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"The Big Open"? Heterotopias and Colonial Expansion in North America[1]

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Modernity is characterised by a substantial transformation of space. The closed medieval space defined by a hierarchy of fixed places gives way to the open and infinite space of modern science and imagination. According to Michel Foucault, modern space "is presented to us in the form of relations of emplacement." In contrast to fixed places, most emplacements are mobile and functional, yet not all of them are determined by their specific functions. For instance, "heterotopias" undermine the functional status of other emplacements. Moreover, heterotopias engender "heterochronias", which attract attention to discontinuities of space and conventional time. As heterotopias, modern ruins unsettle the discourses of redemption and progress, and testify to the failures of economic or technological power. This is especially true about the "ghost towns" emerging during the colonisation of the American West as one of its major symbols articulating the space of the "Big Open": the West as both an "exceptional" and a "national" region, historical as well as mythical experience. As discursive and material objects, ghost towns oscillate between the function of historical monuments of the Gold Rush, prosperous industrialisation or local settlement, and the squalor and obscurity of trash, which, however, can be fetishised or even monumentalised. From its outset, the colonisation of North America has been represented and justified by means of religious, as well as secular, apocalyptic narratives constructing the continent as a space of revelations (of the future destiny of nations or the end of history). As "spectres" (Jacques Derrida), ghost towns reveal an important feature of North American colonial expansion – the imaginary, illusory, but also real nature of the Frontier. Moreover, they may turn our attention to the functioning of modern borders, especially migration flows and social divisions.

Keywords
Modern space; emplacement; heterotopia; ghost town; spectre; the frontier; borders; Michel Foucault; Jacques Derrida; Frederick Jackson Turner; Robert Coover; Thomas Nail

Modernity is characterised by a substantial transformation of space. Closed medieval space defined by a hierarchy of fixed and unique places gives way to the open and infinite space of modern science and imagination. In the 1620s and 1630s, Galileo Galilei proposed a revolutionary description of the "mathematical continuum" based on an infinitesimal principle: "a continuous line is composed of an infinite number of indivisible points separated by an infinite number of minuscule empty spaces" (Alexander 90). This, among others, implied that "geometrical objects were [...] little different from material objects" and that "[i]nstead of mathematical reason imposing order on the physical world, we have pure mathematical objects created in the image of physical ones, incorporating all their incoherence" (Alexander 90–91). Galileo is also the author of the first quantitative description of movement, based on the same infinitesimal principles. Less than a century later, Leibniz, one of the founders of infinitesimal calculus, uses infinitesimal principles in formulating his theory of monads and their perceptions (Deleuze 115).[2] Finally, in the course of the eighteenth century, Edmund Burke, and most notably Immanuel Kant, developed their theories of the sublime using the concepts of infinite magnitude and infinite power.

One of the consequences of this transformation of the medieval "space of localisation" into "the space of extension" is a gradual prevalence of the relational approach to space. As Michel Foucault has shown, the "space of extension" becomes "presented to us in the form of relations of emplacement", and gradually the "emplacement is supplanting extension" (Foucault, "Different Spaces" 177, 176). In other words, openness and infinity of space lose their paramount importance, in favour of the potentialities and actual choices of the ordering, production and use of spaces.

Describing the emplacement, Foucault mentions the emplacements of proximity (such as "series, trees or lattices", that is, specific mathematical ways of structuring the open space), the emplacements of storage (for instance, of data in computer memory), the emplacements of circulation ("of discrete elements, with a random output", such as cars in a system of roads, or data packets in the interconnected networks of the Internet), or, finally, the emplacements of identification "of tagged or coded elements" in a specific distribution (haphazard, univocal or plurivocal) ("Different Spaces" 176). Foucault also refers to a demographic dimension of emplacement, which not only specifies the just mentioned ordering and functioning criteria in terms of the efficient use of spaces for the distribution of the rapidly growing

population of the Earth, but also includes the understanding of space "as a 'site' produced through human sense-making" (Wood).

This is of foremost importance, since, as Foucault points out, "contemporary space is perhaps not yet entirely desacralized [...], we have not yet arrived at a practical desacralization of space" ("Different Spaces" 177). In Foucault's view, the sacralisation of space is not predominantly of spiritual or religious origins. Quite the contrary, it results from a number of empirical "oppositions we take for granted", for instance, those between private and public space, family space and social space, space of work and space of leisure (Foucault, "Different Spaces" 177). As a result, "we live inside an ensemble of relations that define emplacements that are irreducible to each other and absolutely nonsuperposable" (Foucault, "Different Spaces" 178). Significantly, these relations are a mixture of desacralised and sacralised or imaginary aspects of individual emplacements or sites.

In contrast to fixed places, emplacements are often mobile and functional: there may be "emplacements of transit" (streets, trains, etc.) as well as "emplacements of repose" (Foucault, "Different Spaces" 178). However, not all emplacements are determined in view of their specific functions: some of them, as Foucault shows, "suspend, neutralize, or reverse the set of relations that are designated, reflected, or represented [...] by them" ("Different Spaces" 178).

Apart from utopias, these emplacements include "heterotopias", which undermine the functional status of other emplacements and rearrange them dynamically. This, among others, causes a "break with their traditional time". As a result, heterotopias engender "heterochronias" (Foucault, "Different Spaces" 178)[3], and both attract attention to discontinuities of functionally understood spaces (whether sacralised or not), as well as of the conventional and often apocalyptic, views of time, supported, for instance, by the representations of America as "the State of the end of History" (Fukuyama 204; Derrida, *Spectres of Marx* 61).

Heterotopias and heterochronias both conform to and complicate the relationships between place and displacement in colonial and postcolonial spaces. Apart from the general "concern with the development or recovery of an effective identifying relationship between the self and place" (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 8), there are disruptive effects of specific heterotopias, for instance, modern urban or industrial ruins. These unsettle the discourses of progress and testify to the failures of economic and technological power or to the social instability of the settlement.[4]

Mike Davis has shown that unlike medieval cities, modern cities are based on the domination of, rather than cooperation with, nature (8). According to Ernst Bloch, their technological systems are "simultaneously so complex and so vulnerable" that "[t]he city [...], in its detachment from natural landscape [...] is increasingly threatened by accidents" (307). As a result, modern cities evoke "uncanny" feelings of "radical insecurity" (Davis 8) based on the awareness of "nothingness [or non-integration with Nature] that stands behind their mechanized world" (Bloch 308). The most problematic aspect of the modern city is the insecurity of its future: severed from natural processes, the city creates a radical anxiety of the "universal depletion of meaning", which "may prove equal to all the death anxieties of the late antiquity, and medieval anxieties about hell" (Bloch 308).

This is especially true about "ghost towns" emerging during the colonisation of the American West and becoming its major symbols. Apart from evoking the radical anxiety mentioned by Bloch and Davis, ghost towns are monuments of sorts articulating the mythological and historical space of the "Big Open". They represent the American West as a sacralised place, which is both hallowed as a historical monument and hateful as a heap of refuse. In this way, the ghost town may function both as a "national" symbol and as an excluded locale, a source of pollution and desolation, as well as the scene of the mythical history of colonisation.

Surprisingly, the term "ghost town" is a fairly modern invention. The phrase "ghost city" appears in September 1915 in the *Saturday Evening Post* in an article describing life in the infamous and "sinful" mining town of Bodie (DeLyser 278), once the second largest city in California. The term "ghost town" prevailed in 1922, together with a nostalgic representation of extinct urban communities as the "paragons of Western virtue" and the places where the "miner's law" was the "best law" (DeLyser 280). However, already a decade later, in 1932, T.A. Rickard mentioned that ghost towns often produced "contradictory impressions," those of "order, generosity and honor" and "of riot, bloodshed, fraud and frenzy" (35). These contradictions were romanticised by the tourist industry in the 1920s. A major early ghost town festival in Tombstone, AZ, "Helldorado Days", first held in 1929, included, among others, the "Gunfight at the O.K. Corral". Initially, the most popular sights of ghost towns were the saloons that had disappeared from "living" U.S. towns during Prohibition. In those days, a visit to a ghost town saloon had almost a ritual character. After mighty drinking, empty liquor bottles were assembled to build "bottle houses", monuments visited especially by male

tourists from distant parts. Later, ghost towns became models for Western movie settings, and explored even in literature, for instance in Robert Coover's novel *Ghost Town* (1998).

The status of ghost towns as tourist destinations has been enhanced by art exhibitions located on their sites. At Rhyolite, NV, there is the Goldwell Open Air Art Museum displaying monumental sculptures by the Belgian artist Charles Albert Szukalski (1945–2000). Szukalski's *Last Supper* (Het Laatste Avondmaal, 1984) consists of ghostlike figures, which are hollow – mere clothes or rather habits. The God figure (*Ghost Rider*, 1984) is removed from the group and leaning on an old bike, which may well have been found in a ghost town. Other sculptures are made of polished ghost town trash, such as the *Desert Flower* (1989), welded from old car parts. While the *Last Supper* seems to connect the ghost town site with the Christian myth emptied of its contents like clothes without bodies, *Desert Flower* parodies the fetishist transformation of ghost town relics. The title of the sculpture reminds us of an important sexual object: Desert Flower was an artistic name often used by saloon dancers or chanteuses.

As discursive and material objects, ghost towns oscillate between the significance of historical monuments, sites of nostalgic commemoration of the Gold Rush, prosperous industrialisation or local settlement, and the squalor and obscurity of trash, which can, however, also be fetishised or even monumentalised. This "circulation of monuments and trash" contrasts with the notorious "circulation of social energy" described by Stephen Greenblatt (5). Whereas Greenblatt's term refers to the early modern theatre as "the collective production [...], the symbolic embodiment of the desire, pleasure and violence of thousands of subjects" (Greenblatt 5), the circulation of monuments and trash results from the heterotopic and heterochronic nature of ghost towns. This, on the one hand, manifests itself in the history of production, consumption and reuse of their sites and objects by individuals. On the other hand, it appears in the anxieties projected onto them and onto the whole process of circulation. While the archaeology of ghost towns provides evidence of the consumption habits of their inhabitants (described, for instance, in books about ghost town bottles [Reed]), and some of these items (like the hammers of lumberjacks) are demanded by collectors, the anxieties connected with ghost towns stem from the already mentioned insecurity of modern urban civilisation, its general "depletion of meaning".

Moreover, the term "circulation" as used here, does not relate to Greenblatt's "beliefs and experiences [...] concentrated in manageable aesthetic form" (5),

but signifies a predominantly economic process, which, apart from the manifest failure to produce "an equilibrium in the dynamics of pleasure and desire" (Foucault, *The Use of Pleasure* 56; Greenblatt 166) demonstrates, as Jacques Derrida has shown, the "founding paradox of [...] economy" (*Given Time* 37). This paradox consists in the constitution of individual subjectivity in response to the impossibility of "pure gift" (Derrida, *Given Time* 37). The individuals have "to subdue this hubris or impossibility through the calculation and the exchange of power which is announced in the promise of the gift" (Derrida, *Given Time* 37; Teubner 29–47). To specify Derrida's rather abstract statement, the promise of the "pure gift" was, for instance, the pull of the several dozen gold rushes raging in nineteenth and twentieth century America. According to Tom Robotham, a "ghost town is less a product of the difficulties of *survival* than of the insatiable American pursuit of *prosperity*" (7). The illusion of prosperity is typical of the great majority of settlement projects in the American West, including the dysfunctional attempts to settle desert locations without water sources, or "paper towns" (Helwig 8), urban projects existing only in blueprints, whose only purpose was to cheat credulous investors.

Last but not least, the circulation of monuments and trash includes the "revival" of ghost towns: their transformation into sites of pseudo-historical festival parades (there are eight such parades every year in Virginia City, NV), conversion into amusement parks (like Calico, CA, where gunfights are enacted every hour), or development into fashionable residential districts with old mining machinery, such as stamp mills, displayed in the main street, as in Grass Valley, CA, or Nevada City, CA.

The heterotopic and heterochronic nature of ghost towns is best manifested in their ghastly nature, or spectrality. Although the "spectre" also appears as a metaphorical expression for a ghost town, the spectrality of ghost towns is no mere metaphor. As Lambert Florin pointed out, the most popular ghost towns are those which still keep the semblance of material existence, or, it could be said, "display their spectrality" (6). The thrilling places for ghost town hunters are those where everything has been left in the same way, almost as if the original residents were still there. Material objects still exist but the people who used them are gone. Such places may evoke the feelings of the disruption, or even the end of time, and the display of readily available material objects carries the promise of easy satisfaction of possessive or fetishist desires.

The philosophical implications of spectrality reach far beyond the thrill of ghost town hunters: they pose fundamental questions concerning the

spirituality and temporality of human existence. As Derrida demonstrated, the spectre is

> a paradoxical incorporation, the becoming-body, a certain phenomenal and carnal form of the spirit. It becomes, rather, some 'thing' that remains difficult to name: neither soul, nor body, and both one, and the other. For it is flesh and phenomenality that give to the spirit its spectral apparition, but which disappear right away in the apparition, in the very coming of the *revenant* or the return of the spectre. (*The Spectres of Marx* 6)

Referring this to ghost towns, one should ask with Derrida about "the *effectivity* or the *presence* of the spectre", which appears to us "as ineffective, virtual and unsubstantial as a simulacrum" (*The Spectres of Marx* 10). Can we ever grasp the opposition between a town as a living community and its simulacrum, its "[a]ltogether other" (Derrida, *The Spectres of Marx* 10)? Maybe, but the opposition will not "hold up": "each time" we try to have a glimpse of it is "a first time," and simultaneously, "a last time" (Derrida, *The Spectres of Marx* 10). The appearance and re-appearance of a spectre is, in Derrida's words, "[s]taging for the end of history" (*The Spectres of Marx*, 10). This "logic of haunting", or "*hauntology*", is "more powerful" than any ontology (*The Spectres of Marx* 10). Similar to all spectres, ghost towns "like circumscribed places or particular effects", harbour within themselves both "eschatology and teleology" (*The Spectres of Marx* 10). They "comprehend them, but incomprehensibly" (*The Spectres of Marx* 10). They need a semblance of materiality to appear, but, at the same time, they are no longer "alive", and no longer able to reveal the glorious mythical past of colonisation or the bright future of its ideologies.

Precluding ideological revelations, ghost towns may still display an important feature of U.S. colonial expansion: the imaginary nature of the Frontier. In the course of modernity, the meaning of borders as zones of contact with enemies was supplanted by their understanding as the imaginary, as well as actual, spaces of power expansion. As early as 1558, the French ambassador in Constantinople was writing to his colleague in Venice: "the true and surest way of expanding and living in peace and tranquillity in the realm is to continue to push the *frontičres* as far as we can and continue to drive the enemy far away before us" (Greenblatt and Gunn 11).

This early modern approach to frontiers anticipates the views of the U.S. Frontier after the Louisiana Purchase of 1803 and Indian Removal Act

of 1830, yet with one important difference, namely that the ambitions of absolute monarchs give way to declarations of national identity. Thomas Jefferson believed that the colonisation of the western part of the continent was a manifestation of a divinely ordained, natural and national "pursuit of happiness" – "the law in the nature of man", which cannot be suspended by the laws of the British government:

> [If God] has made the law in the nature of man to pursue his own happiness, he has left him free in the choice of the place as well as mode; and we may safely call on the whole body of English jurists to produce a map on which Nature has traced the geographical line which she forbids him to cross in pursuit of happiness. (Jefferson)

Emanuel Gottlieb Leutze's mural *Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way* (1861) represents this movement as the heroic crossing of a mountain range, a natural barrier in the landscape, which displays only faint traces of the presence of Native Americans. In contrast to this, in John Gast's 1872 painting *American Progress*, indigenous people are present almost in the centre of the scene. They are depicted wildly dancing at their tepees, while being pushed out of their lands by colonisers using superior transport and communication technologies, such as the train and the telegraph. No wonder that even nowadays one can read statements like: "The Indians flee from progress, unable to adjust to the shifting tides of history" (Sandweiss).

Frederick Jackson Turner elaborated this simplistic linear image of the progress of colonisation by the addition of a reverse movement, the settlers' necessary return to the primitive life in nature: "it takes [the colonist] from the railroad car and puts him into the birch canoe" (Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier" 4). This reversal is followed by gradual advance from "the Indian clearings" and "the primitive economic and political conditions of the frontier into the complexity of city life" ("The Significance of the Frontier" 4). In Turner's interpretation, the westward progress of the American frontier consists of a repetition of many short-termed civilisation cycles, taking place on many historical "frontiers", spreading from the eastern seaboard to the Far West.

Turner's "frontiers" can be understood as Foucault's emplacements (especially those of "circulation" and "identification"), whose pragmatic functionality is complemented with a mythological meaning: all "frontiers" document, as well as symbolise, the "perennial rebirth" of American society

in "continuous touch with the simplicity of primitive society" (Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier" 2). This peculiar mix of pragmatism and mythology is crucial for Turner's view of American identity described not as a fixed quality or value, but as an open-ended process: "a steady movement away from the influence of Europe" ("The Significance of the Frontier" 4). Turner – and before him Herman Melville in *Moby Dick* and Mark Twain in *Roughing It* – expected that this movement would continue even after the colonisation of the whole continent. Their expectations had materialised in the naval dominance of the U.S. over the Pacific, confirmed by the defeat of Spain in 1898 and taking control over the Philippines. As Turner points out, westward movement was a dominant feature of the shaping of the American nation in the process of its endless expansion: "American energy will continually demand a wider field for its exercise" ("The Significance of the Frontier" 38). Importantly, this expansion was not only determined by the "Big Open", the seemingly boundless space of the West offering "gifts of free land" (Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier" 38), but also, to quote Turner's later essay, aimed at establishing the West as "a form of society […] the most American part of America" (Turner, "The Problem of the West" 206–207).

Recent research in urban studies has demonstrated that "the Americans appreciated the strategic value of towns" especially to "safeguard passage" through dangerous tracts of the country (Moehring xix). Apart from their strategic (military) and economic (trade, mining, manufacturing, transport) functions, cities became channels through which cultural and religious influences were spread. In 2004, Eugene Moehring, an urban historian, published a book that can be read as an elaborated and modernised version of Turner's Frontier Thesis:

> The Americans erected a network of towns across sections of every future western state. This was an especially dynamic movement because the Americans created multiple nuclei in many different places *simultaneously*. By connecting these communities and their nascent hinterlands into networks through a system of country trails, turnpikes, stage routes and railroads, the Americans rapidly penetrated and conquered the sprawling West by dividing it into discrete compartments of space that were often easily controllable. All of these towns and places functioned as connected entities. […] American settlers built the West's urban networks by punching a maze of corridors through the region's countless valleys, deserts, canyons and mountains. […] These networks expanded until they pressured the

> land, its animals, plant life, and native peoples. […] by 1890 the West was 'so broken into by isolated bodies of settlement' […] that the Americans had successfully conquered and colonized the western space simply by fragmenting it. (xxv)

Moehring also showed that the networks of specialised western towns were not stationary, but mobile. For instance, when the lodes of gold and silver were exhausted on the California – Nevada border, the urban network was transferred into southern California, close to the borders of Arizona. It can be concluded that the colonisation of the American West proceeded in a series of functional emplacements, which no doubt influenced Turner's pragmatic expression of American identity.

Nonetheless, the heterotopic and heterochronic nature of ghost towns, their "spectrality" – this, in Derrida's phrase, an incomprehensible mix of eschatology and teleology – undermines the rhetorical power of Turner's declarations, as well as the persuasiveness of recent conclusions of urban historians and archaeologists. The spectrality of ghost towns has captivated a number of filmmakers and even fiction writers. One of the most important representatives of ghost-town stories is Robert Coover's novel *Ghost Town*, an interesting fiction asking an apocalyptic question: What do the ghost towns actually reveal?[5]

In this rather oppressive narrative, a nameless ghost town becomes the hero's permanent nightmare refusing to reveal its secret. Instead of becoming the symbol of successful colonisation, the triumphant westward progress of the empire, the imaginary ghost town testifies to the loss of meaning of the "grand narrative" of U.S. history as well as of the local histories written between the "parallel lines" (Coover 113) of its houses resembling the lines of printed text. The history of the town is compared to a game, close to what Derrida in his essay on "Structure, Sign and Play in the Discourse of the Human Sciences" called "the play of substitutions" (Derrida, "Structure, Sign and Play 289). This play does not allow us to attribute any conclusive meaning to the ghost town seen as a symbolic structure. Close to the end of the novel, the nameless hero watches the town from a bluff above it, and the narrator comments: "the buildings shifted about like wagers upon a faro[6] table […] the saloon replacing the church […], the claims office and the jailhouse changing places […], until the entire town layout has been reset". This shuffle is repeated several times and "the little buildings rearrange themselves around the gallows again" (Coover 115-116). The ghost town thus appears as *a play of structure*, which once might

have had a centre of sorts, the gallows, later destroyed by a thunderstorm. No wonder the novel's plot begins with the hero's destruction of the actual centre, breaking the rules of the game (Derrida, "Structure, Sign and Play" 278) by disordering the deck of playing cards, and ends by his repetition of the same act.

The ghost town in Coover's novel is the space of a gambling game, a play of substitutions, whose centre disappears as the rules of the game are repeatedly disrupted. Here the functionality of emplacements is not only undermined by their spectrality, but also disrupted by history represented as a play of structure. Coover's book, which stirred up a controversial debate among its readers and critics, can be said to redirect our attention from the immensity of the "Big Open" and the mythology of colonisation to other topics including gambling economy, social conflicts and migration flows. All of them are typical of the formation of borders in modernity as well as in a more remote past.

In his *Theory of the Border*, Thomas Nail shows the formation of borders as a decisive moment in the development of states and societies. Borders are "the motors, the mobile cutting blades of society" (Nail 7) whose dynamic manifests itself chiefly in the form of social flows. According to Nail, borders are not primarily territorial, but they have to be understood as "a process of social division" (2). Nail argues that borders are not produced by a simple movement in space, acquisition of territories and establishment of border regimes, but chiefly by means of the circulation of social flows, including their bifurcation and confluence at specific "junctions" (27–29). Although these "junctions" may temporarily produce "relatively immobile" points (including urban settlements in the West; Moehring xix-xxv), these points are linked in the process of circulation, which regulates the flows "into an ordered network of junctions" (Nail 29; see also Moehring on "mobile networks" of specialised towns in the West). Each form of circulation, e.g., the movement of migrants, includes a number of "circuits" (Nail 31–32). As a result, not only a flow but also its circulation is a dynamic process of considerable complexity. Circulation increases the power and variability of a system of interconnected flows, thus causing their "expansion" (Nail 35). The movement of expansion is always connected with "expulsion" (Nail 6, 21–37), which, in this case, concerns not only Native Americans, but also social or ethnic groups of settlers.

Although Nail – rather surprisingly – avoids analysing Frontier history (42)[7], the colonial history of the American West can be reconceived as a process including multiple migration waves, creating ghost towns as temporary junctions and moving in circulation, which caused expansion and led to the

expulsion and genocide of Native Americans, racial and social conflicts in mining camps, and brutal suppression of miners' strikes. If ghost towns are still monuments of some meaning, they may tell about the necessity to write an alternative history of the American West, a history whose heteroglossia will include local anecdotes and tall tales, as well as accounts of displacement, depopulation, violence, and ethnic and social struggle.

Endnotes

1. This work was supported by the European Regional Development Fund project "Beyond Security: The Role of Conflict in Resilience-Building" (reg. no.: CZ.02.01.01/00/22_008/0004595).
2. For a condensed summary interpretation of the perception of Leibniz's monads in terms of differential calculus see Deleuze (115): "[I]f we assimilate the object (that is, the world) to the primary equation of an infinite curvature of inflection, we obtain the position or the respective point of view of monads as primitive or *primal forces,* by means of a simple rule of tangents (vectors of concavity), and from the equation we extract differential relations that are present in every monad between minute perceptions, in a way that every one of them conveys the entire curvature of its point of view. Thus we have a first part, a first moment of the object, the object as perceived or the world as expression". The passage continues by pointing out the significance of "differential equations and integrations that determine the efficient causes of perception", not only its "expression", but also its "content".
3. "The heterotopia begins to function fully when men are in a kind of absolute break with their traditional time; thus, the cemetery is indeed a highly heterotopian place, seeing that the cemetery begins with that strange heterochronia that loss of life constitutes for an individual, and that quasi eternity in which he perpetually dissolves and fades away" (Foucault, "Different Spaces" 178).
4. The subsequent text of this paper occasionally refers to my book *Ruins in the New World* (Procházka).
5. Here the terms "apocalyptic" and "apocalypse" are used in the meaning current in ancient Greek and related to the notion of *aletheia* (indisputable truth) and signifying especially the disclosure, revelation or "unveiling" of this truth (Derrida, *Dissemination* 192-206).
6. Faro (originally *Pharaon*), a card game invented in 17th-century France, had been the most popular gambling game in the 19th-century U.S., before poker surpassed it in popularity at the beginning of the 20th century.
7. However, in the concluding part of his book (165-220) Nail focuses on the history of the U.S. border with Mexico, whose many features coincide with the U.S. colonisation of the American West.

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