masculine American nocturnal policing, particularly Indian removals. Dillon has argued that Edgar's status as a poor man unable (or unwilling) to ensure the financial security of marriage means he "effectively disappears from the horizon of social visibility at the close of the novel" (*Gender* 161), but before doing so he murders half a dozen Native Americans while claiming to be defending a white woman's honour.

Setting out to avenge the death of a friend who he suspects has been murdered by a newly-arrived Irish immigrant named Clithero, Edgar follows him out into the wilds of Pennsylvania, several times finding himself in pitch-black caves along the way. Perhaps unsurprisingly, these trips teach us a lot more about Edgar than they do about Clithero. Edgar has a sense of certainty and mastery during the day time. Emerging from an almost

entirely dark cave that has plunged him into a dark, midnight-like fugue, in which he admits that "Intense dark is always the parent of fears" (69), he finds himself in a brightly-lit day in the middle of the Delaware wilderness. Edgar's immediate reaction is to congratulate himself on the mastery of the land around him:

A sort of sanctity and awe environed it, owing to the consciousness of absolute and utter loneliness. It was probable that human feet had never before gained this recess, that human eyes had never been fixed upon these gushing waters. The aboriginal inhabitants had no motives to lead them into caves like this and ponder on the verge of such a precipice. Their successors were still less likely to have wandered hither. Since the birth of this continent, I was probably the first who had deviated thus remotely from the customary paths of men. (71)

Here, the very act of observation constitutes an act of colonisation. Edgar's ability to cast his "human eyes" (and even more important, white European eyes) over the scenery denotes what he believes to be a mastery of the lonely patch of the continent that he has encountered. The sudden change in Edgar's demeanour, from fear to swaggering bravado, is predicated on the change in his ability to perceive and thus possess his landscape. Not long after this, Edgar encounters a panther in another pitch-black cave: the only physical aspect of the panther he can see in the dark is its eyes, which he describes as "glowing orbs," which "created no illumination around them" (111-2). Edgar's immediate reaction is to strike and kill the panther with his tomahawk. In this moment, his view as the dominant life form has been compromised by the superior vision of a large cat. Edgar, then, is brought right out of his comfort by being surveyed (and being made the object or the hunted). Edgar therefore requires the comfortable, easy vista of the daytime landscape in order to feel his supremacy. His panther attack has rightly been identified as a lead-up to his attack on a group of sleeping Algonquin natives (Barnard xlii). However, there are also other more personal and directly contextual reasons as to why Edgar seeks vengeance on the Algonquin natives. Elizabeth Jane Wall

Hinds has observed that, just before Edgar's murdering spree, he had been made aware of a considerable loss in fortune. Edgar believed he would inherit his deceased friend's money, but another man has claimed it. The very next morning, Edgar

awakes in a dark pit in the midst of the wilderness to begin his trek to the Delaware camp and Old Deb's hut, beyond where he eventually kills five Delaware warriors. Chronologically speaking, it is as if the news of this most recent disinheritance precipitates Edgar into a new round of revenge, this one trained on his original dispossessors and trained away from Clithero. (60)

Edgar's loss in fortune means his prospect of marrying and thus gaining a foothold in Philadelphia society is now almost impossible. When considered in this sense, his sudden and (at least in his own view) uncharacteristic swing towards violence might demonstrate his frustration regarding his considerable sudden downswing in economic and hence social respectability. The darkness is a particularly large roadblock for Edgar in his journey of self-making: as Lawson-Peebles has observed,

One of the vicissitudes occurs in the sixteenth chapter of the novel. It is marked by a collapse in consciousness and of narrative flow, quite at odds with the steady daily progress that, since Franklin's *Autobiography*, has become an essential element to the Dream. At the beginning of the chapter Edgar is in total darkness. So too is the reader, for there is a complete break in the narrative. The reader's disorientation thus matches Edgar's, and the pace of the narration is reduced so that every movement of Edgar's fearful imagination is charted. (154)

The total darkness is a major barrier in the narrative of progress Edgar has been attempting to curate so far through his letters, and as Giddens might observe, it prevents Edgar from keeping a particular narrative going: the narrative of upward social mobility. In killing the panther followed by his cold-blooded killing of the five Algonquins, he demonstrates how the

Franklinian progress of some – represented in this instant by the money Edgar now does not stand to inherit – is dependent upon certain other groups failing to inherit.

As a result, it is interesting to note that Edgar's murderous rampage is predicated upon the rescue of a white woman: as the only white man in the vicinity, he justifies himself in taking on the mantle of her protector. Coverture becomes Edgar's pretext for his following actions as, were he to simply rescue the woman, the result would have been considerably less bloodshed. Encountering them at night while they are asleep, his first act, which is to kill the Indian on watch, Robert C. Hamilton notes, contradicts Edgar's original plan which was simply to hide until they left (290). Rescuing a white woman is therefore an excuse for Edgar's thirst for revenge on the individuals he believes are responsible for his impending poverty.⁷

Barnard and Shapiro have identified the parallels between *Edgar Huntly* and the Paxton Boys Massacre when, in Pennsylvania in 1763, a group of armed Scots-Irish Presbyterians and Germans nicknamed the "Paxton Boys" murdered a group of defenceless Conestoga Indians (xxii-xxiii). Attempting to justify their actions, they framed themselves as a self-appointed militia prepared to defend Philadelphia against external threats when their Quaker neighbours' pacifism prevented them from doing so (Cornell 21-2). Indeed, Huntly's own claim that "My parents and an infant child were murdered in their beds; the house was pillaged, and then burnt to the ground" (116) has echoes of the Paxton Boys' own claims that "a Number of Persons living among us, who had seen their Houses in Flames, their Parents & Relatives butchered in the most inhumane Manner, determined to root out this Nest of Perfidious Enemies; & accordingly cut them off" (7). In this way we can see how Edgar's thinking process, similarly justified on fears that natives will murder his family in their beds, permits him to murder sleeping natives. Edgar, here, is concerned with the

7 When Huntly initially encounters the Indians he informs the reader that he has always been wary of Indians since they killed his parents and burned down his family home years before. By this point we have been listening to Huntly's story for dozens of pages, yet this is the first we have heard of his family's demise, which may give the reader pause for thought.

same issues of property, race, and class that the Paxton Boys outline in their apology for the massacre and doing so, acts as a one-man militia, using the justification that white women must be protected from native violence (and crucially intermarrying) in order to destroy the indigenous population and take their land.

Edgar's mass murder spree is put further into contrast when he encounters a scene of domestic violence directly subsequent to his own Indian massacre. Calling at a house in search of a place to dry his clothes, Huntly enters a bed chamber and discovers a sleeping drunk farmer. Awaking from his stupor, the farmer mistakes Huntly for his wife and begins violently threatening him. Huntly hastily leaves the house and hears the sounds of a baby and its mother hiding in a barn nearby. Deducing that this must be the farmer's wife, who has been driven from her own house, Huntly chooses to do nothing, claiming "This was no time to waste my sympathy on others. I could benefit her nothing" (152). Barnard and Shapiro have rightly observed that Huntly's standards of benevolence are "gendered, related to his own concerns and self-interest" (*Edgar*, 152). When white men control nocturnal spaces they are, to Edgar's mind, spaces of legal comportment in which he should not intrude. Despite the fact that this woman is, like the previous woman he has encountered, a captive (this time of an English-endorsed system), Edgar does not see any advantage in rescuing her. Moreover, in comparison to his own previous acts of cold-blooded killing, it demonstrates that he sees a clear demarcation between the "wild" outsiders whose lives he willingly dispatched on little more than a whim, and the "civilised" men whose social pacts he refuses to violate.

Edgar Huntly therefore underscores how faux-concern regarding the safety of women and children was used to justify violence and displacement of Indians, something that would intensify in the decades following its publication,⁸ as seen in Jackson's Indian Removal Act of 1830. This is

8 Throughout the early decades of the nineteenth century, white settlers projected their own prejudices – and indeed actions – onto those of Native populations. The nightscape, which had loomed large in the imagination as a place of satanic activity since the original Puritan arrival, was a place in which white America was persecuted by indigenous groups. Alan Taylor has pointed out that "[i]n December 1811 Detroit's inhabitants declared: 'The tenderest infant, yet imbibing nutrition

highlighted by the lack of concern Edgar feels when the realities of the marital bed in white American society are laid bare in front of him. Poor men, such as Edgar, are expected to police the borders of civilisation from so-called invasive forces – those who will supposedly prey on virtuous white women – while white married men take advantage of white women safely ensconced within those borders.

The hypocrisy of Edgar's actions (and indeed that of Brockden Brown's other male protectors) finds its logical conclusion in his 1805 short story, "Somnambulism, a Fragment." This text commences with a newspaper article, highlighting how little daytime, public facts reveal of the nocturnal realities of America. Both this news article and the subsequent personal account by the narrator, Richard Althorpe, detail the same basic information regarding the murder of Constantia Davis by a midnight stalker, eventually revealed to be a sleepwalking Althorpe. While the news article is short, dry, and gives no motive for the bizarre and tragic event, the following nocturnal account outlines the means, rationalisation, and character of the culprit. "Somnambulism" concerns itself with a single night in which Althorpe's subconscious actions transform him into a murderer, as he kills his sweetheart, Constantia, in the mistaken belief that she is an assassin. "Somnambulism" collapses the distance between courtship and its fallout detailed throughout the early republic's seduction narrative by identifying how the masculine act of protecting white women leads directly to destruction. Believing Constantia is under threat, Althorpe, like Edgar, rushes to the rescue of a white woman, only to become her murderer in a self-fulfilling prophecy.

White masculine control over the night time must be maintained, however: to do otherwise would be to admit an ideological failing. As a

from the mamalia of maternal love, and the agonized mother herself, alike wait the stroke of the relentless tomahawk. [...] Nothing which breathes the breath of life is spared. [...] It is the dead of the night, in the darkness of the moon, in the howling of the [wolf] that the demonic deed is done.' In lurid rhetoric, Americans lumped all native peoples together as brutal savages – although both sides scalped the dead, killed prisoners, and plundered civilians. Americans, however, had a greater and morbid fascination with bodily mutilations. They also have access to printing presses to spread and perpetuate their words to our own time" (204-5).

result, Althorpe (like Brockden Brown's other villains) must identify his nocturnal self as an aberration, and yet a necessary evil, much like Mr. Hyde is a useful smokescreen for Dr. Jekyll's more unsavoury activity (Mighall, *Geography* 147-8). Reading like an apology for his later acts, Althorpe claims that

[a]ll men are, at times, influenced by inexplicable sentiments. Ideas haunt them in spite of all their efforts to discard them. Prepossessions are entertained, for which their reason is unable to discover any adequate cause. The strength of a belief, when it is destitute of any rational foundation, seems, of itself, to furnish a new ground for credulity. We first admit a powerful persuasion, and then, from reflecting on the insufficiency of the ground on which it is built, instead of being prompted to dismiss it, we become more forcibly attached to it. (248)

The "time" in which Althorpe claims all men are "influenced by inexplicable sentiments" is unquestionably the night time. The night time is the hideous, shameful, barbaric cousin to the enlightened day, and even the most civilised man cannot expect to avoid being influenced or persuaded by its inexorable pull. Men must remain in charge because they are strong, and their night time violence is an unfortunate side effect. The weak – those who are in danger of the strong man's barbarity – must stay safely ensconced in the home at night. Discussing the decision made by Constantia and her father to embark on an impromptu nocturnal journey through the forests of the fictional Norwood, Althorpe informs the reader that "The evil that was menaced was terrible [...] By remaining where they were till the next day they would escape it" (249). Althorpe, like Mrs. Holmes and the other night watchmen, blames the victim for failing to avoid violence.

The ultimate expression of this night time anxiety can be seen in Brown's considerable use of somnambulism in his work. Brown's interest in theories regarding sleepwalking has been frequently observed by his critics (Cody, Barnard and Shapiro, and Weinstock, for example). Along with his physician friend, Elihu Hubbard Smith, Brown collected case studies of

sleepwalkers, going so far as to publish an inquiry in *Philadelphia's Weekly Magazine* asking for more information about sleepwalking for his novels. He was also a follower of English physician Erasmus Darwin, whose treatise *Zoonomia* served as Brown's main printed source for understanding and portraying the medical side of somnambulism (Umanath 266-7). Brown adopted Darwin's view that sleepwalking was a symptom of mental distress which arose "from an excess of volition" and was a state in which its sufferers act out subconsciously to "relieve pain" (Darwin 202-3; Umanath 256). Sleepwalkers in Brown's work are often acting out the impulsive behaviour that they are afraid to perform when awake. If we consider this implication in terms of what was discussed above, this suggests that sleepwalking in Brown's novels is the ultimate expression of subconscious desire. In other words, to blame the terror-inspired night time violence as the workings of outside influences (or "daemons" and "chimaeras" as many of his characters do) is to ignore the criticisms that Brown is making regarding the hypocrisies of the male-dominant, colonial-driven society (Ogden 424). Sleepwalking is an extension of the American man's daytime activity in which they carefully police the movement of minorities.⁹ Michael Cody has argued that the night time in Brown – specifically that of "Somnambulism" – is a time when "republican decorum" is abandoned by Althorpe, claiming that

During the second part of "Somnambulism," Althorpe's anxiety intensifies in the face of the social controls of republicanism. [...] In his waking hours, his actions are under the control of the community. [...] Once asleep, however, Althorpe is no longer governed by either republican decorum or his ego. He is a dreamer and a sleepwalker, and his dangerous passions are released to create chaos. (104-5)

Although Cody is correct in asserting that Althorpe acts outside the control of the community when sleepwalking, it is harder to agree that he is doing

⁹ The modern defence of committing violence while asleep is termed non-insane automatism, and has been used to acquit individuals in controversial circumstances (Mackay 714). Brockden Brown's work appears to anticipate such defences.

so outside the control of “republican decorum.” Althorpe, like Edgar, fears that he has lost his opportunity to enter into the conventions of republican society. Nocturnal policing is the one aspect of republican decorum he has left.

Behind the Mask

To conclude, I want to consider one of the later novels from this period, which I argue demonstrates most clearly how the darkness of coverture destroys the early republic from the inside. In *Kelroy* (1812), Rebecca Rush expands on themes developed from the very beginning of the period in question, from Hill Brown’s exploration of the systemic failings of coverture in *Sympathy*, demonstrating just how insidious the use of the “mask of love” can be. Rush’s only extant novel (and possibly only novel) concerns the actions of Mrs. Hammond, a widow with two daughters who becomes destitute upon the death of her husband. Recognising that the only way she can reclaim any wealth in a society in which all women are denied lucrative professions – and older women are unlikely to secure a husband – is to ensure that her daughters marry into wealth, she borrows far beyond her means. This enables her to appear far more financially stable than she really is, ensuring that her daughters will consort with the high class of Philadelphia society. Quite quickly she is successful in marrying her eldest daughter, Lucy, to a wealthy Englishman, but her second daughter, Emily, proves far more difficult when she falls in love with Kelroy, an American poet whose family wealth is tied up in a venture in India and whose fortune is far from certain. Determined to avoid an impoverished marriage, Mrs. Hammond takes every opportunity available to keep Emily and Kelroy apart. Throughout the novel we see the actions of the most conniving and well-hidden seducer discussed throughout this chapter: that of Mrs. Hammond herself. As Steve Hamelman argues,

Kelroy's plot pivots on Mrs. Hammond's compulsion to control all discourse. She rages whenever she has to tell the truth, whenever someone else's insights undermine her power to control a discussion, and whenever someone threatens to expose her facade of wealth (arguing with a

milliner about a bill, Mrs. Hammond is furious "to such a degree, that she with difficulty refrained from striking [the milliner]" [118]). Underlying Mrs. Hammond's insane repertoire of guises is her conviction that she can or should attempt to control destiny by controlling all signs, text, and people within her domain. (103)

Mrs. Hammond does indeed attempt to "control all discourse," and one of the particular ways in which she does so is by controlling Emily's movements in the night. She is particularly careful to watch over Emily in the evenings, to ensure that Kelroy cannot spend his time with her. Mrs. Hammond's "engagements which had hitherto seemed indispensable, were now relinquished, that her evenings might be devoted to Emily [...] Kelroy was frequently there too; and she did not choose to risk the chance, which might, perhaps, render all further precautions fruitless" (48). Indeed, what makes Mrs. Hammond such a considerable seducer is her personal stakes in the venture. Recognising, like Mrs. Holmes from *Sympathy*, the dangers of seduction to women in poverty and depending wholly on the success of her daughters to ensure her own security, her ruthlessness is rooted (at least in part) in a desperate attempt to secure financial stability for her family. As Dana D. Nelson writes, "it seems the attentive reader must [...] qualify her judgement of the mother. While we may finally deplore Mrs. Hammond's secret manipulations and seeming disregard for the affections of her own daughter, we cannot overlook the social circumstances that so sharply define her self-interest by so harshly limiting her alternatives" (xvii). Like the Vigilliuses from *Story of Margareta*, Mrs. Hammond attempts to shield her daughter from the advances of suitors who she views as taking advantage of her, but in doing so she, like Mrs. Holmes, abuses her position as protector: she is described as a "female Argus" who sits home "Night after night" in her dogged determination to prevent any activity between Emily and Kelroy (48).

Mrs. Hammond becomes a seducer, not in the straightforward sense of Montraville or Sanford, but in the same vein as Carwin, guiding individuals towards a chaotic conclusion. Mrs. Hammond takes on the role by manipulating Emily's emotions towards a union with a suitor that

ultimately ends in her death, and does so by enacting many of the same deceptions seen throughout seduction novels. Unbeknownst to all, Mrs. Hammond conspires with Marney, the man who would ostensibly be the seducer in the seduction genre, to undermine Emily and Kelroy's relationship. In one of the text's pivotal night scenes, Mrs. Hammond assiduously organises events so that Emily and Marney will be left isolated and alone in the parlour after the rest of the guests have left for home. When Emily tries to leave the room, Marney "seized her hands," and throws "himself on his knees" and it is at this moment that Kelroy arrives (134). While he is initially suspect about what he has observed, Kelroy is soon convinced of Emily's innocence and chooses politeness to Marney over a violent response. Marney quickly storms off, and Kelroy leaves the next morning for India.

What may originally have appeared to be an affirmation of the unshakeable love between Kelroy and Emily – they have, after all, quickly overcome and countered the kind of nocturnal misunderstanding that leads to chaos in other narratives, from *Wieland* to *Laura* – ultimately helps to seal their fate as Mrs. Hammond is able to use Marney's entitlement as a weapon to undermine their relationship. Evidently recognising that Marney is jealous of Kelroy and views himself as a spurned lover of Emily, Mrs. Hammond convinces him to hide Kelroy's correspondence and fabricate letters of response from Emily, demonstrating, as many other narratives do, how honesty can be used against the honest.

Through the machinations of Mrs. Hammond and Marney, *Kelroy* demonstrates how coverture ensures that women are never safe from danger even from other women, and that it is enacted through the most insidious means in which even their own family conspires against their happiness. Mrs. Hammond becomes the incarnate form of seduction as described in *The Power of Sympathy*: she murders "in the mask of love" (47) and indeed Hamelman has demonstrated that her masks are crucial to her character: "what is more 'real' than Mrs. Hammond's disguises? If her masks are all that most of her neighbors, her creditors, and her own daughters know about her, they must comprise her true essence" (102). *Kelroy* demonstrates that the influences of coverture mean that acts of love can never be wholly divorced from acts of seduction. Mrs. Hammond

appears to be acting as a sentinel or night watch, keeping Emily safe from seduction, even as she is steering Emily towards a much greater seduction. In comparison to Belfield and Harrington the younger who genuinely love the woman they unintentionally seduce, Mrs. Hammond's seduction is harder to parse, as it is difficult to know to what degree her actions may have been based on love or may have been merely another mask. Either way, Mrs. Hammond's actions are related to a maternal love which cannot be wholly divorced from her desire for personal gain, and while her scheme may culminate in little more than spiteful revenge, it originated in a desire to see her daughter's future safe and secure.

It is no surprise that Davidson describes *Kelroy* as "one of the grimmest of early American novels and requires none of the blood and gore of Charles Brockden Brown's *Wieland* (1798) to qualify as a horror story" (Introduction v). *Kelroy* is in many ways the chronological and thematic conclusion for the American seduction narrative: one in which the darkness of coverture leaves individuals unable to trust those closest to them for risk of seduction. The results are uniformly bleak for all involved. After her mother's sudden death, Emily discovers the hidden letters from Kelroy and the shock kills her. Kelroy, upon returning from India, learns of the truth behind Mrs. Hammond's deception but, unable to live among the people and in the place that reminds him of Emily, he returns to sea and is quickly drowned in a storm. The bleakness of this ending is put into particularly stark contrast when, as Davidson has noted, *Kelroy* was published "one year after Jane Austen's *Sense and Sensibility* and prior to either *Pride and Prejudice* (1813) or *Emma* (1816)." While Rush and Austen both start off with similar preoccupations "with the relationships between love, marriage, and money," Rush's gothic ending of death and despair is far removed from the romantic conclusion of Austen (Introduction v). Due to the outbreak of war against Britain that same year, Rush's novel received little attention. When considering the novel's subject matter, this is both unsurprising and ironic. America was once again at war with the paternal body it wished to disentangle itself from, yet its enduring tie to Britain, in the shape of coverture, would remain intact for another sixty years.

Conclusion: Dusk til Dawn

To conclude, I want to turn to an addendum for the early American seduction novel. In 1828, Rowson's sequel to *Charlotte Temple*, *Lucy Temple*, was published several years after her death. Although it is uncertain when Rowson wrote it, Rowson's biographer speculates that Rowson wrote it late in life (Parker 98-100). Set in England, the text focuses on not only Charlotte's daughter but also two other girls, all of whom have come under the guardianship of a village reverend, Mr. Matthews: hence the novel's subtitle *The Three Orphans*. Lucy manages to prosper where her mother did not, avoiding marriage and living a long, happy life of personal fulfilment as a pioneering school mistress. Like Charlotte, Lucy is courted, but unlike her mother, by a man who does not wish to seduce her. However, because this man turns out to be Montraville's son – and hence her half-brother – Lucy's narrative threatens a turn into despair and ostracism, but unlike *Sympathy*, an unfortunate union is avoided, in time, upon discovery. In this way, the novel's British setting can be read as a commentary on the continuing failure of the American night as a space in which women can flourish. Just like the heroines of Brockden Brown's novels, Rowson's heroine has had to turn to Britain to find space for safety and growth (Douglas, Introduction xli).

However, this is not to say that England is an ideal space for women. The novel begins with a reprimand to Lucy from her guardian, Mr. Matthews, that "my little Lucy must remember that she is now advancing towards womanhood, and that it is not always safe, nor perfectly proper, to be rambling about in the dusk of the evening without a companion" (137). While this initially may appear like the sequel's response to the way her mother might have avoided indignity and death, it can also be seen as a way in which women are still being failed by the patriarchal systems that are governing America and England. As Desirée Henderson has pointed out,

Mr. Matthews is the embodiment of the affectionate patriarch and initially he appears to have solved the problem of the three girls' orphanhood. However, Matthews demonstrates the failure of even the most benevolent

exercise of patriarchal authority to protect daughters from the social illegitimacy of their gender. (9)

Mr. Matthews, then, may wish to protect his female wards from the dangers of coverture but he proves unable to. Similarly, he may wish to educate and keep them safe from the vagaries of the British night, but his attempts are mainly failures. Two of his wards marry; Aura successfully and Mary almost fatally. Mary is seduced by a man who, upon promise of marriage, convinces her to deposit her entire inheritance with him, before leading her off to an isolated cottage and mysteriously leaving in the night. Upon discovering the next morning that their marriage was not legal, Mary becomes insane and marries another man out of desperation and has a child with him. Motivated by greed, he leaves for America to make his fortune and dies. Mary's child soon dies after this and she is only saved from death herself by returning to the protection of Mr. Matthews. Aura, in comparison, has a straightforward trajectory towards her happy marriage. She has a relatively tranquil youth and encounters her future husband, Ainslie, when walking alone in the grounds of the rectory one evening:

The sun was just approaching the horizon and shed a rich splendour over a pile of massy clouds which reposed in the west. As he passed rapidly along a turn in the path revealed to him the solitary figure of Aura Melville, in strong relief against the western sky as she stood on the edge of a bank and gazed upon the last footsteps of the retiring sun. (246)

Aura and Ainslie are married soon afterwards, with the implication that their time together in the dusk was the ideal setting to admit their mutual attraction. The diametrically opposed experiences of Mary and Aura suggest that it is not rambling around in the dusk that is dangerous to women but the conduct of the men they encounter. As a result, Mr. Matthews' careful nocturnal policing is not suitable for his wards. What is needed instead is to equip women with the education they require to better navigate their way in the republic: the very thing which Lucy dedicates her life to doing. Unlike Charlotte, Lucy is not rambling about in the dusk in order to meet with a suitor. She is instead performing acts of philanthropy for her community,

something which she will continue to do throughout her life, eventually setting up high-performing schools for girls. Lucy has therefore succeeded in uncoupling female education from nocturnal control. The school, itself built for "ameliorating the condition of the poor" through the "education of female children" is taught by a staff of young women (240). Success is soon evident, as the reader learns "There has been a considerable number from the school who have proved useful and respectable so far several of the pupils are now married, and others are giving instruction in different parts of the country" (262-3). Rowson, as a result, illustrates that when nocturnal control is removed from education, women's narratives can exist outside of not only a seduction plot but marriage too. By extending the view of the seduction novel to encompass the narratives of three women with vastly differing experiences, *Lucy Temple* extends the argument found throughout these seduction and gothic narratives: that it is the night (both in England and by extension the colonies) rather than women that must change in order to ensure personal and national betterment. *Lucy Temple* explicitly succeeds in doing what the other seduction narratives can only imply: demonstrating that freedom for American women can be found in the night time, if only they are given the opportunities required.

It is interesting to compare the trajectory of Lucy Temple to that of a contemporary heroine in a female-driven novel set in America, Catharine Maria Sedgwick's *Hope Leslie, or Early Times in the Massachusetts* (1827). Sedgwick's novel ends where *Lucy Temple* begins, with a similar warning to the main character who has been wandering around in the night, from a benevolent male guardian. Puritan leader John Winthrop excuses Hope's transgressions in breaking curfew, because she has brokered a truce between the Puritans and the local Pequods. However, it is important to recognise that Hope's nocturnal transgressions are only pardoned: not as a way to open up society to new possibilities for women, but as once-off indiscretions that should not be repeated. At the novel's conclusion, the status quo is re-established: "Governor Winthrop turned to her with his usual ceremony. 'Good morning, Miss Hope Leslie—be good enough to close the door—the wind is easterly this morning. You are somewhat tardy, but we know you have abundant reason; take your seat, my child—apologies are unnecessary'" (366). Despite having established peace between the two

societies, Hope's actions – being tardy, both here and by being out past curfew – are treated merely as excusable: she has good "reason." But they are not repeatable. Puritan society will continue to police Hope's actions, and deem there to be "abundant reason" only when they choose. Hope's narrative concludes right where Lucy's begins. As a result, the American literary night remained closed where the British literary night had opened up to more possibility for women. Even a generation after *Charlotte Temple*, the possibilities for systemic change for American women, it appears, could only be found in the British nightscape, where Lucy and her peers can explore the possibilities of rambling about in the dusk of the evening without a companion.

Chapter Two: Curfews and Masculinity in American Prose From 1820

The Men Who Built America

Writing about the roles "great men" play in society in *Representative Men* from 1850, Emerson uses the motif found throughout nineteenth-century literature of day-break signalling the establishment of civilisation.

There is a moment, in the history of every nation, when, proceeding out of this brute youth, the perceptive powers reach their ripeness, and have not yet become microscopic: so that man, at that instant, extends across the entire scale; and, with his feet still planted on the immense forces of night, converses, by his eyes and brain, with solar and stellar creation. That is the moment of adult health, the culmination of power. (46-7)

Here, the literary night is required to be the battleground in the narrative of the nineteenth-century American Adam. This quote shows, furthermore, how the moment of day-break is also made synonymous with maturity into manhood. The great man has "his feet still planted on the immense forces of night," illustrating the many barbaric struggles from which he has emerged victorious along the way to civilisation. It also hints at the ever-present and barely concealed barbarity which society will descend back into at the end of its natural cycle, as demonstrated in Thomas Cole's landscape collection *The Course of Empire* (1833-36).

The image of dawn was made synonymous with new life and new hope for the American man in the nineteenth century. R. W. B. Lewis has highlighted Noah Webster's 1825 claim that "American glory begins at the dawn." Discussing "the American myth," Lewis further argues that it "saw life and history as just beginning. It described the world as starting up again under fresh initiative, in a divinely granted second chance for the human race, after the first chance had been so disastrously fumbled in the darkening Old World" (5). The American era of literary, economic, and industrial independence from Britain was frequently represented in terms of

the diurnal cycle, with the dawn representing the deserving achievement of the Americans who have overcome significant adversity in the darkness of the continent. In *Hobomok* (1824), the movement of early white religious settlers is represented as a dawn that they have brought with them:

That light, which had arisen amid the darkness of Europe, stretched its long, luminous track across the Atlantic, till the summits of the western world became tinged with its brightness. During many long, long ages of gloom and corruption, it seemed as if the pure flame of religion was every where quenched in blood;---but the watchful vestal had kept the sacred flame still burning deeply and fervently. Men, stern and unyielding, brought it hither in their own bosom, and amid desolation and poverty they kindled it on the shrine of Jevovah. (Loc 58)

While such achievements, Child goes on to argue, may be hard to conceive in this even brighter of days – the nineteenth century is, Child claims, “this enlightened and liberal age” – it must be recognised that it is “perhaps too fashionable to look back upon those early sufferers in the cause of the Reformation, as a band of dark, discontented bigots. Without doubt, there were many broad, deep shadows in their characters, but there was likewise bold and powerful light” (Loc 58). What can be seen from such quotations is the extent to which light and daytime are made synonymous with white American religious society, and can be seen in the writings of Catharine Maria Sedgwick and Harriet Beecher Stowe, where white characters often exude a heavenly light particularly when in the presence of awed black slaves and Indians. Such depictions are particularly reminiscent of what Patrick Brantlinger has termed “the myth of the Dark Continent,” the Victorian representation of Africa. This myth, Brantlinger argues, “defined slavery as the offspring of tribal savagery and portrayed white explorers and missionaries as the leaders of a Christian crusade that would vanquish the forces of darkness” (195).

As illustrated in the introduction, nineteenth-century literary expression frequently aligned white individuals (and civilisation) with

daylight, while aligning people of colour (and what was deemed their lack of civilisation) with the night. These examples from Emerson and Child demonstrate how white masculine America used these tropes to justify their expansionist mindset, painting whites as an enlightened race bringing light to the primitive darkness of the Americas. This chapter explores the use of three particular character tropes which illustrate the freedom and independence white men were afforded (or, rather, afforded themselves) in the American night, which was frequently denied to white women and people of colour. These tropes are the self-made man, the pioneer, and the flâneur. By examining these character tropes, this chapter will highlight how mobility, self-sufficiency, and an entrepreneurial spirit were elements that constructed the predominantly white masculine nocturnal literary experience. This in turn enables an examination of how these tropes were used and subverted to represent the experiences of black men and women as well as white women: those who were not permitted the same level of mobility (both social and literal) often destabilised these tropes to illustrate social and legal inequalities that created a contradiction in the supposed land of the free.

The night, after all, could not be banished from literary representation of “this enlightened and liberal age” and indeed, was necessary for routine escapes from civilisation. In the opening chapter of his formative essay, “Nature” (1836), Emerson writes that “To go into solitude, a man needs to retire as much from his chamber as from society.” Even with books, man is still in dialogue with others. Therefore to be fully alone, he must seek solitude out in nature. Emerson’s first example is that of the night:

But if a man would be alone, let him look at the stars. The rays that come from those heavenly worlds, will separate between him and what he touches. One might think the atmosphere was made transparent with this design, to give man, in the heavenly bodies, the perpetual presence of the sublime. (215)

While Emerson’s writing criticises the workings of American society (Blau 85-6), nature is seen as a respite from the politics of the

nineteenth century. In his second "Nature" essay from *Essays: Second Series* (1844) he claims that "The knapsack of custom falls off [the man of the world's] back with the first step he makes into these precincts [of the forest]" (169). Perhaps one of the spoils of war in subduing Emerson's immense forces of night is the ability to become a visitor into the American darkness without losing the spark of civilisation. As seen in "Nature," the night works in service of the man, with the stars separating "between him and what he touches." The American night therefore acts as the playground for the American Adam, who is free to roam unbounded, to emerge out of the minutiae of day-to-day living, giving him "perpetual presence of the sublime." In other words, it provides him with the inspiration he requires to establish and underscore his self-sufficiency. It is because of the nineteenth-century American man's privileged existence that Emerson can conclude on this rumination on the stars from 1836 that "Nature never wears a mean appearance" (215-6). This night appears to have no curfews, with each individual given the space in which to achieve personal and artistic growth. Nature also becomes for Emerson a reflection of the American man's psyche:

In the presence of nature, a wild delight runs through the man, in spite of real sorrows. Nature says, -- he is my creature, and all his impertinent griefs, he shall be glad with me. Not the sun or the summer alone, but every hour and season yields its tribute of delight; for every hour and change corresponds to and authorizes a different state of the mind, from breathless noon to grimmest midnight. Nature is a setting that fits equally well a comic or a mourning piece. (217)

Even in the absence of the stars, that of "grimmest midnight," Nature becomes "a setting" that accords with man's every emotional state. It is interesting to observe how night becomes the backdrop to celebrate the American man, as both reflection and reward: he receives inspiration from the celestial bodies which are, in turn, a reflection of himself.

Considering the night in such a way is reminiscent of Mighall's observation about the necessity of primordial myths:

The Renaissance needed a myth of Gothic ignorance, as the English tourists needed their myth of Catholic stagnation, as the anthropologists and criminologists needed to equate savages with primitives and primitives with criminals. In each case the stagnation, the anachronism, of the object ensures the modernity of the subject. Progress has been the dominant idea organizing post-Renaissance thought in the West. And ideas of progress, be it philosophical, political, cultural, biological, or sexual, have provided their antitheses, their own myths of Gothic stagnation and oppression. (*Geography* 286)

Similarly to the myth of Gothic ignorance or Catholic stagnation, the American night becomes a primordial escape from the daytime in order to serve as a comparison to, and a training ground for, and escape from, American enlightenment. As Mighall goes on to argue, "Even when the message is a return to the primal, the belief that underwrites this message is that we now know that this is the truth we should take with us into futurity" (286). The night time for the American transcendentalist becomes not only his escape from daytime civilisation, but also a way of affirming his American-ness. He can return to the day knowing he has once again defeated the immense forces of night and has been inspired to better understand his world. It is particularly interesting to consider how night exists at a remove from history in the transcendentalist worldview: in *Walden* (1854), Henry David Thoreau writes that "Every man has to learn the points of compass again as often as he awakes, whether from sleep or any abstraction. Not till we are lost, in other words not till we have lost the world, do we begin to find ourselves, and realize where we are and the infinite extent of our relations" (243). The night here challenges Thoreau to rebuild himself as a better individual who can identify "the infinite extent of our relations," rejuvenating Thoreau and enabling him to return to daytime society refreshed. Or, in Emerson's language, the night was used by nineteenth-century American man to demonstrate his deservedness in

establishing the United States and doing so in his own likeness: conversing, as he does, “with solar and stellar creation.” It is in this moment of “adult health,” after his long night of the soul, that the American man becomes self-reliant (47).

Lock Up Your Daughters

The American man’s self-reliance, however, came at the cost of the freedom of others. As argued in the introduction to this thesis, a key way of discerning how American society at large treats its individuals is to observe who has agency at night. In regards to nineteenth-century literature, this refers to those who are permitted to move about unbound while also being endowed with enough intelligence to act with agency, rather than instinctively or “naturally,” as often attributed to people of colour. Indeed, in representations such as *Nick of the Woods*, it is hard to imagine how Native American society has functioned for so long: when attempting to rescue a captured woman from a Shawnee camp, the Quaker-cum-Indian killer Nathan Slaughter advises the Kentucky men that will join the rescue party of a kidnapped woman that “it will be better for thee, and me, and the maid, Edith, that we steal her by night from out of a village defended only by drowsy squaws and drunken warriors, than if we were to aim at taking her out of the camp of a war-party” (209). While the Shawnee can pull themselves together long enough to engage in warfare, this claim implies that the native populations will, when given the opportunity and in their “natural” setting, descend into drunken chaos. The native populations are prone to drunkenness and laziness, two moral “failings” which must be policed particularly heavily at night. The nocturnal rules are, such representations imply, for the benefit of the native population as much as they are to keep them away from the white settlers.

This chapter explores how literary curfews were used to create an unequal society in which influential white men achieve such agency, while simultaneously creating the appearance that the rest of America is against them. My definition of “curfews” extends not only to regulations within white settlements and cities requiring citizens to stay indoors or inside city walls after a certain hour. These curfews also include rules forbidding slaves from leaving their plantations after hours, edicts regarding the spaces

denied to Native American tribes, and laws preventing night work for women in certain industries. However, it also applies to the hazier, often unspoken understandings regarding where white women and people of colour and lower classes should not be seen or permitted in the dark when it is more difficult for those in charge to regulate their actions. In these cases, the narrative implicitly informs the reader who should and should not be permitted nocturnal movement. To take a pertinent example, Caroline Lee Hentz paints the picture of a hellish dystopian North in *The Planter's Northern Bride*, in which fragile white women, due to the absence of unpaid black labour, are forced to toil late into the night, thus dying prematurely thanks to their fragile constitutions. Such a scene is encountered early on in the novel, and the language used highlights the incongruous nature of not only of a white individual performing the work designated for a hardier black person, but of a woman out of her designated sphere:

As they came out of the avenue into the open street, they perceived the figure of a woman, walking with slow steps before them, bearing a large bundle under her arm; she paused several times, as if to recover breath, and once she stopped and leaned against the fence, while a dry, hollow cough rent her frame.

"Nancy," said the gentleman, "is that you?-- you should not be out in the night air."

The woman turned round, and the starlight fell on a pale and wasted face.

"I can't help it," she answered,--"I can't hold out any longer,--I can't work any more;--I ain't strong enough to do a single chore now; and Mr. Grimby says he hadn't got any room for me to lay by in. My wages stopped three weeks ago. He says there's no use in my hanging on any longer, for I'll never be good for anything any more." (Loc 324)

Nancy's position, that of a poor white woman, would, supposedly, be infinitely improved were she able to remain safe from the night air,

something which, according to Hentz, poor Southern whites are safe from thanks to the employment of slaves in the South. This quote can be considered a microcosm of the ways in which portrayals of the American night have been used to create and maintain barriers between who is permitted entry into the nocturnal activities of state-building, and who is not. What becomes apparent is the intersectional nature of these curfews: fragile white women must be kept safe from the night, from participation in the industrial sphere. Such a feat can be achieved – and perhaps only achieved – through the suppression and labour of people of colour. In other words, the night becomes the battleground for the struggle for survival of the pure white race in a land of darkness and race mixing. In Poe's "The Murders in the Rue Morgue" (1841) there is a particularly egregious demonstration of the dangers supposedly posed by people of colour to white society. Elise Lemire points out that readers would recognise the racist comparisons being made between the orangutan, who breaks into an apartment and murders two white women "habited in their night clothes" (Poe 33), and belief about the proclivities of black men (108).¹ Not even in their own homes were white women guaranteed that they could maintain their virtue. White men, then, must strive to establish a place where obedient, healthy wives could remain safely ensconced in the bosom of the home, ensuring the continuation of the male line, while people of colour would reside threateningly on the outskirts of society, their continual scapegoating used to justify the further limiting of their agency.

The Self-Made Man

Alongside transcendentalist ideas of self-reliance, other literary tropes regarding American individualism emerged and solidified during the first half of the nineteenth century. Indeed, Ruland and Bradbury observe that "'The Age of the first person singular' was Emerson's name for the key period in American culture he so gladly announced and so proudly celebrated" (126). The trope of the self-made man had its origin in early England and found its greatest expression in nineteenth-century America. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the men at the centre of the myth often emerged

¹ Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century scientific racism attempted to establish links between black people and apes (Lemire 87-114).

into manhood in America after escaping out from the shadow of his forefathers in England. Moreover, the myth is tied from the very earliest times to nocturnal expression.

Such elements are demonstrated in the autobiography of the exemplary self-made man, Benjamin Franklin. Written over two decades, between 1771 and 1790, it was not published until after Franklin's death in 1793. Crucially for this chapter, his autobiography illustrates how he single-handedly emerged out of the darkness of obscurity to take his place in the lighted halls of American history. The son of a poor British candle maker, a fact frequently included in the story's retelling, Franklin faced the necessary opposition to his ambitions which ensured his success was his unqualified own. The first of such examples occurs when Franklin's father's occupational demands meant Franklin must forego sleep as a youth in order to master the art of English composition:

My Time for these Exercises and for Reading, was at Night after Work, or before Work began in the Morning; or on Sundays, when I contrived to be in the Printing-House alone, evading as much as I could the common Attendance on public Worship, which my Father used to exact of me when I was under his Care: And which indeed I still thought a Duty; tho' I could not, as it seemed to me, afford Time to practice it. (490)

As later hinted at by Emerson, night becomes both Franklin's battleground and formative space for his eventual "adult health" (*Representative* 47), By ensuring it is his father who attempts to curtail his betterment, Franklin's ultimate success is extra sweet – no claim of nepotism can be made – and his eventual mastery in the night has an added nuance. Through years of hard graft and auto-didacticism, he turns his father's lowly profession on its head by making many dynamic and influential discoveries, particularly the lightning rod. Where Franklin's father's candles struggled momentarily against the overwhelming darkness of the British night, Franklin's lightning rod could disrupt the very workings of nature itself, channelling and harnessing lightning found in the most formidable of stormy American

nights. Ultimately, of course, Franklin's discovery – electricity – would be harvested to alter the night sky.

Similar narratives followed in the nineteenth century. In Charles Seymour's 1858 collection, *Self-Made Men*, a collection of brief biographies from many of the best-known American self-made men including Andrew Jackson and Daniel Boone, the subject often endures a nocturnal struggle which leaves them with hard-won but crucial knowledge which serves as an obstacle and one of their first milestones in their establishing years. As a young man, the reader is informed, Jackson joined his brother and seven other soldiers to protect the home of an American military captain one night during the British invasion of North Carolina in 1780. "It was during the trying scenes of this period that Andrew Jackson gave the first illustration of that quickness of thought and instant decision which afterward placed him in the front rank of military commanders." Jackson's quick thinking is crucial to the mission's success: "They numbered seven muskets, and, when night came on, lay down to sleep with their weapons handy in case of need." The Tories attack that night, and "But for the decision of Jackson in firing the first shots, every man of the little party would have been captured" (10-1). Jackson's constant vigilance and quick-thinking in this night-time challenge demonstrates his abilities that will mark him out as a military leader later on. Daniel Boone, meanwhile, demonstrates his resilience in escaping from an Indian settlement after capture as a young man:

One night, when the Indians were quietly slumbering round their fires, Boone signaled to Stewart, his companion, that the moment had arrived. They crept stealthily into the darkness of the forest, and never paused or rested until they had reached their old hunting-camp. Here they expected to find their companions, but, to their amazement and distress, they were nowhere to be seen, and the spot furnished abundant indications of having been visited by the Indians and plundered. Of the fate of this party nothing is known. It was never heard of more (193).

Boone's story illustrates his determination and stealth, which is highlighted by the double uncertainty of foreign soil in the darkness. His success in the face of the failure of his companions highlights his superior survival skills. In these and various other origin stories, American men are represented as the underdog against an outrageous and violent group of "foreigners" which threatens the establishment of America. If they are not completely alone, they and their small group of companions are outnumbered and outgunned. They find themselves protecting their own land or trying to find their bearings in hostile territory. Like Lewis and Clark in Fort Clatsop, there is always a way to justify protecting American soil from a threatening outsider.

Discussing the myth of the self-made man, James V. Catano identifies why such a figure is damaging for wider society:

Even on the most general level, the goal of defining oneself apart from the institutions that make up society is inherently wrong-headed. The healthy individual does not readily form him or herself, nor do we suddenly discover ourselves as free-standing individuals. Yet the myth of the self-made man is strong enough to deny mere sociological data about the influence of sex, race, and class on identity formation and even will go so far as to qualify the obvious biological facts of birth in order to establish its distance from the feminine. The myth's capacity for overwhelming such seemingly obvious counter-arguments about institutional and cultural constraints on identity lies in the complexity of its appeals.

(422)

As seen above, the nineteenth-century masculine American literary night is constructed to imply that the nocturnal struggle is an individual struggle, a masculine struggle, and hence the American struggle. It is performed in a space which is constructed as dangerous to women and enables the American man his identity formation at a distance from the feminine. Such a view of the nightscape aligns with Leslie Fiedler's view of American literature since "Rip Van Winkle" (1819), that the typical male protagonist of our fiction has been a man on the run, harried into the forest and out to

sea, down the river or into combat – anywhere to avoid ‘civilization’ which is to say, the confrontation of a man and woman which leads to the fall to sex, marriage, and responsibility” (26). The same ideas can be seen in relation to the night in both biography and fiction. Using the night as a “non-civilised” space enabled American men to establish as it a space too dangerous for women, while further justifying their attempts to civilise (or alternatively exterminate) the immense forces of night, the people of colour they associated with the dark. Furthermore, by locating this wilderness in close to proximity to civilisation (in other words, the day), American men gave themselves licence to easily venture out into “dangerous” territory, ensuring that the nation-building exercise of networking was shared only amongst each other. This attitude is ridiculed in *Huckleberry Finn* in the representation of the circus set up by the Duke and the Dauphin. When the first evening brings only a few spectators, they rewrite the poster to read “LADIES AND CHILDREN NOT ADMITTED” (166). This immediately brings in a huge audience of men convinced they will be made privy to a lascivious show not intended for female eyes, but it also illustrates how arenas of exclusive masculinity are far more desirable to integrated arenas.

Whether through Franklin’s auto-didacticism or Boone’s survival, the American night is where the white man stands essentially alone and unaided by society. To add to the requirement of self-sufficiency, the self-made man frequently comes up against obstacles which not only render his struggle equal to his fellow man, but stack the odds against him, such as Franklin’s poverty which forces him to forego sleep in order to study, or the Tory forces which outnumber Jackson’s tiny platoon. While the self-made man maintains his individualism at all times, the night highlights his struggle by demonstrating the extra effort made by the industrious or pioneering individual who is willing to put in the extra effort when everyone else is enjoying leisure or easy sleep.

In his autobiography, Franklin talks about how, when working as a young man in a printing press in London, his fellow apprentices spent their days drinking beer while he ate his meals only with water, and at the end of the week one companion “had 4 or 5 Shillings to pay out of his Wages every Saturday Night for that muddling Liquor; an Expense I was free from. And thus these poor Devils keep themselves always under” (510). Not only

does Franklin find himself richer and more prosperous on a Saturday night thanks to his abstinence and long-term thinking, he also uses his platform on which to base future success. His fellow apprentices also turn to him as a lender:

Those who continu'd sotting with Beer all day, were often, by not paying, out of Credit at the Alehouse, and us'd to make Interest with me to get beer; *their Light*, as they phras'd it, *being out*. I watch'd the Pay table on Saturday Night, and collected what I stood engag'd for them, having to pay some times near Thirty Shillings a Week on their Account. (510-1)

Franklin therefore transforms an event which other men consider a time for relaxation and indulgence into a business venture. Similar sentiments are found in nineteenth-century fiction, particularly in the urban writings of Horatio Alger's Bildungsroman. In collections such as the *Ragged Dick* series (1868-70), his orphaned characters must navigate the business world of New York much as they would the dangers of the wild west: Indians and wild animals are replaced with swindlers and petty thieves who hide behind every street corner, waiting to prey on the honest hard-working young protagonist. The night in the *Ragged Dick* series becomes one of the very first signifiers of success for Dick Hunter, who starts, in the first installment *Ragged Dick; or, Street Life in New York with Boot Blacks* (1868) as one of the boot blacks of the subtitle. When first encountered, Dick, much like Franklin's colleagues, spends his earnings each night attending the theatre or the ale house, and sleeps rough in boxes and wagons. His prospects change after he is gifted a set of clothes from a wealthy friend – an act which permits him to move within respectable society – who also elicits a promise from Dick that he will save his earnings instead of spending them each evening. Saving enables him to procure a bed in a modest boarding house. In the novel's conclusion, in which Dick writes to the same friend to inform him of his social and economic improvement through a mixture of hard work, prudent saving and an austere lifestyle (not to mention a significant turn of good luck), Dick's letter highlights the importance of his changed nightscape:

I've give up sleepin' in boxes, and old wagons, findin' it didn't agree with my constitution. I've hired a room in Mott Street, and have got a private tooter, who rooms with me and looks after my studies in the evenin'. Mott Street aint very fashionable; but my manshun on Fifth Avenoo is not finished yet, and I'm afraid it won't be till I'm a gray-haired veteran. (107)

Throughout the series it is evident that having a roof over his head at night confers on the protagonist numerous advantages. It keeps him safe from the wilder elements of New York's weather and, moreover, it protects him from the wilder, more seductive elements of New York society. Rather than entertainment, Dick spends his evening educating himself with his close companion and roommate, fellow bootblack-turned-young businessman, Henry Fosdick, and their friendship enables them to increase their skills and social standing. Henry's education (Henry's wealthy father died and his fortune was stolen, leaving him penniless) permits him to be Dick's first teacher in his first ad-hoc night school. Dick's deprecating tone aside, his Mott Street room is also a stepping-stone onto more upmarket residences, as seen in the following books.

These narratives illustrate Franklin and subsequent self-made men championing the virtues of constant industry and entrepreneurship that would see the United States increasingly demand more from its workers as boundaries preventing night work were continually rolled back throughout the nineteenth century (Melbin 131). Indeed, the term is particularly aligned with industry as the term "self-made man" was coined (or at least recorded for the first time) in 1832 by Kentucky senator Henry Clay in order to describe self-employed businessmen in the manufacturing sector: he termed them "enterprising self-made men, who have acquired whatever wealth they possess by patient and diligent labor" (39). This also demonstrates how industriousness and monetary success became synonymous with nineteenth-century American masculinity. These ideas were later echoed in the twentieth century by captain of electrical industry and self-made American man of business, Thomas Edison, who in 1922 wrote that "We are always hearing people talk about 'loss of sleep' as a

calamity. They better call it loss of time, vitality, and opportunities" (qtd. Wiseman 55).

Night: The Final Frontier

This preoccupation with western expansion in the nineteenth century came with a further challenge: as well as impressing the importance of industry, the white settler also needed to demonstrate his mastery of the land, and at no time more so than in the primordial landscape of fear which was populated by races that (according to white settlers themselves) had survived, barely unchanged throughout history, purely due to their physical prowess. Controlling the narrative of the night was not a new challenge for white male America. As far back as Mary Rowlandson's Indian captivity narrative, Rowlandson (and indeed Massachusetts Puritan leader Increase Mather, widely believed to be the guiding hand behind the text) were careful to avoid an overly triumphalist ending following Rowlandson's rescue. As Teresa A. Tolouse has observed,

the captive Rowlandson's famous sleeplessness, described at the text's end, represents the narrator's unending sense of threat: "I can remember the time I used to sleep quietly without workings in my thoughts, whole nights together, but now it is otherwise with me. When all are fast about me, and no eye open, but His who ever waketh, my thoughts are upon things past, upon the awful dispensation of the Lord towards us." Both captive and community were encouraged by ministers like Mather to feel, endlessly, ceaselessly at risk. (54)

The Puritan narrative had to carefully consider how to represent the vulnerable time of the night, and indeed, provide reasons for implementing their own curfews to delineate them from outsiders. Were the settlers to defeat their enemy too easily, to permit them to sleep too well after dark, the Puritans would cease to be the underdog, and might lead to a break-up of the community as individuals considered their chances at setting up their own settlements, or started looking at problems within their community. As a result, the American night had, according to Rowlandson, "a lively

resemblance of hell" (259). The nightscape was a vehicle by which to reinforce and establish the victim narrative that would keep the early Puritan society in line. However, nineteenth-century ideas of manifest destiny and Indian removal required not only a victim mentality, but also a superiority complex. In other words, white pioneers had to demonstrate their pioneering skills – and demonstrate them as being better than those already living there – which would in turn justify taking possession of native land. Discussing the westward expansion of the United States, which Frederick Jackson Turner argued was a different phenomenon to that seen in Europe, he writes:

American development has exhibited not merely advance along a single line, but a return to primitive conditions on a continually advancing frontier line, and a new development for that area. American social development has been continually beginning over again on the frontier. This perennial rebirth, this fluidity of American life, this expansion westward with its new opportunities, its continuous touch with the simplicity of primitive society, furnish the forces dominating American character. The true point of view in the history of this nation is not the Atlantic coast, it is the Great West. (2)

Such a Manichaeic view of history and expansion, one which stresses the "perennial rebirth" of American life can, I argue, also be seen in literary representations of masculinity in the nineteenth-century American night. The night was a perennial or perpetually occurring frontier which American society, and particularly men, was constantly attempting to tame or dominate.

This representation of the night was used to justify white colonisation and the Indian removals of the 1830s, one facet of a wider strategy outlined by Lucy Maddox, who argues that "the American writer was, whether intentionally or not, contributing to the process of constructing a new-nation ideology, a process that both necessitated the removal or supplanting of inappropriate forms of discourse and justified the physical removal and supplanting of the Indians" (11). The decision to supplant the

Indian in literary representations of the American night is seen in novels of the Indian wars written in the 1820s and 30s. The white frontiersman's claim to land was made by demonstrating that he was more suited to the American night than the Indian. This led to the night being depicted as a space of adventure and gain: one in which a truly deserving white man could succeed if they overcome the many trials and tribulations found therein.

In texts depicting the Indian Wars, the night often shifts as the frontiersmen find themselves outnumbered or on the attack. In Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans* and Bird's *Nick of the Woods*, the white American pioneer is characterised by his "Indian-like" mastery of the night time. In Cooper's lament for a lost time of Indian supremacy *Leatherstocking*, a white-born but Indian-bred man, demonstrates that the European's ability to adapt to their circumstances indicates their ability to survive in the harsh climates of the American continent. *Leatherstocking* goes by various titles throughout Cooper's *Leatherstocking Tales* (1823-41) and is aptly known in *Mohicans* as Hawkeye, as he alone among the white characters is able to navigate his way in the darkened Adirondack mountains of New York. At night, "all but Hawkeye and the Mohicans lost every idea of consciousness, in uncontrollable drowsiness. But the watchfulness of these vigilant protectors neither tired nor slumbered" (65). Life with the Mohicans, evidently, can retrain a European's mind and body and ensure their ability to master the Indian arts, while they maintain their European refinement and intelligence. In comparison, Duncan Heyward, a major in the English army, while an asset during the daytime is identified as a threat in the darkness of the Indian forests. While intending to take watch one night, he is chastised by an Indian scout for his foolishness:

The eyes of a white man are too heavy and too blind for such a watch as this! The Mohican will be our sentinel, therefore let us sleep. [...] If we lay among the white tents of the Sixtieth, and in front of an enemy like the French, I could not ask for a better watchman," returned the scout; "but in the darkness and among the signs of the wilderness your judgment [sic] would be like the folly of a child, and

your vigilance thrown away. Do then, like Uncas and myself,
sleep, and sleep in safety. (128)

The Englishman has lost his nocturnal survival skills in civilisation: this may be a shame, but it is also one of the many sacrifices civilised man must make for his superiority and, moreover, a way of delineating the coloniser from the savage. This is what the Englishman has done, but it is also why he will never be an American pioneer. The white man who is willing to risk yet maintain his civilised status in native territory – in other words, the American rather than the English man – is the worthy successor of the Indian.

Yet venturing so far into Indian territory requires the American pioneer to become ever-more cognisant of the differences between himself and his native neighbours. As a result, the racial curfew, like that found at Fort Clatsop, becomes so intrinsic to his way of life. If he cannot cling to this last great signifier of whiteness he will become lost. Indeed, Hawkeye has, throughout the Leatherstocking tales, imposed his own sexual curfew. Although he partakes in almost every aspect of Mohican society, he is, as Richard Slotkin identifies, a “racial purist [...] not given to the idea of marrying ‘a redskin’” (*Regeneration* 505). Lemire, meanwhile, points out that “[a]t least by 1815, the term ‘cross’ had been appropriated to refer to race mixing. Cooper thus knew readers would understand that, with his denial of any ‘crossing,’ Hawk-eye is summoning an all-white genealogical past” (39).

Demonstrated here is the extent to which the nocturnal pioneer justifies American expansion by outlining that he does everything the Indian does, only better: he can see and shoot in the dark just like any of the natives, and he does so not because of a natural inclination, but because he has learned to do so. Furthermore, unlike the native, he does not have an ounce of native blood in him, and has demonstrated his refinement by resisting his base sexual urges: to enter the nightscape with a counterpart of the opposite gender is to risk the chance of race mixing. Hawkeye, like Lewis and Clark, draws the line at race mixing, recognising it as the final demarcation line between the European and Indian. The all-importance of sexual and racial curfews is highlighted by the fact that each literary

American pioneer must have a counterpart of colour the same gender as themselves. As demonstrated by the deaths of the mixed-race characters, Cora and Uncas, at *Mohican's* conclusion, intermarrying will lead to the decline in purity and death of each race (Slotkin, Introduction xxv-xxvi). The American pioneer must demonstrate that, even if he achieved success alongside the Indian, that he did so thanks not to the intermingling of blood but due to his own toil. He must be in all ways self-made.

Don't Fence Me In

As with the self-made man, when the American pioneer is not being constricted by native forces, he must at least be constricted by society in order to demonstrate his "extra-vagant" tendencies, as termed by Thoreau, who claims in *Walden* that "I fear chiefly lest my expression may not be extravagant enough, may not wander far enough beyond the narrow limits of my daily experience, so as to be adequate to the truth of which I have been convinced" (359). The pioneer is characterised by a restless nature which requires living beyond the "narrow limits" of "daily experience." In Sedgwick's *Hope Leslie*, a retrospective fiction set during the Indian wars of the seventeenth century, the Puritan society's carefully structured day is mentioned throughout the novel – not only are curfews in place after nine at night, but meals are also given designated times – and are one of the primary obstacles in Hope's journey. In Herman Melville's *Moby-Dick* (1851), Ishmael is haunted by a childhood experience in which his stepmother caught him "trying to crawl up the chimney" and sent him off to bed for a humiliating sixteen hours on the longest day of the year. This stepmother, we learn, "was all the time whipping me, or sending me to bed supperless" (43). Huckleberry Finn is assailed on all sides by night time restrictions from his father, Widow Douglas, Aunt Sally and other town matriarchs, all of which limit his possibilities until he lights out for the territory with Jim.

However, this initial fencing in cannot mask the fact that the white American's night time experience doesn't compare to the experience of individuals of colour. As Maddox has identified, "during the age of Indian removal, American society needed confidence. Enterprising whites had to find a way to expand the market, 'lop off' Indian lands, and destroy Indians

without inflicting guilt and moral agony on themselves" (92). As discussed above, the American night time could not reveal itself as too welcoming to its inheritors: curfews, imposed by American society, must initially fence the American pioneer in. This would permit them to feel as if they, like the Indian they are replacing, are similarly being fenced in. Morrison's observation that the native and African-American populations are functionally interchangeable in white American literature is also evident here, when white characters see their freedom or lack thereof in comparison to black characters. In Twain's novel, when it is discovered that both Huck and Jim have vanished in the night, there is a reward put on both of their heads: for Huck, it is two hundred dollars to ensure his safe return, for Jim it is three hundred dollars to ensure his recapture and possible lynching. While for Huck, such a reward may feel like a bounty or punitive measure, for Jim it is literally a punishment and a possible death sentence. The difference between their escapes from society is further highlighted by their nocturnal activity. While Huck can risk forays into society and regularly sneaks onto farms and settlements after dark to procure food and other provisions, Jim is restricted to their raft even at night. If caught or otherwise engaged by townsfolk, Huck as a white fugitive concocts false narratives, disguises himself, and otherwise gains the sympathy of those he meets. By contrast, no lies or disguises will pardon Jim.

This inequality is relayed through the satirical final act of the novel, in which Tom Sawyer intentionally manufactures curfews in order to make the act of rescuing Jim from his captivity more exciting for himself and Huck. Discovering how simple it would be to free Jim from an unguarded hut on the Phelps family's grounds, Tom concocts elaborate and unfeasible escape attempts rather than simply breaking open the door. Dismissing the situation as "easy and awkward as it can be" Tom complains that

There ain't no watchman to be drugged—now there *ought* to be a watchman. There ain't even a dog to give a sleeping-mixture to. [...] Now look at just that one thing of the lantern. When you come down to the cold facts, we simply got to *let on* that a lantern's resky. Why, we could work with

a torchlight procession if we wanted to, I believe. [emphasis original] (182)

Tom's enjoyment is hampered by the lack of curfews that prevent him and Huck from being the outlaws his narrative requires. In this instance, Emerson's image of the unbound American night proves a frustration: there are no obstacles for Tom and Huck to prove their manhood. The watchman, which is a figure that elsewhere prevents individuals from movement as they would wish is instead here being highlighted as being an intrinsic (and necessary) component of American identity. If not for their forbidding presence there is no obstacle to demonstrate one's masculinity. This relatively lax set-up, in which Jim could potentially escape from his literal bonds, also highlights how Tom and Huck ignore the wider social constructs which would discourage Jim from attempting to escape in the first place: whereas being on the run brings with it a thrill of freedom for Tom and Huck, for Jim it is risking his life. *Huckleberry Finn* here demonstrates how white freedom exists not only in spite of, but is built upon the constraints placed on the black population, as Jim's bondage becomes a game in which Tom and Huck can play at being anti-social heroes. This accords with Morrison's reading that

Jim's slave status makes play and deferment possible – but it also dramatizes, in style and mode of narration, the connection between slavery and the achievement (in actual and imaginary terms) of freedom. [...] It is not what Jim seems that warrants inquiry, but what Mark Twain, Huck and especially Tom need from him that should solicit our attention. (*Playing* 57)

Like a damsel in distress, Tom and Huck require Jim's captivity to imagine a scenario in which they can rescue him in a daring nocturnal jailbreak. This plays into wider conceptions of freedom and enslavement in America, as the widespread shared construct of white freedom depended upon the widespread shared construct of black enslavement in order for it to function.

Similarly, in *Hope Leslie*, the titular white protagonist seems curiously naive as to the danger that the native population would be in should they be caught near the white Massachusetts settlement at night (and moreover, meeting with a white female settler). Magawisca, the daughter of the Pequot chief, Mononotto, informs Hope that she will meet her "at nine o'clock at the burial place, a little beyond the clump of pines" in order to give her details of her sister, Faith, who has been willingly residing with the Pequots for a dozen years after her initial captivity. Hope asks Magawisca "But why any fear for your safety? why not come openly among us? I will get the word of our good Governor, that you shall come and go in peace. No one ever feared to trust his word" (198). By suggesting that Magawisca "come openly among" the white settlers, most likely in daylight, Hope underscores the racial divide between the two of them: Hope can be caught out at night, risking her social standing and a possible reprimand, but Magawisca's life is in danger, and necessitates her remaining, like Jim in *Huckleberry Finn*, outside the village after dark. Indeed, the unequal opportunities afforded to Hope and Magawisca are identified by Christopher Castiglia, who points out that "whereas Magawisca loses an 'appendage' [her arm] because of extra-vagance, because of Craddock's presence [a white man from the Puritan village], Hope can travel" (12). In a microcosm of Sedgwick's concluding thesis – that "the Indian and the white man can no more mingle, and become one, than day and night" (349) – a native woman and a white woman may have similar narratives, but the outcomes cannot be the same due to differing societal positions and opportunities in America.

In *Moby-Dick*, meanwhile, Ishmael's concept of freedom hinges upon his nocturnal experiences with his "savage" companion, Queequeg. Unable to find a bed to himself in a bunkhouse, he reluctantly shares one with the South Pacific Islander. Initially fearful of sleeping alongside what he terms a "cannibal," Ishmael soon loses these inhibitions and claims to have "never slept better in my life" (42). Before meeting Queequeg, Ishmael stresses the uncivilised nature of sharing one's bed with a stranger:

No man prefers to sleep two in a bed. In fact, you would a good deal rather not sleep with your own brother. I don't

know how it is, but people like to be private when they are sleeping. And when it comes to sleeping with an unknown stranger, in a strange inn, in a strange town, and that stranger a harpooneer, then your objections indefinitely multiply. Nor was there any earthly reason why I as a sailor should sleep two in a bed, more than anybody else; for sailors no more sleep two in a bed at sea, than bachelor Kings do ashore. To be sure they all sleep together in one apartment, but you have your own hammock, and cover yourself with your own blanket, and sleep in your own skin. (33)

Here, sharing a bed with another is closely aligned with savagery and the decline of civilisation: kings and sailors alike avoid doing so. After these initial misgivings, as seen above, Ishmael is soon more than happy to have Queequeg as a sleeping companion. However, this arrangement does not change his definition of civilisation or savagery: it instead convinces him of the attractive side of savagery, something that he wishes now to experience. On a subsequent evening, Ishmael views himself as being “mysteriously drawn” towards Queequeg:

As I sat there in that now lonely room [...] the evening shades and phantoms gathering round the casements, and peering in upon us silent, solitary twain; the storm booming without in solemn swells; I began to be sensible of strange feelings. I felt a melting in me. No more my splintered heart and maddened hand were turned against the wolfish world. This soothing savage had redeemed it. There he sat, his very indifference speaking a nature in which there lurked no civilized hypocrisies and bland deceits. Wild he was; a very sight of sights to see; yet I began to feel myself mysteriously drawn towards him. (69-70)

Here Ishmael grants himself permission to slide into a soothing, gentle savagery that Queequeg represents to him. This recalls Morrison’s observation that for Twain, Melville and other white writers, “Africanism is

the vehicle by which the American self knows itself as not enslaved" (*Playing* 52). Adding to this, I argue that the murky, primordial night that is constructed by many of their white protagonists is the tool by which they can come to ignore the facets of their white privilege and believe themselves as just as enslaved (or free) as their counterparts of colour. Therefore Huck can sneak around Mississippi settlements at night, believing he is as much an outlaw as Jim, and Hope Leslie can wonder why Magawisca will "not come openly among" her Puritan society. Or, in the case of Ishmael, he can slip in and out of "savagery" as desired, much like a tourist. As Fiedler observes, "on Queequeg's coffin [Ishmael] will escape death at the book's close" (373). Ishmael's foray into savagery is ultimately performed to the detriment of the so-called savage individual. Once again, we see how the white protagonist bases their freedom upon the characters of colour they come into contact with. Convincing themselves that by escaping into the American night they are somehow turning their back on civilisation, the white characters ignore their privilege which ensures that they are permitted to return to white daytime society at any time.

Do Black Lives Matter?

As hinted at above, even texts attempting to challenge the racial inequalities in American society are often couched heavily in tropes that reinforced nocturnal racial divides. The concluding remarks in *Hope Leslie* that "the Indian and the white man can no more mingle, and become one, than day and night" (349) reinforce the view of the inevitable extinction of indigenous groups, while the creation of the tragic mulatto in works such as Lydia Maria Child's short story "The Quadroons" (1842), mixed race characters who can find no place in either white or black society, underpin the futility of black resistance. Frequently they meet their demise via suicide (if female) or committing murder (if male) at night. Harriet Beecher Stowe's work in particular highlights how the abolitionist literary nightscape was used to undermine the actions of more radical anti-slavery movements in favour of more moderate white-run operations.

In *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a "well-dressed" enslaved woman named Lucy, much like the tragic mulatto, chooses to drown herself when her child has been taken away from her. On a boat being taken to a slave auction, the

titular Tom is woken at midnight by the movements of Lucy, who has just thrown herself into the river: "He got up, and sought about him in vain. The poor bleeding heart was still, at last, and the river rippled and dimpled just as brightly as if it had not closed above it." Just prior to this incident, cold unfeeling night has enveloped the boat: "Night came on, -- night calm, unmoved, and glorious, shining down with her innumerable and solemn angel eyes, twinkling, beautiful, but silent. There was no speech nor language, no pitying voice or helping hand, from that distant sky" (122). Such a night, it can certainly be argued, does not, in Emerson's words, provide a "perpetual presence of the sublime" to either Tom or Lucy, even if it does quite literally create a deathly separation "between [her] and what [she] touches" ("Nature" 1836, 215). Stowe must then remind the reader to have

Patience! patience! ye whose hearts swell indignant at wrongs like these. Not one throb of anguish, not one tear of the oppressed, is forgotten by the Man of Sorrows, the Lord of Glory. In his patient, generous bosom he bears the anguish of a world. Bear thou, like him, in patience, and labor in love; for sure as he is God, "the year of his redeemed shall come." (122)

If Stowe suggests that there will be an ultimate redemption for Lucy, it is certainly one far removed from the "unmoved" starry night which, unlike Emerson's, does not reflect or respond to the scene below.

When compared with a similar drowning scene which takes place only two chapters later, an even clearer delineation between the experience of race becomes clear. Still upon the same ship, Tom encounters his future master, Augustine St. Clare, and his daughter Eva. When Eva loses her balance and falls overboard into the water below, Tom is the first to react:

Tom was standing just under her on the lower deck, as she fell. He saw her strike the water, and sink, and was after her in a moment. A broad-chested, strong-armed fellow, it was nothing for him to keep afloat in the water, till, in a moment or two the child rose to the surface, and he caught her in his

arms, and, swimming with her to the boat-side, handed her up, all dripping, to the grasp of hundreds of hands, which, as if they had all belonged to one man, were stretched eagerly out to receive her. (138)

Tom's response here is considerably different than that in relation to Lucy's drowning. Of course, one can reasonably argue that thanks to the darkness of the night he was unsure of where in the water Lucy was, or indeed whether or not she was in the water, because he woke just as she jumped in. This in turn highlights how the night is performing the function that Stowe has intended: Lucy's death is the logical conclusion of slavery and something that cannot be avoided, despite the best intentions. In other words, those angry at the slow move towards abolition must have "patience". The climate of America is just too stacked against the black population – consider the disparity between the "unfeeling" night above and "the grasp of hundreds of hands, which, as if they had all belonged to one man, were stretched eagerly out to receive [Eva]". The pull of society is simply too strong to let Eva drown. Her death and life must serve a larger purpose at a later point in convincing her slaveowning father to turn to abolitionism. In Eva's final moments of life "she was as daylight and sunshine" to her "faithful servants" and the "shadows of the solemn evening" only close around Eva and her father when her objective has been achieved (255, 257). In comparison, Lucy's narrative ends in a nocturnal obscurity which ensures that she will be forgotten by society.

If *Uncle Tom's Cabin* illustrated the night as a hostile and tragic place for the educated, Americanised slave, Stowe's following novel, *Dred: A Tale of the Great Dismal Swamp* (1856), essentialises the swamp as the proper space for the African, and argues for the nocturnal swamp as their ideal home. Throughout the novel, the night is figured as the natural space for African religion and community, as seen in various nocturnal events. One in particular is the camp meeting, a religious gathering in North Carolina of freed and enslaved blacks as well as poor whites, which spans three days and nights. The night has a significant influence on proceedings: "In the evening the scene on the camp-ground was still more picturesque and impressive" because "The solemn and harmonious grandeur of night, with

all its mysterious power of exalting the passions and intensifying the emotions, has ever been appreciated, and used by [those who conduct camp-meetings] with even poetic skill" (258). The nightscape is therefore the tool by which those in leadership roles exalt the passions and intensify emotions of their congregations.

The whole event is seen through the eyes of white observers, particularly that of abolitionist Edward Clayton – who claims that "We must have charity [...] for every religious manifestation. Barbarous and half-civilized people always find the necessity for outward and bodily demonstration in worship" (245). These scenes of intensified emotions and exalted passions are seen as necessary pressure valves for "half-civilized people." Indeed, this is made clear in the novel's wider thesis. The Dred of the title is a fugitive slave and rebel visionary, who has created a small but thriving community in the infamous Dismal Swamp. Based on Nat Turner, Dred plans a slave rebellion, but unlike Turner, Dred's plans are halted when he, like the attendants at the camp meeting, hears a voice that influences his emotions. While meeting at night preparing to mobilise on the white community an enslaved woman named Milly sings a gospel tune which convinces Dred to abandon the rebellion. He and his fellow would-be insurrectionists decide to escape North instead, in search of freedom. Dred, then, is only given as much permission to rebel – or to break curfews – as the abolitionist Stowe was willing to permit him. This nocturnal insurrectionary meeting is similarly a pressure valve to unload the character's frustration without upsetting the abolitionist agenda. The characters may speak of how they will "slay them utterly, and consume them from off the face of the earth!" (460) yet talking is as far as their night time rebellion is allowed to go.

It is easier for the black characters to wait patiently for their day in the sun to come around. Indeed, Stowe outlines that Dred has found his home in the uncivilised night. Dred's cause may be righteous, and his visions genuine, but they appear to have an earthly rather than heavenly origin. Dred has a strong connection with the nocturnal wilderness, frequently using it to demonstrate his rage with chattel slavery. While he prays angrily on the night of the camp-meeting, "The storm, which howled around him, bent the forest like a reed, and large trees, uprooted from the

spongy and tremulous soil, fell crashing with a tremendous noise; but, as if he had been a dark spirit of the tempest, he shouted and exulted" (276). As a "dark spirit," he can cause a considerable amount of chaos to his direct surroundings and remain standing himself. Yet his powers are ultimately more theatrical than action, for the reader learns that:

His soul seemed to kindle with almost a fierce impatience, at the toleration of that Almighty Being, who, having the power to blast and to burn, so silently endures. Could Dred have possessed himself of those lightnings, what would have stood before him? But his cry, like the cry of thousands, only went up to stand in waiting till an awful coming day! (276)

Dred is unable to enact any actual change: he is not able to possess the "lightnings" or powers that an "Almighty Being" could use to change society. Much as in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Stowe has again used the nightscape to reflect the futile struggle of the black individual. Dred cannot be successful in his acts of rebellion because he must be patient, and wait for the judgement of God (or indeed, of white abolitionists).

White abolitionist society was not prepared for so sudden or violent a change, and as a result, Dred and his companions must be suited to their current uncivilised way of life in order to placate guilty white consciences. The text therefore details how Dred is ideally suited to the nocturnal swamp:

So completely had he come into sympathy and communion with nature, and with those forms of it which more particularly surrounded him in the swamps, that he moved about among them with as much ease as a lady treads her Turkey carpet. What would seem to us in recital to be incredible hardship, was to him but an ordinary condition of existence. To walk knee-deep in the spongy soil of the swamp, to force his way through thickets, to lie all night sinking in the porous soil, or to crouch, like the alligator, among reeds and rushes, were to him situations of as much comfort as well-curtained beds and pillows are to us. (274)

According to Stowe, Dred's religion and race ideally dispose him to life in the wilderness of the Dismal Swamp. Unlike the white pioneer, for whom the marks of civilisation will always demarcate them in some way – Cooper continually reminds the reader that Hawkeye is a "man without a cross" (192) or without Indian blood – Dred is described as literally becoming his environment, whether knee-deep in the swamp or lying "all night sinking in the porous soil[.]" Indeed, the repetition of "soil" here highlights the mutable nature of Dred's body and his surroundings. The confluence of Dred and the nocturnal swamp is therefore the logical conclusion of Stowe's rhetoric. It is crucial to further recognise that Dred's essential state is one of stasis, of being consumed by his surroundings. Without question these are experiences that, when attributed to white men, considered to be agents of social mobility, are expressed in terms of ecogothic horror. One need only look to William J. Snelling's 1836 short story "A Night in the Woods" to read the experience of a hunter who suffers a terrible ordeal after being forced to sleep in the hide of a buffalo he had just killed. The night for a pioneer should be one of gruelling endurance, rather than as it is for Dred: "situations of as much comfort as well-curtained beds and pillows are to us." Unlike the white pioneer or self-made man, black inclusion in the nocturnal wilderness is as a result of their race rather than their individual skills and aptitudes, excluding them from the selfhood earned by the true American man.

Get Your Money, Black Man

The abolitionist claim made in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, that "THE LONGEST way must have its close – the gloomiest night will wear on to a morning" (378) was a sentiment that could be understood by an American audience. They would recognise the metaphorical life cycle of civilisation from a night of barbarianism through to a day of culture and refinement and recognise that black emancipation was going to eventually arrive. However, while such a conception had some use when arguing for an end to slavery, Stowe's racist assimilationist thinking also viewed African Americans as socially inferior to white Americans. As such, Frederick Douglass's post-emancipation claim in *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (1892) that while the white man "shuns the burning sun of the

fields, and seeks the shade of the verandas," the black man "walks, labours, and sleeps in the sunlight unharmed" must be understood in the economic context of the time (354). Douglass knew that the only way America's black population could become a political force post-emancipation would be if they were to become economically prosperous, and encouraged his readership to educate themselves in order to gain skilful employment. By putting forward his race as one that not only deserves a place in the South's midday sunshine, but positively thrives in it, Douglass aligned the black man's position as an economic and political pillar of the Southern community, intrinsic to its future success. Moreover, his rhetoric reoriented the black man away from the night time of social exclusion and placed them in the daytime, at the centre of American economic activity.

Douglass was acutely aware of the fact that industriousness was synonymous with being American. If there was one class of American man that worked harder than any other, he could argue, it was the slave. The plight of the self-made man at night could therefore be used to highlight the contradictions between white male freedom and black male captivity. In his 1858 speech entitled "Self-Made Men," Douglass expanded on the white image of the self-made man, demonstrating its application to American men of colour. Iterations of this speech were given numerous times to different audiences throughout his life. Among other things these speeches highlighted the contributions of several black self-made men such as Benjamin Bannecker, a renowned mathematician and creator of almanacs for which he received praise from Andrew Jackson, and William Dietz, who designed the Albany bridge on the Hudson river. His speech argued that while America was "preeminently the home and patron of self-made men," that "these remarks are not intended to apply to the states where slavery has but recently existed" (446). Flattering his countrymen for their rejection of hierarchy in favour of equal opportunity, Douglass highlights the two-tiered nature of what is supposed to be democratic. In order to ensure all men could at least aspire to become self-made, he argued that black men should be given the same opportunities as whites:

The nearest approach to justice to the negro for the past is to do him justice in the present. Throw open to him the

doors of the schools, the factories, the workshops, and of all mechanical industries. For his own welfare, give him a chance to do whatever he can do well. If he fails then, let him fail! (430).

While night imagery is only used several times in this rather lengthy speech, it is instructive when it is. Describing the plight of the self-made man, Douglass talks about how "A man who lies down a fool at night, hoping that he will waken wise in the morning, will rise up in the morning as he laid down in the evening" (427). This Franklin-like turn of phrase intimates the necessity of hard graft at all hours: and indeed, has an added nuance when the nocturnal labour described in the antebellum slavery narratives is considered. As explored further in Chapter Three, the slavery narratives illustrated the almost insurmountable odds that enslaved individuals had to overcome in order to survive nights in slavery on the plantation as well as the huge risks taken in escaping those same plantations into the nocturnal wilderness. Whatever one's view on the morality of slavery, it would be difficult to challenge the idea that these individuals do not take on the roles of pioneers and self-made men as they fight off wolves, hunt for food and follow the North star to make their way towards Canada and beyond. Indeed, in Solomon Northup's narrative, it can even be argued that he takes on the role of an early flâneur in the subsection of chapter ten entitled "Night in the 'Great Pacoudrie Swamp.'" Published ten years before Charles Baudelaire's first description of the figure of the flâneur in *The Painter of Modern Life* (1863), Northup's *Twelve Years a Slave* (1853) highlights the similarities and differences between the nocturnal wanderings of white and black men in America.

While the figure is regularly considered French in origin, both Baudelaire and later Walter Benjamin observe the flâneur's debt to Poe's short story "The Man of the Crowd" (1840) and its London setting (Coverly 60). According to Baudelaire,

The crowd is [the flâneur's] element, as the air is that of birds and water of fishes. His passion and his profession are to become one flesh with the crowd. For the perfect flâneur, for the passionate spectator, it is an immense joy to set up

house in the heart of the multitude, amid the ebb and flow of movement, in the midst of the fugitive and infinite. To be away from home and yet to feel oneself everywhere at home; to see the world, to be at the centre of the world, and yet to remain hidden from the world – such are a few of the slightest pleasures of those independent, passionate, impartial natures which the tongue can but clumsily define.

(9)

Building upon this definition, Merlin Coverly describes the flâneur as “the wanderer in the modern city, both immersed in the crowd but isolated by it, an outsider (even a criminal) yet ultimately a man impossible to fathom and one whose motives remain unclear” (60). Considering these definitions, a bias towards white men is already clear in these descriptions, as the flâneur operates under the assumption that he is allowed: that he has been allowed to wander; that he has permission (or does not need permission) to roam the streets aimlessly, and at any hour.

Northup’s experience is considerably different. Northup finds himself on the run from slave catchers in one of the deepest parts of said swamp, a space he believes may never have been infiltrated by humans before. His observations on the fauna and the surroundings are as follows:

My midnight intrusion had awakened the feathered tribes, which seemed to throng the morass in hundreds of thousands, and their garrulous throats poured forth such multitudinous sounds—there was such a fluttering of wings—such sullen plunges in the water all around me—that I was affrighted and appalled. All the fowls of the air, and all the creeping things of the earth appeared to have assembled together in that particular place, for the purpose of filling it with clamor and confusion. Not by human dwellings—not in crowded cities alone, are the sights and sounds of life. The wildest places of the earth are full of them. Even in the heart of that dismal swamp, God had provided a refuge and a dwelling place for millions of living things. (142-3)

Comparing non-human spaces to crowded cities, Northup becomes an observer here much in the way a white author could in the busy streets of New York. Yet when compared to Baudelaire's description of the flâneur, however, Northup's paragraph reads almost as a commentary on the flâneur's racial biases. When Baudelaire uses the term "fugitive," it implies a figure far closer to Huck than Jim. Indeed, even when Coverly suggests the flâneur can be a "criminal" it does not have the same implication for Northup as it does a white individual, such as Huck, who can "become one flesh" with a crowd. In this way Northup's passage highlights the social failings of the flâneur: he cannot "become one flesh" with a crowd when that crowd will reject him due to the colour of his flesh. Finally, where a white flâneur's motives can remain "unclear," thanks to the fugitive slave laws, a black man found wandering at night could immediately be arrested as an escaped slave.

As a result, unable to achieve the social invisibility which would be the reserve of a white man, Solomon demonstrates his own form of flâneurship in another place where various strands of life teem together. Going one step further, Solomon also inserts himself on the scene: describing his own "midnight intrusion" which awakens many of the birds around him, he highlights the fact that he, like all flâneurs, is not an external observer and instead has a marked influence on whatever he is viewing. In this way, Northup joins Poe and Hawthorne as gothic writers who explore the limits of observation with their nocturnal flâneurs (Brand 76-155).

Men without Crosses

The flâneur therefore shares many of the same traits of the pioneer and the self-made man, even as he critiques the society he observes: Coverly points out that the city becomes for the flâneur "characterised as a jungle, uncharted and unexplored, a virgin wilderness populated by savages demonstrating strange customs and practices." The city ultimately becomes a space in which "the man of the crowd must adapt or perish" (62). Literary representations of city life may initially appear to close off the frontiers of America, as Frederick Jackson Turner implied, but ultimately the urban night takes on its own elements of the frontier. Women are not given the

same space in which to "adapt or perish," which can be seen in Stephen Crane's "Maggie: A Girl of the Streets." The titular Maggie's working class position requires her to travel the dangerous streets of New York at night while attempting to earn a living in a factory. However unlike Dick Hunter, her chance encounters do not furnish her with opportunities but instead ensure her downfall. She is initially convinced by a family friend, Pete, that he can provide a better life for her, but is then abandoned by both her family and Pete. Forced out onto the streets, she becomes a sex worker, and dies by drowning. Donald Pizer outlines how Maggie's movement in the increasingly darkening New York night corresponds to her downward spiral to her death: by the time she dies, we learn, "There is no lower level she can descend to. She has sunk so far into a darkness of body and soul that only the ultimate darkness of death can offer relief" (40-1).

An echo of *Charlotte Temple* can be observed in "Maggie," which was originally published in America almost exactly one hundred years previously, as the innocent Charlotte eventually finds herself destitute on a wintry New York night. However, unlike Maggie, she gains redemption in her death, as Charlotte is taken in by a charitable family and gives birth to a daughter. She is also reunited with her father, who has crossed the Atlantic in search for her, in her dying moments. Both narratives, however, are united in their use of the American nightscape as a powerful tool to demonstrate the downward spiral of two young women who, through Charlotte's girlish curiosity and Maggie's misfortune of having a low birth, have been manipulated by masculine forces beyond their control. The dangers of the night – whether they be the elements which exacerbate the dangers of an illegitimate pregnancy or the spiritual degradation of prostitution – highlight the social death endured by shunned women. Despite the changes of a century, then, the American masculine night continues to bar women with cruel and unequal curfews that have an inexorable downward pull on its unfortunate female subjects. Arguably, the situation is worse for Maggie: whereas Rowson stresses that Charlotte's misfortune could be reversed at almost any point before the end, Crane's determinism means Maggie is all but fated to her terrible death from the start. Moreover, where Rowson tries to establish an emotional connection between Charlotte and the reader through the unity in her writing, Crane

establishes distance between Maggie and the reader by "wide[ning] the chasm between the ignorance and brutality of the slum dwellers and the literary sensibilities of the narrator and reader" (Howard 105). Maggie is figured as a Magawisca: a beautiful anomaly among her people ("a most rare and wonderful production of a tenement district, a pretty girl" [Crane 956]) and one who will suffer because she falls between two societies. As a result, like the racial minorities depicted throughout the century, New York's poor were viewed as a benighted group which needed to be morally uplifted by saviours in wealthy (white) society. Mark Pittenger has argued that,

[i]n an era of deepening urban segregation by class, ethnicity, and race, the sense that readers were being introduced to strange beings and alien worlds was enhanced by the common conceit that the American poor inhabited a domestic "Dark Continent" whose denizens were effectively a primitive and "unknown race" as the social gospel leader Walter Rauschenbusch called them. (32)

Moral and literal darkness are intertwined throughout Jacob Riis' *How the Other Half Lives: Studies among the Tenements of New York* (1890). Describing the construction of the tenements, the working class' perceived vices are attributed to the partitioning off of large spacious rooms into darkness: "It was thus the dark bedroom, prolific of untold depravities, came into the world" (8). Riis also quotes "Official reports," which "characterized the younger criminals as victims of low social conditions of life and unhealthy, overcrowded lodgings, brought up in 'an atmosphere of actual darkness, moral and physical'" (16).

This is because the night, under the influence of industrialisation, presented new opportunities for wealthy white men to dominate, if they could continue to present their own man-made curfews as seemingly natural. As has been illustrated by Linda Simon, Jane Brox, Ronald Takaki and others, the movement towards colonising the night through electricity became the new space in which white men could lay their claim to America. In Vere Withington's 1892 short story, "An Electrical Study," described by Simon as "superficially, a typical nineteenth-century love story," electricity "gives this familiar plot a new twist" (204). "An Electrical Study" concerns

itself with Girard Channing, an electrician in the Patent Office who meets and eventually falls in love with a young woman, Enid Wentworth, who approached the Patent Office in search of a job. Electricity in this story is painted as a fiercely dangerous element yet also a strangely alluring one, and it eventually kills Girard after he is summoned at night to fix a faulty arc light and is electrocuted to death (at no fault of his own: Withington hastens to identify that it is due to the ineptness of other electricians who did not take the correct safety protocols). Electricians in this way comes to stand in for the brave pioneer, as both carve their way bravely through the night in order to establish and maintain the American way of life. The electrician's path (and American industry more generally) is also coded as explicitly male. As a result, we can see a direct link between Girard and the Indian-killer, Nathan Slaughter, from *Nick of the Woods*. Describing Nathan, Maddox writes:

Aware of his deformity, Nathan seems to have no choice but to isolate himself from civilization and satisfy his thirst for blood. Thus, he is doomed to a life of loneliness, unable to have human relationships, a wanderer in the wilderness. He is "houseless Nathan." Yet, he was very much needed in the society of the Market Revolution, for he was a pathfinder, clearing the way for a civilization of enterprise, busy axes, plowed fields, farmhouses, and towns and cities. He was the advance guard of settlement, where the fair Ediths of America would be safe from "murderous" and "drunken" Indians. Moreover, Nathan was also needed by the Rolands of America, for as long as he existed and embodied insanity and perverse violence, men like Roland could claim they were not "butchers," not mad-men. (90-1)

While Girard may not be quite as much a "deformed figure" as Nathan Slaughter, he does in many ways perform the same role, acting as an eccentric figure whose path prevents him from human relationships (or at least marriage) and whose role is crucial to America's industrial revolution. One could go further and argue that both Slaughter and Girard's roles *depend* on their celibacy, as American society in these narratives requires

the sacrifices, Christ-like, of young men who have devoted their lives to colonialisation and industrialisation. The unconsummated relationship between Girard and Enid is presented as tragic: "[Enid's] nature, true in its theories, strong in good impulses, but unequal to continued strain, needed the tonic of [Girard's] stronger, more concentrated character, and in time would have profited by it, and he by the spiritual qualities of hers" (429). In an ideal world, then, Girard and Enid would be able to form a union that would strengthen both parties over time. However, such a sentiment also strengthens and justifies the American expansionist mindset. Girard's talents are required on the front line of white man's continual battle against the forces that have set out to undermine their legitimacy. In such a scenario, one in which the precious resources of the nation are focused on the always urgent process of nation building, the continued infantilisation of (white) women whose natural disposition is inferior to that of their husbands and brothers is necessary for the survival of the white race. After all, women in power would pose a danger, not only to themselves, but to the precarious institution of America. Girard's death is the catalyst which warns Enid to beware the power of electricity: the reader learns at the conclusion, that "The subject of electricity has for her a mingled attraction and horror" (429). Instead of entering the work force, as she had intended, she chooses instead to marry another electrician named Mr. Clarke, one who is, as Simon describes, "older and less fiery than Channing" (206). Indeed, he was the messenger who informed Channing of the damaged arc light which led to his premature death. Clarke, in abdicating his own chance at saving his community from danger (along with his lack of skill), has demonstrated that he is one of the regular mundane members of society. He is, in other words, one of the "Rolands of America" who benefits from the bravery of the aberrations of that society. In such an equation, then, Enid from "An Electrical Study" becomes Edith from *Nick of the Woods*: the "Indians" that Girard save her from are her own dangerous new woman ideas which would have her working in the world of men. A dangerous act because supposedly "a few years of routine work is death to a woman's beauty" (422).

Consequently, the sexual curfew, celibacy, made famous by Hawkeye, is maintained by the true American electrician. Much like Hawkeye (who remains celibate) or Nathan Slaughter (whose whole family was killed years ago and whose own death will signify the end of his line), Girard Channing is an unmarried bachelor who dies without heirs. Girard has made the same sacrifice that all pioneers of American society must make, demonstrating how, much as the freedom of Ishmael and Huck hinges on the non-freedom of their (male) counterparts of colour, Girard and Nathan Slaughter's hinges upon the non-freedom of their (white) female counterparts. What should further be made clear is that Hawkeye's depends on both, and that in none of these cases are distinctions intended to be mutually exclusive. The night delineates the electrical pioneer much as it does the wilderness pioneer, as he does not share a bed with a wife. The pioneer cannot afford to become overly attached to women and the societies they represent, whether Indian or white.

He's Electric

Another text which addresses the intersectionality of masculinity and electricity is Mark Twain's *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* (1889). In this novel Hank Morgan, an American engineer from the nineteenth century, travels back to sixth-century England under the reign of King Arthur. After convincing Arthur of his prophetic abilities – by successfully predicting a solar eclipse he had historical knowledge of – he is given the title of principle minister to the King. Unlike many of the other pioneers discussed, Hank marries and fathers a child during the course of the narrative. This underscores his high ranking and solidifies his place in society, yet just as in a typical quest (or western) narrative he is permitted to leave home and travel extensively. Indeed, one could argue that marriage is more closely aligned with the conventions of the British story being told. Either way, Hank's knowledge and use of electricity is directly linked to his demonstration of masculinity and achievement of rank within sixth-century English society and, like other American pioneers explored, his freedom is dependent upon the othered characters around him. John H. Davis compares Hank's domination of Camelot to that of Christopher Columbus, arguing that "it recalls earlier instances of white invaders awing

natives with their knowledge and technology" (85). Hank, realising that his nineteenth-century knowledge can be used to improve his social standing – by taking Merlin's place as the kingdom's most powerful sorcerer – introduces numerous aspects of the industrial revolution including the railroad, the telephone, and the daily newspaper (via the printing press). However, as Jennifer Lieberman has identified, "Hank sees electricity as more than a useful power source; he is fascinated with the symbolic economy that links electricity to individual power and to modern American democracy" ("Hank" 61). This is particularly reminiscent of Mighall's argument that each age requires a myth of stagnation or ignorance in relation to the previous age. It is Hank's view that feudal England's lack of industrial light is keeping them in the literal Dark Ages, and Lieberman has argued that

Metaphors of electrical power are so intertwined in Hank's understanding of technology and progress that he interprets the absence of electric lighting as a rejection of scientific and moral enlightenment. According to the conventional light and dark imagery that Hank reads onto electrical infrastructure, he sees himself as the champion of knowledge and democracy fighting against hegemonic forces of the Dark Ages without recognizing how his own secretive use of electricity has kept the majority of Camelot "in the dark." (*Geography* 61)

Hank's belief in the white masculine power that is synonymous with electricity is nowhere better expressed than in his decision not to turn on the lights in Camelot: "I stood with my hand on the cock, so to speak, ready to turn it on and flood the midnight world with light at any moment. But I was not going to do the thing in that sudden way" (120). Here, Hank paints himself as a god-like figure, deciding when there will be light. The phallic imagery of his "hand on the cock" underscores how nineteenth-century power is in the hands of the men who stand to gain the most.

A Connecticut Yankee illustrates how the benefits of industrialisation are felt inordinately by the men who are already in positions of power. Knights take on roles as business moguls despite their lack of

understanding and essentially set up their own mafia-like systems on the railroads, while peasant farmers in the outer reaches of the kingdom feel little of the effects of improvements in electrification and transport. Hank's claim that "slavery was dead and gone" and that "all men were equal before the law" is tempered by his further claim that the "handy servants of steam and electricity were working their way into favor" (513). Hank's language indicates that he considers the process of industrialisation as one that requires the continuance of the dynamic of a dominant class and a subservient one. Leiberhan highlights the ambiguous use of syntax in his wording: "It isn't clear whether he describes servants that are constituted of steam and electricity or machines that are handy servants to steam and electricity" (*Power* 38). Whatever Hank truly means by his statement (or perhaps he is deliberately using his language to obfuscate the less-than-ideal aspects of his regime), it illustrates how industrialisation is always couched in terms of winners and losers. This view ultimately ends in a loss for all when Hank turns to electricity to defeat his enemies. As Davis argues,

[u]nlike Custer, Morgan wins the battle, but he loses the war as he and his followers become trapped in a cave by the bodies of those they have killed [via electrocution], becoming sickened by the rotting and stinking corpses. They linger like the haunting memories of displaced American Indians. (90)

A Connecticut Yankee demonstrates how electric power can be used as forms of nocturnal coercion and control by those already in charge.

You Can Go Your Own Way

In the context of the nocturnal narratives explored in this chapter, *A Connecticut Yankee* stands out as the story of an individual who becomes the establishment within the narrative. The others examined so far are almost exclusively the stories of usually men who, through hard graft, Franklin-like, eventually ascend into society, or those whose destiny resides beyond the bounds of American civilisation. A further strand, and indeed one that perhaps comments on the "successful" nocturnal narrative, is the

gothic narrative in Hawthorne's short story "Young Goodman Brown" (1835). Here, the eponymous protagonist leaves his newly-wed wife, Faith, at their home in the Puritan village. Claiming he has a journey which "must needs be done 'twixt now and sunrise" he wanders into the nocturnal forest. Finding, to his horror, a witches' coven with Faith ready to be taken into communion at the centre of it, critics have read "Young Goodman Brown" as representing Brown's fear of his wife's autonomy and sexuality. (Keil 42-3). Brown never recovers from his discovery, and becomes stern, sad, darkly meditative, distrustful, "if not a desperate man [...] from the night of that fearful dream." Crucially, he continues to distrust his wife: "Often, awaking suddenly at midnight, he shrank from the bosom of Faith; and at morning or eventide, when the family knelt down at prayer, he scowled and muttered to himself, and gazed sternly at his wife, and turned away" (288-9).

This nocturnal gothic story is repeated throughout the nineteenth century, challenging (or at least complicating) the masculine narrative of the self-made pioneer. Unlike the pioneering narratives in which nocturnal challenges are necessary elements of the American man's growth, the gothic stories focus on men who suffer in the nocturnal environment, and are scarred, often beyond repair, as a result. Rather than an environment for pioneering activity, the night becomes the arena in which the male protagonist fails to save the American woman from captivity and blames the woman for it.

These nocturnal gothic narratives examine male characters who, like their transcendental counterparts, are similarly chaste. However, unlike Hawkeye or Dick Hunter, their chastity does not endow them with benefits or successes: they do not gain superior hunting skills, nor do they gain business contacts. Instead, they find themselves variously unable to marry due to financial difficulties, as seen in Brockden Brown's *Edgar Huntly* and Washington Irving's "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" (1820) or in fear of consummation, as in "Young Goodman Brown" (and potentially "Sleepy Hollow" and *Edgar Huntly* too, if one considers queer readings of the texts). These characters suffer the consequences of an American individualism that requires an adherence to capitalist and heterosexual norms in order to flourish. Dillon has argued that the "scriptlike quality of the marriage

narrative is one that Edgar Huntly clearly refuses to subscribe to: rather marriage is a path that Huntly repeatedly chooses to forsake." Dillon points out that this act is represented literally in Huntly's decision to "[strike] out for the hills, choosing a route that is clearly seen as divergent with respect to the courtship scenario he has begun to enter into with Mary" (*Gender* 62). This diverging path will, like Goodman Brown, take him far from "civilisation" and into the nocturnal forest. Like Brown, Huntly's decision is also borne out of a frustration with relation to marriage. However, where Brown's frustration is rooted more in psychological fears, Huntly's is caused by economic factors. Dillon observes how Huntly's lack of future prospects largely shapes his narrative:

Property ownership makes the republican citizen independent, and this is the root of his capacity to divorce himself from personal interests and attend to the civic good: the freeholder is free precisely because he holds land that is not subject to exchange. Yet Edgar Huntly is anything but a freeholder. Not only do we learn that he lives under his uncle's roof only until such time as his cousin inherits the property and evicts him, but we also later learn that Huntly's parents were killed by Indians when he was a child in a dispute over the land they occupied. Huntly thus has no property, no patrimony, and little prospect of acquiring any. (*Gender* 174)

When discussed in this way, similarities between Huntly and Brown become evident, as both are men who choose literal paths that take them away from the proscribed routes of marriage and into the night in which their fears become manifest. To this list can be added Ichabod Crane in "Sleepy Hollow" in which, following an unsuccessful discussion with the woman he supposedly intends to court, he leaves her house to disappear into the "witching time of night" of Sleepy Hollow (57). Whether he is killed by a rival or simply leaves the community of Sleepy Hollow is not made entirely clear, but either way his failure to secure a wife becomes equated with his disappearance into the American night. The narrator of "Sleepy Hollow,"

whose voice sounds suspiciously similar to Ichabod's own, when talking about women, writes,

I profess not to know how women's hearts are wooed and won. To me they have always been matters of riddle and admiration. Some seem to have but one vulnerable point, or door of access; while others have a thousand avenues, and may be captured in a thousand different ways. It is a great triumph of skill to gain the former, but a still greater proof of generalship to maintain possession of the latter, for man must battle for his fortress at every door and window. (50)

Of interest here is how he discusses battling for his fortress at every door and window, particularly considering his own method of securing Sleepy Hollow's school house at night against intruders, in which he twisted a withe around the handle of the door, "and stakes set against the window-shutters; so that, though a thief might get in with perfect ease, he would find some embarrassment in getting out" (43). Observing the strangely inefficient way that Ichabod tries to protect the school house (as one could simply remove the withe from the door), Donald Anderson has noted that "Ichabod has, in many ways, created securing mechanisms for his own mind, so that what enters becomes an entrapped band of misperceptions unable to find a more obvious way 'out'" (207). Since Ichabod appears to find the concept of being trapped punishment itself for having transgressed in the first place, it questions whether he would indeed even want to 'win' a woman's heart, and be forced to "battle for his fortress at every door and window" in the first place.

The reader, then, encounters men who attempt to negotiate the unreasonable demands that have been placed upon men in early nineteenth-century America. They have become lost in the American night due to their inability or reluctance to succeed in courtship, yet their attempt at pioneering is similarly doomed to failure. These texts highlight what Giddens has observed of the problem of self-making in modernity: unable to keep up with the demands of a society that does not see them as individuals should they not marry and become landowners, such stories demonstrate what happens when American men are unable to keep up with

the strict narratives demanded by white society. Their stories peter off into the night as their perceived usefulness for a capital-driven society diminishes. In this way, these stories subvert the tropes of the self-made man, the pioneer and the flâneur, demonstrating that the literary night is not a training ground for future masculine success. Instead, it is a highly politicised arena in which those with power and influence are further rewarded for their privileges. Inherited wealth leads to further wealth, and inherited poverty leads to further poverty. Indeed, Hawthorne's Goodman Brown has his view of himself as a "simple husbandman" challenged when he learns about the conduct of his forefathers from his devil-like companion. His grandfather, a constable, he learns, was the man who lashed "the Quaker woman," Ann Coleman, "smartly though the streets of Salem" (Moore, *Salem* 32) while his father "set fire to an Indian village, in King Philip's war" (280). American men are not self-made, and are instead a product of their ancestors' actions which destroyed the settlements of indigenous groups and persecuted religious minorities. Goodman Brown's narrative (or personal growth) stops after his night in the forest because he chose to ignore his own complicity in the establishment of white America's curfews.

Shot in the Dark

Considering this strain of nocturnal narratives, in which "unsuccessful" men lose their way after becoming disillusioned with the conventions of marriage and property ownership, highlights the pervasiveness of the panther attack narrative in nineteenth-century literature. Matthew Wynn Sivils observes that in works by Charles Brockden Brown, James Fenimore Cooper and Harriet Prescott Spofford, "the archetypal panther emerges as a demon that must be exorcised from the wilderness so that European Americans may themselves possess the land" (20). Certainly, Edgar Huntly's violent nocturnal massacre of the Algonquin Indians begins with the symbolic killing of a panther in a darkened cave. Feeling threatened by the panther's superior vision or "glowing orbs" (112) suggesting his discomfort at being observed rather than the observer, Huntly's immediate reaction is to strike and kill the panther with his tomahawk. As identified by Shapiro and Barnard, the panther here should

be recognised as a stand-in for the Indians that are soon to be Huntly's next victims (xlii): but in the wider context it can also be seen, similarly to Brown's short story "Somnambulism," a way in which the protagonist can strike back at the feminine sphere that has denied him acceptance into higher society. As argued above, he is on this nocturnal journey as a result of being unable to marry, and has, in effect, led him to take on the same role as Nathan Slaughter (Costorphine 121-2).

When considered in this vein, one can identify the narrator-protagonist of Poe's "The Black Cat" (1843) as an example of a man, much like Edgar Huntly, who displaces his frustration with his failures of masculinity onto the marginalised of society. Indeed, I argue that his displaced violence directed at his pet cat (or cats) is a further attempt by the unhinged narrator to cover up his spousal abuse. Poe's unnamed narrator relates the story of how alcoholism has turned him wicked, changing him from an animal lover into a monster who turns violent towards his once-beloved cat Pluto. After many episodes of violence, he accidentally ends up killing his wife who fell in the way of his axe which was directed at Pluto. The narrator, in describing his descent into alcoholism, describes the first time he attacked Pluto:

One night, returning home, much intoxicated, from one of my haunts about town, I fancied that the cat avoided my presence. I seized him; when, in his fright at my violence, he inflicted a slight wound upon my hand with his teeth. The fury of a demon instantly possessed me. I knew myself no longer. My original soul seemed, at once, to take its flight from my body; and a more than fiendish malevolence, gin-nurtured, thrilled every fibre of my frame. I took from my waistcoat-pocket a pen-knife, opened it, grasped the poor beast by the throat, and deliberately cut one of its eyes from the socket! I blush, I burn, I shudder, while I pen the damnable atrocity. (696)

Just like Edgar Huntly's sudden possession, the narrator here claims that he is possessed, this time by alcohol: he "knows [himself] no longer." Crucially, he wounds the cat by cutting out his eye, not unlike Huntly's fear

of the panther's vision. Sivils has observed that humans regularly meet the "spectral gaze" of the animal in panther narratives, and the implication that the presumed hierarchy is undermined when the human becomes the object of observation (23). The narrator's "reason returned with the morning — when I had slept off the fumes of the night's debauch" (696).

The narrator's fixation towards his cat within the story is particularly curious when one remembers that it is his *wife* who is ultimately killed and hidden within the walls of the basement. Throughout the narrative, the narrator's relationship to his wife and Pluto vacillates as he seems to replace one with the other, perhaps in an attempt to distance himself from the inevitable violence which results in his wife's death. Describing his descent into drunken violence, he claims "I suffered myself to use intemperate language to my wife. At length, I even offered her personal violence. My pets, of course, were made to feel the change in my disposition" (696). Here we see the narrator changing tack once he makes the connection between his "wife" and "personal violence," displacing his feelings literally onto his pets. This suggests that the narrator has intentionally couched the murder of his wife in a wider, more convoluted story, using his cat as a scapegoat, in order to justify and soften his representation of the violence he has enacted against her — as evinced by the framing of the story as "The Black Cat". The narrator therefore paints a picture of himself as a prisoner in his own panther captivity narrative in which his domestic cat takes on the proportions of a panthera. During the narrator's intoxicated periods of restless sleep, he regularly wakes "to find the hot breath of the thing upon my face, and its vast weight -- an incarnate Night-Mare that I had no power to shake off -- incumbent eternally upon my heart!" (699). This belies the fact that he is the tyrant who, coming home each night after drinking his wages away, beats his wife, blaming her for his inability to move up in the world.

Considering the wider subgenre of the panther narrative, one can identify a similar theme in Ambrose Bierce's late-century short story, "The Eyes of the Panther" (1897). In this paranormal story a frustrated man, Jenner Brading, tries to convince a young woman, Irene Marlowe, to marry him. However, she refuses, her explanation being that she is "insane" (140). Before she was born, she informs him, her mother experienced a

night of terror when threatened by a panther that broke into her rural cottage. Her mother's fear imprinted on Irene who was in her womb, and Irene asks Jenner rhetorically "Is it likely, [...] that a person born under such circumstances is like others—is what you call sane?" (144). Just as Irene leaves his house, Jenner believes he sees a panther in the shadows in which she disappears. Several nights later, Jenner wakes up to a panther in his own room and shoots it with a revolver. Wounded but not dead, it escapes into the forest where Jenner tracks it down, only to discover Irene's body. The original reading, that "The Eyes of the Panther" is a supernatural tale of a woman who can metamorph into a panther has been nuanced by S. T. Joshi, who proposes a non-supernatural reading which emphasises many of the same issues discussed here in relation to Brown, Poe, Hawthorne, and Washington:

But if the tale is nonsupernatural, is it that Irene is simply insane? that [sic] she *fancies* herself occasionally a panther? This is the solution I had adopted until Susan Michau suggested to me an entirely different interpretation: *it is Jenner who is insane*. He had been incensed at Irene's rejection of his proposal, to the point that he wished to strangle her. [italics original] (150)

Here Jenner has, much like Brown's Huntly and the protagonist of "Somnambulism," acted out on their frustration regarding their lack of power in society. Jenner's disenfranchisement with his lowly position is evinced in the free indirect discourse of the narrative: "Being a bachelor, and therefore, by the Draconian moral code of the time and place denied the services of the only species of domestic servant known thereabout, the 'hired girl,' he boarded at the village hotel, where also was his office" (145). Irene therefore becomes a scapegoat for Jenner's violence.

As with the other examples, however, Jenner needs to justify his actions, and the nightscape becomes not only his stage but also his excuse. While he listens to Irene's story,

The man silently resumed his seat beside her on the rustic bench by the wayside. Over-against them on the eastern

side of the valley the hills were already sunset-flushed and the stillness all about was of that peculiar quality that foretells the twilight. Something of its mysterious and significant solemnity had imparted itself to the man's mood. In the spiritual, as in the material world, are signs and presages of night. (140)

This demonstrates how the night influences Jenner's mood, much in the way it does Huntly's and Althorpe's, where the closing of the day is used as permission for male characters to act on their prejudices and frustrations. Where Huntly argues that "Intense darkness is always the parent of fears" and Althorpe claims that "All men are, at times, influenced by inexplicable sentiments," Jenner distances himself from his actions by blaming the impending nightfall for "imparting" itself into his mood. Just as with the circular logic of Emerson – man celebrates himself in celebrating the stars – the others justify their violence by ruing its inevitability. Male rage is justified by being inevitable and natural.

Conclusion: All Night Long

This is the reason that the American Adam, in Emerson's words, even at the dawn of civilisation, has his "feet still planted on the immense forces of night" (47): he has battled with the "forces" within himself, the forces that can still threaten to overcome him at nightfall, when intemperance or fear overcomes him. As a result, the racial and sexual curfews established by white men to control white women and people of colour are there to keep white men themselves safe from their own barbaric impulses.

To take one final example which illustrates this, in the sequel to Alger's *Ragged Dick*, entitled *Fame and Fortune or, The Progress of Richard Hunter* (1868), Dick is framed for robbery and forced to endure a night in prison. Even while in the undesirable position of prisoner, Dick's lowly origins give his situation perspective: "The night wore away at last. The pallet on which he lay was rather hard; but Dick had so often slept in places less comfortable that he cared little for that" (Loc 1423). Dick, not unlike Hawkeye or Benjamin Franklin, has demonstrated his ability to sustain himself in the uncaring nocturnal world. Meanwhile, his white predilection

for the comforts of Western society demarcates him from the black character who does not notice the discomforts of squalor and can fall asleep anywhere instantaneously.² Indeed, such a comparison is made within the text: Dick, we learn, is sharing the prison with a black woman: "who had been arrested for drunkenness," and while "swaying forward [...] and nearly losing her balance" asks passing men "Can't you give me a few cents to buy some supper?" (Loc 1293). Here the black woman, unlike Dick, is in an intoxicated condition without full control of her faculties. The implication being that she will be unable to make a comparison of her pallet with other presumably "less comfortable" places she has slept. As a result, Dick's ability to move up in the world is build upon the discernment of the self-made white man which refuses the same point of view to others. This, then, is why the black woman is begging for her supper. The perceived black inability to recognise their degradation means she, unlike the self-made man, will never attempt to climb out of it. There is therefore an implicit double standard between who has permission towards flâneurship here. The social acceptance which permits Dick to choose his nocturnal activities – whether to go to the theatre, the ale house, or his own residences – has enabled him to navigate the pitfalls of American society and makes this forced night in prison an outrageous act: an unjust punishment for an innocent man.

It is, moreover, interesting to consider how female characters of colour written by white male authors that are given any autonomy – *Arthur Mervyn's* Ascha Fielding, *Mohican's* Cora Munro – are also associated with nocturnal activity and hence sexual availability, and frequently contrasted with chaste white female characters. Indeed, Fiedler's discussion of Hawthorne's pairings of Zenobia and Priscilla as well as Miriam and Hilda as archetypes of the "Dark Lady and Fair Maiden" American literary paradigm, demonstrates how darkness is frequently aligned with fears of female sexuality (293-304). The black female prisoner's confines are seen as not

² John Allen has identified that racist assumptions like these were made by Thomas Jefferson, who wrote in *Notes on Virginia* (1788) that black people have a "disposition to sleep when abstracted from their diversions, and unemployed in labor. An animal whose body is at rest, and who does not reflect must be disposed to sleep of course" (qtd. 34)

only justified in the face of her criminal activity (and she can be dismissed immediately because the signifiers of her crime are external: in other words, she is black) but also because the jail is seen as being there to protect the rest of society from her. This is shown when she lunges towards a white man in a threatening and sexually suggestive manner. As a result, the very same curfew, when applied to a white man, has very different connotations when applied to a black woman. This demonstrates further the intersection of racial and sexual curfews that have been explored throughout this chapter. White men must not be tempted back into the immense forces of night.

This chapter illustrated how the nineteenth-century literary night is used and challenged as the space in which to establish white male America. The transcendentalist American Adam alone is seen as possessing the individualism, autonomy, and intelligence required to police the dangers of race mixing that are viewed as particularly threatening in the night time. Representing the night as a primordial, unenlightened space in which those with ability succeed – in other words, the pioneer, the self-made man, and the flâneur – permits the “natural” supremacy of the white race, as Indian extinction and black inferiority are painted as inevitable. Gothic narratives have undermined this transcendentalist view by demonstrating how these masculine views of the night are self-serving and depend upon violence against white women and people of colour.

Chapter Three: Nocturnal Rebellion in the Antebellum Slavery Narrative

Written By Themselves

When escaping from slavery on a “dark, moonless night,” Josiah Henson encounters an unidentified black man who rows him and his young family across a river. While in the middle of the river, the man informs Henson that it would be “the end of me” if he ever disclosed details regarding the man’s help. Henson promises he will never disclose the man’s part in the business, “Not if I’m shot through like a sieve.” The man is relieved by this, and the reader learns that he too goes on to escape slavery: “many a time in a land of freedom have we talked over that dark night on the river” (61-2). Here, Henson refuses to provide details of the man to a white audience, in order to maintain secrecy (LaRoche 93). In the same way, the cover of the night prevents details of Henson’s escape from being received by his white captors. Here, then, the literary night takes on the same structure as Henson’s narrative, acting as a cloaking device which shields the characters from wider scrutiny. As a result, Henson is able to broadcast details of his successful escape attempt without indicting his rescuer, all the while foregrounding the importance of anonymity and secrecy in the hidden systems of rebellion against slavery.

This chapter examines how the night in the antebellum slavery narrative becomes a microcosm of the wider genre, enabling the authors to illustrate the actions of fugitives while ensuring a level of anonymity and hence safety, both for individuals and for the wider systems of abolition and rebellion such as the Underground Railroad and union movement. Challenging the stereotype of gloomy Africans, such as the claim in *The Planter’s Northern Bride* that “no lingering ray of former genius or art, streaming on her night of darkness, tells that poor degraded Africa ever enjoyed a more exalted destiny” (Loc 5102-10), the slavery narrative argues that the nightscape is a space for the self-making of the African American just as it is for the white European male.

This chapter explores the nightscapes found in the antebellum slavery narrative, demonstrating how the authors challenge stereotypes suggesting they are naturally gloomy and that, as a result, they are not

suited to join American day-time society. As demonstrated in Chapter Two, Harriet Beecher Stowe may have been an abolitionist, but due to her racist assimilationist thinking she still viewed African Americans as socially inferior to white Americans and her beliefs, which were promulgated into popularity in her mid-century novel, suggested that the “morning” of freedom for the enslaved black population would be heralded eventually rather than straight away. Black writers such as Frederick Douglass and Harriet Jacobs challenge the racist views that black men and women were naturally suited to the nightscape, using their narratives to demonstrate how white society had carefully constructed the night in order to limit the opportunities of the black population and mischaracterise them as lazy and unintelligent. In doing so they call attention to the hypocrisy of denying the Franklinean doctrine of self-making to a considerable portion of American society who are, throughout the very texts themselves, in a constant state of pioneering and self-improvement.

By exploring a cross-section of slavery narratives, this chapter examines how the night is violently policed by white society in order to coerce, exploit, and imprison its black population, and how in response, black individuals used subversive measures to carve out an existence separate from that of white masters and overseers. The night becomes the space in which the barbaric nature of slave owners and other whites employed by the slave trade is exposed – particularly demonstrating the hypocrisy of white men who engage in race mixing by raping enslaved black women – and in which slaves could demonstrate their intelligence and bonds of community, and ultimately how night helped them to overcome slavery itself. These narratives span the antebellum era (defined by Frances Smith Foster as the years 1831-65 [xi]) in which chattel slavery was being heavily contested by both abolitionists and slaves alike and was eventually abolished. I have also included some of the earliest novels written by freed slaves, which deal with many of the same issues and themes as the autobiographical narratives. The authorial question surrounding the slavery narratives was for a long time a huge point of contention, with many critics unwilling to recognise that freed slaves would be capable of authorship, just as pro-slavery advocates before them had done. In the case of writers such as Harriet Jacobs, who was forced to write *Incidents in the Life of a Slave*

Girl (1861) at night and under the pseudonym Linda Brent (Goldsby 19-20), it is clear that there was a lot of hostility towards freed blacks publishing. While several of the narratives were written with assistance or transcribed by white abolitionists on behalf of ex-slaves, such as in the case of Solomon Northup and Mattie J. Jackson, on the whole these arguments have all been quashed thanks to a wealth of evidence which demonstrates that freed slaves were indeed the authors of their own narratives.

So Little Exploration of Night

This use of night spaces, not only for rebellious action but for revolutionary thought, is significant to understanding the importance of the slavery narratives as literary devices and not only as historical artifacts. Interestingly, the work which most closely approximates this research is not focused on night but is instead William Tynes Cowan's examination of swampland within antebellum texts which, he argues, disrupts the plantation narrative. While there are several points of overlap between his work and my own, there are crucial areas in which they differ: for one, the swampland must remain outside the plantation meaning that, unlike the nocturnal wilderness which invades the plantation, the swamp is always physically elsewhere. Moreover, in comparison to the ubiquity of nighttime throughout the slavery narrative, the swamp is foregrounded in relatively few of the texts. While scholars like Ekirch and George P. Rawick have located the night historically as a time for recreation, leisure and rebellion for the African American slave (and indeed the importance of recognising it as such), literary criticism has had little to say regarding the significance of night time within the slavery narrative. The night has been, at most, acknowledged as a recurring element within the typical slave narrative or hinted at without proper recognition of its significance as a literary device. Foster and James Olney both stress the everyday, almost *banal* use of night time as a narrative device, with Foster writing that a Saturday night was often the time in which a lone slave or desperate family stole away. The slave travels "by land in a northward direction aided only by the North Star, his faith in God, and his desire for liberty. He travels by night and hides in barns, woods, or deserted buildings by day" (121-2). Olney, outlining what he terms the "conventions for slave narratives," mentions among them the

"description of successful attempt(s) to escape, lying by during the day, travelling by night guided by the North Star" (152-3).¹ Neither critic goes into further detail on the night time, suggesting that while they acknowledge the North Star² as an important symbol of northern America and the liberation it represents, the night itself is little more than a convenient event which aids the enslaved protagonist towards their freedom. In other words, the nightscape has not been given proper recognition as a conscious narrative tool. This chapter addresses the gap in such criticism.

It is perhaps a case of the night's influence being almost too obvious, that the night is almost too clear a natural boundary line in the battle between work and leisure that these critics do not feel the need to comment on it. However to do this is to miss the point of their inclusion in the slaves' narrative in the first place. As Charles T. Davis and Henry Louis Gates, Jr. point out, the principles once thought to govern what are defined as "autobiography" and "fiction" are now recognized to be problematic. The fact that the slavery narratives are considered broadly autobiographical does not mean that whatever is outlined in them is not also subject to a degree of fictionalisation (147). The author, even that of autobiography, must out of necessity be selective in what they choose to represent. Indeed, slave narratives on the whole are now understood to be generic depictions of the experience of the institution of slavery, more than they are the experience of one individual within slavery (Olney 148-51). Therefore events may be taken out of order, or historical characters may be amalgamated in order to tell a more succinct narrative. The fact that night is therefore referred to so regularly and is so influential in slavery narratives indicates that night has a significance that deserves recognition. And, indeed, for the enslaved American, the night becomes a space where, like American founding father Benjamin Franklin, they must forego sleep in

1 The ultimate expression of the fugitive's dependence on the nocturnal wilderness is of course that of the North Star, acknowledged to be the metaphor for freedom within the autobiographies (Foster 55; Smith 81; Winks 128). Indeed the North Star is one of the most utilised metaphors within the works.

2 *The North Star* was also the name Douglass gave to his anti-slavery newspaper from 1847-51.

order to master the arts of reading, writing, and entrepreneurship. The slave's struggle therefore becomes a very American struggle against patriarchal figures – their tyrannical southern masters. In their bloodthirstiness, these patriarchal figures are also figured as what Emerson terms at mid-century "immense forces of night" which must be bested in a bid to reach the slave's "moment of adult health," found in the morning of freedom (46-7). The literary night is the space in which these displaced people establish an identifiable sense of Americanness.

"O Virtuous Reader!"

The target audience of the antebellum slavery narrative was a white American audience.³ This is demonstrated by the numerous introductions by white abolitionists vouching on the behalf of the black protagonist's character and the truthful nature of their narrative, as well as the regular pleas made by the authors themselves to both Northern and Southern audiences to heed their words and recognise the evils of slavery. "Now, reader, Aaron wants you to buy this book," claims the narrator of *The Light and the Truth of Slavery* (1845): "I want you to buy it and I want you to read it, not for to lay it up in your head, but to lay it up in your heart, and then you will remember the poor way-faring Bondman" (1). Appeals to white northerners' sense of shame in colluding, however distantly, in the slave trade was important to these narratives. William Wells Brown's call to his audience shamed them into recognising their own short-comings: "Reader, are you an Abolitionist? What have you done for the slave? What are you doing in [sic] his behalf? What do you purpose to do? There is a great work before us. Who will be an idler now?" (9). This went along with

³ This is not to say that the antebellum slavery narrative was not read elsewhere: British and Irish audiences were crucial to Douglass' process of "let[ting] the slaveholders of America know that the curtain which conceals their crimes is being lifted abroad; that we are opening the dark cell, and leading the people into the horrible recesses of what they are pleased to call their domestic institution" ("Reception" 33). Narratives were also written with black readers in mind: "Slave narrators manipulated Anglo-American rhetorical conventions in subtle and indirect ways that allowed them to address their small but important African American audience" (Winans 1050).

appeals to white flattery, as the black authors encouraged their audiences to reflect on their own senses of piety, charity and gentle spirit. "Pity me, and pardon me, O virtuous reader!" Jacobs appealed to her white audience: "You never knew what it is to be a slave; to be entirely unprotected by law or custom; to have the laws reduce you to the condition of a chattel, entirely subject to the will of another" (86).

Both implicit and explicit within these passages are challenges to the white reader to find shame and outrage in the current regime, and to recognise their potential as participants in rectifying such a situation. Indeed, where Morrison observes in the dominant cultural body of white American literature the "shadowless participation" of the black body (10), the opposite is found in the black literature of the nineteenth century. The participation of the white individual is seen via the surrogacy of the black body: the crucial difference being that in the slavery narrative, the white individual is the conscious focus. While the nuances of slavery are examined within these texts, there is at the heart of these narratives an unseen (although not unmentioned) Northerner whose succour is the missing link in the emancipatory process. Goddu demonstrates this, identifying that even as Douglass is illustrating scenes of brutality enacted by masters against their helpless slaves, he is commenting on the white reader's inaction. The sight of his aunt Hester's whipping, she writes, "exposes not only the victimization inherent in the white reader's relationship to slavery but also the voyeurism" (137-8). Saudiya Hartman crucially observes the degree to which black suffering becomes a way in which the white reader can read the suffering back onto their own body, which can in fact eclipse black subjectivity. The black experience is therefore re appropriated as a vehicle by which the white reader can celebrate their sympathy with those less fortunate than them (20-2).⁴ The antebellum slavery narrative, then, is far

4 Hartman writes, "Can the moral embrace of pain extricate itself from pleasures borne by subjection? In other words, does the scene of the tyrannized slave at the bloodstained gate delight the loathsome master and provide wholesome pleasures to the upright and virtuous? Is the act of 'witnessing' a kind of looking no less entangled with the wielding of power and the extraction of enjoyment? Does the captive's dance allay grief or articulate the fraught, compromised, and impossible character of agency? Or does it exemplify the use of the body as an instrument

more an examination of white mentality than it ever was a study of slavery. Appeals to the white ego are found everywhere throughout the nineteenth-century narratives, no more so than in the portrayal of nocturnal wilderness which, despite its numberless dangers, wild animals, and deadly exposure to the elements, remains infinitely more desirable than the white slaveholding society of the South.

Smooth vs. Striation

The night created numerous challenges for the slaveholder in nineteenth-century America. Although slaves were, of course, legally under their control, the physical reality was somewhat different. Slaves could not be conditioned to work indefinitely: they needed food and rest in order to replenish their energies. Both required time, and indeed, the fact that most slaveholders also permitted their workers Sundays and holidays off indicates how far slaveholders had acquiesced to slaves' needs (Genovese 303). Moreover, slaves were unlike other chattel: they could not simply be tied up and taken out the next morning. The fact that so many slaves were punished for leaving their plantation at night without permission demonstrates that no amount of discipline could prevent them from their socialising. And finally, the darkness of the night made it difficult for slaveholders to even uphold their decrees as slaves worked together in secret to hide fugitives from white patrols and in extreme circumstances even pose direct challenges to them (Genovese 619). However, this was not to say that slaves were given much freedom. Even their leisure times were carefully controlled in order to uphold the damaging message that the black man or woman must be managed at all times, something Douglass stressed in his narratives.⁵ As demonstrated in William Belgrove's 1755 plantation manuals, work was seasonal and led to periods of more or less intense agriculture.⁶ A lull in work challenged slaveholders to find jobs to keep their charges occupied. Chattel slavery therefore led to a plethora of against the self?" (22)

5 Foster notes, "According to Frederick Douglass, the Christmas breaks were 'part and parcel of the gross fraud, wrong, and inhumanity of slavery'" (103): by placating their slaves with a small measure of leisure time, the slaver attempted to circumscribe their wider desires for freedom.

"busy work," mainly the clearing of extra, often unneeded, forested land which led to the unruly sizes of plantations (Stoll 63-4). The alternative, which was to give the slaves proper breaks and leisure time, would have given them a "sense of controlling their own time and labor" (Genovese 61), a position which would have undermined the slaveholders' patriarchal role and the stereotypical image of Sambo.

The night time would be a far simpler time for slave owners if they could be guaranteed that enslaved individuals would not take advantage of the lull in security to "steal," visit their neighbours, and disappear into the surrounding countryside in a bid for further freedom. Indeed, one wonders if Yi-Fu Tuan's claim that, as believed among countryfolk in the South, "roving at night was a sin" was as concerned with fugitive slaves as it was a warning about ghosts or demons (128). Observing the characteristics of smoothspace, Deleuze and Guattari claim that "the smooth itself can be drawn and occupied by diabolical powers of organization" (558). Much like Keeling's recent discussion of "queer temporality," in which "quotidian violence [...] secures the existing organization of things" (16), the cruel and invasive methods of the slave masters and overseers used at night demonstrate a striation of smooth space in their efforts to control and coerce their slave populations. By punishing them for autonomous night time activity, the masters drew the nocturnal boundaries they permitted for bondsmen and women. Through wider systems of control, moreover, white society striates the Southern night via patrollers, circulars, and watchful neighbours, all of which were put into effect to curtail the movement of fugitives and deliver them back to their designated spaces.

This delineation of space is nowhere made clearer than in *The Planter's Northern Bride*, one of the many responses to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. There, social upheaval among the slaves is courted via night time indoctrination. The protagonist, the titular planter Moreland, makes the mistake of hiring a northern preacher named Brainard to teach Christianity to his slaves. However, unknown to Moreland, Brainard is in fact an

6 Belgrove advises in December to "Employ for the Slaves, as their Spirits and Flefh muft be reduced after the Year's Fatigue of hard Labour" (19).

abolitionist who has been covertly mobilising the slaves into a rebellion. Moreland manages to quash the uprising in the nick of time and, after exchanging blows with Brainard, runs him off the plantation. In the novel's happy ending, the reader discovers that

The negroes were pardoned, as their ringleader was white, but put under a stricter discipline. Having so shamefully abused their religious privileges, they were restricted in their nightly meetings, which were no longer to be kept up beyond the ringing of the nine o'clock bell. The midnight hour, which was the scene of their unhallowed orgies, was constantly guarded, and no night passed without the scrutiny of the vigilant patrols within the walls of their cabins. (Loc 9005)

The slaves are therefore punished by having their nocturnal privileges revoked, and their night spaces heavily surveyed. The nine o'clock curfew, in this sense, marks the limit of their freedom and introduces a further boundary to their already carefully lineated existence. In even the most utopian image of the plantation, one in which slaves are devoted to and idolise their master, a careful nocturnal policing must be present to save the slaves from themselves. Furthermore, despite even the most charitable view of such a passage, in which the reader allows that the nocturnal surveillance is done for the slaves' own good, there is still the disturbing implication that the "vigilant patrols" taking place "within the walls of their cabins" may lead to illicit activity between less trustworthy patrollers and slave women (529). In an echo of Murray's *Story of Margaretta*, sustained protection of one's charges cannot be achieved without the invasive, hingeing on distasteful, surveillance of individuals which may place the overseer themselves in a questionable position.

The connection between the American night and the physical body reaches its apex in chattel slavery, as the master and overseer, in fear of a rebellious slave, whips, chains, and otherwise indelibly marks his slave as a stand-in for his own presence in the darkness. In other words, the enslaved figure is forbidden from moving freely in queer time or nocturnal space. Physically marking or punishing the black body is an attempt to circumvent

the challenges of nocturnal freedom. This marking must act as both a reprimand for previous digressions as well as a warning against future attempts while also acting as a visual signifier of the slave's state to the public at large. In this way, the slavery narratives demonstrate the circular logic of punishment in slavery: as violent surveillance becomes not only the method of enslaving individuals but also the signifier of slavery.

"The Vigilant Eye"

Describing freedom after a life of bondage, William Parker writes, "How shall I describe my first experience of free life? Nothing can be greater than the contrast it affords to a plantation experience, under the suspicious and vigilant eye of a mercenary overseer or a watchful master. Day and night are not more unlike" (158). Parker's response to slavery and freedom considers the contrast of night and day, demonstrating how the terms are important in his lexicon as an ex-slave. He uses a language that appears to transcend his everyday experience while locating him in the historical and geographical period of the Christian South, in which darkness and light had particular meanings as religious motifs. Furthermore, by allying day with slavery he likens it to the "vigilant eye" of the overseer and master, showing that slavery is synonymous with the act of unwanted surveillance, something which is far more achievable during the day. Using the advantages that night afforded them was the most effective way slaves could undermine the upper-hand that slaveholders had.

Every method of punishment and control meted out by slave-owners in the slavery narratives fed into a larger system of surveillance carefully calibrated to keep the slave in line. This is demonstrated in Simone Browne's argument that in "disciplinary exercises of power" such as the Panopticon, "power is covert and achieved by a play of light" (34-5). The main example which Browne uses to illustrate how earlier forms of surveillance fed into panoptical models is that of the 1731 New York lantern law, which demanded that black and other enslaved people carry lanterns when walking around the city after sunset (78). This use of lanterns to track the movements of men and women of colour can be seen as a striation strategy which delineates the otherwise smooth darkness of the New York night. Control, in other words, is predicated on the utilisation of

day-like light to keep one's slaves in line and was cemented in Jeremy Bentham's 1793 work *The Panopticon; or, The Inspection House*. Assisted by architect Willey Revely, at the end of the eighteenth century, Bentham designed a system of social control that would enable overseers to be a perpetual presence in the life of their inmates, even when the overseers were not physically there. The Panopticon, as it was called, is a spherical building in which the *inmates* are located in isolated chambers at the outskirts of the building, and the overseers inhabit the tower at the centre, much like the hub at the centre of a wheel. The layout of the Panopticon divests inmates of all privacy as they are kept in full view of the overseers at all times, and conversely, the inmates are kept ignorant of the actions of the overseers due to the use of small lamps which, Browne notes, blinded the prisoner and are thus "used as a means of preventing the prisoner from knowing whether or not the inspection tower was occupied" (34).

The Panopticon as an architectural structure has been attempted but never proven achievable. In panopticon-modelled prisons such as Philadelphia's Eastern State Penitentiary, the construction made it impossible for the guards to survey all prisoners from the central tower, an issue exacerbated when extra wings were attached to house an increasing numbers of prisoners. Nevertheless, the term "panoptical" control is also used to refer to wider systems of surveillance used in the modern era. Browne's work draws on Michel Foucault's 1974 work *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* which examines how panoptical or hierarchical observation works by means of the play of physical structures, choreographed gazes, quantitative measurements and the establishment of rules (Browne 40-1). Such methods of surveillance or hierarchical observation are found throughout the antebellum period. Many masters hired workers to watch over their slaves (indeed, the fact that they were named "overseers" should come as no surprise). Quantitative or biometric measurements were also employed to align a slave to his or her masters. Biometrical surveillance includes any of the numerous ways in which measurements of the human body are used to control individuals in order to police their movements. Modern examples include passports and fingerprint scanning. During the antebellum era slaves were often branded or

otherwise marked, while "Wanted" posters and other circulars were utilised to return runaway slaves (Parenti 71-2).

As this chapter shows, the slave narrators demonstrate the dangerous and inhuman lengths to which slaveholders go in their acts of surveillance. In doing so, the slave narrators reversed the act of surveillance and used their texts to undermine the actions of the slaveholder; an action which has been conceptualised by Browne as "dark sousveillance," or *under-veillance* which threatens to disrupt the accepted racial order (18-9). Sousveillance is a term coined by Steven Mann to describe "Observation or recording by an entity **not** in a position of power or authority over the subject or *veillance*." Modern day examples he gives are citizens recording activities from their own perspective, such as when apprehended by police or when entering a department store, as opposed to surveillance, which is "Observation or recording by an entity in a position of power or authority over the subject of the *veillance*" (3). In this way, the failures of the practical uses of the Panopticon, as found in the Eastern State Penitentiary, or the criticism made by Chris Otter that no system could (or even desired to) be so all-encompassing (3-8) are used to the slave narrator's advantage: they are able to hide in the corners of the panopticon that the overseer fails to oversee, and use this hidden vantage point to watch back.

Sousveillance, then, can be an act of subversion, allowing for the broadcasting of misdeeds or criminal activity being done by those in power. Or, at least, the process of filming or documenting individuals or organisations in positions of power can stand as a check against them committing acts of aggression. Up until the last fifty years, Mann argues, humanity lived in the "sousveillance era," because "the only *veillance* was sousveillance which was given by the body-borne camera formed by the eye, and the body-borne recording device comprising the mind and brain" (6). In other words, until the proliferation of cameras and other direct recording equipment, the sousveillant act of eye witnessing was the only method of observation, meaning individuals were on an equal playing field. However, as Browne has rightly argued, the surveillant system of slavery disrupted this egalitarian playing field (21). In an era in which the testimony of black individuals was not accepted, whites were the surveillant

class. Indeed, in a particularly telling passage, Douglass writes that, after being in an altercation with a group of white dockhands, “if I had been killed in the presence of a thousand colored people, their testimony combined would have been insufficient to have arrested one of the murderers” (*Narrative* 98). Such a denial of the black individual’s ability to witness extended to freed blacks as well, as neither free nor enslaved blacks were allowed to testify in court. In order to deny black individuals their personhood, then, they were denied their ability to record or observe action.

In order to challenge this white surveillance, the narrators turn to what Browne terms “dark sousveillance.” She describes it as

a site of critique, as it speaks to black epistemologies of contending with antiblack surveillance, where the tools of social control in plantation surveillance or lantern laws in city spaces and beyond where appropriated, co-opted, repurposed, and challenged in order to facilitate survival and escape. (21)

Dark sousveillance, therefore, encompasses actions undertaken by downtrodden blacks in order to challenge or undermine white observational control, and is done to establish conditions under which these black men and women may assert a level of control of their own. One such condition was the night time, in which as Rawick asserts, “[t]he docile Sambo could and did become the revolutionary Nat Turner overnight” (28). As a result, slave narrators use the advantages found in the night to undermine white surveillance, and in doing so brings about an ironic reversal of control on the part of the slave and ex-slave.

Each act of subversion from the slave is therefore dangerous for the master as it chips away at his paternalistic view of his bondsmen as the lackadaisical and infinitely loyal Sambo. Even relatively innocent examples, such as when Charles Ball steals peaches at night from his master’s orchard constitute a considerable act of dark sousveillance. While Ball’s act of “stealing,” is stereotypically attributed to Sambo, he is ultimately refuting such a reading because, unlike the mischievous, lazy conception of the Sambo, Ball’s rationalisation of his action demonstrates that he is stealing

out of concern for his family and stocking up for the future, rather than greed or misunderstanding. "I confess that I took part in these thefts," he writes, "and I do not feel that I committed any wrong, against either God or man, by my participation in the common danger that we ran, for we well knew the consequences that would have followed detection" (86).

The non-visual nightscape in which boundaries are blurred was a cause of much fear and often violence on the part of the master. Master-on-slave violence served numerous purposes within the system of slavery, including, as alluded to above, an incentive to work harder and to prevent anyone from rebelling. However, the very act of punishing was also an act of surveillance. Discussing the importance of recognising the slaveholder's branding as an "historical antecedent" to "contemporary biometric information technologies," Browne writes,

critical biometric consciousness must contend with the ways that branding, particularly within racial slavery, was instituted as a means of population management that rendered whiteness prototypical through its making, marking, and marketing of blackness as visible and as commodity. (118)

While Browne discusses how branding is an early form of biometric surveillance, ultimately all forms of violent punishment performed on the enslaved black body can be considered an extension of this point of view. Whipping and chaining often left scars that were used to track down and identify escaped slaves. A rape that resulted in pregnancy would mark a slave woman's body, often tying her to the plantation or forcing her to compromise her health in a dangerous escape. As seen throughout this chapter, such forms of punishment were used particularly to circumvent nocturnal movement and to disrupt the activity of the Underground Railroad. What also becomes apparent is that the actions of the masters also served to demonstrate the *legitimacy* of such subversive movement. By reporting on such actions – by creating a dark sousveillance text, and reporting on the repulsive acts of their masters perpetuated in the night – slave narrators were able to turn the surveillance back on their former masters.

No Station in the Day

Unsurprisingly, the narrators attempting to rewrite the night as a space for social progress had challenges of their own. By dealing with the gothic night, they were also dealing with numerous cultural signifiers, many of them negative. As Maisha Wester observes, "[t]he use of the Gothic by former slaves was a complex manipulation. The genre, given to using blackness to signify moral degradation and consequently depicting the monstrous and fiendish as 'black,' inherently coded the black body as inhuman and inferior" (250). Night as one of the key aspects of such gothic darkness was treated similarly by the slave narrators. The night was traditionally considered, particularly in Southern Christian belief, as a time of ungodliness, and was inhabited by unchristian entities such as witches, devils, thieves and murderers. Indeed, black men and women were classed amongst these numbers: Adam Lively notes that "by the sixteenth century [in Europe] it had become a standard literary trope to associate the darkness of Negroes with the darkness of night," an association which brought with it the fearful imagery found in the preindustrial night (17). The slave narrators were tasked with the challenge of reclaiming the night which, in many ways, acted as an extension of their very skin. Russ Castronovo notes that William Cullen Bryant's poem "Thanatopsis" (1817) concludes "by contrasting a democratic communion found in death with the isolation of the socially dead person, with 'the quarry-slave at night' who returns to a cell without human companionship" (2).⁷ The link between social and political exclusion and the night (and in particular the exclusion of the black body) had therefore been observed in white literature of the time. The black narrator was faced with the dual task of reclaiming their designated place – the night – as an arena for positive political progression for the black community, while simultaneously illustrating that the night was not their natural habitat. They had to argue that black citizens

7 "Thou go not, like the quarry-slave at night,
Scourged to his dungeon, but, sustained and soothed
By an unfaltering trust, approach thy grave,
Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch
About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams." (lines 78-82, p. 124)

deserved to share in the light of day with the white community. Demonstrating the difficulty of such a situation, Henry Bibb writes, "Some, men love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil; but this was not the case with myself; it was to avoid detection in doing right" (49). The darkness of slavery is represented as a desperate inhospitable condition in which men are forced to act like criminals against their law-abiding tendencies. Rather than simply showing the nocturnal wilderness as a desirable alternative to the daytime of white society (much in the way Liberia was being offered as a "solution" to the problem of an inter-racial society), the slave narrators show that black men and women are not a more wild or primitive population and deserve to take their place in American society.

The night time functions much in the way that Jacobs' well-known "loophole of retreat" does. This "loophole" is the garret of her mother's house, in which Linda Brent is forced to secrete herself for seven years, in order to avoid recapture from her master (as did Jacobs). While a debilitating and often lonely existence, her time in hiding also becomes an avenue in which to survive outside the bounds of slavery. This becomes literalised when Jacobs describes Linda's experience of such a confining yet strangely liberating experience: "Countless were the nights," Jacobs writes, "that I sat late at the little loophole scarcely large enough to give me a glimpse of one twinkling star. There, I heard the patrols and slave-hunters conferring together about the capture of runaways, well knowing how rejoiced they would be to catch me" (224).

Here Jacobs is at a physical and visual remove from the slave-hunters that are searching for her. In an ironic reversal of the day time, Jacobs is engaging in an act of dark surveillance, as she is overseeing her former jailers. At the risk of exaggerating the similarities with Bentham's Panopticon, one can see parallels with the fact that Jacobs' loophole enables her to hide in one of the unseen corners that her overseers are policing, and she uses this hidden vantage point to watch them back. Moreover, the *sousveillance* aspect is heightened when considered from her vantage point: she is the overseer at centre of the action in her watchtower, acting as a "voyeur" on the movements around her (Smith 215), observing those who cannot reciprocate such an action. The night time therefore provides

the oppressed with a measure of safety and freedom denied to them in the sunshine. However, this is not to suggest that Linda's ordeal is anywhere near desirable.⁸ The darkness of the tiny room in which she is forced to spend seven years in hiding is particularly oppressive. She describes her own thoughts, while there, as "starless as the midnight darkness around me" (192). Linda's time as a fugitive, unable to do so much as even stand in her refuge, is her lowest point or "midnight" of her story in slavery. This night is so dark it does not even permit the hope or guidance of the North Star or any other light, however faint. However, Linda claims that she "would have chosen this, rather than my lot as a slave" and Valerie Smith observes that historically Jacobs "dates her emancipation from the time she entered her loophole, even though she did not cross over into the free states until seven years later" (212). This "loophole of retreat," comes to encompass her wider experience of slavery, as several critics have observed. Citing the phenomenon, Smith observes that

if a loophole signifies for Jacobs a place of withdrawal, it signifies in common parlance an avenue of escape. Likewise, the garret, a place of confinement, also – perhaps more importantly – renders the narrator spiritually independent of her master, and makes possible her ultimate escape to freedom. (212)

The night is similarly somewhere in which the slaves may retreat in order to recuperate, tend to their wounds, and provide themselves with enough food to endure the following day. However, it also provided them with the opportunity to go on the offensive, "I had a woman's pride," Jacobs writes of her experience in slavery, "and a mother's love for my children; and I resolved that out of the darkness of this hour a brighter dawn should rise for them" (130). Jacobs' strategy of appealing to a white, and particularly female audience, emphasises the maternal bonds black mothers share with

⁸ The protagonist of Harriet E. Wilson's *Our Nig* (1859) is a freed servant, yet her situation, living in "an unfinished chamber over the kitchen, the roof slanting nearly to the floor, so that the bed could stand only in the middle of the room" (152) highlights how freedom alone does not materially alter the situation of the black population. Jacobs' time in captivity is therefore altered by her frame of mind.

whites. As her children are mixed race, with a white father, Jacobs illustrates how the darkness of slavery can throw any family into chaos. While this darkness may be oppressive and full of terror, Jacobs' wording makes it clear that she will endeavour not only to escape the dark, but that she will *utilise* this darkness to make a better future. Linda's seven-year struggle in darkness becomes a more protracted version of James Smith's ordeal in his Indian captivity narrative, in which he must shift a large quantity of snow to escape the darkness of the American wilderness in order to find his way into "the light of heaven" (212). Like Smith, the night provided the slave narrator with the opportunity to assert their very American struggle, as they spent their nights fighting their way out of the very type of captivity that white Americans were proud of escaping themselves.

Loopholes of Retreat

The slavery authors therefore used the nightscape to test the parameters of their slavery. The night was a concession which the slave owner had to grant their slaves in order to ensure any kind of productivity, and in doing so they inevitably paved the way for further freedom. As demonstrated above, the nineteenth-century night acted as a natural buffering zone for the intents and purposes of slavery, much in the way it had for slavery and other forms of indentured servitude for much of the history of the white American settler. The institution of American chattel slavery was always dictated by the limits of its viability in a particular region, which is ultimately why the North rejected its validity: as Elbert B. Smith observes, "[i]n the end the Southern excuse for secession was a denial of the right to take slavery into territories where the institution would have been virtually impossible because of geography, climate, or the attitudes of the people already there" (5-6). The slave narrators, in outlining the hostile climate of the Southern night, signalled a blow for slavery's viability.

Indeed, as Edmund S. Morgan's examination of labour in the early American colonies strongly implies, night was always the cut-off point for servants' working day. Certainly, this has a lot to do with the amount of work required to do at different seasons due to the Southern agrarian

economy, with longer hours in the summer and shorter hours in winter for example denoting the fact that there was less farming to be done (88-9). There admittedly were annual occasions, such as pig killing and corn husking, that were duties performed at night; but these were, by and large, special occasions and indeed the fact that they were dressed up and treated as though they were holidays by the masters suggest that working at night was not something that would be tolerated on a regular basis (Genovese 316-7). Moreover, Douglass and Henson argue that these events were little more than spectacles intended to direct attention away from the injustices of bondage. As Genovese writes, the Southern slaveholders

succeeded [...] only to the extent that they got enough work out of their slaves to make the system pay at a level necessary to their survival as a slaveholding class in a capitalist world market. But they failed in deeper ways that cast a shadow over the long-range prospects for that very survival and over the future of both blacks and whites in American society. (286)

The slaveholders were able to keep their slaves in line (for the most part) through fear and violence; however, the extent to which they made concessions towards their bondsmen and women's needs – such as paying them for overtime work on Sundays and holidays – demonstrated that “the notion of reciprocity had entered the thinking of both masters and slaves” (Genovese 313). The line between total slavery and a tentative amount of freedom was therefore already present, and was further troubled by the unfixed boundary between night and day.⁹

9 Jacobs' narrative demonstrates that any concession could lead to further freedom, as she illustrates the subversive acts slaves undertook during holidays. During Christmas, slaves celebrated their own day known as Johnkannau in which the masks and costumes worn were used to undermine the hierarchy of the plantation. Ann Bradford Warner writes that “[t]he briefly empowered folk of Jacob's description, in their huge plantation bands, express their resistance to American slavery with their African survivals and parody the oppressive institutions of the South” (218).

The narratives address this uncertainty by detailing the actions of slaves working together at night to survive and raise families in times of adversity. Doing so, they challenge the image, established in pro-slavery propaganda, that slaves depend on their masters for instruction or guidance. Many of the slaves toil late into the night to ensure that their families could receive the kind of food and clothing that their masters refused to provide them with. Linda Brent observes how her mother was such a successful cook that "she asked permission of her mistress to bake crackers at night, after all the household work was done; and she obtained leave to do it, provided she would clothe herself and her children from the profits" (12). Charles Ball relates how he "procure[d] supplies of such things as were not allowed me by my master" by setting up a system of animal traps and attending them regularly: "I went three times a week, always after night, to bring home my game, and keep my traps in good order." By doing so he was able to bring a steady supply of meat to his adopted family and friends (112).

As well as demonstrating the industry and resourcefulness of slaves, the narratives also appeal to the traditional ideas regarding family structure by illustrating bonding at night. For many of the young protagonists, it is only under the fall of night that they achieve contact with family members who belong to different masters. One of the first things Douglass informs the reader is that he never saw his mother "more than four or five times in my life; and each of these times was very short in duration, and at night." (*Narrative* 16). Many of the narrators explore the importance of family ties established under the cover of night, thus challenging the racist belief that black men and women did not adhere to traditional (if any) family models. In Jacobs' narrative, she relates the difficult separation between herself and her daughter, whom she has only been permitted to visit under the cover of darkness. The night before she is scheduled to escape to the North, Jacobs "begged permission [from her grandmother and uncle] to pass the last night in one of the open chambers, with my little girl." Holding the daughter she has only been permitted to observe from a distance for the last five years, Jacobs illustrates a powerful bond between a mother and daughter that can only be expressed in secret:

I told her to say her prayers, and remember always to pray for her poor mother, and that God would permit us to meet again. She wept, and I did not check her tears. Perhaps she would never again have a chance to pour her tears into a mother's bosom. All night she nestled in my arms, and I had no inclination to slumber. The moments were too precious to lose any of them. (210-12)

This scene, which is by any standards devastating, would have appealed greatly to the mid-nineteenth-century popular demands for both slave-oriented and sentimental literature. It masterfully illustrates a black woman as a caring mother, who grieves for her missing children just as much as any white woman would (Yellin 274). Night provides the slave with a space in which to demonstrate the gamut of human emotion. The night functions as a loophole of retreat, in which the other authors do exactly what Jacobs does in her narrative: stretch the boundaries of the genre of slave narrative to "whatever extent necessary to accommodate [their] particular experience" (Gibson 170). The literary night enabled them to challenge popular perceptions of the abilities of slaves.

Sundown

These representations of nocturnal slavery are decidedly gothic as they recognise the continually conflicting and often contradictory nature of the night as being simultaneously a place of enslavement and freedom, concealment and discovery, intimacy and alienation (something that will also become apparent in Chapter Four's examination of women's gothic writing in the Gilded Age). Such a view of the American night is reminiscent of Goddu's observation that, particularly in its depiction of slavery:

American gothic literature criticizes America's national myth of new-world innocence by voicing the cultural contradictions that undermine the nation's claim to purity and equality. Showing how these contradictions contest and constitute national identity even as they are denied, the gothic tells of the historical horrors that make national

identity possible yet must be repressed in order to sustain it.

(10)

The nocturnal slave gothic portrays the multiplicities of slavery that are often concealed in the day, illustrating the horrors that both constitute and challenge American chattel slavery. To put it in Deleuzian terms, the night demonstrates the rhizomatic nature of slavery (21-2) – the hidden systems of sexual deviancy, illegal kidnapping, and slave rebellion – which undermine the successful running of slavery found in the sunshine.

The contradictory nature of the darkness of slavery begins early, when as children the narrators first realise they are enslaved. This accords with Foster's delineation of four stages of the slavery narrative: the first stage is the "loss of innocence," wherein the narrator develops "an awareness of what it means to be a slave" (85). Due to the lack of usefulness a child is to a slave master, the young slave boy can be, according to Douglass, "a genuine boy, doing whatever his boyish nature suggests[.]" "His days," Douglass writes, "when the weather is warm, are spent in the pure, open air, and in the bright sunshine." Sunshine here denotes the blissful and carefree existence that marks the slave's first and perhaps only happy period, before the burdens of slavery begin to appear. However, sunshine here also denotes ignorance: this carefree existence is shown to already have "shadows" which hint at the misfortunes of slavery soon to come, ones that the boy is able to forget because of his wild, savage-like state, as he "continues to roll in the dust, or play in the mud, as best suits him, in the veriest freedom" (*Bondage* 34-5). Jacobs' Brent, meanwhile, makes frequent references to the darkness of her current life and the brightness of life after slavery. Day time is all but impossible in the life of a slave, as she claims that

Every where the years bring to all enough of sin and sorrow;
but in slavery the very dawn of life is darkened by these
shadows. Even the little child, who is accustomed to wait on
her mistress and her children, will learn, before she is twelve
years old, why it is that her mistress hates such and such a
one among the slaves. Perhaps the child's own mother is
among those hated ones. She listens to violent outbreaks of

jealous passion, and cannot help understanding what is the cause. She will become prematurely knowing in evil things. Soon she will learn to tremble when she hears her master's footfall. She will be compelled to realize that she is no longer a child. If God has bestowed beauty upon her, it will prove her greatest curse. (45-6)

The darkness of slavery once again eclipses the young slave's life and causes the kind of undue misery that a young white girl would not experience. However, the encroaching darkness is also synonymous with burgeoning knowledge. In this case, a young slave girl will soon learn the plantation's sexual hierarchy, coming to realise that she, like her mother, will be abused by her master and despised by her mistress as a result. In Jacobs there is hinted the knowledge that will be explored further in Frances Harper's *Iola Leroy* half a century later: the darkened history of race mixing upon which antebellum chattel slavery depended. While the darkness itself is unwelcome and fear-inspiring, it is also crucial to the slave child's journey to eventual escape, as the darkness is their way into understanding the underbelly of plantation life and how their familial roots are intertwined with those of their slave masters. While Solomon Northup, unlike many other slave narrators, was not a slave in childhood, and was instead a free black who was illegally kidnapped by slavecatchers in a Northern state, his sudden realisation of his newfound slave status is conveyed in terms of the image of darkness. Upon waking up from being drugged by his kidnappers, Solomon "found myself alone, in utter darkness, and in chains" (38). It is when Solomon has been divested of his money and free papers and placed in a night-like prison that his travelling companions' true intentions are revealed to him. Once again the darkness of slavery opens up to the slave the secrets that eluded them about their condition in the daylight of society.

The apex of Douglass' slavery comes during his first six months under the rule of his cruellest overseer, Covey. Covey routinely works him to the bone, beating him until Douglass claims he is broken; or in Douglass's own words, "the dark night of slavery closed in upon me[.]" Douglass describes himself as a "man transformed into a brute" and that he

is at his lowest point (*Narrative* 63).¹⁰ Yet it is also important to note that this is one of the times when he is at his most eloquent, and indeed, his often-quoted boat scene, considered to be his most poetic and adventurous prose, takes place at this time too (Stepto xx-xxi). It is also during this “dark night” that Douglass begins to fight his way out of slavery, beginning with his domination of Covey in a match of “brute” strength, described by Douglass as “a turning point in my career as a slave” (78). Like Jacobs, this “dark night” is the space in which Douglass recognises the route he must take out of slavery.

Give Me Sunshine

Southern economic activity is frequently aligned with daylight, even sunshine. Plantation activity, after all, was typically done during the day, and the majority of it took place in the heat of the summer. Slave narrators demonstrate how the workings of slavery have prevented them from attaining their rightful place in the sunshine. Such a strategy highlights the injustice of the fact that, while slave work is depended upon for Southern productivity, these very same slaves are inexplicably excluded from obtaining any kind of recompense for their actions. Furthermore, when plantation work forces them to work long days of back-breaking labour, they must endure the unbearable heat of the Southern sun without any recognition for their actions. When accused of stealing a sack full of wheat from his master, Bibb replies:

Many a long summer’s day have I toiled with my wife and other slaves, cultivating his father’s fields, and gathering in his harvest, under the scorching rays of the sun [...] And yet if a slave presumed to take a little from the abundance

10 Considering the reflexive terms Douglass uses here, it’s interesting to notice that he could in fact also be talking about Covey. Moreover, by likening Covey to a brute Douglass is expanding on one of the motifs found throughout slavery literature, which focuses on how slavery turns the slave into animals (Kohn 503). Here, Douglass is illustrating how slavery can turn both the slave and the *slaver* into animals.

which he had made by his own sweat and toil, to supply the demands of nature, to quiet the craving appetite which is sometimes almost irresistible, it is called stealing by slaveholders. (194)

Bibb here highlights the injustice of the white slaveholding system, which relies on black labour – it has them gathering harvest “under the scorching rays of the sun,” – while refusing to acknowledge that they are the authors of such work. Henry “Box” Brown (so nicknamed because he escaped slavery in a crate through the postal service), similarly, laments that

the genial warmth of the early sun may fill us with pleasurable emotions; but we know that ere long, this sweet singing must be silenced by the fierce cracking of the bloody lash, falling on our own shoulders, and that the cool breezes and the gentle heat of early morn, must be succeeded by the hot winds and fiery rays of Slavery's meridian day. (20-1)

Here the overseer's “bloody lash” is made synonymous with the unforgivable midday sun that robs them of any respite.

Indeed, one of the biggest examples of Southern economic activity which takes place in the sunshine is the slave auction. The gothic inherent in such scenes is everywhere evident, as families are separated and even tearful goodbyes are interrupted by the violence of the slaver's whip. The fact that such a terrifying spectacle can be seen as part of the status quo – and done in the open air of a sunny day – is part of what makes these scenes so disturbing. The key difference between this daytime gothic scene and the nocturnal gothic, is that the narrators are drawing attention to the already recognised machinations of slavery. In the same paragraph where Box Brown illustrates the “screams, which every slave-auction witnesses, where the scalding tears rush in agonizing torrents down the sorrow-stricken cheeks of the bereaved slave mother; and where clubs are sometimes used to drive apart two fond friends who cling to each other,” Brown also rebukes the Northern reader for their complicity in such actions and likens the slave market to hell: “Slavery reigns and rules the councils of

this nation, as Satan presides over Pandemonium, and the loud and clear cry of the anti-slavery host, calling upon the people of the land to cease their connection with the tyrannical system, is universally unheeded" (*DocSouth* 34-5). The language used here demonstrates that the practice of the slave auction is everywhere apparent in white society, and cannot be ignored: those who do, therefore, are living in wilful ignorance. Likening such an institution to hell on earth shows how repulsive the daytime society of America is, both North and South.¹¹

By illustrating the auction, the cornerstone of chattel slavery, as a daytime affair, the narrators highlight the South's heartlessness and the North's hypocrisy. This is an institution they cannot and should not ignore as it is depicted as being clear as day: "The slave auctioneer's bell and the church-going bell chime in with each other, and the bitter cries of the heart-broken slave are drowned in the religious shouts of his pious master," writes Douglass (*Narrative* 119-20). The day, then, becomes in many ways the representative of the public face of slaveholding, however barbaric this image is. In his defence of slaveholding, *Abolition Exposed!* (1838), William Wilcocks Sleigh clearly marks his position as distinct from that of the slave trade, writing at one point, "Here we are then, a pair of slave-holders (not slave-traders)" (30). Even amongst slavery apologists, slave trading was seen as an embarrassing lost cause. By focusing on the nocturnal gothic in this chapter, it is not to say that the night is necessarily more terrifying or brutal than daytime slavery: rather, that the nocturnal gothic focuses on the unseen aspects of slavery that undermines the image of slavery as a well-managed (if violent and inhumane) industry. After all, many whites believed that black men and women required the governance of the white master or overseer to maintain order, even if this necessitated the threat of (and the enacting of) violence.

The literary night, as seen through the lens of slavery, was never apolitical: and indeed, the abolitionist authors had much to contend against

11 The myriad ways in which the North benefited from Southern slavery are examined in Anne Farrow, Joel Lang and Jenifer Frank's *Complicity: How the North Promoted, Prolonged, and Profited from Slavery* (2007).

regarding pro-slavery propaganda. The hours of darkness were a fraught battleground in which propagandists attempted to establish their dominance. In the popular pamphlet, "A letter to an American Planter, from his friend in London," (1781) the author, John Waring, advises, "Might not the Slaves be called together in an Evening two or three times a Week, on the LORD's Day in particular, to be instructed in the Principles of Religion by a Person duly qualified for the Purpose?" (12). This pamphlet was one of the earliest texts on the subject of slavery found in George Washington's personal library (Hayes 231). In *The Planter's Northern Bride*, the reader is informed that

No matter how hard he [the slave] has been at work, if it be a moonlight night, he steals off on a 'possum hunt, or a fishing frolic, or if he hears a violin, he is up dancing the Virginia breakdown, or the Georgia rattlesnake. If he be one of the "settled ones," to use one of their favourite expressions, he may be heard singing the songs of Zion, in that plaintive, melodious voice peculiar to his race. (Loc 337)

The depiction of the nocturnal slavery experience here is one that stresses the typical pro-slavery beliefs that slaves were Sambos: carefree, child-like creatures incapable of planning ahead who lived only for "pleasure" – pleasure found through work or dancing. The masters could be justified in the continuance of slavery as the black men and women under their care were kept safe from their own dangerous impulses. Another insidious example of such a stereotype is found in William Gilmore Simms' *The Sword and the Distaff* (1853), in which Tom, an enslaved cook proclaims "Sleeping and dance is de t'ing for mek' nigger wuk like a gempleman, and keep him from tief. When he dance, he sweat out all he badness. Den he good, lub he maussa, an' 'tan' up to he wuk, like a sodger 'g'in de inimy" (450). Putting such words in the mouths of black characters, particularly in a racist vernacular created to undermine their intelligence, was a tactic employed to create the kind of tractable slave that masters could manufacture only in fiction. Ralph Ellison highlights the dangers of such a practice when arguing that

the most insidious and least understood form of segregation is that of the word. And by this I mean [...] the word with all its subtle power to suggest and foreshadow overt action while magically disguising the moral consequences of that action and providing it with symbolic and psychological justification. For if the word has the potency to revive and make us free, it also has the power to blind, imprison and destroy. (134)

By creating a false non-standard vernacular for his black characters, Simms has signalled that they should not be taken seriously, as they are unable to achieve the ideals of white society. In viewing them as vessels for white entertainment, moreover, white audiences could ignore the macabre and potentially deadly underbelly of slavery. As Cowan observes, "the maintenance of the slave's comic mask seems [...] to speak to white fear: planters not wanting to see beneath the mask – wanting instead to be able to sleep at night without worrying about the surrounding slave population" (28-9).

The nightscape, in the black-written, anti-slavery narrative in comparison becomes the space in which the rhizomatic or unseen workings of slavery are done, behind closed doors and under starry skies. Through its comparison with the day time, the nocturnal gothic becomes the ultimate damnation of white society. After all, despite its dangers, exposure, and dangerous animals, the nocturnal wilderness is infinitely more desirable to the white "civilised" daytime. In a reversal of the western views of enlightenment, civilisation in the slavery narratives is often viewed as a gothic jungle, one in which the towns and cities are inhabited by beasts and savages. The city during the day in particular is a space of danger and terror, as both enslaved and free blacks find themselves hounded through the streets and must find shelter. Bibb, fearing getting shot, wounded, or kidnapped in Louisville recognises that there is no space for him in the daytime of white society: "With these fearful apprehensions," he wrote, "caution dictated me not to proceed far by day-light in this slaveholding city" (75).

Masters of the Night

The slaveholding state's particular challenge with night time slave activity is highlighted throughout the narratives via the use of regulation. While slaves are punished for a whole range of transgressive action, nocturnal transgressions are frequently cited as a separate category and punished more harshly. Box Brown describes how, "if any slave visit a plantation, other than that of his master, without a written pass, he shall be liable to ten lashes," while in comparison, "for riding or going abroad at night, without a written permission, a slave may be cropped or branded in the cheek, with the letter E, or otherwise punished, not extending to life, or so as to render him unfit for labour" (*Dover* 61). Douglass writes that slaves must receive "for traveling in any other than the most usual and accustomed road, when going alone to any place, forty lashes; for traveling in the night without a pass, forty lashes" ("Reception" 308). The simple act of being out at night is considered as worthy of the same punishment as being on a wayward path during the day. This furthermore demonstrates that, to the slaveholder, night was considered almost a foreign land. The night was therefore striated by Southern law, which demanded that the night become an even more regulated arena than the day.

Clearly, slave owners recognised the challenge that night posed to their regime, as depicted in how much time they spend disciplining their slaves for nocturnal transgressions. One of the slavery narrative's primary motifs is that of the slave driver or overseer whipping their bondsmen (or more often bondswomen) for minor offenses. Frequently these slaves are being punished for the crime of being out at night without a pass, as in the case of Douglass's young aunt:

Aunt Hester went out one night,--where or for what I do not know,--and happened to be absent when my master desired her presence. He had ordered her not to go out evenings, and warned her that she must never let him catch her in company with a young man, who was paying attention to her belonging to Colonel Lloyd. [...] Aunt Hester had not only disobeyed his orders in going out, but had been found in company with Lloyd's Ned; which circumstance, I found,

from what he said while whipping her, was the chief offence.

(*Narrative* 19-20)

Similar scenes are reenacted in the work of Wells Brown and Mary Prince. In these scenes, a young woman is being punished for night-time transgressions. These violent reactions in which masters tear and scar black female bodies are synecdochal attempts to delineate or striate the Southern night, by enforcing submission or compliance on the part of the slave. The content of these whipping scenes is (almost inevitably) gothic, highlighting the helpless and pitiful nature of the slave in comparison to the merciless and fetishistic actions of the master. Douglass describes how his aunt is stripped naked to the waist by her master, and after forcing her to stand on a stool and tying her hands to a hook, "commenced to lay on the heavy cowskin, and soon the warm, red blood (amid heard-rending shrieks from her, and horrid oaths from him) came dripping to the floor" (20).

The fact that the inequality between master and slave was so often illustrated throughout the narratives in typical gothic terms of a helpless objectified young woman in comparison to a physically dominant man has problems of its own.¹² However, to the authors' credit, these female characters end up in such terrifying positions precisely because of their decision to exercise control over their own lives, by visiting their lovers at night. Douglass in particular seems to have recognised how important such a message would be to his audience: in *My Bondage and My Freedom* he has added to his aunt's story (here renamed "Esther") to increase her autonomy. Following her horrific scene of punishment, we learn that "The scene here described was often repeated in the case of poor Esther, and her

12 The problems of the voyeuristic nature of such passages has been observed by Maggie Sale. She writes that "Male-authored slave narratives of the nineteenth century graphically depict the sexual abuse of enslaved women by white men. These portrayals were part of the literary formula designed by abolitionists and ex-slave narrators to garner support for the abolition of slavery among Northern – and Southern – sympathizers. Two effects of this strategy, however, were the monolithic representation of enslaved women as passive and hapless victims and the association of black women with illicit sex" (xvii).

life, as I knew it, was one of wretchedness" (67). Hester/Esther then, despite leading a life of "wretchedness," it seems, was willing to return to this scene of terror time and again if this was the only way she could maintain a vestige of control over who she got to see and when she got to see them. The image created, that of returning to such a scene of terror again and again, demonstrates how barbaric such a system must be, and furthermore, how crucial her escapes into the night time must be. James Walvin observes that "Today, images of the chains of slavery are seen as evoking African subjection. But the opposite is also true: they are evidence of African rebellion" (54). The plethora of equipment employed by slave traders to prevent their prisoners from overthrowing the crew while at sea demonstrates how many rebellion attempts they came up against. Similarly, one could observe that the actions of slaves enduring punishment as a sign of their infinite ability to refuse total subjection within the regime. A flouting of authority, even – or, indeed, particularly – if it led to punishment, demonstrated the rebellious and autonomous side of the black individual.

Furthermore, acting directly against the wishes of their masters was a significant act of dark sousveillance, undermining the control of the one supposedly in charge. As Sidonie Smith observes,

From the knowledge that he was outwitting "old massa" the slave could derive a limited but very real sense of power over his circumstance. And in an existence otherwise characterized by absolute impotence, this mode of expression, this mastery over the master, became a form of self-dignity, an alternative form of freedom within enslavement. (16)

Such an act of dark surveillance can be seen in Wells Brown's novel *Clotel* (1867) in a side story which demonstrates the lengths to which a slave can go to challenge the master's authority. It concerns a doctor's slave called Sam, known as the "Black Doctor" because of his own skills in medicine which have surpassed those of his master's. Sam, being left in charge of his master's clothes at night would frequently steal them to wear at parties in the city. After being discovered, however, he is punished for this act: he is

"taken into the barn, tied up, and severely flogged with the cat, which brought from him the truth concerning his absence the previous night." While such a brutal punishment puts an end to Sam's "fine appearance at the negro parties" (35), the brutality itself underscores the desperate lengths masters must go in order to rectify what they perceive as a power imbalance.

Hard Day's Night

While the most obvious mode by which the cruel slave driver is depicted is by their barbaric use of the whip, another less explicit but still pervasive illustration is the ruthless slave owner who forces their slaves to work at night. While there appears to be something of a tacit agreement between the black narrator and their white audience that working during the day (often with the exception of the Sabbath) is an accepted (if not *acceptable*) aspect of Southern black slavery, the slavers who force their workers to perform further duties at night are the ones intended to be seen as monstrous to the white reader. The nocturnal gothic often illustrates acts which are not dissimilar to those that take place during the day (after all, slavers were permitted to do whatever they wanted with their slaves so long as they did not cause long-term physical damage which would affect their productivity). However, it demonstrates the horrific by-products that are not always evident in the industry of the daytime. Pro-slavery literature was careful to downplay the advantages masters took of their bondsmen and women at night, such as in Mary Henderson Eastman's *Aunt Phillis's Cabin; or, Southern Life as It Is* (1852) in which "[t]he master [...] who would force him to work on holidays, or at night; who would deny him common recreations, or leave him without shelter and provision, in his old age, would incur the aversion of the community, and raise obstacles to the advancement of his own interest and external aims" (71). In comparison, abolitionist narratives demonstrate that the planters' actions are selfish, lust-driven, and frequently tyrannical. Much like the villainous characters in Brockden Brown's work, the night time sees their paternalistic beliefs brought through to their gruesome logical conclusion. Their complete ownership illustrates them forcing their slaves to perform dangerous and degrading acts far beyond the remit of their supposed regular duties. This

includes Mary Prince drooping down "overcome by sleep and fatigue, till roused from a state of stupor by the whip, and forced to start up to my tasks" (11), while Solomon Northup gives an account how Edwin Epps, the most violent of all his masters, forced his slaves to perform perverse all-night dances for him at his manor: "many a night in the house of Edwin Epps have his unhappy slaves been made to dance and laugh." There was of course no rest period afterwards. "Notwithstanding these deprivations in order to gratify the whim of an unreasonable master, we had to be in the field as soon as it was light, and during the day perform the ordinary and accustomed task" (182).

Particularly horrific passages challenge the ownership white slavers claim over the enslaved by demonstrating that this "ownership" extends to sexual possession. The slavery narrative highlights how, much like the hypocrisy found in Lewis and Clark's Fort Clatsop, despite rules against race mixing, white men abuse their powerful positions to take sexual advantage of women of colour. Bibb writes, "[I]licentious white men, can and do, enter at night or day the lodging places of slaves break up the bonds of affection in families; destroy all their domestic and social union for life and the laws of the country afford them no protection" (38). Race mixing is a frequent theme in the antebellum slave narrative, with many of the narrators themselves having a white father who may even be their master (Olney 153). The plight of female slaves at night is particularly terrifying, with many of them desperately attempting to avoid rape at the hands of their masters. In order to demonstrate the injustice of their situation, the black authors employed the tropes of the popular gothic narrative in which a pious virgin with a low social standing lives in terror of the advances of an older more powerful suitor, who is interested not in marriage but debauchery (Yellin 271-2). In this way, antebellum authors built upon the groundwork established in seduction novels of the early republic and Britain. Unlike their white counterparts, however, slave women did not even have the opportunity to marry an honest suitor, if fortunate enough to avoid seduction. Stephen Matterson observes how Jacobs shrewdly uses romance plots to highlight this difference: "she even plays with the famous line from *Jane Eyre*, where 'Reader, I married him' is turned into 'Reader, my story ends with freedom; not in the usual way, with marriage'" (150).

In an echo of Samuel Richardson's *Pamela*, Linda Brent, must repeatedly hide from the advances of her owner, Dr. Flint, finding safety at night only by sleeping beside her great aunt (51-2).

In another perversion of the seduction plot, Wells Brown recounts a conversation he overhears between beautiful quadroon, Cynthia, and her master, Mr. Walker, while aboard a steamboat. "I heard him make his base offers, and her reject them." Brown informs the reader,

He told her that if she would accept his vile proposals, he would take her back with him to St. Louis, and establish her as his housekeeper at his farm. But if she persisted in rejecting them, he would sell her as a field hand on the worst plantation on the river. Neither threats nor bribes prevailed, however, and he retired, disappointed of his prey.
(28)

While Cynthia resists this time and confides in Brown, Brown receives word that Walker does indeed take Cynthia back to St. Louis and fathers two children with her, before promptly marrying someone else and selling Cynthia and her children off into bondage (47-8). In this way, Brown and Jacobs both use the recognised tropes of seduction to highlight the injustice of the female slave's experience. While the seduction novel is predicated on the young woman either being seduced by a rake or managing to avoid this fate and remaining chaste (at least until a properly sanctioned marriage), Linda Brent must find a third route, that of locating an alternative sexual partner outside of marriage. Due to the lack of information given regarding Cynthia's coercion, it is never made clear whether she eventually "assented" to Walker's terms or whether she was violently held against her will. As a result, in both examples, due to a slave woman being denied the right to retain her chastity, the heroine has not been given the opportunity to lead a pious, Christian life, and as a result cannot be judged by white values (Smith 219). The night, in which the slaveholder is given a greater sway over their bondswomen, shows the hypocrisy and the injustice at the heart of slaveholding society in which black women are not provided the opportunity to defend their virtue.

The slave holder in the antebellum narrative is in this way the successor to the villain in the seduction novel: Valerie Smith has identified that Dr. Flint who is "for some reason reluctant to force [Linda] to submit sexually, harasses, pleads with, and tries to bribe her into capitulating, in the manner of an importunate suitor like Richardson's seducer" (219). Rather than physically forcing Linda to accede to his demands he attempts to convince her that she has a choice in the matter, much like Montraville and La Rue guilting Charlotte Temple into unwillingly acquiescing to marriage across the Atlantic ocean. In a broader fashion, those involved in the slave trade also take on the role of a literary seducer. Perhaps most notably of all is the kidnapping of Solomon Northup by two "gentlemen" who drug his drink one evening and send him to bed once he starts to feel unwell. Later that night they convince him that they are bringing him to a doctor and following a spell of unconsciousness, Northup awakes "alone, in utter darkness, and in chains" and discovers he has been divested of his free papers (37-8). Like any one of the numerous victims in the seduction plot, Northup has been enticed out by con-men into the uncertainty of the evening, only to be abandoned in the darkness of the American night without recourse to justice or a support network.

Indeed, these narratives demonstrate how the system of slavery operates at least in part through a system of seduction: both the seduction of enslaved black men and women, and of white audiences. Throughout the narratives, slavers and overseers promise freedom to narrators and their families in exchange for years of work and large amounts of money. This freedom may eventually be awarded or it may be suspended indefinitely, as in the case of Josiah Henson, whose master contrives to have his free papers concealed from the public, rendering them useless (47-8). Meanwhile, the status of more likeable slave holders who did not use violent means of discipline was often used as a way of hinting at the possibility of a more palatable form of slavery: in a speech from 1850, Douglass points out that "One of the most telling testimonies against the pretended kindness of slaveholders, is the fact that uncounted numbers of fugitives are now inhabiting the Dismal Swamp, preferring the untamed wilderness to their cultivated homes[...]" ("Inhumanity" 334). Such a sentiment is underlined in Henry Bibb's narrative. While attempting to escape slavery at night with

his family through dangerous swampland, they are attacked by a pack of wolves. Bloodthirsty and violent as they are, the wolves are eventually scared off by Bibb, enabling him and his family to escape, only to have them found by *another* pack of animals: local patrollers' blood hounds. This time, Bibb surrenders for the sake of his family. Reflecting upon these events, he writes,

The reader may perhaps imagine what must have been my feelings when I found myself surrounded on the island with my little family, at midnight, by a gang of savage wolves. This was one of those trying emergencies in my life when there was apparently but one step between us and the grave. But I had no cords wrapped about my limbs to prevent my struggling against the impending danger to which I was then exposed. I was not denied the consolation of resisting in self defence, as was now the case. There was no Deacon standing before me, with a loaded rifle, swearing that I should submit, to the torturing lash, or be shot down like a dumb beast. (131)

Bibb here explicitly outlines that for all that the nocturnal wilderness is a place of extreme danger that threatened the safety of both him and his family, there is at the very least an egalitarianism to it denied to him by white society. He does not find himself bound and chained, and is instead given at least a fighting chance against his opposition: "I felt that my chance was by far better among the howling wolves in the Red river swamp," Bibb concludes, "than before Deacon Whitfield, on the cotton plantation" (131). Here then, is where Bibb and his fellow authors gain a sense of control over their own narratives. The portrayal of nocturnal wilderness as a space that remained infinitely more desirable than the white-controlled day was a glaring indictment of slaveholding society of the South. The narratives, then, serve to counteract the seductive view of chattel slavery as "kindness" or even a necessary evil, by demonstrating how all of America has been seduced by the institution. Illustrating the horrors of the literal and figurative darkness of slavery, the narratives undid

the damage done by the “pretended kindness” or ambiguity of the slaveholder.

The High Cost of Slavery

Much like the early republic seduction novel, the narratives also highlight how slavery, like coverture, is dependent upon a network of wealthy individuals who use their power to disproportionately benefit themselves, at the cost of both black and poor white populations. The narratives highlight that a huge amount of time and energy went into keeping slaves in line and particularly spent disciplining them when they stepped out of line. The almost comic lengths to which masters and slave traders go to police the American nightscape challenges the idea that the slave industry is a viable model of business. “It takes two white men,” a southerner told sociologist Harriet Martineau, “to make a black man work” (qtd. Genovese 299). Although most likely a hyperbolic statement intended to highlight the perceived laziness of black workers, such a sentiment would question whether slavery could stand up under any sustained scrutiny.

As was also the case historically, many slaves in the narratives leave at night with no intention of returning in the morning. During the eighteenth century as the number of slaves increased and it became easier to slip out unnoticed, men and women would hide out in the woods and visit their friends and families at night where they would be provided with shelter and food. In response, the Virginia assembly attempted to curb numbers of fugitives by proclaiming the names of runaways at church doors. When this did not encourage a runaway to return it was then lawful for the fugitives to be killed by anyone who came across them (Morgan 312-3). Similar laws are explored in the slave narratives. Henry Bibb informs us that

The state of Georgia, by an act of 1770, declared “that it shall not be lawful for any number of free negroes, molattoes or mestinos, or even slaves in company with white persons, to meet together for the purpose of mental instruction, either before the rising of the sun or after the going down of the same.” (31-2)

Bibb's follow-up observation, that patrols "go through their respective towns to prevent slaves from meeting for religious worship or mental instruction" (32) highlights the inordinate amount of time and effort put in to prevent nocturnal transgressions. Douglass writes that "At every gate through which we were to pass, we saw a watchman—at every ferry a guard—on every bridge a sentinel—and in every wood a patrol. We were hemmed in upon every side" (*Narrative* 87). Linda Brent describes listening to "the patrols and slave-hunters conferring together about the capture of runaways, well knowing how rejoiced they would be to catch me" (224). Even if white readers were to believe in the pretended kindness of slaveholders the latent violence inherent in the wider systems of surveillance are highlighted throughout. Moreover, the absurdity of the situation is also illustrated: one runaway slave necessitates the concentrated effort of countless white men in order to find her, all thanks to the whims of one licentious master.

Night was a huge risk factor in the everyday workings of slavery as it was clearly not possible for masters to prevent escapes in the first place; it was a risk that had to be shored up for in the form of a huge amount of man hours required to catch and return slaves. Even the most callous of northerners, when faced with representations detailing how the slave trade required so much policing, would have to question the success of such a system. Furthermore, night in the slavery narrative exposes the success of those intent on cheating or simply capitalising on the failings of the system of slavery. In *Clotelle*, a band of ruthless slave-catchers cause the death of a beautiful slave woman, Isabella. Chasing her through the streets of Richmond, Virginia, at night, they are unable to catch her; once she reaches the Potomac river she realises the futility of her actions and chooses to jump into the rapids below (67-8). Thoreau may fear that he "may not wander far enough beyond the narrow limits of my daily experience" (359), but the antebellum slavery narrative demonstrated how carefully and cynically the American night was policed to ensure that black men and women were fenced in and prevented from wandering at all.

Slave-catchers are exposed as blood-thirsty and dangerous, just as likely to kill a slave as to return them to their owner. Their actions highlight the futility of the enterprise, as evinced during Charles Ball's escape in

which nearly thirty men had been “out all night waiting and watching for me on the other roads of this part of the country” (226). Such an act is so out of proportion with the “threat” that Ball poses to white society that it verges on the absurd. However, even such an act has its place within the gothic: as Timothy Jones argues, there is a carnivalesque mode to the American gothic which invites its readers to laugh at what would normally be seen as horrifying (9-40). Demonstrating that these grown men are indulging in almost childlike behaviour, Ball may be encouraging the reader to see the white response as pitiful as it may be monstrous. They are seen as threats to innocent children and women, not to mention willing to cheat by stealing slaves to get ahead. Indeed, Linda Brent, observing that the poor whites were little better off than black slaves, writes that “All day long these unfeeling wretches went round, like a troop of demons, terrifying and tormenting the helpless. At night, they formed themselves into patrol bands, and went wherever they chose among the colored people, acting out their brutal will” (99). What appears to be a nuisance during the day turns out to be a danger at night. Thus the fallout of slavery is that the undesirable members of the white community are permitted free rein to commit violence and thievery unchecked.

The slave-hunters’ shady nocturnal practices undermine any respectability their profession might have. Frequently the slave-hunters allow their recently captured slaves to escape due to their own vices, namely that of intoxication. Such a strategy would have been a serious challenge to the credibility of slave-hunters: the nineteenth-century temperance movement linked drunkenness to slavery, arguing that the alcoholic was a slave to the bottle (Vice 702).¹³ This is seen in William Parker’s autobiography when a fellow slave named George attempts to escape from his captors who have him handcuffed. After indulging in “bad whiskey” the white men start arguing, both convinced that if they are the first to go asleep the others will run off with the charge. Instead they continue to drink until they are all intoxicated, and end up falling asleep

13 Solitary “vices” such as onanism and alcoholism were considered to be characteristics of a degenerate selfish citizen, who would be unable to perform in the wider social and political climate of America. For further examination, see Castronovo’s *Necro Citizenship* (2001).

anyway. It is at this point, after "Rum, the devil, and fatigue, combined, had completely prostrated George's foes" (294) that he makes his escape. In *Clotelle*, similarly, a slave called Jerome makes his escape thanks to his captor's intoxication: "At dead of night, when all was still, the slave arose from the floor, upon which he had been lying, looked around and saw that Morpheus had possession of his captors. For once, thought he, the brandy bottle has done a noble work" (82). To add further insult to injury, Jerome dresses himself in the clothes of his kidnappers, all while they are still passed out, before escaping out a window. These incidents highlight how inept the type of man employed by the slave trade was, challenging the validity of the institution itself. When they do manage to hold on to their captives, it simply serves to undermine their lack of Christian charity: as Wells Brown writes in his autobiography, "The man who but a few hours before had bound my hands together with a strong cord, read a chapter from the Bible, and then offered up prayer, just as though God sanctioned the act he had just committed upon a poor panting, fugitive slave" (42).

The antebellum slavery narratives were published at a time when white southern workers were in direct competition with black slaves for employment. By the mid-nineteenth century, only a small amount of rich landowners in the Southern states could afford to own slaves, which gave them a monopoly on labour that most of the free population could not emulate (Smith, *Death*, 21). Meanwhile, white men without land resented that their labour was priced out of the market by work done by slaves. As the antebellum period went on, competition between white workers and slaves increased as slave owners further undermined white workers by training their slaves as mechanics, artisans, and other skilled labourers. Slaves were even used to break a white labour strike in Texas in 1856. In response to slave owners' actions, white mechanics and labourers challenged slaveholding by petitioning city councils and legislatures to prohibit slave competition (Takaki 122-3). The financial issues of slavery, therefore, were under scrutiny from other concerned bodies who had their own reasons for wanting it to be abolished. The shady economics of slavery as illustrated by these narratives therefore fed further into a background of anger and resentment aimed at southern slave owners. The night time dealings of slavers – from their lecherous antics to their out-and-out

stealing – painted them as poor businessmen who refused to pay for honest white workers; instead they paid nothing for their labour and when necessary, hired the worst kind of white men, drunkards and loafers, to do their dirty work for them.

Sleep with One Eye Open

While American slaves, who found themselves more closely guarded and isolated than slaves in other parts of the world, were more likely to demonstrate their objections to slavery through acts of passive resistance and elusion, they occasionally turned to more violent methods. Although there were relatively few insurrections on southern plantations for a variety of reasons¹⁴, there were several larger revolts in the nineteenth century, namely the 1831 revolt in Virginia in which Nat Turner led a group of slaves to kill around sixty white men. Larger risings were rare, but as Genovese puts it, “in every decade slaveholders in every part of the South got an occasional jolt from news that normally obedient slaves had killed a master, mistress, or overseer” (615). Recognising that the threat of violent uprising could be used to demonstrate the failings of slaveholding – what use is a master who lives in fear of his slave? – many of the slave narrators used the fear that they might just be killed in their beds to scare the slaveholding class. In the context of Deleuze’s theory, the slaves are forming a “war machine.” Deleuze and Guattari argue that nomads created the war machine by “inventing absolute speed, by being ‘synonymous’ with speed” (450). The war machine is an apparatus created by nomads designed to utilise or transform smooth space to challenge the state (427). The cover of

14 Southern slaves in the nineteenth century were kept isolated – larger plantations of 100+ slaves were in the minority – and the enforced paternal relationships between slaves and their masters meant they were under more surveillance than in a typical slave regime. “Not all masters took their paternalistic responsibilities seriously, but the small size of slaveholdings and the resident character-and mentality-of slaveholders produced unusually close contact between master and slave and fostered among many slave owners a strong paternalistic self-image” (Kolchin 111-2). The opportunity for revolts were therefore greatly reduced.

night is advantageous for the nomad as the oppressor finds it much harder to keep tabulations on both the location and number of nomads. Douglass demonstrates how slave knowledge can leave their masters in fear. Talking about how he would “keep the merciless slaveholder profoundly ignorant of the means of flight adopted by the slave,” he writes: “Let him be left to feel his way in the dark: let darkness commensurate with his crime hover over him; and let him feel that at every step he takes, in pursuit of the flying bondman, he is running the frightful risk of having his hot brains dashed out by an invisible agency” (*Narrative* 101-2). The night, it appears, is the time when the tables can turn on those in charge. The darkness enables Douglass to invent “absolute speed,” as the constant threat of him being anywhere confuses and terrifies the unwitting slaveholder. As Ekirch rightly points out, “Because, for the lower orders, night represented their day, it also became their chosen field of battle for insurgencies large and small” (258). By surrounding themselves with resentful men and women who were more attuned to the workings of the night than the slaveholders themselves were, the threat of a night-time rising may have been enough to get slaveholders concerned. Douglass’s threat – that of an unseen danger that lingers in the dark and inspires fear through his presence (or lack thereof) – brings to mind French philosopher and critic Denis Diderot’s description of Samuel Richardson’s *Clarissa*. In a passage regarding the eighteenth-century seduction novel, Diderot writes that Richardson

carries the torch to the back of the cave; he teaches us how to distinguish the subtle and dishonest motives which conceal themselves beneath other motives which are honest and which hasten to show themselves first, He blows on the sublime spectre that presents itself at the entrance to the cave; and the hideous Moor which it masks appears. (qtd. Lively 63)

The slavery narratives use the gothic trope of the “hideous Moor” to illustrate the fearful activities of the embittered slave hidden at the back of their own caves. In this case, the cave being the American night. While during the day the slaves may appear to be harmless simple “Sambos,” at night the mask slips to show the angry, bloodthirsty moor hidden beneath.

Indeed, some of the slavery narratives play up any fears masters may have had of a rising on their own plantation, with slaves plotting to take down their masters as they sleep. Charles Ball tells the story of two slaves, Lucy and Frank, who murder Lucy's master when he forbids them to meet at night. Due to their intimate knowledge of the white man's schedule, Lucy is able to make "a hole between two of the logs of the house, towards which she knew his back would be at supper," while Frank "came quietly up the house, levelled the gun through the hole prepared for him, and discharged a load of buck-shot between the shoulders of the unsuspecting master." Following this, they are able to dispatch him without fear of detection, isolated as one of the sole white people on his large plantation. The fact that one of the murderers has to inform the neighbouring plantation of what they have done shows just how long the master's body could have been left undiscovered (163). Linda Brent describes a slaveholder whose methods are so cruel they frequently result in the deaths of his bondsmen. He was, we learn, "so effectually screened by his great wealth that he was called to no account for his crimes, not even for murder." However, although he escapes the arm of white Southern law thanks to his fortune, he may well find it difficult to sleep at night, for as Linda recounts: "Murder was so common on his plantation that he feared to be alone after nightfall. He might have believed in ghosts." This man's brother, who was just as cruel, was not even left alone in death: news circulates that he died requesting his friends to bury his money with him, and

[f]rom this circumstance, a rumor went abroad that his coffin was filled with money. Three times his grave was opened, and his coffin taken out. The last time, his body was found on the ground, and a flock of buzzards were pecking at it. He was again interred, and a sentinel set over his grave. The perpetrators were never discovered. (71-3)

The slave owner's reputation in these instances ultimately does not shield them from retribution in the slave's domain, and in fact their status as rich whites becomes their downfall. In direct contrast, the perpetrators' (who are perhaps black slaves at night) lack of status or anonymity gives them the properties of "absolute speed," as they could be almost anywhere or

anyone. The fact that the perpetrators were never discovered leads to the horror of the situation, as this indicates that there are crimes enacted that will go unpunished. This knowledge might just embolden a slave to strangle his master in his sleep.

This may appear, at first glance, to be an example of where both the abolitionist and slaver are in agreement: indeed, Johan Höglund demonstrates that what he terms "imperial gothic" was used by contemporary white journalism to justify violence against black individuals (29-34). Poe's "The Tell-Tale-Heart" (1843) demonstrates how far these gothic tropes used within the slavery narratives were used more widely. The individual in this story, who decides to murder an old man at midnight after a week of particular kindness to ensure he drops his guard, could very well be a servant or slave: this would explain their frustration at the man's eye which causes their "blood" to run "cold" "Whenever it fell upon me" and was the reason they decide to kill him (691). However, it is important to recognise that while the slaveholding class took the hideous moor at face value (much in the way Diderot does above as some ahistorical and inevitable primitive being a necessary evil), the slavery narrators once again use these ecogothic conventions to reflect these beliefs back upon the white society they came from. If these moors are "hideous," it is because, as with Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818)¹⁵, white society has made them this way, whether by dividing up loving families or by denying them a share of the wealth they themselves have created. Wester argues that, in Ball's narrative, the ultimate horror stems from the fact that all black men and women have all been branded as bad: "Slavery's failure to distinguish between good and bad slaves, or even between violently criminal and mildly resistant slaves, invariably proves the supreme horror for Ball" (254). The slavery narratives features numerous black men and women who, in a fairer society, would be pillars of the community, as businessmen, craftsmen and women and caregivers, are here relegated to their own self-imposed caves, whether this be Linda Brent's garret, Henry Box Brown's crate, or any one of the tiny crawl spaces and hollows into which fugitives

15 Wester has argued that *Frankenstein* is appropriated often in African American literature, using the confrontation of a man with its maker: not to deny the monstrosity but to indict wider society. (IGA 2018)

are forced to conceal themselves. This highlights Bibb's frustration that he must remain in the darkness "to avoid detection in doing right" (49). The slavery narratives demonstrate that all "moors," whether hideous or not, have been forced to the back of the cave: and that if they have been forced to take on a monstrous form it is because they have been made to reside for too long in the social death or night of Southern society.

Early Morning

However, as has been argued, the night for slaves was not a uniformly positive or negative space, just as any delineation between night and day is fluid and ever-changing. Depending on the phase of the moon or cloud cover, certain nights allowed for more or less visibility and provided the slave with different opportunities. Describing the "ill-luck" that attended him on his escape, Frederick Douglass's protagonist Madison Washington in *The Heroic Slave* (1852) describes how

after being out a whole week, strange to say, I still found myself on my master's grounds; the third night after being out, a season of clouds and rain set in, wholly preventing me from seeing the North Star, which I had trusted as my guide, not dreaming that clouds might intervene between us. (227)

The night, the time in which many slaves attempted to escape their plantation, provides its own dangers and pitfalls: too much darkness or extremes of weather such as cloud cover can seriously hinder a fugitive. The night as explored in anti-slavery texts is similarly not a simple state of nature which "never wears a mean appearance" (Emerson "Nature," 215-6), but is instead an ever-changing multiplicity with which the slave must constantly negotiate. Seasonal variation dictated the movements of the slaves too: Genovese writes that "slaves took to the woods as limited and local runaways more often during the spring and summer months than during the autumn grinding season, when the work reached a peak of intensity and when the time for rest and sleep contracted sharply" (321). In this way the slave narratives challenge the day/night divide, just as they similarly challenge the black/white and North/South borders, highlighting

the race mixing and the complicity between the southern and northern states that facilitated the continuance of chattel slavery. Such challenges are highlighted by women writers, as the night had an added element of difficulty for female slaves, due to the accepted tropes regarding the abilities of black women.

While the nocturnal wilderness permitted a strain of egalitarianism for Bibb, who was able to defend his family from a pack of dangerous wolves, black women were often not permitted the same opportunities. Hannah Crafts writes in *The Bondswoman's Narrative* that "in the southern states a person traveling at night, especially female, would be certain to excite observation" (53). At times black women found themselves in a struggle with *black men* for space in the night time. Old Elizabeth, describing her first attempt to establish prayer meetings for fellow black women, writes that when they were discovered, "we were forbid holding any more assemblies. Even the elders of our meeting joined with the wicked people, and said such meetings must be stopped, and that woman quieted" (12). As a result, black women must often navigate further, searching for the loopholes within loopholes in order to find an egalitarian space. This is perhaps why several female protagonists escape in the early hours of the morning. When deciding when to make her escape, Sojourner Truth "was afraid to go in the night, and in the day every body would see her" and concludes to "leave just before the day dawned, and get out of the neighborhood where she was known before the people were much astir" (41). The paucity of day time (or early morning) escapes, in fact, appear to make them a paradoxically successful gambit. When, after Truth is discovered by her master after she has run away to stay with a white family who have offered her paid employment, she legitimises her actions by claiming, in essence, a loophole: "I did not run away; I walked away by day-light, and all because you had promised me a year of my time" (43). By rewriting her actions as ones that happened in the daylight (and hence, unsurreptitiously) Truth establishes herself as a partner in a business deal, one in which she has an equal saying. This strategy is in fact largely successful: not only does her master accept payment from this family to permit her to remain there, even his attempt to take Truth's son back with him is refused. The downside of such actions is that Truth, by reorienting

herself in the daylight of the slaveholders' South, must of course play by its rules (she is still the asset to be bartered in the transaction), and such a course of action could not have been achieved without the aid (or money) of a more considerate white Southern family. However, this is still, in many ways, an example of what Valerie Smith describes as a slave woman manipulating a degree of control even while at her most vulnerable (215-6).

Other women utilise the hazy line between day and night to their advantage, similar to Phillis Wheatley's poetry in which the early morning and evenings are celebrated as times of self-reflection and autonomous action between the rigorous daily regimes of American society (Warren MLA 2018). Mattie J. Jackson manages to make crucial contacts which lead to her escape by taking advantage of the only free time afforded to her – she "was allowed two hours once in two weeks to go and return three miles" to meet some agents of the Underground Railroad at four o'clock in the morning (26). When escaping aboard a steamer, Ellen Craft, a light-skinned slave dresses as an elderly white gentleman and is accompanied by her darker-skinned husband, William, posed as her servant. Ellen feigns a flare-up of rheumatism in order to reside in her berth for the duration of the evening (24). The hazy line between day and night – the confusion between public and private affairs – allows her to avoid the more intense scrutiny of white passengers and therefore adds to her disguise. Female slaves therefore escape into the spaces between even those inhabited by their male counterparts, taking advantage of unexpected and risky gambits – leaving in the morning, dressing as men - to vie for freedom.

Choosing to publish narratives of Harriet Tubman years after the civil war – Sarah Bradford wrote biographies of Tubman in 1869 and 1886 to raise funds for Tubman, who was denied a pension despite working as a scout and spy for the Union Army – was itself a dark sousveillance strategy. Tubman's career centred around that of rescuing slaves from the South and relaying covert information to the Union Army. Not only did her work depend on secrecy, but to see a black woman so capable and strong (thus taking on many of the roles more commonly attributed to men) may have worked against the image of the more traditional femininity seen in female antebellum texts. As Catherine Clinton has pointed out, "her missions were clandestine operations, and as a black and a woman she became doubly

invisible" (173). She does, moreover, have (or has taken back) freedom of movement at night and is successfully able to protect herself and her dependents. In 1886, Bradford described one of Tubman's many journeys to rescue fugitives: "Night came on and with it a blinding snow storm and a raging wind. She protected herself behind a tree as well as she could, and remained all night alone exposed to the fury of the storm" (48). Her ability to survive the nocturnal elements might have detracted from the antebellum agenda, which focused on the more traditional gothic heroine found in Jacobs, Prince or Wells Brown. Tubman, as a childless woman requiring no assistance from either a husband or family members to escape herself (and indeed rescuing many of her brothers alongside the hundreds of other slaves she was directly responsible for saving) challenged the stereotypes accepted by Northern audiences. Indeed, on several occasions during the war, articles in popular newspapers revealed details about Tubman which blew her cover and detracted from her ability to work covertly (Clinton 172-4). In a more pronounced version of Henson's narrative, in which he was unwilling to release details of the man who rowed his family to safety, Tubman's prolificacy literally depended upon her ability to fade into double invisibility, which enabled her to defy the literary conventions that white society had permitted for her.

Night Wilderness

Night was therefore significant for the slave narrative as it produced an alternative route through which the protagonists, and their families and friends, found escape from slavery itself. By leaving their master's lands under the cover of darkness slaves were able to striate the wilderness in a way that would protect them for at least a little while. The night proves to be as significant as the forest and swampland through which they routinely make their escape attempts, ensuring that they avoid white neighbours, slave catchers and their hunting dogs. Many of the fugitives choose to forego travelling during the day for fear of being seen, sleeping during the day and making their way by foot only during the darkest hours of night. Others, in comparison, chose to travel via waterways, typically by commercial steamboats. Whether on foot or by waterway the unifying theme in their escape was that the night afforded them a modicum of

security that the day could not. Following an escape from Louisville by steamboat, William Wells Brown finds himself in daytime Ohio. His first act is to make his way "directly for the woods, where I remained until night knowing well that I could not travel, even in the State of Ohio, during the day, without danger of being arrested" (53). As with the group escape that Douglass heads, many slaves made a break for freedom on Saturday nights, as they would not be missed until Monday morning (*Narrative* 90). Others had help from outside influences: under the pretext of attending church on a Sunday evening, Mattie J. Jackson escapes by boat aided by members of the Underground Railroad. Hiding a spare change of clothes under her own clothes she is met at twilight by two women at the church who hand her a pass for a boat leaving the city (26-8). While escaping from Cincinnati on a steamboat, Henry Bibb writes that in order to go unnoticed by slave catchers and other suspicious white passengers,

I crowded myself back from the light among the deck passengers, where it would be difficult to distinguish me from a white man. Every time during the night that the mate came round with a light after the hands, I was afraid he would see I was a colored man, and take me up; hence I kept from the light as much as possible. (48-9)

Others, such as William and Ellen Craft, escaped in disguises: William to that of a freed black and Ellen, due to her lighter skin, a white businessman, utilising the anonymity of the night to further cloak their true identity. Their escape became the basis for fictional accounts found in Wells Brown's *Clotel* (1853), in which several escapes take place when slaves cross-dress, with the escapes themselves taking place under the cover of night. One particularly ambitious instance is when the enslaved Mary convinces her fellow slave and beloved George, who is currently imprisoned in the jailhouse, to switch clothes and places with her so that he can escape punishment and flee to Canada. This trick will work, we are told, because "George was of small stature, and both were white[.]" However, the plan is given a modicum of credibility because it is carried out at night: "It was already dark" we learn, "and the street lamps were lighted, so that our hero in his new dress had no dread of detection" (136). "Rather than performing

the function of a safety valve, nocturnal license helped to pave the way instead for greater disorder,” Ekirch observed, (256) and here the slaves are able to use the confusion of the night, in which typical distinctions regarding race, class, and even gender cannot be upheld, to undermine white surveillance.

Working on the Railroad

One of the more hidden acts of the slavery narratives was to make little mention of the wider system of slave rebellion, known as the Underground Railroad: the network of secret routes and safe houses used to transport fugitive slaves away from the South. According to Wilbur H. Siebert, who compiled the first documented survey of the system, “Night was the only time, of course, in which the fugitive and his helpers could feel themselves even partially secure.” Examining the surviving records of railroad stations from the antebellum period, he demonstrates the high volume of traffic passing at night (54-6). Such an intricate system required the cover of darkness as men and women crossed the slave states while avoiding detection from white slaveholding society. It also required employing numerous dark sousveillant strategies: Siebert notes that “[t]he more or less limited area in which each agent operated was the field within which he was not only willing, but was usually anxious, to confine his knowledge of underground activities” (113). By keeping details of the mysterious rower who transported his family to safety secret to all readers, then, Henson was supporting other agents of the Underground Railroads as much as anyone. By ensuring no individual had more information than they needed, the abolitionists could keep any canny slave hunters in the dark about their wider operations. Such an act of secrecy was crucial to their success, and Douglass was particularly critical of anyone who disrupted the clandestine efforts, writing in *Narrative* that “I have never approved of the very public manner in which some of our western friends have conducted what they call the *underground railroad*, but which, I think, by their open declarations, has been made most emphatically the *upperground railroad*” [emphasis original] (*Narrative* 101). The degree to which the narratives work to conceal the workings of the Underground Railroad vary, and indeed Douglass criticised Box Brown and William and Ellen Craft for publishing the

very particular means of their escapes (*Bondage* 235-6). However, as Foster has observed, aside from a small number of narratives “written primarily to capitalize upon the notoriety of a particularly daring and innovative escape, there is little deviation in the way the physical escape is related.” The majority of the texts focus on the lone efforts of a single individual (usually a man) whose journey of isolation and independence is only punctuated by occasional help from white abolitionists in safe houses along the way (121).

The slavery narratives then, divert attention away from the deeper machinations of the Underground Railroad, permitting those who were most vulnerable to capture and punishment at the hand of white American law to continue their activities. Cheryl Janifer LaRoche has demonstrated that it was primarily black communities, particularly black churches that were in fact at the forefront of the resistance: a fact which has remained so well concealed that its influence is only now being recognised in academic circles in the twenty-first century.¹⁶ The slavery narratives and the tropes transmitted therein have therefore been so prevalent as to ensure the secrecy of such organisations for far longer than necessary. As LaRoche writes,

Gone are the century-old definitions of the Underground Railroad dominated by images of shivering, frightened fugitive slaves. Fading away are the biased images of solitary men, criminalized for escaping slavery, usually on foot, and aided by sympathetic White abolitionists working within a loosely organized network dominated by kindly Quakers. (1)

¹⁶ Mark P. Leone, LaRoche, and Jennifer J. Babiarz describe the growing field of criticism which examines the movements of African Americans, which they term “maroon studies,” as “a political reaction to this oversimplification of not only identity but also of complex cultural and political processes and interactions with the landscape” (591). The ways in which we understand the interaction between slaves, freed blacks, and the American South is continually growing, leading to a deeper understanding of the strategies employed by black communities.

While a modern audience can undoubtedly see the problematic nature of texts which downplay the leading roles played by black individuals and black communities in the stories of their own self-making, one must also recognise that their priority at the time was to survive the violence white society could swiftly deliver, to those in violation of the fugitive slave acts. Moreover, one can once again see that the strategy of focusing on the daring of white abolitionists and Quaker allies, the narrators are appealing to their white audiences, demonstrating to the ambivalent the Christian piety of their neighbours. Or, in the case of Aaron's text, shaming the white abolitionist whose double standards mean he will publicly support freedom but will refuse to let a black man into their home (Prince "Summary"): the narrator describes anti-slavery families who "treated me very coldly, much as ever I could do to get a place to sleep, but the Lord opened the heart of a white brother who had not been living in the place more than six months, who gave me a first rate bed to sleep in, and first rate food to eat" (3-4). Similarly to how Brockden Brown's *Arthur Mervyn* resists giving further information on the early workings of secret attempts to liberate slaves in Philadelphia – when encountering a hidden crawl space which may contain hidden figures, Arthur claims that "it appears to be my duty to pass them over in silence" (161), thus indicating his support for their covert activity without revealing their practices (Barnard *Arthur* xli-xlii) – the narratives function as a palimpsest, secreting the hidden movements of the key members of the slave liberation by diverting attention from those on the front line, such as Tubman, and instead focusing on the movements of white society. This chapter, then, begins and ends with the black narrators using flattering, occasionally accusatory, and always rallying words to preoccupy white audiences, North and South: a dark sousveillant act which enables black agents to become the surveyors and the authors, writing over the Underground Railroad with diversionary movements: in effect, curating the literary night for their own purposes.

Conclusion: The Glorious Sunshine of Liberty

Following their successful escape, William Craft writes that he and his wife "were free from the horrible trammels of slavery, rejoicing and praising

God in the glorious sunshine of liberty" (2). Such a reaction is not shared among all the slave narratives however: despite Linda Brent's resolution that "out of the darkness of this hour a brighter dawn should rise for [her children]" (59), and although she does escape slavery, she is never able to enjoy the sunshine of the new day in the fashion she may have hoped to: as Gibson observes, Jacobs shows that nominal freedom in a Northern state is far from the freedom that she and other ex-slaves desire. Furthermore, Linda Brent's freedom has come at the heavy cost of giving up the possibilities of family, as she is unable to live with her children or see her grandmother (172). The lack of sunshine or triumphalism at the narrative's conclusion is, then, a demonstration that the story of black suffering is not over (Goddu 151). The proliferation of slavery narratives through to the Gilded Age and beyond highlights how nocturnal journeys continued to be crucial to how black authors interrogated citizenship, as suggested by the title of Lucy Delaney's narrative *From the Darkness Cometh the Light; Or, Struggles for Freedom* (c. 1891).

In a letter to Douglass, Wendell Phillips writes that, "You have been with us, too, some years, and can fairly compare the twilight of rights, which your race enjoy at the North, with that 'noon of night' under which they labor south of Mason and Dixon's line" (12). Here Phillips is recognising that while the status of freed blacks in the northern states is an improvement over that of slavery in the southern states, the freed blacks have not yet emerged into their new day. They have traded their "noon of night," or dark days for a "twilight," in which they are still enduring lives as second class citizens. The one difference is that twilight comes just before the dawn; as such, there is sign of advancement, but it is not enough.

The nocturnal strategies found in the slavery narratives were employed in dire straits, by individuals who were attempting to walk a fine line between being accused simultaneously of fabricating lies and lacking the cognitive abilities necessary for literary creation in the first place. As Cowan puts it, "[i]t was not enough to expose the evils of slavery; slave narrators had to convince their readers that African Americans were ready for citizenship" (128). By carefully manipulating the well-trodden tropes of night and day, the narrators managed to demonstrate such a position. To conclude, let us consider Douglass's successful escape was made in

daylight. In a letter to his former master, Thomas Auld, on the anniversary of his self-emancipation, Douglass writes that

The hopes which I had treasured up for weeks of a safe and successful escape from your grasp, were powerfully confronted at this last hour by dark clouds of doubt and fear, making my person shake and my bosom to heave with the heavy contest between hope and fear. I have no words to describe to you the deep agony of soul which I experienced on that never-to be-forgotten morning – (for I left by daylight). I was making a leap in the dark. (112)

Here Douglass ingeniously uses the contrast between typical signifiers of knowledge and ignorance, good and bad, right and wrong. By making his bid for freedom in the day, Douglass is asserting that there is nothing untoward or shameful about his desire to be a free man. However, that is not to say that in doing so he should nor does he feel safe – as he is “making a leap in the dark” by risking intense scrutiny and the very real possibility of recapture. In doing so, he shows how outward appearances cannot be viewed straightforwardly in the slave experience as it can be in the white experience. What is outwardly seen as being positive or desirable – such as daylight – can be viewed as terrifying – like “dark clouds of doubt and fear” - to an individual who is not welcome in the daytime of American life.

Chapter Four: Gilded Age Ghostly Kinship in Women Writers' Gothic Short Stories

Sisters Doing it for Themselves

In her groundbreaking study on gender in Victorian America, Carroll Smith-Rosenberg highlighted the all but forgotten relationships forged by women across social strata in preindustrial America. Examining female friendship and love across thousands of letters and diary entries from the period, Smith-Rosenberg has identified that

the women's sphere had an essential integrity and dignity that grew out of women's shared experiences and mutual affection and that, despite the profound changes that affected American social structure and institutions between the 1760s and the 1870s, retained a constancy and predictability. (60)

This world was built on "an inner core of kin:" large families with overlapping generations, and close ties to neighbours and friends, meant female networks could flourish, even among women who did not live near to blood relatives. Such networks were, moreover, sustained and widened through the constant proliferation of letters which enabled women to remain close confidants despite geographic distances (62). Smith-Rosenberg cites an example of such a letter, from 1862, written from Jeanie Field in New York, to Sarah Butler Wistar in Germantown. Quoting it here will help to further this chapter's argument:

I have sat up to midnight listening to the confidences of Constance Kinney, whose heart was opened by that most charming of all situations, a seat on a bedside late at night, when all the household are asleep & only oneself & one's confidante survive in wakefulness. So she had told me all her loves and tried to get some confidences in return but being five or six years older than she, I know better [...]
(qtd. 40)

This quotation demonstrates the dynamic and all-encompassing nature of such a kin network: characterised by close, intimate, or “charming” situations in which friends could open their hearts to each other without interference from outside sources. However, the letter itself is not simply a passive method of providing information, as it opens up this intimate scene to another confidant, demonstrating that these are not closed scenes but networks in which love and friendship are shared across the continent. It is also important to recognise that the ideal setting for such an exchange is “a seat on a bedside late at night, when [...] only oneself & one’s confidante survive in wakefulness.” Night as a peaceful, safe space, uninterrupted by outside influences, particularly masculine interference (Smith-Rosenberg notes that these relationships were marked by an absence of and sometimes even an aversion to men [28]), is conducive to a flourishing of female kin networks that could sustain girls throughout their lives, even through marriage and physical separation from mothers, sisters, and other female kin. Similarly, as this chapter expands upon, female characters from Gilded Age literature tend to fare better when they join forces in the nightscape.

Women writers, it seems, were responding to the lack of control they had over their living conditions. This is something that was happening nationwide: Estelle Freedman has examined the phenomenon of the “female institution building:” spaces which emerged from middle-class women’s culture of the nineteenth century, including women’s clubs, women’s political organisations, and women’s settlement houses in the years 1870-1930 (513). Commenting on Freedman’s work, Linda Kerber has written that

The space that Freedman ended by recommending to women was in part metaphorical: women needed their own networks, and they needed to nurture their own culture. Embedded in her essay, however, was also the observation that feminists had been most successful when they had commanded actual physical space of their own, which they could define and control. (32)

It was deemed crucial, then, for women to establish actual physical space in which to “rest the levers with which they hoped to effect social change” (32). In the domestic story, such a place often becomes available when the women are left to their own devices. Convalescing women who are isolated and forbidden from engaging in hobbies find the long nights the time when their minds wander. For poorer women, the night, in comparison, becomes the space in which they get the opportunity to earn an income.

Women in the nineteenth century often found themselves relegated to non-male areas: quoting Lucienne Roubin, Kerber writes, that “the village government ‘tends to juxtapose and to fuse male space with public space.’ Women’s space, by definition, is what is left: sleeping enclosures, gardens” (31). It is particularly important to consider what the advent of an industrial (and particularly an electrical) society meant for women. Rebecca Traister has observed that, at the beginning of the twentieth century, “[e]lectric street lamps had come to cities around the country, creating ‘white ways’ that made it feel safer for women to be on the streets at night. This development changed the kinds of jobs women could work, as well as the ways in which they could spend money and leisure time” (58). And indeed, while electricity did permit women (or at least those in cities) more freedom, it was accompanied by rules regarding women’s night labour which were introduced to curtail these freedoms. Until as late as 1923, there were laws in place in New York inhibiting women from working in restaurants between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. in an attempt to protect them from strenuous work (Smith, “United” 277).

Male society, then, had heavily striated the towns and cities, not to mention the domestic sphere, leaving women to hide within the gaps between these spaces: we can think here of the women hiding behind the wallpaper or the dead woman enclosed for 100 years between the wall and the giant wisteria in Charlotte Perkins Gilman’s short stories for literary representations of such an experience. Observing the situation of the narrator in “The Yellow Wall-Paper,” Dara Downey has written that, taking on the role of a nineteenth-century woman, she is required to accept her “absorption into domestic space, quite literally disappearing into the wallpaper” (60). This chapter, then, argues that gothic women writers of the late nineteenth century aimed at something approximating a women’s

space in their writing, by exploring the possibilities of the nocturnal gothic. By laying claim to the night – across boundaries of space and time (as seen in apparitions and ghosts) – women in gothic short stories could reclaim areas as female spaces, spaces in which they could reach out to each other and establish an arena for exploring their own experiences and relationships. This was achieved by illustrating the negative and often dangerous influence male characters could, intentionally or otherwise, have on female characters when they invade nocturnal female spaces and highlighting the tragic missed opportunities that arise when female characters fail to come to each other's aid.

This chapter examines the portrayal of nocturnal space in women's gothic short stories from approximately 1890 to 1910, to illustrate the ways in which women attempted to carve out the night as a space of their own. As will be argued below, the night became a crucial space of discovery as women began to explore the extent of their lack of rights in the home and wider society. It is also a space for confusion and uncertainty as women were uncertain of what shape their potential freedom should look like: whether suffrage, expanded property rights, more influence over home affairs, or free love (Braude 128). Discussing the nineteenth-century journals which published stories including "Haggards" and many of the other stories that will be explored here, Margaret Beetham draws a link between the home and the act of publishing:

Like the nineteenth-century middle-class home, the woman's magazine evolved during the last century as a 'feminised space'. It was defined by the woman who was at its centre and by its difference from the masculine world of politics and economics. But whereas the middle-class woman could not enter the public world of work or politics, the middle-class man could and did come home at night to be revived and humanised by his immersion in the domestic world of the feminine. (3)

The experience of women writers in the Gilded Age was undeniably gothic¹, as even when attempting to establish their own places for literary expression they were doing so in spaces that were simultaneously theirs and not-theirs, a place which was in some ways a female-run space – and indeed, was somewhere from which women writers believed they could exert a wider influence on society in terms of childrearing and charity² – but circumvented by the edicts and demands of a male-dominated society which required women to take on underpaying and non-paying economic roles, and to suffer rape and sexual abuse in marriage. And indeed, the precariousness was highlighted at the end of the working day, when men came home “to be revived and humanised by his immersion in the domestic world of the feminine.” The night became the time in which the realities of a woman’s position, such as the vampire-like advantage male-dominated society takes of women, could become apparent to herself. An example is seen in Elia W. Peattie’s “The Shape of Fear” (1898), in which a wife is required to cook her husband meals at any time of the night, while simultaneously being ridiculed for her obedience. As Emily Dickinson writes in “We Grow Accustomed to the Dark,” though “The Bravest” may have difficulty finding their way in the night,

Either the Darkness alters –
Or something in the sight

1 Women writers in America women’s late-century gothic stories continued to expand upon the Indian captivity narrative, focusing on issues of imprisonment and constrain in an increasingly urban America. Gilbert and Gubar note that “spatial constriction can be found in various genres written by women, but that “anxieties about space sometimes seem to dominate the literature of both nineteenth-century women and their twentieth-century women and their twentieth-century descendants. In the genre Ellen Moers has recently called ‘female Gothic,’ for instance, heroines who characteristically inhabit mysteriously intricate or uncomfortably stifling houses are often seen as captured, fettered, trapped, even buried alive” (83).

2 In “Manifest Domesticity,” Amy Kaplan examines how mid-century writers such as Catherine Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe used their role as mothers to argue for their position of matriarchs for the whole of society (589-90).

Adjusts itself to Midnight –
And Life steps almost straight. (458)

"Life," then, can start to make more sense when seen through the medium of the night, once one's eyes have grown used to the dark, or perhaps when darkness has grown used to its inhabitants. However, as is seen in many of Dickinson's poems regarding her relationship to the night³, there is also a note of resignation alongside the triumph: women, not unlike the slave or even freed black man who finds himself in Cullen Bryant's social death of the night, must grow "accustomed" to the darkness. The night, then, is a necessary space in which American women find themselves, searching for, as Dickinson terms it, their "Station in the Day" (Barker 17).

Perhaps realising, as Ann Douglas has argued⁴, that they had effectively lost the struggle for influence in wider society, women writers were attempting to recover lost territory: or, perhaps more in line with Nina Baym's thinking⁵, women had learned to consolidate power within the home and were now striking out to establish a wider influence. Either way, this chapter demonstrates how late nineteenth-century women writers used the literary night as a way to gain ground in a bid for further rights and freedoms in America. They did so by attempting to call upon the economic

3 A further examination of Dickinson's poetry in relation to light and darkness can be seen in Wendy Barker's *Lunacy of Light* (1987).

4 Douglas writes of influential journal editor Sarah Hale, that "Hale and her supporters pursued partially feminist goals by largely anti-feminist means; genuine success was hardly possible. Yet their caution was evidence not only of their short-term shrewdness, but of their very justifiable anxiety. At mid-century, articulate northeastern women, like liberal ministers, were profoundly concerned about what viable place they might find in their society (*Feminization* 45).

5 Baym writes that "the general print project of U.S. women writers, which is simultaneously to claim a place for women in the public sphere – that is, the imaginary arena where public opinion takes shape, is debated, and influences national policy-making – and advise women on how to occupy this place effectively for their own good and the good of others" (338-9).

and social ties between women that industrialisation was threatening to take from them.

During the antebellum years, the nocturnal activity of female pioneers in *Hope Leslie* and *Hobomok* suggested a sense of optimism in the possibilities of female empowerment while highlighting an inability to imagine such empowerment outside of patriarchal diktats. In both historical fictions, female characters defy the conventions of their Puritan societies by leaving their communities at night: in *Hope Leslie*, they do so to resolve a dispute between the Puritan and nearby Native American communities; in *Hobomok* a white woman does so to marry a Native American man. Discussing both novels, Philip Gould has observed that they were written in a climate in which "the subject of female intellect was circumscribed by social and political inequalities" (98). Women were permitted small gains that were carefully curbed by wider patriarchal society. And indeed, while the female pioneers in both novels may momentarily undermine the rules of their society, acts made emblematic by their nocturnal movements, their journeys are ultimately circumscribed by social and political inequalities. In both texts, despite their radical actions, the status quo is reinscribed in the end by white male society: the Indian characters have been removed from the narrative and the white women are unlikely to transgress again.

By mid-century, female writers illustrate how women's struggle against curfews have grown more acute. Gertrude Flint does not even attempt to break curfew: her nocturnal activity is marked by passivity in *The Lamplighter*. Gerty spends her evenings politely avoiding and, when necessary, rebuking the advances of unwanted suitors. These strategies prove successful in pursuit of a happy marriage and, as a result, regressive, particularly when considered in relation to the plight of Charlotte Temple, whose passivity led to her demise. Meanwhile, Mrs. March's warning (a reference to St. Paul's letter to the Ephesians) to Jo in *Little Women* that she shouldn't "let the sun go down upon your anger" encouraging her daughters instead to "Forgive each other, help each other, and begin again tomorrow" (98) takes on a sinister edge. Alcott may have been recognising here, as she does elsewhere, the rigid requirements of femininity in America, which had no place for female anger (Fetterley 380): as demonstrated in *Hope Leslie* and *Hobomok*, neither had subversive female nocturnal activity led to

any demonstrable changes in the working of the nation for its female inhabitants.

The different reaction to the night from white male transcendentalists is, in this way, unsurprising. While Thoreau shares the gothic writers' sense of the sheer scale of the nocturnal wilderness, one must also observe the sublime nature of his interaction with the night. "Every man has to learn the points of compass again as often as he awakes," he writes, "whether from sleep or any abstraction. Not till we are lost, in other words not till we have lost the world, do we begin to find ourselves, and realize where we are and the infinite extent of our relations" (*Walden* 243). Thoreau's night-time exploits demonstrate his belief in the *tabula rasa* of the night. The night has a sublime effect, rejuvenating Thoreau and enabling him to return to day-time society refreshed. Privacy here is a privilege in which he can lose himself without fearing repercussions. This demonstrates that the night has a subservient role in man's affairs, placing man at the centre of the world, even as he is "lost." For Thoreau, the night becomes an apolitical, restorative space in which men divest themselves of their public selves. This is very much in contrast with the abjection of night in the gothic text: unlike in Thoreau, there is no certainty that there is a "self" to find behind the facades of society.

Such a view of night as a restorative, masculine space, is hinted upon in the influential career of late-nineteenth-century American "nerve doctor," Silas Weir Mitchell, whose treatment of Charlotte Perkins Gilman is the subject of "The Yellow Wall-Paper." Barbara Will has identified the dichotomous way in which Mitchell treated his female and male patients. While (wealthy) female patients, such as Gilman, were proscribed bed rest, prevented from engaging in the running of their households and forbidden reading and writing implements in a bid to stop them from overexertion, male patients were sent out to the Western states for vigorous physical exercise, including ranch work and hunting. "The man who lives an outdoor life," Mitchell writes, "who sleeps with the stars visible above him – who wins his bodily subsistence first-hand from the earth and waters – is a being who defies rain and sun, has a strange sense of elastic strength, may drink if he likes, and may smoke all day long, and feel none the worse for it" (qtd. Will 299-300). A spell out in the nocturnal wilderness, then, was a

crucial element in reinvigorating the male neurasthenic. However, Will has also identified that such a strategy was not intended simply to restore men to their colonial roots, or create new generations of frontiersmen. Instead, the intention was to ensure these men were revitalised and ready to once again contribute to the capitalist machine of American economic society. These spells in the wilderness were not “a rejection of economic activity” or “the absolute refusal of ‘civilization,’” rather they were “a *temporary* and *repeated* entry of the urban into the rural, into a space in which ‘the sturdy contest with Nature’ could be waged and these ‘stores of capital vitality’ replenished through the simulation of the life of ‘country men’” [emphasis original] (300). Such forays into the wilderness start to sound not unlike Thoreau’s own views of the night, or indeed Ishmael’s tourist-like view of Queequeg’s barbaric darkness. Taking advantage of the supposedly primordial and apolitical space of the night, Mitchell, Thoreau and Ishmael render this space into a wild, transformative arena, which is not troubled by societal conventions: yet, they simultaneously use it to improve their own social standing – to “discover the infinite extent of our relations.” A sojourn at Walden Pond or a nocturnal ramble may be viewed by Thoreau or Mitchell as an apolitical act, but this is only because they are permitted the privilege by a society that views them as unmarked.⁶

Thinking Strange Things

Since the frontier was established as a masculine space which excluded women, women writers established the home as a place in which women could explore the possibilities of their own freedom. “The nights are long down here, and when the men are away on the sea and the house is

⁶ George P. Rawick writes, “As long as the voluntary social contract was continually renewed in a society of equals – a society in which most white men could realistically hope for the opportunity to pursue happiness and had a realistic change of material success – the state played a minimal role in human affairs. Henry David Thoreau could go up on a hill above Concord after spending a night in jail for refusing to pay his church tax, declaring that ‘the State was nowhere’ to be seen and do so without being hopelessly wrong.” (151)

rocking in the wind, we women think strange things!" (115). So Mrs. Banks informs her young female companion, Miss Langford, in Mary Tappan Wright's "As Haggards of the Rock" (1890). Here, the nocturnal domestic is refigured as a wilderness itself – or, a space in which to examine the confines of American women's existence in the nineteenth century. The house, the sphere of women's existence cannot entirely insulate them from the nocturnal world pushing to get in. The night, in comparison to the day, becomes the space and time in which "we women think strange things!" In the absence of men and as a reprieve from the duties of the day, middle- and upper-class women could identify the porousness of their sphere and engage with the outside world. The rigid boundaries of women's existence are not so rigid, after all, as the house itself rocks in the wind. While the house may attempt to isolate women from engagement with the wider world, the wider world can, in a sense, find its way in.

The fact that these stories often appear in bedrooms, while perhaps not unusual, should be considered in the light of Susan Gilbert and Sandra Gubar's observation that the "Dramatization of imprisonment and escape are so all-pervasive in nineteenth-century literature by women that we believe they represent a uniquely female tradition at this period" (85). The bedroom, being metonymically tied to ideas of sexual violence and oppression at this time, is re-aligned as a space of positive female friendship rather than one of male dominance. It is for this reason there are ghostly bedside gatherings in Sarah Orne Jewett's "The Foreigner" (1900), Spofford's "The Amber Gods" (1863), Rose Terry Cooke's "My Visitation" (1858), Elizabeth Stuart Phelps' "Since I Died" (1873), and "The Yellow Wall-Paper," while bedrooms feature heavily in Mary E. Wilkins Freeman's two stories "The Lost Ghost" and "The Southwest Chamber" (both 1903). The night was situated as the ideal place in which women could establish a space; many of them were busy or under scrutiny during the day, and while many of them may not have been permitted to leave their homes, the night gave them a space in which to read and otherwise pursue activity outside of their regular duties. This is not to say the bedroom is a space of unbound freedom. In Gilman's "The Yellow Wall-Paper," the narrator is held captive by her husband in an attic (or indeed garret) that has been transformed into a bedroom. By examining how women attempt to occupy the nocturnal

space of the bedroom as well as the wider space of the home, and observing how men carve such a space up for themselves in stories such as Emma Frances Dawson's "An Itinerant House" (1897), Peattie's "The Shape of Fear" (1898) and Edith Wharton's "Ethan Frome" (1911) this chapter demonstrates how the night in women's gothic short stories, from approximately 1890 to 1910, is the literary site for the struggle for women's space (both domestically and in wider America). By attempting to establish female networks and highlighting patriarchal oppression in their gothic short stories, women writers encouraged their female readership to do the same in wider society.

Harriet Prescott Spofford's story, "The Amber Gods," written at the end of this age of kin networks, can be a warning of the dangers of severing the crucial ties to female kin. "Gods" is the story of Georgione (or "Yone"), a beautiful and self-centred woman who alienates herself from her female relations. Trying to eschew her responsibility to her family, Yone takes advantage of the kind nature of her cousin and best friend, Louise, forcing her to visit a dying aunt in her place. Meanwhile, Yone takes this opportunity to seduce Louise's lover and marries him instead. Yone also denies the ties between herself and the family's slave "Little Asian" (49), who the text implies may be Yone's great-grandmother (Ellis 271). Therefore, throughout the narrative Yone cuts off her ties to at least three female relations. Her death, as an invalid at only thirty, happens in the depths of midnight when she finally begins to recognise how alone and helpless she has become. At the end of her life she understands that, at the very least, her disavowal of Louise was a mistake, as she feels that she has been abandoned by her female relatives, while her husband is simply waiting for her to die. Yone's final night is one of introspection and discovery. Too late she has learned that, had she treated the rest of her nights similarly, she might have had a more fulfilling existence surrounded by supportive kin. As Dana Luciano has observed, "the very form of the bourgeois American family depended, to no small extent, on the erasure or denial of certain kinds of biological kinship, particularly those produced by the irregular sexual ties facilitated within colonialism and chattel slavery" (296-7). Yone's life has been built upon taking advantage of (and subsequently ignoring) the hard work and kindness of her family and their

servants. Had Yone in turn supported Louise and acknowledged her biological kinship to Little Asian, her death could have been eased with their support. A considerable contrast can be seen when "Gods" is compared to Harriet Jacobs' slavery narrative, in which the ties of female kinship are recognised early on. While Yone lives in a world of perpetual sunlight she eventually realises, when looking back upon her life, how she has ultimately deceived herself. In her memory, pivotal moments in her life were bathed in sunlight, which blinded her to the sinister undertones of these scenes, such as her husband's enduring love for her cousin. This reading is underscored by comparing it to Jacobs' contemporary text *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, which shows how darkness enabled Linda Brent to see her situation in life more clearly. As detailed in Chapter Three, Brent describes the "shadows" that darken "the very dawn of life" in slavery, which mean that "Even the little child [...] will learn, before she is twelve years old, why it is that her mistress hates such and such a one among the slaves" (45-6). This encroaching darkness endows a young slave girl with a crucial identification with her mother: one that will help her to navigate the dangers of the sexual hierarchy in the Southern states. Yone, in comparison, is not privy to such an experience. Yone does not have a mother, and, as Luciano suggests, she chooses to ignore the importance of her female kin in her own formation, making her nightscape similarly lonely. Narrated by Yone as a ghost (as the reader learns at the story's conclusion), she has already been all but forgotten by Louise and her husband, Rose. Yone's ghost supposes "they are coming to me; but their eyes are on each other." Stopping by her house's great ebony clock she notices that the hands are no longer moving and concludes that she too is "done with time. Not for me the hands moved on their recurrent circle anymore" (82-3). Much like the clock, she is now outside the family circles that would once have supported her. Like Goodman Brown, she has ignored her complicity in the inequalities of American nation-building for too long, and has lost her way in the night as a result.

In "The Amber Gods," moreover, one can hear an echo of a desire to find "a seat on a bedside late at night, when [...] only oneself & one's confidante survive in wakefulness" (qtd. Smith-Rosenberg 40), even if Yone can only do this as a desperate final measure with the reader at the close of

her life. One can hear this once again, in the quotation from Wright's "Haggards" in the claim that "we women think strange things!" in the long nights "when the men are away on the sea" (115). In the years of industrialisation, from the mid-century onward, women's networks, which, as demonstrated, remained relatively static for over a century, became strained as poorer women were forced to uproot and move to cities, and wealthier women found their domestic duties more and more isolating. As Emily K. Abel has observed,

Large corporations began to mass produce goods and services for private households; as electricity, gas, indoor plumbing, household appliances, and store-bought foods reached increasing numbers of families, the individual tasks of caregiving became progressively easier (Cowan 1983, 40-101; Strasser 1982, 3-243). Simultaneously, however, new concerns about the importance of ventilation, diet, and cleanliness in health promotion augmented caregivers' responsibilities (Tomes 1991). (192)

While household necessities might now be easier to access, it also meant there were fewer reasons for women to leave the house. Such a message was compounded by the need to keep up with new demands to maintain a clean and fashionable home. Women, then, were given an increasing amount of work relating to the running of the household and were provided with fewer opportunities to befriend and associate with other women. The nights, in which fictional women could "think strange things," or, in terms of gothic ghost stories, encounter the ghosts of their relatives, friends, and counterparts, would resonate greatly with female readers, as evinced in the importance of the night in the correspondence between Jeanie Field and Sarah Butler Wistar.

"You have never told me any ghost stories," claims the narrator in Sarah Orne Jewett's short story "The Foreigner":

and such was the gloomy weather and the influence of the night that I was instantly filled with reluctance to have this suggestion followed. I had not chosen the best of moments;

just before I spoke we had begun to feel as cheerful as possible. Mrs. Todd glanced doubtfully at the cat and then at me, with a strange absent look, and I was really afraid that she was going to tell me something that would haunt my thoughts on every dark stormy night as long as I lived.
(535)

Here, ghosts are inextricably bound up with the thinking of strange things that Tappan Wright alludes to, which female characters find themselves drawn to on dark, stormy nights. Evidently, there is something uncomfortable and troubling about such thoughts, but they are also key for women to better understand their space in society, and to better understand the importance of female kin networks. Indeed, were Yone to have learned about the hidden secrets that would have haunted her thoughts "on every dark stormy night" as long as she lived, her life might ultimately have been more prosperous, or at least full of more support and understanding.

This night, then, is a signpost for the supernatural story about to be told, with the narrators and characters drawing attention to the night as a framing device for the transmission of ghost stories and ghostly activity. "It's no time for creeps at nine-thirty A.M., with sunlight and carpenters outside!" observes one of the characters in Gilman's "The Giant Wisteria" (1891): "However, if you can't wait till twilight for your creeps, I think I can furnish one or two" (160). With recognition of the self-reflexive nature of the night in these gothic short stories comes self-reflection from the writers, as they consider their roles in society and the possibilities of female freedom through solidarity and friendship. The night becomes the space in which these authors can consider the potential and limits of women in American society, as well as the potential and limits of story-telling itself. The gothic night allows for the transmission of ideas, beliefs, and narratives that could not find a place in day-time society regarding gender roles.

The connection between ghosts, economics of the nineteenth century and female companionship has not gone unnoticed: indeed, Lynette Carpenter and Wendy K. Kolman have written that a nineteenth-century middle class woman

might well have felt herself to be apparitional, confined to the private sphere like the phantom Angel. As a daughter in her father's house she was entirely dependent for financial support on her father's wealth, which she was unlikely to inherit under the practice of male primogeniture. (xxv)

In such a situation, feeling isolated and financially vulnerable, women might well feel invisible or ineffectual: and indeed, there are several stories told from the point of view of a woman who, it turns out is a ghost or otherwise not fully tangible, such as Spofford's "Gods," "The Yellow Wall-Paper," and "Since I Died." Other stories are told from the point of view of the women who encounter spirits or ghosts of relatives and friends. Frequently the female characters go unnamed, further hinting at their feelings of invisibility or their disconnectedness to wider society. Ghosts do not appear in all the stories discussed below, and I have used wide parameters in terms of what I consider "spectrality:" in several of the stories explored, such as Tappan Wright's "A Truce" and Wharton's "Ethan Frome," women are not ghosts; rather, they are subsumed by their nocturnal environments, temporarily endowing them with ghost-like abilities. Whether such abilities are beneficial or not will be considered. Indeed, it is interesting to note that the gothic stories without any sign of ghost-like activity, such as Sarah Orne Jewett's "The Queen's Twin" (1900), take place in spaces that are predominantly female spaces, suggesting that when women are free to establish bonds of female kinship, anxieties regarding spectrality disappear.

Night as Fantasy

The night in the woman's gothic short story appears to accord with Rosemary Jackson's description of fantasy, in which "Spatial, temporal, and philosophical ordering systems all dissolve, unified notions of character are broken; language and syntax become incoherent. Through its 'misrule', it permits 'ultimate questions' about social order, or metaphysical riddles as to life's purpose" (15). In Dawson's "An Itinerant House," the narrator describes the night in which he, alongside a group of male friends, brings a woman's corpse back to life: "The night seemed endless. The room gained an uncanny look, the macaws on the gaudy, old-fashioned wall-paper

seemed fluttering and changing places. [...] Where was her soul? Beyond the stars, in the room with us, or 'like trodden snowdrift melting in the dark?'" (239). The night, here, challenges many of these ordering systems: the seeming endlessness dissolves clock time, while the movement of the illustrated macaws undermines the rigid day-time spatiality. Furthermore, the narrator's question of where the soul of the woman currently resides further collapses the possibilities of space, while also opens up beliefs about the possibilities of life after death. To give another example, we can see the difference between the day and night in "The Yellow Wall-paper," which is highlighted by how the wall-paper in the bedroom reacts differently in the day and the night:

When the sun shoots in through the east window-I
always watch for that first long, straight ray-it changes so
quickly that I never can quite believe it.

That is why I watch it always.

By moonlight-the moon shines in all night when there
is a moon-I wouldn't know it was the same paper.

At night in any kind of light, in twilight, candlelight,
lamplight, and worst of all by moonlight, it becomes bars!
The outside pattern I mean, and the woman behind it is as
plain as can be.

I didn't realize for a long time what the thing was that
showed behind, that dim sub-pattern, but now I am quite
sure it is a woman. (176)

Once again temporality and spatiality is dissolved: the movement of the sun that "quickly" changes her view of the wall-paper (demonstrating that the day is out of her hands) is absent in the night: her night is timeless, and it appears to exist outside of external influences, as all lights have the same effect. This night could, effectively, be anywhere, as it is not governed by the movement of the planets. Finally, once again this fantastic space is used to explore philosophical systems: this woman behind the wall-paper who becomes visible at night (or at least far clearer) is both the narrator

and not the narrator. It also invites questions about social order, as the location of the female characters challenge the reader to consider to what extent American women are embedded within the social order and to what extent they perpetuate the system.

To take a third example, let us examine the nocturnal experience of one of the narrators in Tappan Wright's "As Haggards of the Rock." Chasing after a mysterious woman who appeared out of nowhere, the narrator relates how

Without stopping even to think, I rushed out after her; flying up the avenue, she ran calling, calling—and there was not a glimmer of light on any side. [...] I tried to follow, but I lost the path and ran so hard against a tree that it knocked me down; still I heard her calling and crying. At times it seemed to be along the Gloucester road, and then again I could have sworn it came from the opposite direction, down by the cove where we had been in the morning; but the darkness and the cut I got—see here, this scar on my cheek is the mark of it—completely bewildered me, and before I knew where I was, I'd waded waist-deep in water, for the tide that night came up among the trees and the pier was completely covered. I had all I could do to find my way back to the house, and there I lay half maddened with anxiety and terror, but too ill from my wetting and loss of blood to move. May I never spend such another night! (116-7)

This night disrupts or dissolves spatial and temporal norms: while the narrator is very familiar with the topography she is covering, she quickly loses "the path" and becomes disoriented, while the crying from the mysterious woman appears to be coming from any and all directions at once. It also illustrates how hostile the night can become to a lone woman: trees appear to loom out of nowhere to attack her, while before she "knew where I was," she finds herself halfway towards drowning. Much like in the Dawson and Gilman quotes just considered, the text invites questions about the social order as this female character contravenes the status quo by braving the night in order to provide succour to another woman.

While the possibilities of spectrality are at times only hinted at within these passages and at other times made explicit, it is interesting to consider how the nights as depicted (whether supernaturally or not) strain at the boundaries of the status quo. Quite simply, in the absence or distortion of the standard visual cues of society, there is little reason for the reader to assume they are still in the same realm as the day time, even if there are no indications they have left it. It is interesting, therefore, to examine the way nineteenth-century authors can play with conventions in their representation of the night. Consider these gothic nights beside that of Henry Bibb's description of Louisville, Kentucky: "The night being very dark, in a strange city, among slaveholders and slave hunters, to me it was like a person entering a wilderness among wolves and vipers, blindfolded" (76). Bibb here may use the qualifier "like" in his description of the city, yet due to Bibb's uncertainty about the city – thanks to it "being very dark" – he elides the line between certainty and uncertainty. This is, ultimately, one of the key elements of the nocturnal gothic. As Marina Warner observes, "[m]etamorphosis is typified by the work of art coming to life; it offers the test case of representation. Simply put, *figures of speech turn into figures of vitality*" [emphasis original] (169). On a rational and strictly conscious level, the reader understands that the slave hunters are not literally wolves and vipers. However, there is also the literary potential for such a transformation. To put it simply, the darkness of the night allows for an elision between the reality and the simile which could not be achieved in the daylight. It allows for the figurative and the literal to exist simultaneously in the gothic night.

In these gothic stories, then, representations of the night are used to explore the possibilities of individuals, predominantly women, having influence and even relationships beyond the established or acceptable norms during the day. Indeed, it should not be ignored that movements like spiritualism enabled women to gain control over their lives in areas such as birth control, marriage, and working rights.⁷ Their literary descriptions of heaven, as an extension of earth, meant that they were also invested in the

⁷ An examination of the intersection of spiritualism and feminism can be found in Anne Braude's *Radical Spirits: Spiritualism and Women's Rights in Nineteenth-Century America* (2001).

potentials of a better life on earth.⁸ The reader sees this, for example, when the just-deceased women in Cooke's "My Visitation" and Elizabeth Stuart Phelps' "Since I Died" return in spectral form briefly to reconnect with their lesbian lovers, or when a long-deceased mother visits her daughter on her death-bed in Jewett's "The Foreigner." As hinted at by the title, this visitation provides her daughter, who has lived in a foreign country with few friends, with a homecoming to an afterlife that stresses the importance of maternal bonds.

Closer Reading

Scholarship on Jewett's regional work forms much of the background of this chapter's theory. This act of connecting with ethereal characters as seen in "The Foreigner" is linked to the wider reading strategies encouraged and employed by women writers and publishers during the late nineteenth century. This research is underpinned by what Travis M. Foster has recently termed "closer reading." This is a strategy of reading, he argues, which is encouraged by *The Ladies Home Journal* from 1883 to the end of the century. The *Journal* encouraged its readers to engage closely with the texts, to instil an intimate dialogue between audience and character: this way,

the distance between reading and friendship is at most negligible; the two entail practices of discernment and engagement that work synergistically and develop complementary proficiencies. Through our reading, the *Journal* suggests, we develop skills required to relate and understand across interpersonal difference. Engaging with fictional worlds ushers us into the best possible apprenticeship for constructing meaningful – and, hence, also laborious – social intimacies. (298-9)

Foster argues that, found primarily in regionalist sketches such as those by Jewett, closer reading is distinguished from close reading due its strong

⁸ Douglas writes that in Elizabeth Stuart Phelps' best-selling novel *The Gates Ajar*, "heaven was very much a 'place,' with houses, streets, pianos, food, and clothing, just like earth, only better-Kansas with hills, as one character sums it up" (88).

identification between reader and character, which, it was hoped, "would produce exceptional friendships, rather than critical perspective" (297). Foster's conception of closer reading once again echoes the "charming" situation created in Jeanie's letter to Sarah which is conducive to friendship and love between female confidants: "a seat on a bedside late at night, when [...] only oneself & one's confidante survive in wakefulness." The literary nightscape becomes the ideal space for such a process of closer reading. In these gothic stories, the female protagonist encounters and identifies with a ghost. A similar dynamic takes place in Jeanie and Constance's encounter, while the female readership, taking on the role of Sarah as the audience for the letter, completes the network of kinship. In the closing decades of the nineteenth century, such an act took on a gothic twist, however: the critical distance between female reader and text, and woman and ghost, is collapsed with the story operating as a friendly yet chilling warning towards the reader, a reminder of the importance of establishing female kin networks, a dying art.

An understanding of this literary warning is, furthermore, predicated on nocturnal closer readings by the protagonists. In Lurana W. Sheldon's short story "The Premonition" (1896), the protagonist, Evelyn, dreams that her new artist husband's former models appear to her as spirits. They warn her that they were all murdered by him – and that she is his next target. While Evelyn is aware of their presence, she is unwilling to heed their advice and chooses to remain in her husband's forbidding palatial residences over night. They ultimately are forced to save her from her husband's poisoning by forcing an antidote down her throat. Evelyn requires a strong identification with these spirits to enable her to understand the magnitude of the danger she is in. Once they have saved her, the reader learns,

[b]efore her, in the darkness, floated seven unearthly and uncanny shapes, the poor, imprisoned ghosts of her husband's beautiful poisoned models. The horror of it nearly turned her brain, and realizing at last the services they had done her she stretched out her arms to them in the darkness

of the night, but like shadows they had melted away and vanished. (276)

In order for Evelyn to understand the magnanimity of the situation, she has had to endure a "horror" which "nearly turned her brain." In other words, she has had to encounter and labour through an extreme situation which has outlined to her the bravery of her saviours: true identification requires understanding and caring from both parties. Her understanding of her comrades has coincided with her discovery of her love for them.

Other gothic stories function similarly: in Louise Stockton's 1877 "A Dead Vashti," a spectral figure warns a young woman about the dangers of putting too much faith in the man she is going to marry. However, more often than not, the ghosts and other spectral apparitions appear in order to comfort living women and children, or, in some cases they themselves are lonely and require comforting. These stories, while not always directly including a warning, are often reminders about the dangers of isolated women. At the end of "As Haggards of the Rock," Miss Langford has a decision to make: whether or not to accept the ghostly visitation as her long-lost mother. The story concludes with her inability to accept this possibility:

Slowly the girl on the floor raised herself on her hands, and then to her knees; sinking backward she pressed her palms to her temples, and swaying slightly from side to side with a look of horror in her eyes, and yet with relief in her tones, she murmured:

"It was not Mamma! It was *not* Mamma!"
"Did you see anything?" asked Mrs. Banks, in an awe-struck whisper.

The girl rose slowly to her feet, tottered toward the table, bracing herself against it in a cruel struggle for self-control.

Mrs. Banks leaned forward, her hands clutching the arms of her chair, her old face haggard and sunken.

"What did you see?" she demanded, hoarsely.

"Nothing," said Miss Langford, after a moment's hesitation.

There was a long silence.

"Very well!" said Mrs. Banks. "Have it your own way.

But I know better!" [emphasis original] (127-8)

Unlike Evelyn, who is able to process the horror in order to identify with her seven saviours, Miss Langford is unable to overcome or come to terms with the horror that nearly turns her brain, and cannot make the emotional connection, the act of closer reading, with her mother's ghost that would allow her, like Mrs. Banks, to "*know better*."

The collapsing of a critical distance comes to a head in stories such as "Since I Died" where the ghostly narrator is directly addressing the reader as though they were her lost love: "How very still you sit!," the narrator begins:

If the shadow of an eyelash stirred upon your cheek; if that gray line about your mouth should snap its tension at this quivering end; if the pallor of your profile warmed a little; if that tiny muscle on your forehead, just at the left eyebrow's curve, should start and twitch; if you would but grow a trifle restless, sitting there beneath my steady gaze; if you moved a finger of your folded hands; if you should turn, and look behind your chair, or lift your face, half lingering and half longing, half loving and half loth, to ponder on the annoyed and thwarted cry which the wind is making, where I stand between it and yourself, against the half-closed window.
(449)

Here, the narrator delineates her careful observation of the woman in front of her: eyelashes on a cheek, grey lines about her mouth, an eyebrow's curve. The ghost believes the way to close the remaining gap between them could be achieved were if that woman – who is here also framed as the reader – was to turn around and "ponder on the [...] cry the wind is making" (450). Closer reading, then, is an invitation to the characters and readers alike to pay more attention to their surroundings, particularly to

take an intimate view of their female comrades and further recognise the differences and similarities found therein. But, the narrator is disappointed that the woman only looks her "in the eye" with an "incurious stare." She is not prepared to put in the same emotional connection as the narrator who laments that:

If a shudder crept across your figure; if your arms, laid out
upon the table, leaped but once above your head; if you
named my name; if you held your breath with terror, or
sobbed aloud for love, or sprang, or cried—

But you only lift your head and look me in the eye.
(449-50)

Here a female character is faced with a horrific task, that of a spectral encounter that might "turn" their brain. In "Since I Died," this horror is described as "The fear which no heart has fathomed, the fate which no fancy has faced, the riddle which no soul has read, steps between your substance and my soul" (450). These women, then, are all faced with an ineffable fear. Overcoming such fear, which is not necessarily always possible, requires a lot of determination and a willingness to endure horrors with only the smallest hint as to why endurance would be desirable. Understanding often only comes after the fact, as it does in "The Premonition," when Evelyn finally comes to recognise that the ghosts have saved her life. In "As Haggards on the Rock," Miss Langford is unwilling to face this horror, and in "Since I Died" the unnamed woman is not even aware of what she is missing. In typical gothic fashion, such intimate and personal encounters of horror could not play out in the daylight of American society. Such encounters – for societal reasons as well as logistical ones – could not be made possible in the conventions of the day. As a result, such a scene must play out in the less regulated or fantastical space of the night. While the union of woman and female ghost or living and dying women can in one sense be seen as ineffectual and ultimately too late, if the intention of such stories is viewed – that of instructing or warning – much in the way the appearance of a ghost can be a warning to someone of evil deeds or a hidden history – this alliance between living and dead can be viewed as a

warning or instruction towards the readers of the gothic story to take heed of their female relatives, and to work together.

Doppelgänger Friends

Beyond these challenges, women meet across generations, and meet across time, an obstacle even more insurmountable than the distance which physically separated Jeanie and Sarah in their letters. In his examination of Jewett's regionalist short stories, Stuart Burrows demonstrates how, in the "one-way relationships," emblematic of the (usually female) loners in Jewett's work, attachments are "based on absence rather than presence." These women create a sense of community through an imagined correspondence with absent friends and family. Drawing on stories such as "The Queen's Twin" and *The Country of the Pointed Firs* (1896), Burrows argues that

These one-sided relations [...] involve not the taking sympathetic possession of another but the imagining of another sympathetic to oneself. Life is enlarged, enriched, in precisely the way Emerson describes in 'Friendship': by being shared with a figure outside the self, yet a figure of the self's construction. (356)

Interestingly, while Burrows name-checks Jewett's ghost story "The Foreigner," and observes that a similar dynamic can be seen with Jewett's writing in relation to her own dead mother, Burrows does not extend the potential of these one-sided relationships as far as spectrality (341-57). Here I argue that Jewett, and indeed her contemporary gothic short-story writers, do in fact use ghosts and the paranormal in a similar vein to these one-sided relations, in order to enlarge and enrich the lives of their characters, albeit sometimes in a disconcerting manner. As already shown, the presence of ghosts in literature signifies anxieties or yearnings that spring from the protagonists: this is why the ghosts manifest as either long-missed (or long-feared) relatives, or as individuals in similar precarious situations as the protagonists themselves. While there are numerous examples of such scenarios, a particularly useful example is found in Alice Turner Curtis's "To Let" (1896). In this short story, a young married couple,

the Leslies, are mysteriously found dead in their house, but the cause of death is unknown. The house then becomes haunted by Mrs Leslie, whose screams regularly waken its inhabitants. However, the spectral Mrs Leslie only communicates with similarly young married women. These women wake from terrible dreams in which a man has attempted to smother them to death with a pillow. It is through these experiences that the rumours regarding the Leslies' death appear to be confirmed: Mr Leslie killed her before taking his own life via an untraceable poison. Mrs Leslie, then, can only communicate – or feels she will only be believed – by women who share similar life experiences to her own. Here, the reader sees how the women (and the ghost) in "To Let," as in Jewett's regional fiction, require the "imagining of another sympathetic to oneself" in order to tell their story. Indeed, the idea of sharing a "friendship" with a "figure outside the self, yet a figure of the self's construction" can find no better (if terrifying) manifestation than that of the spectral figure of Gilman's "The Yellow Wall-paper," who is simultaneously both narrator and not-narrator, as well as both one woman and multiple women.

By using the paranormal potential of the night space, then, these gothic stories more fully explore the most extended or acute version of Burrow's metaphor of one-sided relations. Writing about subjective dislocation in fantasy, Rosemary Jackson draws on the work of Tzvetan Todorov, writing that when it comes to "doubles, or multiple selves [...] the idea of multiplicity is no longer metaphor, but is literally realized, self transforms into selves" (50). Todorov himself writes that 'The multiplication of personality, taken literally, is an immediate consequence of the possible transition between matter and mind: we are several personas mentally, we become so physically' (116). Such a process, of self transforming into selves, happens throughout these stories, as women, in the fantasy space of the night, encounter female friends, relatives, and even strangers, who appear offering support and guidance. This is seen in "The Premonition," when the former wives appear to Evelyn to warn her of her new husband's murderous past. In "The Foreigner," meanwhile, a dying woman is visited at her bedside by both her living friend and the ghost of her dead mother. Perhaps the most fascinating instance of such a happening is "The Yellow Wall-Paper," in which a woman, who has had all her links with her family

and friends severed thanks to her husband and doctor's insistence that her post-partum depression should be treated with an absence of stimulus, is forced to remain bed-ridden in her attic room. At night she soon begins to see women crawling behind the wallpaper. While one could argue that she is suffering from psychosis due to her extended sensory deprivation, one can also see this as a process of establishing a female kin network, if only with herself. As Gilbert and Gubar write,

[e]ventually it becomes obvious to both reader and narrator that the figure creeping through and behind the wallpaper is both the narrator and the narrator's double. By the end of the story, moreover, the narrator has enabled this double to escape from her textual/architectural confinement: "I pulled and she shook, and she pulled, and before morning we had pulled off yards of that paper." (91)

The night has enabled her to observe herself from a distance and to better understand her plight as a woman in the United States. Using Foster's and Burrow's regionalist reading strategies, which encourage women to identify with both others and eventually oneself, allows us to further consider reformist writing in the late nineteenth century, showing how writers explored various avenues of female freedom that were far from certain. This can be seen particularly in relation to voting rights. While a small amount of women were campaigning tirelessly for suffrage, overall American women were indifferent to the concept. As late as 1903, *The Atlantic Weekly* published Lyman Abbott's treatise "Why Women Do Not Wish the Suffrage," in which he could point out that "In 1895 the women of Massachusetts were asked by the state whether they wished the suffrage. Of the 575,000 voting women in the state, only 22,204 cared for it enough to deposit in a ballot box an affirmative answer to this question" (*Atlantic*). On the whole women, for various reasons, were not invested in the possibilities of voting rights. Gothic women's writing was attempting to replicate the work that Margaret Fuller had engaged in half a century previously. Fuller, one of America's earliest women's rights advocates whose writing highly influenced the leader of the suffragette movements, Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and whose early and

unexpected death by drowning set women's rights back by decades (Douglas, *Feminization* 259), had written in her major feminist work *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (1845),

I believe that, at present, women are the best helpers of one another.

Let them think; let them act; till they know what they need.

We only ask of men to remove arbitrary barriers. Some would like to do more. But I believe it needs that Woman show herself in her native dignity, to teach them how to aid her; their minds are so encumbered by tradition. (172)

In these gothic short stories women become "the best helpers of one another." Mothers, strangers and long-lost friends and lovers support or at least attempt to support each other through their long nights of the soul. While this may not always take place in her "native dignity," it often takes place in "a seat on a bedside late at night," where "only oneself & one's confidante survive in wakefulness" (Smith-Rosenberg qtd. 40). Or, as close an approximation as can be achieved when men come home at night to be immersed in "the domestic world of the feminine" (Beetham 3). These women do not always succeed in their aims to help one another because, as shown above, the cost of coming to understand the reality of women's situations was often felt to be too high: the horror that can nearly turn one's brain leaves one with knowledge they may not wish to possess. However, even this failure can ultimately bring success, for, as Fuller writes, women should be allowed to "think" and "act; till they know what they need." Even if the women in the stories are not successful, this can enable the female reader to identify with the struggle. Fuller's advice "that Woman show herself in her native dignity" finds a gothic corollary in Dickinson's poem "One need not be a Chamber – to be Haunted – " in which women discover themselves haunted by themselves: "Ourself behind ourself" (1679). These gothic stories, then, can be seen as women "show[ing] herself in her native dignity." The gothic act of recognising one's doppelgänger is the logical conclusion of the nocturnal gatherings of these

short stories. In her 1913 article "Why I Wrote 'The Yellow Wall-paper'?" Charlotte Perkins Gilman describes the kin network that emerged as a result of the her own real-life experience which she dramatised in her short story. While under directions from Weir Mitchell to "never to touch pen, brush, or pencil" she rejected this treatment: "using the remnants of intelligence that remained, *and helped by a wise friend*, I cast the noted specialist's advice to the winds and went to work again [...] ultimately recovering some measure of power [emphasis original]." This wise friend is believed to be Gilman's friend and fellow writer Grace Channing. The work she returned to included writing "The Yellow Wallpaper" which, alongside successfully convincing her former doctor to change his methods, also "saved one woman from a similar fate--so terrifying her family that they let her out into normal activity and she recovered" (804). "The Yellow Wall-paper," then, was both the product of and inspired women to be the best helpers of one another.

Ladies' Night

However, many of these stories end ambiguously at best: indeed, "The Yellow Wall-paper" can also be read as the story of a mental breakdown in which the woman kills herself at the end.⁹ Even this ending isn't necessarily entirely negative – one can look at Kate Chopin's proto-feminist novel *The Awakening* (1899) as a contemporary text in which the protagonist's death in daylight leads to her freedom. However, the fact that so many of these stories end in the midnight death of the protagonist, or that even the more positive conclude in a midnight encounter, hints at a lack of direction for women at a crucial juncture. They are not able to find their way through to the light of the following day.

⁹ Paul Kincaid writes, "Gilman's most important work has proved to be her earlier short story 'The Yellow Wallpaper' (1892), which, like 'The Turn of the Screw', hesitates between ghost story and psychological realism. A woman, confined to her room by her husband because of an earlier collapse, begins to sense other women behind the yellow wallpaper, figures which either drive her to insanity or provide a strange release" (43-4).

One of the most glaring differences between the short stories examined in this chapter and the slavery narratives of the previous one is the night journey embarked upon by the protagonists. As James Olney observes, "[t]he conventions for slave narratives were so early and so firmly established that one can imagine a sort of master outline drawn from the great narratives and guiding the lesser ones," and these conventions include "description of successful attempt(s) to escape, lying by during the day, travelling by night guided by the North Star, reception in a free state by Quakers who offer a lavish breakfast and much genial thee/thou conversation" (152-3). Crucially, the women's rights movements emerged as progress in abolitionism highlighted the unfair treatment of minorities in American society (Braude 60). It has of course been demonstrated in American scholarship that the experience of black slaves to white (particularly upper-class) women is not comparable (McMillan, "Women", 191; Spelman 188-9). However, it is interesting to observe how, despite the suffragette movement finding its origin in perceived commonalities with enslaved blacks, there is no comparable movement within nineteenth-century literature. This is due, at least in part, to black male suffrage being granted theoretically nationwide in 1870, fifty years before it was granted to women. Although black male suffrage was not enacted, it was conceived of as a possibility. While in the antebellum era, there is a clearly defined "nocturnal pathway" for black authors from slavery to freedom as found in the slavery narrative, there is no such template for white female freedom. It is almost as if the night, which manages to pave the way for black men, becomes an inscrutable force through which white women cannot find escape. Meanwhile, freedom from slavery for black women was imaginable, but under the provision that they required masculine guidance. Black women usually have a degree of autonomy in antebellum narratives, but are still assisted by black men, as Ellen Craft is by her husband William Craft, or by the wider black community, as Jacobs is by her family. Considered in this way, one could argue that Olney's list of tropes typically found in a slavery narrative applies more to the male narrative than the female one.

For black individuals (particularly black men), then, the literary night could be alternatively liberating, dangerous, and a way of establishing their

own values (if only under the approval of white readers). This accords with the push-and-pull of American society at the time: one in which the plight of the slave was both simultaneously being undone through abolitionist movements, while the last gasp actions of southern law-makers were trying to reify the black individual as chattel. The long dark night of the soul, long and dark as it was, had an ending in sight, even if that ending itself was seen as ambivalent (as examined in Douglass' and Jacobs' rhetorical strategy in Chapter Three). And indeed, this accords with the fact that the abolition of slavery was a thing that could, and was, being imagined.

Freedom for white women – whatever form this might take, whether it would be freedom from abusive husbands or marriage entirely, expanded property rights or suffrage – was not. Or, at least it was not done in the same certain terms, as evidenced by suffrage not being granted until 1920. Female emancipation as we know it today was not necessarily deemed desirable even among outspoken and influential women in the nineteenth century. According to Sally McMillan, for many American women, suffrage was unnecessary as their husband's vote represented what they saw as the household vote. Giving the vote to women could therefore destroy a happy home, the bedrock of society. From the 1870s onwards and even into the mid-1890s, anti-suffrage societies were established, attracting influential members such as educator Catherine Beecher. These groups lobbied state legislatures to remind them that "most women had no desire to vote" (McMillan, *Seneca*, 223). Even women who were not opposed to suffrage displayed an ambivalence towards it. When interviewed for *The Brandon Mail* from Manitoba in 1888, in an article entitled "Would Women Vote?", Sarah Orne Jewett's answer reveals significant reticence on the subject, suggesting "it would have been better to carefully restrict the voting of men by high educational and certain property qualifications." However, despite her own personal views, she adds, "I believe common justice gives women the right to vote. Personally, I have no wish to hasten the day when woman suffrage will be allowed, but I believe that day to be inevitable, and I should certainly consider it my duty to vote" (3),

The night journey for white women therefore rarely looks the same as that of a man's, just as they did not have the same claims to citizenship. The closest example of a gothic "long night of the soul" through which a

nineteenth-century American female character emerges into the following day is depicted in Spofford's 1860 story "Circumstance," which is modeled on the seventeenth-century captivity narratives (Silvis, "Indian," 90). Spofford's gothic story follows the ordeal of a pioneering white woman in Maine who, while travelling home through the wilderness one evening after nursing a sick friend, is attacked and captured by a monstrous animal described as an "Indian Devil" who physically restrains and attempts to eat her. The woman avoids certain death by singing psalms she remembers from her childhood throughout the night (significantly, these are psalms taught to her by her mother, another reminder of the importance of kin networks), and when the sun rises the next morning, her husband arrives and shoots the Indian Devil dead. The woman manages to transform the night itself through her actions: initially, "The dark, hollow night rose indifferently over her; the wide, cold air breathed rudely past her, lifted her wet hair and blew it down again." Comparatively, once she has asserted her faith, she notices "how at one with Nature had she become! how all the night and the silence and the forest seemed to hold its breath, and to send its soul up to God in her singing!" (89-92). Spofford's story, then, in its most simplistic form, follows a "traditional" nocturnal narrative not unlike those seen in the religious redemption arcs of early slavery narratives, in which "Hell is real and it exists on earth; conversion offers deliverance and salvation both for the spiritual body and the physical body" (Pierce 244)

However, there are several aspects of the narrative which complicate the woman's redemptive arc: for one, as mentioned above, she is only rescued eventually by her husband, who was nowhere to be seen throughout the night. Absent husbands and lovers are a common trope throughout women's nocturnal gothic experience (as will be expounded upon in this chapter): the male relatives who should supposedly be protecting women are at best, absent, and often abusive and even violent. Her husband's action, to put it generously, comes extremely late. If it were not for the woman's religious resilience she would have been dead (or worse) long ago. Secondly, it is not entirely clear that the husband's actions are actually needed: following the logic of the long night of the soul, the Indian Devil's domain – the night – is waning, and the woman may have been able to defeat the devil alone without frontier violence. And thirdly, if

we accept that the husband did need to shoot the devil, then the woman's "freedom" cannot be attained without the continual assistance of her husband, and the accompanying frontier violence.

Carol Holly, who argues that "Circumstance" "provides an astonishingly positive account of female transformation and agency" points out that it is also "compromised by an imperialistic ideology, deeply racist, that the heroine's unifying Christian vision fails to contain and transform" (160). The ending, in which the woman, her husband and their child, return to their village to discover it has been attacked by Indians, demonstrates that her transformation has come at the expense of wider society. While it is not explicitly said, it can be inferred that her husband's violence has led to this retaliation by the Indian Devil's followers. "Circumstance" reflects many of the cultural anxieties regarding the impending civil war. Indeed, Theresa South Gaul has observed that Spofford is reflecting upon the roles American women may soon be forced to take up, particularly that of the mother of soldiers. Gaul writes that "The publication of the story during the period immediately preceding the civil war raises the possibility that Spofford's invocation of the captivity narrative genre represents a displacement of her meditations on the heightening conflict between the North and South onto the similarly violence-marked period of colonial Indian-white warfare" (41). In "Circumstance," Spofford illustrates the ordeal that women endure during times of war, without being permitted the symbols of citizen status that men are: the woman has to wait for her husband to arrive with his gun before she can be saved. Because gun ownership was synonymous with voting rights, something seen as far back as Edgar Huntly's self-imposed violence as a one-man militia,¹⁰ the protagonist of "Circumstance" is further prevented from participation in civic activity, despite her own sacrifices and personal growth. As a result the dictates of the genre, as well as those of her husband and the wider dictates of a violent, racist society prevent her from saving herself from danger in her own night journey.

10 A further examination of gun ownership and voting rights in early America can be found in Saul Cornell's *A Well-Regulated Militia: The Founding Fathers and the Origins of Gun Control in America*. 2008.

Women's fears of disenfranchisement with the advent of the civil war were not unfounded. The momentum of women's rights activism of the mid-century, which started with the Seneca Falls convention in 1848 and was followed annually by national conventions, was halted at the outbreak of war, when many activists chose to put women's suffrage to one side and instead focus on the goal of abolition. However, in the aftermath of the civil war, white women and black men were essentially given an ultimatum: either suffrage for (white) women, or extended rights for black freedmen (with emphasis on men). Recognising that they couldn't stem the tide of progress forever, Congress chose to divide and conquer. By promising just one group the rights they had been fighting for, they forced suffragettes and abolitionists to turn on each other – ideally to further stall progress. This situation inevitably turned to in-fighting which was accompanied by racism by some of the suffragettes, who argued that black men were the poorer class and shouldn't be able to vote before educated white women, as well as sexism from the abolitionists (McMillan, *Seneca*, 162-73).¹¹ That early white feminism was accompanied by, and in some ways inexorably linked to, racism and classism is undeniable: however, it is crucial to recognise that this was a direct effect of the patriarchal attempt to foment class war between two minorities who were gaining power and influence. Women, then, had become tantalisingly close to attaining suffrage, only to have it taken away from them.

"Circumstance," one of the nineteenth-century's most supposedly empowering night journeys for a white woman, then, is predicated on both a saviour husband and the demonisation of people of colour which

¹¹ Those who, under reasonable circumstances, were united in their aims, were forced to adopt positions that were almost unimaginable otherwise: McMillan writes that "[Frederick] Douglass decried Elizabeth [Cady Stanton]'s demeaning language when she used the term 'Sambo' to refer to black men. Insisting that black men deserved the right to vote before women, Douglass detailed the many injustices, horrors, and humiliations that male slaves endured for over two hundred years. When someone in the audience asked if female slaves hadn't experienced the same horrors, Douglass responded that if they had, it was due to race, not gender. By gaining the right to vote, Douglass insisted, black men would be able to protect their women" (*Seneca* 173).

undermines her own considerable progress in surviving the night. Where men (both white and black) tend to bravely endure the night and emerge either cleansed and refreshed or battle-hardened and experienced, white women who attempt to similarly succeed by themselves tend either not to survive the night, or to do so only when rescued by men. An example of the lone female journey is shown in Edith Wharton's short story "Mrs. Manstey's View" (1891), in which a lonely elderly woman tries to prevent a boarding house being built which disrupts her view of the surrounding New York neighbourhood, the one pleasure she has in her life. Mrs. Manstey's isolation is highlighted by her lack of communication with her daughter who lives in California. They have "now been so many years apart that they had ceased to feel any need of each other's society, and their intercourse had long been limited to the exchange of a few perfunctory letters" (28). Due to her "increasing infirmity" which has inhibited her ability to move, her view is the last aspect of her life she may be able to exercise control over, and in order to do so she leaves her apartment under the cover of darkness, once the workmen have gone home, in order to set fire to the timber structure that will soon tower over her own residence. However, although she manages to start a fire, it is easily put out by the fire department, and her nocturnal trip results in a serious bout of pneumonia which she dies from. The night, then, is infinitely hostile to her, much in the way society has no place for her. Her one victory – that she does not live a single day with her view obscured – is an ironic one which rings hollow. Women's dark nights of the soul – if one can even call it that – do not have an end, or at the very best, it is one that does not improve their social or economic situation and often leads to further degradation. The night, then, becomes an inscrutable force through which women may highlight inequalities, but from which they cannot find escape.

Night Danger

Along with stories that accentuate relationships between women, many of these stories examine relationships between women as illustrated by their absence: these are stories in which women suffer, both psychologically and physically, at the hands of their husbands and other patriarchal figures such as fathers and brothers. This tends to happen due

to the absence of female figures in their lives, such as "The Shape of Fear," "Ethan Frome," and "A Truce." In these stories, the night may occasionally act as temporary reprieve from the demands of daily living as a young woman in America, but ultimately it is not enough to save women who have few rights and an even smaller social influence, due to their lack of female camaraderie. At the very best male suitors, like those of the seduction novels, show themselves to be unable to provide the kind of life these young women aspire to. Talking to the lover that has continually let her down, a young nun in Wright's "A Portion of the Tempest" (1890) describes her disappointment in terms of the passing of diurnal time: "Oh, those angry suns, that went down grudgingly in the west! 'It is day yet,' I would think, 'wait for the night.' [...] Far into the darkness I have waited, [...] But you *never* came!" [emphasis original] (143). The plight of star-crossed lovers in Wright's work is directly linked to economic and social factors, via men who are unable to find stable work and forced to travel to other parts of the country. This further indicates the problems inherent in the inequalities of marriage which required families to function on one salary (Traister 50). Interactions with husbands and male relatives, however, often end in much more violent and deadly fashion. In one of Wright's other stories, "A Truce," the protagonist, Nina, who has been raised by a father whose interest lies only in maintaining the family fortune, has been sent off to an equally uncaring uncle to marry her to a cousin, known as Forman. This lack of maternal care leads to her death, as Forman, enraged by her lack of interest in him, strangles her to death when he discovers her out at night after saying goodbye to another suitor who must leave the state to find employment. She attempts to escape from him and is aided for a time by the night: her "gray wrap and gown made her indistinguishable from her surroundings." The night's protection is decidedly ephemeral, however:

the moon played a ghastly hide-and-seek in the clouds as the girl glided from rock to rock through the tufts of grass and crackling bushes of pungent bay—now an invisible presence that baffled him and threw him far off the track, now a gray scud of mist among the dark greens of the low growths about her. (65)

While it may grant the Nina a temporary reprieve from Forman, it is not enough to prevent him from catching up with her. Despite Nina's resourcefulness and (perhaps because of) her outspokenness, she has been left exposed to the elements by a lack of care from her family and dies as a result.

An over-arching example can be found in Wharton's 1911 novella, "Ethan Frome," which is ostensibly the tragic story of a poor Massachusetts farmer whose ambitions have been perpetually thwarted. Ethan has lived his whole life in the remote village of Starkfield and is described by a neighbour as having been there for "too many winters" (12). Indeed, Starkfield is stark by nature, and Ethan is not the only one to have lived there too long, as his family have all been afflicted by chronic ailments. The action of the story takes place when a young woman has entered Ethan's life: Mattie Silver is the poor, orphaned relative of his wife, Zenobia (or Zeena), and her presence in his life has filled him with a hope and happiness that he has not felt for a long time. However, these hopes too are dashed when Zenobia, upon learning that she will require surgery, is advised by her doctor that she should acquire better home help, and demands that Mattie be replaced. Ethan and Mattie, both devastated at this news, briefly consider running away together but ultimately attempt to end their lives by crashing a sled into a tree. This fails to work, however, instead breaking Mattie's spine and leaving Ethan with a pronounced limp for the rest of his life. The final irony is that Mattie remains with the Fromes, but due to her debilitating injuries becomes a mirror image of Zeena.

While "Ethan Frome" is sympathetic towards its protagonist, the story also questions whether Frome's attitude towards these women led to their debilitating situation. While he cares deeply for Mattie during his time with her, which is mostly spent in the darkness of the rural Massachusetts night, there is the suggestion that this is a result of him, in the vein of a frontiersman, romanticising a wilderness setting which comes with connotations of freedom and a lack of responsibility. Ethan's attitude towards Mattie changes when he spends time with her in his home, in the space that Zeena usually inhabits:

He knew that most young men made nothing at all of giving a pretty girl a kiss, and he remembered that the night before, when he had put his arm about Mattie, she had not resisted. But that had been out-of-doors, under the open irresponsible night. Now, in the warm lamplit room, with all its ancient implications of conformity and order, she seemed infinitely farther away from him and more unapproachable. (57)

Ethan's change in attitude is compounded further in this scene, when, in a moment of dramatic irony he comes to see her as a younger version of Zeena: instructing her to sit nearer him in Zeena's empty rocking chair, the reader learns,

[a]s her young brown head detached itself against the patch-work cushion that habitually framed his wife's gaunt countenance, Ethan had a momentary shock. It was almost as if the other face, the face of the superseded woman, had obliterated that of the intruder. After a moment Mattie seemed to be affected by the same sense of constraint. (55)

Such a view questions whether Ethan originally viewed Zeena in a similar way to Mattie, and whether he allowed the "ancient implications of conformity and order" found in domestic life to cloud his judgement of Zeena. In doing so, the dichotomy of the Dark Lady and Fair Maiden found in Hawthorne and elsewhere is challenged, rather aptly, by another Zenobia. The embedded narrative of "Ethan Frome" - a visitor to the village of Starkfield is relating Ethan's version of the story, twenty-six years after the fact - means that we are learning about Zeena at a considerable remove: while she may appear to be acting selfish in this version of events, she was also prepared to spend her time nursing a distant relative as a young woman, and takes every opportunity to visit her much-missed distant relatives, even if she appears uncaring towards Mattie in Ethan's version of events. Uncertainties about the story, as seen in Ethan's relationship with the night time, force us to question where the reader's sympathies should ultimately lie. If nothing else, despite Ethan's feelings of

restraint and thwarted ambition, he is given considerably more freedom of movement than either Mattie and Zeena, even if it is only to wander Starkfield at night. Ethan, in other words, uses the nightscape – illustrated to be the natural right of white men – to frame himself as inhibited by society while dismissing any consideration that the women in his life may feel similarly inhibited.

Women's Roles

Night for women in gothic texts therefore remains contradictory and full of uncertainties. As outlined in previous chapters, the space of the nocturnal gothic is one of simultaneous contradictions, such as freedom and confinement: however, the gendered nature of American life meant that women could not approach ideas of freedom and liberty as men have been able to. To find representations of (relatively) unfettered womanhood, one must look to other genres such as Fuller's romantic writing, wherein she is given scope to wander day and night through Concord's woods. However, even here she is aware of boundaries that do not apply to men: encouraging her readership to "Educate Men and Women as Souls" she writes, "Nature has pointed out [woman's] ordinary sphere by the circumstances of her physical existence. She cannot wander far" (335). Women's wandering, then, is expressed in relation to their distance to men, just as the rest of their lives are similarly circumscribed. Similarly, female privacy overall was judged by a woman's relation to the men around her. As Elizabeth Schneider has observed,

Privacy has seemed to rest on a division of public and private that has been oppressive to women and has supported male dominance in the family. Privacy reinforces the idea that the personal is separate from the political; privacy also implies something that should be kept secret. Privacy inures to the benefit of the individual, not the community. The right of privacy has been viewed as a passive right, one which says that the state cannot intervene. (979)

While Schneider goes on to detail how privacy can also play an "affirmative role" for women (979), when privacy is considered in the context of coverture, which stated that women had no civic personhood outside of their husband, it is clear how the privacy of the home could never be enough to enable American women to achieve the kind of freedoms white men enjoyed. In particular, since American women's primary roles were believed to be that of mother and wife, they were never able to stand free and unfettered as men have. Privacy, for women, means that their voices go unheeded in society, and their strife plays out in the hidden, darkened corners of the American night. In particular, pregnancy and childrearing have gendered the female American body in ways that proved contradictory to American ideals of independence. Indeed, these gothic short stories focus on women whose maternal and marital roles have created rigid boundaries for them. In "The Giant Wisteria," a woman with no other options left, after her family has abandoned her, drowns her new-born baby and then kills herself in the cellar of her family's stately home. In "An Itinerant House," a group of men bring a dead woman back to life against her will, simply because she was the mistress of one of them. In his examination of citizenship, Castronovo talks about the "Attributes of subjectivity that spill over the cookie-cutter shape of state identity" which "are trimmed away as so much excess." In gothic women's writing, female characters must battle with these attributes, such as "Collective countermemory, gender differentiation, and racial embodiment" (6). These attributes cannot be ignored in the search for freedom and are explored by women into the unstraited space of the night.

Gothic women writers use the nightscape to navigate the roles demanded by society, alongside the ones they wished to inhabit. The ghostly encounter in Mary E. Wilkins Freeman's "The Lost Ghost" has split critics with regards to its representation of motherhood. In "The Lost Ghost" a child ghost haunts the boarding house of two elderly sisters. In life, the child was abandoned by her parents and died alone in a nearby apartment. After years of encountering the ghost child at night in their house, Mrs. Bird, one of the two sisters, dies, and is last seen in spectral form taking care of the ghost child. Carpenter and Kolman see it as a positive representation of disinterested maternal care (59), while Jeffrey Andrew

Weinstock, quoting Alfred Bendixen, argues that "The Lost Ghost" is not "an unqualified plea for mother love," as this love requires "a human sacrifice: a living woman must become a ghost," a fear which underlies much of the supernatural fiction written by American women (qtd. Weinstock, *Scare* 135).

While one cannot dispute that the costs of motherhood in America were high and, indeed, Mrs. Bird's "sacrifice" can be read as being self-defeating, Weinstock and Bendixen's reading also risks overlooking Mrs. Bird's personal agency and desires. As the reader learns from Mrs. Bird's sister, Mrs. Dennison, the reason they take in a young orphaned girl as a boarder (who is also the narrator of the story) is because they were both "lonesome" and "wanted the young company in the house" (210). But while both sisters are caring and considerate towards the children (both living and dead) that they encounter, Mrs. Bird alone has maternal aspirations: she is a widow who never managed to have children, yet it is hinted that she dearly wanted to. And while Mrs. Dennison reacts in fear to the child ghost, Mrs. Bird is welcoming to the visitor from the very beginning. Crucially, while Mrs. Bird makes this ultimate sacrifice, Mrs. Dennison doesn't, demonstrating that two women in very similar circumstances may make different personal decisions and priorities in relation to motherhood. This may indeed be a sacrifice, but it is one that is willingly given, and this might make the difference.

Moreover, the final encounter between Mrs. Bird and the ghost girl takes place in the morning sunshine, although until now the girl has only appeared in the dead of night. This can be seen as a demonstration of the fact that her "night of the soul" is over. Of course, this ambiguity between the positive or negative implications of Mrs. Bird's sacrifice are part of the uncertainty inherent in the gothic; and by nuancing the argument it illustrates how difficult it is to reconcile the realities of motherhood with the idealised view driven by nineteenth-century American society. Freeman's story is critiquing the type of society which abandons widows and unmarried women, thus cutting them off from opportunities to engage in wider networks of female kinship and opportunities surrounding motherhood.

The Shape of Fear: A Story of Wall Street?

Recognising the absence of such support networks, other stories critique how the night was being abused to sustain and increase white masculine success in society, at the expense of women and people of colour. Considering that progress in industrialisation at this time was used not to ensure a more equal society for men and women, but was instead used to ensure the market place superiority of men and the domestication of women, it is of little surprise that the use of electric lighting in women's gothic stories further delineates the unequal treatment of men and women in society. This becomes particularly clear in Elia W. Peattie's story "The Shape of Fear." Writing about the delineation that was heightened with the advent of electricity in private homes, Ernest Freeberg claims that

Historians examining Victorian ideas about domestic life suggested that those urban dwellers who could afford to often constructed their homes to be havens, woman-guarded sanctuaries from an urban street life that seemed each year to grow more crowded, polluted, and threatening. (279)

In search of "elusive privacy," Freeberg continues,

homeowners often draped their windows with heavy velvet curtains, blocking out the street noise but also much of the sun. Strong interior lighting became more important than ever. Just as the house became sharply divided from the public life bustling around it, the rooms within carved up zones of public and private life. (279)

Such a dependence on electric lighting manifests itself in "The Shape of Fear" (1898). The protagonist here is a man: Tim O'Connor, a businessman with a fear of the dark, who routinely refuses to enter his apartment unless all the lights are on to the full. The fact that his wife becomes the "shape" of his fear should therefore be unsurprising. Tim's unnamed wife resides in the shadows of the story: not only does she go unnamed, she appears only to cook dinner or switch on the electric lights for her husband. Concealed as she is within her home, as well as by her husband's narrative, she in many

ways embodies what Gilbert and Gubar have observed of women's writing: "Literally confined to the house," they write,

figuratively confided to a single 'place,' enclosed in parlors and encased in texts, imprisoned in kitchens and enshrined in stanzas, women artists naturally found themselves describing dark interiors and confusing their sense that they were house-bound with their rebellion against being duty bound. (84)

While electric lighting may be beneficial to Tim as it enables him to conduct business late into the evening hours, it inhibits his wife, forcing her further into a life of rigid domesticity centred around the actions of her husband.

There is further nuance to Peattie's "The Shape of Fear" when it is considered in comparison to Herman Melville's short story from 1853, "Bartleby, the Scrivener." While at first glance, trying to contrast the treatment of night in "Bartleby," a story which takes place almost exclusively during the day might at first seem pointless, it is crucial to recognise that Bartleby's narrator, much like Tim O'Connor, is an American man of business, for whom the hours of commerce are all-important: one would be unsurprised that he finds the night hours a waste of time and would prefer to be "yes-saying in a sunlit, neo-classical world" as Fiedler suggests of the earlier Jefferson generation (144). Indeed, the narrator of "Bartleby" mournfully describes what he considers the wastefulness of Wall Street after hours: "Of a Sunday, Wall-street is deserted as Petra; and every night of every day it is an emptiness. This building too, which of week-days hums with industry and life, at nightfall echoes with sheer vacancy, and all through Sunday is forlorn" (77). The fear of the "sheer vacancy" of an unindustrious nocturnal building is the same fear that the narrator suffers when trying to produce his "vague report" of the inscrutable Bartleby (59). Furthermore in "Bartleby," it is crucial to recognise that his erstwhile employee becomes a serious problem for the narrator when he discovers that Bartleby is residing in the offices overnight: this demonstrates the extent to which boundaries (or indeed battle lines) are redrawn in America's night. Clearly, while a worker (even as odd and "un-American" as Bartleby) is welcome to whittle away their life at the

office so long as they are seen to be productive, an attempt to make that place homely or to stamp their sense of self onto it is seen as taking power back from the master. Such a reading is heightened by Lucy Maddox's argument that Bartleby's displacement within society can be seen as a stand-in for the Indian removals: "Bartleby and the Indians," she points out, "must yield their place, on the land and in the written versions of history offered to an American audience" (76). Drawing upon Irving's argument in *Astoria* (1836), Maddox further links the narrative of "Bartleby" to the Indian removals, claiming that

This vast project in which, according to Irving, the pioneers of commerce have been gloriously successful, is structurally the same project the narrator sets himself in his dealings with Bartleby: to penetrate what has been hidden, to reveal secrets, to release what is potential and then to appropriate it for the purposes of the American commercial enterprise. (76)

Furthermore, Irving uses the term "laying open the hidden secrets of the wilderness" (34), and Maddox's reference to such an action hints at the possibility of untapped wilderness in city spaces. Indeed, what could be more desirable for business moguls than a rolling back of the night in order to increase the hours of production, something that has been seen throughout the twentieth century.

The Inscrutable Other

"The Shape of Fear," in this way can be seen as a companion piece to Melville. While Tim O'Connor, unlike the temperant protagonist of "Bartleby," is a drinker, he has turned away from the belief in a life of "art for art's sake" and has become a "newspaper man" (Plains). His fear of the darkness of night time (or what the darkness entails for him) is only a slightly exaggerated form of the discomfort Bartleby's businessman narrator feels. "Shape" focuses on both Tim's work and home life, and in the place of Bartleby, Tim's inscrutable other is his unnamed wife, the woman whom he describes like a succubus or vampire:

[t]he creature who held him in bondage, body and soul, actually came to love him for his gentleness, and for some quality which baffled her, and made her ache with a strange longing which she could not define. Not that she ever defined anything, poor little beast! [...] About her lips was a fatal and sensuous smile, which, when it got hold of a man's imagination, would not let it go, but held to it, and mocked it till the day of his death. (2-3)

Tim's description of his wife echoes the inability to capture or describe Bartleby: while Tim describes his wife as unable to "define" anything, one notices that it is Tim himself who is having difficulty trying to pin down or explain away his wife's characteristics, as his all-encompassing (yet ultimately meaningless) description of her as "ancient, yet ever young, and familiar as joy or tears or sin," attests to (3). Indeed, in the same way Melville saw the problems of the blank canvas onto which American men project their own fears and desires, so does Tim here project his own fears that he is in fact the one holding his wife in "bondage" back at himself. Furthermore, Tim's status as an unreliable narrator is underscored by his dismissive description of his wife: while describing her as having "all the wifeliness and the maternity left out" she also stays up until midnight regularly to cook dinner for him (3). If this is not the description of a conscientious nineteenth-century wife it is hard to think what is. It soon becomes clear that Tim's fear of the dark is inimitably tied to his fear of his wife as an inscrutable other, and his mastery over the night time – via electric light – is a key way he strives to dominate his fear: Ronald Takaki and Freeberg have both noted how use of electric light, a crucial element in American industrialisation, was used to instil the belief in the superiority of the white men – despite the very real contribution many people of colour had made in the field of electrics.¹² Electric light, in this way, was used to

12 Takaki observes the extreme irony found at the Atlanta Exposition (1895) in the aftermath of Booker T. Washington's speech on the topic of race relations: "in Gray Cables, Massachusetts, the President [Grovener] pulled a switch, turning on the Exposition's great fountain and thousands of lights. As they witnessed the dramatic dispatch of an electric spark from Massachusetts to Georgia, white men of power and progress could feel confidence in their technology; and, as they looked at the

both bolster white supremacy and to undermine the groups of colour whose work underpinned much of the running of society. In "Shape," light is used similarly to undermine women's place in masculine-driven society. Tim "wanted every electric light in their apartments turned to the full" because he is petrified of the night and relies on his wife to aid him. The reader learns that "if by any chance, they returned together to a dark house, he would not enter till she touched the button in the hall, and illuminated the room" (3-4). Here the double standard plays out again: Tim's wife is the one running the society of the home but, despite his almost complete dependence, Tim is still derisive of her (indeed, he appears to be projecting again). Despite her actions, all of which support his career and ambitions, she is still ridiculed for staying up late to cook him dinner.

Such a reading of "Shape" is reminiscent of an 1809 New Jersey Supreme Court case examined by Rogers Smith. In it, a woman, Grace Kempe, who had married a British Loyalist and gone to England during the revolutionary war had had her lands confiscated in the aftermath of the revolution. Kempe's lawyers contended that her lands should not be confiscated because, as a *feme covert*, she was simply obeying her husband rather than aiding the enemy. It was further argued that Kempe, as a *feme* interracial scene around them, they could affirm their superiority over peoples of color, In the electric incandescence could be seen whites intermingling with what one visitor described as 'horn-blowing Dahomeyans,' 'sombre-eyed Mexicans,' 'American Indians,' and 'old-time Negroes in old- time costumes.' And, here and there in the crowds could also be seen "gorgeous pig-tailed Chinamen" (214). Meanwhile, Freeberg writes that, during the Jim Crow era, "newspapers relished stories that denied African Americans any part in their country's technological accomplishments. In a number of fields, including electric lighting, black inventors made significant contributions despite their obvious disadvantages in education and opportunity. The mainstream press ignored these, preferring instead to publish tales that made African Americans seem as bewildered as moths when they first encountered new light. [...] As if to make the same point in the most gruesome way possible, some lynch mobs used the masts of the new electric light poles to hang their victims, proof of their shamelessness and an apt symbol of their assumption that electricity was the white man's badge of cultural superiority" (223-4).

covert, was not an "inhabitant of a state" so such laws should not be applied to her. While this defence was not accepted, Chief Justice John Marshall indicated some sympathy towards Kempe: and as Smith has argued, "[t]hat sympathy is revealing. Clearly if a married woman's status was so subordinate to her husband's that she could not even be truly deemed an inhabitant of a political community in her own right, she possessed in the law's eyes no meaningfully independent citizenship" ("One" 248-9).

The fact that such an argument could be made indicated the degree to which American women were considered non-citizens. Their very presence as an "inhabitant of the state" could be denied, their ability to occupy space ignored. Almost a century later, married women's property acts had weakened many elements of coverture. Many of these changes were in response to the changing shape of industry (Combs Loc 4406), demonstrating how relationships between men and women were changing. Unsurprisingly, the "shape" Tim comes to fear is womanhood itself, fearing its mutability in economic terms. While one can clearly see problems with Tim's depiction of the ghostly apparition that terrifies him in the darkness – it is described as "a Shape, white, of perfect loveliness, divinely delicate and pure and ethereal, which seemed as the embodiment of all goodness" (7) – it is at least an unconscious admission of guilt on his behalf that he has been wholly dependent upon the hard work of another person in order to advance his career; and that in doing so he has stolen away the potential of a much kinder and selfless individual. By recognising in this ghost a woman's ability to occupy space (to take on a shape), he is admitting on some level a woman's rightful place in society. His surprisingly introspective admission at the end of the story that this shape "was compounded of the good I might have done. It is that which I fear" (8) is one of the sole examples of male closer reading in these stories.

It is almost as if, in order to maintain a grip on his belief in his superiority, Tim must not only criticise his wife's failures, but also dismiss the attitude she adopts while achieving success. In this way he acts like an insecure boss critiquing a far more capable employee's performance: indeed, it is hard to understand how Tim can criticise his wife for staying up late to cook him a chop. Is she, like *Bartleby*, seen to be lacking enthusiasm

in her work? "I should have been quite delighted with his application," claims the narrator of *Bartleby*, "had he been cheerfully industrious. But he wrote on silently, palely, mechanically" (67). The great American industrial project is dependent not only on infinitely expendable labour from infinitely expendable labourers, but also dependent on their enthusiasm: their insistence that they are not being exploited. Both "*Bartleby*" and "*Shape*" therefore critique the American business model's continuing dependence on Sambo-like figures.¹³ It is useful to consider the ways in which the language and narrative of both stories underpin a similar response to the other in American society, whether racialised (with *Bartleby* representing a native presence) or gendered (as in "*Shape*"). A comparative study highlights how industrialised America, predicated on the violent frontier policing of its non-citizens, continues to replicate such patterns in the nocturnal wilderness of the increasingly industrialised cities.

Night Work

These gothic ghost stories are therefore used to highlight the importance of female kin networks, one of the key institutions in American life for over on hundred years, which, it was feared, was becoming undermined in the movement of industrialisation. This is established, crucially, often via the absence of any kin network: "*The Shape of Fear*" illustrates how lonely city living can be for a woman who has become isolated from other female relatives. As travel and technology became more accessible to men, women found themselves uprooted from crucial support networks: wealthy women were relegated to the home, while working women were being displaced as men attempted to monopolise new technologies which would allow them to dominate in the nocturnal market at the expense of underpaid workers, who were predominantly poor white women or people of colour. While the number of women working outside

¹³ *Bartleby* is also twice described as a "ghost" in the story, and Faena Aleph suggests that if literature is filled with specters, "*Bartleby* is one of the most pervasive of them all" ("*Bartleby*"). We can therefore once again see that *Bartleby* haunts his text much in the same way Tim O'Connor's wife haunts "*The Shape of Fear*."

the home increased significantly throughout the century, so did the amount of control men exerted over their female workforce. Alice Kessler-Harris has observed that "the debate around prohibiting night work [...] began in the United States in the late nineteenth century," and came to a head at the start of the twentieth century with legislation in numerous states to restrict the employment of women working at night. These arguments were very much rooted in nineteenth-century beliefs regarding a woman's primary role as mother and caregiver: while some believed in restrictions to night work for all employees, men, women and children, would be of beneficial to the health and well-being of American society, any attempts to similarly curb men's night work was ignored (341). Such measures were there to ensure male dominance in lucrative and powerful fields: according to Elizabeth Faulkner Baker, in 1906 the New York state's labour commissioner argued that "the prohibition [of night work] in its application to factories only seems rather one-sided when we consider that probably the hardest occupations of women, those of hotel laundresses and cleaners, are not limited as to hours in any way" (qtd. Kessler-Harris 346). Working-class women were being forced into harsher conditions in these poorer-paying fields in order to safeguard men's continuing success in business and economic ventures.

While the majority of the stories examined in this chapter are written by upper- and middle-class women, focusing on their experiences to the exclusion of the working classes and women of colour, something that the women's movement was similarly guilty of, some of the later works, such as Josephine Daskam Bacon's "The Gospel" (1913) display a burgeoning class consciousness. Like "The Yellow Wall-paper," "The Gospel" focuses on a woman who has been clinically assigned bed rest and barred from what she terms "domestic arrangements" to address her nerves. She has been sent to the house of her physician, Dr. Stanchon, and is taken care of by the daughters of the house, Ann and Hester, neither of whom are paid for their labour. While initially dismissive of their work, believing that "every woman would take the first opportunity of relieving herself from the strain of household drudgery, which any ignorant person can accomplish," she soon comes to realise the extent of their labour. Marvelling at their never-ending work day, she asks Ann, "When do you rest?" When Ann responds,

"In my bed," the protagonist finds it difficult to imagine a life without leisure:

"But surely every one needs time to think—to consider," she began gently. "Don't you find it so?"

"To plan out the day, do you mean?" said Ann, moving to a new patch. "I generally do that at night before I go to sleep."

"No, no," she explained, "not the day's work—that must be done, of course—but the whole Scheme, life, and one's relation to it..." (244)

Here is the beginning of a recognition of both the high cost of human capital that women are expending on a daily basis to support the American economy, as well as a recognition of the difficulties inherent in working women's ability to mobilise against the system, as they are working every moment of the day. The protagonist's position in which she can consider the "whole Scheme, life, and one's relation to it..." places her closer to the frontiersman's ability to "realize where we are and the infinite extent of our relations" (243) than it does with women in poverty. "The Gospel" furthermore, examines how both wealthy and poor women are mobilised against each other in order to maintain male dominance in the market place. The protagonist's initial view that "any ignorant person" can accomplish "household drudgery" had, up until now, encouraged her to remain disinterested in the wider workings of society. When she discovers that Ann and Hester are not paid for their considerable labour that has supported her quality of life, she is forced to question her strongly held societal assumptions. At the end of the story she desperately questions the biblical story of Mary and Martha: "'But Mary and Martha' she had urged, 'surely there is a deep meaning in that, too? It was Martha who was reproved....'" (250). The protagonist is now recognising that the beliefs that form the bedrock of American society – such as the idea of a natural order or hierarchy – may be unfounded.

Consequently, the story highlights the fact that poorer women did not benefit from a nocturnal space in the same way wealthier women did.

Women in poverty are not given the time or space in which to consider "the whole Scheme, life, and one's relation to it" as they have expended so much energy during the day that they do not have time to establish kin networks in the night. As McMillan notes,

not everyone benefited from perceptible changes. The nineteenth-century women's movement, despite its achievements, did little to advance those most in distress. Women scraping by in miserable, poorly paid jobs needed support and greater economic opportunities. [...] Though Susan [B. Anthony] was one of many who had experienced unfair wages firsthand, her solution for pay inequality was female enfranchisement. (*Seneca* 218)

The women's movement did not do enough to alter the environment which kept poor working women in dangerous and poorly paid occupations. As demonstrated throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century, enshrining rights in law often does little for women and minorities if social and economic changes do not accompany such actions.

Conclusion: A Woman's Work is Never Done

The conclusion of "Ethan Frome" can, in this way, be seen as something of a repudiation of this chapter's thesis. A nocturnal kin network means little if there are not wider societal supports in place for women in poverty. The story ends with two women sitting side-by-side in a darkened kitchen, barely able to communicate with each other despite their proximity. They will remain, paralysed and helpless, under the controlling patriarchal gaze of the preindustrial lamplight which, according to Ethan's predeterminism, has both predicted their destinies and led to them. They are not the only women to do so: previously, the worst of Ethan's mother's ailments began when the introduction of the railroad meant that travellers could bypass the village, and left her more isolated than ever. In the absence of any local visitors,

Sometimes, in the long winter evenings, when in desperation her son asked her why she didn't "say

something," she would lift a finger and answer: "Because I'm listening"; and on stormy nights, when the loud wind was about the house, she would complain, if he spoke to her: "They're talking so out there that I can't hear you."
(44-5)

While this initially sounds like a woman who is no longer in control, we can also consider how she is, as Burrows suggested of Jewett's characters, creating "one-way relationships," in which attachments are "based on absence rather than presence." Or in other words, she is creating and maintaining a kin network, if only with herself.

As the story concludes, Zenobia and Mattie are, in effect, like Ethan's mother, almost spectral. But unlike in other stories, they do not even appear to have the ghostly powers required to connect with other female characters which would enable them to strengthen their kin networks. Similarly, the inequalities between rich and poor women are illuminated by the failure of the United States to extend electrical services to all communities well into the twentieth century. As Susan J. Kleinberg asserts,

Beginning in the 1870s some American households were revolutionized by mechanical devices capable of doing housework [...] Well into the twentieth century, however, the benefits of the new municipal and domestic technologies were limited to the middle classes and the very upper reaches of the working class. [...] Instead, working class women continued to do housework in much the same manner as their mothers did, although the city became dirtier, less sanitary, and more crowded as a result of increased industrialization and urbanization. (65-6)

Poor women, such as Zenobia and Mattie, were stuck in a cycle of poverty, in which they grew poorer while needing to work harder to survive: before their health deteriorated, they were inundated with endless household work. Meanwhile, wealthy women were benefiting from the results of industrialisation. Freeberg observes that, "By the mid-1930s, only one in nine American farms had electrical service." Despite producing more

electricity than the rest of the world combined, the United States “lagged far behind other industrialized nations in providing universal access to its service – a growing disparity that quite literally left rural Americans feeling disempowered” (298). Mattie and Zeenie are also isolated from a wider community, and due to the lack of infrastructure such as a train service, they will likely become more so. They are, moreover, prevented from attempting to improve their situation. Despite Ethan’s own ambitions in the realm of science and technology, he appears reluctant to assist his wife in learning similarly: the reader is told disdainfully, that “her last visit to Springfield had been commemorated by her paying twenty dollars for an electric battery of which she had never been able to learn the use” (42). The women’s rights movement, on the whole then, ignored the plight of poorer women who did not have the luxury to consolidate power within (or from) their own homes. A consolidated effort by rich women, who had lighter workloads and larger economic influences, to include and support poor women such as them was crucial at such a juncture. In this way, “Ethan Frome” can be seen as a commentary on the shortcomings of women’s attempts to consolidate power within the private sphere. Or, it might be fairer to call it an addendum: an argument that such strategies have gone as far as they can, and must now go elsewhere. Women could no longer expect to progress if they were stuck under the possessive eyes of their husbands.

Discussing nineteenth-century gothic writing, DeLamotte claims that “[b]ecause *not knowing* is the primary source of Gothic terror, the essential Gothic activity of the Gothic protagonist is interpretation” (24). Throughout these stories from the Gilded Age, women writers used the nightscape to explore the uncertainties of a woman’s place in the United States at the turn of the century. The American night is dark and full of terror: as a result, the response from these writers is to encourage their characters and readers to interpret what they see in order to consider possibilities for female freedom. Interpreting – found in the shape of closer reading and one-sided relationships – is used to identify commonalities and understandings that can forge kin networks across time and space. This is particularly crucial at it is acted out against a background of masculine control and often violence. That the nightscape would remain front and

centre of such representations of women's struggle into the new century is perhaps not surprising: after all, suffrage was ultimately gained in 1920, just a year after the International Labour Organisation in Washington stipulated that a woman could not take on what they termed "industrial undertaking" between the hours of 10pm and 5am nationwide (ILO).

Conclusion: Night Studies in the Twentieth Century

Dawn of the New Century?

As identified throughout this thesis, the nocturnal gothic is used to explore the hinterland between literal and metaphorical representations of night. Since night and day are among the most difficult terms to distinguish literally and metaphorically, American authors have projected their anxieties onto the nightscape, both intentionally and unintentionally, in order to interrogate conceptions of citizenship in the United States.

White America feared both literally and figuratively losing their way in the new continent. Literary characters frequently get lost in the night: a mark of the American (man) is his ability to emerge unscathed (avoiding both death and race mixing) into the following day. In order to complete this cycle of succession, people of colour had to be relegated to the darkness of the continent. The night was their eventual end point, as their outmoded technology and “naturally dusky natures” spelt the end of their reign. Similarly, white women had to be regularly rescued by American men when they were dragged out into the nocturnal wilderness by lascivious men intent on polluting the white gene pool.

Social justice responses to this meta-narrative reconfigure the night to demonstrate the heavily manufactured state of the literary American night. Gothic tropes are taken and remoulded: captivity narratives critique white society rather than Native American activity; black heroines are hounded by white seducers; colonial forces rather than nocturnal forces become the chief horror of the scene. The horror is found in the extent to which white patriarchal society has manipulated the conventions of the nocturnal gothic to advance America as a site for white masculine supremacy at the expense of all individuals residing outside the privileged few.

Unsurprisingly, the literary night would continue to be an ideological battleground throughout the twentieth century. This prose frequently built upon or challenged assumptions made in the nineteenth-century nightscape. Examining the possibilities of night studies in the twentieth century includes considering how female characters’ night journeys have changed. A key example is Chopin’s 1899 proto-feminist novel *The*

Awakening. True to its title, throughout the novel the white protagonist, Edna Pontellier, gradually awakens or becomes aware of the extent to which the night for women in nineteenth-century America was carefully controlled by the men in their lives. Louisiana law's harsh derivation of the Napoleonic code rigorously dictates the limits of her daily experience (Culley 119), with her husband, much like the patriarchs of the early seduction novel, shrewdly watching her movements and reprimanding her for choosing to stay awake late into the night, treating her much in the way that she, in turn, imposes bedtimes on her children. Her discoveries are made as she pushes at the boundaries that have been erected to perpetuate her dependence on her husband. Early on, she realises that her swimming abilities are far beyond those she had anticipated. Despite trying and failing to learn under her husband's tutelage, she decides to attempt it unfettered by any instructor. Doing so, we learn:

that night she was like the little tottering, stumbling, clutching child, who of a sudden realizes its powers, and walks for the first time alone, boldly and with over-confidence. She could have shouted for joy. She did shout for joy, as with a sweeping stroke or two she lifted her body to the surface of the water. A feeling of exultation overtook her, as if some power of significant import had been given her to control the working of her body and her soul. She grew daring and reckless, overestimating her strength. She wanted to swim far out, where no woman had swum before. (582-3)

While, as has been identified by many critics the sea is the medium by which she strikes out for freedom (Gray 54; Ringe 582-3), the night also becomes the space for her understanding. Edna is beginning to realise how her structured day and night have been used to infantilise her and undermine her ability to self-determine. However, as is often the case with the night, so-called freedom is not without its downside. In Edna's final moments she reflects that, "[d]espondency had come upon her there in the wakeful night, and had never lifted. There was no one thing in the world

that she desired" (651). As Ruland and Bradbury write, "Edna confronts the wider ambiguities of Emersonian self-discovery. She is caught between self-realization and existential inner solitude, between a sense of human divinity and regression. This is her tragedy and the book's compelling mystery" (234). While Edna may be far more self-aware than Goodman Brown, like Goodman Brown she is now rendered alone. Without any support systems – or indeed kin networks – in place, Edna has discovered how unwelcome women truly are in the American night: not because the night could be a danger to them, but because powerful, questioning women could pose a danger to the "fixed identity categories" of nineteenth-century society.

Exploring Chopin's novel in this way, the nightscape at the end of the nineteenth century was used to critique the view of women's nocturnal journeys throughout the preceding century. Similarly, prose written by black authors at the turn of the century questioned whether the African American population were any closer to achieving the brighter coming day that black activists had struggled to establish throughout the nineteenth century. According to Booker T. Washington, incremental steps were now needed to close the gap between black and white Americans. And indeed, in his autobiography *Up From Slavery* (1901), incremental steps are made in the Franklinesque vein of self-making. Washington illustrates the importance of night schools and the necessity of labour at all hours in order to uplift the African American race. Negotiating life in the postbellum South, Washington highlights how he, alongside his family and the extended black community, carefully pool their resources and work tirelessly to secure social and economic respectability in Virginia, and later alongside black students in the establishment and running of Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute in Alabama. Like Horatio Alger's archetypes, Washington's upward movement is characterised by his ability to improve his living arrangements, and his later affluence is not only compared to but as a result of his capacity for enduring the base elements of the American night. Stopping in Richmond on his way to Hampton, where Washington would receive his education, we learn,

In order to economize in every way possible, so as to be sure to reach Hampton in a reasonable time, I continued to

sleep under the same sidewalk that gave me shelter the first night I was in Richmond. Many years after that the coloured citizens of Richmond very kindly tendered me a reception at which there must have been two thousand people present. This reception was held not far from the spot where I slept the first night I spent in the city, and I must confess that my mind was more upon the sidewalk that first gave me shelter than upon the recognition, agreeable and cordial as it was. (29)

Washington's later success is built on his ability "to economize" in every way possible including – or especially – his sleeping spaces. His upward mobility depends upon self-reliance and a through-line of humbleness which does not allow him to forget his origins.

Two years later, W. E. B. Du Bois' collection of essays, *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903), Du Bois questions the possibility of such upward suasion or self-making with so much stacked against the black population: describing the experience of African Americans in the United States, he writes,

Why did God make me an outcast and a stranger in mine own home? The shades of the prison-house closed round about us all: walls strait and stubborn to the whitest, but relentlessly narrow, tall, and unscalable to sons of night who must plod darkly on in resignation, or beat unavailing palms against the stone, or steadily, half hopelessly, watch the streak of blue above. (3)

Rather than the land of opportunity, the United States becomes a "prison-house" in which upward movement is difficult for all, and a possibility (and a difficult one at that) to only "the whitest." To African Americans (who are dubbed "sons of night" revealing the implicit bias already against them), the sort of incremental upward movement Washington proposes is impossible, certainly not against such "relentlessly narrow, tall and unscalable" walls. It also becomes clear that this is a man-made darkness:

someone had constructed these walls to keep all but “the whitest” away from the “blue above” and has left the black individuals inside without tools in their “unavailing palms.” In the vein of double-consciousness, these black individuals view themselves as failures who are unable to live up to the ideals of white America even as the American establishment walls throw up extra obstacles to their self-making. Recognising, as in *Iola Leroy*, that the very shadowy nature ascribed to the African American population is not a natural or inherent impediment to black progress, Du Bois argues it is instead a further obstacle imposed upon them by prejudiced whites:

while sociologists gleefully count his bastards and his prostitutes, the very soul of the toiling, sweating black man is darkened by the shadow of a vast despair. Men call the shadow prejudice, and learnedly explain it as the natural defence of culture against barbarism, learning against ignorance, purity against crime, the “higher” against the “lower” races. To which the Negro cries Amen! and swears that to so much of this strange prejudice as is founded on just homage to civilization, culture, righteousness, and progress, he humbly bows and meekly does obeisance. (6)

Here Du Bois calls attention to what Bronfen has identified: that by cloaking the black population in a “shadow of a vast despair” and associating them with barbarism, ignorance and crime, influential white men attempted to exile black society from what she termed the “realm of reason.” As they had throughout the nineteenth century, the white population could assuage their consciences by projecting their own prejudices onto those they were disenfranchising. Washington’s call to “economize” appears less and less possible when white society refuses to approach the black population in anything other than bad faith.

Another area of potential research into night studies is the use of the literary nightscape in relation to the increasing urbanisation of the United States in the twentieth century: in the 1900 census forty percent of the population lived in cities for the first time (“Table”). During the first decade, various texts illustrated the ways in which the hours of day and night were

being curated in order to ensure the disenfranchisement of the labouring class in the pursuit of capitalism. In Edith Wharton's novel *The House of Mirth* (1905), Lily Bart's downward spiral from high society is a result of her realisation that the American night is constructed to ensure her perpetual struggle. Initially she feels compelled to stay up late gambling with her peers as a display of wealth is the only way she can ingratiate herself, despite risking her small earnings and social opprobrium from her relatives. Simultaneously, she is concerned that the electric light – the very tool that enables high society to function by extending events late into the night – is also damaging her complexion, her beauty being her only tool for navigating high society. Later on, as her situation becomes more desperate and she is forced to take on a job in a milliner's shop (which she later loses), she becomes even more aware of how much modernity has come at the cost of damaging and excessive labour from certain segments of society. As has been observed by Meredith Goldsmith who has examined "the sheer amount of tea consumed in *The House of Mirth* [...] In Lily's case, caffeine fuels her productivity, enabling her to continue to work after exhausted, sleepless nights; yet in staving off her nocturnal 'horrors' (207), her caffeine drinking only increases her continued anxious consumption" (249). Lily is locked into a cycle of dependence in order to function on a deficit of sleep. Ultimately she ends the cycle by overdosing on chloral, a sleeping draught, and dying. Too late she realises that, because she was not born into wealth, wealth will always remain beyond her reach, unless she is willing to make sacrifices that betray her sense of self.

Examining similar ideas is Upton Sinclair's novel *The Jungle* (1906), an exposé on the horrors of the Chicago meat industry and the exploitation of its workers. Focusing on the experiences of a Lithuanian immigrant, Jurgis Rudkis, his family and relations, the poor workers frequently work long hours indoors which inhibit them from seeing daylight. Due to a cut-throat system which demands total compliance, even when jobs are unavailable, Jurgis is compelled to "go with the crowd in the morning, and keep in the front row and look eager" (149). Particularly illustrative of the ways in which the day is strictly controlled is demonstrated during the breaks between shifts. In order to stay out of the cold and get a hot meal, Jurgis and his fellow workers in the abattoir's killing beds have little choice

but to attend one of the dozens of saloons set up in the vicinity of the factories. At these establishments, however, "you must drink. If you went in not intending to drink, you would be put out in no time, and if you were slow about going, like as not you would get your head split open with a beer bottle in the bargain" (99). The capitalist system is set up to ensure that workers are not given enough time to replenish their energy anywhere other than in the system itself, thus ensuring their wages are recycled back into the system, while further ensuring their dependence on alcohol in the process. In *The Jungle*, the fallout of Franklin's self-making from his business ventures becomes apparent. These are similar to the men whom Franklin lent money to for Saturday nights over a century prior, while he was able to remain sober, "And thus these poor devils keep themselves always under" (48). In this way, the self-made man succeeds into his Emersonian "adult health" with "his feet still planted on the immense forces of night" (46-7) or, on the backs of the other workers he has taken advantage of. This is highlighted later in the century when F. Scott Fitzgerald's Jay Gatsby models his day on that of Franklin's. Floyd C. Watkins notes that "[m]ost of the resolutions of Fitzgerald's hero can be traced either to Franklin's own schedule or to his list of thirteen virtues to which he gives 'a week's strict attention' in order to attain moral perfection." Gatsby's modification, moreover, demonstrates how he has built upon Franklin's legacy rather than just imitating: studying electricity each day, "Gatsby did not devote himself to study of the philosophers as Franklin had, but to one of the most practical (and American) aspects of his model's career" (251).

Because the Night

The ending of the long nineteenth century coincided with the nocturnal pioneer coming home to roost after nearly a century out in the cold, in Zane Grey's *Riders of the Purple Sage* (1912) and Jack London's *The Valley of the Moon* (1913). As suggested by Lee Mitchell, the "problem of the New Woman" (259) required further surveillance to ensure the continuation of heteronormativity. As a result, men had to find a way to reassert their control over the domestic sphere. Basing her argument on

Michael Kimmel's work on American manhood, Cathryn Halverson has noted that

[...] by the end of the nineteenth century, white middle-class men were finding the experience of separate spheres increasingly painful yet feared the emasculation that the home seemed to threaten: "Men were excluded from domestic life, unable to experience the love, nurture, and repose that the home supposedly represented. How could a man return to the home without feeling like a wimp?" (158-159). (39)

Thanks to the closing of the frontier and the waning Indian threat, dangers were now located closer to civilisation. Competing white factions now take on the mantle of the dangerous outsider that threatens the safety of white women. In *Riders*, Mitchell observes that "the novel organizes materials according to a conventional captivity plot, with Mormons and outlaws replacing the traditional villainous Indians as the alien Other" (238). Indeed, the Mormons that ride out at night in an effort to steal beautiful Jane Withersteen's land and force her into one of their harems are described in terms similar to that of the Native threat: "At night they crawl under your windows into the court, an' I reckon into the house." Jane, we learn, "never locked a door!" (182): like gothic heroines from *The Mysteries of Udolpho* to *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, Jane is underequipped to deal with the predatory men intending to take sexual advantage of her in her living space. In London's *Valley*, city living degrades white women (much like Crane's *Maggie* before it) by forcing them into sex work. One of the book's protagonists, Saxon Roberts, encounters her old friend, Mary who, after the death of her husband, seeks a living after dark.

"My God, Saxon!" she exclaimed. "Is it as bad as this?"

Saxon looked at her old friend curiously, with a swift glance that sketched all the tragedy. Mary was thinner, though there was more color in her cheeks—color of which Saxon had her doubts. Mary's bright eyes were handsomer, larger—too large, too feverish bright, too restless. She was

well dressed—too well dressed; and she was suffering from nerves. She turned her head apprehensively to glance into the darkness behind her. (218-9)

Mary's fear is for her pimp, who "Saxon knew that Mary was afraid of" and "prowled on the rim of light" (219). The night here is the stage for vice and degeneration which threatens the purity of American women that stray outside the safety of modern living, as represented by the electric street lamps.

Husbands therefore become a necessity as female land ownership and city living are alike dangerous to unmarried women, who are left open to attack from the perversions of men that prowl on the rim of society. It was, as a result, time for the American pioneer to give up his sexual curfew in order to more fully protect America's white women. Men must take up their position as protectors, not on the frontier but in the home. In order to avoid "feeling like a wimp," however, the pioneer could return to the home by bringing their home to the frontier. In other words, by bringing their wives with them into the wilderness. In *Riders*, the pioneer literally finds his reason for turning towards the domestic sphere in the darkness. During a storm in which "black night enfolded the valley" Venters has found shelter with his female companion, Bess:

[a] woman lay in his arms! And he held her closer. He who had been alone in the sad, silent watches of the night was not now and never must be again alone. He who had yearned for the touch of a hand felt the long tremble and the heart-beat of a woman. [...] No more did he listen to the rush and roar of the thunder-storm. For with the touch of clinging hands and the throbbing bosom he grew conscious of an inward storm—the tingling of new chords of thought, strange music of unheard, joyous bells sad dreams dawning to wakeful delight, dissolving doubt, resurging hope, force, fire, and freedom, unutterable sweetness of desire. A storm in his breast—a storm of real love. (198)

Like the seducer before him, the pioneer has now negotiated his way to romance in the darkness: however, in comparison to the seducer, the pioneer is supported in his courtship. *Riders'* two pioneer protagonists successfully protect the women that become their wives from the nocturnal (sexual) dangers posed by the Mormons (the neo-Indian threat) and bring them back to the Edenic safety of pre-modern living in Sudden Valley.

As the name suggests, *The Valley of the Moon* is also preoccupied with a return to a prelapsarian pastoral existence. Believing that "her race had never been given to staying long in one place" (212), Saxon Roberts and her husband, Billy, leave the city of Oakland to avoid what they see as the degradation of themselves and, moreover, of white America. Due to city living, the reader is informed, "[Saxon] and Billy were sinking down into this senseless vortex of misery and heartbreak of the man-made world" (132). Intending to avoid the kind of fate that has befallen American literary characters throughout the nineteenth century from Rowson's *Charlotte Temple* to Crane's *Maggie*, the Roberts set out to establish themselves as rural landowners. As identified by Jeanne Campbell Reesman, "Billy and Saxon do well in the natural landscape; interestingly, their only sour episode in this section occurs with a constable in the stuffy enclosure of a barn in which they sleep" (50). Throughout the novel police constabulary and night watchmen are represented as gullible, unfeeling and heartless, when not outright violent, while dispatching union workers. Night in the American city is therefore controlled by those least capable or deserving, the encounter in a rural barn a reminder of the reach of the unfair rulings of American society. In this way, London has achieved success where Tom Sawyer remained frustrated: while Tom believed "there *ought* to be a watchman" (182) to create a barrier to the schemes of the white pioneer, the Saxons' journey is indeed challenged by a night patrol that underlines the discrimination they endure in a racialised America.

Other areas to expand upon have only been briefly touched upon, such as how the nightscape challenges American assumptions of heterosexuality. In the age of the early republic seduction novel, Herman Mann's biography *The Female Review: Life Of Deborah Sampson, The Female Soldier In The War Of The Revolution* (1797), was written to secure

the war pension of a cross-dressing female soldier. Deborah is given considerably more freedom than any of her gothic counterparts who are stuck in a system of compulsive heteronormativity, taking on instead an ostensibly male journey, as she rescues white women from Indian captivity and pursues romantic relationships with them. Embarking on a journey of self-making from a young age, like her male counterparts, "She frequently made it her cuftom to rife in the morning before twilight" (45). While Mann's text re-inscribes the status quo at the text's conclusion, with Deborah entering into a conventional marriage, *The Female Review* illustrates how the American night can accommodate gay (or possibly transgender) characters. However, Mann's night does require his female character to conform to male stereotype rather than a reconfiguring of character types. In comparison, twentieth-century texts such as Djuna Barnes' *Nightwood* (1936) and James Baldwin's *Giovanni's Room* (1956) contrast the American night and the European night, highlighting how queer characters struggle to find space for representation even in the darkest corners of the United States.

Laying in the Dark

As has been demonstrated, white America knew well just how politically useful a tool the night could be, whether as the underdogs at Concord, the captains at Fort Clatsop, or justifying further expansion in the city or beyond it. This tool was one it continued to hone throughout the nineteenth century and one that would be reinscribed in twentieth-century segregation. Indeed, when representations of the literary night are considered between the beginning and end of the period, like the historical period itself, what is discovered is far from a trend towards progress. If much nocturnal literature of the long nineteenth century was characterised by rumbles of the hidden machinations of the Underground Railroad, from Brockden Brown's abstruse depiction of slaves hidden in a crawl space in *Arthur Mervyn* to Douglass's remonstrance not to make the "*underground railroad*" into the "*upperground railroad*" [emphasis original] (*Narrative* 101), the period ends with a far more regressive hidden nocturnal movement: that of sundown towns.

Sundown towns, named due to signs placed at the edges of the town demanding that African Americans had to leave by sundown, were established in the reconstruction era but the trend continued well into the 1960s (Loewen Loc 67). Sundown towns – and the even lesser-known phenomenon of sundown suburbs – were, according to James Loewen, often the hidden result of lynching, which was conducted in order to scare the rest of a town's black population away (Loc 95). Lynching itself, as protested by investigative journalist Ida B. Wells-Barnett, was frequently based on the pretext that black men were a constant sexual threat to white women. In her pamphlet, "Mob Rule in New Orleans" (1900) Wells-Barnett writes

[i]ndividual Negroes commit crimes the same as do white men, but that the Negro race is peculiarly given to assault upon women, is a falsehood of the deepest dye. The tables given above show that the Negro man who is saucy to white men is lynched as well as the Negro who is charged with assault upon women. Less than one-sixth of the lynchings last, year 1899, were charged with rape. (322)

Describing this fear of black men as rapists as "a falsehood of the deepest dye" brings to mind Hill Brown's *The Power of Sympathy*, where the act of seduction is described as a "black [...] die" and the "blackest ingratitude." White America has (once again) seduced itself into believing a lie that enables them to displace its guilt onto the very group they are subjugating.

The anxiety of race mixing, which manifested itself in the literary nocturnal imagery in the nineteenth century was therefore compounded at the start of the twentieth century and continued throughout. The claim that white women were not safe around the black population – particularly at night – was used to create a system of segregation that was heightened every night, when poor black workers were forced outside the parameters of the towns where they worked for rich whites throughout the day. The outcomes of such practices are more immediately recognisable than sundowning yet still focused on the displacement of black and white bodies from scenarios which might lead to miscegenation. In 1964 Florida ruled that any interracial couple "who are not married to each other, who shall

habitually live in and occupy in the nighttime the same room shall each be punished by imprisonment not exceeding twelve (12) months, or by fine not exceeding five hundred (\$500.00) dollars" (qtd. Smith, *American* 44). White America has continued to carve up both public and private spaces up in its attempt to prevent miscegenation by demonising and disenfranchising people of colour: as Paul Bogard observes, African Americans disproportionately work night shifts and suffer greater health problems as a result, while poorer city neighborhoods suffer from excess lighting at night in an effort to deter crime (103).

Particularly interesting in relation to twentieth-century literature is the ways in which sundown practices went unmentioned: James Loewon has identified that Ernest Hemingway, Edna Ferber, and James Jones all grew up in sundown towns, "although as far as I can tell, they never mentioned the matter in their writing," while Edgar Rice Burrows wrote Tarzan while living in a sundown town, Oak Park in Illinois (Loc 13-14). Loewon's research hints at the unconscious biases white writers of the twentieth century may have brought into their writing due to systematic and seemingly covert methods of genocide and segregation enacted from the 1870s onwards. Meanwhile, writers of colour have examined sundowning as another peculiarly American institution: in Toni Morrison's *Paradise* (1997), sundown laws are brought into effect by a gated black community in order to prevent its founding families from intermarrying with darker-skinned outsiders.

In order to discover who controls a nation one must identify who controls the narrative of the night. This is the crucial argument that literary night studies makes. Such identification is as vital as ever, if not moreso, today. For, as the United States demands more from its workforce, the night is becoming one of the last refuges for freedom. This has been recognised by UNESCO, when in 2007 they published a 'Declaration in Defence of the Night Sky and the Right to Starlight', which marked both the significance and scarcity of the sublime darkness seen by our pre-industrialist counterparts, 'An unpolluted night sky that allows the enjoyment and contemplation of the firmament should be considered an inalienable right of humankind' (Starlight). Recent popular media has outlined the dangers of night policing which clashes with such inalienable

rights. Notable examples include *The Purge* film franchise (2013-present) in which one night a year the state performs acts of ethnic cleansing on impoverished city neighbourhoods under the guise of being a “safety valve” for society. Jordan Peele’s 2017 horror film *Get Out* demonstrates the fallout of sundown towns on black bodies. By redirecting the atrocities typically depicted as being endured by white characters (such as kidnapping and bodily mutilation) in popular cinema back onto black characters, the film highlights how white nightmares are frequently black reality. Meanwhile, in Karen Thompson Walker’s novel *The Age of Miracles* (2012) the government has introduced “clock time,” disregarding the movements of the diurnal cycle, and in Karen Russell’s novella *Sleep Donation* (2014), a pandemic has turned a considerable amount of Americans into insomniacs, unable to sleep if not routinely supplied with sleep transfusions. American prose and other media, in this way, continues to highlight how important freedom in the American night is. Laying in the dark, as it were, is a crucial element of American citizenry.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Aaron. *The Light and the Truth of Slavery. Aaron's History*. Massachusetts, 1845.
- Abbott, Lyman. "Why Women Do Not Wish The Suffrage." Sept., 1903. *Atlantic*,
<https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1903/09/why-women-do-not-wish-the-suffrage/306616/> Accessed 9 Sept. 2019
- Alcott, Louisa May. *Little Women or Meg, Jo, Beth and Amy*. 1868. *Little Women and Good Wives*. Special 150th Anniversary ed. Vintage, 2018.
- Alger, Horatio. *Ragged Dick: or, Street Life in New York with Boot Blacks*. Edited by Hildegard Hoeller. Norton, 2008. *Ragged Dick*. pp. 1-116.
- . *Fame and Fortune or, The Progress of Richard Hunter*. 1868. Kindle ed. Public Domain, 2012.
- Austen, Jane. *Pride and Prejudice*. 1813. Introduction by Sylvia Hunt. Universitas P, 2015.
- Bacon, Josephine Daskam. "The Gospel." 1913, *Restless Spirits: Ghost Stories by American Women, 1872-1926*, edited with an introduction by Catherine A. Lundie, U of Massachusetts P, 1996, pp. 235-51.
- Baldwin, James. *Giovanni's Room*. 1957. Penguin, 2001.
- Ball, Charles. *Fifty Years In Chains; or, The Life of an American Slave*. 1859. *DocSouth*, 2012. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/ball/ball.html>. Accessed 29 June 2016
- Barnes, Djuna. *Nightwood*. 1936. 2nd Ed. Faber, 1979.
- Belgrove, William. *A Treatise Upon Husbandry or Planting*. D. Fowle, 1755.
- Bentham, Jeremy. "The works of Jeremy Bentham, vol. 4 (Panopticon, Constitution, Colonies, Codification)." *Online Library of Liberty*, oll.libertyfund.org/titles/bentham-the-works-of-jeremy-bentham-vol-4 Accessed 29 May 2017.
- Bibb, Henry. *Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Henry Bibb, An American Slave, Written by Himself*. Introduction by Louis C. Matlack. Third Stereotype Edition. New York, 1850.

- Bierce, Ambrose. "The Eyes of the Panther." *An Occurrence at Owl Creek Bridge and Other Stories*, edited by Susan L. Rattiner, Dover, 2008. pp. 139-48.
- Bird, Robert Montgomery. *Nick of the Woods: Or, Adventures of Prairie Life*. 1837. Kindle ed. Public Domain, 2012.
- Black Hawk. *Autobiography Of Ma-Ka-Tai-Me-She-Kia-Kiak, Or Black Hawk*. 1833. Kindle ed. Public Domain, 2004.
- Bradford, Sarah. *Harriet: The Moses of Her People*. 1886. Introduction by Butler A. Jones. Dover, 2004.
- Brandon Mail*. "Would Women Vote?" Manitoba Nov 8, 1888, p. 3. *Google News*, <https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=51&dat=18881108&id=N SINAAAAIBAJ&sjid=iBsDAAAAIBAJ&pg=2591,5564716&hl=en>
- Brown, Charles Brockden. *Arthur Mervyn: or Memoirs of the Year 1793*. Edited by Philip Barnard and Stephen Shapiro. Hackett, 2008.
- . *Clara Howard: In a Series of Letters*. Forgotten Books, 2015.
- . *Edgar Huntly: or Memoirs of a Sleepwalker*. Edited by Barnard and Shapiro. Hackett, 2006.
- . *Jane Talbot: A Novel*. Kindle ed. Public Domain, 2012.
- . *Ormond*. Edited by Barnard and Shapiro. Hackett, 2009.
- . "Somnambulism: A Fragment." *Edgar Huntly*. edited by Barnard and Shapiro, Hackett, 2009, pp. 244-58.
- . *Wieland: or The Transformation, An American Tale*. Edited by Barnard and Shapiro. Hackett, 2009.
- Brown, Henry Box. *Narrative of the Life of Henry Box Brown*. 1849. Dover, 2015.
- . *Narrative of Henry Box Brown, Who Escaped from Slavery Enclosed in a Box 3 Feet Long and 2 Wide. Written from a Statement of Facts Made by Himself. With Remarks Upon the Remedy for Slavery. By Charles Stearns*. 1849. DocSouth. 2001. <https://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/boxbrown/boxbrown.html> Accessed 9 Sept. 2019.
- Brown, William Hill. *The Power of Sympathy: Or, the Triumph of Nature, Founded in Truth*. 1789. Penguin, 1996. pp. 1-103.

- Brown, William Wells. *Clotel, or The President's Daughter*. 1853. Dover, 2004.
- . *Clotelle: A Tale of the Southern States*. 1864. Cosimo, 2007.
- . *Narrative of William W. Brown, A Fugitive Slave. Written by Himself*. 1847. *William Wells Brown: A Reader*, edited by Ezra Greenspan, U ` of Georgia, 2008, pp. 5-61.
- Bryant, William Cullen. "Thanatopsis." *Norton Anthology of American Literature Volume B: 1820-1865*, edited by Nina Baym and Robert S. Levine, 8th Ed, Norton, 2012, pp. 123-4.
- Child, Lydia Maria. *Hobomok: A Story of Early Times*. 1824. Kindle ed. Amazon Digital Services, 2016.
- . "The Quadroons." 1824. *Norton Anthology of American Literature Volume B: 1820-1865*, pp. 183-90.
- Chopin, Kate. "The Awakening." 1899. *Norton Anthology of American Literature Volume C: 1865-1914*, edited by Baym & Levine, 8th Ed, Norton, 2012, pp. 561-652.
- Clay, Henry. "Defence of the American System." 1832. *The Life and Speeches of Henry Clay of Kentucky*, Vol. 2, James B. Swaine, 1843, pp. 9-67.
- Cole, Thomas. *The Course of Empire*. 1833-36. Oil on canvas, The New-York Historical Society.
- Cooke, Rose Terry. "My Visitation." *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, vol. 17, no. 98, July 1858, pp. 232-239. *Cornell University Library* ebooks.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/pageviewer-idx?c=harp;cc=harp;rgn=full%20text;idno=harp0017-2;didno=harp0017-2;view=image;seq=0242;node=harp0017-2%3A11 Accessed 2 Dec 2017.
- Cooper, James Fenimore. *The Last of the Mohicans*. 1826. Introduction by Richard Slotkin. Penguin, 1986.
- Craft, William, and Ellen Craft. *Running a Thousand Miles for Freedom: Or, The Escape of William and Ellen Craft from Slavery*. Dover, 2014.
- Crafts, Hannah. *The Bondwoman's Narrative*. Edited by Henry Louis Gates Jr. Introduction by Gates and Gregg Hecimovich. Kindle ed. Grand Central Publishing, 2002.

- Crane, Stephen. "Maggie: A Girl of the Streets." 1893, 1896. *Norton Anthology of American Literature Volume C: 1865-1914*. pp. 943-89.
- Cromwell, John W. "The Aftermath of Nat Turner's Insurrection." *The Journal of Negro History*, vol. 5, no. 2, 1920, pp. 208-234. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/2713592.
- Cummins, Maria Susanna. *The Lamplighter: or, An Orphan Girl's Struggles and Triumphs*. 1854. Literature in America Series. Applewood, 2010.
- Curtis, Alice Turner. "To Let." *Black Cat*, vol 1, no. 6, Oct. 1896, pp. 7-10. *Hathi*, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.hnwrzk&view=1up&seq=7> Accessed 9 Sept. 2019.
- Darwin, Erasmus. "Excerpts from Zoönomania; or, The Laws of Organic Life (1764)." *Edgar Huntly; or, Memoirs of a Sleepwalker with related texts*, pp. 201-5.
- Dawson, Emma Frances. "An Itinerant House"; *and Other Stories*. W. Doxey, 1897. *Google Books*, archive.org/details/anitineranthouse00dawsrich Accessed 9 Sept. 2019.
- Delaney, Lucy. *From the Darkness Cometh the Light; Or, Struggles for Freedom*. c. 1891. *Six Women's Slave Narratives*. The Schomburg Library of Nineteenth-Century Black Women Writers, introduction by William L. Andrews, Oxford UP, 1988, pp. 1-64.
- Dickinson, Emily. 407 [670] "One need not be a Chamber – to be Haunted –." *The Norton Anthology of American Literature Volume B*, p. 1679.
- . 908 "Tis sunrise, little maid. Hast thou," *The Complete Poems of Emily Dickinson*, edited by Thomas H. Johnson, Little, Brown and Company, 1960, p. 906.
- . 419 "We Grow Accustomed to the Dark –." *The Complete Poems of Emily Dickinson*, p. 200.
- Douglass, Frederick. "An Appeal to the British People." 1846. *Frederick Douglass: Selected Speeches & Writing*, Lawrence Hill, 1999, pp. 30-9.
- . *The Heroic Slave*. 1852. *Frederick Douglass: The Essential Writings*. Verlag, 2017, pp. 222-243.

- . "The Inhumanity of Slavery." 1850. *My Bondage and My Freedom*. Penguin, 2003, pp. 333-9.
- . "The Nation's Problem." 1889. *Frederick Douglass: Selected Speeches and Writings*, pp. 725-39.
- . "To Thomas Auld." 1848. *Frederick Douglass: Selected Speeches & Writing*, Lawrence Hill, 1999, pp. 111-7.
- . "Reception Speech at Finsbury Chapel." 1846. *My Bondage and My Freedom*, Penguin, 2003, pp. 301-16.
- . *My Bondage and My Freedom*. 1848. Notes and Introduction by John David Smith. Penguin, 2003.
- . *The Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave. Written by Himself*. Boston, 1845. Reprint. Belknap P, 2009.
- . "Self-Made Men." 1893. *The Speeches of Frederick Douglass: A Critical Edition*, Yale UP, 2018, pp. 414-53.
- . *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*. 1892. Introduction by Cornel J. Reinhart. Wordsworth American Library, 1996.
- Du Bois. W. E. B. *The Souls of Black Folk*. 1903. Edited by Henry Louis Gate Jr, Introduction by Arnold Rampersad. Oxford UP, 2007.
- Eastman, Mary Henderson. *Aunt Phillis's Cabin; Or, Southern Life as It Is*. 1852. Kindle ed. Public Domain, 2012.
- Emerson, Ralph Waldo. "Nature." 1844. *Essays: Second Series. The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Centenary Edition, Volume III*, introduction and notes by Edward Waldo Emerson, Houghton Mifflin, 1979, pp. 167-96.
- . "Nature." 1836. *Norton Anthology of American Literature Volume B: 1820-1865*, pp. 214-43.
- . *Representative Men: Seven Lectures. The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Centenary Edition, Volume IV*. Introduction and Notes by Edward Waldo Emerson. Houghton Mifflin, 1979.
- . "Woman." 1855. *The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Centenary Edition, Volume XI*, Introduction and Notes by Edward Waldo Emerson. Miscellanies by Ralph Waldo Emerson, Houghton Mifflin, 1979, pp. 403-26.

- Everett, Edward. "An Oration Delivered at Concord, April the Nineteenth." *The Republican*, vol. 16, no. 1. Cummings, Hilliard and Company, 1825, pp.513-37.
- Farrow, Anne, Joel Lang and Jenifer Frank's *Complicity: How the North Promoted, Prolonged, and Profited from Slavery*. Random House, 2005.
- Fitzgerald, F. Scott. *The Great Gatsby*. 1925. Penguin, 2000.
- Foster, Hannah Webster. *The Coquette*. 1787. *The Power of Sympathy and The Coquette*. Penguin, 1996. pp. 105-242.
- Franklin, Benjamin. *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*. 1793. *Norton Anthology of American Literature Volume A: Beginning to 1820*, edited by Baym and Levine, 8th Ed., pp. 481-96.
- Freeman, Mary E. Wilkins. "The Lost Ghost." *A New England Nun and Other Stories*, edited by Sandra A. Zagarell. Penguin, 2000, pp. 202-17.
- . "The Southwest Chamber." 1903. *The Wind in the Rose-Bush and Other Stories of the Supernatural*, afterword by Alfred Bendixen, Academy Chicago Publishers, 1986, pp. 107-166.
- Fuller, Margaret. *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*. 1845. *Woman in the Nineteenth Century and Kindred Papers Relating to the Sphere, Conditions, and Duties of Woman*. Introduction by Horace Greeley. Jewett, 1855. pp. 15-182.
- . "Educate Men and Women as Souls." *Woman in the Nineteenth Century and Kindred Papers Relating to the Sphere, Conditions, and Duties of Woman*, pp. 335-7.
- Garrison, William Lloyd. "Nat Turner's Insurrection." *The Atlantic*. August 1861.<https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1861/08/nat-turners-insurrection/308736/> Accessed 9 Sept. 2019.
- Gilman, Charlotte Perkins. "The Giant Wisteria." *The Yellow Wall-Paper, Herland, and Selected Writings*, edited by Denise D. Knight, Penguin, 2009, pp. 154-62.
- . "The Yellow Wall-Paper." *The Yellow Wall-Paper, Herland, and Selected Writings*, pp. 166-82.
- . "Why I Wrote 'The Yellow Wall-paper?'" *Norton Anthology of American Literature Volume C: 1865-1914*. p. 804.

- Grey, Zane. *Riders of the Purple Sage*. 1912. *Riders of the Purple Sage and The Rainbow Trail: Two Complete Zane Grey Novels*. Forge, 2015. pp. 1-350.
- Harper, Frances E. W. *Iola Leroy, or, Shadows Lifted*. 1892. Dover, 2010.
- Hawthorne, Nathaniel. *The Blithedale Romance*. 1852. Modern Library, 2001.
- . "Ethan Brand." 1850. *Nathaniel Hawthorne: Tales and Sketches*. Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, Library of America, 1982, pp. 1051-67.
- . "The Hollow of the Three Hills." 1851. *Tales and Sketches*, pp. 7-11.
- . "Roger Malvin's Burial." 1846. *Tales and Sketches*, pp. 88-107.
- . "My Kinsman, Major Molineux." 1832. *Tales and Sketches*, pp. 68-87.
- . "Main-street" 1849. *Tales and Sketches*, pp. 1024-50.
- . *The Scarlet Letter*. 1850. Wordsworth, 1999.
- . "Night Sketches: Under an Umbrella." 1838. *Tales and Sketches*, pp. 549-54.
- . "Young Goodman Brown." 1835. *Tales and Sketches*, pp. 276-289.
- Henson, Josiah. *Autobiography of Josiah Henson: An Inspiration for Harriet Beecher Stowe*. 1849. Introduction by Robert W. Winks. Dover, 2003.
- Hentz, Caroline Lee. *The Planter's Northern Bride*. 1854. Kindle ed. Amazon Digital Services, 2012.
- Hopkins, Sarah Winnemucca. *Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims*. 1883. Enhanced Media, 2017.
- Howells, William Dean. *The Rise of Silas Lapham*. 1885. Nonsuch, 2005.
- Irving, Washington. *Astoria: or, Anecdotes of an Enterprise beyond the Rocky Mountains*. 1836. Author's Rev. Ed. Putnam, 1868.
- . "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow." *The Norton Anthology of American Literature Volume B: 1820-1865*, pp. 41-62.
- . "Rip Van Winkle." 1819. *The Norton Anthology of American Literature Volume B*, pp. 29-41.
- . "The Wife" 1820. *The Works of Washington Irving*. Lea and Blanchard, 1840.
- Jackson, Mattie J. *The Story of Mattie J. Jackson*. 1866. *Six Women's Slave Narratives*. pp. 1-42.

- Jacobs, Harriet. *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl, Written by Herself*. 1861. Edited by Lydia Maria Francis Child. Introduction by Valerie Smith. The Schomburg Library of Nineteenth-Century Black Women Writers. Oxford UP, 1988.
- Jefferson, Thomas. *Notes on Virginia*. 1788. *Negotiating Difference: Cultural Case Studies for Composition*, edited by Patricia Bizzell and Bruce Herzberg, Bedford, 1996, pp. 180-7.
- Jewett, Sarah Orne. *The Country of the Pointed Firs*. 1896. Melville House, 2010.
- . "The Foreigner." 1900. *Norton Anthology of American Literature Volume C: 1865-1914*, pp. 533-50.
- . "The Queen's Twin." *The Queen's Twin and Other Stories*. Houghton, Mifflin, 1899, pp. 2-18.
- London, Jack. *The Valley of the Moon*. Foreword by Kevin Starr. U of California P, 1999.
- Mann, Herman. *The Female Review: Life Of Deborah Sampson, The Female Soldier In The War Of The Revolution*. Nathaniel and Benjamin Heaton, 1797.
- Mather, Cotton. Cotton Mather, "A Notable Exploit; wherein, Dux Faemina Facti. From Christi Americana (1702)." *Women's Indian Captivity Narratives*, edited by Kathryn Zabelle Derounian-Stodola Penguin, 1998, pp. 58-60.
- Melville, Herman. "Bartleby, The Scrivener: A Story of Wall-Street." 1855. *Herman Melville: Billy Budd, Sailor and Other Stories*, edited with an introduction by Harold Beaver, Penguin, 1987, pp. 57-100.
- . "Benito Cereno." 1855. *Billy Budd, Sailor, and Other Stories*, Bantam, 1986, pp. 145-232.
- . *Moby-Dick or The Whale*. 1850. Oneworld Classics, 2011.
- Morrison, Toni. *Beloved*. Random House, 2014.
- . *Paradise*. Chatto & Windus, 1998.
- Milton, John. *Comus: A Maske*. 1634. Dodd, Mead & Company, 1903.
- Murray, Judith Sargent. "On the Equality of the Sexes." 1790. *The Selected Writings of Judith Sargent Murray*, edited by Sharon M. Harris, Women Writers in English 1350-1850, Oxford UP, 1995, pp. 3-14.

- . *Story of Margaretta*. 1792. *The Selected Writings of Judith Sargent Murray*, pp. 153-272.
- Neal, John. *Logan: A Family History*. H.C. Carey, 1822.
- Northup, Solomon. *Twelve Years A Slave: Narrative of Solomon Northup*. Chapel Hill, 2011.
- Old Elizabeth. *Memoir of Old Elizabeth, a Coloured Woman*. 1863. *Six Women's Slave Narratives*, pp. 1-19.
- Page, Thomas Nelson. "No Haid Pawn." 1887. Introduction by Clyde N. Nelson. In *Ole Virginia: Or, Marse Chan and Other Stories*. J.S. Sanders & Company, 1991. pp. 262-87.
- . "Ole 'Stracted." In *Ole Virginia: Or, Marse Chan and Other Stories*. 1887. pp. 140-61.
- Parker, William. *The Freedman's Story. In Two Parts*. Boston: 1866. *DocSouth*, 29 June 2016, docsouth.unc.edu/neh/parker1/parker.html. Accessed 9 Sept. 2019.
- Paxton Boys. "Paxton Boys Mss, Apology of the Paxton Volunteers of 1764" Am .283"
- Peattie, Elia W. "The Shape of Fear." 1898. *The Shape of Fear and Other Ghostly Tales*. MacMillan, 1904.
- Peele, Jordan. *Get Out*. Monkey Paw Productions, 2017.
- Phelps, Elizabeth Stuart. *The Gates Ajar*. 1868. Introduction by Elizabeth Duquette and Claudia Stokes. Penguin, 2019.
- . "Since I Died." , No. 25, February 1873, pp. 449-451. *UNZ.org* www.unz.org/Pub/Century-1873feb-00449 Accessed 7 Dec 2017.
- Phillips, Wendell. "Letter from Wendell Phillips, Esq." 1845. *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass an American Slave, Written by Himself*, pp. 11-14.
- Poe, Edgar Allan. "The Black Cat." *Norton Anthology of American Literature Volume B: 1820-1865*, pp. 695-701.
- . "The Man of the Crowd." *Norton Anthology of American Literature Volume B*, pp. 681-7.
- . *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym of Nantucket* (1838). Collins, 2016.
- . "The Murders in the Rue Morgue." 1841. *The Murders in the Rue Morgue*, edited with an introduction by Matthew Pearl, Vintage, 2009, pp. 3-36.

- . "The Tell-Tale Heart." *Norton Anthology of American Literature Volume B: 1820-1865*, pp. 691-5.
- Prince, Mary. *The History of Mary Prince, a West Indian Slave*. 1831. Edited by Thomas Pringle. Dover, 2004.
- Radcliffe, Anne. *The Mysteries of Udolpho: A Romance*. 1794. Penguin, 2010.
- Richardson, Samuel. *Clarissa, or, The history of a young lady*. 1748. Edited by Angus Ross. Viking, 1985.
- . *Pamela: or, Virtue Rewarded*. 1740. Edited by Peter Sabor, Introduction by Margaret A. Doody. Penguin, 2003.
- Riis, Jacob. *How the Other Half Lives: Studies among the Tenements of New York*. 1890. Hathi, 2011.
- Rowlandson, Mary White. *A Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson*. 1682. *Norton Anthology of American Literature Volume A: Beginning to 1820*, pp. 257-88.
- Rowson, Susanna. *Charlotte Temple: A Tale of Truth*. 1793. *Charlotte Temple and Lucy Temple*. Edited with an introduction by Ann Douglas. pp. 1 -132.
- . *Lucy Temple; or, The Three Orphans*. 1828. *Charlotte Temple and Lucy Temple*. pp. 133-265.
- Rush, Rebecca. *Kelroy: A Novel*. 1812. Foreword by Cathy N. Davidson. Edited with an Introduction by Dana D. Nelson. *Early American Women Writers*. Oxford UP, 1992.
- Russell, Karen. *Sleep Donation*. Atavist Books, 2014.
- Sansay, Leonora. *Laura*. 1809. *Secret History; or, The Horrors of St. Domingo and Laura*. Edited by Michael L. Drexler. Broadview, 2008. pp. 59-154.
- . *Secret History of Saint Domingue*. 1808. *Secret History; or, The Horrors of St. Domingo and Laura*. pp. 155-222.
- Sedgwick, Catharine Maria. *Hope Leslie, or Early Times in the Massachusetts*. Edited and with an Introduction and Notes by Carolyn L. Karcher. Penguin, 1998.
- Seymour, Charles. *Self-Made Men*. Harper & Brothers, 1858.
- Sheldon, Lurana P. "A Premonition." *Godey's Lady's Book*, Vol. 132, No. 786, March 1896, pp. 273-6.

- Shelley, Mary. *Frankenstein; or Modern Prometheus*. 1818. Introduction and Notes by Siv Jansson. Wordsworth, 1999.
- Siebert, Wilbur H. *The Underground Railroad: From Slavery to Freedom*. Edited by Benjamin Quarles. Reprint. Arno Press and the New York Times, 1968.
- Simms, William Gilmore. *The Sword and the Distaff. Or, "Fair, Fat, and Forty." A Story of the South, at the Close of the Revolution*. 1853. Kindle ed. Buki Editions, 2009.
- Sinclair, Upton. *The Jungle*. 1906. Penguin, 1982.
- Sleigh, William Wilcocks. *Abolition Exposed! Proving that the Principles of Abolitionism are Injurious to the Slaves Themselves, Destructive to this Nation, and Contrary to the Express Commands of God*. D. Schneck, 1838.
- Smith, James. *An Account of the Remarkable Occurrences in the Life and Travels of Colonel James Smith*. Edited by Samuel G. Drake. Antiquarian Bookstore and Institute, 1842. pp. 178-264.
- Snelling, William J. "A Night in the Woods." *The Boston Book, Being Specimens of Metropolitan Literature, Occasional and Periodical*. Edited by H. T. Tuckerman, Light and Horn, 1836, pp. 40-8.
- Spofford, Harriet Prescott. "The Amber Gods." 1863. *"The Amber Gods" and Other Stories*. American Women Writers, edited and with an introduction by Alfred Bendixen, Rutgers, 1989, pp. 37-83.
- . "Circumstance." 1860. *"The Amber Gods" and Other Stories*. pp. 84-96.
- Stevenson, Robert Louis. *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*. 1886. Running P, 1987.
- Stockton, Louise. "A Dead Vashti." *Galaxy: A Magazine of Entertaining Reading*, vol. 23, no. 4, April 1877, pp. 528-32.
- Stowe, Harriet Beecher. *Dred: A Tale of The Great Dismal Swamp*. Edited by Robert S. Levine. U of North Carolina P, 2006.
- . *A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin: Presenting the Original Facts and Documents Upon Which the Story is Founded*. 1853. Applewood Books, 1998.
- . *Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life Among the Lowly*. Wordsworth, 1999.

- Tenney, Tabitha. *Female Quixotism: Exhibited in the Romantic Opinions and Extravagant Adventures of Dorcasina Sheldon*. 1801. Edited by Jean Nienkamp and Andrea Collins. New ed. Oxford UP, 1992.
- The Purge* film series. Created by James DeMonaco. Blumhouse Productions. 2013-now.
- Thoreau, Henry David. *Walden and Other Writings*. 1854. Edited by Joseph Wood Krutch. Bantam Dell, 2004.
- Truth, Sojourner, and Olive Gilbert. *Narrative of Sojourner Truth, a Northern Slave Emancipate from Bodily Servitude by the State of New York, in 1828*. Boston, 1850.
- Turner, Frederick Jackson. "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." 1893. Penguin, 2008.
- Twain, Mark. *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*. Foreword by Shelley Fisher Fishkin. Introduction by Kurt Vonnegut J. Afterword by Louis J. Budd. Oxford UP, 1996.
- . *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. 1868. *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer and The Advemtures of Huckleberry Finn*. Introduction by Andrew Sinclair. Notes by Michael Lerner. Pan Books, 1968. pp. 199-447.
- Walker, Karen Thompson. *The Age of Miracles*. Random House, 2012.
- Waring, John. *A Letter to an American Planter, from his friend in London*. H. Reynell, 1881.
- Washington, Booker T. *Up From Slavery*. 1901. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by William L. Andrews. Oxford UP, 2008.
- Wells-Barnett, Ida B. "Mob Rule in New Orleans: Robert Charles and His Fight to the Death." 1900. *Selected Works of Ida B. Wells-Barnett*, introduction by Trudier Harris, Oxford UP, 1991, p. 253-323.
- . "Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in All Its Phases." 1892. *Selected Works of Ida B. Wells-Barnett*, p. 14-45.
- Wharton, Edith. *Ethan Frome*. 1911. Virago, 1991.
- . *The House of Mirth*. 1905. Collins, 2015.
- . "Mrs. Manstey's View." 1891. *The Early Short Fiction of Edith Wharton – Part 1*, Kindle ed., Public Domain, 2012, pp. 27-38.
- Wilson, Harriet E. *Our Nig: Sketches from the Life of a Free Black*. 1859. *Classic African American Women's Narratives, in a Two-Story White*

- House, North*. Edited by William L. Andrews. Oxford UP, 2003. pp. 141-198.
- The Witch of New England: A Romance*. Carey and Lea, 1824.
- Withington, Vere. "An Electric Study; a story." *Overland Monthly*, No. 20, October 1892, pp. 417-29.
<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/moajrnl/ahj1472.2-20.118/425>
- Wollstonecraft, Mary. *Maria; or, the Wrongs of Woman*. 1798. *Mary, A Fiction and The Wrongs of Woman, or Maria*. Edited by Michelle Faubert Broadview, 2012 pp. 149-288.
- . *Mary: A Fiction*. 1788. *Mary, A Fiction and The Wrongs of Woman, or Maria*. pp. 73-148.
- Wright, Mary Tappan. "As Haggards of the Rock" *A Truce: And Other Stories*, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895, pp. 83-128.
- . "A Portion of the Tempest." *A Truce: And Other Stories*, pp. 129-166.
- . "A Truce." *A Truce: And Other Stories*, pp. 1-82.
- Wynne, Madeline Yale. 'The Little Room', *The Little Room and Other Stories*. Way and Williams, 1895, pp. 7-39.

Secondary Sources

- Abel, Emily K. "'Man, Woman, and Chore Boy': Transformations in the Antagonistic Demands of Work and Care on Women in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries." *The Milbank Quarterly*, vol. 73, no. 2, 1995, pp. 187–211. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/3350256.
- Aleph, Faena. "Bartleby, an Enchanting Ghost of Literature." *Bartleby, an Enchanting Ghost of Literature*. Nov. 26, 2014. *Faena*, <https://www.faena.com/aleph/articles/bartleby-an-enchanting-ghost-%20of-literature/> Accessed 9 Sept. 2019.
- Allan, John. *Homelessness in American Literature: Romanticism, and Testimony*. Routledge, 2004.
- Ammons, Elizabeth. "Heroines in Uncle Tom's Cabin." *American Literature*, vol. 49, no. 2, 1977, pp. 161–179. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/2925420.
- Anderson, Donald. "Irving's the Legend of Sleepy Hollow." *The Explicator*, vol. 61, no. 4. 2003. pp. 207–10. *Taylor Francis Online*, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00144940309597814>
- Anderson, Eric Gary. "Captivity and Freedom: Ann Eliza Bleecker, Harriet Prescott Spofford, and Washington Irving's 'Rip Van Winkle.'" *A Companion to American Fiction 1780-1865*, edited by Shirley Samuels, Blackwell Publishing, 2004, pp. 342–52
- Armstrong, Nancy. *Desire and Domestic Fiction: a Political History of the Novel*. Oxford UP, 1987.
- Bach, Susanne, and Folkert Degenring, editors. *Dark Nights, Bright Lights: Night, Darkness, and Illumination in Literature*. Anglia Book Series, 2015.
- Barker, Wendy. *Lunacy of Light: Emily Dickinson and the Experience of Metaphor*. Southern Illinois UP, 1987.
- Barnard, Philip, and Stephen Shapiro. Introduction and Notes. *Arthur Mervyn: or Memoirs of the Year 1793 with related texts*, Hackett, 2008, pp. ix-xlv.
- . Introduction and Notes. *Edgar Huntly: or Memoirs of a Sleepwalker with Related Texts*, Hackett, 2006, pp. ix-xliii.

- . Introductions and Notes. *Ormond: or The Secret Witness with Related Texts*, Hackett, 2009, pp. ix-liii.
- . Introduction and Notes. *Wieland: or The Transformation, An American Tale with Related Texts*, Hackett, 2009, pp. ix-xlvi.
- Barnes, Elizabeth. "Affecting Relations: Pedagogy, Patriarchy, and the Politics of Sympathy." *American Literary History*, vol. 8, no. 4, 1996, pp. 597–614. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/490114.
- Barnett, Louise K. *The Ignoble Savage: American Literary Racism, 1790-1890*. Contributions in American Studies, Number 18. Greenwood Press, 1975.
- Baudelaire, Charles. *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*. London, Phaedon P, 1964.
- Baym, Nina. "Women's Novels and Women's Minds: An Unsentimental View of Nineteenth-Century American Women's Fiction." *NOVEL: A Forum on Fiction*, vol. 31, no. 3, 1998, pp. 335–350. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/1346104.
- Beetham, Margaret. *A Magazine of Her Own?: Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914*. Routledge, 2005.
- Binhammer, Katherine. *The Seduction Narrative in Britain, 1747-1800*. Cambridge UP, 2009.
- Blau, Joseph L. "Emerson's Transcendentalist Individualism as a Social Philosophy." *The Review of Metaphysics*, vol. 31, no. 1, 1977, pp. 80–92. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/20127018.
- Bogard, Paul. *The End of Night: Searching for Natural Darkness in an Age of Artificial Light*. Fourth Estate, 2013.
- Bontatibus, Donna R. *The Seduction Novel of the Early Nation: A Call for Socio-Political Reform*. Michigan State UP, 1999.
- Brand, Dana. *The Spectator and the City in Nineteenth Century American Literature*. Cambridge UP, 1991.
- Brantlinger, Patrick. *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830–1914*. Cornell UP, 1988.
- Braude, Ann. *Radical Spirits: Spiritualism and Women's Rights in Nineteenth-Century America*. Second Edition. Indiana UP, 2001.

- Bronfen, Elisabeth. *Night Passages: Philosophy, Literature, and Film*. 2008. Translated by Elisabeth Bronfen with David Brenner. Columbia UP, 2013.
- Brown, Sterling A. "The American Race Problem as Reflected in American Literature." *The Journal of Negro Education*, vol. 8, no. 3, 1939, pp. 275–290. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/2292629.
- Browne, Simone. *Dark Matters: On the Surveillance of Blackness*. Duke UP, 2015.
- Burnham, Michelle. *Captivity & Sentiment: Cultural Exchange in American Literature, 1682-1861*. UP of New England, 1997.
- Burrows, Stuart. "Rethinking Regionalism: Sarah Orne Jewett's Mental Landscapes." *J19: The Journal of Nineteenth-Century Americanists*, vol. 5, no. 2, Fall 2017, pp. 341-359.
- Carpenter, Lynette, and Wendy Kolman. *Ghost Stories by British and American Women: A Selected, Annotated Bibliography*. Routledge, 1998.
- Castiglia, Christopher. (1989) "In Praise of Extra-Vagant Women: Hope Leslie and the Captivity Romance." *Legacy*, vol. 6, no. 2, 1989, pp. 3–16. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/25679062.
- Castronovo, Russ. *Necro Citizenship: Death, Eroticism, and the Public Sphere in the Nineteenth-Century United States*. Duke UP, 2001.
- Catano, James V. "The Rhetoric of Masculinity: Origins, Institutions, and the Myth of the Self-Made Man." *College English*, vol. 52, no. 4, 1990, pp. 421–436. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/377660.
- Christmann, James. "Dialect's Double-Murder: Thomas Nelson Page's 'In Ole Virginia.'" *American Literary Realism*, vol. 32, no. 3, 2000, pp. 234–243. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/27746988.
- Cody, Michael. "'As Kinsmen, Met a Night': Charles Brockden Brown and Nathaniel Hawthorne as American Gothic Romancers." *Nathaniel Hawthorne Review*, vol. 38, no. 2, 2012, pp. 93–114. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/10.5325/nathhawtrevi.38.2.0093.
- Combs, Mary Beth. "'Concealing Him from Creditors': How Couples Contributed to the Passage of the 1870 Married Women's Property Act." *Married Women and the Law: Coverture in England and the*

- Common Law World*. Kindle ed., McGill-Queen's UP, 2013. Loc 4358-813.
- Cornell, Saul. *A Well-Regulated Militia: The Founding Fathers and the Origins of Gun Control in America*. Oxford UP, 2008.
- Costorphine, Kevin. "'The blank darkness outside': Ambrose Bierce and wilderness Gothic at the end of the frontier." *Ecogothic*, edited by Andrew Smith and William Hughes, Manchester UP, 2013, pp. 120-33.
- Cowan, William Tynes. *The Slave in the Swamp: Disrupting the Plantation Narrative*. Routledge, 2005.
- Coverly, Merlin. *Psychogeography*. Pocket Essentials, 2006.
- Crary, Jonathan. *24/7: Late Capitalism and the Ends of Sleep*. Verso, 2013.
- Culley, Margo. "Contexts of The Awakening." *The Awakening*, edited by Margo Culley, 2nd Ed, Norton, 1994, pp. 119-22.
- Darkness, Island Dynamics Conference, January 13-17, 2019, Longyearbyen, Svalbard*. Funken Lodge.
- Davidson, Cathy N. Foreword. *Kelroy: A Novel*. Oxford UP, 1992, pp. v-vii.
- . *Revolution and the Word: The Rise of the Novel in America*. Oxford UP, 2004.
- Davis, John H. "Cowboys and Indians in King Arthur's Court: Hank Morgan's Version of Manifest Destiny in Mark Twain's 'Connecticut Yankee.'" *The Mark Twain Annual*, no. 5, 2007, pp. 83-92. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/41561754.
- de Certeau, Michel. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Translated by Steven Randall. U of California P, 1988.
- DeLamotte, Eugenia C. *Perils of the Night: A Feminist Study of Nineteenth-Century Gothic*. Oxford UP, 1990.
- Deleuze, Gilles, and Felix Guattari. *A Thousand Plateaus*. Translated and introduced by Brian Massumi. Bloomsbury, 2013.
- Dillon, Elizabeth Maddock. *The Gender of Freedom: Fictions of Liberalism and the Literary Public Sphere*. Stanford UP, 2004.
- . "The Secret History of the Early American Novel: Leonora Sansay and Revolution in Saint Domingue." *NOVEL: A Forum on Fiction*, vol. 40, no. 1/2, 2006, pp. 77-103. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/40267685.

- Dixon, Melvin. "Singing Swords: The Literary Legacy of Slavery." *The Slave's Narrative*, edited by Charles T. Davis and Henry Louis Gates, Jr., Oxford UP, 1985, pp. 295-317.
- Douglas, Ann. *The Feminization of American Culture*. Knopf, 1977
- . Introduction. *Charlotte Temple and Lucy Temple*. Penguin, 1991, pp. vii-xliii.
- Dowling, Robert M., and Donald Pizer. "A Cold Case File Reopened: Was Crane's Maggie Murdered or a Suicide?" *American Literary Realism*, vol. 42, no. 1, 2009, pp. 36-53. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/10.5406/amerlitereal.42.1.0036.
- Downey, Dara. *American Women's Ghost Stories in the Gilded Age*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Drexler, Michael L. Introduction. *Secret History; or, The Horrors of St. Domingo and Laura*. Broadview, 2008, pp. 10-37.
- Ekirch, A. Roger. *At Day's Close: A History of Nighttime*. Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2005.
- Ellis, R. J. "'Latent Color' and 'Exaggerated Snow': Whiteness and Race in Harriet Prescott Spofford's 'The Amber Gods.'" *Journal of American Studies*, vol. 40, no. 2, 2006, pp. 257-282. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/27557792.
- Ellison, Ralph. "Twentieth-Century Fiction and the Black Mask of Humanity." 1953. *Within the Circle: An Anthology of African American Literary Criticism from the Harlem Renaissance to the Present*. Edited by Angelyn Mitchell. Duke UP, 1994. pp. 134-48.
- Faery, Rebecca Blevins. "Mary Rowlandson (1637-1711)." *Legacy*, vol. 12, no. 2, 1995, pp. 121-132. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/25679167.
- Faherty, Duncan. *Remodeling the Nation: The Architecture of American Identity, 1776-1858*. U of New Hampshire P, 2007.
- Fetterley, Judith. "'Little Women': Alcott's Civil War." *Feminist Studies*, vol. 5, no. 2, 1979, pp. 369-383. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/3177602.
- Fiedler, Leslie A. *Love and Death in the American Novel*. Stein and Day, 1966.
- FitzGibbon, Scott. "The Seduction of Lydia Bennet: Toward a General Theory of Society, Marriage, and the Family." *Ave Maria Law Review*, vol.

4, no.2, 2006. pp. 581-609. *Digital Commons @ Boston College Law School*, <https://lawdigitalcommons.bc.edu/lisfp/658/>

Foster, Frances Smith. *Witnessing Slavery: The Development of Antebellum Slave Narratives*. Afro-American and African Studies 46. Greenwood P, 1979.

Foster, Travis M. "How to Read: Regionalism and *The Ladies' Home Journal*." *The Oxford Handbook of Nineteenth-Century American Literature*, edited by Russ Castronovo, Oxford UP, 2012. pp. 292-308

Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. 1975. Translated by A. Sheridan. London: Penguin, 1979.

14th European Symposium for the Protection of the Night Sky, November 3-5, 2019, Mulranny, Mayo, Ireland. GN Mulranny Park Hotel.

Freeberg, Ernest. *The Age of Edison: Electric Light and the Invention of Modern America*. Penguin, 2013.

Freedman, Estelle. "Separatism as Strategy: Female Institution Building and American Feminism, 1870-1930." *Feminist Studies*, vol. 5, no. 3, 1979, pp. 512-529. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/3177511.

Genovese, Eugene D. *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made*. New York, 1974.

Gibson, Donald B. "Harriet Jacobs, Frederick Douglass, and the Slavery Debate: Bondage, Family, and the Discourse of Domesticity." *Harriet Jacobs and Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl: New Critical Essays*. Edited by Deborah M. Garfield and Rafia Zafar. Cambridge Studies in American Literature and Culture 93. Cambridge UP, 1996. pp. 156-78.

Giddens, Anthony. *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Polity P, 1991.

Gilbert, Sandra M., and Susan Gubar. *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination*. Yale UP, 1980.

Goddu, Teresa. *Gothic America: Narrative, History, and Nation*. Columbia UP, 1997.

Goldsby, Jacqueline. "'I Disguised My Hand': Writing Versions of the Truth in Harriet Jacobs's *Incidents in the Life of a Slave* and John Jacobs's

- 'A True Tale of Slavery'." *Harriet Jacobs and Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*. pp. 11-43.
- Goldsmith, Meredith. "Cigarettes, Tea, Cards, and Chloral: Addictive Habits and Consumer Culture in *The House of Mirth*." *American Literary Realism*, vol. 43, no. 3, 2011, pp. 242–258. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/10.5406/amerlitereal.43.3.0242.
- Gould, Philip. *Covenant and Republic: Historical Romance and the Politics of Puritanism*. Cambridge UP, 1996.
- Gray, Jennifer B. "The Escape of the 'Sea': Ideology and *The Awakening*." *The Southern Literary Journal*, vol. 37, no. 1, 2004, pp. 53–73. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/20078397.
- Gregory, Timothy E. "The Code Napoléon: French Legislation on Divorce," *Exploring the European Past: Texts & Images*, 2nd Ed., edited by Timothy E. Gregory, Mason, 2007, pp 62-64.
- Halverson, Cathryn. "Violent Housekeepers: Rewriting Domesticity in 'Riders of the Purple Sage.'" *Rocky Mountain Review of Language and Literature*, vol. 56, no. 1, 2002, pp. 37–53. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/1348012.
- Hamelman, Steve. "Aphasia in Rebecca Rush's 'Kelroy.'" *South Atlantic Review*, vol. 62, no. 2, 1997, pp. 88–110. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/3200842.
- Hamilton, Robert C. "'A Sanguinary and Murderous Disposition': Edgar Huntly and the Ethics of Misdirected Violence." *Hungarian Journal of English and American Studies*, vol. 19, no. 2, 2013, 285-306. LION. url: [http://literature.proquest.com/pageImage.do?ftnum=3630750641&fmt=page&area=criticism&journalid=1218-7364&articleid=R04999348&pubdate=2013 30 Nov. 2015](http://literature.proquest.com/pageImage.do?ftnum=3630750641&fmt=page&area=criticism&journalid=1218-7364&articleid=R04999348&pubdate=2013%20Nov.2015).
- Hartman, Saidiya V. *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America*. Oxford UP, 1997.
- Hayes, Kevin J. *George Washington: A Life in Books*. Oxford UP, 2017.
- Henderson, Desirée. "Illegitimate Children and Bastard Sequels: The Case of Susanna Rowson's *Lucy Temple*." *Legacy*, vol. 24, no. 1, 2007, pp. 1–23. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/25679589.

- Hinds, Elizabeth Jane Wall. "Charles Brockden Brown's Revenge Tragedy: 'Edgar Huntly' and the Uses of Property." *Early American Literature*, vol. 30, no. 1, 1995, pp. 51–70. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/25057000.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. *The Age of Capital: 1848–1875*. 1975. Phoenix, 2010.
- . *The Age of Empire: 1875–1914*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987.
- . *The Age of Revolution: Europe 1789–1848*. 1962. Phoenix, 2010.
- Höglund, Johan. *The American Imperial Gothic: Popular Culture, Empire, Violence*. The Cultural Politics of Media and Popular Culture. Ashgate, 2014.
- Holly, Carol. "'Grand and Sweet Methodist Hymns': Spiritual Transformation and Imperialistic Vision in Harriet Prescott Spofford's 'Circumstance.'" *Legacy*, vol. 18, no. 2, 2001, pp. 153–166. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/25679385.
- Howard, June. *Form and History in American Literary Naturalism*. U of North Carolina P, 1985.
- Hunt, Helen. "'Fascinate, Intoxicate, Transport': Uncovering Women's Erotic Dominance in Leonora Sansay's Secret History." *Legacy*, vol. 33, no. 1, 2016, pp. 31–54. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/10.5250/legacy.33.1.0031.
- International Labor Organization. "C004 - Night Work (Women) Convention, 1919 (No. 4)." *Convention concerning Employment of Women during the Night (Entry into force: 13 Jun 1921)* https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_ILO_CODE:C004 Accessed 9 Sept. 2019.
- Jackson, Rosemary. *Fantasy: The Literature of Subversion*. Edited by Terence Hawkes. Routledge, 1988.
- Jones, Timothy. *The Gothic and the Carnavalesque in American Culture*. Gothic Literary Studies. U of Wales P, 2015.
- Joshi, S. T. *The Weird Tale*. Wildside, 2003.
- Kafer, Peter. *Charles Brockden Brown's Revolution and the Birth of American Gothic*. U of Pennsylvania P, 2004.
- . "Charles Brockden Brown and Revolutionary Philadelphia: An Imagination in Context." *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 116, no. 4, 1992, pp. 467–498. JSTOR,

- www.jstor.org/stable/20092758.
- Kaplan, Amy. "Manifest Domesticity." *American Literature*, vol. 70, no. 3, 1998, pp. 581–606. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/2902710.
- Keeling, Kara. *Queer Times, Black Futures*. New York UP, 2019.
- Keil, James C. "Hawthorne's 'Young Goodman Brown': Early Nineteenth-Century and Puritan Constructions of Gender." *The New England Quarterly*, vol. 69, no. 1, 1996, pp. 33–55. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/366302.
- Kendi, Ibrahim X. *Stamped from the Beginning: The Definitive History of Racist Ideas in America*. The Bodley Head, 2017.
- Kerber, Linda K. "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History." *The Journal of American History*, vol. 75, no. 1, 1988, pp. 9–39. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/1889653.
- Kessler-Harris, Alice. "The Paradox of Motherhood: Night Work Restrictions in the United States." *Protecting Women: Labor Legislation in Europe, the United States, and Australia, 1880-1920*, edited by Ulla Wikander, Alice Kessler-Harris and Jane Lewis, U of Illinois P, 1995, pp. 337-58.
- Kincaid, Paul. "American Fantasy 1820-1950." *The Cambridge Companion to Fantasy Literature*, edited by Edward James and Farah Mendelsohn, Cambridge UP, 2012, pp. 36-49.
- Kleinberg, Susan J. "Technology and Women's Work: The Lives of Working-Class Women in Pittsburgh, 1870-1900," *Labor History*, vol. 17, 1976, pp. 58-72.
- Kohn, Margaret. "Frederick Douglass's Master-Slave Dialectic." *The Journal of Politics*, vol. 67, no. 2, 2005, pp. 497–514. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/10.1111/j.1468-2508.2005.00326.x.
- Kolchin, Peter. *American Slavery 1619-1877*, general editor, Eric Foner. Penguin, 1993.
- LaRoche, Cheryl. *Free Black Communities and the Underground Railroad: The Geography of Resistance*. Kindle ed. U of Illinois P, 2013.
- "Laws and Extracts of Laws." *Broadside*. Boston, 1768. Boston Public Library Copy.
- Lawson-Peebles, Robert. *American Literature Before 1880*. Pearson Longman, 2003.

- Luciano, Dana. "Geological Fantasies, Haunting Anachronies: Eros, Time, and History in Harriet Prescott Spofford's 'The Amber Gods.'" *ESQ: A Journal of the American Renaissance*, vol. 55 no. 3, 2009, pp. 269-303. *Project MUSE*, doi:10.1353/esq.0.0041
- Leahy, Richard. *Literary Illumination: The Evolution of Artificial Light in Nineteenth-Century Literature*. U of Wales P, 2018.
- Leavis, Q. D. "Hawthorne as Poet." *The Sewanee Review*, vol. 59, no. 2, 1951, pp. 179-205. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/27538061.
- Lemire, Elise. *"Miscegenation": Making Race in America*. U of Pennsylvania P, 2002.
- Leone, Mark P., Cheryl LaRoche, and Jennifer J. Babiarz. "The Archaeology of Black Americans in Recent Times." *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 34 (2005), pp. 575-598. *Annual Review*, <https://www.annualreviews.org/doi/abs/10.1146/annurev.anthro.34.081804.120417>
- Lewis, R. W. B. *The American Adam: Innocence, Tragedy, and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century*. U of Chicago P, 1955.
- Lieberman, Jennifer L. "Hank Morgan's Power Play: Electrical Networks in King Arthur's Court." *The Mark Twain Annual*, no. 8, 2010, pp. 61-75. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/41582279.
- . *Power Lines: Electricity in American Life and Letters, 1882-1952*. MIT Press, 2017.
- Lively, Adam. *Masks: Blackness, Race and the Imagination*. Chatto & Windus, 1998.
- Loewen, James W. *Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism*. 2005. Kindle ed. New Press, 2018.
- Lubbers, Klaus. *Born for the Shade: Stereotypes of the Native American in United States Literature and Arts, 1776-1894*. Rodopi, 1994.
- Mackay, Irene. "The Sleepwalker Is Not Insane." *The Modern Law Review*, vol. 55, no. 5, 1992, pp. 714-720. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/1096725.
- Maddox, Lucy. *Removals: Nineteenth-Century American Literary and the Politics of Indian Affairs*. Oxford UP, 1991.
- Mann, Steve. "Veillance and Reciprocal Transparency: Surveillance versus Sousveillance, AR Glass, Lifeglogging, and Wearable Computing."

- IEEE International Symposium on Technology and Society (ISTAS)*
June 27-29, 2013. pp. 1- 12. wearcam.org/veillance/part1.pdf
Accessed 9 Sept. 2019.
- Matterson, Stephen. *Melville: Fashioning in Modernity*. Bloomsbury Academic, 2014.
- McMillan, Sally G. *Seneca Falls and the Origins of the Women's Rights Movement*. Edited by James C. Mc Pherson. Oxford UP, 2008.
- McWilliams, John. "Lexington, Concord, and the 'Hinge of the Future.'" *American Literary History*, vol. 5, no. 1, 1993, pp. 1-29. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/489758.
- Melbin, Murray. *Night as Frontier: Colonizing the World After Dark*. Free Press, 1987.
- Mighall, Robert. *A Geography of Victorian Fiction: Mapping History's Nightmares*. Oxford UP, 1999.
- . *Sunshine: One Man's Search for Happiness*. John Murray, 2009.
- Mitchell, Lee. "White Slaves and Purple Sage: Plotting Sex in Zane Grey's West." *American Literary History*, vol. 6, no. 2, 1994, pp. 234-264. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/489869.
- Moore, Lindsay. "Women and Property Litigation in Seventeenth-Century England and North America." *Married Women and the Law*. Loc 2377-2845.
- Moore, Margaret B. *The Salem World of Nathaniel Hawthorne*. U of Missouri P, 1998.
- Morgan, Edmund S. *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia*. Norton, 1975.
- Morgan, Philip D. "Origins of American Slavery." *OAH Magazine of History*, vol. 19, no. 4, 2005, pp. 51-56. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/25161964.
- Morrison, Toni. "Unspeakable Things Unspoken: The Afro-American Presence in American Literature." 1988. *Mouth Full of Blood: Selected Speeches, Essays and Meditations*, Chatto & Windus, 2019, pp. 161-97.
- . *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*. Vintage Books, 1993.

- Murphy, Bernice. *The Rural Gothic in American Popular Culture: Backwoods Horror and Terror in the Wilderness*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Nash, Roderick. *Wilderness and the American Mind*. 5th Ed. Yale UP, 2014.
- Nelson, Dana D. Introduction. *Kelroy: A Novel*. Oxford UP, 1992, pp. xi-xxi.
- Ogden, Emily. "Edgar Huntly and the Regulation of the Senses." *American Literature* vol. 85, no. 3, Sept. 2013, pp. 419-445. *TCD Library*, doi : 10.1215/00029831-2079278
- Olney, James. "'I Was Born': Slave Narratives, Their Status as Autobiography and as Literature." *The Slave's Narrative*, pp. 148-75.
- Otter, Chris. *The Victorian Eye*. U of Chicago P, 2008.
- Overton, B. *Fictions of Female Adultery 1684-1890: Theories and Circumtexts*. Palgrave, 2002.
- Parenti, Christian. *The Soft Cage: Surveillance in America from Slavery to the War on Terror*. Basic Books, 2003.
- Parker, Patricia L. *Susanna Rowson*. Twayne, 1986.
- Pascoe, Peggy. *What Comes Naturally: Miscegenation Law and the Making of Race in America*. Oxford UP, 2009.
- Paxton Boys. "Paxton Boys Mss, Apology of the Paxton Volunteers of 1764" *Am* .283
- Peterson, Carla L. "Further Liftings of the Veil": Gender, Class, and Labor in Frances E. W. Harper's *Iola Leroy*." *Listening to Silence: Essays in Feminist Criticism*, edited by Elaine Hedges and Shelley Fisher Fishkin, Oxford UP, 1994, pp. 97-112.
- Pierce, Yolanda. "African-American Women's Spiritual Narratives." *The Cambridge Companion to Nineteenth-Century American Women's Writing*, edited by Dale M. Bauer and Philip Gould, Cambridge UP, 2001. pp. 244-61.
- Pittenger, Mark. *Class Unknown: Undercover Investigations of American Work and Poverty from 1890-1920*. New York UP, 2012.
- Prince, Monique. "Summary: *The Light and Truth of Slavery. Aaron's History*." *DocSouth*, docsouth.unc.edu/neh/aaron/summary.html. Accessed 9 Sept. 2019.
- Rawick, George P. *From Sundown to Sunup: The Making of the Black Community*. Contributions in Afro-American and African Studies, No. 11. Greenwood, 1972.

- Reesman, Jeanne Campbell. "Jack London's New Woman in a New World: Saxon Brown Roberts' Journey into the *Valley of the Moon*." *American Literary Realism, 1870-1910*, vol. 24, no. 2, 1992, pp. 40–54. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/27746487.
- Ringe, Donald A. "Romantic Imagery in Kate Chopin's *The Awakening*." *American Literature*, vol. 43, no. 4, 1972, pp. 580–588. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/2924655.
- Root, Tik. "Life under curfew for American teens: 'it's insane, no other country does this.'" Sat 28 May 2016. *The Guardian*, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/may/28/curfew-laws-san-diego> Accessed 9 Sept. 2019.
- Ruland, Richard, and Malcolm Bradbury. *From Puritanism to Postmodernism: A History of American Literature*. 1st American Ed. Viking, 1993.
- Sale, Maggie. Introduction. *Black and White Tangled Threads and Kenneth*, written by Zara Wright. G.K. Hall, 1995, pp. xv-xxxiv.
- Schlör, Joachim. *Nights in the Big City: Paris, Berlin, London, 1840-1930*. Translated by Pierre Gottfried Imhof and Dafydd Rees Roberts. Reaktion, 1998.
- Schneider, Elizabeth. "The Violence of Privacy." vol. 23 Conn. L. Rev. 973, 1991. *Brooklyn Law School*, <https://brooklynworks.brooklaw.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1363&context=faculty> Accessed 9 Sept. 2019.
- Scobell, Sara. "Judith Sargent Murray: The 'So-Called' Feminist." *Constructing the Past*: vol. 1, no. 1, Article 4. 2000. pp. 4-23. *Digital Commons @ IWU*. <http://digitalcommons.iwu.edu/constructing/vol1/iss1/4>
- Simon, Linda. *Dark Light: Electricity and Anxiety from the Telegraph to the X-Ray*. Harcourt, 2004.
- Sivils, Matthew Wynn. "'The Base, Cursed Thing': Panther Attacks, Ecotones, and Antebellum American Fiction." *The Journal of Ecocriticism: A New Journal of Nature, Society and Literature*, vol 2, no 1, 2010, pp. 19-32. University of Northern British Columbia, <https://ojs.unbc.ca/index.php/joe/article/view/131> Accessed 9 Sept. 2019.

- Slotkin, Richard. *Regeneration through Violence: the Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600- 1860*. U of Oklahoma P, 2000.
- . Introduction. *The Last of the Mohicans*, written by James Fenimore Cooper. Penguin, 1986, pp. ix-xxviii.
- Smith, Andre. *The American Untouchables: America & the Racial Contract*. Vernon P, 2019.
- Smith, Elbert B. *The Death of Slavery: The United States, 1837-65*. Edited by Daniel J. Boorstin. U of Chicago P, 1967.
- Smith, Rogers. "'One United People': Second-Class Female Citizenship and the American Quest for Community." *Yale Journal of Law & the Humanities*, vol 1, no. 2, 2013, pp. 229-293. *Digital Commons*, digitalcommons.law.yale.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1013&context=yjlh
- . *Civic Ideals: Conflicting Visions of Citizenship in U.S. History*. Yale UP, 1997.
- Smith, Sidonie. *Where I'm Bound: Patterns of Slavery and Freedom in Black American Autobiography*. Contributions in American Studies 16. Greenwood P, 1974.
- Smith, Valerie. "'Loopholes of Retreat': Architecture and Ideology in Harriet Jacob's *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*." *Reading Black, Reading Feminist: A Critical Anthology*, edited by Henry Louis Gates, Jr., Meridian, 1990, pp. 212-26.
- Smith-Rosenberg, Carol. *Disordely Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America*. Oxford UP, 1985.
- Stepto, Robert B. Introduction. *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass an American Slave, Written by Himself*. Reprint. Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009, pp. vii-xxviii.
- Stoll, Steven. "Farm against Forest." *American Wilderness: A New History*. Edited by Michael Lewis. Oxford UP, 2007. pp. 55-72.
- Stretton, Tim, and Krita J. Kesselring, editors. "Coverture and Continuity." Introduction. *Married Women and the Law*, pp. Loc 169-550.
- "Table 4: Population: 1790 to 1990." Population and Housing Unit Counts. 26 Aug. 1993. *United States Census Bureau*, <https://www.census.gov/population/censusdata/table-4.pdf> Accessed 23 Sept. 2019.

- Takaki, Ronald. *Iron Cages: Race and Culture in Nineteenth-Century America*. Athlone P, 1980.
- Tauchert, Ashley. "Mary Wollstonecraft and Jane Austen: 'Rape' and 'Love' as (Feminist) Social Realism and Romance." *Women: A Cultural Review*, vol. 14, no. 2, 1993, pp. 144-58.
- Tawil, Ezra. "Seduction, Sentiment, and the Transatlantic Plain Style." *Early American Literature*, vol. 51 no. 2, 2016, pp. 255-95. *Project MUSE*, doi:10.1353/eal.2016.0042
- Taylor, Alan. *The Civil War of 1812: American Citizens, British Subjects, Irish Rebels, & Indian Allies*. Vintage Books, 2011.
- Thompson, Harry F. "Meriwether Lewis and his son: the claim of Joseph Desomet Lewis and the problem of history." *North Dakota History*, 1 Jan. 2000, vol. 67, no. 3, pp. 24-37. *PubMed*, <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/17214036> Accessed 9 Sept. 2019.
- Thomson, Rosemarie Garland. "Benevolent Maternalism and Physically Disabled Figures: Dilemmas of Female Embodiment in Stowe, Davis, and Phelps." *American Literature*, vol. 68, no. 3, 1996, pp. 555-86. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/2928244.
- Thrill of the Dark: Heritages of Fear, Fascination and Fantasy, April 25-27, 2019*. Birmingham, UK. Birmingham Midland Institute.
- Todorov, Tzvetan. *The Fantastic: A Structural Approach to a Literary Genre*. Translated by Richard Howard. Cornell UP, 1973.
- Tolouse, Teresa A. *The Captive's Position: Female Narrative, Male Identity, and Royal Authority in Colonial New England*. U of Pennsylvania P, 2007.
- Traister, Rebecca. *All the Single Ladies: Unmarried Women and the Rise of an Independent Nation*. Simon & Schuster, 2016.
- Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Landscapes of Fear*. Pantheon Books, 1979.
- Umanath S., D. Sarezky, and S. Finger. "Sleepwalking through history: medicine, arts, and courts of law." *J Hist Neurosci* vol. 20, no. 4, Oct 2011, pp. 263-76. *PubMed*, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/0964704X.2010.513475?scroll=t&needAccess=true> Accessed 4 Dec. 2015

- United Nations. "Starlight Declaration: Declaration in Defence of the Night Sky and the Right to Starlight." 20 April 2007, La Palma. pp. 437-46
Starlight2007.net Accessed 8 April 2015
- Vice, Sue. "Intemperate Climate: Drinking, Sobriety, and the American Literary Myth." *American Literary History*, vol. 11, no. 4, 1999, pp. 699-709. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/490275.
- Walvin, James. *The Slave Trade*. Thames & Hudson, 2011.
- Warner, Anne Bradford. "Carnival Laughter: Resistance in *Incidents*." *Harriet Jacobs and Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*. pp. 216-32.
- Warren, Leonora. "Fugitive Joy in the Poetry of Phillis Wheatley." Early American #BlackLivesMatter. MLA Annual Convention, New York. January 4, 2018. Lecture.
- Waterman, Bryan. "Elizabeth Whitman's Disappearance and Her 'Disappointment.'" *The William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 66, no. 2, 2009, pp. 325-364. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/40212056.
- Watkins, Floyd C. "Fitzgerald's Jay Gatz and Young Ben Franklin." *The New England Quarterly*, vol. 27, no. 2, 1954, pp. 249-252. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/362807.
- Weinstock, Jeffrey Andrew. *Charles Brockden Brown*. Gothic Authors: Critical Revisions. U of Wales P, 2011.
- . *Scare Tactics: Supernatural Fiction by American Women*. Fordham U P, 2008.
- Welter, Barbara. "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860." *American Quarterly*, vol. 18, no. 2, 1966, pp. 151-174. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/2711179.
- Wester, Maisha. "Slave Narratives and Slave Revolts." *The Palgrave Handbook of the Southern Gothic*, edited by Susan Castillo Street and Charles L. Crow, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 259-270.
- . "Don't Let the Drexciya Catch You in Detroit: Afrofuturism's Gothic Underground." Twenty-First-Century Gothic: Updating the Tradition Forum, International Gothic Association Conference, 3 Aug. 2018, Manchester Metropolitan University, Manchester. Lecture.
- Weyler, Karen. "Marriage, Coverture, and the Companionate Ideal in The Coquette and Dorval." *Legacy*, vol. 26, no. 1, 2009, pp. 1-25. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/25679680.

- Will, Barbara. "The Nervous Origins of the American Western." *American Literature*, vol. 70, no. 2, 1998, pp. 293–316. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/2902839.
- Williams, Susan S. *Reclaiming Authorship: Literary Women in America, 1850-1900*. U of Pennsylvania P, 2006.
- Winans, Amy. "The Slave Narrative." *The Continuum Encyclopedia of American Literature*, edited by Steven R. Serafin and Alfred Bendixen, Continuum, 2003, pp. 1049-51.
- Wiseman, Richard. *Night School: The Life-Changing Science of Sleep*. Macmillan, 2014.
- Winks, Robin W. "The Making of a Fugitive Slave Narrative: Josiah Henson and Uncle Tom – A Case Study." *The Slave's Narrative*, pp. 112-46.
- Yellin, Jean Fagan. "Texts and Contexts of Harriet Jacob's *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl: Written by Herself*." *The Slave's Narrative*, pp. 262-81.