Haunted Hemisphere: American Gothic Literature in the Long Nineteenth Century

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Abstract

"Haunted Hemisphere" calls attention to the hemispheric gothic as a distinct body of literature, a genre that exposes the intertwining of United States narratives with the histories of the wider American hemisphere, against the grain of a contemporary literary culture that rarely spoke directly of the nation's profound involvement in a nexus of supranational cultural and economic relations. Hemispheric gothic works—from well-known novels by authors like Poe and Melville to popular fictions like *The Black Vampyre*—situate literary marketplaces within the haunted spaces of their plots, and thereby model, in an uncanny microcosmic form, the mutual imbrication of ostensibly distinct markets extending across the hemisphere. The slave revolts and shipwrecks I analyze are not simply generic horrors, but invoke recent historical memories that official discourses sought to repress, such as the Haitian Revolution, and proclaim the historical interdependence of (for example) the United States and Haiti. Through gothic explorations of the uncanny spaces of ships engaged in commercial and imperialist voyages, or the complicated genealogies of early colonial settlers in the Americas, the hemispheric gothic emerges as a transnational literary phenomenon engaged in highlighting the discrepant but shared histories of the New World that propelled nineteenth-century popular and canonical fiction alike.

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Introduction

History, despite its wrenching pain,
Cannot be unlived, and if faced
With courage, need not be lived again.
--Maya Angelou

When the graphic artist and novelist Mat Johnson published *Pym* in 2011, he at once implicitly argued that writers of fiction, rather than scholarly critics, are best suited to interpret literary history and answered Toni Morrison's call to "[expand] the study of American literature into …a wider landscape" that acknowledges and explores the Africanist presence in U.S. culture (3). *Pym*'s title nods to Edgar Allan Poe's only novel, *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym* (1838) and Johnson's website guides readers through a genealogy of sequels (or "offspring") to Poe's novel that starts with Herman Melville's *Moby Dick* (1851) and ends with his own novel.[1] But for readers not familiar with Poe's novel, in *Pym*'s second chapter its protagonist Chris Jaynes, a professor of American literature, gives a full (and snarky) account of *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym*'s publication history and plot, suggesting that Poe, "a self-proclaimed 'magazinist' … attempted the long form only because that's what his editors at Harper Brothers were looking for. Poe was broke, his relationship with the *Messenger* soured, his intended entrée into New York literary society failed in drunken spectacle" (22). Jaynes's analysis of Poe's novel is accurate and attentive to detail: when he introduces Dirk Peters, he compares his description to those of "some of the other *darkies* haunting Poe's collected works" (24, emphasis Johnson's). This detailed comparison, replete with the quotations readers might expect to find in a scholarly essay, also signals to Jaynes's commitment to exploring race in ways that make his academic

[1] Johnson's full list includes Poe's *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym* (1838), Melville's *Moby Dick* (1851), Jules Verne's *An Antarctic Mystery* (*Le Sphinx des glaces*) (1897), Charles Romyen Dake's *A Strange Discovery* (1899), and H.P. Lovecraft's *At the Mountains of Madness* (1936). One of the criteria for his list is that these works be freely available on the internet, so in the public domain in the United States. (The Lovecraft novel was published after 1923, so it would still be protected by U.S. copyright laws if its copyright had been renewed, but S.T. Joshi suggests that the renewals were never properly filed for most of Lovecraft's published work and that at best, its copyright status is "murky" [641].)

colleagues uncomfortable. Despite these marks of scholarly work, Jaynes's tone is sarcastic and irreverent: after he quotes Poe's description of Peters, he interjects "Negro what?" and he rarely hesitates to express the ugliest racial truths about American society, as he sees them: Poe wrote Peters as a "half-breed Indian," Jaynes contends, because "half whiteness is not allowed."[2] But this kind of analysis is more than the university that supports Jaynes can stomach: Jaynes was recently denied tenure "'for refusing to sit on the campus Diversity Committee,'" as he puts it (14). He argues that while the university wants a diversity committee, it isn't actually committed to diverse perspectives, and he refuses to validate its initiatives as a token presence on what he sees as a meaningless committee. His colleagues see Jaynes's work on Poe as the retreat of "an apolitical coward," who refuses to teach the African American literature he was hired to teach, whereas Jaynes categorizes his scholarly work as "running so hard toward [the battle that he] was around the world and coming back in the other direction" (14, 34). Ultimately Jaynes and *Pym* echo Morrison's argument: we must explore the Africanist presence in all U.S. literature, not just in texts written by African Americans.

In its meta-fictional engagement with Poe's earlier novel, then, *Pym* is intensely aware not only of its own place in a literary history that extends at least two centuries into the past, but also of the market forces that shaped that history, and which will help determine its own success. More importantly, in the face of the failure of his tenure bid, Jaynes decides to reestablish his career by investigating the claims of a manuscript, "more the notes for a book than the book itself," titled "The True and Interesting Narrative of Dirk Peters, Coloured Man, As Written by Himself. *Springfield, Illinois*, 1837" (37, 38). This return to Poe's putative source is part of *Pym*'s pervasive strategy of doubling: just as Peters is a double for Pym (both in Poe's tale and

[2] 24, 25, 25. *Pym* authenticates the scholarly credentials of its narrator by peppering the text with unnumbered footnotes. These notes rarely cite sources (and then most often Peters's narrative), but instead, offer tangential pieces of commentary in the same irreverent tone as the main text.

even more so in Johnson's, where Peters has a narrative voice through this manuscript), Jaynes, who tells an alternative version of Peter's tale and who is also a mixed-race protagonist, is a double for Peters. If this manuscript is really the work of Dirk Peters, previously known only as a character in Poe's novel, Jaynes reasons, then the rest of the novel might be more historical than anyone has ever been willing to give it credit for, and he decides to look for the site of its final scenes: "Tsalal, the great undiscovered African Diasporan homeland" (39). While the prospect of finding such a place, where some people may have been able to escape the evils of slavery and imperialism, thrills Jaynes, the novel recognizes this potential homeland—geographically distinct from the source of the Diaspora—for what it is: a heartfelt fantasy.

Jaynes must recreate the imperialist journey that Arthur Gordon Pym and Dirk Peters undertook as he sets off on a journey to validate both Poe's novel and Pym's narrative. And while Jaynes's motivations extend beyond the financial, his first words when he hears about Peters's narratives are "'This is the stuff academic names are built on, man. Careers. Careers are made on this kind of thing,'" a motivation which echoes the thrill of imperialist discovery present in Poe's novel (35). Once Jaynes and his team reach the Antarctic and discover not only shrouded, white beings like the one who appeared at the very end of Poe's story, but also Arthur Gordon Pym himself (who has been in Antarctica since the time of his narrative), they decide to take two members of the community back with them "'never as slaves, no not at all…more like ambassadors really, to be put in our legal care for the duration of the tour'" (147). But even though the characters try to present the deal in modern terms, because they are dealing with a society where the leaders make decisions for everyone to benefit themselves, rather than the group as a whole, the project always seems exploitative. Jaynes insists, "'We'll pay well,'" but the first version of the deal they make involves two dozen hogsheads of sweetmeats each, which

(at three to four cases of Little Debbie snack cakes per hogshead) works out to two hundred fifty or three hundred dollars a person, a price that strikes the team as ridiculously low to pay for the fame and scientific advancement this discovery is sure to bring the them.[3] Furthermore, the medium of exchange—Little Debbie snack cakes—are both full of sugar (which links them to the sugar-producing plantation economies of the nineteenth-century Caribbean) and devoid of nutritional value, thus increasing the discrepancy between the cost of the team's plan and its potential reward to the team.[4] When they lose contact with the outside world, however, and cannot provide the pastries, they discover the real cost of their deal: a hundred years of slavery. This twist makes explicit a threat previously implied: because the team is dealing with a people whose leaders hold absolute authority and which recognizes slavery as a form of repaying debts, they find themselves participating in the system despite their explicit disavowals of slavery. That is, their good intentions cannot trump their greedy willingness to ignore ideological differences in order to earn fame and fortune.

While Jaynes's refusal to work only with African American literature is what costs him tenure and while he opens his description of his experience as a slave (on the only uninhabited continent, Antarctica) with the contention that he is "bored with the topic of Atlantic slavery," *Pym* is obsessed with the hemispheric circulation of bodies, capital, and ideas (159). Jaynes criticizes his former employer for the racism it is unwilling to acknowledge: its insistence that African American professors teach only African American literature (Jaynes's replacement, who is clearly more willing to be the face of African American literature in the department, introduces

[3] 147. And of course, if Pym really is the figure from the nineteenth century, his presence is also a path to fame, as Nathaniel quickly realizes: "'Let's say for a second he actually is your Arthur Pym, alive after what? Two centuries on? That would be an even bigger discovery than a village of albino monkey people. It would mean *the fountain of youth*—the most sought after resource in human history. It would mean an infusion of wealth like nothing ever seen before"' (142).

[4] For more on sugar's role in culture and as a commodity, see Sidney Mintz's *Sweetness and Power*.

himself as a "Hip-Hop Theorist" [17]) and its unwillingness to let Jaynes "[go] off the farm" and follow his changing academic interests where they lead (13). More troubling to Jaynes and the novel, though, is the university's unwillingness to realize that questions of race pervade U.S. literature, so that Jaynes's interest in Poe is not a rejection of studying race, but instead offers a different way to approach these questions. Even though Jaynes would like to tell other stories than those most obviously about slavery, he's constantly confronted with its history. Ironically, Jaynes's refusal to engage slavery only reproduces it, albeit in a parodic form. In some ways, Jaynes's enslavement in Antarctica represents an extreme development of Atlantic slavery: if the threat of being sold South haunted slaves in border states, and the North represented degrees of freedom, then Antarctica is the ultimate fulfillment of that threat as the farthest possible South. Pym's presence in the text, alive and well—almost two hundred years after "the circumstances connected with the late sudden and distressing death of Mr. Pym [were] already well known to the public through the medium of the daily press"—implies more than just a moment of satirical humor or textual play with its antecedents (Poe 244). Instead, Pym haunts the text with reminders of the past. When he first meets Jaynes, he assumes that Jaynes, "a black man who looks white," owns the other members of the expedition (who, like Jaynes, are all African American) as slaves, even though Jaynes corrects him at least three times (135). As the crew repeats Pym's voyage, their black voyage of discovery is ironically misinterpreted as an imperial venture involving enslaved labor (which is the only way Pym can read the bodies he sees); importantly for the novel's critique, the voyage becomes exactly what Pym recognized it as once the crew agrees to take Tsalals for Little Debbie cakes. That is, the novel exposes a form of neoslavery produced by global capitalism.

Although Jaynes's experiences match Pym's fairly exactly in the end, part of *Pym*'s satire is that Jaynes realizes he's part of a story, but refuses to give in to its gothic horrors. While Jaynes is conversant with critical theories about the ending of Poe's story, he finds that "working over the existing text rather than imagining [one's] way out of it" leads to disappointing results.[5] This critique of Poe studies—and by extension U.S. literary studies—is partially an argument about the imaginative failure of these fields in comparison to the creative responses to Poe's novel other authors have offered. But it is also a critique of the academy's scope: these academic arguments come to the public eye because Jaynes rehearses them, but the public has been reading and enjoying responses to Poe's novel for years. After escaping from slavery with only his best friend Garth and Pym, Jaynes begins telling the end of the story in journal form (the form which Poe's story takes in its conclusion). Like Poe's narrative, Jaynes's ends with a figure "rising up in our pathway" (Johnson 322), but whereas Poe's figure was enormous, entirely white, and imposing, this figure waves at the travelers and is joined by "a collection of brown people," whose presence Jaynes refuses to read symbolically (he does not confirm that they are the Tsalals, whom he has been seeking) because "this, of course, is a planet on which such are the majority" (322). In this acknowledgment, Johnson eschews Poe's gothicism to expose the fantasies on which it rests: not only the fantasy of white supremacy, but also the fantasy of white prevalence and normativity. Jaynes's conscious refusal of the heavy-handed mysteries that Poe uses to end his story provides the key to his interpretation of Poe's novel: Johnson, like Toni Morrison, suggests that we can best understand Poe's novel as a fantasy of race, but goes on to

[5] 230. Though these results are disappointing in comparison to Lovecraft's giant penguin or Verne's continuation (potentially supplied by Dirk Peters), Jaynes catalogues four schools of thought on the meaning of Poe's ambiguous ending: 1) a cliffhanger to encourage readers to buy the sequel; 2) an episode that matches every other episode in the text and the work of a writer for magazines rather than one willing to fulfill the generic expectations of a novel; 3) "an allegory for death" (231); 4) the complete whiteness is a form of perfection, so there's no reason to go any further with the story.

insist that Pym's voyage of discovery ends with an imperialist dream of enslaving the Tsalals precisely because Pym's greed prevents him from questioning the prevailing, if oppressive, systems.

Mat Johnson's *Pym* couples its gothic moments—including the crew's capture, enslavement, and struggle to escape, the sublime Antarctic landscape which provides the setting for three of its four volumes, its doubling of Jaynes and Peters, and the uncanny return of Peters's narrative to complicate Poe's text—with its parody of Poe's novel. In the end, it's *Pym*'s satire, which debunks not only the mystery surrounding the ending of Poe's novel but also scholarly attempts to interpret it, that makes explicit the edge of self-parody on which *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym* hovers. While contemporary critics rush to make the text conform to the prevailing academic models of the day (whether Atlantic slavery or racial ideology critique), Johnson's novel allows us to see in Poe's novel a connection between the sensational techniques it uses to thrill readers and its concerns about the circulation of people and property in a hemispheric system of capital. In fact, *Pym* brings together a nexus of interests: it combines a deployment of gothic tropes and an insistence on unearthing the hidden narratives that link the United States to the rest of the Americas in ways that challenge and complicate its imperialist past with an intense awareness of the conditions of its production and of the circulation of capital, people and ideas. I argue that this combination of concerns, which *Pym*, through its meta-fictional analysis, contends that Poe's novel shares, links *Pym* not only with Poe's novel but with a tradition of gothic fictions emerging from and reflecting on the Americas from the nineteenth century to the present day—a tradition I call the hemispheric gothic.

* * *

This project grew out of a number of inter-related questions about the gothic genre generally, and about the gothic in the United States specifically. How should we delineate the borders of the gothic? Does it require a particular kind of setting? A plot filled with sensational horrors? The return of something that has been repressed or someone who has been lost at its climax? And what does the gothic look like in the United States, which has no titled aristocracy to hide horrors and no moldering castles in which to hide them?

Critics of U.S. literature have taken the genre of the gothic seriously since Leslie Fiedler asserted that "it is the gothic form that has been most fruitful in the hands of our best writers" in *Love and Death in the American Novel* (1960) (28). Many critics have embraced Fiedler's idea that the United States has "certain special guilts" (especially slavery and the treatment of Native Americans) that lie behind many of its gothic fictions, and my analysis of U.S. gothic fictions starts with careful attention to these forms of oppression.[6] But whereas many British gothic fictions locate their horrors in a distant past, Louis Gross suggests that "American Gothic has always made its quests in the present time and place," and even if there is a short chronological gap between when the events happened and when the stories were published, these stories might be contemporary (2). This argument accounts for the general difference between the eras in which British and U.S. gothic fictions are meant to have taken place, but does not fully explain U.S. writers' obsession with seeking national origins. While the horrors of slavery that prompted some early nineteenth-century U.S. gothic fictions were still very real at the time of their publication, I argue that these texts obsessively assert their own historical distance from their contemporary era. Although the United States does not seem to offer the same historical and geographic distance that British gothic tales often take advantage of, Teresa Goddu argues, the

[6] 143. See especially Justin Edward's *Gothic Passages*, Toni Morrison's *Playing in the Dark*, and Teresa Goddu's *Gothic America*.

American gothic occupies "specific sites of historical haunting, most notably slavery" (10). Indeed, this reading of repression draws on Freud's assertion that "dies Unheimliche ist wirklich nichts Neues oder Fremdes, sondern etwas dem Seelenleben von alters her Vertrautes, das ihm nur durch den Prozeß der Verdrängung entfremdet worden ist."[7] That is, some American gothic fictions are uncannily haunted by slavery or stories about their national origins, not because these histories have been lost, but because they are so familiar they were repressed.

But even these generalizations bound the American gothic in uncomfortable ways: as Robert Hemenway memorably observes, "the Gothic code is difficult to define, but easy to classify" (101). Robert Martin and Eric Savoy suggest that rather than striving toward a singular narrative of the gothic in the United States, a critical "[commitment] to pluralism" can provide a number of "interventions" in a variety of discourses (vii). In this spirit, then, I situate a number of texts in the framework of the hemispheric gothic, a subgenre of fictions fixated on their position in and in relation to the markets in which they circulated, and which obsessively return to national origin narratives to examine the U.S.'s place in the hemisphere.

Even as critics identify the gothic as vital to an understanding of U.S. literary history, they must inevitably justify drawing attention to such sensationalist and popular works of fiction. F.O. Matthiessen dismisses the "mechanical horrors" of the gothic novel as something to be overcome, Leslie Fiedler refers to the gothic novel's "cheapjack machinery," and Jerrold Hogle spends the first page and half of his essay in the 2014 *A Companion to the American Gothic* defending the gothic novel as a serious and undervalued if "unsettling but pervasive" form of expression (201, 27, 4). These critical anxieties, I suggest, mirror anxieties present in the works themselves: hemispheric gothic fictions constantly both call in to question and seek to assert their

[7] 314. "For this uncanny is in reality nothing new or alien, but something which is familiar and old-established in the mind and which has become alienated from it only through the process of repression" (Trans. James Strachey, 241).

own literary merits because the sensational tropes which assured their popularity with a mass audience also cast doubt on their value as enduring cultural artifacts. Mired in these anxieties, hemispheric gothic fictions were particularly aware of the conditions of the literary markets in which they circulated. These markets, then, form an important area of inquiry in my project.

Because of both cultural norms and legal freedoms, Meredith McGill suggests, a "culture of reprinting" dominated the U.S. literary scene during the 1830s and 1840s (3). The mass-market production and reproduction of books and magazines not only made a wide variety of material available cheaply to U.S. readers, but also blurred lines and upset hierarchies among readers, publishers, and authors (McGill 3). Although McGill does not use the word uncanny to describe the way that these texts re-circulate in the antebellum print markets, their reappearances embody this word: these reprinted words are familiar, but located in different contexts. I argue that the authors of hemispheric gothic fictions eagerly used these fluid markets to establish their works' cultural legitimacy. Like McGill and Terence Whalen, I contend that the markets in which they circulated link these works of literature to larger capitalist markets—and moreover, that the texts often understand this about themselves. Hemispheric gothic fictions—serialized, advertised in competition with each other, positioned to compete by their paratexts—were sold in contexts that trumpeted the success of the new U.S. literary marketplace. While some hemispheric gothic fictions use their paratexts to assert their authority (for example, prefaces that claim the story has been copied from a dusty, historical manuscript), others use them to protest the kinds of careless re-circulation that the markets encourage: publishers who profited from authors' hard work without sharing the profits when they copied and reprinted texts. At the time, this kind of recirculation was both legal and widespread, if not, as the texts protest, entirely ethical.

Hemispheric gothic texts extended this final connection—that re-circulating texts, while a commonplace of the literary market, often enjoyed additional popularity and accrued additional prosperity for their proprietors at the cost of their authors' fair share—beyond the literary markets in which they circulated to other systems of exchange prevalent in the hemisphere. Although the international slave trade was banned by both Britain and the United States by 1808, the trade continued illegally in this period. While hemispheric gothic works appeared in the United States, they are acutely aware of the U.S.'s place in larger, hemispheric nexuses of power, and often critical of "the historical verdict of an exceptional, isolated, and anticolonial United States" that Gretchen Murphy reminds us "was neither inevitable nor monolithic" (9).

The insistence of these texts on witnessing the U.S.'s active (if occasionally denied) role in hemispheric structures of power requires a frame of inquiry that can extend beyond the nation. That is, these texts call for the kind of analysis that "[questions] the most fundamental assumption…that the nation itself is the basic unit of, and frame for, analysis" (Porter 470). I have chosen the term "hemispheric" to describe these fictions, rather than transnational, trans-Atlantic, or New World, for several reasons. First, the term suggests that the main axis of analysis will be North-South, rather than East-West.[8] But this designation need not be absolute: as Wai-Chee Dimock tentatively suggests, we could deploy the term hemispheric "variably, as a term differently mapped by different contexts, without necessarily equating it with one axis of alignment, one set of geographical coordinates" (28). Second, hemispheric offers scholarly common ground; Diana Taylor reports that at the Hemispheric Institute of Performance and Politics "we saw it as a first step toward developing a vocabulary and set of practices that would allow us to work productively together across the Americas" (1423). Third, using a hemispheric

[8] Levander and Levine argue that this North-South framing allows us "to analyze the contingency and diversity of nation formation in the American hemisphere" (2006, 403).

frame allows us to track some of these texts' anxieties and concerns as they extend beyond national frameworks. While Claire Fox is skeptical of "the hemispheric concept from a cartographic and foreign policy standpoint," she argues that the hemispheric frame provides a clearer perspective on "nation formation, slavery, trade, race, migration, and globalization in the Americas" (645).

In practice,[9] considering these gothic works in terms of the hemisphere allows us not only to see the connections they draw between the markets they circulate in, and larger Atlantic trade patterns,[10] but also troubles easy conceptions of national boundaries and the nation itself. Jesse Aléman sees this process unfolding in Robert Montgomery Bird's *Calavar, or the Knight of the Conquest* (1834), in which "the fluidity of national borders collapses the otherwise clear distinctions between native and foreigner, domestic and international, America and América, making Mexico in particular a strangely familiar place that troubles the trans-American imaginary of the United States" (409). That is, part of what the hemispheric gothic makes uncanny is national borders: through its attention to the movement of people and goods through these borders, the hemispheric gothic destabilizes them.

In order to fully contextualize and analyze these hemispheric gothic fictions, then, we must attend to at least three areas of analysis: the American gothic tradition out of which they arose, the antebellum print culture and literary marketplaces in which they circulated, and the

[9] While, with the notable exception of Jesse Aléman, few critics have applied a hemispheric frame to their studies of the American gothic, there are many monographs and collections which model this hemispheric analysis, including Kirsten Silva Gruesz's *Ambassadors of Culture*, Gretchen Murphy's *Hemispheric Imaginings*, José David Saldívar's *The Dialectics of Our America*, Anna Brickhouse's *Transamerican Literary Relations and the Nineteenth-Century Public Sphere*, and Caroline Levander and Robert Levine's collection *Hemispheric American Studies*.

[10] For an analysis of how Atlantic trade patterns shaped power structures, see Walter Mignolo's "Coloniality at Large: The Western Hemisphere in the Colonial Horizon of Modernity." These power structures eventually gave brutally economic values to human life, as illustrated by the *Zong* incident, in which the *Zong*'s owners (unsuccessfully) sued their insurers for the value of the lives of the approximately 142 slaves who were thrown overboard during a dangerous Atlantic crossing (ostensibly to preserve the lives of the crew and remaining slaves), and to which I return in chapter 1. For more, see Ian Baucom, *Specters of the Atlantic*.

broader hemisphere, whose relationship with the United States they challenged and complicated. These hemispheric gothic fictions allow us to see how the gothic moments prompted by the system of theft (of land and livelihood from Native Americans and of labor from enslaved Africans) underlying the American economy identified these power dynamics as similar in form to those which drove the literary markets in which they circulated. Furthermore these texts insist that these structures cannot be contained by easy national narratives, or, indeed, the boundaries of the United States.

To read these hemispheric gothic works in this tri-fold context, then, is to read against American exceptionalism. These works appeared in a nation whose founding documents justify its independence with the assertion that "all men are created equal" and possess "certain unalienable Rights, [and] among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness," yet allowed its citizens to own other humans as slaves, protected the international slave trade in its Constitution until 1808, and, as it grew more politically powerful, expanded its empire across the North American continent and around the world. I argue that this hypocrisy is the repressed truth that returns to haunt the characters in these gothic fictions (Jefferson 16).

These works also challenge the narrative of U.S. distinctiveness. They delve into repressed histories not only to show that the United States is economically and culturally intertwined with hemispheric practices and structures of power, but that even our moment of self-determination is replicable. In these hemispheric gothic fictions, the Haitian Revolution invokes particular horrors because it simultaneously fulfills both the promise of the American Revolution (as it ended with freedom for all Haitians) and the worst nightmare of the American South (a successful slave revolt). While many officially sanctioned narratives tried to ignore the results of the Haitian Revolution (the United States wouldn't diplomatically recognize Haiti as

an independent nation until 1862, after the South seceded), the Haitian Revolution uncannily reappears (often out of place or time) in many hemispheric gothic fictions.[11]

Thus hemispheric gothic fictions are always concerned with origins: they refuse to accept simple narratives of the national past and instead push to discover the historical secrets that have been buried. These origins may be personal, but they're most often aligned with the nation as well. This suspicion of origins is not surprising in a genre so concerned with its own respectability and origins. As these texts uncovered national secrets and destabilized venerable national myths, they attempted to cover up their own origins just as avidly, with paratexts that suggested the stories came from found, ancient manuscripts (rather than the fecund imaginations of their authors) and pseudonyms that playfully hinted at aristocratic authority.

Ultimately these hemispheric gothic fictions linked their narratives to global capitalism and the circulation of goods, wealth, and power. As the authors worried about establishing their own cultural credibility in the face of critics who saw their works as sensationalist and appealing to the lowest form of mass entertainment, they were intensely aware of the markets in which their texts circulated; their fictions are surrounded by paratexts which obsessively assert their high-brow status and their place in these markets. With their intense attention to the conditions of production in one small segment of the economy, the authors of these hemispheric gothic fictions often recognized the connections between the literary markets in which they circulated their books and larger economic trends. The hemispheric gothic fictions often reflected these connections and challenged readers to acknowledge that the markets that supplied them with a wide, cheap array of literary texts were intimately intertwined both with markets that sold

[11] For more on the diplomatic relationship between the United States and Haiti, see J. Michael Dash's *Haiti and the United States*, 8.

humans as if they were commodities, and with markets that sold commodities without accounting for the human costs of producing and obtaining them.

Ultimately, these hemispheric gothic fictions are united by their interest in interpreting and critiquing the trans-Atlantic literary markets in which they appeared. I argue that studying these fictions in a frame that attends to both hemispheric connections and trans-Atlantic ones offers a necessary insight: the hemispheric gothic exposes how the ghostly refuse of imperial and capitalist forces both shaped and haunted national boundaries. Like the whale oil lamps that light the genteel houses in New Bedford in *Moby Dick*, hemispheric gothic fictions illuminate elite literary culture's material foundations in slavery and colonialism that overshadow its opportunistic exploitation of market interest in ghosts. In other words, the return of the repressed in these fictions encodes the trans-Atlantic literary markets' connection to global forces, from the triangle trade to U.S. imperialism.

My first chapter, "'A Climate…More Prolific…In Sorcery': The Uncanny Return of the Haitian Revolution" explores the ways that hemispheric gothic fictions such as *The Secret History*, *The Black Vampyre*, and *Benito Cereno* invoke the horrors of the Haitian Revolution in order to complicate U.S. narratives about its past and its present. While Leonora Sansay's *The Secret History*—an epistolary account of a French planter's wife set during the Haitian Revolution—deploys some hemispheric gothic tropes, the connections between the Haitian Revolution, U.S. slavery, and the New York literary scene really come into focus in Uriah Derick D'Arcy's pseudonymous *The Black Vampyre* (1819). This sensational gothic novel set on the eve of the Haitian Revolution serves as a prototype of the hemispheric gothic that exposes the disavowed connections between Haitian and U.S. histories. Through its self-conscious paratexts the novella explores the rise of a trans-Atlantic literary market in which aspiring figures such as

D'Arcy sought to eclipse familiar authors such as Lord Byron. The novella connects this literary market, with its concerns about originality, copying, and plagiarism, to the trans-Atlantic slave system through the metaphor of vampirism, which, in D'Arcy's formulation, involves the theft of labor. In the novella the gothic horrors of a version of the Haitian Revolution appear to be contained with the end of a slave revolt. But in a final twist, the text titillates readers with the news that a vampiric descendent of its eponymous hero has moved on from Haiti to haunt the Northeastern U.S. Thus, *The Black Vampyre* challenges the relegation of the Haitian Revolution to the margins of history, and beyond the borders of national narratives. Finally, the chapter closes with *Benito Cereno*, which displaces the Haitian Revolution the most radically in order to insist on a U.S. witness to the horrific slave revolt.

In my second chapter, "Overwritten Histories of National Origins," I present a case study of gothic returns to hemispheric origins that appear in three distinct literary markets. I look at a series of historical fictions—Lydia Maria Child's *Hobomok* (1824), the anonymous *Jicoténcal* (1826), and José de Alencar's *O guaraní* (1857)—that cast their focus back to initial contact between European settlers and native peoples throughout the hemisphere, uncannily inviting the reader to re-imagine conventional narratives of European conquest. Although *O guaraní* initially appeared in Brazil and was first translated into English for American publication in 1893, I present it with *Hobomok* and *Jicoténcal* (which were both published in the United States) to demonstrate *O guaraní*'s willingness to imagine a possible past neither U.S. text chooses to contemplate: one in which the European characters all die and the Native Americans regain (at least temporarily) control of their lands. Through their attention to the related questions of how we can know and how we can portray the past these texts complicate official accounts to attend to changing power dynamics between native peoples and European colonists. These stories

introduce the possibility of children of mixed racial ancestry, only to write these children out of the story or revise their heritage to include only ostensibly pure European family lines—thereby challenging simple national narratives of European conquest.

Chapter Three, "'Under the Garb of Fiction': Maritime Capitalism" shifts its attention to gothic fictions set at sea, where the ship is a haunted domestic space that both tests and confirms national boundaries. The chapter starts with Edgar Allan Poe's *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym*, where the ships present spaces where racial identity is negotiated in response to specific needs. These shipboard spaces allow the text to test the conditions of citizenship, the sources of authority, the definitions of racial difference, and the nation's colonizing power. At the same time, the paratexts that surround *Pym* also test textual authority, as they pretend to assume that the reader has knowledge of Pym's death that is completely unavailable. The text thus challenges the conditions of its U.S. *readership* in a manner that parallels the renegotiation that takes place on the ship, refusing to offer narrative closure to problems of maritime capitalism and national belonging that haunt it. Then the chapter connects the varied horrors of *Pym* to the slave revolts portrayed in Frederick Douglass's *The Heroic Slave* and Herman Melville's *Benito Cereno* and the piracy in Maxwell Philip's *Emmanuel Appodocca* to explore these texts' use of the sea as a place to test national boundaries and laws even as they engage in the international trades that support national power structures.

In a coda, "Piracy and Property on the Mississippi: *The Grandissimes* and *Pudd'nhead Wilson*," I move beyond the hemispheric gothic fictions set before the U.S. Civil War (and, for the most part, before American imperialism took off with the Treaty of Guadelupe Hidalgo in 1848[12]), to explore the new possibilities open to the hemispheric gothic with the end of slavery in

[12] For more on "the American 1848," see Michael Rogin's *Subversive Genealogies*, David Potter's *The Impending Crisis: 1848-1861*, Amy Kaplan's *The Anarchy of Empire*, and Shelly Streeby's *American Sensations*.

the United States and a new era of American imperialism. I contrast George Washington Cable and Mark Twain's "Twins of Genius" tour with the appearance of twins and doubles in both *The Grandissimes* and *Pudd'nhead Wilson*. These doubles become fantastic embodiments of the blurred lines between person and property that thematically occupy these novels. Even as these texts unearth hidden histories, they look back to the days of slavery to displace new racial anxieties. Twain and Cable both invoke New Orleans, at times the site of both rampant smuggling and the largest slave market in North America, as a place where people could become things, and things people. These texts bring together the most gothic of slavery's horrors—its deconstruction of the boundary between humans and things—with a city whose geography and history challenge both national boundaries and governmental authority. Furthermore, the doubled characters in both novels implicitly deconstruct society's rigid social and racial hierarchies, exposing not only hidden family secrets, but also the sexual exploitation to which enslaved women were often subject.

By attending to how nineteenth-century American gothic fictions commented on their literary marketplaces and the social and economic conditions in which not only the nation, but also the hemisphere, were implicated, my dissertation recovers the overlooked critical potential of these texts. Hemispheric gothic texts were particularly suited to critique this marketplace precisely because of the variety of their generic commonplaces: the ambition of many gothic fictions to rise above their perceived low cultural standing, their reliance on uncanny repetition, and their self-aware use of paratexts that helped readers locate their positions in the cultural and commercial exchanges of the literary marketplace. Because these hemispheric gothic stories both exploited and helped readers make sense of a literary marketplace dominated by imitations, doubles, and echoes of other texts, their commentary reveals much about the larger stakes of the

literary market's incursion into the interaction between nationalism and the growth of global capitalism.

Chapter 1:

"A Climate … More Prolific … in Sorcery": The Uncanny Return of the Haitian Revolution

On June 23, 1819 an advertisement appeared in the *New-York Evening Post* alerting readers to three new books of interest for sale by C. Wiley and Company at No. 3, Wall Street: *The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, gent.*,[13] *The Vampyre* by Lord Byron,[14] and *The Black Vampyre* by Uriah Derick D'Arcy ("New Books"). All three of these cheaply-made paperback editions speak to the era's interest in different forms of the gothic. Their appearance together in this notice offers a fleeting and tentative portrait of a changing trans-Atlantic literary market in which originality, authorship, copyright, plagiarism, and the perceived provincialism of American letters are all at stake. At 75 cents per copy—three times as expensive as the other advertised publications—Washington Irving's *Sketch Book* takes the most prominent place in the notice. By price and placement the advertisement privileges the American Washington Irving, writing as the pseudonymous Geoffrey Crayon, over the celebrated British poet, George Gordon, Lord Byron.

While this edition of Washington Irving's *Sketch Book* contains only a fraction of the stories that would eventually constitute the work, it establishes the collection's tone: the text's gentleman narrator-collector, Geoffrey Crayon, makes what would otherwise be eerie and unsettling circumstances comfortable and familiar. "Rip Van Winkle" provides titillating gothic frights when its eponymous hero takes a nap while hunting, only to wake twenty years later (in a different country, since his nap spans the American Revolution), and the American traveler of

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[13] This edition of *The Sketch Book* was only the first installment of what would become seven; it contained "The Author's Account of Himself," "The Voyage," "Roscoe," "The Wife," and "Rip Van Winkle."

[14] Although John Polidori admitted he wrote *The Vampyre* in the May 1819 edition of *The New Monthly Magazine*, this advertisement still claimed that Lord Byron was its author. John Polidori, letter, *The New Magazine*, May 1819, 332.

"The Voyage" discovers that he is in the uneasy position of "a stranger in the land" of his forebears when he travels to his ancestral home of England (19). The stories' investigations of characters displaced in time and space are initially unsettling, but Geoffrey Crayon's well-mannered narration and his authoritative notes quickly contain these uncanny effects. Though the nineteenth-century reader may not be familiar with Crayon (or Diedrich Knickerbocker, among whose papers "Rip Van Winkle" was supposedly found), the tone of the stories vouches for his authority both on American topics and as a seasoned traveler. Irving's version of the gothic thus offers foreign thrills in order to domesticate them.

The advertisement gives Irving a pseudonym and it echoes then-common claims on both sides of the Atlantic that the second tale, *The Vampyre,* was the work of Lord Byron, though the advertised text was in fact a reprint of a story by a far less prominent British literary figure: Byron's physician, John Polidori. First published a few months earlier, in April, 1819 in *The New Monthly Magazine* of London, this faux-Byron tale offered up the reputation of its putative author to satisfy its readers' hunger for gothic conventions: it features a mysterious aristocrat, Lord Ruthven, who befriends the tale's young gentleman protagonist and then carefully destroys his life in order to conceal the aristocrat's dark but hardly surprising secret: Ruthven is a vampire.

The advertisement cannily positions its third book, Uriah Derick D'Arcy's *The Black Vampyre*, to take advantage of *The Vampyre*'s notoriety. This novella, set in the French colony of Saint Domingue, tells the story of an enslaved African youth who not only survives his owner's attempt on his life, but kills him, returning in disguise many years later to court and marry the owner's widow before turning her into a vampire like himself. The story culminates in a clandestine nighttime ceremony during which vampires and escaped slaves gather to foment

rebellion before the military thwarts their plan by killing almost all of them. Only the widow and her newly reconstituted family escape. So while readers might expect a slave revolution, given the story's geographic and temporal proximity to the Haitian Revolution, *The Black Vampyre* offers a family reunion—going so far as to bring the murderous slave owner back to life. But one unsettling note disturbs the tale's ostensible closure: a descendant of the eponymous black vampire migrates to New Jersey, where he lives in secrecy among the lettered class of the northeastern U.S. This thrilling story made *The Black Vampyre* popular at the time—a second, expanded edition followed the first two months later in August 1819 and a redacted version of the text was reprinted as late as 1845—but it is virtually unknown today.[15]

These three books, juxtaposed in the bookseller's ad, raise a series of questions about the conditions of authorial production in the early nineteenth-century U.S.: how much material could be copied in a legal system where copyright existed but had not yet attained its full power as a legal instrument; what textual creations constituted originality; and how ought authorship itself be recognized and documented? Indeed, none of the books is advertised with its correct author's name: Irving's name is omitted entirely, Byron's is given in lieu of Polidori's, and Uriah Derick D'Arcy is a pseudonym for one of two possible authors, either Richard Varick Dey or Robert C. Sands.[16] In particular, *The Black Vampyre*, the least known and last listed of the books, contains an afterword which foregrounds the problem of creative origins, copying, and plagiarism in order

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[15] I have not been able to find an extant copy of the first edition of *The Black Vampyre*, whose existence is corroborated by the advertisement in June and the "second edition" on the August edition's title page. The 1845 redacted form of the novella appeared in two magazine articles: "More of Sands' Literary Remains: 'The Black Vampyre,'" *The Knickerbocker, or New York Monthly Magazine* 1845, 73-77; and "Sands' 'Black Vampyre,'" in *The Knickerbocker, or New York Monthly Magazine* 1845, 171-173.

[16] *The Black Vampyre* has two possible authors: Richard Varick Dey and Robert Charles Sands. Richard Varick Dey (1801-1837) graduated from Columbia College in 1818, New Brunswick Theological Seminary in 1822, and was the pastor of the Congregational Church in Greenfield, Connecticut and the Reformed Church in Vandewater Street, New York City (Labaw 34). Robert Charles Sands (1799-1832) graduated from Columbia College in 1815 and although he was trained as a lawyer, he wrote for *The Literary Review*, managed *The Atlantic*, and edited *The New York Review* (Cleveland 213-4). He was associated with Washington Irving and the Knickerbocker group (Bender, 134).

to make a thinly-veiled attack on Washington Irving and his literary peers, the Knickerbocker group.

This attack—which the text positions as part of its larger, theoretical condemnation of the "vampires" who profit from the labor of others—is particularly ironic because *The Black Vampyre*'s success depends upon the reader's recognition of its reliance on the earlier story by Polidori. Indeed, D'Arcy explicitly parodies *The Vampyre* and even suggests that Lord Ruthven, the vampire anti-hero of its British antecedent, had his origins in Saint Domingue. Although the connection between *The Sketch Book* and *The Black Vampyre* may not have been explicit in the first edition of June 1819, by *The Black Vampyre*'s second edition in August 1819, D'Arcy mocks Launcelot Langstaff, one of Irving's many authorial personas, as a writer of "low-lived [scurrilities]" (71). In addition to being advertised together and referencing each other, these books were also reviewed together. Many reviewers commented on *The Black Vampyre*'s parody of *The Vampyre*, and reviews of *The Sketch Book* and *The Vampyre* appeared side by side (*Ladies' Literary Cabinet*, June 26, 1819, 56). In the eyes of their nineteenth-century readers, then, these three texts were closely related.

This chapter locates *The Black Vampyre* in both the tradition of writing about the Haitian Revolution and the context of its publication in New York in order to examine what a range of hemispheric gothic fictions accomplish when they invoke the Haitian Revolution. I start with a reading of Leonora Sansay's episotolary novel *The Secret History* (1808) that examines one of the earliest gothic deployments of the Haitian Revolution, in this case to tantalize readers and to emphasize the narrator's lack of power. This novel challenges U.S. national narratives that ignore the Haitian Revolution by placing its narrator, a U.S. citizen, squarely in the middle of the revolution and drawing parallels between the forms of oppression that led to the Haitian

Revolution and the cruelties that the narrator's husband inflicts upon her. I then argue that *The Black Vampyre*—whose story evokes the Haitian Revolution by thematizing a slave insurrection set in the former Saint Domingue—uses its portrayal of the Haitian Revolution to develop a sustained critique of the two texts with which it is advertised, as well as of the larger Anglophone literary market in which all three works circulated. While *The Black Vampyre* satirically highlights the questions of plagiarism and authorship that led to confusion and allowed for exploitation in this literary market, it also ties these injustices to larger questions of slavery and imperialism through its literary deployments of what I am terming the hemispheric gothic. *The Black Vampyre* uses vampirism as a metaphor for theft, and, by explicit theorizing that metaphor, it highlights the similarities in form, if not in consequence, between plagiarist authors taking credit for the words of others and slave owners profiting from the labor of enslaved workers. Furthermore, *The Black Vampyre* questions not only putatively pure racial lines but also uncomplicated U.S. national narratives as it exposes the contaminated power relations that shape family life and the intertwined histories of the United States and Haiti. *The Black Vampyre* invokes the Haitian Revolution to demonstrate how the histories that link the United States to Haiti have been hidden.

Finally I turn to Herman Melville's novella *Benito Cereno* (1855), which, instead of bringing a descendent of the Haitian Revolution to the United States, instead sends a U.S. citizen to witness its transposition of the Haitian Revolution into a shipboard revolt off the coast of Chile. As *Benito Cereno* denies Babo, the leader of the revolt, a voice after the plot is uncovered and foiled, it also dramatizes the impossibility of the U.S. witness properly reading the Haitian Revolution. While the hemispheric gothic is not limited to stories of revolution in the Americas,

it originates from the kind of hidden links between the U.S. and Haiti that *The Secret History*, *The Black Vampyre*, and *Benito Cereno* all insist on highlighting.

I use the adjective *hemispheric*—as opposed to New World or trans-Atlantic—to convey a political, social, and cultural order in which multiple power dynamics are imaginable rather than fixed in relation to colonial and imperialist histories. My analysis de-centers the connection between the United States and Europe in favor of exploring the relationships developing among the nations that would be, at least in theory, "[isolated] 'at home' in the Western Hemisphere" by the 1823 Monroe Doctrine (Murphy 64). I follow the work of Caroline Levander and Robert S. Levine, Carolyn Porter, Diana Taylor, and Wai Chee Dimock in using the hemisphere to "move beyond the U.S. nation … not to abandon the concept of nation but rather to adopt new perspectives that allow us to view the nation beyond the terms of its own exceptionalist self-imaginings" (Levander and Levine 2008, 7). Diana Taylor describes the effect of shifting the frame of analysis from the performative "America" to the hemispheric animative: doing so "[expands] the range of objects and analytic practices available to us" (1423). Hemispheric gothic texts, then, engage in a mode of criticism attuned to the political and cultural complexities of a variety of markets, including the trans-Atlantic literary one in which *The Black Vampyre* was generated.

As both a thematic orientation and a literary mode, the hemispheric gothic insists that the United States is implicated in a hemispheric history from which the dominant cultural discourse is always trying to distance itself.[17] Indeed, I argue, the gothic distortions present in this genre are provoked by instances of theft which contemporary mainstream culture tried to repress—

[17] See Teresa Goddu who demonstrates a connection between the horrors of slavery and the gothic turn in literature; Jesse Alemán posits that the gothic insists on a connection between the United States and Mexico that was otherwise forgotten or ignored. Sean Goudie and Jennifer Greeson (*Our South*) both observe that Charles Brockden Brown complicates the U.S. mainstream cultural dominance by portraying the incursion of disavowed cultural elements of the South and the West Indies.

theft of labor and personhood in the form of slavery and theft of land in the form of imperial expansion. The hemispheric gothic calls on the United States to account for its participation in these bloody histories—it is always involved and always reminded of its hemispheric identity—through intertwining genealogies that intimately connect it to those nations from which it ideologically distances itself. This gothic also recasts a more comfortable trans-Atlantic question: instead of asking only how far the United States is from Europe, as Irving's gothicism implicitly does, it also asks how close the U.S. is to Haiti. The hemispheric gothic drives home the point any map makes: Haiti is much closer to the U.S. than England is.

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As news about the slave revolt in Saint Domingue spread, and for decades after, "a flood of historical and biographical narratives of the Haitian Revolution" began appearing in the United States (Clavin, 2). While many of these authors strove to establish their own credentials as authoritative sources and their motives as disinterested, they also cannily adopted techniques and tropes used by popular gothic fictions of the day in a bid to attract readers.[18] Leonora Sansay's *Secret History; or The Horrors of St. Domingo, in a Series of Letters, Written by a Lady at Cape Francois, to Col. Aaron Burr, Late Vice-President of the United States, Principally During the Command of General Rochambeau* (1808) suggests in its title alone that it will be of interest to readers of at least three different genres (secret histories, gothic thrillers, and epistolary novels) even as it vouches for its own authenticity (its author was living in Saint Domingue at the start of the revolution) and titillates with its promises of horrors yet to be unfolded.

Secret History anticipates many of the strategies that hemispheric gothic novels deploy, especially in its authorial teases and its hemispheric scope. Despite the fact that Sansay makes

[18] See Clavin, especially 3-5 and 6-11.

her text public, she never identifies herself as author by name, and the use of Aaron Burr's name on the title page distracts the public's attention from the person writing the letters to the person receiving them. In the very first letter, one of text's narrators, Mary, identifies her intended reader as "my dear friend," and like a close friend, she never uses her own name in the letters—a name other readers of the text do not learn until the twenty-eighth letter (61, 133). At the time, Burr was a figure of public notoriety: in 1806 he headed a conspiracy whose goals were not clearly defined but seemed to involve the establishment of a rival empire west of the Mississippi River, and, though he was charged with treason, he was acquitted in 1807.[19] Burr's appearance on the title page is more than a gimmick: Sansay knew him well.[20] Sansay spells out her intentions for this novel in a letter written to Aaron Burr during the period while she was living in Saint Domingue. As Sansay starts describing a ball General Rochambau gave (a ball that she will later fictionalize in her novel), she interjects: "And here commences the adventures of Clara—do you recollect her? that Clara you once lov'd—She came to St domingo about the time I did" (Drexler 225). Later in the same letter she wonders whether "the story of Clara, with many incidents which I have omitted, and some observations on all that is passing here, be written in a pretty light style, could it be printed in America in a tolerable pamphlet in french and english" and remarks that she knows someone who could write it (Drexler 230). In these remarks, Sansay identifies herself with both the narrator (that is, someone who could write the story of Clara) and Clara (whom Aaron Burr once loved).[21] While Burr never promoted the story as Sansay suggested, she capitalized on his notoriety (in her novel's title) in order to gain a wider audience

[19] See Drexler 31-32.
[20] Sansay and Burr were romantically involved. In 1802, Burr encouraged her to return with her husband (a French planter) to Saint Domingue in an attempt to reclaim his plantation; this attempt was unsuccessful, however, and by 1804 the Sansays had fled to Cuba (Drexler 27-29).
[21] To add to the confusion between the fictional narrator of the text and its historical author, the novel is sometimes published as the work of Mary Hassal, a name which conflates one of the text's fictional narrators (Mary) with its real author (Leonora Sansay's maiden name was Hassal, see Drexler 27).

for her work. So, like many hemispheric gothic texts, *The Secret History*'s use of its paratexts (specifically Burr's name on the title page) not only promotes itself but also amplifies and supplements the text of the novel by connecting the story within its pages to the larger hemispheric story of Burr's attempt to establish an empire west of the Mississippi.

As an epistolary novel *Secret History* depends on the distance between the narrator/writer and her reader; the specific, if fictional, conditions of its production make that distance hemispheric—Mary begins writing from Cape Francois in the French colony of Saint Domingue to bridge the distance between herself and her friend Aaron Burr in Philadelphia.[22] As the threat of violence grows, however, the letters do more than connect Cape Francois to Philadelphia. Instead, they trace Mary's flight and mark the places in the Caribbean where wealthy Europeans and creoles feel they can still protect their persons and their property—and, after Mary and her sister Clara leave Clara's husband, the women's flight back to the United States and Philadelphia. The letters very self-consciously map Mary's movements—the only header consistently affixed to the letters (other than the labeling of each letter as one of a series) is the location from which the letter is sent.

But the novel's hemispheric meanderings are something of a tease as well: for a novel that explicitly invokes the Haitian Revolution, we see very little of it. Of course, part of the distance between Sansay's readers and the events of the Haitian revolution comes from the form of the text: an epistolary novel can never happen in "real-time," even theoretically, because the narrator must stop participating in the events she witnesses before she can describe them in a letter. However, our narrator does not even see the events she describes. This dissociation between the violent events of the Haitian revolution (of which we, as readers, are aware because Mary does describe them eventually) and Mary's experiences

[22] Sansay at least conceived of the idea of *The Secret History* in Haiti; her letter to Aaron Burr dated May 6, 1803 and written from Cape Francois initially broaches the idea of publishing the story of Clara (Drexler 223-231).

indicates that Sansay's interests in the Haitian revolution are less fully developed. This lack of interest is what finally separates *Secret History* from other novels in the hemispheric gothic tradition: it invokes the Haitian Revolution to tantalize its readers, but its ultimate critique is not of the underlying conditions that provoked the Haitian Revolution.

* * *

Fifteen years later, another gothic tale, *The Black Vampyre*, also invoked the Haitian Revolution to tantalize its readers. As a quintessential example of the hemispheric gothic mode, *The Black Vampyre* aligns its story with the historical Haitian Revolution in several straightforward ways: by setting the story in Saint Domingue, and by portraying both the revolt of an individual enslaved subject and a mass meeting where a group of runaway slaves practice voodoo in preparation for a large-scale rebellion.[23] While *The Black Vampyre* is not an abolitionist text, it deploys both a self-avowed act of plagiarism and a series of paratextual diatribes about literary theft to gesture at the contemporary hypocrisy of an Anglophone literary market that was vexed by such issues even as it turned a blind eye toward the much weightier thefts inherent in chattel slavery. As D'Arcy uses the figure of the vampire both to talk about slavery in his story and to bemoan the travesty of plagiarism in an afterword, he invites the reader to contemplate how the literary market and the slave market are connected. Together, the Saint Dominguean-set novella and its odd paratexts suggest that questions of plagiarism and authorship are tied to questions of slavery and the right to the ownership of one's labor by the very trans-Atlantic markets from which they both emerge. Yet *The Black Vampyre* has been almost entirely overlooked by critics and scholars, perhaps as much because of the uneasy

[23] This scene parallels the Bois-Caïman ceremony at the start of the Haitian Revolution, which happened on August 14 or August 21, 1791. A voodoo priest—Boukman—and a priestess sacrificed and drank the blood of a pig and prayed to initiate the revolution. See Joan Dayan, *Haiti, History, and the Gods*, 29-30; Laurent Dubois, *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution*, 99-102; C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*, 2nd ed., 86-7.

transnational implications of its final narrative twist as because of its bizarre and outrageous storyline; furthermore, the story posits a series of interconnected familial genealogies that assign Haitian ancestry to residents of the antebellum United States, perhaps making it simply untenable for a nationalist literary-historical narrative and resulting in its virtual obscurity. In an era when mainstream national culture attempted to separate the mutually constituting histories of the United States and Haiti, *The Black Vampyre* put its U.S. reader in the position of witnessing the country's involvement in the repressive social and economic institutions of the hemisphere and responding to its gothic horrors. Furthermore, through its theoretical speculations about the nature of vampirism, it explicitly critiques the capitalist and imperialist slave systems in place in both Saint Domingue and the United States that allowed elites to consume, profit from, and thereby sustain themselves upon the labor of others.

Part of the contemporary popularity of *The Black Vampyre* came from its allusions to *The Vampyre*, which had been published in London in the April 1, 1819 issue of *The New Monthly Magazine* as "a Tale by Lord Byron" (195). In the May 1, 1819 issue, however, Polidori admitted that while he had taken "*the groundwork*" for the story from Byron, "its development" was his own (332). In response, audiences in both London and the United States wondered "'how [Polidori] could delay'" his admission of his involvement and why "'the book-seller did not contrive to obtain [the full story] sooner'" ("Mirror of Life"). *The Black Vampyre* constitutes a part of the public—and soon trans-Atlantic—outrage at this deception. Because the antebellum United States had a decentralized *culture of reprinting*, to use Meredith McGill's term (4), in which magazines republished both American authors and British authors because the United States did not yet enforce international copyright laws for foreign authors, reviewers' outrage at the idea that Byron wrote *The Vampyre* implies that they expected a much better story from he

renowned author. Newspapers on both sides of the Atlantic printed (and reprinted) articles noting that *The Vampyre* evoked a great reaction in the form of "'a noise so very unlike the usual triumph of Lord Byron's genius'" ("Mirror of Life"). In other words, the reading public was not heavily invested in authorial claims to copyright, but it did take a famous author's name as a guarantee of quality—one that *The Vampyre* apparently failed to live up to.

The Black Vampyre uses a footnote to assert itself as a potential prequel to *The Vampyre*. The footnote speculates that a minor character in *The Black Vampyre* who receives exactly two sentences' notice in the text, "having never been heard of since," has actually been roaming about the world as a vampire, and may even be Lord Ruthven, the vampire anti-hero of Polidori's *The Vampyre* (19). In other words, the text claims that the New World vampire provides the original, while its British antecedent is a mere copy. In this assertion, *The Black Vampyre* inverts the relationship of the texts. Other than this fleeting reference, however, the text's parody of the earlier work is much more general: like its British counterpart, *The Black Vampyre* also features a parasitic villain who deceives the aristocrats around him, but where Lord Ruthven destroys a young aristocrat's life, family, and credibility, the eponymous Black Vampyre actually restores the Personne family to its original composition. This restoration is in fact the text's ironic ultimate horror: the reconstitution of the family is complete—as we shall see—with an imminent new arrival, an unborn heir who will contaminate both the racial purity of the old family line and the national boundaries separating Haiti and the U.S.

At the same time as *The Black Vampyre* posits a familial aspect to vampirism and develops a connection between the family and the nation, it opens with a subtle wink to readers' confusion about *The Vampyre*: its prefatory material quotes a long section of Byron's 1813 poem "The Giaour," which has an explicit depiction of a vampire "drain[ing] the stream of life" from

his family (vi). The passage D'Arcy quotes highlights the gruesome nature of vampirism, and it also suggests an inherent family connection; but while the poem causes the vampire to destroy his own family in order to torment him, D'Arcy ironically restores the family unit in *The Black Vampyre* through vampirism. By including this excerpt, the text acknowledges Byron's earlier poem which contains a vampire even as it prepares to critique a text which, as a review in the *New York Commercial Advertiser* put it, "utterly disappointed" readers who had quickly identified it as inferior to Byron's work and who by then knew it had not been written by Byron (Amphilogist 2). This acknowledgement also nods at D'Arcy's authorial play-acting: Polidori posed as Lord Byron when he first published *The Vampyre*, and the author of *The Black Vampyre* published under the penname Uriah Derick D'Arcy. Indeed, the selection of this pseudonym seems to make sly fun of the trans-Atlantic appetite for the literary production of an aristocratic authorial hand, even as it trades on such desires.

Much of the humor and critique in *The Black Vampyre* comes from the paratexts that surround the novella. The second edition begins with a sarcastic dedication to the editor of "Wall-Street" and the excerpt from "The Giaour." Then the pamphlet presents the novella *The Black Vampyre*, which is followed by a separate Moral that critiques its British forerunner, *The Vampyre,* along with a plethora of other cultural and economic practices, which it calls vampirish. This Moral articulates a rudimentary explanation of the metaphor of vampirism. Next D'Arcy mocks members of the Knickerbocker circle such as Washington Irving and James Kirke Paulding by sarcastically praising their work on literary magazines, especially the new *Salmagundi*. The pamphlet concludes with "Vampyrism," a poem that repeats the criticisms of the Moral and continues to mock the Knickerbockers. These paratexts suggest that the strange

gothic novella about the early Americas cannot be understood apart from the trans-Atlantic literary market with which the story's larger textual apparatus takes vitriolic issue.

At least in its second edition, *The Black Vampyre* is intertwined with the New York literary scene in ways that suggest a connection between the text's vampiric critique and its hemispheric critique of the trans-Atlantic literary market. Certainly, the advertisement that offers *The Black Vampyre* for sale alongside *The Sketch Book* and *The Vampyre* indicates that these books were released at the same time. But in the end matter of the second edition, more direct allusions to Washington Irving and his literary friends abound. D'Arcy claims the "New Series of Salmagundi," a literary magazine edited by Washington Irving, William Irving, Jr., and James Kirke Paulding, is "a rare specimen of all that is execrable in bad grammar…and dear at half price" (71). Indeed, he spends quite a bit of time mocking the grammar and taste of Launcelot Langstaff, the fictitious editor supposedly responsible for *Salmagundi*. D'Arcy's criticism of these members of the Knickerbocker group connects his work directly to the New York literary scene: by making jokes about figures only insiders would be familiar with, he stakes his own claim as an insider.

The Black Vampyre also indirectly takes issue with the politics of the Knickerbocker group. One of the texts it singles out in its later paratexts is Paulding's 1817 *Letters from the South*. Although Paulding insists that the reader not "mistake and suppose that I am the advocate of slavery," he also paints a romanticized picture of plantations (1:119). He insists that slaves have no wants and enjoy "a sort of state of childhood" and that their enslavement is "an evil which cannot be cured by immediate emancipation" (1:24, 1:26). This laissez-faire attitude towards slavery is at odds with *The Black Vampyre*'s pointed critique. Furthermore, when *Letters from the South* reflects on "the bloody scenes of St. Domingo," it's only to admire the exiled

French people in the U.S., who make a living for themselves despite their loss of property, rather than to engage on a more substantive level with the conditions in the colony that led to the Haitian Revolution (1:184-5). Paulding's stated goal in *Letters from the South* is to promote regional harmony and union in the face of growing sectional differences, so it cannot offer a strong critique of slavery. Paulding's approach to regional harmony and Irving's reassuring authority create literary works that approach the country's increasing sectionalism with a gentlemanly, removed quality. And *The Black Vampyre*, which insists readers recognize the hypocrisy of condemning plagiarism (the theft of literary labor) while condoning slavery, rages against this reserved, indirect approach in both its strange gothic tale and its paratexts.

Indeed, these textual critiques further complicate the question of who wrote *The Black Vampyre*. Two potential authors have been suggested: Richard Varick Dey and Charles Sands. According to the catalogue of the Library of Congress, Uriah Derick D'Arcy is a pseudonym for the Reverend Richard Varick Dey, a minister who also published some sermons and a religious magazine called *Olla Podrida* under his given name. This magazine, although its content is very different, has a similar style to *The Black Vampyre*: it's full of allusions to and quotations from the classics. When parts of *The Black Vampyre* were republished in 1845 in *The Knickerbocker* magazine, however, the work is ascribed to Robert C. Sands, although it "has never been included in any of his published writings" ("Sands' Literary Remains" 73). Sands was a member of the Knickerbocker group, that is, the very circle of writers whose work *The Black Vampyre* attacks with such vitriol. While a certain amount of playfulness and parody is inherent in the works of the Knickerbocker group, the satire in *The Black Vampyre* strikes me as more than banter between friends, and I'm inclined to believe that Richard Dey, not Sands is responsible for the text. If I'm correct, the reprint in the *Knickerbocker* magazine would have served two

purposes: to provide content for the magazine and to reclaim a text that was hostile to the Knickerbockers. *The Black Vampyre* was not Uriah Derick D'Arcy's only publication, for several poems (including "The Female Slanderer" and "A description of the former ascension of the BALLOON") appeared in the *New York Evening Post* under the same name in 1819.

* * *

The novella's plot suggests these multifaceted connections: between Haiti and the United States, between slavery and the literary market, and between the reader and the possibility of vampirism. The story begins at some indeterminate time before the Haitian Revolution in colonial Saint Domingue with the arrival of a slave ship from Guinea. Mr. Personne, a French planter, buys a young slave at auction, but when Personne perceives that his new property is "fit for no work whatever," he responds by immediately throwing the slave in the ocean—a brutally economic impulse, as the text soon makes clear, that cuts his losses before he can incur further expenditure on the life of his slave.[24] Not surprisingly for readers of the gothic, however, the slave appears to return to life after his murder, and Personne's subsequent attempts to kill the apparent ghost lead only to his own painful death. The slave uses Personne's attempts at mastery against him: Personne suspects the slave to have an affinity with water and decides to burn him to death instead of attempting to drown him again, but the slave kicks Personne into the fire and thereby mortally wounds him. After Personne returns home, news of his infant son's mysterious death finally kills him. Several years later, we find Personne's widow, Euphemia, approached by "a perfect model of the Congo Apollo…drest in the rich garb of a Moorish Prince" who is

[24] 7. This kind of economic analysis echoes the *Zong* incident of September 1781, where 132 slaves were ordered to be thrown off the slave ship *Zong* by its captain. The ship's owners subsequently sued for the value of the slaves, whom they had insured and "convinced a jury…that in drowning the slaves the ship's captain, Luke Collingwood, was not so much murdering them as securing the existence of their monetary value" (Baucom 8). The incident was covered in newspapers of the 1790s and by Olaudah Equiano.

attended by a boy who appears to be of European descent (13). The prince is, of course, the slave who wouldn't die, an identity the novella will confirm in its last lines.

Euphemia, just as predictably, immediately falls in love with this prince and marries him that very day, against her priest's advice. Later that night, the prince leads his new bride, "hanging on his arm" to the plantation cemetery, where he conducts a ritual that resembles a voodoo ceremony and cements his connection with the slave who held a supernatural power over death (18). The prince mixes blood, dirt, and water in order to bring Euphemia's dead husband back to life, and also to turn Euphemia into a vampire, replete with "a certain carnivorous craving in her maw" (24). While the text explicitly identifies the Personnes as vampires at this point, the ritual and the Personnes' physical states seem to point to zombieism as much as vampirism. After Mr. Personne asserts his desire for Euphemia, the prince agrees to leave Euphemia with Mr. Personne, her first husband. The prince leaves the cemetery, but Zembo, his ward, remains. Conveniently Zembo is also the couple's dead son—thus the prince restores the original family unit. This boy leads his parents to a cavern where they find the prince leading a large gathering of vampires and runaway slaves, in a scene that recalls the Bois-Caïman incident that many identify as the start of the Haitian Revolution. In the cave the prince gives a long speech in favor of universal emancipation. While the slaves and vampires, led by the prince, agitate for revolution, the Personnes discover that they can be restored to their human state by drinking a certain potion. Suddenly the colonial militia appears and quickly realizes the only way to kill vampires is to stake them. In the midst of the confusion, the Personnes are able to retrieve the potion and restore their own humanity, even as the military utterly defeats the insurrectionary crowd, in a turn of events that seems both to restore a pure family line and to contain the threat of a slave revolt.

But the novella ends by noting that a descendent of Euphemia and the prince lives in New Jersey now, and while he might not look like a vampire, the narrator cannot be sure that any vampiric tendencies he might have may not one day manifest after his death. In other words, while this story restores the Personnes' original family, and may seem to reward Mr. Personne's vicious behavior with a second chance, it also introduces a new, mixed-race, vampiric baby into the Personne family, and later, into the United States. Thus, an ending that initially reinforces the slave system and French power in the colony of Saint Domingue ultimately leaves the reader with a child who subverts not only the familial order but also the national U.S. one.

The novella never names the enslaved character who returns as an African prince, and indeed, names are used to confer and take away power throughout the text. At first, the French planter, Mr. Personne, might seem more important to the story by virtue of the fact that he is named. But in French, depending on the context, *personne* can mean someone, anyone, or no one. Personne could thus be any plantation owner, and his actions never betray any specific inner life. When the African Prince brings the Personnes' son back with him, the son is named Zembo. It's hard to call this name a change since the reader never learned his name before his death. Importantly, though, once he is restored back to his humanity from his vampiric state the text reveals that "Zembo … was baptized with the Christian name of Barabbas, after an uncle of his mother's, [and] recorded what the reader has perused" (42). Renaming Zembo at such a late point in the narrative has two effects. First, as the name comes in the same sentence that reveals Zembo as the text's putative narrator, the text complicates its authority. Although the reader can now theoretically trace the narrator's maternal and paternal antecedents, Zembo's assignment as narrator throws the earliest parts of the story into doubt, as he was only an infant during the crucial opening scenes. Second, the name Barabbas recalls the criminal who was freed in Jesus's

place; like the Biblical Barabbas, Zembo is saved from death—but, ironically, only by a detour into vampirism. Thus, even as the text uses names to give authority to some characters, it also uses the Personnes' allegorical names to imply that this story could have happened to any planter in Saint Domingue and that it, at least in part, repeats familiar, past stories.

The Black Vampyre performs its strange and inconsistent cultural critique on two levels: as an explicit parody of *The Vampyre* and as a theoretical condemnation of those who would appropriate others' labor. On the literary level, in the novella's obvious play on Polidori's text, it sends up both its English counterpart and what it casts as the literary speciousness of the gothic more broadly. In the author's introduction he declares the story to be the work of "the short space of two afternoons" and cites "idleness" and "amusement" as his motivations (v). From this moment forward, the tone of the work is pointedly non-serious. The text flaunts wild and unpredictable plot developments—the Personnes' infant son apparently dies shortly before his father, leaving behind his own skin, hair, and nails in his crib—and strange coincidences—such as this son's return with the African prince many years later. While at first this convoluted and extraordinary plot might imply that the work's goals are primarily to entertain, its subsequent references suggest a parodic critique of the extravagant plot of *The Vampyre,* from which it has borrowed much of its gothic aesthetic. Booksellers and critics picked up on the parody from the first: as mentioned earlier, ads for the first edition often list *The Black Vampyre* for sale immediately below *The Vampyre*—and at the same price. In fact, an early, positive review of *The Black Vampyre* asserts that "the prime object of this animated burlesque, is to ridicule that morbid compound of spleen and nonsense, called the *Vampyre*" (Dennis). This reviewer's only complaint is "that some of the subjects to which the satire is applied, are too serious for a jest" (Dennis).

The complaint is telling: which are the subjects, in the reviewer's estimation, that the novella should not have joked about? Certainly the text's geographic and cultural displacement from the work it satirizes suggests that more is going on here than a simple parody of a popular work of fiction. Whereas Polidori's story is set in London, Rome, and Greece and filters its legends through European experience, *The Black Vampyre* takes place in the Caribbean and claims African roots for the vampirism that it claims has been taken up by "Professors of the Obeah art" (32). These roots suggest that D'Arcy's vampires are close cousins of the zonbi, whom slaves of West African descent are said to have believed were "returned soul[s], *revenant*[s]" and which word which appears as early as 1797 in travel writing about Saint Domingue (McAlister 459). Indeed, the zombie is the quintessential monster of plantation slavery: it "represents, responds to, and mystifies fear of slavery, collusion with it, and rebellion against it" (McAlister 461). While the story isn't entirely precise, for example, in the difference between a vampire and a goul, it seems to be equally interested in exploring the African and orientalist roots of its monsters. The site of the vampires' and revolting slaves' meeting (which the Personnes attend, at the invitation of their son Zembo, near the end of the story) is compared to "a vast hall of Arabian romance" and the enthroned vampires (or gouls) wear "sumptuous Moorish apparel" (32, 33). Equally telling, however, is the decoration of the hall: the walls are "stained with blood" and "plastered with a composition of rum and gravedirt, the implements of Negro witchcraft" (33). The African prince, as he addresses the crowd of vampires and rebels, traces vampirism from Prometheus through a variety of animals and mythic figures the world over, turning finally to "the Moco tribe of our own Eboes," his own ancestors (36). Thus, there's a definite doubleness to the cultural antecedents of the novella's vampires. Through the parody of Polidori's *The Vampyre,* the text demonstrates its awareness of the European folk customs that

underlie such works as "The Giaour" and *The Vampyre*, but in its insistence on the African roots of both the Prince and the ceremonies he conducts, it also makes the vampires close cousins to obeah's zombies.

The Black Vampyre also features a unique escape clause for individuals who are unfortunate enough to be turned into vampires. While Euphemia easily recognizes her new vampiric appetites, she also has a certain amount of potential to escape her fate. In this Haitian-set version of the vampire plot, "'the estate of Vampyrism'" may be escaped either by the traditional, final, mortal staking or with "'the gentler operation of [a certain] narcotic potion,'" a way out that is implicitly linked to African knowledge of medicinal plants and to obeah (37). This Haitian escape, however, is not entirely without consequence: while the Personnes and Zembo awake with no more ill effects from the potion than "colds in the head," Euphemia has become pregnant during the short course of her marriage to the African prince and gives birth to a child "of Vampyrish propensities" (42). At the time of her marriage, Euphemia's priest had cited the threat of racial mixture, when he warned her of "the impropriety of marrying a negro," and now vampirism—as a proxy for racial mixture—appears to be the result of that union (18).

Anyone, then, has the potential to be turned into a vampire: either living (Euphemia) or dead (Mr. Personne); of European descent (the Personnes) or of African descent (the prince). Furthermore, the language describing vampirism—it's variously an "estate" and a "fee-tail" (that is, an entail)—implies that there's both a genealogical component (it's something you can inherit) and a legal component (it's passed down by pre-arranged rules, instead of by individual will). But while the story allows for the theoretical potential of a global vampirism—extending from the Orient to the European-colonized New World—it tends to associate vampires most

closely with its eponymous character, the slave who defies Mr. Personne before returning as a prince—and with the insurrectionary Africans to whom he indirectly leads the Personnes.

These vampires fully espouse the cause of emancipation and look forward to a day when—as the prince puts it—"'our fetters discandied, and our chains dissolved, we shall stand liberated,—redeemed,—emancipated,—and disenthralled by the irresistible genius of Universal Emancipation!!!'" (38). In this push for emancipation, then, vampirism not only allows the African prince to defend himself and kill Mr. Personne, but also becomes an extended and ultimately theorized metaphor for the chains of slavery: the vampires are trapped in "a fee-tail" until they are staked—they've inherited an immortality but cannot use their free will to enjoy it (37).

While the story starts by associating vampirism with enslaved Africans, in the Moral and in "Vampyrism: A Poem" it moves beyond this simple association to develop the idea of vampirism as a more broadly applicable metaphor. The Moral begins by asserting that "in this happy land of liberty and equality, we are free from all traditional superstitions, whether political, religious, or otherwise. Fiction has no materials for machinery;—Romance no horrors for a tale of mystery. Yet in a figurative sense, and in the moral world, our climate is perhaps more prolific than any other, in enchanters,—Vampyres,—and the whole infernal brood of sorcery and witchcraft" (45). In other words, the Moral claims that while the United States might not appear to be susceptible to the superstitions portrayed in the story, it is actually just as vulnerable to vampirism, especially as a metaphorical concept. That is, the U.S. suffers from more rational forms of vampirism: economic and legal systems that unjustly allow the lucky few to profit from the labor of everyone else. The Moral roams through a wide range of professions, including dandies, brokers, clerks, bank directors, and plagiarists, contending that they are all

vampires. The author saves special vitriol for Polidori, calling him "the Bibliopolist, 'who guts the fobs' of the whole reading community, by ascribing to Lord Byron works which that author never saw" (D'Arcy 1819*,* 47). In this criticism specifically, and in the Moral more generally, the crime of vampirism is really one of greed and theft. The vampires, according to the Moral, are the ones who take or benefit from that which they have not made or earned. Indeed, the Moral suggests that the story has its titillating horrors backward: we can imagine the slaves as vampires only because the slave-holders have projected their guilt and monstrosity onto those whom they oppress.

D'Arcy is fully aware of the ironies of his critique of using the work of others—while he does not take the name of a famous author, he has freely incorporated other authors' ideas in the form of both quotations and more oblique references—into his own work. He admits that he has "made as free with those of others—I am Vampyre!" (48). Yet, oddly, D'Arcy also uses this metaphorical system in which he implicates himself as a critique of capitalism, a critique which will be reformulated by Karl Marx in *Capital* (1867), where he says that "capital is dead labour, that, vampire-like, only lives by sucking living labour, and lives the more, the more labour it sucks."[25] As with Marx, for D'Arcy, too, it's not just the supernatural beings that thirst for blood who are engaging in vampirism, but also "Brokers, Country Bank Directors, and their disciples—all whose hunger and thirst for money, unsatisfied with the tardy progression of honest industry, by creating fictitious and delusive credit, has preyed on the heart and liver of public confidence, and poisoned the currents of public morals" (D'Arcy 46).

This definition of vampirism, which places it squarely at the heart of capitalism itself, illuminates the true nature of the cultural work performed by D'Arcy's black vampire. If D'Arcy

[25] Marx 143. Christopher Frayling claims that Marx's depiction of a Wallachian *boyar* came from Elias Reginault's 1855 *Histoire Politique et Sociale des Principautes Danubiennes* (Walker 281).

has initially drawn upon the standard, generic requirements of the vampire—a being socially and perhaps racially different from the dominant society and used to inculcate in readers the horrifying but pleasurably titillating differences between "us" and "them"—his novella and commentaries explore the richer metaphoric possibilities of a monster that can only survive by sucking the blood of others: precisely, D'Arcy argues, as do capitalists and plagiarists. By the culmination of the tale, it is clear that slaves are (black) vampires through a complex but familiar process of projection on the part of those whom D'Arcy parodies and his presumed U.S. readership. Indeed, the tale is nearly a parable of the projection process upon which U.S. racial ideology depends: a vampiric capitalist slave system that casts its own monstrosity onto those it would victimize.

Here is the main thrust of D'Arcy's second critique: while Polidori provides the specific instance for parody, D'Arcy expands his field of vision and attacks all who would profit from others' labor. One category of potential vampires pointedly missing from D'Arcy's critique, though, is the slave owner. While D'Arcy does not comment on slavery in the Moral, his portrayal of the cruel slave owner Mr. Personne in the novella definitely includes him in the category of vampire—especially because Mr. Personne is temporarily turned into a vampire during the story. D'Arcy thus uses the figure of the vampire as the text's primary mode of gothic critique. But its specific colonial location also provides a key element of the story's critical project. The story's setting in the French colony of Saint Domingue and the revolutionary speech near the story's end both overtly conjure up the spectre of the Haitian revolution within the text.

Just as the story starts with a personal and localized slave revolt, when Mr. Personne is killed by the slave he is attempting to kill, it closes with another scene that evokes the Haitian Revolution when Zembo leads Euphemia and Mr. Personne to a gathering of vampires and

armed slaves. The Personnes arrive just in time to hear the African prince's speech which starts with some negotiations about who comes first (gentlemen or vampires) but quickly moves onto its goals, namely "'the emancipation of the Negroes [and] the consecration of the soil of St. Domingo to the manes of murdered patriots in all ages'" (37). This meeting is obviously premature, because just as the prince has announced his theme, the gathering is "interrupted by the glittering bayonets of the soldiery," who slaughter the slaves, allowing the Personnes to return to their plantation (39). In one sense, by ending this historical fiction before the full development of the events it portrays (that is, before Haitian independence), D'Arcy is repeating the officially sanctioned U.S. repression of Haitian history that did not recognize Haiti as an independent nation until 1862. But as in other nineteenth-century fictions that invoke the Haitian Revolution,[26] this chronological prematurity does not dampen the terrible force of revolution, and may in fact be part of the point: in 1819 the Haitian Revolution was a historical fact, but other slave revolts that it might inspire or foreshadow were still part of a possible future.

Indeed, despite its main setting, *The Black Vampyre* has an odd and persistent desire for the United States to witness this story of the Haitian Revolution. While the vast majority of the action happens on Saint Domingue, the story ends by returning to one Anthony Gibbons, who is "a lineal descendent" of Euphemia and the African prince and who now lives in Essex County, New Jersey (43). This final twist again charges the United States citizen to be in a position of witnessing: first, to see "the size of … [Gibbons's] waist," but more significantly to ask whether he might be "a titbit, to glut the thirst of a vampyre" (43). Thus the reader of this story, which claims it has been released to the public through Mr. Gibbons's offices, is confronted with the

[26] For example, Herman Melville's *Benito Cereno* (1855) is set on a Spanish ship off the coast of Chile, but through the name of the ship (the *San Dominick*) and the plot, it clearly invokes the Haitian Revolution.

unsettling possibility that the United States is both home to vampires and linked through familial ties to Haiti.

In an ironic twist, however, in 1845 the editor of *The Knickerbocker* magazine, Lewis Gaylord Clark, redacted the pamphlet of *The Black Vampyre* over two issues in its Editor's Table section, thus allowing the strange novella to achieve an afterlife of sorts in the very New York literary scene it so bitterly criticized. While the redaction secures *The Black Vampyre*'s place in the literary culture it initially critiqued, it also illustrates the importance of the connections the earlier editions of the tale made between Haiti and the United States by omitting them. The section of the *The Black Vampyre* first reprinted in *The Knickerbocker* repeats some of the criticisms from the Moral in the 1819 pamphlet—but omits all criticism of the Knickerbocker group—and gives the first part of the story, summarizing in some places and quoting in others. But this first installment breaks off at a key moment in the Personnes' graveyard after Euphemia's marriage to the African prince. The second installment, in the same style as the first, picks up with the Personnes' trip to the caverns. It ends by quoting the African prince's speech on universal emancipation in full, but concludes before the militia comes in and breaks up the meeting and the Personnes recover their humanity. These changes from the 1819 novella thus give the later version a stronger anti-slavery message: the text no longer cuts off the potential slave rebellion, but instead ends on its very eve and with a speech announcing its goals. But they also remove perhaps the most subversive part of the original story: even though in the 1819 version the slave revolt is put down and the original planter's family is restored to him, his wife gives birth to the mixed-race and half-vampire child of her later husband, the prince, and this child's descendants end up living in the United States—more specifically, in New Jersey, close to the cultural center where the story was originally published. In other words, the redaction of

the story published by *The Knickerbocker* disarms the story. Instead of a dense Moral, it sends an easy, uncomplicated message in which slavery is bad, Haiti is scary, and the West Indies are full of uncanny voodoo monsters. But gone are the connective implications of the 1819 text: Haiti and the U.S. are connected, slavery and the literary market are connected, and, most troubling of all, the vampire lies or may soon lie within YOU, dear reader….

* * *

Written more than 35 years after *The Black Vampyre*, Herman Melville's *Benito Cereno* (1855), also insists on connecting the Haitian Revolution to an unsuspecting United States. But whereas *The Black Vampyre* suggests that U.S. national narratives, in ignoring the Haitian Revolution, may have allowed a vampiric descendent of a revolutionary Haitian to infiltrate the United States, *Benito Cereno* insists that a U.S. citizen witness its version of the Haitian Revolution. Furthermore, the first edition of *Benito Cereno*, serialized in *Putnam's Monthly Magazine* from October to December 1855, was able to withhold its final, horrific twist from its readers in ways that *The Black Vampyre* was not: the true situation on the *San Dominick* is only made explicit in the novella's third and final installment. The specter of the Haitian Revolution haunts *Benito Cereno* from a greater remove than *The Black Vampyre* (which is, after all, set on Saint Domingue). The action of *Benito Cereno* occurs off the coast of Chile, but the name of Benito Cereno's ship, the *San Dominick*, and the slave revolt link the events of the story thematically to the Haitian revolution. The presence of the Haitian revolution coincides with suppressed voices in the text; here, Babo's silence dramatically indicates the suppressed narratives on the *San Dominick* both before and after Captain Delano's visit.

Melville based his story on a published, historical account of a slave rebellion that happened aboard a ship during the years 1804 to 1805, but he made several, small changes that align his story more closely with the Haitian revolution. First, Melville moved the time of action back from 1804-1805

to 1799. Second, Melville changed the name of the ship: "Although *Tryal* was the Spanish craft on which Don Benito actually underwent his ordeal…Melville rechristens…the slave ship *San Dominick*. Both the temporal and nominal changes suggest the black insurrection that had occurred at Santo Domingo in the last decade of the 18th century" (Yellin 680). These changes evoke the Haitian revolution in a story that might otherwise be far removed from the events of that slave rebellion. In so doing, the text links the Haitian Revolution not just to the slave trade that Cereno and the *San Dominick* engage in, but also to the putatively more benign forms of trade and sealing and to the United States through Captain Delano.

While the slave revolt on the ship is a part of the text's gothic designs, the narrative actively excludes the voices of the slaves from its purview. All of Babo's speeches in the first part of the chapter, from his comparison of Atufal's position and his own position in Africa, to his tale about the cut for a cut which Cereno supposedly gave him after the shaving scene, become problematic in the moment of Delano's "flash of revelation" in the novella's third installment (635). In the moment when Delano realizes that every hint of power that Cereno had on the *San Dominick* was a charade put on for his exclusive benefit, all of Babo's speech is undermined. Even though, with knowledge of the change, one can reinterpret all of Babo's speeches and gestures, access to Babo's interior thoughts and motives, beyond those of deceiving Delano and retaining control of the ship, is lost. Importantly, as Babo seems to be following his leader, leaping off the ship "as if with desperate fidelity to befriend his master to the last," neither his speech, nor that of the "whole host of negroes" leaning over the railing is recorded in the narrative (634). Although Cereno's crazed ramblings in Spanish are only intelligible to the Portuguese oarsman, he retains his voice, and his ability to testify.

Part of *Benito Cereno*'s hemispheric gothic project, then, is to make the reader aware of suppressed narratives and hidden histories (both the actual story of the slaves' revolt and the Haitian

Revolution) buried underneath Delano's first impressions of the *San Dominick*), even though it refuses to fully reveal these stories. After the moment of capture, there is no more of Babo's speech to record. While the narrator ventures to read Babo's body as saying "since I cannot do deeds, I will not speak words," Babo absolutely refuses to speak before the tribunals and his "legal identity" depends "on the testimony of the sailors" (644). The text extends this uncanny silence even further, beyond the grave—once Babo is executed, his body is burnt and his head is fixed upon a pole, where his eyes still "met, unabashed, the gaze of the whites" (644). While "the spirits of the dead Atufal and the doomed Babo…persist uncannily in the space of muteness and pressure, from beyond the grave, the meaning of the court record," they only achieve this powerful presence in their absence (Goldner 66). So, the text has complicated and excluded Babo's voice in two ways. First, by withholding the true position of Babo on the ship (that is, as mastermind of the slave revolt), it has complicated all his previous statements, which require reinterpretation in the light of the reader's new knowledge. Second, in Babo's decision not to testify, or indeed, to speak at all, he has taken away not only his voice, but also a voice that could have spoken to the motivations of the slaves that revolted.

Even as *Benito Cereno* acknowledges suppressed narratives, it cannot completely unearth them: Babo's decision to remain silent ensures that the slaves who followed him in the revolt also end the text voiceless. Babo orders the phrase "'*Seguid vuestro jefe*'" painted on the ship, below its grisly figurehead (355). While the text assures us that "Benito Cereno, borne on the bier, did, indeed, follow his leader" in its last sentence, it seems that this phrase also describes what happens to the slaves on board the *San Dominick* (644). Aranda's skeleton and head are mounted in place of the figure-head on the ship, and Benito Cereno wastes away to his death shortly after his rescue; Babo's body is burned and his head is mounted in the middle of the town, watching Aranda's bones, and the slaves who followed him in the revolt remain voiceless: the ones that survive the battle are "temporarily secured" (637). As Babo and

his companions' silence denies them the chance to voice their stories, it also demonstrates the existence of suppressed narratives: "although [Melville] did not attempt to show the black man's living face or to sound the tones of his authentic voice, his tale, like the slave narratives, reveals the stereotyped faces worn by Negroes in our fiction to be masks" (Yellin 689). While the names of some are enumerated in the deposition, that list is cut off before the women and children can be named. At any rate, their fate is reduced to Babo's on the last page where the text returns to dwell only on "the black" Babo, as if there were no other slaves on the ship (644).

The missing discourse of the slaves indicates the failure of the narrative to provide a full telling of its story and the limitations of the hemispheric gothic as a genre: even as *Benito Cereno* exposes the hemispheric depths to this shipboard slave revolt, it also refuses to plumb all the secrets of its history. *Benito Cereno* finally shows the reader that elements of the story can never be known; the interiority of Babo will be a mystery as long as he chooses not to speak. Although Babo and the slaves are able to seize control of the ship for a period of time, they are never able to seize control of the narrative, because the narrator keeps the reader in the same suspense as Amasa Delano through the first part of the text, and then, once the surprise is given, Babo and the slaves never speak. While Delano, a citizen of the United States, is called to witness the events of the text, he cannot read them properly. Just as the United States attempted to diplomatically ignore the results of the Haitian Revolution, Delano refuses to see what's right before his eyes. Thus, by invoking the Haitian Revolution in a form that's only illegible to the U.S. citizens in the story, *Benito Cereno* suggests that they ignore its horrors at their own peril.

* * *

The Haitian Revolution appears in these three examples of the hemispheric gothic, then, to remind the U.S. reader of a repressed history that it has officially ignored. The hemispheric gothic links Haiti and the history of the Haitian Revolution to the United States, and this

connection is a foundational moment for a genre that characteristically unearths repressed histories in order to complicate national narratives. In *The Secret History* and *The Black Vampyre*, the specificity of the novels' Haitian locations is complicated by their insistence on connecting Haiti to the United States through thematic, familial, and explicitly literary ties. *The Black Vampyre* doesn't fully portray the historical Haitian Revolution, stopping short of the declared abolition of slavery and the end of French colonial control that this revolution historically carried with it, but the unredacted 1819 novella does allow for the potential of its own micro-revolutions to be repeated both in Saint Domingue and the United States. While *Benito Cereno* invokes the Haitian Revolution without setting its story on Haiti, it too, insists on the connection between the United States and Haiti by insisting that Captain Delano witness (and in fact learn to re-read) its drama. All three works are intensely aware of their place in their literary markets: *The Secret History* plays on its author's connection to Aaron Burr to generate enthusiasm for its story. Through its paratexts *The Black Vampyre* theorizes that its vampires metaphorically stand for stolen labor, and in particular are directly related to the trans-Atlantic slave system. *Benito Cereno*'s three-part serialization in *Putnam's* puts off both Captain Delano's and the reader's discovery of the slave revolt on the *San Dominick*, in a twist that both provides gothic thrills and prompts a reconsideration of the text's hidden narratives. These texts all share sensationalist moments of gothic horror. For example, in *The Black Vampyre*, the theft of the slave's labor and the attempted theft of his life prompt the text's gothic impulses: his ensuing vampirism and his revenge. But their deepest horrors are not just monsters or even the threat of revolution. Instead, the exposure of the contaminated family lines and of the interconnected, exploitative histories of Haiti and the U.S. provide the texts' final threat—and the horror most typical of the hemispheric gothic. Both through the specificity of its Haitian

setting and in its larger connections among the trans-Atlantic slave trade, French colonialism, and the New York literary scene *The Black Vampyre*'s implications and its gothic aesthetic extend across the hemisphere. The hemispheric gothic uncovers and asserts the value of recognizing events that the dominant culture has disavowed and denied. The Haitian Revolution is but one example of this kind of repressed history; in my next chapter, I will turn to texts that challenge conventional narratives of the first contact between Native Americans and European colonists. These stories all ultimately ask us to question and decentralize our nationally-delimited literary-historical narratives of the gothic in favor of new critical narratives that acknowledge and seek to learn from the complexities of transnational regions, like the one extending across the Atlantic from France and Britain to Saint Domingue, Chile, New Jersey, New York, and Philadelphia with its multiple histories unfolding and overlapping across the nineteenth century.

Chapter 2:

Overwritten Histories of National Origins

One of *The Black Vampyre*'s most provocative moves is its closing threat: that a descendent of its eponymous hero may have infiltrated the mainland United States unannounced and may, even now, be preparing himself to prey upon an unsuspecting U.S. populace. This concern with origins and family lines—particularly those that may not be fully legible through appearance alone and those that are difficult to trace and pin down—is typical of the hemispheric gothic. But hemispheric gothic texts do not assume that this ancestral illegibility is the result of only a history of slavery and its coercive (and often repressed) dynamics of sexual power. Instead, as I argue in this chapter, a subset of hemispheric gothic texts that appear throughout the middle of the nineteenth century apply these concerns about origins to colonial and national beginnings as they look backwards in history to explore early contact between European settlers and the hemisphere's native inhabitants.

Although by virtue of their subject matter these texts tend to look inwards toward a history centered around the geographic concerns of their perceived audiences, I argue that these gothic historical fictions are in fact a hemispheric phenomenon because of their shared strategies of displacement and their contextualization of local history into global patterns of exchange. While other examples of the hemispheric gothic displace concerns about contemporary and local power relations onto faraway places—such as Haiti and the high seas—these texts displace similar concerns onto a distant past. This chapter offers case studies of three such texts: Lydia Maria Child's *Hobomok*, first published in Boston in 1824, the anonymous *Jicotencal*, first published in Spanish in Philadelphia in 1826 and often attributed to Felix Varela, and José de Alencar's *O guaraní*, which was first serialized in the *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* in 1857. While

these texts address three different histories and appeared in three very different markets, they share generic strategies. These stories are gothic—but they are not sensationalist like *The Black Vampyre* or *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym*. Instead, they seem at first glance to be historical fiction in a realist vein. Only as the reader continues do the instances of uncanny doubling and repressed histories build up to create a gothic aesthetic.

At first it may seem easy to distinguish between a novel that aims at historical fidelity and a romance in which accurate representations of historical facts are subsumed to displaying the fantastic or uncanny or evoking emotions (especially of fear) in the reader. But even as Georg Lukács insists upon "the faithful artistic representation of the great collisions, the great crises and turning-points of history," he admits that the artist has more leeway with individual facts (248). While the authors featured in this chapter use various representational strategies to assert the historical authenticity of their works (including quoting from what are supposed to be historical primary sources and from historical accounts and incorporating historical figures into their stories), realism alone cannot fully account for these authors' quests for origins. As Lois Parkinson Zamora observes, "America's historical anxiety [is] intimately related … to the historical process of colonialism and independence in this hemisphere" (3-4). Indeed, David T. Haberly notes that in the nineteenth century "writers throughout the Americas faced a common task: to re-create or create a national past, and to use that past as a means to understand the present" (42). But, as Priscilla Wald points out, the uncanny, which helps us describe both "a forgotten moment (the stranger as self) and the sense of having forgotten (the self estranged)" can be a powerful tool as we seek to "understand what inaugurates narratives of identity and what haunts them" (5). And indeed, for all their invocations of musty old books and histories long past, these stories are haunted by the question of self and national identity: it's no

coincidence that they all look back to periods of national formation. In his preface to *The House of the Seven Gables* Nathaniel Hawthorne notes that by using the term Romance, the author usually "wishes to claim a certain latitude" in respect to whether his subject bears "a very minute fidelity, not merely to the possible, but the probable and ordinary course of man's experience" (351). While Hawthorne insists that a good romance may not "swerve aside from the truth of the human heart," the author may include more of the fantastic or marvelous than the reader might expect to see in everyday life (351). I argue that while Child, the author of *Jicoténcal*, and Alencar all take this latitude for themselves, the texts are still invested in history—and indeed, in order to be fully historical in some ways, they must be gothic, for they expose historical narratives that have been forgotten or repressed in their investigations into national origins.

Because the questions of national and colonial origins are at the heart of all these texts, each portrays the encounter between native Americans and the European colonists who seek to establish new homes (and eventually new nations) on previously occupied ground. As Renée Berglund describes the vanishing or ghostly Indian that appears and disappears suddenly to haunt U.S. literary narratives, she suggests that "the very texts that inscribe United States nationalism require the presence of ghostly Natives, even though these presences question the narrative that invokes them" (4). The Americans who appear in *Hobomok*, *Jicoténcal*, and *O guaraní* are more than ghosts, of course. But especially in *Hobomok* and *O guaraní*, their ghostly disappearances and ambiguous fates gothically unsettle both the stories themselves and larger national narratives about national origins. While voices belonging to the likes of *Hobomok*'s Mary Conant, *Jicoténcal*'s narrator, and *O guaraní*'s Cecilia recognize and praise individual Native Americans, in a larger sense all three of these works are haunted by the stories they acknowledge have been cut off or suppressed in favor of national narratives centered on European settlers.

* * *

Over the course of her life, Lydia Maria Child gave two distinct origin stories to her first novel *Hobomok, A Tale of Early Times*, which she arranged to have published in Boston in 1824. The first version, appearing in the novel's preface, describes a male author "'half tempted … to write a New England novel,'" leaving the manuscript draft with a friend, who determines that the novel should be shared with the world (Child 3). Child narrates the second version in a letter to Rufus Wilmot Griswold in 1846: after reading a review, she is moved to "[seize] a pen" and writes the first chapter "exactly as it now stands" in an afternoon (qtd. in Vaux 127). While I agree with Molly Vaux that Child adopts the persona of a male author as a way to "clothe her ambition" and gain authority with her readership, the two origin stories have several important similarities that speak to Child's awareness of the literary market into which she hoped to enter (128). Both versions of the story authorize *Hobomok* with the approval of more than its author: in the preface, the author's friend is the one who makes the decision that the novel should be published, and in the letter, Child's brother asks her if she "'*really* [wrote] this?'" (qtd. in Vaux 127). His question suggests his impressed surprise at Child's talent, and validates the novel with a second opinion. This focus on authorization is, in one sense, part of the text's search for wider cultural validation. But it also constitutes one part of the work's larger, hemispheric awareness: it suggests that *Hobomok*'s value is not in its author's personal identity, but in his (to follow the fiction of the preface) national identity and his ability to produce fictions that fill cultural needs (on which more in a moment). *Hobomok*, like many other hemispheric gothic texts, does not rely on its author's identity to validate itself, but rather places itself cannily into the literary tradition whose dominant narratives its story will eventually disrupt.

To be more specific, *Hobomok* introduces itself as a novel in the tradition of historical fiction made popular by Sir Walter Scott and suggests that it fills a need for a specifically American version of this type of story. Both of Child's versions of *Hobomok*'s creation mention a review that prompts the novel: in the preface it's "'your friend P—'s remarks concerning our early history,'" whereas in the letter, Child more fully identifies the review as John Gorham Palfrey's review of the poem *Yamoyden*, which appeared in the April 1821 edition of the *North American Review* (3). This review suggests that New England's early history has "unequalled fitness…for the purposes of a work of fiction" and that it is difficult "to imagine any element of the sublime, the wonderful, the picturesque and the pathetic, which is not to be found here by him who shall hold the witch-hazel wand that can trace it."[27] Palfrey urges potential American authors to use New England as a background for historical fiction as Sir Walter Scott had recently used Scotland. In her preface, Child acknowledges that not only Scott, but also the American James Fenimore Cooper, have already written wildly successful novels in this vein, but contends that New England's history could "'rouse the dormant energies of [her] soul'" (4).

Hobomok begins its argument for the value of telling specifically American tales on its title page: it names its author only as "an American"—a move that helps conceal the author's gender as well as focusing attention on the author's patriotism. Its epigraph is taken from William Cullen Bryant's "The Ages,"[28] a poem which traces the course of human history to conclude that while Europe, chained, still struggles "to shake off the vampyre train," America "shall never fall" (Bryant 302, 307). The poem suggests that America is the place where "the free

[27] Palfrey 480. Palfry's metaphor ("the witch-hazel wand") is telling: to the extent that Child obeys Palfrey's injunction, her writing is already a kind of witchcraft. At the very least, the image stuck with Child: Hobomok uses a witch-hazel wand to consecrate his marriage to Mary (125) and he divorces her by breaking the pieces of the wand that have been left with the witnesses (146).

[28] The epigraph is four lines of the poem (252-255) and is identified only with Bryant's last name on the title page. Bryant first delivered "The Ages," a poem of 35 Spenserian stanzas, to Harvard's chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa Society in 1821 and then published it as the first poem in his volume *Poems* later that same year (*North American Review*, rev. of *Poems* by William Cullen Bryant 381).

spirit of mankind…throws its last fetters off," in contrast to Europe, where the metaphor of a vampire train keeping those countries down implies that the difference between the two places is a parasitic one—whether the aristocracy specifically or the force of tradition more generally (289-290). The four lines that Child quotes further emphasizes the potential of America as they describe a Native American hunter relaxing and enjoying the "youthful paradise" around him—but because the subject is named at the end of the previous stanza and elided in this one, Child's epigraph writes the very person who "lay / Cooled by the interminable wood" out of picture (Bryant 252, 253-4). So, while the epigraph acknowledges the poem's depiction of America as a place where mankind can be liberated and free, it also complicates that categorization with its elision of the passage's unnamed subject. While Bryant seems certain that it's only Europe who needs to struggle to rid itself of a vampire train, *Hobomok* suggests that even from the earliest days of European settlement, America has not necessarily been a place of complete and simple freedom. Thus the novel's opening paratexts show Child's awareness of emerging literary interest in American tales and prepare the reader for the novel's complication of cultural narratives about American history and freedom.

Child's attempts to appeal to the emerging market for homegrown American literature were not as financially successful as she hoped. She had such faith in the novel that she borrowed $495 to have a thousand copies printed, but the novel debuted to mixed reviews, so she was only able to sell half of them and ended up almost one hundred dollars in debt (Showalter, 44). The *North American Review* reviewed *Hobomok* first in July 1824 and suggested that while "this tale displays considerable talent," the author should keep writing (rather than resting on her laurels) because the work was "an earnest of what the author can do [rather] than … a performance from which he can promise himself much reputation" (262). When *The Mississippi*

State Gazette published a review and all of chapter 19 in October, 1824, the reviewer noted that the book had been "too much neglected." Child heard that Professor George Ticknor enjoyed *Hobomok*, though, and he intervened on her behalf and got the *North American Review* to publish a second, longer review in July, 1825, but this review repeated many of the criticisms of the first.[29] The most objectionable part of the novel, to the *North American Review*, was the marriage of Mary Conant, an English immigrant, to Hobomok, an Indian chief, during the middle part of the novel. I will return to this objection later in the chapter.

Because *Hobomok* is so invested in its historical antecedents, it uses a realist tone to convey the authenticity of the events it portrays, rather than the frankly sensationalist and fantastic tone that we've seen in other hemispheric gothic texts to this point. But while *Hobomok* cites old manuscripts and letters to give it the patina of historical respectability, these sources are as fictional as anything else in the text. In the preface, the author's friend resolves to support the project by passing along "as many old, historical pamphlets as possible," and in the first chapter, the narrator cites "an old worn-out manuscript" written by an ancestor as the source of the story (4, 6). While the narrator suggests that he will "take the liberty of substituting my own expressions for [the ancestor's] antiquated and almost unintelligible style," the language of the story nevertheless suggests attentiveness to its putative source material (6). Mr. Conant, for example, refers to the "besom of disease and famine," using an antiquated word for broom.[30] The attention to both sources and diction that initially give the text a scholarly tone, then, become a sign of both authorial creativity and of the text's gothically unstable origins. The text also creates a sense of historical authenticity by reproducing letters and notes using the non-standardized

[29] See Showalter 44 and Vaux 132-3.

[30] Child 10. In fact, "besom" is the older word for a sweeping implement. Many besoms were made out of broom (a type of plant), so the word "broom" (a specific kind of besom) gradually supplanted the older word. According to Google's n-gram viewer, "broom" appeared in books published in English almost four times as frequently as "besom" in 1824. See the Oxford English Dictionary and Google n-gram viewer.

spellings of their authors; the letter that Hobomok dictates releasing Mary from her marriage vows bears Hobomok's mark (an image of a bow and arrow, pointing straight up) (146). On the one hand, these letters help uncover the persona of our fictional author as one devoted to presenting an accurate, historical narrative; but on the other, they are just another one of Child's many masks, and one of the ways that the text unsettles conventional histories.[31] Many critics[32] read *Hobomok*'s historical setting as a cover for a critique of parental (and specifically patriarchal) relations in New England, but in these readings the novel's status as historical fiction or historical romance obscures its gothic aesthetic. I argue that the hemispheric gothic aesthetic, while subdued, is essential to understanding Child's critique of New England power relations.

Hobomok may lack vampires, cannibalism, and a sensational tone designed to provoke and shock the reader, but as it looks to New England's colonial past, it uncovers a series of gothic frights. From its first chapter, multiple histories haunt the text, for the narrator, restless on the night of his arrival, discovers Mary Conant in the forest "[stepping] into a magic ring" to learn the identity of her future husband (13). This scene, interrupted first by Hobomok and then by one of the English colonists, Charles Brown, sets up the love triangle that the novel will explore. But Mary's ritual, which involves the circle, a feather dipped in blood, a piece of white cloth, walking in a specific pattern, and a ceremonial invocation, also invokes the region's past history and its history yet to come (in the 1629 time-frame of the novel): the Salem witch trials (1692). While the narrator doesn't directly comment on the witch trials, as Elaine Showalter points out, "Child anticipated Hawthorne in her use of real historical characters and her portrayal

[31] Rather than telling a fictional story of historical figures (which, as we will see, *Jicoténcal*, does), *Hobomok* places fictional characters into an historical setting. In this context, Charles Brown's name feels full of possibility: it could be the bland name of an English Everyman, it could be given in ironic contrast to his skin tone, or it could invoke the memory of the novelist Charles Brockden Brown whose *Edgar Huntly* (1799) is another gothic novel that considers, in part, the encounter between Native Americans and European settlers.

[32] See Melissa Ryan, "Republican Mothers and Indian Wives: Lydia Maria Child's Indian Stories"; Nancy Sweet, "Dissent and the Daughter in *A New England Tale* and *Hobomok*"; and Carolyn Karcher's introduction to the 1986 Rutgers University Press edition of *Hobomok and Other Writings on Indians*.

of Salem's obsession with savagery, the devil, and witchcraft as a dark reflection of itself" (46). The ceremony more directly comments on the area's past history: Mary's ritual matches the Native American ritual practices the novel portrays more closely than any European rites.

Mary's magical practices both conjure Hobomok directly (he is the first person to step into her circle) and invoke the spiritual practices of Native Americans (both Hobomok's witchcraft later in the chapter and the marriage rite that Mary and Hobomok enter into later in the novel). While Mary is startled by the "'wicked thing,'" she has done, as she tells her friend Sally, the ritual seems to work: Hobomok is the first man to enter her circle, and she eventually marries him (20). But the ritual also has not worked as she had hoped: Charles Brown, with whom she is in love, appears after Mary's interaction with Hobomok and escorts her home. Indeed, it is Brown's disappearance in a shipwreck that clears the way for Mary to marry Hobomok.. And while Mary's witchcraft has ambivalent results, it's not the only witchcraft practiced in the forest that night: though Hobomok claims he was only hunting, he throws three boughs "on the sacrifice heap of his God" before leaving himself (14). Later, after Mary has decided to marry Hobomok, their marriage ceremony has elements that link it to the witchcraft practiced in the first chapter: the marriage is blessed with a witch-hazel rod and the couple is surrounded by the witnesses who sing and dance in a circle around them (125). The text, then, aligns witchcraft with Native practices and beliefs.

But while *Hobomok* aligns its scenes of witchcraft with Native spiritual practice, and seems to give it enormous predictive power and the power to shape outcomes, this power is not absolute: the story doesn't end with Mary and Hobomok's marriage. Instead, after three years Charles Brown returns alive and Hobomok, though at first he believes Brown to be a ghost, leaves Mary and his son without even saying goodbye and "forever [passes] away from New

England" (141). He takes the steps necessary for a divorce, leaving Mary free to marry Charles Brown, whom he acknowledges "'Mary loves…better'" (139). So while *Hobomok* suggests that witchcraft has some part in human events, it's not the final arbiter of the characters' destinies. Instead, while the rituals which Mary and Hobomok perform foreshadow their marriage (and in some ways show their suitableness for each other), they cannot ensure its longevity; Hobomok places what he perceives to be Mary's happiness over his own desires. The power that the text suggests both witchcraft and the Native rituals it associates with it wield is ultimately contained by a narrative of Anglo-American marriage and disappearing Indians.

Hobomok's portrayal of witchcraft first opens up and then forecloses narratives of Native power shaping events; its use of doubles suggests that while *Hobomok*'s story is pointedly local in some ways, Salem cannot ultimately be separated from its position in global narratives of power. As Mary Conant's mother, Mary Sr., falls seriously ill midway through the story, a double arrives in the person of Lady Arabella Johnson, who leads a life like the one Mary Sr. could have had, had she not married a dissenter and alienated herself from her aristocratic father, Earl Rivers. Lady Arabella arrives bringing Earl Rivers's forgiveness (which reopens the possibility of Mary inheriting some of her father's wealth), and while at first she appears the picture of health, she soon begins to decline. Lady Arabella's death scene, which comes quickly on the heels of Mary Sr.'s death,[33] emphasizes the uncanny similarities between the women: on the night before she dies, Lady Arabella is so deeply asleep "she [seems] almost like her departed companion" (109). This death scene also allows the reader to experience Mary Sr.'s death twice as Lady Arabella informs the survivors that she "'dreamed that angels came for her [Mary Sr.]…they are standing by her bed-side now'" waiting to escort both women to heaven

[33] Mary Sr. is "wasting awaye" and "[sees] the grave opening before [her]" in letters written before the winter of 1629 that were sent to her father, yet survives long enough for those letters to reach Earl Rivers and for his reply to come back after a "long and dreary winter" (80, 80, 84).

(110). The doubling in this death scene serves to diminish the effects of religious difference: while Mary Sr. has chosen to become a non-conformist and Lady Arabella is a member of the Church of England, the angels (at least as Lady Arabella perceives them) wait to carry them both to heaven. By introducing Mary Sr.'s double in Lady Arabella *Hobomok* not only makes it possible for the Conants to inherit some Earl Rivers's wealth, but also reminds the readers of the strong links between the metropolis and the emerging colony.

More significantly, Mary's doubled suitors offer two possible paths for Mary to take: one that acknowledges an interdependence between English settlers and Native Americans and another that returns to an English religious heritage that the settlers have explicitly rejected. Both men appear during Mary's forest ritual, and this ritual persuades Mary to accept each man in turn. The "intoxicating witchery of light and motion" is what has made Mary fall in love with Charles, and when Hobomok approaches her at her mother's grave after Charles's disappearance, "the recollection of his appearance in the mystic circle" persuades her to marry Hobomok (78, 121). Both men are outsiders in their communities: Brown has come with "the wild and romantic scheme of establishing the Episcopal mitre in the forests of America," although at first he hides his high church sympathies from the community of non-conformists (46). Similarly, Corbitant, a leader of the local Native American community, criticizes Hobomok for "'[wearing] the war-best of Owanux [Englishmen]'" and Hobomok, in his turn, warns the English of an imminent attack and secretly guards the Conants' home "the livelong night" (30, 41). These two suitors suggest that either way Mary chooses, she will be an outsider in some sense from her community, and that the history of Salem is not strictly one of religious non-conformists.

The doubleness of the suitors' relationships with Mary allows the novel to expand its field of concern beyond New England into the hemispheric (and indeed global) circulation of

wealth and power. When Mary marries Hobomok, although she does not move geographically far away from her father's house, she is culturally distant—so much so that she never sees him and urges him to use the "considerable legacy" her grandfather Earl Rivers has left her for himself (136). As Mary's marriage to Hobomok separates her from her inheritance, Brown's exile from Salem entangles him more deeply into the circles of global capital, for he resolves to go to the East Indies and "toyle for the glittering duste" to enrich Mary when he finally is able to marry her (104). But the next ship that arrives in Salem brings news of the wreck of an East India ship and "the loss of her whole crew and cargo," including Charles Brown (117). Brown's sudden return is inhuman in a way: Hobomok (and the novel's readers) hears Brown before he sees him, and he first reacts in terror—his skin takes on a "terrible, ashen hue"—as he assumes that Brown is "the ghost of his rival" (138). But, the text quickly reverses the suitors' positions to make Hobomok the more ghostly figure—the figure, in fact, of the vanishing Indian. Hobomok relinquishes Mary—and their son—to disappear "'far off among some of the red men in the west,'" beyond the reach of the colonists, at least at the moment (139). While Brown is temporarily lost on his way to the East Indies, in the end it is left to Hobomok to become an Indian lost somewhere in the North American West. Thus, even as the text temporarily forestalls Mary's marriage to Charles Brown in favor of her marriage to Hobomok in ways that unsettle both her inheritance and her place of residence, it also uses the two suitors to establish a series of overlapping geographies: New England and the East Indies are linked by Charles Brown's stopover in England and when his pursuit of Mary fails (at least temporarily) in Salem, he suggests that wealth earned (or found) in a different colonial possession can make him worthy of her.

It's worth considering Brown's disappearance and return in more depth as they link *Hobomok*'s local love story to global tales about the circulation of capital. His departure marks Brown's resolve to earn a fortune to lay at her feet. As he writes to Mary, he expects to earn this money by participating in another English colonial venture, but this time in the East Indies, "where wealthe promiseth to pour forth many treasures" (103). Although Brown anticipates having to work for this wealth, and projects that he won't see Mary again for a year, his letter reflects his confidence that he has the ability to successfully return to his beloved with a fortune, made in mineral wealth, to lay at her feet. Unsurprisingly, this wealth is simply presented as there, waiting for someone (presumably, an European someone) to toil and earn it. Brown's supposed death in a shipwreck also lacks that human agency: it's the forces of nature (rather than a particular human failure) that doom the ship.

But with the shipwreck, Brown's adventures expand the global reach of the story beyond the treasure circuit to a partially hidden captivity story. When Brown returns to Mary, he notes that his story is "'not uncommon for an East India passenger'" and that "'[his] vessel was wrecked, and for nearly three years [he has] been a prisoner on the coast of Africa. How [he] effected [his] escape, [he has] neither strength nor spirits to tell [her] now'" (145). Brown's African captivity narrative is a story that fulfills on readers' expectations (novels have been portraying European characters held captive in Africa at least since *Robinson Crusoe*) even as it subverts them in at least three ways. The obvious subversion lies in popular American captivity narratives which often feature a white woman being held captive by Native Americans (for example, Mary Rowlandson, who shares a first name with our heroine), but while Mary Conant does marry Hobomok, it's her suitor Charles Brown who's held captive. The second subversion is subtler; Brown's captivity in Africa invokes the African slave trade and the Middle Passage.

Finally, Brown's story subverts readers' expectations by barely being a story at all: Brown explains very little of what happened to him. While this story hints at connections between this colony and a larger world, it (and Brown as the one who tells it) cannot put these connections into words. They are there, but the experience has been too traumatizing for Brown to speak of.

In a relatively short amount of time, then, the novel resolves the problem of the doubled suitor and Mary's mixed family. Although Hobomok has divorced her, Mary still has the custody of their child Little Hobomok, a "fearless young Indian" with "glossy black hair" (148). When Charles Brown suggests that they marry and move to England, Mary refuses to return to England because her son would "'disgrace'" her (148). At this moment of reunion, Mary reveals that Little Hobomok's full name is Charles Hobomok Conant, and from this point onwards, the text continues to erase Little Hobomok's paternal heritage. Brown and Mary finally marry, but the only child the text mentions is Little Hobomok, who uses Earl Rivers's money to go to Harvard and then England (where presumably he is no longer a figure of disgrace). As his father is mentioned less and less, "by degrees his [Little Hobomok's] Indian appellation was silently omitted" (150). While the novel ends with an encomium to Hobomok's services and his legacy, it has already taken away his child, by giving him an English education and the name of his step-father.

Contemporary reactions to the story found much to praise in the novel's depiction of the past, but took issue with "the catastrophe of the story," that is, Mary's marriages first to Hobomok and then to Brown, in "a train of events not only unnatural, but revolting, to every feeling of delicacy in man or woman" (*North American Review*, July 1824, 263). A review in *The Mississippi State Gazette* didn't identify a specific problem with the novel, but noted that it "has been too much neglected" before reprinting a chapter (October 2, 1824). When the *North*

American Review reviewed the novel again, in July 1825, with a longer review that quotes three sections of the novel at length, it still harps on "the general prejudice against the catastrophe of the story," a prejudice which, it contends, has harmed the book's reception (94). While these reviews use "catastrophe" to stand in for the precise nature of their objections to the plot, the reviewers object most strenuously to Mary's Native American husband. This part of the story, which both introduces a child of mixed cultural backgrounds and then denies the non-European part of his heritage, is one of the most uncanny elements of the story as it informs the reader of the child's true heritage even as it shows that heritage being repressed—but a part typical of the hemispheric gothic, which forces readers to confront truths (and pasts) that they might prefer to forget. Like Anthony Gibbons's forebear in *The Black Vampyre*, Little Hobomok, or Charles Hobomok Conant, as he is known by the end of the novel, enters the white world bearing few outward signs of his mixed ancestry, and, the novel suggests, will pass as white in that world.

While *Hobomok*, the novel, never lets us forget Hobomok, the character, with his name in the title and his noble actions the subject of its last lines, it does present Hobomok's son, Little Hobomok or Charles Hobomok Conant, as subject to a kind of cultural amnesia. While Hobomok himself embodies the romantic figure of the Native American disappearing farther west to a part of the continent as yet less disturbed by European colonists, the presence of his son implicates Hobomok in a far more complicated and interdependent history—Little Hobomok is proof of the romantic love shared, if only temporarily, by Hobomok and Mary Conant. While Little Hobomok acts and is treated more and more like a European and the son of Charles Brown by the end of the story, *Hobomok* destabilizes a narrative of European self-reliance in the American colonies and its insistence on uncovering the connections between the continent's

Native American inhabitants and European settlers haunts this historical fiction with a gothic aesthetic.

* * *

In 1826 the printer Guillermo Staverly published the anonymous *Jicoténcatl*[34] in Philadelphia. This historical novel recounts Jicoténcal's opposition to the alliance of his people, the Tlascalans, with Hernán Cortés during the conquest of what is now Mexico on behalf of Spain. Frederick Huttner, who claimed the right to register the book as its proprietor, but who was probably not its author, registered the book with the Eastern Pennsylvania copyright office on August 18, 1826 (Leal and Cortina xvi). While the book was written in Spanish, it seems to have circulated more widely in the United States than in Mexico: the first edition noted three places in Philadelphia and one in New York where it was for sale.[35] Furthermore, by February 1827, the poet William Cullen Bryant was aware of it and published a review in his Boston-based *The United States Review and Literary Gazette*. While the novel "arrived in Mexico at an early date," it was probably not "widely circulated."[36] Neither this small circulation in Mexico nor the novel's anonymity is surprising, given that its story, while ostensibly set in the distant past, offers the potential of a pointed critique of the Mexican government. This critique also explains its appearance in Philadelphia, where many individuals were "fermenting aspirations for independence [for Spain's American colonies]" (Castillo-Feliú 1). The question of who wrote the novel remains open, although many critics have settled on either the poet José María Heredia or

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[34] The novel initially appeared as *Jicotencal*, without the accent (Leal and Cortina xxxviii); the modern orthography is *Xicoténcatl*. Unless I am referring to the modern English translation, which uses the modern orthography, I write *Jicoténcal*, following Leal and Cortina's usage.

[35] The book was available in Philadelphia from F. Merino, professor of Spanish, at the Franklin Institute, and from John Laval, another printer and in New York from Lanuza and Mendía, booksellers (Leal and Cortina xvii).

[36] Leal and Cortina xvii. "Tenemos noticias de que el libro llegó a México en fecha temprana, aunque no creemos que haya tenido amplia circulación." Here, and unless otherwise noted, translations from critical sources are my own.

the Cuban priest Félix Varela. While I don't think the circumstantial evidence available to us can fully answer the question, I will return to it later in the chapter.

Like *Hobomok*, *Jicoténcal* doesn't rely on sensationalism to develop its gothic aesthetic. Instead, it even more explicitly uses its portrayal of historical events as a contemporary political critique. In his review, while Bryant claims that his attention has been drawn to *Jicoténcal* by virtue of "its belonging to the Spanish literature of America," the aspect of it he particularly praises is its "just and enlightened notions on political government and other important subjects" (336). The connection between the historical narrative and the contemporary political ideas was thus clear to the novel's earliest readers. Bryant's review opens the novel up to its contemporary readers in another important way: he outlines the basic plot of the story and then offers a lengthy translation of its final scene. This attention to the plot, taken in concert with the idea that the story is not "very skillfully contrived," focuses Bryant's readers' attention on the political context of the tale—a context that he spends the rest of the review interpreting (336). In so doing, Bryant places *Jicoténcal* in a narrative of historical progress that moves from "a series of sanguinary wars" of colonization to the wars of independence to the foundation of "more enlightened notions of government" in line with the principles of the American revolution (343, 344). While Bryant's reading situates the novel in a political-historical context, it doesn't fully attend to the stylistic and generic choices that lead to the novel's gothic aesthetic. Rather than dismissing these aspects of the story, I argue that these choices grow out of its literary and historical context. Like many hemispheric gothic works, *Jicoténcal* plays on its political and historical situation to heighten its gothic effects.

Indeed, *Jicoténcal*'s commitment to history extends beyond its subject matter and its political interests. The anonymous author quotes liberally from Antonio de Solís's historical

chronicle *Historia de la conquista de México*. While the author blends these excerpts smoothly into his own prose narrative, he also clearly credits his source with a series of footnotes attributing authorship to Solís where appropriate. This strategy has at least two effects. First, it gives historical authority and authenticity to the narrative. Second, it helps the author adopt a tone and style as well suited to a historical narrative as to a fictional narrative. While, as I shall explore below, there are moments of gothic excess and horror in the story, its overall tone is one of a realistic, historical account.

Although *Jicoténcal* begins with the idea that the fall of the Aztecs and surrounding nations to the Spaniards is fated due to the Spaniards' magic, it quickly destabilizes this potentially gothic haunting. The first sentence of the novel suggests that not only is the fall of Moctezuma written "en el libro fatal del destino" ("in the fateful book of destiny"), but that with this fall of the Aztec empire, the surrounding nations, including the Tlaxcalans "debían sepultarse" ("would be buried") as well.[37] When ambassadors arrive suggesting that the Tlaxcalans submit to Cortés and the Spaniards (thus helping the Spaniards conquer the Aztecs), Magiscatzin, a senator who hates Jicoténcal and his family, suggests that the Spaniards are a "*gente invencible…con canto dominio sobre los elementos que fundará ciudades movibles sobre las aguas, sirviéndose del fuego y del aire para sujetar la tierra, y, … que serán unos hombres celestials*"[38] ("invincible people…with such domination over the elements that they would found moveable cities over the waters; they would make use of fire and the air to hold fast the earth, and … they would be celestial men") (6, 11). While the magical powers Magiscatzin ascribes to the Spaniards are great, the text works against this reading by putting it in the mouth of

[37] 3, 7. The Spanish quotations from *Jicoténcal* come from Luis Leal and Rodolfo Cortina's edition and the English translations come from Guillermo I. Castillo-Feliú's translation *Xicoténcatl*, unless otherwise noted.
[38] The Leal and Cortina edition uses italics to show where the author quotes from Antonio de Solís's *Historia de la conquista de México*, a convention I follow in my quotations.

Magiscatzin, one of its antagonists whose actions are motivated by "el resentimiento y el interés personal" ("resentment and personal interest") instead of the good of the Tlaxcalan people, and by quoting directly from Solís, which puts the question of whether the Spaniards might be invincible or celestial into the historical record (5, 9). Indeed, while these ideas appear early in the first book, by the end of that book they're debunked by Jicoténcal's father as "esas predicciones vagas" ("those vague predictions") that, unfortunately, may be used to "abusar de la credulidad del vulgo ignorante" ("take advantage of the credulity of the ignorant masses") and subsequently ignored (22, 27). Thus, while *Jicoténcal* plays with the idea that a gothically dark destiny hangs over the Tlaxcalans (and indeed, since the story is historical fiction, the reader already knows that the story cannot end happily for the Tlaxcalans), it's not the supposed magical powers of the Spaniards, but rather their all-too-real treatment of the indigenous women they encounter that haunts the text.

Instead of supernatural horrors, then, many of the text's gothic moments center around Teutila, the spirited daughter of the cacique of Zocotlan and eventually Jicoténcal's wife. While we're first introduced to Teutila as Jicoténcal's captive, he quickly falls in love with her, and declares that while she "vas a ser libre" ("is going to be free") he will be her slave (23, 28). This reversal doesn't last for long, however, as she is recaptured by Cortés, who cannily realizes that he can use her as a source of "la división y discordia" ("division and discord") among the Tlaxcalans (25, 29). While Teutila's captors equivocate about whose control she's under (she's handed over to Magiscatzin's faction of Tlaxscans at one point, and at another her uncle claims that Teutila "no estaba presa sino solamente guardada para entregarla a sus parientes" ("[is] not a prisoner but [is] rather under guard so she can be turned over to her relatives"), her captivity both brings her into the proximity of debates about how the Americans should react to the Spanish

presence and establishes her as a double of doña Marina, the American woman who was enslaved by Cortés but is now his mistress (72, 80). By placing these gothically doubled women in captivity stories, *Jicoténcal* asserts that more is at stake than their personal freedom; instead, the continual contention over their status, which is at times difficult to pin down, suggests that the women are also gothic doubles for their nations.

Still, the correspondence between Teutila, doña Marina, and Mexico's indigenous inhabitants illustrates a more complex political dynamic than a singular bloc of native peoples united to oppose the invading Spanish: the women's particular cultural backgrounds expose the multiple, yet overlapping, groups inhabiting the region. Both Teutila and doña Marina find themselves in the position of outsiders who have the potential to unify opposing factions. But where Teutila, once she falls in love with Jicoténcal, remains faithful to him despite offers from both her guard Diego de Ordaz and Cortés and offers the potential for unity among at least the Tlascalans and the Zocothlans, doña Marina is initially portrayed as an "astuta sierpe" ("astute serpent") who is willing to seduce the men around her and to feign friendship with Teutila to gain personal power, no matter the cost to her people (36, 41). Doña Marina is an uncanny figure because her identity is difficult to pin down: she's willing to sacrifice her identity in favor of successfully manipulating the Spanish to her favor. While Teutila has a similar opportunity, because she remains loyal to Jicoténcal and her identity, she becomes a victim rather than a source of the story's gothic impulses. It seems Cortés would rather seduce than coerce Teutila's cooperation—although his attempt to seduce Teutila while she tends to the ill doña Marina (who has just given birth to Cortés's son) does drive Teutila to finally "abre la ventana … y, sin meditar en su altura ni mas consideración que la de su honor alarmado, se arroja fuera de la prisión" ("[open] the window … and without thinking about the height or considering anything

other than her aroused honor … [jump] out of her prison") (91, 100). Teutila's bold actions contrast with doña Marina's plotting earlier in the story: Teutila is motivated by honor and loyalty, rather than consideration of her own safety.

Because the text ultimately gives these women the most potential power as wives and mothers, the gothic horrors they suffer and generate are the horrors of repressed origins. On the day Jicoténcal marries Teutila, his father insists that the most important result of their marriage is that it "va a elevar al gran rango de padres de familia" ("will raise you both to the great rank of parenthood") (80, 88). After doña Marina gives birth to her son, she wants to see Teutila as well because she expects "el fruto de sus entrañas participará de la pureza de su alma" ("the fruit of her womb will enjoy the purity of her soul") (90, 98). But despite all the hope that Teutila and Jicoténcal will have a child, after Cortés hangs Jicoténcal, Teutila poisons herself and then makes an unsuccessful attempt on Cortés's life. She can die content, she tells doña Marina, because "'la sombra de Jicoténcal asalta ahora en este momento a ese miserable, y pronto la de Teutila ayudará también a atormentarle'" ("'Xicoténcatl's spirit is at this moment assaulting that miserable wretch and soon Teutila's will also help in tormenting him'") (142, 155). While doña Marina's affair with Cortés is more successful in that they have a son, the birth of her son convinces her that while she's "'indigna de esta dicha'" ("'unworth of this joy'") because of her past conduct, she should follow Teutila's example of virtue (90, 98). Ultimately doña Marina uses Teutila's death to argue to Cortés that "'todavía es tiempo de que vuestro gran corazón se vuelva a la virtud'" ("'there is still time for your great heart to turn toward virtue'"), but her voice is not the only one Cortés hears. Instead he decides that "'esta dolorosa escena es ya demasiado larga'" ("'this painful scene is already too long'") and that tomorrow they will leave "'para Méjico'" ("'for Mexico City'") (144, 156). Teutila's suicide is a tragedy in part because it

marks a literally repressed family line: although she should be the mother of Jicoténcal's children, the only generative action she's finally able to take is the ability to haunt Cortés along with Jicoténcal as a ghost. Her haunting is at least partially successfully: although Cortés does not repent as doña Marina urges, he does find Teutila's death painful enough to move on to his next destination.

However, there's something uncannily wrong about Cortés's destination: in 1519 the capital of the Aztec empire was known as Tenochtitlán, not Mexico City. This moment of anachronism is not a simple error, however; it's a part of the text's larger strategies to represent history. Although, as I argue earlier, *Jicoténcal* does not ultimately take the position that the Spaniards are divinely and supernaturally destined to overcome the Americans, it is aware that the history it portrays does end in Spanish conquest (and with Europeans in control of Mexico City). Part of the text's use of history is as political inspiration. While Jicoténcal hopes that "'la horrorosa muerte que me espera, los tormentos que sufro, van a despertar tu antiguo valor; y sin duda ¡oh valientes tslascaltecas!, vengaréis la América'" ("'the horrendous death that awaits me, the torments that I am suffering are going to awaken your former valor, and you, oh valiant Tlaxcalans, will avenge America'"), his words seem equally calculated to provoke contemporary readers to consider throwing off the Spanish yoke (131, 142).[39]

But *Jicoténcal* also self-consciously reflects on the histories it relates. I argue that these moments of narrative introspection are part of the text's larger gothic strategies—they are the way it justifies and complicates simple historical narratives by focusing on and valorizing the historical losers. Each of the six books that comprise *Jicoténcal* begins with part of the author's theorization of history. This theory begins with the concrete: that the fall of part of America to the Spaniards was destined (book 1) and that while the Spaniards used advancing Catholicism as

[39] 131, 142. See Castillo-Feliú 5 and Brickhouse 53.

the pretext for their actions, they neither fully understood nor properly obeyed the religion (book 2). But from these concrete beginnings, the theory becomes more abstract, as the author contends that a nation's fortunes can change quickly (book 3), especially when they are subject to internal divisions and disagreements (book 4), and that success goes to the bold, rather than those who do not fully commit to the solutions of their problems (book 5). The final part of the argument, that a people who do not avenge the murder of a virtuous man "sufre justamente sus cadenza" ("suffer their chains deservedly"), not only seeks to incite its readers to political action, but also to uncover a piece of history it claims has been unfairly repressed (120, 131).

If the beginning of book one offers a possible way to understand the history it narrates (that is, that fate has ordained it), the beginning of book six takes that understanding and stands it on its head: what we have been told about the past (and specifically about Cortés) is a lie and this book will present the truth.

> Tal fue la finame política que condujo a Hernán Cortés para llevar a su fin la gran tragedia que va a llenar de horror las páginas de este libro. En vano los historiadores intentan encubrir la negra infamia con que se cargó para siempre aquel insolente y astuto cuanto afortunado capitán; en vano el vertigo monárquico que ha embrutecido por tantos tiempos a Europa nos ha privado de los documentos históricos más preciosos sobre la república Tlascala. El ojo perpicaz del filósofo sabe distinguir, entre el fango y basura que ensucian el papel de las historias, algunas chispas de verdad que no had podido apagar ni el fanatismo ni la servil adulación. Estas chispas lo conducen, y, cuando llega su día, desentierra los hechos y los presenta al mundo, y si no le es posible exhumarlos de sus

> antiguos supulcros en toda su integridad, a los menos no los tuerce ni los afea con preocupaciones y con bajezas. (120)
>
> Such was the infamous policy that led Hernán Cortés to carry out to its end the great tragedy that is going to fill the pages of this book with horror. Vainly do historians attempt to cloak the black infamy which that insolent, astute, and even fortunate captain sank into forever; vainly has the monarchical vertigo, which has stultified Europe for so long, deprived us of the most precious of historical documents about Tlaxcala. The philosopher's shrewd eye knows how to distinguish, among the mud and trash that sully the documents of history, some sparks of truth that neither fanaticism nor servile adulation have been able to extinguish. These sparks lead him on and, when his day arrives, he unearths the facts and presents them to the world, and if he is unable to exhume them from their ancient graves in total integrity, at least he does not twist or defile them with concerns and acts of debasement. (131)

Here, the author specifically and pointedly constructs the project of this book (and particularly its end) as one of not only redeeming a history that has been pointedly and officially repressed (by historians and by governments), but also presenting it to us in all its gothic horror. While the end of the book certainly bears out the description "llenar de horror" ("[full of] horror"), the very language of the passage shows an even deeper kind of horror that this repression of the truth has occasioned: like the heroine of a gothic novel, here the truth about Cortés's infamy has been "encubrir" ("cloaked") and must be "exhumarlos de sus antiguos supulcros" ("[exhumed] from [its] ancient [grave]"). This project of rehabilitating the story of the Tlaxcalans (or subverting the reputation of Cortés) is thus figured as a gothic project.

In some ways, the success of *Jicoténcal*'s strategy of presenting itself as history has hidden its gothic roots. While the author of *Jicoténcal* drew on both Antonio de Solís's *Historia de la conquista de México* and Bartolomé de las Casas, the novel is "the first historical novel in the New World and possibly in the Spanish language."[40] And while the poet José María Heredia was working on a tragedy called *Xicoténcatl, o Los tlascaletecas* before 1826 that has not been found,[41] the publication of *Jicoténcal* sparked a series of other works on the same topic, including Ignacio Torres Arroyo's five-act tragedy *Teutila*, José María Moreno Buenvecino's drama *Xicohténcatl*, and José María Mangino's comedy *Xicoténcatl* (Leal and Cortina xviii). The character of Teutila is the creation of the author of *Jicoténcal* (and not a historical figure), so we can identify these works as influenced by the 1826 novel (Leal and Cortina xviii). Because the novel has been a necessary part of the critical conversation about "the development of the hispanoamerican novel" since the middle of the twentieth century[42] and because post/colonial critical perspectives have offered more critical perspective on Cortés (and narratives of the arrival of Europeans to the Americas, generally), the act of uncovering Cortés's darker side may now seem less gothic than it did to contemporary readers.

While the novel's anonymity was not unusual for the time period (indeed, none of the works in this chapter first appeared with their authors' names), the persistence of this anonymity seems to reflect the political unrest which the novel seems to be attempting to foment. William Cullen Bryant's 1827 review notes that "the author of 'Jicotencal' seems to have made ample allowance for the partiality of his countrymen in their view of the character of Cortés," thereby

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[40] See Leal and Cortina xviii for the sources of *Jicoténcal* and Leal and Cortina xv for the contention that Jicoténcal is "la primer novella histórica en el Nuevo Mundo y posiblemente en lengua castellana."

[41] See Brickhouse, 52; Leal and Cortina xvii. The absence of this work among Heredia's later writings is one of the arguments in favor of his authorship of *Jicoténcal*.

[42] Leal and Cortina xix. "Desde esa fecha [the publication of John Lloyd Read's 1939 dissertation, *The Mexican Historical Novel (1826-1910)*] en adelante, ya no se puede hablar del desarrollo de la novela hispanoamericana sin mencionarla [*Jicoténcal*]."

implying that the author was from Mexico (a reasonable guess, given the historical subject matter), but upon closer analysis, the story is at least more complicated (343). In 1960 Luis Leal undertook a massive study, which considered all the native Spanish speakers resident in Philadelphia and New York as potential authors, before deciding that Félix Varela, a Cuban priest who immigrated to the United States was the probable author.[43] Ultimately Leal uses orthographic similarities between *Jicoténcal* and Varela's known work as well as circumstantial evidence[44] to ascribe authorship to Varela. Leal's confidence in this attribution is so great, he published his 1995 edition of *Jicoténcal* under Varela's name. Other critics, most notably Alejandro González Acosta, contend that the Cuban poet José Maria Heredia was the author (and indeed, in addition to the novel that hasn't turned up, many of the historical figures from *Jicoténcal* feature in Heredia's poetry).[45] Neither of these authors fully accounts for all the pieces of evidence, and Anna Brickhouse offers a third possibility: rather than assigning the work to a singular author, it might be the work of "a transnational collectivity that ensured its progress from exilic manuscript to printed book" (51). At any rate, the mystery of the author adds a third level to the hemispheric gothic nature of this text: first, there's the doubling of Teutila and doña Marina and the tale's horrific ending; second, is the gothic recovery of a repressed American history; third, and finally, there's the mystery of the anonymous author or authors, whose anonymity may well have protected them as they published a politically dangerous text.

Like *Hobomok*, *Jicoténcal* uses gothic moments to unpack a history that's been repressed. But whereas *Hobomok* strove to both insinuate and defuse the threat of cultural mixture

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[43] See Leal and Corfino xviii-xxxv. Leal also concludes that "pasemos, en fin, a estudiar el caso de otro escritor cubano que, si no podemos decir con seguridad absoluta que es el autor de *Jicoténcal*, la evidencia que hemos recogida apunta in esa dirección" (xxvii). "In the end, to study the case of other Cuban writers, that, if we cannot say with absolute security that it's the author of *Jicoténcal*, the evidence that we have recovered points in that direction." Leal first articulated his authorship theories in a 1960 article, "Jicoténcal, Primera Novela Histórica en Castellano."
[44] See Garland 446. Varela published other work with Guillermo Staverly, for example.
[45] See Brickhouse 47-51. González Acosta puts forth his theory in his 1992 article "Hallazgo en la Biblioteca Nacional de Mexico" and his 1997 book *El Enigma de Jicotencal*.

presented by Hobomok and Mary's son, *Jicoténcal* exposes the contaminated stories of history. This willingness to openly present these stories may be related to *Jicoténcal*'s presentation of history from the point of view of the colonized: whereas the Conants strive to maintain a fantasy of racial purity, for the colonized, miscegenation may be something of a foregone conclusion, so in *Jicoténcal* the mixed racial background of doña Marina and Cortés's son is a non-issue in the text. In fact, the horror of *Jicoténcal* may be that as it takes the perspective of the colonized and makes a hero of one of history's losers, readers must reevaluate the stories they continue to tell themselves about their pasts. While many characters in *Jicoténcal* cling to the idea that history may be inevitably preordained, the text not only rejects the theory that a book of destiny controls the characters' future, but also suggests that our acceptance of such inevitability has direct bearing on the unfolding of the present. While I find the argument that *Jicoténcal* writes about the past to ask readers to throw off the yoke of Spanish colonialism in the nineteenth century compelling,[46] I suggest that we might also read its story at face value: as a call for indigenous Americans to destroy the colonial state. While the novel may not self-consciously advocate such a radical program, part of the hemispheric horrors that it confronts is that its critique of the Spanish conquest cannot help but yield an urging of indigenous revolt.

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Some thirty years after *Jicoténcal* was published in Philadelphia, José de Alencar's novel *O guaraní* began appearing serially in the *Diario do Rio de Janeiro* in 1856. As *Hobomok* and James Fenimore Cooper's *Leatherstocking Tales* were literary heirs to Sir Walter Scott's historical fictions, *O guaraní* is the literary descendent of Cooper's work, especially *The Last of the Mohicans*. Furthermore, while *O guaraní* is a temporal and a spatial outlier when compared

[46] Indeed, this argument explains the novel's anonymous publication in the United States: because it calls for such a revolutionary change to the Mexican state, it could not safely be published in Mexico or under its author's name. See Aléman 420.

to the other works in this chapter, its gothic portrayal of early encounters between people native to the Americas and European colonists help to illuminate some of the limits on the ways that hemispheric gothic works produced in the United States imagine potential disruptions of national narratives. While many critics group *O guaraní* with Alencar's other works *Iracema* (1857) and *Ubirajara* (1874) as being Indianist[47] in theme, Alencar himself considered *O guaraní* as a historical novel, given that it is set during a time when the Portuguese government is firmly in control of the colony (Brookshaw 60). While popular—even foundational—in Brazil,[48] *O guaraní* has not been well circulated among English-speakers: as far as I can tell, the only English translation is that of James W. Hawes which appeared between January and November 1893 in San Francisco's *The Overland Monthly*. The editor's preface to the first installment notes that while *O guaraní* is "probably the most popular of Brazilian stories," and has been featured as an opera in New York, "it has never been printed in English till now, it is believed."[49] Hawes's translation has not been republished in book form; so *O guaraní*'s English-speaking readers can still only access the novel through its original English publication.

O guaraní is the most sensationalist and the most reliant on typical gothic tropes of the three works surveyed in this chapter. We can attribute these differences, in part, to the very different cultural milieu in which Alencar wrote. By the late 1850s, Latin American authors not only read translations of the Leatherstocking Tales of one of the United States's most celebrated authors of historical fiction, James Fenimore Cooper, but also "reread and rewrote" his stories (Sommer 130). Doris Sommer suggests that these authors, Alencar among them,

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[47] Indianism, "the dominant expression of Romanticism in Brazil," was a Brazilian cultural movement that "celebrated the history and traditions of the Indian peoples" as a "major pillar of the Empire's project of state-building" after Brazil gained its independence in 1822 (Treece 2). While Indianism began in the late eighteenth century, it was most prominent in the mid-nineteenth century.

[48] See Treece 181. Because of the story's serialized success in the newspaper, its author, José de Alencar, reissued it as a book in 1857. The literary work was so popular it has given rise to an Italian opera, a drama, and several films.

[49] Jan. 1893, 81. A digital version of Hawes's translation, prepared by Daniel Serravalle de Sá and Emilene Lubianco de Sá for *Literatura Digital: Biblioteca de Literaturas de Língua Portuguesa* is freely available online.

"[acknowledged] the erotic core in Cooper's work" and created "ideal national marriages [that] were often projected in romances between whites and Indians" (151). Driven by the paired events of a murder and a treasure hunt,[50] *O guaraní*'s plot works in service of breaking up a potential marriage between two Portuguese colonists and matching each of them, instead, with a person of Indian descent.

While *O guaraní* offers readers two typically thrilling gothic plots (a secondary character leads a hunt to rediscover a rich, though forgotten, silver mine and the protagonists must defend themselves against a group of indigenous people who want to avenge themselves on the family because its son and heir, Dom Diogo, killed one of their women), the real gothic threat and gothic potential is always racial mixture. Dom Antonio de Mariz, the partriarch of the story, has both an acknowledged daughter (Cecilia) that he proposes to marry to another Portuguese nobleman (Alvaro) and a "niece" who is really an unacknowledged daughter (Isabel) "whom Dom Antonio's companions, though they said nothing, suspected of being the fruit of the aged nobleman's love for an Indian woman whom he had taken captive in one of his explorations," a suspicion which the text later confirms (Jan. 1893, 84). The text not only doubles these sisters, but also their suitors. While Alvaro is engaged to Cecilia, she is also attended by the Guarani of the title, her indigenous servant Pery, whose devotion to her is evident from their first scene together. He tells Cecilia that he has brought more than what she has asked, something that "'belongs to her already'" (Feb. 1893, 190). While Cecilia pretends not to understand his meaning, the reader may infer that the "'keepsake'" he brings her is his heart (Feb. 1893, 190). Even before we see Pery and Cecilia together, he asserts his priority over Alvaro: we are

[50] Dom Diogo's "'imprudence in killing an Indian woman,'" as his father, patriarch of the Portuguese family the text focuses on, puts it (Jan. 1893, 94); and the hunt to rediscover "*the richest mines of silver that exist in the world*"—a hunt that's replete with murder, maps hidden in crosses, and double-crossing betrayals (Apr. 1893, 423).

introduced to Pery while he hunts an ounce,[51] and although Alvaro appears on the scene with some friends and a gun, "the Indian stamped on the ground in token of impatience, and pointing to the tiger and putting his hand on his breast, exclaimed, 'It is mine! mine only!'" (Jan. 1893, 89). But Alvaro's affections are not entirely Cecilia's either: "Isabel's large black eyes full of melancholy languor" inspire him even while he tries to think about Cecilia (Apr. 1893, 436). Cecilia recognizes the potential attraction between Alvaro and Isabel and gives Isabel a bracelet that Alvaro had given her (though she lies about its provenance) in order to force the couple to admit to their feelings. As for herself, Cecilia admits at least a kind of familial reciprocation to Pery's feelings.[52] Thus the endogamous match between two people of Portuguese descent is broken up in favor of two exogamous matches each between an indigenous American and one of the Portuguese creoles. The story interrupts these potential marriages in its fourth and final part, "The Catastrophe," which ostensibly refers to assaults on the house from within (by the adventurers staying with the family and secretly seeking the location of the silver mine) and from without (by the Aymores, the local people who seeking revenge on the family). These assaults are indeed catastrophic as they lead to the literal destruction of the family home (Dom Antonio blows it up to allow Cecilia a chance to escape) and the deaths of most of the family members. But another implicit catastrophe contained in *O guaraní*'s explosive ending is the failure of these exogamous matches, relationships which could perpetuate the racial mixture that led Dom Antonio to deny his true biological relation to Isabel in the next generation.[53]

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[51] A jaguar; also called a tiger in the text.

[52] Pery's love for Cecila, who in turn is supposed to marry Alvaro matches the love triangle in Cuban novelist Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda y Arteaga's *Sab* (1841), where Sab, a mulatto slave, loves Carlota, his master's daughter. However *Sab* ends after Carlota marries Enrique Otway, a white planter, Sab commits suicide, and Carlota, haunted by the memory of Sab, disappears. Gómez leaves the reader with the question of whether "the daughter of the tropics [will] ever be able to forget the slave who rests in a simple grave under that magnificent sky" (147).

[53] It's worth noting that every time Pery tries to express his love for Cecilia, she reiterates her familial and sisterly feelings for him. She definitely considers him family, but the romantic potential is never fully realized.

The two events that motivate the plot coalesce into two threats to Dom Antonio's family: the threat of the Aymores, a tribe of indigenous people, who want to avenge the death of the woman that Dom Diego killed—a threat from outside (indeed, they literally surround the house)—and the threat of the Italian adventurer visiting the family who wants to rape Cecilia and then run off with his secret knowledge of the location of the silver mines—a threat from within the house. The family, thanks in part to Pery's help, manages to defeat the adventurers after a standoff in the house, but the threat of the Aymores proves too much. When Alvaro leads a party to fight their way out of the siege, he seems to be killed, and while he wakes up temporarily when Isabel gives him "her first and last kiss, her bridal kiss" in a room filled with smoke, they only have the strength to share a second kiss as their "twin souls blended in one, took flight to heaven" (Oct. 1893, 423). Finally Dom Antonio realizes that the only way he can save anyone is to blow up the house with his family in it, thereby giving Pery and Cecilia a chance to escape in a canoe. But even this escape is only temporary. Pery and Cecilia hope to enjoy a paradisiacal life together in the forest with a bond that she continually figures as that of a brother and sister. This familial language forestalls the romantic pairing Pery seems to hope for, but it offers the possibility of mestizaje more radical than intermarriage with its frank avowals of relation.[54] The novel cannot allow them even this small happiness: as a flood forces Cecilia and Pery to take refuge in a palm tree. While Pery promises Cecilia she will live, she can only imagine that life as one that comes after death, "'there in heaven, in the bosom of God, by the side of those we love!'" (Nov. 1893, 549). The text never fully satisfies the reader on the fates of Cecilia and Pery: we last see her with "her lips opened like the purple wings of a kiss taking its flight," in a position that, given her precarious situation and the association between kisses and death that

[54] Here, I'm thinking of the relationship between Dom Antonio and his unacknowledged daughter Isabel: although Dom Antonio's sexual relationship with her mother led to a mixed-race daughter, it's a mestizaje that's doubly denied: first, that Isabel is of indigenous descent and second that Isabel is Dom Antonio's daughter.

marked her sister Isabel's end, seems to be her death scene (Nov. 1893, 549). Then the palm tree is borne by the current out of sight of the reader, beyond the bounds of the story. The only member of the family left alive is Dom Diogo, who was sent to Rio de Janeiro before the house fell under attack, but once he leaves the action, the text takes no further interest in him. In the ambiguity of its final scene, *O guaraní* suggests a possibility that *Hobomok* and *Jicoténcal* never dare broach, namely, the erasure of European colonists from the American continent by the very indigenous peoples whom they seek to displace. While part of this erasure is a function of the plot in this tragic romance (none of the cross-racial lovers survive, after all), if we read *O guaraní* more radically, we can see it unsettle the foundations of settler culture and the colonial plantation. If we accept that the palm tree scene is Cecilia's death scene, then the only European character left alive is the brother, Dom Diogo, whom the text has sent away and presumably forgotten about.

Thus the historical novel *O guaraní* takes the hemispheric gothic to what is perhaps its most radical possibility: the recovery of a repressed history that does not assume the foregone conclusion of European settlement, but rather its destruction. While it indulges in more stereotypically gothic tropes (such as the hidden treasure that no one ever recovers, the over-the-top death scenes, and the ambiguity of its ending), it also offers a more celebratory version of intercultural marriages. It's not necessarily a hopeful story (after all, the story ends with the deaths of all its main characters), but it does suggest a more permissive view of mestizaje even as it considers the possibility that the survival of European settlers is not a necessary part of national narratives.

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Hobomok, *Jicoténcal*, and *O guaraní* all engage in the project of disrupting origins. These origins can be personal—like the parents of Charles Hobomok Conant—but they are also always bigger—like the origins of Córtes's march to Tenochtitlán. Each of these novels complicates the histories it fictionalizes to create an uncanny doubling: rather than one history, these hemispheric gothic novels insist, there are multiple, overlapping, contingent histories. By teasing out the different strands of these histories, the novels suggest, we can imagine counter-narratives of interdependence instead of conquest. *O guaraní* goes so far as to suggest that ultimately a European presence in the Americas might fail. These hemispheric gothic texts also suggest that no matter how local your story may seem at first (Salem, Tlascala, the Paquequer River), it is connected to and inflected by global patterns of circulation as people, money, and ultimately power circulate among metropolises and their colonies.

Chapter 3:

"Under the Garb of Fiction": Maritime Capitalism

In Edgar Allan Poe's only novel, *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym* (1838), a series of paratexts are deployed to stand in for an absence: the absence of a definitive ending as its eponymous hero journeys south into a gothic nightmare. While Poe rephrased and even copied word-for-word from multiple historical incidents and accounts to shape his novel, this historical archive is conjured only to be rejected again.[55] Accounts such as those of the sinking of the whale ship *Essex*, and explorer Jeremiah Reynolds's *Expedition to the Pacific Ocean and the South Seas* provide a veneer of truth and even respectability that the novel later peels back to expose the gothic horrors of hemispheric exploitation. Even as Pym sails farther and farther south towards the pole, he cannot escape the control of the capitalist, colonizing North, for the ocean on which he sails is also traversed by the North's merchants and sailors. By the time that *Pym*'s story breaks off with Poe's editorial reminder that "the circumstances connected with the late sudden and distressing death of Mr. Pym are already well known," the refusal of any clear ending accentuates and comments on the tale's gothic horror (244). Although the novel's Northern audience hungers for details, they can never fully account for what happened to Arthur Pym, whose end remains as obscured as the economic and racial abuses that the novel so fantastically elaborates.

In converting the historical archive to gothic horror, *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym* glides across the surface of the sea like so many of the hemispheric gothic fictions that followed it a decade later: Frederick Douglass's *The Heroic Slave* (1853) and Herman Melville's *Benito Cereno* (1855) adapt the stories of slave rebellions at sea using gothic conventions, and *Moby*

[55] Poe's sources include the sinking of the whale ship *Essex* and the explorer Jeremiah Reynolds's *Address, on the Subject of a Surveying and Exploring Expedition to the Pacific Ocean and the South Seas*. See Tynan, Whalen, and Frank and Hoeveler.

Dick (1851) also imaginatively revives the sinking of the *Essex* by a sperm whale 1819.[56] Yet sea novels need not spring from historical antecedents to comment on contemporary reality: the fantastical episodes of piracy in Maxwell Philip's *Emmanuel Appadocca* (1854) are nonetheless prefaced by the author's "indignant excitement" caused by "the cruel manner in which the slave holders of America deal with their slave-children" (6). Like Poe, Douglass, and Melville, Philip reimagines instances of present-day abuse to uncover not only hidden guilt but also hidden complicity in trans-Atlantic capitalism and especially the slave trade. I posit that these hemispheric gothic fictions compulsively re-imagine historical accounts of maritime disaster and inhuman cruelty at sea for two reasons: first, the nineteenth-century ship is always already an uncanny space that tests national boundaries, mores, and communities, and second, these disasters (and others like them) not only fit gothic tropes with little adaptation needed, but also show the dangerous nature of the capitalist and colonialist enterprises that the hemispheric gothic critiques.

While not all nineteenth-century ships were gothic haunted houses, the nature of their spaces made the ship both familiar and unnatural. The ship had to be self-sustaining on a long voyage, so it had to combine both home and place of work. Although ships were designed to mimic land-based hierarchies (officers had better sleeping accommodations than hands and access to decks and other areas of the ship was restricted by position), the vagaries of life at sea could upset these hierarchies. Furthermore because commercial vessels rarely carried women, the sailors' everyday routines were different even from a bachelor life on land. Although Britain banned the Atlantic slave trade in 1807, and the United States followed suit in 1808, Anglophone slave ships still crossed the Atlantic throughout the first half of the nineteenth century.

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[56] See Philbrick, Nathaniel. "Introduction." *The Loss of the Ship* Essex, *Sunk By a Whale*.

Indeed, this history of the slave trade is precisely the reason that these shipboard, gothic fictions can trouble racial hierarchies and relationships so easily. Because the slave trade relied on colonial exploitation of non-European lands, and the exchange of commodities for the slaves, any ship carrying commercial goods or on a mission of exploration or exploitation could be mistaken for a slave ship—and therefore the fictional ships of the nineteenth century provide fertile ground to explore the so-called racial differences on which slavery was justified.[57] As Toni Morrison observes in *Playing in the Dark*, these texts visually deploy the colors black and white in loaded ways: for example, the Tsalals view whiteness as terrifying and the world of *Benito Cereno* seems stripped of color. As the stories operate in different modes of grayscale, they query the symbolic associations of black and white, and complicate the construction of race in an American context. Furthermore, as these texts portray the struggles relating to authority, labor, and property that arise on the ships—that is, acts of piracy and mutiny—they highlight the

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[57] Consider the *Pequod* in Herman Melville's *Moby Dick*: it's not a ship that carries slaves from Africa to various Atlantic destinations. Still, the *Pequod* is implicated in the hemispheric economics of labor. As Ishmael sums up the company on board the ship he ends with "Black Little Pip….Poor Alabama boy!" (122). Both Pip's color and his home in the deep South remind the reader of the slavery that haunts the world of the novel. Although Ishmael says that slave ships are "in such a prodigious hurry" to separate when they meet each other, Ahab only tolerates other ships so long as they have information about Moby Dick, otherwise, the *Pequod* acts like a slave ship (246). The *Pequod*'s economic activities are implicated as well: the men from Nantucket are like Americans "add[ing] Mexico to Texas, and pil[ing] Cuba upon Canada": they have imperialist drives to rule the sea, and to control the whale, a fish that the sub-sub-librarian reminds readers at the beginning of the novel is "King of the boundless sea" (65, liv).

If the *Pequod* is participating in a capitalist venture, its participation is global in scope. Named after "a celebrated tribe of Massachusetts Indians, now extinct as the ancient Medes," and first appearing with "a strange sort of tent, or rather wigwam, pitched a little behind the main-mast," the *Pequod* sails as an American ship, first and foremost (70, 72). In fact, "representing the *e pluribus unum* of American democracy, the *Pequod* is an allegorical ship of state" with an international crew: although her mates are from Nantucket, Cape Cod, and Martha's Vineyard, the harpooners and the rest of the crew are South Sea Islanders, Native Americans, and Africans (Mackenthun 145). Importantly,

> Melville put all the *Pequod*'s harpoons in the hands of non-Europeans: Queequeg the Pacific Islander, Tashtego the Massachusetts Indian, and Daggoo the African.… Moby Dick finally wrecks the ship, but not before Queequeg, Tashtego, and Daggoo climb to the top of each mast….This dramatic scene challenges the triumphalist tale of European seafarers heroically globalizing the world and offers us instead an image of interdependency with alien 'others,' whose skills made voyaging so far from home possible and, if you captain was not fatally obsessed with a particular whale, even profitable. (Chappell 75-6)

That is, while its Nantucket owners and Captain Ahab have their own plans for the *Pequod*, the novel remains committed to the idea that the ship is strongest in its diversity. In other words, "not one in two of the many thousand men before the mast employed in the American whale fishery are Americans born, though pretty nearly all the officers are" (122). This division of the officers and crew mimics the racial class structure of the U.S.: white men give the orders, and in this story, Ahab drives the ship and its crew to their doom.

similarities between piracy (theft of property) and slavery (theft of labor), and by extension, between fears of mutinies and fears of slave rebellions.

Ships and the ocean provided nineteenth-century American writers with the chance to explore questions about the relation of members of the northern elite to the horrific practices (which they tended to displace onto places located farther south) that made their wealth possible in productive ways. Although the ocean is generally a space to be crossed rather than an environment in which people produce lived histories and communities, in Bernhard Klein and Gesa Mackenthun's collection of essays, they suggest that the ocean is "a deeply historical location whose transformative power is not merely psychological or metaphorical—but very material and real," and offer essays that "take issue with the cultural myth that the ocean is outside and beyond history…and that a fully historicized land somehow stands diametrically opposed to an atemporal, 'ahistorical' sea" (2). The shipboard spaces of nineteenth-century American literature, then, are *as fully sites of history as the plantations that relied on slave labor of the U.S. South*. Indeed, the ship may even contain more history than an equivalent piece of land, for "in terms of its spatial properties, the ship thus assumes the guise of a heterotopia (in Foucault's coinage)": it becomes a place where all the sites that can be found in the culture are found and contested (Klein 93). As Paul Gilroy theorizes the Black Atlantic, he uses the ship as "the first of the novel chronotopes" in his attempts to "rethink modernity" (17). Ian Baucom takes the voyage of the *Zong*, the massacre of almost one hundred and fifty members of its human cargo, and its owners's subsequent attempt to claim that loss from their insurance company as "[bringing] to light…an Atlantic cycle of accumulation" (32). Baucom's work thus links finance capital with slavery and the slave trade, a connection that hemispheric gothic fictions also recognize. These fictions use shipboard spaces to explore the ways in which the

wealth they carry comes from hidden histories of slavery, imperialism, and, more generally, disregard for the human costs of acquiring capital. New Bedford's "brave houses and flowery gardens" that "were harpooned and dragged up hither from the bottom of the sea" in *Moby Dick* make this connection explicit (34).

The ships, first and foremost, highlight the economic entanglements between the United States (and particularly the Northeast) and the rest of the hemisphere and globe. Many of these stories contain a Northerner going South, and while that Northerner may try to dissociate himself from connections to slavery, often the economic purposes of the ship (whether as part of the slave trade, or whaling, or exploration) connect that Northerner to the economies of American imperialism, implicating him in the slave economy of the U.S. South that helped to drive the U.S. economy. Furthermore, as Gesa Mackenthun argues, these ships "function as repertories of colonial memories and as imaginary stages for enacting colonial conflicts," so that these Northerners restage the colonial conflicts and further implicate themselves in a system of American exceptionalism and imperialism (146). Because the slave trade was an integral part of the triangle trade, it haunts nineteenth-century ships involved in other forms of trade, even after the legal transportation of slaves from Africa to the Americas ended early in the century.

This connection between nineteenth-century ships and the slave trade is invoked in stories about piracy and mutiny, although that connection may not be immediately apparent. Slavery, "an instance of the fundamental violence of colonialism: the conscious effort to take from others their very means of survival," is nothing less than an extreme form of piracy, in which the property stolen is control over one's own labor (Rowe, "Poe's Imperial Fantasy" 75). Nina Gerassi-Navarro, describing the pirate in Spanish American fiction, notes that "claiming the sea as his own and defying all national borders, the pirate is unrestrained by spatial boundaries.

He is free to imagine his own place, constantly reshaping it as he sails from coast to coast" (9). This lack of external control (no national or spatial boundaries) that the pirate enjoys is like the lack of control (no laws concerning basic human rights) that the slaveholder enjoys. So, in these stories the pirate is potentially a slaveholder. Nineteenth-century U.S. laws also made connections between piracy and slaving: in an act passed on May 15, 1820, Congress declared that anyone found to be "[seizing] any negro or mulatto, not held to service or labour by the laws of either of the states or the territories of the United States, with intent to make such negro or mulatto a slave…shall be adjudged a pirate" (Sec. 4). It is perhaps easier, if no less important, to recognize that the threat of mutiny is like the threat of slave rebellion, a threat that *Benito Cereno* makes particularly clear when it associates the *San Dominick* with the Haitian revolution.

Just as these oceanic hemispheric gothic fictions interrogate national boundaries with their wide-ranging geographies, they also explore constructions of racial identities with their color palattes: the texts also rely on the symbolism of black, white, and shades of gray as visual cues to complex racial codes. Toni Morrison sees a distinct racialized binary between black and white in these texts:

> Because they appear almost always in conjunction with representations of black or Africanist people who are dead, impotent, or under complete control, these images of blinding whiteness seem to function as both antidote for and meditation on the shadow that is companion to the whiteness—a dark and abiding presence that moves the hearts and texts of American literature with fear and longing. This haunting, a darkness from which our early literature seemed unable to extricate itself, suggests the complex and contradictory situation in which American writers found themselves during the formative years of the nation's literature. (33)

For Morrison, black and white don't exist independently, but challenge each other—through a form of haunting that indicates how this coexistence becomes a gothic form. Grace Hale provocatively comments at the beginning of her book on the construction of whiteness in the twentieth century that "to be American is to be both black and white," a sentiment that expresses similar ideas and implies a gothic repression of the full recognition of our cultural antecedents (3). Although, as Dana Nelson points out, "while 'race' as a concretized idea was not fully realized" until the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries, we can read "the arbitrary enforcement and institutionalization of Anglo superiority in United States history" as dealing with something very like what we understand today to be race (21). While the contrast between black and white first seems quite stark in these texts, they tend to demonstrate how the colors haunt and complicate each other, so that the symbolism of color (the white whale of *Moby Dick*, "the Negro" that haunts Benito Cereno) becomes a marker for ways that historical realities gothically haunt these stories.

This chapter moves chronologically through a series of shipboard hemispheric gothic works. I will begin with Edgar Allan Poe's *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym*, a text whose continual borrowings from popular contemporary travel narratives insist on the story's authenticity (and appeal to audience desires) even as its abruptly foreshortened ending defies authorial control. The terrifying whiteness in which the main action of *Pym* ends foregrounds questions of reading and interpretation—although we may think we understand what's going on, the text defies easy explanations. I argue that *Pym* connects the circulation of texts in literary markets to the imperialistic circulation of goods in which his characters participate. Two later novels, Frederick Douglass's *The Heroic Slave* and Maxwell Philip's *Emmanuel Appadocca*, are more direct in their condemnation of slavery. These novels suggest that even though the sea may

be haunted by the history of the Middle Passage, it also offers an alternative to and escape from unjust laws on land. As I conclude, I glance back to *Benito Cereno*'s muted grayscale, which prevents Captain Delano from accurately reading the mutiny.

When the hemispheric gothic goes to sea in nineteenth-century American fictions, it portrays the ocean as an historical place that connects Northern business interests with the horrors of slavery, capitalism, and colonialism farther south. Paratexts draw attention to the conditions of the stories' production, even as the gothic excesses draw attention to the conditions of forced labor that make Northern capitalists wealthy. The gothic becomes the aesthetic which enables this economic questioning: specifically the gothic space of a ship allows authors to put pressure on, destabilize, and sometimes re-establish national and racial boundaries.

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Edgar Allan Poe's only completed novel, *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym* (1838), forces readers to account for hemispheric connections between shipping interests based in the U.S. North and the colonialism and exploitation that marked the global South as other. In fact the text becomes its own kind of hemispheric gothic vessel, as it is haunted by other authors' unattributed accounts of sea voyages. As Arthur Gordon Pym travels farther and farther South in ships that combine both public and private spheres, the uncanny domestic space of the ship becomes a microcosm of the nation where boundaries of inclusion and exclusion—especially as they are marked by characters' racial identities—are tested. In the end, Pym's inability to read his surroundings suggests the fluidity of these boundaries under pressure. Pym faces many gothic horrors, including being buried alive twice, a mutiny, a shipwreck, and the prospect of cannibalism. As in most gothic stories, these disasters shock and thrill readers, but the patterns of disaster also force readers to reexamine their assumptions about who has (or should have)

authority and who counts (or should count) as fully human. In the end, the authority under the most pressure is that of the author: by using an unexpected paratext to undercut the plotted ending, the fiction questions both narrative authority and the reader's ability to know a story. In place of certainty and an ending that ties up the plot's loose ends, we only get more questions.

While *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym* portrays voyages undertaken with a variety of motivations, they all have the potential to make the hemispheric transfer of wealth and power visible. The *Grampus*, at first a whaler and after the mutiny a potential pirate ship, is valued for its ability to bring wealth home to New England. While the *Jane Guy* is "bound on a sealing and trading voyage to the South Seas and the Pacific," Pym figures its journey as one of discovery (168). Chapter 17 is full of descriptions of previous voyages of exploration to Antarctica, and Pym can barely contain his self-satisfaction when he informs the reader that they "had now advanced to the southward more than eight degrees farther than any previous navigators" (Poe 193). While Pym hopes that journey will be able to solve "the great problem in regard to an Antarctic continent," once the crew of the *Jane Guy* encounters people indigenous to Antarctica, they immediately begin what looks like an imperialist project of domination (Poe 193). Even this project to expand human knowledge (and specifically knowledge of the south) ends with a power struggle.

In fact, the text itself participates in the circulation of human knowledge as it "consulted, or more accurately, plundered and plagiarized" a variety of contemporary books that described voyages of exploration and sea travel (Frank and Hoeveler 14). Many critics suggest that these borrowings were Poe's attempt to increase the length of the story for his publishers or to "[lend] an air of authenticity" to his novel.[58] More importantly, they participate in the text's

[58] Whalen 148. Tynan suggests that the liberal quotation might be an attempt to increase the word count of the text. Frank and Hoeveler provide selections from six of Poe's sources (R. Thomas's *Remarkable Shipwrecks, A*

hemispheric gothic strategies by identifying the current vogue of such tales in literary markets even as the text critiques these kinds of narratives.[59] Indeed, *Pym* "mocks the exuberance for exploration voyages and voyage accounts that gripped America in the 1830s" (Gitelman 350). Meredith McGill expands Gitelman's analysis on the early scenes in which Pym stows away on the *Grampus* to suggest that here "Poe critiques the loose narrative structure of his own tale and the exploration narratives on which *Pym* was based, but he also acknowledges the ready market for these digressive, miscellaneous collections of firsthand experience, scientific knowledge, and stories of adventure" (168). I agree with this analysis, but would go further: it's not only the public appetites for these stories that *Pym* critiques but also the economic and social structures that support the voyages that create the stories—a point I will return to as I look at the ending of *Pym* later in this chapter.

The social structure on which *Pym* puts the most pressure is the construction of race. At the start of the novel *Pym* leans heavily on racist stereotypes. During the mutiny, only Seymour, the black cook, and Dirk Peters, "son of an Indian squaw" and a fur-trader, are identified racially (Poe 94). Seymour, who comes to the reader's attention first, is labeled as "the cook, a negro," and while he does not start the mutiny, as the mutineers take over the ship, he presides over the "scene of the most horrible butchery…with an axe, striking each victim on the head as he was forced over the side of the vessel by the other mutineers" (Poe 93). While the cook is associated with some of the most brutal actions during the mutiny, and betrays his comrades twice, Dirk Peters, although marked as racially other, quickly takes a place of first importance because he

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Collection of Interesting Accounts of Naval Disasters, John Cleve Symmes's *Symzonia: A Voyage of Discovery by Captain Adam Seaborn*, James McBride's *Symmes's Theory of Concentric Spheres*, Jane Porter's *Sir Edward Seaward's Narrative of His Shipwreck*, Archibald Duncan's *The Mariner's Chronicle*, and Jeremiah N. Reynolds's *The Voyage of the Potomac*). They suggest that the book's full 115-word title also echoes the titles of these works and others like them to provide further verisimilitude (249).

[59] The question of how to understand the markets in which Poe's work circulated is one that has received recent critical attention from a conference held at the University of Virginia for Poe's bicentennial and the collection of essays, *Poe and the Remapping of Antebellum Print Culture*, that grew out of that conference.

protects Pym's friend Augustus.

Indeed, Dirk Peters is the character the text uses to test the racial stereotypes it initially subscribes to so heartily. The text reinforces Peters's mixed background by frequently referring to him as the "hybrid"[60] during the part of the story set aboard the Grampus and by describing him as something simultaneously both more than and less than human: "his limbs were of the most Herculean mould," his hands "hardly…retain a human shape," and "his head was equally deformed" (Poe 95). Despite these oddities, Pym insists on Peters's importance as "the main instrument" that saves Augustus's life during the mutiny, and as a continuing fellow-traveler in the narrative "beyond the limits of human credulity" (Poe 96). But by the end of the narrative, it becomes clear that Peters's racial identity depends on the men's context. After most of the *Jane Guy*'s crew has been killed in an explosion, and Pym and Peters are trapped alone, Pym describes himself and Peters as "the only living white men upon the island" (Poe 217). Thus Peters undergoes dual transformations: from mutineer to life-saving companion, and from racially-other hybrid to white man.

Although Seymour and Peters are the only non-white members of the mutiny that Pym cares to describe, and although the rest of the crew seems to be white, Seymour and Peters, through their actions during the mutiny, seem to create a sort of racial spectrum: Pym conveys the horror of the mutiny by attributing its bloodiest moments (moments, it is worth noting, that he could not have seen and is only repeating second-hand) to the only black person on board, and then finds sympathy and deliverance from a character of mixed race, whom he characterizes as increasingly white as he finds him increasingly sympathetic. So, from the start of the book, it seems that Pym initially reads people based on the color of their skin, although these readings may be subject to revision based on context. The encounter between the crew of the *Jane Guy*

[60] See 103, 111, 116, and 132.

and the Tsalals in Antarctica at the end of the novel puts this system of racial classification to its most severe test. In these scenes, the limitations of Pym's imagination and his system of classification are exposed: instead of listening to the Tsalals' local knowledge about the dangers of the area, Pym presses on, privileging his own desire to discover over the value of local knowledge. Even in retrospect, Pym lacks the perspicacity to blame himself for his desire to continue traveling south.

The Tsalals, the indigenous people of Antarctica, and their surroundings are a fantasy not of the geographic south (with its cold polar icecap) but the metaphoric south of the United States (where to travel south is to approach the equator and to encounter slavery). The *Jane Guy's* approach is where we start seeing a divergence from published accounts of explorers: despite being as far south as anyone has been, "the sea lay perfectly open" and "the air [was] tolerably warm" (Poe 193, 194). As Leslie Fiedler puts it: "Poe follows the footsteps not of Captain Cook but of his own first voyage in the arms of his mother, undertaken before his memory began, from New England to the South. In his deepest imagination, any flight from the North bears the voyager not toward but away from the snow—not to the South Pole, but to the American South" (398). Accordingly, the Tsalals are racially marked; although Pym first compares them to Europeans, he can hardly wait to describe them: "their complexion a jet black, with thick and long wooly hair" (Poe 196). Nu-Nu confirms the people's African nature: they call their king Tsalemon or Psalemoun, both names which sound very similar to the biblical King Solomon, and Peters reads the engravings on the rock as an Ethiopian script, a reading the Note later confirms.

Pym's reading of the Tsalals is remarkably bad. Because the Tsalals initially prove willing to accommodate the strangers, Pym only sees the Tsalals as "a people who treated us so

well": he never pauses to reflect on his treatment of the Tsalals (Poe 210). Once the Tsalals' actions prove their lack of patience with the white men, Pym only sees the Tsalals as "savages" with "treacherous ends," and never considers that the Tsalals may have tired of the white men's imperialism (Poe 217). But even as Pym misreads the Tsalals, when they kill everyone from the *Jane Guy* but Pym and Peters, this action "makes explicit the phobia about the dark other the fear of black insurrection, and the flight into an otherworldly space of pure whiteness" (Erkkila 57). Even in his misguided readings, then, Pym gets to flee into a space of pure whiteness and fantasy to escape the terror of what reads very much like a slave rebellion.

Pym also remains remarkably obtuse regarding the Tsalals' fear of whiteness: throughout the entire time the ship's crew stays on the island, and several days into their journey in the canoe, Pym does not realize that Nu-Nu's fear is brought on by the color white.[61] The canoe's progress into whiteness is marked by Nu-Nu's terror: first Pym makes the realization that the color is what is causing Nu-Nu to be "violently affected with convulsions," and then, as each successive day passes, the canoe is subject to white ash and passes another white animal (Poe 240). Nu-Nu seems to die several times before Pym and Peters find "his spirit departed," but this departure heralds the most intense form of whiteness yet: the huge white man (Poe 243).

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[61] The Tsalals' fear of whiteness and the figure that haunts the end of *Pym* anticipate the white whale of *Moby Dick*. Moby Dick's defining characteristic is his skin color. Ahab invokes him three times as "white-headed" or "white" as he describes him to the crew. Although Pip shrieks out to "thou big white God aloft there somewhere in yon darkness [to] have mercy on this small black boy down here," the closest thing to a God the text presents is Moby Dick himself, who is floating in the darkness of the ocean's waters and who will not have mercy on Pip (180). Indeed, Ishmael spends an entire chapter reflecting on the whiteness of the whale. While the reader spends the entire book chasing the whiteness of the whale, "only Ahab believes that the whale represents evil, and Ahab is both crazy and damned" (Fiedler 385). The whale's color, first and foremost, is not a fixed signifier: although Ishmael clearly narrates that the white whale represents Ahab's chance to take his revenge on an unfair world, "what, at times, [Moby Dick] was to me, as yet remains unsaid" (191). Ishmael tries to evaluate the whiteness as he tries to evaluate everything else in the book: by cataloguing it. He thinks of analogs in the natural world (the polar bear, Coleridge's albatross, the White Mountains of New Hampshire), and concludes that the whiteness is a "mystic sign" that gives forth hints to "invisible spheres [that] were formed in fright" (199). The blankness of the whale becomes, rather than a tabula rasa, or a sign of purity, a sign of disease, so "the palsied universe lies before us like a leper" (200). The whiteness, rather than containing possibility, or a place to start, actually covers the nature of things up. Ahab, in some senses, chases a part of himself: he is white, like the whale. Indeed, Ahab is an outlier aboard an ethnically diverse ship just as Moby Dick seems to be the only white whale in the entire ocean.

The presence of this figure troubles the text immensely. The whiteness terrifies Nu-Nu (and all the Tsalals, who wear no white, and have no white in their body: even their teeth are black), and although the increasing whiteness all over the text at this point seems to signify the approach of a polar winter, this winter approaches "without its terrors" (Poe 241). But even if Pym is not wise enough to dread the whiteness, his description invokes gothic horrors for the reader: the white man who approaches is described as "very larger in its proportions than any dweller among men" and shrouded, increasing the difficulty of reading him (Poe 243). He's also coming towards the boat, blocking the way forward.

At this moment of ambivalence, with the mysterious figure advancing towards the canoe, the narrative abruptly breaks off. Pym has died under "well known" circumstances and the last chapters of the narrative have been "irrecoverably lost" (Poe 244). While Peters is still alive, he cannot be found to provide the rest of the story. This abrupt ending robs Pym's narrative and his readings of their power: the reader has already had the opportunity to see Pym making bad decision after bad decision; even if the white man is the means by which Pym and Peters return to the United States, the reader cannot know anything more about him than his inscrutable appearance.

The narrator makes a few gestures towards reaching some sort of conclusion by confirming Peters's reading of the characters as alphabetical, and by connecting the Tsalals' various fears with the color white. By cutting off the climax of the whiteness imagery with the black and white words of the editor, the narrative "explores the black and white of writing and the 'black and white' of racial difference" (Gardner 127). But even the editor's ending leaves more questions than answers; Dana Nelson notes that as Pym tries to read the hieroglyphs, the text offers a binary between nature and art that "proves no better at sustaining itself than the one

constructed between black and white" (Nelson, 104). The reader is finally left with two conflicting narratives that "[reveal] the arbitrariness of racial theory's color symbolism" (Mackenthun 139). The story ends with a purported translation of the letters in the cave: "*I have graven it within the hills, and my vengeance upon the dust within the rock*'" (Poe 247). This sentence maps onto Pym's experience in Tsalal neatly, but even this match gives no final valence to the values of black and white within the story.

Even as the story's ending destabilizes the ways that Pym constructs race in the gothic horror of the color white and in Pym's inability to read the intentions of the Tsalals, it also puts pressure on authorial authority, a topic which has been subtly troubling the text since its first publication. Poe started publishing this story in the *Southern Literary Messenger* in January 1837.[62] Although Poe had published other fiction in the *Southern Literary Messenger* under his own name,[63] both the January 1837 installment and in a second installment in February 1837 were titled "Arthur Gordon Pym," published anonymously,[64] and written in the first person; in fact, the first sentence of the January installment reads: "My name is Arthur Gordon Pym."[65] When Poe expanded the narrative into a novel for Harper and Brothers in 1838, he retained the first person narration, divided the already-written installments into shorter chapters,[66] made a few revisions, wrote enough new material to fill twenty-five chapters in all, and added a preface and a final note.

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[62] Poe started working for the magazine in 1835 as a critic, and became editor late in that year. As editor he wrote many reviews and critical essays. In January and February 1837 he published the first two installments of *Pym*. These installments were published just as Poe was leaving the magazine to go north because "his duties as editor had yielded him no time for new creative work" (Mathiessen 186).

[63] For example, "Berenice" in March 1835 and "Morella" in April 1835.

[64] The installments were meant to be anonymous in the issues in which they appear, but Thomas White, the publisher attributed the story to Poe in an editorial note (Ridgely and Haverstick, 66).

[65] "Arthur Gordon Pym." *The Southern Literary Messenger* (Jan. 1837): 13. Jerome McGann argues that the two *SLM* installments of 1837and the much longer book publication of 1838 "represent completely different—what shall we call them?—works" (254) and contends that critical editions of *Pym* which hierarchize its multiple narratives must distort our ability to read the intersecting narratives of the novel (253-255).

[66] These installment breaks fall in what are now the middles of chapters two and four. Ridgeley and Haverstick speculate White was publishing as much material as he had at the time in each installment (65-66).

The preface, which is signed A. G. Pym, attempts to make fiction into reality—a project which the text will continue to engage in with its obsessive borrowings from other contemporary works. It contends that Poe talked Pym into publishing an account of Pym's adventures, but because they were so incredible, Pym insisted that Poe publish them "*under the garb of fiction*" (53). The reception of the first two installments, Pym contends, assured him that "the public were still not at all disposed to receive it as fable," so he decided to publish the rest of the story under his own name (53). Although he insists that Poe did not "[alter] or [distort] a single fact" in his portion of the story, he also claims that "the difference in point of style" between his narration and Poe's "will be readily perceived" (53, 54, 54). Here, the story tries to assert that two conflicting ways of reading it are equally valid: because some readers know that Poe started the story in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, the narrator must assure them of Poe's reliability in conveying the story, yet in insisting on a stylistic difference (one that's not readily apparent to the reader and the effects of which are masked by the supposed change in authorship occurring in the middle of chapter four), Pym seeks to establish his own credibility as an author both in terms of the content he conveys and the style he uses.

But if the preface hints at the text's obsession with authorial authority and its own conditions of publication, the notes at the end of the text call into question both the stability of the authorial persona and the text's form as a novel. As I discussed earlier, the final chapter ends with a cliffhanger: Pym and his companion Dirk Peters have escaped the Tsalals in a boat with a captive, Nu-Nu. As they continue their journey south, Nu-Nu is scared to death and Pym and Peters see "a shrouded human figure" whose skin "was of the perfect whiteness of the snow" blocking their path (243). Here the story breaks off. An editorial voice tersely informs the reader that "the circumstances connected with the late sudden and distressing death of Mr. Pym are

already well known to the public through the medium of the daily press" (244). As gothic as the story has seemed to this point, here the aesthetic slips the bounds of the story itself: the story is so horrifying that it cannot be told: its author and protagonist has been unnaturally killed before he can communicate the end of his tale.

Furthermore, there's a technological problem in the report of Pym's death. Although the editorial voice assumes that readers know all the details from the daily papers, since Pym is a fictional construct, these details are entirely unavailable to Poe's readers. Even though the newspaper is a technology that makes mass communication possible,[67] the text's reference to the newspaper alleviates it of the responsibility of informing the reader of the circumstances of Pym's death, making the text more, rather than less, obscure. Thus, the paratextual devices that Poe employs in *Pym* are intimately related to its gothic aesthetic: they challenge the stability of the authorial persona and the novel's form, and extend Pym's hideous death from a plot point to a real-world occurrence.

With its impenetrable ending *Pym* makes most explicit the connections between the literary markets in which it circulated (and which it continually re-circulated through its plagiarism of other contemporary texts) and the larger, global patterns of trade, slavery, and imperialism. The text may be mocking the popular taste for these accounts of voyages of exploration, but in so doing, it cannot help but satisfy that taste by offering, at least in part, another account of a voyage of exploration. Similarly, although *Pym* destabilizes certain racial stereotypes (by making Peters's race contextual and by making white a symbol of terror instead of purity) and allows the colonized not only to stand up to, but also to practically destroy those

[67] Indeed, the newspaper may move citizens beyond mass communication to mass ritual: see Benedict Anderson's description of reading the morning newspaper as an act "performed in silent privacy, in the lair of the skull" yet whose participants fully know is repeated by uncountable others who are completely unknown (35).

who would oppress them, it can only tell this kind of story by completely destroying the process of storytelling and the authority of its author.

As it takes its readers from historical antecedents to gothic horrors that defy any attempt to summarize or even understand them, *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym* insists that attempts to control its plot or its characters can only end in failure. Instead, it implicates the figure of the Northerner traveling South: there's no such thing as a neutral observer. Through the gothic horrors that Arthur Pym eventually participates in, the text insists that Northern industry and colonization and slavery in the global South are inextricably connected.

* * *

Like Poe's *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym*, Frederick Douglass's only fictional narrative, *The Heroic Slave* (1853), links the way that the story of its protagonist, Madison Washington, circulates with a more explicit critique of the U.S. South. The story, which takes the 1841 slave revolt on the *Creole* as its source,[68] uses not only uses the shipboard spaces to contrast the limitations of national laws on land with behavior possible at sea, but also explicitly points out the irony of a country founded on ideals of freedom permitting slavery to exist. This critique implicates the entire nation, not just the South—but whereas in other hemispheric gothic works, the U.S. is implicated in larger patterns of oppression around the hemisphere, here the U.S. is the site of oppression, in contrast to the freedom possible in the Bahamas. But this story is not one that simply ends with freedom; instead it only offers that freedom through the narrative interventions of white sailors. These interventions indicate the text's awareness of how it might be circulated and what kinds of stories might be told; while there's certainly an audience for antislavery stories, the critique of the text must be mediated in order to be heard.

[68] Although both the ship's name (the *Creole*) and the name of the protagonist (Madison Washington) bear symbolic weight in the story, they are the factual names of the historical incident (Jervey and Huber, 196).

While readers might read the "ancient and famous public tavern" that houses Part III—at first glance full of "gaiety and high life" but upon closer inspection wrapped in a "gloomy mantle of ruin"—as *The Heroic Slave*'s sole concession to the gothic, I argue that the scenes of Madison Washington's shipboard mutiny—especially because they are mediated by white sailors—create a hemispheric gothic aesthetic that pervades the end of the text (205, 206, 206). Like Uriah Derick D'Arcy in *The Black Vampyre*, Douglass used history as a basis for his plot, but then made the history serve a gothic purpose—the characters exist in a generalized space and time—so that the double dangers of mutiny and a slave revolt haunt every ship and plantation engaged in the slave economy.

Like the ships in *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym*, the slave ship in *The Heroic Slave* allows the text to explore the limits of national laws—in particular the laws of slavery. Although *The Heroic Slave* spends much of its narrative energies on dry land, the sea is the place where Washington can claim his freedom: ironically American soil is unfree. The difference between land and sea is "by implication a distinction between state law by force and natural law by right"—so while Listwell's powers to free Washington are limited on land by the law, Washington uses his own superior qualities to free himself at sea (Sundquist 116). This disconnection between the laws of the United States and the rights of man, achievable only at sea, forces readers to recognize the United States' unrecognized repression of its own ideals. Indeed Washington, during his second escape attempt tells Listwell that he's headed for Canada, and when he finally reaches freedom, that freedom is located in a British port, ironically reversing the conditions of the American Revolution in which Washington's namesake fought: freedom is associated with British possessions and forms of slavery with the United States. Madison Washington, like the two men whose names he carries, is a Virginian, and "*one* of the

truest, manliest, and bravest of her children" (175). But, under the forms of slavery that haunt the United States in this story, Washington can only be a true child of Virginia by leaving the United States. *The Heroic Slave* acknowledges this irony more openly than many other hemispheric gothic works.

Through this irony the story implicates the entire United States—not just the South—as the location of slavery; by introducing the character of Listwell, it insists on a Northern U.S. observer, but like many other Northerners called to witness in hemispheric gothic works, he cannot fully see what's happening. Listwell's "happy home in the State of Ohio" is not safe for fugitives from slavery, and a "Baltimore built American slaver"[69] is the ship that will carry Washington from Richmond to New Orleans (182, 223). Although Listwell makes several crucial attempts to help Washington (including his silence when they first meet in Virginia, his shelter in Ohio, and his gift of files in Richmond), after he gives Washington the files, he "[loses] no time in completing his business, and in making his way homewards, gladly shaking off from his feet the dust of Old Virginia" (224). Listwell only sees himself involved in the system of slavery as someone who helps Washington, and while he does provide crucial aid, he also ignores his own participation in the slave economy (he's drawn to Virginia to do business twice during the course of the story)—and he loses the chance to learn the end of Washington's story.

Indeed, it's in the novella's ending that the implications of its hemispheric gothic aesthetic rest: the frame narrative draws readers' attention to the form of the story. That ending, while one to be celebrated (Washington frees the slaves, who have his name on their lips as they disembark in Nassau, and fulfills the promise at the end of the story that Washington is one of the sons of Virginia most worthy of recognition), does not allow Washington to tell his own

[69] Although the international slave trade had been abolished by the United States and Great Britain early in the nineteenth century, slave trading among the Southern U.S. states was still legal. The slave ship, whose legality then depended on its origin and destination, is thus an uncanny object.

story, perhaps because the text is "carefully modulated to appeal to a white anti-slavery audience" (Sundquist 117). Instead, the narrative enters a coffee house in Richmond to overhear the conversation between two sailors. They read the mutiny aboard the *Creole* (itself a ship named for the mixture of European, African, and American blood) as an affair "miserably and disgracefully mismanaged" (226). Although Jack Williams anticipates the spectacular forms of terrorism that would emerge in the post-Reconstruction South by suggesting that "a good stout whip, or a stiff rope's end, is better than all the guns at Old Point to quell a *nigger* insurrection," and is allowed in the narrative to go on for some length about the cowardice of the slaves, the first mate, Tom Grant steps in (227). The mate takes on Listwell's sympathy, but in a more productive way: he has resolved to get out of slave trading because it is "a disgrace and scandal to Old Virginia" (230). When Grant "confesses that the color bar alone is all that would prevent him from following the superior Madison Washington, whose motivation is nothing less than the 'principles of 1776,'" he affirms Washington's connection (hinted through his name) with the Founding Fathers, and thereby suggests that America has lost her way (Sundquist 116). Even as the story criticizes slavery's injustice, then, the frame narrative is still carefully aware of its audience and unwilling to offer an unmediated account of Madison Washington's heroism.

Although the novella follows Washington's long journey to freedom, its final concern is not only with the slaves who start new lives in Nassau. Instead, it also becomes a conversion narrative by which Tom Grant, who while dazed on the deck calls Washington "a *black murderer*," learns to "[forget] his blackness in the dignity of his manner, and the eloquence of his speech" (234, 235). Importantly, this conversion happens on board a ship. While Washington touches and elicits sympathy from the Northerner Listwell on land, at sea, he has the power to convince a Southerner to judge him by his actions and his words, rather than by his appearance.

Thus, even as *The Heroic Slave* celebrates the heroism of its protagonist, Madison Washington's story is always bound up in hemispheric structures of power: his final successes must be related to readers at a further remove than the rest of the text. The story challenges conventional boundaries in its critique of its Northern witness: while Listwell seeks to help Washington, he is also, like Captain Delano, blind to his own participation in a system of slavery that stretches beyond the boundaries of slave states.

* * *

Like *The Heroic Slave, Emmanuel Appadocca, or Blighted Life: A Tale of the Boucaneers* (1854) by Maxwell Philip explicitly connects its position as a work of fiction with its place in a larger economic milieu that has been irrevocably shaped by the presence of slavery. The novel is set in Trinidad and written in London, but it charges the United States with the responsibility of answering its questions. While the story features a swashbuckling pirate, it uses this adventure story to explore the family relationships that are created by and made possible within a slave system. The eponymous hero of the story conducts his piracy with a strong moral code: although he makes his livelihood by seizing the property of others and selling it, after his men have gained control of a ship, he protects the lives of his prisoners and frees them quite willingly. While Appadocca's actions and his status as the abandoned son of an enslaved mother and a wealthy, white father initially distinguish him from the pirate who stands in for a slave owner, when he takes advantage of his freedom as a pirate and breaks the moral code that guides him in order to punish his father, Appadocca's successes end, and his troubles begin. As Appadocca's fortunes decline, the narrative explores Appadocca's father's doubled families, and what natural law requires.

Maxwell's preface and his epigraphs suggest that *Emmanuel Appadocca* has a higher

purpose than merely entertaining an audience eager for action. Maxwell's feelings, "roused up to a high pitch of indignant excitement, by a statement of the cruel manner in which the slave holders of America deal with their slave-children," have prompted him to write (6). Like many hemispheric gothic works, this story is based on "truth—the known history of the Boucaneers," but heavily fictionalized (6). Furthermore, *Emmanuel Appadocca* is "produced within (and informed by) the classic tradition": it employs a series of epigraphs (from Euripedes and Shakespeare) and allusions to authors such as Milton and Carlyle (Cain xxxix). Thus, the novel flatters the erudition of its readers even as it seeks to move them by the injustices it portrays.

But even as the text makes itself legible in a long line of literary tradition, Emmanuel Appadocca's identity and his success as a pirate are bound up in his ability to defy interpretation. When he is first introduced in his cabin, he is both masculine in his strong frame, but his hands are "almost femininely delicate," and like his gender ambiguity, his "very light olive skin…showed a mixture of blood," which the narrator classifies as quadroon (23). Even more tellingly, because Appadocca stays in his cabin so much, the British officer can hardly believe that he's a pirate, noting that "'this gentleman does not appear to have ever left the land'" (91). As Appadocca's school friend Charles helps elaborate Appadocca's academic history, this confusion becomes all the more appropriate. Appadocca, then, is totally mixed as a character—his body visibly reminds the reader of the slave economy into which he was born.

Appadocca's ship, the *Black Schooner*, is as difficult to pin down as his body: while Appadocca is captive on the man-of-war, his ship undergoes a "metamorphosis" into a Mexican that allows it to investigate the man-of-war closely, and then is changed again into a distressed English vessel (151). "From amidst the wreck of the skeleton ship, the Black Schooner sprang forth as she felt the power of her snow-white sails" (149). These transformations, which rely on

changes to the sails, the colors, and even the hull of the ship, make the Black Schooner worthy of her name: she is unreadable to outside eyes, except in the ways that her commander chooses. Although the *Black Schooner*'s snowy white sails are crucial to her escapes as the time comes for a race, her black un-readability is necessary to get her to that point: she needs to be anonymous as much as she needs to be fast.

Even though his body renders the history of slavery in his family visible, as a pirate, Appadocca appears to be free from the laws of men. But, as the story takes a gothic twist and highlights his hidden family, readers see that not even Appadocca can escape natural law. Appadocca's piracy is both practical and careful: he has no scruples about taking property away (especially from the rich who have a surplus of property, gained by slave labor on their plantations), but he refuses to take human life for no reason (admittedly, he does not hesitate to kill people as he take over their ships or to kill his own men if they chose to disobey his commands). When he captures his father, Agnes, and the priest, he assures the priest that he "'cannot spare a moment of [his time], either to blight the innocence or rob the honor of damsels'" (42). Although Appadocca holds the priest and the young woman for a while, he releases them safely to shore. As he looks over the goods he has gained by his act of piracy, too, he justifies the theft with the thought that its "'owners are rich, and they can afford to yield up this cargo to better men than themselves'" (42).

Appadocca, used to the freedom of the sea and piracy, suggests that natural law (particularly how to treat one's children) should prevail over national laws (that allow slaveholders to abandon or enslave the children they have with enslaved women). He charges his father with violating "'one of the most sacred and most binding of [Nature's] laws; of having abandoned your offspring'" (61-2). Although Appadocca makes a strong case for this natural

law, nature requires Appadocca's help in exacting justice: even after Appadocca abandons his father strapped to a barrel at sea, his father survives. Only after Appadocca kills Willmington's other children, is nature willing to take Appadocca's father: he drowns in the torture room aboard the *Black Schooner* when the ship capsizes in gale. While there is an ironic justice to Willmington's death—"chained in the hold of *The Black Schooner*, James Willmington goes down into the Caribbean like the slaves on the middle passage trade he has profited from"—this irony does not mean that nature works as a tool of Appadocca (James, *Marooon Narrative* 5). Instead, the delay in Willmington's death seems to indicate that nature is an impersonal force that does not take order from humans, or even care about human interpretations of her laws. Instead, the only satisfaction possible for Appadocca is the satisfaction he can take for himself.

Like Madison Washington, then, Appadocca turns to the sea as a place where natural law still operates. But while Madison Washington gains his freedom by his actions, Appadocca's revenge gets him nothing: he commits suicide soon after his father's death. The sea remains a place where natural law is at play (a natural law which punishes slaveholders and allows men to rise or fall based on their own merits), but *Emmanuel Appadocca* is ultimately much more pessimistic about human recognition of natural law. Although the volatile seascape in which Appadocca lives allows him to try on different identities (just as the *Black Schooner*'s multiple flags allow it to masquerade as different ships), he cannot escape the hemispheric pull of the slave system into which he was born—a critique which Maxwell explicitly offers his readers in his preface.

* * *

To conclude my discussion of the possibilities that nineteenth century ships open up to authors of the hemispheric gothic, I return to a text I looked at in my first chapter, *Benito*

Cereno. Melville's novella exemplifies the interconnected themes that hemispheric gothic works take up: it invokes the horrors of the Haitian Revolution to insist that U.S. citizens witness the hemispheric histories in which they are imbricated and it uses its shipboard setting to put pressure on the constructed boundaries of nation and race. One of the most important ways in which *Benito Cereno* tests these constructions is by its careful deployment of color. While voyages of exploration lead Pym into a completely white landscape, *Benito Cereno* is marked by a flat grayscale that is difficult to interpret. Although Delano comes onto deck "not long after dawn," "everything was mute and calm, everything gray" (353). Melville repeats the word "gray" three more times in that paragraph alone, and the surface of the ocean, although not given a specific color, looks "like waved lead that has cooled and set," or, also gray (353). The strange ship that comes into port "show[s] no colors," and while here colors has the nautical meaning of national flag, the reader is reminded of the metonymical etymology of that use of colors, a use that refers to the bright hues of most national flags (353).

This lack of color extends pointedly beyond the first four paragraphs; the narrative resists color even in places where it must exist. Thus, although the letters naming the ship the *San Dominick* are "streakingly corroded with copper-spike rust," this image is immediately followed by the "dark festoons of sea grass," vegetation which could be green, but has been depicted only by its relative position on a grayscale (355). The people aboard the ship are reduced to their colors as well. At first, Delano indulges in a fantasy wherein he sees "a shipload of monks" with "dark cowls"—then they become "Black Friars pacing the cloisters" (354). Even when Delano gets close, the people all seem to meld into "a clamorous throng of blacks and whites" (355).

This uncanny (and at times illegible) loss of color marks the hidden presence of the slave revolt on the ship. In the most colorful (full of hues) section of the narrative, Babo selects "a

great piece of bunting of all hues" from the flag locker to use as a cape while he shaves Don Benito (467). This fabric, which has "amid a profusion of armorial bars and ground colors—black, blue and yellow—a closed castle in a blood-red field diagonal with a lion rampant in white," is nothing less than the Spanish flag that the ship should have been flying when it came into port (that is, its missing colors) (468). When Delano ascribes the use of the flag to "the African love of bright colors and fine shows," he is both more correct than he can know (the flag *can* be used for this quotidian task because the Spaniards are no longer in control of the ship) and entirely wrong (Babo's use of the flag as a towel shows the Spaniard's complete abjection on the ship) (467).

Even as textual markers such as the ship's name suggest to the reader that the slave revolt on the *San Dominick* revisits the Haitian Revolution, Captain Delano's obtuse ignorance of the true state of affairs on the ship mirrors the U.S.'s refusal to recognize Haiti as an independent nation. Delano's inability to read his surroundings is a form of colorblindness: even when he sees colors breaking out of the black and white grayscale of his experiences on the *San Dominick*, he cannot read their true significance: "the conceptual binary of black and white that rules Delano's perception also organizes his interpretation of events, which in turn is governed by a body of assumptions about the essential nature of each color" (Nelson 111). When Don Benito reveals Babo's position of leadership aboard the ship, by telling Delano that Babo has "'[pacified] his more ignorant brethren, when at intervals tempted to murmurings,'" Delano responds by identifying Babo as "'a friend; slave I cannot call him'" (359). Again, Delano's both entirely right (Babo, in leading the uprising, has thrown off the shackles of his slavery), but painfully wrong (Babo is Don Benito's committed enemy). Delano's misreadings give the story a double course that "suggests the essential doubleness of the American ship of state: at once the ark of

the covenant that authorized both liberty and slavery" (Sundquist 143). At the height of Delano's misconceptions, when he worries that Don Benito is the pirate and he might "be murdered here at the ends of the earth on board a haunted pirate ship by a horrible Spaniard," he remembers his New England roots (463). His ship *Rover* waits for him "as a Newfoundland dog" to remind him of his home (463). Thus Delano's blindness suggests that while the U.S. is in the position to witness the horrors of the hemisphere, it can neither properly read them nor recognize its own part in perpetrating them.

In *Benito Cereno*, then, the problem of color speaks to both what's possible and what's at issue when the hemispheric gothic goes to sea: the difficulty of interpretation. Because these ships cross national boundaries so easily in geographic terms, they also become places where metaphoric boundaries (such as national laws respecting slavery or social constructions of race) can be challenged and questioned. These questions become a space of opportunity—but also of uncertainty and danger: for if these boundaries no longer hold, then how can characters interpret what they see? Furthermore, as these ships literally circulate around the globe, moving goods of all kinds from one market to another, they invoke these texts, which through references to historical events, allusions to other authors (both those part of a respected tradition and those part of contemporary discourses), and even outright plagiarism, are like the ships, circulating between different audiences and readers.

Coda:

Piracy and Property on the Mississippi: *The Grandissimes* and *Pudd'nhead Wilson*

In the last months of 1884 and the first months of 1885, Mark Twain and George Washington Cable's popular "Twins of Genius" tour put twins on the tongues and minds of the U.S. public. This tour, which covered approximately 80 cities in sixteen Northeastern and Midwestern states, the District of Columbia, and Canada over more than one hundred engagements, featured Twain and Cable reading from their most current works (*Huckleberry Finn* and *Dr. Sevier*) and from old favorites (such as "The Jumping Frog of Calavaras County" and *The Grandissimes*) with plenty of less formal humor from Twain and singing (both slave songs and songs from the Confederate Army) from Cable.[70] I argue that the changing content of the tour and the geographic paths it traced across the continent help illuminate the larger literary landscape in which Twain's and Cable's work circulated and from which the hemispheric gothic had emerged.

While the twins of the Twins of Genius tour were ostensibly Twain and Cable themselves, the tour's doubled geography suggests a second pair of twins: the U.S. South and the rest of the nation. Twain and Cable didn't lecture together farther south than Kentucky, and while Twain specifically requested stops in Canada and his boyhood home of Hannibal, Missouri, it's unclear whether Twain (or the tour's promoter, James B. Pond) deliberately avoided the South.[71] While Cable was from New Orleans, his views on race relations and slavery earned him censure in the South; midway through the tour he published "The Freedman's Case

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[70] See Fatout 215-216 and Railton, "Touring with Cable and Huck." Stephen Railton's website, *Mark Twain in His Times*, collects an impressive collection of primary materials related to the tour.

[71] See Railton, " 'Mark Twain' Cable Route" and Fatout, 210. According to Railton, Twain wanted to be in Canada when *Huck Finn* appeared there in an attempt to thwart piracy.

in Equity" in *The Century*, just one in a series of political essays critical of racial oppression.[72] But although the tour stopped exclusively in Northeastern and Midwestern states in the U.S. and a few Southeastern cities in Canada, it remained haunted by the presence of the U.S. South. Cable's performance on the tour was explicitly Southern: his material, carried over in part from earlier solo tours, included "exotic Creole patois and Creole songs [he] sang to spice up his readings" in addition to excerpts from his Louisiana-based novels, *The Grandissimes* and *Dr. Sevier*.[73] Although both the advertisements for the tour and the tour's audiences tended to see Twain and Cable as opposites (so, in the context of the tour, if Cable were southern, then Twain could not be), Twain revised his portion of the program during the tour's December hiatus to focus on the Evasion section of *Huckleberry Finn*, a change which "subtly hinted at his feelings about citizenship and the freedman's autonomy in the South," but which audiences misrecognized as hilarious rather than critical, according to newspaper reviews and Twain's comments.[74]

The tour's doubled geography, then, evokes and creates a version of the U.S. South that was potentially critical, but that audiences could equally consume as simple entertainment. While the tour's return in 1885 coincided with both Twain's reworked *Huck Finn* reading and Cable's publication of "The Freedman's Case in Equity," audiences seem to have missed the critique of the South inherent in the tour's content and potentially implied by the tour's route and instead celebrated its depictions of Southern culture. Whether an instance of critique or of celebration, though, the tour embodies the displacement that Jennifer Greeson identifies between the U.S.

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[72] See Ladd 37-41 and Kreyling vii-ix. Although Cable returned to New Orleans at the end of the tour, later in 1885 he left the South for good and moved his family to Northampton, Massachusetts (Kreyling x).

[73] Kreyling x. Jennifer Greeson observes that "Cable drew most acclaim not for the fiction he read, but for his performance of Creole dialect, and, especially, for his performance of 'African Creole songs' and 'Negro spirituals,' during which he often accompanied himself with a banjo" (261).

[74] Johnston 68. Newspaper reviews reported that audiences found the section hilarious; Twain wrote that he was disappointed in that response, which missed the text's critical potential. For more on Cable and Twain as opposites, see Johnston 67-8. For more on Twain's revisions to the program, see Railton, "A Night at the Opera House."

South and the nation: "Our South spatializes the gap between national ideal and national reality…so that we may re-present the moral failings of U.S. life to ourselves as matters of geography" (*Our South* 4). But even as the Twins of Genius tour offered the regional exoticism of the South to audiences eager to consume it, Twain and Cable criticized the racial oppression inherent not just in the South, but the nation as a whole.

Even more than the twinning of the U.S. South with the rest of the nation, however, the Twins of Genius tour offered up its two authors, Cable and Twain as twins. Carrie Johnston suggests that the tour's name was "intentionally ironic" and that the publicity surrounding the tour played up the authors' differences so that they "were cast as each other's antithesis" (67). While I agree that the tour (and its title) played on the men's differences, I would argue that this irony is not just a clever piece of marketing, pitting the image of Twain, the great American humorist, against Cable, the Southern regionalist with a serious mind to political reform, but also uncanny: by simultaneously pairing Twain and Cable as twins and as opposites, the tour echoes the gothic trope of doubling. Indeed, by uniting Twain and Cable and their performative Souths, the Twins of Genius tour offers a suggestive point of entry into the question of what happens to the hemispheric gothic in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The idea of twins continued to intrigue Twain beyond the title he gave to the tour. In 1892, he began writing a story he called "Those Extraordinary Twins," that like "a magazine sketch which [he] once started to write—a funny and fantastic sketch about a prince and a pauper," grew into a quite different book "of its own accord" (125). That Twain associates this story with *The Prince and the Pauper* is telling: although the protagonists of his earlier novel are not twins, their looks are so similar that they are able to exchange places. In fact, the conjoined twins that Twain initially wanted to write about were soon superseded not only by Pudd'nhead

Wilson, the eponymous protagonist of the eventual novel, but also the characters of Tom Driscoll, scion of slaveholding family, and Valet de Chambre, son of an enslaved woman, who are switched at a young age.[75] As the text explores (and eventually exposes, through the technology of fingerprinting) the suppressed histories of these two young men, Twain offers a scathing critique of the society into which they were born: "the final two paragraphs of this uncanny novel constitute Twain's most withering satire of slavery as a legal and economic system" (Rowe, "Fatal Speculations" 427). Although the hidden origins are personal rather than national here (perhaps, in part, because the novel appears after the end of slavery), the fascination with repressed narratives is still part of the hemispheric gothic.

Although Twain separated the conjoined twins in *Pudd'nhead Wilson* and gave them a minor role in the story, *Those Extraordinary Twins* continues to haunt *Pudd'nhead Wilson*. After *Pudd'nhead Wilson*'s serialization in *The Century*, Twain sold the story to the American Publishing Company in the United States (who also bought *Those Extraordinary Twins* for $1,500) and to Chatto & Windus in England (Berger 192). The first American book edition of *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, then, contained a revised form of the earlier work, *Those Extraordinary Twins* as well. Sidney Berger argues that "the linked text *Those Extraordinary Twins* is so interconnected with *Pudd'nhead Wilson* that to understand one, one must read both," an assertion supported by contemporary reviews of *Pudd'nhead Wilson* (xvi). These reviews, which assert that "the two alleged Italian noblemen" (that is, the twins) are the only "false note" in the novel and that "the Twins altogether seem to have very little *raison d'être* in the book," pick up

[75] "To all intents and purposes Roxy [Chambers's mother] was as white as anybody, but the one-sixteenth of her which was black out-voted the other fifteen parts and made her a negro. She was a slave, and salable as such. Her child was thirty-one parts white, and he, too, was a slave, and by a fiction of law and custom a negro" (9). The only way Percy Driscoll (Tom's father) can tell the boys apart is by how they are dressed.

on the twins' vestigial status in the text.[76] Twain's assessment of the composition of *Pudd'nhead Wilson* and *Those Extraordinary Twins*, published as an introduction to *Those Extraordinary Twins*, finally concludes that the "radical defect" of his story was that it contained "two stories in one, a farce and a tragedy. So [he] pulled out the farce [*Those Extraordinary Twins*] and left the tragedy" (128). In the end, readers are left with three sets of twins: Luigi and Angelo Cappello, Tom Driscoll and Valet de Chambre, and *Those Extraordinary Twins* and *Pudd'nhead Wilson*. I suggest that the gothic difficulty in untangling the identities of Tom and Valet de Chambre in *Pudd'nhead Wilson* is related to the difficulty[77] in untangling the story's origins: both the identities of the men and the role of the Cappello twins in the story are inscrutable until the reader uncovers their hidden histories.[78] It's typical of the hemispheric gothic that difficulty offers Twain's most overt critique of the slave system: the history of slavery that haunts the text parallels the text's complicated publication history and its awareness of its own status as a commercial object.

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As I have argued, the hemispheric gothic is a genre that links the literary markets in which it circulates to slave and commodity markets in order to critique oppressive practices like slavery and imperialism. This dissertation project mostly focuses on fictions written in the first half of the nineteenth century. But the nineteenth century saw huge changes in the status of both

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[76] Both reviews are quoted in Sidney Berger's edition of *Pudd'nhead Wilson and Those Extraordinary Twins*. The first is from William Livingston Alden's review in *The Idler, an Illustrated Monthly Magazine* (London), Vol. VI, Aug. 1894, pp. 222-23, and the second comes from an anonymous review published in *The Athanæum, a Journal of Literature, Science, The Fine Arts, Music, and the Drama* (London), No. 3508, 19 Jan 1895, 83-84. Both reviews are from London, where the local edition of *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, published by Chatto & Windus, did not include *Those Extraordinary Twins*.

[77] Reviewers obliquely commented on this difficulty in their complaints about the twins' almost indiscernible role in *Pudd'nhead Wilson* once most of their story had been stripped out of it.

[78] The men's identities had been obscured when Roxy switched them shortly after birth, just Twain obscured the role of the twins in the story when he relegated most of their story to *Those Extraordinary Twins*.

the U.S. slave system and U.S. practices of imperialism. In this coda I begin to explore the ways in which these historical developments changed the hemispheric gothic genre.

The problem of slavery haunts early nineteenth-century hemispheric gothic fictions. As I explore in my first chapter, the threat of slave revolts so terrified audiences that hemispheric gothic texts could not only depict the Haitian Revolution to great effect, but actually only needed to hint at its possibility in order for audiences to conjure its full complement of horrors in their own minds. The Middle Passage, I argue in my third chapter, is another powerful site of slavery's haunting: nineteenth-century ships, even after the end of the international slave trade and even those engaged in different forms of commerce, easily evoke slave ships and the concomitant possibility of mutiny and slave revolt. Just as the Act of Congress that made the international slave trade illegal starting in 1808 could not stop this haunting, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, which made slavery illegal, guaranteed equal protection under law, and prohibited limiting the right to vote based on color, race, or previous condition of enslavement, did not stop the history of slavery from haunting fictions.[79]

In some ways these legal changes permitted the hemispheric gothic to put more historical distance between the stories it tells and the present day, as any story that includes slavery after 1865 must necessarily be set in the past. But, as I argue throughout, the fascination that origin stories (especially repressed origin stories) hold for the hemispheric gothic results in stories that

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[79] Although the first in a series of acts abolishing the slave trade, "An Act to prohibit carrying on the Slave Trade from the United States to any foreign place or country," was passed during the third Congress on March 22, 1794, Congress could not constitutionally abolish the slave trade until January 1, 1808 (U.S. Const. Art.. 1, sec. 9). While the act made ships fitted out for or found to be engaged in the international slave trade forfeit to the U.S. government and "liable to be seized, prosecuted, and condemned," it permitted interstate slave trade to continue unhindered (Section 1). Additional acts limiting the ability of U.S. citizens to participate in the slave trade were passed on May 10, 1800 and February 28, 1803, before the slave trade was finally abolished (effective January 1, 1808), on March 2, 1807. The March 2, 1807 act was modified by an act passed on April 20, 1818. Two acts (passed on March 3, 1819 and May 15, 1820) concerning piracy also condemned the importation of slaves; the 1820 act actually provides for a person or citizen found engaged in the slave trade to be "adjudged a pirate" and to be prosecuted as such (Section 4). For the amendments see U.S. Const. amend XIII., U.S. Const. amend XIV., and U.S. Const. amend. XV.

look to the past, even in cases where there's a definite historical continuity between the past the stories explore and the present time in which they were written. If anything, this question of unpacking origins became all the more important after the end of slavery with the rise of new racial anxieties. More than ever, the hemispheric gothic became a vehicle for exploring concerns about current race relations. As Grace Hale describes, even as the legal changes in the United States after the Civil War led to the economic and social success of some African Americans, white citizens responded "with fear, violent reprisals, and state legislation—their floundering attempts to build a new racial order" (21). In addition to these legal and extralegal attempts to construct racial difference, there were renewed attempts to develop a scientific system of racial classification, even in the face of a "general unease about racial classification" stemming from ethnologists' inability "to develop an agreed upon principle of classification" (Guterl, *Color of Race* 17-18). Hemispheric gothic fictions, then, as they turned to the past, offered another strategy: replacing current anxieties with historical ones.

But the Civil War and the changing national anxieties about race are not the only disruptions in the middle of the nineteenth century. Indeed, historian David Potter has linked the end of the Mexican-American War in 1848, a victory that "sealed the triumph of national expansion" with the increased regional tensions that erupted in the Civil War seventeen years later (16). This moment, which Michael Rogin labels "the American 1848," makes two facts clear: first, that "slavery always stood in contradiction to the ideals of 1776"; and second, the threat slavery posed to not only these ideals, but also U.S. institutions, became impossible to ignore because of Manifest Destiny and the U.S.'s commitment to territorial expansion (103). I suggest that 1848 begins of a period marked by complicated tensions and interdependencies between slavery and U.S. imperialism and expansion.

The question of empire and the United States has always been a vexed one, one that official narratives seek to deny or repress. Amy Kaplan foregrounds this absence in the epigraph to her introductory essay to the edited volume *Cultures of United States Imperialism*:

> One of the central themes of American historiography is that there is no American Empire. Most historians will admit, if pressed, that the United States once had an empire. They then promptly insist that it was given away. But they also speak persistently of America as a World Power. (Williams 379)

Williams, writing in 1955, cites the 1890s as the period in which this pattern of expansion begins. But Kaplan expands Williams's work in two directions: first, she insists that this denial of empire is a "still resilient paradigm of American exceptionalism" and locates this scholarly blindness across several academic fields including American Studies, history, and literary studies (11); second, in her monograph *The Anarchy of Empire*, Kaplan identifies the "entanglement of the domestic and the foreign," that is the construction of American national identity in a reciprocal process both at home and abroad that is characteristic of American imperialism as early as the middle of the nineteenth century (1). While U.S. imperialism existed before 1848, as hemispheric gothic fictions such as *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym* expose, the American 1848, to use Rogin's categorization, marks a new period of success and expansion in the history of American imperialism.[80]

Dime novels and other sensational fictions of the second half of the nineteenth century expose this renewed national commitment to imperialism. From Cuba (the anonymous *A Thrilling and Exciting Account of the Sufferings and Horrible Tortures Inflicted on Mortimer Bowers and Miss Sophia Delaplain* of 1851 and Mary Peabody Mann's *Juanita* of 1887) to California (John Rollin Ridge's 1854 *The Life and Adventures of Joaquin Murieta, the*

[80] See Streeby 8-10.

Celebrated California Bandit), the gothic thrills and horrors of empire spread across the continent in a series of texts that audiences eagerly consumed.

* * *

This project began by considering the Haitian Revolution as one of the events that prompts the hemispheric gothic, and my final close reading examines George Washington Cable's *The Grandissimes* (1880), a novel set in another Francophone site of the hemispheric gothic: New Orleans. Drawing on Shannon Dawdy's theories about New Orleans's status as home to smuggling during the French colonial period, and on Matthew Pratt Guterl's arguments about the self-awareness of the master class of southern slaveholders in the antebellum period, I contend that antebellum New Orleans is a particularly vexed place, a place where goods and bodies slip through both legally and socially lines unnoticed despite white Southerners' best efforts to construct an understanding of the American South with stable racial identities and reliable economic profits.

New Orleans works so well as a space of passing and transition because of its history. First, New Orleans has been held by four different governments since the Europeans arrived: those of France, Spain, the United States, and the Confederacy. These transfers of power left a city far more polyglot and polysemous than any other city in the United States at that time. Furthermore, as a port city, and, more specifically, as a port city that could accommodate small vessels likely to be used for smuggling as well as if not better than big, trans-Atlantic ships, New Orleans quickly developed a culture where illegal goods are bought and sold quite licitly.[81] As a port city,

[81] Dawdy notes the value of New Orleans's geographical location for smuggling, and other short-range shipping activities. She warns that "focusing too much on the Atlantic ignores the potential importance of smuggling to a backwater entrepôt like New Orleans. Factors that could be a disadvantage in trans-Atlantic trade could be an advantage in intercolonial trade. The shallow, dendritic waterways surrounding New Orleans created havens and highways for smuggling by small vessels" (134). This smuggling, she goes on to argue, was part of an "illegal but licit political economy" in which the transfer of goods through the port city, often with the blessing, or at least toleration, of colonial officials, enriched the smugglers, those officials, and the inhabitants of the city (136). The smuggling culture is a large part of what Dawdy identifies as New

where people come and go with only their word to establish their identities, it is a space where passing as something one is not becomes much easier than in a landlocked place. Despite this background of flux and change, according to Guterl, citizens of New Orleans and other ports in the United States made arguments for a Southern form of Manifest Destiny because of their superior racial purity to the Caribbean islands.[82] These arguments attempted to elide the slippery lived experience of the city into an idealized one.

Vera Kutzinski identifies New Orleans's importance in cultural terms: "New Orleans has functioned historically and imaginatively as link between the United States and the West Indies, that problematic territory even more south than the 'South,' a region so persistent in its capitalization that it does not admit the existence of anything beyond its southern borders" (61). Antebellum New Orleans was also a site where goods become ambiguous, and the very nature of owning property was at stake by virtue of its infamous slave market. The site of what was "becoming known as the most brutal slave market in America," New Orleans's geographic position marked both "the northernmost point in the traffic of slaves, rum, and sugar that began in Martinique and traversed the Caribbean, and the southernmost hell of the fearsome journey downriver" (Codrescu 404). The association of New Orleans with its slave market invites hemispheric gothic texts to consider the slippages between person and property inherent in any slave system.

Indeed, the unique situation of New Orleans in relation to both the United States and the

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Orleans's rogue colonial character, which is the importance of local agents working for themselves, as well as imperial control from abroad, to shaping life in the city.

[82] Matthew Pratt Guterl identifies the city as "a vision of what the South might become, but ... also a site of separation, a staging ground for efforts to distinguish between what was 'American' and what was 'creole'—a word with a complicated history in Louisiana, a marker of the Francophone past, of older European settlements, and, as the nineteenth century progressed, of a baroque, morally suspect Catholicism" (*American Mediterranean*, 22). As the Southern master class, in arguing for a southern version of Manifest Destiny, "used the purity of 'race' to position itself in the hemisphere and to stake a unique claim for the future greatness of their nascent nation," they would have emphasized New Orleans's potential as a part of a great southern empire (28).

Caribbean informs this transitional identity. Located at the mouth of the Mississippi, New Orleans plays a crucial role in the movement of goods up and down the Mississippi River; it connects the Midwestern United States to the Caribbean and the larger world. Edouard Glissant identifies the Mississippi as "the mythic river,…a channel of life and death leading from the continent's Nordic heart to its Creole delta," and immediately comments on its role as an artery of transportation: he observes "masters and slave [setting] sail for New Orleans for trade or for Carnival" and the barges and container ships moving goods up and down the river (10). Michael Dash also comments on the river's importance: "For Glissant, the symbol of the South is the Mississippi River. 'A land that is a river, a river lived like a country"' ("Martinique/Mississippi," 208). The river's twisting, meandering responds to Glissant's ideal of chaotic relationality, which undoes power relations and territorial impulses. The Mississippi, a littoral trace, represents the path of New World heterogeneity with its infolding and unfolding that never produces equilibrium or synthesis. The peculiar logic of the river dominates Faulkner's world as the Lézarde river dominated the universe of Martinique in Glissant's first novel. Like the Lézarde River the Mississippi is a serpentine coil of loops and fissures" (105). By this logic, the Mississippi, with its flowing nature is already a site of instability, a river that can provide a model for a flowing essay that "[mixes] history, critical analysis, and an indirect presentation of [Faulkner's] works" (Glissant 212). Glissant also insists on New Orleans's ties to the Caribbean world: Although "whites from Louisiana generally refuse to admit any such connections," "Louisiana is close to the Caribbean" (29). Kirstin Silva Gruesz notes that "New Orleans suggests a reconfiguration of hemispheric imaginaries" and identifies it as "the point of overlap between the two Souths" (53). In its intimate and necessary connection to the Mississippi river (and thus, the American heartland) on the one hand, and to the larger Caribbean world on the

other, then, New Orleans becomes a site to which bodies and goods from both regions are drawn to mingle freely.

George Washington Cable's *The Grandissimes* uses its New Orleans setting as the backdrop for a series of gothic slippages between people and property and between the era when its story occurs (1803) and the era of its publication (1880). *The Grandissimes*'s anxieties about the stability of property and identity are clearly grounded in the city's transition from French to American rule. New Orleans has distinct importance as a site of transition: characters' identities confuse the reader and some characters are able to cross social and racial lines, slipping easily from one identity to another. Its characters who move among social categories and who transfer their property between owners in illicit, or commonly-used, but illegal, ways undermine a version of New Orleans in which the city constitutes an homogenous whole and instead insist upon revealing the city's fragmented and vexed history.

The Grandissimes foregrounds its concerns about the stability of property and identity by telling the story through the perspective of an outsider, Joseph Frowenfeld at a time of great unrest—immediately after Napoleon's sale of Louisiana to the United States.[83] This sale has precipitated much anxiety among the residents of New Orleans: they worry that certain Spanish titles to property will not be recognized. In addition to these concerns about property that the novel continually addresses, it also confuses Frowenfeld by doubling two sets of characters: the brothers who share the name Honoré Grandissime and Aurora Nancanou and her daughter, Clothilde. Through these doubled characters Cable is able to show how slippery identity can be in the city. The story ultimately combines the doubled concerns about property and inheritance

[83] Frowenfeld's national identity (American) and his racial heritage (German) both mark him as an outsider in a city, which, though now technically part of the United States, still retains strong Francophone roots. Although Frowenfeld arrives with his family, they all die of a fever by the end of chapter 2, so he is quickly left as an orphan—and even more of an outsider.

on the one hand, and about identity (in terms of race, caste, and family) on the other in the business partnership of the two Honorés into the Grandissime Brothers firm. Although this firm temporarily unites the brothers who would not acknowledge each other in the beginning of the novel, and provides a way for the white Honoré Grandissime to dispose of his illicitly-gained wealth while still retaining financial independence, this union is only temporary, as Honoré Grandissime, f.m.c. commits suicide shortly after their business merger. Ultimately, then, while the novel reinforces familial bonds, it does not offer any satisfactory solution to the easy movement of goods and bodies through the port city of New Orleans.

New Orleans's status as a contested port city stands out from the beginning of the text: during the masked ball which opens the novel, and, which, not incidentally, introduces some of its most important themes, many characters worry about the effects of the sale of New Orleans to the Americans by Napoleon. Agricola Fusilier, in a display of pride, notes that "the pretended treaty contained, for instance, no provision relative to the great family of Brahmin Mandarin Fusilier de Grandissime. It was evidently spurious" (1-2). Here, the novel calls attention to the flux of the moment in which it is set, a flux that uncannily echoes the chaos surrounding the defeat of the Confederacy, sixty some years later. The second chapter traces Frowenfeld's arrival to New Orleans, in a move that is echoed with Charlie Keene's return to the city in chapter 46. Both of these chapters focus extensively on the physical situation of New Orleans: it's no mistake that Frowenfeld and his family arrive on a steamboat coming down the Mississippi, and before the narrative even reintroduces Keene, it takes the drastic step of reintroducing the place of New Orleans, which although you could "ask the average resident of New Orleans if his town is on an island, and he will tell you no," is important to the text geographically because it is an island (269). Jennifer Greeson calls attention to moments like this one in Cable's fiction, when he

focuses on the geographical location of New Orleans. She contends Cable writes "a markedly liminal version of New Orleans in which [he] stresses the geographical in-betweenness of the city…as well as a particular moment of historical in-betweenness" ("Expropriating" 127). Thus the text isolates New Orleans, primarily accessible by water, and explains it only insofar as it can be explained by Joseph Frowenfeld, an outsider.

The transitions in New Orleans's government mirror the property transitions of the novel's characters; the Grandissimes came by some De Grapion land when Aurora Nancanou's husband gambled away their plantation in a game with Agricola Fusilier. Honoré Grandissime has always kept the land's accounts separate, feeling uncomfortable with his family's title to the land, but just as he meets Aurora and her daughter and realizes how destitute they are, he also realizes that, specifically because of the change in governments, if he gives up the title to the De Grapion-Nancanou land, he will put the titles to all the Grandissime holdings in danger. Here, Honoré faces a real moral dilemma; either way he decides, some people will lose titles to property that should be rightfully theirs. Thus this transition further destabilizes property rights, especially in real estate, in an area where such property may already easily be lost through gambling. This period of transition also corresponds to the disarray of the U.S. South and its economic systems after the Civil War; Ladd notes that "the relevance of all this preoccupation with the lostness of titles (be they titles to property or the more general entitlements to cultural preeminence) to the Reconstruction and Redemption eras is too obvious to belabor" (49). This uncanny connection between the Grandissimes' time and the end of slavery heightens the gothic association between bodies and property.

This concern about moving properties is echoed in the employments of many of the main characters. Frowenfeld's main employment is his store, which becomes a magnet for property:

he gathers a series of artifacts in his window that he displays for sale. “It was natural that these things should come to ‘Frowenfeld's corner,’ for there, oftener than elsewhere, the critics were gathered together” (Cable 114). Here, Frowenfeld gathers together both the property of local artists anxious to display or sell their work, and passes it on to those who want it. Frowenfeld's position as a middle man is particularly exaggerated precisely because it is art (which he does not personally create) that he passes on. Similarly, both Grandissime brothers are involved in the movements, not always above-board, of property. When Aurora and Clothilde get the message that they must pay rent or be evicted from their apartment, they learn for the first time that their landlord is not the man to whom they had been paying rent, but Honoré Grandissime. This episode features a double displacement, for just as Honoré had been hiding behind someone else, Aurora immediately mistakes the Honoré to whom they owe rent (Honoré Grandissime, f.m.c.) for the white Honoré Grandissime who is the merchant. The other Honoré Grandissime, the merchant, also holds illicit property while he manages the plantation that Fusilier won from Aurora's husband. These three main, male characters, then, all hold property that moves around in disconcerting ways.

It's not only property that gets shifted, shuffled, and otherwise reassigned in the story, either. Identities remain unstable and subject to reassignment. The novel opens at a masked ball, where no one is who they seem to be. While some of the important characters dress up as their ancestors, the palpable attraction between Honoré and Aurora is intensified and tension increases because neither knows the identity of the other. This mis-recognition is repeated in the second chapter, when Frowenfeld thinks he sees a beautiful young woman tending to him during the height of his fever. The more important shifting of identities, though occurs between relatives. For a long time, Frowenfeld labors under the illusion that Aurora and Clothilde are sisters, rather

than mother and daughter. More confusing, for Frowenfeld, for the Nancanou women, and for the reader, is the existence of two Honoré Grandissimes. While the reader can easily track which Honoré is which on a second reading of the novel, the characters are not sufficiently differentiated until Doctor Keene laughingly tells an audience that "'[Frowenfeld] wasn't aware, until I told him to-day, that there are two Honoré Grandissimes.' [Laughter]." (Cable 77). While Keene presents Frowenfeld's ignorance as a joke to the audience sitting there watching him, the joke may be decidedly less funny to the reader, who has also been kept in ignorance of the existence of the two Honorés by the text, although both Grandissimes have, by this point, made an appearance.

While the doubling of Honoré Grandissime may embarrass Joseph Frowenfeld or the reader, it causes real problems for Aurora and Clothilde. The women occupy a place on the edges of New Orleans society; although their position as members of the De Grapion family gives them as old an heritage as anyone in the city, they have lived for a long time on the edges of society at the De Grapion plantation. So, after Aurora visits the white Honoré, she asks her daugher, "'Why did you not remind me that M. Honoré Grandissime, that precious somebody-great, has the honor to rejoice in a quadroon half-brother of the same illustrious name?'" Clothilde replies "playfully" that Aurora "'[knows] it as well as A, B, C'" (Cable 130). Despite having access to this local knowledge, Aurora and Clothilde fail to make use of it: the white Honoré worries that Aurora will not believe him when he tells her she owes rent to his half-brother, and not make arrangements to secure herself from being kicked out on the street.

The text seems to work to resolved these differences and to secure and pin down both goods and bodies at its climax: the white Honoré restores the plantation to Aurora and Clothilde, potentially ruining his own wealth, but his brother, Honoré Grandissime, f.m.c., steps in at the

eleventh hour to shore up his brother's finances and to go into business with him under the name of Grandissime Brothers. This allegiance cannot hold together, however; Honoré loves Palmyre the Philosophe, who will never return his love, and he pines away for love of her until finally committing suicide. Other romantic matches are more hopeful: Clothilde accepts Frowenfeld as a suitor and, although Aurora tells the white Honoré no, the combination of laughter and tears seems to suggest a happy ending might be in store after all. But these pairings only hint at future marriages, thereby denying the fulfillment that really stabilizes both bodies and property: the birth of children to inherit the property. The story is ultimately one of decline and endings: the end of French and Spanish rule, the end of the De Grapion line, and the end of the Grandissime property. These endings are all the more necessary as both property and identities slip around: the endings of the French regime destabilize the control of property in the story, even as the lack of control of property hastens the demise of the power of the Grandissime family, one of the great families of the French era.

The Grandissimes's anxiety about the gothic slippages of property and people reflects Cable's awareness of the markets in which he wrote. Although Cable's first story was rejected as "[falling] short of the 'high note of nationalism'" *The Century* wanted to strike and "too 'distressful'" for *The Atlantic*, he "learned quickly what the editor wanted" and published a series of local color stories before arranging for the serialization of *The Grandissimes* in *Scribner's* between November 1879 and October 1880 (Kreyling 9). Richard Brodhead identifies Cable as one of a series of authors supported by "the literary institutions under gentry control in the later nineteenth century, [which] succeeded in creating, it may be, the closest thing to a coherent national literary culture that America has ever had" (472-3). But even as these magazines succeeded in establishing "a space where serious art could be practiced," they only

were able to provide such a space because of successful capitalist economic development; and, as Brodhead notes, "this economic development began to impinge much more directly on the literary realm: began to call forth its own instruments of literary production, and so to establish a rival culture of letters on quite different grounds" (474, 475). I argue that this contemporary space of cultural anxiety (where the established literary magazines that published respected writers such as Cable, William Dean Howells, and Henry James began to find themselves in competition with new, cheaper magazines with wider circulation that relied on advertisers rather than subscribers to support them), provides a third parallel to the disruptive and disrupted space of New Orleans at the time of the Louisiana Purchase in the novel.

As popular as *The Grandissimes* was,[84] and as cannily as its anxieties reflected the concerns of a changing literary market, *The Grandissimes* also unsettled some readers. *The Grandissimes* portrays New Orleans as a place where racial identities are fluid and subject to negotiation. Contemporary responses to *The Grandissimes* demonstrate the strength and pervasiveness of white ideas about New Orleans's claim to racial purity: Charles Gayarré, a historian of Louisiana "established the linguistic purity of his people, [and then] he continued to argue for its past, present, and future racial purity" (Thompson, 248). After reading *The Grandissimes* Gayarré published "his own series of articles in the *New Orleans Times Democrat*" attacking the idea that the novel realistically depicted New Orleans (Thompson 248). Greeson also attests to the concerns about the novel's depiction of race: "most infuriating to Cable's fellow New Orleanians in the 1870s was his insinuation that Creoles are racially as well as nationally indeterminate" ("Expropriating" 131). The vigorous response that Cable's novel

[84] Cable earned $1,000 for the serialization of the novel plus a $500 bonus for its "great success" (Kreyling ix). By way of comparison, his annual salary at the Cotton Exchange was $1400 (Kreyling ix). Four years later, on the lecture circuit with Twain, Cable earned $6,750, while Twain (who organized the tour) profited about $15,000 from the venture (Fatout 228).

provoked demonstrates not only the existence of the feelings of racial purity that his tale undermines but also a social investment in these feelings.

The Grandissimes demonstrates the possibilities open to the hemispheric gothic in the second half of the nineteenth century. Even as the novel deploys tropes like doubling and displays an interest in and awareness of the markets in which it circulates, the end of slavery makes the novel's reflections on the slippages between people and property and its anachronistic placing of contemporary concerns in a distant past stronger than ever.

* * *

From the earliest stages of its development, the hemispheric gothic is a genre that self-consciously examines the conditions of its production and circulation in order to connect the literary markets in which it circulates to larger structures of power as a mode of critique. The hemispheric gothic is particularly suited to this kind of critique for two reasons: first, the gothic elements of these stories usually arise from the uncanny repression of inconvenient narratives (and in the hemispheric gothic, these narratives are most often related to the oppression of slavery or imperialism); second, because of the genre's mass appeal, authors of gothic fictions tend to be aware of and sensitive to their work's cultural standing.

This project begins by examining a series of hemispheric gothic fictions that invoke the Haitian Revolution. As works like *The Black Vampyre* and *Benito Cereno* show, this invocation need not be temporally or geographically exact in order to conjure up the horrors of a revolution that both fulfills the promise of the American Revolution and constitutes the worst nightmare of many U.S. slaveholders. Furthermore, these fictions insist on the deep, yet repressed connections between the United States and Haiti: whether they include U.S. citizens who must witness (even if they don't understand) the Haitian Revolution or they suggest that the U.S. itself might be

haunted by undocumented Haitian immigrants, these texts never let easy national narratives that deny both the fact of the Haitian Revolution itself and the connection between the U.S. and Haiti stand unchecked.

I move from narratives of the Haitian Revolution to narratives that re-imagine the earliest encounters between indigenous Americans and European colonists. These narratives also strive to uncover hidden histories as they reveal the uncanny gaps between the stories we like to tell ourselves about our history and stories that more fully account for the silenced perspectives of colonized people. While *Hobomok* turns to colonial New England and uncannily shifts the racial identity of its eponymous hero's son, *Jicoténcal* and *O guaraní* (set in what is today Mexico and Brazil, respectively) suggest more radical revisions of history: *Jicoténcal* aligns the historical oppressions it portrays with its contemporary political situation to protest Spanish colonialism, while *O guaraní* envisions a version of the past where the Europeans need not have won at all.

These national boundaries, tested by the hemispheric gothic's relentless exposure of their hidden sources, come under even more pressure in hemispheric gothic fictions that go to sea. The nineteenth-century ships that they portray—including the *Jane Guy*, the *Grampus*, the *Creole*, the *Black Schooner*, the *San Dominick*, and the *Pequod*—always invoke the horrors of the Middle Passage, even as they carry other types of commodities. These ships, then, link the commodity markets of finance capitalism with the slave ships that supported those markets both directly and indirectly. Hemispheric gothic fictions make a further connection to the literary markets in which they circulated. These hemispheric gothic fictions invoke three particular kinds of horrors—slave revolts and the Haitian Revolution, the first encounters between European colonists and Native Americas, and ocean voyages and the Middle Passage—in order to implicate the circulation of literary texts in larger, hemispheric patterns of oppression.

Like the Haiti, New Orleans is a particularly charged space of hemispheric haunting: both its geographical peculiarities (which encourage smuggling) and its enormous slave market help to blur the boundaries between people and property—even after those boundaries had been reestablished with abolition of slavery. So while hemispheric gothic fictions such as *Pudd'nhead Wilson* and *The Grandissimes* enjoy more historical space to look back to hauntings that are now in the past, the changing face of U.S. imperialism makes the hemispheric connections and culpabilities these fictions expose more urgent than ever. Throughout the nineteenth century these gothic fictions continue to remind their readers that we all live in a haunted hemisphere.

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