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The Spectral (Ob)Servant and her Ghostly Mistress in Sarah Waters' *Affinity* and Daphne du Maurier's *Rebecca*

*'In the end, she said, we had the better of them, because we washed their dirty linen and therefore we knew a good deal about them; but they did not wash ours, and knew nothing about us'*¹

Domestic servants collectively made up over a million of Britain's population from the end of the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth.² Maids, housekeepers, cook and butlers became a live-in necessity and proof of affluence, as Eric Hobsbawm states, 'the safest way of distinguishing oneself from the laborers was to employ labor oneself'.³ Yet with the servant comes a sense of the uncanny; the not-quite-family, not-quite-stranger invades the home and the private becomes almost public. As *Alias Grace*'s Mary Whitman emphasises, the domestic servant learns a huge amount about the family they work for, after literally - and metaphorically - washing 'their dirty linen'. The servants themselves however, remain a mystery, unknown and unseen. Esther Preen argues that the 'portrayal of servants as ghostly – in the sense of invisible, unremarkable and inconsequential – is common, even stereotypical'.⁴ Haunting the peripheries of the domestic sphere, appearing often like a genie/spirit on the demand of the master/medium, they are written out, go unnoticed and become invisible when not needed. However, Preen also discusses the problems of agency the spectral servant embodies.⁵ While the common laundry maid may be simply invisible, unremarkable and inconsequential, the typical housekeeper has more control, agency and power within the domestic sphere,

¹ Margaret Atwood, *Alias Grace* (London: Virago, 2009) p. 183

² Leonore da Vidoff, 'Mastered for Life: Servant and Wife in Victorian and Edwardian England', *Journal of Social History*, 7:4 (1974) pp. 406 – 428 (p. 410).

³ Eric Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire* (Hammondsworth: Penguin, 1968) p. 85.

⁴ Esther Preen, *The Spectral Metaphor: Living ghosts and the Agency of Invisibility* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p. 77.

⁵ Preen, *The Spectral Metaphor*, p. 81.

sometimes even more so than the mistress of the house.⁶ The servant as spectre has power in invisibility and can act unseen from a hidden vantage point, sometimes gaining control to manipulate the power dynamic between servant and master. Daphne du Maurier's 1938 novel, *Rebecca*, and Sarah Waters' 1999 text, *Affinity*, both portray a complicated sense of agency and power for the domestic servant and her mistress. Du Maurier's classic demonstrates the dangers of the haunting housekeeper as an unarguably powerful figure within the household, whereas Waters' neo-Victorian narrative portrays the trickery of the 'unremarkable' maid, that controls and manipulates between the lines of the text. Both novels however, highlight invisibility as the source agency, as the domestic (ob)servant becomes the agent of the gaze and her masters become the object. While the narrating mistresses of *Affinity* and *Rebecca* embody spectral characters, their ghostliness is representative of their insecure identities and marginalisation from society. The spectral servants however, (in)visible, (un)remarkable and (in)consequential, haunt and control those within the domestic sphere. The servant becomes, in a sense, the master, through their ability to manipulate their fate, evade the gaze and remain a mystery to the mistresses they know 'a good deal about'.

Waters' *Affinity* is split into two sections of interchanging narration within the years of 1873, 1874 and 1875. The main focus is Margaret Prior's diary entries in 1874 - 1875, in which she regularly visits Millbank Penitentiary, a real prison in Victorian London. The panoptical structure of Millbank, described innocently as a 'geometric flower' within Margaret's first chapter, highlights Waters instantly drawing attention to visibility and the gaze as a theme throughout the novel.⁷ Within Michel

⁶ Pieren, *The Spectral Metaphor*, p. 89.

⁷ Sarah Waters, *Affinity* (London: Virago, 2012) p. 8. All further references are to this edition and given parenthetically within the text.

Foucault's description of panopticism, he explains the panoptical prison structure designed by Jeremy Bentham. Put simply, the 'panopticon' is 'an annular building; at the centre, a tower'.⁸ Windows within the tower provide viewpoints into each of the inner facing cells of the annular building (see Appendix A). The effect is, in order to keep watch on each prisoner, 'all that is needed...is to place a supervisor in the central tower'.⁹ Rather than the dungeon, used throughout history as a punishment of invisibility, the panopticon sentences the prisoner to constant and unrelenting observation. As Foucault writes, 'visibility is a trap'.¹⁰ For the women within *Affinity's* Millbank, they cannot evade the gaze from the watch-tower, or the patrolling of the wardens and thus exemplify the lack of power and agency paired with visibility. When Margaret arrives at the prison for her first visit, she misinterprets the sound of the prisoners, stating that 'though the women were near...[sh]e could not see them', and claims 'they might be ghosts!' (p. 20). However, as soon as they become objects of her gaze, she realises 'they were suddenly terribly real – not ghosts...' (p. 20) at all. Their perceived power as spectres is short lived when they become visible and thus 'terribly real'. While Margaret describes the prisoners eyes 'terribly dull. Their faces...pale, and their wrists and fingers, very slender' (p. 26), they embody a sense of the undead rather than ghostly, as malnourished, unhealthy and almost lifeless, yet lacking spectral invisibility. Almost zombie-like, 'they walked at the same dull pace' with 'drooping heads' and the bodies 'stiff' (p. 14) and the women become a collective of indistinguishable characters. While Margaret studies the 'coarse-faced, slouching women and girls' at Millbank, they also return the gaze to study her 'quite frankly' (p. 20). Throughout her visits, the protagonist continues to find herself

⁸ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* ed. Alan Sheridan, (London: Penguin Books, 1977) p. 200.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

watched by the prisoners and wardens. She describes Selina Dawes' 'unsettling gaze' (p. 64) as well as claiming the 'matrons also had their eyes on' her (p. 21). The observation by the wardens also reminds her of the unrelenting and critical gaze within her own home, as she writes 'I thought suddenly of my Mother, scolding me when I was two-and-twenty' (p. 21). Therefore, while the prisoners provide the basis for visibility as a trap, Millbank acts as a metaphor for the panoptical observation Margaret becomes victim to throughout her narrative.

Margaret struggles with her visits to Millbank, as she acknowledges that her social status as 'a lady' is all that saves her from a fate of imprisonment after a failed suicide attempt (p. 256). Visiting inmates that are incarcerated for attempting their own suicide, Margaret becomes an uncanny double to the women within the jail; she is the more affluent 'other' that would be behind the bars she gazes into from the outside. Thus, Margaret gains has a sense of invisibility, or even invincibility. As a spinster, and therefore 'essentially a ghost in a society',¹¹ she perceives herself to be already invisible to most of nineteenth-century London, stating that 'it is the same with spinsters as with ghosts; and one has to be of their ranks in order to see them at all' (p. 58). Margaret's spinsterhood is itself a disguise and a way to conceal a sexuality she wishes to remain invisible. Waters highlights parallels between her protagonist and Terry Castle's 'apparitional lesbian', as Margaret believes she is becoming more spectral as her relationship with the spirit-medium and Millbank prisoner, Selina Dawes, develops. Castle argues that the fictional and cinematic lesbian is often 'ghosted'¹² or 'hidden from history, out of sight, out of mind'.¹³

¹¹ Mark Llewellyn, "Queer? I should say it's criminal!": Sarah Waters *Affinity* (1999)', *Journal of Gender Studies* 13:3 (2004) pp. 203 – 214 (p. 211)

¹² Terry Castle, *The Apparitional Lesbian: Female Homosexuality and Modern Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), p. 4.

¹³ Castle, *The Apparitional Lesbian*, p. 2

Margaret herself embodies the 'elusive, vaporous, difficult to spot' lesbian of the narrative,¹⁴ as she writes she is 'pale as a spectre' (p. 223) after her visits and states 'I am becoming my own ghost...I think I will haunt this room, when I have started my new life' (p. 289). The more she accepts her queer desire, the further Margaret (de)materialises as the apparitional lesbian and accepts that she cannot share her feelings with anyone else, not even her previous paramour, Helen. She writes, 'I knew that I should never tell her about Selina. That if I did now, she wouldn't hear me. That if I brought Selina to her now, she would not see her...' (p. 289). Physically invisible, unseen and unheard due to her sexuality, Margaret continues to convince both herself and the reader that she is becoming the spectre, eventually stating that by her final visits, she 'might have been a ghost' in Millbank, as the women on the wards 'hardly raised their eyes' (p. 307) at her presence.

While not physically imprisoned within Millbank, Margaret signifies a metaphorical prisoner within the panoptical jail. The narrative, having so far obscured the spectral servant, reveals Margaret's invisibility as imaginary and exposes her own maid as the unrelenting, hidden gaze that traps her. Margaret overlooks Ruth Vigers, her newly employed servant that embodies the haunting domestic, apparitional lesbian, manipulating spirit and all-seeing (ob)servant with her own panoptical tower. Pereen argues Margaret 'assumes she is the sole focalizer of her story', as it seems she is an un-reliable narrator that *overestimates* her freedom from the gaze and *underestimates* the agency of her maid.¹⁵ As Selina's real lover, using her employment by the Priors to manipulate Margaret, Pereen suggests that 'Ruth turns out of to be the one who operates from the central tower of the panoptic

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Pereen, *The Spectral Metaphor*, p. 124.

mechanism'.¹⁶ She is only able to operate successfully however, because her metaphorical tower is obscured by the narrative and unseen by the characters, as Pereen argues that Margaret 'renders Vigers invisible and inconsequential except when she is needed to perform a domestic task'.¹⁷ Waters highlights the marginalisation of the servant, as although she exists both in Margaret's narration as Vigers, and Selina's diary entries as Ruth, she remains on the peripheries of the text and the narrative conceals her from suspicion. When originally hired by the Prior family, Vigers is labelled 'a sensible girl, she would know her place' (p. 69) and Margaret assumes 'she would only nod and look grave' (p. 305) if told about her mistress's plans to elope. Through her quiet and passive service and her un-interfering behaviour, she embodies the perfect domestic servant. However, by hiding in the shadows she uses her invisibility to her advantage. Bruce Robbins claims that society believed that the typical domestic servant 'enjoys little or no existence apart from her or his effect upon the destiny of the masters'.¹⁸ With a lack of visible identity, servants would be viewed as an extension of their employers. This concept is prevalent when analysing Margaret's attitude towards her servants, as she sees Ruth solely influenced by her own habits. She writes, 'sometime my dreams come so fiercely, I am sure [Vigers] must catch the shape and colour of them in her own slumbers' (p. 305). Waters subverts the idea that the domestic servant exists to serve the destiny of their master, as Ruth Vigers exists as the Prior's servant to further her own fate and steal the destiny Margaret believes is hers: a life and partnership with Selina. Vigers uses her invisibility and passive existence to

¹⁶ Pereen, *The Spectral Metaphor*, p. 123.

¹⁷ Pereen, *The Spectral Metaphor*, p. 129.

¹⁸ Bruce Robbins, *The servants hand: English fiction from below* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993) p. 6.

orchestrate and manipulate the plot, while imprisoning her own mistress under her panoptical gaze.

Ruth Vigers haunts the novel through Selina's narrative in a slightly different way. Within the Victorian era, spiritualism and spirit-mediums were often associated with the domestic servant. Brian McCuskey states, 'one unannounced principle of nineteenth-century spiritualism is the frequent extension of the séance circle to include the household staff'.¹⁹ The 'dark circle' was therefore a site in which class boundaries were broken and provided servants with an opportunity to gain agency within their homes. With the character of Ruth Vigers doubling as Selina's spirit, Peter Quick, Waters furthers the concept of the servant fundamental to the spiritual circle. Vigers becomes the central ghost, controlling séances and gaining a power to manipulate the upper-class women within the Mrs Brink's home. From servant, she becomes the master of the spiritual sphere, furthering her power even more so by performing as male. Parading as Peter Quick, Vigers hides her own presence as another apparitional lesbian within the text and displays what is perceived as a heterosexual desire for the women of the circle. Selina writes that 'Peter prefers the ladies. He goes among them & lets them hold his hand & feel his whiskers' (p. 218). Using a sense patriarchal power, Ruth's gender performance gives her more control and also becomes another level to her trickery. Therefore, within Mrs Brinks house, Vigers is again the one who operates from the panoptical tower. Even as servant within the Brink household, Selina draws attention to Ruth's agency, as she refuses to comply with commands: 'they wanted Ruth to do it, but she would not' (p. 1). Just as Vigers is labelled a 'good girl' (p. 69) within Margaret's narrative, Vigers labels

¹⁹ Brian McCuskey, 'Not at Home: Servants, Scholars and the Uncanny', *PMLA* 121:2 (2006) pp. 421 – 436 (p. 422).

Selina a 'good girl' (p. 195), subverting the power dynamic between mistress and servant. Vigers presence as the mischievous, manipulating spirit extends even into the Prior household. Margaret believes Selina's spirits deliver her personal items to Cheyne Walk, claiming, 'She had sent me her collar. She had sent me *her hair*.' (p. 336). Instead, the supernatural is explained as Vigers unseen interference, attempting to convince Margaret of Selina's spirits. Ruth's trickery proves the spectral 'affinity' between Selina and Margaret is a fake, demonstrating that not only is Margaret's sense of invisibility a product of her imagination, but her spirituality is fabricated by an extensive scam. Again, servant becomes master with Vigers manipulation of Margaret's future and identity, which she later steals. Hiding behind the disguise of the invisible, unremarkable and inconsequential domestic servant, her actions have *remarkable* consequences for her mistress. The manipulating spirit of Selina's narrative and the medium of Margaret's haunting, Ruth Vigers metaphorically imprisons her mistress and subverts power and control to become master of her own fate.

Unlike Margaret Prior, the nameless narrator of Du Maurier's *Rebecca* is hyper-aware of the omnipresent servants in her home. She marries above her class to Maxim de Winter and with it inherits his estate, finding that she struggles with the concept of domestic help and constantly worries about their haunting existence. She becomes increasingly anxious about being the topic of conversation in the servant's quarters, wondering if Clarice has 'gone out and told the other servants' about an argument she has with Maxim²⁰, as well as obscuring her tears in front of Frith, for fear of being discussed (p. 130). Before marrying Maxim, the narrator was Mrs Van

²⁰ Daphne du Maurier, *Rebecca* ed. Sally Beauman (London: Virago, 2003) p. 259. All further references are to this edition and given parenthetically within the text.

de Hopper's employed companion, a 'youthful thing and unimportant' (p. 14). In *Manderley* she cannot shake feeling like 'a between-maid...in lots of ways' (p. 161), claiming the housemaid Alice was 'so superior' in comparison (p. 152). Already the mistress embodies the servant, and while not invisible, at least perceives herself to be inconsequential and unremarkable. The narrator's obsession with Maxim's deceased first wife adds to her uncertain sense of identity, as Alison Light claims, 'as the girl finds out about Rebecca in the first part of the novel, she herself begins to fade'.²¹ She goes as far to envisage herself as the first Mrs de Winter, at one point acting out a dinner scene with Maxim as if she were his first wife. The narrator claims, 'I had so identified myself with Rebecca that my own dull self-did not exist, had never come to Manderley' (pp. 224 – 225). Through an uncanny doubling between the two that have shared the same name, husband and estate, the narrator becomes the more invisible, unremarkable and inconsequential wife of Maxim; the more spectral than the dead. This doubling also demonstrates that, as Lucie Armitt argues, the second wife is 'not simply *jealous* of Rebecca, she wants to *bond inseparably* with her'.²² Just like Margaret Prior, *Rebecca's* narrator embodies an element of the Castle's apparitional lesbian, or at least a lesbian desire for the apparition. She explains her 'sudden rather, terrifying impulse' to explore Rebecca's West Wing, as her 'heart was beating in a queer excited way' (pp. 183-184), implying a simultaneous fear and desire for Maxim's first wife. Desiring to be, and be with, the first Mrs de Winter, the narrator continues to lose herself and her sense of identity.

However, invisibility is again translated as power, and visibility as a trap.

Rebecca's posthumous hold on the second Mrs de Winter only exists when she is

²¹ Alison Light, 'Returning to Manderley': Romance Fiction, Female Sexuality and Class', *Feminist Review* 16 (1984) pp. 7 – 25 (p. 11).

²² Lucie Armitt, 'Rebecca: The Ghost(ed) Text' in, *Contemporary Women's Fiction and the Fantastic* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000) pp. 103 – 107 (p. 105). Emphasis in original.

unseen, obscured or imagined. When her corpse physically re-appears, the narrator claims 'her body had come back...but I was free of her forever' (p. 320). Similarly, when she learns to truth of her predecessor she writes 'the real Rebecca took shape and form before me, stepping from her shadow world like a living figure...' (p. 304). Through Maxim's confiding in her, the truth of his first wife acts as a metaphorical consummation of their marriage. Their identity finally becomes paired, and with Rebecca's body now material, and her true persona visible, she has no power to haunt. It can be read therefore, that Rebecca's haunting is solely a product of the narrator's overactive imagination. Margaret Prior and *Rebecca's* nameless narrator parallel each other in the sense that as storytellers, they are both untrustworthy. Just as Margaret Prior desire for Selina convinced her that she herself was spectral and had a spiritual connection with the prisoner, *Rebecca's* narrator's desire for the first Mrs de Winter incites her obsession with the haunting. Problematic to this argument however, is the presence of the domestic servants as mediums of Rebecca's presence. Eve M. Lynch states that 'like the ghost, the servant was in the home but not of it, occupying a position tied to the workings of the house itself'.²³ The spectral servants represent Manderley as it was before the narrator arrived and are tied to the working of the house that remain unchanged after Rebecca's death. As Maxim explains, 'The beauty of Manderley that you see today, the Manderley that people talk about and photograph and paint, it's all due to her, to Rebecca' (p. 307). While the house embodies the spirit of her predecessor, the second Mrs de Winter believes that 'the servants obeyed [Rebecca's] orders still' (p. 261) and thus the domestics

²³ Eve M. Lynch, 'Spectral politics: the Victorian ghost story and the domestic servant' in *The Victorian Supernatural* ed. Nicole Brown, Carolyn Burdett and Pamela Thurschwell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) pp. 67-86 (p. 67).

become agents that haunt the narrator through retaining the routines and workings Rebecca herself instated.

Mrs Danvers in particular embodies the spectral presence and medium through which Rebecca can remain part of Manderley. The narrator acknowledges that 'Mrs Danvers knew how [Rebecca] walked and how she spoke. Mrs Danvers knew the colour of her eyes, her smile, the texture of her hair.' (p. 153). Through this intimacy of Danvers and Rebecca, the housekeeper undermines the significance of her mistress. In an uncanny subversion of power, Mrs Danvers emphasises her importance to Manderley's routines and the de Winter family, while the narrator remains an inconsequential and unremarkable character for much of the novel. Just as the narrator's obsession with the haunting of Rebecca can be attributed to an over-active imagination, Holly Blackford claims 'although it would seem that Mrs. Danvers does become increasingly hostile to the second Mrs. De Winter, her words, looks, and actions can actually be read as a projection of the highly imaginative and insecure narrator'.²⁴ Blackford's argument is also problematic however, as Danvers orchestrates much of the plot and manipulates the narrator into numerous harmful situations. In Pereen's discussion of spectral servants in relation to power, she suggests that the ghost-like figure of the genie 'yields different possibilities for agency'.²⁵ While the 'docile genie-in-a-bottle' appears on the demand of its master to complete the tasks it is requested to, the narrator's own maid Clarice as a prime example, the servant and master dynamic subverts when the genie becomes the 'confusing and capricious djinn' that plays tricks and disobeys orders.²⁶ Danvers manipulates the narrator on many occasions. She encourages the narrators queer

²⁴ Holly Blackford, 'Haunted Housekeeping: Fatal Attractions of Servant and Mistress in Twentieth-Century Female Gothic Literature', *Literature Interpretation Theory* 16 (2005) pp. 233 – 261 (p. 244).

²⁵ Pereen, *The Spectral Metaphor*, p. 78.

²⁶ Pereen, *The Spectral Metaphor*, p. 82.

desire, forcing Rebecca's 'slippers over [her] hands' (p. 190) in the West Wing, shows her 'loathsome, triumphant' (p. 240) expression after causing the uncanny doubling between the two wives at the Manderley ball and also tempts the narrator with suicide, attempting to convince her to 'jump now and have done with it' (p. 276). Mrs Danvers embodies the ghostly figure of the djinn, under the guise of the faithful genie, and her manipulation remains unseen by others and untold by the mistress who fears her.

Aesthetically, Danvers also embodies spectrality, as the narrator describes the housekeeper's 'lifeless' voice (p. 81), 'limp and heavy, deathly cold' hands (p. 74), 'prominent cheek-bones' and 'skull's face, parchment-white, set on a skeleton's frame' (p. 74), highlighting a physicality that mirrors the undead appearance of the Millbank prisoners in *Affinity*. Unlike these prisoners however, Mrs Danvers has complete control over the gaze. Always a step ahead of the mistress having 'just disappeared' when she enters a room, the narrator is only able to 'catch a glimpse of her skirt brushing the door, or hear the sound of footsteps on the stairs' (p. 229). Blackford argues the narrator 'maintains a fear of Mrs. Danvers's eyes, with the desperate need to interpret her gaze'.²⁷ Yet it seems the housekeeper often watches from an unseen vantage point, becoming the invisible (ob)servant. The second Mrs de Winter writes, 'now and again, when I looked up from my book or glanced across the garden, I had a feeling I was not alone' (p. 197). This observation is one she cannot return and the panoptical gaze of Danvers, like Ruth Vigers, is one hidden from view. When her gaze is noticed, it is unrelenting, as the narrator claims Mrs Danvers 'waited there motionless...her eyes never leaving my face' (p. 79), and she 'would not take her eyes away from Maxim' (p. 195). Mrs Danvers 'hollow eyes' (p.

²⁷ Blackford, 'Haunted Housekeeping', p. 245.

79) become a constant cause of fear and highlight the lack of power and agency of the narrator, never able to evade it. This constant gaze also draws parallels with the concept of the apparitional lesbian. Castle states that 'once we begin to look, we may find her looking back at us: making eye contact, delighted to be seen at last', and Mrs Danvers is here the apparitional lesbian that returns the gaze.²⁸ While not exactly delighted to be seen, she can manipulate her mistress through her observation. Unlike the narrator's confusion between desire and fear of Rebecca, Mrs Danvers does not attempt to hide her desire and love for her deceased mistress. As she describes Rebecca, the narrator labels Danvers as a 'fanatic' (p. 272). The housekeeper claims that all the men Rebecca knew 'made love to her of course; who would not?', before listing all those that were 'mad for her. Mr de Winter, Mr Jack, Mr Crawler, everyone who knew her, everyone who came to Manderley' (p. 275). It is almost as if the name 'Danny', the androgynous pet name given to her by Rebecca, would fit comfortably onto the end of the list of admirers, yet she remains the apparitional lesbian as an admirer of her first mistress, existing on the peripheries of her life and never making the list.²⁹

Maxim de Winter and his second wife spend the latter part of the narrative obsessed with questioning who has won; Rebecca or himself and his second wife? However, it seems neither 'win', and the prize should instead be awarded to Mrs Danvers, the haunting housekeeper-come-vengeful apparitional lesbian. Consistently more dominant than her mistress, she remains powerful through her spectrality and with a final testimony to her agency as the ob(servant), Du Maurier writes that the housekeeper 'disappeared' out of visibility at the close of the novel (p.

²⁸ Castle, *The Apparitional Lesbian*, p. 19.

²⁹ Janet Harbord, 'Between Identification and Desire: Rereading "Rebecca" *Feminist Review* 53:1 (1996) pp. 95 – 107 (p. 101).

421). Although Mrs Danvers and Ruth Vigers exist fictionally in different centuries, Danvers in many ways embodies the typical Victorian housekeeper, in her nineteenth-century robes and her gothic presence within the household. Vigers and Danvers thus share numerous similarities, and both become mediums to their mistresses' hauntings; both act as manipulating spirits of 'capricious djinns' and both embody Terry Castle's apparitional lesbian. Queer desire is not successfully materialised in either text, for Vigers and Ruth must continue to hide behind a disguise of heterosexuality as Peter Quick and his conjuring medium, Margaret's lesbian romance was one stolen away from her as a fake, and those of *Manderley* fail to live out a desire for anything but an apparition. However, it seems the spectral servants remain happy to exist on the peripheries of society and find a huge amount of agency and power in invisibility. Although the narrators and mistresses of both narratives exist as spectral women and become uncanny doubles to those they could have been, or desire to be, they have no power to haunt the novels in which they exist. Trapped by visibility, it is their (ob)servants that spy from the unseen panoptical tower and eventually subvert the master, servant power dynamic. The haunting housekeeper, and the seemingly inconsequential maid, trick and manipulate their mistresses and in the end, certainly 'had the better of them'.³⁰

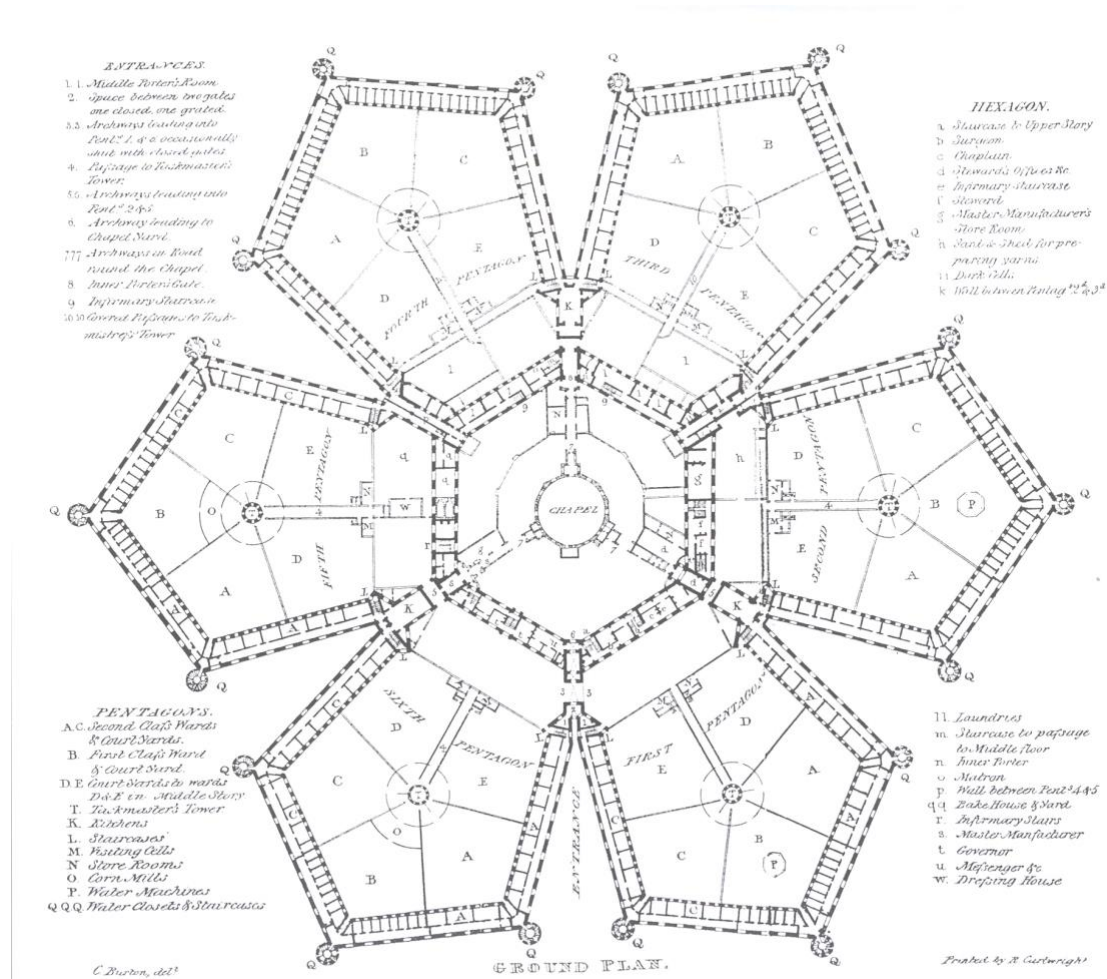
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³⁰ Atwood, *Alias Grace*, p. 183.

Appendices

Appendix A: The structure of Millbank panopticon prison showing the plan as one of a 'geometric flower' that Margaret describes (p. 6)

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