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# Capital games: the Bourdieuxian movements of Heathcliff and Nelly Dean in Neo-Victorian revisitations of Wuthering Heights

Ryan S. Wise  
*Eastern Washington University*

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Capital Games: The Bourdieuxian Movements of Heathcliff and Nelly Dean in  
Neo-Victorian Revisitations of *Wuthering Heights*

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Presented to

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In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree

Master of Arts in English Literature and Writing

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By

Ryan S. Wise

Spring 2018

THESIS OF Ryan S. Wise APPROVED BY

\_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_

DR. BETH TORGERSON, GRADUATE STUDY COMMITTEE CHAIR

\_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_

DR. ANTHONY FLINN, GRADUATE STUDY COMMITTEE MEMBER

\_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_

DR. MICHAEL CONLIN, GRADUATE STUDY COMMITTEE MEMBER

## MASTER'S THESIS

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Dr. Beth Torgerson introduced me to Victorian writers during my undergraduate career and helped me develop my own understanding of the long nineteenth-century along with the cultural similarities we share with the Victorians. Dr. Torgerson always encouraged me to become a better writer as she taught me to structure my thoughts in a logical order—I admit that I will constantly be working on this skill.

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## Introduction

In December 1847, Emily Brontë published *Wuthering Heights* under the pseudonym Ellis Bell. In the biographical and historical contexts of the 1850 edition of Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*, Charlotte Brontë explains Emily's, Anne's, and her use of pseudonyms to publish their works: "we had a vague impression that authoresses are liable to be looked on with prejudice" (7). The patriarchal society of the Victorian era, 1837-1901, separated the men's public sphere and women's private sphere. The Brontë sisters, along with other female authors,<sup>1</sup> crossed between spheres to inhabit the preconceived notion of the male's public sphere. While the distinct boundaries separated the roles between genders, establishing the norms of acceptable social roles, Victorian authors, especially female authors, began to highlight some of the injustices that arose from the staunchly held division.

Contemporary reviews of *Wuthering Heights* claim that Ellis Bell has an underlying genius that *he* never fully explores. On 18 Dec. 1847, an anonymous critic for the *Spectator* wrote that "The success is not equal to the abilities of the writer," because the content is "disagreeable...improbable, with a moral taint about them" (1217). On 25 Dec. 1847, H. F. Chorley, a critic for the *Athenaeum*, wrote:

The Bells seem to affect painful and exceptional subjects: —the misdeeds and oppressions of tyranny—the eccentricities of "woman's fantasy." They do not turn away from dwelling upon those physical acts of cruelty which we know to have their warrant in the real annals of crime and suffering, —but the contemplation of which true taste rejects. (1324)

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<sup>1</sup> George Eliot, Elizabeth Gaskell, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Mary Elizabeth Braddon, and Katherine Harris Bradley (Michael Field) are a few prominent female authors of the Victorian period.

While Chorley brushes aside the topic of oppression as a “woman’s fantasy,” he at least acknowledges the topic. A possible reading of Chorley’s criticism might suggest that acknowledgement of the tyrannical patriarchal system could challenge the gendering of separate spheres—undermining the premises of the patriarchal system itself. In Feb. 1848, another anonymous critic who wrote for *Tait’s Edinburgh Magazine* describes *Wuthering Heights* as “contain[ing] undoubtedly powerful writing, and yet it seems to be thrown away” (138). At the time of publication, the reception of *Wuthering Heights* primarily followed these critiques.

Brontë develops Heathcliff’s character through continuous experiences of oppressive social implications, such as references to his being an orphan and a “gipsy,” which allows a critique of the Victorian *nomos*: the cultural laws and conventions of a place in a given period of time, dictating the socially agreed upon appropriate behaviors in a set location. There is limited power that resides in the lower and lower-middle classes which increases in the upper-middle classes and above. While the Victorian class system is rigid, there were possibilities for fluid mobility between classes. Brontë’s Heathcliff maneuvers his way through the social hierarchy to obtain a wealthier position. While Heathcliff becomes financially stable, Brontë does not explain *how* Heathcliff accrues such capital, only *that* it is possible.

Even though Nelly does not move between social classes, Brontë’s Nelly maneuvers her way up through the female domestic servant’s hierarchy. Nelly indicates to Mr. Lockwood that she used to play with Hindley and Catherine as children and, at the current moment, Nelly indicates that she is now a housekeeper (49), the highest position for female domestic servants. Brontë does not explain how Nelly shifts from a playmate



to the housekeeper of Thrushcross Grange; Brontë only makes it clear that Nelly obtained the position of a housekeeper. Using insights learned through her position as a servant, Nelly narrates the story of *Wuthering Heights* with a focus on Edgar, Heathcliff, Catherine, and Cathy without giving much attention to her own life as a servant.

Many contemporary writers are revisiting Victorian novels, creating neo-Victorian novels. *Wuthering Heights* has been a popular novel for contemporary writers and in my initial search for novels, I narrowed the list to four novels: *A True Novel* by Minae Mizumura (2013), *Ill Will* by Michael Stewart (2018), *H.~ The Story of Heathcliff's Journey back to Wuthering Heights* by Lin Haire-Sargeant (2012), and *Nelly Dean: A Return to Wuthering Heights* by Alison Case (2015). I decided against Minae's novel as it was a recreation of *Wuthering Heights* set in post-WWII Japan and the backstory of Brontë's Heathcliff is not covered. Stewart's novel specifically covered the three-year gap in Heathcliff's disappearance from *Wuthering Heights*, however, Stewart's Heathcliff joins a highway con-woman named Emily to lie and cheat people out of their money across England which does not seem to fit the refined appearance that Nelly Dean describes in *Wuthering Heights* when Heathcliff arrives back at *Wuthering Heights*. Haire-Sargeant develops Heathcliff's years away from *Wuthering Heights* so that he still maintains his manipulative personality as well as explaining Heathcliff's appearance as a refined man. Case revisits *Wuthering Heights* and shifts the focus to Nelly's life as a domestic servant. Through Haire-Sargeant's and Case's neo-Victorian novels, readers get the recreation of the Victorian values while staying within Brontë's character development in *Wuthering Heights*.

While there is a debate on what neo-Victorian novels cover in terms of content, there is a focus on recreating the Victorian culture for the modern reader. In “What is Neo-Victorian Studies?” Mark Llewellyn suggests that even though the field of neo-Victorian studies can be “often perilously close to [the] kitsch or clichéd” content of “our contemporary culture” (168), neo-Victorian studies should strive to “bring to our discussions the awareness of the multiple social contexts of our aesthetic response—historical, textual, analytical, cultural, gendered, raced, classed, economic, political, and so on” in order to “address the multiplicity of the Victorians themselves” (175). While neo-Victorian studies formed from post-modernism, there is some overlap. For example, Jasper Fforde’s *The Eyre Affair*, Jane Eyre is removed from Charlotte Brontë’s novel and the protagonist Thursday Next must find the culprit to reconstruct the literary world. Fforde’s novel, while dealing with the Victorian era, crosses into the post-modern genre than a neo-Victorian genre. The focus is on the novel’s parallel universe rather than on the Victorian era. As Llewellyn suggests, the field of neo-Victorian studies should center around the historical conditions and problems that Victorians themselves wrote about to highlight that “neither [historical fiction or historical narrative] is valid without the recognition of the fabrications of history as process, history as narrative and the historical as an imaginary configuration and combination of critical and creative thought” (180). Neo-Victorian novels offers readers the opportunity to reimagine and analyze the problems that shaped the post-modern world that we live in today, while at the same time gaining a post-modern understanding of the Victorian novel.

Llewellyn explains the value of neo-Victorian texts: “It is not contemporary literature as a substitute for the nineteenth century but as a mediator into the experience

of reading the ‘real’ thing; after all, neo-Victorian texts are, in the main, processes of writing that act out the results of reading the Victorians and their literary productions” (168). Because neo-Victorian texts engage with the cultural norms of the Victorian era, they enable both writers and readers to re-examine Victorian culture through a modern angle. Neo-Victorians shift the focus to highlight Victorian prejudices, especially in regard to marginalized characters and their class status produced by the Victorian hierarchy. The norms of the Victorian era produced and normalized the marginalization of the lower classes and the neo-Victorians empower these marginalized characters in the revisiting of the Victorian novel.

In “The Secret Sharer: The Child in Neo-Victorian Fiction,” Anne Morey and Claudia Nelson explain that “Neo-Victorian fictions, then, both depend on their originals and run counter to them inasmuch as the new works acknowledge the despised, oppressed, and neglected subjects of their originals” (3). Through identifying culturally oppressed characters and empowering them, neo-Victorians critique the Victorian standards that allow for the systematic erasure of the lower classes. The critique is focused on the byproducts of the Victorian culture rather than a direct critique of the Victorian author. Using neo-Victorian texts to help mediate our understanding of the Victorian culture identifies a similar cultural construction between the two periods of time. The present can inform and challenge the perceptions of the past which allows the modern reader to engage Victorian novels with a post-modern approach. The Victorian era is chronologically closer to the present than medieval, Renaissance, or Romantic periods, which may suggest why some literature in the 1960’s began revisiting the Victorian period over previous eras.

The earliest recorded use of the term “neo-Victorian” is in *These Twain* by Arnold Bennett. Bennett’s narrator explains, “Whereas the old Victorians lived in the future (in so far as they truly lived at all), the neo-Victorians lived careless in the present” (106). The juxtaposition between how the Victorians lived compared to the neo-Victorians indicates the shift from the Victorian era to the Edwardian era. While the original use of the term by Bennett highlights the cultural shift, “neo-Victorian” is now used to indicate writers who draw upon the Victorian culture and recreate it for modern-day readers through adopting or mimicking Victorian characters to revisit the Victorian novel. Reviving the Victorian *nomos* intertwines Bennett’s description of the Victorians “liv[ing] in the future” with the modern-day self-reflection of the past. The two train of thoughts conjoin together and reveal cultural intricacies of power relations.

Haire-Sargeant, in *H.~ The Story of Heathcliff’s Journey Back to Wuthering Heights*, and Case, in *Nelly Dean: A Return to Wuthering Heights*, both demonstrate the neo-Victorian focus.<sup>2</sup> Both Haire-Sargeant and Case explain information that is integral to *Wuthering Heights* which Brontë does not include. Heathcliff’s rise in class status directly affects the Earnshaws and Lintons while Nelly’s rise through the domestic servant hierarchy eventually positions her as a mediator between Wuthering Heights and Thrushcross Grange. Haire-Sargeant and Case build upon the Victorian culture represented by Brontë to rewrite the backstories of Heathcliff and Nelly, explaining how these two lower-class characters enable themselves to surpass some of the Victorian social oppressions.

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<sup>2</sup> For the remainder of the paper, I will refer to Haire-Sargeant’s novel as *H.~* and Case’s novel as *Nelly Dean*.

To investigate the social positions of Haire-Sargeant's Heathcliff and Case's Nelly, I examine the characters through Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus* and "games of culture." Bourdieu offers a modern pretext that allows readers to analyze the possibility of social mobility which is revisited through the neo-Victorian novel. While the application could be directly applied to the Victorian novel, neo-Victorian novels provide the Victorian contexts with which to analyze both transverse movements—Heathcliff—and vertical movements—Nelly Dean. In *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Bourdieu defines *habitus* as,

systems of durable, transposable *dispositions*, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations which can be objectively "regulated" and "regular" without in any way being the product of obedience to rules, objectively adapted to their goals without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary to attain them and, being all this, collectively orchestrated without being the product of the orchestrating action of a conductor. (72)

*Habitus* thus shapes the perceptions of everyone within society but independently exists outside the rules of society. These structures reinforce and structure the expectations created by all forms of social discourse which reinforces a person's behavior through their past experiences. A person must have previous experience in social situations corresponding to the conditions of living in order to be structured by *habitus*. Since *habitus* structures perceptions based on objective circumstances, the *nomos*, based on situational circumstances (e.g. class status), people who reside within the same situational

circumstances perceive the world through similar life dispositions. Therefore, people residing within the same situational circumstances act similarly because *habitus* shapes appropriate behavior.

A part of these situational circumstances covers emotional responses. The *nomos* dictate the appropriate reactions of males and females. In “Negotiating the Emotional Habitus of the Middle Classes in *The Mayor of Casterbridge*,” Jana Gohrsh takes Bourdieu’s concept of *habitus* to explain the Victorian social division of “a female and a male emotional *habitus*” (44). The work of emotional *habitus* resides within the private sphere and is reinforced through the public sphere in order to develop happiness through conscious emotional work (51). According to the *nomos*, Victorian women’s responsibility for the family allows them to achieve happiness through making the rest of the family happy. On the other hand, Victorian men achieve happiness through emotion work at home to balance the competitive public culture brought on by the Industrial Revolution. The appropriate responses for each gender are dictated by the *nomos* and are learned through public and private interactions. These experiences are a manifestation of *habitus* working between the social and private spheres to govern people’s reactions.

In *Distinction*, Bourdieu uses a metaphor of a game to describe cultural interactions that he calls the “games of culture” (54). While each class status is governed by different structures, with the upper class having the most power, the interactions between classes and within society create the game. There are three parts of the game: field, capital, and *habitus* (12-13). The field is a place where agents—individuals acting within a social setting—and social positions interact and within the “games of culture” agents act within multiple fields. The fields of play are hierarchical social settings that

compete with one another and are typically at the mercy of the fields of power and class.

Capital is comprised of any asset that can be accumulated, such as wealth, art, knowledge, and social influence. While each subsection of capital increases an agent's maneuverability, a high accumulation of wealth typically overshadows any of the other capitals. None of the capitals are completely separate from one another though.

Accumulating money also raises a person's class status, which allows more opportunities to receive a higher education. The wealthy and knowledgeable can dictate the categories of art and maintain a higher social influence than those classes which cannot accrue high volumes of wealth. The more capital an agent accrues allows for more maneuverability throughout the field and *habitus* structures agents according to their social positions. All three parts of the game govern the agent's mobility within a given field, rewarding agents who play the game well.

While Bourdieu does not reference the game of chess, it can function as an analogy. A game of chess exhibits the rules and complications of the games of culture. The field corresponds to the chess board, restricting the movement of all pieces on the board within a contained area. The rules dictate the moves each type of game piece can make: Pawns move one space forward (with the exception jumping two spaces from its starting point), Rooks can move forward, backward, and side-to-side, Knights move in an L-shape pattern three-two, Bishops move diagonally, the Queen can move in any direction, and the King can only move one space in any direction (with the exception of castling).<sup>3</sup> In this analogy, the field is an interaction between the social classes and the sacrificial pawns represent the lower and lower-middle classes. If the pawns are able to

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<sup>3</sup> Castling is a move that helps protect the king. The king moves two spaces towards the rook and the rook moves directly to the square on the opposite side of the king.

accrue enough capital, represented by moving forward on the board, the pawn can be substituted for a piece with more power. However, the pawn can only swap out for a piece that has a vacancy, just as the cultural norms restrict the number of middle to upper-class tiered positions. Only one King and one Queen is allowed by the game. While a Pawn is never able to replace the King, it can replace a captured Queen. *Habitus* structures the agent—the player—to maintain the rules and maneuverability of the pieces, yet *habitus* is not bound to the game of chess, as *habitus* structures and reinforces other games with different rules, like checkers. Moreover, at the moment when two players sit down to play chess, the agreed-upon rules of the game situate the two players within the social conditions governing the board, and *habitus* structures the player's perceptions and responses to the social conditions.

The game of culture situates players so that they can move between social spaces. In *Distinction*, Bourdieu describes two types of movements: vertical and transverse. Vertical movements typically keep the player within the same social space/class such as moving from “a small businessman to a big businessman” (131). The field typically stays the same for vertical movements as the agents just maneuver to a position that accrues more capital within the same field of play. Transverse movements shift the player either across the same social field, like “a schoolteacher becom[ing] a small shopkeeper,” or into a different social field, as “a shopkeeper becomes an industrialist” (131-32). Most movements fall into vertical movements because transverse movements require a high accumulation of capital to move into a different field, and capital is limited based on the field in which an agent resides. Agents with a higher accumulation of capital create the *nomos* in order to maintain their power. At the same time, the *nomos* allows limited



mobility for the lower and lower-middle classes which provide a reward for these classes a reward for participating in the “games of culture.” These rewards reinforce the behaviors of the lower and lower-middle classes to participate within the same structures that restrict their capital gain, both money and power.

England’s class system changed between the eighteenth century and the nineteenth century due, in a large respect, to the industrial revolution. In *Life and Labour in England 1700-1780*, Robert W. Malcolmson uses Daniel Defoe’s seven categories of the English society to describe distinctions between the rich and the poor, while at the same time Defoe’s classification reinforces the distinctions between those with money and those without much money: “1. The Great, who live profusely...; 2. The Rich, who live very plentifully...; 3. The middle Sort, who live well...; 4. The working Trades, who labour hard, but feel no want...; 6. The Poor, that fare hard...; 7. The Miserable, that really pinch and suffer Want” (qtd. in Malcolmson 11-12). Social mobility was restricted partly because of the agrarian system. The work and production of goods was mainly done by land, which was owned by the wealthy. Since the laborers were part of the lower class, they had to continue to work in order to survive, never accumulating enough wealth to move between classes. Malcolmson explains that “Poor labourers were highly valued—though only if their poverty could be converted into profitable labour...The poor had duties to perform, and the failure to perform these duties conscientiously was seen by others as manifest immorality” (13). The social construction around the division of the rich and poor created a public consciousness to inscribe into the morality of the harsh divisions.

As the Industrial Revolution began around 1760, the class system began to see a rise in the middle class. Skilled trades and professions rose due to the technological advancements. The sharp distinction between the accumulated wealth of the rich and the disenfranchised poor at the beginning of the eighteenth century began to evolve as the eighteenth century came to a close and the nineteenth century gave the middle class more cultural prominence. The upper class remained the same aristocratic lineage, but some of the laborers began to accumulate wealth. After the middle class formed, there began another division between the middle and lower class, the lower-middle class. The lower class were laborers that had to work for their money in order to barely survive, while the lower-middle class lived comfortably but this class had to continuously work to maintain the living standards, such as a medium sized farm. The upper-middle class were skilled laborers, such as a butcher or doctor, and while they were able to pay for more education, the middle class still did not have as much power over the *nomos* as the upper class. The upper class was designed to maintain power for its members, rarely ever allowing other classes to gain some of their cultural capital. Social mobility, while still somewhat rigid, became more prevalent because of the lower-middle and middle classes.

The *nomos* provides context for the field, which provides the areas in which the agents interact with one another. Historically, as the cultural norms and conventions shift from one set of expectations to another, the rules that govern the fields of play change as well. For example, during the Industrial Revolution, the middle and working classes became prominent forces within the games of culture. The *nomos* evolved with the technology adding two prominent structures within the hierarchy of class. In doing so, the rules that govern each class' interaction with each other also evolve. The hierarchy within

each class are also governed by the *nomos* and within smaller fields of play, such as an individual house, the rules governing the interactions between agents shifted according to the master and mistress. Every field of play shifts alongside the changing of the *nomos* through the structuring force of *habitus*. The objectivity of the rules governing the cultural game allow people to rationally determine the appropriate actions and responses in social situations.

In chapter one, I examine Haire-Sargeant's 1992 novel *H.* through Heathcliff's awareness of his rhetorical situations to manipulate the perceptions of the upper class eventually leading to a transverse movement that shifts his class status due to accruing wealth. During his three-year absence from *Wuthering Heights*, Heathcliff learns the appropriate behaviors of a Victorian gentleman and interacts with members of the gentry to gain the social experience that *habitus* requires in order to structure his behaviors and perceptions. Heathcliff's understanding of the rhetorical situation establishes an awareness of the social world that enables him to visualize the field of play. Through learning the expectations of the upper-class field, Heathcliff is able to manipulate the "objective" perceptions that *habitus* structures to perform as a gentleman.

In chapter two, I examine Case's 2015 novel *Nelly Dean* through Nelly's recognition of the "games of culture" that enables her to make a vertical movement in the domestic servant hierarchy to become a housekeeper. *Nelly Dean* begins with Nelly retelling the story of *Wuthering Heights* to Mr. Lockwood but with a focus on her life, altering the first narrative's focus from the Earnshaws and Lintons to the focus of a domestic servant which encapsulates her experiences with multiple masters and mistresses. Nelly shifts from a "playmate" of Hindley and Catherine Earnshaw to a

servant of *Wuthering Heights*. This shift forces Nelly to experience a new set of expectations structured by *habitus*. Life as a domestic servant requires a flexibility to adapt to new masters and mistresses which makes the domestic servants especially skillful at maneuvering through the changing rules of play. Nelly is particularly adept at adapting to new rules allowing her to move from *Wuthering Heights* to *Thrushcross Grange* with little trouble. Nelly's perceptions are firmly rooted in the working class after she becomes a servant which allows her to easily comprehend the hierarchy of domestic servants and obtain the highest position for female servants, a housekeeper.

Using Bourdieu as a means to investigate neo-Victorian novels focuses the reader's attention to Victorian social class issues. Bourdieu's concept of the games of culture investigates even further a foundational component of neo-Victorian literature's "engage[ment] with the debates [centered around marginalized people and repressed sexuality] that continue to rage within, and in some senses sustain, the vibrant field of Victorian studies" (Llewellyn 179-80). Revisiting class issues through Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus* and "games of culture" provides an avenue through which readers can analyze the motives of characters—agents—within the field of play. Understanding the complex nature of the field and the functions of *habitus* reveals the nature of systematic oppression and the process through which agents reinforce the system which oppresses them.

The application of Bourdieu's "games of culture" to both Haire-Sargeant's and Case's elaboration of social mobility stems from Brontë's descriptions of the master/servant relationship in *Wuthering Heights*. The converging fields of class structures through Heathcliff, Nelly, the Earnshaws, and the Lintons creates the fields of

play that reside in the Victorian period. Brontë's understanding of what Bourdieu calls the games of culture is established through the characters' treatment of each other. While the Victorian fields are normally rigid, Brontë represents both the rigidity and fluidity of a person's maneuverability in and between class fields. Brontë's Heathcliff and Nelly interact within the Victorian fields of play and eventually obtain a greater position of power, which demonstrates Brontë's awareness of the *habitus* of each class and the corresponding projection for social mobility.

## Chapter 1—

## Applying Bourdieu's Transverse Movement:

## Heathcliff's Transition from Orphan to Gentleman

In Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*, readers get a description of Heathcliff through Nelly Dean's perspective. Brontë gives very little information about Heathcliff's past, except that Mr. Earnshaw found him in Liverpool. Heathcliff arrives at Wuthering Heights in the summer of 1771, approximately seven-years old,<sup>4</sup> as "a dirty, ragged, black-haired child," according to Nelly (51). The last description readers receive of Heathcliff's appearance is around Christmas, approximately thirteen-years old. He asks Nelly to make him look proper and Hindley walks in and yells, "Begone, you vagabond! What, you are attempting the coxcomb, are you? Wait till I get hold of those elegant locks—see if I won't pull them a bit longer!" (68). The emergence of Edgar Linton as a potential suitor for Catherine drives Heathcliff to change his physical appearance. Unfortunately, when Catherine confesses to Nelly her love of both Edgar and Heathcliff but says that she will only marry Edgar because of their respective social positions. Heathcliff, sixteen-years old, overhears their conversation and runs away. When Heathcliff runs away from Wuthering Heights for three years, there is a gap in knowledge for readers that would reveal the events leading to Heathcliff's rise in social stature. Nelly's description of Heathcliff changes drastically from the Christmas account to a more refined look, a change which occurs over a three-year span beginning in 1780. On

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<sup>4</sup> In 1801, Mr. Lockwood indicates that Heathcliff is "about forty" (33), yet Nelly indicates that upon Heathcliff's arrival in 1771, his appearance "looked older than Catherine's" (51). While years are not explicitly given, the years can be figured out through the relation to Catherine Earnshaw's age. Catherine was born in 1765 and the last reference to a measurement of time, before Heathcliff runs away indicates that Catherine is fifteen (74). The time frame gives readers the year Heathcliff runs away, 1780. Catherine is eight-years younger than Hindley, who is fourteen when Heathcliff arrives at Wuthering Heights, giving readers the year of Heathcliff's arrival as 1771 approximately at the age of seven.

Heathcliff's return to Wuthering Heights at the age of nineteen, Nelly describes his appearance:

He had grown a tall, athletic, well-formed man, beside whom, my master seemed quite slender and youth-like. His upright carriage suggested the idea of his having been in the army. His countenance was much older in expression and decision of feature than Mr. Linton's; it looked intelligent, and retained no marks of former degradation. (99)

The drastic change in his appearance and demeanor announces Heathcliff's rise in social class. He returns with enough money to lend Hindley, knowing that Hindley will increase his debts and need to use Wuthering Heights as collateral. Heathcliff does indeed receive the property as collateral before Hindley's death. However, Heathcliff returns not only wealthy but also educated. The *nomos* of the 1780s would not have allowed an outsider, such as Heathcliff, an opportunity to amass so much cultural standing if he had stayed in England.

While Nelly hypothesizes in *Wuthering Heights* how Heathcliff amasses wealth and social status (army service), Lin Haire-Sargeant develops Heathcliff's backstory during the missing years *H.~*. Haire-Sargeant tells the backstory through a letter written by Heathcliff to Catherine that was never delivered because Nelly thought it would be detrimental to introduce Heathcliff back into Catherine's life the day before she marries Edgar Linton. Heathcliff's letter ends with his return to Gimmerton and an invitation to Catherine to accompany him to America.

In *H.~*, Haire-Sargeant blends together Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights* and Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*, while briefly including both Emily and Charlotte as

characters who meet Nelly on her deathbed. Charlotte is on her way to Yorkshire from her time as a teacher at Pensionnat Heger. She meets Mr. Lockwood who asks her to read a letter written by Heathcliff to Catherine, a letter that was never given to Catherine. In this letter, Heathcliff explains the missing three years after he ran away from Wuthering Heights and became a servant to Mr. Rochester. Mr. Rochester is who Heathcliff describes as a wealthy gentleman with social standing. Because Heathcliff was not raised as a gentleman, he is oblivious to the intricacies of acting the role of a gentleman. Mr. Rochester takes in Heathcliff as a servant and begins to educate him in the ways of acting a proper gentleman, taking a full year before Mr. Rochester's test. Heathcliff is to act as a host during a week-long party at the Thornfield estate for the local gentry. Heathcliff entertains the Ingram family along with Edgar Linton. While Edgar recognizes Heathcliff, Heathcliff manages to position himself favorably amongst the Ingram family. After a successful week of being a host, Mr. Rochester and Heathcliff take a trip to the Continent, visiting at least France and Germany. This trip allows Heathcliff to learn at a German university and become acquainted with "high art" such as the opera in Vienna. The trip accounts for another year whereupon Heathcliff returns to Thornfield. Mr. Rochester is engaged to Jane Eyre, whom Heathcliff believes is after Mr. Rochester's money, causing strife that leads to Heathcliff taking over Mr. Rochester's manor at Ferndean. It is here at Ferndean that Heathcliff spends the remaining year accumulating wealth. Eventually, Heathcliff finds out that he is the son of Mr. Rochester and Bertha Mason Rochester, yet he rejects his family name after inheriting money from Mr. Rochester when the estate burns down.

Haire-Sargeant's portrayal of the hierarchical classes provide Heathcliff a possibility of making a transverse movement from one class to another. Heathcliff's



recognition of the social classes and his lower-class position within the system allow him to manipulate<sup>5</sup> the rhetorical situation to perform as a gentleman by learning the manners of an upper-class gentleman. Heathcliff projects the image of a gentleman through his use of rhetoric—finding and utilizing, in any given situation, the available means of persuasion—to suite the *nomos* and manipulate the information given to members of the upper class.<sup>6</sup> Yet, in Haire-Sargeant’s rewrite, Heathcliff maintains what Nelly calls “[Heathcliff’s] half-civilized ferocity” under his new appearance (Brontë 99). Heathcliff’s personality remains the same, yet he controls it in order to project an image of himself as an acceptable gentleman—a man who acts, and is perceived by society to act, in accordance to the upper-class *nomos*.

Through Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of *habitus*—structures that govern the social existence within a given space—I investigate Heathcliff’s class transformation. Haire-Sargeant situates her neo-Victorian novel within the Victorian *nomos* which situate her characters within the same *habitus* as Brontë’s characters. These *habitus* structures guide and reinforce cultural actions, reactions, and expectations, existing not only on a larger societal level but also within smaller communities such as a household. Bourdieu describes these structuring structures as “transposable dispositions,” never controlled by any outside agency of cultural norms (*Theory of Practice* 72). *Habitus* structures operate independently of any controlling force, yet only exist within the context of social constructions. The structures shape the perceptions in accordance to *nomos* present, but only within the context of “objective” norms situated inside the *nomos* during the

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<sup>5</sup> I use the term “manipulate” because of Heathcliff’s actions of revenge depicted in Brontë’s novel, rather than “conform” or “adapt” which implies a more positive connotation.

<sup>6</sup> The definition of rhetoric I use is drawn from Lane Cooper’s translation of *The Rhetoric of Aristotle*.

respective time. The spatial component of *habitus* identifies the boundless conditions of its power. If *habitus* is controlled by some outside force, then that outside force could force different societies into perceiving the world in similar ways; nevertheless, societies view etiquette in vastly different ways, and individual citizens within societies perceive, act, and react in accordance with the cultural norms.

While nineteenth-century social classes are perceived to be rigid with little mobility, Heathcliff moves through these boundaries to be able to represent himself as a “gentleman.” Haire-Sargeant’s Heathcliff maintains his appearance through an effective use of *enthymemes*, which Lane Cooper defines in his translation of Aristotle’s *The Rhetoric of Aristotle* as “syllogism[s] with one of the three members taken for granted and suppressed—in other words, that an enthymeme consisted of two statements” (xxvi). The *enthymeme* requires that the “suppressed” information be decoded on the part of the audience. Aristotle differentiates between two means of persuasion: syllogisms and *enthymemes* (147). Syllogisms are based on inductive reasoning and are a complete example with two premises and a conclusion. The key distinction here is that the *enthymeme* requires the audience to fill in the gap, forcing the audience to infer the conclusion rather than giving the conclusion explicitly. Heathcliff’s three years of upper-class education prepare him to use *enthymemes* to maneuver his way through the complexities of the upper class.

In “‘The Consequences of Book-Larnin’: Oral and Chirographic Cultures in *Wuthering Heights*,” Andrew C. Hansen makes the distinction between the two types of communication in order to convey the possibility of Brontë’s Heathcliff growing up in an oral culture rather than a chirographic culture—a culture that uses written language as the

primary form of communication—before coming to live at Wuthering Heights. Hansen suggests this possibility because of Heathcliff’s reliance on the spoken word and his reluctance to use written communication. Following Brontë, Haire-Sargeant develops Heathcliff’s use of oral communication. Haire-Sargeant’s Heathcliff manipulates circumstances around him through what Hansen labels verbal and physical communication: persuasion—an act of convincing someone, in a given situation, into parallel thinking—and conviction—dominating or successfully keeping things in a cohesive state (64). Once Heathcliff persuades his upper-class audience, he must maintain his conviction. An unsuccessful act of persuasion would discredit his entire image as a gentleman, ultimately foiling his goals to earn enough cultural and monetary capital to be an acceptable suitor for Catherine.

For Heathcliff to successfully project an image of a gentleman, he must first be a subject to the *habitus* stabilizing that position, because *habitus* guides members to act and behave in specific ways. Without knowledge of these actions and responses, Heathcliff would never truly perform as a gentleman nor be recognized as a gentleman. Bourdieu suggests that,

Anyone who doubts that ‘knowing how to be served’ is one component of the bourgeois art of living, need only think of the workers or small clerks who, entering a smart restaurant for some grand occasion, immediately strike up a conversation with the waiters—who realize at once ‘whom they are dealing with’—as if to destroy symbolically the servant-master relationship and the unease it creates for them. (374)

Because the environment, along with class status, dictates behaviors, people can never truly function outside their class unless they immerse themselves into a different class status for an extended period of time. *Habitus* structures interactions between the different classes (as in the example above), but it enforces the division by requiring a shift in living standards for people to grasp the behaviors—actions and reactions—that belong to another status. Not only does Bourdieu discuss the cultural mishaps of the working class in bourgeois settings, but he also highlights that the intellectual cannot “[apprehend] the working-class condition through schemes of perception and appreciation which are not those that the members of the working class themselves use to apprehend it” (373). The experience that comes from living in a certain class status is the only means through which a person can understand how to think and act within the expectations of that class. Without experiencing a life governed by different expectations, a singular view of the world will govern a person’s perception.

In both Brontë’s novel and Haire-Sargeant’s neo-Victorian novel, Heathcliff, as an orphan formerly living on the streets of Liverpool, learns a new set of norms belonging to the financially secure boundaries of *Wuthering Heights*. Heathcliff becomes aware of what is expected of him as his education begins at *Wuthering Heights*. Heathcliff discloses that he began learning “To write and figure, some Latin, some history, a little natural philosophy” (Haire-Sargeant 56). Because he is an orphan with fewer prospects, the Earnshaws need to educate Heathcliff in order to raise him as a family member. Even with the little education he receives, the lower-middle class of *Wuthering Heights* does not equate to the requirements of being a part of the gentry such as Mr. Are or Edgar Linton. The disposition of the upper-middle class requires more

education in order to exude a position of status, whereas the upper class requires an even more refined education and a different set of social norms.

The governing structures of *habitus* do not entirely restrain people explicitly based on class but rather restrict the possible movements players can make in the game of culture. Yet these restrictions on player's movements do not completely restrain them from moving between classes. In *Distinction*, Bourdieu explains:

To a given volume of inherited capital there corresponds a band of more or less equally probably trajectories leading to more or less equivalent positions (this is the *field of the possible* objectively offered to a given agent), and the shift from one trajectory to another often depends on collective events—wars, crises etc.—or individual events—encounters, affairs, benefactors etc.—which are usually described as (fortunate or unfortunate) accidents, although they themselves depend statistically on the position and disposition of those whom they befall...

(110)

The players' trajectory within the field parallels Heathcliff's maneuvering between social classes. Heathcliff is bound by his lower-class *habitus*, yet his awareness of the objective results produced by *habitus* within different classes creates an opportunity for Heathcliff to further manipulate his appearance. Through all of his education with Mr. Are, Heathcliff becomes aware of the expectations regarding gentlemanly behavior. Just like a pawn in the game of chess, Heathcliff must carefully move one square at a time, watching his surroundings while being aware of the restricted access to the path directly ahead of him. As Heathcliff observes the entire board, with a plan in mind to reach the end of the game board, he gains capital and status. This process can only be

accomplished through Heathcliff's careful examination and understanding of *habitus* and Heathcliff's resulting interactions with people based on this understanding.

In "The Ambivalent Identity of Eighteenth-Century London Clubs as a Prelude to Victorian Clublife," Valérie Capdeville explains that, "Shaping one's behaviour according to the polite expectations of an elite social group was a way for the young aristocrat to acquire gentlemanly manners..." (4). Giving young men the opportunity to interact with upper-class peers, both young and old, allows *habitus* to begin structuring the behaviors of the new aristocrat. Brontë's and Haire-Sargeant's Heathcliff does not have the opportunity to go to the clubs like Capdeville identifies for young eighteenth- and nineteenth-century upper-class men, a standard practice that initiates members of the aristocracy. Instead, Heathcliff must develop his behaviors in response to a singular person, Mr. Are, because Mr. Are lives within the structures of the upper class and can pass on his experience to Heathcliff.

Developing the necessary skills to become a gentleman is strictly set by the *nomos* and reinforced through *habitus*. In the Victorian era, manuals were published to help produce gentlemen, such as *Routledge's Manual of Etiquette* (1860), in which Routledge covers everything regarding basic etiquette for ladies and gentlemen from dinner and ballroom etiquette to playing cards.<sup>7</sup> Haire-Sargeant's Heathcliff receives limited middle-class experience in social etiquette in his limited education at Wuthering Heights. Therefore, without the experiences of social settings, *habitus* has not had a chance to structure the acceptable actions and responses to guide Heathcliff to proper etiquette. Mr. Are slowly introduces Heathcliff to new situations such as dinner etiquette:

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<sup>7</sup> While the 1860 handbook was written for 19<sup>th</sup> Century citizens of England and Heathcliff's journey was during the 1781, Brontë parallels the etiquette for gentlemen to the 19<sup>th</sup> Century as well as Haire-Sargeant.

“Watch how I carve this, Heathcliff—no skill serves a gentleman so well as niceness in carving. Never set your companion’s teeth on edge by sawing through a bone like a tipsy surgeon” (Haire-Sargeant 51). The knowledge of cutting meat is only one area that gentlemen must learn. Routledge indicates, in his manual, forty types of meat including fish, beef joints, poultry and game, all of which require different techniques to carve that a gentleman must know. Any deviation from the accepted meat carving etiquette would cast doubt on Heathcliff’s gentlemanly status.

Brontë’s Heathcliff dislikes people with power over him, and Haire-Sargeant continues Heathcliff’s prejudice against the upper class. Haire-Sargeant’s Heathcliff even proclaims, “What have I, a man outside family and property, to do with laws others have made? and made, if you examine them with any care, only to protect the families and properties of themselves and others of their class” (83).<sup>8</sup> His refusal to perceive himself as an associated member of the upper class reveals his motivations to dissociate himself from the negative perceptions held by the lower classes. Heathcliff’s perception of the upper class is one of contempt: he sees them as self-serving. Part of this perception stems from his childhood. With his unknown past and his subsequent adoption by the Earnshaws, Heathcliff receives little education yet even loses the privilege of education after Mr. Earnshaw’s death because of Hindley’s contempt for Heathcliff. Thanks to primogeniture laws, Hindley is the heir to Wuthering Heights, whereas Heathcliff receives nothing because he is an adopted (though not legally) “gipsy” orphan.

The middle, upper-middle, and upper-class societies shun Heathcliff’s love for Catherine because of his lower-class status which deviates from the social norms;

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<sup>8</sup> Mr. Are suggests that Heathcliff could enjoy the benefits of the law, in the future, provoking Heathcliff to respond in kind.

because he is an orphan, Heathcliff receives no money or land, and the little education he was receiving was stripped from him. Terry Eagleton suggests that their love, represented in Brontë's novel, is "a revolutionary refusal of the given language of social roles and values" (108).<sup>9</sup> This refusal to abide by the social *nomos* is further illustrated in Haire-Sargeant's novel. As Heathcliff rejects the *nomos*, he begins to form his perception of the social classes. His refusal to abide by the "social roles and values" creates discord because Catherine, who is raised within the *habitus* of the lower-middle class, is guided by the rules governing her desire to move up the social ladder.

Catherine's choice between two loves, Heathcliff and Edgar, is decided by the class status of each: "And [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" (Brontë 84). Catherine declares that she loves both men, yet she feels she cannot marry Heathcliff because of Linton's actions against Heathcliff that bring him to a lower status than Mr. Earnshaw had originally planned. She herself is playing Bourdieu's "game." Catherine is aware of the social implications of marriage and makes a choice of advancement over Heathcliff even though he is her twin soul, adapting to the expectations of society and conforming to Bourdieu's game to enhance her own capital.<sup>10</sup>

Heathcliff's running away from Wuthering Heights directly responds to the structures of *habitus*. In both Brontë's and Haire-Sargeant's novels, Heathcliff cannot marry Catherine because of his lower-class status and runs away from Wuthering Heights

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<sup>9</sup> See Terry Eagleton, *Myths of Power: A Marxist Study of the Brontës*. The historical conditions of the nineteenth-century are examined in this analysis of the Brontës, including the social class system.

<sup>10</sup> In Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*, Catherine confides in Nelly that she feels like Heathcliff and her souls are made from "the same" source (86). Her confession indicates an interwoven bond that, in her perception, could create harmony. Yet she chooses Linton, whose differences she compares to "frost from fire" (86).



after Catherine's declaration to marry Linton. Haire-Sargeant revisits Brontë's narrative to explain Heathcliff's consent to learn the dispositions of a gentleman from Mr. Are declaring that on the twenty-fourth hour, "your [Heathcliff's] head jerk upright from its customary lowered position, your body straighten itself, its habitual ogre's hunch become the poise of a marble Antinous... You must smooth your brow and erase the cloud that ever darkens it. For that hour, Heathcliff, you will laugh. I order it so" (39). To begin adjusting Heathcliff's lower-class dispositions, Mr. Are slowly requires Heathcliff to adopt the mannerisms of a gentleman. Adopting these dispositions requires a slow yet repetitive cycle so that Heathcliff does not resist to the point of quitting. Yet Heathcliff is not interested in becoming an upper-class gentleman for social gain, but rather because it is a means to marry Catherine; the status becomes a tool with which to manipulate the perceptions of those, such as the Lintons and the Earnshaws, who would deem Heathcliff an inappropriate match for Catherine. Heathcliff wants the social capital merely to increase his maneuverability in the game of culture so that society will acknowledge his position as acceptable to marry Catherine.

Social classes can be identified by the very dialect of English spoken. Brontë's Heathcliff, who presumably uses the Scouse dialect of Liverpool, described as "gibberish,"<sup>11</sup> as a child and eventually begins to learn the London dialect, furthers his knowledge of the socially preferred dialect of English that portrays the qualities of a higher class. The appearance of a person will be undercut, or improved, by the dialect used, just as Taryn Hakala describes in "A Great Man in Clogs: Performing Authenticity in Victorian Lancashire." Hakala explains that, "[Lancashire] men ran the double risk of

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<sup>11</sup> The reader gets Nelly's description of Heathcliff's language: "...yet, when it was set on its feet, it only stared round, and repeated over and over again some gibberish that nobody could understand" (51).

social exclusion and betrayal of their roots, and this position is reflected in their negotiation of their linguistic styles...” (395).<sup>12</sup> Just like the Lancashire men Hakala describes, Brontë uses language to indicate a character’s social status: gibberish (young Heathcliff) and Yorkshire dialect (Joseph). Brontë represents a character’s level of education through their use of English dialects, and higher-class statuses are linked to characters, such as Edgar Linton, who use the dialect of London English.

Haire-Sargeant continues Brontë’s use dialects to indicate class status in order to highlight Heathcliff’s shift in language when he returns and performs as a gentleman. In doing so, the performance shifts to the expectations that are structured by *habitus*. The dialects used by different social classes indicate their respective positions, so if Heathcliff looked like a gentleman yet spoke like a working-class person, his acceptance by the upper class would be severely hindered. All parts of the performance must coincide with the expectations structured by *habitus* to successfully perform within a given class.

Language and physical presence become the main means through which both Brontë’s and Haire-Sargeant’s Heathcliff manipulates others’ perceptions of himself. Hansen suggests that Brontë’s Heathcliff uses rhetoric to coerce those around him: “Persuasion and conviction are merely a matter of the amount and type of physical control: persuasion involves words, the visual-physical presence, and the physicality of the spoken voice; conviction involves the physical presence, and the physicality of the

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<sup>12</sup> Hakala suggests that there is a “fluidity of nineteenth-century categories of class” specifically looking at Lancashire working and middle-class citizens. She argues that the performativity includes dialect switching between English variances. Men of the working class, when performing in front of the middle class, would shift from the Lancashire dialect to the “language of the educated—Standard English” (395). However writers such as Ben Brierley (1825-96) and Edwin Waugh (1817-90) were famous due to their Lancashire dialect in their novels. This dialect switch allowed people like Brierley and Waugh to exist in the middle class while still representing their “lower” class status within their literary works.

body” (66).<sup>13</sup> Heathcliff’s language is situated within the structures of *habitus*, and Haire-Sargeant further develops the rhetorical devices used by Heathcliff. He learns to adapt to what Mr. Are calls “A cool and sophisticated reply...” (Haire-Sargeant 84). Heathcliff’s transition from a Scouse dialect of Liverpool to a dialect that is perceived as more sophisticated enabling him to talk with members of the upper class. Heathcliff explains to Colonel Dent that he “merely applied firmness and consistency of behavior to the poor brute. Such a system will work at any time, for anyone,” to train a horse (Haire-Sargeant 108). Heathcliff’s vernacular shifts from before he ran away from Wuthering Heights: “‘Why have you that silly frock on, then?’ [Heathcliff] said, ‘Nobody coming here, I hope?’” (Brontë 76). Heathcliff uses some elevated language when compared to his old conversational language. The change occurs with the shift in class status of Heathcliff’s audience as he transitions from the middle-class environment of Wuthering Heights to the upper-class environment of Thornfield. Knowing the appropriate style of diction, structured by *habitus*, allows Heathcliff to manipulate his own language to what is expected in any given situation, enabling him to blend in—at least orally. Heathcliff’s awareness of dialects and pronunciations allows him to analyze and alter his speech.

Through his recognition of the rhetorical situation, Heathcliff can identify the appropriate words to use. As the Dents, the Ingrams, and Edgar arrive at Thornfield, Mrs. Dent asks Heathcliff to be Edgar’s companion and Heathcliff responds, “‘With the greatest pleasure,’ I said, ‘especially since you request it’” (Haire-Sargeant 97). Heathcliff refrains from using derogatory language in response to accompanying Edgar for the week and instead gives an enthusiastic response. Heathcliff avoids revealing his

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<sup>13</sup> See Hansen, “‘The Consequences of Book-Larnin’: Oral and Chirographic Cultures in *Wuthering Heights*.”

past at Wuthering Heights by not denying the request or insulting Edgar, while at the same time using the London dialect to suggest his gentlemanly upbringing. Knowing that the upper class expects responses in the dialect of London English, Heathcliff modifies his message so that the Dents positively receive it. Yet, *habitus* encompasses all aspects governing the class positions in society, so Heathcliff must also learn the values of the upper class.

Haire-Sargeant's Heathcliff begins to learn nonverbal communication for social pretexts, as Mr. Are instructs Heathcliff, "You must meet your companion's eye when he speaks to you; you must answer him intelligently, comprehensibly, and civilly" (39). While *habitus* structures the appropriate behavior in social contexts, Mr. Are teaches Heathcliff the proper ways in which to communicate within the confines of Thornfield and the servants who work there. In "Measurements of Perceived Nonverbal Immediacy," Peter Anderson and Janis Anderson explain that "Eye contact is at the heart of the immediacy construct, as it can signal interest, approach, involvement, warmth, and connection simultaneously" (115).<sup>14</sup> Nonverbal communication relays information based on shared cues. The social pretexts that are structured by *habitus* guide individuals to adopt certain behaviors like maintaining eye contact. While performing as a gentleman, Heathcliff must maintain the proper etiquette of social discussion. If he were to constantly look away, Heathcliff would suggest to the person/group that he is not interested in the conversation. This lack of interest would offend the listener, thus undermining Heathcliff's status as a proper gentleman. By learning gentlemanly

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<sup>14</sup> Immediacy constructs are affect-based, as in the initial reaction to communication, both verbal and nonverbal, and how the reactions reflect an underlying psychology between people.

etiquette, Heathcliff establishes an ethos—the character or perceived character of the speaker.

Both Brontë's and Haire-Sargeant's Heathcliff constructs a gentlemanly ethos that must be perceived as real, however, it is Haire-Sargeant who illustrates Heathcliff's process of developing a gentlemanly ethos. While language is directly tied to ethos, the perception of Heathcliff as a gentleman connects to body language which develops his character. Aristotle suggests that "Character is manifested in choice [in what men choose to do or avoid]; and choice is related to the end or aim," the *habitus* structuring the *nomos* of Heathcliff's time integrates perception with the action of the person (46). Gentlemanly character requires that Heathcliff maintains eye contact with those whom he speaks. The *nomos* demand a level of respect, which is conceived partly through eye contact, while maintaining a level of sophisticated conversation. As Heathcliff learns to establish a gentlemanly ethos through Mr. Are's lessons, he begins to juxtapose his perception of his social standing with his perception of other's perceptions regarding his social standing.

Bourdieu indicates that experience is the only true way to learn the perceptions of other class statuses. The dining, dancing, and conversing are all important aspects of the upper class: "so the favourite subjects of bourgeois conversation, exhibitions, theatre, concerts or even cinema, are excluded, *de facto* and *de jure*, from working-class conversation" (Bourdieu 381). The topics of conversation are class-situated. Educational opportunities for the upper class provide opportunities to encounter "exhibitions, theatre, concerts or even cinema" (Bourdieu 381), whereas Heathcliff is found on the streets of Liverpool with no family connections. His Liverpool conversations probably centered around pleading for money and food. However, to show Heathcliff adjusting to the new

class expectations, Haire-Sargeant develops a mentor-student relationship between Mr. Are and Heathcliff; Mr. Are corrects and guides Heathcliff through the proper etiquette of an upper-class gentleman. Up until this point in Heathcliff's life, all of his experiences in etiquette are strictly limited as the student and not through an unsupervised setting.

Haire-Sargeant creates opportunities for both Mr. Are and Heathcliff to deceive the guests by controlling information during conversations. As the guests arrive, Mr. Are introduces Heathcliff: ““Yes, Heathcliff was raised in the country, but I must tell you that I call him nephew from custom and affection only. He is the son of a cousin”” (105). The lie of a blood connection grants Heathcliff the background as a gentleman, but he must continue to deceive the guests to maintain appearances. To do so, Heathcliff learns the etiquette of gentlemen and must use that information to manipulate his guests' perceptions.

In “Information Manipulation Theory: A Replication and Assessment,” Scott Jacobs, Edwin J. Dawson, and Dale Brashers describe four ways in which to deceive hearers: “(1) to form or (2) to continue holding beliefs that turn out to be false, or (3) to drop or (4) to fail to form beliefs that turn out to be true” (73). Mr. Are's claim that Heathcliff is a “nephew” forms a belief that is false, . Through providing short appropriate answers, Heathcliff restricts the number of questions asked in response to the information provided to the guests. Heathcliff maintains conversation around qualities that he is interested in, such as horse training, so that he is not required to hold a discussion on his past, relieving the pressure to uphold the false truths. To maintain the illusion of truth, Heathcliff must refrain from revealing his backstory. Both fabricating a simple lie and generating conversation that Heathcliff is interested in work together to

deceive his audience and require Heathcliff to maintain a conscious hold on what he says. The conversation shift to horse training allows Heathcliff to maintain a somewhat relaxed conversation, where he does not have to continually construct lies to reinforce other lies.

The information selected to create a deceptive message depends upon the fact that Heathcliff's guests also understand the *nomos*. Since all of the guests are of the upper class, *habitus* structures their experiences in similar ways. Therefore, the guests all expect similar responses to be given by Heathcliff. Knowing the expected responses structured by *habitus*, Heathcliff can consciously draw upon his knowledge of their expectations to produce an appropriate response. The behavior of a gentleman—and a host—guides his actions and responses to a limited number of possible “correct” choices to engage in. This process is a form of *enthymeme*.

Haire-Sargeant's Heathcliff requires that all of the guests interpret his behavior and speech as being a refined gentleman through the use of *enthymemes*. Now if Heathcliff used a syllogism, he would be stating the conclusion and drawing attention to the lie. Aristotle explains that the *enthymeme* is best constructed by the rhetor who “...has mastered their special province... and has learnt the differences between *enthymemes* and logical syllogisms” (5). Where *habitus* structures the actions and responses of people (the special province), there is a known outcome from which the induction can be formed. Through mastering his understanding of actions and reactions, Heathcliff is able to release specific information in order to persuade his audience. The initial introduction of Heathcliff as a “nephew” is a lie told by Mr. Are, and Heathcliff relies on enthymematic rhetoric based on his audience's perception of him to act according to their beliefs. Enthymematic rhetoric allows more leniency for deception

over a syllogistic induction because the conclusion is left to the audience to decode. As a skilled orator, Heathcliff gains influence amongst his guests.

Haire-Sargeant's Heathcliff plays along with Miss Ingram's role-playing in order to please her and his audience. Had he stopped the banter, he would have opened up more opportunities for the guests to ask unwanted questions about his past. Instead, the banter transfers to role playing during a round of cards while acting the parts of highway robbers: Dick Turnpin (Heathcliff) and Jonathan Wild (Lord Ingram). Through his ability to interpret the situation, Heathcliff diverts suspicion away from himself and earns credibility as a gentleman while avoiding unnecessary lies. Heathcliff removes himself from creating even more deceptions by letting the conversation stray from his past. Jacobs, Dawson, and Brashers explain, "What is misleading in a deceptive message is simply the *generation* of the false belief that the speaker is being informative, relevant, and clear" (my emphasis, 74). Refraining from generating any new false information reduces the chances that Heathcliff will be caught in deception. Deceptive messages are found to be more effective depending on the quantity of information provided.<sup>15</sup> Limiting the information provided to the listeners, while not stacking lies upon each other, yields a greater chance of success. This system, alongside Heathcliff's charisma, enables him to successfully deceive his guests.

Brontë positions Heathcliff as an articulate character upon his return to Wuthering Heights, and Haire-Sargeant further cultivates Heathcliff's development of rhetoric. Aristotle explains, "... and hence the speaker must not merely see to it that his speech

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<sup>15</sup> While Jacobs, Dawson, and Brashers test written communication, they do not study oral communication which leaves out the effects of charismatic speakers. Rhetoricians need the ability to draw upon *logos*, *pathos*, and *ethos* to increase their likelihood of persuading the audience. The written word leaves out multiple facets of persuasion: tone, inflection, dress, and body language.



shall be convincing and persuasive, but he must give the right impression of himself, and get his judge [audience] into the right state of mind” (91), Heathcliff adjusts his demeanor so that he receives the optimal effect. Reading the audience and generating the appropriate responses to evoke a desired reaction is the means through which Mr. Are tests Heathcliff.

Haire-Sargeant positions Heathcliff so that he must respond to a flirtatious Miss Ingram because Heathcliff is an eligible bachelor with perceived prospects of inheritance. Miss Ingram presents him with a rose upon arrival at the estate, to which Heathcliff refers when Miss Ingram asks about his winnings the night before, calling the rose “priceless” and “above gold and silver”: “[Miss Ingram] smiled. ‘A rose? How can a rose be priceless?’ [Heathcliff responds] ‘When it takes its value from the hand of the giver’” (122). By giving the rose more value than money, Heathcliff suggests that the company of a lady is of higher value. As an eligible bachelor, Heathcliff’s position allows him to court an eligible lady, hence he counters her flirtations with flattery to demonstrate his wit as a gentleman. Heathcliff’s response to Miss Ingram suggests an understanding of how to communicate with a woman, which differs from his responses to a gentlemen, especially to one who insults him.

Haire-Sargeant’s rewriting of Brontë’s Edgar portrays deviations from the social norms, thus providing Haire-Sargeant’s Heathcliff an opportunity to take advantage of Edgar’s lapse in social etiquette in order to further solidify his deception. The first night the guests arrive, Edgar, Lord Ingram, and Miss Ingram sit down to drink wine and play cards. Edgar ends up drunk and begins insulting Heathcliff, “What a joke! he’s no more

our host than the scullery maid is. He's a gipsy, a changeling, a cheat—" (136).<sup>16</sup>

Heathcliff recognizes the situation he is in with Edgar and decides to provoke him some more. By arousing Edgar's anger to a point where Edgar threatens Heathcliff, Heathcliff has two witnesses, Lord Ingram and Miss Ingram, to provide support to Heathcliff's defense. According to Routledge, the upper class expects that while playing cards, "No well-bred person ever loses temper at the card-table" (54). *Habitus* structures the rules as to how upper-class citizens should act while playing cards, and Edgar breaks the social norms by losing his temper, insulting Heathcliff, and throwing a wine bottle at Heathcliff's head. The consequences of being verbally attacked as the host play in Heathcliff's favor, and in the discrediting of Edgar's position. While observing Edgar's anger rising, both Lord Ingram and Miss Ingram try to calm him down, but with no success. Edgar is thought of as ungentlemanly because of the wine-induced outburst, an act which removes the credibility of any of his possible future accusations towards Heathcliff. Because of Heathcliff's understanding of *habitus*' structures and the expected outcomes, he is able to successfully create an advantageous conflict with Edgar. The emotional ploy to enrage a drunken Edgar is an effective tool for Heathcliff.

Haire-Sargeant highlights Heathcliff's natural ability for using persuasive language while also impressing upon readers Heathcliff's underlying "half-civilized ferocity" that Brontë's Nelly describes upon Heathcliff's return to Wuthering Heights. The use of emotional appeal, especially towards Edgar, shows Heathcliff's ability for persuasive language and his "half-civilized ferocity" intertwining. Even though

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<sup>16</sup> Heathcliff pulled Edgar aside at the first arrival and explained what happened after he ran away from Wuthering Heights. Edgar said he would keep Heathcliff's secret from the Ingrams and Dents. However, they argued over Catherine earlier in the day and the wine loosened Edgar's composure.

Heathcliff does not design the circumstances that led to Edgar becoming drunk, he observes the behavior and entices him. The emotional baiting of Edgar is subtly executed so that Lord Ingram and Miss Ingram are not aware of Heathcliff's intentions, drawing the attention away from Heathcliff and situate the focus on Edgar. Aristotle explains that "Wrong-doers likely to escape detection are those who are the very opposite to that which the complaints will indicate..." (68). Edgar's accusations are contrary to what Lord Ingram and Miss Ingram observes, so his claims—exacerbated by the alcohol—backfires. Heathcliff upholds all the customs that being a host demands, and, because *habitus* structures society to expect the same outcomes, Heathcliff discredits Edgar because Heathcliff maintains the appearance of the proper performance.

Haire-Sargeant positions Heathcliff as a servant to Mr. Are to enable Heathcliff to earn income. Heathcliff accepts Mr. Are's job offer during their initial encounter in Liverpool: "Two-hundred-fifty guineas per annum it is, and board and clothing" (29).<sup>17</sup> During this exchange, Heathcliff accepts the position because of the money. While the thoughts of wedding Catherine are not in mind at this particular moment, they do surface later on. Even after a couple of years of steady income, Heathcliff writes to Catherine, "Yet here I was, intent on amassing wealth, not so much to offer you in love, as to fling at you in bitter reproof of your having underestimated me" (197). Haire-Sargeant draws attention to Heathcliff's rejection by Catherine in Brontë's novel. Both Brontë's and Haire-Sargeant's Heathcliff directs the grievance at Catherine and is the result of social

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<sup>17</sup> In Haire-Sargeant's novel, when Heathcliff runs away, he makes his way to Liverpool. Walking along the streets he passes a mad house that tries to commit him to their place, but he escapes and passes out from hunger in an alley. Mr. Are and his servant John walk by, wake him up, and offer him some food back at an Inn. At this particular occurrence, the reader gets a glimpse of Mr. Are's generous behavior and class status.

class, which highlights Heathcliff's discontent with his class status. Even though he was earning money so that he could be acceptable in the society's eyes, Heathcliff continues to reject the cultural conditions that disempower him. Catherine's words of rejection are based on Heathcliff not being a proper suitor, which is governed by the culture and structured by *habitus*. Heathcliff's disdain for the class structure surfaces as he responds to Mr. Are's notion that "the greatest happiness" is produced by the current laws and structures of society. Heathcliff proclaims, "And I spit on your 'greatest happiness'—the tepid result of a compromise which produces only one positively good thing: a vigorous exchange of the coin of the realm, but at the cost of all true, deep, strong existence" (84). Heathcliff proposes that individuals should search for their own "happiness" through reasoned action. The current system, from Heathcliff's perspective, disenfranchises too many lower-classed people through the class hierarchy.

Haire-Sargeant reveals at the end of the novel that Heathcliff is the legitimate son of Mr. Are, even though she positions Heathcliff to enter the middle class comfortably without the lineage of Mr. Are. When Heathcliff goes back to Thornfield after Mr. Are falls ill, they play a game of dice with the prize of getting one question answered with complete honesty. Heathcliff wins a roll and asks, "What is my name?" and Mr. Are answers "Heathwood—Heathwood Are" (221). His newly-learned heritage positions Heathcliff as a member of the upper class and explains the overly generous salary that Mr. Are pays him. Everything that Heathcliff needs to be considered a qualified suitor for Catherine, he obtains. Since his family of origin is of the upper class, Heathcliff can no longer be viewed as unacceptable in the eyes of the Lintons and the Earnshaws—particularly Catherine. The effect of Mr. Are's social status could only elevate Heathcliff,

yet his newly acquired mother's situation complicates his potential social status since Bertha Mason Are is mad and from the West Indies. Mr. Are reveals that the reason he left Heathcliff at the mental ward as a child was due to his mother's developing madness. Mr. Are thought that the madness might have been passed from mother to child, yet he hoped that it might be preventable with treatment.

Haire-Sargeant's Heathcliff is "Othered" due to Bertha's lineage, which complicates how society perceives him.<sup>18</sup> In "Imagined Geographies: Mapping the Oriental *Habitus* in Three Nineteenth-Century Novels," Savi Munjal asserts that due to "the topoi of racial otherness," the associated imagery that people use to represent that otherness is as "morally 'stained' by intemperance, infidelity, impurity, profanity, madness and bestiality..." (6). Social implications of being othered, like Bertha and Heathcliff, would impede their social advancement. While Brontë never reveals Heathcliff's racial identity, only labeling him a "gipsy brat" through the late Mrs. Earnshaw (51), Haire-Sargeant associates him with these characteristics through lineage. Haire-Sargeant does not spend time developing this connection but simply alludes to Nelly's "half-civilized ferocity" assertion in *Wuthering Heights* (99), through Heathcliff's proclamation to have a "nature [that] is rough and hard" (Haire-Sargeant 55). Whereas Brontë's Heathcliff displays an appearance of ferocity underneath his gentlemanly appearance, Haire-Sargeant's Heathcliff maintains control of this underlying characteristic, although at times it still shines through his gentlemanly performance. When Haire-Sargeant's Heathcliff offers to train Colonel Dent's horse, Miss Ingram responds, "It was not your system that transformed [Mr. Are's] horse, but rather your

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<sup>18</sup> The postcolonial term "Other" represents Bertha and Heathcliff as people outside of British nationality.

force of character. You have the unmistakable air of one who delights in command” (108). These characteristics allude to the half-civilized description associated with Bertha. Yet in the end, Heathcliff’s prejudice against the upper class causes him to reject his family’s name even after Mr. Are tries to reclaim him as a son.

After inheriting thirty thousand pounds, Haire-Sargeant’s Heathcliff visits Mr. Are in the hospital because of the accidental fire that destroyed Thornfield. Heathcliff leaves without saying anything to Mr. Are: “I sat by his beside awhile, but finally pressed the groping fingers of his remaining hand and left. Let him find what it is to be abandoned and imprisoned” (227). At this point, Heathcliff removes himself from Mr. Are and the upper-class status associated with the Are name, though he keeps the money he inherits. Heathcliff’s words, “abandoned and imprisoned,” play a double role. First, as a reference to Mr. Are’s abandonment of Heathcliff as a child which mimics Heathcliff’s abandonment of Mr. Are. And second, Mr. Are is imprisoned by his own class status. While Mr. Are is of the upper class, he has isolated himself from everyone, with no one to console him except his servants.

When Haire-Sargeant’s Heathcliff returns to Wuthering Heights and begins writing the letter to Catherine, which Nelly never delivers, he challenges all claims that would deny his being an acceptable suitor: “Cathy, I am a gentleman...I have been educated, both in mind and manners. I have a fortune, sufficient to sustain us together for the rest of our days. I will never shame you again” (14). He keeps the inheritance money and proclaims that he is a gentleman. Asserting his position as a gentleman would allow Catherine to marry Heathcliff. The focus on social position reinforces Heathcliff’s motivation to obtain cultural and economic capital to become an acceptable suitor. Yet,

as Heathcliff claims that his manners are of a gentleman, it becomes evident to the reader that he is still only performing as gentleman because his decision to leave Mr. Are alone in the hospital does not exemplify the manners of a gentleman.

When Brontë's Heathcliff returns to Wuthering Heights, he eventually obtains both Wuthering Heights and Thrushcross Grange, yet he still separates himself from the upper-class status that Thrushcross Grange brings. After Heathcliff's son, Linton Heathcliff, dies, "Heathcliff went up at once, to show [Cathy] Linton's will. He had bequeathed the whole of his, and what had been her moveable property to his father" (Brontë 253). Heathcliff now has legal claims to Wuthering Heights, a lower-middle class estate, and Thrushcross Grange, an upper-class estate, however, he chooses to live at Wuthering Heights. Heathcliff obtains an upper-class title through the estate and yet he refuses to be seen living there. Brontë's Heathcliff juxtaposes himself against the upper class through his refusal to be seen living at Thrushcross Grange.

Case reinforces Heathcliff's separation from titles that represent upper-class membership that Brontë developed in *Wuthering Heights*. In "Impossible Love and Commodity Culture in Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*," Daniela Garofalo explains that Brontë's Heathcliff removes himself from the luxurious consumption of the time: "Although Heathcliff rejects luxury culture by choosing to live at the rustic Heights, his rejection of Grange life does not signal a complete refusal of consumption" (824).<sup>19</sup> Haire-Sargeant's representation of Heathcliff's life mirrors Garofalo's analysis of Brontë's Heathcliff's rejecting the titles that represent the upper class. The capital is a

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<sup>19</sup> Garofalo differentiates Heathcliff's consumption as a collector. She asserts that his obsessive desire to collect things stems from a loss of love, suggesting that Heathcliff's love of Catherine is his primary source of motivation.

means to an end. When he cannot marry Catherine, even after becoming a suitable prospect for marriage, he rejects everything associated with luxury as it represents his inability to obtain Catherine. Even though taking his family name, Heathwood Are, would have procured more than financial stability, Heathcliff only uses financial inheritance to situate himself as a gentleman.

Haire-Sargeant develops Heathcliff's three-year backstory that allows Heathcliff's time with Mr. Are to demonstrate the possibility of making a transverse movement between social classes. Because he requires a benefactor to introduce and teach him the social norms of the upper class, Heathcliff manages to work through the trials of being an outcast. The structures of *habitus* allow Heathcliff to manipulate society's perception of him through his understanding of rhetorical situations. Being viewed as a gentleman enables Heathcliff to attain an identity suitable to marry Catherine, yet Haire-Sargeant concludes the neo-Victorian novel so that Heathcliff is unaware of his family's upper-class status which transversely propels Heathcliff into a different class status. Because Haire-Sargeant reveals Heathcliff's upper-class birthright, Haire-Sargeant produces her fictional version of Brontë's Heathcliff to return to Wuthering Heights with enough capital to financially obtain Wuthering Heights from Hindley. Heathcliff transitions from a gipsy orphan to a gentleman with the financial and educational help from Mr. Are, his affinity for rhetoric, and his birthright restored, even though he refuses to acknowledge his family.



## Chapter 2—

## Applying Bourdieu's Vertical Movement:

## Nelly Dean's Rise in Status

Domestic servants were used in Victorian households to complete duties ranging from cooking and cleaning to running the household staff. While domestic servants worked for the master and mistress, they could obtain a position of power if they were a house steward (man's position) or a housekeeper (woman's position). While the house steward outranked the housekeeper, there were fewer houses with house stewards, thus making the housekeeper the authority among the servants. In *Nelly Dean: A Return to Wuthering Heights* (2015), Alison Case revisits Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights* by focusing on Nelly Dean's life as a servant. Case adapts Brontë's Nelly to re-construct the story of Nelly whose fate is to follow in her mother's social position as a domestic servant. Case's structures her neo-Victorian novel so that Nelly reveals her story through a letter written to Mr. Lockwood. Case demonstrates, through Nelly, that an intelligent domestic servant who can maneuver through the servant social ladder in the nineteenth-century can obtain authority almost equivalent to the mistress. Through Nelly's recognition of her working-class status and her maneuvering through the domestic servant's hierarchy, including becoming an emotional confidante to the Earnshaw family, Nelly makes a vertical movement—Bourdieu's term for increasing one's capital and position within the same field of play—in the working-class field to obtain a position as a housekeeper. Case portrays the mistresses, Catherine and Frances, as beautiful, yet they are initially ignorant of the responsibilities expected of a mistress and must rely on a housekeeper to teach them the customary actions that correspond with being the mistress of *Wuthering*

Heights. Nelly encounters new mistresses who rely on her even before she officially becomes a housekeeper, and, in the process, she learns to adapt to changing expectations of different masters.

As originally described in Brontë's novel, and adopted by Case, Wuthering Heights is a lower-middle-class estate that is somewhat isolated from Gimmerton. The rural setting of Wuthering Heights and the size of the estate change the expectations that the master and mistress have of the domestic servants; instead of being strictly tied to the duties associated with a specific title, such as housemaid or cook, the servants cover multiple inside and outside duties, such as a housemaid working with cows as a dairy maid. There is not a house steward at Wuthering Heights, so the housekeeper becomes the highest-ranking domestic servant within the household. Moreover, the expectations of the housekeeper change following the deaths of Mr. and Mrs. Earnshaw.

In applying Pierre Bourdieu's metaphor of the game, readers can understand the positional relationships between the master and mistress and the servants (*Distinction* 12, 54). The field encompasses the agents within the house, the rules that dictate behaviors, and the interactions among agents. A household hierarchical structure includes the master, mistress, and then the domestic servant hierarchy. In *The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Servant*, Pamela Horn enumerates the female domestic servant hierarchy: housekeeper, lady's maid, nurse, housemaid, kitchenmaid, scullery-maid, laundry staff, and general servant (49). The domestic servant hierarchy that Horn lists indicates the domestic-servant field wherein servants compete with one another for capital to move up their hierarchy. This domestic servant field of play is situated within the household field of play where the master and mistress are at the top of the hierarchy. The rules that

govern both fields are made by the master and mistress, and the servants perform their duties, interact with the master and mistress, and interact with other servants according to the master's and mistress' rules. Because the master and mistress reproduce the rules that govern the field from the cultural *nomos*, the rules can change if a new master and mistress arrive; however, the fields stay the same. To move through the domestic servant hierarchy, the servant needs to gain cultural capital—capital that is gained through experiences and knowledge about the different fields of play, such as academia and proletarian work. Learning how to do a job well equates to a servant's cultural capital. Through amassing cultural capital, female domestic servants can rise through the domestic servant hierarchy to become a housekeeper.

Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* and his metaphor of the game work with the restructuring of house etiquette to align with the new rules. When there is a change in master and mistress, the expectations change the objective dispositions of the house. The field of *Wuthering Heights* remains the same but the rules of play shift, which require the structuring forces of *habitus* to re-align the servants' behaviors. The housekeeper becomes one of the first domestic servants to adapt to and reinforce the new structures. Even though all of the servants fall under the master's command, the housekeeper manages the female servants. Domestic servants with higher positions, such as the housekeeper and lady's maid, become integral parts of the family who help maintain the "emotional *habitus*" of the house.

In "Negotiating the Emotional Habitus of the Middle Classes in *The Mayor of Casterbridge*," Jana Gohrish explains emotional *habitus* as the appropriate emotional responses to given situations that create "a system of dispositions that function as

structuring structures for the production of the emotive experience of the individual” (46). The emotional *habitus* structures the way in which people display emotions, especially in Victorian era with an emphasis on the public and private spheres. The mistress of the house becomes a receptor of the family’s emotions in the privacy of the home. According to Victorian domestic ideology, women would achieve happiness through making the family happy; thus, women would strive to maintain a happy cohesive family as the emotional confidante for the family, bringing them happiness. While the entire house will already be structured by *habitus* for appropriate responses, the mistress often confides her emotions to the housekeeper/lady’s maid. There is a boundary breach between the field that the mistress governs and the field that the housekeeper governs, but this breach only serves to stabilize the foundations of the household field. Because the master and mistress govern a field that holds more capital than the domestic servant field, the breach does not unravel the fields but rather the breach reestablishes the household appearances in the private and public spheres. Through confessing her emotions to the housekeeper, the mistress positions herself as the emotional pillar for the family in the private sphere.

In addition to the master/servant hierarchy, servants maneuver through a social hierarchy that exist in the fields of Bourdieu’s social game. Domestic servants are aware of the game and rules that govern the domestic servant hierarchy, “[The formality] was like learning the rules of some vastly complex card game, which would never be played for pleasure” (425). Nelly’s experiences expand after transferring from Wuthering Heights to the grander Thrushcross Grange. Whereas Wuthering Heights generally allowed the servants more direct interactions with the family, such as eating dinner at the

same table, due to the higher-class status Thrushcross Grange hold stricter divisions even amongst the domestic servant's hierarchy. The cultural game, including smaller communal references like the culture of *Wuthering Heights*, becomes an interplay between the constrictions and allowances made by the hierarchical structures, as well as each individual's awareness of the rules that govern the culture and their ability to adapt to and to potentially manipulate these rules.

Case begins Nelly's story at the same moment that began Nelly's narration of *Wuthering Heights*: Heathcliff's arrival. Case follows the pattern of starting with Hindley, Catherine, and Nelly expressing their excitement for Mr. Earnshaw's return which ends with Heathcliff's arrival, their disappointment, and Nelly's brief banishment from the estate. Case adopts the word "banishment" from Brontë's Nelly. In *Wuthering Heights* Nelly reflects on her return to *Wuthering Heights*, "This was Heathcliff's first introduction to the family: on coming back a few days afterwards, for I did not consider my banishment perpetual..." (52). While the banishment offers a parallel between the two novels, Case utilizes Nelly's banishment to emphasize her first awareness of her social position. Nelly runs home after her banishment from the Heights where she discusses the details of Heathcliff's return with her mother. Mrs. Dean then travels to *Wuthering Heights* to plead with Mr. Earnshaw to take Nelly back on different terms. Case writes, "And when [Nelly] returns, let her return on the footing of a servant [...]. She has been playmate to your children and a sharer in their lessons longer than a girl of her... her birth and prospects can expect" (23). The life of a servant is thrust upon Nelly because of her family's lower social class. Case's Nelly now must learn an entirely new way of life. At this point, Nelly loses the carefree childhood granted to those children of

the middle classes and above, and she enters the workforce as a servant (69). The new servant position at Wuthering Heights requires Nelly to re-adjust her perception of her position amongst the Earnshaws within the social sphere.

In both Brontë's and Case's novels, Nelly shifts from being a playmate of Hindley and Catherine to being a domestic servant. Brontë's Nelly describes her childhood to Mr. Lockwood as a mixture of work and play, "...I got used to playing with the [Earnshaw] children—I ran errands too, and helped to make hay and hung about the farm ready for anything that anybody would set me to" (50). Here Nelly admits to her predisposition to playing, but she reflects on actual work which suggests that Nelly would have been more accustomed to the roles of servant. Whereas Case removes Nelly's "errands" and strictly positions Nelly as a playmate. Case's deviation serves to highlight the class distinctions between domestic servants and the Earnshaw family. Case's Nelly only played with Hindley and Catherine before her "banishment" from Wuthering Heights without any responsibilities as a servant. Nelly's shift from playmate to servant underscores her shift in the social hierarchy and in her duties: "And I shan't have lessons at all, so I will not learn anything more" (43). Case's Nelly does not indicate that she worked for the Earnshaws during her time as a playmate which reinforces Nelly's adjustment to the social conditions of her family. Nelly recognizes that her position used to be above a servant at Wuthering Heights, thus, her initial refusal to accept the changes. This situation indicates Nelly was still unaware of the reality of her family's social status compared to Hindley's and Catherine's lower-middle class life. Without this awareness, *habitus* has yet to structure Nelly's behaviors and perceptions to match her family's status. Reading

Case's interpretation of this event shifts the focus of readers to juxtapose the social realities of the lower-middle class against those of the lower-working class.

Through Case's focus on two distinct social classes, the restructuring of social expectations enables readers to examine how Bourdieu's insights on the workings of *habitus* play out in the novel. Nelly's initial view of her position is unfavorable: "I shan't like it,' I said frankly, 'for Hindley and Cathy will get to play, the same as ever, only I won't be able to join them any more... And I shan't have lessons at all, so I will not learn anything more. I will become as ignorant as Martha, who can scarcely write her own name'" (43). Nelly's reaction here indicates the structures that shape her own views on servants. As a "playmate" of Hindley and Cathy, who are of the lower-middle class, Nelly's perceptions have been structured through the same cultural views. Nelly interacts with Hindley and Cathy as a friend and even takes the same "lessons" as them. Social interactions and education are both social structures that are structured by *habitus*, which shapes perceptions, actions, and responses. Nelly's entire worldview is distorted by her experience as a "playmate" compared to her family's lower-working class status.

Case's exaggeration of Nelly's reaction to her childhood role switching from playmate to servant illuminates that class status is never inherent knowledge and must be learned through experience. In *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Bourdieu asserts that because people are subjected to "objective structures," such as the *nomos*, people of "the same class are endowed with an objective meaning that is at once unitary and systematic, transcending subjective intentions and conscious projects whether individual or collective" (81). Following Bourdieu's argument, Nelly must experience class *habitus* to grasp the division between the Earnshaws and herself. The objective conditions of

Nelly's class status are not made apparent until she learns the harsh reality that she will be a servant. Nelly does not understand, until this moment, that being a playmate as a member of the lower-working class is a luxury. The concept of working and the limited prospects for the future are hidden from her by Mrs. Dean and the Earnshaw family, yet when Nelly learns she will be a servant at Wuthering Heights, Mrs. Dean begins to educate Nelly on lower-working class perceptions—providing *habitus* the opportunity to structure Nelly's perceptions—through the use of the Brownie folklore story to situate Nelly among the working class.<sup>20</sup>

Case's Mrs. Dean explains that after a farmer and his wife draw a Brownie into the house by leaving milk out, the farm begins to flourish. The husband gets greedy, captures the Brownie and only releases him after the Brownie promises to grant the husband three wishes. Every wish the husband asks for is granted; however, every wish granted ends with someone's death. Mrs. Dean ends with "Take it to heart, Nell, and do not get in the habit of imagining yourself entitled to more than you have earned by your own labours. Leave off making idle wishes'" (67). Mrs. Dean's comment forces Nelly to confront both her mother's and her own social positions in relation to the Earnshaw family. Mrs. Dean wants to establish an insurmountable obstacle that remains with Nelly beyond childhood. The working-class farmer wishes for luxury items, such as property, and receives it only through the family's death. Just as Bourdieu's game of culture restricts the available positions on the field through the *nomos*, the Brownie removes a higher-class family to make room for the advancement of the farmer. This folklore

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<sup>20</sup> The Scottish origin of the English folklore of the brownie can be found in John Gregorson Campbell's *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*. The Brownie is described as a mischievous creature especially when farmers did not supply him with milk and a place to rest. Brownie would also do work around the farm until he was not fed milk or was slighted by the host and would then leave.



reinforces Victorian class system by teaching Nelly not to wish for a transverse movement to another field, but to expect a vertical movement if she works hard. At this point, Nelly begins to understand the reality of her class status in relation to people of higher classes, and she returns to *Wuthering Heights* as a servant.

While folklore is somewhat mythic, oral stories provide a means through which *habitus* can structure perceptions. In “Writing Perceptions: The Matter of Words and the Rollright Stones,” Nicholas Chare asserts that “folklore can be read as carrying traces of unwritten history, . . . its prehistoric character and purpose into the present” (252). While Chare uses the Rollright Stones as a focus of inquiry, his analysis delves into the oral history surrounding the stones to suggest possible reasons of creation and usage.<sup>21</sup> The traces of history offer ambiguous truths that can be explicated out of the narrative. His findings only suggest possible outcomes yet uphold that folklore has the ability to “shape perception and, by extension, the object of perception” (264). Being able to shape perceptions through oral stories allows society to maintain cultural perceptions, including social class perceptions. The circulation of a story that teaches people not to wish for anything outside the standards of the class status will provide a means through which the oppressed classes re-inscribe into a system that oppresses them. Whether or not the story is factual, the belief in the moral outcome of the story is all that is required to structure the perceptions of people.

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<sup>21</sup> The Rollright Stones are “three separate megalithic monuments which are now known as the King’s Men, the King Stone and the Whispering Knights” (Chare 245). Chare uses an anonymously written fourteenth century document that describes the stones with no indication of the stones purpose. He relies on folklore that has been passed down from generation to generation for the origin of the knights for the Whispering Knights stone.

Through the implications of the Brownie story, Case represents Nelly as eventually learning to find “the same pride” in accomplishing her duties as she used to find in “book learning,” which demonstrates the process of *habitus* that results in Nelly inscription into the working-class conditions (72). Bourdieu explains that “habitus is the product of the work of inculcation and appropriation necessary in order for those products of collective history, the objective structures (e.g. of language, economy, etc.) to succeed in reproducing themselves more or less completely... and hence placed in the same material conditions of existence” (85). Nelly’s “material conditions of existence” changes as she returns to Wuthering Heights as a servant where the structures of *habitus* begin to structure her perceptions and actions. Nelly’s ideals shift from the expectation of gifts, as seen upon Mr. Earnshaw’s return from Liverpool, to the belief that she should work for her own possessions. As she learns the expectations of a servant, Nelly strives with “the same pride” to accomplish her tasks, indicating a conformity to her position that reproduces the expectations demanded by the *nomos* and structured through *habitus*. The youthful sense of entitlement is removed from her character and is replaced by the expectations of work. Moreover, Nelly begins to understand the value and advantages of learning multiple types of work.

Although Brontë nor Case ever clearly define Nelly’s exact position within the servant hierarchy before Mrs. Earnshaw’s death, Case’s readers receive an introduction of the wider range of Nelly’s responsibilities than Brontë’s Nelly in *Wuthering Heights*. Case’s Nelly describes having “to know all about the proper management of a dairy” including making cream, butter, and cheese, as well as learning how to work a fire in the kitchen for cooking without burning the oats (71). Following Horn’s description of

servants' duties, Nelly might be labeled a general servant when she first starts working for the Earnshaw family: "She was expected to carry out 'in her own person all the work which in larger establishments' was accomplished by a whole range of domestics" (50). Even though the title of general servant is at the bottom of the servant hierarchy, Nelly never once describes any mistreatment from other servants of a higher rank. Rather, the Nelly who Case describes refrains from discussing too much of her time spent as a lower-ranked servant. Her interactions with other servants are not relayed until she gains seniority and authority over the servants, at least in the interactions that Nelly decides to include in her letter, indicating that she starts to vertically move up in the domestic servant hierarchy.

Due to *Wuthering Heights'* geographic seclusion, Case elaborates on the extension of Nelly's chores beyond the normal house duties while Brontë's Nelly does not discuss too many of her duties in part because both Brontë and Nelly's focus remain on the Earnshaws, the Lintons, and Heathcliff. Case's Nelly learns to "manage a dairy... keep the fire in the kitchen..." as well as to perform the household chores of the maid (70-71). While an ordinary housemaid would not complete all of these tasks, these skills would make Nelly employable in most Victorian homes. Learning the value of skills that make a domestic servant versatile indicates Nelly's awareness of what Bourdieu calls the cultural game. While the maneuverability on the board is different for each social sphere, the game is the same. Advancing oneself to become a valuable asset to a master and mistress enables a female domestic servant to secure an income with the possibility of advancement up until the rank of housekeeper. As Mr. Earnshaw hires new staff, Nelly gains seniority and knowledge of the house; she becomes a servant who the new servants

ask for guidance, and that knowledge gives her the influence of a housekeeper over the newer servants. As Case's Nelly increases her authority as a servant, she becomes an even more valuable member of the house when measles plagues *Wuthering Heights*.<sup>22</sup>

In both Brontë's and Case's novels, Nelly cares for Hindley, Catherine, and Heathcliff when everyone except Mr. Earnshaw and Nelly is sick with the measles. Nelly's role now extends to that of a nursemaid. After the children begin to recover, Case's Mr. Earnshaw hugs Nelly and proclaims, "I think you were born to be the salvation of this house, and I swear that while I live you will always have a home here" (105). At this moment, Nelly, as a servant, becomes the center figure for the emotional *habitus* of *Wuthering Heights*. Mr. Earnshaw expresses his emotions towards Nelly, which allows him to appear stoic as he cares for Mrs. Earnshaw. Typically, the wife secures the emotional *habitus* of the family, as the family resides within the private sphere and her influence. However, because of Mrs. Earnshaw's ill health Mr. Earnshaw relies on Nelly as the senior servant, who the mistress would normally use as an emotional confidante. Though Nelly keeps the children alive, Mrs. Earnshaw dies, and then even more responsibility is accrued by Nelly, resulting in her obtaining a permanent mediator for the emotional *habitus* of the family.

Case reverses Brontë's sequence of the measles outbreak and Mrs. Earnshaw's death. In Brontë's novel, Mrs. Earnshaw dies just prior to the measles outbreak, whereas Case uses the measles outbreak as Mrs. Earnshaw's cause of death—after the children recover. Brontë's Nelly mentions the tension in the house with Heathcliff receiving Mr. Earnshaw's affection while mediating the emotions between Mr. Earnshaw, Heathcliff,

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<sup>22</sup> Brontë does position Nelly as a "nurse" during the measles outbreak, but Brontë does not elaborate on the effects of this period in regard to Nelly's position as a servant (53).

and Hindley, indicating that “at Mrs. Earnshaw’s death...[Hindley] had learnt to regard his father as an oppressor rather than a friend” (53). Reversing the events allows Case to solidify the Earnshaw family’s emotional attachment to Nelly. Through this attachment, Case portrays the significance of the servant as an emotional confidante. Nelly becomes more than just a servant: she becomes a person capable of mediating emotions that helps stabilize the separate spheres of the male’s public sector and the woman’s private sector. Thus, Nelly becomes responsible for bearing the weight of the family’s emotions.

In “The Absent Mother in Emily Brontë’s *Wuthering Heights*,” Philip K. Wion analyzes Nelly’s role as a surrogate mother. Wion asserts that “Quite a few mothers, in fact, die in the course of the novel... But a substitute mother is usually found—and she is usually Nelly Dean” (148). Wion suggests that Brontë underscores Nelly’s role as mother both “explicitly” with Hareton and “only slightly less directly” with Catherine and Heathcliff (148). Because the mother’s role includes being the emotional confidante of the family, both Brontë’s and Case’s Nelly supports multiple people through guidance, love, and comfort. Case slows down the narration of *Wuthering Heights* to further develop Nelly’s role as the “substitute mother” and as the emotional confidante. Nelly mediates the family’s emotions so that she can nurture the relationships between family members. As Mrs. Earnshaw dies, her role as the nurturer must shift to someone else and, in this case, it happens to shift to Nelly. With the death of Mrs. Earnshaw, Case’s Catherine “claim[s] the title of mistress” and Nelly describes herself as a “housekeeper in all but name” (141).

While Brontë briefly explains that Mrs. Earnshaw dies, Brontë does not mention Catherine as the new mistress of the house. Whereas Case directs readers’ attention

towards the vacant position and the need for the daughter to fill it. Case explains that Catherine's new position requires her to run the house. Yet because she knows nothing about managing the daily operations, Nelly takes advantage of the opportunity to seize even more responsibility. Catherine's orders are ignored by Nelly unless they coincide with daily tasks "...and made sure the other servants did likewise" (141). Catherine's reliance on Nelly, regardless of Catherine's refusal to acknowledge it, makes Nelly an invaluable asset to the house. Without Nelly, the house would fall into disorder.

Knowledge becomes a means of power, especially for servants when the mistress lacks the necessary skills required of her position. This knowledge equates to Bourdieu's cultural capital. The more Nelly knows about the house and the responsibilities of each person, the more capital she accrues allowing her to continue moving up the domestic servant hierarchy. Nelly's success in attaining the responsibility of the household management allows her to begin progressing through the cultural game that she inhabits.

Case goes beyond Brontë to develop a potential suiting between Nelly and Hindley, which ultimately fails due to class divisions, after Mrs. Earnshaw's death but before Hindley is sent off to school. Hindley asks, "'When we are married, Nelly,' he said, 'will you let me win an argument now and again, if only for the novelty of it?'" (166). Hindley, as the first-born son, is due to inherit Wuthering Heights when Mr. Earnshaw dies. Case develops this potential suiting when Hindley and Catherine are playmates and when they agree to marry in the future. However, the prospect of marrying Hindley disappears after Nelly becomes a servant. As Mr. Earnshaw and Hindley's relationship dwindles, Case brings Nelly and Hindley closer together leading to a sexual relationship where Nelly becomes pregnant. Consequently, when Hindley asks Nelly to

marry him yet again, Nelly grasps the hope of marrying Hindley elevating her status from a domestic servant to the mistress of Wuthering Heights. However, neither Mr. Earnshaw or Mrs. Dean approve of the child, so Mrs. Dean has Nelly drink a tea-concoction that aborts the pregnancy, and Mr. Earnshaw sends Hindley off to school a month later, a move which reinforces his class status and effectively reinforces the class divide between the lovers.

While in both Brontë's and Case's novels Mr. Earnshaw dies and Hindley returns to Wuthering Heights married to Frances, Case's development of Nelly and Hindley's relationship reinforces Nelly's initial animosity to Frances as a foreigner, an outsider. In *Wuthering Heights*, Nelly indicates that "We don't in general take to foreigners here, Mr. Lockwood, unless they take to us first" (58). Frances' initial reception is negative, at least through Nelly's representation of the events. The impact of Case's development of Hindley and Nelly's relationship enhances the negative emotions that arise in Brontë's novel because the arrival of Frances devastates Nelly's naïve hopes to become the new Mrs. Hindley Earnshaw. Nelly indicates her emotions stemming from Hindley and Frances' marriage: "Grief, anger, and shame were chief among them: grief at the final, decisive loss of all my dreams of a loving future with Hindley" (235). The class *habitus* effectively divides Nelly and Hindley, just as it does Heathcliff and Catherine. While Hindley retains the desire to marry Nelly, he lacks the cultural authority because of his father's sense of his social obligations to marry within or above his status to maintain the family's reputation.

Case develops an awkwardness between Hindley, Frances, and Nelly, when Hindley returns to Wuthering Heights married to Frances. At this point, Hindley now has

both his wife and his mistress under the same house. While the narration is from Nelly's point-of-view, she does project a form of mediation on Hindley. Hindley introduces Nelly to Frances as a "fixture" of the estate (239), which Nelly concludes that "[Hindley] had called me a 'fixture', as though to say, 'Nelly is here to stay; you must accustom yourself to that'" (242). This rationalization allows Nelly to continue working at Wuthering Heights. Frances never verbalizes her knowledge of Hindley and Nelly's past promises, yet as Frances is the new mistress of Wuthering Heights, she now becomes the lady who manages the "emotional *habitus*." Nelly willfully removes herself from this position but does not completely fulfil her role as the confidante to Frances. Nelly's internal struggle with her love for Hindley impedes her connection with Frances, along with the new rules that Hindley places on the house.

With Hindley's return as the new master, Case's Hindley emphasizes a new set of expectations for the domestic servants at Wuthering Heights. Hindley declares that "We'll have no more of servants and family all eating together.... This is a gentleman's family. The servants should eat in the kitchen by themselves after waiting on the family at table" (240). As the new rules are set in place, *habitus* structures begin to re-shape the behaviors of the servants. The rules brought by Hindley follow a stricter division between servants and the master's family, a division which Wuthering Heights had previously blurred. Under Hindley's management of Wuthering Heights, the servants become separated as if the family were upper class.

Even though the house rules shift, Nelly continues to have the most knowledge of managing a house, and as a result, Nelly maintains power. As Case focuses on Nelly's life as a servant, Case identifies the role of a servant when a new mistress lacks the social



experience of being a mistress and lacks knowledge of the region. Because Frances is young and an outsider to the area, she relies on Nelly to instruct her on the proper etiquette of being the mistress of Wuthering Heights: ““Oh the usual: bring food and medicine for the sick, give out flannel in winter where it was needed, that sort of thing” (Case 252). The senior servant transfers the cultural knowledge of Wuthering Heights on to the incoming mistress, Frances. In order to make the transition of mistresses, from Mrs. Earnshaw to Frances, easier, a merging of expectations, old and new, makes the shift bearable. Synthesizing two sets of expectations keeps the structures of *habitus* from toppling and causing disagreement with new structures, which will also allow the master and mistress to slowly change the structures avoiding a bigger pushback from the servants.

Horn notes that “The housekeeper often assisted her mistress in dispensing charity among the neighbouring poor. She would also organize entertainments for the children of estate workers and ensure that they showed due respect towards their benefactors” (57). Because the housekeeper helped the mistress with her social duties, the housekeeper would be the one servant who could educate a new mistress on her social expectations. Case highlights this process through her character Frances. Frances knows her own lack of knowledge and indicates that “I shall rely on your advice a good deal, Nelly, you know” (253). This position provides Nelly a good deal of power over the mistress. Frances, even though she is hierarchically above Nelly, has no knowledge of how the mistress of Wuthering Heights is supposed to act. This acknowledgment by Frances indicates at least an awareness of the effects of *habitus*. The initial ignorance of these expectations requires her to learn from Nelly.

Brontë quickly moves from France's arrival as mistress of Wuthering Heights (57) to her death in childbirth (73), with the majority of Nelly's narration of this time briefly glancing over France's appearance along with her "gay heart" (73). However, Case develops more of a relationship between Nelly and Frances. Case's Nelly ends up carrying out the traditions of the mistress at Wuthering Heights because Frances believes that caring for the tenants of the estate is not lady-like: "... [Frances] preferred to let me be the one to visit the poor in their cottages, talk with them, and deliver whatever little things would ease their difficulties" (254). Maintaining happy and healthy tenant relationships helps maintain a steady flow of income for Wuthering Heights. Frances' perception of the workers as beneath her stems from her beliefs structured by the *habitus* of the city that equates people to replaceable commodities, whereas the rural estate of Wuthering Heights relies on cross-generational working relationships. Nelly understands the social etiquette of Wuthering Heights and continues to carry on the duties to benefit the estate.

The finances of the household stores fell under the duties of the housekeeper, which hypothetically provides Case's Nelly the opportunity to cheat the household out of money and/or goods. While the mistress is supposed to look at the account books, Horn indicates that the "[housekeeper's] mistress normally examin[es] the accounts only once a week and sometimes less frequently than that" (55). Nelly portrays herself as an honest servant with strong emotional ties to the family. Being an emotionally and financially honest housekeeper would remove relieve some oversight duties of the mistress.

Yet, as Case portrays through Nelly, the senior servant may not be able to help if the master and mistress spend their money briskly. Nelly begins "keeping the household

accounts...though they were still nominally in Mrs. Earnshaw's hands, so it was easy to see that the money was flowing out at a higher rate than it ever had before," and yet she, in the role as a servant, cannot help Hindley and Frances because they can spend the money as they want (264). Even though Nelly can see the discrepancy in the income compared to the spending, she cannot force either Hindley or Frances to see or act upon the financial problem. The problem partly stems from Hindley's insistence on running Wuthering Heights as a gentleman's estate where the servants do not blend with the family. The class differences in the servant/master relationship is not conducive for a servant, even one as acknowledged as Nelly, to suggest that the family is spending their money unwisely.

In general, the housekeeper runs the house when the master and mistress are absent. After Frances' death, following Hareton's birth, Nelly becomes the rent collector as Hindley, in effect, is an absent master when he becomes a drunk and is unable to productively work with his tenants. Hindley proclaims, "'Go on,' he said in a low voice. 'You want to do it, and God knows you do it better than I can'" (275). As a result, she almost has unilateral decision-making since Hindley stays at the tavern all day, only coming home to eat and sleep. Case's Nelly is left in charge of the finances, the household management, and the rearing of Hareton.

While a housekeeper is above a lady's maid, the lady's maid has a close relationship with the mistress. Not every lower-middle class household hired a lady's maid because this servant is a luxury for the middle classes and above. As Horn points out, "An income of at least £2,000 a year was suggested as necessary to afford such a luxury..." (57). While both Brontë and Case's Nelly are convinced to transfer to

Thrushcross Grange against her “inclinations” (Brontë 94), Case further develops Nelly’s transition to Thrushcross Grange: “they put [Hareton] in my arms still wet from the womb. I would have sold my soul to keep breath in his body. Indeed, there were times when I thought I had done so, in sober truth. How could I bear to leave him?” (403). Hareton was Nelly’s first nursling, and she has a strong connection with him. Nelly wants to stay at Wuthering Heights to protect Hareton from Hindley but Hindley justifies her transfer because there is no longer a lady at Wuthering Heights to serve under. Nelly’s transition from her responsibilities as a housekeeper without the title or equivalent payment, by following Catherine to Thrushcross Grange as a lady’s maid Nelly increases her earnings yet decreases her authority in relation to the family and to the other servants. Yet, after she settles in at Thrushcross Grange and begins receiving regular reports on Hareton, Nelly becomes acclimated to the new position.

Neither Brontë nor Case’s Nelly discusses her time as a lady’s maid often, but Case’s Nelly does write about her position in relation to the other servants: “Servants [at Thrushcross Grange] defined their status as much by what they could not be asked to do as by what they actually did, and woe betide the servant who dared to ask something of another that she had not the authority to command!” (425). This is Nelly’s first time encountering a household where the domestic servants are territorial over duties. While the housekeeper position is always seen as a commanding position, the servants take pride in their work and rely on their individual titles to signify their respective positions amongst the servant class. To receive help from someone who is of a lower position would indicate a level of incompetence that can be filled by someone else; whereas receiving help from someone higher on the hierarchy indicates that the duties may be

overwhelming. Nelly calls this hierarchy a “vastly complex card game” where the rules must be learned as quickly as possible in order to progress (425). This awareness allows Nelly to maneuver through the new obstacles of her position as a lady’s maid without creating much conflict.

While Brontë does not indicate Nelly’s initial position at Thrushcross Grange, she does indicate that after Catherine dies Nelly is retained as housekeeper (49); yet as Case’s Nelly adjusts to the position of a lady’s maid, Nelly speeds through the narration with a brief letter indicating Heathcliff’s return, Cathy’s birth, Catherine’s death, and her advancement to housekeeper at Thrushcross Grange.<sup>23</sup> Nelly explains, “When Cathy was eight, Mrs. Phillips announced that she was retiring to live with her sister by the coast, and it seemed natural that I should step into her place as housekeeper. She seemed pleased at the prospect” (443). Nelly perceives herself as successor to Mrs. Phillips, and yet her acknowledgment of Mrs. Phillips’ approval reaffirms Nelly’s social position. Nelly’s attachment to hierarchy reveals the results of *habitus*. Mrs. Phillips is still the housekeeper and her approval of Nelly as her replacement signifies the quality of Nelly’s work. The need/want of approval demonstrates Nelly’s acceptance of the servant hierarchy, one that she initially resists as younger child when she finds out that her new position at Wuthering Heights will be a servant.

While Brontë does not spend too much time with Nelly’s history because of Mr. Lockwood’s interest in the history of the owners of Wuthering Heights and not the servants, Brontë does illustrate the master/servant relationships. Brontë’s characters

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<sup>23</sup> Nelly indicates to the intended audience, Mr. Lockwood, that “I [Nelly] have told you already how Heathcliff’s return that September, after three years away, disrupted all the peace we had grown accustomed to at Thrushcross Grange...” to avoid reiterating Brontë’s novel (434). I use Cathy to refer to Catherine and Edgar’s daughter, and Catherine as Catherine Linton.

develop around the treatment of servants, such as the Earnshaw's treatment towards Joseph and Nelly or Heathcliff's treatment of Zillah, reflecting the Victorian social perceptions towards servants. Yet servants hold power within their respective positions and even exercised insubordination which can raise questions about the treatment of Victorian servants. Brontë alludes to these domestic servant class issues, but Case further develops Nelly's story with a sole focus on her domestic servant life and her changing relationships with the masters and mistresses. Case's neo-Victorian novel serves to complement Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*. Case's Nelly adjusts to the cultural game enables her to maneuver her way through the domestic servant hierarchy as a housekeeper. It is Nelly's acceptance of her working-class position that enables her to vertically move through the game of culture. Social expectations frown upon a man marrying down the social ladder, yet Nelly still dreamt of becoming the new Mrs. Earnshaw. With the inevitable anguish from the dashing of Nelly's hope to marry Hindley, she willingly subscribes to her class *habitus*. This acceptance, rather than her doomed dream of marriage, will ultimately allow Nelly to move vertically, yet only as high as the domestic servant hierarchy will allow.

## Conclusion

Through understanding Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* and his metaphor of a game, our need to acknowledge the limitations and responsibilities placed upon people by the "game of culture" surfaces. Understanding how and why people act and perceive the world can benefit those with less capital. However, in *Distinction*, Bourdieu asserts that people need to challenge their own relation to culture in order to posit whether change is actually possible and yet, at the same time, understand that

There is no way out of the game of culture; and one's only chance of objectifying the true nature of the game is to objectify as fully as possible the very operations which one is obliged to use in order to achieve that objectification...

Paradoxically, the games of culture are protected against objectifications which the actors involved in the game perform on one another: scholarly critics cannot grasp the objective reality of society aesthetes without abandoning their grasp of the true nature of their own activity; and the same is true of their opponents. (12)

This paradox of inescapable participation within the "game of culture" should only reinforce our necessity of understanding it. Reaching out to transversely understand other classes provides the means through which to alleviate, yet not solve, some of the dominated classes' struggles in society. *Habitus* is not bound by any objective conditions—the *nomos*—but rather structures those objective conditions and the re-shaping of these conditions can only successfully occur over a period of time, not instantaneously, which will change the rules which "the actors involved in the game" obey. Once the rules change, *habitus* re-structures the actors' perceptions that will inevitably change the field along with capital distributions. So even though the game of

culture is unavoidable, the way in which people play the game can influence their individual future.

Because of Brontë's own middle-class *habitus*, she created Heathcliff and Nelly as outsiders in relation to her class culture. They were created to be influenced by the same class *habitus* that existed in Brontë's time. Heathcliff becomes a representation of the outcast, both racial and familial, who maneuvers through class status boundaries to raise his position within the culture. Nelly represents domestic servants, albeit she is a little unorthodox in her somewhat jaunty responses to those in higher positions above her own which suggests that the "games of culture" allow, and maybe encourage, some subversive behaviors. The subversive acts that accompany some disenfranchised agents allows the agents to release built-up tension which does not fully deconstruct the field; the agents can express the frustration while maintaining the *nomos* of the field which reinforce the system that restricts their access to capital and their ability to vertically or transversely move in fields. Although Brontë does not explain how these characters maneuver through the cultural game in Heathcliff's three-year absence from Wuthering Heights and in Nelly's upward progression in the domestic servant hierarchy, the fact that she wrote about these scenarios indicates the importance of class hierarchies and the power, or lack of power, that derives from the different class positions.

While Brontë's reasoning for not explaining Heathcliff's three-year disappearance from Wuthering heights is unknown, there is a possibility that Brontë refrained from giving the information to shock her contemporary readers. Through giving an outcast character, Heathcliff, the ability to drastically move upward in social class, Brontë provides a critique of the rigidity of the Victorian class system. Brontë's readers are



required to fill in Heathcliff's missing information which forces the reader to confront the Victorian *nomos* on an individual basis. The readers' imagination must make sense of Heathcliff's transition by creating some logical progression that is possible within the confines of the Victorian *nomos*. This individual rationalization of the possible circumstances that allow Heathcliff to have upward mobility in the Victorian class system creates less opportunities for readers to criticize the transverse movement. However, the individualized rationalization also allows for the readers, who do not accept Heathcliff's transverse movement, to dismiss this section of Brontë's plot entirely. While Heathcliff's three-year gap can both work in favor of critiquing the Victorian culture and work against the critiquing of the Victorian culture, the gap allows Brontë to express a sense of moral outrage to a larger audience than she would if she fully explained Heathcliff's process which would more than likely be dismissed by the majority of the middle and upper classes.

Neo-Victorian revisitations of *Wuthering Heights*, such as Haire-Sargeant's *H.*, fill in Heathcliff's three-year absence to explain possible scenarios to further emphasize Brontë's purpose in leaving the gap in information. The neo-Victorian novels provide a modern pretext so that readers can analyze the possibility of Heathcliff's social movement in the Victorian era. Mark Llewellyn asserts that "it is important to remember that, as the neo-Victorian text writes back to something in the nineteenth century, it does so in a manner that often aims to re-fresh and re-vitalise the importance of that earlier text to the here and now" (170-71). The revitalization of social class and mobility through neo-Victorian novels directs the attention of the readers to connect the analogous issues to twenty-first century society. Paralleling modern and Victorian cultures not only

recreates Victorian culture through the novel but also makes the readers aware of the same issues in the present. An awareness of the obligatory actions, and restrictions, demanded by the *nomos* and structured by *habitus* can allow readers to move, either vertically or transversely, to a better position; however, the lower class may not have enough capital to maneuver through the games of culture unaided, which posits responsibility on those who reside above the lower class.

Both Haire-Sargeant and Case represent class issues in *H.~* and *Nelly Dean*, which suggests that the class issues in modern society parallel the class issues of the Victorian era. Understanding the Victorian *nomos* and re-creating them in modern literature reveals parallel cultures that allow contemporary authors and readers to better understand power relations between different fields of play. In the introduction to *Functions of Victorian Culture at the Present Time*, Christine Krueger claims that “No matter how vociferously we protest our postmodern condition, we are in many respects post-Victorians, with a complex relationship to the ethics, politics, psychology, and art of our eminent—and obscure—Victorian precursors” (xi). Our intermingled cultural conditions, which are re-created in neo-Victorian novels, reconstruct a similar field of play that can grant readers a more objective condition of our “game of culture.” The more knowledge we have about our cultural conditions, the more likely readers can transversely connect with people outside our originating class status. As people identify with others outside of their class status, power dynamics are exposed that can be traced from the Victorian era to modern society. Through Bourdieu’s concept of the field, readers can critically analyze the consequences of divisive class structures that affect the decisions people make.

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## VITA

Author: Ryan Wise

Place of Birth: Fallon, NV

Undergraduate Schools: Idaho State University, Pocatello, ID  
Skagit Valley College, Oak Harbor, WA  
Eastern Washington University, Cheney, WA

Degrees Awarded: Bachelor of Arts, 2016, Eastern Washington University  
Magna Cum Laude

Honors and Awards: Graduate Assistantship, English Department, 2016-2018,  
Eastern Washington University

Professional Memberships: North American Victorian Studies Association, 2018  
Modern Language Association, 2017