

Enchanted Capitalism: Myths, Monsters, and Markets

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A FEW YEARS AGO, the Dean of the College of Letters and Sciences at my university asked faculty in each of its four departments (Psychology, Arts and Humanities, Mathematics and Natural Sciences, and Social Sciences—where I am housed) to propose and develop online interdisciplinary General Education (GE) honors courses that would be offered as a series of four classes with a shared thematic emphasis. Challenging, engaging, and thematically focused, the courses were meant to help recruit majors, provide a shared experience for first-year students that exposed them to some of the disciplines and disciplinary approaches in each of our four departments, build student relationships with faculty, and develop student skills in line with GE core competencies in reading comprehension, writing, critical thinking, and historical awareness. As honors courses, the coursework and readings assigned had a greater degree of difficulty than standard GE courses. The idea was to challenge students who were already performing at a high level to develop their critical thinking and analytical skills even further. Taking a lead from recent articles in *The History Teacher*, I placed history, popular culture, and historical literacy at the core of a proposed history course entitled “Enchanted Capitalism: Myths,

Monsters, and Markets.”¹ Given the nearly ubiquitous interest in monsters, vampires, and zombies in contemporary U.S. popular culture,² I chose to develop a course for the series on “Mind and Imagination” that would explore this interest within a wider historical and literary context and take advantage of the increased academic and popular interest in capitalism after the global economic crisis of 2007-2009 and the resurgence of neoliberalism.³ Drawing on folklore, literature, popular culture, and economics, the course explored the rise of capitalism and its relation to tales of monstrosity in England from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, and the globalization of capitalism in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries and its relation to tales of vampires and zombies from Sub-Saharan Africa, Britain, the U.S., and Japan. It turned out that Karl Marx, a fierce critic of capitalism, deployed monster and enchantment metaphors in many of his key works, so it was a natural fit to include Marx, whose theories often strike students as monstrous until they read them, and to relate his political-economic analysis to popular tales of magic, monsters, vampires, and zombies in countries that experienced capitalist market relations.⁴

In many ways, my course anticipated ideas in *Monsters in the Classroom* (2017), a major book on “monster pedagogy”:

Monsters are creatures of politics and particular historical contexts... We don't need to convince our students that monsters matter...[but] we do need to convince them how much and how deeply monsters matter in making sense of human strivings and failings, how they are primary sources of personal and collective horrors, and how they live at the intersection of politics, history, desire, and meaning. We have to teach about monsters.⁵

The book's editors argued that “Monsters...have always been educational. Since ancient times, societies around the world have invented monsters in art, literature, folklore, and religion as a way to teach something to members of a group...They both frighten and instruct” and provide a vivid historical resource regarding the issues, fears, and anxieties of past and present societies.⁶ Indeed, as the editors explained, “For over two decades, scholars have been conceptualizing the monstrous in important and exciting ways, but surprisingly little work has been done to translate this research into practical pedagogical strategies.”⁷ Their book and this article attempt to present practical pedagogical strategies that

introduce students to this new research and to the monstrous as an epistemological category that has the potential to transform the experience of teaching and learning.⁸

In developing my course, I wanted interdisciplinary content that grabbed and held student attention; presented key concepts and texts in literature, economics, and popular culture; and kindled students' own imaginative approaches to historical topics. The idea was to rouse students' minds, imaginations, and critical faculties in approaching the metaphors, motifs, discourses, and stories produced by the minds and imaginations of people who dealt creatively with pressing issues of economic and social change that they faced through tales of enchantment and monstrosity—an approach that I thought would enthrall students and keep their attention since these tales have continued into our own day and still resonate in popular culture, presenting students with an accessible object of study and a safe imaginative space.⁹

Keeping the course's focus on capitalism served a number of purposes. First, it was essential to understanding “modernity.”¹⁰ Second, it kept the historical scope, theoretical framework, and examples manageable. The examples of monsters came from folklore, literature, and cinema, so there was a variety of media and disciplinary perspectives.¹¹ In addition, since my students lived in a capitalist society, I wanted to direct their attention to its operations and the cultural artifacts, like tales of monsters, it produced and which they consumed. Jürgen Kocka and Marcel van der Linden detected further advantages in using capitalism as an organizing concept for historical research (and the teaching of history, I would add). It was integrative. It “bring[s] together economic, social, cultural, and political dimensions of history” and “allows for the connection between the history of practices and discourses.” It “emphasizes the social, cultural, and political ‘embeddedness’ (Polanyi) of markets... It invites the study of non-economic aspects... of economic behavior and processes... the history of capitalism... tends to involve us in very fundamental problems of the history of civilization and in discussions of the human condition.”¹² In the end, “capitalism is not just an economic system; the discontinuous yet still progressing commodification process influences every sphere of life, from ecology and agriculture via kinship and family life, to war-making.”¹³ Even more, and something that is difficult for students

who grew up under capitalism to understand, capitalism “refers to a pattern of qualitatively novel experiences in social life. These new experiences stand in clear contrast with preceding societies.”¹⁴ With capitalism, “we also witness the emergence of another orientation, focused less on considerations of utility than on making money. It gives rise to the idea of *abstract accumulation*,”¹⁵ a difficult-sounding concept that had a (dare I say) monstrous role in my course.

Numerous scholars have detected a clear connection between the history of capitalism and modern stories of monstrosity and enchantment.¹⁶ The connection provides a way for teachers and students to understand the experience of commodification and the hidden circuits of wealth accumulation under capitalism. To take one example concerning monstrosity, in her discussion of the relationship between monster stories and U.S. capitalism, Annalee Newitz noted:

One type of story that has haunted America since the late nineteenth century focuses on humans turned into monsters by capitalism. Mutated by backbreaking labor, driven insane by corporate conformity, or gorged on too many products of a money-hungry media industry, capitalism’s monsters cannot tell the difference between commodities and people. They confuse living beings with inanimate objects. And because they spend so much time working, they often feel dead themselves...capitalist monsters embody the contradictions of a culture where making a living often feels like dying...the stories’ fundamental message remains the same: capitalism creates monsters who want to kill you....The history of capitalism can be told as a monster story from beginning to end.¹⁷

The course asks students to explore the relationship between capitalism and the rise of stories involving a new kind of monster—one that is *undead*—and, in doing so, interrogate key symbolic registers in which capitalist commodification is experienced by people in established capitalist societies and in societies undergoing capitalist development at different times and in different places to see if there were important differences in the kinds of monsters each culture produced in folklore, literature, video, and film.

The undead (vampires, zombies, and resurrected, often decayed and mutilated corpses) abound in television shows, movies, and flash mob street theater.¹⁸ As a historian, it seemed a good time to create a course that explores this major cultural trope in a wider historical and literary context and highlight the idea that this concern with the

undead is not accidental. Rather, undead monsters and the notion of an enchanted reality have been part of the culture of capitalism from its beginning.

Historical Contexts¹⁹

As Kocka and van der Linden explained, capitalism created qualitatively novel experiences in social life and the transition to capitalism had been fraught for every society that experienced it. Land and labor power became market commodities, alienable properties that could be separated from their owners and controlled by someone else. People's experiences of their bodies, their autonomy, and each other were profoundly restructured by commodification of labor.²⁰ Such commodification occurred first in England and then everywhere capitalism overturned earlier economic forms and social relations, and people could only survive by selling their bodily capabilities on the labor market—an experience they profoundly resented and contested.²¹ For instance, E. P. Thompson's research led him to conclude that “a rebellious traditional culture” prevailed among the lower classes in eighteenth-century England, who resisted the advancing capitalist economy, which they experienced as “exploitation, or the expropriation of customary use-rights, or the violent disruption of valued patterns of work and leisure”²² A trope of the monstrous rich devouring the poor emerged in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in the writings of Philip Stubbes and Samuel Purchas, when Stubbes contended that “rich men eat up poore men, as beasts doo eat grass” [sic] and Purchas argued that “Man himselfe is this monster” [sic].²³ This new discourse on monstrosity became a vehicle for expressing the social tensions that arose with enclosure and the rise of agrarian capitalism in the Tudor-Stuart era.²⁴ Not only were land and labor made into commodities, so were the dead bodies of the working poor and criminals. Authorities hanged and offered for public and private dissection those who broke the new laws separating them from common land, and a thriving “corpse economy” arose in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in Britain—complete with rising prices, murder, and grave robbing.²⁵ Such market-driven activities, which partly inspired Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*, continued well into the nineteenth century and were the cause of

numerous working-class physical and verbal protests against the dissection and commodification of human bodies as monstrous practices: “Not content with the people’s toil while living, the rich insist upon having their bodies cut up and mangled when dead.”²⁶ Workers’ experiences of their bodies and autonomy were profoundly restructured by the commodification of labor: their skills and bodies became separable attributes subjected to the direction of an alien or outside force.

From its beginnings in the sixteenth century, capitalism involved invisible flows of money, capital, and securities, as well as the visible flows of commodities and workers.²⁷ These features of capitalism provided fodder for tales of monstrous enchantment since the circuits through which capital moved were (and are) intangible; that is, we can observe things and persons (commodities, currencies, factories, workers, etc.) in which capital becomes embodied (“invested”), but capital itself remains unseen. It is this spectral nature of capital that some fantastic stories seek to show. In a tribute to what Marx would later call “commodity fetishism,” the idea that things could be “enchanted,” endowed with agency, and have a life of their own, Benjamin Franklin famously wrote in 1748: “Remember that Money is of a prolific generating Nature. Money can beget Money, and its Offspring can beget more, and so on.”²⁸ Reputed to be a hard-headed pragmatist, Franklin waxed poetic about the generative powers of money in what looked like a form of magical (or enchanted) thinking: money can beget more money magically without any human labor being involved. Such notions were commonplace in capitalism almost from the start. Investors in the Tulip Bubble (1634-1637), South Sea Bubble (1711-1720), and Mississippi Bubble (1718-1720) hoped to gain a huge profit from money simply generating more money.²⁹ Even the daily operations of capitalism, the intangible and obscure maneuvers of networked financial markets and the guided flows of commodities, invoked metaphors of enchantment, the most famous being Adam Smith’s idea that an “invisible hand” guided market transactions to work to the benefit of all involved.³⁰ In case one believed that such notions of enchanted capital have been superseded, the website “Napkin Finance” (later turned into a book) showed how money can beget money magically with no labor involved.³¹ The metaphorical monsters that came to represent this hidden or enchanted operation of capital were vampires and zombies.



Figure 1: Walter Crane, “The Capitalist Vampire,” 1885. Available at “Walter Crane,” Spartacus Educational, <<https://spartacus-educational.com/Jcrane.htm>>.

The “capitalist as vampire” motif was common in late nineteenth-century Europe as the 1885 drawing by the popular illustrator Walter Crane made clear (Figure 1). Marx deployed that motif in his analysis of capitalism to demystify or “de-enchant” the process by which money invested generated more money (a profit).³² Key was

the purchase of human labor power by those who owned the means of production and distribution: workers, whose skills and energies (labor power) produced far more than was paid in wages, created a surplus that supplied the enterprise's profits when the commodities produced were sold. In Marx's view, it was living labor that created profits for capitalists, who sustained themselves parasitically (vampirically) on the life force (labor power) of others. To Marx, capital was accumulated (or dead) labor unable to expand or create a profit without living labor to animate it. Marx thus envisioned capital as a horrifying, shape-shifting, dialectical entity that fed off living labor and consumed human life in order to reanimate itself and grow. It was this distinction between "living labor" embodied in humans and "dead labor" embodied in capital at rest that led Marx to see the vampire as an apt image of capital seeking to reanimate itself and create a profit by sapping living labor, making the capital set in motion by labor "undead."³³ In a strange dialectical reversal, the power of labor to reanimate dead capital deadened the living, reified them, and reduced them to what we would now call a zombie-like state.³⁴ Marx, however, had never heard of zombies. That monster shambled into European and American consciousness in the twentieth century via Afro-Caribbean culture and its experience of capitalist development.

When capitalism entered the Caribbean in the sixteenth century, it applied both free and unfree labor to the production of commodities. While free wage labor has often been considered necessary for capitalism to operate, historians have recently begun to question that claim. Sugar plantations in the Caribbean were known as "factories in the field" since they combined farming with manufacturing processes and "conditions of work were extremely harsh, with violence, coercion and terror at the heart of the plantation economy" from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries.³⁵ Building on the work of Sidney Mintz (who argued that "slave and proletarian together powered the imperial economic system" and that sugar plantations were both an early form of industrial production and a significant factor in the rise of capitalism) and Joseph Inikori,³⁶ Catherine Hall argued that the imperial system rested on a capitalist economy: "The fortunes of the Pennant family remind us of the global nature of eighteenth and nineteenth century capitalism—its roots in colonial slavery as well as agrarian and industrial capital."³⁷ Following Mintz and Hall, historians Robin Blackburn, Dale Tomich,

Walter Johnson, Caitlin Rosenthal, Edward E. Baptist, Sven Beckert, and Seth Rockman each contended that capitalism assumed different forms in different parts of the world and had deep connections to (and dependence on) other economic systems—especially slavery. While their works have significant differences, all insisted that slavery was inseparable from the expansion of modern capitalism. In their writings, global capitalism maintained a variety of labor regimes, one of which, crucially, was slavery, and the link between capitalism and slavery encompassed banking, finance, loans, labor control and productivity, manufacturing, industrial revolution, and the transformation of peasant agriculture across the globe.³⁸ Kocka called it a “capitalist-oriented plantation system based on slave labor.”³⁹ More than anything, it was the labor regime of slavery that mimicked the rigors of factory labor, but with greater “violence, coercion and terror” that led to stories of zombies in places like Saint-Domingue (modern Haiti), where slavery resembled industrial labor and post-independence free agricultural labor resembled slavery.⁴⁰ In fact, “The zombie surfaced on the small island of Haiti early in its independent formation in the nineteenth century and, while the figure originated in West Africa, zombification practices would find expression in discourse associated with compromised subjectivities that resulted from imperialism and slavery.”⁴¹ Forced labor in Haiti only increased with U.S. capital investment and occupation from 1915 to 1934,⁴² and tales of zombies as enchanted (bewitched), will-less, slave-like, laboring automations made their way to the U.S. via William Seabrook’s *The Magic Island* (1929), which formed the basis for Hollywood movies of the 1930s and 1940s on the subject.⁴³ As historian Kate Ramsey put it, “Could there have been a more fitting image of and inclusive commentary on the proletarianization of the displaced Haitian peasant sharecropper than a crew of *zombies* toiling in the HASCO [Haitian American Sugar Company] cane fields?”⁴⁴

The idea of a “zombi” originated in West Africa and enslaved Africans brought it with them to the Americas, however, the origin of the term is unclear.⁴⁵ African zombies were not reanimated corpses, but enchanted (spellbound) workers who lacked autonomy, will power, and awareness. Tales of bewitchment arose in the context of a new capitalist political economy that was in the process of replacing older socio-economic forms in Africa starting in the sixteenth century, and zombies became associated with changing conditions of work

under colonialism and capitalism when distant imperial and economic centers sought (and still seek) to exert control over the crucial means of producing value: land, labor, time, and space.⁴⁶ Historian Andreas Eckert noted that the slave trade, “commoditizing not the labor power but the human being, is crucial in order to understand Africa’s early relationship to capitalism,” while historian Luise White saw the rise of vampire stories in twentieth-century Africa as an attempt to penetrate the mysteries of the capitalist labor process, “new imaginings for new relationships.”⁴⁷ Under colonialism, many Africans were systemically deprived of their right to the lands they had possessed. As a result, a landless proletariat and commodified labor in various forms arose, including massive forced labor during and after the First World War, leading Eckert to conclude, “It is important to emphasize how peculiar an institution capitalism is.”⁴⁸ After years of study, South African scholars Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff concluded that Sub-Saharan Africa continues to have a semi-colonial relationship with core capitalist nations, exporting precious metals, raw materials, and unskilled labor.⁴⁹

African zombie tales commented on the economic and social disruptions brought on by the long experience with capitalism, “a system in which the endless accumulation of capital is its *raison d’être*.”⁵⁰ In South Africa, long-standing ideas of witchcraft (*boloi*) came to include zombie-making, the brutal reduction of other people to instruments of production, to insensible beings stored like tools in sheds, cupboards, or oil drums at the homes of their enchanters.⁵¹ People believed that these sorcerers destroyed the local job market, the ability of the living to sustain themselves by their own labor, and the future of the community. Those accused of witchcraft tended to be persons of conspicuous new wealth whose sources were neither visible nor easily explained. In Sub-Saharan Africa, the disquieting figure of the bewitched zombie was associated with production of these new forms of wealth, since people were unconvinced that no effort was involved. The effort was unseen and it was not the effort of the person accumulating the wealth.⁵² Unlike many of the zombie figures in American or British movies, African zombies could be brought back from the undead and rejoin the living because the state of being undead was due to enchantment or hypnosis rather than a state of true death and bodily decay. Their will and ability to think independently were dormant, not their bodies.⁵³

As the United States and the United Kingdom changed from industrial to service or post-industrial consumer economies after the Second World War,⁵⁴ and as critiques of capitalist consumerism gained strength in the 1960s and 1970s in the U.S. and the U.K.,⁵⁵ the zombie morphed from a mindless worker to a mindless consumer when George Romero combined reanimated corpses (reminiscent of Frankenstein's Creature) with human-flesh-eating fiends (ghouls) to create a new type of cinematic monster in his films *Night of the Living Dead* (1968) and *Dawn of the Dead* (1979). Given the degree of material and technological development in the U.S. and the U.K. and the role of science in creating profitable investments, Romero had an infectious virus (perhaps created in military or corporate labs) rather than witches create zombies, but movies with vampires proliferated as well. Africa, the U.S., Japan, the U.K., and most of the world were deeply affected by the heightened "financialization" of capitalism, with its emphasis on market speculation and financial wealth without work—what Susan Strange called "casino capitalism"⁵⁶—that seemed to offer instant riches to those who had privileged information or knowledge unavailable to the general public.⁵⁷ This finance capital almost seemed enchanted, able to reproduce itself and grow without human effort until the 2008 recession, when an economic "consensus emerged...that there was too much capital moving in the world with consequences that were too destabilizing. Finance capital was now not a stabilizer, but a metastasizing cancer at the core of capitalism."⁵⁸ Vampire films made a comeback in the 2000s, their gothic sensibility invoking the intangible and obscure operations of wealth creation involving stock markets and complicated financial transactions. Nevertheless, *Time* named the zombie "the official monster of the [2008] recession."⁵⁹

Course Goals and Structure

I teach at a private non-profit university with about 17,100 enrolled students, around 7,900 of whom are undergraduates. The undergraduates at my university are older working adults who come from diverse backgrounds. Around 35% of them identify as white, 25% as Hispanic or Latino, 9% as black or African American, and 9% as Asian. Additionally, 86% are over the age of twenty-five and 55% are female. Most work full-time, but still rely on student

financial aid loans they will need to repay, or military benefits.⁶⁰ Many are working class or lower middle class and are the first in their family to attend college. A large proportion aspire to be elementary and secondary school teachers, while others major in business administration, psychology, nursing, and criminal justice. At the end of the list of courses they want to take, most of them place history right below or right above math. “History phobia” is as real as “math phobia” at my institution, and I designed this course to allay those fears for students in the proposed honors program and perhaps to snag a few majors from business and psychology and maybe even criminal justice by engaging a key trope in today’s popular culture—monsters.

In a 2018 article, Manya Whitaker argued that it was precisely the age, gender, ethnic, racial, and class diversity of current university students that inspired faculty to move away from traditional coursework and focus their pedagogy on developing higher-order cognitive abilities involving analysis and synthesis, including the application, assessment, and construction of knowledge in addition to textual analysis. She added that “professors are expected to model innovative intellectual inquiry.”⁶¹ My course and my teaching strove to fulfill these expectations and more; in a 2014 article, Jessica Schocker underscored the importance of introducing students to the analysis of primary sources,⁶² and students in my course worked with primary sources, especially visual and textual sources, and learned to critique these sources as well as each other’s interpretation of them.

The course surveyed English, European, and world history since 1540 with a focus on the relationship between capitalism and stories about monsters. The syllabus (see **Appendix A**) laid out the course’s goals, learning outcomes, structure, readings, and assignments. Major goals were to introduce students to key concepts and texts in history, economics, literature, and cultural studies and to engage their minds, imaginations, emotions, and critical faculties in doing so.⁶³ As outlined in the syllabus, students engaged in several activities to achieve these goals: reading and engaging the textbook and articles by historians and popular culture experts; reading and analyzing selected primary sources and works of imagination from different places and time periods; participating in Discussion Boards (discussion prompts are in **Appendix B**); working together to create a GlossaryWiki; and writing two essays that analyzed monsters in

popular movies using concepts and terms from the course. The course learning outcomes served to concretize the course goals. My presentation of the course structure, including assignments, grade point distribution, live chats, as well as guidance for students on how to succeed in an online course involving time management and workload expectations can be found in the course syllabus.

I designed the course to help students discover a new understanding and appreciation of the power, meaning, and endurance of horror stories that were woven into the popular culture of Britain, the U.S., Africa, and Japan. They were stories of mind and imagination whose monstrous content might seem unrelated to the rise and spread of capitalism. Together, we were going to interrogate that proposition, as well as the contention that monsters were historically shaped by the cultures of different times and places and spoke to the issues, fears, and anxieties of particular historical eras, including their own.⁶⁴

Teaching the Course

I divided the course into four thematic units. Unit One began the historical journey in Europe with “Dissecting the Laboring Body: *Frankenstein*, Political Anatomy, and the Rise of Capitalism.” Unit Two focused on “Marx’s Monsters: Vampire-Capital, Enchantment, and Nightmare Worlds.” Unit Three covered “African Vampires and Zombies in the Age of Global Capitalism,” and Unit Four concluded the course with “Anglo-American and Japanese Vampires and Zombies in the Age of Global Capitalism.”

I posted a series of lectures in each unit to frame issues, to lay out key terms and problems for consideration, and to introduce students to the latest scholarship on monsters, especially as it related to capitalism. My lectures focused on providing an appropriate context to help students discern a relationship between capitalist developments and the kinds of monsters that haunted elite and popular imaginations in different times and places since 1540. Many of the sources for the lectures can be found in the “Historical Contexts” section above. I also met weekly with all students in a synchronous online class session using Blackboard’s Collaborate meeting software in which students presented their ideas about the readings and the movies we viewed and I responded to questions

they had. In one of our early live sessions, students found the idea that monsters were a cultural product of capitalism odd, since tales of monsters existed long before capitalism. I asked them to consider if the monsters of capitalism were different and, if so, how. In one of the early lectures, I explained the etymology of the English word “monster.” It derived from a combination of two Latin words, *monstrare* (“to reveal, show, display, demonstrate”) and *monere* (“to warn”), and it suggested making visible things that were otherwise hidden, suppressed, mysterious, and scary: things one normally did not talk about in “polite society.” I also suggested that learning about monsters made strange what was otherwise familiar and taken for granted. It not only distanced us from habitual ways of seeing and experiencing the world, but it opened up connections not normally available or visible to us.⁶⁵ Indeed, monsters expressed visceral concerns and they caused visceral reactions in readers and viewers by eliciting excitement, fear, repulsion, and enjoyment. As we started the course, I asked students to remember that monsters, as complicated creatures of social imagination, were designed to provoke an emotional response above everything else.

Unit One: Dissecting the Laboring Body

Being an honors GE course, I focused the required readings (included in **Appendix A**) on challenging texts and encouraged thoughtful analysis. I urged students to do as much of the supplemental readings as they could to enhance their understanding of the issues we discussed. In the first unit, we surveyed English and European history from ca. 1550 to ca. 1850 with a focus on capitalism and the creation of new types of monster stories. As a continual activity throughout the course, I asked discussion questions emphasizing each unit’s theme (**Appendix B**). Students wrote a 300- to 400-word initial post to a question each week and then had to respond substantively to at least two initial posts by their classmates. They had to make an initial post before they could read the posts of their classmates. Given the subject matter, they often responded to far more than two initial posts. Students told me in e-mails and postings that the readings and discussions opened up perspectives on the growth and impact of capitalism and industrialization that they had never considered before. They found it exciting.

To reduce the cost of books and to take full advantage of developments in the digital humanities, I had students read the Romantic Circles electronic 1818 edition of *Frankenstein* with commentary and study aids by Stuart Curran. Students also read Shelley's introduction to the 1831 edition, where she explained how she came to write the novel. They also perused a website, "The Worlds of Burke & Hare," that detailed the exploits of actual body snatchers working in early nineteenth-century Edinburgh, Scotland around the time Mary Shelley wrote her novel of a reanimated monster made from the pieces of dead human beings. Given the time period and place in which it was written, which saw the world's first capitalist industrialization, I asked students if it might make more sense to read the novel as narrating a process of production rather than a process of creation. Dr. Frankenstein does not make something from nothing; he stitched together already-present constituent parts to manufacture a new being. In fact, could one argue that the seams on the Creature's face were external or visible signs of its existence as a manufactured product? In her 1831 introduction, Shelley mixed terms associated with production (mechanism, component part, manufacture) with those associated with reproduction (offspring, progeny, cradle), blurring the line between manufacturing and creation. My lectures explained how Shelley's novel drew upon images of monstrosity that were common in English working-class culture at the time (grave robbing, stealing or buying bodies from the gallows, and corporeal dismemberment in public dissections or industrial accidents) and how these tropes of monstrosity resonated in later British literature.⁶⁶

Unit Two: Marx's Monsters

As the course approached 1850, the second unit introduced students to key concepts of Karl Marx in his critique of capitalism, which—much to students' surprise—resonated well with metaphors of monstrosity. In *Monsters of the Market* (2012), David McNally presented Marx's critique of capitalism as a mystery narrative in the style of a gothic horror story. He regarded Marx as a storyteller who grounded his complex and often abstract economic ideas in popular culture through well-known metaphors, symbols, monsters, and allegorical figures. He presented not only Marx's ideas, but Marx's

method of analyzing social issues. At the heart of Marx's thought and method was the commodity, so McNally spent a lot of time explaining it, the commodity fetish, and the various ways vampires and monsters figured into and illustrated Marx's ideas. With his idea that capital was dead labor—which, vampire-like, only survived by ingesting living labor—Marx suggested that behind the movement of capital was a monster story waiting to be told.

In lectures, I connected the readings on Marx's ideas of capitalism with those from the previous unit on the rise of capitalism and industrialism in England. To take one example, the materials that Victor Frankenstein used to make the Creature—parts of dismembered corpses—were emblematic of the way production broke down what Marx called the “body” of the worker and the natural world into a series of “dead” component parts used in manufacturing. I encouraged students to pay attention to this interplay between what is living and what is dead as they read the materials for this unit. I highlighted how Marx's concept of commodity fetishism, the process of projecting the life and labor of human beings onto inanimate objects, invoked the (re)animated corpses of gothic horror stories. As they circulated through the market, commodities, which were the products of peoples' labor, appeared to interact independently of their makers. This idea of being “undead” also applied to the vampire who was dead and yet not dead: he or she was “undead” in the sense of being a non-living person who managed to remain animated by feeding on the living. A related idea of Marx's was alienated labor. Marx believed our ability to create freely and enjoy the products of our labor defined us as human beings and gave meaning to our lives. When a worker sold the value of her labor to a factory owner in exchange for wages paid, Marx called it “a sacrifice of [her] life”⁶⁷ because the choice, structure, and product of work belonged to the capitalist, not the worker, who had to “work a job” in order to live. To Marx, the capitalist productive process alienated humans from their own creative nature. In Marx's view, the loss of humanity, the “loss of self,” that resulted from capitalist production transformed the worker into something we might today call a zombie—a laboring shell only valued for its ability to labor, not for its humanity and human needs, desires, and creative energy. Questions about what it meant to be human were central to Marx and *Frankenstein*, as well as vampire and zombie fiction.

Unit Three: African Vampires and Zombies

In the third unit of the course, we shifted our attention to the continent of Africa and twentieth-century stories of bewitchment, vampirism, and zombieism as ordinary people tried to make sense of the new capitalist social relations they were experiencing. Some of these stories were told as oral folk tales, while others were presented in novels, short stories, and popular movies. McNally analyzed popular tales of bewitchment (enchantment) in the context of the new capitalist political economy in the process of replacing older socio-economic forms in Africa. He explained how that transformation was expressed in popular culture, especially folk tales, legends, novels, and short stories, as “fables of modernity” that narrated “experiences of incorporation into the circuits of capitalism.”⁶⁸ McNally ended the chapter with an extended discussion of major themes in the fiction of Anglo-Nigerian writer Ben Okri and their relationship to the capitalist transformation of Africa.

As a transition to the final unit (which dealt with vampire and zombie stories in the U.S., the U.K., and Japan), I prepared a lecture on ghouls because they were often confused with zombies in the U.S. and the U.K. In a trendsetting film, *Night of the Living Dead* (1968), George A. Romero created a new film monster that became the iconic zombie of American cinema: a reanimated corpse with a ghoul’s craving to consume human flesh. Actors in the film used the term “ghoul” and Romero used it in early interviews, but reviewers and fans insisted on calling his undead monsters “zombies.” Eventually, even Romero gave up and began to use the term.⁶⁹ In any event, the English term “ghoul” derived from the Arabic word *ghūl*, which referred to a devilish spirit or genie, a supernatural being. The term first appeared in pre-Islamic Bedouin poetry and tales. Arabic folklore represented it as an ugly human-like shapeshifting monster that dwelled in the desert and secluded locations in order to delude travelers by lighting a fire and leading them astray, usually to their deaths. The term came to the Europe when Antoine Galland translated *One Thousand and One Nights* into French (1704-1717). Galland wrote that the ghoul would dig up graves and eat corpses if it needed food, an idea that was never mentioned in any of his original Arabic sources. Later, French and English writers followed Galland’s description, which became the

standard image of this being. The earliest reference to the ghoulish as a grave-robbing, corpse-eating creature in English literature was in William Beckford's *Vathek: An Arabian Tale* (1786).⁷⁰ As part of the recursive nature of the course, I asked students to consider this information in relation to the readings in the first unit. How might Galland's addition of corpse-eating to the list of monstrous outrages perpetrated by ghouls find resonance with a European audience undergoing the hardships of industrialization, and for whom dissecting criminal bodies and grave robbing were major social concerns? In fact, "ghoul" became a nickname for grave robbers by the early nineteenth century. However, a ghoulish was never an undead person or a zombie, even in this Europeanized version of the monster. Merging the Afro-Caribbean zombie with the European version of the ghoulish was George Romero's unintended contribution to the undead movie genre that we all live with today.

Unit Four: Anglo-American and Japanese Vampires and Zombies

In my Unit Four lectures, I left students with a couple of ways of thinking about the monsters we discussed in the course. Did the flagrant, often over-the-top violence lend itself to metaphorical reading, and could one say that monster stories were appropriate vehicles for people to explore economic and existential questions in the modern world? McNally argued that Romero's new cinematic monster, the "zombie-ghoulish," was uniquely American and a satire of American consumerism with a slow-moving, single-focused, brain-dead, reanimated corpse whose whole purpose was consumption—of human flesh—a consumption that was never-ending because it could not lead to satisfaction or to satiation. I invited students to consider other interpretations. For instance, maybe these monsters were not undead or living-dead humans, nor metaphors for consumers, but fetishized commodities in Marx's sense—pretty aggressive commodities, to be sure, but ones that circulated, assumed a human shape, had relations with people, and consumed human labor power to remain animated. I asked students to keep in mind as we thought about this new creature why zombie-ghoulishes were not isolated, individual, one-off monsters; they were mass produced and their origin and spread followed a plague model from epidemiology. Why would movie makers use that model? What was going on in

the U.S. and the U.K. in the 1960s and after that made such a model resonate with movie makers and movie viewers? Commentators like Tim Cavanaugh argued that American zombie movies showed America literally devouring itself.⁷¹ I prompted students to say what they thought. Having read Marx, might it show capitalism devouring itself? Finally, I posed questions about the historicity of capitalist monsters. While none were limited to a particular time and place, could one argue that vampires and Frankenstein's Creature were monsters of industrial capitalism, while the zombis [sic] of Africa and Haiti were monsters evoked by capitalist colonization, and that zombie-ghouls were monsters that fit well with post-industrial capitalism? The discussion questions for the final unit asked students to think comparatively and across the course as a whole.

Student Engagement

Discussion Boards

To meet the learning outcomes of this honors GE course, questions on the course Discussion Boards had students deal with key themes and motifs in the course and called for clear writing and higher-order analysis, comparison, and synthesis across the secondary readings and primary sources. Students critiqued primary and secondary sources, including visual and textual sources, as well as each other's interpretations, and asked further questions and entertained fresh and imaginative approaches in discussion. Their detailed analyses and comparisons of short fiction, excerpts from longer fictional pieces, historical sources, and secondary sources were some of the most enlivening features of the course as they tried to explain the subjective experience of living in a capitalist world. They were required to apply key concepts and terms they encountered in the readings and developed in the Wiki in their analyses. Engaged dialogue among students and between students and myself were common features of the course.

Glossary Wiki

In this way, the Boards had a synergistic relationship with the other main assignments—the course Glossary Wiki and student papers. Work in one reinforced and built on work in the others. Since many

of the key terms in the readings were new to students, who were themselves often new to the expectations of a university course, I created stubs (short initial definitions) for all key terms in a course Wiki. As one of their weekly assignments, students had to expand and refine the stubs according to their understandings of the readings as the course proceeded. I used the course Wiki function in Blackboard to create the Wiki. Students edited each other's entries and had to explain the reasons for their edits, making the Wiki a dialogic exercise. As a webpage with an open-editing system, the Wiki offered an environment for students to co-create knowledge and see how their contributions and critiques were worked into the definition. Besides developing critical thinking skills, learning from one another, and working collaboratively, compiling these entries helped students organize the details of the readings into broad thematic areas, which encouraged them to think not only analytically, but also synthetically as they read, composed Wiki entries, engaged in discussion, and wrote their papers.

Since many of the terms appeared in more than one unit, students refined and redefined terms based on reading they did later in the course. Such an exercise showed them that learning involved rethinking and revision of previous learning. The Wiki documented learning as an iterative and expansive process. For example, students revised their earlier definitions and understandings of "zombieism" as that concept changed from its original African and Haitian meaning of a spellbound, mindless, and will-less human automaton/worker who was neither living nor dead to a quite different meaning in late 1960s America: a reanimated corpse that had a compulsive appetite for human flesh. What they had in common was the state of being undead. What students highlighted in their Wiki definition of "witchcraft" was that the understanding of witches and witchcraft in Sub-Saharan Africa was not static. It changed when that region shifted from a pre-capitalist to a capitalist economy under the impact of European colonialism. If there was an area in the Wiki that needed improvement, it was getting students to explain their rationale for edits and changes. I had to frequently prod them to do so.

Analytical Essays

The two required papers were Analytical Essays. One was due at the end of Unit Two and the other at the end of Unit Four. The

Analytical Essays were formal essays of at least six double-spaced, typed pages with one-inch margins. The first asked students to analyze one movie listed in Unit One or Unit Two, while the second asked them to analyze one movie listed in Unit Three or Unit Four, using key concepts and interpretations from the readings such as “allegory,” “doublings,” “reversals,” and “body panic.” The instructions told students that they would find many of the concepts in the Glossary Wiki, but there were further concepts and interpretations related to monsters, monstrosity, and capitalism that were important and would be covered in our Discussion Boards and weekly live class sessions. The Analytical Essay was a standard college essay: students needed to state a thesis or main argument, select key points and examples from the movie that supported their argument, interpret those examples using concepts from the course, develop their argument, and put together a coherent piece of writing. To cut down on student anxiety about selecting a film at random (since the films had to be about undead monsters, not supernatural or extraterrestrial monsters) and to make sure the students had a wide range of films that related to the course content from which to choose, I created lists of movies.

As with all of formal college work, I let students know that I graded these essays for spelling, grammar, sentence structure, paragraph structure, thesis statement, and development. I directed them to the “Analytical Essay Evaluation Rubric” in Blackboard’s Course Resources for guidance on the expectations for these essays and the specific grading criteria I used in evaluating their essays. Additionally, I provided general “Suggestions for Writing an Analytical Essay” to help them in composing their essay. I also explained that they needed to properly attribute the source(s) of their ideas so they did not engage in any form of plagiarism. One way I guarded against plagiarism was to craft assignments like this one that were not likely to be replicated in an online essay repository.

The most popular movies for the first essay were *Frankenstein* (1931), *Interview with the Vampire* (1994), *Bloodsucking Bastards* (2015), and *Victor Frankenstein* (2015), while the most popular movies for the second essay were *White Zombie* (1932), *Dawn of the Dead* (1978), and *Warm Bodies* (2012). While not everyone wrote outstanding essays, most were able to apply key concepts from the course to the movie they chose. For *Frankenstein*, students

keyed into doublings/reversals, monstrosity, occult economy, split or divided society, alienation, grave robbing, corpse economy, anatomization/dissection, and commodity/commodity fetishism. For *Interview with the Vampire*, students highlighted disenchantment/demystification, doublings/reversals, monstrosity, commodity fetishism, alienation, split or divided society, vampirism, and occult economy. For *White Zombie*, students stressed alienation, dead labor, exploitation, corporeality, doublings/reversals, enchantment, fetishism, monstrosity, occult economy, split or divided society, witchcraft/enchantment, and African/Haitian zombieism. For *Dawn of the Dead*, students emphasized alienation, corporeality, demystification, fetishism, monstrosity, rebellion, split or divided society, and American zombieism.

Students ran into trouble when they treated themes or symbols too literally rather than metaphorically. For instance, one student argued that the *Interview with the Vampire* character Louis was a worker when he was not (yet) a vampire, when in fact, Louis was a rich plantation owner. The student made the logical mistake of thinking that anyone who was not a vampire (capitalist) had to be a worker. This, however, enabled me to explain that, George Romero and some others aside, the people who created monster stories did not self-consciously intend to draw connections between what was monstrous and capitalism. Usually the “capitalist” part of capitalist monsters was a subtext and lurked in the background, shaping events and inflecting the plot line with questions of exploitation, existential dread, social class, and human existence. I subsequently discussed with students the idea of Elsie Michie that “students must begin to read [works like] *Frankenstein* as what Fredric Jameson calls a socially symbolic act,” since there was no depiction of workers, the marketplace, or economic forces in that novel or in many of the movies they viewed. Following her lead, I encouraged students to move from a strictly allegorical (one-to-one correspondence) reading to a more symbolic reading of the monsters we encountered.⁷²

Conclusion

Based on a growing literature regarding capitalism and monsters, this course dealt with stories of a particular type of monster as it developed within modern capitalist societies: the undead. These

stories tended to be allegories laden with moral, social, and political symbolism that encapsulated or reproduced concerns about life in the real world.⁷³ The tales were fantastic, but that was their strength even if it could sometimes be a failing due to a tendency for exaggeration and sensationalism. However, acclaimed fantasy writer China Miéville noted that “The fantastic might be a mode peculiarly suited to and resonant with the forms of modernity,”⁷⁴ while Sarah Juliet Lauro asked, “How better to judge a civilization than by its bogeymen?”⁷⁵ What students learned in this class was how to “read” these tales using theoretical stances that looked at capitalism as an economic system that was a product of history, rather than naturally given and assumed to have always existed. Students gained experience applying different theories to a pop culture phenomenon—stories of undead monsters—and, in addition to textual analysis, engaged self-consciously in the construction of knowledge with their classmates. Their polysemic quality made stories of monsters rich (and engaging) sources of imaginative and creative understanding of current and past social and political concerns.

As the course drew to a conclusion, I asked students to review the scope and power of “enchanted capitalism” and the monsters it produced over the past five hundred years, and asked if they saw them as fables of capitalist modernity. Tales of monstrosity changed with the development and expansion of capitalism to new areas of the world. We considered the comment by popular culture critic Fredric Jameson about how ingrained in our imaginations capitalism had become. He wrote that “Someone once said that it is easier to imagine the end of the world than to imagine the end of capitalism. We can now revise that and witness the attempt to imagine capitalism by way of imagining the end of the world.”⁷⁶ Slavoj Žižek said something similar in a documentary about his life and work:

We all silently accept global capitalism is here to stay. On the other hand, we are obsessed with cosmic catastrophes: the whole life on earth disintegrating, because of some virus, because of an asteroid hitting the earth, and so on. So the paradox is, that it’s much easier to imagine the end of all life on earth than a much more modest radical change in capitalism.⁷⁷

These reactions are perhaps not surprising, given that capitalism created the existential structures of much of modern life. Despite its staying power, the mysterious and opaque operations of capitalism—

what McNally called its “occult economy,” Adam Smith termed “the invisible hand,” and economic pundits dubbed “market forces”—spawned stories of witches, zombies, vampires, and other monsters that gave voice to the popular experience of living in a world of unequal wealth and opportunity. By the end of the course, students came to understand that the way humans defined the monstrous told us more about human experiences, hopes, and fears than it did about fictional monsters, and that our current fascination with the monstrous had a great deal to do with our very uneasy sense that such creatures were forms of ourselves—the human gone terribly wrong.

I am happy to say that the course met all seven of its learning outcomes and I think it was because of a turn to “monster pedagogy” and a focus on capitalism as a subject that brought together the economic, social, cultural, and political dimensions of history. What students gained by studying capitalism and monsters is the appreciation at both intellectual and emotional levels that capitalism was (and is) a novel and disruptive force in social and economic life. The experience of the transition to capitalism was traumatic, and that trauma barely diminished with time. One expression of that experience was the creation of stories of monstrosity, but, as mentioned earlier, monsters are educational and I hope this article has revealed some practical pedagogical strategies that teachers can use to rethink the teaching and learning of history. The course fulfilled an even a larger learning outcome not explicitly stated in the syllabus, but captured well by Jeffrey Jerome Cohen: “Yet if thinking through what a monster means and does . . . invites a student to frame critically their own cultural moment, as well as perhaps the long histories behind that moment’s formation, then the monster classroom is in the end a good place in which to dwell.”⁷⁸ And so it was.

Notes

1. John C. Putman, "To Boldly Go Where No History Teacher Has Gone Before," *The History Teacher* 46, no. 4 (August 2013): 509-529; Courtney Luckhardt, "Teaching Historical Literacy and Making World History Relevant in the Online Discussion Board," *The History Teacher* 47, no. 2 (February 2014): 187-196; A. Martin Wainwright, "Teaching Historical Theory through Video Games," *The History Teacher* 47, no. 4 (August 2014): 579-612; Eric Otremba, "A Case Against Facts: Or, How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Survey," *The History Teacher* 48, no. 1 (November 2014): 37-54.

2. The number of works that begin from this premise has grown exponentially. See, for example, Sarah Juliet Lauro and Karen Embry, "A Zombie Manifesto: The Nonhuman Condition in the Era of Advanced Capitalism," *boundary 2* 35, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 85-86; Deborah Christie and Sarah Juliet Lauro, eds., *Better Off Dead: The Evolution of the Zombie as Post-Human* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2011), 1; Derek Hall, "Varieties of Zombieism: Approaching Comparative Political Economy through *28 Days Later* and *Wild Zero*," *International Studies Perspectives* 12, no. 1 (February 2011): 1-2; David McNally, *Monsters of the Market: Zombies, Vampires and Global Capitalism* (Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books, 2012), 1-2; Jason J. Morrisette, "Marxferatu: The Vampire Metaphor as a Tool for Teaching Marx's Critique of Capitalism," *PS: Political Science and Politics* 46, no. 3 (July 2013): 637; Jørgen Riber Christensen, "The Icon of the Zombie Mob," *Akademisk Kvarter / Academic Quarter* 10 (June 2015): 134-135; Adam Golub, "Stomping the Undead: A Blues Theory of Zombie Culture," *Quarterly Horse* 1, no. 3 (Spring 2017), <<https://www.quarterlyhorse.org/spring17/golub>>, who wants to consider the zombie tale not just as political allegory, but as artistic statement.

3. Jürgen Kocka, "Introduction," in *Capitalism: The Reemergence of a Historical Concept*, ed. Jürgen Kocka and Marcel van der Linden (London, United Kingdom: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 1; Jennifer Schuessler, "In History Departments, It's Up with Capitalism," *The New York Times*, 6 April 2013. See also Steve Hanson, "'Un tout autre horizon...' an interview with Jacques Bidet," *Manchester Review of Books*, 24 February 2018, where Bidet noted, "The advent of neoliberalism, with its devastating and almost universal development, brings a young generation back to the fundamentals of Marxism, towards the idea of a radical domination of capitalism." The interview discusses ideas in Jacques Bidet's book, *Foucault with Marx*, trans. Steven Corcoran (London, United Kingdom: Zed Books, 2016). Jürgen Kocka's *Capitalism: A Short History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018), is neo-Weberian, neo-Schumpeterian, and even Whiggish in its interpretation of the rise, growth, and impact of capitalism. Besides a focus mostly on Europe and North America, Kocka sidelines most critiques of capitalism and the critique he provides is slight and mostly an afterthought. A more balanced, thoroughgoing, and detailed critical analysis of the benefits and costs of the rise, growth, and impact of capitalism with a global focus since 1500 is Richard H. Robbins and Rachel A. Dowty, *Global Problems and the Culture of Capitalism*, seventh ed. (Boston, MA: Pearson, 2019).

4. For a good discussion of the difficulties and rewards of teaching Marx's ideas and how the vampire metaphor can be a valuable pedagogical tool for introducing students to key concepts in Marxist thought, see Morrisette, "Marxferatu." See also Elsie B. Michie, "Frankenstein and Marx's Theories of Alienated Labor," in *Approaches to Teaching Shelley's Frankenstein*, ed. Stephen C. Behrendt (New York: MLA, 1990), 96-98. On a revival of attention to Marx's thought, see Chris Harman, *Zombie Capitalism: Global Crisis and the Relevance of Marx* (Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books, 2010); and the German Historical Institute London (GHIL) interdisciplinary public lecture series, "Capital – 150 Years on: Karl Marx and the Social Sciences Today" (Spring 2018). The series explored the influence of Marx's thinking in the contemporary social sciences. As GHIL described, "Four distinguished scholars [Gareth Stedman Jones, Ben Fine, Mike Savage, and Christoph Henning] will discuss their readings of Marx and their views of his significance for current and future historiography, economics, sociology, and social philosophy. See the *GHIL Newsletter* (February 2018) at <https://www.ghil.ac.uk/about/ghil_newsletter/newsletter_2018_02.html>. For the most recent treatment, see Andy Merrifield, *Marx, Dead and Alive: Reading Capital in Precarious Times* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2020).

5. W. Scott Poole, "Foreword," in *Monsters in the Classroom: Essays on Teaching What Scares Us*, ed. Adam Golub and Heather Richardson Hayton (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2017), 6-7.

6. Adam Golub and Heather Richardson Hayton, "Introduction: Monstrous Pedagogies," in *Monsters in the Classroom: Essays on Teaching What Scares Us*, ed. Adam Golub and Heather Richardson Hayton (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2017), 8, 11.

7. Golub and Hayton, "Introduction," 11.

8. Poole, "Foreword," 4; Golub and Hayton, "Introduction," 10. Other recent works on teaching with monsters are Aalya Ahmad and Sean Moreland, eds., *Fear and Learning: Essays on the Pedagogy of Horror* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2013); and Lisa A. Nevárez, ed., *The Vampire Goes to College: Essays on Teaching with the Undead* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2014).

9. See Jessica Elbert Decker, "Monsters as Subversive Imagination: Inviting Monsters into the Philosophy Classroom," in *Monsters in the Classroom: Essays on Teaching What Scares Us*, ed. Adam Golub and Heather Richardson Hayton (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2017), 70-90, on the issues of cultural accessibility and safe imaginative spaces. Luckhardt argued that relating historical content to the modern world is important for students in developing historical consciousness, which she defined as "an awareness of the past in the present and the interconnection between them." Luckhardt, "Teaching Historical Literacy," 188.

10. Kocka, *Capitalism: A Short History*, vii.

11. Golub emphasized the importance of using a variety of "cultural artifacts" like literature, film, television, performance art, and folklore and (inter)disciplinary perspectives in teaching about monsters. Adam Golub, "Locating Monsters: Space, Place and Monstrous Geographies," in *Monsters in the Classroom: Essays on Teaching What Scares Us*, ed. Adam Golub and Heather Richardson Hayton

(Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2017), 92. The disciplinary perspectives brought to bear in my course stemmed from history, global studies, political economy, literature, film, and folklore.

12. Kocka, "Introduction," 6.

13. Marcel van der Linden, "Final Thoughts," in *Capitalism: The Reemergence of a Historical Concept*, ed. Jürgen Kocka and Marcel van der Linden (London, United Kingdom: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 257.

14. Van der Linden, "Final Thoughts," 251.

15. Van der Linden, "Final Thoughts," 252.

16. Frank Grady, "Vampire Culture," in *Monster Theory: Reading Culture*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 225-241; Andrew Smith, "Reading Wealth in Nigeria: Occult Capitalism and Marx's Vampires," *Historical Materialism* 9, no. 1 (2001): 39-59; Steve Shaviro, "Capitalist Monsters," *Historical Materialism* 10, no. 4 (2002): 281-290; Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, "Alien-Nation: Zombies, Immigrants, and Millennial Capitalism," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 101, no. 4 (February 2002): 779-805; Mark Neocleous, "The Political Economy of the Dead: Marx's Vampires," *History of Political Thought* 24, no. 4 (Winter 2003): 668-684; Takeo Hoshi, "Economics of the Living Dead," *The Japanese Economic Review* 57, no. 1 (March 2006): 30-49; Annalee Newitz, *Pretend We're Dead: Capitalist Monsters in American Pop Culture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006); Simon Cooper, "The Horror of Assimilation: Zombies and Bio-Capitalism," *Arena Magazine* 89 (June-July 2007): 26-27; Hall, "Varieties of Zombieism"; McNally, *Monsters of the Market*; Tom Holert, "'A live monster that is fruitful and multiplies': Capitalism as Poisoned Rat?" *e-flux journal* 36 (July 2012): 1-7; Carmela Garritano, "Blood Money, Big Men, and Zombies: Understanding Africa's Occult Narratives in the Context of Neoliberal Capitalism," *manycinemas* 3 (2012): 50-65; Rebecca Schneider, "It Seems As If... I Am Dead: Zombie Capitalism and Theatrical Labor," *TDR/The Drama Review* 56, no. 4 (Winter 2012): 150-162; Morrisette, "Marxferatu"; Lena Wånggren, "Gothic Capitalism: Marx, Monsters, and Buffy," *The Gothic Imagination* (University of Stirling), June 2013.

17. Newitz, *Pretend We're Dead*, 2-3, 10, 12.

18. See note 2 above.

19. The information in this section is a condensation of the historical context I provide for my students to indicate the relationship between capitalism and tales of monstrosity. I have included specific references so faculty can prepare lectures of their own. I mention to students that all contextualizations are subject to historical scrutiny and debate.

20. David McNally, *Political Economy and the Rise of Capitalism: A Reinterpretation* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998); and David McNally, *Bodies of Meaning: Studies on Language, Labor, and Liberation* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2001).

21. Robbins and Dowty, *Global Problems*, 37, 48-49, 54-55, 75, 282-328; Kocka, *Capitalism: A Short History*, 21, 65, 75-80, 125-127, 129, 133, 136-138, 158; Jane Humphries, "Enclosure, Common Rights, and Women: The Proletarianization of Families in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth

Centuries,” *The Journal of Economic History* 50, no. 1 (March 1990): 17-42; J. M. Neeson, *Commoners: Common Right, Enclosure and Social Change in England, 1700-1820* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

22. E. P. Thompson, “Eighteenth-Century English Society: Class Struggle without Class?” *Social History* 3, no. 2 (May 1978): 133-165, quotes on page 154. See also the lengthy discussion of enclosure and popular resistance in McNally, *Monsters of the Market*, 37-51, 59-73. See also Andy Wood, “The Place of Custom in Plebeian Political Culture: England, 1550-1800,” *Social History* 22, no. 1 (January 1997): 46-40, and Kocka, *Capitalism: A Short History*, 75-76, 129, 133, 158.

23. Philip Stubbes, *Anatomy of the Abuses in England*, ed. F. J. Furnivall (London, United Kingdom: New Shakespeare Society, 1877-1879; orig. 1583), 117; Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrim* (London, United Kingdom: William Stansby, 1619), as quoted in Mark Thornton Burnett, *Constructing ‘Monsters’ in Shakespearean Drama and Early Modern Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 30.

24. Kathryn M. Brammal, “Monstrous Metamorphosis: Nature, Morality and the Rhetoric of Monstrosity in Tudor England,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 27, no. 1 (Spring 1996): 3-21.

25. Peter Linebaugh, “The Tyburn Riot against the Surgeons,” in *Albion’s Fatal Tree: Crime and Society in Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Douglas Hay, Peter Linebaugh, John G. Rule, E. P. Thompson, and Cal Winslow (New York: Pantheon Books, 1975); Thomas Laqueur, “Bodies, Death, and Paupers Funerals,” *Representations* 1, no. 1 (1983): 109-131; Christine Quigley, *The Corpse: A History* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 1996), 292-298; Leslie A. Sharp, “The Commodification of the Body and Its Parts,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 29 (2000): 287-328.

26. John Doherty, *Poor Man’s Advocate* (newspaper), 15 September 1832. Ruth Richardson, *Death, Dissection and the Destitute* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2000) has an excellent analysis of how human corpses were processed as commodities. See also Sarah Wise, *The Italian Boy: A Tale of Murder and Body Snatching in 1830s London* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2004).

27. Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century: Vol. 2, The Wheels of Commerce* (New York: Harper & Row, 1982); Larry Neal, *The Rise of Financial Capitalism: International Capital Markets in the Age of Reason* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993); William N. Goetzmann and K. Geert Rouwenhorst, *The Origins of Value: The Financial Innovations that Created Modern Capital Markets* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005). Economic historian Harold James maintained that “Banks, which are at the center of finance capitalism...conceptually...are a black box in which the outsider—the depositor—does not really know much about how his money is being used... The same problem of opacity plagues the other great modern feature of capitalism: the corporation.” Harold James, “Finance Capitalism,” in *Capitalism: The Reemergence of a Historical Concept*, ed. Jürgen Kocka and Marcel van der Linden (London, United Kingdom: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 135.

28. Benjamin Franklin, "Advice to a Young Tradesman [July 21, 1748]," *Founders Online*, U.S. National Archives, <<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-03-02-0130>>.
29. Peter M. Garber, *Famous First Bubbles: The Fundamentals of Early Manias* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2001).
30. Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, ed. Edwin Cannan (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1976), 456, <<https://www.econlib.org/library/Smith/smWN.html>>.
31. Napkin Finance, <<https://www.napkinfinance.com/>>. Yahoo! Finance promoted the information provided on the Napkin Finance website in an article by Alyssa Pry, "Everything You Need to Know About Finance...Explained on a Napkin," Yahoo! Finance, 3 December 2018, <<https://finance.yahoo.com/news/everything-need-know-finance-explained-napkin-175209119.html>>. For a critique of the view (held by Benjamin Franklin and the author of Napkin Finance) that capital is "self-birthing" or "self-expanding" through compound interest and other financial mechanisms, see McNally, *Monsters of the Market*, 151-156.
32. Terrell Carver, "Making Capital Out of Vampires," *The Times Higher Education Supplement*, 15 June 1984, 13; Neocleous, "The Political Economy of the Dead"; McNally, *Monsters of the Market*, 114, 132-140.
33. Karl Marx, *Capital, Volume 1*, trans. Ben Fowkes (Harmondsworth, United Kingdom: Penguin, 1976), 342, 357, 416.
34. Marx, *Capital*, 289, 756.
35. Catherine Hall, "The Politics of History: A Global Family Story," *International Social History Association Newsletter* 6, no. 1 (December 2017): 4.
36. For Mintz, plantations were the prototypes for factories in England: a high level of organization, exchangeability of labor units, intense time-consciousness, and the separation of production from consumption and workers from their tools (stripping the means of production from producers). Also, the high return on investment in the sugar industry as a result of slave labor, the market for goods that colonies generated, and the remaking of the working class into an urban labor pool largely free of constraints that sugar made easier gave strong incentive for England to move toward capitalism. See Chapter 2 of Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Penguin, 1985). Quote on page 184. Like Mintz, Joseph Inikori argued that the enslavement of Africans was essential to the rise of capitalism. See Joseph Inikori, *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England: A Study in International Trade and Economic Development* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
37. Hall, "The Politics of History," 7.
38. Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492-1800*, second ed. (London, United Kingdom: Verso, 2010). Blackburn argued that slavery was infused into every nook and cranny of modern capitalism and supported Eric Williams' still-debated thesis that slavery's surplus capital fueled industrialization in European metropolises. Walter Johnson, *Soul by Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999). Johnson argued that slavery was thoroughly capitalistic in its treatment of chattel workers who not only produced commodities, but were

also consumed as commodities. Dale W. Tomich, *Through the Prism of Slavery: Labor, Capital, and World Economy* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003); Dale Tomich, ed., *Slavery and Historical Capitalism during the Nineteenth Century* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2017). Caitlin Rosenthal, *Accounting for Slavery: Masters and Management* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018). Edward E. Baptist, *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism* (New York: Basic Books, 2014). Sven Beckert and Seth Rockman, eds., *Slavery's Capitalism: A New History of American Economic Development* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016). Daniel B. Rood, *The Reinvention of Atlantic Slavery: Technology, Labor, Race, and Capitalism in the Greater Caribbean* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017). Based on extensive study, Kocka contended that “the triumph of early capitalism outside Europe...led to a massive *increase in unfree labor*” (italics in original), that the colonial, slave-based, staple-export economy of the Americas “was a product of capitalism,” and that “the capital investment needed for the plantation economy was considerable.” Kocka, *Capitalism: A Short History*, 66-67.

39. Kocka, *Capitalism: A Short History*, 74.

40. Philippe Girard, *Haiti: The Tumultuous History - From Pearl of the Caribbean to Broken Nation* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2010), 59-80; Christopher M. Moreman and Cory James Rushton, eds., *Race, Oppression and the Zombie: Essays on Cross-Cultural Appropriations of the Caribbean Tradition* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2011).

41. Kette Thomas, “Haitian Zombie, Myth, and Modern Identity,” *Comparative Literature and Culture* 12, no. 2 (June 2010): 2. See also Jennifer Fay, “Dead Subjectivity: *White Zombie*, Black Baghdad,” *CR: The New Centennial Review* 8, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 81-101.

42. Roger Luckhurst, *Zombies: A Cultural History* (London, United Kingdom: Reaktion Books, 2015), 34-36.

43. Luckhurst, *Zombies*, 22, 26-32, 41, 75-87.

44. Kate Ramsey, *The Spirits and the Laws: Vodou and Power in Haiti* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2011), 174.

45. Hans-W. Ackermann and Jeanine Gauthier, “The Ways and Nature of the Zombi,” *The Journal of American Folklore* 104, no. 414 (Autumn 1991): 466-494, discuss possible etymological sources. Luckhurst offers that “Possible African linguistic candidates...include *ndzumbi* (‘corpse’ in the Mitsogo language of Gabon), *nzambi* (‘spirit of a dead person’ in the Kongo language of the Congo), and *zumbi* (a fetish or ghost in Kikongo and Bonda languages).” Luckhurst, *Zombies*, 14. See also Maximilien Laroche, “The Myth of the Zombi,” in *Exile and Tradition: Studies in Africana and Caribbean Literature*, ed. Rowland Smith (New York: Africana Publishing, 1976), 46-48; Moreman and Rushton, *Race, Oppression and the Zombie*, 3.

46. Edwin Ardener, “Witchcraft, Economics, and the Continuity of Belief,” in *Witchcraft Confessions and Accusations*, ed. Mary Douglas (London, United Kingdom: Tavistock, 1970); Cyprian F. Fisiy and Peter Geschière, “Sorcery, Witchcraft and Accumulation: Regional Variations in South and West Cameroon,” *Critique of Anthropology* 11, no. 3 (1991): 251-278; Peter Geschière,

The Modernity of Witchcraft: Politics and the Occult in Postcolonial Africa, trans. Peter Geschiere and Janet Roitman (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1997).

47. Andreas Eckert, "Capitalism and Labor in Sub-Saharan Africa," in *Capitalism: The Reemergence of a Historical Concept*, ed. Jürgen Kocka and Marcel van der Linden (London, United Kingdom: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 169; Luise White, *Speaking with Vampires: Rumor and History in Colonial Africa* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000), 22.

48. Eckert, "Capitalism and Labor in Sub-Saharan Africa," 171-172, 177, quote on page 177. See also Frederick Cooper, "Africa in a Capitalist World," in *Crossing Boundaries: Comparative History of Black People in Diaspora*, ed. Darlene Clark Hine and Jacqueline McLeod (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1999): 399-418; Frederick Cooper, "Conditions Analogous to Slavery: Imperialism and Free Labor Ideology in Africa," in *Beyond Slavery: Explorations of Race, Labor, and Citizenship in Postemancipation Societies*, ed. Frederick Cooper, Thomas Cleveland Holt, and Rebecca J. Scott (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 107-149, 178-188; Frederick Cooper, *Africa in the World: Capitalism, Empire, Nation-State* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014).

49. Jean Comaroff and John L. Comaroff, *Theory from the South: Or, How Euro-America is Evolving Toward Africa* (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2011).

50. Immanuel Wallerstein, "Capitalism as an Essential Concept to Understand Modernity," in *Capitalism: The Reemergence of a Historical Concept*, ed. Jürgen Kocka and Marcel van der Linden (London, United Kingdom: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 191.

51. N. Victor Ralushai, et al., *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Witchcraft, Violence and Ritual Murders in the Northern Province of the Republic of South Africa* (Pietersburg, South Africa: Commission of Inquiry into Witchcraft, Violence and Ritual Murders, 1996), 50.

52. Jean Comaroff and John L. Comaroff, "Occult Economies and the Violence of Abstraction: Notes from the South African Postcolony," *American Ethnologist* 26, no. 2 (May 1999): 279-301.

53. See Comaroff and Comaroff, "Occult Economies."

54. Richard Wightman Fox and T. J. Jackson Lears, eds., *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880-1980* (New York: Pantheon, 1983); Steven Miles, *Consumerism - As A Way Of Life* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 1998); Peter Stearns, *Consumerism in World History: The Global Transformation of Desire*, second ed. (New York: Routledge, 2006), 47-65; Daniel Cohen, *Three Lectures on Post-Industrial Society* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2008).

55. Stearns, *Consumerism in World History*, 66-77; Terry H. Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 257, 265-279, 289-291; Peter Braunstein and Michael William Doyle, eds., *Imagine Nation: The American Counterculture of the 1960s and 70s* (New York: Routledge, 2002); John Robert Greene, *America in the Sixties* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2010); Russell Duncan, "The Summer of Love and Protest: Transatlantic Counterculture in the 1960s," in *The Transatlantic Sixties: Europe and the United*

States in the Counterculture Decade, ed. Grzegorz Kość, Clara Juncker, Sharon Monteith, and Britta Waldschmidt-Nelson (Bielefeld, Germany: Transcript Verlag, 2013), 144-173.

56. Susan Strange, *Casino Capitalism* (Oxford, United Kingdom: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 1-3.

57. Joseph Stiglitz, *Globalization and Its Discontents* (New York: Norton, 2002); David McNally, "From Financial Crisis to World-Slump: Accumulation, Financialisation, and the Global Slowdown," *Historical Materialism* 17, no. 2 (January 2009): 35-83; David McNally, *Global Slump: The Economics and Politics of Crisis and Resistance* (Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2010).

58. James, "Finance Capitalism," 158.

59. Lev Grossman, "Zombies Are the New Vampires," *Time*, 9 April 2009.

60. "National University," Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), National Center for Education Statistics, <<https://nces.ed.gov/collegenavigator/?q=national+university&s=all&pg=4&id=119605>>. The latest IPEDS data was Fall 2017 at the time of writing.

61. Manya Whitaker, "The 21st-Century Academic," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 2 January 2018, <<https://www.chronicle.com/article/The-21st-Century-Academic/>>.

62. "Research in history education has long suggested that teaching with primary source documents adds significant value to a student's learning experience, resulting in deeper levels of understanding beyond mere fact acquisition." Jessica B. Schocker, "A Case for Using Images to Teach Women's History," *The History Teacher* 47, no. 3 (May 2014): 421-450, quote on page 421.

63. There is a growing literature on the importance of engaging students' imaginations and emotions, as well as their intellects in teaching college courses. See Mary Helen Immordino-Yang, *Emotions, Learning, and the Brain: Exploring the Educational Implications of Affective Neuroscience* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2015); and Sarah Rose Cavanagh, *The Spark of Learning: Energizing the College Classroom with the Science of Emotion* (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press, 2016). As Flower Darby wrote, "We connect, understand, and remember things much more deeply when our emotions are involved." Flower Darby, "Harness the Power of Emotions to Help Your Students Learn," *Faculty Focus*, 3 January 2018, <<https://www.facultyfocus.com/articles/teaching-and-learning/harness-power-emotions-help-students-learn/>>. Barry Glassner and Morton Schapiro concurred: an effective "curriculum integrates the elements of left-brain thinking—analysis, logic, synthesis and mathematics—with the kind of high-level right-brain thinking that fosters intuition, metaphorical thought, and creative problem-solving." Barry Glassner and Morton Schapiro, "Technical or Cultural Courses? Students Need Both," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 4 March 2018, <<https://www.chronicle.com/article/technical-or-cultural-courses-students-need-both/>>. By its very nature, the discussion of monsters evokes emotions and focuses students' thinking.

64. This is Golub's contention in "Locating Monsters," 102.

65. Asa Simon Mittman argued "the monstrous...disrupts expectations and thereby reveals them." Asa Simon Mittman, "Teaching Monsters from Medieval

to Modern: Embracing the Abnormal,” in *Monsters in the Classroom: Essays on Teaching What Scares Us*, ed. Adam Golub and Heather Richardson Hayton (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2017), 21. As John Edgar Browning noted, “When students engage with monsters...[it] opens up a whole other avenue of inquiry into the workings of ideology, social structure, and hegemony.” John Edgar Browning, “Towards a Monster Pedagogy: Reclaiming the Classroom for the Other,” in *Fear and Learning: Essays on the Pedagogy of Horror*, ed. Aalya Ahmad and Sean Moreland (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2013), 40-41.

66. Chris Baldick, *In Frankenstein's Shadow: Myth, Monstrosity and Nineteenth-Century Writing* (Oxford, United Kingdom: Clarendon Press, 1987).

67. Karl Marx, “Wage Labour and Capital [1847],” in *The Marx-Engels Reader*, ed. Robert C. Tucker, second ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1978), 204.

68. McNally, *Monsters of the Market*, 183-184.

69. “George A. Romero Talks ‘Night of the Living Dead’ and Zombies,” YouTube video, 8:08, posted by Grolsch Global, 17 October 2013, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0E4rK7dftd0>>; James McFarland, “Philosophy of the Living Dead: At the Origin of the Zombie-Image,” *Cultural Critique* 90 (Spring 2015): 22.

70. Ahmed Al-Rawi, “The Mythical Ghoul in Arabic Culture,” *Cultural Analysis* 8 (2009): 45-69; Ahmed K. Al-Rawi, “The Arabic Ghoul and its Western Transformation,” *Folklore* 120, no. 3 (December 2009): 291-306.

71. Tim Cavanaugh, “We the Living Dead: The Convoluted Politics of Zombie Cinema,” *Reason* (February 2007): 54-60.

72. Elsie B. Michie, “*Frankenstein* and Marx’s Theories of Alienated Labor,” in *Approaches to Teaching Shelley’s Frankenstein*, ed. Stephen C. Behrendt (New York: MLA, 1990), 96-98.

73. See Golub, “Stomping the Undead,” on the allegorical function of zombie narratives as mimetic and metacognitive.

74. China Miéville, “Symposium: Marxism and Fantasy: Editorial Introduction,” *Historical Materialism* 10, no. 4 (January 2002): 42.

75. Sarah Juliet Lauro, “Afterword: Zombie (R)evolution,” in *Better Off Dead: The Evolution of the Zombie as Post-Human*, ed. Deborah Christie and Sarah Juliet Lauro (New York: Fordham University Press, 2011), 235.

76. Fredric Jameson, “Future City,” *New Left Review* 21 (May-June 2003), 76.

77. *Žižek!*, directed by Astra Taylor, Zeitgeist Films (2005).

78. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, “Afterword: Monster Classroom (Seven Theses),” in *Monsters in the Classroom: Essays on Teaching What Scares Us*, ed. Adam Golub and Heather Richardson Hayton (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2017), 234.

Appendix A

FYS 102: Enchanted Capitalism: Myths, Monsters, and Markets

Required Text

David McNally, *Monsters of the Market: Zombies, Vampires and Global Capitalism* (Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books, 2012). ISBN: 978-1-60846-233-9.

Course Description

Drawing on folklore, literature, popular culture, and economics, this first-year course explores the origins of capitalism and its relation to tales of monstrosity in England from the sixteenth through nineteenth century and the globalization of capitalism in the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first centuries and its relation to modern vampire and zombie stories from Sub-Saharan Africa, Britain, Japan, and the U.S. It explores the use of monster and enchantment metaphors in classical analyses of capitalism and asks students to relate those analyses to popular tales of magic, monsters, vampires, and zombies in countries that experience capitalist market relations.

Course Goals

One of the aims of this course is to introduce you to key concepts and texts in history, economics, literature, and cultural studies. Another aim is to engage your minds, imaginations, and critical faculties by creatively and imaginatively exploring pressing issues of economic and social change in the past and in the present. To these ends, the course purposefully juxtaposes topics that are not usually considered together (e.g., economics and fantasy) to inspire you to ask new questions and entertain fresh and imaginative approaches to understanding contemporary and historical developments that shape your lives and thinking every day.

You engage in several activities that help you achieve these goals. First, you read the main course text to see what problems and issues it raises about the historical relationship between capitalism and tales of monstrosity. This is a college-level text, so be sure to have a dictionary handy when you read. Secondly, you read and analyze selected historical sources and works of imagination to get a deeper perspective on key issues

and to sharpen the critical thinking and reading skills that all historians (and students of history) need. Thirdly, weekly class discussions in the Discussion Boards help you sharpen skills of analysis and interpretation, as well as provide critical and supportive assistance in your academic efforts. Fourthly, you work together to create a Wiki that defines key terms and concepts in the readings. Fifthly, you write two essays that analyze movies using concepts and terms from the course.

When this course is over, you should be able to:

1. Define and explicate key terms in historical, economic, literary, and cultural studies.
2. Apply relevant theoretical and critical approaches to the analysis of capitalism since the sixteenth century as a social and cultural formation associated with enchantment and the monstrous.
3. Demonstrate critical thinking in the analysis and synthesis of primary and secondary historical and present-day sources.
4. Describe the social, cultural, ethical, and historical contexts of popular tales of monstrosity in capitalist societies since the sixteenth century.
5. Demonstrate proficiency in oral and written communication/presentation skills on course topics related to monsters, zombies, vampires, and the history of global capitalism.
6. Clarify the role of individual authors and new media in expressing popular moods and imaginations and in promulgating iconic monsters.
7. Analyze primary sources for information, bias, values, and tone.

If this course works as it should, it will help you to discover for yourself a new understanding and appreciation of the power, meaning, and endurance of horror stories that are woven into the popular culture of the capitalist societies of Britain, the U.S., Africa, and Japan.

Course Overview

Reading Discussion Boards

Your participation and interaction are part of the course structure, with each week's discussion focusing on a particular issue or set of issues. After completing the assigned readings, you will post an answer to one of

the discussion prompts in an asynchronous Discussion Board (DB) and discuss the material with your classmates and me. Participation in the DB accounts for 36% of your course grade.

Collaborate Sessions

These are weekly “live sessions” that are worth 12% of your overall course grade. In these real-time meetings, we discuss course concepts, we explore the movies that will form the basis for your analytical essays in the course, and I will answer questions you may have about the course.

Glossary Wiki

A Wiki is a webpage with an open-editing system. While the instructor provides most of the course content, with this Glossary Wiki, you have an opportunity to create—together—some of the course content and comment on it. A Wiki allows you to make a written entry, edit the entry (and the entries of your classmates), and comment on the reasons for your edits. The original entries and the edits are saved, so it is easy to see who made what contributions and changes. Your entries to the course Wiki account for 12% of your course grade.

Analytical Essays

Using your minds and imaginations, as well as concepts and terms from the course, you will write two analytical essays. The first essay will analyze one of the movies in Unit One or Unit Two. It is due the end of Unit Two. The second essay will analyze one of the movies in Unit Three or Unit Four. It is due the end of Unit Four. Each essay is worth 20% of your overall course grade. Each essay should be at least four (4) double-spaced, typed pages with standard one-inch margins.

Grading Rubrics for all assignments (except the Collaborate Sessions) are located in Course Resources.

Due Dates and Late Work: As you know, this is an online class. Consequently, computer failure is not a valid reason for missing an assignment. All due dates are posted at the start of the course. If your computer crashes or fails, you are expected to go to the nearest public library, National University facility, another public university, or Internet cafe to gain Internet access and meet the posted class deadlines.

Discussions Boards are our asynchronous classroom meetings. To get the most out of this class and its discussions, and to earn a better grade, you need to post early and often. All assignments are due by midnight (Pacific Time) on the completion date and each student should strive to finish work on time. Late postings to the Discussion Boards will not be accepted except in case of an emergency as defined in the next paragraph.

The Wiki and Analytical Essay assignments will be accepted late—however, one letter grade will be deducted for every day that they are late up to 72 hours after the due date. After 72 hours, they will not be accepted unless you can document that you had a medical or other emergency that prevented you from completing the assignment on time. In that case, you must notify the instructor immediately and send documentation to the instructor within one week of the assignment due date.

If you miss a Collaborate session, you will need to review it and write and submit a one-page explanation of three or four concepts you learned from the session to receive credit for it.

Course Assignment Schedule

Unit One: Dissecting the Laboring Body: *Frankenstein*, Political Anatomy, and the Rise of Capitalism in England

At the end of Unit One, students should be able to:

- Assess the value of studying monster narratives.
- Clarify the relationship between capitalism and the monster stories of early-modern England.
- Relate cultural and political practices to the maintenance of class society in early-modern Europe.
- Explain the dialectic of monstrosity.
- Analyze the novel *Frankenstein* as a commentary on capitalist development in England.

Weekly Collaborate Session

Thursday, 7 pm Pacific Time

Weekly Discussion Board

Initial Posts due Wednesday

Response Posts due Saturday

Weekly Glossary Wiki

Edits due Friday

Unit Two: Marx's Monsters: Vampire-Capital and the Nightmare-World of Late Capitalism

At the end of Unit Two, students should be able to:

- Clarify the relationship between capitalism and monster metaphors in the work of Karl Marx.
- Explain why Marx and other authors see the “vampire” as the most suitable metaphor for capitalism.
- Illustrate how commodified labor involves a profound and through-going restructuring of human experience.
- Contrast the “monstrous and magical” qualities of capitalism.
- Evaluate memoirs for their historical value as primary sources.

Weekly Collaborate Session

Thursday, 7 pm Pacific Time

Weekly Discussion Board

Initial Posts due Wednesday

Response Posts due Saturday

Weekly Glossary Wiki

Edits due Friday

Analytical Essay 1 due at course midpoint

Unit Three: African Vampires and Zombies in the Age of Globalization

At the end of Unit Three, students should be able to:

- Compare the experience of capitalist development in Africa in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries to the experience of capitalist development in Britain in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
- Clarify the relationship between capitalism and the monster stories and horror movies of modern Africa.
- Assemble the main elements of zombie-, vampire- and witchcraft-tales in modern Africa.
- Explain “fantastic realism” and “fables of modernity.”
- Analyze the stories of Ben Okri as commentaries on capitalist development in Africa.

Weekly Collaborate Session

Thursday, 7 pm Pacific Time

Weekly Discussion Board

Initial Posts due Wednesday

Response Posts due Saturday

Weekly Glossary Wiki

Edits due Friday

Unit Four: Anglo-American and Japanese Vampires and Zombies in the Age of Global Capitalism

At the end of Unit Four, students should be able to:

- Explicate the importance of doublings and reversals in monster stories.
- Explain “grotesque realism.”
- Clarify the relationship between capitalism and American, British, and Japanese monster stories and horror movies of the last several decades.
- Compare the main elements of zombie- and vampire-tales in the U.S., U.K., and Japan.
- Formulate compelling reasons for the pervasive presence of monsters, vampires, and zombies in contemporary popular culture.

Weekly Collaborate Session

Thursday, 7 pm Pacific Time

Weekly Discussion Board

Initial Posts due Wednesday

Response Posts due Saturday

Weekly Glossary Wiki

Edits due Friday

Analytical Essay 2 due last day of class

Course Reading Lists

Unit One Readings

Required Readings:

David McNally, *Monsters of the Market: Zombies, Vampires and Global Capitalism* (Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books, 2012), Introduction & Chapter 1.

Mary Shelley, *Frankenstein*, Romantic Circles electronic versions of the 1818 edition (full book) and 1831 edition (introduction only), with commentary and study aids edited by Stuart Curran. (Be sure to click on the blue hyperlinks that provide commentary and explain the text.) <https://www.rc.umd.edu/editions/frankenstein/>.

The Corpse Economy in Edinburgh, Scotland in the 1820s: “The Worlds of Burke & Hare.” (Peruse the site, but be sure to take the “Edinburgh City Tour,” click on “Animation,” and watch all three animations.) <http://www.burkeandhare.com/>.

Recommended Readings:

Primary Sources:

Humphrey Davy, “A Discourse Introductory to a Course of Lectures on Chemistry,” Delivered in the Theatre of the Royal Institution, on the 21st of January, 1802, <http://knarf.english.upenn.edu/Davy/davy2dis.html>.

Shelley-Godwin Archive, <http://shelleygodwinarchive.org/>.

Secondary Sources:

Andrew Burkett, “Mediating Monstrosity: Media, Information, and Mary Shelley’s *Frankenstein*,” *Studies in Romanticism* 51, no. 4 (Winter 2012): 579-605.

Daniel Cottom, “*Frankenstein* and the Monster of Representation,” *SubStance* 9, no. 3, issue 28 (1980): 60-71.

Jessie Givner, “The Revolutionary Turn: Mary Shelley’s *Frankenstein*,” *Gothic Studies* 2, no. 3 (December 2000): 274-291.

Christopher Goulding, “The Real Dr. Frankenstein?” *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 95, no. 5 (May 2002): 257-259.

Unit Two Readings

Required Readings:

David McNally, *Monsters of the Market: Zombies Vampires and Global Capitalism* (Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books, 2012), Chapter 2.

Frank Grady, "Vampire Culture," in *Monster Theory: Reading Culture*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 225-241.

Lena Wånggren, "Gothic Capitalism: Marx, Monsters, and *Buffy*," *The Gothic Imagination*, University of Stirling, <http://www.gothic.stir.ac.uk/uncategorized/gothic-capitalism-marx-monsters-and-buffy/>, posted June 2013.

"15 Jenny Marx" & "23 Eleanor Marx," from David McLellan, ed., *Karl Marx: Interviews and Recollections* (Totowa, NJ: Barnes & Noble Books, 1981).

Recommended Readings:

Primary Sources:

Karl Marx, "Estranged Labor," in *Economic & Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, trans. Martin Milligan (Moscow, Russia: Progress Publishers, 1959), <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1844/manuscripts/labour.htm>.

Karl Marx, "What are Wages? How are they Determined?" in *Wage Labour and Capital*, trans. Frederick Engels (London, United Kingdom: 1891), <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1847/wage-labour/ch02.htm>.

Karl Marx, "The Fetishism of Commodities and the Secret Thereof," in *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy, Vol. 1*, trans. Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling (Moscow, Russia: Progress Publishers, 1954), <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/ch01.htm#S4>.

Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy, Vol. 1*, trans. Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling (Moscow, Russia: Progress Publishers, 1954), <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/>.

David McLellan, ed., *Karl Marx: Interviews and Recollections* (Totowa, NJ: Barnes & Noble Books, 1981).

Secondary Sources:

Terrell Carver, "Making Capital Out of Vampires," *The Times Higher Education Supplement* 15 (June 1984): 13.

Tom Holert, "'A live monster that is fruitful and multiplies': Capitalism as Poisoned Rat?" *e-flux journal* 36 (July 2012): 1-7.

Matthew MacLellan, "Marx's Vampires: An Althusserian Critique," *Rethinking Marxism* 25, no. 4 (2013): 549-565.

Jason J. Morrisette, "Marxferatu: The Vampire Metaphor as a Tool for Teaching Marx's Critique of Capitalism," *PS: Political Science and Politics* 46, no. 3 (July 2013): 637-642.

Mark Neocleous, "The Political Economy of the Dead: Marx's Vampires," *History of Political Thought* 24, no. 4 (Winter 2003): 668-684.

Peter Stallybrass, "Marx's Coat," in *Border Fetishisms: Material Objects in Unstable Spaces*, ed. Patricia Spyer (London, United Kingdom: Routledge, 1998), 183-207.

Katharina M. Wilson, "The History of the Word 'Vampire,'" *Journal of the History of Ideas* 46, no. 4 (October-December 1985): 577-583.

Unit Three Readings

Required Readings:

David McNally, *Monsters of the Market: Zombies Vampires and Global Capitalism* (Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books, 2012), Chapter 3.

Andrew Smith, "Reading Wealth in Nigeria: Occult Capitalism and Marx's Vampires," *Historical Materialism* 9, no. 1 (January 2001): 39-59.

Carmela Garritano, "Blood Money, Big Men, and Zombies: Understanding Africa's Occult Narratives in the Context of Neoliberal Capitalism," *manycinemas* 3 (2012): 50-65.

Ben Okri, "Incidents at the Shrine," *Grand Street* 41 (1992): 10-23.

Recommended Readings:

Primary Sources:

Ben Okri, "A Time for New Dreams," *The Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce*, 4 April 2011,

video, <https://www.thersa.org/discover/videos/event-videos/2011/04/a-time-for-new-dreams/>.

Juliet Rix, "Ben Okri: My Family Values (Interview)," *The Guardian*, 25 June 2010, <https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2010/jun/26/ben-okri-family-values>.

Charles Henry Rowell, "An Interview with Ben Okri," *Callaloo: A Journal of African Diaspora Arts and Letters* 37, no. 2 (Spring 2014): 214-221.

Saskia Vogel, "Ben Okri: Interview," *Granta: The Magazine of New Writing*, 7 April 2011, <https://granta.com/Interview-Ben-Okri/>.

Secondary Sources:

Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, "Alien-Nation: Zombies, Immigrants, and Millennial Capitalism," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 101, no. 4 (Fall 2002): 779-805.

Sarah Fulford, "Ben Okri, the Aesthetic, and the Problem with Theory," *Comparative Literature Studies* 46, no. 2 (2009): 233-260.

Diane Nelson, "Pirates, Robbers, and Mayan Shamans: The Terrible and Fine Allure of the Spirits of Capital," *Science Fiction Studies* 39, no. 3 (November 2012): 437-458.

Steve Shaviro, "Capitalist Monsters," *Historical Materialism* 10, no. 4 (January 2002): 281-290.

Andrew Smith, "Ben Okri and the Freedom Whose Walls are Closing In," *Race & Class* 47, no. 1 (July 2005): 1-13.

José Santiago Fernández Vázquez, "Recharting the Geography of Genre: Ben Okri's *The Famished Road* as a Postcolonial *Bildungsroman*," *Journal of Commonwealth Literature* 37, no. 2 (June 2002): 85-106.

Unit Four Readings

Required Readings:

David McNally, *Monsters of the Market: Zombies Vampires and Global Capitalism* (Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books, 2012), Conclusion.

Deborah Christie, "A Dead New World: Richard Matheson and the Modern Zombie," in *Better Off Dead: The Evolution of the Zombie as Post-Human*, ed. Deborah Christie and Sarah Juliet Lauro (New York: Fordham University Press, 2011), 67-80.

Simon Cooper, "The Horror of Assimilation: Zombies and Bio-Capitalism," *Arena* 89 (June-July 2007): 26-27.

Derek Hall, "Varieties of Zombieism: Approaching Comparative Political Economy through *28 Days Later* and *Wild Zero*," *International Studies Perspectives* 12, no. 1 (February 2011): 1-17.

Recommended Readings:

Secondary Sources:

Robert Alpert, "George Romero's *Night of the Living Dead* and *Diary of the Dead*: Recording History," *CineAction* 95 (2015): 16-25.

Gerry Canavan, "Fighting a War You've Already Lost: Zombies and Zombis in *Firefly/Serenity* and *Dollhouse*," *Science Fiction Film and Television* 4, no. 2 (Autumn 2011): 173-203.

Jørgen Riber Christensen, "The Icon of the Zombie Mob," *Akademisk Kvarter / Academic Quarter* 10 (Spring 2015): 133-146.

Takeo Hoshi, "Economics of the Living Dead," *The Japanese Economic Review* 57, no. 1 (March 2006): 30-49.

James McFarland, "Philosophy of the Living Dead: At the Origin of the Zombie-Image," *Cultural Critique* 90 (Spring 2015): 22-63.

Annalee Newitz, *Pretend We're Dead: Capitalist Monsters in American Pop Culture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006).

Rebecca Schneider, "It Seems As If...I Am Dead: Zombie Capitalism and Theatrical Labor," *TDR: The Drama Review* 56, no. 4 (Winter 2012): 150-162.

Kevin J. Wetmore, *Back from the Dead: Remakes of the Romero Zombie Films as Markers of Their Times* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2011).

Succeeding in this Course

Be sure you have taken the online student tutorials on how to navigate and use the Blackboard (Bb) online platform so that you are comfortable navigating through the FYS 102 website and know how to log on and use the features provided by the Bb online platform.

In one sense, you will have more freedom in this online course than you would have had in an on-site, in-person course. You can read the course material at midnight in your robe while eating potato chips; you can post

to the Discussion Board (class discussion) while on a business trip; you can print out the readings for future reference; you can choose to follow links now or later; you can return over and over again to parts of the assignments that are still unclear. However, with that freedom comes added responsibility on your part. Each assignment has a due date. Keep in mind that your Internet service may not be entirely reliable, so submit work before the deadline to avoid grade penalties due to technical difficulties on your end or with the host server.

At National, courses are worth 4.5 quarter units. These units work out to 45 “in-class” hours per course. Following national standards set by the Carnegie Commission, students should expect to spend two hours outside of class reading and preparing for every hour you spend in class to earn a passing grade. In the case of National, that is 90 “outside” class hours. This standard holds for all online courses, but since there is no real “inside” and “outside” class hours in online courses, the total is simply 135 hours for a passing grade. In addition, online courses may take more time because reading and writing usually take longer than speaking and listening.

What will you need to accomplish in those 135 hours?

1. Do the Required Reading The David McNally book, *Monsters of the Market*, is our main text for this course. In addition to this book, there are links to other required readings. Some are journal articles written by professional historians, sociologists, and popular culture or film experts, while others are primary sources from the time period covered. Be sure to read carefully and keep a dictionary handy. As you do the required reading, be sure to read the relevant unit introduction and lecture and review the discussion questions. They will help you focus your reading on important ideas and content. Contributing to and reading the course Glossary Wiki will also help you comprehend the readings better.
2. Participate in Collaborate Sessions We will meet in real time online as a class once a week using Blackboard Collaborate to allow you to ask questions about course readings or assignments and to engage in real-time exploration of course materials. These are mandatory graded sessions. If you miss a session, you will need to review it and write and submit a one-page explanation of three or four concepts you learned from the session to receive credit for it.

3. Contribute to the Discussion Board I expect you to post an answer to one of the discussion prompts that appear in each week's Discussion Board and to respond to the posts of your classmates. The prompts ask you to engage the required readings. Directions on contributing to the discussion boards are located at the top of each discussion board.
4. Construct the Glossary Wiki The expectation for the Glossary Wiki assignment is that all students will contribute and make edits to one entry a week. Directions on contributing to the Wiki are located at the Glossary Wiki page.
5. Write Two Analytical Essays The Analytical Essays will apply concepts from the course to an analysis of movies featuring undead monsters. Instructions on writing the essays are located at the First Analytical Essay page and the Second Analytical Essay page.

Appendix B

Discussion Board Questions

Unit One Discussion Questions

1. Why is it a paradox of our age that monsters are both everywhere and nowhere? How can that be? Give some examples.
2. What makes capitalism a monstrous and occult system according to McNally?
3. What kinds of “body panics” does capitalism induce in workers and others? Are such panics part of the horror of capitalism? Why or why not?
4. How were working-class bodies disciplined and controlled from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth century in Britain and Europe? How did workers respond to these attempts to control their bodies and their personalities?
5. How did a “culture of dissection” and “public or political anatomy” relate to class power and the larger social order from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth century? How did they promote “a new grammar of monstrosity” and become “a ritual of social magic”?
6. What is the “dialectic of monstrosity”? How is it presented in the works of William Shakespeare, Charles Dickens, Edmund Burke, Mary Wollstonecraft, William Godwin, and Mary Shelley?
7. How do you think the novel *Frankenstein* relates to the culture of dissection, public or political anatomy, and the “corpse economy”?
8. Is the Creature in *Frankenstein* a monster? Why or why not?
9. In the Introduction to the 1831 version of *Frankenstein*, Mary Shelley poses a question that she was frequently asked: “How I, then a young girl, came to think of, and to dilate upon, so very hideous an idea”? How does she answer that question? How well does her answer align with McNally’s interpretation of the novel as a social commentary?
10. In what ways does the website “The Worlds of Burke & Hare” exemplify key aspects of what McNally calls the “corpse economy”? How does it differ from his discussion?

Unit Two Discussion Questions

1. In what ways is capitalism “monstrous and magical,” a modern horror story and a mystery tale, for Marx? What kinds of examples does he give?
2. Why does Marx use a dialectical language of doublings and reversals to explain the workings of capitalism, commodities, and money? Why does metaphorical language seem so important in his analysis?
3. How does commodified labor involve a profound and through-going restructuring of human experience? How does it relate to bodily “alienation,” “abstraction,” and imperilment?
4. Why does Marx see the “vampire” as the most apt metaphor for capitalism? What aspects of capitalism does it illustrate?
5. While Marx never explicitly mentions zombies, McNally argues that “zombie” is an apt metaphor for a worker who labors in a capitalist system. Do you think such a metaphor is consistent with Marx’s framework and analysis? Why or why not?
6. What are the many functions of money or currency in a capitalist economy, according to Marx? How is money part of capitalism’s “occult economy” and how is the story of Enron a good case study of its unseen operation?
7. How does “accumulation by dispossession” after 1973 fit in with the history of capitalist development since the sixteenth century that we read in Chapter 1?
8. In “Vampire Culture,” Frank Grady analyzes Anne Rice’s vampire novels. How does he relate Rice’s vampires to capitalism? In what ways is his analysis similar to, and different from, that of McNally?
9. Why does Lena Wånggren in “Gothic Capitalism: Marx, Monsters, and *Buffy*” think that the *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* TV series offers good examples of the “monstrous forms of everyday life in a capitalist world-system”? Did her analysis surprise you? Why or why not? Can you think of other episodes in the *Buffy* series or other TV shows with monsters that offer similar examples?
10. Based on the memoirs of his wife and daughter, did “monsters of the market” stalk Karl Marx? If not, why not? If so, what kind and in what ways? Did he experience alienation in his personal life? Explain your answer.

Unit Three Discussion Questions

1. How would you explain “fantastic realism” (McNally, p. 172)? In what ways are *Frankenstein*, Marx’s metaphoric language, and zombie- and vampire-tales in Africa part of that genre?
2. What are the key elements of zombie-, vampire- and witchcraft-tales in modern Africa? How do those elements compare to key elements of Mary Shelley’s story and of Marx’s analysis of capitalism? What similarities and differences do you see?
3. Why does McNally think that “zombie-tales, like contemporary witchcraft stories in Sub-Saharan Africa, are...fables of modernity” (p. 184)? What point is he trying to make? Why does it matter?
4. How did tales of witchcraft change in Sub-Saharan Africa under the impact of capitalist globalization?
5. McNally claims that “African vampire-tales carry a powerful de-fetishising charge” (p. 187). What does he mean? How do they do that?
6. How was capitalist development experienced in Africa? How similar was it to the experience of capitalist development in Britain a few centuries earlier? What are some key differences?
7. How do the stories of Ben Okri capture the experience of capitalism in Sub-Saharan Africa? Cite examples from our text and *Incidents at the Shrine*.
8. Do Ben Okri’s stories carry a de-fetishizing charge? Do they reveal the “mysteries and sorceries of capital” (p. 209)? How?
9. In what ways is Andrew Smith’s analysis in “Reading Wealth in Nigeria” similar to, and different from, McNally’s analysis of the experience of capitalist development in Sub-Saharan Africa and its literary expressions? What accounts for the similarities and differences in your view?
10. In “Blood Money, Big Men, and Zombies,” Carmela Garritano analyzes popular Ghanaian and Nigerian occult horror films. In what ways is her analysis similar to, and different from, that of McNally’s analysis of West African literature, especially Ben Okri? What might account for the similarities and differences?

Unit Four Discussion Questions

1. Doublings and reversals figure prominently in McNally's concluding chapter. How do they draw together his main points?
2. What does McNally mean by "grotesque realism" (p. 254)? How does it fit in with his overall analysis of capitalism and the monsters, rebellions, and utopias it spawns?
3. Why does McNally emphasize bodies in his concluding chapter? How do they relate to the main concerns of his book?
4. McNally argues that because zombies are "living dead," they possess the capacity to awaken and engage in collective revelry and revolt (p. 254). How does Deborah Christie's chapter, "A Dead New World," extend McNally's analysis of the zombi/zombie condition and potential for zombi/zombie resistance, rebellion, and renewal? Where are they similar and where do they differ?
5. Would Christie agree with McNally's claim that zombies portrayed in U.S. media are only creatures of consumption, mindless consumers who are merely flesh-eating ghouls? Why or why not?
6. Simon Cooper maintains that zombies are empty as well as ambivalent figures. What does he mean? Would McNally agree? Please explain your answers using examples.
7. Cooper entitled his article "The Horror of Assimilation." To what does the title refer? In what ways is his analysis of zombies similar to, and different from, McNally's?
8. Derek Hall contends that not all cinematic zombies are alike. What are the main differences between them? Why do these differences arise? What do they represent?
9. How does Hall's analysis of zombies in British and Japanese popular culture compare to McNally's analysis of zombies in American and African popular culture? What are some key similarities and differences?

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