

The Branching of 19th Century American Gothic Literature from its European Roots

Glenn Turner, D.Div, Associate Professor of English and International Studies, Elgin Community College

Abstract

In 1893, historian Frederick Jackson Turner presented his Frontier Thesis stating American culture, politics, etc. are based upon the presence and experience of the Frontier. The Frontier Thesis explains why Americans poets and writers turned to the frontier for creativity, molding traditions uniquely American. Gothic literature has characteristics of subject, plot, and theme: exotic settings, Medieval time settings, the macabre, the supernatural, the 'abhumans,' fear, horror, fear of rape, haunted places, ghosts, demons, and others. American Gothic writers, specifically Hawthorne and Poe, moved Gothic into new directions. Settings are safe places. Real creatures become demonic. The individual's capacity for evil is central to Poe, Hawthorne, Melville. Evil is moral rather supernatural; it comes from within. Other elements include incest, domestic and political violence, isolation of the self as horrific, America as a fallen Eden, distrust of science and scientists, and more. America has its own abhumans: zombies.

There is one method to explain both what was, what is. We must tell its story. –Josh Mankiller, Keetowah story-teller, to the author, summer 1959.

In 1893 at the Chicago Columbian Exposition, two momentous events took place. “The War of the Currents” ended when Westinghouse Electric lit up Exposition buildings at night with electric fire. The symbolic demonstration could not be misconstrued: the United States was entering a new age. No Sybil could prophesy, when Great Britain launched its North American empire in 1607 with a fragile settlement near the James River, that in fewer than three centuries an unthinkable large, populous new republic, composed of extreme contradictions would spread its frontier boundaries from the Atlantic to the South China Sea off the Philippines. The second event took place at a meeting of the American Historical Society. A young University of Wisconsin Professor of History read his “Frontier Thesis” revealing that a previous American age had ended. He changed the way historians began to interpret, or view, the story of America. He states:

In a recent bulletin of the Superintendent of the Census for 1890 appear these significant words: “Up to and including 1880 the country had a frontier of settlement, but at present the unsettled area has been so broken into by isolated bodies of settlement that there can hardly be said to be a frontier line. In the discussion of its extent, its westward movement, etc., it cannot, therefore, any longer have a place in the census reports.” This brief official statement marks the closing of a great historic movement. Up to our own day American history has been in a large degree the history of the colonization of the Great West. The existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward, explain American development.¹

¹ Frederick Jackson Turner, “The Significance of the Frontier in American History,” *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Holt, 1920): 1. *Project Gutenberg*, last modified 14 Oct. 2007, <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/22994/22994-h/22994.htm>.

The basic ideas are straightforward. He argues that the experience of the Frontier was *the* determining factor and event molding the U. S. in its various aspects of culture, politics, constitutional design, and its arts. Turner argues that “too exclusive attention has been paid by institutional students to the Germanic origins, too little to the American factors.”² The American factor is the Frontier. Thomas Isern, of the University Of North Dakota, believes that there are “good reasons for us to give serious attention to Turner's ideas. The first has to do with national history. If Turner was right, then the American national character is a product of the frontier; we talk and behave the way we do because of the frontier experience.”³ Isern neatly summarizes three elements of the Frontier Thesis: the frontier experience molds American character “including such traits as democracy and materialism.” The Frontier also acts like a “safety valve” that allows release of population pressure and social tension. Finally, there existed “successive frontiers.”⁴

Ray Billington, in *Westward Expansion*, concentrates on these waves; the frontier is not just a place; it acts along a series of expansions, each at distinct phases and dates. Columbus created the first frontier, the “European Frontier.”⁵ Summarizing Turner, settlements push the frontier border with progressive stages or waves, with occasional overlaps:

The Pathfinder / Explorer
The Fur Trader Frontier
The Mining Frontier
The Military (Fort) Frontier
The Cattleman Frontier
The Farming Frontier
The Urban Frontier⁶

It works something like the following. The Pilgrims establish Plymouth Colony. Their first task is to explore, quickly established trade. Lumbering is a form of mining,⁷ but they turn to the fur trade for economic life.⁸ More exploring takes place, following rivers upstream and across mountains, with some farming. Mining iron and other minerals follows before turning to fishing. The Frontier moves west, with new explorers followed by traders. Forts are established nearby like the famous Fort William Henry. The Farming Frontier with its farming communities [like Sleepy Hollow] follow in place. After two centuries, the Mountain Men follow Lewis and Clark to Spanish California. By the time the republic is founded, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Charleston are major urban centers. The frontier border moves west, with various frontiers growing in its wake. The first cattle drives take place in South Carolina. The earliest gold fever hits South Carolina and Dahlonega, Georgia.⁹ Turner stresses that the British Crown’s attempt to limit American expansion westward, along with French and Spanish monarchs, was a major stress upon colonial and British relations and singular cause of the Revolution. Each frontier is

² Ibid., 4.

³ Thomas Isern, “The Turner Thesis,” *Dept. of History, University of North Dakota*, last modified January 6, 2016, <http://historyfd.net/isern/103/turner.htm>.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ray Allen Billingham, *Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier*, 4th ed., (New York: MacMillan, 1974): 29-47.

⁶ Turner, 1-39.

⁷ Billingham, 69.

⁸ Ibid., 70.

⁹ This event causes the Cherokee diaspora of the Trail of Tears. I know my ancestors’ history very well.

accomplished through a series of Indian¹⁰ Wars.¹¹ “The effect of the Indian frontier as a consolidating agent in our history is important.”¹² From the earliest Frontiers, an intimacy between the races grew, interlocking from intermarriage, trade, exchange of technologies, and war. The Treaty of Albany of 1754 strongly influenced the Constitutional Convention.¹³ Richard White validates that there was, to use the modern term, a “conflict of cultures.”¹⁴ Miners fought ranchers and farmers (the old Hollywood Western movie *Shane* contains historical accuracy on this point); the Farming Frontier fought with Mining Frontier, Urban clashed with the Rural.¹⁵ Billingham reveals that all American Frontiers battled the Spanish¹⁶ and the French.¹⁷ Everyone warred upon the Indian.¹⁸ Thus, American culture can be viewed as conflict, an important element of narrative.

Turner presents one additional pregnant idea, that the “the advance of the frontier decreased our dependence on England.”¹⁹ Thomas Hampson, the internationally renowned American baritone and a Library of Congress authority of Americana music, says of Stephen Collins Foster in the PBS *American Masters* Series, “He took British and Irish musical forms and smashed them into the Frontier, creating new, American forms of music.”²⁰ This is what American writers did to inherited English literature, including Gothic literature. The Frontier experience explains the branching of American Gothic literary expressions.

The idea that such historical experiences like the America’s Frontier Experience impact a nation’s literary traditions is not unique to America. The British Isles themselves have been influenced by great events. Ronald Paulson makes a strong argument connecting the French Revolution -- particularly The Terror -- with development of certain British Gothic subjects: terror, blood-lust, incest, and anti-Catholicism.²¹ He does warn that we must “notice the difference between the Gothic fiction and history” even as we note “the similarities,” even as he connects the massacres of September 1792 with the blood-lust contained in such novels as *The Monk*. He presents the Revolution’s physical violence in psycho-sexual terms, causing Gothic fiction’s combining atmospheres of terror, fear, and loathing that is physical and emotional.²²

“I do not think that there is any doubt that the popularity of Gothic Fiction in the 1790’s and well into the 19th century was due in part to the widespread anxiety and fears in Europe aroused by the

¹⁰ I must address this term. First, it is historically accurate; it was the term used at the time. A number of us of Native American ancestry prefer “Indian” to “Native American. Columbus applies the term to us in 1492; we believe his words: that we “live *in dios*,” meaning living in the manner of God. Also, the label was not applied to the current nation of India until the mid-19th century. So, we claim prior rights. Finally, many of feel we have been “Americaned” to death.

¹¹ Turner, 34.

¹² *Ibid.*, 15.

¹³ Billingham, 170.

¹⁴ Richard White, “*It’s Your Misfortune and None of my Own*”: *A History of the American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991): 27-53.

¹⁵ Turner, 32.

¹⁶ Billingham, 350-369.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 110-127.

¹⁸ White, 53.

¹⁹ Turner, 2.

²⁰ “Stephen Foster: America’s First Great Songwriter,” *American Masters*, directed by Randall MacLowry (2001; Boston: PBS Home Video, 2001), DVD.

²¹ Ronald Paulson, “Gothic Fiction and the French Revolution,” *ELH* 48, no. 3 (1981): 536, date accessed September 12, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2872912>.

²² *Ibid.*, 535.

turmoil in France finding a kind of sublimation and catharsis in tales of darkness, confusion, blood, and horror.”²³ Paulson again warns against seeing Gothic fiction as history.²⁴ I find this makes sense; during 1950’s era of the Cold War, Hollywood sublimated Cold War anxieties with science fiction movies starring mutant monsters which included giant ants infesting the storm sewers of Los Angeles, gigantic Gila monsters stalking Phoenix, oversized spiders spinning webs all over San Francisco, gigantic grasshoppers assaulting Chicago, gargantuan sea life wrecking Seattle, teenage alien invaders establishing a beach head near St. Louis, and a 50-foot woman rampaging about Tucson.

Hero / villain types can also be viewed, according to Paulson, as Revolutionary era types. One attempts revolution, to overthrow the *ancient regime*; the other works to save it. Both slide into excessive violence with no limits,²⁵ giving into lust so great that it grows into incestuous sex.²⁶ Sexual passion whether passive or aggressive, repressed or released, particularly drives central characters, particularly the female.²⁷ Paulson also presents birth as both creation and destruction, renewal and suffering chaos.²⁸ Shannon Heath elaborates upon these ideas:

In the literary world, The Terror became subsumed into Gothic literature as critics of the rising genre referred to Gothic novels as ‘the terrorist system of writing,’ an insulting pun which referenced authors’ use of terror and the sublime as a plot device The terror in these depictions is fueled by the violence done to physical bodies, which is emphasized by the helplessness of the victims and the indiscriminate violence committed against the community as a whole.²⁹

In addition, Great Britain also had its own domestic turmoil during the Reformation, Counter-Reformation, Civil War, Restoration, dating back to Henry VIII through James II. There is enough history to provide not just plot material and references but also the sense of emotional disorder. Therefore, the ideas contained in the Turner Frontier Thesis driving much of American Gothic are hit in fair territory.

Gothic literature’s origins is traditionally attributed, according to Deidre Lynch, to Horace Walpole’s *The Castle of Otranto: A Gothic Tale* published in 1764.³⁰ The characteristics of Gothic literature, as will be discussed, should not be defined too narrowly, for broad variations of terminology are rife.³¹ Lynch also notes that Gothic fiction enjoyed great popularity during the first thirty years of the 19th century, only to be overtaken by Historical Romances written by such authors like Walter Scott who did not respect the Gothic very much.³² Donna Campbell of Washington State University explains that the “ ‘Gothic’ has also been extended to denote a type of fiction which lacks the medieval setting but develops a brooding atmosphere of gloom or terror, represents events which are uncanny, or macabre, or melodramatically violent, and often

²³ Ibid., 536.

²⁴ Ibid., 535

²⁵ Paulson, 536-537.

²⁶ Ibid., 539.

²⁷ Ibid., 544-555.

²⁸ Ibid., 545-557.

²⁹ Shannon Heath, “Gothic Revolution,” *Dept. of English, University of Tennessee at Knoxville*, last modified April 22, 2012, <http://web.utk.edu/~gerard/romanticpolitics/reignofterror.html>.

³⁰ Deidre Lynch, “Gothic Fiction,” *The Cambridge Companion to Fiction in the Romantic Period*, eds. Richard Maxwell and Katie Trumperer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008): 48.

³¹ A musical comparison would listing characteristics of jazz.

³² Lynch, 48.

deals with aberrant psychological states.”³³ She explains that purposes of Gothic fiction is to accomplish the following:

- to create terror
- to open fiction to the realm of the irrational—perverse impulses, nightmarish terrors, obsessions—lying beneath the surface of the civilized mind
- to demonstrate the presence of the uncanny existing in the world that we know rationally through experience.³⁴

The publisher W. W. Norton provides a brief thumbnail of Gothic literature:

The Gothic begins with later-eighteenth-century writers' turn to the past; in the context of the Romantic period, the Gothic is, then, a type of imitation medievalism. When it was launched in the later eighteenth century, The Gothic featured accounts of terrifying experiences in ancient castles — experiences connected with subterranean dungeons, secret passageways, flickering lamps, screams, moans, bloody hands, ghosts, graveyards, and the rest. By extension, it came to designate the macabre, mysterious, fantastic, supernatural, and, again, the terrifying, especially the *pleasurably* terrifying, in literature more generally.³⁵

Charles L Crow explains American Gothic as the state of “the sublime, the uncanny, and the grotesque.”³⁶ The definitions above are essentially synonymous, and they lead to the idea that Gothic, like all other forms of Romanticism, constructs the notion that the universe can be understood on emotional levels – darkly emotional levels in the Gothic.

Setting is central to Gothic fiction. Locations are often set in the past like much, but not all by any means, of Romantic fiction in exotic locations. Lynch notes that stories “unfold, as often as not, *outside* Britain, in Catholic Europe – in priest-ridden Italy or Spain – or Germany’s Black Forrest.”³⁷ Lynch explains that the “Church of Rome is deliberately exploited by Gothic writers” who scrutinize contrivances of power and the “deceptive devises of priestcraft” during periods of revolutionary thought and action.³⁸ Locales include such settings as castles, deteriorating mansions and manors, ruins, desolate places, and those quoted above.

Common character types include various monster-types from apparitions, ghosts, vampires (very popular), witches / sorceresses; the modern term for these is ‘abhuman,’ short for ‘abnormal humans.’ They often “act from negative emotions: fear, revenge, despair, hatred, anger.”³⁹ They often are part supernatural events; common occurrences include ghostly voices, strange appearances, blood from stones, and so on. Gothic novels “accept supernatural events as part of their fictive worlds. . . . To dismiss such as elements as simply bizarre, however, would miss the point of these books, for in all of them the strange events are connected with the basic theme:

³³ Donna Campbell, “Gothic, Novel, and Romance: Brief Definitions,” *Dept. of English, Washington State University*, last modified July 3, 2014, <http://public.wsu.edu/~campbelld/amlit/novel.htm>.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ “The Gothic Overview,” *Norton Topics Online*, last modified 2016, date accessed 2 Feb. 2016, https://www.wwnorton.com/college/english/nael/romantic/topic_2/welcome.htm.

³⁶ Charles L. Crow, *History of the Gothic: American Gothic* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2009): 5.

³⁷ Lynch, 52.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 54.

³⁹ Campbell.

the restoration of order to the world.”⁴⁰ Sometimes, the supernatural events are shown to be natural. For example, a ghostly voice was actually ventriloquism.⁴¹ A late Victorian example is Arthur Conan Doyle’s *Hound of the Baskervilles*; the spectral hound is discovered to be a huge mastiff coated with glowing phosphorus. Ringe also explains that prophetic dreams are also sometimes employed.⁴²

A common protagonist is what I call ‘the Predator.’ Some are sexual predators like Carwin in *Weiland*; others seek blood – meaning to consume or to cause death; some desire property, money, or power. A few simply vent pent-up passions, passions recognizable as the 7 deadly sins: wrath, hubris, envy, gluttony, lust, greed, and sloth. Given Gothic pre-occupation with Catholicism, it is not surprising to find them. The innocent, frequently a virgin maiden, is the target of these passions. Multiple sources note that the point of view used in Gothic horror at this time is that of the target or victim.

By the mid-late Victorian period, more elements were added to the Gothic. Richard Luckhurst, writing for the British Library, states that ‘real’ supernatural events, use of the ‘paranormal’ (to use the 21st century term) such as real spirits, ghosts, and demons are added to the Gothic recipe. Mesmerism joins the Gothic as well. “Associated with trance were spectacular supernatural powers: gifts of cure, visions of the future, heightened senses, and a merging of minds. . . . Female sensitivity to the spirit-world also helped establish the supernatural tale as the reserve of women writers,” particularly in the large corpus of Margaret Oliphant.⁴³ According to Luckhurst, Charles Dickens is a major proponent of Mesmerism and other events like spontaneous human combustion.⁴⁴ The BBC also notes that late Victorian additions have lasted through the present time.⁴⁵

Rewind to 1764 across the Big Pond. The American colonies have concluded the French and Indian War from 1754 – 1763; Albany, just east of the Fort Frontier, was a military center poised to extend the Frontier. King George III signed the Proclamation of 1763 that forbade expansion west of the Appalachians and required settlers in that area to remove east. The Revolution immediately entered its political phase, followed by a lengthy but successful separation. For 50 years, the colonies and then the new republic busied itself with Westward expansion (including a second war with Britain) and with political consolidation. But there quickly arose a generation who were born American citizens with no memory of being subject to the Crown. This generation consciously sought a sense of American identity, as discussed by many sources.

Monsignor Aldon Witkawska of the University of Warmia and Mazury at Olsztyn [Poland] writes, “In 1820, one of the British critics, Sidney Smith wrote: ‘Literature the Americans have none.’ Words uttered by Smith were really insulting and hurt American’s national pride. The overwhelming desire to prove to British and other nations that Americans are able to produce

⁴⁰ Donald Ringe, *American Gothic: Imagination and Reason in Nineteenth-century Fiction* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1982): 19.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 21-22.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 23-24.

⁴³ Roger Luckhurst, “The Victorian Supernatural,” *Discovering Literature: Romantics and Victorians, The British Library*, date accessed December 9, 2015, <http://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/the-victorian-supernatural>.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ “Spine-chillers and Suspence,” *BBC*, date accessed January 15, 2016, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/timelines/zyp72hv>.

literature led to the American Romanticism arising.”⁴⁶ Smith fouled out, for Washington Irving published *The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent* in 1819. In 1807, Noah Webster began a revolution of his own: *An American Dictionary of the English Language*, although not completed for another 26 years. In 1821, James Fennimore Cooper published *The Spy* launching both the Frontier novel and the spy novel, and, as will be shown below, using Gothic elements. In 1837, according to Susan Cheever, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr., declared Emerson’s *The American Scholar* to be America’s “Intellectual Declaration of Independence.”⁴⁷ In 1828, Cooper published his *Notions of the Americans* which includes a section explaining American literature to European readers.⁴⁸

Cooper and Hawthorne, as Ringe continues, sometimes bemoaned the lack of British material found in America for romances, so they used the Frontier for local material. Cooper uses a variety of Frontiers in his novels including the Fort Frontier and, perhaps in his Leatherstocking sagas, giving the Pathfinder Frontier its name: the Pathfinder. Hawthorne’s *Scarlet Letter* is set on the edge of the Farming Frontier as the settlers remain alert for Indian raids like the one which carried off Hester’s husband. All of his “Puritan tales” are set in frontier settlements. Statesman and author James Kirke Paulding, a contemporary of Hawthorne, felt that adequate materials existed in “the westward movement” demanding an early form of realism.⁴⁹

“It is not hard to believe that Emerson’s Transcendentalism was very popular and highly influential. To his followers and friends belonged Margaret Fuller and David Thoreau. Still, Ralph Waldo Emerson had opponents. Edgar Allan Poe, Nathaniel Hawthorne and Herman Melville did not accept his optimistic vision of the world and did not believe in happy future of mankind.”⁵⁰ Witkawska also uses the term “Dark Romanticism” rather than “Gothic”;⁵¹ many other texts do likewise or use the term ‘anti-Romanticism.’ Why they use these new terms is, perhaps, that they wish to separate American Gothicism from European, especially the British, Gothic literature. But, this is a mistake. Gothic is the right word.

Ringe states that “distinctly American mode [of Gothic literature] developed out of British and German roots . . . and became, in the hands of the Americans, for suitable development of serious themes.”⁵² Anthony (Tony) Magistrale in *Student Companion to Edgar Allan Poe* explains: The Gothic was born out of, and a reaction to, the Age of Reason. The bright lights that illuminated the Neoclassical went out when the Gothic was ushered in. If the science of Enlightenment emphasized the conscious, rational side of man, the Gothic suggested that the unconscious, irrational side is just as powerful – if not more so because there exist no perimeters in the realm of unfettered imagination.⁵³

Ringe continues to explain that many, if not most, British Gothic novels were imported and read by American readers and studied by its authors. Early American works included “The House of

⁴⁶ Monsignor Aldon Witkawska, “The Gothic as an Aspect of American Romanticism,” *University of Warmia and Mazury at Olsztyn* [Poland], last modified February 28, 2011, http://www.uwm.edu.pl/pro_media/testy/index.php/wykladowcy/439-qthe-gothic-as-an-aspect-of-american-romanticismq.

⁴⁷ Susan Cheever, *American Bloomsbury: Louisa May Alcott, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Margaret Fuller, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Henry David Thoreau* (Detroit: Thorndike Press, 2006): 80.

⁴⁸ Ringe, 1.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 2-4.

⁵⁰ Witkawska.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² Ringe, v.

⁵³ Tony Magistrale, *Student Companion to Edgar Allen Poe* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2001): 16.

Night” by Philip Freneau by 1779, and William Dunlap wrote and produced a variety of Gothic plays beginning with *Fountainville Abby* in 1795⁵⁴ that echoed British works.

The Frontier, however, allowed access to this “unfettered imagination.” American Gothic literature is drawn to “nature in its wildest forms. Awe and mystery of the natural world replaced the Enlightenment view. . . . The Gothic takes us into deep forests, across limitless mountain ranges, vast tracks of snow.”⁵⁵ The Frontier is often equated with the wilderness. Crow states that “the concept of the wilderness is among the most complex in the national culture, and retains, even to the present, traces of the [Puritan] demonology . . . though the landscape has largely been conquered. As repository of our fears, wilderness is still Gothic territory.”⁵⁶ Clearly, the West beckons, not Italian and German castles. Forests in America were real wildernesses and filled with dangerous animals and even deadlier inhabitants, not legendary dangers like the German *Schwartzwald*, the Black Forest. Added to this, Magistrale argues that interior of homes are used to “suggest the twisted, convoluted, and highly individualized psychology of the mind itself” The reader is “always in danger of getting lost,”⁵⁷ such as setting of Hawthorne’s *House of the Seven Gables*; reflecting the Frontier settings. The term ‘individualized’ is significant, for Turner emphasizes that the Frontier created individualism.⁵⁸ The works of Paulding helped to push this westward-thinking in writers’ minds as it already existed in society in general. The presence of the Frontier is the fulcrum of developing American literature.

When Charles Brockden Brown turned to writing fiction in the late 1790’s, he decided to adapt the Gothic to “develop a distinctively American literature, and [,] in his preface to *Edgar Huntly* (1799), Brown announced to his public that he had eschewed the ‘puerile superstition and exploded manners, Gothic castles and chimeras . . . turning in that book to the scenes of the wilderness and incidents of border warfare.”⁵⁹ *Wieland* makes use of Gothic elements like the chaste but lovelorn heroine, a near sexual assault, madness, murder, and disembodied voices. It is the device of voices rather than visions which sets *Weiland* apart from its European counterparts. The characters are delusional, not possessed like those in “the romances of Radcliffe school.”⁶⁰ In this last, a connection to Poe is established. Unlike the politically oriented German Gothic fiction, “Brown was concerned, not with political themes or attacks upon superstition, but with the serious moral and intellectual issues . . . like the relation of means to ends and the value of unrestrained intellectualism as a guide to life.”⁶¹ This is a major catalyst leading to the distrust of science as an intellectual guide to life that plays a large role in works of Nathaniel Hawthorne.

Washington Irving seems to make use of Gothic elements of superstitions, ghosts, goblins, and spooks. Ringe states that Irving uses these as a means of distorting perception; distorted perception is the basis of Irving’s terror and mystery.⁶² We see this in Ichabod Crane’s fear; his belief in the supernatural creates his terror. Irving also leaves the supernatural events unresolved: was the Headless Horsemen a specter or, perhaps, Bram Bones in costume? What became of Ichabod Crane? We are given two possibilities. He was carried off by the Headless Horsemen or took to his heels. The reader is left to choose. Hawthorne, too, uses this device quite often like the

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, v-vi.

⁵⁵ Ringe, 17.

⁵⁶ Crow, 19.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ Turner, 34.

⁵⁹ Ringe, 36-37.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 48-49.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 68-71.

vague ending of *The Scarlet Letter*. Irving changes the point of view from an omniscient point of view to a limited first person with “Rip van Winkle.” Thus, readers’ perceptions are those of Rip. Our uncertainties center from Rip’s questions. Were the little men with their flagons real? Did he bowl nine pins? What actually happened to bring about the missing twenty years? Did he really sleep two decades? This is what creates the Gothic atmosphere. Ringe praises Irving’s “careful manipulation of point of view” for his success.⁶³ It also becomes an American trait, as will be shown, so well used by both Poe and Hawthorne.

James Fennimore Cooper uses the American wilderness to Gothic effects starting with *The Spy* and particularly in *The Prairie* and *Last of the Mohicans*. I emphasize the word ‘wilderness’ rather than ‘wildness.’ The American wilderness is raw, unknown, untouched by civilization. ‘Wildness’ implies a rugged terrain like that of the improved Swiss landscape where the Shelly’s and Lord Byron endured a cold summer in Villa Diodati near Lake Geneva. Compared to the wilderness, the wildness is a park. The wilderness is “a place of danger, darkness, insecurity, and mystery.”⁶⁴ That is, except for the Indians to whom the wilderness is home. Ringe states the caves at Glens Falls and the Indian burial ground, in *Last of the Mohicans*, “are clearly American versions of the Gothic environment, and the Indians serve the counterparts of demons and specters in Gothic romance . . . Even Chincachgook frightens Alice and Cora as he stalks, ‘a spectral-looking figure.’ ”⁶⁵ Both Magua and Mahtoree (*The Prairie*) are presented as “satanic figures” and their cohorts depicted “as demons ranging the dark woods or galloping over the desolate prairies.”⁶⁶

In *The Prairie*, Indians are described as “ ‘naked demons flitting among the clouds.’ ” More horror hits readers like a burning hot air from a hair dryer to the face. Ishmael Bush kills the murderer Abiram White who is left “alone on a thin ledge with a noose around his neck” and watched by his executioner from a distance as “the rising wind sounds ‘like the whisperings of the dead’ . . . ‘a cry in which there could be no delusion [and] to which the imagination could lend no horror . . . followed by a profound silence.’ ”⁶⁷ The horror of White’s hanging will be profoundly echoed by Ambrose Bierce in “An Occurrence at Owl Creek Bridge.”

Even before the works of Poe and Hawthorne, an American brand of Gothic literature was developing. Studies in early American Gothic fiction appropriately centers on Hawthorne and Poe. However, even the Romantic poets possessed Gothic moments of their own. The usually ebullient Longfellow entered the Gothic with his 1842 *Poems on Slavery*. “The Quadroon Girl” in particular displays important Gothic elements.

The Quadroon Girl
The Slaver in the broad lagoon
 Lay moored with idle sail;
He waited for the rising moon,
 And for the evening gale.

Under the shore his boat was tied,
And all her listless crew
Watched the gray alligator slide

⁶³ Ibid., 87.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 108.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 108-109.

Into the still bayou.

Odors of orange-flowers, and spice,
Reached them from time to time,
Like airs that breathe from Paradise
Upon a world of crime.

The Planter, under his roof of thatch,
Smoked thoughtfully and slow;
The Slaver's thumb was on the latch,
He seemed in haste to go.

He said, "My ship at anchor rides
In yonder broad lagoon;
I only wait the evening tides,
And the rising of the moon."

Before them, with her face upraised,
In timid attitude,
Like one half curious, half amazed,
A Quadroon maiden stood.

Her eyes were large, and full of light,
Her arms and neck were bare;
No garment she wore save a kirtle bright,
And her own long, raven hair.

And on her lips there played a smile
As holy, meek, and faint,
As lights in some cathedral aisle
The features of a saint.

"The soil is barren,--the farm is old,"
The thoughtful planter said;
Then looked upon the Slaver's gold,
And then upon the maid.

His heart within him was at strife
With such accursed gains;
For he knew whose passions gave her life,
Whose blood ran in her veins.

But the voice of nature was too weak;
He took the glittering gold!
Then pale as death grew the maiden's cheek,
Her hands as icy cold.

The Slaver led her from the door,
He led her by the hand,
To be his slave and paramour

In a strange and distant land!⁶⁸

Longfellow uses a series of American Gothic elements. Setting is one dynamic element. Nature is presented as serene, benevolent, beautiful but “breathes / upon a world of crime.” The next obvious trait is the innocent maiden who not only faces rape but *is* raped. A plantation may seem to Northerners an exotic place, but it is a typical Southern location on the Farming Frontier. It is home, a place that should be safe, a fortress fending off evil. There are ordinary places, places meant to be havens: homes with their bedrooms, parlors, yards, and bathrooms, happy well-known places like taverns, inns, courtrooms, and schools. She resides in the house of her father in which she ought to be guarded. Evil intrudes not in the European form of the slaver as an invader. It is already resides there, within her father. The poem’s point of view is that of the Planter, in the manner of Poe. The evil in “The Quadroon Girl” arrives not with the slaver but flows forth from her father. He sells his own daughter. “His heart within him was at strife / With such accursed gains: / For he knew whose passions gave her life, / Whose blood ran in her veins. / But the voice of nature was too weak; / He took the glittering gold!”⁶⁹ This point is that evil – in the form of greed and lust – comes from an individual’s capacity for evil, not as outside intrusion.

Alius Valiunas explores Hawthorne’s treatment of science and scientists. “Hawthorne takes on erotic mysteries, scientific aspirations, venerable religious wisdom – and he composes about as richly literary a short story [“Rappaccini’s Daughter”] as any American writer has ever produced.”⁷⁰ He views “Rappaccini’s Daughter” as an allegory in which the world, and America specifically, as “fallen Eden,” echoing the setting of Longfellow’s “Quadroon Girl,” In Rappaccini, “there is the desire “to re-create it better.”⁷¹ Hawthorne presents this scientifically engineered Eden “with its life-giving poison and purity incarnated in evil.” It kills any chance of love.⁷² The poisonous plants also kill by polluting the land⁷³ – an idea that comes to fruition in the works of William Faulkner 90 years later. Valiunas believes that Hawthorne personally was not opposed or hostile towards science and scientists, but Hawthorne’s attitudes are irrelevant when examining the content of his fiction itself.⁷⁴

Scientists, as Hawthorne presents in his fiction, remove humanity from the human being. They are blind to love, to the human heart, to compassion, to generosity. In the drive to be dispassionate and intellectual, they put aside those emotions that make us human and divine. In their devotion to cold, disinterested intellect, their fanaticism charges as intensely like T-rex on meth. In *The House of the Seven Gables*, Hargrave the photographer thoughtfully, slowly, dispassionately takes a number of slow daguerreotype photographs of the dead Jaffrey Puncheon, and his behavior is horrific because it is cold, analytical, machine-like; he *feels* nothing. The house, itself is a typical Gothic setting, is an ordinary haunted house, but to Hargrave it is a laboratory not a home.⁷⁵ Magistrale’s ideas about the linking of the setting with the psychology of the character, as mentioned previously, is manifest.

⁶⁸ William Wadsworth Longfellow, “The Quadroon Girl,” *Poems on Slavery*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Metcalf, Keith, and Nichols, 1842): n.pag, last modified June 12, 2010, <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/44398/44398-h/44398-h.htm>.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Algis Valiunas, “The Last Temptation of Science,” *The New Atlantis* 30 (Winter 2011): 121, date accessed 9 June 2013, <http://www.thenewatlantis.com/publications/the-last-temptation-of-science>.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Nathaniel Hawthorne, *House of the Seven Gables*, *Project Gutenberg*, last modified June 17, 2008, <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/77/77-h/77-h.htm>.

In “The Birthmark,” the scientist Aylmer, perhaps more an alchemist, grows obsessed with a red hand-shaped birthmark on his wife’s cheek. She becomes his subject and his specimen, not the wife of his flesh. He feels not just discontent but disapproval and disgust at nature’s imperfection: “Dearest Georgiana, you came so nearly perfect from the hand of Nature that this slightest possible defect, which we hesitate whether to term a defect or a beauty, shocks me, as being the visible mark of earthly imperfection.”⁷⁶ Aylmer is not a Pygmalion bringing life to a lump of stone; he behaves the arrogant scientific alchemist attempting to create a noble metal out of imperfect lead but acting more like a Medusa turning flesh into stone. His obsession with perfection leads to Georgiana’s death. Aylmer’s laboratory assistant [an excellent model for Hollywood’s Igor] Aminadab, “a man of low stature, but bulky frame, with shaggy hair hanging about his visage. . . seemed to represent man’s physical nature, the opposite of Aylmer’s slender figure, and pale, intellectual face.”⁷⁷ Aminadab is natural: imperfect but human; he feels compassion, affection, and value for the Georgiana’s beautifully imperfect face. She is beautiful and flawed, so are we all. Of course, there are many other, and deeper, meanings in this story, but Aylmer, Holgrave (*The House of the Seven Gables*), and Rappaccini come to represent blind science’s arrogant blindness and insensitivity to humanity, an idea central to the view about scientific method and scientists. It is easy to understand how the Mad Scientist becomes a central villain in 1930’s Hollywood films like *Frankenstein*; it was also Hollywood that changed the image of Frankenstein’s creature from a disproportionate, outsized human to a monster of vile appearance whose putrid flesh rots as he lives.

In Hawthorne’s short fiction, his well-known obsession with sin takes a turn in point of view. Often, the setting of Frontier’s wilderness plays a role, often association with the well-known view of Puritan belief of wilderness as evil.⁷⁸ In “The Minister’s Black Veil” and “Young Goodman Brown” the suffering protagonists fail to resolve questions of evil; in both stories, whatever evil there is resides within themselves who, in turn, infect the community with greater evil. Churches, civil governments, and Sunday school are thrown into disrepute. After his sojourn into the woods, Goodman Brown finds evil in his church and the civil order, even in his wife Faith. Brown fails to grasp that all his failures losing to “every temptation he experiences, every one of them, comes entirely from within.”⁷⁹ Parson Hooper hides his sin from his congregation with the disturbing black veil. “Mr. Hooper was appointed to preach the election sermon. Covered with his black veil, he stood before the chief magistrate, the council and the representatives, and wrought so deep an impression that the legislative measures of that year were characterized by all the gloom and piety of our earliest ancestral sway.”⁸⁰ His gloom infects the community. There is in Hawthorne a “blackness.”⁸¹ Hawthorne’s stories contain other meanings

⁷⁶ Nathaniel Hawthorne, “The Birthmark,” *The Complete Novels and Selected Tales of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, Ed. Norman Pearson (New York: Random House, 1937): 2022, *Electronic Text Center, University of Virginia Library*, last modified 1996, date accessed June 15, 2001, <http://web.archive.org/web/20131017173955/http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/etcbin/toccer-new2?id=HawBirt.sgm&images=images/modeng&data=/texts/english/modeng/parsed&tag=public&part=1&division=div1>.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Charles L. Crow, editor, *American Gothic: An Anthology 1787-1916*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999): 114.

⁷⁹ Crow, *American Gothic*, 47.

⁸⁰ Nathaniel Hawthorne, “The Minister’s Black Veil,” *Twice-told Tales* (Philadelphia: McKay, 1889): n.pag., *Project Gutenberg*, last modified 2004, date accessed June 15, 2010, <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/13707/13707-h/13707-h.htm>.

⁸¹ Herman Melville, “Hawthorne and his Mosses,” *The Literary World* (August 1850): n.pag., date accessed November 4, 2015, <http://www.eldritchpress.org/nh/hahm.html>.

and themes, but these elements, particularly the “permeating evil saturating the book,”⁸² enrich American Gothic.

Hawthorne’s friend Herman Melville wrote a major story concerning racial violence, a topic of major importance in 20th century works, “Benito Cereno.” The plot is fairly well known. A Yankee sealer encounters a Spanish ship *San Dominick* which we learn is a slave transport ship. It is a spooky vision “proceeding not much facilitated by the vapors partly mantling the hull, through which the far matin light from her cabin streamed equivocally enough; much like the sun.”⁸³ Following a custom of having a captain board and exchange pleasantries the *San Dominick*’s captain climbs aboard along with “a black of small stature, in whose rude face, as occasionally, like a shepherd’s dog, he mutely turned it up into the Spaniard’s, sorrow and affection were equally blended.”⁸⁴ The Spaniard relates tales of storms and death by scurvy of most of the crew. Finally we discover that the slaves successfully took over the vessel and are attempting to force the surviving white seamen to sail them to a free port. The American notices the oppression of Cereno by his ‘servent’ Babo but gives it small attention until he realizes the *San Dominick*’s situation and organizes a successful assault to recapture the slaver. Melville’s descriptions echo Cooper’s descriptions of demonic Indians: ‘barbarous,’ acting with ‘noisy indocility,’ fiends in human form,’ ‘delirious black dervishes,’ and ‘Indian-like.’ The mutinous Africans killed the first mate and strung the rotting corpse up as the ship’s figurehead. The “upside down” nature of the slave rebellion, the violent oppression by the escaped slaves towards the Spanish crew creates a 19th century atmosphere of Gothic horror, reflecting prevailing winds of white racism of the times. The next century’s Gothic literature returns to racial violence but not from the same compass points.

Poe usually receives credit, or blame, for making American Gothic an internal rather than physical experience. Many critics and artists are hostile to Poe’s works. Yeats, for example, felt Poe’s “passion was shallow due to its not being founded ‘in concrete reality.’”⁸⁵ “The Raven,” continues Yeats, was “insincere and vulgar.”⁸⁶ Other critics confuse the man with his works and emphasize character over works. In 1859, *The Ladies Repository: A Monthly Periodical Devoted to Literature, Arts, and Religion* decry Poe as “one of the most worthless persons of whom we have any record in the world of letters.”⁸⁷ He is also alleged of being a plagiarist for using Longfellow’s “The Beleaguered City” as the basis of his poem “The Haunted House,”⁸⁸ and his works are merely of “gloomy cast.”⁸⁹ Anthony Mistrale believes Poe’s famous line “my terror is not of Germany, but of the soul” to be part fiction, perhaps attempting to defend himself “against charges of plagiarism.”⁹⁰ However, Mistrale’s argument is beyond the point, for Gothic writers in the 20th century, as their works demonstrate, literally accept Poe’s dictum: William Faulkner, Flannery O’Connor, Anne Rice, and Stephen King come to mind. Many, many books explore the works and life of Poe. Two stories serve as models: “The Black Cat” and “The Tell-tale Heart.”

⁸² Ringe, 158.

⁸³ Herman Melville, “Benito Cereno,” *The Piazza Tales* (New York: Dix and Edwards, 1856): 112, last date modified September 14, 2014, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/15859/15859-h/15859-h.htm#toc_4.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 114.

⁸⁵ Qtd. in Terrence Diggory, *Yeats and American Poetry: The Tradition of the Self* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983): 16.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁸⁷ “Edgar Allen Poe,” *The Ladies’ Repository: A Monthly Periodical Devoted to Literature, Arts, and Religion*, 19, no.7 (1859): 419, date accessed November 10, 2015, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/moajrnl/acg2248.1-19.007/447:24?g=moagrp;rgn=full+text;view=image;xc=1;q1=edgar+allen+poe>.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 420.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 421.

⁹⁰ Magistrale, 18-19.

There are horrific murders in both; the acts narrated with astonishingly calm and frankness. No critic observes that the narration itself terrifies readers. In “The Black Cat” a loving husband deteriorates into a beast. The wife’s murder goes as follows:

The cat followed me down the steep stairs, and, nearly throwing me headlong, exasperated me to madness. Uplifting an axe, and forgetting, in my wrath, the childish dread which had hitherto stayed my hand, I aimed a blow at the animal which, of course, would have proved instantly fatal had it descended as I wished. But this blow was arrested by the hand of my wife. Goaded, by the interference, into a rage more than *demoniacal* [italics are mine], I withdrew my arm from her grasp and buried the axe in her brain. She fell dead upon the spot, without a groan. This hideous murder accomplished, I set myself forthwith, and with entire deliberation, to the task of concealing the body.⁹¹

Notice the dispassionate nature of the final two sentences, not a single exclamation point. The cadence slows to deliberate beats, revealing the calm lack of remorse in the narrator that builds horror in the reader. Poe’s famous ‘effect’ is achieved. Long before the murder, the narrator also feels alone, separated, isolated. “The destruction [of his house by fire] was complete. My entire worldly wealth was swallowed up, and I resigned myself thenceforward to despair.”⁹² Not just isolated, he is homeless.

Few stories excite readers like “The Tell-tale Heart.” “Poe was the first to tell the tale of horror from the sociopath’s perspective, to shift the point of view from the victim to the victimizer.”⁹³ The result of such technique prevents the readers from *externalizing* the horror but forces them to *internalize* it. Mistral also places “emphasis on the biology of place,”⁹⁴ meaning the thematic and atmospheric symbiosis between place and character. The dark house in “The Tell-tale Heart” is bound to the psychopath.⁹⁵ Home, the bedroom, and parlor are places that we should feel secure. Poe’s psychopaths share these spaces. No place is free of violence. No dwelling is safe. Violent death is everywhere.

Motive is vague; he kills for no discernable reason. “Object there was none. Passion there was none. I loved the old man. He had never wronged me. He had never given me insult. For his gold I had no desire. I think it was his eye! yes, it was this! He had the eye of a vulture—a pale blue eye, with a film over it.”⁹⁶ Pay attention to the deliberately short sentences that slow down the action, hovering and lingering over the ghastly scene while longer sentences speed up the account. Readers are forced to digest horror word by word. In his own words, Poe ironically describes his own doom in his last painful letter to Annie Osgood dated soon before his death: “When I can go now is uncertain – but, perhaps, I may be off tomorrow, or next day; – all depends on circumstances beyond my control . . .”⁹⁷ He was dead within a week.

⁹¹ Edgar Allen Poe, “The Black Cat,” *The Works of Edgar Allen Poe*, vol. 2 of The Raven Ed., *Project Gutenberg*, last modified August 30, 2012, <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/2148/2148-h/2148-h.htm>.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ Magistrale, 19.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁹⁶ Poe, “The Tell-tale Heart,” *The Works of Edgar Allen Poe*, <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/2148/2148-h/2148-h.htm>.

⁹⁷ Ingram, J. H. “Unpublished Correspondence by Edgar Allen Poe, *Appleton’s Journal: A Magazine of General Literature*, 4, no. 5 (1878): 428, date accessed November 18, 2014, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/moajrnl/acw8433.2-04.005/435:5?g=moajrnl;rgn=full+text;view=image;xc=1;q1=edgar+allen+poe>.

Although the word is seldom used by critics of Poe or Hawthorne, a fundamental examination on the nature of *evil* in the Gothic is due; the authors themselves seldom use the word. In European Gothic fiction, the threat of evil is external. It invades; it forces itself from the outside, especially in late Victorian fiction like *Dracula*. Starting with Irving, evil comes from within; it is not fatal flaw in the classical sense. The sciences of biology and psychology (along with method acting practices) demand characters' motives be defined and explained. However, the nature of evil, so thoroughly explored by Tolkien in the *Lord of the Rings*, is not so delineated. Like Iago's unmotivated evil in *Othello*, Poe's killers themselves are their own motivation. In "The Black Cat," the husband's attributing demon alcohol for his actions is prevarication, for he himself later blames "the spirit of PERVERSENESS. Of this spirit philosophy [or science] takes no account."⁹⁸ Evil simply *is*, with its own beginning and ending. To readers this is more terrifying than serial killings done by psychopath who was abused as a child. Going any deeper on the subject leads to a separate paper. Perhaps this use of unmotivated evil by individuals describes American Gothic more than any other single element.

A postscript of sorts. Students often ask about the rapid end of Romanticism and its Gothic subset. The Civil War murdered it on April 6-7, 1862, in the forests of Shiloh, with 23,000 casualties. Combat during the Civil War provided real horror, and, unlike Gothic terror, it was not pleasurable. Romanticism and Gothic literature in Europe thrived on until killed in the trenches of the Battle of the Marne in August 1914. Despite the growth of Modernism after the Great War, Gothic literature regained popularity sixty-two years later in a new medium: motion pictures. Thomas Edison's *Frankenstein* (1910), a one-reeler, led to generations of Gothic films based upon the 19th century works.⁹⁹ Interests in the genre renewed, leading to Faulkner and other Southern Gothic writers along with many others. In 1968 with *Night of the Living Dead*, movie-maker George Romero gave America its first native Abhumans: zombies.

Thus the Gothic traditions' development is influenced by the Frontier experience. Gothic literature grew as the country grew, moving along with the various Frontiers: setting, equating the Wilderness with the Frontier with real and spiritual dangers, concentration upon language and point of view, removing political investigations for artistic themes, and emphasis upon individual's capacity for evil. Reacting to the Frontier experiences not only caused cultural separation but political as well. As we appreciate the American branch of Gothic literature, we need to remember that American Gothicism continues to grow new twigs but keeps original leaves green. Various Gothic elements exist happily in America since Gothic books first beached on our shores and live happily next to one another like jovial ghosts in a graveyard.

⁹⁸ Poe, "The Black Cat."

⁹⁹ "Frankenstein," *Silent Era*, last modified 2016, date accessed January 15, 2016, <http://www.silentera.com/PSFL/data/F/Frankenstein1910.html>.

References

- Billington, Ray Allen. *Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier*. 4th edition. New York: MacMillan, 1974.
- Campbell, Donna. "Gothic, Novel, and Romance: Brief Definitions." *Dept. of English, Washington State University*. Last modified July 3, 2014, <http://public.wsu.edu/~campbelld/amlit/novel.htm>.
- Cheever, Susan. *American Bloomsbury: Louisa May Alcott, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Margaret Fuller, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Henry David Thoreau; Their Lives, Their Loves, Their Work*. Detroit: Thorndike Press, 2006.
- Crow, Charles L., editor. *American Gothic: An Anthology 1787-1916*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1999.
- . *History of the Gothic: American Gothic*. Cardiff: University of Wales, 2009.
- Diggory, Terence. *Yeasts and American Poetry: The Tradition of the Self*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1983.
- "Edgar Allen Poe." *The Ladies' Repository: A Monthly Periodical Devoted to Literature, Arts, and Religion*, 19.7 (1859): 419-423. Date accessed November 10, 2015, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/moajrnl/acg2248.1-19.007/447:24?g=moagrp;rgn=full+text;view=image;xc=1;q1=edgar+allen+poe>, 419-423.
- "The Gothic: Overview." *The Norton Anthology of English Literature: Norton Topics Online*. Last modified 2015, date accessed September 9, 2015, https://www.wnorton.com/college/english/nael/romantic/topic_2/welcome.htm.
- "Frankenstein." *Silent Era*. Carl Bennett and the Silent Era Company. Date accessed January 15, 2016. <http://www.silentera.com/PSFL/data/F/Frankenstein1910.html>.
- Heath, Shannon. "Gothic Revolution." *Dept. of English, University of Tennessee at Knoxville*. Last modified April 22, 2012, <http://web.utk.edu/~gerard/romanticpolitics/reignoferror.html>.
- Hawthorne, Nathaniel. "The Birthmark." *The Complete Novels and Selected Tales of Nathaniel Hawthorne*. Ed. Norman Pearson. New York: Random House, 1937. 1021-33. Last modified August 8, 2001. <http://web.archive.org/web/20131017173955/http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/etcbin/toccer-new2?id=HawBirt.sgm&images=images/modeng&data=/texts/english/modeng/parsed&tag=public&part=1&division=div1>.
- . "The Minister's Black Veil." *Twice-Told Tales*. Philadelphia: McKay, 1889. Last modified 2004, date accessed June 15, 2010, <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/13707/13707-h/13707-h.htm>.
- Ingram, J. H. "Unpublished Correspondence of Edgar Allen Poe." *Appletons' Journal: A Magazine of General Literature* 4, no.5 (1878): 421-430. Date accessed November 15, 2014, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/moajrnl/acw8433.2-04.005/435:5?g=moagrp;rgn=full+text;view=image;xc=1;q1=edgar+allen+poe>.
- Isern, Thomas. "The Turner Thesis." *Dept. of History, U of North Dakota*. Last modified 2016, date accessed January 3, 2016. <http://historyfd.net/isern/103/turner.htm>.

- Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth. "The Quadroon Girl." *Poems on Slavery*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Metcalf, Keith, and Nichols, 1842. Last modified June 12, 2010, <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/44398/44398-h/44398-h.htm>.
- Luckhurst, Roger. "The Victorian Supernatural." *Discovering Literature: Romantics and Victorians, The British Library*, Last modified December 9, 2015, <http://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/the-victorian-supernatural>.
- Lynch, Deidre. "Gothic Fiction." *The Cambridge Companion to Fiction in the Romantic Period*. Edited by Richard Maxwell and Katie Trumpener. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2008. 47-64.
- MacLowry, Randall, dir. "Stephen Foster: America's First Great Songwriter." *American Masters*. 1999; Boston: PBS Home Video, 2001. DVD.
- Magistrale, Tony. *Student Companion to Edgar Allan Poe*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 2001.
- Melville, Herman. "Benito Cereno." *The Piazza Tales*. New York: Dix and Edwards, 1859. Last modified June 15, 2010, <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/13707/13707-h/13707-h.htm>.
- . "Hawthorne and his Mosses." *The Literary World* (June 1850): n. pag. Date accessed November 4, 2010, <http://www.eldritchpress.org/nh/hahm.html>.
- Paulson, Ronald. "Gothic Fiction and the French Revolution." *ELH* 48, no.3 (1981): 532-54. Date accessed September 12, 2016, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2872912>.
- Poe, Edgar Allan. *The Works of Edgar Allan Poe*. Vol 2 of 5. Last modified August 8, 2001, <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/2148/2148-h/2148-h.htm>.
- Ringe, Donald. *American Gothic: Imagination & Reason in Nineteenth-Century Fiction*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1982.
- "Spine-chillers and Suspense: A Timeline of Gothic Fiction." *BBC*, Last modified 2016, date accessed January 16, 2016. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/timelines/zy72hv>.
- Turner, Frederick Jackson. "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," *The Frontier in American History*. New York: Holt, 1920. 1-34. Last modified October 14, 2007, <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/22994/22994-h/22994.htm>.
- Valiunas, Algis. "The Last Temptation of Science." *The New Atlantis* 30 (Winter 2011): 119-135. Date accessed June 9, 2013, <http://www.thenewatlantis.com/publications/the-last-temptation-of-science>.
- White, Richard. "*It's your Misfortune and None of my Own*": *A History of the American West*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.
- Witkawska, Aldon, Monsignor. "The Gothic as an Aspect of American Romanticism." *Department of English Philology. University of Warmia and Mazury at Olsztyn* [Poland], Date modified February 28, 2011, http://www.uwm.edu.pl/pro_media/testy/index.php/wykladowcy/439-qthe-gothic-as-an-aspect-of-american-romanticismq.