

HAUNTING: FROM POSTWESTERNS TO POSTMODERN HISTORIOGRAPHIES

by

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## ABSTRACT

The postmodern era has issued a challenge to either/or binary structures and the hegemonic master narratives built upon them. Within American Studies, the sub discipline of postwestern studies recognizes the effects of this postmodern turn through the emergence of ‘ghost westerns.’ These film and literary expressions reveal the manner in which spectral manifestations interrupt the narrative of American exceptionalism housed within the Western genre by privileging previously marginalized voices and confounding a binary reality. This thesis examines the functionality of haunting from its Gothic Enlightenment origins to its emergence within the genre of the West with a specific focus on a postwestern awareness of these ghost Westerns. However, to further privilege the trope, and to further disrupt the real v. the imagined binary, haunting is also taken outside of the ‘Western frame,’ as postwestern scholars have called it, and applied to several contemporary post-Civil War historiographies. Because historians are also navigating the postmodern ‘turn,’ many of the same cultural and epistemological hegemonies scrutinized by postwestern scholars are also evident within contemporary historiographies. By illustrating how contemporary historians are ‘haunted’ by these same cultural structures, spectrality becomes an interdisciplinary tool which aides a postmodern America confronting its ‘exceptional’ identity and the binary epistemological structure which enables such hegemonic narratives.

## HAUNTING: A HEGEMONIC DISRUPTION

Indeed, it may turn out that one of the distinctive fields of American Studies is precisely this ambiguous relation between works of art and the culture in which they occur.

~Henry Nash Smith, "Can 'American Studies' Develop a Method?"

The necessity for opening up or creating a space for debate predicated an invention of techniques of reading that must violate the systems of binaries used by the dominant discourse to legitimize its power. It was essential to invent a form of ideology-critique that would reveal the implicit assumptions, strategies and rhetoric of the historical, political or theoretical narrative of the Western academy.

~Sumit Chakrabarti, *The Impact of the Postcolonial Theories of Edward Said, Gayatri Spivak, and Homi Bhabha on Western Thought*

Haunting and American Studies are intimate bedfellows. In fact, 'haunted' might very well be the discipline's defining characteristic as the questions 'what is America?' and 'does American Studies have a method?' have continued to plague the field since its mid-twentieth century inception. Contemporary postwestern scholars bear the weight of these American Studies conundrums in their consideration of the American West—the mythical region which resides so close to the heart of American identity and the nation's 'exceptional' mythos. Scrutinizing Western film and literature through a multifaceted lens which includes literary, postcolonial, and poststructural theories, postwestern scholars scrutinize the manner in which this 'region that is much more than a region' functions as a cultural construct. Even more specifically, this scholastic endeavor has embraced a cultural phenomenon that literary Gothic scholars have been scrutinizing for some time: haunting. By recognizing the functionality of the spectral within Western

literary and film genres, postwestern scholars are able to not only navigate an American culture undergoing a postmodern ‘turn,’ but also, perhaps inadvertently, embrace the somewhat marginalized and nebulous essence of the discipline of American Studies itself.

While this thesis funnels into a proposal for haunting as a method for American Studies, haunting, or spectrality, requires delineation—or as much as such a protean entity can be. This chapter will focus on the function of haunting as a creative embodiment which allows for the paradoxical and marvelous experience while also, simultaneously, creating a disturbing expression indicative of the *inability* to accept paradox—or the inability to comprehend protean boundaries of space and time. To understand this function of haunting, I begin with a background of the Gothic Romance, largely centered in the Old World, as it forms a “marvelous” spectral resistance to the stringent positivism of Enlightenment dictates. This resistance is traced into the cultural formations of the New World’s America as examined by American Gothic scholars and, crucially, postwestern scholars. These scholars incorporate a spectral awareness to deconstruct the intersecting ideas of America, West, frontier, and boundary to reveal the underlying cultural hegemony of western ‘civilization’—as in Frederick Jackson Turner’s civilization v. savagery contest. By comprehending the spectral’s role in disrupting exceptional master narratives and the epistemological binary structure which support them, the ‘backbone’ of a spectral functionality will be formed, enabling the consequent interdisciplinary leap into historiography within the following chapters.

### The Gothic Romance

What is the function of haunting? This question necessitates an awareness of the Gothic Romance as a literary cultural expression which reacted to the stringent privileging of a reason based methodology arising out of the Enlightenment period. Barbara Fuchs in her text *Romance* follows the romance literary genre throughout the history of western civilization to more fully comprehend the genre's reoccurring and malleable iterations. In her text, function is privileged over form. Fuchs states: "Post-structuralist theory invites us to consider romance in terms of what it performs as opposed to what it is...what it *does* and *undoes* [original emphasis]." Through this method, the author circumvents cultural and historical assumptions regarding the term—the rigid boundaries which render it in a static, compartmentalized position. Such a privileging of function over the assumed definition reveals that "romance can appear within texts that are not necessarily in a romance genre or mode." This recognition of functionality challenges the "historicization of literary forms" and allows Fuchs to put forward the idea of romance as a "strategy."<sup>1</sup> Although not disregarding form altogether, the privileging of function over rigidly bounded categorization illustrates a key aspect of postmodernism which be utilized throughout this paper. Critically, form v. function is not positioned within a dichotomy, but form is allowed to remain protean, thus enabling its function—its *essence*—to remain active and fluid.

*Romance* delineates the often overlooked and/or *invisible* functionality of the genre/strategy which has an essence of a "fairy-tale feeling" embodied by some "marvelous" element. It is "precisely" because of these qualities that "romance has often

been singled out for censure as an unworthy form of literature.”<sup>2</sup> While she directs this comment toward periods in which cultural hegemonies idolize rationality, the statement reveals that Fuchs’ text exists as a narrative on *cultural haunting*; these pervasive, “marvelous” narrative elements have continued to present themselves throughout western literary history, even despite a heavily relegated status within an either/or hegemony which privileges reason and the real over imagination and creative constructs. Indeed, if one of the prime functions of dominant cultural constructs is the appearance of a *stasis* which promulgates a concrete, centralized seat of power, then “marvelous,” magical, and/or nonconforming expressions may very well act as a hegemonic anathema. This cultural tension gives some hint as to Fuchs’ inference that ‘romance as strategy’ implies a functional response. But response to what?

Fuchs remains as irascible as her subject in resisting a confining definition of romance: “the flexibility of romance suggest that it will continue to appear in new forms, rendering any definition necessarily provisional.” However, understanding that “romance may easily reconcile idealization with devastating irony, the marvelous and magic with penetrating realism” provides a glimpse into what romance “does.” While some of the traits of romance include “delay and deferral, the pleasure of the reader, a fascination with female vulnerability, an emphasis on the marvelous over the quotidian, a focus on the travails of the individual and nostalgia for other times and places,” what Fuchs describes is not simply what romance does—as if it operated in a space of isolation—but how this creative literary embodiment interacts with cultural norms.<sup>3</sup> Such an inclusive and protean expression of cultural reality takes an interesting and telling

form when it 'turned' into the Gothic as it encountered the overbearing empirical knowledge structure of the Enlightenment.

Fuchs notes the hybrid, reflexive essence of the Gothic Romance genre as a mixture of the "new and old," which "self-consciously looks back, combining modern skepticism with an appreciation of the emotional and aesthetic effects of the marvelous." Along with this reflexive capacity, an essential epistemic note comes to the fore: the Gothic Romance provides a contrapuntal narrative, "reacting to the dictates of neoclassicism, questioning its privileging of reason, order and proportion." Gothic Romance's privileging of "the imagination over reason," combined with the aforementioned ability to reconcile idealization and irony, and the marvelous and the real, reveals romance's functionality as a disrupter of rigid, linear based boundaries.<sup>4</sup> Fuchs was right to be wary of a compartmentalizing terminology. But, it is also crucial to note the always already contrapuntal 'play' of creative embodiments as they dance with the cultural structures from which they originate. Creative, imaginative expressions *always* comment on cultural mores; culture and expressions of culture do not exist in separate, segregated physical/metaphysical spaces. The specters of the Gothic Romance performed a very specific commentary in regards to the Enlightenment view of reality.

If a means of expression which embodied hybrid boundaries and a marvelous ability to *not* make rational sense was confronted by a knowledge truth structure which sought to organize reality into a binary order, how would it express itself? 'Marvelously,' romance assumed a gothic form as a reaction to the dictates of the era, utilizing the "flexibility of romance" to conjure the haunting apparitions and locations

which were denied access to the experience of paradox and the marvelous. The gothic incorporates romance's paradoxical and marvelous elements while also, simultaneously, creating a disturbing and/or haunting experience indicative of the *inability* to accept paradox. In this manner, it is *reflexively* examining its parent culture. The specter, as the past juxtaposed upon the present, the ghostlike essence without form, and/or the undead form without soul, disrupts an either/or reality structure and forms an image of the human condition existing within such a one-sided state. This mirroring, reflexive capability is often realized in Gothic texts through the inclusion of uncanniness: temporal loops which require a certain encounter to be relived, or the inclusion of the similar, but different doppelganger, or double.

A. H. Abrams, in his seminal, mid-twentieth century text, *The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition*, offers another perspective on romance's turn into the gothic. "The fictions of romance were for the most part driven out of serious poetry to lead a disheartened half-life in the Gothic novel," notes the author.<sup>5</sup> Abrams laments the Age of Reason's effects upon romance forms while critically judging the gothic as a lesser literary device, no doubt noting the hegemonic appropriation of such a form to *support* rather than change dominant narratives of, what Fuchs has delineated, "reason, order and proportion." Pattie Cowell recognizes this "recurring pattern in early British gothic fiction" as the "re-establishment of a threatened social order."<sup>6</sup> However, despite the fact that many of these early gothic texts presented a "re-establishment" of cultural norms, it is necessary to realize that haunting allowed for a challenge to the "social order," and the 'rigidity of the real' preached by the Age of

Reason. Thus, not only did spectral embodiments offer a cultural commentary of resistance, but by taken such ghostly forms, romance, or creative expressions, revealed a “marvelous” ability to survive. This state—surviving while forming a resistant commentary—denotes an always already creative human capacity. The creative ability to negotiate paradox and offer a reflexive cultural mirror continued to survive despite Enlightenment’s modernistic idolization of “reason, order and proportion.”

Abrams clarifies the historicization of the imagination v. reason dichotomy, pinpointing the debate at the pinnacle of Enlightenment thought. In his subchapter “Positivism vs. Poetry” Abrams contends: “The prevalence of philosophic positivism, however, which claimed the method of the natural sciences to be the sole access to truth, tended to convert this logical [opposition] into a combative opposition.” This War of Reason, based upon an either/or epistemology, derogated the imagination. Abrams discusses one of the prime combatants for “reason,” the utilitarian social reformer Jeremy Bentham:

Bentham represents a culmination of a tendency of the new philosophy in England, empirical in pretension and practical in orientation, to derogate poetry in comparison with science...Bentham carried to their extreme two aspects of earlier empiricism: (1) the determination of all value by the ‘felicific calculus’ of measuring pleasures against pains, and (2) the reform of language, primarily through the elimination or control of ‘fictitious entities’ so that its primary function of stating objective truth might be most completely achieved.<sup>7</sup>

Not only does Abrams delineate this pivotal cultural turn in western civilization towards modernism, but he also underscores the manner in which cultural hegemony operates. The reason v. imagination contest was largely forwarded by the new keepers of truth, those ascribing to “reason, order, and proportion.” Imagination, in its innumerable,

“fictitious” forms, became the derogated Other as the experience of romance, with all of its paradoxical glory, was ostracized by the “order” of reason. In hegemonic fashion, such a subjective and unreliable entity was deemed a pariah, something to be controlled or eliminated—like a frontier or a wilderness animal—while the early tenets of empiricism called for a monolithic truth.

### American Gothic

Although these Enlightenment arguments of the late 1700’s and early 1800’s regarding the ‘truth of fact’ in empirical science and the ‘fictions’ of the imagination in literature were largely located in the Old World, the New World was also haunted by this same ‘metanarrative of dichotomy’...perhaps even more so. Despite its best efforts and American Adam idealizations, the American New World carried with it components of the Old—ghosts and goblins included. These spectral undesirables were drawn like flies to the limitations and irregularities within an epistemology ignorant of creative, non-monolithic truths. Indeed, they found even greater fodder in the exceptional mythos of America which haphazardly consumed the tenets of Bentham’s empiricism and elevated that utopia of perfect order to new and (‘hegemonically’) blinding heights.

David Mogen, Scott P. Sanders and Joanne B. Karpinski, the editors of *Frontier Gothic: Terror and Wonder at the Frontier in American Literature*, recognize the contradictions of the new American vision as the ripest soil for the Gothic seed: “The very concept of American gothic is paradoxical since so much of American culture denies the possibility of the gothic experience.” Grant Wood’s famous “American

Gothic” painting affirms this idea, according to these authors, denoting a paradoxical manifestation “most palpable when denied.” In this manner, a reflexive mirror is offered as Wood’s painting “represent[s] an oppressive extreme of American faith in pragmatic rationalism, the belief that common sense, perhaps reinforced by biblical maxims and conventional piety, is sufficient to take the measure of the universe.”<sup>8</sup>

The editors continue to reinforce the potency of the American Gothic as a direct result of Enlightenment ideals on steroids; this idealization/idolization of “reason, order and proportion” culminated in “American rationalism.” Donald A. Ringe considers early American literary demands for “rational fictions” to subdue romance and reinforce the utilitarian maxims:

Americans were, after all, children of the eighteenth century...they shared a common belief in the primary value of reason, the absurdity of mythology, the danger of superstition. They dismissed ghosts, goblins, and witches as the relics of a more credulous age and were proud of the fact that American society had been formed when such phenomena were no longer credited and tales of superstition had been relegated to the nursery.

In America, the “fairy tale” and the “marvelous” were yet derogated—perhaps even more so than in the Old World. These American “common sense” (often a key hegemonic signifier) ideals, were made more “ironic” in light of the fact that “American readers proved an avid audience for Gothicism.”<sup>9</sup> But another significant player entered the stage in this New World: the American frontier. Might this really be America’s defining characteristic?

The American frontier, morphing into the American West, acted, according to Neil Campbell, as America *par excellence*, “the foundation of national identity.”<sup>10</sup> This mythical region connoted a “mythic quest for rootedness” inspired by “the desire for

fixity, belonging, and integration” which inspired the “developing discipline of western studies itself” and operated as the “fount of Americanness,’ a unified coherent metanarrative in which a singular, national identity is explained and justified.”<sup>11</sup> The American “identity,” transcribed upon the frontier wilderness—or ‘wild-ness’—held not only the idealistic hopes of the fledging nation, but also its fears. Mogen, Sander, and Karpinski explain: “as the imaginative border between the known and the unknown, the frontier subject has provided a bridge to gothic domains.”<sup>12</sup> Yet, how is the frontier a bridge to an Old World dilemma? If the frontier is indeed a bridge into the maladies of the Old World then something *beyond* the ‘real’ geography is at play. The key here is a civilization v. wilderness narrative which essentializes the ‘known’ and “unknown,” fortified by an underlying knowledge-truth structure which designates the corporeal, quantifiable real within reality and assumes that this visibility is entirely known.

In postcolonial terms, such a structure created an Other out of the “unknown.” This frontier Other, mimicking the marginalization of other ‘non-civilized’ Others, was beset by a polarizing projection, paradoxically becoming something both threatening *and* desired. In this manner, like romance’s collision with the Enlightenment, the frontier becomes a cultural mirror which reflects cultural incongruities. To ‘Turnerize’ this idea: the ‘significance of the frontier in American history’ was that it caused a reflexive event; western civilization stumbled upon a geographical ‘anomaly’ which caused it to look upon itself. How it would respond would largely determine the outcome of this confrontation with the unknown.

The evidence of this integral connection between America, wilderness and the gothic is precisely illustrated within the opening pages of America's first recognized gothic text, Charles Brockden Brown's *Edgar Huntly*, with a subtitle which encapsulates American exceptionalism: *Memoirs of a Sleep Walker* (and offers a suitable subtitle for this paper). Brown's preface, entitled "To the Public," holds a particular geographical relevance:

One merit the writer may at least claim:--that of calling forth the passions and engaging the sympathy of the reader by means hitherto unemployed by preceding authors. Puerile superstition and exploded manners, Gothic castles and chimeras, are the materials usually employed for this end. The incidents of Indian hostility, and the perils of the Western wilderness, are far more suitable; and for a native of America to overlook these would admit of no apology. These, therefore, are, in part, the ingredients of this tale, and these he has been ambitious of depicting in vivid and faithful colours. The success of his efforts must be estimated by the liberal and candid reader.<sup>13</sup>

The narrative continues in this manner, seemingly necessitating a global circumnavigation for the conveyance of each and every detail—such may be the perspective of a contemporary reader. But the contemporary reader also notices the self-consciousness of the author with regard to nationality and most particularly, America's particularly defining aspect, the "Western wilderness." Of course, being written in 1799, the wilderness which provided this confrontation with the "unknown" was within one hundred miles of the Atlantic Ocean.

Equally telling, despite Brown's efforts to differentiate the nature of the gothic between the two nations, is the Irish nationality of the initial sleepwalker, Clithero. This Old World representative acts as the doppelganger of the text's epistolary author, the American Edgar Huntly. Not only was Clithero attempting to escape his own Old World

specters by exiling himself to America, but he seems to infect Huntly with the sleepwalking abnormality. So much for the American Adam ideal of an independent American individual, sprouting from the loins of the New World. In this manner, Brown's text is ambiguous, holding narratives of conformity and resistance. While trying to ascertain an American exceptionalism via frontier geography to establish a divergence from the Old World's "puerile superstitions," Brown enacts a "superstition" of his own by privileging this sleepwalking trope. Within Brown's texts, according to Elizabeth Jane Wall Hinds, "narrative enactment of events within this unsettled landscape takes on a peculiarly unmotivated and irrational form of temporality...Brown's novels present narrators unable to organize into rational form the irrational in experience."<sup>14</sup> The "unknown" of the frontier is so tangible and ominous in *Edgar Huntly* that it seems as if the region itself 'casts' this sleep walking state—like a magical spell—or merely reveals the essence of the unknown in Huntly, revealing an internal wilderness which had been carried over from the Old World. This New World, attempting to define itself apart from the Old, both in geography and an increased rationality, is yet haunted by its connection to the old *and* plagued the need for a method which encapsulates events "irrational in experience." The "unknown" frontier, in this manner, unveiled this lacking epistemological capacity.

With the haunted connection between New World and Old, the "Gothic castles and chimeras" become not so different from America's haunted "wilderness." These human constructs must not be seen only as physical constructs, locked within a real v. imagined dichotomy, but realized as ideological representations of the real *and* imagined,

existing on multiple levels simultaneously, both external and internal in an always already state. While attempting to break free of the Old World constructs, nascent America carried a civilization v. wilderness culture into the New World; such an external projection will remain, waiting for each and every next “unknown” for as long as the interior civilization v. wilderness reality is maintained via nonreflexive epistemologies which prohibit the questioning of dichotomy.

I should then clarify: the ‘significance of the frontier in American history’ is that it afforded yet another iteration of western civilization’s encounter with a cultural “unknown”—an unknown which had never disappeared, but had been relegated to the ‘whims’ of the imagination and ended up seeking shelter from the all-knowing dictates of the Enlightenment in spectral form. Thus civilization v. savagery, or nature, and the reason v. imagination dichotomies become linked through the cultural perception of the “unknown,” regionally, and overtly, located in the American frontier.

### The Postwestern

The American Studies sub-discipline of postwestern studies is relevant to this thesis because it is not only acutely aware of the ‘idea’ of frontier, as it interacts with American epistemology and American identity, but because postwestern scholars incorporate haunting into their postmodern methodology. Indeed, akin to its parent discipline, the field has been haunted by the fact that epistemology and identity have created this idea of frontier and sequestered it within a utopic West. However, the benefit of such a haunting is that it has allowed these late twentieth century American frontier

scholars to study the ‘frontier as boundary’—in all of its manifold representations—providing insights into an American epistemic structure which has propagated the binary and the consequent *rigidity* of boundary. In this manner, the Western frontier acts as a mirror—and the examination of the ghosts in this mirror allows for the comprehension of an America undergoing a postmodern turn.

The relevance of the American West, and its frontier implications, remains quite pertinent within contemporary “rhetoric and presentation, whether through Ronald Reagan assuming the role of wood-chopping rancher in California or George W. Bush defining foreign policy as a simplistic sheriff/outlaw screenplay,” notes Neil Campbell.<sup>15</sup> Notions of frontier and “a westward creation story” reside as the haunting inspiration behind the postwestern; the *idea* of the West as a wilderness Other and the American creation story *cannot* be separated. Understanding this border as an “unknown” which symbolizes both the nature representation of the civilization v. nature dichotomy and imagination within a reason v. imagination binary is central to understanding an American exceptionalism based upon an idealization of civilization. In order to see past, or “beyond,” such dichotomies, the postwestern critical method utilizes haunting as a device to dissect the Western metanarrative and the epistemological structure which enables such monolithic historical renditions. Thus, postwestern scholars are utilizing what Fuchs designated as a “strategy”; haunting acts as a cultural interruption when hegemony is founded upon rigid dichotomies.

The term ‘postwestern’ itself is inspired by the ghosts within the binary and the spectral voices which have been neglected by the utopic Western ideology. Campbell

defines the concept as a “period of historical time during which the United States moves beyond thinking about the West as a frontier narrative” (he uses “post-Western” to describe the particular films referenced in his work). The concept was used as early as 1973 by British film critic Phillip French, but Campbell cites Virginia Sharff to delineate the boundary disrupting potential of the term. In 1994, Sharff “called for a ‘postwestern history to question the stability of our most cherished historical categories of analysis.’” This repositioning of perspective calls for a methodology *beyond* the binary in which “the weight of the western frame” needs to be both realized and treated with an awareness which remains “alert, edgy, and restless” so that history might be imagined “anew.” Additionally, Campbell recognizes Susan Kollin’s designation of the term as a ward “against a narrowly conceived regionalism,” thus realizing a postmodern awareness negotiating the rigid boundaries of Enlightenment constructs. Reiterating the means in which cultural geographical formations represent cultural ideologies, Kollin recognizes the Western paradigm as a “predetermined entity with static borders and boundaries,” formed by lines of demarcation which may be “theoretical, geographical or political.” Campbell summarizes: “Kollin therefore invokes the “post” as a counterbalance to this “pre-lapsarian, pre-social, and pre-modern” vision, reminding us all that the West persists as a real and imagined cultural space that must be fully and critically engaged with.”<sup>16</sup>

In this ideological reconfiguration, rebutting the Virgin Land perception, the term postwestern is not meant to form an either/or dichotomy with the Western, but is utilized to *disrupt* the assumptions within the term ‘Western’ and draw attention to the *relationship* inherent within the boundary between the two. It is not that aspects of the

Western narrative are absolutely false, but they give a visible impression of totality which denies the complexity of the region; it is a hegemonic spectacle which blinds.

‘Postwestern’ mimics the postmodern influence upon American Studies; just as race class, and gender were formed as constructs to critically recognize cultural hegemonies: what was ‘present but hollow’—so too does postwestern-ism call for the awareness of the hegemonic Western, haunted by what was lost, forgotten, denied, or miscomprehended. Ghosts haunt what is ‘present but hollow’ within the hegemony of the monolithic Western narrative, forms which portray only one side of a multifaceted, hybrid reality. The term postwestern, critically considered, like the spectral, offers an entry into paradox: it exists reflexively—to deconstruct itself, to deconstruct the normative, exceptional narrative of the West.

The delineation of ‘postwestern’ serves not only as a tool for understanding the larger ‘post’ era as it confronts modernism’s boundary rigidity, but offers an introduction into the idea of “thirdspace.” This idea is embedded within Neil Campbell’s *Rhizomatic West*—to the point that his writing style itself resembles a rhizome in the attempt to eschew binary centrality. Campbell’s text begins with a substantial quote from Edward Said, ignorant of MLA or Chicago style block quote indentation guidelines—as if it was more a part of the text than separate. Additionally, for anyone encountering Campbell’s work, the use of cited quotes sometimes appears as the norm and not the exception—which makes it nearly impossible to cite Campbell without referencing ten additional authors. While my “key may very well be the most aggrieved victim of the Campbell citation paradigm, what I came to appreciate about the somewhat jarring and pervasive

inclusion of cited authors, constantly intermingling with Campbell's own text, is that the writing method itself was 'disrupting' the perception of a monologist narrative; Campbell is decentralizing his own authorship. In this manner, it is a rhizomatic text. "For borrow we certainly must if we are to elude the constraints of our immediate intellectual environment," concludes Said's 'borrowed' thought, introducing, via example, the ideology of boundary hybridity forwarded by concepts of the "rhizome" and "thirdspace."<sup>17</sup>

Hybridity and an awareness of *relationship* reside at the heart of this postmodern concept which challenges the modern era's rigid, either/or boundary distinctions. Developed by Edward Soja and utilized by Neil Campbell, thirdspace encompasses both the "epistemological and chronological," acting non-dichotomous in not merely "after," but "beyond."<sup>18</sup> It is a border which is continually "borrowing," set in an "always already" motion which confers an organically protean boundary interaction which is *anything but static*.<sup>19</sup> Indeed, it realizes the impossibility of stasis which hegemony depends upon. Additionally, Campbell 'borrows' heavily from Derrida's critique of structure, and Deleuze and Guattari's concept of the rhizome in his utilization of this "thirdspace" concept as it is applied to the American West. This "thirdspace," Campbell explains, is "a dynamic and critical 'border,' a 'middle' (as Deleuze and Guattari would term it), 'which engenders a 'virtual reflecting 'mirror'...'the material event and its shadow.'"<sup>20</sup> With these designations, it is important to note the spectral presence indicative in the reflexive aspect of this concept. This "reflecting 'mirror'" and the recognition of the relationship between the "material event and its shadow," call upon the

“mirror” or “shadow” as a spectral entity which narrates what the sun-sided spectacle is blind to.

Although Campbell focuses on this postwestern turn which begins to reflect upon the Western’s past through the consideration of the “material event and its shadow” in the post-WWII years—thus mirroring aspects of a larger postmodern turn—it is important to understand that this is not to say that elements of the turn were not previously present. Indeed, Brockden Brown’s complex psychological thriller possesses postwestern aspects. Despite his attempt to forward a notion of American identity based on its geographical frontier, the tale yet remains haunted by a ‘sleepwalking’ condition inherited from the Old World. Grant Wood’s “American Gothic” shows postwestern elements by illustrating a rural, farm scene—the heart of America’s early pastoral ideal—but imbues it with a moribund spirit. Additionally, Campbell’s *The Rhizomatic West*, is riddled with spectral recognitions, from F. Scott Fitzgerald’s *The Great Gatsby* to Douglas Coupland’s *Generation X*. However, it is in *Post-Westerns: Cinema, Region, West*—the final book of his contribution to Nebraska Press’ “Postwestern Horizons” trilogy—where the postwestern ‘turn’ becomes more visible, resulting in the claim, “this book is as much about ghost Westerns as post-Westerns.” This ‘turn’ is indicative of an “always already” spectral presence which had begun to effect a cultural change. Campbell states that “these ‘ghost stories’ emerge for me through a variety of films of the postwar West that refuse to dwell in the nineteenth-century moment of the classic Western but rather explore its divergent histories by veering into and across unexpected, uncanny landscapes.”<sup>21</sup>

In this capacity, Campbell's recognition of the "ghost Western" forms an interesting intersection with the previous discussion regarding the American gothic. Along with Pattie Cowell's previously quoted statement regarding the fact that British gothics typically concluded with a reaffirmation of dominant cultural ideology, she also puts forward the argument that "early North American gothics frequently resolve their conflicts by creating an alternative order."<sup>22</sup> It is not my intent to argue the difference between British and American gothic literature, but what can be stated is that Campbell's designation reveals a postwestern (and postmodern) turn which absolutely imagines an "alternative order," by "veering" into these alternative, "uncanny," spectral realities.

With this in mind, it is easier to understand the manner in which the spectral aides Campbell's thesis claim against Gilles Deleuze's argument that the Western has become an "empty frame." Campbell illustrates the fact that the Western narrative has become haunted *through its own devices* to critique the "very ideological framework that had conjured it into being in the first place." Hegemonically speaking, this makes sense due to hegemony's capacity to derogate through visibility or to neglect through invisibility. The hegemony of the mythic West is haunted by its own ignored ambiguities, the "shards and remainders" are made invisible by the cultural metanarrative:

Through layers of representational humus, post-Westerns assert an archaeological probing into foundations forgotten, repressed, or built over. Remembering de Certeau's shards and remainders, the post-Western, as an abjected form, derives from its connection to the past of America, to the loss of possibility and opportunity forever rooted in the cruel optimism of the Frontier. As Kristeva puts it, 'the object is the violence of mourning for an 'object' that has always already been lost.'

Such an “always already” state correlates with the manner in which the American frontier, located in the region of the West, is representative of an internal “unknown”: an Othered space which becomes home to the other Others, projected by a culture which mourns for “an ‘object’ that has always already been lost.” In this manner, narratives which deny the complexity of reality (and its hybrid boundaries) and insist on applying a nonreflexive, rigid *a priori* template will always be haunted. Campbell cites Jacques Derrida in affirmation of this spectral significance: “Hegemony still organizes the repression and thus the confirmation of the haunting. Haunting belongs to the structure of every hegemony.”<sup>23</sup>

The concept of hegemony is not only one of the most informative postmodern cultural tools, but the manner in which it interacts with cultural expressions of haunting demands greater recognition. Originating at the height of mid-twentieth century modernism, Marxist theorist Antonio Gramsci brought this concept to western attention, examining the manner in which dominant cultural narratives create a status quo. His scholarship has provided an immensely valuable foundation for postmodern theories pertaining to cultural power structures. Literary scholar Barbara Herrnstein Smith provides an apt definition for my purposes:

In the classrooms of the literary academy...validation typically takes the twofold form of, first, *privileging absolutely*—that is, “standard”-ising, making a standard out of—not simply the preferences of the members of the group but, more significantly and also more powerfully because more invisibly, *the particular contingencies that govern their preferences; and second but simultaneously, discounting or pathologizing...all other contingencies* [original emphasis].<sup>24</sup>

Herrnstein outlines the method of Gramsci's ideological hegemony, recognizing the integral components of visibility and invisibility. The dominant narrative 'makes invisible' its own desire's while "pathologizing" other possibilities. In cultural terms, those who benefit from the dominant narrative are 'invisibly' privileged through a knowledge structure which confirms their position while devaluing—often through a discrediting *spectacle*—whatever might be construed as Other. Such a construct relies upon rigid boundary categories to create and maintain a hierarchical center.

The effect of this "alternative order" which arises haunt the "privileging" inherent within the Western frame is portrayed in the Coen brothers' *No Country for Old Men*. In his consideration of this film, Campbell focuses on the 'old (modern) man,' Ed Tom Bell, as he offers a "pensive 'sounding board' struggling to understand the world around him, a world undergoing dramatic change as it shifts from a mythic Old to a troubling New West, and beyond that even to a tentative and projected post-West." Set in the rural, arid landscape of West Texas, the aging lawman has to confront the "Western genre...like the ghostly figure of Chigurh," which "is present and absent throughout the film, hovering like a specter in the very material of the movie itself, but always differently." Chigurh is, of course, the 'villain' who has been either absent from the previous utopic renditions, or has been defeated by the Western (American) hero. Although I would agree with the spectrality Campbell's ascribes to the two, this "ghostly figure" acts more like the inverted West—he is the utopic *shadow*, bringing disorder and destruction to Ed Tom's idyllic Western vision. And, of course, in this post-West, the disrupting villain *does not* die, but continues to haunt, leaving Bell with "no means of control, order, or reason, for

he cannot recognize or comprehend what he is fighting against. As Bell puts it: it's "hard to even take its measure." This persistent specter disrupts the sheriff's reality until he finally states: "I don't know what it is anymore."<sup>25</sup> While the utopic myth is disrupted superficially, notice how "control, order, or reason" pop up, reinforcing the Enlightenment dictates of "reason, order and proportion" which form the root of this haunting. As mentioned by Derrida, as long as these epistemological concepts are utilized in manners which alienate or forget, haunting will continually occur.

At this point, the narrative reaches the conclusion, or apex of the 'turn.' A choice is to be made. In interpreting the final acts of the film where Bell relinquishes his pursuit of Chigurh and experiences an ominous pair of dreams, Campbell announces that Bell's reaction was not to revert back into the "safety net of nostalgia" for a West which never was, but that he "woke up' into the actual, living world." This 'new' world, or 'post-West,' sees "beyond" the *a priori* cultural assumptions which gridded the Western landscape, imbued with the projections of a culture which had divorced itself from the complexity of boundaries through a knowledge structure which had hegemonically assumed a rigid binary reality. In this process, Bell opens himself up to the potential of a thirdspace awareness which maintains a conscious interaction of the "real *and* imagined" as an "always already" relationship which changes and informs moment by moment. In this positive interpretation, Campbell cites postwestern scholar Stephen Tatum, concluding that "Bell and the audience are poised before a new type of 'pursuit,' one aimed 'toward a future of becoming'" which is gained through "disorientation and loss" since 'the human comes into being, again and again, as that which we have to know.'<sup>26</sup>

The spectral plays a pivotal role in this experience of “being” and “becoming.” Although there is a noted ‘lack’ of input from gothic literary scholars in Campbell’s work—and, indeed, the term ‘gothic’ is rarely mentioned—gothic scholar Ronald Schleifer further illuminates the functionality of the spectral, noting its ability to instigate as a “force which raise[s] the question of identity and origin...‘who and what am I?’” These spectral forces “are made in terror, made in the loss of self.” This event points to the function of the spectral where Schleifer quotes Flannery O’Conner: “‘To know oneself,’ O’Connor has written, ‘is, above all, to know what one lacks.’”<sup>27</sup> The ‘lack’ is precisely the “shards and remainders” or what is absent from the hegemonic cultural vision—that which offers a reality beyond the rigid, monolithic narrative.

Campbell not only recognizes and utilizes the spectral’s capacity to reveal the ‘lack’ inherent within binary reality interpretations, but crucially links this ability to the region “beyond the Western frame,” to the needs of the ‘post’ scholar: “Derrida’s discussion reminds us of the significance of the term *post-* as that which has a distinct ethical responsibility for connecting us *beyond* any simplistic sense of ‘pastness,’ creating instead ‘a spectral moment...that no longer belongs to time.’” Here, Campbell contextualizes the modern era’s separatist perspective towards the ‘past,’ with a specific connection to the historical discipline. He notes that the “notion of speaking with ghosts” is something which is being resisted by contemporary scholars, once again bringing to light the ‘imagination v. reason’ dichotomy illustrated within the early Gothic historicization. Modern scholars have

prefer[ed] instead to work on the solid ground of oppositions...Yet ‘beyond this opposition’ and as a means of engaging productively with ghosts, there

exist ‘theatrical fiction, literature and speculation,’ the very fields often dismissed by western historians but which, if we are ‘mad enough,’ might “*unlock* the possibility of such an address [with ghosts].<sup>28</sup>

Mad, indeed. But in a culture which is considering a post-‘rational’ era to see “beyond” the rigid boundaries inherited from the rigidities of the Age of Reason’s ontology, madness, imbued with this protean spectrality, is precisely what allows for the interruption of these foundational American dichotomies. Within academia, the boundary between cultural analysis and history must be transgressed to see “beyond” the dichotomies which continue to separate the civilization from nature, the past from the present (and future), and the real from the imagined.

Thus, in reference to Chakrabarti’s epigraph, the spectral offers a method to “violate the systems of binaries used by the dominant discourse to legitimize its power.” By incorporating the spectral into their analytic arsenal, postwestern scholars have forwarded the early American Studies scholar’s search for an interdisciplinary method. Although the perennial question of ‘what is America?’ yet remains elusive, these scholars utilize other ‘post’ scholarships to forward a better understanding of the complexity of American culture as it is mirrored in the projections upon the American West. Furthermore, this notion of spectrality is essentially linked to a postmodern awareness, one which replaces the binary with a sense of thirdspace as an epistemological tool to understand the complexity of boundary.

Yet, as indicated by Campbell (and Derrida), while the postmodern movement has no doubt softened the rigid boundaries of the ‘modern’ reality and forwarded a growth in communication between the social sciences and the arts, Campbell’s last words hang in

the air somewhat ominously. The resistance towards the notion of “speaking with ghosts,” directed towards “western historians,” belies the continuance of segregated truth structures within academia. Perhaps, with this clear delineation of the functionality of the spectral, a “mad” boundary traversal into the realm of historiography can now take place to aid in the postmodern’s demands of seeing history, as Sharff declared, “anew.”

Notes

1. Barbara Fuchs, *Romance* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 2, 8.
2. Fuchs, *Romance*, 2.
3. Fuchs, *Romance*, 65, 130.
4. Fuchs, *Romance*, 117-120.
5. M. H. Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition* (New York: Norton, 1958), 271.
6. Pattie Cowell, "Class, Gender, and Genre: Deconstructing Social formulas on the Gothic Frontier," in *Frontier Gothic: Terror and Wonder at the Frontier in American Literature*, ed. David Mogen, Scott P. Sanders, and Joanne B. Karpinski (Rutherford, N.J: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1993), 126.
7. Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp*, 299, 300.
8. Mogen, Sanders, and Karpinski, *Frontier Gothic*, 13.
9. Mogen, Sander, and Karpinski, *Frontier Gothic*, 13, 14.
10. Neil Campbell, *The Rhizomatic West: Representing the American West in a Transnational, Global, Media Age* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 2.
11. Campbell, *The Rhizomatic West*, 2, 3.
12. Mogen, Sanders and Karpinski, *Frontier Gothic*, 13.
13. Charles Brockden Brown, *Edgar Huntly: Memoirs of a Sleep-walker* (New York: Penguin Books, 2014 (Original 1799), 1, 2.
14. Elizabeth Jane Wall Hinds, "Charles Brockden Brown and the Frontiers of Discourse," in *Frontier Gothic*, 109, 110.
15. Campbell, *Rhizomatic West*, 2.
16. Neil Campbell, *Post-Westerns: Cinema, Region, West* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2013), 3-5, 359.
17. Campbell, *Rhizomatic West*, 1, 7.

18. Campbell, *Post-Westerns*, 8.
19. Campbell, *Post-Westerns*, 16.
20. Campbell, *Rhizomatic West*, 2, 21, 31.
21. Campbell, *Post-Westerns*, 2, 27.
22. Pattie Cowell, *Frontier Gothic*, 126.
23. Campbell, *Post-Westerns*, 3, 16, 26.
24. Barbara Herrnstein Smith, *Contingencies of Value: Alternative Perspectives for Critical Theory* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 41.
25. Campbell, *Post-Westerns*, 330, 331, 340.
26. Campbell, *Post-Westerns*, 346-348.
27. Ronald Schleifer, "Rural Gothic: The Sublime Rhetoric of Flannery O'Connor," in *Frontier Gothic*, 177.
28. Campbell, *Post-Westerns*, 28.

## A SPECTRAL HISTORIOGRAPHY

The undead will keep rising from their graves as long as the existing power structure is in place.

~Hoblund and Khair, *Transnational and Postcolonial Vampires*

Gatsby's mistake, and perhaps the honor in his failure, is to believe that the past can be superseded, transfigured, overcome by the valiant present—a very American assumption—the Gothic, however, is about the *return of the past, of the repressed and denied, the buried secret* that subverts and corrodes the present, whatever the culture does not want to know or admit, will not or dare not tell itself.

~Allan Lloyd-Smith, *American Gothic Fiction*

Lloyd-Smith's epigraph introduces a postmodern American haunted by an incongruous national mythology. This exceptional idea, Gatsby's "fresh green breast of the new world," so filled the mind of the American dreamers that the imagined severance from the Old World past seemed a reality.<sup>1</sup> However, the past remains. And an unreconciled past assumes phantasmal forms to haunt the present in the attempt to reconcile event and identity through the acknowledgement of the lac' or gap created when something is lost, forgotten and/or "repressed and denied." As indicated in Gatsby's plight, the postmodern—and, specifically, the postwestern—era has revealed an American identity riddled with such ghosts, attempting to come to terms with an exceptional national mythos and the underlying binary epistemological structure.

The previous chapter created an awareness of the spectral's ability to "violate the systems of binaries used by the dominant discourse to legitimize its power." In reacting to the positivistic demands of the Enlightenment's "reason, order and proportion" and young America's stringent American "rationalism," romance's aesthetics took on a

decidedly ghastly, gothic hue, expressing a “marvelous” reality lost, one which allowed for a more paradoxical and protean interpretation of boundary. This creative resistance has been privileged by scholars of the American West—postwestern scholars—who have realized this spectral capacity in “ghost Westerns” which haunt the hegemonic vision of monolithic narratives which purport an American exceptionalism. Yet, two issues remain.

Neil Campbell states that “western historians” resist the “notion of speaking with ghosts.” In this chapter, I would like to perform the “mad” endeavor of crossing academic boundaries to juxtapose the spectral lens upon several post-Civil War historiographies. If it is indeed a genuine representation of the “real *and* imagined”—if haunting, as a creative capacity, has the capacity to express the haunted nature of the postmodern—then even if historians themselves are not fully utilizing the trope, the *functional origins* must yet be in place. Since the idea of boundary has been so thoroughly softened by a postmodern awareness, and since history has largely shucked the cloak of a monolithic, ‘objective’ truth—instead turning towards a pluralistic rendition of the past—the postmodern era offers a prime opportunity to examine how concepts of haunting may be applied to contemporary historiographies attempting to reconcile a postmodern era confronting an inherited American exceptionalism and a binary epistemological structure.

Additionally, the primary focus of the postwestern scholars has been the world of literature, film and art. A thorough breakdown of postwestern literature or film has been omitted because my intent is not to rehash postwestern content, but to challenge the

‘methodology of haunted disruption’ by taking it outside of its comfort zone, or “the Western frame,” and applying it to a field which has not recognized its functionality. As such, this is an attempt to reconcile the age old specter of American Studies: the infamous chasm between literature and history which Henry Nash Smith first confronted during the discipline’s inception. In examining how historians themselves are wrestling with the lacks, gaps, and incongruities of an American culture wrestling with its exceptional ideals and rigid boundaries, the spectral will become further ‘substantiated.’ Paradoxically, it will become more real because it is absent—or absent of recognition (akin to Wood’s “American Gothic”). By illustrating its vital presence within the more traditionally empirical and ‘substantial’ field of historiography, spectrality will become understood as a creative embodiment/expression which offers a reflexive methodology which is beneficial to a postmodern America attempting to reconcile its ghosts.

This chapter is divided into two primary sections. The first contextualizes contemporary historiographical methods by examining introspective texts which scrutinize history’s placement within the postmodern. This quick glimpse affords a connection in postmodern themes as these contemporary historians are faced with the task of interrupting rigid epistemological boundary structures in a manner not dissimilar to the efforts of postwestern scholars. In turn, the second section will scrutinize more traditional historiographical texts which perform the endeavor of reexamining key episodes in the formation of American identity under a more complex and fluid postmodern lens. This reexamination will form an uncanny resemblance to the manner in

which postwestern scholars realize the haunted “frame” of Western texts, thus reifying the functionality of the spectral in a postmodern America.

### Contextualizing Contemporary Historiography

Contemporary historians are well aware of the postmodern challenge to boundary rigidity. *The World Turned Inside Out*, by cultural and intellectual historian Jonathan Livingston, offers an eclectic synopsis of the postmodern challenge to contemporary American culture. The postmodern has caused “everything from skeletons to sexuality” to come “out of the closet” of America. Livingston’s title itself conjures the notion of a boundary turn and his text pursues this ‘new’ reality by historicizing and delineating a postmodern America still wondering “what to do” with itself within this “inside out” world. Yet, to comprehend *why* these entities were in the closet and what their ‘coming out’ represents, a definition of the postmodern is required. In Livingston’s terms:

There is substantial agreement on what postmodern thinking accomplishes...it recognizes the plurality and the plasticity of truth; it remaps the treacherous terrain of ‘rational grounds,’ where the ‘man of reason’—the light-skinned son of Enlightenment—still sets the universal standard; it accepts the eclipse of the old pioneer individualism and the emergence of socialized, multicultural forms of identity.

Akin to gothic and postwestern concerns, boundary is once again at the heart of this ‘post’ awareness. From this statement, it can be surmised that one of the “skeletons” which have come out of America’s closet deals with the very core of cultural reality: the means of assessing truth. Therefore when Livingston’s utilizes a spectral embodiment in “skeletons,” it is no coincidence; American culture has not only been haunted by things ‘in the closet,’ but, as illustrated in the previous chapter, the possibility of haunting itself

has been thoroughly neglected by American culture. It is no surprise, then, that Livingston states that America has become, in an electronically visual age, “face to virtual face with every imaginable kind of person...vampire, angel, or demon.” The multiplicity of postmodern cultural factors, such as globalism and electronic media, caused an interaction with the Other: “we let them into our lives and turned the world inside out.”<sup>2</sup>

Livingston is, perhaps, an odd choice in a discussion which begins with the idea that historians are resistant towards the “notion of speaking with ghosts.” But his text is somewhat of an outlier within the historical profession. In fact, it could easily be described as more of an American Studies pursuit, or American cultural studies endeavor, so thoroughly does he challenge traditional historiographical boundaries. In challenging the traditional ‘objectively empirical’ boundaries of the discipline, Livingston “takes supply-side economics and *South Park* equally seriously.” Yet, while such eclectic interpretations are indicative of a postmodern “turn,” his text is simultaneously *pushing* that wave of hybrid boundary consciousness. Despite the rise of postmodern critical methodology, rigid boundaries remain quite pervasively intact. Livingston’s editors Brick and Perry comment: “the relation between the many and the one continues to preoccupy historical observers. Few historians today are likely to challenge a strong emphasis on diversity among subcultures in American life.”<sup>3</sup> The issues of the “many and the one” and the ‘stories within the margin’—marginalized cultural expressions such as *South Park* pop culture—signify the challenge to a binary methodology which creates an either/or declaration of a monolithic truth and establishes top-down cultural hierarchies.

The epistemological ideals of “reason, order and proportion” are deeply rooted, and although a “turn” may have begun, the application of this hybridity to American identity is still within its fledging stages. Thus cultural expressions which have been previously marginalized—from *South Park* to any one of the myriad of contemporary vampire flicks such as *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*—must be considered as both a necessary means of expression and as aesthetic, creative attempt at figuring out “what to do” about the postmodern interruption of America’s traditional vision of itself.

*Becoming Historians* also provides an accurate contextualizing of how the postmodern has affected contemporary historians. The “skeletons” of both an American culture and a history discipline challenged with ‘re-historicizing’ that culture appear in a compilation of short memoirs which vividly delineate the manner in which history’s ‘throne of objectivity’ has been disrupted by the postmodern. Historians reminisce on being—or becoming—historians in this compilation of essays edited by James M. Banner, Jr. and John R. Gillis. The term ‘becoming’ itself signifies an organic, non-static, always already awareness which disrupts the controlled *stasis* attempted by positivistic, objective methodologies of truth. Such a term embodies the spectral awareness of a temporal unification, or thirdspace awareness, which Neil Campbell utilized (via Edward Soja) in the previous chapter. This awareness has been the burden/gift of this “special generation” of historians, “born on a few years on either side of the Second World War.”<sup>4</sup>

“The opposition between philosophy and history is one of the ways that the orthodox idea of history’s objectivity has been protected,” declares Joan Wallach Scott,

unveiling the manner in which this generation of contemporary historians finds themselves haunted by the postmodern. “As if one canceled the other: philosophy or history, but not both,” she continues, relaying her own struggles to think outside of traditionally rigid lines of methodology, the commonplace, “the tried and true.” Scott notes that Foucault was the prime influence behind her “linguistic turn,” by introducing “philosophically driven history.” Scott discusses the need for a new methodology with further reference to Foucault:

History had become both a form of knowledge and “the mode of being of empiricity” only in the nineteenth century. We were “still caught inside” the momentous conceptual change that it signified, so it was “largely beyond our comprehension.” Yet Foucault aimed to produce that comprehension by interrogating the categories we took for granted as analytic tools: not only history, but—among others—reason, truth, event, sexuality, Man and man.<sup>5</sup>

Once again, Enlightenment’s “empiricity” resides at the heart of modernism’s turn.

While Foucault references the important valuation of knowledge that came out of the Age of Reason, this pivotal cultural moment precipitated a core of ‘taken for granted’ ideals. These assumptions within method and terminology lead to an assumed reality, something “beyond our comprehension,” due to a lack of reflexivity within the epistemology.

This reflexive balancing act which seeks a fuller “comprehension” of binary boundaries is integral to the consideration of the cultural Other. When Rhys Isaac declares: “I began to learn to reach for understanding of otherness and to develop a proper historian’s respect for it,” the either/or boundary with the Other becomes disrupted, signifying the manner in which a cultural specter inspires self-reflexivity.<sup>6</sup> The Other has become, in innumerable iterations, the physical embodiment of western

civilization's haunting doppelganger, an entity which has been derogated to elevate identification with a monolithic, normative history. Isaac, influenced by a hybrid awareness coming out of the postmodern consideration of the Other, incorporates the *relationship* between the 'inside' and the 'outside' to embrace what is Othered. This awareness once again points to a thirdspace awareness which comes about through a haunting. And when David Hollinger states: "I wanted my own pursuit of the cosmopolitanism-provincialism dynamic to be heuristically informed by my own experience, but not captured by it," it becomes clear that a reconsideration of the Othered subjectivity is being reincorporated in historian's postmodern notion of truth.<sup>7</sup> The 'self' cannot be taken out of the study of reality. Thus, by incorporating the self's subjective needs along with the objective demands of critical scholarship, the scholar is able to be "informed by" personal experience, "but not captured by it." Equally, the scholar is no longer alienated from the self due to a stringent objectivity.

Just as the 'posthistorical' hybridity has come to question the 'pasthistorical' grail of objectivity—and the Othering which resulted from such a structure—the power of ideological hegemony has simultaneously risen to the fore. Linda Gordon comments on the invisibility inherent with hegemonic power: "I remain bewildered by how blatant were the things I didn't notice. This gave me great respect for the blinding force of ideology when it becomes hegemonic and is to be taken as common sense."<sup>8</sup> While Gordon references gender hegemony, the taken for granted notion of "common sense" is revealed as a hegemonic tool. This idea links to either/or assumptions as illustrated by Campbell: "thirdspace...shifts the commonsense notions of the real away from the

material,’ and breaks apart simple dualism ‘of here and there, inside and outside...concrete and abstract, ideal and actual, real and fake...’ so that the ‘either-or model’ is shifted ‘into a system of hybrids of the old dualisms.’”<sup>9</sup> Gordon’s “common sense” realization connects with Campbell’s “commonsense” to illustrate the invisible hand of hegemony, weaving, in this case, its gendered wand, and providing merely one example in which this generation of historical scholars have been informed and shaped by the postmodern challenge to binary and hegemony.

*Becoming Historians* and *The World Turned Inside Out* illustrate the manner in which contemporary historians are very much in the throes of a postmodern turn, often times “face to virtual face” with the specters which were conjured through the modern era’s ignorance of binary and hegemonic relations. Although spectral terminology is rarely overtly utilized, the haunted *essence* of these texts is realized as always already present via the lacks and gaps within American culture that these contemporary historians attempt to reconcile. Indeed, by not outright announcing the presence of the spectral, the originations of the spectral can be more clearly seen; previous assumptions and conceptualizations of the spectral are replaced by its reflexive function. The spectral allows for an expression of the incongruences and gaps which modern historians are contending with, being both by haunted by apparitions posing as truth...and voices unseen, calling for a greater awareness of problems inherent within the idealization of a monolithic, objective truth.

## A Haunted Post-Civil War America

### Death and the Civil War

As a pertinent historical marker, the Civil War offers an apt starting point for the examination of a burgeoning American identity. Drew Gilpin Faust, in her book *The Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War*, offers an examination of the Civil War through the “work of death.” The first line of her preface, “mortality defines the human condition,” is quickly followed by a statement from a Confederate Episcopal bishop regarding the war, “we all have our dead; we all have our Graves.” Thus, while the beginning and end of life are among the greatest mortal mysteries, it is the *end* of life which poses the greater consternation; birth is not on par with *death* in the hierarchy of American concerns. Here, perhaps the greatest mortal unknown is confronted. And the collision with America’s idealization of Gatsby’s “fresh green breast”—an exceptional promise of immortality—is revealed to be particularly true within the Civil War, “bloodier than any other conflict in American history.” This grizzly rite of passage was integral to a fledgling nation attempting to secure a moral and economic identity. “The United States now ‘may be said to have gotten a history,’” commented Reverend Horace Bushnell. Faust summarizes: “Death created the modern American union—not just by ensuring national survival, but by shaping enduring national structures and commitments.”<sup>10</sup> Not only did the specter of death form “structures and commitments,” but it also, as will be shown, solidified past hegemonies, inculcated within a burgeoning American identity.

Faust notes that “the American Civil War produced carnage that has often been thought reserved for the combination of technological proficiency and inhumanity characteristic of a later time.” In this manner, “this first *modern* war [emphasis added]” was sorely indicative of an *unrealized* Machine Age; the idealistic notion of the machine working to alleviate human burden proved to have the deepest and darkest of unrealized shadows. In a grim irony of the exceptional ideal of American progress, the weapons of mass destruction, conjoined with the “mass armies,” the railroads to cover ‘mass’ distances, and the “emerging industrial capacity” to “extend the duration of the war and the killing.” The manner of bodily harm reached truly gothic proportions. “No words can describe the gory, ghastly spectacle” stated one survivor of Gettysburg. The displacement of identity came in many forms, often through the displacement of form itself: “by July 4, an estimated six million pounds of human and animal carcasses lay strewn across the field in the summer heat.”<sup>11</sup> That human identity was reduced to merely a quantifiable scale of weighted flesh creates a brief glimpse of this macabre reality created by a “modern” conflict waged with those civilized tools so naively supposed to ease human burden.

In a hegemonic light, it can be said that the invisibility of the destructive potential of technology was not recognized within a culture heavily reliant upon such devices to buttress themes of civilized progress. This begs the question: progress from what? The fact that the human flesh ‘weighed’ at Gettysburg merged with that of the horse bears a great significance to a nation in the thrall of the civilization v. wilderness dichotomy. An exceptional identity based on progress is therefore realized as a movement away from

wilderness and its animals, revealing a dichotomous exceptionalism inherited from the Old World. Indeed, this ability of the war's destruction to reduce the perceived gap between human and animal creates a theme which reverberates throughout the Faust's text. The numerous references to a 'reduction' into an animal state, both through killing and dying, is summarized: "both as butcher and butchered, he had shown himself far closer to the beasts than to the angels."<sup>12</sup>

The grizzly specters left by this national event are pervasive and wide-ranging. Unsurprisingly, the writers of the time provide a pertinent account of the efforts to make to reconcile this event which seemed to fly in the face of American rationalism, and a vision of a utopic Virgin Land. Faust signifies the spectral awareness in these writings, noting that they appeared "in direct reaction to the gap between the conventions of Victorian sentimentality and the reality of modern industrialized warfare." Ambrose Bierce, "the most significant and prolific American writer to actually fight in the Civil War," was one of these literary artists which attempted to creatively reconcile this haunting 'gap.' Bierce wrote with a cynicism indicative of the burgeoning Gilded Age perspectives of Twain and claimed his works were marked by an "endeavor to see things as they are, not as they ought to be"—an interesting statement considering Faust's comment that he was "haunted all his life by what he described as persisting "visions of the dead and dying." To Bierce, the specters *were* reality, they were the "real and imagined." Indeed, it was the only manner for him to reconcile the incongruities of his experience. It is no surprise then that such a haunted reality culminated in his gothic creations, work which expressed war's "sensory and moral horrors."<sup>13</sup> Equally interesting

is Faust's categorization of such writing as "unromantisized depictions"; such a qualification reveals the yet current perception of the 'whimsy' associated with the romance genre, an erroneous perspective which denies, in accordance with Fuchs' stance, its capacity for "marvelous" (functional) horror as well.

The method of Bierce's work, noted by Faust as "an eagerness to transgress properties of thought and representation" was a part of a particular American genre, including Dickinson and Melville, which utilized this method as a "challenge to certainty." These authors utilize imagination's uncanny ability to reconcile the opposites of reality, offering "definitions that challenge—even reject—meaning, with mockery and irony...Dickinson's poetry was revolutionary in its departure from the order and logic of prevailing poetic form."<sup>14</sup> Revolutionary for the time, perhaps, but not unique in the ability to reach across cultural hegemonic boundaries. These authors utilized facets of spectrality to both realize and confronted an epistemology which was incapacitated by the incongruent reality of the Civil War.

This lack of "comprehension," to paraphrase Scott's use of Foucault, was perpetuated by both a nation desperate to have an identity and by the exceptional ideologies which were pervasive within the national culture. The closing of the war dictated that Civil War death be made meaningful in the context of an exceptional, nation-building paradigm. Lincoln's Gettysburg Address substantializes this claim, noted by the author as "perhaps the best-known example of such an explanation of the war's carnage." The key phrase from Lincoln's speech was: "these dead shall not have died in vain," to which Faust replies: "in the address the dead themselves become the agents of

political meaning and devotion...Lincoln immortalized them as the enduring inspiration for an immortal nation.” Indeed, these deaths *were* immortalized. However, while the positive aspect may have well provided a foundation for a new national unity, they were also, simultaneously, locked within a cultural stasis, suspended in a gap where the unreconciled toll of the Civil War remained for later generations to reconcile. Faust’s thesis states as much: “this is a book about the work of death in the American War...Americans undertook a kind of work that history has not adequately understood or recognized.”<sup>15</sup> This specter of cultural ignorance resides at the very core of *The Republic of Suffering*, signifying the specter which haunts the idealized “fresh green breast.” Faust’s haunted inspiration spawns from the lack of a cultural recognition regarding the severe cost of the American Civil War.

Faust addresses the negligence of death, stating: “there has been much discussion in our own time of the denial of death, of the refusal of contemporary American culture to confront or discuss it.” Historian Philippe Aries is cited, accusing “Western Europe and the United States of making death ‘invisible’”—thus revealing a shared, transatlantic specter. Faust continues:

Modern dying, he argued, had been medicalized; mourning was regarded as “indecent.” Death had become as unmentionable as pornography. In the Civil War death was hardly hidden, but it was nevertheless, seemingly paradoxically, denied—not through silence and invisibility but through an active and concerted work of reconceptualization that rendered it a cultural preoccupation.<sup>16</sup>

Aries reconstitutes Livingston’s closeted entities, substituting “death” and “pornography” for “skeletons” and “sexuality.” Yet, the “concerted work of reconceptualization” is

precisely the event which leads to an ‘institutionalized’ hegemony indicated by Aries’ term “medicalized.” Such an act leads to a ‘visible invisibility.’

While Faust appears hesitant to directly ally herself with the contemporary discussion over the “denial of death”—perhaps wary of presentism—her realization of paradox yet supports the claim. This event allows for a more lucid examination of hegemony and knowledge structure. Campbell recognizes this binary reaction via Theodore Adorno’s “magic circle that stamps critique with the appearance of absolute knowledge.”<sup>17</sup> This idea of “absolute knowledge” is further explained by Sumit Chakrabarti, while discussing Homi Bhabha’s “The Other Question”:

Whereas the consistent ‘other’ing of the colonized is used to situate the West in a position of binary superiority, the complete knowability or visibility of the subject people is also assumed, as if the paradigms of Western systems of knowledge have managed to know or read the ‘other’ completely.<sup>18</sup>

The Other, in this sense, is death. Even while death might have been much more common in nineteenth century America, and thus somewhat removed from current perceptions regarding mortality, the manner in which Faust categorizes the reactions to Civil War death embodies the ignorant and incomplete perception of “absolute knowledge” or “complete knowability or visibility.”

In the same manner, death was ideologically contained by the material institutions and Lincoln’s Gettysburg Address, “immortalized” and taken for granted through the assumption that it was entirely known. Death was undeniable, but was compartmentalized without true comprehension, thus leading to the gap in American history regarding the “work” of Civil War death. This “work of death” signifies the

unresolved specter of a culture which had placed its identity within the realm of the idolized utopia of civilization with the erroneous assumption that its technological manifestations were proof of a separation from the perceived senselessness of nature and her destructive beasts. The specters of this conflict point to the hegemonic cultural functions which appropriated technology under this binary banner and made invisible the very real bestial, destructive nature yet within America.

### A Westward Gaze

While the Euro American/Native American conflict existed during and after the Civil War, one might suppose that cries for racial equality which supposedly mandated the war would naturally apply to Native Americans. Yet, heralds of racial equality largely gave up the ghost under the weight of a nation seeking to substantialize its identity. When these reformists did find their voice regarding “the Indian question,” the rhetoric was largely utilized to rationalize the “inevitable” frontier expansion of a young nation state, blinded by an exceptional civilization v. wilderness dichotomy, invisibly driven by an economic power structure.<sup>19</sup>

These issues of racial Othering and economic hegemony are central to understanding that “far west expansion and the Civil War raised similar questions and led to twinned crises,” as stated by Elliot West in *The Last Indian War: The Story of the Nez Perce*. These issues lead to West’s challenge of past periodization and his offering of a “Greater Reconstruction...1845-1877,” rather than the limited Reconstruction of 1865-1877. West seeks to reveal a history which has been “missed”—or made invisible. While West’s broader issues problematize geographical size, the centralization of

government, economic issues and regional and racial citizenship, these concerns merely provide the historiographical backdrop for a story in which “the key actors are the Nez Perce,” struggling to maintain an “understanding of who they were,” in an event which was “ultimately a conquest.”<sup>20</sup> Thus the paradigm of ‘reconstruction’ merges with a historical awareness of America’s burgeoning status as an *empire*.

West mindfully recognizes that periodization is necessary to “organize the past and give it meaning,” but also cautions that “it is dangerous...we run the risk of neglecting other events that don’t fall into the scheme we’ve created.” The cognizant perception of the privileging and neglect inherent within rigid temporal constructs—along with the paradoxical necessity of these structures—reveals the postmodern awareness of stringent binary reality constructs. This issue is certainly part and parcel of the age-old debate within the field of history itself, but upon further examination, West’s interpretation of boundary, especially in relation to “centers of power,” hints at an exposure to postmodern interruptions of simple black and white dichotomies.<sup>21</sup> His recognition of the ghosts within the historical American frontier bring such issues into the field of awareness.

West navigates traditionally rigid boundaries quite deftly, going to great lengths to understand the specters which haunt the cultural boundary between Euro Americans and Native Americans. While the iterations of this complex, rhizomatic boundary are manifold, two particular instances will be examined: the collision between Euro-American and Nez Perce hierarchical structures and the ‘continually advancing frontier line’ envisioned by Turner’s “Frontier Thesis.”

The first issue is clearly confronted in the following statement:

That [Nez Perce] society was so alien to white newcomers that few grasped more than its crudest outlines. Nor, of occurs, did most Nez Peres have the slightest inkling of the whites' social arrangements. The mutual misperceptions fouled communication and frustrated...which made the Nez Perce social arrangement, as it was in fact and how it was misunderstood, vitally important in the story that follows.<sup>22</sup>

As West continues to explain, the Euro-American assumption of a top-down leadership structure not only created 'natural' misunderstandings, but also allowed for 'understandings of convenience' which inspired a rapaciously consumptive culture to digest its frontier Other through conscious confusion. Such terminology allows for a metaphor which forwards an understanding—or comprehension—of this paper's thesis: the intensity of haunting resides in the gaps between understanding and action. In other words, the spectral resides within the unmitigated space between consumption and comprehension.

In regards to Nez Perce social hierarchy, West's narrative uncovers an uncanny resemblance between Nez Perce culture and postmodern themes, such as Campbell's compelling display of rhizomatic boundaries:

Leadership would seem maddeningly difficult to pin down, something there but not there. All authority was situational and informal, all rules essentially self-enforced...The gap between the society white authorities expected or needed to find and the subtle, multilayered society that was actually there relentlessly plagued the relationship between whites and Nez Perces.

Gap is once again utilized to denominate a lack of comprehension, resulting in "plagued" relations. West may have well used 'haunted,' but "plagued" carries the imponderable weight of the untold millions of Native Americans who died from disease and sickness from this tumultuous Anglo/Native American encounter. West relates: "in the history of

conquest, diseases have played a recurring, ghastly, and enormously important role.” The epidemics which decimated the Native Americans “have a strong claim on being the worst thing ever to happen in recorded history.”<sup>23</sup>

This collision between cultures holds a disturbing irony. In West’s narrative, it appears that a young Republic—gathering people into its bosom by the hundreds of thousands under the auspicious promise of democracy set against Old World hegemonies—is shown to run riot over a group of peoples who were part of an intricate communal matrix which paradoxically maintained individual freedoms. “No one could legitimately requiring anyone else to do anything,” comments West. The lack of a center within Nez Perce society reveals a rhizomatic nature, poignantly depicted by West as “varied, decentered, fluid, and evolving.”<sup>24</sup>

These ideas and terms supplant the static binary which hegemonic practice ascribes to, offering instead a much more protean and organic awareness. The manner in which West frames this cultural clash significantly interrupts the idolized individual American exceptionalism shelters under the precepts of liberty and equality. The Nez Perce—a society which lacked an overarching centralized power structure—were ‘consumed’ by a nation which appeared to idolize individual freedoms. In the realization of this event, the comprehension of this American ideal, Turner’s “dominant individualism,” must be called into question.<sup>25</sup> Might the idolized individual of the young America, this American Adam, been so ‘visibly’ heralded that ulterior hegemonic ends were made invisible?

The hegemonic player maneuvering behind the ideals of individualism was economic materialism.

Normally, a frontier is imagined as a line representing a people or an influence advancing incrementally into new territory. A mining frontier was different. It was more like an artillery shell lobbed far ahead of the army of an expanding society.<sup>26</sup>

This destructively toned analogy disrupts both a ‘Turnerian order’ and the ideals of American exceptionalism based upon a pastoral dream of individual liberties. “With few exceptions, every major Indian conflict in the far West between 1846 and 1877 had its roots in some gold or silver strike,” adds West, firmly establishing a ‘new’ perspective of the frontier boundary.<sup>27</sup> Rather than an orderly, ennobling, reason-based march to a civilized Victorian drum beat across the virginal western landscape, the Anglo movement was more representative of an artifice of destruction, causing great damage to both the Othered aliens and the insiders who were driven to overcome internal economic alienation. In this manner, sadly, we may once again measure hidden spectral realities: Gilpen Faust’s “work of death” becomes West’s ‘work of gold.’ The “work of death” was the specter which haunted a young America through the lack of comprehension regarding the toll of the Civil War conflict; the ‘work of gold’ haunted the American West because its hegemonic center was ‘visibly’ obstructed by a cultural mythos which perpetuated an exceptional mission to civilize the wilderness and idolize the Anglo individual.

West’s ‘West’ disrupts past monolithic narratives privileging the invisible hand of American empire, fortified by rationalizations which, in so many ways, brought the Red and White border to an idealized binary while eschewing the presence of Euro-America’s

own internal specters bred by hegemonic cultural formations. It is (and remains) haunted by the destruction caused by the invisible motivation stemming from the gross and unanswered contradictions between extreme moralistic platitudes of individual liberties and a problematic economic hierarchy. As such, the newly emerging Empire of America ‘progressed’ ever forwards, still westwards, its specters in tow.

### The Specter and the Spectacle in World’s Fairs

Moving chronologically forward from the 1800’s into the twentieth century, the haunting hegemonies which fortified America’s westward movement across the continent manifest in the nationalistic exhibitions of the world’s fairs in Robert W. Rydell’s *World of Fairs: The Century-of-Progress Expositions*. Rydell’s examination of this burgeoning empire considers exhibitions from mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries, with a particular focus on America’s ability to re-envision national identity during episodes of economic depression in the early twentieth century’s interwar years. These exhibitions are particularly useful in examining the ways in which cultural hegemon manifests. Rydell notes that, “ever since London’s 1851 Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, expositions have reflected profound concerns about the future and deflected criticism of the established political and social order.”<sup>28</sup> These incredible spectacles rebuffed the specters of “profound” cultural anxieties by “firing the imagination” in forms which “represented a drive to modernize America by making it an ever more perfect realization of an imperial dream world of abundance, consumption, and social hierarchy based on the reproduction of existing power relations premised on categories of race and gender.” Not only are economic, race and gender hegemonies

apparent, but there is an interesting ‘epistemologically consumptive’ component at work in these productions: “visitors to science exhibits at the fairs were not expected to enter intellectually into science, but to become consumers of science through mass production.” Such ‘consumption without comprehension’ caters to a hegemonic structure enabled by a cultural epistemology conveniently mated to its economic benefactors: “by encouraging visitors to believe that any application of science to the environment automatically leads to progress, scientists, in essence, were saying that judgments about these matter were best left to themselves and their corporate patrons.”<sup>29</sup> The knowledge of science was elevated and separated in a privileging which was available only to the intelligent few: the hegemonic panacea for American woes.

While Rydell goes to great lengths to reveal the manner in which fairs produced a hegemonic vision to resuscitate the American identity of progress from the interwar depression periods, the most interesting and pertinent example of the intersection of hegemony and epistemic production is fantastically manifested in an exhibition at the 1939 New York fair, and it demands a fair bit of attention. Masterminded under the watchful eye of Norman Bel Geddes, credited with previous stage designs which properly denoted the Age of the Machine, Bel Geddes’ “Futurama” displays exhibited within the General Motors building were designed with lofty, far-ranging pretenses regarding social control:

We are entering an era which, notably, shall be characterized by *design* in four specific phases: Design in social structure to insure the organization of people, work, wealth, leisure. Design in machines that shall improve working conditions by eliminating drudgery. Design in all objects of daily use that shall make them economical, durable, convenient, congenial to

everyone. Design in the arts, painting, sculpture, music, literature, architecture that shall inspire the new era.

Bel Geddes' quote might as well preface a Eugenics 101 guidebook as 'betterment' through 'technological control' aptly embodies the shiny streamlined figurehead which crests the crashing wave of the progress mythos. This architectural/technological idealization was based upon an invisible, "common sense" assumption: "drudgery" and the 'chaos of life' were human kinds' greatest enemy, revealing another iteration of the technological idealizations which haunted America's Civil War. Rydell states that this revived vision of progress dictated "American progress as synonymous with material growth, scientific and technological advance, and a continued acceptance of "empire as a way of life."<sup>30</sup> The designs of empire mimicked the designs of a technological dream which held out the carrot of a paradise free from a drudgery that was *innately* assumed to belong to the uncivilized life, an assumption which shielded against the critical question of 'how did America fall into this depression?' The economic depression of the interwar periods provided the spectacle of demise, especially during the Dust Bowl "Dirty 30's"—such moments are ripe for a cultural turn. But, like the manner in which both the Gothic Romance and Western literary genres have often been utilized by dominant cultural hegemonic narratives, the theme of "progress" did not 'turn,' but reaffirmed itself.

'Consumption of the spectacle' was key to enabling this reaffirmation of American economic progress and found a delectable architectural manifestation in Bel Geddes' display. Design and control's relationship in the ideological macrocosm of the 1939 New York World's Fair found a frighteningly accurate microcosm of hegemonic consumption in the "Crystal Gazing Palace." However, despite the fact that Bel

Geddes's vision was intimately connected with the ideology of a twentieth century modernity, which heralded the reinvigorated cry of "American Progress!"—these 'modern' ideas were nothing new to western civilization. In fact, they were born from none other than empiricism's greatest utilitarian proponent, the familiar Jeremy Bentham, who also sought a 'vision of tomorrow' in architectural form:

Morals reformed, health preserved, industry invigorated, instruction diffused, public burthens lightened, Economy seated, as it were upon a rock, the Gordian knot of the Porr-Laws not cut but untied—all by a simple idea in Architecture!<sup>31</sup>

Bentham's 'creation' was the infamous *Panopticon*, thusly anointed in the metonymic authority of the Greek, mimicking scientific nomenclature with his use of the hundred eyed, all-seeing giant Panoptes from ancient mythology. This structure is described by Michael Foucault in *Discipline and Punishment*:

Bentham's *Panopticon* is the architectural figure of this composition. We know the principle on which it was based: at the periphery, an annular building; at the center, a tower; this tower is pierced with wide windows that open onto the inner side of the ring; the peripheric building is divided into cells, each of the which extremes the whole width of the building; they have two windows, one on the inside, corresponding to the windows of the tower; the other, on the outside, allows the light to cross the cell from one end to the other. All that is needed, then, is to place a supervisor in a central tower and to shut up in each cell a madman, a patient, a condemned man, a worker or a schoolboy.<sup>32</sup>

A tower, isolated, elevated, and everywhere seen—but never totally discerned—conjures the essence of control through overseeing, and is reminiscent of a castle with a moat, or perhaps even a "city on the hill." It is also reminiscent of a rigidly empirical 'truth in isolation.' Of course, the fact that madmen, patients, workers, schoolboys and the condemned could all be part of this supposed egalitarian system directs the gaze toward

the expansive vision which Bentham himself dreamed, founded upon an ideology of perfection based upon “reason, order and proportion.” The Panopticon is the hegemonic spectacle perfected; it allows for a controlled atmosphere to transmit an authoritative message—or a vision of truth.

Bentham’s vision was never realized by his own hand, a lamentation documented in his own journal diary: “I do not like to look among Panopticon papers. It is like opening a drawer where devils are locked up—it is breaking into a haunted house.” Haunted, indeed. These gremlins drew the attention of Gertrude Himmelfarb in her landmark essay, aptly titled, “The Haunted House of Jeremy Bentham.” Himmelfarb’s mid-20<sup>th</sup> century piece marked the awakening of critical scholarship to the nightmarish aspects of Bentham’s utopia, perfected via ideological and institutional control, hegemonic concepts further scrutinized in Foucault’s *Discipline and Punishment*. It is not just the haunting aspect of Bentham’s lamentations over his inability to see his vision manifested which Himmelfarb is interested in, but the lack of awareness and comprehension regarding the “devils” in his house: “historians and biographers...have so resolutely closed their minds to the devils haunting Bentham that they can hardly credit the reality of his obsession, let alone the reality of the devils.”<sup>33</sup> Himmelfarb is critical of the lack of comprehension regarding the hegemonic functionality of this vaunted reformer’s utopic dream. Thus Himmelfarb attempts to realize—to ‘make real’—the “reality of the devils” which lurked behind the scene of social reform, seeking corporeality in the Panopticon structure.

Foucault provided perhaps the most revealing Panopticon critique as his *surveillance* awareness has significantly informed the poststructural relationship between visibility and power. “Visibility is a trap,” he declares, denoting the fact that the individual in the isolated cell was entirely enveloped by the visible presence of a control structure: “hence the major effect of the Panopticon: to induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power.”<sup>34</sup> Despite Bentham’s utilitarian resistance to class hierarchies, his new vision was laced with a new control mechanism, founded upon stringent binaries, idolizing the ‘truth in separation’ in a manner not dissimilar to the ‘elevated and separated’ authority which was placed in a god-like position of omnipresence. The Panopticon is *the* manifestation of an either/or reality, guided by the hand of authority. Thus the Panopticon is a fantastic model for understanding the manner in which the spectacle and the specter—visibility and invisibility—are utilized in hegemonic structures to purport truth and reality. But what if the authority behind the scenes was ‘revealed’...and appeared as a nude, dancing woman, multiplied infinitely?

Bentham’s vision of power finds a titillating realization in Bel Geddes’ vision for the new, commercialized social order of America. In this fascinating fair spectacle, which curiously pre-dates the Panopticon awareness of Himmelfarb and Foucault by several decades (thus justifying Himmelfarb’s concerns), “an elevator would carry a seminude woman dancer to a platform surrounded with mirrors that would give the illusion of multiplying her striptease act several hundred times to spectators.” The enveloping presence of the ubiquitous dancer was made more intensely personal by the

‘cells’ from which “he has the illusion of being the only looker.” Of course the perfection of this vision within a closed environment culminated in the appearance of an “inhuman precision.” Thus the Age of the Machine is architecturally mated to the hegemony of Enlightenment knowledge in the ‘perfectibility’ of the human—of the female body, in particular. Such an affirmation of mechanized, mass produced ideals inundated the observer: “The mirrors not only serve to multiply the dancer but also to enable the spectator to view her from all sides, from above, and from below, simultaneously.”<sup>35</sup> The spectator was immobilized, transfixed by the omnipresent female dancer.

What is happening here? Or, more precisely, who is dominating? And what is invisible? Geddes’s architectural spectacle offers a wealth of deconstructive potential as it pertains to epistemology, economy, gender, power, science, American exceptionalism...and spectrality. No doubt, the inclusion of Foucault’s breakdown of the Panopticon’s hegemonic potential should call into question absolute statements regarding the ‘objectified’ female body and the ‘safety’ of the observers. In Geddes’s creation, Bentham’s invisible authority which was shaded to create an assumption of omnipresence, is masterfully replaced by the *image with which power seeks to transmit*. In this spectacle, *par excellence*, a sexual vision is offered to both draw attention to the exhibits of the world’s fair and to assert an ideology of cultural dominance over sexuality through the application of machine-like, mass-produced precision. And although the woman’s body is no doubt objectified, and not only objectified, but made ‘perfect’ and duplicated anon, the observers must be considered in a position of hegemonic

confinement. A critical focus must look to the figures behind the spectacle, beyond the elevated tower, to discern the function of the scene in regards to cultural power structures which seek to contain, motivate or profit from a hegemonic perspective.

In regards to the amount of intellectual energy spent on critically discerning power, architecture, ideology, and so on, over the past centuries of cultural analysis, Bel Geddes' "Crystal Gazing Palace" deserves much more consideration. Indeed, considering Foucault's two landmark pieces, *The History of Sexuality* and *Discipline and Punishment*, Bel Geddes' creation affords a penultimate conjunction of sex and power in western culture. It is no mere coincidence that in what might be said as one of the most 'perfect' representations of Bentham's ideal, sexuality resides at the core. Sexuality represents an entity of pleasure/nature/savagery/unknown which has been shown to have been saddled by civilization and made better, perfected and multiplied by the machinations of American society.

To put this in spectral terms, the consumption v. comprehension paradigm is informed by the relationship between the spectacle and the spectral. Just as the spectral resides within the gap between what is consumed and how it is comprehended, the degree of spectral haunting can also be measured by how much a spectacle ignores a protean reality. Recalling Derrida from the previous chapter, 'haunting always follows hegemony.' Thus power, as it attempts to control via the spectacle, *will always* have a shadow—even if that shadow is panoptically denied, as is apparent from within Bel Geddes' construct. These spectacle machinations range from the real manifestations of architecture and institutions to the imagined, or theoretical forms of epistemological

ideology and cultural identity. As Chakrabarti discusses “colonial domination,” he utilizes Bhabha’s idea of the “panoptical vision of domination.”<sup>36</sup> This ideological architecture utilizes “colonial discourse...to create a space for the colonized through the production of knowledge, a continuous mechanism of surveillance, and the creation of stereotypes.”<sup>37</sup> The beauty—or the horror—of the Panopticon and “panoptical vision” is that it denies, or attempts to deny, exteriority; it *is* the monolithic view of reality. It is haunted in the sense that it veritably *does not allow* for haunting, it denies other (or the ‘Other’s’) possibilities of vision. Indeed, in the Enlightenment vision, the perceived chaos of imagination itself was declared alien to the knowledge system of the era, thus the separation between the real and the imagined.

‘What is present but denied’ becomes the specter which inspires Campbell and the postwestern scholars to utilize social theorists who find the ‘ghost in the machine,’ “spectral alternatives” to the monolithic narrative of “control, organization, fixity and pattern.”<sup>38</sup> What is present but denied, is also the ‘agent of lack’ which inspires Rydell’s *World of Fairs*, demanding the comprehension of the consumption of the spectacle which so thoroughly represented and informed an American culture of progress. Akin to the other authors examined, this influential force, ever more noticeable in a postmodern era confronting the modern’s interpretation of the past, haunts, as Rydell mentioned, the “perfect realization of an imperial dream world of abundance, consumption, and social hierarchy based on the reproduction of existing power relations premised on categories of race and gender.” While this gap delineates the incongruences in the modern’s race, class, gender constructs, it also pertains to the underlying binary epistemological

structure, and demands the recognition of a more complex and reflexive boundary awareness.

These post-Civil War historiographies, written under the influence of the postmodern dictates of boundary hybridity, have revealed the changing historical facade of a developing American identity. By examining this pivotal period of exceptionalism through haunting, not only is the spectral perceived as a very ‘present’ entity—not a fabrication of whim entirely devoid of the real or historical—but an always already creative embodiment which is *constantly* utilized to recognize incongruences in a cultural reality. Thus the dichotomizing of the “real and imagined” becomes interrupted as the spectral no longer can be seen as a whimsical creation, but as a definitive expression of a ‘world turned inside out.’

In drawing attention to the fact that each of these texts utilizes a type of thirdspace, the functionality of the spectral as an unescapable, contrapuntal counterpart of the postmodern is verified because of the intimate relationship between haunting and exceptional American ideologies enabled by a binary knowledge structure. Each text was dissected in such a way that the spectral presence was brought ‘to the light,’ thus providing a creative aspect to express these historian’s postmodern struggle to confront the either/or of the modern’s hegemony of “reason, order and proportion,” categorizing truth in a panoptical gaze which dismissed a reality outside of its own spectacle. In this manner, the creative embodiment of haunting in literature and art becomes an integral postmodern tool for uncovering cultural hegemonies supported by binary structures.

Notes

1. F. Scott Fitzgerald, *the Great Gatsby* (New York: Scribner, 1925 (reprint 2004)), 180.
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3. Livingston, *The World Turned Inside Out*, x, xv.
4. James M. Banner and John R. Gillis, ed., *Becoming Historians* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), vii.
5. Joan Wallach Scott, "Finding Critical History," in *Becoming Historians*, 45, 46.
6. Rhys Isaac, "Figures in the Landscape, Action in the Texts," in *Becoming Historians*, 11.
7. David Hollinger, "Church People and Others," in *Becoming Historians*, 117.
8. Linda Gordon, "History Constructs a Historian," in *Becoming Historians*, 88.
9. Campbell, *Rhizomatic West*, 33.
10. Drew Gilpen Faust, *The Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Knopf, 2008), xi, xiv, 191.
11. Faust, *The Republic of Suffering*, xii, 4, 58, 69, 128.
12. Faust, *The Republic of Suffering*, 266, 267.
13. Faust, *The Republic of Suffering*, 194-197.
14. Faust, *The Republic of Suffering*, 207.
15. Faust, *The Republic of Suffering*, xv, 189.
16. Faust, *The Republic of Suffering*, 176, 177.
17. Campbell, *The Rhizomatic West*, 20.

18. Sumit Chakrabarti, "Moving Beyond Edward Said: Homi Bhabha and the Problem of Postcolonial Representation," *International Studies. Interdisciplinary Political and Cultural Journal*, 14.1 (Nov 2009), 5–21, ISSN (Print) 1641-4233, DOI: [10.2478/v10223-012-0051-3](https://doi.org/10.2478/v10223-012-0051-3).

19. Elliot West, *The Last Indian War: The Nez Perce Story* (New York: Oxford University Press: 2009), 238.

20. West, *The Last Indian War*, xx, xxii, xxiii, 96.

21. West, *The Last Indian War*, xviii, xxi.

22. West, *The Last Indian War*, 10.

23. West, *The Last Indian War*, 14, 52, 53.

24. West, *The Last Indian War*, 12, 85.

25. Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," (lecture presented at the Chicago World's Fair, 1893).

26. West, *The Last Indian War*, 78.

27. West, *The Last Indian War*, 79.

28. Robert W. Rydell, *World of Fairs: The Century-of-Progress Expositions* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago: 1993), 5.

29. Rydell, *World of Fairs*, 1, 9, 215.

30. Rydell, *World of Fairs*, 133, 215.

31. Gertrude Himmelfarb, *Victorian Minds* (New York: Knopf, 1968), 33.

32. Michael Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Pantheon, 1977), 200.

33. Himmelfarb, *Victorian Minds*, 32, 33.

35. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 201.

36. Rydell, *World of Fairs*, 139, 143.

37. Chakrabarti, "Moving Beyond Said," 9.

38. Chakrabarti, "Moving Beyond Said," 4.

39. Campbell, *The Rhizomatic West*, 19.

## BUFFALO BILL AND DRACULA: FACES OF A TRANSATLANTIC HEGEMONY

We shall see that Dracula, although a novel set in the world's largest city, is also, crucially, a frontier tale. For showman and author both, continual westward expansion and continual race war secured the racial destiny of white people. But they differed, ultimately, on the promise of frontier warfare. Cody believed in it as the salvation of the white race; Bram Stoker's view, shared by many compatriots, was much gloomier. In his most famous novel, frontiers became almost as dangerous to the race as vampires.

~Louis S. Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*

I started, for it amazed me that I had not seen him, since the reflection of the glass covered the whole room behind me. In starting I had cut myself slightly, but did not notice it at the moment. Having answered the Count's salutation, I turned to the glass again to see how I had been mistaken. This time there could be no error, for the man was close to me, and I could see him over my shoulder. But there was no reflection of him in the mirror! The whole room behind me was displayed; but there was no sign of a man in it, except myself.

~Bram Stoker, *Dracula*

The previous chapter illuminated the always already spectral presence within contemporary histories—whether or not they were realized—to reinforce the manner in which haunting functions within a postmodern America which is ‘rewriting’ its exceptional history. The following chapter continues to pursue evidence of the spectral in contemporary historiographies, but focuses on one particular text. This text is notable because it is *not* afraid of the “notion of speaking with ghosts” and performs a “mad,” interdisciplinary leap to more clearly comprehend the essence of its protean content. Such an endeavor affirms the benefit of an interdisciplinary approach which links history and literary analysis while simultaneously privileging the spectral as an aide in the postmodern disruption of boundary. The exploration of haunted cultural hegemonies

finds a tantalizing convergence in Louis S. Warren's consideration of two opposing 'turn of the century' figures: America's Buffalo Bill, as the frontier hope of the West, and Bram Stoker's Count Dracula, as the terrifying anxiety of the East.

In *Buffalo Bill's America: William Cody and the Wild West Show*, Louis S.

Warren provides a monumental biography of one of the most 'exceptional' of American personas. In the American popular (and academic) historical memory, William Cody is not given credit for the impact he and his Wild West had in the formation of American identity—both from within the U.S. and abroad. Warren's text critically pursues the myth and reality which have wrapped themselves indiscriminately about this frontier denizen, forming a prismatic cloak of truth and fiction which will either disappoint or deceive any endeavor which insists on a positivistic, binary examination. Indeed, an awareness of boundary hybridity is essential to (somewhat) fully comprehend this man who would be myth. Warren navigates this chameleon character and his protean landscape with an inquisitive grace and unequivocally announces (or reaffirms) Buffalo Bill's significance as not only the "most famous" American of his age, but as a key progenitor of an incongruous American exceptionalism.<sup>1</sup> It is no surprise that Warren's title connotes Cody's ownership of America.

Buffalo Bill would prove an interesting study for any number of reasons; however, from an American Studies perspective, his influence upon a young American seeking an identity cannot be overstated. Warren considers Hector St. John de Crevecoeur's 1782 question: "What, then, is the American, this new man?" The unequivocal answer from Cody? "I am." In this manner, as Warren explains, "the white

Indian from the Great Plains was the representative American, and his show was America itself.” The period and location which birthed William Cody was pivotal in affirming his potential as the American model. Cody’s “birth and death bracket the ascendant arc of American power,” thus placing this hero within a pivotal moment in American history: this post-Civil War period when a fledgling nation was desperately attempting to ascertain its own identity. Additionally, the fact that he grew up in the Kansas frontier, was subject to the violence of the Civil War conflict, and participated in the ‘winning’ of the frontier West, added to his “authentic” nature and further solidified him as *the* American representative. These aspects of Cody’s life led him to remark that he “stood between savagery and civilization most all of my early days.”<sup>2</sup> Such a designation reasserts the ideological issues which were most relevant during Cody’s time—the primary dichotomy projected upon the geography. These factors signify Cody’s importance as a worthwhile study for the understanding of American exceptionalism, cultural perceptions of frontier boundaries, and, of course, the specters which arose from such rigid distinctions.

In order to stand “between” these tense poles, this frontier denizen had to acquire a knack for the negotiation of such incongruous terrain. This ability involved assuming the qualities of both the “unknown” frontier with its “marvelous” tall-tales, wildness and centaur figures, and the tenets of the rapidly expanding Euro-American culture with its “reason, order and proportion”—a culture thoroughly enamored with constructs of the empirical real. In Warren’s words, he “straddled the yawning chasms between worlds.”<sup>3</sup> With such a statement, Cody, as the embodiment of America, allows us to ‘read’ America as the nation which straddles “the yawning chasms between.” This gap denoted not only

the perceived dichotomous separation of “civilization” and “savagery,” but the familial, concurrent shades of imagination and reason, fiction and reality, and the known and unknown. Each of these dichotomies was essential to establishing the cultural hegemony of “civilization.”

Warren’s historiography assumes a postmodern stance, utilizing the aforementioned “thirdspace” awareness in exploration of the myth v reality dynamic as he forwards a “race, empire and warfare” methodology. Conscious of the dangers of essentialization, Warren states that he is less interested in “categorizing Cody as real or fake,” than he is in comprehending “how and why he mixed the two.”<sup>4</sup> In this sense, Warren’s book—and, indeed, Buffalo Bill himself—would have greatly complimented my previous chapter, as this statement clearly recognizes the specter located within unyielding, either/or historical judgments cradled within the fact v. fiction dichotomy. Additionally, the fact that Cody “straddled the yawning chasms” between civilization and its frontier Other suggests that spectral entities abound within such a persona—especially since this incongruous gap was plastered over by the monolithic tenets of a Turnerian optimism. Warren’s text recognizes the haunted nature of this American hero and seeks to illuminate the details of this divide. However, he does so while maintaining a reverence for the mystery itself.

Buffalo Bill’s Wild West show is important because it grew out of the man, and the nation, manifesting visual spectacle which straddled the same “yawning chasms”; despite its wealth of ambiguities, the show covered over the uncomfortable cracks of an exceptional era by promoting a ‘civilization over wilderness’ victory. In this manner, the

Wild West was very much a show (read: spectacle), despite Cody's vehement denial of its plasticity, and it came to hegemonically enforce the Turnerian ideal of a America born out of the civilized triumph over savagery. Yet, this begs the question: "whose America was it?" Was it Buffalo Bill's, as suggested by Warren in his title? Was it Turner's? Or is it more precise to say that Buffalo Bill was America's...America? These questions do not need to be answered definitively, but their consideration directs the gaze towards issues of hegemony, haunting and lack. From the spectral point of view, which demands that the cultural hegemony be critiqued to assess the nature of the gaps made invisible by the meta-structure, it must be noted that there was a lack which existed in American culture and that Cody filled this gap. Cody's genius manifested in the alter-ego Buffalo Bill to fill this 'yawning chasm.'

An example of this occurs in 1869 when Cody ran into dime novel maestro Ned Buntline at Fort Sedgewick in Colorado. Buntline, "rumored to be the highest paid author in America," was "looking for a scout to write about." After failing to draw the interests of the infamous Wild Bill Hickok, "or perhaps Frank North, another legendary scout," Buntline, whose real name was Edward Z. C. Judson, was plied by the frontier anecdotes of the "flashy" young William Cody and "six months later, Buntline published the first-ever Buffalo Bill dime novel, *Buffalo Bill: The King of Border Men*." Cody's introduction to the American culture at large catapulted him into a "press phenomena."<sup>5</sup> This notoriety presented the opportunity for him to pursue his stage career in the following years and his Wild West exhibition which began its tour in 1883.

The gap which Cody filled may be said to be of a more superficial sort. Rather than a specter which haunted the status quo with the voices of the neglected, this event was simply an America searching for an identity—a ‘natural’ act to encapsulate a national identity. From this point of view, it may be argued that identity merely provides a form which individuals and groups require—one which will, of course, haunt when absent. This perspective offers the superficial aspect of a generic haunting: partially true, but incomplete in the analysis of Cody’s interaction with an evolving American identity. It was not simply that America was haunted by a lack of identity, but that America was lacking an identity *while* it was engaged within an ideological cultural event which was riddled with unreconciled gaps, forwarded by an either/or epistemological structure which created great *internal* divisions. This dichotomization was then projected upon the *external* unknown area of the wild frontier. I make this point not only to tip my hat to that ubiquitous historical quandary: “did the man make the myth or did the myth make the man?”—but to add the perspective of a ‘decentered’ Cody and introduce the term ‘myth.’ Cody had a brilliance, to be certain; but the event which inspired this embodiment of civilization v. wilderness was far larger than the man.

The gap which William Cody so deftly filled—with help from innumerable sources such as his managers Nate Salsbury and John Burke, signified not only an America seeking an identity, but a culture haunted by the civilization v. savagery contest inherited from its European parent culture. A symbol and a story (a Myth and Symbol?) were needed to reconcile this gap, this “westward creation story” which was riddled with hegemonic structures built upon a binary view of reality. As noted by Neil Campbell and

Alisdair Kean (citing J. Storey), “American national myths, like the promised land or Turner’s frontier thesis, ‘attempt to put us at peace with ourselves and our existence.’” This definition of myth taps into the reconciliatory ability of imagination as noted early by Fuchs. The capacity of human imagination, as appropriated by the ever-present search for identity, allows myth, in Campbell and Kean’s words, to “make the world explicable, to magically resolve its problems and contradictions.” In Levi Strauss’ words, “mythical thought always progresses from the awareness of oppositions toward their resolution.”<sup>6</sup>

Yet, this generalizing definition of myth exists in the proximity of a reason v. imagination dichotomy. “Magically,” especially, seems to denote a judgment leveled from ‘reason’s’ point of view. What is lacking, is the societal context. Myth’s ability to resolve “contradictions” and “oppositions” is a direct result of a cultural knowledge-production structure which is chained to a binary reality. For this reason, I’ve used ideology to avoid the myth v. reality, or real v. imagined position. Additionally, hegemony and spectrality are much more functional, specific tools for ideological critique as they have the potential to ascertain the cultural imagination’s *interaction* with the cultural epistemology. This real *and* imagined reality must be seen as an always already dance. Comprehending this constantly interacting boundary is necessary to comprehend the paradoxes and ambiguities at play within the relationship between Buffalo Bill, Dracula, and their respective frontiers.

Buffalo Bill's Wild West

The hegemonic cultural role played by William Cody and his Wild West became succinctly delineated when “New York dramatist” Steele Mackaye joined the show 1886. The Wild West had been performed outside since its inception, roughly three years prior. With the turn to the inside venue at the famous Madison Square Garden, Cody and his partner/manager Nate Salsbury challenged Mackaye to adjust the almost circus-like ‘Cowboys and Indians’ extravaganza into something more cohesive, and dramatic. Mackay did not disappoint. The freshly arranged show, titled, “The History of American Civilization,” marked “the ascension of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West to middle-class entertainment and respected cultural institution. This “Drama of Civilization” offered a progression of

four “epochs” of American History...The first scene was the epoch of the Primeval Forest, before the arrival of Columbus...The Prairie epoch followed, in which Buffalo Bill hunted a herd of buffalo while guiding a wagon train of emigrants...The Cattle Ranch was the next installment...The final “epoch,” the Mining Camp, included a duel, the arrival and departure of the Pony Express, and the Deadwood stage.

The linear, Darwin-esque evolution portrayed by the drama attracted Americans. It was a “soothing and reassuring spectacle for audiences mostly united in their fear of anarchy and seditious foreigners.” The foreign and disorderly Other, not only represented the ‘wild Indian’ frontier threat, but also represented the ‘threat from within,’ inspired by the Haymarket bombings of the so-called anarchists in Chicago.<sup>7</sup> Once again, the plasticity of the show becomes clearer. And, yet again, the frontier is ‘turned’ into something other (and Other) than a merely a geographical area. It is an idea which incorporates the

assumed chaos of wildness at odds with the “reason, order and proportion” of Enlightenment ideals inculcated within civilization. That which is internally unresolved haunts in a manner which becomes projected upon what appears to be external; in this manner, the frontier once again can be seen as a cultural mirror.

The “Drama of Civilization” found “its newfound esteem capped by the warm critical reception of “Custer’s Last Rally” which was added to show in January 1887.” Although this scene was not as prevalent as the “Attack on the Settler’s Cabin,” installed later, it galvanized the American public’s identification with the exhibition. The inclusion of the military, performing an actual historical scene, enhanced the educational aspect of the show which reaffirmed the spectacle’s authenticity while also “soothing and reassuring” a culture doubting its own masculinity. Warren notes that “amid the widespread fakery of manufactured, middle-class comfort, military combat seemed to offer authentic, “real” experience that modern men lacked.<sup>8</sup> Not only was the “real” v. imagined dichotomy a key issue for this culture, haunted by (and attracted to) P.T. Barnum’s humbug displays, but the role of men—or masculinity—was also under scrutiny.

Warren’s comment refers to both the neurasthenia scare amongst Eastern Americans and, on a larger, transatlantic scale, the malaise of the *fin de siècle*. Such concerns reflected an ambivalence towards the civilizing aspect of civilization itself and pointed towards that specter, perhaps representative of the internal wilderness, which whispered of the denegation of the human due to an ‘overcivilization.’ However, neurasthenia, as coined by the physician George M. Beard, in his book *American*

*Nervousness*, declared that this was primarily a male malady, which “afflicted the civilized whose work required ‘labor of the brain over that of the muscles.’” By participating in this venue, men could partake in a reaffirmation of their masculinity and women could enjoy the ‘remasculation’ of their men as noted with this quote from a member of the Women’s Professional League Of New York after encountering one of Cody’s show cowboys: “Those are the kind of men that excite my admiration....Big, strong, bronzed fellows! How much superior they are to the spindle-shanked, eye-glassed dudes!”<sup>9</sup>

Yet, by Warren’s estimation, these epistemological and gender contests displayed by Cody’s show are seen as merely sub-narratives to a “Drama” which ultimately displayed Anglo-Saxon racial concerns. Scenes such as Custer’s downfall and the “Attack on the Settler’s Cabin” inspired the necessarily violent call to vengeance which fed off of the fear of racial degeneration. However, crucially, the manner in which such myths/ideologies were engendered by a binary epistemology cannot be ignored. The frontier provided a vital unknown, a mystery, indeed a creative and primal *vitality* which was lacking within the stasis of the civilized known, chained by a dichotomous reality. The hegemonic rule of civilization over nature, reason over imagination, and the known over the unknown created a “yawning” gap which the frontier revealed and which Cody’s show dramatized. Within this space was a ghostly wail, crying out for the ability to imagine outside of the constructs of “reason, order and proportion,” while also demanding the *experience* of something outside of the mechanization which was rapidly becoming synonymous with civilized life. While Warren establishes a convincing

argument regarding the Anglo-Saxon victory over miscegenation fears, the panoptical spectacle of the conquered wilderness is also indicative of a culture assuming to know itself. The result was that the wild unknown became fetishized by an unreconciled longing for a creative capacity which allowed for a more complex boundary reality.

The ambiguities within the show captured the derogated and fetishized entities, profiting from their presence while reaffirming America's exceptional progress. Cody was astutely aware of these facets:

Superficially, Cody's account reads like an endorsement of Indian resistance. But on closer reading, it is arresting how many different moral directions Cody maps out in four sentences: the Sioux faced a hostile invasion; the government failed in its obligations; the Sioux stood up for themselves; the government did all it could do; the invading white men were too energetic and determined to be stopped; the Indians should not be blamed for defending their homes (the attack on the settler's how began with an attack on the Indians' home); but it is all in the past, there is nothing to be done (so come in, enjoy the show).

Naturally, the Indian presence in Cody's Wild West was essential to its success; as representatives of the frontier, Indians supplied the wilderness Other. Spectators witnessing Indians performing were satiated and entertained by the freedom within such 'wild' acts, but found civilization reaffirmed in the ultimate triumph of civilization. Warren's summation reveals not only an astute recognition by Cody regarding the complexity of the frontier border and the incongruities within the civilization v. savagery conflict, but hints at the paradoxical function of ideological belief systems which, in Barbara Herrnstein Smith's words, hegemonically 'make invisible their preferences.' Ambiguity is part and parcel of hegemonic spectacles. "For all the scholarly emphasis on the conservatism of Cody's show, ambiguity was central to its presentation of the march

of progress and key to its success,” states Warren. While ambiguity allowed the show to appeal to multiple audiences, it was ultimately the fact that it “evoked the development of ever more complex civilizations, a process that was, to the minds of all Cody’s contemporaries, of every political stripes, as unstoppable as evolution itself.”<sup>10</sup> Thus, the hegemony of civilization was able to lure the civilized through the very lack that was inherent within a culture of the known. The wild-ness of the show was indeed one of the “shards and remainders,” the lure which attracted the millions of spectators. Of course, the closing of the West in 1990 produced a nostalgia which only exacerbated the fetishization of the wild unknown. Ultimately, the safety of rigidity, the “soothing” comfort of certainty, and the need for an American identity occupied the position of authority in this panoptical spectacle.

However, one particular event brought the Wild West’s inconsistencies into the cultural spotlight. The ambiguities inherent within the civilizing spectacle would not remain ignored. There were ghosts present within the shadow of the spectacle, fermenting within the ambiguities, acting as “shards and remainders,” and howling from being invisibly pathologized. And, in an event which found Cody retracing the transatlantic course of the spectral as outlined earlier in the book, the journey back to the Old World was to reveal the manner in which the New World had indeed carried with it the Old’s ‘ghosts and goblins.’

Specters of the Wild Unknown

As Cody and his Wild West toured London, the attraction garnered by the show in America was no less diminished, but profited by an even greater ambivalence towards the frontier and the civilized ideologies which had staked their claim within the geographical unknown:

The golden myth of the Wild West offered promise and peril to Victoria's Britain, and how British people responded to its fun and their own forebodings about it can instruct us in the real power and meaning of frontier mythology in Europe as well as in the United States.<sup>11</sup>

As Warren hints, not only were notions of a shared culture of progress affirmed, but the "forebodings" offered an opportunity for an entirely different, or "inverted," version of this westward march of civilization.

Such an alternative version did arise, coming about, in Warren's estimation, through the meeting between Buffalo Bill and Henry Irving, "England's greatest living actor" in London, June, 1887. However, it was not Irving who created the poignant response to this embodiment of Western vitality, but another member of the small entourage, "one who was probably unknown to most observers that day."<sup>12</sup> This "unknown" figure was none other than the creator of one of the most fearsome 'unknowns' to haunt contemporary western civilization, the creator of Count Dracula, Bram Stoker. As Irving's doggedly loyal business manager, a position which he would fulfill for nearly three decades, it may be no surprise that this Irish emigrant came out of such an illustrious and civilized *shadow*. As ever was the case for Buffalo Bill, myth and reality collide.

From this historical convergence, Warren weaves an interdisciplinary approach which would make Henry Nash Smith weep with joy, and provides an exception to Campbell's view of western historians resistance towards the "notion of speaking with ghosts." Juxtaposing the 'factual' tale of Buffalo Bill and the 'fictional' story of Dracula, Warren begins:

Superficially, the contrast between Cody and the count could not be greater...one is the center of a progressive myth of regeneration and renewal; the other embodies the decadence and the terrifying power of the gothic imagination.

While this is true, it is 'more true' within a society in which the panoptical view of binary privileging has so thoroughly made invisible the intimate connection between cultural oppositions. Thus, when Warren asserts that "less recognized is how much Stoker's masterpiece turns on the frontier mythology of Buffalo Bill," he is directly confronting the hegemony of American exceptionalism *as well as* the hegemony of "reason, order and proportion" which denies the capacity for ambivalence and paradox, housed, or relegated in this case, to the "unknown" of the imagination.<sup>13</sup> This superficial invisibility caused by an either/or structure is pivotal to keep in mind as it will allow for a conclusion slightly divergent from Warren's race synopsis.

By recognizing the manner in which both Gothic literary critics, and social critics, such as the postwestern scholars, utilize haunting as a means of interrupting the status quo, the idea that there exists an intimate relationship between these two polemic frontier figures is not at all far-fetched—especially within a transatlantic culture connected through a haunting binary knowledge structure. By establishing this connection, Warren's interdisciplinary pursuit *and* declaration reiterates the manner in which the

postmodern has challenged academic disciplinary lines while also affirming the benefits of such a pursuit as demanded by American Studies. The manner in which Warren includes a *spectral critique* of the American progress ideology offers a significant privileging of haunting, thus affirming its functionality as a critical cultural mechanism.

Warren takes his postmodern historical critique of Buffalo Bill and his Wild West and joins it to the analysis forwarded by literary critic Steven Arata's view that *Dracula* operates as a novel of "reverse colonization, in which 'the colonizer finds himself in the position of the colonized.'" Arata's analysis forwards the notion that the terror inherent within *Dracula* is based upon 'turning' the civilized British into his "vampire kind." Importantly, this 'turn' affects a change from *within* and constitutes the critical moment of boundary convergence with the spectral Other. This turn may do at least one of two things (and it is never totally oppositional, although it is viewed as such within a hegemonic, binary reality). The subject may turn into the Other—as in 'gone native'—or 're-turned' to the hegemonic fold. Within Cody's show, the affirmation of the conquest of progress through the establishment of civilization and the reenergizing of masculinity offers a positive turn, hegemonically speaking, when confronted with the wilderness Other. This seemingly regenerative turn, acted as a ward against "racial decay," and caused "most commentators" to "lavish" their praise upon "Cody and his show in 1887."<sup>14</sup>

However, the buckskinned centaur was not seen in an entirely rejuvenative capacity. The *fin de siècle* Old World was undergoing a self-conscious examination of civilization. This inspired not only an inward scrutiny which questioned the tenets of

civilization, but also provoked a wariness towards other rising national powers, the U.S. in particular. In yet another episode of ambivalence, the affirmation of colonial progress was tainted by a fear “of the powerful American virility on display,” resulting in “a specter of reverse colonialization by racially powerful frontier warriors, the Americans.” While the overwhelming success of Cody’s show points to the overcoming of this European anxiety—at least as far as the Wild West’s profit margins were concerned—Warren cites this issue as a basis for both the overriding threat of racial degenerative in Stoker’s *Dracula* and the inclusion of, in his words, the “disturbingly incompetent” American Texan, Quincey Morris.<sup>15</sup>

This chapter of Warren’s text is perhaps the most difficult to follow in this well put together biography. In walking the line of postmodern criticality, understanding the view of *both* sides of each point in an issue is both time consuming and taxing. In “Wild West London,” Warren encounters the manner in which the gothic parallels postmodern boundary considerations as he continually backtracks in an attempt to recognize ambiguous events and avoid essentialization. In navigating the essence of the paradoxical gothic, the confrontation with the Old World does indeed provide a reflexive event which “instruct[s] us in the real power and meaning of frontier mythology in Europe as well as in the United States.” After a lengthy and inspired ‘historical-literary’ analysis which details the manner in which *Dracula* played upon the ambiguities inherent within Cody’s show, Warren concludes that Cody was the inspiration for Stoker’s Gothic text, surmising that:

Cody’s frontier centaur symbolized the transformative power of the frontier, the way that going west and conquering could potentially make of

Americans something new, something more free and powerful. The vampire was Bram Stoker's dark vision of the same frontier transformation, the shifting of self into Other, the loss of will and restraint before a new self that was soulless, consuming, and irresistible.

This inverted "transformation" is affirmed in Warren's penultimate statement: "Count Dracula is Buffalo Bill Cody, inverted [original emphasis]." In this final assessment, race is the defining aspect: "the progressive dream of Cody's show in fact provided the fertile ground for cultural considerations of its darker counterpart, the fear of frontier monstrosity and decay that had long preoccupied Europeans and American alike"<sup>16</sup> While I agree that racial decay is indeed a factor in both Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Stoker's *Dracula*, such a conclusion does not fill all of the gaps within these dueling spectacles.

### A Hegemonic Reading

As delineated in the opening chapter, the gothic spectral functions in two key manners. Acting as imagination's creative embodiment, haunting creates an *expression* which allowed for a paradoxical reality—thus filling in the gap where a linear, either/or epistemological system failed. Additionally, haunting simultaneously represents the human state existing in such a monolithic reality. These dual capacities function culturally by disrupting hegemonic narratives which dictate static, monolithic forms that neglect the complexity of societal and epistemological boundaries. By examining *Dracula* (with Buffalo Bill in mind) through a spectral *hegemonic* lens, the ghosts which haunt these familial transatlantic cultures come alive within their respective master narratives—race being one of these—but are also present within the concurrent

civilization dichotomies: imagination v. reason and the known v. the unknown. These latter binaries direct the critical eye closer to the epistemological center of western culture and affords a more versatile tool for the parsing of these complex narratives.

What *is* Dracula? Or, recalling Barbara Fuchs' words which began the introduction to the imaginative romance genre, 'what does Dracula...*do*?' Such a perspective may allow for a transcendence of Dracula's form to forward the delineation of his function. Keeping hegemony in mind, Dracula is, as Warren has denoted (and like Buffalo Bill) the embodiment of the frontier. Dracula is from the "land beyond the forest" a place which "every known superstition in the world is gathered into the horseshoe of the Carpathians, as if it were the centre of some sort of *imaginative whirlpool* [emphasis added]."<sup>17</sup> As such, Dracula, at least superficially, represents everything that *is* wilderness and verifies this with his shape-changing ability. Dracula is also subject to the more primal aspects of nature such as the rise and fall of the sun, and the circling moon with its consequent tidal pulls. Yet, if the Count is such an acute representative of nature, why does he not...change? Isn't it the wilderness of 'change' which threatens the law clerk protagonist Jonathon Harker? After all, this wilderness which the Count supposedly represents is beyond the hegemonic *control* of civilization and its constructs of documented laws and ordered railroad lines. And why is the Count so...white? And aristocratic? These ambiguities point to a hegemonic play.

The beautiful malleability of the gothic spectral is that it not only expresses an interruption of what is lost, forgotten or neglected, but, as I've stated, it represents the

self in such a state. In this manner, the ghastly white aristocratic Count is none other than western civilization itself.

This time there could be no error, for the man was close to me, and I could see him over my shoulder. But there was no reflection of him in the mirror! The whole room behind me was displayed; but there was no sign of a man in it, except myself.

Dracula is familiar, but different. He is in fact so familiar to Harker that he may even be Harker's own self. In this manner, Dracula *is* the horrific embodiment of civilization's hegemony which extends its stasis through the draining of the life (read: change) of its own civilized inhabitants (especially its female inhabitants). Dracula is a perfect embodiment of the haunting of hegemony. True to hegemonic functionality, his essence is made invisible by his overt correlation with the natural and the wild. And true to hegemonies which deny reflexive epistemologies, the Count has no reflection.

The depths of the hegemonic influence is also shown in the analysis of the text itself. Dracula is a tale which, like Buffalo Bill, narrates the victory of civilization over savagery, the constructs of "reason, order and proportion" over the antithetical whims of imagination. Yet this is done, like Buffalo Bill's Wild West, through a venue (spectacle) which allows the spectator to *experience* the full "marvelous" capacity of the imagination. The Gothic Romance is utilized to "pathologize" the imaginative realm itself. This is more than a racial struggle, it is a multifaceted contest founded upon epistemological knowledge structure. Of course, Stoker's enactment of this hegemonic play delineates the "reason, order, and proportion" hegemony within Buffalo Bill's show. The greatest irony of the show is that Cody profits off of Buffalo Bill's demise; America celebrates the character and, paradoxically, the destruction of the character. Thus, the era

of nostalgia is empowered, further idolizing this frontier West. By not fully comprehending the spectacle of the Wild West—its hegemonic dichotomies—the continuation of idealizing and novelizing threatens to continue anon. Thankfully, critical assessment of the spectral reactions to such a themes—as *Dracula* does for the Wild West—offers means of interrupting the dichotomous pendulum.

Warren's biography of Buffalo Bill and his Wild West provides many points of relevance for an American Studies discussion on hegemony and haunting. It thoroughly dissects a quintessential representative of the 'exceptional' narrative of American identity, while performing an interdisciplinary approach rather flawlessly. Such an endeavor is empowered by a postmodern lens which utilizes a "third space" awareness in a "mad" communion with ghosts to disinter the incongruities within a binary epistemological structure. In utilizing the spectral, the trope of haunting has been privileged in a manner which underscores an ability to embrace the experience of paradox—a magnificent tool waiting, and wanting, apparently, to be fully utilized within the all-encompassing search for an American identity.

Notes

1. Louis S. Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America: William Cody and the Wild West Show* (New York: Knopf, 2005), ix.
2. Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, ix, 298.
3. Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, x.
4. Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, xiii, 539.
5. Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 27, 87, 112, 113.
6. Campbell and Kean, *American Cultural Studies*, 6, 9.
7. Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 256, 267, 268.
8. Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 256, 268.
9. Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 213, 215.
10. Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 276, 277.
11. Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 302.
12. Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 302, 303.
13. Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 303.
14. Warren *Buffalo Bill's America*, 304, 305.
15. Warren *Buffalo Bill's America*, 305, 306.
16. Warren *Buffalo Bill's America*, 334, 339.
17. Bram Stoker, *Dracula* (US: Penguin, 2003 (original 1897)), 8, 256.

## EPILOGUE

Since its inception, American Studies has had ghosts for company, whispering questions which have added a ‘healthy destabilization’ through a spectral reflexivity—even if the original founders fell into hegemonic traps. In 1957, Henry Nash Smith sought to answer the question of ‘what is America?’ by creating an interdisciplinary field to understand “American culture, past and present, as a whole.”<sup>1</sup> The need to define American was, of course, nothing new. From the seventeenth century Puritans and their “errand into the wilderness,” to Crèvecoeur’s late eighteenth century question, “What, then, is the American, this new man?” to Frederick Jackson Turner and his “Frontier Thesis,” America has remained an irascible entity, haunting through both its nebulous boundaries and its exceptional cultural promises. Contemporary British American Studies scholars Neil Campbell and Alasdair Kean note that this movement was borne out of a “deep-seated preoccupation with national self-definition,” which was marked by the need to delineate “the differences between American culture and other cultures.” These efforts resulted in the search for “American exceptionalism”—some consistent and definable experience which was uniquely American.<sup>2</sup> Marx, along with other notable founding American Studies figures Leo Marx and R.W. B. Lewis, founded the Myth and Symbol school to define American identity. This school sought ‘myths and symbols’ to provide images and stories which encapsulated the American experience in a consensus narrative.

Of course, monolithic master narratives are anathema to the postmodern view of culture and boundary. The efforts of the Myth/Symbol scholars, which predominantly heralded the white Euro American male as the primary representative of the American identity, ending up creating a very large specter—or host of specters, considering the multitude of voices marginalized by such generalizations. As noted by Campbell and Keane, this paradigm engendered the view that consensus narratives which “reduce questions of national identity to some essential singularity” precipitate a hegemonic perspective which gives “undue weight to the experience of specific groups and traditions in explaining America.” The resistant voices marginalized by Myth/Symbol school were amplified by Bruce Kucklick’s scathing critique in his landmark 1972 essay, “Myth and Symbol in American Studies.” Kucklick scrutinized the American Studies approach (or lack thereof), noting that the field relied upon an ill-founded humanism which lacked quantifiable support. Furthermore, the ‘exceptional’ aspects of these narratives were fortified by their exclusivity; they focused too narrowly upon America as a solitary entity, disregarding the manner in which transnational relationships effected national development. The absence of a “cross-cultural comparison” within American Studies grew increasingly problematic in a post-WWII world where the rigidity of past international boundaries had been obliterated and America’s position as a recognized superpower was increasingly scrutinized.<sup>3</sup>

While this methodological and contextual scrutiny threw American Studies into a serious state of crisis, the discipline did not collapse. Instead, it may be said that the field utilized its protean origins to build a methodological foundation that was more flexible

and reflexive. Interdisciplinarity and the field's outlying position within academia proved indispensable to this transition. Lawrence Bell speculates that although Henry Nash Smith "might not have approved of the specific ways American Studies has developed since 1970," he nonetheless, "could not have failed to be impressed by the much greater flow of intellectual energy into 'Americanist' forms of interdisciplinarity than was the case in the 1950's."<sup>4</sup> Considering Bell's statement, and much to Kucklick's dismay, American Studies can be said to have 'anticipated' the postmodern challenge to boundary rigidity—a stance which aided in its survival. Despite the resulting consensus metanarrative which marginalized cultural voices, the interdisciplinary aspect of American Studies proved an excellent base to adjust to the criticism of the Myth and Symbol School. Additionally, and ironically, the marginalized position of American Studies as a fledgling discipline—existing outside of recognized academic lines—also positioned the field to adjust and embrace the voices of the culturally marginalized as the field itself was subject to hegemonic, in Herrnstein's words, 'pathologization'. In this manner, the ghosts of American Studies aided in its survival and its transition into postmodern thought.

George Lipsitz provides an excellent example of the manner in which a spectral relationship aided American Studies' ability to navigate change. In his 1990 essay, "Listening to Learn and Learning to Listen," Lipsitz contemplates the "specter of European cultural theory" which had precipitated an American Studies "crisis of representation." Lipsitz writes:

To say that the field faces a crisis is not necessarily to say something negative or pessimistic. American Studies as a field emerged out of the

historical crises of the 1930's and 1940's, and its most creative turning points have come in response to subsequent social, cultural, and political problems. We are not facing the "end of American Studies," but rather only the latest in a long series of cultural problems and possibilities.<sup>5</sup>

Lipsitz utilized this history of crises as a methodological boon which engenders the ability to adapt. He applies this protean method to his idea of 'listening'—stepping outside of one's own methodology to 'hear' not only the notes of alternative voice (he references jazz as a voice and method), but to go one step farther: to understand the method within that foreign narrative. By embracing the marginalized status of American Studies and its spectral questions, Lipsitz espouses a very postmodern awareness of boundary; this could even be considered a proper expression of thirdspace awareness as he does not neglect his base, but utilizes the protean nature of his 'self' to step into the shoes of the Other.

There are two key aspects to this ability to negotiate crisis, and each relates to spectrality and hegemony. The initial questions which the discipline sought to confront remained (and remain) vibrant; the delineation of American culture was too significant to ignore and the rigidity within the academic disciplines was too suffocating—especially with the postmodern challenge to the rigidity of epistemological boundaries. In other words, these specters were too substantial to be cast aside. Additionally, the lack of an American Studies 'center' has made it—if, at times, easier to criticize—harder to topple. By not relying upon a rigid center, by remaining in a methodological state of flux, a self-reflexive scrutiny is engendered. Such a state not only mimics a spectral presence—a double which offers a mirror to the self—but also aids in the destabilization of a hegemonic center which maintains its power through the illusion of a concrete stasis.

By taking lessons from haunting, as outlined in my thesis, and by incorporating the lessons of a spectral history, American Studies is in a prime position to utilize the postmodern's challenge to the rigidity of boundary through the use of a spectral awareness. Evidence of the softening of academic boundaries in response to the postmodern are manifold. As I've illustrated, Barbara Fuchs has utilized post-structuralism for a historical literary analysis. Neil Campbell appropriates numerous 'post' scholars to deconstruct the regional West from American culture. Jonathan Livingston merges the 'high' and 'low' culture into a more complete historical comprehension. And Louis Warren links literary analysis to the historical. All of these efforts point to the manner in which interdisciplinarity mirrors the postmodern era's challenge to boundary rigidity. American Studies' protean base, combined with this spectral awareness, positions the field to navigate the immensity of the postmodern challenge as it influences the entirety of contemporary academia.

The binary view of the real v. imagined has given way to the idea that all aspects of reality perceived through human culture are constructs of a sort, thus blurring the stringent boundary of this dichotomy. However, as mentioned previously in numerous manners, the realization of the hybridity of boundary is yet in its fledgling stages. The fascinating aspect of our creative expressions is that they, akin to the argument Neil Campbell provided for the continued relevance of the "Western frame," also have the ability to critique themselves, their internal power structure, and the culture which has created them. Chief among these embodiments, haunting, assuming its multitudinous spectral forms, allows for an expression of reality which not only interrupts hegemonic

cultural narratives, but also possesses the uncanny ability to reflect our appearance within a one-sided state of imbalance. As such, within an American Studies discipline which is still trying to answer the question of “what is America?”—in an age where the spectacle of consumption is never *not* engaging the typical American and the rigidities of the modern remain thoroughly entrenched—the spectral provides a means of negotiating the hegemonies which are present in America’s either/or culture and its advertising spectacles. The question “does American Studies have a method?” is a specter which does not need to be absolutely addressed—the postmodern era has made such absolute answers less important. Rather, it may be embraced as a conscious, reflexive awareness. However, I argue that the spectral methodology may very well act as an American Studies method *because* of its creative reflexivity. And not only does this “marvelous,” to reference Fuchs, creative embodiment offer an essential means of cultural and individual expression, but it acts as a vehicle which correlates with an abundance of boundary challenging postmodern theorists. Haunting allows for an expressive and comprehensive examination of American cultural reality as it attempts to repair the incongruous gaps which have been sown through the binary course set by the modern era’s epistemology. Perhaps, with this creative expression which allows for a reflexive scrutiny, scholars from a range of disciplines may find some measure of success in figuring out “what to do with” American culture and identity in an age of protean boundary awareness by exploring the “mad” possibility of “speaking with ghosts.”

Notes

1. Henry Nash Smith, “Can ‘American Studies’ Develop a Method?” in *Locating American Studies: The Evolution of a Discipline*, ed. Lucy Maddox (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 1.
2. Neil Campbell and Alasdair Kean, *American Cultural Studies: An Introduction to American Culture*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Hoboken, NJ: Taylor & Francis, 2011), 2.
3. Campbell and Kean, *American Cultural Studies*, 2, 3.
4. Lawrence Bell, comments on “Can ‘American Studies’ Develop a Method?” in *Locating American Studies*, 15.
5. George Lipsitz, “Listening to Learn and Learning to Listen: Popular Culture, Cultural Theory, and American Studies,” in *Locating American Studies*, 311.

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