

Space and borders in Emily Brontë's
Wuthering Heights

by

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A dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree

Master of Arts in English

in the Department of English at the

UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

Supervisor: Professor David Medalie

August 2013

I herewith declare that

Space and borders in Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*

is my own work and that all the sources I have used have been
acknowledged by means of complete references.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Professor Medalie for his time, dedication, and prompt and very detailed feedback. I would also like to thank all my relatives, friends, and colleagues who supported me throughout this endeavour.

Abstract

Critics such as Elizabeth Napier and Lorraine Sim explore some aspects of space and borders in their discussions of Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*, presumably to demonstrate that the novel is a representative nineteenth-century text that depicts and comments on fundamentally nineteenth-century debates and concerns. However, the existing critical work on Brontë's novel does not include analyses that incorporate spatial theories such as those of Henri Lefebvre, Edward Soja, Michel Foucault, and Henk van Houtum in their discussion of Brontë's narrative as a seminal nineteenth-century work of fiction. These spatial theories maintain that those who occupy positions of power in society shape and remodel the spaces and borders in which society exists and of which it consists, and impose these constructs on the other members of society to ensure social order and to safeguard their own position of authority within the structure of society. In this dissertation, such theories have been used to emphasise the significance of the portrayal of space and borders as social constructs in the narrative, and to show that such an investigation presents alternative or more nuanced interpretations of some of the events and characters in the novel.

Particular attention is paid to Brontë's reworking of earlier literary traditions and tropes, such as the distinction between nature and civilisation, to depict and examine problems in the society of nineteenth-century Britain. The study also considers the relations between nineteenth-century Britain and the other communities within the British Empire, the three-tier structure of nineteenth-century British society, the male bodily ideal, the representation of socially acceptable behaviour, and the places assigned to those who do not conform to social norms. Lastly, ideas about death and the afterworld, as they are portrayed in the narrative, are examined, as well as the link between society and the shaping of locations of death such as heaven, hell, and purgatory.

Key Terms: social space; borders; spatial differentiation; utopias; heterotopias; Lefebvre; Soja; Foucault; Van Houtum; nineteenth century; Emily Brontë; *Wuthering Heights*

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Introduction

Emily Jane Brontë's *Wuthering Heights* has been a topic of much debate since its publication in December 1847: '[t]hough some of the early critics admired its power and originality, all found it strange, and many were disgusted by its scenes of cruelty and [by what they saw as its] rejection of conventional morality' (Miller 2003:viii). When the novel was published, the identities of Charlotte, Emily, and Anne Brontë, who wrote under the pseudonyms of Currer, Ellis, and Acton Bell, respectively, were still unknown. In 1850, after the deaths of her sisters, Charlotte wrote a biographical notice to 'explain briefly the origin and authorship of the books written by Currer, Ellis, and Acton Bell' (Brontë 1850a:xlili), thereby revealing that the books were not the works of a single author, as many believed, but were, in fact, the works of three sisters. In the notice, she does not merely discuss the matter of authorship; she also comments on the critical reception of Emily's *Wuthering Heights* and Anne's *Agnes Grey*, which were first published in a single edition. She mentions that '[c]ritics failed to do [the novels] justice', and indicates some critics' response to *Wuthering Heights* in particular by stating that '[t]he immature but very real powers revealed in *Wuthering Heights* were scarcely recognized; its import and nature were misunderstood' (xlvi). She thus recognises the 'powers' in the text, but undermines their significance by referring to them as 'immature'. She, who appears to have felt obligated to defend her sisters' novels against what she presumably saw as unfair criticism, also states that '[n]either Emily nor Anne was learned... [and that] they always wrote from the impulse of nature, the dictates of intuition, and from such stores of observation as their limited experience had enabled them to amass' (xlix). By claiming that her sisters were not 'learned', and that they wrote from impulse, intuition, and limited observation, she presents them as unsophisticated, uninformed, uneducated, and largely unthinking. She therefore appears only to have managed to weaken their positions as accomplished authors.

It may partially be because of Charlotte Brontë's observations that it would be decades before critics would begin to recognise *Wuthering Heights* as an important nineteenth-century text. In her introduction to the novel, Pauline Nestor discusses its growing critical acclaim during the twentieth century; she mentions that the rise of New Criticism in the 1940s

provided detailed close reading of the text, severing the tenacious biographical moorings of so much of the earlier criticism and making claims for the formal sophistication and accomplishment of the novel. Such studies focused on the

imagery, metaphysics and complex narrative structure of the novel. More recently, ideological readings by Marxist, feminist and psychoanalytic critics have concentrated on issues of class, gender and sexuality, and all have been inclined to highlight conflict and division in the novel (Nestor 2003:xxi).

However, despite these studies' role in the reappraisal and critical approval of the text, many recent critical works still fail to acknowledge Brontë's status as an author who was more than capable of depicting and engaging with core nineteenth-century social debates and concerns. This failure is reflected in Nestor's assertion that,

[u]nlike the contemporaneous, industrial novels of Charles Dickens, Elizabeth Gaskell, Benjamin Disraeli and Charles Kingsley, *Wuthering Heights* shows no engagement with wider social issues; its environment is enormously detached... and even the life of the nearest village, Gimmerton, seems remote, unknown and only sketchily reported (xix).

Her comments thus suggest that Brontë's novel, unlike the works of authors such as Dickens, Gaskell, Disraeli, and Kingsley, does not reflect or engage with the ills and central concerns of nineteenth-century British society. She reinforces her claim by stating that

[i]n some ways the whole world of the novel is dreamlike. Geographically remote, socially and temporally apart, it is a world operating as a law unto itself. Its transgressions of identity, sexuality and taboo are those of a dream state, which offers an uncensored realm, free from the strictures of logic, a space where boundaries do not hold.... The dream world is a place of multiplicity which does not demand the exclusions of choice (xxx).

There may be some truth in these statements, since there are many examples in the text that illustrate clearly that 'boundaries do not hold': Hindley, for example, fails in his effort to keep Catherine¹ and Heathcliff apart, and Joseph and Heathcliff cannot prevent Hareton and Cathy from forming an alliance. However, these claims are still problematic: the world of the novel certainly cannot be said 'not [to] demand the exclusions of choice', given Catherine's having to choose between Edgar and Heathcliff, and the dire consequences of the choice she makes.

It appears that many critics still maintain that the world of the novel is removed from society due to the extent to which it draws on earlier literary traditions, especially those often found in

¹ Nelly states that Edgar and Catherine's child 'was named Catherine, but [Edgar] never called it the name in full, [just] as he had never called the first Catherine short.... The little one was always Cathy, it formed to him a distinction from the mother, and yet, a connection with her' (Bronte 2003:184-185). Because of possible confusion between the Catherines in the novel, I will adopt Edgar's method of distinction: as far as possible, I will refer to the mother as 'Catherine', and to the daughter as 'Cathy'.

classical, medieval, Augustan, Romantic, and Gothic texts. In its representation of the contrast between the Grange and its ostensibly civilised inhabitants on the one hand, and the Yorkshire moors and allegedly savage characters, such as Heathcliff, on the other, *Wuthering Heights* presents and upholds a distinction between civilisation and nature – a distinction that is frequently found in classical and in medieval romance texts. The critical recognition of the representation and examination of this literary convention in Brontë's novel is suggested by Dorothy Van Ghent's claim that the narrative 'exists for the mind as a tension between two kinds of reality: the raw, inhuman reality of anonymous natural energies, and the restrictive reality of civilized habits, manners, and codes' (Van Ghent 1953b:105). As the succeeding discussion will indicate, *Wuthering Heights* reproduces and reworks the distinction between nature and society in order to portray and comment on nineteenth-century social debates and issues.

Apart from the influence of this convention on the construction and interpretation of the world of the novel, the influence of the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Romantic and Gothic traditions in the shaping of that world, critics' awareness of this influence, and these critics' presenting it as proof that Brontë's novel fails to investigate nineteenth-century social issues, are confirmed by Nestor's claim that,

[i]f *Wuthering Heights* seems out of place in its historical moment, it can perhaps be better understood in terms of its relation to earlier works, most notably the Gothic novel of the late eighteenth century and the poetry of the Romantics. Like the Gothic novel, it creates a dark and passionate world of imprisonment and torture, ghosts and changelings. And it shares with the Romantics a preoccupation with the authority of the imagination and emotion, a concern for the formative influence of childhood and for man's relation to the natural world (Nestor 2003:xix-xx).

However, whether the novel's drawing on earlier literary traditions can be used to support the idea that Brontë does not depict and explore nineteenth-century social problems is debatable, as I have already suggested, since the ideas that are predominant in one literary period do not necessarily cease to exist or to be relevant when another period begins. Many ideas that are often linked to Romanticism, for example, such as a 'preoccupation with the authority of the imagination and emotion', and a 'concern for the formative influence of childhood and for man's relation to the natural world', are central nineteenth-century preoccupations. Moreover, Romanticism is connected to early nineteenth-century social commentary: many Romantic texts are explicitly political, and this era saw a growth in the publication of political journals,

which indicates that the members of British society started increasingly to focus on social ills and to follow and participate in socio-political debates. The Brontës read such journals, and ‘Emily showed the same interest in politics, current events, and literary debate, gleaned from local newspapers and the pages of *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, as her siblings’ (Alexander & Smith 2003:90). It thus seems unlikely that Emily Brontë was as uninformed as Charlotte Brontë suggests in her biographical notice. Moreover, the Brontës ‘lived through an era of disruptive social change, and lived that disruption at a peculiarly vulnerable point’, as they lived in Yorkshire, ‘a region which revealed the friction between land and industry in [a] peculiarly stark form’ (Eagleton 1975:7-8). Consequently, the Brontë children would have been aware of the social issues of the time, and, given her interest in political and social debates, Emily Brontë would undoubtedly have felt the need to represent them in her novel.

In their attempt presumably to prove that Brontë’s novel represents and examines nineteenth-century social concerns, Elizabeth Napier (1984) and Lorraine Sim (2004) focus on space and borders in the text. Sim states, for instance, that the ‘representations of space [in the novel] are integral to the expression of Emily Brontë’s political critiques’ (Sim 2004:32). My discussion will correspond to Napier’s and Sim’s in that I will also examine the representation of space and borders in *Wuthering Heights*, but it will differ from theirs in that I will draw on the spatial theories of scholars such as Henri Lefebvre, Edward Soja, Michel Foucault, and Henk van Houtum to explore the novel’s depiction of spatial reproduction, and to demonstrate the extent to which Brontë portrays and investigates significant issues in the society in which she lived.

Philosophers and social geographers are increasingly starting to regard space not merely as a physical or literal entity, but also as a creation of society in which the elements that constitute a particular society, from its geographical location within the larger sphere of the universe, to its members and the way in which they relate to and interact with each other, are shaped by the members of the community themselves. It is believed that the dominant spaces within the social order are established by those in positions of authority, such as politicians, religious leaders, and influential authors, so as to ensure social order and to safeguard their position of power. Lefebvre, for instance, asserts that ‘([s]ocial) space is a (social) construct’ (Lefebvre 1991:26). Accordingly, society generates and maintains the spaces in which it exists and of which it consists, and relies on its constructs to define its identity. A society does not consist of a single instance of space, but is made up of different spaces that are separated by borders.

Many used to regard borders as fixed, but, in more recent debates, '[b]orders do not represent a fixed point in space or time... [but rather] a social practice of spatial differentiation' (Van Houtum & Van Naerssen 2002:126). Such differentiation consists in the way society shapes and maintains borders between its spaces to include those elements that it wants to include as part of its identity, and to exclude those that do not fit its dominant ideologies. Since such inclusion and exclusion are said to be crucial in a society's establishment of an identity that differs from that of other societies, its creation of space and borders will differ from that of others.

Furthermore, Lefebvre conceives of social space as a triad, the three components of which 'should be [regarded as] interconnected' (Lefebvre 1991:40). The first component of the triad, spatial practice, shapes a 'society's space; it propounds and presupposes it... [and] produces it slowly and surely as it masters and appropriates it' (38). According to Soja, who comments extensively and builds on Lefebvre's theories, this part of the triad refers to 'a material and materialized "physical" spatiality that is directly comprehended in empirically measurable *configurations*: in the absolute and relative locations of things and activities' (Soja 1996:74, italics in original). It thus includes the way society adopts and defines the spaces it wants to occupy, our experience of space through our senses, and the actual locations of physical entities such as trees, houses, and human bodies, and the relationship between them. In *Wuthering Heights*, the experience of physical space is observed in the experience of nature through the cold, wet moorland with its stormy weather and life-threatening bog holes, in the locations of the structures in the Gimmerton region, namely the Heights, the Grange, the church, the cemetery, and the village, and in the distance between them, such as the four miles between the Heights and the Grange.

The second component of the triad, representations of space, refers to the space of those who 'identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived' (Lefebvre 1991:38). The spaces in this part of the spatial triad are 'tied to the relations of production and, especially, to the order or design that they impose' on the members of society (Soja 1996:67). Those in positions of power assign specific places to the various members of society, and attempt to ensure that society members remain in their designated places, that is, adhere to the norms imposed upon them, partly through the production of utopias. Foucault asserts that '[u]topias are sites with no real place.... They present society itself in a perfected form, or else society turned upside down' (Foucault 1986:24). Utopias represent the standards members of society

are taught to believe to be the ideals they ought to strive towards. In *Wuthering Heights*, utopias are seen in the way in which those in power attempt to regulate the decisions of others through implied notions about proper social conduct, as opposed to supposedly uncivilised or immoral behaviour, and in the novel's exploration of heaven and the behaviour believed to be required to obtain access to this imagined location.

In addition to dominant spaces and the utopias that are linked to them, there are, as Foucault suggests, spaces in every society that are

something like counter-sites... in which... all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted. Places of this kind are outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality. Because these places are absolutely different from all the sites that they reflect and speak about, I shall call them, by way of contrast to utopias, heterotopias (24).

Heterotopias of deviation are those spaces 'in which individuals whose behavior is deviant in relation to the required mean or norm are placed', such as psychiatric hospitals and prisons (25). Those who do not adhere to the 'required mean', and who are therefore thought to pose a threat to the order those in positions of authority have established, are thus marginalised. Such spaces are seen in *Wuthering Heights* in its representation, exploration and questioning of the nineteenth-century class system and the anxieties of the upper and middle classes about the allegedly dangerous and criminal lower classes, as is seen, for example, in some characters' perception of Heathcliff and Hareton as criminals, and in these characters' discontent due to their being controlled by those in superior positions. Additionally, such locations are seen in Catherine's supposed insanity and confinement to her bedroom, which comes to resemble a psychiatric institution.

If heterotopias of deviation are allocated to those who fail to keep to social norms, then they possibly form part of the third component of Lefebvre's triad, representational spaces, which includes 'spaces of resistance to the dominant order arising precisely from their subordinate, peripheral or marginalized positioning' (Soja 1996:68). Foucault claims that 'our life is still governed by a certain number of oppositions that remain inviolable', such as those 'between private space and public space, [and] between family space and social space' (Foucault 1986:23), but the borders between dominant and dominated spaces are not fixed: 'choosing marginality reconceptualizes the problematic of subjection by deconstructing and disordering

both margin and center. In those restructured and recentered margins, new spaces... are created' (Soja 1996:98). Accordingly, if the marginalised embrace their ostracised positions, then they may be able to destabilise the dominant spaces, and thus to gain enough power to generate new spaces. The novel explores individuals' ability to subvert the established order through characters such as the upper middle-class Isabella, who assumes the role of a servant at the Heights, and thereby destabilises the polarity between the upper and lower classes.

Lefebvre mentions that the notion that space is a social construct carries several implications, one of which is that 'every society... produces a space, its own space' (Lefebvre 1991:31). The society of nineteenth-century Britain would have had its own mode of spatial production. It may thus be necessary to explore the spatial conceptions both of nineteenth-century Britain and of those earlier societies whose notions affected nineteenth-century thought to such an extent that they are represented in a nineteenth-century text such as *Wuthering Heights*. As I have mentioned, the novel draws on conventions and tropes that are often found in classical, medieval, Augustan, Romantic, and Gothic texts. Because of the extent to which Brontë's novel draws on such texts, and on the ancient Middle Eastern and Mediterranean texts that constitute what we now know as the Bible, I will examine significant changes in the modes of spatial production of the societies of the ancient Middle East and Mediterranean, and of medieval, eighteenth-century, and nineteenth-century Britain.

Phil Botha *et al* state that

[f]or tens of thousands of years... people lived as hunter-gatherers in caves all over the Fertile Crescent. In the ninth millennium BCE man began leaving his cave-dwellings to establish crude settlements, at first for seasonal, but later even for continuous, occupation.... Man began to cultivate grains and to herd animals for food. The domestication of plants and animals brought about an agricultural revolution (Botha *et al* 2008:5).

The agricultural revolution resulted in a change in humankind's space in and interaction with nature. Othmar Keel mentions that a '[t]echnical understanding of the world – the ability to render it intelligible and manageable – is closely connected with the ability to quantify it.... Monumental architecture and the construction of irrigation canals [that followed the agricultural revolution] required measurements of all kinds' (Keel 1997:16), which implies that the change in humankind's interaction with the natural environment caused a change in its understanding of the world and its position in nature. Nature was quantified by engineers,

architects, and so forth to understand the physical experience of the natural environment in which society found itself, and to create a new space for humankind to live in. Keel suggests that ‘the drawings [that constitute the building plans of the temples that were built during and after the establishment of settled communities] present the men of that time as masters and fashioners of their world’ (17). Humankind’s ability to change the natural world through what is considered to be a greater technical understanding of the world may have led to the idea that civilisation, represented by settled communities, is superior to nature. Humankind’s control over nature is reflected in part in *Wuthering Heights* in the way the region is mapped out and made navigable through the ‘rough sand-pillar’ (Brontë 2003:108), the arrows of which point to the Grange, the Heights, and Gimmerton, respectively.

It is possible that the notion of humankind’s control over nature is linked to the idea that, because the spaces in which society exists and of which it consists are now regarded as social constructs, ‘natural space is disappearing’ (Lefebvre 1991:30). Lefebvre suggests that ‘[e]ven the powerful myth of nature is being transformed into a mere fiction, a negative utopia: nature is now seen as merely the raw material out of which the productive forces of a variety of social systems have forged their particular spaces’ (31). The notion of nature as ‘raw material’ can be seen in the way nature was changed in the Middle Ages:

[i]n 1250 the last surviving wild forest, the Forest of Dean, disappeared to make way for what forests were in late medieval England – carefully surveyed, managed, and circumscribed woodlands, whose profitable reservoirs of timber, minerals, and venison had been brought under strict control and supervision... The Counts of Champagne... were quick to see the economic advantages that could accrue from selling licences to those wishing to turn wasteland into fields fit for cultivation (Putter 1995:16).

Those in power came to regard nature as inferior to society, and took it upon themselves to control the natural environment to such an extent that nature itself became the property of the elite. ‘Chrétien [de Troyes] introduced the literary motif of the Wild Forest [in his romances] just when the countryside itself was changing from a “region... of relative wilderness and sparse settlement to one of increasingly populous villages and towns”’ (17). A change in the natural environment resulted in the imagined space of the forest that is often encountered in romances, which illustrates that the physical locations that constitute the first component of Lefebvre’s spatial triad and the conceived sites that make up the second component of that triad are, indeed, interrelated. It is likely that the change in the environment not only produced a new imagined space, but also reintroduced and strengthened the ‘dichotomy between centres

of civilization, embodied by towns, and the barbarism of the countryside [that] had been a fixture of classical thought' (41). The artificiality and instability of such an opposition are suggested by the notion that 'courtliness or civilization [is] but the invention of boorishness and wild places, the superimposition of a landscape of the mind on that of matter', and by the idea that, 'while civilization may be based on the repression of wildness, [wilderness] cannot be fully removed' (48-49). Civilisation thus relies on the construction of wilderness: without the idea of nature as raw and unrefined, society cannot sustain the idea of itself as 'civilised', and cannot establish its own identity or distinguish itself from other societies.

A society's need or desire clearly to define its identity by differentiating between itself and other societies, which, as I have stated, plays an important role in the shaping of a unique social identity, becomes even more evident in the conceptions of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century British society as regards race. Tim Fulford, Debbie Lee, and Peter Kitson state that

[b]etween 1768 and 1833 exploration transformed Britain's position in the world. When Cook set sail for Tahiti [in 1768], Britain had only recently wrested control of Quebec from France. It still ruled its American colonies from London. Spain was the imperial power in Mexico and 'Louisiana' – a vast area whose extent was a matter of imagination, for parts of America's northwest coast had still to be charted. Britons knew still less of Africa, and were second to the Dutch in the exploration of South East Asia. By 1833 the picture had changed vastly: Britain had lost its first (American) empire and, after fifty years of intense exploration and conquest, acquired a new one. It had colonised Australia, spread its missionaries to Polynesia, and planted its manufacturers in South America. It had penetrated Africa, and charted much of the polar seas and America's west coast. It had crossed Canada, taken possession of India, occupied Burma and founded Singapore (Fulford, Lee & Kitson 2006:9).

As a result of these voyages, British society came increasingly to learn about and interact with other peoples, which led it to reassess its identity, and to produce borders that would set it apart from these other communities. In their discussion of spatial differentiation, Henk van Houtum and Anke Strüver suggest that the dominant

political power in a bordered entity perpetuates itself by... [colonising] social life through a continuous reproduction of fantasies about the enclosed, bordered community, denying that they *are* fantasies.... It is a way of marking and making difference in social space and people beyond the border and rejecting difference within the bordered [community itself] (Van Houtum & Strüver 2002:142, italics in original).

Such distinctions thus rely on a desire to generate and promote ideals about the members of a particular community as homogeneous or standardised, since it is the similarity between a society's members that is considered to separate that society from others. Such a desire, and increasing interest in scientific research, may have been significant in the classification of human beings according to race: increasingly, 'natural historians scrutinised not only the animals but also the indigenous people whom explorers had encountered. They began to collect and measure their bodies and their bones and, on the basis of their figures, to divide humankind into a catalogue of races' (Fulford, Lee & Kitson 2006:127). According to Kitson, the

conception of race derived... its most influential and scientific justification from the work of J. F. Blumenbach. Blumenbach followed the biblical account of race, arguing that the different varieties of humanity could be accounted for by the idea of 'degeneration'. The pure origin of humanity was the white male, [and] all other forms were descended from this race according to gender or geography or a combination of the two. The European race (Caucasian) was [said to be] the most beautiful and least degenerate and, therefore, constituted the historic race.... He enumerated four other races (Malayan, American, Mongolian, and Ethiopian) which deviated from the norm (Kitson 2005:19).

Such differentiation is evident in *Wuthering Heights* in the distinction several characters make between Heathcliff's appearance and their own. Hindley, Isabella, and Mrs Linton refer to Heathcliff as a 'gypsy'. Mr Linton states that Heathcliff is 'a little Lascar, or an American or Spanish castaway' (Brontë 2003:50). The terms 'gypsy', 'Lascar', 'American' and 'Spanish' refer to distinct racial groups. It may be that various non-white races are represented in the novel to avoid having to label Heathcliff as part of any one group. Nelly tells Heathcliff, whom she attempts to convince to entertain noble notions of his birth so as to assuage his feelings of anger and frustration at being treated as inferior, that '[w]ho knows, but your father was Emperor of China, and your mother an Indian queen' (58). Her mentioning Chinese and Indians ties in with Mr Linton's references to race. These comments indicate that Heathcliff, who may represent the non-white communities within the Empire, does not form part of the idealised exclusively white society of the Gimmerton region.

Nineteenth-century British society's attempts to uphold the racial distinctions people such as Blumenbach had shaped, and to sustain the idea of whites as superior to non-whites, are seen in its objection to interracial relationships: it was believed that 'some races had degenerated more than others: blacks more than whites', and that

[c]rossbreeding threatened to lower Caucasians, by degrees, towards their ape-like black cousins.... Charles White and Edward Long... argued that black people were a different species from whites, and claimed as evidence the supposed 'fact' that mixed-race people were infertile (Fulford, Lee & Kitson 2006:209).

Since people of mixed race are not barren, the nineteenth-century 'fact' presented as proof of this seems to have been created specifically to prevent 'crossbreeding'. It seems probable that those in positions of authority wanted also to prevent the conception of people of mixed race due to the effect it would have on the political and economic position of Britain. Britain

received profits from its role in transporting some 45,000 slaves per year. Ships from Liverpool and Bristol, loaded with firearms, gunpowder, alcohol, knives, mirrors, and beads, travelled to Africa where they exchanged their cargo for a human commodity – slaves. These captives... were shipped to North America and the West Indies where they were sold and then employed to labour (Ingham 2006:66-67).

If those in power wanted to sustain such human trafficking, which had a direct influence on Britain's economic superiority, then they would have had to maintain the alleged differences between those they had categorised as white and non-white, respectively, and would have had to prevent the conception of people of mixed race, who are neither white nor non-white, and yet are both, since it is only through the preservation of assumed racial differences that they would have been able to continue to present non-whites as subhuman commodities, and to rationalise their control over and harsh treatment of slaves.

The instability of the borders ruling-class men had created and tried to sustain between the members of British society and those of other communities is confirmed by the fact that nineteenth-century society began increasingly to object to imperialistic practices such as the slave trade and slavery. Because of such objections, those in power needed to construct beneficent notions to justify continued imperialistic domination. One of the justifications they managed to create was the idea that the Empire was

an improving influence, bringing European civilization to the unenlightened. The enlightenment took the form of an organized bureaucracy in India and above all the passing on of Christianity and its values. The Anglican Church played its part by sending missionaries.... Dissenters and [E]vangelicals of all kinds took an interest in the process of spreading Christianity; and many with humane motives reinforced an anti-slavery campaign in Britain (67).

The concept of European civilisation as superior to the allegedly uncivilised cultures beyond its borders is problematic: societies such as nineteenth-century Britain assumed themselves to

be and presented themselves as more civilised and thus superior to other communities, while the idea of what constitutes being ‘civilised’ is highly personal and culture-specific. The idea of European culture as a civilising force is also cast in doubt by, for instance, the British Raj’s taking the form of an organised ‘bureaucracy’ in India, which seems to designate not a desire to educate the ‘unsophisticated’, but an attempt to control or dominate them.

Ironically, involving the Church of England to justify the practices of an imperialistic society did not strengthen these practices, but disrupted them, particularly as a result of Dissenters’ and Evangelicals’ responses to slavery: in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, abolitionist discourses acted as a

coded language of opposition to the dominant culture within Britain as well as a direct campaign against the cruelties of empire. For [D]issenters the campaign for the recognition of black Africans’ human equality was fuelled by, and in turn refuelled, their campaign to remove the Test and Corporation Acts which prevented them from holding public office. For Evangelicals within the Church of England... anti slave-trade agitation was part of a larger attempt to effect a moral reform of the governing classes (Kitson 2005:25).

These marginalised groups thus managed to use the dominated spaces of non-white slaves and anti-slavery discourses to advance their own agendas, which ties in with what I have already mentioned as regards the ability of the ostracised, who form part of the third component of Lefebvre’s spatial triad, to shape new spaces for themselves by embracing their marginalised state. Due to anti-slavery discourses, the ‘government withdrew from the slave trade in Britain in 1807; and in 1833 it abolished slavery in its West Indian colonies’ (Ingham 2006:67). British society thus managed to construct justifications in support of the slave trade, and to construct the ideas that would bring an end to it.

Although the various debates in favour of and against imperialistic practices such as the slave trade and slavery reflect the tension that existed between British society and its colonies, the conflict Britain experienced was not limited to matters beyond its borders: there was also much discord in British society itself because of industrialisation and its effects on social life. Before its industrialisation in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries,

[t]he region in which the Brontës lived, like the rest of the country, had been a hierarchical society in which superior status depended on inherited rank, ownership of land, or practice in certain professions. The basic unit of society was the individual who was by the presence or absence of these criteria endowed with

a core personal identity, a fixed status, and a certain role to play; and in theory the system was held together by mutual respect between individuals: benevolence from ‘superiors’ and deference from ‘inferiors’.... Such a scheme did to an extent suit a largely agrarian society, with personal contact between landowning farmers or tenants and their labourers, and somewhere fitting into the pattern between these two groups were the necessary skilled tradesmen such as blacksmiths or saddlers (44).

This scheme reflects and confirms Lefebvre’s claim that ‘[s]ocial space contains – and assigns (more or less) appropriate places to... the division of labour and its organization in the form of hierarchical social functions’ (Lefebvre 1991:32). This structure was sustained primarily through social rank. ‘Rank was seen as reflecting a divinely ordered pattern with each man or woman striving to play the role to which God had appointed them’ (Ingham 2006:44), which implies that any attempt to defy the structure and standards of society would have been seen not only as social disobedience and rebellion, but also as an act against the authority of God. Consequently, those in positions of authority had managed to manipulate theology to ensure their control over those they had cast into inferior spaces.

Although the agrarian scheme had been the standard for centuries, it became more and more difficult to uphold ‘[a]s manufacturing industry, commerce, and communication developed from 1775 onwards’: British society

became organized as a structure with groups of those engaged in the same work as its basic unit: workers, entrepreneurs and professionals, and landowners. By the early nineteenth century a new terminology was used to indicate upper, middle, and lower ‘classes’. Each was defined by its function in the country’s economy; Adam Smith’s *An Inquiry into the Origin and Nature of the Wealth of Nations* (1776) and David Ricardo’s *The Principles of Political Economy and Taxation* (1817) were seminal works in spreading the new concept of class. These and other writers were bent on providing a mechanistic account of the economic nature and relationships of the elements composing an industrial society: land, capital, and labour. But discussion of the economic value of these components lent itself readily in human terms to the idea of their *social* value as correspondingly superior or inferior (44-45, italics in original).

People were still defined by their functions in society, which shows that late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century society still allotted very specific positions to its members, but they were no longer regarded merely as parts of society, but as entities that affected or added to the country’s economy to a greater or lesser extent. The agrarian society of pre-industrial Britain had not had powerful middle classes, but nineteenth-century Britain is characterised by their rise. Barry Supple points out that the

patterns of middle-class expenditure and lifestyles which had emerged in the first half of the century were extended and solidified with the prosperity, expansion and confidence of the later decades. And much of this expenditure exemplified the extent to which the middle classes valued and could afford domestic and creature comforts. At the same time, however, the sustained growth of savings, investment and insurance bore impressive witness to the habits of thrift and prudence that characterized the middle-class family. And the preoccupation with education (particularly with the growth of private and grammar schools closely modelled on the great public schools of the upper classes) underscored the significance to such families of the acquisition of skills, influence, style and contacts which were the best means of providing unity and coherence to members of a powerful class, and the main way forward for men without large capital resources (Supple 1978b:93-94).

Since comfort and education were reserved for the elite, the newly rich middle classes wanted to give their children an education to provide them with positions among the privileged. The greater demand for education is reflected in the number of schools that were established in the nineteenth century:

[i]n 1800 there were some 179 charity schools, [which were] mainly for boys, and there were also increasing numbers of Sunday schools... where attenders were taught to read the Bible.... Such secondary education as existed was [provided] in long-established and endowed grammar schools and increasingly, as the century progressed, in fee-paying public schools. Upper-class boys could receive secondary education in such schools or at home with a tutor.... The new rich in this entrepreneurial period were anxious to fix their sons securely in the gentlemanly caste with the consequence that between 1837 and 1869 thirty-one new public schools were set up (Ingham 2006:48).

By gaining wealth, skills, contacts, and education, the middle classes managed to gain power, and to redefine the spaces those in power had allocated to them, and thereby undermined the superior position of the upper classes. The rise of the middle classes indicates that, even though the dominant spaces in society are fashioned and perpetuated by those in positions of authority, a marginalised group that gains enough power can manipulate or reconstruct these spaces, and thereby challenge the control those in superior social positions have over it. *Wuthering Heights* portrays and comments on the nineteenth-century preoccupation with education through its depiction of the clashes between the educated Catherine, Edgar, Linton, and Cathy, and the uneducated Heathcliff and Hareton. The power education was believed to afford the educated is particularly evident in Heathcliff, who can control others once he has acquired an education.

In contrast to the upper and middle classes, who benefited greatly from industrialisation and the luxury it afforded them, the lower classes ‘endured a new wretchedness brought about by the economic upheavals of the Napoleonic [W]ars, a policy of forced conscription, a high military death-rate, and the callousness of demobilisation after the peace’ (Stonyk 1983:9). Unlike the middle classes, who could improve their position in society through education, the lower classes had little chance of escaping their harsh living conditions, partly because they could not afford to go to school or to pay for private tuition. There were, however, ‘notable autodidacts among working men’ who ‘gradually found reading matter through Mechanics Institutes... Sunday school libraries, and religious-tract societies’ (Ingham 2006:47). One such exception in *Wuthering Heights* is the autodidact Nelly, who tells Lockwood that

‘[y]ou could not open a book in this library that I have not looked into, and got something out of also; unless it be that range of Greek and Latin, and that of French – and those I know one from another: it is as much as you can expect of a poor man’s daughter’ (Brontë 2003:63).

The lower classes started to rebel against the inequity of the three-tier social system. Their protests ‘included attacks on machinery such as those... in the Luddite disruption of 1811-16... [and] bread riots’ (Ingham 2006:38). Constitutional reform did take place through the Reform Act of 1832, which shows that the members of the lower orders who shared the same suffering and dissatisfaction had managed to form an alliance, which had enabled them to create a space of resistance to the dominant order and thus to force the authorities to yield to their demands. However, the Act alone could not counter the negative effects of the system on the living conditions of the lower orders, which means that British society remained divided, and that the lower orders were still in danger of becoming riotous.

If those in positions of power, whose superior position was threatened by the rebellious lower orders, wanted to retain their social superiority, then they had to justify the three-tier system, and to ‘show that the system was necessary and also that it was compatible with a Christian country’s view of itself’ (49). They tried to do this through the representation and perpetuation of conceptions such as paternalism and social mobility. Paternalism drew on the ‘idea of God as father and creator’ (50) in its portrayal of the privileged classes as the divinely appointed guardians of the lower orders, which seemingly assumed that the lower orders needed someone to look after them. The lower orders’ supposed inability to look after themselves, combined with the high illiteracy rate among them, might have encouraged mistaken assumptions about their lack of intelligence. Such assumptions are seen in Cathy

and Linton's laughing at Hareton because he cannot read, mistaking his illiteracy for an inability to think and feel as others do.

The privileged classes did not only exploit the concept of paternalism to defend their position in society, but also presented the idea of social mobility to this end. The assumption regarding social mobility was

that betterment was available for all who were hard-working and prudent enough to grasp it. The idea of the availability of social mobility had existed earlier and persists today but it was particularly widespread amongst the middle and upper classes in the later part of the nineteenth century (49).

The implication of this concept seems to be that those who were unable to rise to a superior social position were not hard-working or prudent enough. In *Wuthering Heights*, Heathcliff's change from a ploughboy to an educated gentleman is used to comment on the link between and the instability of ideas such as civilisation, savagery, and social mobility: he manages to obtain the clothing, education, and wealth required to rise in society, but Nelly and Edgar still think of him as a violent, half-civilised man, which suggests that class prejudices remain too stubbornly ingrained for a person of lower birth to rise in society, and that, for many people, the construct of social mobility remained a fantasy the ruling classes had generated and used to silence angry protests against social inequity, as these people did not have the means to exploit and profit from the concept of social mobility.

The notion of social mobility was not only undermined by deep-seated class prejudices; it was also undercut by the 'idea that the working classes were dangerous, a belief reinforced by accounts in governmental and other reports as to the degree of drunkenness and criminality to be found amongst them' (49). Such reports would have caused even greater division between the privileged classes and the lower orders, and would only have succeeded in reinforcing the existing class prejudices, and have made it even more difficult for people of lower rank to attain superior social positions. The effect of reports such as these and the increased separation between the classes may be reflected in the growing number of death sentences in the early nineteenth century:

twice as many people were hanged in the first thirty years of the nineteenth century as in the last fifty years of the eighteenth. This gruesome increase can be associated with the social unsettlement caused by the Napoleonic Wars,

industrialization and urban growth, and with fear of the lower orders among the propertied classes after the French Revolution (Horne 2002:xv).

It may be that ruling-class men wrote such reports to evoke fear among the privileged classes, and thus to guarantee the social division that would enable them to retain both their superior status in society and their control over their inferiors. This fear and the link between it and the violent behaviour of the lower orders are reflected in *Wuthering Heights* in the conflict between the allegedly violent and dangerous Heathcliff and Hareton, and socially superior and thus presumably more civilised characters such as Edgar, Isabella, Linton, and Cathy.

As I have demonstrated thus far, Brontë's novel not only portrays and explores earlier literary conventions and ideas such as the alleged opposition between nature and civilisation, but also represents and examines nineteenth-century debates such as those concerning the slave trade, and the relations and conflict amongst the communities in the British Empire and amongst the social classes in British society itself. The novel's investigation of nineteenth-century issues is not limited to international relations and society as a whole, however; it also incorporates the spaces nineteenth-century Britain allocated to individuals. I will draw on the spatial theories I have mentioned to examine the novel's depiction of the nineteenth-century British distinction between (the bodies of) men and women, and the social positions allotted to them.

In his discussion of the space of the human body in relation to that of society, Lefebvre states that human beings 'do not stand before, or amidst, social space.... They know that they *have* a space and that they *are* in this space... [and] they act and situate themselves in space as active participants' (Lefebvre 1991:294, italics in original). Accordingly, social space includes not only the interaction between the bodies of society members, but also the bodily experience. In his investigation of the places society assigns to the human body, Lefebvre examines the bodily experience in relation to his spatial triad, which consists of perceived, conceived, and lived spaces, as I have indicated earlier. Perceived, physical space presupposes 'the use of the hands... [limbs] and sensory organs' (40). The experience of the body as a physical entity is reflected in *Wuthering Heights* in the characters' interaction with and relation to nature. The novel represents the physical exertion associated with humankind's engagement with nature. This association is made clearer by the fact that the natural environment in the novel is particularly harsh and dangerous. Those who are generally strong and healthy derive pleasure from traversing the moorlands, and can appreciate the beauty of nature, despite the threat it poses to their existence. Catherine, Heathcliff, Hareton, Cathy, and Nelly derive pleasure from

being outdoors and from observing nature in a way that resembles the depiction of nature in many Romantic texts. Those who are frail or sick, however, derive little pleasure from being outdoors, if only because of the strain it puts on their bodies. The housekeeper who replaces Nelly at the Heights after Catherine's marriage to Edgar states, for example, that Linton Heathcliff 'had only been [to the village] twice, on horseback, accompanying his father: and both times he pretended to be quite knocked up for three or four days afterwards' (Brontë 2003:212). If the young man had had to walk all the way to the village, then he might not have survived. The fact that Nelly can run all the way to the village after Mr Earnshaw's death to find the doctor and parson highlights her bodily strength, while Linton's inability to travel the same distance on horseback suggests his frailty in the face of a hostile physical environment.

Conceptions about the human body, which form part of the imagined spaces of the second component of Lefebvre's spatial triad, 'derive from accumulated scientific knowledge, disseminated with an admixture of ideology: from knowledge of anatomy, of physiology, of sickness and its cure, and of the body's relations with nature and with its surroundings or "milieu"' (Lefebvre 1991:40). Some conceptions about the human body may also be ascribed to the contributions of scholars and philosophers such as René Descartes:

[m]odern considerations of the body-mind relationship were fundamentally determined by Descartes' seventeenth-century philosophical work, *Principles of Philosophy*, where he differentiated the thinking substance of the mind... from the extended substance of the body.... The former is pure consciousness, the latter a non-conscious self-moving machine, a mechanical device functioning with clockwork precision in concordance with the laws of nature, independently of the mind (Pârlog, Brînzeu & Pârlog 2007:23).

Although the distinction between body and mind may not be attributable solely to Descartes' ideas, it is clear that,

[e]ver since Descartes, the opposition body/mind has taken various dichotom[ous] forms: intuition/thought, passion/reason, biology/psychology, outside/inside. In all these cases, the duality has implied a subordination of the body: while the mind has been praised as creative, powerful, and imaginative, the body has been condemned as insignificant, vulnerable, and predictable (23).

The alleged opposition between body and mind plays an integral role in society's creation of the spaces it allocates to 'men' and 'women'. Gender analyses such as that of Sigmund Freud assert that '[t]he sex of a human being is given by nature, whereas society "genderizes"

people, by imposing on them a series of cultural differentiations between males and females' (31). Lefebvre highlights this by claiming that social space assigns places to 'the bio-physiological relations between the sexes' (Lefebvre 1991:32). My discussion accepts that sex roles are perpetuated and recreated by those in positions of authority, and suggests and assumes that the spaces assigned to men and women will change whenever there is a change in the power relations in society. In eighteenth-century thought, the ideal body was that of the white, heterosexual male. The 'Enlightenment instituted "the devalued other", the discriminated, non-male, non-white, non-heterosexual body' in contrast to this ideal (Pârlog, Brînzeu & Pârlog 2007:31). As a result, women, non-whites, and homosexuals, who were regarded as inferior to the ideal, and who were considered to pose a threat to the masculinity of ruling-class men, were cast into dominated locations – that is, into heterotopias of deviation that challenged the utopia the Enlightenment had presented. In order to ensure that these identities would not overthrow the established order, those in positions of power created racial and gender stereotypes. According to some of these stereotypes, 'female bodies are weaker, softer, more instinctual, and less powerful than male ones, and non-white bodies are stronger, dirtier, [and] more hot-blooded and sexually promiscuous than... white bodies' (31).

Since I have already discussed the connection between racial stereotypes and the position of non-white races in the Empire, I will now focus on gender stereotypes and their influence on the social positions of men and women. In the nineteenth century,

[w]omen's function in society was constructed as biologically determined and the construction of proper femininity was predicated upon an ideal, domesticated middle-class wife far less rational than a man but intuitive, emotional, with a natural maternal instinct and an equally natural nurturing ability. Men, by contrast, were rational, intelligent, competitive, and adapted to deal with the real world outside the family (Ingham 2006:50).

Accordingly, supposedly more intuitive, emotional, and nurturing wives had to stay at home and take care of and educate their children, while their husbands were expected to go out into the public space of the 'real world'. The home thus came to be assigned to women, and linked to femininity. Women, who had been put in charge of the domestic sphere, had to turn their homes into havens in which their husbands could find peace when they returned from work. Like many nineteenth-century texts, *Wuthering Heights* examines the role of the wife and mother by removing her from the family. It most notably explores such removal through the deaths of Mrs Earnshaw, Frances, and Catherine. Through the consequences of these deaths,

the mother figure is presented as the force that guarantees peace in the domestic space, the angel in the house whose power in the home is strong enough to counter or even prevent tyrannical patriarchy.

However, the text also questions this gender stereotype, and illustrates how confining some women, such as Isabella, found the domestic environment to be. Despite evidence in favour of the power of women in the house, the absence of mother figures in the narrative also suggests in itself a removal or disempowering of that force. This conception is reinforced by Alan Richardson's assertion that, even though the 'ideology of the home and the "proper lady"... valorized women as guardians of education', it 'excluded them from active participation in the public sphere' (Richardson 1994:169). This exclusion is also seen in nineteenth-century marriage laws: a woman

could not litigate except through a male person who existed in law, such as a father or brother. Legal separation had to be sought by a wife in this indirect way and in the early 1830s she had no right to the legal custody of her children, though this changed in 1839 to allow claims for children under 7. Nor had she any control over money previously hers or earned during the marriage unless a special legal settlement had been made before the marriage. If no such pre-nuptial agreement had been made, money from both sources became her husband's (Ingham 2006:51).

Through the ideologies of the home and the angel in the house, ruling-class men managed to limit the power of women and to justify this limitation. Isabella, who seems usually to be seen as passive, civilised, and refined, is often presented as the opposite of the supposedly more masculine and uncivilised Catherine. However, the idea of Isabella as a passive, obedient woman and housewife is shattered on more than one occasion, most notably when she decides to leave Heathcliff. As far as social expectations go, her decision to leave her husband may be regarded as more radical than Catherine's loving a man who is not her husband, given that a woman was legally unable to divorce her husband. Her severing the ties of her marriage goes against the stereotype of the angel in the house. Interestingly enough, Nelly mentions that Catherine manages to turn the Grange into a paradise on earth, albeit temporarily. The more 'masculine' Catherine thus succeeds in the duties of a housewife where the more 'feminine' Isabella fails.

Industrialisation and the subsequent changes in the social fabric destabilised these ideologies, however: '[t]he diaries of women of the 1830s and 1840s show a growing unhappiness with

received roles and a desire to share in the dignity of work' (Rosen 1994:20). Women were increasingly interested in the world beyond the home, and wanted to break free from the place ruling-class men had assigned to them. Ruling-class men created notions that deterred women from rebelling against the social system, and, in my examination of such notions, I will focus on the connection between female sexuality and insanity. In the eighteenth century, insanity was not seen as a medical disorder as it is today: it was seen as a 'state in which whatever symptoms there were resulted from the overthrow of reason by passion' (Ingham 2006:61). Accordingly, women, who purportedly lacked the rationality men were held to possess, were believed to be more likely to go insane. With the rise of medical science, 'insanity' came to be regarded as 'mental illness' (63). Ruling-class men used medical discourse, which can be held to form part both of the conceived and of the dominant locations of the second component of Lefebvre's spatial triad, to justify the suppression of women: women's alleged greater chance of going mad 'was attributed by doctors to their reproductive function: their less-than-benign uterine system left them at the mercy of their menstrual cycles and its mental repercussions' (156). Consequently, those in positions of authority exploited the presumably commonly held ideas with regard to the bodies of men and women to further their ideologies and to deprive women of the power they would need to defeat the discriminatory patriarchal system. The artificiality of these ideas becomes clear in the portrayal of Catherine: while it may be that she eventually seemingly loses touch with reality and becomes more and more alienated from her surroundings, her speech can hardly be said to be the ramblings of a madwoman. Nelly may not be able to make sense of Catherine's speech, but the younger woman's ability to recall events from her childhood may be regarded as a suggestion that her thoughts are neither incoherent, nor irrational. It is possible that Nelly's lack of knowledge and understanding regarding Catherine's remarks serve to present and question the notion of mental instability, and thereby to problematise the assumed polarity between sane and insane, and rational and irrational.

The nineteenth-century patriarchal system 'left few options for women' (50) with regard to career opportunities, which meant that women found it difficult to support themselves if they did not have men who could take care of them:

[t]he work of women in domestic service, mines, and factories, or as seamstresses or washerwomen, was even more poorly paid than that of working-class men. One means of supplementing it was by parttime [sic] prostitution which flourished in urban centres and particularly in garrison towns. In the 1840s, partly because of

the spread of venereal disease, studies were made of the activities of prostitutes in towns and cities including London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Liverpool, and Leeds, and by 1850 prostitution was known as ‘the Great Social Evil’. The prostitutes themselves constituted the evil which was to be contained and they were mainly the unskilled daughters of the unskilled classes. This reinforced the idea that working-class women tended to depravity (55-56).

The rise of prostitution in the nineteenth century may be attributed to the social system and to the way ruling-class men prevented women from being able properly to fend for themselves. These men did not change the structure of society to improve the position of women, but defended it by attributing the rise of prostitution to the alleged depravity of lower-class women, thus exploiting conceptions about the female body to maintain their superior social status. Although there are no prostitutes in *Wuthering Heights*, the text possibly alludes to the so-called ‘Great Social Evil’ in Heathcliff’s referring to Isabella as a ‘slut’.

The novel’s representation of and engagement with gender distinctions are not restricted to an analysis of the position of women, however: they also include an examination of the changes in the social position of men. As a result of the labour changes caused by industrialisation, the

passage to manhood had become increasingly problematic. The need for males raised by women to differentiate themselves from the female was intensified and made more difficult by changing social conditions. With industrialization, work was removed from the home so that the middle-class males no longer grew up in the company of men, no longer worked with their fathers in the field or at the forge. Instead, boys and young men increasingly spent early years in the care and company of women. Extended education and later marriage increased this time in the female sphere, delaying entry of young men into the male sphere. With the Victorians’ increasingly sharp gender distinctions, the need to reject the female values of youth, to leave the feminized home, became more acute. Furthermore, there was no longer a single homogeneous ideal of male identity... but a number of competing constructions of manliness to choose among (Sussman 1995:46).

David Rosen mentions that the ‘Reform Bill of 1832, by giving power to the wealthier middle classes, may in part have released a further upsurge in rhetorical outpourings on the subject of gender and masculinity’ (Rosen 1994:21). The distinction between many kinds of masculinity and the link between masculinity and the three-tier social system added another element to the bodily ideal: those who were wealthy and powerful were able to attain a place as part of the elite group of ruling-class and therefore presumably superior ‘men’.

The use of conceptions about the human body to further ideologies is seen in the generation of the concept of muscular Christianity. According to Donald Hall,

[t]he tag ‘muscular Christianity’ originated in a review of Charles Kingsley’s *Two Years Ago* (1857) written by T. C. Sandars for the *Saturday Review*. Kingsley... was recognized immediately as the most popular and visible advocate of a new movement.... In his generally laudatory assessment of Kingsley’s purpose and abilities, Sandars highlights a central, even defining, characteristic of muscular Christianity: an association between physical strength, religious certainty, and the ability to shape and control the world around oneself (Hall 1994a:7).

According to such a construction, the stronger the man, the greater his religious certainty and ability to ‘shape and control the world’ around him. The male body, which was regarded as a self-enclosed spatial entity that was stronger than the female body, was used to provide the illusion of a self-enclosed, undivided community, and to contain the fragmentation within the community itself. Although Sandars only coined the term ‘muscular Christianity’ in 1857, the underlying notions expressed by the term would have been present in society long before. *Wuthering Heights*, which was published in 1847, hints at ideas that would later be contained in the concept. In the novel, Heathcliff and Hareton are robust men. Although Heathcliff is unlikely to be called a muscular *Christian*, since he is too often referred to and represented as a heathen, his physical prowess enables him to control the actions of some of the other characters. However, both his and Hareton’s physical strength is often excessive, which sometimes changes them from self-controlled, brave men into violent and ruthless ‘savages’. Brontë thus manages to combine the opposition between nature and civilisation with a nineteenth-century discourse on what it means to be a ‘man’. Masculine strength, perhaps in an excessive form, is explored through the physically strong Heathcliff and Hareton. The lack thereof and the link between weakness and femininity are commented on by the portrayal of the effeminate Linton, whom Hareton does not hit because he thinks of him as ‘more a lass than a lad’ (Brontë 2003:220).

In addition to its exploration of the body-mind relationship and the distinctions between males and females, the novel also examines another concept regarding the human body: the soul or spirit, which is considered to be ‘formless and unconstrained, immaterial and eternal’ (Pârlog, Brînzeu & Pârlog 2007:28). To some extent, religion relies on the construction of the soul as part of the body to ensure its continued existence and power in society. Ideas about the fate of humans after death, particularly about reward or punishment, rely on this concept, and any thoughts that question the existence of the soul and the afterlife undercut religious groups’ control over society members. Consequently, those who defy the standards set by organised religion are often cast into heterotopias of deviation, and, subsequently, discriminated against,

ostracised by society, persecuted or even executed. The idea that human beings have souls may be linked to the third component of Lefebvre's spatial triad: this part of the triad, which comprises the bodily *lived* experience, 'may be both highly complex and quite peculiar, because "culture" intervenes here, with its illusory immediacy, via symbolisms and via the long Judaeo-Christian tradition' (Lefebvre 1991:40).

I have discussed the influence of conceived spaces, such as the distinction between males and females, and symbolic ideals such as the bodily ideal and muscular Christianity on the everyday lives of the members of nineteenth-century British society, and have thus illustrated how the second component of Lefebvre's spatial triad is connected to the lived spaces of the third. I will now turn to the effect of the Judaeo-Christian tradition on the bodily experience and ideas about the human body. This tradition can be seen in nineteenth-century thought about slaves, savages, and the uncivilised, which were held to include the non-white races in the Empire, savages' supposed imperviousness to physical pain, and racial stereotypes. In her analysis of the representation of bodily pain in nineteenth-century English literature, Lucy Bending mentions that

Christianity and medicine provided the two dominant, though conflicting, discourses for understanding physical pain in the nineteenth century.... In a reciprocal process, the emphasis shifted from one to the other until a gulf – both theological and medical – opened up between understandings of bodily pain in the 1840s and in the 1880s (Bending 2000:5).

The potential relevance of an analysis of the body and physical pain in *Wuthering Heights* is suggested by the fact that the novel was published in 1847, when theological and medical debates about pain were widespread, and by the novel's portrayal of numerous instances of physical violence. 'For Christian theologians two kinds of pain were of importance: the pains of the here and now and the doctrinally sanctioned pains of eternal damnation' (5). As regards the 'pains of the here and now', that is, the pain associated with an existence on earth as opposed to one in heaven,

[e]arly nineteenth-century Christian theology, taking the Bible as the direct Word of God, provided... a sustaining structure that made sense of their pain for those who suffered. A single meaning – albeit mysterious – could be ascribed to physical pain: it was the Hand of the Lord at work, and as such was unquestionable (50).

Expressing the wish not to experience pain would have been seen as an act of disobedience and defiance against God's authority. However, religious beliefs began to change, partially due to the rise of medical science, which reshaped the conceptions about the body that form part of the second component of Lefebvre's spatial triad. These changes in religious thought allowed for a new perspective on the body, the bodily experience, and the physical pain both of the here and now and the afterlife. After the 'widespread overthrow of belief in the physical pains of hell, came a change in the perception of physical pain' (5). This change enabled the creation of alternative justifications of physical pain, since the experience of pain was no longer dictated by or limited to theological ideas. The Church had to construct alternative justifications, if only to ensure its dominance in society, considering that many were starting to question the validity of both the Church and religion itself. In an attempt to explain and justify the value of physical suffering,

[p]ain was envisaged positively in a wide variety of different ways in Christian discourse. Not only was it seen as the necessary result of sin, and as the remedy for that sin, but was also recognized as a spur to action. The sight of painful suffering in others was assumed to prompt onlookers to charitable action.... [S]uffering in oneself became a measure of the degree to which one was found wanting.... An individual's suffering becomes a sign of his need for reformation as well as the process that allows for such reformation.... Where Christianity makes its mark on pain is not in its claim that pain plays an essential part in the formation of character... but in its claims for Christ's redemption through suffering (47-48).

To some degree, pain became something to take pleasure in, since any physical suffering was considered beneficial in preparing the soul for the afterlife.

In contrast to nineteenth-century Christian theologians,

[t]he rising medical profession of the nineteenth century... sought ways of addressing the problem of pain in a very different arena. Instead of defining pain as a mystery, medical practitioners began to look for its method of functioning and to acknowledge that, in many cases, painfulness far outstripped any putative beneficent value (52).

The investigation and justification of physical suffering were affected by nineteenth-century medical research, particularly studies on the nervous system:

[t]he emergence of physiology as an experimental science, prompted by the work of Charles Bell and François Magendie in the 1820s on sensory and motor nerves, led to the scientific study of sensation in general and pain in particular. Johannes

Müller, writing in 1840, further rendered pain the object of scientific enquiry in his ‘Doctrine of Specific Nerve Energies’, where the brain was seen as the recipient of information from the nerves, carried in a form of energy specific to each sensation. Over the course of the nineteenth century physiological knowledge was increasingly linked to neurology, so that pain began to be seen unequivocally as a function of the body rather than of the mind (53).

Pain’s relation to the body itself cast in doubt the association between physical suffering and theology. If pain was no longer understood to be connected to the afterlife and the fate of the soul, then there was no longer any reason to experience it. In this regard, the introduction of medical ways to alleviate pain is particularly significant:

[t]he introduction of anaesthetic surgery was of critical importance not simply because of its pain-relieving properties. It changed the perception of pain, not just on the operating table where it was primarily used, but also in general terms, and brought about a reversal in what seemed to be the natural order of things. Before the introduction of chloroform and similar anaesthetics, pain could be seen as a part of life, a natural state, whereas after its uptake – though this was not entirely unproblematic – chemical intervention into the state of pain became the ‘natural’ one (56).

The justifications of physical pain presented by medical research were regarded as opposed to those presented by theology, and medical science’s means to undercut the experience of pain were greatly contested by theologians, who considered such acts as attempts to undermine God’s authority or to assume godly power by interfering with what was seen as God’s will. The nineteenth-century social order was, then, destabilised not only by industrialisation and the socio-economic changes that that entailed, but also by concerns and conflicting ideas about pain and the body, which contributed to a revision of society’s ideas about individuals’ space in the larger space of the universe.

The nineteenth-century did not only see changes in people’s conception of physical suffering both on earth and in the afterlife, but also witnessed various debates and concerns with regard to vivisection, the ‘act or practice of performing experiments on living animals, involving cutting into or dissecting the body’ (Collins 2007). ‘In France and Germany, by the 1850s, vivisection was firmly established as a valued scientific procedure, and chairs in experimental physiology had been established in many universities’, but ‘[i]n contemporary England things were different’ (Bending 2000:117). In nineteenth-century Britain, ideas about civilisation and savagery, the supposed inferiority of non-whites and the lower orders, and physical pain and vivisection became intertwined:

[t]he ability to feel pain became for civilized Christians one of the keynotes of civilization, the attribute that separated them from the so-called savage.... John Conquest in his childcare manual, *Letters to a Mother* (1848), suggests the imperviousness of the savage to pain, in contrast to the oversensitivity of the modern wealthy European (123-124).

The complex discourse on pain included not only individuals' experience of pain and suffering, but also referred to individuals' inflicting pain on others. It was thought that

[t]he infliction of pain *brutalized*, made those who practised it more like the brutes and savages from whom the civilized had dissociated themselves evolutionarily over the course of time. Civilized Christians became brutish when their level of sensibility was somehow lowered: hence the dangers of vivisection. Not only did the animals experimented on suffer pain, but the vivisectionist was degraded by watching, and creating, that suffering (125, italics in original).

The influence of these ideas on the bodily experience can be seen in the relationship between slave masters and their slaves in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In this context, '[u]tter control was the code, and if any sign of rebellion appeared, punitive violence erupted [and] a slave's deviation from the code would be met with... horrors such as face-branding, mutilation, and amputation' (Gawthrop 2003:117). Such acts of punishment would have been justified by the idea that 'savages' could not feel pain as acutely and would thus not suffer as much as 'civilised' people. Since the infliction of pain came to be associated with self-brutalisation, flogging practices had to be justified in a different way. It may be that continued flogging was defended by 'beneficently inflicted pain', which 'became the rationale of those determined to cure the ills of others through the infliction of pain' (Bending 2000:242). Accordingly, those in positions of power could inflict pain on others by claiming that such pain was in their best interest.

The idea of pain as beneficent is reflected in the nineteenth-century literary portrayal of pain: '[t]he stress on not crying out when beaten, allied to the more general conventions of silence in the face of pain is paramount in Victorian fiction and literature of all kinds that dealt with flogging' (243). *Wuthering Heights* is no exception to this: given the centrality of discourses on pain in the nineteenth century, it is possible that the earliest readers of the novel may have considered Catherine's refusal to cry out when she is bitten by the Lintons' dog to blend the ideas of the supposed imperviousness of the savage to pain and of accepting and taking pleasure in pain as an improving influence that is both a result of and a remedy for sin. The nineteenth-century discourses on pain may also have had a pronounced influence on early

readers' understanding and interpretation of the scenes of violence or cruelty in the novel, such as Hindley's hitting and Nelly's pinching Heathcliff, Frances's pulling Heathcliff's hair, Hindley's ordering Heathcliff to be flogged, which is a form of punishment often associated with masters' punishing their slaves, Isabella's clawing Catherine, Heathcliff's threatening to strangle Isabella, and yearning to vivisect Cathy and Linton, Hareton's desire to hit Linton, and Cathy's hitting Hareton with a whip.

I have discussed the representation and exploration of the public and private space of society: I have paid attention to the relationships between nature and society, between British society and the other societies in the Empire, between males and females, and between the body standard, the 'devalued other', and to various nineteenth-century theological and medical discourses regarding the bodily experience. So far, my investigation has focused on the spaces of the living, however, and has not considered the places society assigns to the deceased. Lefebvre claims that the space of society incorporates the 'actions of subjects both individual and collective who are born and who die' (Lefebvre 1991:33), which suggests that death is as much a part of society as life. *Wuthering Heights* represents this in its exploration of some characters' reactions to death, burial practices, and the spaces the living allocate to the dead. As I will show in my discussion, the text depicts the spaces the mainly Protestant society of nineteenth-century Britain assigned to death, and questions these sites and their relation to one another. In order to indicate the extent to which it does this, I will explore the development of the spaces Christianity assigns to death: heaven, purgatory, and hell.

For millennia, religions and individuals have spread and believed in the idea of an afterworld that is removed from the world of the living. Lefebvre states that death 'lies below or above appropriated social space; [that] death is relegated to the infinite realm so as to disentrail (or purify) the finiteness in which social practice occurs' (35). It may therefore be said that, through the production of an afterworld, society tries to separate itself from death. This idea is strengthened by Alan Bernstein's claims that the myths the living create with regard to the departed 'reveal and satisfy their need for security', and that the 'segregation of the dead from the living... seems to allow the living to proceed with their lives, undisturbed by the dead' (Bernstein 1993:9). Society may assume that it is easier for the bereaved to continue with their lives if they can believe that the dead are merely temporarily separated from them, and live in a world that is preferable to their own, than it is to come to terms with the possibility that there is no life beyond death, and that their deceased loved ones are lost to them forever.

To uphold the concept of an afterworld that is removed from the world of the living, religious institutions and leaders have had to create and maintain spaces the dead can be said to occupy, and ascribe to people, who are mortal beings, characteristics that will enable them to keep on living even when their bodies have perished. To this end, they hold that people have souls. Since the living create the afterworld, the imagined spaces they assign to it will change when their ideas about death do. Additionally, different societies do not have the same ideas about death, and may therefore not apportion the same locations to it. It may be because of different, often conflicting, notions about death that examining the

rise of [the space of punishment Christianity refers to as] hell entails investigating the historical experience and ethical debates recorded in the ancient sources of Egypt, Mesopotamia, Israel, Greece, Rome, and the early Christian community. These people shaped the idea of hell as they asserted and denied, accepted and rejected their own and each other's answers to questions concerning death and the dead, justice and evil (ix).

The same can be said about the formation of heaven and purgatory. The texts that constitute what we know as the Bible were written over hundreds of years, and, presumably due to changes in social thought, reflect contrasting ideas about death. The ideas of the societies Bernstein mentions combined to form a polarity between heaven, the 'place of union and communion with God' that is believed to be preferable to life on earth, and to be assigned to those who are thought moral, and hell, the 'place of everlasting torment' that is allocated to those who are said to be immoral (Rowell 1997:19-20).

Between the fourth and eleventh centuries, the 'custom of commending the dead and praying for them that they might pass through the perils of the world beyond the grave and be brought to the heavenly Jerusalem, became focused on [an] intermediate stage of purgation' (20). This led to the formation of a space of death between heaven and hell: purgatory. It was believed that sinners would suffer in this space until their souls had been cleansed, after which they would go to heaven. The idea that people could be immoral and still go to heaven destabilised the polarity between heaven and hell. The sixteenth-century Reformation, which 'began as an attempt to reform the Roman Catholic Church and resulted in the establishment of the Protestant Churches' (Collins 2007), 'attacked the notion of purgatory as having no grounding in scripture' (Rowell 1997:22). If people started to believe that the wicked would also go to heaven, then the division between the moral and immoral, and the spaces assigned to them, would become irrelevant. The attack of the Reformation thus seems partly to have been

intended to reinforce the opposition between heaven and hell that had been weakened by the production of an intermediate space.

In the nineteenth century, religion was characterised by what ‘can seem to be strongly contrasting religious movements – Evangelicalism and the revival of Catholicism, both Roman Catholic, and within the High Church tradition of the Church of England’ (25). The great disparity between different religious beliefs is also reflected in the changes in the burial practices in nineteenth-century British society. If a Christian society such as nineteenth-century Britain opts to bury, and not to cremate, its dead, then those in positions of power must assign spaces to the remains of the dead as it does to the living. They thus have to identify spaces where cemeteries can be built and corpses can be stored. Probably because of the link between graves and the afterworld, burial grounds were controlled by the Church. It may also be that the Church established this link to ensure its control over the spaces of the dead to gain more power over the living: if it, as a social institution that has to govern social life, can dictate people’s ideas about death and the afterlife, then it is possible that it can regulate their behaviour through the institution of social standards, and establishing a link between the extent to which people adhere to these standards and the kind of space they can expect to inhabit in the afterworld.

Industrialisation would have a significant effect on these notions and practices, however: due to continued industrialisation during the early nineteenth century, which caused an increase in urbanisation and a rise in population numbers, there were more individuals whose corpses, coffins, and graves had to be accommodated. Because of industrialisation and urbanisation, together with the cholera crisis in the late 1840s, the spaces those in positions of power had set aside for the remains of the dead were not large enough to house the number of bodies that had to be interred. Consequently, the 1840s saw

great change in British funerals. A campaign to close urban churchyards, revealed as wholly inadequate for the number of burials even before the cholera crisis of 1847-8, succeeded in opening a new era of cemeteries, owned, funded and operated by local government.... The vast majority of funerals were still conducted by Anglican clergy according to Anglican rites, but Roman Catholics and Protestant Dissenters were now receiving more equal attention in the new private cemeteries (Jupp 1997:3).

It is likely that Brontë, who, like the rest of her family, had a great interest in socio-political debates, had these issues in mind and intended to comment on them in her novel, which was

published in 1847, when these debates were very significant. Many of the earliest readers of the novel would have been acutely aware of any references to places of interment, since the second half of the nineteenth century saw even more changes in British society's allocation of space to the dead:

[t]he Burial Laws of 1850 and 1852 closed 5 000 urban churchyards within eight years and transferred the responsibility for providing land for the disposal of the dead to local (and secular) authorities, ending a period of 1 000 years' virtual monopoly by the Church.... By the Burial Laws Amendment Act [of] 1880, Nonconformists were finally permitted to conduct funerals according to the own rites in rural churchyards (3-4).

The need for physical space in which to bury the dead thus forced the Church to relinquish some control over burial grounds, which led to a partial loss of control over changing or alternative burial practices and beliefs regarding the afterlife. It may then be argued that the physical need for more space in which to bury the dead, which may be associated with the first component of Lefebvre's spatial triad, had an influence on conceptions regarding death and the afterlife, which may form part of the second component of the triad, and, ultimately, changed people's experience of death, which may be held to be part of the third component of the triad. The components of the triad are thereby shown to be interconnected. To an extent, the struggle for control over burial grounds appears to be represented in *Wuthering Heights*. Nelly mentions that '[t]he place of Catherine's interment, to the surprise of the villagers, was neither in the chapel, under the carved monument of the Lintons, nor yet by the tombs of her own relations, outside. It was dug on a green slope, in a corner of the kirkyard' (Brontë 2003:170). Catherine, who would usually have been buried either in the chapel or by the graves of the other Earnshaws, is buried on a hill, in the open air. It may be that the earliest readers of the novel would have been more attuned to allusions to disputes regarding burial grounds. Social conflict regarding different burial practices may also be alluded to in the burial of Heathcliff, since Nelly states that they buried Heathcliff in the way he requested, 'to the scandal of the whole neighbourhood' (336).

Wuthering Heights also represents and engages with nineteenth-century burial practices and beliefs about death and the afterlife through its references or allusions to ghosts and vampires. In his discussion of the depiction of the vampire in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, James Twitchell says that the 'vampire's body had not always been under the control of the devil; in fact, it had once belonged to a perfectly normal human who by some sin lost the

protection of Christian guardianship, thereby allowing the devil admittance' (Twitchell 1981:8). Throughout most of the nineteenth century, the vampire population was

thought to be primarily augmented by sinners, especially suicides.... [O]nce the devil took control [of the soul of the suicide] the soul could never escape to an after-life until the demon was demolished. The best the bereaved family could do was to bury the corpse at a country crossroads, hoping that the sign of the cross would deter the devil (8).

It would be easy to dismiss belief in the existence of vampires as superstition or to attribute the presence of ghosts in the narrative merely to characters' psychological states, as many critics do. However, the nineteenth-century legal system reflects concerns about vampiric possession, and the fact that laws had to be implemented against certain practices proves that some people believed in the existence of such creatures and in the danger they allegedly posed to the soul of the individual and to the order in larger society:

[i]n the early nineteenth century laws were passed in England which stated that the body of a suicide could only be interred between 9 P.M. and midnight, while a further law made it illegal to dig up the body of a suspected suicide in order to drive a stake through the heart. These laws were finally repealed in the 1880s, but they give some indication of the commonly believed link between the vampire and the suicide (9).

Nelly's wondering if Heathcliff is a 'vampire' (Brontë 2003:330) establishes an allusion in the text to the belief in the existence of vampires. Moreover, although none of the characters in *Wuthering Heights* is explicitly said to have killed himself or herself, the theme of suicide is hinted at: Catherine starves herself for three days, Hindley's excessive drinking is nothing short of suicidal, and Heathcliff dies after having eaten nothing in four days.

The threat of vampiric possession is also implied in the text through references to other 'sins' that were believed to endanger individuals' souls. These 'sins'

varied with different societies, yet two classes of sins were common to all: first, sins against the church understandably carried sufficient promise of damnation to incite the devil; and second, any social peculiarity might be a sign of diabolical propensities. So in dark-eyed cultures the blue-eyed were suspect; in dark-haired societies the blond was exiled (Twitchell 1981:9).

Heathcliff can, for example, be seen as a 'dark-eyed', 'dark-haired' person in a society where the 'blond' Lintons reign supreme. Nelly's reference to Heathcliff as a vampire and references to such 'sins' tie in with the portrayal of Heathcliff as an outsider who is considered savage,

uncivilised, non-British, and non-white, and who, as such, would have been seen as a threat to the established order in the British Empire. A character such as Heathcliff may therefore be regarded as transgressive – and be cast into one of the heterotopias of deviation – because he challenges the dominant spaces of nineteenth-century British society, and thereby poses a threat to the continued empowerment of those in positions of authority, such as that of the influential Lintons.

Chapter 1: Nature, civilisation, and the battle for supremacy

In the preceding chapter, I have indicated that many recent critical works still suggest that the world of Brontë's *Wuthering Heights* is an isolated sphere that is removed from and that fails to represent and examine nineteenth-century social debates and concerns. I have also mentioned that the extent to which the novel draws on the literary conventions of earlier periods seems partially to underlie this conception about the world in which the text is set. The effect of earlier literary traditions on that world has been investigated in numerous discussions of the novel, and is undeniable. However, I will demonstrate in this chapter that the novel does not simply reproduce elements of earlier conventions, but recreates them to comment on nineteenth-century issues and concerns, and will thus indicate that those critical works that uphold that Brontë neglects to depict and engage with core nineteenth-century debates and ills are mistaken in their assumption.

As I have stated earlier, the control humankind began to believe itself able to exercise over nature during and after the establishment of settled communities and the manipulation of the natural world to construct temples, irrigation canals, and so forth may have contributed to the development of the allegedly opposing concepts of 'nature' and 'civilisation'. This conceptual division holds that the natural world is inferior to the power of society and its attempts to found and modify the spaces it believes itself to have appropriated. Although the 'dichotomy between centres of civilization, embodied by towns, and the barbarism of the countryside [is said to have been] a fixture of classical thought' (Putter 1995:41), it must have been seen as precarious even then:

in the cosmic hierarchy of the world man has always been considered superior to plants and animals, [but] numerous old representations of the [human] body mix human elements with vegetal or animal ones.... In several Greek myths, maidens or nymphs pursued by gods beg for protection from other deities, [and are then] transformed into trees.... Sometimes... characters lose their [human] features in favour of an animal corporeality (Pârlog, Brînzeu & Pârlog 2007:71).

Such hybrids 'suggest a continuity between the world of the humans and those of plants or of animals' (72), thereby illustrating that the spaces of nature and society are interrelated, and thus both reinforce and destabilise the distinction between nature and civilisation.

In medieval romance, this opposition, echoed in the depiction of the forest and the court, is as unstable as it is in classical texts, and critics frequently draw attention to this: Ad Putter, for example, states that '[i]t may appear that the ceremonials which regulate the interaction between guest and host make the host's court a safer abode' than the forest, but 'this sense of security can be false', since

situations in which strangers take hospitality from strangers have always been permeated with ambiguity and potential conflict, and all advanced cultures have found it necessary to subject the stages of hospitality to an elaborate protocol in order to minimize the risk of collision (Putter 1995:52).

The influence of classical literature and medieval romance and of later tropes that derived from these sources on the world of *Wuthering Heights* may be seen in the novel's adaptation of the conceived dichotomy between the wilderness and savagery of nature, and civilisation and controlled nature: the space of the untamed wilderness of nature is assigned to the uncultivated Yorkshire moors, while the controlled, civilised space of the court, parks, and gardens, along with the dominating influence of those in positions of authority, is ascribed to the houses in the novel, their parks or gardens, and the patriarchs who own and control them. Although it would be careless to assume that the moors and the houses in the novel form a polarity that is a perfect parallel to the distinction between the forest and the court, I will illustrate that the novel includes elements often associated with the romance in its portrayal and exploration of nineteenth-century society.

The novel's reshaping of the romance court, and its portrayal of the power those in positions of authority exert over nature and those they associate with its ostensible inferiority, may be seen in its depiction of patriarchs such as Mr Earnshaw, Hindley, Heathcliff, and Edgar. In 1771², Mr Earnshaw goes to Liverpool, and returns with a six- or seven-year-old boy who is assumed to be an orphan. According to Nelly, the child's arrival causes conflict in the family, particularly between Mr Earnshaw and Hindley:

from the very beginning, he bred bad feeling in the house; and at Mrs Earnshaw's death, which happened in less than two years after, the young master had learnt to regard his father as an oppressor rather than a friend, and Heathcliff as a usurper

² As regards the chronology of the events in *Wuthering Heights*, I am indebted to the detailed information C.P. Sanger provides in his article entitled 'The Structure of *Wuthering Heights*', which was first published in 1926.

of his parent's affections, and his privileges, and he grew bitter with brooding over these injuries (Brontë 2003:38).

Although Nelly presents Heathcliff as an outsider who usurps Mr Earnshaw's affections and Hindley's privileges, and who thus causes conflict between father and son, the choice to bring the boy back to the Heights is Mr Earnshaw's, which suggests that the space of the Heights, which can be compared, to an extent, to that of the romance court, is, perhaps, not changed by the supposedly threatening external and therefore uncivilised natural forces Heathcliff may be held to represent as much as it is regulated and even undermined by the ostensibly civilised patriarch who owns and controls it. Mr Earnshaw's allowing Heathcliff to stay at the Heights is not the only sign of his power over the Heights: if Hindley sees his father as an 'oppressor rather than a friend', then the father's dominating influence can be seen not only in his interactions with Heathcliff, but also in his treatment of his own children.

It should not be ignored, however, that the patriarch's behaviour is linked to his failing health and the power that that gives to Joseph. According to Nelly, Joseph

was, and is yet, most likely, the wearisomest, self-righteous pharisee that ever ransacked a Bible to rake the promises to himself, and fling the curses on his neighbours. By his knack of sermonizing and pious discoursing, he contrived to make a great impression on Mr Earnshaw, and the more feeble the master became, the more influence he gained. He was relentless in worrying him about his soul's concerns, and about ruling his children rigidly (42).

Mr Earnshaw's control over the Heights and authoritarian treatment of its occupants are thus influenced by the self-serving, hypocritical Joseph, which means that it is not only because of Mr Earnshaw's adopting Heathcliff, but also due to the servant's influence that the conflict between Hindley and Mr Earnshaw is increased, and that the curate ultimately suggests Mr Earnshaw send Hindley to college. The text thereby once again suggests that the sources of conflict in the space of the Heights may not necessarily derive from external forces, but might well be caused by those who hold positions of power within that space itself. Mr Earnshaw's sending his son off to college reveals his ability to control others' moving into or out of the space he owns. When he dies in October 1777, Hindley returns to the Heights and takes over the role of patriarch. The once ostracised son then comes to power, and dominates Heathcliff, Catherine, and the servants as his father, Joseph, and the curate, to an extent, once dominated him.

Nelly mentions that, soon after his return, Hindley drives Heathcliff

from their company to the servants, deprived him of the instructions of the curate, and insisted that he should labour out of doors instead, compelling him to do so, as hard as any other lad on the farm. [The boy] bore his degradation pretty well at first, because Cathy taught him what she learnt, and worked or played with him in the fields. They both promised fair to grow up as rude as savages, the young master being entirely negligent how they behaved, and what they did, so they kept clear of him. He would not even have seen after their going to church on Sundays, only Joseph and the curate reprimanded his carelessness when they absented themselves, and that reminded him to order Heathcliff a flogging, and Catherine a fast from dinner or supper (46).

Hindley's newly acquired power may be seen to reflect the influence of those who shape the dominant spaces that define social standards. He drives Heathcliff, whose origins are obscure, to keep company with the servants, and thus denies him the more privileged and presumably more civilised social position of the Earnshaws. His conduct is not always consistent with social norms, though, and thus reveals society's double standards: he banishes Heathcliff to the space of servants, which he sees as the boy's 'right place' (22), presumably because the foundling's origins are unknown, yet marries Frances, whose origins are equally obscure. The implication, then, appears to be that Hindley degrades the boy because he hates him, but manages to justify his act by exploiting the notions of social rank and superiority. He pays no attention to Heathcliff's and Catherine's conduct and education, and their upbringing falls on Joseph, the curate, and Nelly. When Joseph and the curate reprimand his 'carelessness', he orders 'Heathcliff a flogging, and Catherine a fast from dinner or supper', thereby abusing the power his position affords him to harm or dominate those in inferior positions. The curate stops calling after Frances's death, which means that, apart from Nelly, Joseph is finally the only one to assist in their education, and that is disquieting in itself, given his dislike of them and his narrow-minded, puritanical beliefs.

In their rebellion against Hindley's tyranny and the 'civilising', controlling influence of Joseph and the curate, Heathcliff and Catherine turn to the untamed moors. Nelly states that

it was one of their chief amusements to run away to the moors in the morning and remain there all day, and the after punishment grew a mere thing to laugh at.... [A]nd many a time I've cried to myself to watch them growing more reckless daily, and I not daring to speak a syllable for fear of losing the small power I still retained over the unfriended creatures (46-47).

The children are ‘banished from the sitting-room [one Sunday evening in 1777], for making a noise, or a light offence of the kind’ (47). It is during their banishment that Catherine writes in her diary that ‘Hindley is a detestable substitute [whose] conduct to Heathcliff is atrocious’ (20), and that Heathcliff suggests he and Catherine ‘have a scamper on the moors’ (22). In romance fashion, Heathcliff and Catherine turn to the wilderness of nature in their flight from the restrictions society imposes on them. In the dichotomies between nature and civilisation, and between the forest and the court, unregulated nature represents everything society does not want to be and therefore wants to exclude from its space through spatial differentiation so as ultimately to shape its identity. Due to their desire to escape from society, Heathcliff and Catherine are associated with the savagery and immorality the ostensibly ‘refined’ members of society associate with it. Nelly’s calling them ‘creatures’ indicates *her* conviction of their subhuman savagery, at least.

The novel’s portrayal of Heathcliff and Catherine’s rejection of civilisation and turning to the natural world is paralleled, to an extent, in its depiction of Hareton and Cathy. Just as Hindley came to power and then dominated Heathcliff, Catherine, and the servants at the Heights, so Heathcliff gains influence by lending Hindley money, which secures him the ownership of the Heights upon the latter’s death, and dominates Hindley’s son. Nelly relates that Heathcliff

appeared to have bent his malevolence on making [Hareton] a brute: he was never taught to read or write; never rebuked for any bad habit which did not annoy his keeper; never led a single step towards virtue, or guarded by a single precept against vice (197)

Heathcliff, who is now in a position of power, and therefore part of the dominating influence of society, denies Hareton the privileges civilisation is thought to offer, such as education, as Hindley did to him. Hareton, whom Heathcliff banishes from civilised society, is forced to turn to what is thought to be the opposite of civilisation, that is, uncultivated nature and the ideas associated with it, and comes to be seen as an uncivilised, uneducated, immoral ‘brute’.

Nelly mentions, though, that Heathcliff is not the only one who causes Hareton’s degradation: Joseph ‘contributed much to his deterioration by a narrow-minded partiality which prompted him to flatter, and pet him, as a boy, because he was the head of the old family’ (197). Although Joseph does not side with Hindley, whom he probably still considers a reprobate, he influences and sides with Mr Earnshaw and Hareton. He, then, seems specifically to side with those who (will) occupy positions of influence. Nelly says that

[i]f the lad swore, he wouldn't correct him; nor however culpably he behaved. It gave Joseph satisfaction, apparently, to watch him go the worst lengths. He allowed that he was ruined; that his soul was abandoned to perdition; but then, he reflected that Heathcliff must answer for it.... Joseph had instilled into him a pride of name, and of his lineage; he would, had he dared, have fostered hate between him and the present owner of the Heights, but his dread of that owner amounted to superstition; and he confined his feelings, regarding him, to muttered innuendoes and private combinations (197).

Although Joseph regards Hareton as much a reprobate as he does the boy's father, he justifies his supporting the next Earnshaw patriarch through blaming Hareton's supposedly degenerate nature on Heathcliff, who has cheated Hareton out of the privileges that ought to have been afforded him by his family name and the superior social position associated with it. Joseph increased the conflict between Mr Earnshaw and Hindley, and would have attempted to do the same between Heathcliff and Hareton, were it not for his fear of Heathcliff, which keeps him from sharing his feelings regarding the new owner of the Heights with Hareton. The parallels between Mr Earnshaw and Hindley, Hindley and Heathcliff, and Heathcliff and Hareton are not mirror images of each other, however, a fact that undercuts any simplistic notions about these pairings as copies of one another. The conflict between Mr Earnshaw and Hindley and between Hindley and Heathcliff is not found between Heathcliff and Hareton, not only due to Joseph's fear of Heathcliff, but also because of Hareton's character: the young man does not speak ill of Heathcliff, and reprimands Cathy when she does. Unlike Hindley and Heathcliff, Hareton does not turn against his oppressor, but continues to defend him despite the ill treatment he suffers. It is because of this loyalty that the interactions between Heathcliff and Hareton are not an echo of those between Mr Earnshaw and Hindley and between Hindley and Heathcliff.

Cathy is not dominated by her father to the extent her mother was by Mr Earnshaw, Joseph, and Hindley, but Edgar tries to confine her rambles out in nature to the park of the Grange. Because parks and gardens are associated with controlled nature and civilisation, Edgar's attempts to control Cathy's movements and to confine her to the park are comparable to the dominating influence of society that Mr Earnshaw, Joseph, Hindley, and Heathcliff represent.

Like Heathcliff and Catherine, Hareton and Cathy enjoy being out in nature. Hareton is often outside, hunting or gardening. Cathy 'delighted to climb along [the] trunks [of the oaks in the park of the Grange], and sit in the branches, swinging twenty feet above the ground' (230). Before she visits the Craggs, her encounters with nature are confined to the controlled space

of the park, and restricted by the power society wants to exert over the natural environment and those connected to it. In 1797, she goes to the Craggs, an example of uncultivated nature. She flees from the park of the Grange when Edgar is called to Isabella's deathbed. She passes the Heights just as Hareton happens to 'issue forth' (198), and persuades him to take her to the Craggs, thereby mirroring Heathcliff and Catherine's escape from the Heights and the controlling influence of society by scampering on the moors. To an extent, they are cast into the same space as Catherine and Heathcliff, and are thereby also linked to the wilderness and savagery of nature.

In romance, the forest is not threatening merely because it opposes civilisation; sometimes it is its mere physical existence that makes it difficult for the hero to traverse the landscape. This characteristic of the forest is reproduced and reworked in *Wuthering Heights* to portray and comment on the natural environment in the novel. The need to traverse the environment that constitutes the Gimmerton region, and fight against the elements is frequently a cause of discomfort, concern or fear for the novel's characters. Mr Earnshaw returns from Liverpool in a state of exhaustion as a result of the distance he had to travel. When he dies, Joseph tells Nelly to go to Gimmerton to get the doctor and parson, and she has to go 'through wind and rain' (44), that is, has to brave the elements, to get there. Heathcliff and Catherine run 'from the top of the Heights to the park' of the Grange to see what the Linton children's life is like, and 'Catherine [was] completely beaten in the race, because she was barefoot' (48), having lost her shoes in the bog. The fact that she, whom many interpretations of the novel present as symbolic of nature, finds it difficult to traverse the landscape may be proof enough that she and Heathcliff are not to be read as mere symbols, but as human beings whose movement is complicated by nature's physical presence, and who are just as exposed to the physical challenges presented by nature as the other inhabitants of the region. The importance of both the physical and the conceived elements of the world of the novel ties in with the view that the perceived and imagined components of Lefebvre's spatial triad ought to be regarded as interconnected. When Heathcliff has run off, Nelly thinks he may have gone to Gimmerton, but Joseph says he has not gone there, but is 'at t' bothom uf a bog-hoile' (86). Joseph's saying this shows that the natural world is not only difficult to navigate, but also potentially deadly. During her final illness in early 1784, Catherine, confined to her room at the Grange, asks Nelly to '[o]pen the window again wide', but, since it is cold outside, Nelly refuses, saying she 'won't give you your death of cold' (126). Isabella runs away from the Heights in March 1784, and stops at the Grange before she heads south. She tells Nelly that 'I have run

the whole way from Wuthering Heights... [e]xcept where I've flown – I couldn't count the number of falls I've had – Oh, I'm aching all over!' (171) Her account again indicates the risk nature's physical force poses to human beings' well-being. Edgar and Cathy 'would frequently walk out among the reapers: at the carrying of the last sheaves [in 1800], they stayed till dusk, and the evening happening to be chill and damp, [Edgar] caught a bad cold that... confined him indoors throughout the whole of the winter' (229). He never recovers from the illness, and dies. Zillah comes to set Nelly free when Heathcliff has imprisoned her and Cathy at the Heights in August 1801; she tells Nelly that 'I never thought, but you were sunk in the Blackhorse marsh, and Missy with you' (278). Her comment ties in with Joseph's about Heathcliff's being in a bog hole. On the second day Lockwood visits the Heights during his first stay in the region from late November 1801 till mid-January 1802, he is forced to stay there until the storm has passed. He leaves the Heights the next morning, but cannot get back to the Grange by himself because he does not know the region. He later writes in his diary that the

whole hill-back was one billowy, white ocean; the swells and falls not indicating corresponding rises and depressions in the ground – many pits, at least, were filled to a level; and entire ranges of mounds, the refuse of the quarries, blotted from the chart which my yesterday's walk left pictured in my mind (31).

Because he does not know the region, Heathcliff has to accompany him. Even then, the owner of the Heights only escorts him to the gate of the Grange, which means that he has to traverse the two miles between the gate and the house by himself. He sinks up to his neck in snow on the way, falls ill, and has to spend weeks in bed to recover. The account does not only prove the physical threat nature poses to human beings' health; the fact that Lockwood sinks up to his neck in snow in the controlled space of the park suggests that humankind's efforts to control nature are often futile. The novel thus problematises the distinction between the wilderness of uncultivated nature and controlled nature by suggesting that human beings cannot control nature, although they think themselves to have appropriated its space.

There are various instances in *Wuthering Heights* where characters have to put on clothes that will protect them against the physical force of the elements, or remove wet clothes to avoid falling ill. When Hindley banishes Heathcliff and Catherine from the sitting room, Heathcliff suggests he and Catherine 'appropriate the dairy woman's cloak, and have a scamper on the moors, under its shelter' (22). It may be that he suggests they take the cloak exactly because it will shield them against the elements, and that Catherine's decision to accompany him is

influenced by this. He returns to the Heights alone, and gets soaked out in the rain, since Catherine, who is still at the Grange, has the cloak. He tells Nelly that he will tell her what happened at the Grange once he has taken off his 'wet clothes' (47). He therefore realises the power of nature and its influence on his health. On the night he runs away, Catherine gets soaked out in the storm while searching for him. Nelly begs her to 'remove her wet things' (86) when she re-enters the house, but she does not, and falls ill. When Isabella leaves Heathcliff, she gets drenched on her way to the Grange, and tells Nelly that she will explain what has happened as soon as Nelly orders the carriage to take her to Gimmerton. Nelly says that 'I'll stir nowhere, and hear nothing, till you have removed every article of your clothes, and put on dry things' (172). When Isabella leaves the Grange, she bids Nelly to 'put on her bonnet, and a great shawl' (183), which will protect her against the elements. When Nelly accompanies Cathy to the Heights in late 1800 to visit the ill Linton, her feet are 'thoroughly wetted' (236), but, since they are at the Heights, and not at the Grange, where she now lives, she cannot put on dry clothes. She says that, '[a]s soon as I entered [the Grange], I hastened to change my soaked shoes, and stockings; but sitting such a while at the Heights had done the mischief. On the succeeding morning, I was laid up' (243). After Lockwood's 'sinking up to the neck in snow' (31) on his way back from the Heights, he puts on dry clothes, and paces 'to and fro thirty or forty minutes, to restore the animal heat' (32). He still falls ill, however.

The weather and its potentially fatal influence on the well-being of human beings often result in characters' reluctance to leave or desire to return to the shelter of their homes. On the day Hindley banishes Heathcliff and Catherine from the sitting room, Catherine writes in her diary that '[a]ll day had been flooding with rain; we could not go to church' (20). When Hindley is gone from home, and Heathcliff gives himself the day off because of it, Catherine says that 'Isabella and Edgar Linton talked of calling this afternoon', but adds that she hardly expects them, '[a]s it rains' (69). On the night Heathcliff runs away, Nelly tells Catherine that the 'approaching rain would be certain to bring him home' (85). Her claim recognises human beings' tendency not to want to be out in stormy weather. When Catherine is buried, Isabella tells Heathcliff that 'that's a poor love of yours, that cannot bear a shower of snow! [...] [T]he moment a blast of winter returns, you must run for shelter!' (178) She thus exploits the fact that he will fall ill if he stays out in the snow to get back at him for the way he has treated her. It is therefore possible to say that the physicality of nature in *Wuthering Heights* often confines characters to certain spaces, particularly their homes, thus imprisoning them. Nature thus possesses the power to lock humankind into spaces, and to regulate its actions, which

casts in doubt humankind's professed power over the natural environment. Moreover, the instances of imprisonment or confinement in the novel are, then, not restricted to the acts of people, but extend beyond the power of individuals and of society as a whole.

The romance forest is a threat not only because it is the antithesis of civilisation or because of its physical presence, but also because it is full of dangerous wild animals. When the enemies in the forest are not wild animals, they are 'typically pagans or atheists' (Putter 1995:22) or any other individual or group that fails to meet the standards of society, and that is therefore believed to challenge society's construction of itself as 'civilised', and cast into heterotopias of deviation, which, as I have said earlier, oppose the utopias presented to the members of society by those in positions of power. *Wuthering Heights* recreates the romance idea of wild animals in its portrayal of its characters in the sense that the characters are frequently compared to animals, and that their behaviour often reflects or is described in an animalistic context. Additionally, it modifies the wild animals of the forest by linking them to nineteenth-century discourses on race, physical pain, savages' purported imperviousness to pain, and antivivisection, which I have discussed in the introduction. The narrative's reworking of this earlier literary convention results in a complex exploration of the ways in which notions about civilisation, morality, race, and religion are interwoven and refashioned in nineteenth-century British thought.

Upon Heathcliff's arrival at the Heights, a clear distinction is made between his appearance and that of the other inhabitants of the Heights. Mr Earnshaw says that the child is 'as dark almost as if it came from the devil' (Brontë 2003:36). His reference to 'the devil' suggests a link between the child's appearance and immorality. Nelly reinforces Mr Earnshaw's distinction by calling Heathcliff a 'black-haired child' (36). The foundling is thus presented as a character whose appearance deviates from the norms of Gimmerton society, a community in which there are, presumably, no black-haired inhabitants, at least not before his arrival. These references may have been taken merely to imply that Heathcliff is swarthy, and to have no reference to nineteenth-century racial discourse, were it not for Hindley's, the Lintons', Nelly's, and Lockwood's comments about Heathcliff's appearance. Even before Hindley is sent to college, he refers to Heathcliff as a 'gipsy' (39). A Gypsy is 'a member of a people scattered throughout Europe and North America, who maintain a nomadic way of life in industrialized societies. They migrated from NW India from about the 9th century onwards' (Collins 2007). Gypsies, who led a nomadic existence, were regarded as a threat because they

were outsiders who did not form part of the established society, and probably because they were not white. The term ‘Gypsy’ refers not only to a specific people, but also to ‘the language of the Gypsies; Romany’ (Collins 2007), which is related to languages such as Hindi, Punjabi, Urdu, Gujarati, and Bengali. Nelly says that, when Heathcliff was first brought to the Heights, he ‘repeated over and over again some gibberish that nobody could understand’ (Brontë 2003:36-37). It may be that he had not yet learnt to speak properly, but that seems unlikely, since he was already six or seven years old. It seems more likely that the young Heathcliff’s ‘gibberish’ is, in fact, a language the inhabitants of the Gimmerton region do not understand. If Heathcliff initially speaks a different language, and if this language is spoken by one of the non-white communities in the Empire, from which, as we have seen, the English-speaking members of British society wanted to differentiate themselves by presenting non-whites as inferior to whites, then the foundling’s status as an outsider may be reinforced by his initially speaking a language that is not English and that is therefore seen as inferior to the language spoken in the society of the Gimmerton region.

The possibility of Heathcliff’s being part of one of the non-white races in the Empire is also suggested by Mr Linton’s comments about the boy’s appearance. When the Lintons’ dog has attacked Catherine, Robert, a servant of the Lintons’, tells Mr Linton that the dog has caught a girl, and that the boy with her, that is, Heathcliff, ‘looks an out-and-outer’ (49). This remark ties Heathcliff to the threat of criminality and to the idea of the lower classes as dangerous, which I have already mentioned. Mr Linton says that Heathcliff ‘is but a boy – yet, the villain scowls so plainly in his face, would it not be a kindness to the country to hang him at once, before he shows his nature in acts, as well as features?’ (50). His comment expands on Robert’s by linking criminality with dark features. The Lintons’ association of criminality with dark features, and their fear and exclusion of dark-featured characters such as Heathcliff, are perhaps suggested by the fact that all of them are fair-featured. As we have seen, a dark-haired, dark-eyed character such as Heathcliff would have been treated with distrust in a society that consisted predominantly of fair-featured people. Isabella tells Mr Linton to ‘[p]ut [Heathcliff] in the cellar.... He’s exactly like the son of the fortune-teller, that stole my tame pheasant’ (50). Since fortune-telling is often associated with Gypsies, Isabella’s comment may indicate her opinion of Heathcliff as a criminal non-white. Edgar identifies Catherine as ‘Miss Earnshaw’, and Mrs Linton is disturbed by the idea that Miss Earnshaw has been ‘scouring the country with a gipsy’ (50). In reaction to his wife’s shock at Hindley’s allowing Catherine to run around with a ‘gipsy’, Mr Linton says that it is ‘culpable carelessness’ in

Hindley to let her ‘grow up in absolute heathenism’ (50), which indicates an association between the criminal, non-white, and non-Christian. Mr Linton later declares that Heathcliff is ‘that strange acquisition my late neighbour made in his journey to Liverpool – a little Lascar, or an American or Spanish castaway’ (50). The terms ‘Lascar’, ‘American’ and ‘Spanish’ refer to different – socially constructed – racial groups. As I have already suggested in the introduction, it may be that various races are represented in the novel to avoid having to label Heathcliff as part of any one group, thus deliberately leaving his origins obscure. All the races Mr Linton mentions are non-white, though, which may indicate that Heathcliff, who is associated with the non-whites in the Empire, does not form part of the region’s inhabitants’ ideal of themselves as members of an exclusively white society. Mrs Linton maintains that Heathcliff is a ‘wicked boy’ (50), which ties in with her husband’s reference to heathenism, since non-Christians were often seen as depraved.

Nelly and Lockwood also comment on Heathcliff’s appearance. When Catherine returns to the Heights after her five-week stay at the Grange, she thinks Heathcliff dirty, and Nelly offers to help Heathcliff to wash and dress himself up so as to be presentable so that he can spend more time with Catherine. Once he is dressed up, Nelly tells him, whom she tries to convince to entertain noble notions of his birth so as to assuage his anger and frustration at being treated as inferior, that he is ‘fit for a prince in disguise. Who knows, but your father was Emperor of China, and your mother an Indian queen’ (58). Her mentioning Chinese and Indians ties in with Hindley’s and Mr Linton’s references to race. During his first visit to the Gimmerton region, Lockwood observes that Heathcliff is a ‘dark-skinned gypsy’ (5). His description is consistent with Hindley’s, Isabella’s, and Mrs Linton’s earlier comments.

Wuthering Heights thus combines and examines the association between the savage, criminal, non-white, and damned. Through Heathcliff, who tends to be associated with non-whites, and the other characters in the region, who may represent the ideal of an exclusively white society, the novel investigates nineteenth-century racial discourse. The association of Heathcliff with non-whites would most likely have had a more pronounced effect on nineteenth-century readers: if he is considered non-white, then they may have held certain notions regarding his character, most notably that he, as non-white, is more savage, and therefore less human, than the white Earnshaws and Lintons. His savage and violent behaviour may have been attributed to his uncivilised nature, and such behaviour may even have been expected of him, since those who were seen as subhuman were considered to behave like animals. The heterotopias

society assigns to those who deviate from the norm are thus conflated, and Heathcliff is cast into this newly generated space. Nineteenth-century anxieties regarding origins are not only seen in the character of Heathcliff, though: due to Catherine's association with and love for Heathcliff, she is also cast into this newly constructed space. Additionally, Lockwood asks Nelly about Cathy: he wants to know 'whether she be a native of the country, or, as is more probable, an exotic that the surly indigenae will not recognise for kin' (33-34). His comment indicates a bordered community's wish and tendency to exclude those whom it does not want to consider as part of its social identity.

The nineteenth-century British opposition between whites and non-whites is destabilised in *Wuthering Heights* through Linton: as we have seen, his father, Heathcliff, is linked to the non-whites in the Empire, while his mother, Isabella, is part of the white community of the Gimmerton region. Nineteenth-century readers' interpretation of Linton would most likely have been affected by the then relatively widespread discourses on the ideas of crossbreeding, and of the nature and supposed infertility of people of mixed race, which I have commented on in the introduction. It was believed, for example, that

[c]rossbreeding threatened to lower Caucasians, by degrees, towards their ape-like black cousins. Natural historians used crossbreeding as a key test.... If the offspring was always infertile, then it could be assumed that the parents were of different species.... This theory got truly strange in the work of extreme racists. Unwilling to contemplate the mixing of whites and blacks, they applied the argument to people. Charles White and Edward Long, for instance, argued that black people were a different species from whites, and claimed as evidence the supposed 'fact' that mixed-race people were infertile (Fulford, Lee & Kitson 2006:209-210).

Ultimately, the social construction of such notions about those of mixed race might have been driven by the fear of the conflation of the categories of whites and non-whites: if there were people of mixed race, who both were and were not white and non-white, then the opposition between whites and non-whites would have been destabilised, which would have made it even more difficult to perpetuate socially constructed differences to support the subjugation of the non-whites in the Empire and thus to ensure continued slave trade practices and colonial rule.

Brontë's novel does not only rework the threats linked to the romance forest by examining nineteenth-century racial discourse, however; it also adapts the wild animals of the forest by comparing its characters to animals, and by presenting the characters' conduct in animalistic

terms. The Earnshaws and Heathcliff are often associated with animals and the uncivilised, and this is observed in conversations between various characters in the novel and in critical discussions of the novel. When Heathcliff tells Nelly that the Lintons' dog attacked Catherine he says that '[s]he did not yell out – no! She would have scorned to do it, if she had been spitted on the horns of a mad cow' (Brontë 2003:49). It is possible to see Catherine's ferocity and apparent imperviousness to pain as indicative of her status as part of the untamed natural world that is thought to oppose civilisation. This depiction of her may also tie in with nineteenth-century theological debates in support of the appreciation of physical suffering as a result of and remedy for sin, and of physical pain as a form of spiritual purification, which I have discussed earlier. If the pain Catherine suffers – in this case because the dog bites her – is regarded as a result of and remedy for sin, then it may be that she suffers because she is immoral. She is then presented as both savage and immoral, which shows a tendency in the narrative and in nineteenth-century thought to cast the uncivilised and immoral into a single space. Through its representation of this, the novel problematises this link between savagery and immorality: non-whites and non-Christians, whom nineteenth-century Britain often regarded as savages, cannot be said to be immoral simply because they do not belong to British society and its idea of itself as a white, Christian society. However, if those in positions of authority wanted to maintain the idea of their social and racial superiority, which would have been a requirement to justify slave trade practices and continued British colonial rule, then the preservation of the notion of the inferiority and immorality of non-whites and non-Christians would have been necessary. The novel thus indicates that distinction between civilised and uncivilised communities, and the equation of civilisation with morality and of wilderness with immorality, are not about sophistication or morality, but about power.

Catherine does not cry out when the dog attacks her, but Heathcliff does: he tells Nelly that 'I vociferated curses enough to annihilate any fiend in Christendom, and I got a stone and thrust it between his jaws, and tried with all my might to cram it down his throat' (49). His attempt to kill an animal is seen once again when he suspends Isabella's Springer 'to a handkerchief' (129). According to nineteenth-century discourse, the infliction of pain on another is an act of self-brutalisation that reduces one to the level of the savage and criminal, as I have mentioned. The infliction of pain – and the self-brutalisation associated with it – is a prominent theme in *Wuthering Heights* that is not only evident in the representation of Heathcliff. On the day Edgar comes to visit and proposes to Catherine, she wants to be alone with him. As Nelly informs Lockwood, however, 'Hindley had given me directions to make a third party in any

private visits Linton chose to pay' (70), which is why she refuses to leave Catherine alone with the young man. Catherine, who is vexed by Nelly's presence, pinches her, seizes Hareton by his shoulders and shakes him, and slaps Edgar, who tries to grab hold of her hands. She is thus depicted as uncivilised, despite Nelly's calling her the 'queen of the country-side' (66), who is supposed to be civilised and morally superior. The distinction between Catherine as mistress and Nelly as servant is thus destabilised, since Catherine's behaviour towards the older woman may be seen to render Catherine uncivilised and immoral. When Hindley returns in a drunken state, he lifts Hareton over the bannister and drops him, and Heathcliff 'arrived underneath just at the critical moment; by a natural impulse, he arrested [Hareton's] descent' (75). Nelly tells Hindley that '[y]ou're worse than a heathen – treating your own flesh and blood in that manner!' (76) Hindley's nearly killing his own child, albeit while drunk, casts him into the space of savages who inflict pain on others. The ostensible stability of the dichotomy between the civilised and the uncivilised is cast in doubt by incidents such as Heathcliff's catching Hareton when Hindley drops the child over the bannister. Heathcliff is usually depicted as an immoral, criminal savage, yet he saves Hareton by a 'natural' impulse. The novel thus questions the opposition between savages and allegedly civilised gentlemen by depicting a 'savage' who saves another human being's life by a 'natural' impulse, as if such altruism is characteristic of savages, and a gentleman who nearly kills his own boy, which, in Nelly's opinion, is something even a brute would not do. The infliction of pain can also be seen when Heathcliff breaks into the Heights when Hindley and Isabella have locked him out on the day of Catherine's funeral, and nearly kills Hindley. He also confronts Isabella about her role in locking him out, and shakes her in much the same way Catherine shook the little Hareton by his shoulders. The next morning, Isabella tells Hindley that '[Heathcliff] trampled on, and kicked you, and dashed you on the ground.... And his mouth watered to tear you with his teeth; because, he's only half a man – not so much' (181). Her words indicate the socially constructed nineteenth-century ties between animals, savages, and the infliction of pain on others. Hareton, a parallel figure to Heathcliff, to an extent, is 'hanging a litter of puppies from a chair back in the doorway' when Isabella runs out of the Heights, and leaves the region. Through his similarities to Heathcliff, who also shows cruelty to animals, Hareton is also presented as a savage. It is, then, perhaps not surprising that Cathy later hits him with a whip, and then claims that she did it because she was afraid that he would 'murder' her (252).

It is, however, not only the Earnshaws and Heathcliff who are likened to animals, although many critics have argued in support of an opposition between the ostensibly unsophisticated

inhabitants of the Heights, and the supposedly refined occupants of the Grange. David Cecil claims, for example, that

[o]n the one hand, we have *Wuthering Heights*, the land of storm; high on the barren moorland, naked to the shock of the elements, the natural home of the Earnshaw family, fiery, untamed children of the storm. On the other, sheltered in the leafy valley below, stands Thrushcross Grange, the appropriate home of the children of calm, the gentle, passive, timid Lintons (Cecil 1935:102-103).

Such an oversimplification of the novel is problematic and inaccurate: the novel specifically presents dichotomies only to destabilise them, and claims in support of such definite divisions fail to take into account its representation of the collapse of the borders that separate different spaces. Heathcliff tells Nelly that, when he and Catherine looked into the drawing room of the Grange to see how the Linton children spent their evenings, they saw that

‘Edgar and his sister had [the room] entirely to themselves; shouldn’t they have been happy? [...] Isabella... lay screaming at the farther end of the room, shrieking as if witches were running red hot needles into her. Edgar stood on the hearth weeping silently, and in the middle of the table sat a little dog, shaking its paw and yelping, which, from their mutual accusations, we understood they had nearly pulled in two between them’ (Brontë 2003:48).

By injuring and nearly killing their dog, Edgar and Isabella come close to being cast into the space of the uncivilised and criminal, which shows the possibility of their being no different from the savage criminals they, as allegedly civilised human beings, try to exclude from their society.

The Lintons’ ability to act in an uncivilised way is seen not only in Edgar and Isabella’s fight over the dog, but also in Isabella’s behaviour during one of Heathcliff’s visits to the Grange in 1783, when Catherine restrains her, preventing her from leaving the room, and tells Heathcliff that Miss Linton is in love with him. According to Nelly, Heathcliff

stared hard at the object of discourse, as one might do at a strange repulsive animal.... The poor thing [that is, Isabella] couldn’t bear that; she grew white and red in rapid succession, and, while tears beaded her lashes, bent the strength of her small fingers to loosen the firm clutch of Catherine, and perceiving that, as fast as she raised one finger off her arm, another closed down, and she could not remove the whole together, she began to make use of her nails, and their sharpness presently ornamented the detainer’s with crescents of red (106).

Isabella’s clawing Catherine causes the latter to scream out that Isabella is a ‘tigress’ (106), and to set her free. When Isabella has run out of the room, Heathcliff asks Catherine what she

meant ‘by teasing the creature in that manner’ (106). Isabella’s clawing Catherine, along with Catherine’s use of animal imagery and Heathcliff’s referring to Isabella as a ‘creature’, indicates, yet again, that savagery lurks beneath the Lintons’ seemingly civilised exterior, and that any character can behave in a savage way. Isabella’s considering harming Heathcliff, by whom she is treated ill, may be seen in her reaction to the weapon Hindley shows her when she arrives at the Heights as Mrs Heathcliff. In her letter to Nelly, Isabella writes:

I surveyed the weapon inquisitively; a hideous notion struck me. How powerful I should be possessing such an instrument! I took it from his hand, and touched the blade. He looked astonished at the expression my face assumed during a brief second. It was not horror, it was covetousness (140).

Her apparent thoughts of harming, perhaps even murdering, Heathcliff all but cast her into the heterotopias of deviation attributed to criminals and savages.

The novel explores its characters’ ability to resort to savage behaviour in the face of adversity, even in the case of the ‘gentle, passive, timid Lintons’. Consequently, discussions of the novel that allow for the Lintons’ ability to act as savagely as the Earnshaws, and of the Earnshaws’ to act as civilly as the Lintons, are more in line with Brontë’s tendency to subvert oppositions. Derek Traversi supports the notion of the instability of the assumed polarity between the Lintons and the Earnshaws by claiming that, ‘[b]eneath the surface of refinement exhibited by the Lintons in their ancestral surroundings exist moral flaws which play a part of the utmost importance in the development of the tragedy’ (Traversi 1963:56-57). Claims that present the worlds of the Heights and the Grange as definite opposites run the risk of distorting the novel’s complex representation of oppositions, in which case much of its commentary on nature and society will be lost. The narrative blends the wilderness of nature and the animals connected to the romance forest into its portrayal of the space of civilisation, particularly of nineteenth-century society, thereby blurring the borders between nature and civilisation. It may consequently be said that, if supposedly civilised human beings are capable of savage behaviour, then the division between the civilised and the uncivilised might be nothing but a social creation, the aim of which is to allow those in positions of authority to retain their self-constructed superior position in their understanding of the hierarchy of the universe.

The world of *Wuthering Heights* and readers’ interpretation of it are not only partially shaped by the influence of medieval romance, but are also affected by the neoclassical or Augustan literature of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and by the literature that was

written in reaction to it, such as the Gothic and Romantic literature of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, '[h]uman beings, and especially human beings as an integral part of a social organization, were regarded as the primary subject matter of the major forms of *literature*' (Abrams 2005:184, italics in original). 'On the official side, the eighteenth century was the great era of rationalism and Enlightenment' (Punter 1996:23). These ideals were shaped by those in positions of authority, such as the leading writers, intellectuals, and philosophers of the time. Everyone did not agree with them, however; those who disagreed with the ideals constructed spaces of their own, and, '[i]n the reactions of writers and artists against the Enlightenment, and the growing emphasis on the individual, nature, the affective and the sublime, medievalism and romance narrative more generally played formative roles' (Saunders 2004:6). The emphasis on the individual, the sublime, and the affective is evident in the sentimental novels that became very popular in the second half of the eighteenth century. These novels 'emphasized the tearful distresses of the virtuous, either at their own sorrows or at those of their friends; some of them represented in addition a sensitivity to beauty or sublimity in natural phenomena which also expressed itself in tears' (Abrams 2005:292).

David Punter suggests that 'Gothic [literature] could not have come into being without a style of this kind, for it is in this style that we begin to glimpse the possibility of the balance and reason of the Enlightenment being crushed beneath the weight of feeling and passion' (Punter 1996:26). In the eighteenth century, the term 'Gothic' became

descriptive of things medieval – in fact, of all things preceding about the middle of the seventeenth century. Another connotation naturally accompanied this: if 'Gothic' meant to do with post-Roman barbarism and to do with the medieval world, it followed that it was a term which could be used in opposition to 'classical'. Where the classical was well-ordered, the Gothic was chaotic; where [the classical was] simple and pure, [the] Gothic was ornate and convoluted; [and] where the classics offered a set of cultural models to be followed, [the] Gothic represented excess and exaggeration, the product of the wild and the uncivilised.... Gothic stood for the old-fashioned as opposed to the modern; the barbaric as opposed to the civilised; crudity as opposed to elegance; old English barons as opposed to the cosmopolitan gentry; indeed, often for the English and provincial as opposed to the European or Frenchified. Gothic was the archaic, the pagan, that which was prior to, or was opposed to, or resisted the establishment of civilised values and a well-regulated society (5).

The Gothic tradition thus mirrors polarities such as those between nature and civilisation and between the forest and the court, which makes the connection between this tradition and some

aspects of *Wuthering Heights* even more evident. Brontë's novel presents the Augustan ideas of individuals as part of a social organisation, and of individuals' duty towards society, and reactions to these concepts. When Mrs Heathcliff arrives at the Heights in March 1784, she sends Nelly a letter in which she asks her to visit. Nelly pays the visit Isabella requests, and makes use of this opportunity to inform Heathcliff about Catherine's poor health. She tells Heathcliff that '[t]he person, who is compelled, of necessity, to be her companion, will only sustain his affection hereafter, by the remembrance of what she once was, by common humanity, and a sense of duty' (Brontë 2003:147). It is clear that Heathcliff does not share Nelly's Augustan sense of duty and humanity, as it is expressed in this instance, since he remarks that it is 'quite possible that [Edgar] should have nothing but common humanity, and a sense of duty to fall back upon. But do you imagine that I shall leave Catherine to his *duty* and *humanity*' (147, italics in original). Heathcliff, who opposes the Augustan ideals of duty and humanity, is associated with Gothic chaos, paganism, and savagery. The opposition between classical and Gothic, and Heathcliff's link to the Gothic, may have contributed to critics' identifying him as a source of social disruption. Furthermore, Nelly tells Lockwood that 'people who do their duty are always finally rewarded' (257), which implies that characters such as Heathcliff, who oppose the ideals characters such as Nelly and Edgar appear to espouse in certain cases, will not be rewarded, but punished. Moreover, the possibility of Heathcliff's being punished not only in life, but also in the afterlife by his being denied the rewards of heaven, connects the novel's drawing on Gothic paganism and savagery to its engagement with nineteenth-century preoccupations with hell and eternal damnation, which I will focus on in greater detail later on in my discussion.

The degree to which *Wuthering Heights* draws on Gothic motifs may also be seen in the text's portrayal and reworking of the Gothic depiction of storms to comment on nineteenth-century discourses. In his discussion of the sublime, Meyer Howard Abrams states that the

ability to achieve sublimity is in itself enough to prove the transcendent genius of a writer, and expresses the nobility of the writer's character. In the eighteenth century an important tendency in critical theory was to shift the application of the term, 'the sublime', from a quality of linguistic discourse that originates in the powers of a writer's mind, to a quality inherent in external objects, and above all in the scenes and occurrences of the natural world. Thus Edmund Burke's highly influential *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, published in 1757, attributes the source of the sublime to those things which are 'in any sort terrible' – that is, to whatever is 'fitted in any sort to excite the ideas of pain, and danger' – provided that the observer is in a situation of

safety from danger, and so is able to experience what would otherwise be a painful terror as a ‘delightful horror’ (Abrams 2005:316-317).

A connection was thus established in literature between the physical presence of the natural world and reflections about morality and the transcendent and divine, and writers presumably began increasingly to use nature imagery to depict and examine philosophical and theological questions in the light of these new preoccupations. Much eighteenth-century Gothic literature, in particular, draws on the aesthetics of the sublime. The storm on the night Heathcliff runs away may be significant as an example of the influence of the sublime on the shaping of the world of Brontë’s novel, and on the characters’ thoughts about morality: Nelly says that, at

[a]bout midnight, while we still sat up, the storm came rattling over the Heights in full fury. There was a violent wind, as well as thunder, and either one or the other split a tree off at the corner of the building; a huge bough fell across the roof, and knocked down a portion of the east chimney-stack, sending a clatter of stones and soot into the kitchen fire. We thought a bolt had fallen in the middle of us, and Joseph swung onto his knees, beseeching the Lord to remember the Patriarchs Noah and Lot; and, as in former times, spare the righteous, though he smote the ungodly. I felt some sentiment that it must be a judgment on us also. The Jonah, in my mind, was Mr [Hindley] Earnshaw (Brontë 2003:85).

The narrative illustrates not only nature’s ability to evoke fear and awe in the hearts of human beings, but also its capability of triggering considerations of morality and the life people can expect to lead in the afterworld. Both Joseph and Nelly regard the fury of the storm as a sign of divine judgement. Given the centrality of debates about hell and eternal punishment in nineteenth-century theological thought, the novel seems to modify the symbolic portrayal of nature as it is often seen in Gothic texts to depict and interrogate nineteenth-century debates about morality and divine reward or punishment.

It may be because of the association between storms in texts that draw on the theory of the sublime and the imagery often linked to such storms that many critics have read and presented the storms in Brontë’s novel as almost entirely symbolic; the influence of the sublime is seen in many studies of *Wuthering Heights*, particularly those that stem from the rise of New Criticism in the 1940s, and that stress the significance of the imagery in the text. The power of the symbolism in the novel is indisputable, but these studies may have led to notions about the novel that disregard or underestimate the physicality of the space of the world of the novel. It may be due to such studies, for example, that Sim claims that ‘*Wuthering Heights* evokes a strong sense of the presence of nature, but [that] very little of the action in the novel

occurs out of doors, and [that] there are very few literal descriptions of nature' (Sim 2004:38). Claims such as these are problematic because they focus on the symbolism in the novel but ignore the powerful physical qualities of nature the novel so meticulously portrays, and thus neglect to take into account the first component of Lefebvre's spatial triad, which, as I have mentioned, comprises physical or perceived space, and which cannot be separated from the other two components of the triad.

The influence of the aesthetics of the sublime was still a part of nineteenth-century thought. Sim mentions that

[i]n the context of prevailing aesthetic theories in Britain, [Emily] Brontë's adored moors... fell outside of the categories of the picturesque, sublime and beautiful. They were deemed to be a barren, ugly and inhospitable landscape that was therefore incapable of evoking valuable moral feelings (42).

It therefore appears that, in the context of the sublime, nature was mainly presented not as a physical force, but as an abstract concept that could be used to evoke thoughts about humanity and morality. The moors changed dramatically in the early nineteenth century because increased 'industrial developments disfigured these landscapes and displaced or disrupted existing rural communities' (44). The effect of such developments on the landscape would then have been noticeably physical, as opposed to symbolic. This change in the natural environment may have affected the views of the Brontë children, given the central position of nature in their upbringing: 'evidence exists of a normal boisterous childhood for the young Brontës, with lessons in the morning and romps on the moors in the afternoon' (Alexander & Smith 2003:88), and their 'lessons in natural history and art went hand in hand. Their copies of flowers were drawn not only from drawing manuals but also from botanical plates' (339). Emily Brontë's love for the moors is well documented; in her 'Editor's Preface to the New [1850] Edition of *Wuthering Heights*', Charlotte Brontë states, for example, that her sister 'did not describe as one whose eye and taste alone found pleasure in the prospect; her native hills were far more to her than a spectacle; they were what she lived in, and by, as much as the wild birds, their tenants, or as the heather, their produce' (Brontë 1850b:li). Consequently, it may be that Brontë's representation of the world of the novel may have been affected by the ideas evoked by the physical changes in the Yorkshire landscape, just as the transformation of the forests in the Middle Ages from wilderness to circumscribed parks resulted in the creation of the romance forest, which may imply a nineteenth-century influence in the text's portrayal of the environment that constitutes the Gimmerton region.

Besides the effects of the changing physical environment on the representation of the world of the novel, the narrative weakens the influence of the sublime in its depiction of nature by challenging at least one of the ideas commonly associated with the theory of the sublime: ‘for an object to be sublime and not simply terrifying, it must be sufficiently distant to intimate danger but not actually threaten’ (Sim 2004:39). Since Catherine falls ill as a result of having been out in the storm on the night Heathcliff runs away, and of having sat dressed in wet clothes all night, which implies that the storm poses an existential threat to her, the storm’s power may, instead, be linked to the depiction of the natural world as a physical force that threatens the existence of those who attempt to overcome it. Consequently, despite the power of the sublime, to which many discussions of the novel refer, the physical presence of the environment that is the Gimmerton region cannot be denied or ignored. Therefore, apart from problematising ideas such as ‘aesthetics’, ‘beauty’, and ‘morality’ by setting her novel in an environment that would usually have been seen as unable to evoke thoughts about the picturesque, humanity, and morality, Brontë partially undercuts the symbolic meaning of the inclement weather in the text by stressing the distinctly physical power and consequences of such weather.

It is possible that the influence of earlier literary conventions – whether classical, medieval, Augustan, Gothic or Romantic – on the world of *Wuthering Heights* has contributed to the seemingly rather commonly held notion that the novel neglects to explore nineteenth-century social issues – a notion that is incorrect. Nestor’s claim that the region is temporally apart, which I have quoted earlier, may be supported by the hostler’s comments to Lockwood during his second visit to the region in September 1802. Lockwood writes that

[t]he hostler, at a roadside public-house, was holding a pail of water to refresh my horses, when a cart of very green oats, newly reaped, passed by, and he remarked – ‘Yon’s frough Gimmerton, nah! They’re allas three wick after other folk wi’ ther harvest’ (Brontë 2003:305).

However, the hostler merely states that life in the Gimmerton region is three weeks behind or slower than, not removed from, that in other villages. Any understanding of the world of the novel as atemporal is thus inaccurate. In addition, Lockwood asks Nelly about Heathcliff’s transformation; he asks if Heathcliff managed to ‘escape to America, and earn honours by drawing blood from his foster country’ (92). Heathcliff runs away in 1780 and returns in 1783. The War of American Independence or the American Revolution is the

conflict following the revolt of the North American colonies against British rule, particularly on the issue of taxation. Hostilities began in 1775 when British and American forces clashed at Lexington and Concord. Articles of Confederation agreed in the Continental Congress in 1777 provided for a confederacy to be known as the United States of America. The war was effectively ended with the surrender of the British at Yorktown in 1781 and peace was signed at Paris in Sept 1783 (Collins 2007).

Lockwood's asking if Heathcliff ran off to America and Nelly's allowing for it as a possibility tie in with the occurrence of the American Revolution. Heathcliff runs off in 1780, while the war is ongoing, and returns in 1783, the year in which peace is signed. Although his actions are unknown, Lockwood's question proves that the Gimmerton region is not removed from international relations. The inhabitants of the region, though removed from urban centres such as London, are aware of what goes on beyond the region's borders, and are firmly located in a specific time. It may even be because of the novel's being set mainly in the second half of the eighteenth century that some critics doubt its engagement with nineteenth-century social concerns. My investigation of the influence of earlier literary conventions on readers' interpretation of the world of the novel has shown, however, that the novel does not simply repeat the ideas contained in earlier traditions, but specifically incorporates them to depict and investigate nineteenth-century social concerns. Additionally, many well-known and critically acclaimed mid-nineteenth-century novels, such as Dickens's *A Tale of Two Cities*, are set in earlier periods. As Michael Wheeler claims, '[t]he reformist drive... [that is] evident in the social-problem novel [of the mid-nineteenth century] and the broader vision of Dickens's major social novels, is often complemented by an attempt to place the changes of the present in the context of the historical past' (Wheeler 1985:33). The well-established eighteenth-century setting of *Wuthering Heights* thus cannot be used to substantiate the claim that the world of the novel is removed from nineteenth-century Britain and its concerns.

The novel is set not only in a particular time, but also in a specific location. Brontë's decision to locate the Gimmerton region in Yorkshire is revealed through numerous detailed references in the novel to plants, climate, the region's relation to other towns or countries, and the dialect spoken by Joseph and Hareton. These references cast in doubt the conception of the world of the novel as vague and dreamlike, and indicate a physicality that defies a purely symbolic understanding of that world. Mr Earnshaw says that he will walk to Liverpool and back, 'sixty miles each way' (Brontë 2003:36), which is more or less the same distance as that between Liverpool and Haworth, the West Yorkshire town in which the Brontës lived. If the imagined

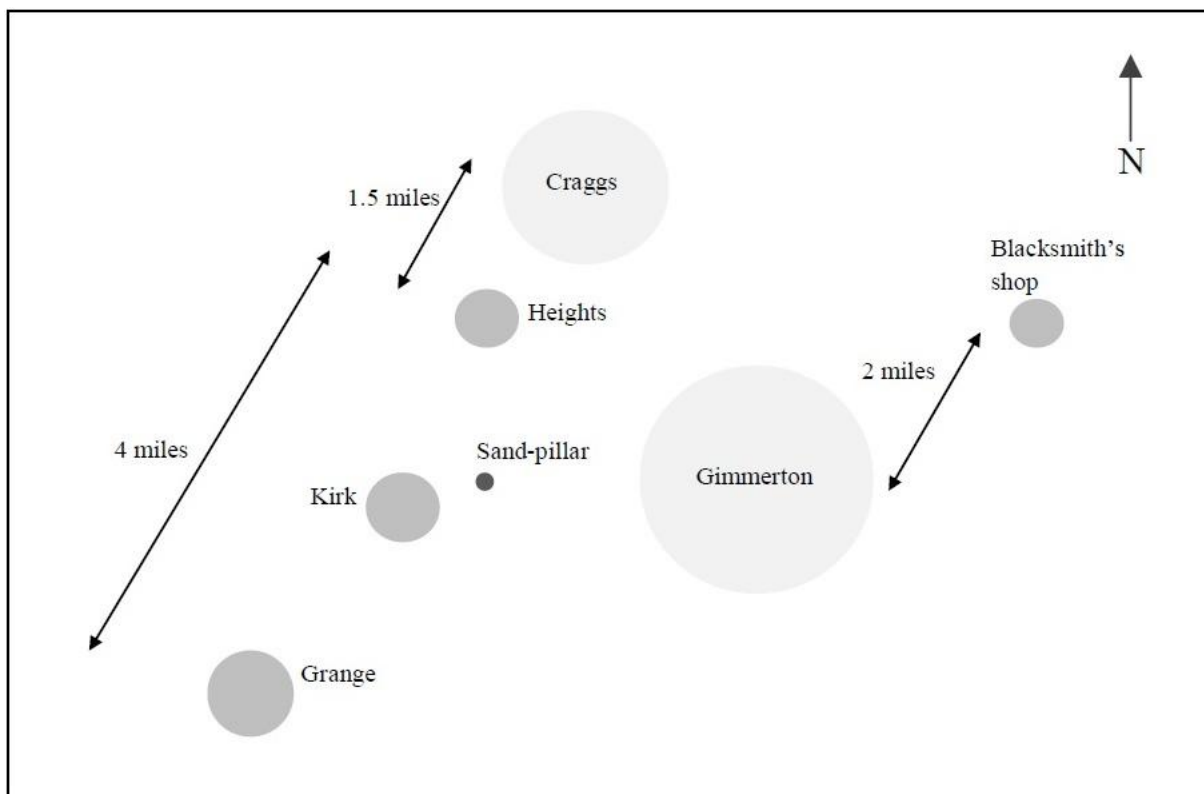
Gimmerton is based on an actual town, then the world of the novel cannot be vague or dreamlike, regardless of its being fictitious. Isabella abandons Heathcliff, and settles ‘in the south, near London’ (183). Linton lives with Isabella until her death, after which Edgar goes to get him. When Nelly takes Linton to his father at the Heights, he asks why he has never seen his father before, and the housekeeper replies that ‘three hundred miles is a great distance’ (206). If Brontë located the Gimmerton region in West Yorkshire, if Isabella lived south of London, and if the roads at the time required travellers to travel to the region south of London in a roundabout way, then Heathcliff may have had to travel almost three hundred miles to get to Isabella’s home. While it is impossible to give the exact location of an imagined space such as the Gimmerton region, the distances given in the narrative indicate a link between the imagined setting and the actual space on which it is based.

The novel’s descriptions of space are not limited to the location of the Gimmerton region in the larger space of England; the characters’ descriptions of the area provide a clear picture of the location of the sites in the region and the distances between them. When Heathcliff returns to the region in 1783, Nelly goes to tell Catherine that she has a visitor, and finds Edgar and Catherine sitting

in a window whose lattice lay back against the wall, and displayed beyond the garden trees and the wild green park, the valley of Gimmerton, with a long line of mist winding nearly to its top (for very soon after you pass the chapel... the sough that runs from the marshes joins a beck which follows the bend of the glen) (94).

According to Nelly’s statement, the chapel or kirk lies between the Grange and the Heights. During her final illness, Catherine says that ‘[i]t’s a rough journey’ from the Grange to the Heights, and that ‘we must pass by Gimmerton Kirk, to go that journey’ (126), confirming Nelly’s earlier statement. After Heathcliff’s return, Nelly walks past the Heights on one of her trips to Gimmerton because she is worried about the situation at the Heights, since Hindley’s drinking and gambling have put him under Heathcliff’s power. She comes ‘to a stone where the highway branches off on to the moor at your left hand; a rough sand-pillar, with the letters W.H. cut on its north side, on the east, G., and on the south-west, T.G. It serves as guide-post to the Grange, and Heights, and village’ (108). Mary, one of the servants at the Grange, tells Edgar that Isabella and Heathcliff eloped; she ‘met on the road a lad that fetches milk here... [who told her] how a gentleman and lady had stopped to have a horse’s shoe fastened at a blacksmith’s shop, two miles out of Gimmerton’ (132). Cathy wants to visit the Penistone Craggs. Nelly mentions that ‘[t]he Craggs lie about a mile and a half beyond Mr Heathcliff’s

place, and that is four from the Grange' (193). Based on the characters' comments, the sites in the region, and the distances between them, can, more or less, be illustrated as follows:



Since a widespread view maintained that the Yorkshire moors were a 'barren, ugly and inhospitable landscape that was therefore incapable of evoking valuable moral feelings' (Sim 2004:42), the novel's setting would probably have encountered some opposition on aesthetic grounds: such a landscape might not have met the requirements of an appropriate setting for a novel, and, as a location that was seen to be unable to evoke moral feelings, might have been thought to evoke savage and immoral thoughts instead. Such a possibility may partly underlie early critics' objection to the novel's supposed 'rejection of conventional morality' (Miller 2003:viii), to which I have already referred in the introduction. However, as Sim suggests,

Brontë seeks to overturn the general, and in some cases, universalist frameworks integral to eighteenth-century aesthetic theory and interrogate the consequences of positing general standards of taste. She does this... by considering diverse responses to the same space of nature in the novel so as to reveal the ways in which that one space can assume different aesthetic, moral and existential significance for different subjects (Sim 2004:42).

Brontë therefore seems deliberately to set her novel in the purportedly barren, ugly, and inhospitable landscape to examine contrasting responses to a single instance of space, and to indicate that the general perception and conception of a particular space are often shaped by

those in positions of authority, whose power enables them to determine the dominant spaces in society, and to regulate society's responses to certain ideas and ideals. Her investigation of various responses to a single space can be seen in the narrative structure of her novel. The narrative is presented in the form of a diary. It begins with the diary of Lockwood, a Londoner who comes to the Gimmerton region as the Grange's new tenant. When he visits the Heights, he discovers and reads Catherine's diary. Her narrative is thus revealed. What is written in her diary is contained within Lockwood's narrative, which means that her narrative is revealed through his. When Lockwood falls ill, Nelly tells him about the region and its inhabitants, and her narrative is included in his diary, which thus forms another narrative in his. Nelly reads the recovering Lockwood a letter Isabella sent after her arrival at the Heights. The letter constitutes Isabella's narrative, which is also contained in Lockwood's. Although three of the narratives are contained in Lockwood's, the novel has four narrators, that is, Lockwood, Catherine, Nelly, and Isabella, each with his or her own view of the natural environment, the events, and the (other) characters in the novel.

Lockwood comments on the society of the Gimmerton region from an outsider's perspective. The novel begins with his description of the area since the spatial differentiation he conveys between London, an urban centre, and the rural community of the Gimmerton region makes it possible partially to determine the identity of the region and its inhabitants. It is thus by exploring what the area and its inhabitants are *not* that it is possible to determine what they *are*. Gimmerton is, for example, not as densely populated as an urban centre such as London: when Catherine falls ill after Heathcliff has run away, the doctor tends to her, then leaves directly because, as Nelly says, 'he had enough to do in the parish where two or three miles was the ordinary distance between cottage and cottage' (Brontë 2003:88). While ill, Lockwood expresses his frustration at the area's 'bleak winds, and bitter, northern skies, and impassable roads, and dilatory country surgeons' (91). His comment specifically reveals his frustration at being attended to by 'country' surgeons, whom he thinks inferior to those in towns. As a Londoner, he is used to the activity in urban centres, and is unacquainted with the isolation of a rural community such as that of the Gimmerton region. However, the region can only be regarded as remote if it is considered in relation to an urban centre such as London. It is just as exposed to the elements as any other area, which means that its being geographically remote does not refer to its location in the space of nature, but to its relative location to urban centres, which are held to represent civilisation, and are therefore considered superior. Lockwood says that the region is removed from the 'stir' of society (3), and tells Heathcliff

that 'it is strange how custom can mould our tastes and ideas; many could not imagine the existence of happiness in a life of such complete exile from the world' (13). His comment about the region's 'exile from the world' may have promoted the idea about the world of the novel as socially apart, but it seems more likely that it implies that his 'world' differs from that of the Gimmerton region, since what constitutes his world, that is, an urban centre, is not what constitutes the world of a rural society. The distinction he makes between his world and the world of the rural area is shown when he tells Nelly that 'people in these regions... live more in earnest, more in themselves, and less in surface change, and frivolous external things' (62). Nelly, who is 'somewhat puzzled' at his speech, responds by saying that 'we are the same as anywhere else, when you get to know us' (63). The workings of society are therefore just as evident and significant in rural communities as in urban centres, and as applicable to the world of the novel as they are to that of any other text.

Consequently, Nestor's assertion that 'even the life of the nearest village, Gimmerton, seems remote, unknown and only sketchily reported' (Nestor 2002:xix), which I have already quoted in the introduction, seems debatable. There are several instances in the novel that indicate the significant influence of the goings-on in the village on the characters' lives. After Mr Earnshaw's death, for example, Joseph asks Nelly to run to the village to get the doctor and parson. Mary is sent to the village on an errand, and it is because of talk in the village that she comes to know about Isabella's elopement. Nelly tries to prevent Cathy from sending Linton a letter, but eventually '[t]he letter was finished and forwarded to its destination by a milkfetcher who came from the village' (Brontë 2003:224). The great distances between the cottages in the district aside, the fact that the servants in the novel can walk to and from the village, and that the actions of the inhabitants of the village affect the characters' lives, proves that the village cannot be said to be unusually 'remote'.

The novel's engagement with the issues of nineteenth-century British society can be seen not only in its depiction of the natural environment and time in which it is set, but also in its exploration of the social practice of spatial differentiation in relation to the dissimilarities between the members of nineteenth-century British society. Spatial differentiation does not only involve the exclusion of those beyond the borders of a society through constructions such as that which distinguishes between whites and non-whites; it also includes society's purging itself of those aspects or people it does not wish to retain as part of its identity. It can therefore be seen as an effort to create standardised society members, since such homogeneity

is frequently believed to indicate how that society differs from those beyond its borders. Whether societies ever succeed entirely in creating such uniformity is debatable, however. The structure of nineteenth-century Britain, which, as I have discussed earlier, distinguished between upper, middle, and lower classes – with further distinctions within these broad categories – would have made such an ideal difficult to maintain. The novel depicts the nineteenth-century preoccupation with class, and the anxieties and conflict that resulted from the rise of the middle classes, and from the distress of the lower classes because of the Napoleonic Wars and industrialisation.

After Catherine is attacked by the dog, she stays at the Grange for five weeks. Heathcliff tells Nelly that Miss Earnshaw is at the Grange, and that ‘I would have been there too, but they had not the manners to ask me to stay’ (47). He says that Catherine ‘was a young lady and [the Lintons] made a distinction between her treatment and mine’ (51). Catherine is presented as a ‘lady’ who is not only part of the civilised world, but also part of the privileged upper and middle classes. After her return to the Heights, she writes in her diary that Hindley ‘has been blaming our father... for treating H. too liberally; and swears he will reduce him to his right place’ (22). The division between her and Heathcliff, introduced by the remarks about Heathcliff’s features and origins, is thus reinforced by Hindley’s separating them on the basis of social class. When Edgar and Isabella visit the Heights on Christmas Day 1777, Edgar says that Heathcliff’s hair is ‘like a colt’s mane over his eyes’ (59). He thereby links Heathcliff’s appearance to an animal’s and to that of the uncivilised and the lower-class, emphasising the division between himself and Heathcliff, and indicating that his social position is superior to that of Heathcliff, whom Hindley has reduced to the level of a servant. It may be because of his being treated as inferior, and because of the division that it has caused between himself and Catherine, that Heathcliff then hits Edgar with a tureen full of hot apple sauce.

Catherine also finds it difficult to deal with the social division between herself and Heathcliff. By 1780, when she is fifteen years old, she is, according to Nelly,

the queen of the country-side; she had no peer.... Catherine had kept up her acquaintance with the Lintons since her five weeks’ residence among them; and as she had no temptation to show her rough side in their company, and had the sense to be ashamed of being rude where she experienced such invariable courtesy, she imposed unwittingly on the old lady and gentleman, by her ingenious cordiality; gained the admiration of Isabella, and the heart and soul of her brother [Edgar] – acquisitions that flattered her from the first, for she was full of ambition – and led

her to adopt a double character without exactly intending to deceive anyone. In the place where she heard Heathcliff termed a 'vulgar young ruffian', and 'worse than a brute', she took care not to act like him; but at home she had small inclination to practise politeness that would only be laughed at, and restrain an unruly nature when it would bring her neither credit, nor praise (66-67).

The Lintons, who are socially superior to the Earnshaws and Heathcliff, see Heathcliff, whose origins are unknown, and whom, as we have seen, they associate with the purportedly savage, criminal, and immoral non-whites in the Empire, as a 'ruffian' and a 'brute', and object to his company. It is then because of the Lintons' objection to the boy, because of her desire not to show her 'rough side' in the Lintons' company, and because of her 'ambition', that Catherine takes care 'not to act like him' when she visits the Grange. When she is at the Heights or with Heathcliff, though, her behaviour is different, since she does not have to suppress her 'rough side' then; in fact, such an effort will only be 'laughed at'. Therefore, as Nelly mentions, she adopts a 'double character', although she does this 'without exactly intending to deceive anyone'. She realises, perhaps, that she will have to adopt both the behaviour expected of her when she is with the Lintons, and that expected of her when she is at the Heights, if she wants to retain the friendship of the Lintons and of Heathcliff. It therefore seems that it is, at least partly, because of Edgar and Heathcliff's social inequality that Catherine will have to keep her friends apart if she wants to retain the friendship of both. The significance of social inequality in Catherine's understanding of the conflict between Edgar and Heathcliff is confirmed when Heathcliff returns to the region after his three-year absence, and she thinks that he and Edgar can be friends now that he is as well-educated and well-dressed a gentleman as Edgar.

The fact that the conflict between them continues proves that the matter is more complex than she believes, however. Edgar still thinks Heathcliff inferior, which may suggest that, although it might have been possible for a person such as Heathcliff to rise to a superior social position, class distinctions were often so ingrained that others' perception of that person would remain unchanged. It may be because Catherine eventually realises that the fixity of class distinctions will prevent Edgar and Heathcliff from becoming friends that she starves herself; it is, after all, after the fight that ends in Edgar's banishing Heathcliff from the Grange that she tells Nelly that

'Heathcliff's talk was outrageous.... Had Edgar never gathered our conversation, he would never have been the worse for it. Really, when he opened on me in that unreasonable tone of displeasure, after I had scolded Heathcliff till I was hoarse for *him*, I did not care, hardly, what they did to each other, especially as I felt that,

however the scene closed, we should all be driven asunder for nobody knows how long!' (116, italics in original)

When Heathcliff gains ownership of the Heights, and the power Hindley formerly possessed, he turns Hareton into a brute, as Hindley did to him. The degradation of Hareton results in a division between himself and Linton and Cathy. The division between Edgar, Catherine, and Heathcliff is echoed, to an extent, by that between Linton, Cathy, and Hareton. However, the second generation's interactions are not copies of the first's, and the differences between them add to the novel's examination of nineteenth-century society. When Cathy meets Hareton, she does not believe him to be her cousin; according to Nelly, Cathy tells Hareton that Edgar 'is gone to fetch my cousin from London – my cousin is a gentleman's son', and weeps, apparently 'upset at the bare notion of relationship with such a clown' as Hareton (196). Nelly tells Cathy that 'people can have many cousins and of all sorts... without being any the worse for it; only they needn't keep their company, if they be disagreeable, and bad' (196). When Edgar has to surrender Linton to Heathcliff's care, he instructs Nelly not to tell Cathy where Linton has gone, since they will 'have no influence over his destiny, good or bad', and Cathy 'cannot associate with him hereafter' (204). While Edgar appears to encourage social division, and to support the exclusion of those who deviate from social standards, Nelly's comment is more ambiguous: she seems to suggest that there is nothing wrong with having inferior relatives, and that they should be avoided only 'if they be disagreeable, and bad'. However, what makes people disagreeable or bad is a highly questionable matter. The lower classes, non-whites, and non-Christians are often associated – in the novel and in nineteenth-century discourses – with the notions of the uncivilised, criminal, and immoral, which means that, if relatives who fall into these categories should be avoided, then Nelly's comment, which is an attempt to reconcile Cathy and her socially inferior – hence presumably unsophisticated, criminal, and degenerate – cousin, may be insincere. Conversely, her remark could be read as implying that one needs to look beyond the surface of class identities.

The artificiality of social division is further revealed when Heathcliff subverts the opposition between the supposedly valuable, civilised upper and middle classes, and the allegedly less valuable, uncivilised lower classes. Heathcliff tells Edgar that 'I'm mortally sorry that you are not worth knocking down' (114). He seems to think Edgar inferior, despite the latter's superior social position. Additionally, Heathcliff tells Nelly that Hareton

‘has satisfied my expectations – If he were a born fool I should not enjoy it half so much. . . . Don’t you think Hindley would be proud of his son, if he could see him? almost as proud as I am of mine – But there’s this difference, one is gold put to the use of paving stones; and the other is tin polished to ape a service of silver – *Mine* has nothing valuable about it; yet I shall have the merit of making it go as far as such poor stuff can go. *His* had first-rate qualities, and they are lost – rendered worse than unavailing’ (219, italics in original).

Heathcliff thus thinks that, despite Linton’s superior social position, he is inferior to Hareton. This problematises the notion that social rank indicates social worth. Edgar and Linton, whose positions are superior to Heathcliff’s and Hareton’s, would usually be thought more valuable, but Heathcliff’s comment indicates that he does not believe this. It appears that his conception of worth is based on a different set of criteria, that is, that his notions about social worth are not based on that of a system that distinguishes between valued upper classes, less valuable middle classes, and insignificant lower classes. However, he turns himself into a gentleman in spite of his presumably not sharing the contemporary notions of worth. It may be that he has internalised these value judgements despite ostensibly opposing them. It seems more likely, though, that his transformation is tied to the power that such a change grants him. He runs away when he overhears Catherine say that she cannot marry him because it would ‘degrade’ (81) her. If he becomes a gentleman, then he may have a better chance at securing her hand in marriage. Moreover, he wants to pay Hindley and the Lintons back for the way they have treated him, and he can do so by gaining power through exploiting the industrialist system and the opportunities it presents.

Although the three-tier structure of nineteenth-century British society may be regarded as an artificial construction of those in positions of power, its effect on the members of society was by no means merely theoretical or conceptual: as Ingham mentions, ‘[t]he class to which an individual belonged determined many aspects of life including housing, health, and diet’ (Ingham 2006:46). In addition, social class affected an individual’s clothing, education, and choice of spouse. If the influence of the artificially generated social system, which may be linked to the conceived spaces that form part of the second component of Lefebvre’s spatial triad, is directly related to society members’ experience of the space of society, which falls within the lived spaces of the third part of the triad, then the second and third components of the triad may be regarded as interconnected. In the first half of the nineteenth century, many of the lower orders had little food, since Britain had to contend with the financial burden and the suffering imposed on it by its participation in the Napoleonic Wars, by the Wars’

aftermath, which lasted well into the mid-nineteenth century, and by the difficulties presented by the then recently founded industrialist system. The time in which the novel is set – that is, the second half of the eighteenth century and the first two years of the nineteenth century – mostly predates the Wars and their aftermath, but, as I have mentioned earlier, many mid-nineteenth-century novels are set in the historic past, and I have argued that Brontë’s novel includes nineteenth-century social concerns in its portrayal of the region’s inhabitants. The shortage of food and the fear of its being wasted are reflected in the comments of some of the servants in *Wuthering Heights*, particularly in those of Joseph. An awareness of food shortage is reflected in the Heights’ servants’ interactions with and remarks about Isabella and Linton. On the night Isabella arrives at the Heights, she wants to do the cooking. She cannot cook, however, and later admits that her cooking was a ‘rough mess’ (Brontë 2003:141). Her taking over the cooking duties upsets Joseph because she cannot cook, and thus spoils what little food they have. She does not want to have dinner with Joseph and Hareton, partly because she finds their company disagreeable, and partly because she is disturbed by Hareton’s drinking the milk from the jug. When Joseph cannot find her a room in which she can have her dinner, she becomes so annoyed that she flings her ‘tray and its contents on the ground’ (143). Joseph, who is outraged, exclaims:

‘Weel done, Miss Cathy! weel done, Miss Cathy! Hahsiver, t’ maister sall just tum’le o’er them brocken pots; un’ then we’s hear summut; we’s hear hah it’s tuh be. Goooid-fur-nowt madling! yah desarve pining froo this tuh Churstmas, flinging t’ precious gifts uh God under fooit i’ yer flaysome rages!’ (143)

Joseph’s referring to the ‘precious gifts uh God’ indicates the value of food. His referring to Isabella as ‘Miss Cathy’ suggests a parallel between her and Catherine, at least in his opinion; a parallel that may be based on the fact that the women’s social positions are superior to his. The parallel between Catherine and Isabella also implies that Isabella may be as haughty and strong-willed as Catherine, which casts in doubt arguments that present her as Catherine’s opposite. It also raises the question whether Catherine is really as haughty as Nelly presents her to be or if those of superior social rank are not merely perceived as such by those in inferior social positions.

Joseph’s interactions with Isabella regarding food are mirrored in his interactions with Linton. When Linton arrives at the Heights, Joseph brings him ‘a basin of milk-porridge’ (209), which the young man says he cannot eat. Joseph whispers to him: ‘But Maister Hareton nivir ate nowt else, when he wer a little un: und what wer gooid enough fur him’s gooid enough fur

yah' (209). Hareton and Linton are not part of the same social class, however, and the novel thus illustrates that the different classes ate different kinds of food. Joseph complains to Heathcliff when Linton does not want to eat the milk porridge, and says that Linton 'says he cannut ate 'em.... His mother were just soa – we wer a'most too mucky tuh sow t' corn for makking her breed' (209). Joseph's comment links Isabella and Linton in the novel's exploration of the connection between diet and social position, and also links Linton to the superior positions of Catherine and Isabella, and to the haughtiness the servants associate with them. Joseph is not the only servant to complain about Linton's diet; according to the housekeeper whom Zillah later replaces, Linton 'must always have sweets and dainties, and always milk, milk for ever – heeding naught how the rest of us are pinched in winter' (212). Her comment not only shows that there is a food shortage among the lower classes, but also proves Linton's selfish habit of eating what and as much as he wants, regardless of whether the others have enough.

Wuthering Heights also reflects the connection between social status and clothing. Nelly tells Lockwood that, during Catherine's five-week stay at the Grange, Frances

visited her often... and commenced her plan of reform by trying to raise her self-respect with fine clothes and flattery, which she took readily: so that, instead of a wild, hatless little savage jumping into the house, and rushing to squeeze us all breathless, there lighted from a handsome black pony a very dignified person, with brown ringlets falling from the cover of a feathered beaver, and a long cloth habit which she was obliged to hold up with both hands that she might sail in (53).

Nelly regards Catherine's wearing 'fine' clothes, such as a 'feathered beaver, and a long cloth habit', as an improvement that reflects the girl's breaking out of the space of savages who do not wear hats, and entering the space of the superior 'civilised'. She then compares the change in Catherine's appearance to that in Heathcliff's: she tells Lockwood that

[i]f he were careless, and uncared for, before Catherine's absence, he had been ten times more so, since. Nobody but I even did him the kindness to call him a dirty boy, and bid him wash himself, once a week.... Therefore, not to mention his clothes, which had seen three months' service in mire and dust, and his thick uncombed hair, the surface of his face and hands was dismally beclouded (54).

Heathcliff's increasingly dirty and unkempt appearance may be seen to oppose Catherine's improved appearance, and as such reflects his sinking in the social hierarchy. His gradual sinking to the level of the lower classes also includes his becoming increasingly associated

with ideas nineteenth-century society often ascribed to the uncivilised, criminal, and immoral, who were held to occupy inferior social positions.

When Isabella meets Hareton upon her arrival at the Heights, she describes him as ‘a ruffianly child, strong in limb, and dirty in garb’ (137). Nelly comments on his clothing when she finds Cathy, who fled the Grange to visit the Craggs, at the Heights; she says that he is ‘attired in garments befitting his daily occupations of working on the farm, and lounging among the moors after rabbits and game’ (196). Her comment establishes a difference between the kind of clothing required by the professions assigned to the upper, middle, and lower classes, respectively. When Lockwood first visits the region, he begins to doubt

whether [Hareton] were a servant or not; his dress and speech were both rude, entirely devoid of the superiority observable in [Heathcliff and Cathy, whom he assumes to be] Mr and Mrs Heathcliff; his thick, brown curls were rough and uncultivated, his whiskers encroached bearishly over his cheeks, and his hands were embrowned like those of a common labourer: still his bearing was free, almost haughty, and he showed none of a domestic’s assiduity in attending on the lady of the house (11-12).

Lockwood’s assumption that Hareton is one of the servants at the Heights, which is based on what he sees as the young man’s ‘rude’ or unsophisticated dress and speech, while the young man is, in fact, the only surviving Earnshaw heir, problematises those assumptions about social status and character that are based on appearance.

Social class also played an important role in education. Hindley’s depriving Heathcliff of an education possibly alludes to and displays the novel’s examination of the nineteenth-century preoccupation with education. Heathcliff’s lack of an education reflects his becoming socially inferior, which indicates that a lack of education inevitably involved a sinking in the social hierarchy of nineteenth-century Britain. When Heathcliff confronts Catherine about the little time she has been spending with him, she tells him that it is ‘no company at all, when people know nothing and say nothing’ (70). She has presumably been spending more time with the Lintons because they, as educated people, can provide her with more interesting conversation. Catherine’s preferring the Lintons’ company to Heathcliff’s shows that different levels of education can result in social division. It is, as I have already indicated, precisely because of such division and the privileges presented by education that the now wealthier middle classes wanted to give their children a proper education, and that so many schools were established in the nineteenth century. If people’s being considered ‘civilised’ was indeed determined by

their level of education and hard work, however, as the concept of social mobility suggests, then Heathcliff should have been treated as a gentleman by the region's inhabitants after his return. The fact that he is still treated as inferior by characters such as Edgar and Nelly even when he has acquired an education and a fortune of his own proves that the link between civilisation and education is a social construct that bears little truth. Furthermore, Heathcliff's education does not improve the majority of the region's inhabitants' opinion of him, which suggests that the links between the concepts of education, civilisation, and social mobility are not about people's education as such, but about the power relations between the dominating well-educated ruling-class men, and the subjugated illiterate members of the lower orders in the social structure of nineteenth-century Britain.

Presumably aware of the importance of education, Edgar 'took [Cathy's] education entirely on himself, and made it an amusement' (189). When Isabella writes to Edgar to say that she is dying, she expresses the hope that her son 'might be left with him, as he had been with her; his father, she would fain convince herself, had no desire to assume the burden of [Linton's] maintenance or education' (191). She thus appears to fear that, if Linton were to live with Heathcliff, he would not receive the education he will need to secure himself a position in the educated, privileged classes. Heathcliff does provide Linton with an education, however: he engages a tutor 'to come three times a week, from twenty miles distance, to teach him what he pleases to learn', if only because he wants to see '*my descendant fairly lord of [the Lintons'] estates; my child hiring their children, to till their fathers' lands for wages*' (208, italics in original). He thus provides Linton with an education because of his awareness of the power it would give his son.

Hareton's illiteracy creates conflict between him and the educated Cathy and Linton. Cathy asks Linton if Hareton is 'not right', given 'I've questioned him twice now [about the inscription above the door], and each time he looked so stupid I think he does not understand me; I can hardly understand *him*' (220, italics in original). Linton, who laughs at Hareton, says to him: 'My cousin fancies you are an idiot.... There you experience the consequence of scorning "book-larning", as you would say' (220). Linton's remark suggests that those who are illiterate are also idiots. When Hareton is later tutored by Cathy, however, he manages to acquire the education that was once denied him, which proves that his earlier illiteracy is not related to his supposed inability to think and learn, but simply to the privileges he did not

enjoy then. The connection Linton's remark establishes between literacy and intelligence is, then, specious.

Linton then asks Cathy if she has noticed Hareton's 'frightful Yorkshire pronunciation' (220). His comment links education and pronunciation, and presents a distinction between the dialect spoken in rural areas such as Yorkshire, and that spoken in urban centres such as London, which are regarded as superior. Language, then, does not only indicate a level of education, but also acts as a common denominator in the formation of social identity, as I have also stated earlier in my discussion of Heathcliff's initially speaking a language that is not English. Cathy and Linton are joined and cast into the space of the socially superior because they speak the same dialect, the dialect that is seen as superior by those who construct the dominant spaces in society. The notion of the language of the Lintons as superior to Joseph's and Hareton's is destabilised, however, by Joseph's reaction to Isabella's speech when she arrives at the Heights; he screws up his nose and asks: 'Did iver Christian body hear owt like [her speech]' (137). From his point of view, Isabella is the one who speaks a dialect he does not understand, and he considers her language with contempt.

Individuals' choice of spouse was also affected by their social position. The reaction to Hindley's marriage to Frances reflects nineteenth-century British society's obsession with the connection between social position and the eligibility of suitors. According to Nelly, Hindley's returning to the Heights with a wife he had married in secret, was a

thing that amazed us, and set the neighbours gossiping right and left.... What she was, and where she was born, he never informed us; probably, she had neither money nor name to recommend her, or he would scarcely have kept the union from his father (45).

Catherine's difficulties in choosing between Edgar and Heathcliff are frequently referred to in considerations of the novel; many more recent discussions offer psychoanalytical insights into Catherine's narcissistic qualities, her inability to choose between her two suitors, and her desire to retain the love of both. Valuable as this information is, it often appears to ignore the influence of social expectations on Catherine's choice. In her conversation with Nelly, Catherine mentions that Edgar 'will be rich, and I shall like to be the greatest woman of the neighbourhood, and I shall be proud of having such a husband' (78). Her comment demonstrates a desire for social improvement through marriage to a man of superior social status. The overpowering influence of social status on her choice of husband is revealed when

she marries Edgar even though she says that ‘I’ve no more business to marry Edgar Linton than I have to be in heaven; and if the wicked man in there [that is, Hindley] had not brought Heathcliff so low, I shouldn’t have thought of it. It would degrade me to marry Heathcliff, now’ (p.81). She falls ill after Heathcliff has run away, and stays at the Grange to recover, and by the time she returns to the Heights, she is haughtier than ever. Nelly tells Lockwood that Hindley did not object to his sister’s behaviour, and was

rather *too* indulgent in humoring her caprices; not from affection, but from pride; he wished earnestly to see her bring honour to the family by an alliance with the Lintons, and, as long as she let him alone, she might trample us like slaves for ought [sic] he cared (89, italics in original).

The expectation that Catherine marry a socially superior man such as Edgar is thus reinforced by Hindley’s desire to have her bring honour to the family. Her choice of husband is therefore a choice that she does not make entirely by herself: the workings of society, which are shaped by the interaction between the conceived and lived components of Lefebvre’s spatial triad, are as influential as, if not more so than, her own desires. In deciding to marry Edgar, she betrays Heathcliff and her love for him, but meets the social norms Hindley fails to meet by marrying Frances. Her and Heathcliff’s separation cannot be attributed only to her decision to marry Edgar, or purely to her inability to choose between Edgar and Heathcliff; her decision to marry Edgar is not the reason for the division between her and Heathcliff, but a result of the distinction that is made between Heathcliff and the other inhabitants of the region from the moment he arrives at the Heights.

The eligibility of spouses is seen again when Isabella falls in love with Heathcliff. Edgar is troubled when his sister evinces a

sudden and irresistible attraction towards the tolerated guest.... Leaving aside the degradation of an alliance with a nameless man, and the possible fact that his property, in default of heirs male, might pass into such a one’s power, he had sense to comprehend Heathcliff’s disposition – to know that, though his exterior was altered, his mind was unchangeable, and unchanged (101).

Heathcliff is a ‘nameless man’, so it would degrade someone like Isabella, who has a superior social position, to marry him. If Nelly’s comment accurately reflects his fears, then Edgar is also troubled by the fact that, in default of male heirs, his sister’s marrying Heathcliff will result in the Lintons’ losing their property and power to a nameless man. Apart from these aspects, Nelly states that Edgar grasps ‘Heathcliff’s disposition’. It may be that Edgar knows

about Heathcliff's hatred of the Lintons, and suspects that he does not wish to marry Isabella because he loves her, but because it will grant him an opportunity to harm the Lintons. Edgar and Isabella have

an hour's interview, during which he tried to elicit from her some sentiment of proper horror for Heathcliff's advances; but he could make nothing of her evasive replies, and was obliged to close the examination, unsatisfactorily; adding, however, a solemn warning, that if she were so insane as to encourage that worthless suitor, it would dissolve all bonds of relationship between herself and him (118-119).

When Edgar finds out about his sister's elopement, he tells Nelly to '[t]rouble me no more about her – Hereafter she is only my sister in name; not because I disown her, but because she has disowned me' (132-133). The novel consequently shows that an individual's decision to marry someone of whom the family disapproved could result in his or her being disowned. The significance of the struggle Catherine had to endure in sacrificing her love for Heathcliff in favour of a socially acceptable match thus becomes clearer. Although Isabella elopes with Heathcliff, she comes to regret her decision, however; she tells Heathcliff that

'if poor Catherine had trusted you, and assumed the ridiculous, contemptible, degrading title of Mrs Heathcliff, she would soon have presented a similar picture! *She* wouldn't have borne your abominable behaviour quietly; her detestation and disgust must have found voice' (182, italics in original).

The implication, then, seems to be that Edgar and Isabella ultimately have similar views of marriage, despite her marrying Heathcliff; and their similar views may partially be why they later succeed in establishing a regular correspondence, and why he rushes to her deathbed.

The connection between a superior social position and a more suitable spouse is also revealed in Heathcliff's desire to have Linton and Cathy marry each other. He remarks that Edgar's 'chit has no expectations, and should she second my wishes, she'll be provided for, at once, as joint successor with Linton' (215). In his attempt to gain possession of the Grange, he thus exploits Edgar's awareness of the fact that Linton is the most eligible match for his daughter; that, if Cathy does not marry Linton, then she will have to marry below her station. Heathcliff does not fear complications from Hareton's side, since he thinks Hareton 'safe from [Cathy's] love' (217). He probably bases his supposition about Cathy's choosing between Linton and Hareton on Catherine's choosing between him and Edgar, and assumes that Cathy will make the same choice as her mother, considering the powerful influence of social expectations on

this choice. During his first visit to the region, Lockwood assumes that Cathy and Hareton are married; it flashes upon him that '[t]he clown at my elbow, who is drinking his tea out of a basin, and eating his bread with unwashed hands, may be her husband.... Here is the consequence of being buried alive: she has thrown herself away upon that boor, from sheer ignorance that better individuals existed!' (13) He therefore objects to the possibility of a relationship between Cathy and Hareton on the grounds of Hareton's assumed social inferiority. However, upon his return to the region, he finds Hareton a 'young man, respectably dressed, and seated at a table, having a book before him' (307). He now seems not to object to Cathy's love for Hareton, since the young man is well dressed and being taught by Cathy, which implies that he will ultimately not only have the good name provided by his being the last surviving Earnshaw, but will also be respectably dressed and well educated.

Thus far, I have focused on the alleged power of humankind over nature, and on society's role in the shaping of divisions between and in different communities. All these aspects assume a relationship between the natural world and humankind that is characterised by the interactions between two contrasting and seemingly equally powerful forces: as I have illustrated so far, society has the power to manipulate and exploit the natural world to appropriate and shape spaces in which it can then exist, while nature is capable of imprisoning, governing, and even killing human beings. Whether the concepts of nature and civilisation are really locked in such a power struggle is questionable, however. Lefebvre claims that 'nature is resistant, and infinite in its depth, but [that] it has been defeated, and now waits only for its ultimate voidance and destruction' at the hands of humankind (Lefebvre 1991:31). Brontë's novel seems not to reflect Lefebvre's notion that society's production of space will result in the destruction of nature, however. The Brontë children used to scamper on the moors in the afternoon, and

[o]n one such occasion in 1824, when Branwell, Emily, and Anne were out walking with the servant Sarah Gars... they experienced a dramatic storm and eruption of bog on the moor behind the Parsonage at Crow Hill. Fortunately, they were warned in time to reach safety and witness the spectacular natural event: a 7-foot-high torrent of mud, peat, and water that swept down the valley towards Ponden where they sheltered. The event no doubt provided the young Emily with an early experience of the power of nature (Alexander & Smith 2003:88).

Christine Alexander and Margaret Smith assert that '[n]ature for Emily was a mysterious and powerful force, dominating life with unremitting will' (339-340). If the suggestion about Brontë's view of nature is accepted, then her perspective ties in with Lefebvre's idea of nature

as ‘resistant, and infinite in its depth’. There are instances in the novel, however, that imply that civilisation is not as powerful as it would like to believe itself to be, and that the natural world will eventually reclaim the spaces society has appropriated, and obliterate civilisation. Catherine’s grave, for example, ‘was dug on a green slope, in a corner of the kirkyard, where the wall is so low that heath and bilberry plants have climbed over it from the moor; and peat mould almost buries it’ (Brontë 2003:170). The wall, which forms a border between the kirkyard and the moors, is so low that plants can grow over it. The boundary between the civilised and the natural thus becomes increasingly vague, since the wall society has constructed cannot keep nature at bay, and the grave, which represents the space of society, is reclaimed by nature. After Edgar’s death, Heathcliff comes to the Grange to take Cathy back to the Heights. He walks into ‘the same room into which he had been ushered, as a guest, eighteen years before: the same moon shone through the window; and the same autumn landscape lay outside’ (286). While much has changed in society, nature appears not to have changed at all. When Lockwood returns to the region and has spoken to Nelly at the Heights, his walk back to the Grange

was lengthened by a diversion in the direction of the kirk. When beneath its walls, I perceived decay had made progress, even in seven months – many a window showed black gaps deprived of glass; and slates jugged off, here and there, beyond the right line of the roof, to be gradually worked off in coming autumn storms (337).

The structures humankind has constructed are in danger of being demolished, and the spaces allocated to them of being repossessed, by nature. Frank Goodridge asserts that the ‘workings [of nature in the novel] are beyond good and evil in the social and moral sense’ (Goodridge 1964:76). The representation in the text of nature’s reclaiming the spaces of the graves and the kirk seems to suggest that social existence is brief and meaningless compared to the larger cycles of nature; that, while civilisation and social life are temporal and changing, nature is permanent and unchanging. The possibility of nature’s destroying the buildings humankind constructs, of its reclaiming the spaces humankind believes itself to have appropriated, and of its ultimately obliterating the signs of humankind’s existence, casts in doubt the stability of the idea of space as constructed by society or civilisation, as nature will, seemingly, continue to exist even when there are no longer any people who can generate, define, and alter the spaces conceptions such as ‘nature’ and ‘civilisation’ are considered to represent.

Chapter 2: Power relations within the domestic sphere

A society's space does not merely involve its interacting with and separating itself from other communities and the ways in which its members relate to one another in a larger public environment such as the three-tier social system of nineteenth-century Britain; it also comprises the relations between the various inhabitants of the numerous instances of domestic spaces within the larger sphere of social life, as I have indicated earlier. I will, therefore, now turn my attention to domestic spaces in Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*, namely the Grange and the Heights, the two most prominent houses in the Gimmerton region. As we have seen, many readings of the novel hold that the Grange and the Heights are opposites, and rely on this conception to present them as symbolic of the purportedly contrasting natures of the Lintons and the Earnshaws. As I have mentioned, Cecil asserts that the inhabitants of the Heights, the Earnshaws, are 'children of the storm', and that the occupants of the Grange, the Lintons, are 'children of calm' (Cecil 1935:102-103). Comments such as his seem to be connected to the noticeable differences in the houses' physical spaces or locations, and seem to be accurate, since the main narrators in the novel, that is, Lockwood and Nelly, distinguish between the houses in this way. Lockwood writes that 'Wuthering Heights is the name of Mr Heathcliff's dwelling, "Wuthering" being a significant provincial adjective, descriptive of the atmospheric tumult to which its station is exposed in stormy weather' (Brontë 2003:4). Nelly emphasises the houses' divergent locations when she tells Linton, whom she has to take to his father at the Heights, and who asks if the 'Heights [is] as pleasant a place as Thrushcross Grange', that '[i]t is not so buried in trees... and it is not quite so large, but you can see the country beautifully, all round; and the air is healthier for you' (205). The narrators' descriptions can easily be held to present the Heights and its inhabitants as closer to uncultivated nature and the wilderness and evil associated with it, and the Grange as closer to the sophistication and morality that are linked to an area that is shielded against the elements and that is therefore connected to controlled nature.

The novel seems to suggest a dichotomy between the houses not only through its depiction of their contrasting locations, but also through its references to their dissimilar appearances. Lockwood describes the Heights' appearance in his diary; he writes that its

narrow windows are deeply set in the wall, and the corners defended with large jutting stones. Before passing the threshold, I paused to admire a quantity of grotesque carving lavished over the front, and especially about the principal door,

above which, among a wilderness of crumbling griffins, and shameless little boys, I detected the date '1500,' and the name 'Hareton Earnshaw.' (4)

The imposing structure, with its 'narrow windows [that are] deeply set in the wall, and the corners [that are] defended with large jutting stones', resembles an old castle. Its resembling an *old* castle does not lie in its appearance only: the date above its principal door, '1500', indicates that it was built more than three centuries before Lockwood first visits the region in November 1801. Given that 'Gothic novelists set their stories in a remote past thought to be superstitious and emotional, and in physical settings ominously associated with oppression, such as castles, prisons, [and] dungeons' (Alexander & Smith 2003:222), the link between the Gothic convention and the depiction of the Heights is obvious. It may, then, be because of this connection that Sim suggests that

[t]he narrow windows suggest the Heights' concealment from the outside world and its prison-like nature for many of those contained within it at various stages in the narrative.... The 'grotesque carvings' which mark the 'threshold' of Heathcliff's 'dwelling', presents [sic] the Heights as a liminal gothic space that alters those who cross its threshold. Upon entering the Heights characters are infected with an endemic form of emotional excess and violence that is linked to ideas of nature and the primitive (Sim 2004:34).

The 'wilderness' of griffons and the 'shameless' boys Lockwood mentions do seem to imply something crude and immoral about the place. When Nelly takes Linton to the Heights, she says that he 'will, perhaps, think the building old and dark, at first' (Brontë 2003:205), and her reference to its darkness may suggest a quality of evil to it. Based on her and Lockwood's comments, the Heights, an old, imposing building that would not seem odd in any eighteenth-century Gothic text, may be regarded as a Gothic space that is old, crude, chaotic, pagan, and immoral, all of which qualities are associated with the Gothic, and are directly opposed to the attributes connected to the classical, as I have said earlier. If the Heights is such a space, then the Earnshaws may be considered violent, unsophisticated, and immoral. When Heathcliff and Catherine run to the Grange to see what the Linton children's life is like, they catch a glimpse of its drawing room; the boy later tells Nelly that the room is 'a splendid place carpeted with crimson, and crimson-covered chairs and tables, and a pure white ceiling bordered by gold, a shower of glass-drops hanging in silver chains from the centre, and shimmering with little soft tapers' (48). It may thus be that the Grange, with its elegance and style, is a classical, non-Gothic space that is tied to the cultured, civilised, well-ordered, and moral, and that the Lintons, contrary to the Earnshaws, are cultured, civilised, and socially and morally superior.

However, despite the apparent influence of Gothic fiction on the novel's description of the households and therefore on readers' understanding of this aspect of the novel, it is doubtful whether its portrayal of the houses relies solely on the polarity between Gothic and classical spaces. Such a distinction that is based on the houses' appearances alone is destabilised, for example, by Isabella's description of Hindley's room: she writes that, from

the superior quality of its furniture, I conjectured [it] to be the best one. There was a carpet, a good one; but the pattern was obliterated by dust; a fire-place hung with cut paper dropping to pieces; a handsome oak-bedstead with ample crimson curtains of rather expensive material, and modern make. But they had evidently experienced rough usage: the valances hung in festoons, wrenched from their rings, and the iron rod supporting them was bent in an arc, on one side, causing the drapery to trail upon the floor. The chairs were also damaged, many of them severely; and deep indentations deformed the panels of the walls (142).

Undoubtedly, the furniture of the Heights does not quite match that of the Grange in quality. However, Isabella, a Linton herself, writes that the carpet in Hindley's room is 'good', the bedstead 'handsome', and the 'modern' curtains of 'rather expensive material', which implies that the furniture in his bedroom, at least, is not inferior to that of the Grange. Although the furniture has deteriorated in quality or is damaged, perhaps because the master damaged it in his state of despair at Frances's death or because his cruel behaviour has made most of the servants leave, which means that there is no one left who can clean the rooms, its derelict condition hardly seems to indicate a lack of wealth and sophistication.

The notion of a Gothic opposition between the Earnshaws and the Lintons, the inhabitants of the Heights and the Grange, respectively, is not only subverted by Isabella's comments about Hindley's room, which seems once to have mirrored the wealth and luxury that are reflected by the superior furniture in the drawing room of the Grange; it is also questioned by the notion that an individual such as Hindley, by the power he holds in society, can control, affect, and alter the space he owns. This kind of power is not only seen in Hindley; it is also evident in Heathcliff's effect on the Heights once he comes to possess it. Due to individuals' role in the shaping and reshaping of the spaces they control, statements such as Traversi's that 'Wuthering Heights clearly reflects the character of Heathcliff, who owns it' and that 'we might, indeed, call Heathcliff its human incarnation' (Traversi 1963:56) are problematic: the house is owned by various men throughout the narrative and cannot be compared to only one of them. Claims such as these seem to neglect to consider that it is only after Hindley's death in 1784 that Heathcliff becomes the owner of the house, which means that the house was built

by and belonged to the Earnshaws for almost three centuries. Consequently, its appearance cannot be ascribed solely to the character of Heathcliff, who only lives in the house from mid-1771, when he first arrives in the region, until his death in May 1802, excluding his three-year absence from mid-1780 until September 1783. They also seem to rely on a general assessment of the spaces in the narrative that fails to reflect the novel's depiction of society as being in a constant state of flux, or to present one character's portrayal of these spaces as a truthful and complete reflection of the region and the people who live in it.

What becomes increasingly clear in my analysis of the houses in the novel is that they change when new inhabitants enter them, when their inhabitants die or when someone inherits them. Therefore, instead of considering the houses as contrasting spaces, it seems more valuable to regard them as unfixed spaces that are shaped and remodelled not by Earnshaws or Lintons in general terms or by a single character in the novel, but by the various individuals who occupy or own them. Discussions that accept and present the houses as symbolic of the characters of the Lintons or the Earnshaws in general, or as representative of the nature of a single character in the novel, run the risk of reducing complex characters and the interactions between them to mere symbols, and of neglecting to consider the novel's description of the instability of space and borders, and its investigation of the ways in which those in positions of power govern the spaces they appropriate or inherit. A chronological exploration of the changes in the Heights and the Grange may allow for a more comprehensive analysis of the changes wrought in these spaces by new inhabitants, death, and inheritance. It will involve an investigation not only of the individuals who own the houses, but also of the relationships between the individuals who occupy them and, therefore, an examination of the changes in the families who occupy these spaces.

Although many discussions of the novel claim that the tale begins with Heathcliff's arrival at the Heights, this is incorrect: Nelly's narrative starts with a description of the Heights and its inhabitants before then. She mentions she 'was almost always at Wuthering Heights; because my mother had nursed Mr Hindley... and I got used to playing with the children' (Brontë 2003:35). If she, the daughter of a nursemaid, who forms part of the lower orders, has 'got used to playing with the children', then she may see Hindley and Catherine Earnshaw, who are socially superior to her, as playmates. She also says that, on a 'fine summer morning' in 1771, Mr Earnshaw,

the old master, came down stairs, dressed for a journey; and... turned to Hindley, and Cathy, and me – for I sat eating my porridge with them – and he said, speaking to his son, ‘Now, my bonny man, I’m going to Liverpool to-day... What shall I bring you? You may choose what you like; only let it be little, for I shall walk there and back; sixty miles each way, that is a long spell!’ Hindley named a fiddle, and then he asked Miss Cathy... and she chose a whip. He did not forget me, for he had a kind heart, though he was rather severe, sometimes (36).

The implication seems to be that she, who eats with the Earnshaw children, interacts with and sees them almost as equals, and that Mr Earnshaw’s asking her what gift she would like suggests his reluctance to differentiate in this instance between upper and lower classes and between those who are family and those who are not. This has a significant effect on the way Nelly sees and relates to the family. She chooses, for example, to remain at the Heights when all the other servants, except Joseph, leave, since they cannot stand Hindley’s authoritarian conduct. She fears that no one else will take good care of Hareton, and ‘had not the heart to leave my charge; and besides, you know, I had been [Hindley’s] foster sister, and excused his behaviour more readily than a stranger would’ (66). It seems that she is not as easily daunted by his cruelty as the majority of the other servants, since she, who refers to herself as his ‘foster sister’, that is, as part of his family, feels a sense of duty towards and a connection to him. Her association with the family may seem insignificant, but it affects her depiction of the other characters. She says, for example, that Mr Earnshaw can be ‘rather severe, sometimes’, which may indicate a despotic quality to the way he governs the Heights and its occupants. If he is domineering even before Heathcliff’s arrival, which is often presented as the cause of discord in the family, then it is possible that the foundling’s being brought to the Heights does not cause but only aggravates the conflict that is already present.

The master’s absolute control over the domestic space is questioned, however, by his offering to bring Nelly a gift, presumably because he has a ‘kind heart’: in treating a servant as he does his own children, he fails to preserve the social distinctions between upper and lower classes and between those who are family and those who are not. If his kind-heartedness can disrupt socially constructed borders, which is something nineteenth-century ruling-class men feared, since it was mostly likely believed to pose a threat to their continued social superiority, then the implication seems to be that he, like other nineteenth-century ruling-class men, can only uphold his superior position in society by acting unkindly towards and thus mistreating or excluding his inferiors. However, the idea of a ruling-class man’s mistreating a child in such a

way as to retain his superior social position challenges one of the core late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century conceptions of the child:

[t]owards the end of the eighteenth century, a new major *persona* began to appear in English literature. The child, hitherto of relatively little interest to the artistic vision, began increasingly to assume the status of a symbol of something very important in current thought.... [The notion of] the child of innocence and purity, Wordsworth's child whose 'birth is but a sleep and a forgetting' and who enters the world still 'trailing clouds of glory'... marked a radical movement away from the Church's Augustinian doctrine of 'original sin' – under which the child was seen as part and parcel of a flawed humanity – towards a new meliorist view of man in society.... [I]f the cult of childhood was a bastion of defence for Victorians afraid of the future, it was also, in its connection with the Romantic Movement, part of a willingness in individuals to commit... to the social good (Prentis 1988:13, italics in original).

Mr Earnshaw's kindness towards Nelly, who, according to Kenneth, was born in the same year as Hindley, ties in well with this 'cult of childhood' and the idea that individuals could improve society by helping children, but it does not correspond to what was expected of nineteenth-century patriarchs, since his kind deed undermines his superior position in society. It is possible that, by exploring the conflict between ruling-class men's desire to keep their position of power and the conception of individuals' desire or willingness to improve society by being kind to children, the novel aims to portray difficulties ruling-class men experienced in maintaining their superior social position, and questions the acceptability of their control over spaces they consider inferior and have therefore pushed to the peripheries of social life.

The apparent incompatibility of kindness with the ruling classes' control over the spaces they own is highlighted when Mr Earnshaw returns from Liverpool with a boy who is presumed to be an orphan. He claims that he found the child

starving, and houseless, and as good as dumb in the streets of Liverpool where he picked it up and inquired for its owner – Not a soul knew to whom it belonged... and his money and time, being both limited, he thought it better to take it home with him, at once, than run into vain expenses there; because he was determined he would not leave it as he found it (Brontë 2003:37).

His decision to bring the boy home with him seems to derive from a sense of humanity and a desire to improve society. This idea is reinforced when he later punishes Nelly, who puts the child 'on the landing of the stairs, hoping it might be gone on the morrow', by sending her out of the house for her 'inhumanity' (37). Whether he succeeds in protecting his family against

the lower-class Nelly and the outside force that is Heathcliff is doubtful. Nelly maintains that the boy the patriarch adopts causes conflict in the family; she mentions that the master

took to Heathcliff strangely, believing all he said... and petting him up far above Cathy, who was too mischievous and wayward for a favourite. So, from the very beginning, he bred bad feeling in the house; and at Mrs Earnshaw's death, which happened in less than two years after, the young master had learnt to regard his father as an oppressor rather than a friend, and Heathcliff as a usurper of his parent's affections, and his privileges (38).

Her claim that Heathcliff breeds 'bad feeling' in the house is unconvincing: she, like Hindley, appears to attribute the disharmony between Hindley and his father and between Hindley and Heathcliff to the foundling's usurping Mr Earnshaw's affection, but, if the master takes to Heathcliff as 'strangely' as she claims, and pets him up 'above Cathy', then it is possible that Hindley's bitterness is caused not by Heathcliff's but by the father's conduct. Nelly's opinion of Heathcliff as the cause of conflict in the family is also rendered unpersuasive by the fact that, at least at first, the conflict in the family cannot be blamed on a six- or seven-year-old boy who does not choose to come to but is brought to the Heights by the head of the family. It may be that the servant, who appears to consider herself part of the family, and who assumes a position to which she is not entitled, may be mistaken in her claim that the boy's history is a 'cuckoo's' (35). Heathcliff can, strictly speaking, only be called a cuckoo if he came to stay at the Heights as a result of his or his parents' actions. Furthermore, he does not call himself 'Heathcliff': the Earnshaws, probably Mr Earnshaw himself, gives the boy 'the name of a son who died in childhood' (38). Heathcliff's arrival appears not to comment on his own character as much as it does on that of Mr Earnshaw, but it seems that Nelly, who dislikes Heathcliff, and who considers herself Hindley's friend and foster sister, is more willing to blame the disagreeable situation at the Heights on an outsider whom she dislikes than she is to acknowledge her own share in the discord or to consider the possibility that the master, whom she describes as kind, and of whom she seems to approve, fails to defend the Heights against internal and external threats, and thus causes the chaos he is expected to prevent.

Richard Dellamora also draws attention to Mr Earnshaw's role in causing the conflict in the family: he claims that

more disturbing than the introduction of the foundling is Earnshaw's subsequent behavior. He uses the newcomer as a means of teasing his wife and two children. The result is unhappiness and internal dissension. Within two years, Earnshaw's wife dies embittered. Earnshaw's behavior also damages the foundling. Instead of

clarifying his status within the household, Earnshaw indulges the child without giving him a secure place either emotionally or legally. Within a few days, he arranges to have the boy baptized as Heathcliff, “the name of a son who died in childhood”.... But Earnshaw does not formally adopt the boy or give him his or another surname. Instead he turns Heathcliff into a phantasmatic substitute for a previously preferred but lost son. The boy functions as both a favored son and the cuckoo in the nest that the rest of the household can scarcely avoid regarding him as (Dellamora 2007:537-538).

There are aspects in Dellamora’s comments that are problematic, however: to say that the father uses Heathcliff as a means of ‘teasing’ his wife and children is extreme, since it implies an excessive cruelty that seems irreconcilable with Nelly’s description of the kind-hearted, albeit sometimes severe, patriarch who seems genuinely to regard the foundling as a ‘gift of God’ (Brontë 2003:36). While it is likely that the master chose to call the child ‘Heathcliff’, Nelly does not know whose decision it was to name him that, since she was banished from the house at the time the naming takes place. Dellamora may be correct in stating that the patriarch causes conflict by not ‘giving [the foundling] a secure place either emotionally or legally’: if he had given the child a proper place in the family, then inhabitants such as Hindley and Nelly might have accepted the child as family instead of continuing to see him as an outsider. However, saying that the ‘rest of the household’ regards the child as a ‘cuckoo in the nest’ is inaccurate: while it is true that most of the inhabitants dislike Heathcliff, there is one whose life becomes so entwined with his that being separated from him causes her anguish: Catherine.

The conflict at the Heights cannot be ascribed to the acts of men only, however; the domestic sphere is traditionally assigned to women, and the women in the family also play a significant role in creating or exacerbating the conflict. Mrs Earnshaw’s reaction to and comments about Heathcliff’s being brought to the Heights may reflect something about the position of women in the larger public space of society and in the more personal space of the family: she asks her husband ‘how he could fashion to bring that gipsy brat into the house, when they had their own bairns to feed, and fend for’ (37). Her objection to the child may be taken to reflect and engage with the nineteenth-century expectation that women stay at home and take care of and educate their children; it reveals her concern about the well-being of her children, whom she may not be able to take care of as well as she is expected to if she has to look after someone else’s child, too. Nelly does not say much about the mother; she only says that the mistress ‘never put in a word on [Heathcliff’s] behalf, when she saw him wronged’ (38). It is therefore possible that Heathcliff’s being or becoming, in Nelly’s opinion, ‘a sullen, patient child’ who

is ‘hardened, perhaps, to ill-treatment’ (38) is partly due to the mother’s failure to perform some of the duties assigned to her: it may be because of her failure to protect Heathcliff, who is now assigned to her care, that the boy has to endure ill-treatment. Since ‘[t]his endurance made old [Mr] Earnshaw furious’ (38), the tension between Hindley and Mr Earnshaw and between Heathcliff and Hindley may partially be due to the woman’s inaction or negligence.

Mrs Earnshaw dies two years after Heathcliff’s arrival. Although Dellamora claims she dies ‘embittered’, the circumstances regarding her death are not revealed. Yet, these circumstances are perhaps not as important as her death itself: Carolyn Dever mentions that, ‘[f]rom the implications of maternal death in the Gothic novel, the mother is constructed as an emblem of the safety, unity, and order that existed before the very dangerous chaos of the child’s Gothic plot’ (Dever 1998:24). Nelly’s saying that, ‘at Mrs Earnshaw’s death... the young master had learnt to regard his father as an oppressor rather than a friend, and Heathcliff as a usurper of his parent’s affections, and his privileges’ (Brontë 2003:38), seems to imply that the mother’s inability to ensure safety, unity, and order has caused conflict. The tension between the father and his son increases during the two years before the mother dies, which appears to prove that the family is divided by conflict even before her death. If this is so, then it is possible that she fails to conform to the Gothic mother figure, which means that the domestic space of the Heights may deviate from the norms set by Gothic convention. The doubts I have expressed earlier about the Heights’ Gothic appearance are perhaps thus strengthened by the possibility that it is not only the outside, but also the inside of the house that fails to match Gothic convention completely. Such a further subversion of the Gothic quality of the Heights may also reinforce the misgivings I have expressed earlier as to the opposition between the Heights and the Grange, which appears largely to be based on Gothic standards.

After his wife’s death, Mr Earnshaw has to raise the children on his own. The situation at the Heights could not have been idyllic: the father is assisted in his task of raising the children by Joseph and Nelly, and the old servant does not like the children, and, though the housekeeper regards Hindley as a friend, she never liked Heathcliff, and later starts to dislike Catherine, too. The existing conflict gets worse when the master’s health starts to fail. Nelly says that he ‘had been active and healthy, yet his strength left him suddenly; and when he was confined to the chimney-corner he grew grievously irritable. A nothing vexed him, and suspected slights of his authority nearly threw him into fits’ (41). With his failing health, his influence at the Heights starts to diminish, which potentially reflects an idea of the muscular Christians who

associated a man's physical strength with his ability to control his world, and with his morality, as I have mentioned earlier. As his strength declines, the servants at the Heights gain more and more power over him. Nelly makes it clear that the master's declining health does not add to the discord in the family as much as the consequences of his illness do; she claims that, the patriarch's illness notwithstanding, they all

might have got on tolerably, notwithstanding, but for two people, Miss Cathy, and Joseph, the servant... [who] was, and is yet, most likely, the wearisomest self-righteous pharisee that ever ransacked a Bible to rake the promises to himself, and fling the curses on his neighbours. By his knack of sermonizing and pious discoursing, he contrived to make a great impression on Mr Earnshaw, and the more feeble the master became, the more influence he gained. He was relentless in worrying him about his soul's concerns, and about ruling his children rigidly. He encouraged him to regard Hindley as a reprobate; and, night after night, he regularly grumbled out a long string of tales against Heathcliff and Catherine; always minding to flatter Earnshaw's weakness by heaping the heaviest blame on the last (42).

As Mr Earnshaw is slowly weakened by his illness, he is increasingly influenced by Joseph, a stern supporter of patriarchy and the authority afforded to those in power by social constructs such as class distinctions and inherited social rank. Joseph's comments and actions display his Calvinistic preoccupation with the predestined fate of souls, according to which only a select few are saved from eternal damnation, while the rest are damned by default. His views and influence are evident in his encouraging Mr Earnshaw to see Hindley as a damned reprobate. It may be that the old servant, who appears to support the old patriarchal system, and who convinces the patriarch that his children and Heathcliff are degenerates, intentionally severs the ties between the patriarch and the children to gain more power. Joseph's scheming does not stop at Hindley, though: Nelly depicts the old servant as a hypocrite, and supports this by revealing his providing Mr Earnshaw with a dishonest picture of the characters of Heathcliff and Catherine; she mentions that Catherine

had ways with her such as I never saw a child take up before; and she put all of us past our patience fifty times and oftener in a day: from the hour she came down stairs, till the hour she went to bed, we had not a minute's security that she wouldn't be in mischief. Her spirits were always at high-water mark, her tongue always going – singing, laughing, and plaguing everybody who would not do the same. A wild, wick slip she was – but, she had the bonniest eye, and sweetest smile, and lightest foot in the parish; and, after all, I believe she meant no harm; for when once she made you cry in good earnest, it seldom happened that she would not keep you company, and oblige you to be quiet that you might comfort her (42).

While Catherine is mischievous and perhaps excessively energetic, what with her singing and laughing and dancing all the time, Joseph's tales portray her as immoral, which is most likely untrue, since, as Nelly says, the girl means 'no harm'. If the housekeeper's comments are true, then Catherine,

on her part, had no idea why her father should be crosser and less patient in his ailing condition, than he was in his prime. His peevish reproofs wakened in her a naughty delight to provoke him; she was never so happy as when we were all scolding her at once, and she defying us with her bold, saucy look, and her ready words; turning Joseph's religious curses into ridicule, baiting me, and doing just what her father hated most, showing how her pretended insolence, which he thought real, had more power over Heathcliff than his kindness.... After behaving as badly as possible all day, she sometimes came fondling to make it up at night. 'Nay, Cathy,' the old man would say, 'I cannot love thee; thou'rt worse than thy brother. Go, say thy prayers, child, and ask God's pardon. I doubt thy mother and I must rue that we ever reared thee!' That made her cry, at first; and then, being repulsed continually hardened her, and she laughed if I told her to say she was sorry for her faults, and beg to be forgiven (42-43).

If Joseph had had less power over the master, then Mr Earnshaw might have been able to see his daughter's behaviour as playful and energetic, rather than wicked, in which case she might not have pretended insolence and might not have been quite as impertinent as she eventually became because of his rebuffs. It seems, then, that Mr Earnshaw's failing health and Joseph's increasing influence do not merely underlie the conflict between Mr Earnshaw and Catherine, but may also cause discord between Catherine and Nelly, who later comes to resent the young woman's insolence.

When Mr Earnshaw dies in October 1777, Hindley returns to the Heights and takes over the role of patriarch. The once ostracised son thus comes to power, and dominates Heathcliff and Catherine and the servants as his father dominated him. It may be that Nelly's description of Hindley's physical appearance foretells the violence that comes to be associated with the new master's rule of the Heights: she mentions that he

was altered considerably in the three years of his absence. He had grown sparer, and lost his colour... and, on the very day of his return, he told Joseph and me we must thenceforth quarter ourselves in the back-kitchen, and leave the house for him (46).

If he has grown sparer and lost his colour, which implies that he is physically weakened, then it is possible that he, perhaps more so than his father, given his lack of benevolence, will be a weak, tyrannical patriarch whose inability to control life at the Heights successfully will result

in chaos and destruction. While his power is already seen in his banishing Joseph and Nelly to the ‘back-kitchen’, it is in his treatment of Catherine and Heathcliff that his tyranny is revealed more fully: Nelly says that, soon after his return to the Heights, Hindley ‘drove [Heathcliff] from their company to the servants, deprived him of the instructions of the curate, and insisted that he should labour out of doors instead’ (46). It may be that his banishing Heathcliff to the company of the servants indicates and imposes a social standard that determines that only those who come from prominent families are entitled to the privileges of the upper and middle classes, and that those who lack prominent family names are banished to the unprivileged position of the lower classes. His actions do not always match social expectations, however, and possibly illustrate society’s double standards: he banishes Heathcliff to the station of the servants, presumably the ‘right place’ (22) for a boy whose origins are unknown, if Catherine’s narrative is accurate, yet marries Frances, an outsider whose origins are also obscure. He thus introduces an outsider to the family, as his father did when he brought Heathcliff back from Liverpool. Heathcliff and Frances occupy similar positions in the family, since the origins of both are unknown. However, their positions are not identical, since no distinction is made between the appearance of Frances and that of the other characters, which suggests that she, unlike Heathcliff, who, as we have seen, may be linked to the non-whites in the Empire, is part of the idealised exclusively white community. If Hindley banishes the boy on the grounds of unknown origins, but marries a woman whose origins are as obscure, then it seems that the master degrades the boy because he dislikes him, and exploits the norms set by ruling-class men such as himself to justify his act of vengeance.

If, as Nelly claims, Heathcliff causes conflict in the family, then the parallel between him and Frances raises the question of whether she also causes a measure of conflict. Little is said about the late Mrs Earnshaw; more is said about Frances, the new Mrs Earnshaw, and what is revealed about her comments more fully on nineteenth-century notions about the roles of women. Nelly says that Hindley’s wife

was not one that would have disturbed the house much on her own account. Every object she saw, the moment she crossed the threshold, appeared to delight her; and every circumstance that took place about her, except the preparing for the burial, and the presence of the mourners. I thought she was half silly from her behaviour while that went on; she ran into her chamber, and made me come with her, though I should have been dressing the children; and there she sat shivering and clasping her hands, and asking repeatedly – ‘Are they gone yet?’ Then she began describing with hysterical emotion the effect it produced on her to see black; and started, and trembled, and, at last, fell a weeping – and when I asked what was the

matter? answered, she didn't know; but she felt so afraid of dying! I imagined her as little likely to die as myself (45).

If nineteenth-century fiction presents the death of the wife-mother figure as a cause of discord and chaos, then it seems that women were seen as or expected to be the force that ensured peace, unity, and order in the domestic sphere; the 'angel in the house' who turned the husband's house into a home and a paradise on earth. It is thus possible that a woman such as Frances, who does not disturb the house on her own account, and who does not appropriate the domestic space and actively transform it into a haven where its inhabitants can seek refuge and find peace, will fail to perform the duties assigned to her – a possibility that bodes ill for the situation at the Heights, since it may result in even greater levels of hostility and violence. The housekeeper portrays the new mistress as 'hysterical'. Since nineteenth-century discourse maintained that women were less rational than men and thus more likely to go insane, that is, to be overcome by their emotions, as I have already stated, a woman such as Frances, who is presented as excessively emotional, may go insane even more easily than the average woman. Since those who were thought insane were excluded from society since they were regarded as deviants who jeopardised social unity and order, it may be that Nelly, who is worried about Frances's mental health, considers the mistress a threat not only to the well-being of the family, but also to that of society as a whole. That the mistress may be partly responsible for the conflict at the Heights is already made clear when Nelly says that

[Frances] expressed pleasure, too, at finding a sister among her new acquaintance, and she prattled to Catherine, and kissed her, and ran about with her, and gave her quantities of presents, at the beginning. Her affection tired very soon, however, and when she grew peevish, Hindley became tyrannical. A few words from her, evincing a dislike to Heathcliff, were enough to rouse in him all his old hatred of the boy (46).

The mistress's fickleness and peevishness thus add to the conflict in the family. However, the novel does not simply echo the nineteenth-century discourse about the supposed link between femaleness and insanity; it also questions it: the servant dismisses Frances's fear of death as irrational because, as she says,

I imagined her as little likely to die as myself. She was rather thin, but young, and fresh complexioned, and her eyes sparkled as bright as diamonds. I did remark, to be sure, that mounting the stairs made her breathe very quick, that the least sudden noise set her all in a quiver, and that she coughed troublesomely sometimes: but, I knew nothing of what these symptoms portended (45-46).

She admits that she ‘knew nothing of what these symptoms portended’, and her dismissal of Frances’s fears as irrational is based on an incorrect assumption about the mistress’s health. Through its exploration of the mistress’s fear of death, the novel problematises the distinction between the rational and the irrational, which I have already discussed in the introduction. What seems irrational to a character such as Nelly may not seem so to a character such as Frances, who is ill, and who thus does have reason to fear death. Through its examination and questioning of this distinction, the novel seems to suggest that those in power, that is, ruling-class men, shun women such as Frances by means of social constructs that need not always be true in order to rule over them and thus to retain their superior position.

It is while Hindley and Frances control the Heights that Catherine and Heathcliff are banished from the sitting room on a Sunday afternoon in late 1777, and the children run to the Grange to see what Edgar and Isabella Linton’s life is like. Just as there may be conflict at the Heights before Heathcliff’s arrival, as I have argued earlier in this chapter, so there may be disorder at the Grange before the Lintons’ encounters with the Earnshaws and Heathcliff. Notions such as Cecil’s that suggest that the peaceful world of the Lintons is invaded by the passionate Earnshaws in the larger scheme of cosmic harmony neglect to consider that conflict may be caused both by external and internal forces. Catherine and Heathcliff find Isabella screaming, Edgar crying, and the Lintons’ dog nearly pulled in two between them. The battle over the dog has already taken place, and Edgar and Isabella are unaware of Heathcliff and Catherine’s presence, so the conflict between them cannot be ascribed to Heathcliff or to the purported violence of the Earnshaws.

The aftermath of the struggle, which Heathcliff and Catherine witness, questions whether Mr Linton, whose position at the Grange mirrors those of the late Mr Earnshaw and of Hindley at the Heights, can control the Grange so as to prevent or eliminate internal conflict entirely. There is a noticeable difference in the way Mr Linton and Mr Earnshaw react to the threat an outsider such as Heathcliff is assumed to pose: while Mr Earnshaw welcomes the foundling into the Heights, and thus causes dissension in the family and disrupts the family structure, Mr Linton does not allow the boy to enter the Grange. The patriarchs’ different reactions raise questions as to the power nineteenth-century patriarchs were expected to exert over the spaces they controlled. If Nelly’s comments can be trusted, then the kind-hearted Mr Earnshaw takes Heathcliff in because of his sense of duty and humanity, yet thereby introduces a potentially destructive external force into his family. Mr Linton, who excludes a possibly disruptive force

from his family, and thus seems to act in accordance with what was expected of nineteenth-century patriarchs, may be seen not to fulfil his duty towards humanity as Mr Earnshaw does, and to act unkindly by shutting Heathcliff out. The nineteenth-century discourses thus seem to refute each other to such an extent that they cannot be sustained concurrently. By suggesting that both Mr Earnshaw and Mr Linton fail to control the spaces they own according to nineteenth-century social expectations, the novel may not aim to depict these characters as failed patriarchs, but rather to illustrate that it is impossible to isolate one instance of space; that, while it is possible to exclude external disruptive forces at times, there are internal causes of conflict to deal with, and vice versa. The novel may thus show the impossibility of maintaining a society that is entirely free of conflict, and of any society's being an isolated entity that can keep itself separated from other societies and that can eradicate all traces of heterogeneity in its own structure.

Mrs Linton reacts in the same way as Mrs Earnshaw in that both of them want to be rid of the child. Mr Earnshaw's power results in his wife's being forced to accept the child he wants to keep, but Mrs Linton's reaction to Heathcliff matches and reinforces her husband's. While Mrs Earnshaw seems to fail in her motherly duties by not reprimanding Hindley for hitting Heathcliff, Mrs Linton reacts more in line with nineteenth-century standards by wanting to keep her children away from the 'gipsy' (50). She even asks Hindley to keep the boy away from her children when they visit the Heights on Christmas Day 1777.

Mr Linton later goes to the Heights to rebuke Hindley for not taking better care of his sister and for allowing her to walk about the moors in Heathcliff's company. According to Nelly, Mr Linton 'read the young master such a lecture on the road he guided his family, that he was stirred to look about him, in earnest. Heathcliff received no flogging, but he was told that the first word he spoke to Miss Catherine should ensure a dismissal' (51). The Linton patriarch tries to rectify the situation at the Heights, but fails; in fact, he only makes the situation worse, perhaps because the Heights is not his to govern, but Hindley's, and because it is presumably only the owner of that space who can choose how to regulate it. The interaction between the patriarchs does reveal, though, that it is possible for a force that is connected to the Grange – Mr Linton, in this instance – to cause even more violence at the Heights, which once again questions the suggested opposition between these two spaces.

The conflict at the Heights becomes worse when Frances dies in late 1778, a few months after the birth of her son, Hareton. Dever asserts that

[t]he issue at stake in [nineteenth-century] fiction is not motherhood for the sake of the mother, but motherhood for the sake of its emotional impact on those around her, particularly the bereaved children and husband, forced to struggle on after her death without her as their reliable moral compass (Dever 1998:18-19).

Wuthering Heights, like much nineteenth-century fiction, represents and explores the death of Frances in terms of its impact on her husband and son. Nelly implies that Hindley cannot deal with his wife's death by saying that he 'had room in his heart only for two idols – his wife and himself – he doted on both, and adored one, and I couldn't conceive how he would bear the loss' (Brontë 2003:65). She also says that, after Frances's death, Hindley,

provided he saw [Hareton] healthy, and never heard him cry, was contented, as far as regarded him. For himself, he grew desperate; his sorrow was of that kind that will not lament, he neither wept nor prayed – he cursed and defied – execrated God and man, and gave himself up to reckless dissipation. The servants could not bear his tyrannical and evil conduct long: Joseph and I were the only two that would stay (66).

His grief causes him to turn against both God and humankind, and turns him into a tyrant. The situation at the Heights becomes so intolerable that Nelly cannot 'half tell what an infernal house we had. The curate dropped calling, and nobody decent came near us, at last; unless Edgar Linton's visits to Miss Cathy might be an exception' (66), and he 'seldom mustered courage to visit Wuthering Heights openly. He had a terror of Earnshaw's reputation, and shrunk from encountering him' (67). As the late father's illness turned him into a tyrant who could not control the Heights successfully, so the son is rendered impotent by grief, and also cannot control the space he owns as he should. It is because of his tyranny and his inability to control the space he owns that most of the servants leave. His oppression weakens the master-servant relationships at the Heights, thereby destabilising social order. Through its illustration of the servants' refusal to serve a tyrant, the novel may suggest that abusive power leaves a master not powerful, but powerless, since only a failed master has no servants to control. Due to Hindley's domination, the Heights is cut off from the rest of Gimmerton society. Since the curate stops calling, Heathcliff's and Catherine's education, which he previously undertook, now falls on Joseph and Nelly, which is disturbing in itself, considering their dislike of the children. Since Hindley has managed to shut out or alienate the rest of society, he is free to do as he pleases; there is no one to reprimand him or to challenge his authority over the Heights

and its inhabitants. It may be that Heathcliff runs away not only because he wants to improve his social position, but also because he realises that it is only by becoming a wealthy, well-educated gentleman that he will be able to defeat Hindley and thus end the tyrant's rule.

When Catherine discovers that Heathcliff has run away, she stays out in the storm all night, and falls ill. Regarding the girl's illness, Nelly says that,

[t]hough I cannot say I made a gentle nurse, and Joseph and the master were no better; and, though our patient was as wearisome and headstrong as a patient could be, she weathered it through. Old Mrs Linton paid us several visits, to be sure; and set things to rights, and scolded and ordered us all; and when Catherine was convalescent, she insisted on conveying her to Thrushcross Grange; for which deliverance we were very grateful. But, the poor dame had reason to repent of her kindness; she and her husband both took the fever, and died within a few days of each other (88).

Mrs Linton enters the space of the Heights and assumes control over it by conveying one of its inhabitants to the Grange. Mr Linton's attempt to interfere at the Heights by scolding Hindley only caused more conflict; his wife's meddling may be seen to have a similar result: it is because she conveys Catherine to the Grange that she and her husband fall ill, and die. Nelly's stating that Mrs Linton comes to 'repent of her kindness' hints at the notion I have expressed earlier that the ruling classes' wish to maintain their position of power in society and kindness may be irreconcilable in the framework presented by nineteenth-century social thought.

When Mr and Mrs Earnshaw and Mr and Mrs Linton are dead, the Heights and the Grange are regulated by Hindley and Edgar, respectively. Since the men choose to avoid each other, and since there are few people at the Heights for Hindley to dominate, the conflict between those at the Heights and those at the Grange and between the various occupants within these houses appears to undergo a lull. However, it has to be taken into account that, although Heathcliff, whom the housekeeper seems to see as the cause of conflict in the region, has run away, the Heights and its occupants are still isolated from the rest of society, which means that there is no one who can put an end to Hindley's rule. When Edgar and Catherine get married in April 1783, and the latter wants Nelly to accompany her to the Grange, the housekeeper objects, saying that 'Hareton was nearly five years old, and I had just begun to teach him his letters' (89), and mentions that Catherine then

went lamenting to her husband and brother. The former offered me munificent wages; the latter ordered me to pack up – he wanted no women in the house, he said, now that there was no mistress; and as to Hareton, the curate should take him in hand, by and bye. And so, I had but one choice left, to do as I was ordered – I told the master he got rid of all decent people only to run to ruin a little faster (89).

Hindley says that the curate will teach Hareton, but Nelly seems to be aware of the fact that the curate stopped calling because of the master's cruelty after Frances's death, and will thus not be able to instruct the child. If the housekeeper leaves, then there will be no one to educate the boy. Hindley's thus denying Hareton an education mirrors the way in which he degraded Heathcliff. Given the tense interactions between Heathcliff and his oppressor, it may be that the parallel between Heathcliff and Hareton suggests that there will be a clash between Hindley and his son. The housekeeper's unwillingness to leave the Heights extends beyond her concern for Hareton, however; it also includes her fear of what would happen if she, the last female in the house, were to leave and consequently leave behind an exclusively male home. In the mid-nineteenth century, male authors such as Thomas Carlyle encouraged the ideal of an all-male society, which was, among other things, a reaction against the threat women who were no longer content to be shut into domestic spaces was believed to pose to the power of ruling-class men. By creating this ideal, and thus trying to prevent women from entering spaces of power that were believed to be the domain of ruling-class men, these men tried to retain their social superiority, and to weaken the status of women or even to eliminate them completely. Men in power 'found in deep same-sex affection powerful emotional, even spiritual value, value sanctioned by institutional practice within the university, by a long literary tradition, and by the Bible itself' (Sussman 1995:55). The idealised all-male world was, however, not only aimed at restricting the power of women; it also reflected and commented on the changes in the perception of what it meant to be a man, the various constructions of masculinity that resulted from the social changes brought about by industrialisation, and the reactions of ruling-class men and of the increasingly more powerful middle-class men to these constructions. The earliest readers of *Wuthering Heights*, which was published in 1847, would have been more sensitive to references to idealised all-male communities, since, by the

1840s and 1850s the boundary between the homosocial and the homosexual had become an increasingly contested territory.... Carlyle's rather paradoxical project of representing a manly monasticism exemplifies that urgency, so characteristic of male writing in these decades, to defend normative homosocial male bonds, the center of the hegemonic bourgeois formation of manliness, from the new threat of

the unmanly masculine bonds within what was seen as an emerging and dangerous, if undefined, construction of masculinity (56-57).

The notion of masculinity that those in power had constructed and presented to society as the norm, that is, a heterosexual masculinity that curbed the power of the women without whom it could not exist, had to be defended not only against supposedly rebellious women, but also against masculine constructions that deviated from it and that were thus believed to pose a threat to the patriarchal order. Nelly's response to the master's creation of an all-male society at the Heights reflects and problematises a discourse that is undeniably nineteenth-century, and may imply that a society without women, that is, without those whom ruling-class men wrongly want to dominate so as to retain their own power, will 'run to ruin a little faster'; that Hindley's choice to dismiss the last woman at the Heights will result in destruction. The novel seems to problematise the nineteenth-century ideal by suggesting that society cannot function properly without the alleged 'deviants' ruling-class men want to control; that social order will be destabilised if those in power reject 'deviant' behaviour by presenting their ideals, which they shape to ensure their own continued empowerment, as the only acceptable way to live.

Since Nelly moves to the Grange, she is removed from, and thus unable to comment on, what happens at the Heights. She can comment on what happens at the Grange, however, and says that Catherine

seemed almost over fond of Mr Linton; and even to his sister, she showed plenty of affection.... [F]or the space of half a year, the gunpowder lay as harmless as sand, because no fire came near to explode it. Catherine had seasons of gloom and silence, now and then: they were respected with sympathizing silence by her husband, who ascribed them to an alteration in her constitution, produced by her perilous illness, as she was never subject to depression of spirits before. The return of sunshine was welcomed by answering sunshine from him. I believe I may assert that they were really in possession of deep and growing happiness (Brontë 2003:92-93).

Based on the housekeeper's comments, it initially appears as if Catherine manages to perform her wifely duties: she shows her husband and his sister 'affection', and turns his home into a paradise on earth. However, her 'seasons of gloom and silence' cast in doubt any notion of the situation as being one of 'growing happiness'. Edgar attributes her attitude to an 'alternation in her constitution, produced by her perilous illness', and seems not to realise that it is brought about by her longing for Heathcliff, which the mistress reveals to Nelly by saying that

‘I had risen in angry rebellion against providence – Oh, I’ve endured very, very bitter misery, Nelly! If that creature [that is, Edgar] knew how bitter, he’d be ashamed to cloud its removal with idle petulance – It was kindness for him which induced me to bear it alone: had I expressed the agony I frequently felt, he would have been taught to long for its alleviation as ardently as I’ (100).

Until then, though, Edgar’s thoughts and actions reveal that his control over the Grange is not visibly complicated by the external force that is Heathcliff. It may be because of the apparent absence of external threats that Nelly considers the first few months of Edgar’s marriage to Catherine a time of calm. However, her reference to the ‘gunpowder [that] lay as harmless as sand’ indicates that even she realises the potential for conflict at the Grange and in Edgar and Catherine’s marriage; that an external force may not be the source of conflict as such, but may cause the conflict that lies beneath the surface to increase. There is conflict at the Grange even during the period of ‘deep and growing happiness’, which suggests that the house is divided by a disharmony that springs not from Heathcliff as much as from the relations between the husband and his wife.

When Heathcliff returns, he goes to the Heights to find out where Catherine is. Hindley asks Heathcliff, who has amassed a fortune, to stay at the Heights, since he will be able to sustain the master’s alcohol and gambling addictions. Heathcliff’s wealth thus enables him to cause even more conflict at the Heights and to defeat his enemy by giving him enough money to gamble himself into poverty. His return also causes conflict between Catherine and Edgar. He becomes a regular visitor at the Grange, and Nelly mentions that she ‘wanted something to happen which might have the effect of freeing both Wuthering Heights and the Grange of Mr Heathcliff, quietly, leaving us as we had been prior to his advent’ (107). Judging by her comment, she regards Heathcliff as a cause of dissent not only at the Heights, but also at the Grange, and sees his return and his visits to Catherine as the reason why the happiness at the Grange ends. Edgar allows Heathcliff to visit because he wants to honour Catherine’s wishes; to an extent, it is his devotion to his wife that prevents him from controlling the Grange the way he wants or ought to. If he had had his way, he would most likely never have allowed the ‘plough-boy’, as he refers to him, to enter the house, as he sees the kitchen as a ‘more suitable place’ (95) for a man whom he sees as a servant. When Nelly comes to tell her master about a confrontation between Heathcliff and Catherine, Edgar tells Heathcliff that ‘I have been so far forbearing with you... not that I was ignorant of your miserable, degraded character, but, I felt you were only partly responsible for that; and Catherine, wishing to keep up your

acquaintance, I acquiesced – foolishly’ (114). It is after this that Edgar banishes Heathcliff from the Grange.

In response to Edgar’s words, Heathcliff threatens to attack the master of the Grange. When the husband cowers in fear, Heathcliff says to Catherine: ‘I compliment you on your taste: and that is the slaving, shivering thing you preferred to me!’ (115). Heathcliff thereby links his and Edgar’s skirmish to a fight about masculinity. His comment suggests that he sees Edgar’s masculinity as inferior to his, and appears to reflect and to question the nineteenth-century discourses about the connection between a man’s physical strength and his ability to control the world around him and his morality, and about masculinities that deviate from the imposed social standard.

When Heathcliff is banished from the Grange, Catherine locks herself in her room for three days. Although Nelly and Edgar identify Heathcliff as the cause of conflict, Nelly’s role in the conflict is undeniable: she does not tell Edgar that Catherine is ill, mainly because she does not believe the mistress to be ill, and does not tell Catherine that Edgar is concerned about her health and is not as indifferent to her suffering as she believes. The housekeeper’s choice to remain silent when a word from her could reunite husband and wife raises questions as to the extent to which she is responsible for the failure of the marriage. This question ties in with the notion I have expressed earlier that Nelly may be responsible for some of the conflict at the Heights after the foundling’s arrival. It is possible that she causes trouble wherever she goes, which is an interesting idea, considering that she accuses Heathcliff of doing this.

The ways Catherine considers to deal with the discord between her and Edgar and Heathcliff reveal something about the way in which she regulates the space of the Grange: she tells Nelly that, ‘if it be not too late, as soon as I learn how [Edgar] feels, I’ll choose between these two – either to starve, at once... or to recover and leave the country’ (121). Nineteenth-century girls were educated specifically to prepare them for marriage; it seems to have been accepted that a girl only became a woman once she was married. Accordingly, a woman who turned her back on her marriage would have been considered deviant and unfeminine. Women were not only seen as more likely to go insane as a result of their femaleness; excessively masculine behaviour in women, such as their being assertive, was also believed to threaten their mental well-being. If both female sexuality and excessively male behaviour could drive women insane, then the discourse at the time upheld that women could not help but go insane,

and were thus a potential threat to social well-being. By considering abandoning her husband and thus behaving in an unfeminine, and therefore transgressive, way, Catherine comes close to casting herself into the space assigned to those women who are seen as excessively masculine and who are consequently thought to be more likely to go insane. Since her presumed insanity has been examined in many discussions of the novel, it may be valuable to this discussion not to explore Catherine's insanity, but to consider its effect on life at the Grange. If she behaves in an excessively masculine way by not conforming to the kind of feminine behaviour that is expected of wives such as herself, and goes insane because of it, then she will not be able to regulate the Grange as she ought to, and may even embody the threats against which she is meant to protect her husband's home; and if she cannot control the space, then it is opened up to even more instances of both external and internal conflict. In fact, such insanity would have been believed to endanger social order, which is why those who were considered insane were often locked up and thus excluded from the rest of the community.

The wife's inability to act in accordance with what was expected of nineteenth-century wives may be considered indirectly to contribute to the failure of their marriage, which appears to be confirmed by Catherine's telling Edgar that

'[y]ou are one of those things that are ever found when least wanted, and when you are wanted, never! I suppose we shall have plenty of lamentations, now... I see we shall... but they can't keep me from my narrow home out yonder – My resting place where I'm bound before Spring is over! There it is, not among the Lintons, mind, under the chapel-roof; but in the open air with a head-stone, and you may please yourself, whether you go to them, or come to me! [...] What you touch at present, you may have; but my soul will be on that hill-top before you lay hands on me again. I don't want you, Edgar; I'm past wanting you' (127-128).

Early nineteenth-century laws made it difficult for women to divorce their husbands: '[t]hey could not litigate except through a male person who existed in law, such as a father or brother' (Ingham 2006:51). Catherine does not leave her husband in a legal sense, but rejects him by denying him access to her soul. It seems that, once she is dead, he will have no hold on her. That she will be indifferent to his presence is suggested when she tells him that 'you may please yourself whether you go to them or come to me'. It will not matter to her whether he is buried with his relatives or with her because she is 'past wanting' him. Thus, though he may be buried next to his wife, his being there presumably has no meaning to her, which casts in doubt those claims that maintain that

[t]he theme of a divided self is emphasized throughout, even to the end of the novel, where we read that three headstones can be found on the slope of the moor: Edgar's and Heathcliff's, with Catherine's in between— in death as in life, her soul divided between the two men who broke her heart (Jafari 2010:51).

It is suggested in some discussions of the novel that her self-destruction is a result of women's limited power in patriarchal society. The suggestion seems to be that, since a woman such as she has no power in society, she cannot act out as men such as Heathcliff do, but is forced to turn inward and to destroy herself. The novel's portrayal of her position in society is more complex than this, however: although her limited power in society does seem to contribute to her self-destruction, her being bold enough to consider leaving her husband proves that she is more than just a passive figure who feebly yields to death. By embracing death, she actively chooses to die to escape from an unhappy marriage. Since death falls outside of the space appropriated by society, as I have said earlier, the laws those in authority have constructed cannot be imposed on the dead, which means that, by embracing death, Catherine manages, albeit in a very self-destructive and extreme way, to undercut a discriminatory legal system.

During Catherine's illness, Edgar discovers that Isabella has fallen in love with Heathcliff. He warns his sister that, should she marry Heathcliff, it would lead to his severing all ties between them. In spite of the warning, Isabella elopes with Heathcliff in January 1784. It is possible that her action is a result of Heathcliff's scheming, but that idea seems merely to echo Nelly's opinion of Heathcliff as a troublemaker, and ignores the fact that the young woman is not abducted by her suitor, but leaves the Grange by choice. The Heathcliffs return to the region on 13 March 1784. It is partially through a letter from Isabella that Nelly learns something about the situation at the Heights. In the letter, Isabella describes her experience of the Heights upon her and Heathcliff's return:

You'll not be surprised, Ellen, at my feeling particularly cheerless, seated in worse than solitude, on that inhospitable hearth, and remembering that four miles distant lay my delightful home, containing the only people I loved on earth: and there might as well be the Atlantic to part us, instead of those four miles, I could not overpass them! [...] I had sought shelter at Wuthering Heights, almost gladly, because I was secured by that arrangement from living alone with him; but he knew the people we were coming amongst, and he did not fear their intermeddling (Brontë 2003:138-139).

Isabella, who feels 'particularly cheerless', finds herself alone at the Heights: the Grange, her 'delightful home', where she would much rather be, lies 'four miles distant', but because she is married to Heathcliff, and because the marriage has severed the ties between her and Edgar,

she cannot return there. She, who is imprisoned at the Heights, and who longs to return to the Grange to be with the people she loves, forms a parallel figure to Catherine, who is shut up in the Grange when she really wants to return to the Heights, where she can be with the man she loves. Isabella, who believed that the situation between her and Heathcliff would improve once they were back at the Heights, quickly realises her mistake: Heathcliff ‘knew the people [they] were coming amongst, and he did not fear their intermeddling’, possibly because he controls the Heights, and can, to a great extent, force those in that space to do what he wants them to. Mrs Heathcliff’s presence causes discord at the Heights: she is seen and treated as an outsider, and is banished from the company of her fellow inhabitants, either by their choice or her own. The fact that she is regarded with contempt is made clear when Joseph remarks that, ‘[i]f they’s tuh be fresh ortherings – just when Aw getten used tuh two maisters, if Aw mun hev a *mistress* set o’er my heead, it’s like time tuh be flitting. Aw niver *did* think tuh say t’ day ut Aw mud lave th’ owld place’ (141, italics in original). His saying that it is time to be flitting – that it is time to leave the place – if a mistress will be set over his head, shows that he sees Isabella’s presence as an intrusion into a space that he does not want to share with her. It may be that he wants to sustain an all-male environment; that he, like many nineteenth-century men, sees marriage and the presence of women as a threat to masculinity, and to the power of men.

The power of Isabella’s femininity, and thus also her ability to regulate the domestic sphere, are tested during her stay at the Heights: she discovers that they do not have a maid, which means that she is the only female there, and finds that she is barred from Heathcliff’s room – when she asks Joseph to take her to the room, he says that ‘that’s just one yah cannut sea – he allas keeps it locked, un nob’dy iver mells on’t but hisseln’ (142). That Isabella, who has not yet been married for three months, may not enter his room indicates a link between her position at the Heights and the limits on her influence as a wife and as a woman. Through this link, the novel comments on the inferior position of women in nineteenth-century society: men in positions of influence, such as Heathcliff and Joseph, specifically cast women such as Isabella into inferior spaces so as to dominate them and to diminish their power and thereby to undercut their ability to challenge or even to overthrow the patriarchal system.

Mrs Heathcliff, who is unhappily married, writes to Nelly to ask her to pay her a visit at the Heights. Nelly, who pays the visit, comments on what she sees when she enters the space she once maintained, and on what Isabella looks like:

[t]here never was such a dreary, dismal scene as the formerly cheerful house presented! I must confess that, if I had been in the young lady's place, I would, at least, have swept the hearth, and wiped the tables with a duster. But she already partook of the pervading spirit of neglect which encompassed her. Her pretty face was wan and listless; her hair uncurled; some locks hanging lankly down, and some carelessly twisted round her head. Probably she had not touched her dress since yester evening. Hindley was not there. Mr Heathcliff sat at a table.... He was the only thing there that seemed decent, and I thought he never looked better. So much had circumstances altered their positions, that he would certainly have struck a stranger as a born and bred gentleman, and his wife as a thorough little slattern! (145-146)

Whether the Heights used to be a 'cheerful house' is debatable, but Nelly still notices much deterioration in it. Based on her comment, the undesirable change seems to be the result of the carelessness of Isabella, who does not sweep the hearth or wipe the tables or look presentable, and who thus fails to turn the Heights into a place of peace, order, and comfort. In nineteenth-century terms, she thus fails to perform the duties that were typically assigned to women.

The notion of her failing to perform the duties assigned to her is strengthened by Heathcliff's comments about the change in her behaviour, and about their relationship: he says that his wife 'degenerates into a mere slut! She is tired of trying to please me, uncommonly early – You'd hardly credit it, but the very morrow of our wedding, she was weeping to go home' (149). His use of 'slut' could refer to 'a woman with low standards of cleanliness' (Oxford Dictionaries Online 2013). This ties in well with Nelly's comments about the mistress's dishevelled appearance, and may suggest that she does not pay any attention to her personal hygiene. The word may also refer to a whore or prostitute, however, and may reflect the nineteenth-century male tendency to depict women either as models of motherly devotion and wifely submission, or as immoral prostitutes. Whether Isabella sleeps with any character apart from her husband is debatable, and irrelevant; it seems more significant that the reference to her as a woman of questionable moral values portrays her as a threat to society who is cast into the dominated space assigned to the wicked to contain the threat they are thought to pose to social existence.

Nelly's response to Heathcliff's comments provides a different view of the mistress, however: she tells him that

'Mrs Heathcliff is accustomed to be looked after, and waited on; and that she has been brought up like an only daughter whom every one was ready to serve – You must let her have a maid to keep things tidy about her, and you must treat her

kindly – Whatever be your notion of Mr Edgar, you cannot doubt that she has a capacity for strong attachments or she wouldn't have abandoned the elegancies, and comforts, and friends of her former home, to fix contentedly, in such a wilderness as this, with you' (Brontë 2003:149).

Her comments indicate that the duties society assigns to women are not identical across the different social classes: a woman of superior social standing, such as Isabella, is not expected to tend to domestic matters such as housekeeping; those matters are the servants' concern. By drawing attention to this, the housekeeper suggests that Isabella's appearance is dishevelled not because she fails to perform her duties, but because Heathcliff fails to take care of her as he ought to. She also depicts Isabella as a woman who is (or was) so devoted to her husband that she is (or was) prepared to give up the comfort and love she associates with the Grange. It is interesting that Nelly mentions Isabella's 'capacity for strong attachments', since Catherine is also said to have a 'wondrous constancy to old attachments' (66). Morteza Jafari claims that Brontë distinguishes

between the passionate and strong-willed Catherine Earnshaw and the ostensibly meek and docile Isabella Linton.... Brontë shows us the difference between the two women: Isabella is fragile, with fine manners; she is shy and timid in the presence of Heathcliff and represents civilization, while Catherine is wild, cruel, and represents untamed nature (Jafari 2010:48-49).

However, if both Catherine and Isabella have a capacity for strong attachments, then they may be similar. The similarity between them is also made clear by the fact that both long to be released from the imprisonment that is marriage. If the women are parallel figures, then the generally accepted distinction between the Earnshaws and the Lintons is also cast in doubt.

Heathcliff tells Nelly that Isabella abandoned her comforts and friends at the Grange 'under a delusion.... I can hardly regard her in the light of a rational creature, so obstinately has she persisted in forming a fabulous notion of my character, and acting on the false impressions she cherished' (Brontë 2003:149). He mentions that his wife's sustained affection for him, despite the ill-treatment she has suffered at his hands, makes him question whether she is, in fact, a rational, that is, a sane, creature. That she may be irrational suggests that she may be insane. If there is a chance that she may go insane, then the link between her and Catherine, who is often considered to have gone insane by the time she dies, is reinforced. The parallel becomes even more marked when their reactions to their unhappy marriages are examined: Catherine rejects Heathcliff, and marries Edgar, which results in her being trapped in an unhappy marriage. She has to choose between leaving the region, that is, abandoning her

husband, or starving herself to death. She opts for death, believing that it will set her free. Heathcliff tells Nelly that his wife may abandon him if she wants to, and says that she may tell Edgar

‘to set his fraternal and magisterial heart at ease, that I keep strictly within the limits of the law – I have avoided, up to this period, giving her the slightest right to claim a separation; and what’s more, she’d thank nobody for dividing us – if she desired to go she might – the nuisance of her presence outweighs the gratification to be derived from tormenting her!’ (150)

Isabella reacts to Heathcliff’s speech by telling Nelly that

‘I’ve been told I might leave him before; and I’ve made the attempt, but I dare not repeat it! Only, Ellen, promise you’ll not mention a syllable of his infamous conversation to my brother or Catherine – whatever he may pretend, he wishes to provoke Edgar to desperation – he says he has married me on purpose to obtain power over him; and he shan’t obtain it – I’ll die first! I just hope, I pray that he may forget his diabolical prudence, and kill me! The single pleasure I can imagine is to die, or to see him dead!’ (151)

It would have been difficult for Isabella to ‘claim a separation’, since she would only have been able to do it through Edgar. Since her brother does not speak to her, and she does not want him to know about her suffering, she has no choice but to stay trapped in her marriage, unless she, like Catherine, chooses to embrace death as a means of escape.

Over at the Grange, Catherine dies at around midnight on the night between 19 and 20 March 1784. Nelly compares Edgar’s and Hindley’s ways of dealing with the deaths of their wives; she says that

I used to draw a comparison between [Edgar], and Hindley Earnshaw, and perplex myself to explain satisfactorily, why their conduct was so opposite in similar circumstances. They had both been fond husbands, and were both attached to their children; and I could not see how they shouldn’t both have taken the same road, for good or evil. But, I thought in my mind, Hindley, with apparently the stronger head, has shown himself sadly the worse and the weaker man. When his ship struck, the captain abandoned his post; and the crew, instead of trying to save her, rushed into riot, and confusion, leaving no hope for their luckless vessel. Linton, on the contrary, displayed the true courage of a loyal and faithful soul: he trusted God; and God comforted him. One hoped, and the other despaired: they chose their own lots, and were righteously doomed to endure them (185).

Her comparison seems to represent and comment on different nineteenth-century discourses regarding masculinity. Hindley, whom she sees as stronger than Edgar, gives up on life when

he loses his wife, and, by becoming ‘the worse and the weaker man’, can no longer control the Heights effectively, and becomes a tyrant. Edgar, who is physically weaker than most of the characters in the novel, and who is thus more prone to immoral acts as far as nineteenth-century thought goes, does not become a tyrant, because he trusts in God and thus displays the ‘courage of a loyal and faithful soul’. Through this portrayal of the widowers, the novel seems to question nineteenth-century discourse by suggesting that physically powerful men, such as Hindley, may not be moral or able to regulate the spaces they own, and that physically weak men may be moral and may be kind and able masters.

Whether Edgar retains control over his world is debatable, though. On 26 March 1784, Nelly wants to speak to Edgar about his sister, but he

shunned conversation, and was fit for discussing nothing. When I could get him to listen, I saw it pleased him that his sister had left her husband, whom he abhorred with an intensity which the mildness of his nature would scarcely seem to allow. So deep and sensitive was his aversion, that he refrained from going anywhere where he was likely to see or hear of Heathcliff. Grief, and that together, transformed him into a complete hermit: he threw up his office of magistrate, ceased even to attend church, avoided the village on all occasions, and spent a life of entire seclusion within the limits of his park and grounds: only varied by solitary rambles on the moors, and visits to the grave of his wife, mostly at evening; or early morning, before other wanderers were abroad. But he was too good to be thoroughly unhappy long. *He didn't pray for Catherine's soul to haunt him: Time brought resignation, and a melancholy sweeter than common joy. He recalled her memory with ardent, tender love, and hopeful aspiring to the better world; where, he doubted not, she was gone* (184, italics in original).

She identifies Edgar's moral strength as the reason why he does not turn into a tyrant the way Hindley does. However, despite his ‘melancholy [that is] sweeter than common joy’, which is a result of his trusting in God, he withdraws from society, gives up his office, and restricts himself and his daughter to the Grange. While it is true that Hindley becomes so violent that no one wants to stay at the Heights, Edgar, through his rejection of the outside world, rules his family in as tyrannical a way not by making it impossible for them to live at the Grange, but by making it impossible for them to leave that space. Grief may thus render him as unable to control the world he owns as it does Hindley.

After Catherine's death, Heathcliff is hardly ever at the Heights. According to his wife, he

‘has been a stranger in the house from last Sunday till to-day.... For me, grieved as I was about Catherine, it was impossible to avoid regarding this season of

deliverance from degrading oppression as a holiday.... When Heathcliff is in, I'm often obliged to seek the kitchen... or [to] starve among the damp, uninhabited chambers; when he is not, as was the case this week, I establish a table and chair at one corner of the house fire, and never mind how Mr Earnshaw may occupy himself; and he does not interfere with my arrangements' (175).

It is because of Catherine's death that Heathcliff spends much time away from the Heights and that he is unable to dominate Isabella. His power over the Heights wanes when he is not there, which is why his wife can move about more freely, and can warm herself by the fire. Hindley does not 'interfere', which suggests that they might have formed an alliance. The possibility of such an alliance ties in with the notion I have expressed earlier that it is possible for those who have been cast into dominated spaces, which constitute the third component of Lefebvre's spatial triad, to overthrow the dominant social order by embracing their marginal status, which is something Isabella and Hindley appear to do by siding with each other and by thus generating a new space in which they can exist. It may be because of this that he shares with her his plan to kill Heathcliff. This alliance is also seen when Hindley attacks Heathcliff and prevents him from capturing Isabella, who flees from the house and abandons her husband. It may then be argued that Catherine's choosing death, which results in Heathcliff's being away from the Heights and which enables Hindley's siding with Isabella and preventing Heathcliff from running after his fleeing wife, indirectly facilitates Isabella's escaping from her marriage not by embracing death, but by abandoning her husband and consequently choosing life – a life that is removed from Heathcliff and the unhappiness she associates with being married to him. Nelly states that Heathcliff discovered Isabella's 'place of residence, and the existence of the child. Still he didn't molest her' (p183). If the servant's account is reliable, then it seems Isabella lived out her days in comparative peace, untroubled by her husband. Although he learns that she has given birth to Linton, he does not take the boy from her, though he is legally entitled to do so: before the Custody of Infants Act of 1839,

when parents separated or... divorced, the father's right to custody of his progeny was largely unquestioned and legally absolute.... Paternal custody right was maintained by a reluctance to interfere with the private matters of the family, which were thought best governed by the father (Berry 1996:33).

In late 1784, Hindley dies. Heathcliff 'proved to the attorney, who, in his turn, proved it to Mr Linton, that Earnshaw had mortgaged every yard of land he owned for cash to supply his mania for gaming: and he, Heathcliff, was the mortgagee' (Brontë 2003:188). Consequently, he becomes the owner of the Heights, and banishes Hareton to the company of servants, as Hindley did to him, and, according to Nelly, '[i]n that manner, Hareton, who should now be

the first gentleman in the neighbourhood, was reduced to a state of complete dependence on his father's inveterate enemy; and lives in his own house as a servant' (188). Heathcliff's exiling the child from the family sets the stage for a repetition of the resentment and retaliation in the interactions between Hindley and Heathcliff in those between Heathcliff and Hareton. Through this parallel, the reader is likely to anticipate that Heathcliff's conduct towards Hareton and the servants will become as unkind as Hindley's was. Interestingly enough, though, Nelly states that

[t]he villagers affirmed Mr Heathcliff was *near*, and a cruel hard landlord to his tenants; but the house, inside, had regained its ancient aspect of comfort under female management; and the scenes of riot common in Hindley's time were not now enacted within its walls. The master was too gloomy to seek companionship with any people, good or bad, and he is yet (197, italics in original).

Despite Heathcliff's extreme physical strength, which may be seen to indicate his excessive masculinity and perhaps even dictatorial control over the Heights, the house is changed by the influence of 'female management'. It may partly be because he hires a female servant that there are fewer riots in the house; that patriarchal domination is counterbalanced, and that the conflict in that space is reduced. His keeping to himself echoes Edgar's retreat from society, which undercuts his hold on the Grange. Therefore, it is possible that Heathcliff's power over the Heights may be likewise undermined in the long run.

Nelly regards the twelve years after Catherine's death, that is, the first twelve years of Cathy's life, as a time of tranquillity. It is likely that what she says is correct: since both Heathcliff and Edgar try to avoid each other, there is little opportunity for them to confront each other. The period of peace does not last, however. Just as the peace came to an end when Heathcliff returned, as I have argued earlier in my discussion, so does it end when Cathy wants to leave the space of the Grange, and when Isabella writes to Edgar to tell him that she is dying, and to ask him to take her son into his custody. The housekeeper describes Cathy as

the most winning thing that ever brought sunshine into a desolate house – a real beauty in face – with the Earnshaws' handsome dark eyes, but the Lintons' fair skin, and small features, and yellow curling hair. Her spirit was high, though not rough, and qualified by a heart, sensitive and lively to excess in its affections. That capacity for intense attachments reminded me of her mother; still she did not resemble her; for she could be soft and mild as a dove, and she had a gentle voice, and pensive expression: her anger was never furious; her love never fierce; it was deep and tender. However, it must be acknowledged, she had faults to foil her

gifts. A propensity to be saucy was one; and a perverse will that indulged children invariably acquire, whether they be good tempered or cross (189).

The parallel between Catherine and her daughter is clear: both have dark eyes, are excessively high-spirited, and are saucy. Catherine, who used to cry when she discovered that she had hurt someone else, displayed some of the sensitivity Nelly ascribes to Cathy. Cathy also shares her mother's 'capacity for intense attachments'. As I have indicated earlier, both Catherine and Isabella are said to form such attachments, which suggests that there may be a parallel between Cathy and her aunt. Therefore, Cathy's 'fair skin, and small features, and yellow curling hair' may be seen both as a genetic connection to the Lintons, and as a link between Cathy and Isabella, in particular. It may be because of Cathy's link to Isabella that Nelly perceives the girl as 'soft and mild', since that is the way in which Isabella is most often perceived or presented. The connection between Cathy and her aunt may suggest that Nelly's opinion of the girl is not entirely correct: if the supposedly timid Isabella could elope with Heathcliff and later abandon him, which indicates a strong-willed nature that seems more likely to be associated with the allegedly unruly, headstrong Catherine, then it is also possible for the soft and mild Cathy to upset the peace – and that is exactly what she does. During the first thirteen years of her life, she has not really gone beyond the borders of the park, except to go to church with her father. She wants to go to the Craggs, however, and when her father leaves the region to rush to Isabella's deathbed, she escapes from the Grange and heads to her intended destination. It is possible that it is because Edgar is absent and no longer able to regulate what happens at the Grange that his daughter can break out of the prison in which he has kept her until now. It is while she is on her way to the Heights that Cathy meets Hareton, who escorts her to the Craggs and then takes her back to the Heights. It is at this point in the novel that the struggle between the socially superior Cathy and Linton, whom Edgar will bring back to the region with him, and the socially inferior Hareton, begins.

Edgar returns to the region with Linton, his nephew. Linton Heathcliff's physical appearance and first name link him to the Lintons, and his last name ties him to the current owner of the Heights. However, he was born outside of the region, and is a native of neither of the houses, which means that Edgar is yet another patriarch who brings an outsider into the space he is meant to control. The arrival of another outsider presents the possibility of increased conflict, as was the case with Heathcliff and Frances, as I have demonstrated. When Nelly first sees the child, she mentions that

[h]e was asleep, in a corner, wrapped in a warm, fur-lined cloak, as if it had been winter. A pale, delicate, effeminate boy, who might have been taken for my master's younger brother, so strong was the resemblance, but there was a sickly peevishness in his aspect, that Edgar Linton never had (200).

If the 'pale' boy is physically weak, as is suggested by the fact that he cannot tolerate summer temperatures without being 'wrapped in a warm, fur-lined cloak', which raises questions as to his masculinity and imputed morality, then it bodes ill for his ability to exert control over the world around him. His masculinity is also subverted by Nelly's comment that he is 'pale, delicate, [and] effeminate'. She is not the only character who comments on the boy's effeminacy: when Linton is taken to the Heights, and Joseph has inspected the child, the old servant comments that he must be Heathcliff's 'lass' (207), that is, his daughter. When Heathcliff sees his son for the first time he exclaims: 'God! what a beauty! what a lovely, charming thing!' (207) Nelly mentions that Heathcliff 'took off the boy's cap and pushed back his thick flaxen curls, [and] felt his slender arms, and his small fingers' (207). Cathy later refers to Linton as '[p]retty' (238). The words they use to describe the boy are usually used to refer to women. Considering the nineteenth-century discourse about the threat homosexuals, who were likened to and associated with women and the subversion of ruling-class male power, were thought to pose, Linton, who is physically, and therefore, according to this logic, also morally, weak, and who is effeminate and thus does not fit the nineteenth-century ideal regarding masculinity, poses a threat to social order. The earliest readers of the novel may have been much more aware of the potential threat the arrival of a weak, effeminate boy posed to the family and to society as a whole. The boy's wickedness is proven when Heathcliff tells Cathy that he heard Linton 'draw a pleasant picture to Zillah of what he would do, if he were as strong as I – the inclination is there, and his very weakness will sharpen his wits to find a substitute for strength' (288). The boy's spite is thus not reduced, but increased, by his weakness, which seems to echo the connection between physical inferiority and corruption.

Linton's ill health is not merely presented in terms of an inability to control the world around him and wickedness; it is also physical in the sense that his impending death threatens to foil Heathcliff's plan to gain control of the Grange. Heathcliff, who already possesses the Heights, tells Nelly that

'my son is prospective owner of your place, and I should not wish him to die till I was certain of being his successor. Besides, he's *mine*, and I want the triumph of

seeing *my* descendant fairly lord of their estates; my child hiring their children, to till their fathers' lands for wages – That is the sole consideration which can make me endure the whelp' (208, italics in original).

Although he dislikes Linton, he realises that he will only be able to become the owner of the Grange if Linton, who is the rightful heir to the Grange, outlives Edgar and then wills the property to his father. As far as Heathcliff's plans are concerned, Linton's weakness poses a threat not because it renders him an unfit patriarch or because it poses a threat to social well-being, but because he may die before his father has found a way to obtain possession of the Grange.

On her sixteenth birthday, Cathy meets the owner of the Heights, who shows her that Linton stays at the Heights. It is at this point that the parallel between the interactions between Heathcliff, Edgar, and Catherine, and those between Hareton, Cathy, and Linton, is revealed most clearly. According to Nelly, Hareton, who is now twenty-one years old, has 'gained nothing but increased bulk and strength by the addition of two years to his age: he seemed as awkward and rough as ever' (214). An opposition is established between the delicate but well-educated Linton and the physically powerful but uncivilised Hareton, which mirrors the contrast between Edgar and Heathcliff, to some extent. This suggests that Cathy, who shares many of her mother's traits, may have to choose between Linton and Hareton as her late mother had to choose between Edgar and Heathcliff. The girl's decision is made for her when Heathcliff forces her into marrying Linton. According to the laws at the time, any property a woman owned became her husband's upon marriage. Heathcliff realises that, if his son should die, the Grange will go to Cathy, unless he devises a plan to get his son to sign the property over to him.

Cathy is imprisoned at the Heights after her forced marriage to Linton, which means that she cannot return to her dying father. Nelly later says that she sent men to plead with Heathcliff to send the young woman back to her father, and that Cathy could hear

the men I sent, disputing at the door, and she gathered the sense of Heathcliff's answer. It drove her desperate – Linton, who had been conveyed up to the little parlour soon after I left, was terrified into fetching the key before his father re-ascended. He had the cunning to unlock, and re-lock the door, without shutting it; and when he should have gone to bed, he begged to sleep with Hareton, and his petition was granted, for once. Catherine stole out before break of day (284).

Despite his malice, Linton undermines the authority of the owner of the Heights by setting his wife free. It seems that it is an alliance between them – an alliance that seems to be similar to the one between Isabella and Hindley, which I have discussed earlier – that enables them to subvert Heathcliff’s power long enough to grant the young woman the opportunity to be at her father’s deathbed. Mr Green never makes it to the Grange before Edgar’s death, since Heathcliff detains him, and the patriarch does not get to ensure that the property goes to Cathy when Linton dies. The way in which he does it is never revealed, but Heathcliff later manages to convince his son to sign the Grange over to him. The man whom Nelly sees as a usurper thus cheats Cathy out of the property that should have been hers.

After Edgar’s funeral, Heathcliff goes to the Grange to get Cathy; he has suffered her to stay at her dying father’s side, and allowed her to stay for the funeral, but he now wants her back at the Heights. Nelly describes Heathcliff’s arrival at the Grange; she says that ‘[h]e made no ceremony of knocking, or announcing his name; he was master, and availed himself of the master’s privilege to walk straight in, without saying a word’ (286). The opposition between the Heights and the Grange is destabilised by the fact that he now owns and controls both; the houses no longer belong to distinct families, but to one man. When Nelly asks Heathcliff why he will not let Cathy stay with her at the Grange, he tells her that ‘I’m seeking a tenant for the Grange... and I want my children about me, to be sure – besides, that lass owes me her services for her bread; I’m not going to nurture her in luxury and idleness after Linton is gone’ (287). It is clear that he means to dominate Cathy and Linton. However, the young woman’s reaction to his words seems to foretell Heathcliff’s lack of control over the Heights: she tells him that ‘Linton is all I have to love in the world, and, though you have done what you could to make him hateful to me, and me to him, you *cannot* make us hate each other! and I defy you to hurt him when I am by, and I defy you to frighten me’ (287, italics in original). Her comment does not merely indicate a rebelliousness on her part; it also indicates that an alliance at the Heights, to which I have already referred in relation to Linton’s setting the restrained Cathy free so she can go to her father’s deathbed, may also set the dominated free in this instance. However, such an alliance between Cathy and Linton is prevented by the husband’s death. The widow, like Hareton, is therefore forced to submit to Heathcliff.

Since Nelly no longer stays at the Heights, and cannot make contact with Cathy, she has to rely on external sources for news about the situation at the Heights. She obtains information from Zillah, the current housekeeper at the Heights; she mentions that Zillah

thinks Catherine haughty, and does not like her, I can guess by her talk. My young lady asked some aid of her, when she first came, but Mr Heathcliff told her to follow her own business, and let his daughter-in-law look after herself, and Zillah willingly acquiesced, being a narrow-minded selfish woman. Catherine evinced a child's annoyance at this neglect; repaid it with contempt, and thus enlisted my informant among her enemies (292).

Zillah's dislike of Cathy is a result of what she perceives as the young woman's haughtiness. Nelly disliked Catherine for the same reason. A link is thus established between the daughter and her late mother. The ill feelings between Nelly and Catherine are paralleled by those between Zillah and Cathy, which may imply that the young woman is as friendless at the Heights as her mother used to be when she and Nelly were staying there and she had to contend with Hindley's tyranny and Heathcliff's and Edgar's dislike of each other.

It is this situation that Lockwood encounters when he first comes to the region in November 1801. It may be said that it is because he enters the Gothic space of the Heights that his behaviour becomes violent and that his dreams are troubled. However, it seems more likely that his behaviour is no different from the Heights' inhabitants', and that the notion of him as more civilised can be ascribed largely to the possibility that he, as a city dweller, regards himself as superior to those in rural communities. His share in the creation of the dissension at the Heights is first observed by the fact that he invites himself over to the Heights, thereby imposing on his landlord and on the customs of hospitality. It is he who teases the dogs and causes them to attack him, yet he is quick to complain about the inhabitants' indifference to his plight, and to object to the way in which those at the Heights treat him. It thus seems that Lockwood is yet another outsider who increases the conflict in the region.

During one of his visits to the Heights, Lockwood witnesses an argument between Joseph and Cathy. The old servant tells the widow: 'Aw woonder hagh yah can faishion to stand thear i' idleness un war, when all on 'em's goan aght! Bud yah're a nowt, and it's noa use talking – yah'll niver mend uh yer ill ways; but goa raight tuh t' divil, like yer mother afore ye!' (15) The servant appears to regard Cathy as one of the damned reprobates who will not be saved by the grace of God and who will therefore be damned to Hell. It may be that his Calvinistic ideas underlie his opinion that there is no point in trying to talk to the young woman about her 'ill ways': if it is predestined that God will save only a select few, then it is of no use trying to convince the girl to 'mend' her ways, since she, whom Joseph sees as a reprobate, is damned regardless. It seems that his opinion of the girl as a reprobate is largely driven by the parallel

he draws between her and her late mother, whom he also disliked for her alleged wickedness. It is possible that the parallel he draws between mother and daughter serves to illustrate that, just as Catherine supposedly upset the delicate social order, so Cathy is capable of disrupting it. There is a significant difference between the women, however: the mother, who seems to have been hurt by the disapproval of those in power, fled from society by rambling across the moors with Heathcliff, who was and is yet seen as damned by the old servant. Cathy, on the other hand, while also hurt by the inattention of those around her, does not flee from society, but constructs a new space for herself and attempts deliberately to undermine the superiority of those in positions of power: she responds to Joseph's comment by warning him to

‘refrain from provoking me, or I’ll ask your abduction as a special favour. Stop, look here, Joseph.... I’ll show you how far I’ve progressed in the Black Art – I shall soon be competent to make a clear house of it. The red cow didn’t die by chance; and your rheumatism can hardly be reckoned among providential visitations! [...] [B]e off, or I’ll hurt you seriously! I’ll have you all modelled in wax and clay; and the first who passes the limits I fix, shall – I’ll not say what he shall be done to – but, you’ll see! Go, I’m looking at you!’ (15)

Lockwood mentions that, after saying this, ‘[t]he little witch put a mock malignity into her beautiful eyes, and Joseph, trembling with sincere horror, hurried out praying and ejaculating “wicked” as he went’ (15). Cathy seems not to feel wounded by the idea of being labelled a witch; in fact, she appears to welcome it as a means to undercut the standards imposed upon her by patriarchal society. By embracing her supposed status as an outsider and reprobate, she destabilises the power that characters such as Joseph have over her, and thus regains some of the power that has been taken from her as a result of society’s having cast her into the inferior space assigned to women. Her pretend association with black magic enables her to set limits, that is, to establish a new space for herself and to construct the borders that separate that space from those of the other inhabitants. Her pretending to be a witch really seems to scare Joseph, who feels threatened enough to leave her alone. The quarrel between them thus suggests that it may be in the young woman’s power to overthrow the order that men such as Mr Earnshaw, Hindley, Heathcliff, and Joseph have established.

There is another element that contributes to Cathy’s power: her appearance, which entails not only her beauty, but also the likeness between her and her mother. When Lockwood returns to the region in September 1802, Nelly tells him that, two weeks after he left, Heathcliff asked her to come to live at the Heights; she mentions that

Heathcliff did not explain his reasons for taking a new mind about my coming here; he only told me he wanted me, and he was tired of seeing Catherine: I must make the little parlour my sitting room, and keep her with me. It was enough if he were obliged to see her once or twice a day (310).

While his wish not to see the young woman results in her being confined to the parlour, it also separates her from him, which gives her the opportunity to escape from his authority. It is perhaps because of the freedom it gives her that she is ‘pleased at this arrangement’ (310). The situation is not ideal, however, and Cathy,

contented at first, in a brief space grew irritable and restless. For one thing, she was forbidden to move out of the garden, and it fretted her sadly to be confined to its narrow bounds, as Spring drew on – for another, in following the house, I was forced to quit her frequently, and she complained of loneliness (310).

It seems that Cathy’s power and happiness are undermined not only by her being denied permission to leave the house, but also by her friendlessness.

The situation at the Heights changes in March and April 1802 when Hareton is confined to the house as a result of a hunting accident, and when Joseph goes to the Gimmerton fair on Easter Monday. Nelly says that Hareton

became for some days a fixture in the kitchen. His gun burst, while out on the hills by himself; a splinter cut his arm, and he lost a good deal of blood before he could reach home. The consequence was that, perforce, he was condemned to the fireside and tranquillity, till he made it up again. It suited Catherine to have him there: at any rate, it made her hate her room upstairs more than ever (312).

Hareton, who has mostly avoided his cousin till now, is forced to stay inside the house, the space that was assigned to and associated with women, and that was considered a threat to the masculinity of nineteenth-century ruling-class men. Since he is now locked into the domain of women, he seems more likely to be influenced by his female cousin. It is now possible for the young woman to attempt to forge an alliance with her cousin, which, considering the effect of an alliance between Isabella and Hindley, may enable the two cousins to undercut Heathcliff’s power over the Heights and its inhabitants and thus to destabilise the oppressive patriarchal order he represents.

The hunting accident extends beyond its confining Hareton to the house. The effect of hunting accidents on male characters is also seen in other nineteenth-century literary works: *Yeast*, for example, one of the early novels of Charles Kingsley, who is well known for his role in the

shaping of the nineteenth-century masculine ideal, ‘concerns the acquisition of a social conscience by its hero Lancelot Smith after a hunting accident and through a lengthy convalescence.... [A]s Smith’s bodily strength grows, so too does his moral strength’ (Hall 1994a:8). As Smith’s moral strength grows in relation to his bodily strength during his recovery, so does Hareton’s: there is a change in himself and in the way he sees and controls his world. His growth is also supported by female characters such as Nelly and Cathy, which challenges the idea that the presence of women subverts the superior position of ruling-class men. While Heathcliff’s transformation appears to be linked to a materialistic amassing of wealth, and a drive to attain a superior social position by means of the power wealth provides, Hareton’s seems to entail a spiritual or moral change, which may suggest that he will possess a morality that his predecessors lacked, that his masculinity will be more positive than that of the earlier patriarchs, and that he will be able to manage the space he inherits successfully.

When Joseph goes to the fair, Cathy is undisturbed by the servant’s objections to her allegedly corrupt character. She is free to walk up to her cousin, whom Joseph encourages to stay away from her, and to extend her hand in an attempt to show him that she wants to put an end to the hostility between them. Nelly says that, in response to his cousin’s gesture, Hareton

scowled like a thunder cloud, and kept his fists resolutely clenched, and his gaze fixed on the ground. Catherine, by instinct, must have divined it was obdurate perversity, and not dislike, that prompted this dogged conduct; for, after remaining an instant, undecided, she stooped, and impressed on his cheek a gentle kiss.... Whether the kiss convinced Hareton, I cannot tell; he was very careful, for some minutes, that his face should not be seen; and when he did raise it, he was sadly puzzled where to turn his eyes (Brontë 2003:313-314).

Cathy thus seems to rely on her female sexuality to convince her cousin of the sincerity of her wish to be reconciled with him. For centuries, female sexuality has been presented as a threat to patriarchal society, and the link that exists between it and witchcraft, which Cathy pretends to be familiar with, is well established in the history of Western civilisation. In her discussion of magic in the Middle Ages, Michelle Sweeney states that ‘there was tremendous anxiety surrounding the idea that a woman could use the *seemingly* magical power of her sexuality to control men’ (Sweeney 2000:27, italics in original), and that ‘the deeper issue behind the anxiety of who controls magic, women or men, is one concerning who has power in society’ (28). This medieval notion seems to be reflected in *Wuthering Heights*, particularly in Cathy’s convincing Hareton to ‘clear a large space of ground from currant and gooseberry bushes’ and planning with him ‘an importation of plants from the Grange’ (Brontë 2003:317), and in

Joseph's reaction to these acts. Some discussions of the novel present Cathy and Hareton's changing the garden of the Heights as indicative of the mellowing influence of the Grange on the Heights' fiery, often violent inhabitants. However, the change in the garden seems not to indicate a restoration of order as much as a shift in power: by persuading Hareton to dig up Joseph's currant trees, the young woman appropriates a space of Joseph's. The old servant complains to Heathcliff:

'Aw mun hev my wage, and Aw mun goa! Aw *hed* aimed tuh dee, wheare Aw'd sarved fur sixty year; un' Aw thowt Aw'd lug my books up intuh t' garret, un' all my bits uh stuff, un' they sud hev t' kitchen tuh theirseln; fur t' sake uh quietness. It wur hard tuh gie up my awn hearthstun, but Aw thowt Aw *could* do that! But, nah, shoo's taan my garden frough me, un' by th' heart! Maister, Aw cannot stand it!' (318-319, italics in original).

The servant has been working at the Heights for sixty years, and has taken his possessions into the garret and given the kitchen to Cathy, whom he wishes to avoid. Now, on top of that, she has taken his garden from him by replacing his plants with some of her choice. It thus seems that she is powerful enough to displace Joseph, and thus to curb his influence over her and Hareton. Heathcliff, who does not know what Joseph is talking about, assumes the old servant is upset with Nelly. Joseph makes it clear that he is not upset with Nelly; that

'Aw sudn't shift fur Nelly – Nasty, ill nowt as shoo is, thank God! *shoo* cannot stale t'sowl uh nob'dy! Shoo wer niver soa handsome, bud whet a body mud look at her baht winking. It's yon flaysome, graceless quean, ut's witched ahr lad, wi' her bold een, un' her forrard ways' (319, italics in original).

His comments reveal that he does not see Nelly as a threat because she is not beautiful, and, as such, cannot bewitch people to gain power over them. The threat, in his opinion, is Cathy, who, with her bold eyes and forward ways, has managed to bewitch Hareton, and who is now capable of bending her cousin to her will.

When Heathcliff confronts Hareton about what he has done, and Cathy confesses that it was her idea, the widow tells the owner of the Heights that she and Hareton 'are friends now', to which he responds by asking the 'witch' how she dares to rouse Hareton against him (320). His calling her a 'witch' shows that he, like Joseph, sees her as a woman who may defeat the established order. However, Cathy cannot rouse Hareton against Heathcliff because the young man is too loyal to turn against the master, whom he loves despite the ill-treatment he has suffered at his hands. Heathcliff tells Cathy that, '[a]s to Hareton Earnshaw, if I see him listen

to you, I'll send him seeking his bread where he can get it! Your love will make him an outcast, and a beggar' (320-321). He thus attempts to divide Cathy and Hareton in the way Hindley once separated him and Catherine. He seems unable or indisposed to uphold the division between them, however: Nelly tells Cathy to have her dinner upstairs, but, when Heathcliff sees her empty chair, he sends Nelly to call her. He 'spoke to none of us, ate very little, and went out directly afterwards, intimating that he should not return before evening' (321). It seems he does not want to dominate the inhabitants of the Heights since he would rather be by himself out on the moors.

Nelly tells Lockwood that Heathcliff returned to the house at dusk and found her, Cathy, and Hareton sitting together. The cousins were reading, and, according to Nelly, 'they lifted their eyes together, to encounter Mr Heathcliff – perhaps, you have never remarked that their eyes are precisely similar, and they are those of Catherine Earnshaw' (322). According to Nelly, it is possible that 'this resemblance disarmed Mr Heathcliff' (322): when he has indicated to Cathy that she should leave the room, and her cousin has followed her, he tells Nelly that he has 'lost the faculty of enjoying their destruction', and is 'too idle to destroy for nothing', and that 'there is a strange change approaching' (323). It seems that it is due to this 'change' that he is no longer concerned about his hold on the houses and their occupants. He says that '[t]he entire world is a dreadful collection of memoranda that she did exist, and that I have lost her!' (324), which indicates that he considers it a form of torture to be alive when life separates him from Catherine. As he becomes increasingly interested in being reunited with Catherine in the afterlife, his dominion over the Heights and the Grange becomes more and more diminished. When he dies, the Heights and the Grange return to their rightful owners: the Heights to Hareton, and the Grange to Cathy.

The extent of the change at the Heights, in particular, is revealed when Lockwood returns to the region in September 1802, and writes in his diary that

I had neither to climb the gate, nor to knock – it yielded to my hand.... And I noticed another, by the aid of my nostrils; a fragrance of stocks and wall flowers, wafted on the air, from amongst the homely fruit trees. Both doors and lattices were open (307).

The open access he encounters has been presented in discussions of the novel as illustrative of the restoration of order in the region, particularly because Heathcliff is dead. When he meets Nelly, and asks to speak to the master of the Grange, the housekeeper tells him that 'it is with

Mrs Heathcliff you must settle... or rather with me. She has not learnt to manage her affairs yet, and I act for her; there's nobody else' (309). Since Cathy is too inexperienced to see to her own affairs, Nelly, a servant, takes over. It is debatable whether peace is re-established at the end of the novel, since the Grange is not controlled by its rightful owner, but by a servant. It is possible that the Heights' being controlled by a servant is just another indication of the unconventional power relations now in evidence both at the Heights itself and in the relations between the inhabitants of the Grange and of the Heights.

It is possible, however, that the novel attempts not to depict the restoration of an earlier order, but to represent a new order. Hareton does not usurp the property he comes to own, and seems not to dominate the women or servants at the Heights. He does not turn against his oppressor, but loves him despite the ill-treatment he suffers at his hands. Despite his apparent passivity, however, he will gain ownership of the Grange once he marries Cathy on 1 January 1803. The new order opposes the earlier order that is marked by patriarchs' excessive desire to preserve their power in society. It is possible that the novel aims to show that excessive control does not ensure continued empowerment, but results in a loss of it; that by being less determined to regulate space and its occupants unbendingly it is possible to build up a resistance against possibly disruptive forces. It is debatable whether the ending of the novel reflects a complete resolution of conflict: given the changes in the power relations in the novel, and the effect of this on the Heights and the Grange, it seems inevitable that Hareton and Cathy's control over the estates will be challenged and possibly even subverted at some stage. It is possible that their control over their properties, like that of the owners of these spaces before them, is temporary; that it, like social life, is inherently unstable. Even so, the new order does seem to offer the promise of a more secure dispensation.

Chapter 3: Death, burial practices, and the afterworld

I have paid attention to the relationships between nature and society, between British society and the other societies in the Empire, between males and females, and between the body standard and the ‘devalued other’, and to nineteenth-century discourses regarding the human body. So far I have focused on the spaces of the living, however, and have not examined the places society assigns to the deceased. As I have stated in the introduction, Lefebvre claims that the space of society incorporates the ‘actions of subjects both individual and collective who are born and who die’ (Lefebvre 1991:33), which suggests that death is as much a part of society as life. The importance of death in *Wuthering Heights* is revealed by the fact that the text refers to no fewer than twelve deaths. Through its representation of this great number of deaths, the narrative does not only reflect the significant mortality rates of the nineteenth century, but also investigates reactions to death, burial practices, and the spaces the living allocate to the dead. In her study of the portrayal of death in the novel, Laura Inman mentions that ‘the narrative lingers over six deaths, those of Frances, Hindley, Catherine, Edgar, Linton and Heathcliff. To a lesser or greater extent, their deaths give rise to musings on death that take two general forms: presentiments and grief’ (Inman 2008:193). The text does not only examine death through ‘presentiments and grief’, though, but also portrays the locations the mainly Protestant society of nineteenth-century Britain allocated to death, and questions these sites and their relation to one another, as I have mentioned earlier. In order to explore the effects of the six deaths Inman mentions and the deaths of Mr Earnshaw and Isabella it may be best to discuss these deaths chronologically, beginning with the death of Mr Earnshaw in 1777, and ending with that of Heathcliff in 1802.

Nelly says that, when Catherine realised that Mr Earnshaw was dead, the girl ‘screamed out – “Oh, he’s dead, Heathcliff! he’s dead!” And they both set up a heart-breaking cry. I joined my wail to theirs, loud and bitter; but Joseph asked what we could be thinking of to roar in that way over a saint in Heaven’ (Brontë 2003:44). As we have seen, religions and individuals have spread and believed in the idea of such a world, which they have managed to uphold for millennia by generating and sustaining spaces they allot to the dead. Since it is the living who create the afterworld, as I have stated in the introduction, the sites they assign to it change whenever their ideas about death do. I have also argued that, since different societies do not necessarily have the same ideas about death, they may not allocate the same locations to it. The changes in social thought on death have, as I have demonstrated, resulted in the formation

of an understanding of the realms Christianity allots to death: heaven, hell, and purgatory. It is the site of heaven, which, as I have said, is believed to be the location allocated to those who are thought to have lived moral lives, Joseph has in mind when he asks what Nelly, Catherine, and Heathcliff ‘could be thinking of to roar in that way over a saint in Heaven’.

The old servant’s comment about the ‘saint in Heaven’ also appears to suggest that the living should not mourn the passing of loved ones, since the departed get to go to heaven. As I have mentioned, society may assume that it is easier for the bereaved to continue with their lives if they can believe that the dead are merely temporarily separated from them, and live in a world that is preferable to their own, than it is to come to terms with the possibility that there is no life beyond death, and that their deceased loved ones are lost to them forever. The novel seems to represent the solace this notion is thought to provide in Catherine and Heathcliff’s attempt to deal with Mr Earnshaw’s death: Nelly, who goes to the children’s room to console them, discovers that

they had never lain down, though it was past midnight; but they were calmer, and did not need me to console them. The little souls were comforting each other with better thoughts than I could have hit on; no parson in the world ever pictured Heaven so beautifully as they did, in their innocent talk (44).

The novel continues to explore death through the passing of Frances in late 1778 and its effect on her husband. Nelly states that, after his wife’s death, Hindley

execrated God and man, and gave himself up to reckless dissipation. The servants could not bear his tyrannical and evil conduct long: Joseph and I were the only two that would stay.... The master’s bad ways and bad companions formed a pretty example for Catherine and Heathcliff. His treatment of the latter was enough to make a fiend of a saint.... I could not half tell what an infernal house we had. The curate dropped calling, and nobody decent came near us, at last; unless Edgar Linton’s visits to Miss Cathy might be an exception (66).

The housekeeper appears partly to ascribe Hindley’s inability to come to terms with the death of his wife, his degenerate and violent behaviour, and the unpleasant situation at the Heights, to his turning against and thus failing to trust in God. Although her account suggests the idea of hell on earth, as opposed to in the afterworld, it is debatable whether the division between the locations of these sites on earth and in the afterworld is as definite and fixed as one might think, considering the power of the assumed link between the life a person lives on earth and the space he or she can expect to inhabit in the afterworld. Nelly’s remarks may, for example, represent the notion I have discussed earlier that God causes suffering such as Hindley’s to

purge the souls of the wicked so they can go to heaven, which emphasises the presumed connection between life on earth and that in the afterworld. It may also be that the housekeeper sees the turmoil into which the occupants of the Heights are cast, and the immorality that is linked to Hindley, Heathcliff, and Catherine, as a cause and effect of the master's lack of faith in God and as a result of the absence of the curate. Consequently, it may be argued that Hindley's dissoluteness results in his, Catherine's, and Heathcliff's losing the protection devoutness is believed to offer the pious, which may jeopardise their going to heaven when they die.

On 6 January 1784, after an argument between Edgar and Heathcliff that results in the latter's being banished from the Grange, Catherine locks herself in her room, starves herself for three days, and falls seriously ill. On 19 March 1784, Heathcliff enters the space from which he is exiled, despite Edgar's threat to have him arrested if he should do so, since he wants to see Catherine. During what turns out to be her last conversation with him, she asks him:

'How many years do you mean to live after I am gone? [...] Will you forget me – will you be happy when I am in the earth? Will you say twenty years hence, "That's the grave of Catherine Earnshaw. I loved her long ago, and was wretched to lose her; but it is past. I've loved many others since – my children are dearer to me than she was, and, at death, I shall not rejoice that I am going to her, I shall be sorry that I must leave them!" Will you say so, Heathcliff?' (160)

Her asking him if he will forget her and if he will be sorry to leave his children reinforces the notion that the dead are separated from the living, and live in a world where the living cannot reach them. Her questions cast in doubt the validity of society's excluding death to distance itself from it and thus to enable the bereaved to move on with their lives: her fear of being forgotten subverts the notion that the dead are in a better place, and that the living ought to be consoled by this. The sorrow this division can cause is also reflected in Heathcliff's response to Catherine's words: he asks her if it is 'not sufficient for your infernal selfishness, that while you are at peace I shall writhe in the torments of hell' (161). Both of them, who appeared to be comforted by the belief that Mr Earnshaw had gone to heaven, are now haunted by the idea of being separated by the alleged border between the worlds of the living and the dead, which she shows when she tells him that 'I shall not be at peace.... I only wish never to be parted – and should a word of mine distress you hereafter, think I feel the same distress underground' (161). Based on her response, it is possible not only that the bereaved suffer because they are divided from the dead, but also that the dead mourn those they are forced to leave behind. It

may then be that those who are considered to live in the afterworld are not necessarily content or do not exist in a realm that is preferable to earth.

It may be said that Catherine and Heathcliff lack the faith in God that is required for them to come to terms with the deaths of loved ones, which means that they, like Hindley, who curses God after his wife's death, and turns the Heights into an 'infernal house' (66), as Nelly calls it, are seen as immoral or wicked, and therefore unable to go to heaven. The parallel between their suffering and Hindley's suggests that their pain may also represent God's purging their souls of sin to ensure that they will go to heaven, which not only stresses the link between the spaces these characters inhabit on earth and those they can expect to occupy in the afterworld, but also implies that their souls are still too immoral to enter heaven, and therefore need to be cleansed. This, along with the idea that Catherine, like the other occupants of the Heights, has lost the safeguard of Christianity, plays an integral part in the novel's discussion of her death and allusions to vampiric possession.

Supernatural creatures such as vampires are often found in the Romantic and Gothic literature of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Abrams mentions that

the typical story [in Gothic novels, particularly] focused on the sufferings imposed on an innocent heroine by a cruel and lustful villain, and made bountiful use of ghosts, mysterious disappearances, and other sensational and supernatural occurrences.... The principal aim of such novels was to evoke chilling terror by exploiting mystery and a variety of horrors. Many of them are now read mainly as period pieces, but the best opened up to fiction the realm of the irrational and of the perverse impulses and nightmarish terrors that lie beneath the orderly surface of the civilized mind.... The term 'Gothic' has also been extended to a type of fiction which lacks the exotic setting of the earlier romances, but develops a brooding *atmosphere* of gloom and terror, represents events that are uncanny or macabre or melodramatically violent, and often deals with aberrant psychological states (Abrams 2005:117-118, italics in original).

The references in *Wuthering Heights* to possible vampiric possession tie in with this literary tradition, and may be meant to portray and explore the nineteenth-century preoccupation with and anxiety about the fate of the souls of the dead. As I have indicated, it was believed that a vampire was a person who had lost the protection of Christian guardianship as a result of his or her sins, and thus allowed the devil to take over his or her corpse. Thus, if Catherine loses this protection when the curate stops calling at the Heights and no one 'decent' comes to visit any more, then her body is likely to be possessed by the devil, which means that her soul will

be trapped in her corpse, and kept from going to heaven and from being united with God. The risk she runs of being possessed by the devil is increased by allusions to suicide. Since Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897), [vampiric] possession by attack has been... emphasized in the popular media, but previously the vampire population was thought to be primarily augmented by sinners, especially suicides' (Twitchell 1981:8). Although Catherine's death is most likely due to illness, she does not eat anything in three days, and thus nearly starves herself to death. Furthermore, when Edgar visits her sickbed and wants to know if she loves Heathcliff, she stops him before he can say the man's name, and threatens to 'end the matter, instantly, by a spring from the window', that is, to jump out the window and fall to her death, if he mentions it (Brontë 2003:128). The possibility of suicide – even if by refusing or failing to eat – suggests that her body may be in danger of being possessed by the devil, and that she may become a vampire.

Sin was not the only cause of vampiric possession, however: it was also believed that a person could be possessed 'when the vampire actually attacked and successfully transformed the victim into another vampire' (Twitchell 1981:10). The idea that, in addition to being thought immoral and possibly killing herself, Catherine is attacked by a vampire is reflected in her last interaction with Heathcliff, who may be associated with vampires for several reasons. Nelly establishes a connection between him and vampires by wondering whether he is a 'vampire' (Brontë 2003:330), as I have indicated earlier. Moreover, the sins that were believed to result in vampiric possession include, as we have seen, 'any social peculiarity.... So in dark-eyed cultures the blue-eyed were suspect; in dark-haired societies the blond was exiled' (Twitchell 1981:9). Heathcliff's being physically different from the other characters is emphasised from the moment he arrives at the Heights, as I have indicated earlier; there are many references in the novel to his dark hair and eyes, which are frequently contrasted to the fair features of the Lintons. Additionally, the vampire in nineteenth-century British fiction is 'strong and agile' (Tracy 1990:33), 'elegant, well dressed, a master of seduction, a cynic, [and] a person exempt from prevailing socio-moral codes' (Punter 1996:104). Heathcliff may be said to possess these characteristics. Twitchell mentions that the 'vampire myth in the West has always had animalistic overtones', and that the 'wolf was the preferred animal form for the vampire spirit when not in its human husk' (Twitchell 1981:20). Given the numerous comparisons between Heathcliff and wild animals, the association between him and the animalistic qualities of the vampire is unmistakable.

According to Nelly, the possibly vampiric Heathcliff grabs holds of Catherine's arm, and, 'so inadequate was his stock of gentleness to the requirements of her condition, that on his letting go, I saw four distinct impressions left blue in the colourless skin' (Brontë 2003:161). While she may merely want to convey the idea that Heathcliff is uncivilised and therefore is not as gentle as a gentleman would be, it may also be that he bruises the younger woman, not because he lacks tenderness, but because he does not realise his own excessive – possibly vampiric – strength. The servant also states that, when Catherine implored Heathcliff to come to her, the younger woman

made a spring, and he caught her, and they were locked in an embrace from which I thought my mistress would never be released alive.... He flung himself into the nearest seat, and on my approaching hurriedly to ascertain if she had fainted, he gnashed at me, and foamed like a mad dog, and gathered her to him with greedy jealousy. I did not feel as if I were in the company of a creature of my own species; it appeared that he would not understand, though I spoke to him; so, I stood off, and held my tongue, in great perplexity (162).

The image of Heathcliff as a 'mad dog' emphasises the idea of him as an animal, and thus reinforces the association of him with the animalistic – particularly canine – qualities of the vampire in Western vampire myths. The possibility of him as a 'dog' and vampire is further strengthened by the servant's feeling that Heathcliff is not a creature of her own species, that is, is not human. If Heathcliff is a vampire who attacks Catherine, then Nelly may be partly responsible for what befalls the younger woman: in the nineteenth century, it was thought that the victim of a vampire attack did not become a vampire immediately. In vampire lore, the victim is

weakened, not possessed. She may be lucky – the vampire may be destroyed or may have a liaison elsewhere; or she may have a friend who can recognize the symptoms of her ensuing enervation and take defensive action.... Up until the very moment of possession it is a two-handed game; for instance, in Christian cultures the vampire is terrified by all icons of the [C]hurch – the cross, holy water, the Bible, the rosary; even the words "God" and "Christ", when spoken by the devout, can send the vampire into a paroxysm of fear.... If the victim does not defend herself, or if she allows the vampire to return, he will eventually drain her of blood until she wastes away. Finally, she will appear to die, but in reality the husk of her body is taken over by the devil. Her soul is trapped, and now she must start an eternity of searching for new analeptic blood-energy to keep from the pains of starvation without end, a horrible life without death (Twitchell 1981:11).

Nelly, who does not intervene, but stands by quietly and does not expel Heathcliff from the Grange, may be seen to fail in preventing the vampire from draining Catherine's life force and

thus making it possible for the devil eventually to possess the husk her body will become. Of course, it would have been difficult, if not impossible, for Nelly, who is but a servant at the Grange, to banish Heathcliff.

Catherine dies on 20 March 1784. Nelly comments on the appearance of the corpse: she says that its features are those of ‘perfect peace. Her brow smooth, her lids closed, her lips wearing the expression of a smile. No angel in heaven could be more beautiful than she appeared; and I partook of the infinite calm in which she lay’ (Brontë 2003:166). She apparently links the space of the corpse to the site that will presumably be allotted to Catherine’s soul: she seems to see the serene appearance of the corpse as an indication that the late woman’s soul is in a space that is equally peaceful. A connection is consequently established between the physical or perceived spaces and between the imagined or conceived locations of the first and second components of Lefebvre’s spatial triad, respectively. She queries this link, however, by saying that ‘one might have doubted, after the wayward and impatient existence [Catherine] had led, whether she merited a haven of peace at last. One might doubt in seasons of cold reflection, but not then, in the presence of her corpse’ (167). If one may doubt ‘in seasons of cold reflection’, then it is possible that parallels between physical and imagined spaces are illusory or that a peaceful afterlife for someone as immoral as Nelly claims Catherine to have been seems questionable.

Nelly takes it upon herself to inform Heathcliff of Catherine’s death. When he asks if she died ‘like a saint’ (168), the housekeeper says that she died as

‘[q]uietly as a lamb! [...] She drew a sigh, and stretched herself, like a child reviving, and sinking again to sleep; and five minutes after I felt one little pulse at her heart, and nothing more! [...] She lies with a sweet smile on her face; and her latest ideas wandered back to pleasant early days. Her life closed in a gentle dream – may she wake as kindly in the other world!’ (168-169).

She suggests the possibility that the quiet way in which Catherine has died shows that her soul is equally at peace in the afterworld. This idea is cast in doubt, however, by the conceptions expressed in the usual portrayal of deathbed scenes in eighteenth-century literature, on which the novel appears to draw: Geoffrey Rowell states that,

although the eighteenth century may well be characterized as “the age of reason”, it was also an age of religious revival. Methodism and the larger Evangelical revival in the Church of England of which it was part were revivals whose kinship

with continental Protestant pietism and continuity with earlier English Puritanism is increasingly recognized. This revivalist religion was Biblicist in character, and was part of the seedbed of the wider movement of [R]omanticism with its stress on emotion as revelatory of truth about the human condition. The death-bed was the place where last words, uttered as a testimony of faith, showed the departed to have been one of the elect [who would go to heaven]. Books of death-bed scenes provided pious encouragement or stern warning (Rowell 1997:25).

Catherine, who never regains consciousness, does not speak any last words and thus offers no profound revelation or pious message that may be taken as proof of her faith in God, which means that her status as one of the elect is not confirmed, despite the tranquil way in which she dies.

Heathcliff's response to Nelly's account of Catherine's peaceful death adds to the notion that Catherine will be stuck on earth and will not be able to go to heaven. He exclaims:

‘May she wake in torment! [...] Where is she? Not *there* – not in heaven – not perished – where? [...] Catherine Earnshaw, may you not rest, as long as I am living! You said I killed you – haunt me, then! The murdered *do* haunt their murderers. I believe – I know that ghosts *have* wandered on earth. Be with me always – take any form – drive me mad! only *do* not leave me in this abyss, where I cannot find you!’ (Brontë 2003:169, italics in original)

He thus rejects the conventional belief that loved ones have gone to heaven and are therefore in a place that is preferable to life on earth in his desire not to be separated from her. His wish to keep her with him takes the form of his begging her to stay on earth as a ghost and to haunt him until the day he dies and can be reunited with her in death. Ghosts are fairly common in the Gothic literature on which the novel draws, as I have mentioned. Inman claims, however, that it is a

common misconception... that the ghosts [in the novel] are a gothic convention. Emily brings ghosts into the narrative to explore another death-related theme: that survivors, unable to accept death, resort to a belief in ghosts to avoid eternal separation (Inman 2008:195).

Her claim is somewhat problematic, however: it seems more likely that the ghosts are indeed a Gothic convention, and that the text uses and develops the convention to portray and explore characters' psychological responses to death. As regards these responses, Inman asserts that ghosts form a link between the living and the dead, and that the bereaved believe in ghosts because they, who believe that the realms of life and death are dichotomous, cannot bear the thought of being eternally separated from deceased loved ones. The idea that ghosts are the

spirits of dead people who haunt the living implies the rejection of simple death – since that notion maintains that there is no life beyond death – and the acceptance of the concept of an afterworld that is removed from the space of life. Consequently, the belief in the existence of ghosts may indeed reinforce the idea that the worlds of life and death are dichotomous. The belief also – quite paradoxically – undermines the very opposition it strengthens: ghosts, like vampires, seem to exist in a place between and yet within both the space of the earth and that of the afterworld, being spirits that can haunt the living on earth even though they have been cast into the realm of the afterworld. If it is possible for the dead to exist in both realms at the same time, then it may be that the physical space of the earth, which can be associated with the spaces that comprise the first component of Lefebvre’s spatial triad, and the imaginary sites of death, which may be linked to the imagined locations of the second component of Lefebvre’s triad, are not separate, but interrelated – which ties in with what I have already mentioned regarding the interrelatedness of the three components of Lefebvre’s spatial triad. Through his mentioning ghosts, Heathcliff reinforces the link between the living and the dead that is the cause of much of his suffering, and destabilises the alleged polarity between the realms of life and death, and thereby sets up the possibility of a newly created space in between or outside of these two worlds.

The likelihood that Heathcliff’s wish comes to pass and that Catherine remains on earth as a ghost is suggested later on in the novel. Heathcliff later tells Nelly, for example, that he felt Catherine’s presence at her grave on the day that she was buried, when he tried to exhume her corpse; he mentions that he

got a spade from the toolhouse, and began to delve with all my might – it scraped the coffin; I fell to work with my hands; the wood commenced cracking about the screws, I was on the point of attaining my object, when it seemed that I heard a sigh from some one above, close at the edge of the grave, and bending down. [...] There was another sigh, close at my ear. I appeared to feel the warm breath of it displacing the sleet-laden wind. I knew no living thing in flesh and blood was by – but as certainly as you perceive the approach to some substantial body in the dark, though it cannot be discerned, so certainly I felt that Cathy was there, not under me, but on the earth. A sudden sense of relief flowed, from my heart, through every limb. I relinquished my labour of agony, and turned consoled at once.... Her presence was with me; it remained while I re-filled the grave, and led me home’ (Brontë 2003:289-290).

His becoming aware of Catherine’s spirit suggests that she remains on earth to be close to him, and that she is waiting for him to join her in her newly created space of death. It is also

possible that he feels her presence because of his desperate desire to be with her again, which points to the way in which the novel adapts the ghosts that are often found in Gothic texts to examine Heathcliff's apparent inability to accept Catherine's death. Despite Heathcliff's experiencing Catherine's presence, the novel preserves the conceived boundary between the worlds of the living and the dead by presenting Heathcliff, who is still alive, as unable to see and be with Catherine. The implication then is that he will only be reunited with her when he dies and is therefore able to enter the afterworld.

It is not only Heathcliff who asserts that Catherine walks the earth, however. Lockwood, who first visits the region in November 1801, almost eighteen years after Catherine's death, spends a night at the Heights. It is on this night that he encounters the ghost of Catherine, presumably in his dreams. He provides an account of this in his diary; he writes that a

most melancholy voice sobbed, 'Let me in – let me in!' 'Who are you?' I asked.... 'Catherine Linton,' it replied, shiveringly (why did I think of *Linton*? I had read *Earnshaw* twenty times for Linton). 'I'm come home, I'd lost my way on the moor!' [...] 'Begone!' I shouted, 'I'll never let you in, not if you beg for twenty years!' 'It's twenty years,' mourned the voice, 'twenty years, I've been a waif for twenty years!' (25, italics in original)

Although many discussions of the novel examine the ghost's presence psychoanalytically, and accordingly attribute it to the workings of Lockwood's mind, the novel appears deliberately to destabilise the perception that the ghost is nothing but a dream by alluding to facts Lockwood, whom Nelly has not yet told much of the region's inhabitants, does not know. He does not yet know, for example, that Catherine married Edgar and thus became a Linton, which is why the ghost's identifying itself as Catherine 'Linton' suggests that there is more to the incident than the tenant's imagination. Additionally, the fact that Lockwood, an outsider who did not know Catherine, also encounters her ghost, if only in a dream, questions whether or not Heathcliff's believing in and experiencing the presence of the ghost can be ascribed to his inability to accept Catherine's death, as Inman seems to suggest. Lockwood comments on the ghost and the space of death he believes it to occupy; he asserts that Catherine 'must have been a changeling – wicked little soul! She told me she had been walking the earth these twenty years: a just punishment for her mortal transgressions, I've no doubt!' (27). His remarks suggest that she is in a space similar to purgatory, where she is or will be punished until her soul has been cleansed of its mortal, inherently sinful, character and she can go to heaven, or to hell, where she suffers or will suffer eternal damnation. However, if ghosts, who walk the

earth, can be in purgatory or hell, then these spaces of death are not removed from the world of the living, but are part of it. The notion that these sites are located on earth breaks down the division between life and death, and between the things of the earth and of the afterlife. It may then be that heaven, like purgatory and hell, is found on earth, and is not some faraway space only the dead can enter. This idea ties in with the notion I have expressed earlier that the ‘infernal’ house on earth the Heights becomes after Frances’s death and the hell on earth in which Heathcliff finds himself after Catherine’s death may be compared to the purgatory and hell of the afterworld.

Nelly, who has just informed Heathcliff of Catherine’s death, finds it difficult to sympathise with him, perhaps because she objects to the way in which he deals with Catherine’s death: she says that

[h]e dashed his head against the knotted trunk [of an oak]; and, lifting up his eyes, howled, not like a man, but like a savage beast being goaded to death with knives and spears. I observed several splashes of blood about the bark of the tree, and his hand and forehead were both stained; probably the scene I witnessed was a repetition of others acted during the night. It hardly moved my compassion – it appalled me (169).

Her comparing his behaviour to that of a ‘savage beast’ suggests that she believes that he does not mourn Catherine’s death as a civilised gentleman should, and thus connects him to the members of those societies in the British Empire whose beliefs and practices are at odds with the Protestant beliefs and practices of the majority of British society. This idea is reinforced by Isabella’s comments about his behaviour after Catherine’s death: in her letter to Nelly, Mrs Heathcliff writes that her husband

has just come home at dawn, and gone upstairs to his chamber; locking himself in.... There he has continued, praying like a methodist; only the deity he implored is senseless dust and ashes; and God, when addressed, was curiously confounded with his own black father! (175)

His praying to ‘senseless dust and ashes’ and his ‘black father’ may refer to ancestor worship or the veneration of the dead. Bernstein states that early Christians objected to such worship, since it ‘could constitute a throwback to something akin to polytheism, or at least a distraction from the more focused, centralized, urban, Jerusalem-based institutions of monarchy and Temple’ (Bernstein 1993:139). The Reformers would most likely also have been against such practices, given that it was the custom of commending or praying for the dead that resulted in

Catholics' tendency to pray for the souls of the dead and, subsequently, in the establishment of purgatory, an intermediate space of death to which, as I have stated, the Reformers fiercely objected. Heathcliff's prayers are thus decidedly nonconformist. The earliest readers of the novel may have regarded him as a threat to social order based on these practices alone: in the nineteenth century,

[t]he Roman [C]hurch was [still] regarded, even among the highly educated, with a fearful hostility nourished through generations by Protestant horror stories of idolatry and superstition, of priestly tyranny, persecution and vice, and sinister Jesuit plots.... The unbeliever was regarded with much the same kind of horror as the Jesuit, as a subverter of society (Burrow 1978:154).

Catherine's corpse is interred on 24 March 1784. Lefebvre asserts that, when subjects in the space of society die, the 'same space [they occupied when they were alive now only] contains their graves' (Lefebvre 1991:34). It is possible that Heathcliff's desire to exhume Catherine's corpse is underpinned by her corpse's being all that is left in the space Catherine used to occupy in society, and is thus also the only physical link Heathcliff has to her. This desire of his may be held to illustrate his apparent necrophilic inclinations, which are taboo, and thus linked to those who are considered immoral because they fail to conform to social standards. It may, however, be that he only exhumes her body because he is overwhelmed by the suffering he feels due to his fear that she has gone to a world that is separated from the world in which he lives. This possibility is illustrated when he ultimately neglects to open the coffin because he feels her presence.

Through the burial of Catherine's body, the novel represents and questions burial practices. If a society chooses to bury, and not to cremate, its dead, then those in positions of power must assign particular spaces to the remains of the dead as it does to its living members; they have to identify spaces where cemeteries can be built and where corpses can be stored. Because of the link between graves and the afterworld, burial grounds were controlled by the Church. It may also be that the Church established this link to ensure its control over the spaces of the dead members of society to gain power over its living members: if it, as a social institution that has to govern social life, can dictate people's ideas about death and the afterlife, then it is possible that it can regulate their behaviour through the institution of social standards, and establishing a link between the extent to which people adhere to these standards and the kind of space they can expect to inhabit in the afterlife. The novel does not only portray the burial customs of a Christian society, though; it also depicts and investigates nineteenth-century

debates about burial practices, and the battle between the Anglican Church and other religious and secular authorities for control over burial grounds. Due to continued industrialisation during the early nineteenth century, which caused an increase in urbanisation and a rise in population numbers, there were more individuals whose corpses, coffins, and graves had to be accommodated. Because of these issues, together with the cholera crisis in the late 1840s, the spaces those in positions of authority had set aside for the remains of the dead were not large enough to house the number of bodies that had to be interred. As I have indicated in the introduction, the 1840s saw significant change in British funerals, and, after a campaign to close urban churchyards, many cemeteries were no longer owned by the Church, but by local, secular governments. The Church's partial loss of control over burial grounds did, as I have mentioned, result in Catholics' and Dissenters' 'receiving more equal attention in the new private cemeteries' (Jupp 1997:3).

It is likely that Brontë, who, like the rest of her family, had a great interest in socio-political debates, had these issues in mind and intended to comment on them in her novel, which was published in 1847, when these debates were very significant. Before her death, Catherine tells her husband that she does not want to be buried 'among the Lintons... under the chapel-roof; but in the open air with a head-stone' (Brontë 2003:127). By telling him this, she reveals that it is customary in a Christian society such as theirs to be interred 'under the chapel-roof', and that that is where she will be buried if she does not ask to be laid to rest elsewhere. Nelly later mentions that '[t]he place of Catherine's interment, to the surprise of the villagers, was neither in the chapel, under the carved monument of the Lintons, nor yet by the tombs of her own relations, outside. It was dug on a green slope, in a corner of the kirkyard' (170). The location of the grave comes as a 'surprise' to the villagers, which proves that her request to be buried 'in the open air' goes against the social norm. Despite its nonconformity, it also suggests that Catherine was able to decide in advance where she wanted to be buried, which ties in with nineteenth-century debates about burial practices and grounds.

Her unusual place of interment may also refer to the possibility of vampiric possession. An 'improperly buried suicide was almost a guarantee of vampiric possession' (Twitchell 1981:9), which means that, if Catherine killed herself, then her request to be buried out in the open air presents an even greater possibility of her soul's being trapped on earth forever, and thus being prevented from going to heaven. Whether she herself fears for her soul's being confined to earth is debatable, however. After accepting Edgar's proposal, Catherine tells

Nelly about a dream she had in which she had gone to heaven; she tells the housekeeper that ‘heaven did not seem to be my home; and I broke my heart with weeping to come back to earth; and the angels were so angry that they flung me out, into the middle of the heath on the top of Wuthering Heights; where I woke sobbing for joy’ (Brontë 2003:81). The idea of her being flung out of heaven may be a reference to Lucifer, and thereby suggests her rebellious nature. The housekeeper supports this idea by saying that ‘Catherine [might] deem that Heaven would be a land of exile to her, unless, with her mortal body, she cast away her mortal character also’ (160), thus claiming that the young woman will not be able to go to heaven if she fails to cast away her ‘mortal’, inherently immoral character before she dies; that she will not be able to enter the restricted space of heaven if she fails to behave in line with the criteria society considers essential to guarantee a soul’s entry to heaven. Catherine appears not to want to go to heaven, however, because she does not believe that she will be happier there than she is at the Heights. If she does not *want* to go to heaven, then Nelly’s remark about the young woman’s immorality, and the social criteria that are considered to grant a soul access to heaven, are irrelevant. During her final illness, Catherine does say that she is ‘wearying to escape into that glorious world’ (162), but it is debatable whether this world refers to heaven, where she has claimed not to want to live, or merely to a space she can enter to free herself from her marriage to Edgar, and to be with Heathcliff. Although she only goes to heaven in a dream, her desire to leave heaven and return to the Heights implies that she does not want to live in the space that is presented by those in positions of authority as the sphere of peace and happiness. Since she rejects heaven, and does not seem to want to go to hell, but chooses to return to the Heights, and, by implication, to the earth, which is symbolised by the natural environment in which the Gimmerton region is located, she subverts the polarity between heaven and hell through the formation of a third space in between or outside of the opposition of these two worlds. By doing so, she creates a new, individualised afterworld she will be able to inhabit after death.

Nelly comments not only on the effect of Catherine’s death on Heathcliff, but also on Edgar’s reaction to his wife’s death. She also compares their reactions; she says that Edgar’s aversion to Heathcliff and his grief at his wife’s death

transformed him into a complete hermit: he threw up his office of magistrate, ceased even to attend church, avoided the village on all occasions, and spent a life of entire seclusion within the limits of his park and grounds: only varied by solitary rambles on the moors, and visits to the grave of his wife, mostly at

evening; or early morning, before other wanderers were abroad. But he was too good to be thoroughly unhappy long. *He* didn't pray for Catherine's soul to haunt him: Time brought resignation, and a melancholy sweeter than common joy. He recalled her memory with ardent, tender love, and hopeful aspiring to the better world, where, he doubted not, she was gone (184, italics in original).

The housekeeper states that Edgar, unlike Heathcliff, is 'too good' to remain unhappy, which shows that she – yet again – links individuals' ability to come to terms with the deaths of loved ones to their faith in God. This connection is supported by her remark that Edgar, unlike Heathcliff, does not 'pray for Catherine's soul to haunt him', and thus does not want to keep her soul from going to heaven. According to Nelly, Edgar derives comfort from his belief that Catherine's soul is in a 'better world', which connects his reaction to death to that of Joseph, Catherine, and Heathcliff to Mr Earnshaw's death. Through this comparison, Nelly appears to imply that Heathcliff cannot accept Catherine's death because he does not have faith in God, and that he continues to suffer because he is immoral. Such prolonged suffering is usually associated with hell. The notion that Heathcliff may be in hell is implied by his telling Catherine that he will suffer the torments of hell when she dies. If he is already in hell, although he is not dead yet, then the novel may mean to illustrate that life on earth and life in heaven or hell are not divided, but interconnected, as I have suggested earlier. If this is true, then people may suffer the pains of hell while they are still alive, and may, conversely, attain the joys of heaven even before they are – or without having to be – reunited with God.

The housekeeper sustains her notion that civilised, moral Christians can come to terms with death through faith in God in her comparison between Hindley's and Edgar's ways of dealing with the deaths of their wives; she says that Hindley

has shown himself sadly the worse and the weaker man. When his ship struck, the captain abandoned his post; and the crew, instead of trying to save her, rushed into riot, and confusion, leaving no hope for their luckless vessel. [Edgar] Linton, on the contrary, displayed the true courage of a loyal and faithful soul: he trusted God; and God comforted him (185).

She thus suggests that Hindley's destructive behaviour is a result of his failure to trust in and to be comforted by God, whereas Edgar's ability to recover so as to attain a melancholy that, in Nelly's opinion, is 'sweeter than common joy', is attributable to his faith in God.

Hindley dies in September or October 1784, about six months after his sister. Kenneth comes to announce this to Nelly, who says that 'this blow was greater to me than the shock of Mrs

Linton's death: ancient associations lingered round my heart; I sat down in the porch, and wept as for a blood relation' (186). If she, who is not related to him, weeps for him 'as for a blood relation', then grief is not limited by the division between those who are family and those who are not or between upper, middle, and lower classes. Suffering due to the deaths of loved ones is thus universal, and cannot be controlled or contained by social borders.

Just as Catherine's death led to thoughts about the space she would inhabit in the afterworld, so Hindley's death results in an examination and re-evaluation of the spaces society assigns to death. When Nelly goes over to the Heights to help with the funeral arrangements, Heathcliff and Joseph tell her about the way in which Hindley died. The possibility that he killed himself is suggested by Heathcliff's remark that his 'body should be buried at the cross-roads, without ceremony of any kind' (187), given that it was believed that, when someone had committed suicide, the 'best the bereaved family could do was to bury the corpse at a country crossroads, hoping that the sign of the cross would deter the devil' (Twitchell 1981:8), as we have seen, and to keep the corpse from being possessed and from being thus turned into a vampire. The housekeeper expressed concern about the situation at the Heights after Heathcliff's return: she 'felt that God had forsaken the stray sheep there to its own wicked wanderings, and an evil beast prowled between it and the fold, waiting his time to spring and destroy' (Brontë 2003:107). The likelihood of Hindley's corpse's being possessed by the devil is increased by Nelly's concern about Hindley's loss of Christian protection due to his alleged lack of faith in God. If the deceased man becomes a vampire, then his soul will be prevented from going to heaven, which means that he will be separated from God eternally. The possibility of being thus possessed connects the depiction of Hindley to that of his sister, Catherine.

The space Hindley appears to want to and perhaps inhabits in the afterworld may be deduced by analysing his comments about his own death and the afterlife in conversations he had with Nelly and Isabella, respectively. After he, who is in a drunken rage, loses his hold on Hareton and nearly lets the infant fall to his death, Nelly asks him to '[h]ave mercy on your own soul', to which he replies that he will take 'great pleasure in sending it to perdition, to punish its maker' (76). He tells Isabella, who now lives at the Heights, that, 'if God would but give me strength to strangle [Heathcliff] in my last agony, I'd go to hell with joy' (182). Hell may have been constructed to cause fear in Christians' hearts to ensure that they conform to social standards and do not challenge the established order. Those who are afraid of the possibility of eternal suffering presumably want to adhere to social norms so they will be able to go to

heaven and will not be banished to hell. If Hindley *wants* to go to hell, though, then it is possible that he does not see hell as a place of punishment, does not fear the pain associated with it, or does not see heaven as a place of joy and comfort and consequently does not really want to go there. His apparent willingness to go to hell implies that he does not *want* to go to heaven as such, which destabilises the opposition between heaven and hell. Although he does not establish an alternative space of death, he still reshapes the spaces of death and thereby subverts the ideas about life and death those in power want to impose on the members of society.

Isabella dies in June 1797. Edgar, who has gone to his sister to be at her deathbed and to bring his nephew, Linton, to the Grange, sends Nelly a letter to tell her and Cathy about his sister's death; according to the housekeeper,

he wrote to bid me get mourning for his daughter, and arrange a room, and other accommodations, for his youthful nephew. Catherine ran wild with joy at the idea of welcoming her father back: and indulged most sanguine anticipations of the innumerable excellencies of her 'real' cousin. The evening of their expected arrival came. Since early morning, she had been busy, ordering her own small affairs; and now, attired in her new black frock – poor thing! her aunt's death impressed her with no definite sorrow – she obliged me, by constant worrying, to walk with her, down through the grounds, to meet them (199).

Although Cathy gets 'mourning', Isabella's death impresses her with 'no definite sorrow', most likely because she never knew her aunt. This may be an inversion of the housekeeper's mourning Hindley as if for a relative, which again implies that the grief death causes ignores the socially constructed borders between those who are family and those who are not.

The novel continues to investigate conceptions about the afterworld through its description of Cathy's and Linton's ideas about heaven. Cathy tells Nelly about a dispute she and Linton had about 'heaven's happiness':

'[Linton] said the pleasantest manner of spending a hot July day was lying from morning till evening on a bank of heath in the middle of the moors, with the bees humming dreamily about among the bloom, and the larks singing high up over head, and the blue sky, and bright sun shining steadily and cloudlessly. That was his most perfect idea of heaven's happiness – mine was rocking in a rustling green tree, with a west wind blowing, and bright, white clouds flitting rapidly above; and not only larks, but throistles, and blackbirds, and linnets, and cuckoos pouring out music on every side, and the moors seen at a distance, broken into cool dusky dells; but close by great swells of long grass undulating in waves to the breeze;

and woods and sounding water, and the whole world awake and wild with joy. He wanted all to lie in an ecstasy of peace; I wanted all to sparkle, and dance in a glorious jubilee' (248).

Their conflicting notions indicate that, since individuals have different, frequently opposing, desires and fantasies, the imagined spaces they generate are bound to be different, and that conceived spaces, which rely on the ideas and ideals of those who shape them, are inherently unstable and flexible, and can be refashioned to meet individual needs or requirements. This notion ties in with Catherine's apparent rejection of heaven and her subsequent reconstruction of the sites that are conventionally allocated to the afterworld to shape an individualised space of death in which she can live after death.

The narrative's exploration of death is seen not only in Cathy's reaction to her aunt's death or in her and Linton's debate about heaven, but also in her responses to and comments about the deaths of her father and Linton. She asks Nelly: '[W]hat shall I do when papa and you leave me, and I am by myself? [...] How life will be changed, how dreary the world will be, when papa and you are dead' (231). Her fear of their deaths appears to be linked to her fear of being all alone in the world. Nelly tells her that '[n]one can tell, whether you won't die before us.... It's wrong to anticipate evil – we'll hope there are years and years to come before any of us go' (231). She dismisses the young woman's fear of losing her loved ones by stating that it is 'wrong to anticipate evil'. The parallel she draws between death and evil may show society's desire to avoid or to separate itself from death through banishing it to another realm. The notion that it is wicked for a daughter to fear the death of her parent may draw on the servant's earlier suggestion that it is those who lack faith in God who despair in the face of death. However, Nelly does exactly what she tells Cathy not to do by stating that '[n]one can tell whether you won't die before us', which does not only indicate that she, too, anticipates death, but also shows that her suggestion that grief is diminished by faith in God, which I have discussed earlier, is doubtful, and that death cannot be excluded from social life in the way society might like to, since it is a part of life that cannot be predicted, ignored or avoided. Cathy seems not to be consoled by Nelly's words; her understanding that it is not always older people who die first is evident when she mentions that her 'Aunt Isabella was younger than papa' (231) when she died.

Cathy's awareness and anticipation of death and the suffering it causes are revealed in her conversation with Nelly about Edgar's impending death; she says that 'I pray every night that

I may live after him; because I would rather be miserable than that he should be' (231). Her sentiments are echoed – to an extent – in Edgar's comments about his own impending death and his being forced to abandon his daughter when he crosses over into the afterworld; he tells Nelly that

'I've prayed often... for the approach of what is coming; and now I begin to shrink, and fear it. I thought the memory of the hour I came down that glen a bridegroom, would be less sweet than the anticipation that I was soon, in a few months, or, possibly, weeks, to be carried up, and laid in its lonely hollow! Ellen, I've been very happy with my little Cathy. Through winter nights and summer days she was a living hope at my side – but I've been as happy musing by myself among those stones, under that old church – lying, through the long June evenings, on the green mound of her mother's grave, and wishing, yearning for the time when I might lie beneath it. What can I do for Cathy? How must I quit her? I'd not care one moment for Linton being Heathcliff's son; nor for his taking her from me, if he could console her for my loss. I'd not care that Heathcliff gained his ends, and triumphed in robbing me of my last blessing! But should Linton be unworthy – only a feeble tool to his father – I cannot abandon her to him! And, hard though it be to crush her buoyant spirit, I must persevere in making her sad while I live, and leaving her solitary when I die. Darling! I'd rather resign her to God, and lay her in the earth before me' (257).

He thus reveals that he welcomes death, since it will reunite him with his wife; that, though he is 'happy with my little Cathy', he is content to die. Despite his yearning to be with Catherine, though, he fears death, since it will prevent him from taking care of his daughter. He says that he will not mind leaving her in the care of Linton, if the young man will be able to console and look after her when her father has died. If Linton is unworthy, however, the father cannot leave his daughter in his care, and it will then be better not to allow her to marry him. This will leave the young woman friendless, though, and, if she is left in such a position, then she will have to look after herself. This may be why he states that he would rather 'resign her to God and lay her in the earth before me', thus echoing Cathy's wish to have a loved one die first to spare him or her the pain death causes. Nelly responds to her master's concern about his daughter by telling him to '[r]esign her to God as it is... and if we should lose you... I'll stand her friend and counsellor to the last. Miss Catherine is a good girl; I don't fear that she will go wilfully wrong; and people who do their duty are always finally rewarded' (257). She tries to set the father's mind at ease by assuring him that she will remain his daughter's 'friend and counsellor', which means that the girl will not be alone in the world, but will have someone to comfort and support her. She also suggests that he leave his daughter, who is a 'good' girl, in God's care. The reference to 'good' brings to mind the housekeeper's remarks about the way Edgar, whom she presents as 'too good to be thoroughly unhappy long', has

dealt with Catherine's death. The parallel implies that she believes that Cathy will come to terms with her father's death and will ultimately be consoled because she trusts in God.

Edgar eventually allows his daughter to marry Linton. Since Cathy is confined to the Heights after her marriage, she cannot visit her dying father. She is distraught and enraged by this, and turns against her husband, who, as I have said, later relents and sets her free, thus enabling her to rush to her father's deathbed. Nelly says that, when the young woman reached her father's side, her

despair was as silent as her father's joy. She supported him calmly, in appearance; and he fixed on her features his raised eyes.... Kissing her cheek, he murmured, 'I am going to her, and you darling child shall come to us;' and never stirred or spoke again, but continued that rapt, radiant gaze, till his pulse imperceptibly stopped, and his soul departed (283-284).

Edgar believes that his death will reunite him with his wife, and says that he and his late wife will be waiting for their daughter to join them in the afterworld. The possibility that husband and wife are reunited in death is suggested by the similarity between their respective deathbed scenes: both die peacefully, and, given the link between the appearance of corpses and the spaces the deceased are thought to inhabit in the afterworld, may be held to occupy similar spaces, if not the same space, in death. The belief that he will be joining his late wife appears to be a source of comfort to the dying man. Whether Cathy is consoled by this idea – at that moment, at least – is doubtful, though: Nelly mentions that

[w]hether Catherine had spent her tears, or whether the grief were too weighty to let them flow, she sat there dry-eyed till the sun rose – she sat till noon, and would still have remained, brooding over that deathbed, but I insisted on her coming away, and taking some repose (284).

These comments imply that Cathy's suffering at losing her father may be so severe that she cannot cry, and that she draws little, if any, comfort from the belief that she will be reunited with him and her mother when she dies. This is reinforced by her comments after the death of Linton: when her father-in-law asks her how she feels now that her husband is dead, she replies that '[h]e's safe, and I'm free... I should feel well – but... You have left me so long to struggle against death, alone, that I feel and see only death' (294). She reveals that she 'should' feel well, that is, that she is expected to feel well, since her husband has died and presumably gone to heaven, where he will be happier than he will ever be on earth, but she does not. She, who has been left to deal with death by herself, feels only anguish, and fails to

rejoice in the notion that a soul has gone to heaven, and thus appears not to have the faith characters such as Edgar are said to have. If she is not consoled by faith, then it may be that she is one of the immoral characters in the text who do not turn to God in their time of need. Additionally, her reluctance to leave her father's corpse seems similar to Heathcliff's desire to see Catherine's, not because they have necrophilic inclinations, but because they suffer due to their being separated from those they love. Such a parallel between Heathcliff's and Cathy's reactions to death may imply that their characters are similar. It may also suggest that it is possible to determine the space Cathy will occupy in the afterworld by examining that which Heathcliff will most likely inhabit.

The last death the novel investigates is Heathcliff's. His death is explored specifically through Nelly's, Joseph's, and Hareton's responses and comments. Nelly says that she 'concealed the fact of his having swallowed nothing for four days, fearing it might lead to trouble, and then, I am persuaded he did not abstain on purpose; it was the consequence of his strange illness, not the cause' (335-336). She implies that he may have killed himself, which casts him into the same space as the other possible suicides in the novel, that is, Hindley and Catherine, and ties him to the spaces of death these two souls, who run the risk of being trapped on earth forever because it is likely that their bodies will be possessed by the devil, will probably occupy.

The kind of space Heathcliff will occupy or occupies in death is also hinted at through Nelly's description of the appearance of his corpse. She says that

I could doubt no more – he was dead and stark! I hasped the window; I combed his black long hair from his forehead; I tried to close his eyes – to extinguish, if possible, that frightful, life-like gaze of exultation, before any one else beheld it. They would not shut – they seemed to sneer at my attempts, and his parted lips, and sharp, white teeth sneered too! (335)

The corpse's appearance apparently scares Nelly. Its 'sneer' at her attempts to close its eyes, and its 'parted lips and sharp white teeth', seem to suggest that the ostensibly uncivilised man was defiant and therefore also immoral even while he was dying. Its appearance seemingly implies that the space Heathcliff's soul occupies in the afterworld is equally terrifying, which presents the possibility that his soul has gone to hell or purgatory. Since Catherine and Edgar die peacefully, and presumably occupy a space that is equally tranquil, it is possible that their souls are in the same space, while Heathcliff's inhabits another.

Nelly, who is terrified by Heathcliff's corpse, calls for Joseph; she says that the old servant

resolutely refused to meddle with him. 'Th' divil's harried off his soul,' he cried, 'and he muh hev his carcass intuh the bargin, for ow't Aw care! Ech! what a wicked un he looks girning at death!' and the old sinner grinned in mockery. I thought he intended to cut a caper round the bed; but suddenly composing himself, he fell on his knees, and raised his hands, and returned thanks that the lawful master and the ancient stock were restored to their rights (335)

Joseph's reaction to Heathcliff's death, just like Cathy's to Isabella's, shows that people may be unaffected by the death of someone whom they do not love very much. The old servant is not simply indifferent to Heathcliff's death, though; he seems relieved that the man has died. His thanking God for restoring order through Heathcliff's death echoes and inverts Nelly's earlier comments about the way in which people should trust in God to help them bear their loss: he does appear to have faith in God, but does not derive comfort from the notion that the deceased Heathcliff is in a better place, but rather from the fact that he is no longer on earth and thus no longer able to dominate the space he is considered to have usurped. Additionally, the old servant exclaims that the devil has carried off Heathcliff's soul, and mentions that the corpse looks 'wicked', which ties in with Nelly's comparison between the appearance of the corpse and the space Heathcliff's soul is believed to occupy in the afterworld, and illustrates that he and Nelly may share the belief that Heathcliff's soul has gone to hell.

The housekeeper continues her account of Heathcliff's death by comparing her own reaction to the master's death to Hareton's; she claims that

poor Hareton, the most wronged, was the only one that really suffered much. He sat by the corpse all night, weeping in bitter earnest. He pressed its hand, and kissed the sarcastic, savage face that every one else shrank from contemplating; and bemoaned him with that strong grief which springs naturally from a generous heart, though it be tough as tempered steel (335).

Hareton mourns the death of his oppressor, and sits by the corpse all night, which links him to Heathcliff's wish to see Catherine's corpse again, and Cathy's reluctance to leave her father's deathbed. Their apparent inability to let go of the dead connects them, and, considering the association Nelly establishes between consolation and faith in God, suggests that all three of them may be immoral. It also suggests, however, that these characters have a capacity for tender feeling and loyalty that characters such as Joseph lack. Such a link between Heathcliff and Hareton, particularly, is likely, given the various parallels between them I have already discussed.

The portrayal of Heathcliff's death also entails an exploration of burial practices. If a grave reflects its occupant's place in the afterlife, as I have suggested, then it seems that Catherine, Edgar, and Heathcliff inhabit the same space, since all three of them are buried in the same place. Lockwood writes in his diary that he

sought, and soon discovered, the three head-stones on the slope next the moor.... I lingered round them, under that benign sky; watched the moths fluttering among the heath, and hare-bells; listened to the soft wind breathing through the grass; and wondered how any one could ever imagine unquiet slumbers, for the sleepers in that quiet earth (337).

His words imply that the physical spaces of the graves give the impression that those who are buried together in a serene environment may share not only the same space in the afterworld, but also an existence that is undisturbed. However, Heathcliff's instructions to the sexton, and Catherine's comments about her and Heathcliff's souls, suggest that some people may still be able to imagine 'unquiet slumbers, for the sleepers in that quiet earth'. Before his death, Heathcliff tells Nelly that he has persuaded the sexton,

'who was digging Linton's grave, to remove the earth off [Catherine's] coffin lid, and I opened it. I thought, once, I would have stayed there, when I saw her face again – it is hers yet – he had hard work to stir me; but he said it would change, if the air blew on it, and so I struck one side of the coffin loose – and covered it up – not Linton's side, damn him! I wish he'd been soldered in lead – and I bribed the sexton to pull it away, when I'm laid there, and slide mine out too. I'll have it made so, and then, by the time Linton gets to us, he'll not know which is which!' (288)

If the sexton will pull away the side of Catherine's coffin that Heathcliff has struck loose, and remove the side of Heathcliff's coffin once he is buried beside his beloved, then Catherine and Heathcliff will be buried in a single grave. Nelly later reveals that they buried Heathcliff, 'to the scandal of the whole neighbourhood, as he had wished' (336). If it is then accepted that graves reflect the spaces their tenants occupy in the afterworld, then it seems Heathcliff's and Catherine's souls are reunited in death, while Edgar's is separated from theirs. This brings to mind Catherine's earlier comment that

'I've no more business to marry Edgar Linton than I have to be in heaven; and if the wicked man in there had not brought Heathcliff so low, I shouldn't have thought of it. It would degrade me to marry Heathcliff, now; so he shall never know how I love him; and that, not because he's handsome, Nelly, but because he's more myself than I am. Whatever our souls are made of, his and mine are the same, and Linton's is as different as a moonbeam from lightning, or frost from fire' (81).

Her comments reveal not simply her affinity with Heathcliff, but possibly also the spaces she, Heathcliff and Edgar will occupy in the afterworld: if she has ‘no more business to marry Edgar Linton than I have to be in heaven’, then her earlier comment about her dream in which she was unhappy in heaven and was cast out by the angels suggests that she will be unhappy with Edgar and will want to leave him, which she does by embracing death, as I have shown. Furthermore, given the link between a person’s soul and the place he or she can expect to occupy after death, her claiming that her and Heathcliff’s souls ‘are the same; and [that Edgar] Linton’s is as different [from theirs] as a moonbeam from lightning, or frost from fire’ may indicate that her and Heathcliff’s souls will go to the same space, and that Edgar’s will go elsewhere. This possibility casts in doubt the notion some discussions of the novel present that the location of her grave between those of Heathcliff and Edgar symbolises her being torn between her suitors even in death. If Heathcliff and Catherine now live in the same space, however, then it seems likely that he, just like his beloved, chooses to dwell in neither heaven nor hell, but in a new space they have generated to be able to spend their afterlives together.

Apart from Heathcliff’s and Catherine’s comments, the behaviour of Joseph, Nelly, and many of the villagers reinforces the possibility that Heathcliff and Catherine are reunited in death. According to Nelly, Joseph has ‘seen two on ’em, looking out of his chamber window, on every rainy night, since his death’ (336). The housekeeper also says that she

was going to the Grange one evening... and, just at the turn of the Heights, I encountered a little boy with a sheep and two lambs before him, he was crying terribly, and I supposed the lambs were skittish, and would not be guided. ‘What is the matter, my little man?’ I asked. ‘They’s Heathcliff and a woman, yonder, under t’ Nab,’ he blubbered, ‘un’ Aw darnut pass ’em.’ I saw nothing; but neither the sheep nor he would go on, so I bid him take the road lower down. He probably raised the phantoms from thinking, as he traversed the moors alone, on the nonsense he had heard his parents and companions repeat – yet still, I don’t like being out in the dark, now – and I don’t like being left by myself in this grim house (336).

The presence of the ghosts is ‘explained’ by the seemingly logical notion that the boy’s fears are a result of his having overheard the superstitious talk of his ‘parents and companions’. However, Nelly is also scared of being ‘out in the dark, now’, and does not ‘like being left by myself in this grim house’, which shows that, to an extent, she believes the tales she attempts to dismiss as superstition, or that the ghosts do exist. During his second visit to the region in September 1802, Lockwood asks Nelly who will live at the Heights when Hareton and Cathy move to the Grange. She replies that ‘Joseph will take care of the house, and, perhaps, a lad to

keep him company. They will live in the kitchen, and the rest [of the house] will be shut up' (336-337). Lockwood says that it will be shut up '[f]or the use of such ghosts as choose to inhabit it' (337), thus suggesting that the Heights will be inhabited by the ghosts of Heathcliff and Catherine, who have managed to scare off all the other inhabitants to such an extent that no one wants to live in the space the deceased man and woman have appropriated for their individualised afterworld.

The thought that two supernatural beings (will) live at the Heights is echoed in the depiction of Hareton and Cathy. The sins that were believed to contribute to the likelihood of vampiric possession included 'copulating with a witch... [and] being unruly during Lent' (Twitchell 1981:9). Hareton and Cathy form their alliance during Lent, and Joseph's horror at the young man's having being bewitched by the young woman suggests that the old servant regards their union as a result of witchcraft, which he sees as a threat to social order. Moreover, if Hareton marries and has sexual relations with Cathy, who is referred to, and who refers to herself, as a witch who is skilled in black magic, then it is possible that his corpse will be possessed by the devil. If Hareton and Cathy become vampires, then the spaces of the most prominent houses in the region will be occupied by supernatural beings: Heathcliff and Catherine will inhabit the Heights, and Hareton and Cathy the Grange. This possibility further problematises the distinction between the living and the dead, and presents the notion of a world in which the purportedly contrasting spaces of life and death may form part of a single conception of the universe.

Conclusion

Although *Wuthering Heights* has been a topic of much debate since its publication, and critics have presented arguments in support of its merit and Brontë's achievement, particularly after the rise of New Criticism in the 1940s, few have paid much attention to the representation and exploration of space and borders in relation to the narrative's portrayal and examination of nineteenth-century social issues. Although Napier and Sim look at aspects of space and borders, as I have indicated earlier, I could not find analyses that draw on spatial theories such as Lefebvre's to show that the novel is a representative nineteenth-century text. A study of the depiction of space and borders in a literary work illustrates and explains the framework in which a text was written and is set, and the values associated with it, and thus has a significant influence on the interpretation of the characters in the text and the relations between them. Since the foregrounding of space and borders in discussions of literary works is fundamental in establishing socio-historical context, an analysis of the spatial production of nineteenth-century British society may contribute to an understanding of the extent to which *Wuthering Heights* engages with nineteenth-century social debates and concerns, and may provide readers with more nuanced or alternative understandings of the characters in the novel.

The portrayal of the opposition between nature and civilisation in Brontë's novel indicates the power relations that underpin the notion of humankind's alleged superiority to nature. Those in positions of authority who assert superiority to and control over the natural world present and sustain the idea that civilisation is superior to nature. This idea is problematic: it seems to disregard the possibility that humankind is merely one of the components of nature. The ties between humankind and the natural environment are implied by various examples in literature of hybrid creatures. Mythology, for instance, is filled with human beings who turn or who are turned into plants or animals, and with creatures that are part human and part animal, such as fauns, centaurs, and mermaids. Additionally, humankind's claim to superiority assumes and suggests that nature requires humankind to regulate it; that the natural world is incapable of sustaining itself successfully.

It is possible that those in power draw on the notion that humankind is superior to (the rest of) nature to justify its appropriation, exploitation and devastation of nature as the raw material it can use to shape and preserve the space in which it wants to exist, to which I have referred earlier. It may also be that human beings have taken it upon themselves to regulate nature in

response to their realisation of the extent of their destruction of nature in their attempt to establish themselves as different from nature. As we have seen, Lefebvre seems to see the destruction of nature as a result of the exploitation of natural resources as a certainty, claiming that humankind's spatial recreation will render the space of the natural environment void. My analysis suggests that Brontë's novel questions the powerful influence of human beings on the natural world by presenting nature as an uncontrollable force that is powerful enough to cause the deaths of human beings, and that will ultimately destroy all man-made structures, and reclaim the space these structures once occupied.

The suggested opposition between humankind and the natural world is inherently unstable, as I have demonstrated by referring to the literary existence of characters that turn or are turned into plants or animals, and of hybrid creatures such as centaurs, and by quoting from Brontë's novel to show that the ostensibly civilised characters in the narrative are capable of behaving in an animalistic, and thus presumably uncivilised, way, particularly in the face of adversity. The supposed polarity between civilisation and nature, and the instability of this opposition resurface in Brontë's novel's engagement with nineteenth-century racial discourse. Ruling-class men exploited the supposed division between human beings and animals, particularly, to assert that all human beings were not equal, and that some cultural and religious groups were superior to others. They claimed, as I have mentioned in my discussion, that whites were the most civilised of human beings, and that non-whites were uncivilised beasts. The artificiality of such racial differentiation is indicated by the connection between the nineteenth-century portrayal of non-whites, the slave trade, and the economy of the Empire, as I have indicated. Such racial distinctions were strengthened by medical and theological discourses, particularly through conceptions about the value of physical suffering and the idea that those who are presumably less civilised are less sensitive to pain. As I have demonstrated, ruling-class men deliberately shaped ideas about the bodies of whites as different from those of non-whites to justify and sustain the slave trade and their inhumane treatment of slaves. It may therefore be argued that the establishment and preservation of racial distinctions reflect the ruling classes' desire for power, and that those in positions of authority sometimes encourage racism to protect their privileged position in society.

The novel comments on racial discourse and imperialistic practices through its depiction of Heathcliff, who, as I have illustrated, is associated with the purportedly unenlightened and uncultured non-whites and non-Christians in the Empire. By associating Heathcliff with non-

whites, and by revealing the hostility of most of the other inhabitants of the Gimmerton region towards him, the narrative shows the desire of the primarily white community of nineteenth-century Britain, as it is symbolised by the fair-featured Lintons, to exclude non-whites. Rather than attempting to portray nineteenth-century British society as an extraordinarily racist community, which would be incorrect, or to present Heathcliff simply as an evil character, as many critics have done, my analysis presents the possibility of the novel's using characters such as Heathcliff to interrogate power relations and their effect on the interactions between different communities.

Space and borders indicate differences not only between societies, but also within a single society. As I have illustrated, the structure of nineteenth-century British society safeguarded the privileged position of the ruling classes, particularly that of ruling-class *men*. Therefore, those in positions of power can be said to create spaces deliberately to produce differences in society to obtain and retain control over those they wish to dominate. In other words, it is those in positions of authority who generate the dominant spaces in society and therefore also the norms these spaces impose on the dominated members of society in their attempt to retain and justify their continued empowerment within the community. As I have indicated in my discussion, the novel demonstrates the instability of constructions such as the three-tier social structure of nineteenth-century Britain, social rank, paternalism, and social mobility, and the extent to which they reflect and reinforce the dominating authority of those in positions of power, through its portrayal of Heathcliff, in particular.

Hindley banishes Heathcliff to the company of the servants and thus denies him the privileges associated with the upper and middle classes. Due to Heathcliff's reduced status in society, he cannot usurp the Heights or marry Catherine. It is only by leaving the region that he can escape from the inferior space into which Hindley had cast him, and improve his social standing, and that he is able to take over the Heights and become an eligible gentleman in Catherine's estimation. Despite his transformation, which may be regarded as an instance of social mobility at work, characters such as Nelly and Edgar still see him as inferior and as a threat to social order, which illustrates both the power of racial and class distinctions, and the instability of notions such as social mobility. The anger Heathcliff feels towards Hindley, who caused him to sink in society, and the suffering he experiences when Catherine rejects him in favour of a more eligible – and therefore socially acceptable – match questions the idea that Heathcliff is merely a representation of the raw energies of nature: while he may be associated

with such energies, a purely symbolic reading of the forces he may be considered to represent ignores the controlling influence of society on the lives of the characters in the text, which, as I have argued, supports the idea that the physical and imagined or symbolic components of Lefebvre's spatial triad should be seen as, and indeed are, interconnected.

I have considered the influence of space and borders not only on the alleged polarity between nature and civilisation, and between different societies and within a single society, but also on ideas regarding gender and gender roles. Nineteenth-century ruling-class men used medical discourses to re-establish and reinforce the supposed distinction between men and women that was being undermined by the influence of industrialisation. According to the ideals that later came to be associated with muscular Christianity, men had to be able to control the world around them, as I have suggested in my discussion. Their ability to do this was thought to be connected to their physical and moral strength. Brontë's examination of this notion and my discussion of its exploration suggest that these ideals were problematic: firstly, the ideals applied to *ruling-class* men only, since lower-class men were seen as socially and morally inferior. Secondly, ruling-class men, such as Linton Heathcliff in *Wuthering Heights*, may not always have had the physical and moral strength that were seen as vital in their management of the world around them. Consequently, they might have had power, if only because of the social class into which they had been born, but might have lacked the means to regulate the spaces they owned successfully.

Physically speaking, Heathcliff is the most powerful character in the novel. His strength often appears to reveal itself in his physically abusing other characters, however, which presents his physical prowess in a decidedly negative light. The degeneration of his physical strength into abuse may be ascribed to his moral weakness, if the accounts of characters such as Joseph and Nelly are anything to go by, which would imply that he lacks one of the cornerstones of what was seen to constitute ideal masculinity. The idea that the lack of one or more of the essential parts of ideal masculinity undercuts a man's ability to regulate the space he owns effectively is explored in the depiction of most of the male characters in the narrative. Mr Earnshaw may be morally strong, but becomes physically weak when he falls ill. When Hindley returns from college, he seems to be physically weaker than he was before. His moral inferiority may be deduced from the way he treats Catherine, Heathcliff, and the servants at the Heights, and from his dissipation. It may be said that he loses his power and possessions to another man because he lacks physical and moral strength. Nelly claims that Edgar trusts in God, as I have

mentioned, which she holds as proof of his moral superiority to characters such as Heathcliff, but he is seen as physically weaker than the foundling. Linton appears to lack physical and moral strength, which may be why he is forced to sign the spaces he comes to own over to his father. Hareton may be the only male character in the text who comes to possess the physical and moral strength required to control the world around him. He is seen as physically powerful, and his physical recovery from the hunting accident may be seen as linked to moral transformation, as I have mentioned. The implication then seems to be that he will be able to control the Heights and the Grange successfully.

Whether Brontë meant to promote such idealised masculinity is debatable, given her novel's interrogation of the power relations between men and women: *Wuthering Heights*, like many Gothic texts, explores women's disempowerment in nineteenth-century patriarchal society by removing them from the family unit entirely, mainly through death. As I have indicated, a wife and mother had to ensure peace in the domestic sphere, take care of and educate her children, and act to offset potential patriarchal tyranny. Nineteenth-century gender discourse often presented women as more emotional and irrational – and thus more likely to go insane – than men. This notion is represented in the novel particularly through its depiction of Frances, Catherine and Isabella. As I have demonstrated, *Wuthering Heights* undercuts the notion of women's increased chance of going insane through its representation of Nelly's mistaken assumptions about the apparently irrational behaviour of Frances. Discussions of Catherine's alleged insanity frequently rely on Freudian ideas. These discussions do not always consider the impact of nineteenth-century thought on Freud's theories, and often appear to accept his theories unquestioningly. Theories are linked to and dependent on the socio-historical context in which were produced, and it is possible that Freud and other ruling-class men specifically exploited medical discourse, in particular, to shape gender distinctions that would enable them to argue in favour of a male-dominated society.

Ruling-class men's fear of the power women were believed to possess is indicated through the novel's allusions to witches. Although the truth of Joseph's remarks is questionable at best, the servant claims that Cathy has cast a spell on Hareton, and that the young man is under her control, which casts in doubt the young man's ability to control the spaces he owns. Instead of being horrified by Joseph's calling her a witch, Cathy embraces the inferior position allotted to witches, and thus rises to power. Joseph's appearing genuinely to be afraid of Cathy may attest to the extent of the power of women, which ruling-class men want to suppress. The text

does not portray this power only through its depiction of Cathy; it also reveals it through its portrayal of Catherine and Isabella. Catherine, who cannot leave Edgar due to the restrictions imposed on her by a discriminatory legal system, embraces her dominated position in society by welcoming death as a way to escape from an unhappy marriage. Although her decision is partly fuelled by her lack of power, it also reveals her assertive rebelliousness. The ostensibly docile Isabella, whom critics often present as Catherine's opposite, rejects social expectations more forcefully than Catherine when she abandons her husband, and thus deliberately rejects the duties traditionally ascribed to wives and mothers. I have illustrated in my discussion that Isabella, who is frequently ignored in favour of the ostensibly more rebellious and remarkable Catherine, is a fascinating and well-developed character whose thoughts and actions comment on nineteenth-century concerns and debates as much as those of characters such as Catherine and Heathcliff.

I have examined not only the spaces that are allotted to the living members of society, but also those that are allocated to the dead. The conception of the realms of life and death as opposing spaces assumes that death is not absolute, that is, that there is life beyond death: if no one believed in the idea of an afterlife, then there would probably have been no need to shape a location in which the dead could be said to live. Additionally, the notion of the spaces of life and death as dichotomous spheres assumes that the realms of life and death are divided. The opposition between life and death is cast in doubt by the belief in the existence of supernatural creatures such as ghosts and vampires. This belief either indicates the inability of the living to accept the separation death causes, as Inman suggests, or implies that such a polarity does not exist. The possibility of the latter is implied by the possibility of Catherine's and Heathcliff's spirits' living at the Heights. If it is possible for their spirits to exist on earth, then it may be that the text means to imply that there are no distinct spheres for life and death, that the living and the dead coexist on earth, or that realms such as heaven, hell, and purgatory are locations of fantasy that do not really exist. It may be argued that the spaces that are allotted to death, which change whenever society's ideas about death do, depend on the ideologies of those in positions of authority. Consequently, it may be that those in power exploit theology to ensure their continued empowerment within the social order. Heathcliff's, Catherine's, and Hindley's apparent rejection of the conventional spaces of death may then not be meant to refer to their degenerate characters as such, but to suggest that people can create individualised spaces they can occupy when they die, or to illustrate the artificiality of the notion of an afterworld and of

spaces such as heaven, hell, and purgatory. It may therefore also demonstrate their rejection of conventional conceptions or theological accounts of the nature of existence.

By applying spatial theories to *Wuthering Heights*, I have indicated that the narrative reflects the spatial production of nineteenth-century Britain, specifically, despite its drawing on earlier literary traditions, and have thereby demonstrated that Brontë's novel represents and engages with various nineteenth-century concerns, contrary to what many recent critical works still suggest. I have also emphasised the influence of the portrayal and investigation of space and borders on the depiction and interpretation of the characters in the text, and have, by doing so, provided more nuanced and alternative readings of some of the characters. Moreover, I have highlighted the important role in the narrative of colourful figures such as Isabella, Hareton, Cathy, and Linton, who are frequently neglected in critical discussions of the novel.

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