

UC Santa Cruz

UC Santa Cruz Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

The Shores of US Empire: Islands and Geographies of Historical Struggle in the Literary Imagination

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/7mc1646s>

Author

Scheese, Emily Ann

Publication Date

2012

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

SANTA CRUZ

**THE SHORES OF US EMPIRE:
ISLANDS AND GEOGRAPHIES OF HISTORICAL STRUGGLE IN THE
LITERARY IMAGINATION**

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

LITERATURE
with an emphasis in FEMINIST STUDIES

by

Emily A. Scheese

December 2012

The Dissertation of Emily A. Scheese
is approved:

Professor Rob Wilson, Chair

Professor Susan Gillman

Professor Norma Klahn

Tyrus Miller
Vice Provost and Dean of Graduate Studies

Copyright © by
Emily A. Scheese
2012

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Dissertation Title

The Shores of US Empire:
Islands and Geographies of Historical Struggle in the Literary Imagination

Abstract.....iv

Dedication & Acknowledgements.....vi

Introduction.....1

Part 1—The Shores of US Empire: “*el mar* does not stop at borders”.....1

Part 2—Landed versus Oceanic Paradigms of Historiography.....11

The Shores of US Empire & Poetic Historiography.....23

Part 3— Reading and Writing Transnationally:

A Reading Methodology for Texts at the Edges of US Empire.....30

Chapter One.....57

Reading the 19th Century US Travelogue Transnationally:
Contact Zone Geographies before 1848 and 1898 Periodizations of US Empire

Chapter Two.....119

Islands and Geographies of Struggle:
Caribbean Interventions towards a Genealogy of Poetic Historiography

Chapter Three.....166

Asia-Pacific / Caribbean Militourism Nexus:
Island Spaces on the Edges of the US Imaginary

Epilogue.....206

Revisiting California Shores: Oceanic Crossings

Works Cited.....211

Selected Bibliography.....217

Dissertation Committee: Rob Wilson, Chair; Susan Gillman; Norma Klahn

ABSTRACT
The Shores of US Empire:
Islands and Geographies of Historical Struggle in the Literary Imagination
Emily Scheese

This dissertation gathers together 19th and 20th century texts produced along the shores of US geo-political expansion across land and sea. Engaging with the fields of transnational American cultural studies and postcolonial studies, this study articulates a transnational reading practice useful for addressing the writers and regions of the American West, the Pacific and the Caribbean in a transnational nexus called the Shores of US Empire. Methodologically inspired by Chinese American author Maxine Hong Kingston and Trinidadian born C.L.R James, the project outlines a practice of reading and writing transnationally that considers US literatures of travel in conversation with contemporary Pacific and Caribbean authors.

Chapter one addresses literatures of travel by American authors such as Richard Henry Dana, Jr. and Twain, whose texts, rather than simply being documentary or apologists of US imperial expansion, reflect contact zones of the contested cultural, political and geographical processes of expansion.

Chapter two focuses upon the creative literary imagination, looking for other possibilities and alternative epistemologies gleaned from Caribbean and Pacific authors. Drawing from the diverse political, creative and theoretical body of authors of the Spanish and French Caribbean like Martí, Retamar, Cabrera Infante and Carpentier, and Césaire, Fanon, and Glissant as well as poetic authors from the Anglo-Caribbean like Derek Walcott, John Agard, and novelist Michelle Cliff, Chapter Two of this dissertation proffers a method of poetic historiography attentive

to challenging western models of materialist history; the works of these authors provide an alternative historiography at sea in the Caribbean. These texts also critique the production of anthropological knowledge in the Caribbean and Pacific contexts.

Chapter three shifts back to the Pacific to look at the military legacy left by US imperial expansion and the social and cultural movements that have emerged to contest the US presence on Pacific shores. I address the contexts of Hawai'i and Bikini Atoll, considering texts by Rodney Morales and Kingston. Overall I argue that Pacific and Caribbean authors bring island geographies to the center of world historical events, challenging the overarching Euro-American myth of island isolation.

DEDICATION AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I'd like to thank the members of my committee Rob Wilson, Susan Gillman, and Norma Klahn for seeing me through this journey at Santa Cruz. I'd also like to thank members of the faculty at Santa Cruz and beyond who influenced my critical work and experience along the way although not directly on my committee, namely professors Lourdes Martinez-Echazabal, Louis Chude-Sokei, and Neferti Tadiar.

Upon completing my dissertation, I'd always looked forward to getting my photo taken by the department with the much anticipated document in its proper official box with an ecstatic ear-to-ear grin on my own countenance. I also always harked back to a passage from a dedication in Steinbeck's *East of Eden* which came to mind as I urged myself to 'tie a bow' on the project and be done: "*Well here's your box. Nearly everything I have is in it, and it is not full. Pain and excitement are in it, and feeling good or bad and evil thoughts and good thoughts—the pleasure of design and some despair and indescribable joy of creation. And on top of these are all the gratitude and love I have for you. And still the box is not full,*" marking Steinbeck's remarks to Pascal Covici. Since my journey to complete this document has taken so long, and been quite the extended journey, not surprisingly, the technology has changed, and we've entered the digital age, and there will be no representative picture of me with dissertation and said official box, unless I stage one myself. The online library awaits me. However, the words of Steinbeck's dedication are still true: what remains within here is a document filled with the pleasure of design and some despair and the indescribable joy of creation. And yet, our work as intellectuals, academics,

and/or activists is never fully finished. Despite being “done,” the box is never full—unfinalizable in a sense.

Many thanks also go out to my friends in the humanities and social sciences without which this ongoing journey would not be possible, namely the camaraderie and ongoing creative projects and friendships of Christy Lupo, Jake Thomas, Sarah Romano and Dina El Dessouky. To you all I am forever grateful. Thanks to my family, especially my mom and Uncle Don for being supportive of my literary interests, and to Dylan who showed up just in time to see me over this bridge.

And finally, credit is due to the many scholar-activist-poets whose work inspired me to write this inquiry—many of whom have passed on during the composition of my dissertation, which is either a testament to them leaving us too soon or a symptom of how long I’ve strung out this journey—across lifetimes it seems. In some fashion, it is my hopes that this dissertation whether in the physical world in future book form or in the virtual world in digital form, pays homage to my debt to them and their creative inspiration. With the closing words of Gloria Anzaldúa, “*This almost finished product seems an assemblage, a montage, a beaded work with several leitmotifs and with a central core, now appearing, now disappearing in a crazy dance.*”

**The Shores of US Empire:
Islands and Geographies of Historical Struggle in the Literary Imagination**

Introduction

I. The Shores of US Empire: “*el mar* does not stop at borders”

Wind tugging at my sleeve
feet sinking into the sand
I stand at the edge where the earth
touches ocean
where the two overlap
a gentle coming together
at other times and places a violent clash.

—Gloria Anzaldúa, “*Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*”

I want to begin my dissertation with a tribute to the late Gloria Anzaldúa (1942-2004), *meztiza* poet-activist, whose body of work and aura I’ve had the pleasure and privilege of learning from while at Santa Cruz. In the passage above taken from *Borderlands / La Frontera*, she locates her “feet sinking into the sand”—the sand in her context, being the shores of the Rio Grande. By the time of Anzaldúa’s writing in 1987, the border waters of the Rio Grande had long been turned into what she calls the “Tortilla Curtain” borrowing from Cold War imagery to refer to and localize the embattled river as a “1,950 mile-long open wound” / “*una herida abierta*” across which families and histories had been torn by the earlier border-policies imposed after 1848, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the US-Mexican War.¹ Anzaldúa, immersed in the seemingly peaceful moment of standing

¹ See Gloria Anzaldúa’s, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (1987, 1999). (Aunt Lute Books: San Francisco): 24. All subsequent references will be made in the text. Anzaldúa is apt to give us in her poem a “birth-date” for the border, suggesting the way it has literally become a living entity over and above a referent on a timeline in the lives divided by its imposition: “The border fence that divides

on the river's shore "at the edge where the earth touches ocean / where the two overlap / a gentle coming together" is stirred from her reverie when the shore becomes "at other times and places a violent clash" (Anzaldúa 23). In her poetic treatise Anzaldúa reminds us that the borderland / *la frontera* space has historically been a site of violent encounter and upheaval. At a time when borders and national boundaries and the politics surrounding the bodies and policing of borders continue to be hotly contested in national politics, oftentimes occasions for violent reassertions of nationalism, Anzaldúa's creative work reminds us that national borders are arbitrarily constructed entities based on political purpose. Her poem becomes a means to record the genealogy and history of the natural and cultural landscape itself rather than to uphold the human-imposed national boundary line drawn on the map in 1848:

But the skin of the earth is seamless.
The sea cannot be fenced,
el mar does not stop at borders.
To show the white man what she thought of his arrogance,
Yemayá blew that wire fence down...
This land was Mexican once,
was Indian always
and is.
And will be again. (25)

This section of Anzaldúa's poem entitled, "The Homeland, Aztlán / *El otro México*" seizes upon a sense of geologic time, where the man-made efforts to build up a border across land or cite a natural waterway as a divisive political entity between nations

the Mexican people was born on February 2, 1848 with the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo. It left 100,000 Mexican citizens on this side, annexed by conquest along with the land" (29). That Anzaldúa provides a date of birth for the border reveals the very nature of its inventedness and construction.

are blasted as futile, where the power of land and sea takes precedence over man's impositions: "*el mar* does not stop at borders."

Taking from Anzaldúa the mantra that the sea / *el mar* does not stop at borders, this dissertation argues for complicating the narrative of US territorial expansion over both land and sea. This approach opens up a mode of re-reading key texts of classic American authors produced during the time of US territorial expansion. At a time when terms like *transnational* and *globalization* have saturated the marketplace, a re-reading practice that is attentive to the shores of US empire helps us to interrogate the imposition and expansion of man-made borders across both land and sea in the name of global (read US) capital.

A re-reading practice with the goal of being attentive to the shores of US empire destabilizes the seemingly natural map of the nation-state by interrogating our own American literary texts and their border crossings, produced during this time period by major American authors like Richard Henry Dana, Jr. and Mark Twain, who traversed these national borders as they were writing. Although these authors have become some of our most revered writers of the 19th century and epitomize the American cultural tradition and now make up the American literary canon, they were writing at a time of intense national instability. A re-reading of their texts, with attention to the fluctuating shores and boundaries of the US nation which these authors reveal as unstable, challenges our historical and cultural understanding of US national formation. My first chapter pursues the shifting shores and unsteady borders represented in the texts of major American authors—specifically Dana and Twain.

Again gleaning methods from Anzaldúa's assertions, and remaining attentive to human-imposed borders versus the borderlands around these imposed lines, we can realize that, "Borders are set up to define the places that are safe and unsafe, to distinguish *us* from *them*. A border is a dividing line, a narrow strip along a steep edge. A borderland is a vague and undetermined place created by the emotional residue of an unnatural boundary. It is in a constant state of transition..." (25). Thus, even as the national body seeks to see itself as fixed and self-evident in the US political discourse of Manifest Destiny, nationally revered authors are engaged in a project that reveals the instability of these borders and the contested grounds of the nation. While critical scholarly endeavors often try to label authors of the 19th century as pro-imperialist or not, my goal is not to pin down an author's specific political project but to articulate what their texts and their travels reveal to us about the messy and constructed nature of US national borders. When we trace the traveling lines of these US authors, we find that the story *must* also be an oceanic one, wherein the writers do not stop at the bounds of the continental landscape but instead, take to the sea.

Also taking its directive cue from a seminal text in American literary and cultural studies, Donald Pease and Amy Kaplan's anthology *Cultures of United States Imperialism* (1993), my dissertation explores the limitations of a merely national, land-based narrative of US history. Instead, it argues for the centrality of oceanic and archipelagic spaces to the maintenance and security of US empire. The second part of my introduction, "Landed versus Oceanic Paradigms of Historiography," remains

critical of the continental / national vision of history as conjured by ‘official’ narratives of US Manifest Destiny while alternatively seeing the possibilities offered by a more complex Oceanic approach to an internationalized US history in a global context. Indeed Amy Kaplan’s challenge in *Cultures of United States Imperialism* in her article “‘Left Alone with America’: The Absence of Empire in the Study of American Culture” seeks to rectify the polemic that, “The study of American culture has traditionally been cut off from the study of foreign relations.”² Refusing a view of American exceptionalism and the “paradigm of denial” (Kaplan, *CUSI* 13) of empire which had been challenged back in the fifties by historians like William Appleman Williams, Kaplan’s work and my approach are linked in their effort to bring Empire to the forefront of the study of American literary culture.

This project, while making regional linkages across oceanic spaces of the Caribbean and the Pacific and being attentive to their locality, is indebted in its inspiration to the borderlands/*la frontera* geo-political analytic which has already done an effective job in displacing US frontier narratives of expansion across purportedly open territory from east to west, making the narrative more complex by expanding its scope from south to north. Gloria Anzaldúa provides us with a way to think about the limitations of the historical narrative discourse of manifest destiny as she articulates the borderland/*la frontera* space as a site of political and cultural struggle rather than as virgin land. Her focus on *Aztlán* helps us to see the creative

² See Amy Kaplan’s, “‘Left Alone with America’: The Absence of Empire in the Study of American Culture,” appearing in Amy Kaplan & Donald Pease, Eds. *Cultures of United States Imperialism* (Durham & London: Duke University Press: 1993): 11. All subsequent citations will be made in the text as Kaplan, *CUSI*.

cultural power in regional formations that disrupt national categories or are in excess of the nation. For Anzaldúa, the borderland / *la frontera* is the place where tactics for cultural survival emerge, the vital space that remains excessive of borders and codes in which people have to live after the border is imposed. My project supplements the borderlands critique by extending the focus of encounter from borders conjured on land to oceanic routes of encounter and oceanic edges of land.

Despite the historical dominance of the continental or frontier model in studies of US literature and history such as seminal texts like those of Henry Nash Smith and Leo Marx,³ the role of the oceanic element has by no means been ignored as part of the US global will to power. Christopher Connery's argument in his analysis of Alfred Thayer Mahan and the "shaping of global myth elements" urges that the oceanic element and its control were essential to US ascendancy to power in the 19th and 20th centuries. Connery reminds us of the ideological character of the "elemental" and warns of its dual ideological purposes in the hegemonic discourse of the state as well as liberational movements: "But what of the ideological character of the elemental itself? A historical or genealogical inventory of all the categories through which the earth is imagined and partitioned—elements, regions, nations, space, continents—and the ideological character of that imagining—transcendence, ownership, expansion, colonization, free trade—is certainly a necessary component to

³ See Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1950. See also Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America*. (1964). Oxford University Press, 2000. Both are early influential texts in the formation of the field of American Studies that take a critical look at the emergence of the American West and the American Wilderness and its threatened mythic status.

a critical thinking of the globe.”⁴ He acknowledges that since the 1990s there has been:

...in academic disciplines a critical turn to the geoelemental, in particular the oceanic, as a way of escaping the ideological binds of continents or regions: the work done under the rubrics of Atlantic studies, Pacific studies, Mediterranean studies, and more recently, Indian Ocean studies, all of which are receiving significant levels of state and foundation funding in the United States, Australia, and Europe, is an important corrective to the artificial divisions between regions and civilizations that have structured disciplinary and area studies’ agendas. (Connery, *ILS* 175-176)

He also notes that despite these corrective attempts, we must remain vigilant because historically, “the ocean served many psychic and political needs” wherein “the ocean came to function as capital’s myth element” (179).⁵ As Connery’s essays elaborate, the control and mapping of oceanic and archipelagic regions have been essential to the project of US empire building; we have seen this configuration play out historically in Hawai’i, the greater Pacific region of the Strategic Trust Territories, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Guantanamo Bay of Cuba as interlinked contact zones where land and oceans meet.

While acknowledging the role of the ocean as a “global myth element” sustaining the power and security of US empire across the last two centuries, this

⁴ See Christopher Connery, “Ideologies of Land and Sea: Alfred Thayer Mahan, Carl Schmitt, and the Shaping of Global Myth Elements.” *boundary 2* 28:2 (Duke University Press. 2001): 176. All subsequent references will be made in the text as *ILS*.

⁵ See also Connery’s other selections, “The Oceanic Feeling and the Regional Imaginary.” *Global/Local: Cultural Production and the Transnational Imaginary*, Ed. Rob Wilson and Wimal Dissanayake. Durham: Duke University Press. 1996 and the earlier “Pacific Rim Discourse: The US Global Imaginary in the Late Cold War Years.” *Asia/Pacific as Space of Cultural Production*, Ed. Rob Wilson and Arif Dirlik. Durham & London: Duke University Press. 1995, for an elaboration on the role of the ocean as capital’s myth element and its essential connection to the concept of the international.

project also aims to assess the political and analytical possibilities that grow out of the geographies of resistance that define these island regions in their ongoing struggles against US empire. Such oceanic-based paradigms as the Asia-Pacific Oceania and the Caribbean Black Atlantic prove to be political and analytical sites of interrogation and proffer alternative narratives to the US oceanic will-to-power. At stake here is a juxtaposition of the role of history proper—the official recorded history of the nation-state—in conjuring domestic national narratives of US history, versus an approach of “poetic historiography” that we can gain by looking into the manifestations and effects of US foreign policy and empire at oceanic and archipelagic sites of encounter. While the US was expanding the borders of its reign across continental lands of the new world during the 18th and 19th centuries, the contiguous island territories became strategic sites for securing the domestic borders of the ever-expanding nation. The US quest for dominance did not happen in chronologic-spatial fashion beginning from land and then taking to the sea; rather, the two elements were tackled coevally. American interests on the continent’s western and southern “borders” and shores predated the legal/political imposition of those borders, as the texts I will discuss later in chapter one and beyond denote. In fact, the drive to control contiguous island territories and their surrounding oceans may be a product of the US’s inability to fully secure continental lands and a symptomatic expression of the problematic validation of the US presence on such American lands.

This reading approach argues for a linkage between oceanic paradigms of struggle across the Caribbean and the Pacific in light of ongoing resistance to US

imperialism in these island spaces. While this project traverses much regional and historical ground, ocean and land linkages are worth making as urges Elizabeth DeLoughrey in her *Routes and Roots: Navigating Caribbean and Pacific Island Literatures*. Paying homage in her title to James Clifford's field-shaping text, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the late Twentieth Century*, DeLoughrey gives special attention to how the regions of the Caribbean and the Pacific have complex histories that complicate the treatment of indigenous and diasporic claims in their respective regions. She notes that, "Placing these island regions in a dialogue with each other allows us to see the complex historical relationships to the waters that surround them."⁶ She proffers a long and interactive view of the histories of the Caribbean and Pacific regions via her "tidalectic" reading method, an approach she gleans from Barbadian-born Edward Kamau Brathwaite's poetics:

The Pacific and Caribbean islands were first settled about 4,000 BCE by multiple seafaring arrivals from the continental lands to their respective west. Both areas were marked by complex processes of interculturalization, trade, and migration, which challenge attempts to determine an originary home for the early island migrants. The process of arrival and adaptation highlights the way in which land and sea are territorialized by migrant populations, and offers a complex alter/native historiography to European colonial models of the past. This tidalectic approach marks a significant break from colonial maps that depict land and sea as unmarked, atemporal, and feminized voids, *terra nullius* and *aqua nullius*, unless traversed and / or occupied by (male) European agents of history. (DeLoughrey, *R&R* 22)

⁶ See Elizabeth M. DeLoughrey, *Routes and Roots: Navigating Caribbean and Pacific Island Literatures*. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007): 22. All subsequent references will be made in the text by *R&R*. See also James Clifford's, *Routes: Travel & Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1997.

DeLoughrey's tidalectic methodology makes two important critical moves in this description. She periodizes the history of the regions back to 4,000 BCE and prior to the Euro-American arrival in the archipelagos, and in turn, she cites both places as intercultural zones and sites of native territorialization and mapping well before the arrival of "the West" per se, and its various Robinsonade personae, both real and fictional. This long view disallows visions of either region as locales upon which Euro-American histories can write their course upon a blank land or blank sea. Instead, a dynamic state of relation existed there prior to Euro-American colonial arrival. DeLoughrey challenges the idea of island cultures as static and determined, stuck in a homogenous empty time, but rather she views islands as active and already dynamic prior to the influx of Euro-American occupation. According to DeLoughrey's model, interculturalization as such appears alive and well in these island regions prior to colonization, while transculturation (read: adaptation, translation, *metisaje*, and creolization) is usually reserved as an effect of or a response to colonization. Like DeLoughrey, I take methodological inspiration directly from Caribbean and Pacific authors themselves to develop a reading methodology for texts both produced by Robinsonade types as well as contemporary liberational responses to *aqua* and *terra nullis* interpellations of the regions. It remains crucial to read "origin" stories of the two regions as dynamic and complex in terms of their historical specificity and also in terms of their liberational discourse, one of native sovereignty and one of diaspora and transculturation.

II. Landed versus Oceanic Paradigms of Historiography

An overarching aim of my comparative project in US literary cultural studies, is to bring these disparate regions of Asia Pacific and the Caribbean into conversation with one another along a connective line linking the shores of US empire. Although the two locales of the Pacific and the Caribbean are on opposite ends of the Atlantic Gulf and Pacific seaboard of what has become the continental US, this project contends, in the spirit of George Lipsitz's claims in his Pacific Seminar keynote address (UCSC, Summer 2005), that regions are defined by historical struggle and not merely given by geography. In this sense, both "places" need to be envisioned as part of a larger geographic regional imaginary linked together via historical struggle for sovereignty against forces of US empire. Both regions are bound up in a long history and struggle against various imperial forces, be they European, Asiatic, or American. Specifically this land-ocean approach focuses on the particularities of the ways in which US empire, whether in the form of struggles around colonial occupation and control of territory, on the ground or by remote control of governmental, political or economic agencies, or cultural imperialism, touches down on the shores of these oceanic and archipelagic locales. This comparative regional and oceanic critical imaginary aims to build linkages between frameworks such as the spirit of Joseph Roach's "circum-Atlantic" or Paul Gilroy's "Black Atlantic" in the Caribbean or conversely Epeli Hau'ofa's "sea of islands" and Albert Wendt's "new Oceania" in the Pacific. Alternatively, these Pacific and Caribbean reframings of region form a kind of oceanic counterpart to Gloria Anzaldúa's borderlands/*la frontera*.

Within the scope of their own local articulations, these regional and oceanic intellectuals find within the lived on-the-ground experience of the peoples in their locales a model for critically thinking through the history and culture of their regions. Theater and literary scholar Joseph Roach envisions in “Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance” (1996) what he calls a “geohistorical matrix of the circum-Atlantic world,” which “Bounded by Europe, Africa, and the Americas, North and South, this economic and cultural system entailed vast movements of people and commodities to experimental destinations, the consequences of which continue to visit themselves upon the material and human fabric of the cities inhabited by their successors.”⁷ Roach theorizes an “oceanic interculture” that has emerged as a result of such movement along this geohistorical matrix. Such a cultural approach to the region examines the “hemispheric circulation of collectively created forms” as a way to trace “the relationship between memory and history” in the Caribbean world (Roach xii).

The publication of Paul Gilroy’s *Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* all the more so brought the discussion of the “hemispheric circulation of collectively created forms” to the forefront of scholarship on the region. Gilroy’s text was central to identifying the failure of national and nationalist frameworks to contain hemispheric cultural forms. He notes, “...different nationalist paradigms for thinking about cultural history fail when confronted by the intercultural and transnational formation that I call the Black Atlantic,” (ix) revealing how, “the history

⁷ See Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996): xi. All subsequent references will be made in the text.

of the black Atlantic yields a course of lessons as to the instability and mutability of identities which are always unfinished, always being remade” (xi).⁸ Gilroy contends that, “Poiesis and poetics begin to coexist in novel forms—autobiographical writing, special and uniquely creative ways of manipulating spoken language, and above all music. All three have overflowed from the containers that the modern nation state provides for them” (Gilroy 40). Thus through a cultural studies model born out of the Birmingham School and Stuart Hall’s legacy, Gilroy enables a paradigm shift to look at the black Atlantic as a dynamic geographical cultural region. Gilroy challenges the classification of cultural histories via national geographies, when in fact, places like the Caribbean have a more complex genealogy and “overflow” the container of the nation as analytic category. Gilroy’s efforts to articulate a regional framework via which to look at diasporic cultures and the diasporic experience of those scattered throughout the black Atlantic became a model for contemporary diaspora studies wherein the diasporic cultural condition in the Caribbean was in danger of being cathected by postmodern scholarship and wrested from the paradigm’s local/regional context.

In the Pacific world, scholars, intellectuals, activists and writers, have built an Oceanic regional imaginary as a source of empowerment that dismisses the limiting colonial and imperial imaginings of island spaces as small and remote. Similarly to how the Caribbean isles have appealed to the explorer and traveler’s imagination as

⁸ See Paul Gilroy’s, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993): ix. All subsequent references will be made in the text.

exotic and “off-the-map,”⁹ the Pacific isles have been interpolated into a similar discursive structure that dismisses their centrality to the narration of western history. Scholar and cultural avatar, the late Epeli Hau’ofa (1939-2009) continues to be central to the Pacific region in terms of the work he has done to build up a positive and practical self-fashioning of the peoples of the Pacific. Born in Papua New Guinea and educated across the globe, Hau’ofa began his career in the field of social anthropology and as a consultant for the World Bank. Imbuing himself with the shape-shifting impetus of many of his fictional characters, Hau’ofa began writing fiction and became an essayist of one of the chief treatises reframing the Oceanic region. His work lives on at the Oceania Centre for Arts and Culture at the campus of the University of the South Pacific, Suva Fiji, where he was director before his passing. In “Our Sea of Islands,” Hau’ofa’s ground-breaking essay published in *The Contemporary Pacific* in 1994, he articulates the difference between viewing the Pacific region as “islands in a far sea” versus as a “sea of islands.”¹⁰ He at once interrogates the imperialist vision of the Pacific:

There is a gulf of difference between viewing the Pacific as “islands in a far sea” and as “a sea of islands.” The first emphasizes dry surfaces in a vast ocean far from centers of power. When you focus this way you stress the smallness and remoteness of the islands. The second is a more holistic

⁹ See the contemporary travel writer Pico Iyer’s *Falling off the Map: Some Lonely Places of the World* (New York: Vintage): 1994, for an exemplary account of how the “off-the-map” trope persists even in our current day and age of globalization. Iyer’s follow-up novel set in Havana, *Cuba and the Night, a Novel* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf), 1995, continues this notion of the remote and exotic island locale.

¹⁰ See Epeli Hau’ofa, “Our Sea of Islands.” (1994). *Asia/Pacific as Space of Cultural Production*. Rob Wilson & Arif Dirlik, Eds. (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 1995): 86-98. All subsequent references will be made in the text.

perspective in which things are seen in the totality of their relationships... It was continental men, namely Europeans, on entering the Pacific after crossing huge expanses of ocean, who introduced the view of “islands in a far sea.” From this perspective the islands are tiny, isolated dots in a vast ocean. Later on it was continental men, Europeans and Americans, who drew imaginary lines across the sea, making the colonial boundaries that for the first time, confined ocean peoples to tiny spaces. These are the boundaries today that define the island states and territories of the Pacific. (Hau’ofa 91)

Hau’ofa acknowledges the limiting vision of such imaginary lines and tiny dots that have come to dictate the economic and figurative way the islands have been treated historically in Euro-American colonial relations and contemporarily in terms of the tourist and economic imaginary around island spaces.

Working against such limiting visions, Hau’ofa follows with the alternative conceptualization of “Oceania” that would maintain the Pacific as a vast and interconnected resource rather than a remote and small region divided amongst Euro-American colonial and touristic lines:

“Oceania” connotes a sea of islands with their inhabitants. The world of our ancestors was a large sea full of places to explore, to make their homes in, to breed generations of seafarers like themselves. People raised in this environment were at home with the sea. They played in it as soon as they could walk steadily, they worked in it, they fought on it. They developed great skills for navigating their waters, and the spirit to traverse even the few large gaps that separated their island groups.... Theirs was a large world in which peoples and cultures moved and mingled unhindered by boundaries of the kind erected much later by imperial powers. (92)

Taking its cue from Hau’ofa’s vast vision of Oceania as a “Sea of Islands”, this dissertation articulates the reconceptualization of island spaces as interconnected sites central to the telling of a more just global history. While Hau’ofa’s vision is specifically linked to the site of the Pacific’s “Oceania”, the greater island spaces and

the shores they constitute that I discuss in these four chapters serve as productive sites from which to interrogate the limiting Euro-American imperialist vision of island and oceanic space and time as well as reveal viable local self-conceptualizations of place, region, and cultural history.

Predating Hau'ofa's seminal treatise, Albert Wendt (b. 1939) speculated in his essay "Towards a New Oceania" (1976) that the cultural revival needed in the Pacific was already being created. Wendt, a Samoan novelist, essayist and historical scholar asserts in this essay that, "Over the last two centuries or so, that most fearful chill, institutionalized in colonialism, was our perpetual cross in Oceania."¹¹ While the "fearful chill" of colonialism may have been at the helm of much cultural devastation in the Pacific, Wendt seeks out a living culture of the present and future that can drive Pacific peoples to a viable understanding of themselves and their own culture:

Any real understanding of ourselves and our existing cultures calls for an attempt to understand colonialism and what it did and is still doing to us. This understanding would better equip us to control or exorcise it so that, in the words of the Maori poet Hone Tuwhare, we can dream good dreams again, heal the wounds it inflicted on us and with the healing will return pride in ourselves—an ingredient so vital to creative nation-building. Pride, self-respect, self-reliance will help us to cope so much more creatively with what is passing or to come. (Wendt, 1976)

For Wendt, for whom the act of writing takes on a creative and cathartic negotiation with the past, self-respect and self-reliance in the present moment depend upon a purging of the colonial past, an exorcism, if you will, of old ghosts and the old chill.

¹¹ Albert Wendt, "Towards a New Oceania" *Mana Review*, vol. 1, no. 1 (Jan 1976), 49-60. All subsequent references will be made as Wendt, 1976.

Similarly to the experience of colonialism in the Pacific, the process of exorcizing the old ghost and overcoming the cold chill of colonialism has been at the heart of the creative and political project of Caribbean and Martinician essayist, philosopher and statesman Aimé Césaire. In his classic manifesto *Discourse on Colonialism*, published in France in 1955, Césaire goes to battle with the tenants of colonialism in which he finds an already sick civilization. Césaire candidly unpacks the various discursive strategies of colonialism and lays them bare and argues that: “...that no one colonizes innocently, that no one colonizes with impunity either; that a nation which colonizes, that a civilization which justifies colonization—and therefore force—is already a sick civilization.”¹² Césaire dismisses the intended benefits of colonialism, citing the dehumanization and “thingification” in its wake as effects which its purported benefits cannot justify:

My turn to state an equation: colonization = “Thingification”.
I hear the storm. They talk to me about progress, about “achievements,”
diseases cured, improved standards of living.

I am talking about societies drained of their essence, cultures trampled
underfoot, institutions undermined, lands confiscated, religions smashed.
Magnificent artistic creation destroyed, extraordinary *possibilities* wiped out.

They throw facts at my head, statistics, mileages of roads, canals and railroad
tracks.

I am talking about thousands of men sacrificed to the Congo-Ocean. (Césaire,
DC 42-43)

¹²Aimé Césaire, (1955) *Discours sur le colonialisme / Discourse on Colonialism*. Trans. Joan Pinkham. (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000) 39. All subsequent references will be made in the text as Césaire, *DC*.

For Césaire, the dehumanization or “thingification” that enabled the carrying out of acts committed along the Middle Passage (as he states here, “thousands of men sacrificed to the Congo-Ocean”) cannot be justified with any public improvements upon living conditions in the colonies. That entire cultures have been forever altered for infrastructural improvements, for Césaire, seems unsalvageable, unforgivable. In addition to his work as a statesman, Césaire remained an avid poet and became representative leader of the Negritude movement. His political manifestos like *Discourse on Colonialism* stand side by side in the fight against imperialism along with his earlier long biographical poem *Notebook of a Return to the Native Land* (1947) and his play, a revision of Shakespeare’s classic drama localized in the Caribbean archipelago, *A Tempest* (1969). For Césaire, to generate a creative present leading towards a viable future is the only way out of the colonial past:

For us, the problem is not to make a utopian and sterile attempt to repeat the past, but to go beyond. It is not a dead society that we want to revive. We leave that to those who go in for exoticism. Nor is it the present colonial society that we wish to prolong, the most putrid carrion that ever rotted under the sun. It is a new society that we must create, with the help of all our brother slaves, a society rich with all the productive power of modern times, warm with all the fraternity of olden days... (51-2)

Though Césaire draws on the romanticism of a return to former African cultures, his efforts do not stop there. Rather, he resists this form of “exoticism” and argues for pursuing a new creative society.

The empowering regional and national discourses of identity in the Caribbean and the Pacific that emerge out of the wake of colonialism and imperialism serve as necessary remedies to the psychosis of oppression imposed by colonialism as Gilroy,

Hau'ofa, Wendt, Césaire, and others outline above. The tactics employed by Pacific and Caribbean theorists include unpacking the discursive strategies of colonialism and its damages, seeing the ways in which a colonial history has been inscribed over various regions of the globe, and in turn, unraveling this colonial consciousness with strategies of survival which entail articulating new philosophies of history and relationships to culture and national consciousness. In each case, literary and poetic creation becomes a necessary response of the decolonizing project. Thus, rather than the landed paradigms of historiography mapped out onto *terra nullius* and *aqua nullius*, the Oceanic paradigms these decolonizing authors lay out articulate a strategy I will call poetic historiography, having both national, in terms of sovereignty, and regional, in terms of solidarity, consequence.

The battle against colonization and the movement towards decolonization become ones of on-the-ground politics and intellectual interventions wherein regions have been historically conjured as areas of study driven by a persistent Cold War logic. Regarding as suspect Cold War area studies models driven by Euro-American colonial and imperial interpolations of geographic regions, this project remains mindful of the historical relationship between academic discourses and the geopolitical struggles they attempt to describe. Edward Said's important early intervention into the field of area studies reminds us in *Orientalism* that, "Fields, of course, are made"—noting their constructed nature and subsequent ideological affect as was the case with "Orientalism [as] a field with considerable geographic

ambition.”¹³ While I do locate my project within the field of comparative US literary and cultural studies, this dissertation also engages with the ongoing postcolonial critique of area studies initiated by such texts as Said’s *Orientalism* in the late seventies and continuing forward with the “feminist conjecturalist” strategies like those of Ruth Frankenberg and Lata Mani alongside transnational feminist theorists such as Caren Kaplan and Inderpal Grewal. While mapping out geographies of historical struggle in the literary imagination and paying particular attention to regions of island space in the Pacific and Caribbean and the western California seaboard, this project attends to how locales of the globe are ideologically designated as an “area” of study.¹⁴ “Areas,” especially island spaces and their surrounding seas, become historically construed as separate, isolated or remote from continental/national history, when in fact a relational or comparative analysis would shed more insight onto the processes of regional and oceanic formulations as a whole. “Area Studies” formations wrought by imperial state institutions can often obscure regional and oceanic formulations or local articulations that may already be in place at the local level as we already see in Pacific and Caribbean statements of regional connectedness in spite of divergent colonial histories. While looking at the historical relation between academic discourses and the geographical and social struggles they attempt to describe, we need to be critically aware that academia and the institutionalization of discourses as such into areas of study have the potential to

¹³ See Edward Said’s, *Orientalism*. (New York: Vintage Books, 1978): 50.

¹⁴ Archipelagos, per se, are a tricky business, in that the region or area of analysis entails both the islands and their surrounding seas—the boundaries of which are not easily contained to echo Anzaldúa’s call to heed that “*el mar* does not stop at borders.”

recolonize geographies of historical struggle by flattening them into mere static analytic paradigms that threaten to lose their deconstructive and creative potential.

However, that being said, Anzaldúa's *Borderlands / La frontera*, Hau'ofa's *Sea of Islands* and Gilroy's *Black Atlantic* paradigms are not merely analytic tropes but actually existing geo-political landscapes and seascapes fused and fueled by social and political struggles. A trans-geographical and spatio-temporal approach to the Caribbean and Pacific regions at the contested edges of US empire retains a similar impetus to see these landscapes and seascapes and the peoples dwelling there as dynamic, living, breathing entities whose residual struggle in the wake of imperial powers reveals their tools for creative cultural survival.

Via the "Worlded Pedagogy in Santa Cruz," Christopher Connery's call to perform the "critical function of "worlding" engages with the "field imaginary" formations of the oceanic regions I discuss. We perform this critical "worlding" function by making "visible new spatialities that...refuse the areas given in advance and remind us of other spatial configurations, and of the political and ideological work done by all spatializations and temporal divisions."¹⁵ Connery draws on Kristen Ross's important articulation about the cultural studies program's "refusal to allow our object of knowledge to be naturalized in advance, defined or delimited either as a unit of area studies or a particular historical period" (Ross qtd. in Connery *WP* 8).

¹⁵ See Christopher Connery's Introduction to *The Worlding Project: Doing Cultural Studies in the Era of Globalization*, entitled, "Worlded Pedagogy in Santa Cruz." Rob Wilson & Christopher Leigh Connery, Eds. (Santa Cruz, CA: New Pacific Press, 2007): 8. All subsequent references will be made as Connery WP. See Kristen Ross's essay on the formation of the cultural studies field at Santa Cruz entitled, "The World Literature and Cultural Studies Program." *Critical Inquiry*. 19.4 (Summer 1993), 666-676.

What postcolonial scholar Gayatri Spivak calls “worlding,” as a strategic attempt at “globe-girdling,” can help us be simultaneously aware of the reified divisions that both academic area studies and global capital assail. In his own contribution to the project, Rob Wilson’s afterword entitled, “Worlding as Future Tactic” inscribes the creative and non-reifying strategies of worlding: “*Worlding ... here suggests an active and vigilant critical as well as poetic constructivist process*”¹⁶ that entails “listening to and caring for one’s own life-world as well as the related and emergent species-being of others” and “every-day de-reifying” (Wilson, *WAF* 212-213). This move towards the critical project of “worlding” comes in the wake of the discursive persistence of “globalization”—“the contemporary god-term of neo-liberal discourse” belonging to the “imperial war machine and end of history triumphalism” loosed upon the turn of the century. Instead of playing into the reified rubrics of neo-liberal capital and the romanticized flows of globalization, Wilson calls for a “transnationalized cultural studies that becomes situated within and against bordered regimes and discourse of US empire ... Worlding as a post-colonial critical practice will be posited against the reign of these available categories and reified modes of everyday media recognition called “the global” as such.”

Despite their historical and geographical differences, and their historical role in Euro-American imperial powers’ maintenance of the “security” of the first world, the two regions of the Caribbean and the Pacific are aligned via historical struggles

¹⁶ See Rob Wilson’s “Afterword: Worlding as Future Tactic.” Rob Wilson & Christopher Leigh Connery, Eds. *The Worlding Project: Doing Cultural Studies in an Era of Globalization*. (Santa Cruz, CA: New Pacific Press, 2007): 212. All subsequent references will appear in the text as Wilson, *WAF*.

for sovereignty and regional self-definition in the nineteenth century, as well as linked in the present moment via the continuing pressures of US empire and globalization. Thus, my dissertation brings the continental US, Asia Pacific and Caribbean regions together along with the literatures produced in and around these locales into an analytic nexus that can interrogate, historically and contemporarily, their coeval presence along the shores of US empire.

The Shores of US Empire & Poetic Historiography

The analytic model in this dissertation focuses upon the critical edge of what I call the shores of US empire. Taking my momentum from the critical edge of “studios pacificas de Santa Cruz/the edge” as described by Teresia K. Teaiwa in her article, “L(o)osing the Edge” (2001), we need to resist a disconnected view where Teaiwa “warns against perspectives from the edge—of high cliffs—and invite[s] a more intimate approach to knowledge.”¹⁷ Rather than an aerial view from the cliff-edge, this approach takes up the trope of “the shore” as a strategic metaphor through which to talk about the “messy entanglements” (Teaiwa, *LTE* 347) of colonial encounters that occur between land and sea on shore. The shores of US empire, forged as a spatio-temporal analytical model, enables us to see the subtle operations of US expansion on the various geographical shores it has reached over different temporal periods. The shores in question may range widely from the muddy banks of the Mississippi, to the golden coasts California, the sands of the Rio Grande along the

¹⁷ See Teresia K. Teaiwa, “L(o)osing the Edge.” *The Contemporary Pacific*. Volume 13, Number 2, Fall 2001: 343. All subsequent references will be made in the text as *LTE*.

“Tortilla Curtain,” the Malecón of Cuba or the beaches of Waikīkī in Hawai‘i . The shape-shifting nature of any shore as an effect of tidal oscillation helps us to account for the shape-shifting nature of US empire in its various manifestations and also accounts for the multitude of creative ways local and regional articulations have taken shape in the wake of such hegemonic power. The shore as a geologic phenomena is an unstable entity but also acts as a meeting ground from which to embark and disembark. The shore is not static but is always reshaping and reforming itself based on the external conditions which affect it from above and below. The shore is the ultimate crossroads between land and sea, but a crossroads where the borders are in flux and oftentimes buried in water. The shore is the locale where the map and the Deleuzian flight line are forced to be redrawn, changed and revised.

Sandy beaches and shores in general often figure in the imperial and tourist imagination as far off and remote—what Derek Walcott and Ian Gregory Strachan have critically termed a “brochure discourse.”¹⁸ However, my treatment here of the critical term *shore* invests it not with the entities of imperial or tourist discourse which map the space of the shore as far off and remote, but rather wrenches the rubric of the shore to the center of history. The locale of the shore has been central to the meeting points of cultures and exchange as well as the site where power relations are forged and challenged. The shore takes on the type of dynamic that Mary Louise Pratt

¹⁸ See Ian Gregory Strachan’s analysis of Walcott’s critique of “brochure discourse” in his, *Paradise and Plantation: Tourism and Culture in the Anglophone Caribbean*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2002. All subsequent references will be made in the text.

speaks of via her term “contact zone.”¹⁹ In Pratt’s critical literary and historical text *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, a study of the role of travel writing in the imperial imagination, she describes the “contact zone” as a “...social space where disparate cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination—like colonialism, slavery or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today” (Pratt 4). For Pratt these are spaces of “colonial encounter[s], the space in which peoples [who are] geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict” (6). While the contact zone often entails an indigenous group negotiating the terms of power of an imperial hegemonic entity in an uneven relationship, for Pratt, the contact zone reveals these processes of intense negotiation rather than mere assimilation. Rather than smoothing messy entanglements over, Pratt notes that, “A “contact” perspective emphasizes how subjects are constituted in and by their relations to each other. It treats the relations among colonizers and colonized, or travelers and “travelees,” not in terms of separateness or apartheid, but in terms of copresence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices, often within radically asymmetrical relations of power” (7). The critical project of Oceanic intellectuals in both the Caribbean and the Pacific challenges the idea of smallness and remoteness and envisions a different

¹⁹ See Mary Louise Pratt and her elaboration of the contact zone in her *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. Routledge: London, 1992. All subsequent references will be made in the text.

conceptualization of the ocean and its shores that depends upon vastness and interconnectivity as articulated by CLR James, Edouard Glissant, Epele Hau'ofa, Albert Wendt, Teresia Teaiwa, and others. Bringing a “contact perspective” to the shores of US empire analytic allows us to see the messy entanglements of cultures battling for survival in the wake of colonial and imperial oppressions, whether on the part of indigenous or diasporic inhabitants of island space.

What emerges in the contact zone geographies along the shores of US empire is a mode of perception that requires a poetic vision of history. We can see this poetic vision of history emerge in the creative literary traditions of both Pacific and Caribbean cultures. *Poetic historiography* becomes a methodology employed by Pacific and Caribbean writers in the wake of this attempted usurpation of their islands and waters. In my reading, the Pacific and Caribbean authors themselves proffer a vision of poetic historiography that enables them to negotiate the shores of US empire.

Chapter Outlines

The substance of the first chapter called, “Reading the 19th Century US Travelogue Transnationally: Contact Zone Geographies before 1848 and 1898 Periodizations of US Empire,” explores an expanded definition of the travelogue by looking at literatures of travel at the shores of US empire. This chapter focuses on the genre of the nineteenth-century US travelogue and what it reveals about the shape-shifting shores of US empire. A comparative analysis takes us to the contested edges

of US empire as recounted by Richard Henry Dana Jr. and Mark Twain, the authors under survey here, amongst other prominent travel writers of the time period. The US literatures of travel genre and texts by Dana and Twain serve as a case study of texts that can be read transnationally. These texts work to disrupt the 1848 and 1898 paradigms of US empire and they give us an indispensable view into the intricate workings of US empire not only upon the American western frontier but Caribbean and Pacific shores. These texts do not act as mere proponents of US imperialism, but capture the US and its expansive discourse in the moments of its formation, becoming a vehicle for cultural preservation in a discourse that was in the process of becoming during the formative years of the expanding US nation. These texts and their “return passage” trope capture the constitutive contradiction afoot in the genre of US literatures of travel and travel literature overall.

Chapter two entitled, “Islands and Geographies of Struggle: Caribbean Interventions towards a Genealogy of Poetic Historiography” focuses on texts by Caribbean authors that articulate a localized philosophy of history. The philosophy of history embedded in works by Marti, Césaire and Glissant help to provide a genealogy for *poetic historiography* and the Caribbean canon’s role in articulating the struggles for emancipation and sovereignty in the region. The later part of the chapter moves towards modern texts in the Cuban context by Carpentier and Cabrera Infante and in the Jamaican-American context by Michelle Cliff that link past and present struggles for liberation by employing modes of poetic historiography in their writing. Chapter two works towards a definition of poetic historiography and how authors of

the Caribbean canon can intervene in western modes of historiography via their own method of poetic creation. Cliff's novel is especially attentive to the role women play in creating a mode of poetic historiography in their writing that challenges the figures of the western male or female historian / anthropologist / academic and these figures' processes of knowledge production about island spaces and peoples. All of these narratives by Carpentier, Cabrera Infante and Cliff return to what Glissant calls the "painful notion of time" in Caribbean discourse to show us how histories of dislocation and deterritorialization can be reimagined via the poetic lens.

The third chapter, "Asia-Pacific / Caribbean Militourism Nexus: Island Spaces on the Edges of the US Imaginary," looks at Asia Pacific and the Caribbean as regions in what Teresia Teaiwa calls a "militouristic" nexus along the shores of US empire as well as the forces of globalization and the geographies of resistance that emerge in the wake of these historical struggles for sovereignty and self-determination. Here I return to Maxine Hong Kingston and her multi-generic text, *The Fifth Book of Peace*, alongside Puerto-Rican / Hawaiian writer and activist Rodney Morales' novel *When the Shark Bites* to track the ongoing contemporary struggles against US militarism in island spaces and the social movements that emerge in resistance to continuing impositions of US empire. Beyond their experience of an imperial-colonial past, Pacific Island locales in particular have experienced a scientific-nuclear present wherein they have become the "nuclear playground" as Stewart Firth indicates, to an ongoing war of imperial powers vying for control of the region and the globe.

In what follows here, the third and final part of my introduction turns to three writers and scholars: Asia-Pacific American author Maxine Hong Kingston and her body of work, alongside Trinidadian born CLR James, and postcolonial Palestinian-American scholar Edward Said to help outline the elements of a transnational reading and writing strategy that I will use to approach the case studies in my later chapters.

III. Reading and Writing Transnationally: A Reading Methodology for Texts at the Edges of US Empire

From Angel to Ellis Island

As they were saying good-bye, the smuggler said, “Look,” and pointed into the harbor. The father was thrilled enough to see the sky and skyscrapers. “There.” A gray and green giantess stood on the gray water; her clothes, though seeming to swirl, were stiff in the wind and moving sea. She was a statue, and she carried fire and a book. “Is she a goddess of theirs?” the father asked. “No,” said the smuggler, “they don’t have goddesses. She is a symbol of an idea.” He was glad to hear that the Americans saw the idea of Liberty so real that they made a statue of it. The father walked off the ship and onto the Gold Mountain.

—Maxine Hong Kingston, *China Men*²⁰

Chinese American author Maxine Hong Kingston (b. 1940) made her literary debut with her work of nonfiction, *The Woman Warrior* (1976), which won the National Book Critics Circle Award for best work of nonfiction in the same year. She followed this work up with a second work of nonfiction, *China Men* (1980), four years later. In the passage excerpted from this text above, we see Kingston’s idealized vision of one of the many routes of entry her Baba, or father, could have taken into the United States. In the passage above, Kingston imagines an epic stowaway journey for her father, when upon exiting his hiding place, and conversing with his smuggler, he emerges to meet what has become the symbol of immigrant arrival on Ellis Island, the Statue of Liberty. This epic narrative ends with a vision of Baba walking “off the ship and onto the Gold Mountain”—a utopic vision—which Kingston quickly dissipates with her second story.

²⁰ Maxine Hong Kingston, (1980) *China Men*. (New York: Vintage Books. 1989): 53. All subsequent references will be made in the text as Kingston, *CM*.

Kingston trades Baba's epic goddess-like vision of the Statue of Liberty on Ellis Island, and the statue's gowns, fire and book at the Atlantic edge for the more familiar story of Chinese arrival on Angel Island at the Pacific edge. Both of these projected narratives take into account the edges of the nation, signaled by island points of entry—almost, but not yet, incorporated into the body of the nation and its citizenry. Kingston, however, revises the first romantic Atlantic-island tale for one more realistic—the one she “knows.” In revising this previous myth of arrival she acknowledges,

Of course, my father could not have come that way. He came a legal way, something like this: Arriving in San Francisco Bay, the legal father was detained for an indefinite time at the Immigration Station on Angel Island almost within swimming distance of San Francisco. In a wooden house, a white demon physically examined him, poked him in the ass and genitals, looked in his mouth, pulled his eyelids with a hook. This was not the way a father ought to have been greeted. (Kingston, *CM* 53)

Rather than being met with a symbol of Liberty and opportunity for success contained in the images of the Statue and “Gold Mountain,” Kingston's Baba is met with the actuality of detainment and inspection. In the single context of Kingston's text, she simultaneously weighs two historical possibilities, having to settle for the history she “knows,” but not without projecting the other utopic possibility, and in effect she captures the grim nature of the “reality” of Baba's arrival and all the utopic ideals thwarted in the first vision of America. Ultimately, the story Kingston does construct to describe her father's process of arrival is filled with holes, gaps, and elements unknown. She takes it upon herself as a writer to have to fill in those missing threads. She imagines for herself the details never revealed by her relative:

Baba never told us about sailing on a ship. He did not say whether he was a carpenter or crewman or passenger from Canton or Macao or Hong Kong. Did masts and riggings, sails, smokestacks, and bridges block the sky? Or could he stand on the deck and again see the sky without anything in the way? He would have suitcases full of dried food. He would have brought seeds of every kind of vegetable. (Kingston, *CM* 48)

Kingston imagines Baba upon his arrival, while detained, as a writing instructor and mediator to the detainees both leaving and arriving on the isle, giving an on the ground account of what has become known as the poetry of Chinese detainees on Angel Island: ““What is a poem exactly?” asked an illiterate man, a Gold Mountain Sojourner who had spent twenty years in America and was on his way back to see his family. “Let me give it a try”” (57). In these beginning pages of “The Father from China,” Kingston sets up what becomes a poetic genealogy of arrival and struggle of all her China Men ancestors.

The literary frames of Kingston’s familial memoir create an imaginative history that looks East to China, to Hawai‘i Pacific, to the Atlantic East coast via Ellis Island and the West Coast via San Francisco and Angel Island as well as inland to the Sierra Nevadas or, the Gold Mountain. Her framework performs a “worlding” of globe-girdling proportions—localized histories are positioned together to span the globe and produce a trans-regional / trans-national perspective. Thus, Kingston’s own experimentations with a method of poetic historiography and her efforts at “worlding” and writing transnationally, which enable her audience to read transnationally, begin in her works of non-fiction. In her chapter entitled, “The Laws,” which is sandwiched in the middle of the memoir, Kingston calls our attention to potential official historical signposts of Chinese American experience in America,

signified by official decrees like the Burlingame Treaty of 1868 where “40,000 miners of Chinese ancestry were Driven Out,” or in 1878 where, “California held a Constitutional Convention to settle “the Chinese problem,”” or in 1904 where, “The Chinese Exclusion Acts were extended indefinitely, and made to cover Hawai‘i and the Philippines” (152-159). These officially recognized dates and decrees only become the skeleton on which Kingston’s detailed yet imaginative memoir can be born; an on the ground history documenting the experience of her ancestors only remains to be told after reviewing “The Laws.” The inability of “the Laws” to capture this experience and her necessary vision of the role that her ancestors play only become more clear as her story unfolds.

What is at stake in Kingston’s imaginative retelling of her ancestor’s experience is a type of writing that takes us across borders and time periods, across centuries and across oceans, literally ranging from the Sandalwood mountains of Hawai‘i to the Sierra Nevada. Kingston’s process of writing, and in effect our reading of her poetic historiography of the trans-Pacific routes of her ancestors, helps me to outline the tenants of a method for reading and writing transnationally. In a text like Kingston’s we can identify certain motifs that help us to outline a method of transnational writing. She provides us with a history “from below,” literally on the ground, from within the underground tunnels, stowaway boxes, from within the hold of the ship, wherein this type of history can disrupt more official histories provided by the State. The imaginative retelling of history from below captures these locales in a state of change and transition. Looking at these junctures can account for shifting

and changing economies specific to a particular place and time. As a result, a more international / global history stands in where one that was previously merely national or dictated by the State was incomplete. In writing and reading transnationally, the author's own "lines of flight" become visible and become part of the telling of the story itself as the author deals with liminal border crossings of one's own. A transnational reading and writing practice accounts for local inhabitants' relationship to the land and develops a concept of geologic time that ultimately challenges our human-imposed borders and dividing lines on maps the globe. The model for writing and reading texts transnationally that we can solicit from Kingston's own writing practice can serve as a model for reading other texts as well.

In terms of authorial lines of flight, Gilles Deleuze sees these flight lines as a particular aspect of Anglo-American literature. Looking at his treatment of a list of classic English and American authors whom he takes as exceptional, in contrast to his own national canon, Deleuze seeks to pull out the roads of possibility in Anglo-American literature. In his testament "On the Superiority of Anglo-American Literature" from *Dialogues*, Deleuze describes the lines of flight at stake for quite a cast of writing characters:

To fly is to trace a line, lines, long, a whole cartography. One only discovers worlds through a long, broken flight. Anglo-American literature constantly shows these ruptures, these characters who create their line of flight, who create through a line of flight. Thomas Hardy, Melville, Stevenson, Virginia Woolf, Thomas Wolfe, Lawrence, Fitzgerald, Miller, Kerouac. In them, everything is departure, becoming, passage, leap, daemon, relationship with the outside... American literature operates according to geographical lines: the flight towards the West, the discovery that the true East is in the West, the

sense of the frontiers as something to cross, to push back, to go beyond. The becoming is geographical.²¹

Deleuze's conceptualizations of authorial flight lines and geographical becoming can be useful in tracing the writing processes of writers of our ethnic American canon as well as the classic canonical authors he mentions above. Kingston in particular, in her process of writing transnationally, makes the lines of flight and geographical becoming hyper-visible within her memoir(s). For Kingston, the process of writing about and retelling her ancestral story becomes a relationship with these flight lines into and out of the landscape that would-be America.

In her chapter from *China Men* entitled, "Great Grandfather of the Sandalwood Mountains," Kingston outlines her own flight lines and future-potential routes. Bringing her own wishes for travel to the forefront of her own text, she projects,

I'd like to go to China if I can get a visa...I want to talk to Cantonese, who have always been revolutionaries, nonconformists, people with fabulous imaginations, people who invented the Gold Mountain. I want to discern what it is that makes people go West and turn into Americans. I want to compare China, a country I made up, with what country is really out there. (Kingston, *CM* 87)

While considering the limits of her own eastern flight lines at the time of writing, she reflects,

I have gone east, that is, as far as Hawai'i, where I have stood alongside the highway at the edge of the sugarcane and listened for the voices of the great grandfathers. But the cane is merely green in the sunlight; the tassels waving

²¹See Gilles Deleuze & Claire Parnet, "On the Superiority of Anglo-American Literature" *Dialogues*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987): 36-7. All subsequent references will be made in the text at Deleuze, *OSAAL*.

in the wind make no blurry fuzzy outlines that I can construe as a message from them. (88)

While she admits that a message from her ancestors in the sugar cane is difficult to interpret, still, the “land sings” and she is further inspired to listen to the landscape again in search of their story:

The Navy continues to bomb Kaho’olawe and the Army blasts the green skin off the red mountains of O’ahu. But the land sings. We heard something. It’s a tribute to the pioneers to have a living island named after their work hat. I have heard the land sing. I have seen the bright blue streaks of spirits whisking through the air. I again search for my American ancestors by listening to the cane. (90)

Kingston’s Sandalwood Mountain chapter is one layer in the complex story to be written about the role of her ancestors in a soon to be, but not yet, American landscape. In describing the history of her great grandfather Bak Goong and his routes through the Hawaiian plantation system preceding 1856 that ultimately transforms the landscape of the island, Kingston notes: “But the Hawaiians quit rather than help pull the boulders out of the earth. The remaining workers plowed around groups of big rocks in the middle of the fields. They were the first human beings to dig into this part of the island and see the meat and bones of the red earth. After the rain, the mud ran like blood” (103). Kingston’s grandfather’s story demands a historical reckoning that takes us much farther back than the 1898 involvement of the US in Hawaiian affairs. Via her text, and the flight line she takes us along into the Sandalwood Mountains, we are privy to the US involvement in both sandalwood and sugar cane production bolstering much of the US’s economic interests in the Hawaiian archipelago. We see the import of Chinese labor to the isle in the wake of

native Hawaiian refusal to torment the landscape in single-crop production that defined the US plantation system globally in the US south as well as the Caribbean. It is via Kingston's memorialization of this labor processes that the "land sings."

Kingston's ancestral history is multi-lateral in its approach. She captures the routes in to the nation via one father's trajectory through Angel Island while projecting other possibilities of arrival; she touches down in the Hawaiian Islands, further elaborating on the role of Chinese labor to the development of the US plantation system in Hawai'i; and, she also follows the railway inland on the California coast to the Sierra Nevada to track one grandfather's role in constructing the transcontinental railroad. In the chapter, "The Grandfather of the Sierra Nevada Mountains," Kingston tracks Ah Goong's journey: "Listening to a faraway New Year, he had followed the noise and come upon the blasting in the Sierras....Some of the banging came from the war to decide whether or not black people would continue to work for nothing...the work had begun in 1863" (128). Kingston's account provides a vivid on-the-ground history of the Chinese involvement in railroad building and all that entails—not simply the railroad but detonations, bridge building, tunneling. She also periodizes this influx of Chinese labor within the outbreak of the Civil War, America's other divisive conflict over the racialized labor of slavery. And finally what emerges from Ah Goong's reflections projected by Kingston is a concept of geologic time in contrast to human time:

After tunneling into the granite for about three years, Ah Goong understood the immovability of the earth. Men change, men die, weather changes, but a mountain is the same as permanence and time. This mountain would have taken no new shape for centuries, ten thousand centuries, the world a still, still

place, time unmoving. He worked in the tunnel so long, he learned to see many colors in black. When he stumbled out, he tried to talk about time. "I felt time," he said. "I saw time. I saw world." He tried again, "I saw what's real. I saw time, and it doesn't move. If we break through the mountain, hollow it, time won't have moved anyway. You translators ought to tell the foreigners that. (135)

Here Ah Goong looks at the role of human intervention in the landscape which "would have taken no new shape for centuries" without the role of dynamite and the molding of the mountain to account for the needs of the transcontinental railroad project. Having been immersed in technology's role in changing the landscape, Ah Goong is placed in a disorienting relationship with time and space. In the midst of the North-South conflict over secession and slavery, Kingston's Ah Goong takes note of the East-West linkage made possible via the labor force of his fellow Chinese, but he notes how quickly any appreciation of this labor force was lost by the white capitalists:

...the engine from the West and the one from the East rolled toward one another and touched. The transcontinental railroad was finished...the white demon officials gave speeches. "The Greatest Feat in the History of Mankind," they said, "Only Americans could have done it," they said, which is true. Even if Ah Goong had not spent half his gold on Citizenship Papers, he was an American for having built the railroad....

While the demons posed for photographs, the China Men dispersed. It was dangerous to stay. The Driving Out had begun. Ah Goong does not appear in the railroad photographs. (145)

In the wake of the completion of the transcontinental railroad, the China Men workers are driven out and disperse all over the United States. The poignant irony that the labor force that connected the nation via the building of the railroad was denied citizenship and dismissed after their labor efforts were complete is not lost in

Kingston's account. Kingston captures how, "they built railroads in every part of this country....After the Civil War, China Men banded the nation. North and South, East and West, with crisscrossing steel. They were the binding and building ancestors of this place. Ah Goong would have liked a leisurely walk along the tracks to review his finished handiwork, or to walk east to see the rest of his new country. But instead, Driven Out...." (146). Kingston's review of Ah Goong and others' treatment once the railway was done enables a scathing critique of the policies towards racialized labor forces that built much of what the nation, per say, was to become. I cite Kingston's story of the routes of her various immigrant ancestors at length to bring to the fore what an imaginative retelling of this trans-Pacific story makes possible. We are no longer left with a mere skeleton of facts and decrees as we were with "The Laws," but instead have an imaginative history of the potential routes these Chinese laborers took into the nation, at the same time the nation itself was sorting out its borders and its technological reach. Telling the history of the US nation here, for Kingston, requires a transnational look at the routes of her Chinese-American ancestors.

While both of Kingston's first two books are categorized as works of nonfiction, Kingston was already blurring generic lines with her infusion of memory, myth and fact into her memoirs about her ancestors' Chinese-American experience, working towards her own poetic historiography of Asia-Pacific. By the time we enter into the pages of Kingston's first novel, *Tripmaster Monkey: His Fake Book* (1989), she turns to an equally imaginative medium of the novel to write another inspired story. In *Tripmaster Monkey*, we find a narrative focalized through her imagined

character Wittman Ah Sing: a twenty-something, Chinese-American Cal (i.e., Berkeley) graduate in English Literature. As readers of Kingston's novel, we become an audience to Wittman's life and times in the 1960s "post-beat," San Francisco streets. Concerning the critical literary weight of Kingston's text, literary scholar and poetic cultural activist Rob Wilson notes how Kingston captures,

In excessive, exploratory, and meandering postmodern terms of mythopoetic vision...the post-Beat San Francisco poetic culture and leftist politics of place through her 60s-drenched refiguration of Frank Chin as Asian-American street-theater activist....This remains one of the greatest postwar literary works of San Francisco's mongrel and transpacific-becoming culture has yet produced, as place and self collage and collapse into one mongrel and inter-textual mix by the suicide-haunted Golden Gate Bridge where the "fake book" opens its psychedelic documentary.²²

As Wilson dubs Kingston's text representative of an ongoing mode of "transpacific-becoming," a la Deleuze's flight lines, the psychedelic documentary begins as her narrative focalizes through the figure of Wittman Ah Sing. Our antagonist makes the daily choice not to leap from the Golden Gate Bridge, iconic San Francisco landmark, ultimately choosing life-bringing poesis and creation over war and death, despite the beat-down circumstances in which he finds himself. In an author's note prior to the start of the novel, Kingston herself points to the time period in which the book is set with an added twist: "This fiction is set in the 1960s, a time when some events appeared to occur months or even years anachronistically."²³

²² Rob Sean Wilson, *Beattitudes / Beattitudes: On the Road to Beatitude for Post-Beat Writers, Dharma Bums, and Cultural-Political Activists*. (Santa Cruz, CA: New Pacific Press, 2010): 29. All subsequent references will be made in the text as Wilson, *B/B*.

²³ See Maxine Hong Kingston's, *Tripmaster Monkey: His Fake Book*. (1987). (Vintage International): front-matter, vi. All subsequent references will be made in the text as Kingston, *TM*.

Writing in the late eighties, with a knowledge of the 1960s Berkeley, San Francisco and global scene in hindsight, Kingston infuses her novel with a temporal intuition: Wittman acts as a sage figure ahead of his own time. In a sense, Wittman is a modern-day Bartleby of the Melvillian sort. He would “prefer not to” contribute to the destructive US war machine and would, instead, like to create communal activist theatre art, rallying community, consciousness and awareness amongst his fellow human beings. When we first find him embedded in the San Francisco urbanscape, he is mostly unemployed, having just lost his job at a local toy department store where Wittman acknowledges he has not found fulfillment in his daily work routine of merchandizing the store with new products to buy: “Up again. Insert hooks in pegboard. Down again. Up one more time with the bike. The hooks did not meet the frame; if part of the bicycle fit on one hook, the rest of it did not fit on any of the others. Down. I have not found the right livelihood; this is not my calling. Oh what a waste of my one and only human life and now-time” (54). Wittman reveals in these early pages that he is not willing to take up a life-sapping nine-to-five job that will stunt his ultimate goal of literary and dramatic creativity and social protest, nor is he willing to use his “now-time” to sell war toys that profligate the US military project. “They learn to like the feel of weapons. They’re learning it’s fun to play war,” he tells a customer who responds, “Are you one of those people against war toys?...We didn’t come here to be lectured to” (47). After an especially troublesome day at work with customers, Wittman walks out ruminating, “Ah, *Bartleby*. Ah, *Humanity*,” (65) where Kingston suggestively uses part of his Chinese name “Ah” to combine with the

namesake of Melville's resistant employee, directly engaging the American canon while telling her own trans-Pacific story of protagonist Wittman Ah Sing's refusal to help promulgate consumption of war as fun, as entertainment.

Named after the perhaps proto-beat poet Walt Whitman, Kingston gives Wittman Ah Sing a literary background which, in turn, gives him a strategic location from which to critically comment on the state of the canon of American Literature. In the opening pages of her novel, Kingston's Wittman Ah Sing, whose immigrant Chinese parents accidentally misspell his name in reference to the poet who penned *Leave of Grass*, begins his own prospective literary canon of the West with a very Whitmanian list of texts ranging from Saroyan, Steinbeck, and Kerouac of the 20th century, back to Twain and Stevenson of the 19th century past:

Wittman has begun a someday tradition that may lead to a job as a reader riding the railroads throughout the West. On the train through Fresno—Saroyan; through the Salinas Valley—Steinbeck; through Monterey—*Cannery Row*; along the Big Sur ocean—Jack Kerouac; on the way to Weed—*Of Mice and Men*; in the Mother Lode—Mark Twain and Robert Louis Stevenson, who went on a honeymoon in *The Silverado Squatters*; *Roughing It* through Calaveras County and the Sacramento Valley; through the redwoods—John Muir; up into the Rockies—*The Big Rock Candy Mountain* by Wallace Stegner. Hollywood and San Elmo with John Fante. And all of the Central Valley on the South Pacific with migrant Carlos Bulosan, *America Is in the Heart*. What a repertoire. A lifetime reading job. (Kingston, *TM* 9)

In Wittman's region-traversing suggested reading list, he takes the chance of including Mark Twain's *Roughing It* at the risk of leaving out who he terms, "racist Frank Norris," and "Bret Harte," instead strategically choosing William Saroyan of Armenian-American descent and Carlos Bulosan, Philippine-American writer to represent the Central Valley. All the while, Wittman continues to remain suspicious

of “*Ramona* by Helen Hunt Jackson, in case it turned out to be like *Gone with the Wind*,” refusing sentimental fictions (10). That Helen Hunt Jackson is the only female author that Wittman’s own anti-sentimental leanings leave off the list ironically begs the question of Chinese-American Maxine Hong Kingston’s own location within a contemporary ethnic American women’s literary canon—a critical irony which her creation of Wittman’s list, set in the 1960s, enables Kingston to capture in her own contemporary moment.

However, what Kingston enables her character Wittman to do is engage in the contests and controversies of US canon formation, all the while proposing an alternative reading practice of these classic American texts that gather them together in this ever-fluxuating regional formation called “the West.” Wittman’s position as a Chinese-American looking in on US literary history in the 1960s serves as an occasion to contest the institutionalized US literary canon to which he is exposed at Berkeley’s English Department and from which he is a recent graduate. And despite building this list of what we can assume are some of Wittman’s “favorites,” throughout Kingston’s text Wittman is constantly rebelling against and negotiating with the formative American writers he names. He is simultaneously fascinated by and frustrated with many of the Beat authors in whose footsteps and shadows he follows through the streets of San Francisco.

For example, Wittman figuratively comes to blows with Jack Kerouac in the chapter entitled, “Twisters and Shouters.” Wittman begins to use his free time when he is not working to meander through the city, producing, in effect, a record of his

ramblings along the chaotic Market Street of downtown San Francisco. He takes offense to Kerouac's line, "the twinkling little Chinese," and gives the following retort:

The "twinkling little Chinese" must be none other than himself. "Twinkling"?! "Little"?! Shit. Bumkicked again. If King Kerouac, King of the Beats, were walking here tonight, he'd see Wittman and think "Twinkling little Chinese." Refute "little." Gainsay "twinkling." A man does not twinkle. A man with balls is not little. As a matter of fact, Kerouac, didn't get "Chinese" right either. Big football player white all-American jock Kerouac. Jock Kerouac. I call into question your naming of me. I trust your sight no more. You tell people by their jobs. And by their race. And the wrong race at that. If Ah Sing were to run into Kerouac—grab him by the lapels of his lumberjack shirt. Pull him up on his toes. Listen here you twinkling little Canuck. What do you know, Kerouac? What do you know? You don't know shit. I'm the American here. Fuck Kerouac and his American road anyway. Et tu, Kerouac. Aiya, even you. Just for that I showed you, I grew to six feet. May still be growing. (69-70)

Kingston's figurative battle between Wittman and Kerouac is indeed humorous, but she allows Wittman to point out several elements of Kerouac's background. His family were immigrants from over the French-Canadian border. Wittman uses this moment on Market Street to refute the all-American-ness of one of the best known authors of the contemporary American road. In the process, Wittman claims his own American identity, refusing to only be considered a minority, living life on the hyphen. So even though Wittman cites his essential reading list of the West at the start of the novel, Kingston's text showcases his ongoing negotiation with these authors and texts. In a sense, Kingston's character Wittman undergoes a transformation in relation to the way he puts the Beat texts up on a pedestal. As singer-songwriter Bob Dylan remarks in *Chronicles* (2004) about Kerouac's *On the*

Road, “That book had been a bible for me. Not anymore, though” (qtd, in B/B, Wilson 61). By reading the canon against the grain, from east to west, Wittman ultimately revises the US literary canon in the context of Kingston’s novel, and at the text’s end, he proffers his own form of communal theatrical cultural production as a creative alternative. Indeed the reading job he originally envisions for himself at the opening of the novel, as a reader for the working masses of daily commuters along the roads and rails of California, rails we know from previous memoirs that Kingston’s ancestors built, romantically resembles the ideal position of *el Lector*—the reader Cuban workers elect to provide them with their daily exposure to news and culture while hard at work in the island’s tobacco factories. Kingston’s character Wittman imagines himself as *el lector* in a transnational line of actors raising historical and communal cultural consciousness amongst his fellow workers.

The texts Wittman conjures together in his revised canon of the literary west are markedly texts I would call part of a genre of US literatures of travel—some of which are the object of analysis of my dissertation’s first chapter. He cites both nonfiction, like Twain’s *Roughing It*, and fictional texts, like Steinbeck’s *Of Mice and Men*, breaking down the generic boundaries of what counts as American literatures of travel. While traditional models of looking at travelogues may only see them through the rubric of non-fiction prose, my dissertation takes its methodological cue from the reading practices of Maxine Hong Kingston’s imagined character Wittman and seeks to read and write across these generic lines—muddling the divisive generic divisions between American fiction and non-fiction, prose and poetry—tasks in which

Kingston herself as a writer is deeply invested in terms of her own literary production.

In Kingston's text, Wittman becomes our very own tripmaster through San Francisco. Once he teams up with Taña, a young white artist he meets at a party one evening given at his best friend Japanese-American Lance's house, we go on a whirlwind tour of the city. Wittman's urban flight lines take us up to Coit Tower: "Zip into the City quick past El Barrio Chino, and up Telegraph Hill to Coit Tower. Wittman parked next to Christopher Columbus, who stands with a foot on a rock and his nose toward the Golden Gate and the Pacific beyond" (161). Upon arrival, Wittman tells Taña, "'Welcome to my estate,'" placing his own stamp on the city, and proceeds up the tower to take in the view where he sees, "Angel Island too, waiting for us to come back and make a theater out of the Wooden House, where our seraphic ancestors did time. Desolation China Man angels" (161). He follows with a tribute to his namesake Walt Whitman:

*Facing west from California's shores,
Inquiring, tireless, seeking what is yet unfound,
I, as a child, very old, over waves, towards the house
of maternity, the land of migrations, look afar,
look off the shores of my Western sea, the circle
almost circled... (162)*

What emerges in Kingston's narration is an alternative vision of San Francisco, as narrated by Wittman, as Wilson calls it a zone of "transpacific-becoming," of which we are the audience. Wittman carries away his days constructing a long poem-play, for which he recruits anyone and everyone of the city with whom he has interacted to be a part—his former classmates at Cal, Lance and Nancy; the Yale Younger Poet

with whom he worked retail becomes Rudyard Kipling in his play; Mr. Leroy Sanchez, the unemployment officer, from the Office of Human Development takes on the part of a poker player. Wittman's theory of set-props and playwriting is, admittedly, an eclectic one:

A backscratcher from a Singapore sling, a paper umbrella from an aloha mai tai, a Buddha bottle with a head that unscrews—make something of it. Use it. From these chicken scraps and dog scraps, learn what a Chinese-American is made up of. Yes, the music boat has sailed into San Francisco Bay, and the boatman is reunited with his troupe. Write the play ahead of them to include everyone and everything. (277)

Wittman's play is the ultimate coming-together of his "chosen family" and his chosen San Francisco community. One of his biggest goals is to inspire people to turn to the artistic creation and community building proffered by theater which raises consciousness, rather than support the Vietnam War effort, one which he believes is ultimately destructive of consciousness for fellow human beings. After the multiple acts of his play have spanned and spilled over into several nights, and after his community performs the grand finale of his play in what seems to be a huge explosion, as Wittman states, "Go up in flames and down in history" (303), he reappears on stage alone for one last night to go over reviews of his production. Wittman admits to producing the previous night only "an illusion of fire" (305). What he instead testifies to his audience is that war and revolution have lost their way: "We keep losing our way on the short cut—killing for freedom and liberty and community and a better economy. Wittman could have torched the curtains and the dry flowers; he could have downpoured the oil lamps onto the chairs and fruit crates...But no, Wittman would not have tried to burn the City. It's all too beautiful to burn" (306).

The final night of Wittman's play features him giving a grand soliloquy or "filibuster," covering a range of topics that anger him from the treatment of his play as if it were a Chinese food dish in the reviews, to his critique of life on the hypen for various ethnic minorities in the states, to his gripe with one of the Beat poets at the Howl Trial, where we find he was in attendance. All along the way, despite, his attempt to hold the stage, he encourages various interruptions and interactions from the audience. Wittman continues by wondering what peace-time would actually look like: "Whatever there is when there isn't war has to be invented. What do people do in peace? Peace has barely been thought" (306). In reflecting on the community Wittman's theater is in the process of creating, Kingston notes, "He was defining a community, which will meet every night for a season. Community is not built once-and-for-all; people have to imagine, practice, and recreate it" (306). Kingston's text closes with Wittman on a new threshold, having completed the staging of his play, with the decisive mantra: "he will not go to Viet Nam or to any war" (340).

For Kingston, Wittman Ah Sing is an unruly character, an upstart, her Monkey-Trickster figure, who neither obeys the social norms of his time period nor the seemingly finalized bounds of a book or a continent, either. In true post-beat fashion, after *Tripmaster Monkey* concludes, Wittman and family look for oceanic inspiration, traveling across the Pacific to Hawaiian shores. After his stint in San Francisco ends in *Tripmaster Monkey*, feeling "down and out but full of intense conviction" (qtd. in Wilson, B/B 62), as Kerouac suggests in his "Aftermath: The Philosophy of the Beat Generation," in *Good Blonde and Others* (1958), we see

Wittman pop up in a section of Kingston's combined memoir and fiction, *The Fifth Book of Peace* (2003). In the context of Kingston's new book, into which Wittman et al take a trans-textual leap, Wittman and his wife Taña and their young son retreat from the shores of San Francisco to head further "Westward East," terminology Kingston coins, to Hawai'i in an attempt for Wittman to dodge the Vietnam War draft. This trans-textual leap will be the subject of my analysis in chapter three of this dissertation.

Wittman returns again later in her most recent prose-poem-memoir-travelogue, "I Love a Broad Margin to My Life" (2011), which takes its title from a line in Thoreau's "Walden," again pointing back to the formative American regional canon. Wittman reappears in the long poem and brings everything full-circle to become Kingston's very own Tripmaster on her travels back to China, despite the fact that it is his first journey there and her twelfth. Kingston admits to keeping the fictional Wittman alive in the course of their dual journey together because she does not like to travel alone: "Now, I, Maxine, could let Wittman die, / let him die in the China of his dreams, / and proceed on this journey alone."²⁴ However, Kingston seems committed here to the necessary infusion of fiction and nonfiction in her prose poem: "But I don't like / traveling by myself. I ought to learn to go / places on my own, good for my character, / to be self reliant" (Kingston, *ILB* 104). However, troubling the Transcendentalist vision of self-reliance, she confesses, "Why I need a companion, Monkey, along: / He's unafraid and unembarrassed to butt / and nose into

²⁴ Maxine Hong Kingston's, "I Love a Broad Margin to My Life." (New York: Alfred Knopf, 2011): 103. All subsequent references will be made in the text, noted as Kingston, *ILB*.

other people's business. / He likes chatting with them and partying with them" (104). Conversely, Maxine, "would rather hide, and spy, and overhear, / find out who people are when I'm not there..." (104). Wittman, "a fiction, is free to befriend / anyone, and tell about them..." (104). In a sense, Wittman as a fiction allows Kingston to invent a creative world in which he can interact by proxy for her in situations she usually may flee from or not be brave enough to confront in real life, confirming both nonfiction and fiction's possibilities and limits that Kingston lays out earlier in *The Fifth Book of Peace*. She addresses the necessary ongoing dual roles of fiction and nonfiction and comments specifically on the possibilities proffered via the fictional genre: "Fiction cares for others; it is compassion, and gives others voice. It time-travels the past and the future, and pulls the not-now, not-yet into existence."²⁵ Kingston also notes, however, that her fiction is not enough to see how events pan out: "Things that fiction can't solve must be worked out in life" (Kingston, *FBP* 241). Thus Kingston and her invented character Wittman continue to work in tandem to combat both the geo-political wars of Vietnam and the Middle East and U.S. Military prowess that she addresses in her texts, the conflicts of ethnic American identity, and the role of American geo-political power globally as well as the canon wars of the fabric of American Literature. The topics that Kingston as author and Wittman as figural character take on together are the core topics of concern of this dissertation.

Kingston enacts in both her fiction and nonfiction the kind of transnational reading practice I adopt as my methodology for the texts I approach in my

²⁵ Maxine Hong Kingston's, *The Fifth Book of Peace*. (New York: Vintage International, 2003): 62. All subsequent references will be made in the text, noted as Kingston, *FBP*.

dissertation. To rearticulate the elements of Kingston's method, she constantly troubles the easy bounds of generic and temporal lines in her own creative works. She employs intertextuality with the presence of her invented characters in several of her works and she simultaneously invites other works of global fiction and non-fiction into the pages of her texts, allowing them to speak and carry on seemingly impossible and oftentimes anachronistic conversations. Within her works she enables a rereading of generic and canonical lines as we know them in our academic institutions, forcing us to read across generic lines and geographical as well as national boundaries for any *real* story to emerge or for our cultural history to make sense. In this sense we need the contemporary ethnic American canon to reread the classic American texts she wrenches into the pages of her fiction and nonfiction. The story Kingston tells requires this movement across several genres, texts and contexts with her transnational reading and writing practice.

Bringing in a classic canonical text of the American tradition and making the text an interlocutor in one's own work is a strategic move that allows ethnic-American authors as well as postcolonial authors to critically assess the canon itself and the politics of its formation. It is also a strategic anachronistic move that enables these seemingly impossible conversations to take place years hence. Trinidadian born author and historian CLR James, in his text *Mariners, Renegades, & Castaways: The Story of Herman Melville and the World We Live In* (1953), brings under critical analysis Melville's pantheon of works, namely what comes to be Melville's canonical masterpiece, *Moby Dick*. CLR James does so, however, in order to bring critical

commentary on his contemporary political situation in the US. After forging a life as a writer and historian, and spending over a decade in the US working as a journalist, writing and lecturing, CLR James found himself, in the middle of the Cold War and the persecution of radical intellectuals, caught up for detention by the I.N.S. on Ellis Island for “passport violations.” What had come under scrutiny for James, in addition to his political leanings were his texts—his intellectual work, namely, his *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L’Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* and *A History of Pan-African Revolt*, both originally published in 1938 and especially his text on *The Rise and Fall of the Communist International* (1937). It is during his detention on Ellis Island, to ironically wrest the symbol of “liberty” that Kingston provides us with in her father’s mythic arrival to America’s Atlantic shores, that the intellectual liberty of James comes under attack by the US Department of Justice. In commenting on the governmental scrutiny of his intellectual work, James notes, “It now appears that such work, serious work and some of it pioneer work, on some of the burning problems of the day, have unfitted me to become a citizen of the United States. This can mean only one thing: that the Department of Justice now assumes the right to say what a citizen or would-be citizen should study.”²⁶

What James does with Melville’s masterpiece, drawn into the American literary canon circa the American Renaissance, though it was not popular in the time of its initial publication in 1851 compared to Melville’s other travel texts on the South

²⁶ See CLR James’, (1953) *Mariners, Renegades, & Castaways: The Story of Herman Melville and the World We Live In*. (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2001): 157. All subsequent references will appear in the text as *MRC*.

Seas, is use Melville's portrayal of Ahab and his tendency towards totalitarianism as a model or allegory for his own detention. American Studies scholar Donald Pease, in his introduction to the reissued edition on CLR James's treatise outlines the kind of method employed in James's writing process. Pease states, "The writing practice that James fashioned...enabled him to turn relatively discrete questions concerning the interpretation of Melville's novels into reflections on much more significant matters of social change and transformation."²⁷ In contrast with the American Studies disciplinary formations that were brewing at the time of James's writing, Pease suggests James's work was able to call these field formations under scrutiny:

The disciplines within the field of American Studies intersected with the United States as a geopolitical area whose boundaries field specialists were assigned the task of at once naturalizing and policing. Previous interpreters of *Moby Dick* had accommodated its themes to the national mythology through which they had demarcated and policed the national border. Rather than corroborating the nationalist imperatives organizing the field of American Studies, James questioned the dominant discourses and assumptions within the field. (Pease xxix)

One of the chief differences of James's analysis was instead of interpreting the text from the perspective of Ahab alone, he also looked at it from the mariners' perspective. Pease notes how this move, "in effect, minoritized the classic. His interpretation produced knowledge about *Moby Dick* that turned it into a cultural process that could not be confined by a national telos. According to Pease, James's methodology in looking at the story from the perspective of the international crew "rendered it impossible to determine to whose national culture it now belonged"

²⁷ Donald Pease's introduction to CLR James's text appears as, "C.L.R. James's *Mariners, Renegades and Castaways and the World We Live In*," CLR James's, (1953) *Mariners, Renegades, & Castaways: The Story of Herman Melville and the World We Live In*. (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2001): xii. All subsequent references will be made in the text.

(xxx). Indeed, Pease cites James's text and interpretive strategy as one that can "enable a transition from American Studies to Transnational American Studies" (xxx) wherein, "Transnational American Studies does not merely refer to the movement but also to the objects taken up for analysis and the means of analyzing them," and it can "displace as well the centrality of the United States as the organizational matrix of transnational studies" (xxx). Thus, in drawing from the strategies of James's reading and writing practice and Donald Pease's presentation of his practice as an essential shift towards a Transnational American Studies, we can take away from James the impetus to "minoritize" the classics; return to them and in our rereading look at them from the perspective of "the crew" or the "proletariat"; bring to our attention the border crossings or challenges posed to borders contained in each text; ask questions about how the text itself decenters the US and offers a more hemispheric approach to the discipline of American Studies.

Gathering together the reading and writing strategies of Maxine Hong Kingston of Asia-Pacific and CLR James of the Caribbean-Atlantic, I close this introduction by linking up to one more reading strategy proffered by the field of postcolonial studies and the late Edward Said. In Said's now classic text, *Culture and Imperialism*, Said turns to the canon of English classics to employ a strategy of "contrapuntal reading" that enables him to make visible the imperial geographies contained in the classics. Said asserts that,

We now know that these non-European peoples did not accept with indifference the authority projected over them, or the general silence on which their presence in variously attenuated forms is predicated. We must therefore read the great canonical texts, and perhaps also the entire archive of modern

and pre-modern European and American culture, with an effort to draw out, extend, give emphasis and voice to what is silent or marginally present or ideologically represented (I have in mind Kipling's Indian characters) in such works.²⁸

Drawing on the anti-colonial resistance that emerged around much of the world in response to imperial powers' colonial endeavors and their representations of "the other" in their national literatures, Said suggests we return to the classics of these national literatures for a re-reading, looking for the "silent" or "marginally present" colonial trace. Returning to canonical classics with the strategy of contrapuntal reading can reveal much about the racial and imperial discursive practices of the time period. Said suggests,

In practical terms, "contrapuntal reading" as I have called it means reading a text with an understanding of what is involved when an author shows for instance, that a colonial sugar plantation is seen as important to the process of maintaining a particular style of life in England. (Said, *CI* 66)

Thus, Said's strategy of contrapuntal reading decenters the imperial power of England and recenters on the hemispheric reach and on the facets of empire necessary, i.e. a colonial sugar plantation in, say, the Caribbean, or the Hawaiian Islands, to maintain desired levels sugar of consumption in the metropole. For Said, it becomes apparent that many of these classic texts and their authors are participating in the imperial processes of the nation, however he maintains that, "The point is that contrapuntal reading must take account of both processes, that of imperialism and that of resistance to it" (66). Said is keen to hone in on the "structures of feeling" created within a text that lend towards its role in proliferating imperialism: "I shall be trying to

²⁸ Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism*. (New York: Vintage Books, 1993): 66. All subsequent references will be made in the text as Said, *CI*.

show throughout this book the literature itself makes constant references to itself as somehow participating in Europe's overseas expansion, and therefore creates what [Raymond] Williams calls "structures of feeling" that support, elaborate, and consolidate the practices of empire" (14).

What I would like to take away from Said's strategy of "contrapuntal reading" and join up with Kingston and James's transnational writing and reading strategies is a means of approaching our classic American texts by what have become canonical authors; trace their authorial flight lines to the edges of empire in the US context that we might see what kind of discursive work their texts do / have done there in the name of US empire. A transnational contrapuntal mode of rereading and minoritizing texts will trace out the overseas paths of American authors and use these moments as windows for seeing how racial and imperial discourses operated at the edges of US empire, even as the national body remained unfinished and was shifting and expanding. In looking at contemporary texts by ethnic American or postcolonial authors, we can trace these transtextual and transnational leaps of canonical authors into the pages of imaginative works, especially in cases like Maxine Hong Kingston and Michelle Cliff. In what follows, I intend to employ this reading methodology to look at a range of texts from the American travel canon as well as by Asia-Pacific and Caribbean authors as a means to keep this conversation between past and present going and the debates concerning the paths of US empire and resistance to it fruitful, awake and alive on the edges.

Chapter One

Reading the 19th Century US Travelogue Transnationally: Contact Zone Geographies before 1848 and 1898 Periodizations of US Empire

The Shifting Borderlands of the 19th Century American Travelogue

Accordingly it is useful to describe the types of sources by their social historical coordinates. By no means does this allow us to make an exhaustive criticism. But at least as important as the supposed “biases” introduced by the particular interests of the journalists is the fact that their interests and biases are constitutive of what they are talking about. As much as the texts are “distortions” of “reality,” they represent the organization of it.

—Marshall Sahlins, *Anahulu*²⁹

...the “discovery” itself, even within the ideology of discovery, has no existence of its own. It only gets “made” for real after the traveler (or other survivor) returns home, and brings it into being through texts: a name on a map, a report to the Royal Geographical Society, the Foreign Office, the London Mission Society, a diary, a lecture, a travel book. Here is language charged with making the world in the most singlehanded way, and with high stakes. As the explorers found out, lots of money and prestige rode on what you could convince others to give you credit for.

—Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*³⁰

As Marshall Sahlins notes in *Anahulu*, his critical study towards creating an anthropology of history in the Kingdom of Hawai‘i, it is useful to locate writers and sources by their “social historical coordinates” reminding us of how critical it is to locate an author’s text in his or her particular discursive context in place and time.

²⁹ See Marshall Sahlins and Patrick V. Kirch. *Anahulu: The Anthropology of History in the Kingdom of Hawai‘i*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992. Vols. 1: 4-5.

³⁰ Pratt, *Ibid.*, p. 204.

Rather than dismissing writers' texts as biased or purely subjective, he challenges us to see how travel writers and journalists' interests and biases of their time seep into their subjective accounts. However, in revealing these biases, we see how these writers organize their reality and become part of constructing the geo-political time and place they observe. To follow with Pratt, she duly notes that, "Here is language charged with making the world in the most singlehanded way, and with high stakes" (Pratt 204). For Pratt and Sahlins, the writings of journalists, official representatives of geographic societies or governments, the lecture (in lieu of television and internet in the 19th century), memoirists, and travel guides all share a role in constructing the geo-cultural reality they seek to represent for their audience. Taking its cue from the impetus of Pratt and Sahlins to see the role of the travel writer as dealing in "language charged with making the world" and "with high stakes," chapter one takes as its object the 19th century American travelogue in general, and in particular the two case studies of Richard Henry Dana, Jr. and Mark Twain. The 19th century travelogue of the west in American literature situates us within the shifting imperial, national, economic and cultural boundaries and explores the boundaries of the national frame at the same time its writer is traversing national borders. A writer becomes identified as an 'American' writer, in effect, by writing about locales that are outside of, not yet, or never have become consolidated as "the nation."

Travel writings in English by American writers have historically been concerned with overland and pioneering narratives written both by men and women. It is a complex body of literature in its own right with a constantly shifting frontier

line. For writers like Caroline Kirkland, in her 1839 narrative, *A New Home, Who'll Follow? Or, Glimpses of Western Life*, the wild western frontier is in Michigan.³¹ Contemporary borderlands / *la frontera* theory proffers a more critical view of north/south visions of empire alongside east/west expansion. The critical mode of perception of borderlands / *la frontera* theory challenges the declaration made over a century ago by the Superintendent of the US census in 1890 that there remained “hardly a frontier line” left and that the frontier, in essence, was closed.³²

We can trace a long line of borderlands theory in American History back to Fredrick Jackson Turner’s 1893 treatise at the American Historical Society wherein he brings under scrutiny the declaration that the frontier as of 1890 was “closed.” Turner does indeed admit in 1893 that the US census’s statement “marks the closing of a great historic movement. Up to our own day American history has been in a large degree the history of the colonization of the Great West” (FJ Turner 199). Within his historic treatise, Turner declares the “frontier as a fertile field for investigation” (200) and that “the advance of the frontier has meant a steady movement away from the influence of Europe, a steady growth of independence along American lines. . . . to study this advance, the men who grew up under these conditions, and the political, economic, and social results of it, is to study the really American part of our history” (201). Within the confines of Turner’s frontier thesis we have the beginning of the

³¹ See Caroline Kirkland’s (1839) *A New Home, Who'll Follow? Or, Glimpses of Western Life*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1996, for narrative about the frontier town of Detroit, Michigan.

³² *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1893*. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894): 199. Frederick Jackson Turner’s piece, “XVIII.—The Significance of the Frontier in American History” (1893) appears in this annual report. All subsequent references will be made in the text.

field of American borderlands cultural studies. Obviously, Turner's limited continental, male-centered, east-to-west focus must come under scrutiny then and now. The declaration of the closure of the expansive frontier lines as of 1890 seems ironic today looking back in hindsight, when in 1893 US economic entrepreneurs had been well underway organizing the strategic annexation of the Hawaiian kingdom and national forces would soon be involved in territorial battles in both the Caribbean and the Pacific by 1898. Clearly if the US census bureau had declared the continental frontier closed as of 1890, the frontier had long been looking elsewhere overseas for a site for its shifting line of territorial expansion. However, despite its limitations, Turner's thesis does begin the critical historical work of looking at the "successive frontiers" (205) of American colonial expansion and forces us in his description of the "stages of frontier advance" (202) to see the national geographical body as an ongoing construction and the national map as a shifting process wherein "the frontier furnishes a field for comparative study of social development" (206). Embedded in Turner's frontier thesis is the mantra that still rings true at the heart of borderlands / *la frontera* critiques today: the frontier and its shifting, fluxuating line was and still is a site of intense cultural and political contestation. Both Turner's call to look at the shifting frontier lines of American expansion and the contemporary call by borderlands / *la frontera* theory to see the borderland as a site of intense contestation are useful to generate a transnational reading method that seeks to account for the spatio-temporal depiction of frontier and island spaces as they are represented in travel writing.

Recuperative efforts to read literatures from Spanish language sources in the contact zone emerging at this transitional period of California history include Rosaura Sanchez's *Telling Identities: The Californio Testimonios*³³, which captures the shift in colonial power from Spanish to Mexican to American hands, as well as Michelle Morton's research on multi-lingual narratives about California in her doctoral thesis, "Utopian and Dystopian Visions of California in the Historical Imagination."³⁴ Morton reads French, Spanish and English language texts for what they tell us about this time period on the coast. Morton captures the transnational site of competing imperialisms that was California in this historical period:

Within the space of less than one hundred years (1769-1850), California experienced a kind of compressed colonial moment with a flurry of interest from imperial powers (Spain, France, Russia, England), multiple conquests (by Spain, Mexico, and the United States), and a number of overlapping political discourses and modes of production. This high volume of attention produced a body of literature on California that figures the region from a wide range of perspectives: those of evangelical missionaries and civil servants of the Spanish empire; French, British, and Spanish scientists and humanists; commercial agents of European empires; Mexican liberals and republicans; and voluminous U.S. "frontier" writers and agents of Manifest Destiny. (Morton 5)

In the context of this chapter, I choose Richard Henry Dana Jr.'s text *Two Years Before the Mast* (1840) out of this body of literature on California for closer examination because his work remains unique as one of the first documents in English on California by a Bostonian-American traveling as a member of the ship's

³³ See Rosaura Sanchez's, *Telling Identities: The Californio Testimonios*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995) for her completion and critical analysis of the testimonies of the *Californio* population (Mexicans of Spanish descent) during the time period of the shift in power from Spanish to Mexican to American hands of the territory that has become the state of California.

³⁴ See Michelle Morton's, "Utopian and Dystopian Visions of California in the Historical Imagination," Unpublished Dissertation, (University of California, Santa Cruz, June 2005). All subsequent references will be made in the text.

crew, via Cape Horn, and disembarking on California's shores for extended periods of time. His text became the guide book for early pioneers arriving in California as did Bayard Taylor's *El Dorado*, for those caught up in the Gold Fever of a later time period.³⁵

The travel writers of the time seem well aware that the times they are capturing are historically transformative. In *El Dorado: Adventures in the Path of Empire*, Bayard Taylor is conscious that he is capturing in 1850 the shifting frontier lines Turner will later deem as closed in 1893. Taylor writes in his "Preface":

Seeing so much that was worthy of being described—so many curious and shifting phases of society—such examples of growth and progress most wonderful in their first stage, in a word, the entire construction of a new and sovereign State, and the establishment of a great commercial metropolis on the Pacific coast—the author suffered no opportunity to pass, which might qualify him to preserve their fleeting images. As he was troubled by no dreams of gold and took no part in exciting schemes of trade, he has hoped to give an impartial coloring to the picture. (Taylor vii)

Here, writers like Taylor deny that their accounts will be colored or tainted with the aims of trade or the fever for gold that impressed most of the travelers to the region at the time. However, as Michelle Morton reminds us, "The journals and reports of captains, merchants, ship scientists, and sailors formed the first images of California for a mass audience," (Morton 12); and "Reports by imperial expeditions, the travel narratives of western explorers, *Californio* historical memoirs, and historical

³⁵ See Bayard Taylor's travel narrative, (1850) *Eldorado: Adventures in the Path of Empire*. Berkeley: Heyday Books, 2000), for an account of his journey through the newly opened Isthmus of Panama, rather than around Cape Horn, which brought him to the scene of Gold Fever that emerged in California mid 19th century. Taylor becomes (in)famous for his various travel writings as his career develops and, despite wanting to be regarded as a poet, he was always remembered for his role as travel writer.

romances all work to interpret and lay claim to the terrain they describe” (11). Dana’s text, in particular, captures California’s shores in a key time of transition in the middle of the 1830s shortly after Mexican independence from Spanish rule. Much of Dana’s text includes his musings on what would happen to California if it was in the hands of American rule. Dana’s canonical text—often taught in universities, excerpted in anthologies, and never out of print—provides a valuable entry point into a discussion on the political and cultural implications and effects of travel writings in the nineteenth century on the US national imagination. Morton’s work helps to document how Dana’s narrative, in addition to the works of Jean François de la Pérouse, provides political commentary that then becomes a historical resource on the Spanish and later *Californio*-run mission system: “La Pérouse’s descriptions of Californian Missions [1797] and Dana’s depiction of indolent *Californios* impacted initial perceptions of the region, and they continue to shape our historical perception of California as two of the most frequently cited primary documents in historical studies” (Morton 12).

Every time we look at a map of the nation, we are in danger of taking for granted the geography of the nation as given. The journeys a writer like Dana makes to the California coast in the 1830s and to Cuba in the 1850s, and the voyage Mark Twain embarks upon to Hawai‘i in the 1860s all occur prior to official US acquisition, or attempted acquisition, of these territories. What their journeys and the contact-zone scenes they record reveal reflect a deeply vested interest already in place on the part of the US in the economies of the locales. From the travel writers’ texts,

we can already see the corporate interests at stake in the region. For instance, the ship owners, Bryant and Sturgis of Boston, in the case of Dana, and the San Francisco businessmen representing the steamship and sugar industries in the case of Twain, sponsoring his letters for the *Sacramento Union*, suggest that US corporate-backed commerce had already landed in California far before the territory became a part of the nation. Dana and Twain write at an uncanny time prior to the solidification of the territories into the US national body and imagination, at a time when this geo-political future was neither fixed nor guaranteed and was actually a crucial element of struggle between various parties. Their texts capture a critical crossroads in the “contact zone” or at sites along the borderland / *la frontera* where these struggles become legible. These travelogues showcase the strategies of competing imperialisms between Old and New World Empires as articulated alongside the indigenous struggles ongoing in these locales.

Literatures of travel can serve as the transnational window via which we can see the denaturalized, denationalized borders and shores of US empire. A transnational reading of these texts enables the dereification of the borders they traverse. While a broad study of literatures of travel would range from Irving’s *Astoria* (1836), to Dana’s travelogues to the California coast and Cuba, to Melville’s globe-girdling journeys to the Pacific in *Typee* (1846) and “Benito Cereno” (1855), and around the world in *Moby Dick* (1851), to Bayard Taylor’s *Eldorado: Adventures in the Path of Empire* (1850), and to Twain’s overland and overseas journeys to Nevada, California, Hawai‘i (1866, 1872) and eventually to “follow the equator”

(1897), this chapter zooms in the lives and travel writings of Dana and Twain and reads their canonical and minor texts via my transnational reading method developed earlier in my introduction on Kingston and CLR James.

Critical Theories of the Periodization of US Empire

We often narrate or periodize the history of US empire around key dates wherein the US government officially acquired vast tracts of land such as the 1848 acquisition of much of the far American west or the 1898 acquisition of various archipelagic regions in the Pacific and Caribbean. We can argue that in addition to signing treaties with competing imperial nations to gain these tracts of land, 1848 and 1898 serve as moments where both the government and the national public had to acknowledge US imperial presence in these locales. Shelly Streeby's, *American Sensations: Class, Empire, and the Production of Popular Culture* (2002), challenges us to acknowledge "the forgotten war" with Mexico in 1848 in US historiography by helping us to see the war's pervasive *literary* presence in popular serial fiction at the time. Streeby works to reveal the forgotten war with Mexico in 1848 in US historiography despite its persistent literary presence in popular 19th century sensational fiction.³⁶ Returning to the key date of 1848 for US historiography can serve as an addendum to the overseas history that 1898 seizes upon. In conversation with Streeby's scholarship, I argue that revealing the years of 1848 and 1898 as key

³⁶ See Shelly Streeby's *American Sensations: Class, Empire, and the Production of Popular Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002) for a discussion of the infusion into popular culture, the ongoing war with Mexico and the subsequent racial and political border tensions that arose during the period.

moments in the formation of US empire is an invaluable corrective project. In addition, my transnational reading method would look *before* and *beyond* the signposts of 1848 and 1898 in order to continue to challenge our models of recuperative national periodization. Milestone dates like 1848 and 1898 memorialize years when treaties are signed, and serve to mark the culmination, rather than the beginning or continuation of what had already been a long *durée* of transnational encounters along the shores of US empire. Indeed Gretchen Murphy notes how an imperial message and mission was alive and well in popular cultural representations of the Monroe message, or Monroe doctrine of the 1820s. Thus, 1898 is in danger of becoming a critical wall for scholars of empire: "...few scholars seek to explore U.S. expansion in terms of "empire" before 1898, the year in which the United States won the Spanish-American War, "liberating" Cuba, taking possession of Puerto Rico and the Philippines, and claiming its position as a work power with widespread military and economic interests."³⁷ Murphy suggests that this "breaking point" and the sense that the US had "transgressed [the] limits" of the continent suddenly in 1898 "is misleading. Cuba and Puerto Rico had actively been desired as US possessions since the early days of the republic" (Murphy 22) as we can see in the early rhetoric of Thomas Jefferson, dating at least as far back as the turn of the 19th century circa 1803 with the Louisiana Purchase.

³⁷ See Gretchen Murphy's, *Hemispheric Imaginings: The Monroe Doctrine and Narratives of U.S. Empire*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2005): 18. All subsequent references will be made in the text.

To contextualize these key dates in the history of periodization of US empire, we should locate them in both conventional and revisionist historiography. At the closure of the Mexican-American War in 1848, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed by the US and Mexico. The US emerged as victor from the war, and the consequence for Mexico was to provide the US with a huge portion of Mexico's territory. This territory secured the US acquisition of lands of the Mexican Cession which included all of present-day California, Nevada and Utah, and parts of Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico and Wyoming. Even my historical narration of this territorial acquisition requires that I use anachronistic reference points of state names and borders for us to envision the map of what once made up the Mexican Cession. 1848 becomes a key turning point in which, via this acquisition of land, the US achieves its cross-continental potential. California becomes admitted to the union formally in 1850, in the wake of the Gold Rush, long before the admission of many of the future states that still lay to its east. This fundamental moment in the assertion of US Manifest Destiny and US ascendancy to power via territorial colonization and expansion often becomes overshadowed in US historiography by the Civil War whose narration takes precedence. The geo-politics of empire often fade to the background in lieu of this more consolidating national, domestic story. However, it has been the work of US revisionist historians and literary critics to summon the date of 1848, and demand that there be a linkage between the contexts of US expansion towards the West and slavery as an institution. No longer is it possible to divorce the issues of US expansion and slavery—the two issues should be read as intertwined and

call into question seemingly separate political spheres of “the domestic” and “the foreign.”

We can tell a more far-reaching history of the long *durée* of US expansion by figuring the status of both “domestic” and “international” politics as intertwined and in intimate relation with one another. Reading transnationally thus enables us to see the historical junctures wherein the borders of the US nation-state did not map onto the contemporary notions we have today of the consolidated national map. Official maps and cartographic representations are usually retrospective and miss something of the political processes of land acquisition, border formation, and contestation in their pictorial reification. Literatures of travel, and nineteenth century travel writing in the US context in particular, and its writers’ transnational lines of flight can provide a way to render these processes of land acquisition, border formation and contestation visible.

To be sure, tapping into the histories and texts that spill over the bounds of 1848 and 1898 periodizations refuses the continuing disavowal of US imperialism in both US history and historiography. Having reaching its continental limit, 1898 serves as a key moment in which the US took to the sea and acquired several island territories in both the Caribbean and Pacific as a result of the Spanish American War. The Treaty of Paris signed in 1898 provided for US acquisition of the Spanish colonies of the Philippines, Guam, Puerto Rico, and tenuous political relations with Cuba continued to build. The US annexed the islands of Hawai’i in 1898 and claimed them as a protectorate after overthrowing Queen Liliuokalani’s monarchy via an 1893

coup. Official statehood for Hawai'i was not achieved until 1959. Any narrative hoping to have the culmination point of 1898 make sense historically requires looking at earlier and later dates less immediately visible in US historiography. Delving deeper into the history of US overseas expansion, it is insufficient to cite 1898 as the only year marking the oceanic entry point in the history of US empire.

Indeed, US interests in overseas islands predate the hallmark year of 1898. A long history of the US's acquisition of island areas that then become liminal geographies unincorporated into the US nation-state might have us consider the Guano Islands Act, federal legislation passed in 1856, allowing US citizens to claim any unoccupied, unpopulated island space as territory for the US. Ranging from the Guano Islands Act (1856), to the Insular Cases of the Supreme Court from 1901 to 1922, to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands formed at the end of WWII (1947), 1898 remains a crucial yet insufficient way to narrate US's ascendancy to overseas power. Though 1898 is often touted as the turning point in which the US reached the limits of its own continental expansion, my project of reading transnationally delves into the history which precedes and follows this date, and argues that 1898 can by no means be read as the singular entry point through which we narrate US involvement, specifically in the Pacific and the Caribbean regions. Far from it—what remains for analysis is a long history of the presence of the US in these oceanic locales that only becomes overshadowed and occluded by the effects of periodization. The method of reading transnationally takes the dates of 1848 and 1898 as key signposts, but not as starting points for the making of US empire. The workings of US empire are much

more subtle and stretch farther across the past three centuries than the two periodized signposts allow. Reading transnationally allows a way to look *before*, *between*, and *beyond* the 1848 and 1898 periodization.

Methodologically, periodization acts as an analytical tool that entails identifying dates that help us to grasp certain historical phenomena. It is seemingly impossible to narrate histories without key dates to structure the historian's focus. However, even in the wake of such critical historiographies that begin to register the history of US empire via the 1848 and 1898 dates, it is important to continue to push the limits of such periodizations. Key dates or historical events highlighted in a chronology can name but can never fully encompass the processes or social movements they seek to demarcate. Marxist literary critic Fredric Jameson notes the useful yet necessary pitfalls of such modes of periodization by reminding us that, "We cannot not periodize."³⁸ But seeking to make processes of periodization visible rather than reifying this process brings the times around the period to life.

A transnational reading list of 19th and 20th century canonical US authors focusing on their literatures of travel, inspired by Maxine Hong Kingston's Wittman Ah Sing could include an array of texts in an expanded travel literature canon. Ranging in chronological scope from Berkeley's poem (1752) that maps the westward course of Empire, to Kerouac's *On the Road* (1957), we can establish a genealogy of classic texts that can be reread transnationally to generate a critique of

³⁸ Frederic Jameson, *A Singular Modernity*, (London: Verso, 2002): 29. See Jameson's "Part I: The Four Maxims of Modernity" for a discussion of the pitfalls and possibilities of periodization.

the periodization of US empire. In complicating periodizations of US empire, we can wrench canonical US authors and their canonical and more minor texts out of their domestic literary formations and foundations and see them as minoritized texts at the edges of US empire. The 19th century canon of travel literature looks differently when approached via a regional Asia Pacific / Caribbean / US comparative lens. For example, we could read Richard Henry Dana Jr.'s *Two Years Before the Mast* (1840) as simply the personal tale from the forecabin of a Bostonian who left the comfort of his Atlantic-based Massachusetts home and went to sea as a common sailor. Or, we could challenge why there is a small beach town along the present-day California coast bearing his name, and why he had such a transnational impact on shore. Conversely, Dana's subsequent travel narrative *To Cuba and Back: A Vacation Voyage* (1859), is much more than a mere vacation voyage when approached from the Caribbean looking back at the unconsolidated edges of the US nation at the time. Modes of reading transnationally and contrapuntally à la Kingston, CLR James and Said can help us to map a cartography for unraveling the US canon in the historical processes of its formation as well as the liminal borders of the US nation. Rather than providing a teleological narrative for the uncontested emergence and ascendancy of US empire and a national model of US literary and cultural studies, the practice of reading transnationally looks at the sites or edges wherein US empire comes undone. Looking back at these crossroads in geo-political space and time, reading transnationally refuses the teleology of the US nation-state as its consolidating endpoint.

Reading Transnationally Makes Philosophies of History Visible

Critical scholarship emergent in the early-Nineties around the reception of the national celebration of the 500th anniversary of Columbus's 1492 arrival in the Americas focused on making visible a critique of colonialism in the American context. Indeed, Pratt's text published in 1992 in the year of the Columbian quincentennial reflected "an occasion in Europe and the Americas for a reconsideration of Eurocolonialism and its aftermaths" (Pratt xi). What we see emerge in US Literary and Cultural Studies is a reckoning that interrogates the absence of empire, or its disavowal, critically addressed in the field. Amy Kaplan's work in *Cultures of United States Imperialism* (1993), also published in the wake of the Columbian quincentennial, asks crucial questions of the field concerning its "three salient absences which contribute to this ongoing pattern of denial across several disciplines: the absence of culture from the history of US imperialism; the absence of empire from the study of American culture; and the absence of the United States in the postcolonial study of imperialism" (Kaplan, *CUSI* 11). A critical model like Kaplan's seeks to unpack the ways in which "Imperialism has been simultaneously formative and disavowed in the foundational discourse of American Studies" (*CUSI* 5). As Said calls for in *Culture and Imperialism*, via his mode of contrapuntal reading, to look for the traces of empire in the cultural texts of the European canon, here, US cultural studies has taken a critical turn to seek out the traces of empire in US culture.

In this critical turn that proceeded over the next decade, and in the wake of September 11, 2001 and the US war on terror, US empire, in the words of Susan Gillman, seemed to be emanating everywhere, where “suddenly it seems, far from absent, the word *empire* is, instead, everywhere, on everyone’s lips.”³⁹ Gillman worries about this odd cloak of “newness”: “Is it the elephant in the room? We appear condemned repeatedly to discover and announce empire’s presence, each time with the same shock of the new” (Gillman 196). One of the dangers of this new (again) attention to empire was the potential for it to lose its critical value. The logic of this new attention to empire was in danger of simply being “conceived as an exposé. The story of American empire in American studies is one of denials to be acknowledged and omissions to be redressed” (196). The exposé model is insufficient to answer key questions in the field. Gillman warns:

The exposé has exhausted itself, taken up with, preoccupied with, and ultimately confined by filling preexisting gaps within predetermined analytic frameworks....the inherent limitations of the exposé: when you are so focused on holes and omissions, on filling in what’s been left out in the disciplinary answers, it’s harder to take a critical look at the questions themselves, much less ask new ones. (198)

Thus, in seeking to look for the traces of empire, a cultural studies driven by the exposé model successfully found empire everywhere. What was lost was the critical potential to ask different questions about the processes of or history behind the emergence of empire, since its hypervisibility served as an explanation in itself for its existence.

³⁹See Susan Gillman’s, “The New Newest Thing: Have American Studies Gone Imperial.” *American Literary History*. 17(1), Oxford University Press, 2005: 196. All subsequent references will be made in the text.

In looking at how the exposé model was applied to studies of the 19th century canon, the exposé model worked through modes of indictment. To simply indict authors as imperialist, or as apologists for imperialism, became an (un)critical end in itself, a symptom that new critical questions needed to be asked of American literary culture about empire now that it had been found. We can see the language of exposé in studies of the US travel-writer turned colonizer in works like those of Christopher Mark McBride. In *The Colonizer Abroad: American Writers on Foreign Soil, 1846-1912*, the indictment of colonizer as writer is made repeatedly explicit. I quote McBride at length to show how the method of exposé operates through the language of indictment:

I view these writers [Melville, Richard Henry Dana, Jr., Mark Twain, Charles Warren Stoddard, Jack London] not in the roles of the unbiased travelers and observers in which they often cast themselves, but instead as active participants in the process of American colonization of foreign lands. Of course, none of these writers or their characters actively assumes the role of conqueror, but their attitudes, literary representations, and visual descriptions of the islands and their inhabitants belie an underlying racial ambivalence, xenophobia, and desire for American colonial control.⁴⁰

And again:

Herein lies the crux of my inquiry: Uncovering underlying American colonialist attitudes and their historical function by exploring our national literary texts...I have found significant evidence to implicate these writers as not only biased observers, but also as active participants in America's rise as a colonial power in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. (McBride 5)

Identifying the writer-as-colonizer, and finding “evidence to implicate these writers” puts us at the limits of the exposé model. Now what? What remains to be asked after

⁴⁰Christopher Mark McBride, *The Colonizer Abroad: American Writers on Foreign Soil, 1846-1912*, (New York & London: Routledge, 2004): 3. All subsequent references will be made in the text.

exposing the political leanings and biases of these American authors? How can we locate them in the space and time of their writing? At what juncture of history are they writing and why does their political discursive formation take shape? Obviously, the travel writer, despite claims to do otherwise, is never a purely objective observer, as earlier suggestions by Sahlins and Mary Louise Pratt have claimed; but what remains once we have gathered these writer-colonizers in a white-room? In an effort to go beyond the exposé model, a whole project remains to read the writers' socio-political formations: how do the racial and ethnic discourses operate in their texts?; how do the discourses operate differently across texts in the same time?; how are domestic discourses mapped on locales overseas?; what can their writer's location in space and time with their particular biases tell us about the ways in which US empire operates? It becomes an ethical and critical responsibility as the 21st century moves on, to unpack the processes of the American colonial evolution and imperial formation, rather than stop at having located bias in particular authors as a critical endpoint. What follows in my analysis is my attempt to outline a critical look at the philosophies of history a transnational rereading of canonical American travel texts makes visible. A particular look at how these philosophies of history operate in 19th century texts helps to go beyond the exposé model and more towards what Susan Gillman calls, in conversation with Frederick Cooper, "a history that compares." From the critical crossroads of questions: "How to compare, within and across times, through what temporal units as well as what spatial units? Perhaps we need more

translocal, transtemporal sites of comparison, such as those defined by oceans as well as by land” (209).

Travel narratives written at the edges of US empire enact a specific philosophy of history and means of narrating the geo-political borders they traverse. A transnational reading methodology exposes these philosophies of history and unpacks what forms of historical consciousness each author brings to bear on their place and time. Transnational reading asks what in the historical positionality of these authors allows them to see and record what they encounter. The borders Dana and Twain traverse in their texts are not taken for granted and become a palpable feature of their texts. Dana and Twain’s texts are comparatively interesting because of the shifting economic ventures in California and the Pacific they render visible and for the plantation economies their texts explore at the edges of US empire pre- and post-Civil War. Depending on the political/national/imperial project the author invests in each text, the writers strategically conjure different theories of history.

In what follows, I elaborate how a strategy of reading transnationally enables us to see the philosophies of history at play in travel writing. Here I outline three modes of historical consciousness I see present in these literatures of travel. First, in terms of philosophies of history, some travel narratives operate *anticipatorily*, wherein they tread grounds that are not yet consolidated in the US national formation. Dana’s *Two Years Before the Mast* and *To Cuba and Back* as well as Melville’s *Typee* operate anticipatorily. Melville’s *Typee* provides a very different political project/version of the anticipatory vision of history at the edges of empire in contrast

with that of Dana. Melville looks more at the violent consequences that are already occurring and threaten to occur in the future as a result of imperialism in the Marquesas Isles and the role of competing Pacific imperialisms of which the US is a part. Dana's vision of US territorial acquisition and missionary work remains far more laudatory of the colonial project and racially and religiously conservative. However, despite divergent political stances, both authors end their texts expressing resounding drives as well as anxieties towards reterritorialization. When an author has followed a line of flight to a distant unfamiliar land, we often see an anxiety infuse the narration as the author fears being carried off for life and forever consumed in the foreign culture or territory. Dana worries about becoming a sailor for life, not just the two years he has contracted for, and Melville's Tomoo fears being tattooed by the native Marquesans and subsumed in the native culture such that his western self is no longer visible. These anticipatory texts realize they are at a crossroads, both in terms of competing imperialisms in the locale and well as the loss or transformation of their own sense of identity.

A second philosophy of history emergent in literatures of travel entails a *retrospective* vision of history, where the author writes at a far remove in place and time about an earlier crossroads of empire. Washington Irving's *Astoria*, published in 1836 yet capturing the spatio-temporal period of the early 1800s, is a text where historical representation is necessarily a retrospective act, a historical fiction written by someone not present during the geo-political moment. Written from a retrospective time and place with a knowledge of how historical events have already played out,

Irving's narrative fictionalizes the rise and fall of New Yorker John Astor and his role in the forgotten fur trade of the early 19th century on the Pacific northwest coast. At this imperial crossroads of 1810, the text represents to us the encounter of dueling empires and indigenous populations of the Pacific Northwest, where the US national flag followed trade rather than trade following the flag. John R. Eperjesi goes as far as to say that Washington Irving's *Astoria* provides us with a challenge to and a revision of Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis and "virgin land" narratives of US expansion being the only route of US empire: "Rather than a monolithic movement from East to West across vast stretches of virgin land, here the starting point is the Pacific and the founding economic movement is up and down the West Coast."⁴¹ Eperjesi explains that Irving's representation of Astor's fictional biography enables us to see in terms of a history of US empire and Irving's retrospective vision of history comes through via this representation:

Astoria was a place where multiple times and spaces converged. For the expanding American empire, it was a non-contiguous area dependant on supplies from New York. For Astor, it was a place where furs from the interior of the Pacific coastline could be accumulated. And for the merchants, investors and mariners, it was a point of departure for the Canton market. If we were to add to this commercial circuit the fact that the Pacific Northwest was home to a number of indigenous populations such as the Kalapuya Indians, as well as traders and trappers from Russia, Britain and Spain, we get a production of space that is thoroughly decentered and transnational yet at the same time centered within a framing narrative framing the American nation state. (Eperjesi 33-34)

⁴¹ John R. Eperjesi, *The Imperialist Imaginary: Visions of Asia and the Pacific in American Culture*. (Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 2005): 33. All subsequent references will be made in the text.

Rather than indict Irving for embodying the discourse of America's Manifest Destiny on the Pacific Northwest coast, Eperjesi's subtle reading here allows us to see the competing and transnational processes of empire underway in the locale that Irving's narration captures, at the same time Irving fixes Astor's place in the emergence of the transnational economy for US purposes. Writing his narrative about Astor years hence, Irving's location enables him to see the past that was the multi-national site of the northwest coast, at the same time he is well aware of the rise and fall of Astor's endeavors in the since declined fur trade. It is Irving's retrospective philosophy of history here that enables him to write a narrative that is both a biography of Astor as well as the US narrative of national ascendancy to power on the Pacific Northwest Coast.

The third philosophy of history emergent in literatures of travel operates via spatio-temporal historical displacement, wherein certain sites at the edges of empire stand in for or become mapped upon domestic locales, bringing the domestic and foreign into close proximity. Reading transnationally shows this technology of spatio-temporal displacement at work in Twain's *Letters from Hawai'i* (1866) and *Roughing It* (1872). The twin texts of *Letters from Hawai'i* and *Roughing It* reveal how the issues of the national domestic sphere are uncannily brought to bear upon locales abroad. With Twain's spatio-temporal historical displacement, he has visions of Louisiana in Hawai'i and substitutes San Francisco for Honolulu. On his errand from San Francisco to Honolulu for the *Sacramento Union*, Twain reconfigures southern plantation economies abroad and reconnoiters the whaling industry back to San

Francisco territory in the letters he sends back to the California coast from Hawai'i. In Twain's body of work, he depicts the literary West as a locale of spatio-temporal historical displacement concerning the issue of the Civil War and slavery's interconnection with territorial and economic expansion. In the scope of his texts, the viability of California and Nevada silver mining is weighed against northern industrialization and a continuing southern plantocracy, versus the economic possibilities of sugar in Hawai'i in the wake of the US Civil War.

A second overall strategy of reading transnationally would assess the authorial "lines of flight," à la Deleuze, of each narrative context. Tracing the author's flight lines helps to make visible the context and trajectory of the author's travels: whether they have embarked for a job specifically as a reporter, whether they are on a leisure jaunt and happen to write about it afterwards, whether they are part of the labor force upon arrival, whether they are attempting an escape from the domestic sphere and responsibilities at home, to whether they return willingly or not. Reading the transnational lines of flight always conjures up the narrative of self inevitably at stake for the writer at the same time the texts make visible the processes of border, territorial and economic formations in their contemporary moment. A transnational reading practice links authorial lines of flight with their philosophy of history and historical consciousness within the spatio-temporal context of US empire that the text portrays.

Dana's "Magical Chance" on California Shores

A contemporary traveler can take a short fifty mile trip down the California coast from the small Los Angeles port town off the 110 freeway in which I grew up to the commemorative city of Dana Point, California, located in what is today southwest Orange County. This locale, formerly Capistrano Bay and visited by American writer Richard Henry Dana, Jr. in 1835, was incorporated as the city of Dana Point in 1989. In *Two Years before the Mast*, Dana's 1840 travelogue recounting his travels to the California coast, he describes his reflections upon seeing Capistrano headlands, only later to be known as Dana Point, California Historic Landmark #189. Dana calls it, "the only romantic spot in California":

I separated myself from the rest...it was almost the first time that I had been positively alone...—since I had left home. My better nature returned strong upon me. Everything was in accordance with my state of feeling, and I experienced a glow of pleasure at finding that what of poetry and romance I ever had in me, had not been entirely deadened by the laborious and frittering life I had led.⁴²

After laboring for months at sea and on the shores up and down the California coast, Dana basks in this stolen moment of solitude as a beachcomber, wondering if he has been a sailor too long such that all beauty has been emptied out of his persona and psyche. The Capistrano Bay headland, however, which posthumously takes his name, becomes a reminder and verification for Dana in this moment of the romantic landscapes found at the edges of US empire on the western counter-coast to his Bostonian home.

⁴² Richard Henry Dana, Jr., *Two Years before the Mast* (1840), (New York: Penguin Books U.S.A., Inc, 1986): 196-197. All subsequent references will be made in the text as *TYBM*.

I grew up thinking that Dana Point was just another good surf spot in San Clemente of which the locals are very protective. A few college friends even hailed from the town. It did not register then why a Massachusetts legacy's name donned the picturesque headland. Spanish-language names, referring to what today are major California cities like San Francisco, Santa Cruz, Santa Barbara, Los Angeles and San Diego catalogue the names of various locales and missions up and down the California coast and register the history of the Spanish empire in California. Alongside this former Spanish colonial presence, we also see today the persistence of Native American names signifying Native groups and the processes of their dislocation where their people once resided—names such as Shasta, Aptos, Costanoa, Yosemite, Mojave and Panamint, to name just a few, all potentially call our attention to this haunted dislocating past.⁴³ Thus, amidst all the Spanish and Native American nomenclature orienting us via the persistent presence of the palimpsest of California's complex past, Dana Point takes on a different resonance with its 19th century Bostonian referent. Dana Point's commemorative name stands out alongside others in the southern California area such as Huntington Beach, named for railroad magnate and book collector Henry E. Huntington (1850-1927), and Freemont in northern California, named for famed path-finding surveyor John C. Freemont (1813-1890), as very Anglicized nominal impositions reflecting the shift in control over Mexican

⁴³ See "Map 4. Native Groups, 1770" in Kat Anderson's essay "Native American Cultivators" in *Green Versus Gold: Sources in California's Environmental History*, (Washington D.C.: Island Press, 1998): 43, edited by Carolyn Merchant. The map's annotation in describing the Native Groups of California circa 1770 reads: "Geographical diversity and isolation precipitated the rise of over 135 dialects in over 20 basic linguistic families" (43). Kat Anderson's essay originally appears in a collection edited along with Thomas C. Blackburn entitled, *Before the Wilderness: Environmental Management by Native Californians* (Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press, 1993).

Californio and Native lands. Their Anglo names remap and reorient the landscape to look more ‘American’ following California’s 1848 acquisition by the United States. Doris Walker, writing on behalf of today’s Dana Point Visitors’ Center regarding Dana affirms, “...the headlands were named for him in 1884, as was the beach town that grew beside them,” a re-naming which took place two years after Dana’s death in 1882 to solidify his commemoration.⁴⁴ It was only after my own formal literary education and several journeys up and down the California coast that I made the connection between modern-day Dana Point and New England born travel writer and lawyer Richard Henry Dana Jr. (1815-1882) and his 1835 journey to Capistrano Bay.⁴⁵

Richard Henry Dana Jr. and his travels to the Pacific coast and the historical impact of Spanish colonization in California are not the central topics featured in today’s depictions of Orange County popular culture. The reality and serial television shows of popular southern California culture over the past decade like Fox’s “The

⁴⁴ See Doris Walker’s “Visitor Information for Dana Point” on the Dana Point Visitor’s Center website: http://www.danapointvisitorcenter.com/visit/index_fr.html. Interestingly enough, Walker’s piece also points to the layered “eras” of California’s history before championing Dana’s arrival: “From the headlands, early Native Americans watched the sea for whales and Indian trading canoes from the Channel Islands. During the Spanish and Mexican eras of the 1800s, the sheltering coves welcomed wind-blown ships bringing manufactured goods from faraway ports to trade for the hides of thousands of cattle that grazed here on mission and rancho lands.”

⁴⁵ The official website of Dana Point does indeed reference Richard Henry Dana Jr. as the figure from whom the city coins its name. The headland of Dana Point is California Historic Landmark #189. Additionally, with a link to the Ocean Institute’s website, http://www.ocean-institute.org/html/brig_pilgrim.html, you can read more about the possibilities of touring a life-size replica of the brig *Pilgrim*, built in 1945 in Denmark. The original, built in 1825 but lost in a fire at sea in 1865 in a Civil War battle, being the ship upon which Dana first rounded Cape Horn and traveled to the California coast. Public tours are available for free on board the new *Pilgrim* which “provides a national award-winning living history program to over 16,000 students a year.” Despite my ongoing dismissals in my analysis of popular Orange County television-culture, it is possible that “history” *might* be alive and well, or at least on display, in Orange County. Interestingly enough, the replica brig has even taken on a Hollywood career of its own and has starred in films like Spielberg’s *Amistad*, according to the less official Wikipedia website: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pilgrim_%28brig%29.

OC,” MTV’s “Laguna Beach,” “Newport Harbor,” and “The Hills,” and Bravo’s “The Real Housewives of Orange County” all depict the immediate areas surrounding Dana Point. These contemporary television shows maintain an upper-middle class white mode of regional representation which tells a very limited story of the reality or history of the locale while capturing something grossly distinctive about the popular allure and image of living a beach-coming or gated-community Southern California lifestyle.⁴⁶ However, any regional history of California beyond high-end real-estate development and a possessive investment in whiteness, which is indeed very real in some parts California, is absent from these particular shows.

Glancing back at popular representations of the California coast from over 150 years ago, Dana’s *Two Years before the Mast* (1840) was widely popular in its time and became a guidebook for the region, one of the first of its kind for American audiences. Prior to the advent of reality television and networks like the Discovery Channel which depict for us today locales we may not have been able to see in person, the travelogue genre of the nineteenth century provided a way for a literate audience to consume and imagine a location that lay far beyond the borders of the 1830s US nation. Dana’s text documents his travels to the California coast between 1834 and 1836, and portrays the hide and tallow industry underway in the early 19th century, pre-gold rush—now obsolete in the 21st century age of Silicon Valley and

⁴⁶ I suppose there is some ‘truth’ to the television shows’ pervading representation of whiteness. See the link to Dana Point’s demographics at <http://www.danapoint.org/history/index.html>. The 2000 census records that out of a population of 35,110, 78% of the population identifies as white and according to 2002 voter registration poles, out of 20,995 registered voters, 11,247 are republican, a total of about 54% of the population.

defense industries.⁴⁷ While today we question the “reality” of reality television shows and the image they depict of California, the verisimilitude of Dana’s writings back in 1840, and the travelogue genre in general, did not come under intense popular attack. Much subsequent scholarship on Dana’s biography and literary production touted what his travelogue documented to be real and free of the very “romance” that Dana overtly indulged in while musing on the headland that later bore his name.

Classic and contemporary critics alike often applaud Dana’s sea narrative for its adherence to the portrayal of verisimilitude of life at sea. Thomas Philbrick’s “Introduction” to Dana’s *Two Years before the Mast: A Personal Narrative of Life at Sea*, suggests that many reviewers of Dana’s text insist that the first edition which appeared in 1840 featured an “unromantic” and therefore real, “voice from the forecandle” that “helped to reshape the perception of maritime life.”⁴⁸ Dana’s text becomes famous for its rhetorical potential to shift popular and legal opinions about life at sea, so much so that Dana’s subsequent text, a nautical manual *The Seaman’s Friend* (1841), secures him a practice in the realm of Maritime Law upon his return to New England, after the conclusion of his undergraduate and legal studies at Harvard.

⁴⁷ See Grey Brechin’s *Imperial San Francisco*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999) for a record of the birth of California’s economy in connection with the “pyramid of mining,” especially Chapter 1. All subsequent references will be made in the text as *ISF*. Also, see texts by Mike Davis, Kelly Mayhew, and Jim Miller, *Under the Perfect Sun: The San Diego Tourists Never See*, (New York: The New Press, 2003), and Davis’s *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1992) for a discussion of the historical transformation of California’s economy from agricultural to military/defense industries. See also Joan Didion’s *Where I Was From*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003) for Didion’s personal memoir which similarly tracks this transformation in California from Sacramento to the Los Angeles area. All of these texts point to the ways in which the commercial metropolises of California economies offer sap their urban and outlying contados to support their financial centers. They also document the historic boom and bust economies of California.

⁴⁸ See Thomas Philbrick’s, “Introduction” in Dana’s *Two Years before the Mast: A Personal Narrative of Life at Sea*. New York: Penguin Books, 1981): 8. All subsequent references will be made in the text.

Today, scholarly debates do arise around the truth-value of Dana's text.⁴⁹ I would argue that while Dana's text takes on generic qualities of objective documentary, he also infuses it with intense romanticism and subjective reflection. Dana's musings upon seeing the picturesque Capistrano headland that he had found, "what of poetry and romance I ever had in me" leads me to believe that his account is in no way entirely free of romanticized hyperbole. In fact, Dana's lapse into romantic reflection, upon seeing the headland, allows him to descend into a vision of the California coast that for a moment seems devoid of labor and, instead, infused with sublime beauty and leisure—a semi-delusion in his short solitary stroll on the beach while taking a break from his labors as a sailor. While Dana's text is an invaluable account and the first of its kind from a sailor's point of view, we have to also account for its subjective nature. Critical anthropologist Renato Rosaldo's reminder that ethnographic descriptions, while "real" in their accounts, can also be infused with ideological positionality, is especially pertinent in the case of Dana's travelogue.⁵⁰ Indeed, we can credit Dana's text with capturing the fetishized "reality" of his experience as a common sailor. However, his text is all the more revealing and

⁴⁹ I witnessed such a debate take place at the 2006 Bancroft Library's Centennial Symposium in Berkeley, where one academic challenged the reality of Dana's depictions and one scholar maintained the reality of their representation.

⁵⁰ See Renato Rosaldo's *Culture & Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993), especially Chapter Three, "Imperialist Nostalgia," for a discussion of the ways that ethnographic description of real events can be interpolated by romantic tropes. Rosaldo's treatment of William Jones' letter home from the Philippines (1909) and his "longing for an irretrievably lost time" of the cowboys and frontiersman of the American West reveals, "...it becomes apparent that most cultural phenomena contain tacit ideologies, and most ideologies are culturally shaped" (83). I would also suggest that the dynamics of spatio-temporal displacement that I discuss in this chapter are alive and well in Jones' letter, where the American West and his imperial venture in the Philippines as one of Roosevelt's Rough Riders become inadequate psycho-geographic analogies for Jones in his nostalgic reflections. All subsequent references to Rosaldo's work will be made in the text.

pertinent for the romantic inflections that infuse his narrative documentary. In *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (1992), Mary Louise Pratt claims that in travel writing, there is a factor of approximation and delay in the reportage, and the experience is always remade after one gets home.⁵¹ Delay in reportage and working from memory could be the central aspects confronting critics of Dana's work, seeing as the detailed daily journal which he kept everyday at sea was lost by his cousin upon his return to Boston amidst some of his other belongings. Literary critic and Dana scholar Robert Gale notes, "[Dana] entrusted his detailed sea diary to his cousin Frank Dana, and it unfortunately disappeared. Dana therefore had only his excellent memory to rely on, plus a ten-leaf notebook of matter-of-fact jottings."⁵² Logistically, the length of time that passed in between Dana's return to Boston to the time of the text's publication—a period of about four years—was longer than the length of the entire trip itself. We do have access though Dana's text to "a distinctly different representation of the sailor at sea" (Philbrick 22). However, the bulk of Dana's text captures not only his life at sea, but also life on the California shore between 1834 and 1836. Historically, scholarship on Dana has consistently focused on the importance of his narrative at sea and his subsequent law career back in Massachusetts rather than his labors on land in California. The scholarship, in an odd way, parallels Dana's own rush to return to Boston rather than to take a look at what he finds on the *alta California* coast of the 1830s. Dana captures the tallow and hide

⁵¹ See Mary Louise Pratt's *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (1992) for a discussion of the dynamics of travel writing and reportage that is necessarily belated and relies on memory and (re)presentation.

⁵² See Robert Gale's *Richard Henry Dana, Jr.* (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1969): 109. All subsequent references will be made in the text.

economy and the *ranchos* fueling these industries still intact—years before California, as we know it today, becomes incorporated as part of the US map. Less scholarly attention is paid to the shifting borders and economic arrangements of the California coast that Dana’s text depicts, and more focus is placed on the text’s potential to be a legal intervention into seamanship and sailor’s civil and juridical rights upon Dana’s return to Boston. Dana’s narrative is not only about the difficulties and mistreatments common sailors would experience at sea, but it also is about what sort of encounters occur when these ships and sailors touch the shore in an example of what Pratt calls “the contact zone.” Dana’s contact zone is a complicated crossroads of the intersecting US / Native American / Californio / and Spanish Empires, where, repeating Pratt, the contact zone serves as, “...the space of colonial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict” (Pratt 6). Paul Lyons, in his review of critical takes on rethinking “the beach” as a site of encounter and in an urge to look beyond the beach and out to sea, aptly suggests: “Playing against [Greg] Denning’s sense of the beach as an original scene of meeting, David Chappell notes that “Islanders did not simply wait for the outside world to overwhelm them. The border of a seafaring people does not begin on the beach but beyond it.”⁵³ A critical transnational reading of Dana’s text and the geo-political formations he

⁵³ See Paul Lyon’s, *American Pacificism: Oceania in the U.S. Imagination*, (New York: Routledge, 2006): 201, n2. All subsequent references will be made in the text as Lyons *AP*.

depicts also reveals the inseparability of land and oceanic narratives of encounter; one geography interpolates the other on the shores and beaches of the contact zone.

When he arrives in San Diego to take up his role in helping to cure hides on shore, Dana exclaims, “In the twinkling of an eye, I was transformed from a sailor into a “beach-comber” and a hide-curer” (Dana, *TYBM* 202). It is as a “beach-comber” in southern California that Dana takes up residence amongst the eclectic transnational community of laborers in the hide trade. Within this diverse community, the laborers must learn how to converse with one another, and language becomes a site within which the diasporic nature of the labor force on shore becomes visible for Dana’s audience: “The greater part of the crews of the vessels came ashore every evening, and we passed the time in going about from one house to another, and listening to all manner of languages. The Spanish was the common ground upon which we met; for everyone knew more or less of that” (221). Dana’s report on the multi-lingual conversations on the shores of California in the 1830s defamiliarizes modern conservative calls that all people should speak English only. In Dana’s time, the official language of the territory was Spanish, and the diasporic crew of sailors learned to cope with linguistic barriers between them. Dana, perhaps drawing on his scholarly background, actually becomes out of his crew to be known as the linguist, learning what Spanish and Hawaiian he can in daily transactions. Dana’s text is a much more complex vision of California and its multiple and diverse diasporic laboring populations that have fallen away in our recent popular depictions of California or conservative calls for an “English only” state.

Dana hurried to return to Massachusetts in 1836 aboard a different ship, the *Alert*, lest he become a sailor “for life,” and immediately set upon his self-refashioning into a conservative Brahmin, attempting to leave behind his days as a common sailor. However, his experiences in California in the mid 1830s reveal to us his “magical chance” at living and laboring at a very unique crossroads in the diasporic history of the California coast.⁵⁴ Dana’s text captures the global makeup of the labor diaspora on California’s shores. Describing his experiences of cultural exchange while on shore, Dana notes:

We had now, out of forty or fifty, representatives from almost every nation under the sun: two Englishmen, three Yankees, two Scotchman, two Welschman, one Irishman, three Frenchmen...one Dutchman, one Austrian, two or three Spaniards, half a dozen Spanish-Americans and half-breeds, two native Indians from Chili and the Island of Chiloe, one Negro, one Mulatto, about twenty Italians...as many more Sandwich Islanders, one Otaheitan [Tahitian], and one Kanaka from the Marquesas Islands. (Dana, *TYBM* 221-222)

Dana’s review of the ethnic and national makeup of his fellow sailors shows us that California, while a newly independent Mexican territory remote from the national US center, was located at the center of a global market economy and an internationalized labor force in the 1830s that rivals the diversity of its populations today. Dana’s travelogue gives us a way to see the complex racial and transnational history of California’s labor that might otherwise be lost.

Today, if you travel north along the coast from Dana Point and jet inland to Anaheim, you will find a very the very well known amusement park of Disneyland,

⁵⁴ The term “magical chance” is used first by Dana scholar Bliss Perry in 1923 and then by Robert Gale to describe the opportunistic situation in which Dana found himself where he could, “escape Boston conventionality by going to sea when he was still young” (Gale 28, 164).

the magic Kingdom. In the odd postmodern contemporary consumer culture of surfaces rather than deep histories that defines present day California, a strange space-time compression of geography takes place. At our theme park, the Pacific region, the Mississippi River Valley, and the Caribbean are all brought into close proximity with one another. Let me explain: as a youth growing up in the South Bay area of Los Angeles County, Disneyland is a mere thirty miles southeast of my hometown and a popular family attraction. As consumers of the cross-regional spectacle, we become witness to the ‘It’s a Small World after All’ Disney-effect of having the frontier West, the Caribbean, and the US South all within a few theme park yards from one another. A ride on Big Thunder Mountain Railroad along the rails and through the mining chutes is a short jaunt from the line to sail with the Pirates of the Caribbean, and from there, you can book a passage on Mark Twain’s riverboat and cruise the Mississippi delta region—all within about an hour, if the lines are not too long. David Harvey would cite the possibilities of “time-space compression” in the postmodern age as precisely this “Disney-effect.”⁵⁵

As presented by Disney, in these images I consumed as a youth, all the politics of bringing these regions into such close proximity get emptied out. Lingering questions about this pernicious site for “amusement” swell within me today, such as how these regions are connected historically via their plantation economies and histories of racialized slave and indentured labor? What are the linkages between

⁵⁵ David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. (Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers. 1989, 1993): vii. Also see *Part III: The Experience of Space and Time*.

mining in California, the acquisition and plundering of port towns, the building of railroads, racialized Chinese, Mexican, and Native American labor, and wheat in the Central Valley? Questions swirl about US territorial expansion and slavery, cotton in the South, and sugar in Hawai'i and the Caribbean.

Building on Toni Morrison's method of looking for the "Africanist presence" while rereading the canonical texts of American authors, we would do well to look at such presences in these canonical authors on the shores of US empire and the texts they in turn produce about these locales.⁵⁶ Amy Kaplan's statement, "The field of American studies was conceived on the banks of the Congo," referencing American intellectual historian Perry Miller's own intellectual awakening on the African coast, suggests the importance of looking at how one's travels abroad can become the vantage point from which to construct a national identity (Kaplan, *CUSI* 3).

Richard Henry Dana Jr.'s two travelogues, *Two Years before the Mast* (1840) and *To Cuba and Back* (1859) offer an anticipatory vision of history. We can follow Dana's Deleuzian line of flight from New England, around Cape Horn, and up the Pacific coast of the Americas. Dana publishes his travelogue in 1840, recording events that occurred over four to six years earlier. Dana flees from Boston and his undergraduate studies at Harvard under the auspices of needing to rest from an eye ailment. Dana's escape from his studies to the sea, as a rest cure for his eyes, ironically ends up entailing not rest but hard, physical labor. While Dana's family

⁵⁶ See Toni Morrison's *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992) for a discussion of the pervasive "Africanist presence" in American literary texts of the 19th and 20th centuries.

name was historically renowned in Boston, as Robert Gale's biography on Dana reveals, Dana's family's finances had grown to such disrepair that Dana's father could not afford to send his son on a real "grand tour" (Gale 28). Thus, Dana decided to take a tour not as a passenger, but as a member of a crew—not as an officer, but as a common sailor. He used his familial connection with the owners of the brig *Pilgrim*, Bryant and Sturgis, to his advantage and arranged for two years at sea. As we see in his narrative as his journey gets extended, Dana becomes increasingly adamant throughout the text that he can *only* be at sea for two years, lest he become irretrievably absorbed into sailor life. For Dana two years—and no more—seems adequate rest for his ailment. As Robert Gale notes, "On August 14, 1834, Dana, greener than Walt Whitman's grass, began his poor boy's grand tour. Within a week his Brahmin myopia was gone, and he was as keen-eyed as Keats's stout Cortez, straining to stare at the Pacific Ocean" (Gale 28). While one of the motives for Dana's flight from Boston to California was personal, to recover his eyesight, as an effect of the publication of his travel narrative upon return, posterity has canonized Dana as the beacon of verisimilitude for his nautical visions of his trip to the California coast—he becomes the nation's eyes on California. In recovering his own eyesight, he enabled a nation to see through his own representations of California territory and beyond the national borders in place at the time.

Dana's previous occupation as a writer and student at Harvard Yard brings to bear on his seamanship a very particularly invested writing project. For one, his position as a *temporary* salt at sea invests him in the process of representing his

experiences that a professional seaman, deterritorialized from New England and without the same impetus to return as Dana, would be unable or uninterested in producing. The occasion for Dana's writing and the eventual publication in 1840 of his travels hinges upon his return to Massachusetts such that he must follow his line of flight back home.

Dana's positionality as a Boston-Brahmin-become-sailor, however, does not go unnoticed and becomes a topic of some interest and humor in the text. That he left Boston, Harvard and his soon to be graduating class behind was not lost on Dana, as he often muses on what he has missed in making the choice to go to sea. His crewmates often remind him of where he came from and that where he is now is indeed not Harvard: "'Well, D[ana],'" said the second mate to me, "this does not look much like Cambridge college, does it? This is what I call *'head work'*" (Dana, *TYBM* 104). Dana often worries that there is a limit to the amount of time he can spend at sea before becoming a "sailor for life":

One year more or less might be of small consequence to others, but it was everything to me...two years in all. This would be pretty long, but it would not be fatal. It would not necessarily be decisive of my future life. But one year more would settle the matter. I should be a sailor for life; and although I had made up my mind to it before I had my letters from home, and was, as I thought, quite satisfied; yet, as soon as an opportunity was held out to me of returning, and the prospect of another kind of life was opened to me, my anxiety to return, and at least, to have the chance of deciding upon my own course for myself, was beyond measure. (239-240)

Dana is reminded when back on shore, with the appearance of several newspapers from Cambridge that they obtain from a fellow ship the *California*, of the stark contrast between his experiences as a sailor, versus a heady student in a Harvard

classroom. In gazing at a graduation announcement, Dana reflects that some of his once fellow peers were “walking off the stage with their diplomas in their hands; while, upon the very same day, their classmate was walking up and down California beach with a hide upon his head” (333). A permanent separation from his life in Boston becomes too much for Dana to bear, and ultimately he plots out a course back home. Dana uses his privileges to arrange his return on another ship he was not contracted out on, and his crewmates blast him for it: ““Oh yes” said the crew, “the captain has let you off, because you are a gentleman’s son, and have got friends, and know the owners; and taken Ben, because he is poor, and has got nobody to say a word for him! (350) Similar to Melville’s narrator Tommo whom we see later in *Typee* (1846), throughout his narrative, Dana is haunted by the need for a Deleuzian reterritorialization, wherein he is always on the edge or in danger of becoming subsumed by his occupation at the edges of US empire. We see his ultimate reterritorialization at the end of the narrative where he is able to use his Bostonian privilege to disembark from the *Pilgrim* and opt for a voyage home on the *Alert*. We can ask just how close two years at sea can come to adequately representing the life of a seaman at the edges of empire. His return from the Pacific edge becomes the occasion for him to reflect on this ambivalent return and he begins the writing endeavor that subsequently follows in New England.

Ultimately, however, in looking at the anticipatory nature of Dana’s Pacific trajectory in *Two Years before the Mast*, through the “magical chance” that Dana took when he set sail and the subsequent recording of his experiences, we have a window

to what the shores of California looked like during the 1830s. Dana's narrative defamiliarizes the 'go-west' fervor that later met the nation in the 1850s post the 1848 US acquisition of Mexican land via the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo by giving us an image of California that precedes that US territorial acquisition and approaches California from the Pacific coast, rather than an overland journey. When Dana arrives and disembarks at the capital of *alta california*, he lands in Monterey, not Sacramento, and "the Mexican flag was flying from the little square Presidio" (118). Dana decides that Monterey "is decidedly the pleasantest and most civilized-looking place in California" (129). At times fearing he may become a sailor for life if he is made to stay for more than two years, and worrying about the distance of California from New England territory, Dana fears that the Mexican capital is a remote outpost, and its distance from the juridical and civil rights of New England seem very far: "...we were at the ends of the earth; on a coast almost as solitary; in a country where there is neither law nor gospel, and where sailors are at their captain's mercy, there being no American consul, or any one to whom a complaint could be made" (143). A certain anxiety troubles Dana as to the un-American nature of the shores he finds himself upon. While laboring in this liminal site that is recently Mexican and not-yet US-American, he documents and is a part of the production of the cattle hide and tallow wax industries that are burgeoning on the Mexican shores of *alta y baja california*.

While admittedly conservative and in no way immune to the racialized thinking of his time, Dana is adept at making visible the racial struggles that are

ongoing between the indigenous population forced to work in the hierarchy of the *Californio* mission system, though his denigrating racialized perceptions of the *Californio* population and his anticipatory US imperial projections underscore the viability of his indigenous sympathies. Dana realizes they have landed on shore at an important transition in power between Spanish and Mexican authorities: “The change had been made but a few years before our arrival on the coast” (233). Dana notes the effects on the missions in the change in power from Spain to Mexico:

Ever since the independence of Mexico, the missions have been going down; until, at last, a law passed, stripping them of all their possessions, and confining the priests to their spiritual duties; and at the same time declaring all the Indians free and independent *Rancharos*. The change in the condition of the Indians was, as may be supposed, only nominal: they are virtually slaves, as much as they ever were. But in the missions, the change was complete. The priests have no power except in their religious character. (232)

Dana’s observations help us track this move from rule by the Spanish Jesuit dominion to secular Mexican rule. Rather than see this celebration in an overly romantic light, Dana remains clear that Independence from Spain and the move to Mexican rule still posed challenges for the Indigenous population of California—for even though they were granted independence from slave labor, they did not possess the capital means to opt out of wage labor, and they still stayed on the missions to work.

His interaction with Hawaiian / Kanaka crew members who are working on American ships, specifically Dana’s friendship with the Kanaka Hope, gives another window to the east to west trajectories of Hawaiians on Mexi-Californian soil in the 1830s. This Hawaiian diasporic presence in California provides us with an uncanny reversal of the US’s later role and presence in Hawaiian affairs. Dana notes that, “A

considerable trade has been carried on for several years between California and the Sandwich Islands” and that “a colony of them [Kanakas] had become settled at San Diego, their head-quarters” (204). Dana’s narrative records and captures the Hawaiian diasporic routes in California in the early 19th century. Dana takes a particular interest in the Sandwich Islanders or Kanakas, admires their expertise in seamanship, and takes it upon himself to learn their customs:

During the four months that I lived here, I got well acquainted with all of them, and took great pains to become familiar with their language, habits and characters. Their language, I could only learn orally, for they had not any books among them, though many of them had been taught to read and write by the missionaries at home. They spoke a little English, and by a sort of compromise, a mixed language was used on the beach, which could be understood by all. (204)

While many scholars have taken Dana’s interest in Kanakas or Native Hawaiians to be patronizing, his focus on the verbal exchange of language is interesting in his interactions with the islanders and in his attempt to converse in the language of “the beach” in general. The transnational community of sailors hailing from all nations on the beach had to find a means of community, and did so in the appropriation of different national languages and the transculturation of different national forms. In the “mixed language [that] was used on the beach,” Dana identifies for us the on the ground transcultural forms, like Pidgin English, that had to be built to facilitate interaction and camaraderie amongst the multi-national crews. All in all, Dana’s description of California’s shores elaborates a complex contact zone geography; his documentary records an intricate diaspora of empires and indigenous peoples of the

American, Pacific, and even global worlds. He captures the locale at the time of its 'not-yet' entry into the US union.

In pondering the fate of California he muses, "In the hands of an enterprising people, what a country this might be! We are ready to say. Yet how long would a people remain so, in such a country?" (237) Dana wonders what would come of California in the hands of the US, and he hopes California would achieve its real potential that he felt was being wasted in the supposedly declining, dusty *Californio* empire. However, he is also wary of the geographic potential of California itself to bring down its possessor: "...if the "California fever" (laziness) spares the first generation, it always attacks the second" (237). We can read alongside Dana's narrative Bayard Taylor's *El Dorado: Adventures in the Path of Empire* (1850), with Dana's text as an earlier instantiation of this type of anticipatory text that would have such 'not-yet' American lands subsumed in the path of US empire. More important than the obvious imperial imaginings of a conservative Yankee and his future projections for California, what Dana does capture in his representations of California is a critical crossroads of history and the dynamic, diasporic, transnational life of the laborers on California shores.

Indeed, no longer in anticipation of the arrival of US empire, Dana writes a nostalgic retrospective narrative "Twenty-Four Years After" (1859) upon his return to the California coast and adds this elegy to his subsequent obsessively revised editions of the original travelogue. "Twenty-Four Years After" serves as an addendum to his original recorded journeys and gives window to the changes wrought by the US's

acquisition of the territory of California, nine years after statehood. Reflecting on the former appearance of California's shores around San Francisco Bay, Dana recalls, "...the entire region of the great bay, was a solitude. On the whole coast of California there was not a light-house, a beacon, or a buoy, and the charts were made up from old and disconnected surveys by British, Russian, and Mexican voyagers" (498).

Upon his return on August 14, 1859, looking out his window of the "Oriental Hotel," upon the now-developed city of San Francisco, Dana muses on the following scene:

When I awoke in the morning, and looked from my windows over the city of San Francisco...itself one of the capitals of the American Republic, and the sole emporium of a new world, the awakened Pacific—when I saw all these things, and reflected on what I once was and saw here, and what now surrounded me, I could scarcely keep my hold on reality at all, or the genuineness of anything, and seemed to myself like one who had moved in "worlds not realized." (500)

Paradoxically for Dana, the progress of US empire that has turned San Francisco into the "sole emporium" of "the awakened Pacific", makes the fulfillment of his nostalgic return to the California coast of old impossible. Dana's entire return tour of the coast and the interior lands of northern California through "worlds not realized" is infused with such accounts of his disorienting return. Dana himself had once declared that, "If California ever becomes a prosperous country, this bay will be the center of its prosperity...affording the best anchoring-grounds in the whole western coast of America, all fit it for a place of great importance" (305-6). When confronted with the real manifestation of what was once his very own anticipated prediction, Dana balks, and the once-familiar landscape confronts him as alien and uncanny. One of the only things that remains a familiar reference point, however, for both Dana and the people

around him is his very own travelogue. Everywhere he goes he is confronted by his own text and he realizes that his readers have “kept some run of my history” (508) and that “almost—I might perhaps say quite—every American in California had read it” (503). He realizes in retrospect that when California “broke out” in 1848, “there was no book upon California but mine” (503). Dana litters “Twenty-Four Years After” with an anxious yet ambivalent elegiac nostalgia about his status as the “veteran pioneer of all” at only “but little past forty years of age” (504).

Dana’s Pacific narrative was followed by his *Seaman’s Friend* (1841), a valuable maritime manual which became required reading for sailors, owners, and lawyers alike, and by *To Cuba and Back* (1859), documenting his twelve-day, fast-paced excursion to the Caribbean island. The literary history of Dana’s Cuba narrative is of import because it was taken up by US soldiers in the Spanish-Cuban-American War of 1898 as a travel guide and companion for soldiers nearly thirty years after its initial publication. Indicting Dana for being “The Colonizing Voice in Cuba” in the second chapter of his study on travel literatures, McBride notes that Dana’s narrative, “contains fascinating chapters on Cuban language, the social structure and history of the island, detailed guides to the city of Havana and Matanzas, explanations on Cuban government, and a chronicle of American influence on the island” (McBride 32). Once again, just as he accomplished with his California text, whether intentionally or not, Dana had written a guidebook for travelers to the island locale, serving as his contemporary moment’s Fodor’s or Lonely Planet resource. Dana’s furlough to Cuba, whose subtitle is “A Vacation Voyage” and

includes excursions through the capital of Havana and to the surrounding environs of the island's interior. It comes at a crucial time in US history just after the failure of the passage of the Ostend Manifesto (1854), federal legislation that attempted the annexation of Cuba. Dana's vacation to the island seems anything but a "rest cure" or an opportunity for convalescence, as he spends his entire trip on a whirlwind tour out of which emerges a very detailed representation of *El Ingenio*, or, the sugar mill in Cuba. By Dana's trip to Cuba in 1859, although the US had legally abolished slavery on the continent, Cuba remained its greatest trade partner, where slavery remained very much alive. Dana's text also becomes an uncanny means of looking back at US foreign policy as the local Cubans he encounters in his narrative constantly urge him to discuss John Slidell's \$30 million bill. Dana embarked for Cuba in mid-February of 1859, in precisely the month that the Senate was debating the idea of purchasing Cuba from Spain for thirty million dollars. Although Dana spends a mere twelve days on the ground in Cuba, his anticipatory text helps explain many of the US's interests and political moves fifty years later when, in 1898, the Spanish-American-Cuban war ensues. In all, both of Dana's major and minor transnational Pacific and Caribbean travelogues give window to anticipatory moments at the edges of US empire, one path fulfilled in California and the other continually stunted in the Cuban context. The travelogue becomes the means via which the successful and unsuccessful paths of US empire can be traced, along with sites of contestation. While historically, critics have mused over Dana's Pacific text as his best work, Dana's Cuban travelogue is often dismissed for the inferiority of its writing, although it was popular as almost twenty

editions of *To Cuba and Back* were published in the 19th century (Gale 81).

Coincidentally or not, Dana's Pacific / California text which maps out what later becomes US national territory is the text that remains canonical in US literary circles; the Cuban text remains one of Dana's forgotten minor writings, unconsolidated in the US canon just as the territory it documents remains, viscerally and combatively to this day, unconsolidated as part of the shores of US empire.

Twain and Impossibilities of Nostalgic Return

...but we all bore witness, and we participated, as relatively minor players, in the transformations taking place before our eyes.

--Renato Rosaldo, *Culture and Truth*⁵⁷

An American cultural studies model only invested in identifying where it finds "empire emanating everywhere" might posit travelogues by writers like Richard Henry Dana, Melville, and Mark Twain as simply vehicles for US cultural imperialism. In almost a reactionary turn after US literary and cultural studies argued that empire had been absent from the study of US culture, much of the scholarship that proceeded in the wake of that declaration followed an exposé model of inquiry, as earlier suggested, where in seeking out empire in various early travel texts, it was not hard to find.⁵⁸ With a focus on US empire renewed at the turn of the 21st century in the context of the US war on terror, scholars pursued the imperial imaginings in the

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 87.

⁵⁸ As mentioned earlier, see the work of Christopher Mark McBride, *The Colonizer Abroad: American Writers on Foreign Soil, 1846-1912*, (New York & London: Routledge, 2004), for a discussion of the writings of Melville, Dana, Twain, Charles Warren Stoddard, and Jack London and the colonizing imagination McBride identifies in their texts.

formative texts of the US travel writing genre. One of the consequences of this mode of inquiry was that, as Lazar Ziff suggests, “The history of the United States seemed, in effect, to be a travel narrative, the story of a people accomplishing the great journey from the Atlantic seaboard to the Pacific and then beyond.”⁵⁹ However, I think a more subtle critical examination of these literatures of travel moves beyond imperial indictment and an “exposé” model of analysis. An exposé model only allows us to say, “*Here* is US empire, we have found it,” and remains critically insufficient to reveal anything about the subtle dynamics of empire itself and the anti-colonial struggles against it. We will get more out of reading these traveling accounts if we do not treat them reductively as agents of empire. Renato Rosaldo’s concept of “imperialist nostalgia” remains helpful to talk about the differently positioned yet interrelated projects that go on in the name of colonization, imperialism, travel writing, and scholarly study. For Rosaldo, “imperialist nostalgia” entails the longing “for the forms of life that they intentionally altered or destroyed” (Rosaldo 69), referencing the “uncomfortable recognition that missionaries, constabulary officers, and ethnographers inhabit partially overlapping ideological spaces...” (82). Rosaldo suggests that under imperialism, “people mourn the passing of what they themselves have transformed” (69). Dana’s return to the locales he captured in his text decades after he had left is drenched in such nostalgia. His portrayal and his narration of his own return passage to California employs an anxious “elegiac mode of perception”

⁵⁹ See Lazar Ziff’s *Return Passages: Great American Travel Writing, 1780-1910*, (New Haven, C.T.: Yale University Press, 2000): 283. All subsequent references will be made in the text.

where he mourns that the scenes he recorded twenty-four years ago no longer remain visible (Rosaldo 68).

Twain and the anti-imperialist stance to which he evolved at the end of his lifetime, on the other hand, seems a far cry to his political projections for the islands of Hawai'i in the 1860s. While Dana proceeds to go on a second romp through the transformed California landscape in 1859 that nearly rivals his first visit, Twain, in his return passage to Hawai'i in 1897 on his lecture tour, is met with the impossibility of going back. While he is initially willing to reminisce in a reverie about his love of the islands, and we see his excitement and anticipation build as he waits to go on shore, he is confronted by the negative effects of multiple imperialisms on both the landscape and the native population. Published after the 1893 coup in which the US deposed Queen Liliu'okalani from her constitutional monarchy in Hawai'i, and on the eve of the US's official territorial annexation of the islands, in chapter three of *Following the Equator: A Journey around the World* (1897), Twain records his excitement upon his return to the Pacific shores of Hawai'i:

On the seventh day out, we saw a dim vast bulk standing out of the wastes of the Pacific and knew that spectral promontory was Diamond Head, a piece of this world which I had not seen before for twenty-nine years. So we were nearing Honolulu, the capital city of the Sandwich Islands—those islands which to me were Paradise; a Paradise which I had been longing all those years to see again. Not any other thing in the world could have stirred me as the sight of that great rock did.⁶⁰ (Twain 47)

And later, Twain reflects, “Many memories of my former visit to the islands came up in my mind while we lay at anchor in front of Honolulu that night. And pictures—

⁶⁰ Mark Twain, (1897) *Following the Equator*. (New York: Dover Publications, Inc. 1989): 47. All subsequent references will be made in the text.

pictures—pictures—an enchanting procession of them! I was impatient for the morning to come” (57). However, when morning came after the ship had waited out its anchor, neither Twain nor anyone else would be able to go ashore:

When [morning] came it brought disappointment, of course. Cholera had broken out in the town, and we were not allowed to have any communication with the shore. Thus suddenly did my dream of twenty-nine years go to ruin. Messages came from friends, but the friends themselves I was not to have any sight of. My lecture-hall was ready, but I was not to see that either. (58)

In his attempt to return to Honolulu and step back on the shores of O’ahu, Hawai’i twenty-nine years later, Twain is refused a nostalgic return passage because of the transformations that have taken place since his leave-taking back in 1866. While Twain built his national literary and humorist reputation on his early lectures about his tales from the Sandwich Islands, tales which suggested an increase of US settler-colonial presence in Hawai’i, when he attempts to go back, this opportunity is thwarted by one of the damaging ongoing effects of colonization in the tropics—disease.

Whether Twain acknowledges his complicity with the workings of US empire because of his commission to write extensive letters in the service of San Francisco business interest agents, under the commission of the *Sacramento Union* in the 1860s and the current quarantine of the island is uncertain. What remains relevant, however, is the way he reflects upon the proximate distance he experiences while aboard the steamer, unable to reach the shore:

There was nothing for us to do but sit about the decks in the shade of the awnings and look at the distant shore...I recognized it all. It was just as I had seen it long before, with nothing of its beauty lost, nothing of its charm

wanting. A change had come, but that was political, and was not visible from the ship. (59)

Twain feels he has an experience of recognition, but his recognition is based upon his approximation, rather than actual experience of the shore. He must make his reflections on the ship at a spatial distance from the shore and therefore his experience of the islands remains caught up in the temporal past—the political changes wrought by US economic imperialism in the Hawaiian Islands are not visible from Twain’s ship. Twain use of the passive voice in the depiction of “a change had come” reveals that he still thwarts responsibility. It is perhaps a version of this proximate distance that is replicated by today’s vacationing cruise ship.

Twenty-nine years prior to his experience to 1897, Twain had made an initial journey to Hawai‘i to write letters on the ground in Honolulu as a newspaper correspondent for the Sacramento *Union*, “the most powerful and popular newspaper on the West Coast,” according to A. Grove Day.⁶¹ Twain’s letter dated September 10, 1866 entitled, “The High Chief of Sugardom,” entails a painstaking analysis of the productivity and profitability of the Hawaiian sugar industry compared with respective statistics from Louisiana’s sugar planting industry. In reflecting on the history of sugar cultivation in Louisiana as a business, Twain states:

When it had been a business forty years, there were a hundred plantations in Louisiana—ten years later, there were one hundred fifty on the Mississippi, and the aggregate yield was only 10 million pounds; a few years later it reached 25 million. Compare that with the 27 million yield of twenty-nine small plantations in the Sandwich Islands. (Twain, *LFH* 258)

⁶¹ See A. Grove Day’s “Introduction” to Twain’s *Letters from Hawai‘i*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1966): vii. Any subsequent references will be made in the text. I will reference Twain’s primary text with Twain, *LFH*.

Here Twain points the higher yield potential of a smaller number of plantations in the islands as opposed to the US South. In Letter 23, Twain argues that it may be more expensive and less profitable to keep slaves than to hire “free” native or coolie labor in the islands (Twain, *LFH* 260). Amy Kaplan suggests, “If emancipation in the United States had recently abolished the luxury of other people’s labor in the South, Twain represented the sugar plantation in Hawai’i as a replacement for the loss of slave labor at home.”⁶² Twain’s sweeping vision at the close of what may be his most imperially charged letter, notes how past imperialisms of Venice, Portugal and Holland failed to find “the fountainhead of this vast Oriental wealth”: “The path was hidden to them, but we have found it over the waves of the Pacific, and American enterprise will penetrate to the heart and center of its hoarded treasures, its imperial affluence. The Gateway of this path is the Golden Gate of San Francisco,” (274) by way of the Sandwich Islands.

Twain acknowledged his role as promoter or booster, of US economic ventures and well as civilian tourism. In his last Letter 25, dated June 3, 1866, Twain states,

It is only at very long intervals that I mention in a letter matters which properly pertain to the advertising columns, but in this case it seems to me that to leave out the fact that there is a neat, roomy, well-furnished, and well-kept hotel at the [Kilauea] volcano, would be to remain silent upon a point of very high importance to anyone who may desire to visit the place. The surprise of finding a good hotel in such an outlandish spot startled me considerably more than the volcano did. (298)

⁶² Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of US Culture*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002): 77. All subsequent references will be made in the text as *AOE*.

In addition to Twain's letters being a snapshot of governmental affairs in the Kingdom of Hawai'i, and a review of the possibilities for the US in the sugar industry of the islands, Twain leaves us with a final glimpse of his own "brochure discourse" on the Big Island. That the hotel industry was alive and well on the volcano of Kilauea circa 1866 provides a long lineage of what would become one of the most traveled to islands of the globe. As the native population declined due to diseases introduced by colonizers, the tourist population well outnumbers the locals at any given time on Hawai'i's shores today.⁶³

Twain's return trip to Hawai'i that we see in 1897, decades after the conclusion of the Civil War, but only shortly after the US's overthrow of Queen Liliu'okalani in 1893, makes it hard to disconnect the economic prospects he outlines in his 1866 letters, suggesting an alternate plantation economy in the islands far more profitable than the US South, from the geo-political conditions he finds in the islands in 1897. However, Twain's proximate distance on board the *Warrimo* proffers his audience the illusion of continuing to be a "bystander" rather than an integral player in US imperialist politics. It is on board the *Warrimo* looking at shore that his imperial disavowal is made visible. *Following the Equator* becomes Twain's complicated (re)accounting, coming to terms, and attempt to atone with the relation between US slavery, colonialism and imperialism, while his own earlier personal role as advisor in US expansion to the islands remains ambivalent in these reflections.

⁶³In *Reimagining the American Pacific*, Rob Wilson notes that in 2000, Hawai'i saw 6.8 million tourists per annum on average, a testament to the no-longer remote, but globally-near Pacific for the contemporary transnational traveler (xv). See Rob Wilson, *Reimagining the American Pacific: From South Pacific to Bamboo Ridge and Beyond*. Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2000.

Twain's close-but-far visions of the Hawaiian coastline offer him a very strange position on which to gaze on shore, and as a result a version of "imperialist nostalgia" emerges from his text. Renato Rosaldo reminds us that, "The relatively *benign character* of most nostalgia facilitates imperialist nostalgia's capacity to transform the responsible colonial agent into an innocent bystander" (Rosaldo 70, italics mine).

If we revisit the body of Twain's fictional and non-fictional work, ranging from his early and late travelogues to the novels produced in the middle of his career, Twain is a master-weaver of spatio-temporal displacement and instances of proximate distance in both his written narratives. Twain was safely west of the Rockies when the Civil War had commenced in the 1860s. Twain's own personal lines of flight maintain some interesting incongruities: though we revere Twain for his ability to tackle the representation of the antebellum slave South, as we see in *Huckleberry Finn* later in 1884, he was actually caught up amidst the silver mine fever of the Wild West during the volatile decade of the 1860s, which ended with his six month 'furlough' in the Hawaiian islands. Ironically, he was at least physically and geographically removed from the happenings of the Civil War after his short stint as a Confederate soldier before his desertion. At least in the opening chapters of *Roughing It*, Twain hardly touches on the subject of black racial slavery. There is an apparent disconnect in his work between the fierce battles that were ongoing amidst legislation in the east and on the ground battles in the west concerning the interrelation between land expansion and slavery's extension westward. Though *Roughing It* (1872) does exemplify Turner's frontier thesis (1893) in that during Twain's overland westward

crossing, we see the exhibition of multiple and shifting frontier lines, Twain's travel narrative rarely take seriously frontier / borderland / *la frontera* battles taking place in the context of Indian Removal or slavery's extension. The subject of racial otherness remains a liminal presence that lurks in the night off in the distance from his safe/unsafe positioning in the covered wagon. He often overhears, though never directly experiences the threats of 'Indian Country' and the 'Indian Wars', though in his relation of such tales, he often puts into question which parties instigate such deadly encounters. Chinese laborers take up a whole chapter and are noted for their industriousness, and Indians are also seen in the role of peripheral laborers (cooking/washing), however, their presence remains at the periphery and not the center of the crossing narrative. And finally, the issue of black racial slavery seems unduly suppressed, until his encounter with the Hawaiian colonial plantation system forces a reckoning once he arrives in the islands. It makes Huck's classic and often-quoted assertion that he plans on "lighting out for the territory" after realizing the "freedom" and acquittal of once-slave Jim all the more ambiguous and unsound given Twain's progression later to anti-imperialist politics; Twain was already well aware of what his character Huck might find west of the Mississippi come 1884. Twain had already covered that "territory" himself in his publication of his Hawai'i newspaper letters in the 1860s and his travelogue *Roughing It*.

Interestingly, there is only one reference to the Civil War that occurs in the chapters of *Roughing It* (1872), his travelogue composed well after the Civil War, though it recounts episodes of Twain's life during the time period of the war. The

reference to the war takes the form of a sublime/visionary spectacle that occurs at the top of Mount Davidson, in Virginia City, Nevada, in the form of the Union's flag. An ominous storm's sudden approach brings beaconing news from the east: "It was the flag!—though no one expected it at first, it seemed so like a supernatural visitor of some kind—a mysterious messenger of good tidings, some were fain to believe. It was the nation's emblem transfigured by the departing rays of a sun that was entirely palled from view..." (Twain, *RI* 383), "the superstition grew apace that this was a mystic courier come with great news from the war." We find out from Twain that only a telegraph operator sworn to secrecy could have known, "the great things this sinking sun had seen that day in the east—Vicksburg fallen, and the Union arms victorious at Gettysburg!" due to the time delay of eastern news reported by the operator to California and Nevada papers. While Twain and the miners' disconnection from the Civil War is curious and the fact that Twain admits there would be drunken celebration at the corroboration of the Union's victory, Twain's spatio-temporal location in the frontier West enables the displacement of the 'national' conflict of North and South out of view, just over the ridge of the Davidson peak.

It is almost as if the sublime natural landscape has intervened here, and safeguarded the population of Virginia City by placing them outside of 'national time' and into 'the flurry times' in a valley between mountain crests, also signifying a displacement and/or a resolution of this historical conflict just out of reach. In any case, it is intriguing how the concept of the western frontier serves as a metaphorical

and actual space in which to evade the subject of the north/south conflict. Via this spatio-temporal displacement, Twain is able to rewrite the national narrative via a new regional focus on the frontier west that leaves the sectional conflict in an ever receding landscape to the east. Rereading Twain transnationally and looking for elements of spatio-temporal displacement of national conflicts with the framework of a borderlands / *la frontera* critique in mind is way to answer Amy Kaplan's query that asks why, "Twain did not write about slavery and race relations until twenty years after the war's end" (Kaplan, *AOE* 75). Across his body of work of fiction and non-fiction, Twain is a master at ambivalent/satirical temporal and spatial displacement, writerly techniques which you can locate throughout his body of fictional and non-fictional work.

Twain's conjures the character 'this man Brown,' as we see in his original Letters to the *Sacramento Union* narrating his Hawaiian experiences, but not in his later composed travelogue *Roughing It*. "This Man Brown" is often touted for his vulgarity by A. Grove Day who applauds his removal from *Roughing It*, in Twain's later publication. Though part of Brown's role in Twain's original text serves as comic relief, an uncommon reading of Brown would be that he disallows Twain from being able to lapse into an overly romantic vision of the isles, one that resembles a touristic brochure discourse. What we see through the inclusion of Brown is the intentional development of this constitutional ambivalence or rather, a subtle and sophisticated ongoing inner dialogue of the conscientious imperial traveler. Rather than just a comical side-show, a rereading of Brown brings the battling identities of

Twain as a traveler into the visible bounds of the text, further showcasing Twain's contradictions and ambivalence.

Twain's ambivalent lines of flight by the end of his career become global, emanating in all directions, such that he "follows the equator" round the globe by 1897. To borrow Amy Kaplan's phrase, what we find out in looking at the "imperial routes" of Mark Twain, however, is the inability to look at these routes in a unilinear fashion, that is, beginning in the east, moving southward, then westward, and then overseas. In conjunction with Kaplan's work, my transnational rereading of Twain's body of travel works seeks to explain the mutually constitutive discourses of race, slavery, and imperialism produced during and after the Civil War both domestically and internationally. These discourses are produced both socially and economically, forged around changing sugar plantation systems and their reverberations heard from the US south, to the Caribbean, all the way to the Pacific Isles.

In contemplating the imperial connections between literary figures and political actors, it is historically difficult to draw a straight line from nationally admired humorist Mark Twain to Hawai'i's first territorial governor Sanford B. Dole. In other words, it is difficult to confirm historically the influence of a literary text on the geo-political affairs of the US nation-state and its subsequent colonial territorial acquisitions. We can, however, trace the ways that Twain's use of spatio-temporal displacement engages in a form of "imperialist nostalgia." Looking back at Twain's nostalgic return to Honolulu near the turn of the century, he indeed encounters a physical quarantine upon reaching the port. However, Twain uses this quarantine as a

trope to his own advantage when he mobilizes it as a means of spatio-temporal displacement in his literary representation. What the material presence and the trope of the quarantine I spoke of earlier allow Twain to do upon his return to Honolulu is to distance himself from history's imperial effects by casting himself as an innocent bystander looking at the shore from the safe distance of the deck of the early pleasure-cruise ship. Again, Rosaldo is helpful here to note, "Mourning the passing of traditional society and imperialist nostalgia cannot neatly be separated from one another. Both attempt to use a mask of innocence to cover their involvement with the processes of domination" (Rosaldo 86).

This tendency to depict himself as separate from the forces of domination is present much earlier in Twain's *Letters from Hawai'i* as well. In the letter dated March 1866, Twain reports his encounter with a local stranger who quizzes him on all manner of possible reasons for him to be in Honolulu. The stranger addresses him as a preacher, a captain, a secretary of war, and a royal commissioner—all occupations Twain denies—before finally asking, "Bless my life! Then, who the mischief are you? What the mischief are you? And how the mischief did you get here, and where in thunder did you come from?" To which Twain replies, "I'm only a private personage—an unassuming stranger—lately arrived from America." To which his interlocutor replies, "Ah, heaven! It is too blissful to be true...For sixteen weary years I have yearned for a moment like this..." (Twain, *LFH* 43). Thus, Twain humorously disavows his connection to more strategic political actors of imperialism per se, yet simultaneously acknowledges the ongoing presence of said colonial actors for sixteen

years or more. In the process, Twain inadvertently aligns himself with what has become one of the world's most popular images and consumers in our contemporary globalized world—the “private personage—an unassuming stranger,” i.e. the innocent tourist.

Can we resolve whether Twain as an “unassuming stranger” on Hawaiian shores brought about a “blissful” future for the Hawaiian Islands? What his later world-travels recorded in *Following the Equator* reveal is the contradictory yet ever-present tension between the “unassuming stranger” and the writer who will reflect with “imperialist nostalgia” upon a locale that they can no longer experience as they once did because of the effects of “irretrievably lost time” due to the consequences of imperialism. Twain's moves to get back on the lecture circuit even after an extremely prolific and famous life have left him monetarily unstable, requiring his globe-trotting lecture tour trip. These travels place him in a position where he can revisit and revise his imperial ponderings we see present earlier in *Letters from Hawai'i*. The Twain we see half way across the globe in *Following the Equator* in 1897 and his scathing closing analysis of South African diamond mines and the colonial wars going on around the world is a far cry from the green-eyed Twain we saw in Virginia City back in 1861 panning for silver on the Comstock Lode in *Roughing It*. If anything, Twain's *Following the Equator*, his last travel narrative at the eve of the turn of the 21st century, outlines Twain's own political conversion or transformation—despite the political effects of the suggestions in his earlier writings. The text remains, albeit, an incomplete yet viable effort to come to terms with the effects of colonization around

the world and undergirds the development of his anti-imperialist politics that infuse his writings for the rest of his life.

This chapter has engaged in a transnational reading of the body of work of one of our most famous national literary figures, beloved author, lecturer, and humorist Mark Twain / Samuel Clemens. We revere Twain as author of *Huckleberry Finn* (1884) infamous for his portrayal, during post-war and Reconstruction era politics, of Jim's antebellum escape from slavery downriver and his ethnographic depictions of the Mississippi River region. However, Twain spent the entire Civil War not in the US South but roaming the Western frontier. He lived out in his own life the mantra that Huck would be impelled to take on at the end of the novel—"lighting out for the territory." Twain, after his journey west, floats around the Pacific in his journey to the Sandwich Islands. He opted for willed self-exile from the national map during this crucial point in US national formation. As Amy Kaplan states, "it is Twain himself who has taken a circuitous path to the American South" (Kaplan, *AOE* 77). Twain stands in the canon of US literature as one of the most revered and authentically "American" writers. His most famous texts produce an antebellum representation of the American South, representing, during years of failed Reconstruction, a national conflict years after the events themselves took place. Twain's southern regionalism, and finally his fervent anti-imperialism come at the close of his illustrious career, whereas the extensive travel narratives he published as his writing career was just budding and those written towards the end of his life have passed by the wayside as less canonical texts. These minor texts with major implications have been revived by

critics like Amy Kaplan and a host of other scholars seeking to trace the “imperial routes” of Mark Twain. While useful to see Twain’s routes of lines of flight, it may not be very productive to simply indict Twain for his “imperial routes.” A transnational rereading of Twain helps to make visible and dereify borders crossed and the US’s attempts and failures at expansion and the consequences and struggles along the shores of US empire for Native Hawaiians. A transnational reading method allows for the visibility of transcultural processes in the contact zone instead of indictment of travel writers as apologists for imperialism. Seeing the various regional pasts and paths of authors like Richard Henry Dana Jr. and Mark Twain as interrelated as national elements of a literary palimpsest rather than keeping an analysis of these pasts and paths separate remains crucial to understanding the literatures of travel that document the workings of US empire. Rereading these literatures of travel enable us to capture these complex times before, between, and beyond 1848 and 1898 periodizations of US empire.

Chapter Two

Islands and Geographies of Struggle: Caribbean Interventions towards a Genealogy of Poetic Historiography

Limbo dancer reads The Wretched of the Earth
bending over backwards
Limbo dancer reads How Europe Underdeveloped Africa
bending over backwards
Limbo dancer reads Che Guevara's diary
bending over backwards
Limbo dancer reads Angela Davis' autobiography
bending over backwards
Limbo dancer reads Capitalism and Slavery
bending over backwards
and has chained every word to memory
But limbo dancer also reads the Kama Sutra
bending over backwards
as well as The Joys of Natural Childbirth
Some people believe this is what make limbo dancer
capable of sustaining multiple revolutions

—John Agard's, "Limbo Dancer's Reading Habits,"
from *Limbo Dancer in Dark Glasses* (1983)⁶⁴

¿No hay que creer que, si hay una intuición poética,
también hay una intuición histórica?

[Shouldn't one believe that if there is a poetic intuition,
there is also a historical intuition?]

—G. Cabrera Infante's *Vista del amancer en el trópico* (1974)

The reading list that Guyanan poet John Agard puts together in his poem, "Limbo Dancer's Reading List" from *Limbo Dancer in Dark Glasses* (1983), produces a Caribbean regional imaginary that is bound together by a history of anti-colonial and

⁶⁴ John Agard's, "Limbo Dancer's Reading Habits," *Mangoes & Bullets: Selected and New Poems, 1972-84*. (London: Serpent's Tail, 1990): 32. All subsequent references will be made in the text.

anti-racist struggles. The limbo dancer's steps are set in tune to Frantz Fanon, Walter Rodney, Ernesto Ché Guevara, Angela Davis, and Eric Williams, all real historical figures, writers, philosophers, and revolutionaries committed to liberationist movements and politics. Agard's limbo dancer links together texts and contexts from various island locales in the Caribbean and also the US; each element adds to the limbo dancer's performance a distinct yet necessary component to complete an emergent anti-colonial and anti-racist canon for the Caribbean region. The limbo dancer's performance of the reading list suggests all these texts and contexts are linked through comparative historical struggle. This chapter does something similar to the figure of Agard's limbo dancer, by juxtaposing Caribbean authors of variant linguistic and island histories in order to create a comparative genealogy of cultural production across the region that is at once comparative yet non-homogenizing, accounting for the distinctive imperial and colonial pasts and complex presents of the region. More broadly, this study puts in conversation authors from both the Anglophone, Hispanophone, and Francophone regions, ranging from the late nineteenth century to the contemporary moment, keeping in mind the distinct histories of race and identity formation that attend to each region while at the same time linking their histories of anti-racial and anti-colonial struggle. Although John Agard's poem takes a playful turn, affirming that the limbo dancer can sustain "multiple revolutions," what is at stake in Agard's poem, and as I argue, in the body of Caribbean cultural production, is his use of the poem and the figure of the limbo dancer to imagine a genealogy of related struggles and revolutions invested in a

regional decolonizing project. As Agard's poem takes shape, he provides us with an alternative reading-list that makes his limbo dancer no simple tourist attraction. Rather, Agard's limbo dancer has a revolutionary consciousness, and his dance reminds us of the complex histories at stake in the Caribbean and gives us an alternative means of narrating them—via the poetic lens.

Precursors of Poetic Historiography: The Slave-Narrative as Travel Narrative

Here I outline a genealogy for the reading tactic of poetic historiography emerging from the Caribbean canon in conversation with the travel literatures undergirding the formation of the US canon. In the first part of this chapter, I locate the routes and precursors of poetic historiography in the slave narrative and anti-slavery genre which emerges alongside the Caribbean canon, especially in the Cuban national context. The slave narrative, in a sense, embeds within itself a travel narrative which is both metaphorical and material: the existential journey from slavery to freedom, as well as a physical journey which often involves escape and translocal movement. In the second part of this chapter, I track the development in the Caribbean of adaptations of the slave narrative and travel narrative genre in modern texts like Alejo Carpentier's novel *El reino de este mundo* (1949) and imaginative texts like Gabriel Cabrera Infante's *Vista del amancer en el trópico* (1974) from the Cuban canon. Later texts such as Jamaican-American novelist Michelle Cliff's *Free Enterprise* (1993) provide a Caribbean-feminist lens through which to see the project of poetic historiography.

In building a genealogy for poetic historiography in the Caribbean, two comparative approaches are useful. One method looks regionally within the Caribbean both across islands and linguistic traditions, and the other seeks to compare transnationally, looking at what the regional canon in the Caribbean can proffer to a complex reading of these shores of US empire. A comparative canon of representative texts for a Caribbean poetic historiography would aim to compare across temporal and spatial lines. To give an example, it may be useful to juxtapose a canon of nineteenth-century slave narratives and the *antesclavitud* texts from a national tradition like Cuba with a representative canon of slave narratives and antislavery texts from the US. This comparative move allows for comparison across national and regional spaces but would also offer a vision of the way in which the respective “canons” of antislavery narratives fit more broadly into their own national canons. I would argue, as William Luis does in *Literary Bondage*, that the Cuban national canon is indebted to the 19th century genre of the antislavery text at its impetus, foregrounding Cuba’s national emergence under the dual “independence” rubrics of abolition and Spanish colonial rule.⁶⁵

It becomes the work of later twentieth century poetic narratives to excavate the pre-colonial pre-*esclavitud* past and draw upon genealogical roots and routes to

⁶⁵ See William Luis’s, *Literary Bondage: Slavery in Cuban Narrative*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1990. For an elaboration of the dueling roles of emancipation and colonial independence at the heart of Cuban national identity and independence struggles, see the following scholarship: Ajejandro De La Fuente’s, *A Nation for All: Race, Inequality, and Politics in Twentieth-Century Cuba*. Chapel Hill & London: The University of North Carolina Press. 2001; Ada Ferrer’s, *Insurgent Cuba: Race, Nation, and Revolution, 1868-1898*. Chapel Hill & London: The University of North Carolina Press. 1999; Aline Helg’s, *Our Rightful Share: The Afro-Cuban Struggle for Equality, 1886-1912*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1995.

the Amerindian heritage of the isle, aiming to generate a more regional approach than a nationally driven one, post-independence. The US generic mode of the slave narrative holds a more marginal national canonical status than its Cuban counterpart, albeit the Civil War between the States serves as a large historic and divisive moment in US history. The 19th century slave-narrative in US canonical circles is rather relegated to a subgenre of the national canon, although contemporary African American authors like Nobel-Prize winning Toni Morrison and her creative works exploring repressions and glaring absences of the African American struggle—both past and present—are now recognized as some of the most important contributions to American literature. A comparison across national boundaries of the anti-slavery narrative, both for non-fiction autobiography and fiction makes possible a different vision of the more globalized struggles of the Black Atlantic than would a limited exclusively national approach to each individual canon.

Such a comparison could begin with Juan Francisco Manzano's Cuban slave narrative of the late 1830s, the only extant slave narrative known to exist in Latin America and the Caribbean. This text could be placed alongside antislavery novels of the Cuban national canon including Gomez de Avellaneda's *Sab* (1841) and Villaverde's *Cecilia Valdes*, the first version of which was produced in 1839. Paired up with key texts of the American canon, Frederick Douglass's *Narrative* (1845), Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1851) and Martin Delany's *Blake* (1861) could reveal the tensions in non-fiction and fiction across personal, sentimental, and experimental fictional narratives. We could also draw on early

classics from both Melville and Twain and insert Melville's "Benito Cereno" (1855) and Twain's *Huckleberry Finn* (1884) into the conversation, but do so through the lens of the Caribbean anti-slavery genre. In a way, the Cuban anti-slavery texts predate the US version of the same genre and alter the generic frame.

As a key creative treatise of the 19th century Caribbean region, which also helps us to rethink the 1898 date in US historiography, Jose Martí's "Nuestra America" (1891) has become a canonical and polemic text that attempts to articulate a hemispheric articulation of the Caribbean and Latin American region that distinguishes itself from the colonial threat of Old Spain and the burgeoning neo-colonial threat of the US. While I think that Martí's essay registers a key moment in which the possibilities of a Caribbean regionality become imagined that does not lose sight of its national or linguistic particularity, I would juxtapose Martí's text with the vision of hemispheric encounter and relationality imagined in Martin Delany's *Blake, Or the Huts of America* (1861), where via his character Henry Blake, Delany attempts to conjure a ubiquitous threat of hemispheric revolution. Delany's anachronistic turn to the historical figure of Cuban poet Plácido in 1861 brings to the fore earlier figures of the multiple projects of Cuban abolition and colonial independence that were operating well before Martí. Plácido has already been executed in the polemical 1844 *La escalera* slave conspiracy when Delany tries to imagine a new life and role for him in Cuba's independence movements. Hence the Janus-faced methodology of poetic historiography that moves fluidly between reading the past and present. The method of poetic historiography wrenches up already executed historical figures to

conjure possibilities in the present and also to propose future possibilities, or what Donald Pease refers to as the future-perfect tense of “will have been,” in his introduction to CLR James’s text (Pease xvii). A comparative approach to Caribbean and US-based texts reveals the many formal, philosophical, and critical techniques and moves employed by a range of Caribbean and American authors to produce a mode of poetic historiography that is both a decolonizing and an emancipatory project.

Towards a Genealogy of Poetic Historiography

In what follows I outline three challenges, or strategies of reading, I see at stake in the project of poetic historiography as we see it emerge in the Caribbean regional imaginary. The first challenge that literary writers of the region take on is an intervention into Western historiography as such which helps to dispute Western modes of story-telling via linear chronology, breaks, partitions, periodizations, logics of cause and effect, and an ultimate teleology of meaning. In locales that have historically been envisioned in colonial rubrics as “off the map,” as “small places,” and as peripheral to Euro-American history, a creative history written and read as a poetic and/or poetic prose lens stands in for official records, documents, and dates. The second challenge at stake the poetic historiographic project entails debunking the myth of discovery of these island spaces. The project of poetic historiography exposes western discourses of discovery as equally dependent on the processes of invention and creation. And finally, the project of poetic historiography refuses a

colonial discourse of the “porno-tropics” and its “brochure discourse”; rather, Caribbean writers delve into scenes of material histories of labor and revolution at work in the Caribbean at the same time they refuse to uphold the image of the bucolic colonial scenes that are preserved in many a Euro-American vision of the Caribbean, past and present.

Poetic historiography aims at a decolonizing deconstruction of violent western epistemologies. In looking at critical historians and philosophers in the History of the West, particularly Hayden White, they point to the subjectivity inherently invested in projects of “objective” historiography. In White’s study, *The Content of the Form* (1989), he points out that the recording of history in premodern ages did not always follow the modern period’s insistence on “history proper” which depends upon chronology, linearity, a clear beginning, middle, and end point wherein “history proper” is infused with meaning that evolves out of the fact of its narration. While premodern historicizing relied more on the forms of the annal and the chronicle, historical narration emerges with the modern period. White, however, questions the viability of the modern turn to chronological narration. He suggests:

Does the world really present itself to perception in the form of well-made stories, with central subjects, proper beginnings, middles, and ends, and a coherence that permits us to see “the end” in every beginning? Or does it present itself more in the forms that the annals and chronicle suggest, either as mere sequence without beginning or end or as sequences of beginnings that only terminate and never conclude?⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Hayden White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*. (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1987): 24.

White's challenge to more modern forms of historical narration is that they may not be sufficient to represent experience that seems to be "without beginning or end." Older forms of narration, for White, like the chronicle or the annal, may be better able to capture the reality of human experience. We see a similar refusal of Western modes of narration emerge in the body of work from the Caribbean region.

Édouard Glissant, a twentieth century philosopher, novelist, and poet of Martinique remains suspicious of such "chronological illusions," which he declares in his *Le Discours Antillais* (1981), in a text that predates Hayden White's. At stake in Glissant's creative philosophical treatise and articulation of *antillanité* in which he attempts to articulate a regional Caribbean discourse that does not lose sight of the particularity of his local island Martinique, is an interrogation of the intertwined role literature and history have played in the West's projects of colonization as well as the strategies of resistance in the Caribbean. It has been the work of place-based and oceanic writers like Édouard Glissant to re-localize the experience of deterritorialization and the specifically Caribbean diasporic experience and the myriad of cultural forms produced in its wake. For cultural-poetic analysts like the Glissant, the context of the Caribbean is specific to the type of history that can be written or imagined by a people with such an experience of deterritorialization. Maintaining a close connection with the concept of the rhizomatic nature of cultural connections proffered by Deleuze and Guattari, Glissant's concept of "transversality"

points to the underwater and submarine connections interlinking the Caribbean archipelago⁶⁷:

“transversality”: The implosion of Caribbean history (of the converging histories of our peoples) relieves us of the linear, hierarchical vision of a single History that would run its unique course. It is not this History that has roared around the edge of the Caribbean, but actually a question of the subterranean convergence of our histories. The depths are not only the abyss of neurosis but primarily the site of multiple converging paths.⁶⁸

Thus for Glissant, the specific hydrology of the region has “roared around the edge of the Caribbean” archipelagic shores. This creative vision of the “transversality” of Caribbean history, reflecting the heavy weight and density of the sea, in light of the Middle Passage, where such trauma tends towards “implosion,” dismisses it from the usual chronologies possible in narration. But rather than see the depths as only an “abyss,” Glissant sees the “subterranean convergences” of multiple histories and “multiple converging paths” at this underwater crossroads. Glissant’s work and the subterranean shores he articulates become the site of Caribbean renewal and the source of an alternative vision of history to unpack and challenge Western notions of chronology and progress.

In his poetic essay and manifesto articulating “*antillanite*,” *Caribbean Discourse: Selected Essays* (1989), first published in French as *Le Discours Antillais* (1981), Glissant elucidates an alternative vision of time in contrast to the classic Western conceptualization of chronological progress. For Glissant, those inhabitants

⁶⁷ See Deleuze & Guattari’s introduction to their (1980) *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism & Schizophrenia*, London: Continuum, 2004, for an elaboration of their concept of the rhizome.

⁶⁸ See Édouard Glissant’s *Le Discours Antillais* (1981) / *Caribbean Discourse: Selected Essays*. Trans. J. Michael Dash. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1989): 66. All subsequent references will be made in the text as Glissant *CD*.

of the Caribbean, because of the rupture they have experienced in light of the Middle Passage, have what he calls a “painful notion of time”:

The past, to which we were subjected, which has not yet emerged as history for us, is, however, obsessively present. The duty of the writer is to explore this obsession, to show its relevance in a continuous fashion to the immediate present. This exploration is therefore related neither to a schematic chronology nor to a nostalgic lament. It leads to the identification of a painful notion of time and its full projection forward into the future, without the help of those plateaus in time from which the West has benefited, without the help of that collective destiny that is the primary value of an ancestral cultural heartland. That is what I call a *prophetic vision of the past*. (Glissant *CD*, 64).

Especially crucial here for Glissant is “the duty of the writer,” whose role articulates this obsession with the persistence of the past in the Caribbean context. This obsession for Glissant cannot merely take on the looks of an easy chronology or a mere lamentation about past horrors. The painful notion of time which the writer must negotiate places him or her in a prophetic relation with the past wherein the writer negotiates a creative form of historiography, not merely pointing to past injustices or mapping history onto a progressive chronology. Glissant’s prophetic Caribbean writer is the antithesis of Walter Benjamin’s Angel of History, looking at lamentations of the past piling up with back turned towards the future.⁶⁹

While centralizing the role of the Caribbean writer in developing the creative notion of *antillanite*, conversely, Glissant points to the fantasy at play in the West’s notion of chronologic time. He notes, ““History [with a capital H] ends where the

⁶⁹ In Walter Benjamin’s classic “Theses on the Philosophy of History” he states, “This is how one pictures the angel of history. His face is turned towards the past. Where we see a chain of events, he sees one single catastrophe which keeps piling wreckage upon wreckage and hurls it in front of his feet... This storm irresistibly propels him into the future to which his back is turned, while the pile of debris before him grows skyward. This storm is what we call progress” (Benjamin 257-8). See Benjamin, “Theses on the Philosophy of History,” in *Illuminations*. (1955). Ed. Hannah Arendt. Trans. Harry Zohn. New York: Schocken Books, 1968.

histories of those peoples once reputed to be without history come together.” History is a highly functional fantasy of the west, originating precisely at the time when it alone “made” the history of the World” (64). Glissant even calls into question the geographical fact of the West, deeming it more as a constructed ideological entity than a locale, stating, “The West is not in the West. It is a project, not a place” (2, n1). Part and parcel of what is at stake in the Caribbean notion of *antillanite* for Glissant is an intervention into the narration of a western history that sees the Caribbean archipelago and its deterritorialized peoples as peripheral to world history and modernity, when in fact, the locale and the trade in the form of the sugar and tobacco plantation output and the trade in human labor were at the center of modern industrialization.⁷⁰

Glissant’s painful notion of time wrenches the Caribbean region out of peripheral history and into the complex narration and interrelation of Western and Caribbean history. Glissant’s critique of chronologic time and his insistence on a painful notion of time provide a way to read Caribbean authors’ treatments of time in their creative texts. For Glissant, it is the role of the writer to work out this negotiation with time and memory: “Because the collective memory was too often wiped out, the Caribbean writer must “dig deep” into this memory, following the

⁷⁰ For an overview of the role of sugar and tobacco production and human trafficking in the building of modern economies, especially in a Caribbean context, see the following texts: Vera Kutzinski’s *Sugar’s Secrets: Race and the Erotics of Cuban Nationalism*. (Charlottesville & London: University Press of Virginia): 1993; Sidney Wilfred Mintz’s, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History*. (New York: Viking): 1985; Fernando Ortíz’s, (1940) *Contrapunteo cubano del tabaco y el azúcar*. (Madrid: Catedra: Musica Mundana Maqueda): 2002; and Robert L. Paquette’s, *Sugar Is Made with Blood: The Conspiracy of La Escalera and the Conflict between Empires over Slavery in Cuba*. (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press): 1988.

latent signs that he has picked up in the everyday world” (64). It becomes the role of the writer, for Glissant, to unravel this painful notion of time: “Because the Caribbean notion of time was fixed in the void of an imposed nonhistory, the writer must contribute to reconstituting its tormented chronology...” (65). Glissant provides one of the most helpful, creative, and critical takes on the Antillean writers’ relationship to time and memory in the Caribbean.

In reflecting on what he calls the “chronological illusion” of colonial history, Glissant provides for us a timeline of the history of Martinique. After providing this timeline, he then states:

It is possible to reduce our chronology to a basic skeleton of “facts,” in any combination....Once this chronological table has been set up and completed, the whole history of Martinique remains to be unraveled. The whole Caribbean history of Martinique remains to be discovered. (13)

Thus, while a timeline of the history of Martinique constructed out of a series of chronological “landmark” dates ranging from the “discovery” by Columbus in 1502 to the 1975 doctrine of “economic” assimilation gives us a periodization of major historical events, Glissant suggests that this is a mere skeleton of “facts” and the real history is what occurs in the gaps, between the chronological lines drawn—elements that are forgotten or ignored in the chronological histories of colonial discourse. It becomes the role of the Caribbean writer to adopt this “painful notion of time” and what emerges in their creative production is a process of storytelling that can attend to the gaps and what falls between the chronological lines.

In a locale that is populated by slaves of the African diaspora, it is no wonder the difficulties that reside in conjuring the possibilities of an archival, documented

history. History, it could be argued, as Walter Benjamin points out in his “Theses on the Philosophy of History,” is, in fact, a “cultural artifact” of the victor which the historical materialist would approach with caution. In Benjamin's most famous line, “there is no document of civilization that is not at the same time a document of barbarism” we see an emergence of a distrust in official histories and an impetus to “brush history against the grain.” In reviewing strategies for the historical materialist, Benjamin states:

Whoever has emerged victorious participates to this day in the triumphal procession in which the present rules step over those who are lying prostrate. According to traditional practice, the spoils are carried along in the procession. They are called cultural treasures, and a historical materialist views them with cautious detachment. For without exception the cultural treasures he surveys have an origin which he cannot contemplate without horror. They owe their existence not only to the efforts of the great minds and talents who have created them, but also to the anonymous toil of their contemporaries. *There is no document of civilization which is not the same time a document of barbarism.* And just as a document is not free of barbarism, barbarism taints also the manner in which it was transmitted from one owner to another. A historical materialist therefore dissociates himself from it as far as possible. He regards it as his task to brush history against the grain. (256-257)

Brushing history against the grain, in the case of the project of Caribbean poetic historiography means precisely picking up the creative brush to construct a poetic historical archive. We can grasp onto examples here like those of Trinidadian historical materialist CLR James’s *Black Jacobins* in which he breathes an archive into the life of Toussaint Louverture or his *History of Pan-African Revolt* both published in 1938 and both invested in bringing black experience to the stages of world history by placing them at the center of “world events.” James makes possible a historical archive where there before was none.

Alongside James's material histories, I would also juxtapose a poem like Walcott's "The Sea Is History" which qualifies whether the history of the Caribbean will be able to be produced in any officially recognizable form. Walcott is posed a question in the poem: "where are your monuments, martyrs, where is your 'Renaissance'?"⁷¹ Walcott refuses such registers of classical Western history, seeking out singular historical actors, cultural artifacts of memorialization, and documented cultural movements. Instead he suggests that "they are locked in them sea sands," "strop on these goggles," "it's all subtle and submarine." Walcott questions the possibilities of historical retrieval when faced with events like the experience of the Middle Passage: "But the ocean kept turning blank pages, looking for history." What slave was able to write down and record his or her experience of the Middle Passage? Nineteenth Century western writers aware of the context of the Caribbean still lacked the ability to reason why such violent deterritorializations may make cultural production impossible. Walcott's poem "The Sea Is History" is dedicated to countering declarations like of English travel writer James Anthony Froude:

...Instead of occupying them with free inhabitants the European nations filled them with slave gangs. They were valued only for the wealth which they yielded and society there has never assumed any particularly noble aspect. There has been splendour and luxurious living and there have been crimes and horrors and revolts and massacres. There has been romance but it has been the romance of pirates and outlaws. The natural graces of human life do not show themselves under such conditions. There has been no saint in the West Indies since Las Casas, no hero unless philo-negro enthusiasm can make one out of Toussaint. There are no people there in the true sense of the word with a character and purpose of their own....⁷²

⁷¹Derek Walcott, *Collected Poems: 1948-1984*. New York: Farrar, Straus, & Giroux. 1986.

⁷²James Anthony Froude. *The Bow of Ulysses or, The English in the West Indies*. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1888): 306.

In the face of such violent dislocations like the Middle Passage, and projections of “non-history,” by Western writers like Froude in the wake of these violent experiences, creativity and invention become the means via which writers attempt to capture and represent such experiences. Thus, my articulation of poetic historiography, embedded within the texts of multiple authors of the Caribbean, aims at a historiography that is both material, a la CLR James, and poetic at the same time, a la Walcott. The materialist and poetic elements are mutually constitutive, not exclusive. Further elaborating his response to constructions of reality like we see in Froude’s 1888 text, Walcott, in his essay, “What the Twilight Says” (1970) notes, “Colonials, we began with this malarial enervation: that nothing could ever be built among these rotting shacks, barefooted back yards, and moulting shingles; that being poor, we already had the theatre of our lives.”⁷³ Drawing on the idea that the colonial mindset had instilled within the ancestors of slaves the idea that nothing could be created in the West Indies, Walcott counters, “If there was nothing, there was everything to be made. With this prodigious ambition one began” (Walcott, *WTS* 4). Via Walcott, we can identify the impetus for a project of poetic historiography which foregrounds the crucial role of the poet in the aftermath of imperialism, colonialism, and slavery. Literature and poetics are a site of historical struggle; the poem is a vehicle for cultural and historical negotiation.

⁷³ Derek Walcott, *What the Twilight Says*. (New York: Farrar, Straus, & Giroux, 1998): 4. All subsequent references will be made in the text as *WTS*.

In concert with the rejection of Western methods of narrating history, at stake in the project of poetic historiography is the critique of anthropological and ethnographic projects that would further undermine Caribbean locales by seeking to memorialize them in ways that do not account for their dynamism and viability. In Aimé Césaire's *Discourse on Colonialism*, he takes on a critique of the museums of the West. Césaire challenges us to think of a world in which museums would not be needed:

And the museums of which M. Caillois is so proud, not for one minute does it cross his mind that, all things considered, it would have been better not to have needed them; that Europe would have done better to tolerate the non-European civilizations at its side, leaving them alive, dynamic and prosperous, whole and not mutilated; that it would have been better to let them develop and fulfill themselves than to present for our admiration, duly labeled, their dead and scattered parts; that anyway, the museum by itself is nothing, that it can say nothing, when smug self-satisfaction rots the eyes, when a secret contempt for others withers the heart, when racism, admitted or not, dries up sympathy... No, in the scales of knowledge all the museums in the world will never weigh so much as one spark of human sympathy. (Césaire 71-2)

Thus, for the Caribbean poet and philosopher of history, the Western projects of historiography and the processes by which Western culture observes, records and memorializes the living are problematic representations; what we see emergent in the creative works like those of Césaire and others is a commitment to offer a creative alternative to the “dead and scattered parts” that the museum would offer to commemorate Caribbean culture.

Debunking the Myth of “Discovery”

In challenging Western myths of discovery, Caribbean writers invested in the project of poetic historiography use the theme of discovery as a vehicle through

which to critique such narratives of initial encounter. Christopher Columbus, in the locale of the Caribbean becomes the originary figure to which theorists and poets alike turn to launch their critique of narratives of discovery. The First Prime Minister of Trinidad, revisionist historian Eric Williams launched a powerful critique of the discovery myth in his sweeping history of the region, *From Columbus to Castro: The History of the Caribbean 1492-1969* (1970): “Every school child knows that Columbus did not ‘discover’ America. There is sufficient evidence available today of the immigration of the Vikings via Greenland in the North, while it is thought that Africans had direct contact with South America before Columbus sailed for ‘the Indies’ in 1492.”⁷⁴ Williams goes on to suggest that Columbus’s obsession with the idea that he had reached Asia disallows his ability to actually comprehend what he had found in the moment of arrival:

However, the fact remains that the idea that he had reached Asia became a veritable obsession with Columbus, who carried with him letters from the Sovereigns of Spain to the Great Khan. Making the wish father to the thought, he repeatedly misinterpreted and unconsciously distorted the information he received from the natives, whose language he could not understand, and who could not understand his. He called them ‘Indians’, an appellation which has survived to this day to describe the aborigines of the New World and the islands of the ‘West Indies’. (Williams 19)

Eric Williams and his career serve as an evidentiary reminder that materialist history from below is alive and well in the Caribbean. In his career as statesman, Williams publishes several studies of the complex histories at stake in the Caribbean:

Capitalism and Slavery (1944) hinged on the central idea that the rise of industrial

⁷⁴ Eric Williams, *From Columbus to Castro: The History of the Caribbean, 1492-1969*. (New York: Harper & Row. 1971): 18. All subsequent references will be made in the text.

capitalism in Britain was fueled by West Indian slavery; *History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago* (1964); and *British Historians and the West Indies* (1964), which sought to debunk British historiography on the region and to condemn as racist the nineteenth and early twentieth century British perspective on the West Indies. Williams was particularly scathing in his description of the nineteenth century British intellectual Thomas Carlyle. His last text, *From Columbus to Castro* (1971) begins with first arresting the myth of discovery, refusing this heroic narrative of European arrival in the islands, and replacing the image of Columbus with one that finds him confused, and unable to read his surroundings. It was only in “Making the wish father to the thought” that Columbus could sustain the idea that he really landed in Asia, and not at the center of the Caribbean.

This troubling of the Columbian discovery continues in the work of Enrique Dussell. In Dussel’s, *The Invention of the Americas*, he argues that Columbus’s “discovery” of the Americas was not a dis-covery but a method of *encubierto*, or covering over, wherein the indigenous population were not encountered in their real form as such but covered over with the narrative and the name of “Indians” since Columbus had assumed he was in India. Dussell suggests that Columbus found in America what he already projected would be there in Spain before he even embarked. In describing what he means by replacing the word “discovery” of the Americas with “invention,” Dussel writes:

I mean by *invention* Columbus’s construing of the islands he encountered as Asian. The Asiatic being of these islands existed only in the aesthetic and contemplative fantasy of the great navigators of the Mediterranean. As a result, the Other, the American Indian, disappeared. This Indian was not

discovered as Other, but subsumed under categories of the Same. This Indian was known beforehand as Asiatic and reknown in the face-to-face encounter and so denied as Other or *covered over (en-cubierto)*.⁷⁵ (32)

The eradication of Arawak and Carib tribes as a result of the arrival of Europeans notwithstanding, Dussel shows the logic of how the local inhabitants were already assumed to be Asiatic by Columbus, such that, as an effect of the violence of the colonial episteme, the native inhabitants were already in the process of being erased or “covered over (*encubierto*)” before Columbus even arrived.

Contemporary feminist scholars like Anne McClintock in her study, *Imperial Leather: Race Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest* (1995), reconstitutes the “event” of Columbus’s colonial discovery as more of a stumbling shipwreck than as any laudable moment in history. In recreating the arrival of Columbus, she constructs the following panorama:

Consider, to begin with, a colonial scene. In 1492, Christopher Columbus, blundering about the Caribbean in search of India, wrote home to say that the ancient mariners had erred in thinking the earth was round. Rather, he said, it was shaped like a woman’s breast, with a protuberance upon its summit in the unmistakable shape of a nipple—toward which he was slowly sailing....⁷⁶

In returning to the colonial scene that McClintock narrates here, the image we have of Columbus is, rather than heroic, one of confusion, misreading, misnaming, and eroticization of unfamiliar landscapes. The moment of historic discovery, under McClintock’s analysis, becomes impossible to heroicize. Putting Mary Louise Pratt’s

⁷⁵ Enrique Dussel, *The Invention of the Americas: Eclipse of “the Other” and the Myth of Modernity*. (New York: Continuum, 1995): 32.

⁷⁶ Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest*. New York: Routledge, 1995): 21. All subsequent references will be made in the text.

Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation in conversation with McClintock, Pratt suggests that discovery, in fact, is always a belated event that depends upon the process of narration that basically paints a picture of what was in reality a “non-event”: “As a rule the “discovery” of sites like Lake Tanganyika involved making one’s way to the region and asking the local inhabitants if they knew of any bog lakes, etc. in the area, then hiring them to take you there, whereupon with their guidance and support, you proceeded to discover what they already knew” (Pratt 202). Pratt also points out the “heroic perspective” which gets produced in a narration of discovery: “I wish to foreground the contradictions in the heroic perspective. In the end, the act of discovery itself, for which all the untold lives were sacrificed and miseries endured, consisted of what European culture counts as a purely passive experience—that of seeing” (202-204). What comes to the fore of the project of Caribbean historiography is a reckoning for the historical damage and violence that gets done in the name of and in the wake of such a non-event.

In Walcott’s essay, “The Muse of History,” he contemplates what remains for survivors of the heroic-colonial “discovery” debacle, and the effect on the native and diasporic inhabitants of the West Indies:

To such survivors, to all the decimated tribes of the New World who did not suffer extinction, their degraded arrival must be seen as the beginning, not the end, of our history. The shipwrecks of Crusoe and of the crew of *The Tempest* are the end of an Old World. It should matter nothing to the New World if the Old is again determined to blow itself up, for an obsession with progress is not within the psyche of the recently enslaved. That is the bitter secret of the apple. The vision of progress is the rational madness of history seen as sequential time, of a dominated future. Its imagery is absurd. In the history books the discoverer sets a shod foot on virgin sand, kneels, and the savage also kneels from his bushes in awe. Such images are stamped on the colonial

memory, such heresy as the world's becoming holy from Crusoe's footprint or the imprint of Columbus's knee... And if the idea of the New and the Old becomes increasingly absurd, what must happen to our sense of time, what else can happen to history itself, but that it too, is becoming absurd? (41)

Walcott draws on key discovery tropes in his treatise, refusing the shipwrecked arrival of literary figures like Crusoe alongside real historical figures like Columbus. We are drawn back to Glissant's "painful notion of time" in seeing Walcott's refusal of "the colonial memory" wherein the native kneels at the discoverer's arrival. Walcott refuses this idea of historical progress proffered by colonial discourse as absurd. In refusing these myths of arrival, Walcott responds, "...[T]hey know that the old vision of Paradise wrecks here" (Walcott, *WTS* 42).

Refusing the Myth of the "Porno-Tropics"

...long before the era of high Victorian imperialism, Africa and the Americas had become what can be called a porno-tropics for the European imagination—a fantastic magic lantern of the mind onto which Europe projected its forbidden sexual desires and fears.

—Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather*⁷⁷

In Anne McClintock's articulation of the "porno-tropics," she tries to disassemble the colonial impetus to see the island locales as landscapes devoid of time wherein the colonizer projects and acts out their libidinal fantasy. McClintock's concept of the porno-tropics is useful in that it allows us to be critical of the colonial lens through which imperial travelers and colonial settlers imagined the colonies in the past, and it is also helpful in seeing the ways the Caribbean in particular, and

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

tropical island locales in general persist in the imperial traveler-become-tourist of today's world. A similar colonial rhetoric is very much alive in what Strachan and Walcott have come to call "the culture of the brochure" and the "brochure discourse" that would see the Caribbean as the timeless playground for the postmodern neocolonial traveler. In Strachan's, *Paradise and Plantation: Tourism and Culture in the Anglophone Caribbean* (2002), he articulates the persistence of the culture of the brochure: "This brochure discourse offers an interesting version of "paradise" to the eyes and pocketbook of the visitor: captivating aerial shots of rocks; deep blue-green waters teeming with colorful fish that flourish among astounding coral reefs" (Strachan 1). Alongside this aestheticized vision of the landscape of the modern-day tourist brochure, Strachan feels that "when they are not producing the exotic," the Caribbean is "cultivating a colonial past that adds to the visitor's sense of a quaint island atmosphere" (2). In contrast, the project of poetic historiography refuses aerial views of landscapes in which the people of the island are lost; the project also refuses bucolic images of the islands' colonial pasts. Embedded in the project of poetic historiography is a need to interrogate the colonial libidinal fantasies past and present.

The Caribbean has historically been deemed a peripheral locale, "off the map" of Western History. A Caribbean writer like Antiguan Jamaica Kincaid, in her memoir and creative manifesto *A Small Place* (1988), refuses such geographical mappings that try to relegate the Caribbean to the footnotes of history. The tendency for the Euro-American colonial gaze to see island locales as small and remote and blissful vacation playgrounds comes under attack in Kincaid's jeremiad:

...(isn't that the last straw; for not only did we have to suffer the unspeakableness of slavery, but the satisfaction to be had from "We made you bastards rich" is taken away, too), and so you needn't let that slightly funny feeling you have from time to time about exploitation, oppression, domination develop into full-fledged unease, discomfort; you could ruin your holiday.⁷⁸

Kincaid's long essay addresses itself to the modern-day tourist to the isles, but the reading of her text allows nothing in the way of vacation or "holiday." Rather, the text itself can be called an effort in poetic historiography that attempts to dismantle the brochure discursive lens through which most of the Western world views the Caribbean. What emerges in her text is a refusal of Twain's imperial ambivalence. Kincaid interpolates her reader as colonizer and impedes any hope for disavowal or disidentification with the power relations of colonization, imperialism, and slavery. We can see her text as a poetic historiographic attempt to dereify the Caribbean as a "porno-tropical" site.

While the mongrel Caribbean has come to be regarded as the universal model for the postmodern experience of a postcolonial diaspora, the project of poetic historiography rejects such celebratory *creolité* or *mestizaje*. The project of poetic historiography remains wary of postmodern turn in theories of diaspora; it refuses postmodern aerial visions of history that lend towards universalization and totalization rather than taking intricate account of the local. Even within such projects like Antonio Benitez Rojo's text *La isla que se repite: El Caribe y la perspectiva postmoderna* (1989), there is a keen awareness that the *transculturación* at hand was

⁷⁸ Jamaica Kincaid, *A Small Place*. (New York: Farrar, Straus, & Giroux. 1988): 10. All subsequent references will be made in the text.

born out of a very specific, violent colonial history. As Guyanan poet John Agard notes, “Palm tree history is a long long story.” The project of poetic historiography thus reads and interrogates discursive treatments of the Caribbean region that attempt to view it aerially, from above, and instead pushes for a history from below that would not begin on the ground, even, but dive deep to the ocean floor. In what follows I read Guillermo Cabrera Infante's *Vista del amanecer en el trópico* (1974) and Alejo Carpentier's *El reino de este mundo* (1949) from the Cuban Caribbean tradition and further assess how their texts help me to elaborate on the genealogy for poetic historiography in the Caribbean. At stake in each of their creative endeavors is their intense investment in the dual struggles of emancipation and colonial independence featured in their narratives.

***Vista del amanecer en el trópico* / View of Dawn in the Tropics**

There is no such thing as a people without history. All peoples have their history. And while all history may not necessarily be recorded in books, every history is recorded somehow, somewhere. Some peoples leave their history in their pottery, their paintings, and their works of art. Others leave their history in their buildings, their statues, their sculptures, and their tools. Their history is a particular combination of their beliefs, their myths, their customs, their philosophies—their articulations of reality and the transcendental. We who share their legacy may not understand it all, but we ought to respect it and strive diligently and unceasingly to understand it; for in so doing, we not only know a little more about their world, but we also know a lot more about our own world.

—Franklin W. Knight, *The Caribbean: The Genesis of a Fragmented Nationalism*⁷⁹

⁷⁹ Franklin W. Knight, *The Caribbean: The Genesis of a Fragmented Nationalism*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1990): 9. All subsequent references will be made in the text.

While the title of Gabriel Cabrera Infante's text seems to provide a soothing scene at dawn in the Caribbean, his text is anything but such a peaceful vision of the isles. G. Cabrera Infante's vision of dawn in the tropics is not the same vision as a travel magazine's view might be. *Vista del amanecer en el trópico* (1974) takes a different approach to poetic historiography that remains in conversation with Carpentier's *lo real maravilloso*. At first glance, *Vista* is a series of vignettes. They are lyrically composed, providing cinematic description to a series of engravings and photographs the speaker of Cabrera Infante's text reads for his audience. As we become further immersed in the descriptions, however, as if coming down from an aerial view of the islands and then touching down, Cabrera Infante draws his reader in to complex and violent colonial scenes. As the text meanders forward, *Vista* becomes a poetic means to capture the framework of Cuban historical struggles for emancipation and independence. Rather than do this through a chronological historiography, G. Cabrera Infante presents us with a series of poetic vignettes that give us a cinematic glimpse of individual and anonymous moments of revolution and revolt. As an island with one series of revolutions after another to undergird its history, Cabrera Infante makes the historical actors ambiguous. The agents of history remain nameless in way that reinforces Caribbean historian Franklin W. Knight's suggestion that a comparative history of the region is one "without designated heroes and significant dates—though some concessions have been made with a political chronology. This is a deliberate act. The heroes are...common folk, too numerous to

mention; the significant dates are not specific years, but varying periods slipping almost imperceptibly by” (Knight xvi).

The narrator of Cabrera Infante's vignettes, thus, becomes a storyteller for a series of engravings and later photographs that stand in for episodes of Cuban history. No names, dates, or events are officially named or provided. This move again reflects Knight's proposal that a comparative history of the region, “emphasizes cultural commonalities rather than political chronology, without neglecting the importance of the latter” (Knight xv). This poetic elimination of the actors involved by Cabrera Infante's narrator has several effects, one which is a destabilization of chronological time. Events which come later in the text, which seem to be a part of Castro and Ché Guevara's guerilla revolutionary efforts in the *Sierra Maestra*, could just as likely be a vision of slave marronage. Thus the past and the present reconverge in Cabrera Infante's rendering of Cuban history. Cabrera Infante's rendering of the Cuban past and present, because of its lack of geographical reference, I would argue, places itself in regional relation with the other island's colonial histories. Rather than a move towards homogenization, this remapping or loosening the constraints on national histories allows for the representation of a regional struggle that is attentive to locality as place and ocean.

We see Cabrera Infante's move to address regionality in the Caribbean where he begins his text. What he describes is not Cuba per se but the geographical

emergence of the entire archipelago from the sea: “Ahí está” [There it is].⁸⁰ Cabrera Infante refuses the trope of Euro-American discovery by pushing the history of the Caribbean islands back to their geologic emergence. No date is given as a way to disconnect the origins from anything that could be construed as a colonial “event of discovery.” The beginning of history in the isles does not begin with the arrival of Columbus, but rather, their emergence from the sea as an archipelago. Cabrera

Infante writes:

Las islas surgieron del océano, primero como islotes aislados, luego los cayos se hicieron montañas y aguas bajas, valles. Más tarde las islas se reunieron para formar una gran isla que pronto se hizo verde donde no era dorada or rojiza. Siguieron surgiendo al lado las islitas, ahora hechas cayos y la isla se convirtió en un archipiélago: una isla larga junto a una gran isla redonda rodeada de miles de islitas, islotes y hasta otras islas. Pero como la isla large tenía una forma definida dominaba el conjunto y nadie ha visto el archipelago, prefiriendo llamar a la isla isla y olvidarse de los miles de cayos, islotes, isletas, que bordean a la isla grande como coágulos de una larga herida verde. (Cabrera Infante 1)

[The islands came out of the ocean as isolated isles, then the keys became mountains and the shallows, valleys. Later the island joined to form a great island, which soon became green where it wasn't golden or reddish. Islets continued to emerge beside it; now they were keys and the island turned into an archipelago: a long island beside a great round island surrounded by thousand of islets, isles and even other islands. But since the long island had a defined form, it dominated the group and nobody has seen the archipelago, preferring to call the island “the island” and to forget the thousands of keys, isles, islets that border it like clots of a long green wound.]

Taking the islands back to this geo-elemental “beginning” Cabrera Infante’s text refuses the myth of Euro-American discovery and at the same time articulates their oceanic emergence. What follows in the next vignettes is an epigraph from Fernando

⁸⁰Gabriel Cabrera Infante, *Vista del amanecer en el trópico*. (Barcelona: Editorial Seix Barral, 1974): 11. All subsequent references will be made in the text. The translation I work from is Suzanne Jill Levine’s 1978 text, published by Harper and Row.

Portuondo that states that “...la historia comienza con la llegada de los primeros hombres blancos, cuyos hechos registra” (13). However, this vignette begins only after the oceanic-elemental introduction of the islands and with the impetus to look farther back than the arrival of whites to the Caribbean. Cabrera Infante follows the epigraph with the lines, “Pero antes que el hombre blanco estaban los indios” (13). Cabrera Infante creates a regional poetics of relation by turning to the history of the indigenous populations of the Ciboney, Arawak, and Carib in an unromantic way. He does not doubt that there were local conflicts between these tribes. What is important in his critique, however, is the way in which historical documentation arrives in the wake of “los blancos, cuyos hechos registra” and his efforts to disrupt how those records stand in for all history.

It has been a topic of revisionist historiography in the Caribbean to acknowledge the difficulty in compiling records on the original Amerindian inhabitants or migrants to the isles. In his comparative pan-Caribbean approach Franklin W. Knight reflects upon the number of original indigenous inhabitants: “...we have no reliable estimate of their number...it is no easier to figure out how many people were living on these islands than to figure out how many Africans were brought to the New World during the four-century-long course of the transatlantic slave trade” (Knight 6). Knight draws a telling parallel between the difficulties of accounting for the native inhabitants of the Caribbean isles in a way that mirrors the lack of records of how many Africans were brought the islands, or additionally lost at sea. Knight also reflects on the difficulties posed to accounting for the original

inhabitants due to the inaccessibility of the interior landscape of the islands to colonists engaged in ethnographic description; however, where the colonists could not reach the interior, disease later found a way: “No censuses could have been made, and the relative inaccessibility of the interior to the intrusive early colonists precluded any demographic description before the catastrophic epidemiological consequences of the encounter of Europeans and Americans had taken place” (7). Revisionist historians of the region attempt to account for a lack of recording of the history of the original inhabitants of the Caribbean archipelago, and their efforts still remain trumped by the lack of available or accessible history. It becomes the role of the Caribbean writer and their poetic historiographic method to try and capture in poetic form these unrepresentable histories. The writer’s role is one of excavation in poetic form, to supplement the work of ethnographic and archeological projects in the present. Knight reflects that simply because the historian finds details about original inhabitants obscured, this does not detract from the vital role indigenous populations have for the history of the islands: “We still know very little about the indigenous inhabitants, and that we find it hard to unearth more information does not obscure their vital history” (Knight 9).

Vista del amancer en el trópico is invested in describing the figures and actors that get ascribed to the margins of history, as the narrator demonstrates in his efforts to imagine a life for the slave figures at the margins of an engraving. The vignettes become a way to track the life of these figures. Cabrera Infante writes, “En el grabado se va a un escalvo fugitive, arrinconado pos dos sabuesos” (Cabrera Infante 9). He

notes how “el sabueso asesino” was conjured as an invention to track down escaped slaves in Cuba and hence transported to the US’s southern regions where they were known as “Cuban hounds” (21). Immediately we see in Cabrera Infante’s poetic text that he is not painting a bucolic picture of the “porno-tropics”; quite the contrary: each additional passage we see in the text, we see his further refusal to see dawn in the tropics as that of a paradise. The images he narrates about master-slave relations attempt to refuse the paradisiacal plantation trope. Cabrera Infante comments on the juxtaposition of violent abuse by the slave driver with in a tropical setting in one scene: “En el grabado se ve una cuadrilla de esclavos. Son llevados de cuatro en cuatro con un arreador a la cabeza de la fila india y otro más que los espolea a latigazos. Los esclavos llevan un cepo común que suele ser de Madera. Van descalzos y semidesnudos mientras los arreadores llevan sombreros alones para protegerse del sol” (31). He closes the vignette with the lines, “Detrás del grupo se puede ver una palmera y varios bananeros que dan al resto del grabado una nota exótica, casi bucólica” (31). “Casi bucólica,” but not. A reading of the engraving Cabrera Infante describes disallows a bucolic interpretation of the slave and slave-driver scene. What emerges in his reading of the engraving is the problematization of the aestheticization of this history. Overall, his poetic vignettes provide a way to imagine these marginalized figures a life, by providing them with narration, but a narration of history that does not follow a recognizable chronology—it is cinematic, pieced-together, non-linear. Some of the descriptions, without dates for registers could be describing the many revolutions for Cuban independence over the course of the

nation's history. In moving to reading Alejo Carpentier's *El reino de este mundo*, in the same way Cabrera Infante's engravings and photographs canvas a long history of the struggle for emancipation and colonial liberation, Carpentier infuses the life of Ti Noel with over fifty years of the burden of history.

Carpentier and “*la otra orilla*”: the Other Shore

Cuban novelist Alejo Carpentier, in 1943 took a trip to the Haitian *ruinas* of the kingdom of Henri Christophe, a figure of Haitian revolutionary history who came to power circa 1807 and subsequently committed suicide in 1820. This journey for Carpentier to a neighboring Caribbean island with a divergent revolutionary history to his own provided the basis for his famous “*Prologo*” to his novel *El reino de este mundo* (1949). In the *Prologo* he laid the groundwork for what was to become known in Latin America and the Caribbean as *lo real maravilloso*, or, magical realism. In what many have argued has become a minority genre that wields great power in the capitalist literary marketplace or world republic of literature, a return to Carpentier's “*Prologo*” allows us to see how his articulation of “*lo real maravilloso*” is not simply a mode of writing but a very particular philosophy of history that emerges from the specificity of historical experience in *El Caribe*. In his prologue, Carpentier asks, “¿*Que es la historia de America toda sino una crónica de lo real maravilloso?*” [What is the history of all America if not a chronicle of the magical/marvelous real?] His novel following the Prologue, *El reino de este mundo*, subsequently becomes an enactment of this particular query, wherein his main character, Ti Noel's experience

of the historical period predating the execution of Francois Mackandal (1785) to Henri Christophe's suicide (1820) and the fallout that ensues, allows Ti Noel to act as witness to over fifty years of Haiti's revolutionary history. After fifty years of upheaval through which Ti Noel, an ordinary slave, has managed to survive, it is no wonder by the novel's end after a retreat into the animal world (which plays upon at the same time it employs the genre of *lo real maravilloso*), Ti Noel declares that he feels "*viejo de siglos incontables*" [centuries old] and is swept with a "cansancio cosmico" [a cosmic weariness]. In what I would call a poetic historiographic move on Carpentier's part, he infuses Ti Noel with a cosmic ability to be a witness to the fluxuating trajectories of Haitian revolutionary history. Carpentier finds via Ti Noel a poetic lens to tell the history of Mackandal, Henri Christophe, and the French planter classes, through the experience of what would otherwise be an unnamed slave.

In a very important chapter of *El reino*, called "*El gran vuelo*" [the great flight], Carpentier actually foregrounds the two visions of history, that of the Western French planter class, and that of the slave populations and their belief in the powers of "*la otra orilla*" [The other shore]. This is done via the execution of Mackandal wherein two readings are possible of Mackandal's fate. Carpentier leaves us with the French, "*Mackandal sauvé!*" and we are left as readers to contemplate the multiple historical trajectories the slave figure takes. For the planter class, Mackandal has merely been executed, his body thrown in the fire. The sequence of events follows for the planter class historical timeline: Mackandal captured and executed: 1758. For the slave population, Mackandal undergoes a transformation that takes him out of his

human form and allows him to be a presence within their revolutionary future, even after Western historiography records him as dead. Carpentier's role as a novelist in the aftermath of colonialism and imperialism in the Caribbean is to imagine a life for Mackandal and Ti Noel beyond official histories that would see their influence end in death. Carpentier's novel looks across the region and becomes about imagining a time and space wherein the revolutionary histories of Haiti and Cuba were and still are interrelated, as we see with Ti Noel's travels to Santiago de Cuba. Rather than posit *El Reino* as a mere exhibition of cyclical repetition of history, as is the case of many scholars, via the lens of Carpentier's poetic historiography, I see Ti Noel's historical trajectory as a refusal to lapse into the "*inutilidad de toda rebeldia*" [futility of all revolt] and instead an infinite renewal in the "*guerra a los amos nuevos*" [war against new masters]. Carpentier would most likely concur with Guillermo Cabrera Infante's narrator's perspective on fables. In describing a modern scene of resistance signifying a moment in Cuban revolutionary history, Cabrera Infante's narrator reflects on a modern fable and its moral: "La moraleja es que la época hizo a la fábula no sólo verosímil sino también posible" (Cabrera Infante 103) [The moral is that the times made the fable not only probable but also possible.] In the case of Carpentier's narrative and the scope of revolutionary, disjunctive, and violent times in Haiti it reflects, the times made the fable, in this case, of Mackandal, not only probable, but possible.

Michelle Cliff's Transnational Poetic Historiography

“Do the magic pumpkin seeds stop you? Or the fact that if a white man crosses her grave he dies instantly? Which stops you?”

“I grew up, was conceived and raised, in the realm of fantasy. I have little, if any, use for it.”

“For some, this is fantasy; for others, history.”

—Michelle Cliff's *Free Enterprise* (1993)⁸¹

Taking a turn to read women novelists in the Caribbean, I look to Jamaican-American novelist Michelle Cliff's body of work to provide another layer in the genealogy of poetic historiography. Cliff's novel, *Free Enterprise* (1993), might be figured as a contemporary slave narrative of liberation. Cliff's earlier novel *Abeng* (1984) and its sequel, *No Telephone to Heaven* (1987) call to mind a body of work by twentieth century authors from both the Caribbean and Asia Pacific regions that are invested in the possibilities of poetic historiography and ethnography. In mapping a potential canon of women's writing in the Caribbean, in addition to Michelle Cliff's work we could read Paule Marshall's novels *The Chosen Place, the Timeless People* and *Praisesong for the Widow* alongside Erna Broder's *Louisiana* as well as Teresia Teaiwa and Vilsoni Hereniko's *Last Virgin in Paradise: A Serious Comedy*. All these texts are engaged in a poetic technique of writing to enable an alternate history of the Caribbean and Oceanic regions. Following chapter one, which sought to reread the 19th century US travelogue transnationally, these contemporary texts employ a

⁸¹Michelle Cliff's, *Free Enterprise*. (New York: Plume, 1993): 29. All subsequent references will be made in the text.

writing practice and demand a reading practice that insist upon regional interconnections of the island geographies. These texts in question forge and showcase the difficulties of building regional solidarity and histories that compare, and they also demand an interrogation of disciplinarity through their use of poetic historiography. Michelle Cliff's novel, in particular, brings the discourses of academic disciplines like anthropology, sociology, and cultural ethnography, and their role in representing island geographies and their peoples to the world under scrutiny. Within the literature emerges a meta-critical approach to these various disciplines in a way that opts for the critical literary, rather than a scientific or historical mode of representation.

Michelle Cliff's novel *Free Enterprise* traces the interaction between two women and their respective yet interweaving histories. The women are Mary Ellen Pleasant, a black woman born of a black mother named Quasheba and a black-skinned sailor captain named Parsons. Mary Ellen Pleasant is born in Martha's Vineyard and grows up on the New England Island in an African "free school" where she is taught to recite the text of Phyllis Wheatly. She is instilled with a political consciousness from the very start. Her trajectory eventually takes her west to seek her fortune in San Francisco. She lives at 1661 Octavia Street, which Cliff memorializes via her depiction of the San Francisco earthquake wherein Pleasant is said to come back to haunt the city in 1906. The book contains very little present-day interaction between the female friends Pleasant and her counterpart, Annie Christmas, though the book is built around Pleasant's continued correspondence to Annie and Annie's

inability to write back, to put down words to capture her own experience. Most of their developed friendship is traced via letters and reminisces between the two women.

Annie Christmas, Mary Ellen Pleasant's counterpart in the novel, is a Jamaican-born woman who ends up in the US and joins the cause for abolition after declaring the island has no hope, though she always distances herself from "the Cause" in her island home versus the direct role she takes on in the US. Annie reveals why she left the island: "She'd turned her back on her people, all right, but not in the way her mother meant it. She fell into the movement on the mainland, believing the island to be without hope. Believing also, although she hated to admit it, that she was not strong enough to resist on home ground; it overwhelmed her" (10). Annie has very light skin, born of mixed race, whose mother insists she include herself amongst the whiter classes of Jamaica. Annie rebels against this wish of her mother and finds herself in the US joined up with Pleasant at a chance meeting,

This chance meeting between the two women occurs while they are listening to a lecture by Francis Ellen Watkins Harper, who makes a guest appearance in Cliff's novel. Cliff's text abounds with the insertion of such actual historical figures. At the lecture by Harper in 1858, "The Education and Elevation of the Colored Races," also author of *Iola Leroy*, Annie gets up to ask the movement deep questions which challenge Harper's insistence on a seemingly anachronistic "talented tenth" concept, which Annie feels leaves too many of their people behind. Annie stands up to challenge Mrs. Harper who seems the bearer of ideas that DuBois brings to the fore

half a century later. Upon her bold statement, Pleasant takes notice and links up with Annie, inviting her to dinner and ultimately, the Cause.

Cliff uses historical figures and strategic historical anachronism continuously throughout her novel, a poetic writing strategy that allows her to stage productive encounters between historical figures, her characters, and developing ideologies and discourses of the time period. Cliff's extraordinarily complex text weaves a web of real historical figures and images together. The historical figures in question range in breadth from Francis Ellen Watkins Harper who appears in the novel in 1858 to give a speech on the "talented tenth" (an anachronistic usage of DuBois), to a juxtaposition of WD Griffith and Oscar Micheaux, to historical paintings by Turner. By bringing together real historical agents of history alongside her fictional characters, Cliff imagines into poetic fictional form a history that "will have been," in the future-perfect tense à la CLR James, that connects the struggles of Caribbean slave revolt to US slave uprisings, and in addition, makes possible crucial formative conversations between her characters and these historical figures. Cliff's text defies national and temporal bounds in a scope that captures a time period ranging from 1858 to 1920, and a trajectory that encompasses the Caribbean, Jamaica in particular, New England and the Atlantic seaboard, to the Mississippi River, to the streets of San Francisco. It is quite spectacular in terms of its globe-girdling ability to conjure the marvelous real via a poetic historiographic lens.

Her novel breathes life into role of black women in slave revolt which is arguably absent from both Caribbean and US history. *Free Enterprise* looks at the

role Pleasant and Annie's played in the raid on Harper's Ferry in 1859 alongside John Brown. Cliff speculates on how official historians have recorded this failed slave revolt: "They drew up a constitution for a separate African-American state, and took up arms, beginning their war of independence in October 1859. And when the smoke cleared the name officially attached to the deed was John Brown. Who has ever heard of Annie Christmas, Mary Shadd Carey, Mary Ellen Pleasant?" (16) Cliff's narrator identifies the gap between the official recording of history that identifies a single male hero or actor, in this case, John Brown, and how the women's lives are lost, not in the raid itself, but in their occlusion from written history. Cliff expands on her critique of official histories in a way that captures what is at stake in poetic historiographic representation:

The official version has been printed, bound and gagged, resides in schools, libraries, the majority unconscious. Serves the common good. Does not cause trouble. Walks across tapestries, the television screen. Does not give aid and comfort to the enemy. Is the stuff of convocations, colloquia; is substantiated—like the host—in dissertations. The official version is presented to the people. With friezes of heroes, statues free-standing in vest-pocket parks, in full costume on Main Street, on auditorium stages in elementary schools, through two-reelers, in silence—who will forget *The Birth of a Nation?* (16-18)

Cliff's novel identifies the many ways "the official version" of history proliferates in various forms. Her novel, and the telling of women's stories like Mary Ellen Pleasant and Annie Christmas serve as a poetic means to challenge these official versions that would have the occluded black women "bound and gagged" at the margins of the telling of history.

Cliff also stages the encounter and debates between John Brown and Mary Ellen Pleasant via Pleasant's letters to Annie. Within these documents, we can see the discrepancy between John Brown's communist utopian ideals versus Pleasant's insistence on practicality and the seizure and redistribution of wealth and private property. What is interesting about Cliff's novel is her impetus to coterporalize the ideas of Marx and Engels and imbed them as already existing debates within the rebellious slaves and free blacks themselves, rather than ideas passed down from a European proletariat. She intimately connects "the [slave] Trade" with capitalism and reveals Pleasant's move towards a different vision of "free enterprise." Ultimately, John Brown and Mary Ellen Pleasant cannot resolve their differences in terms of his commitment to communism versus her leanings towards capitalism and her resilience to resist a "revolutionary dreamtime" (143). As a result of these debates her female characters have with John Brown, Cliff's novel makes the role of black women in the planning and participation in both violent revolt and entrepreneurialism visible. Cliff reveals Pleasant's entrepreneurial efforts are part of what leads her on her line of flight west to the city of San Francisco after the revolt fails. In a globe-girdling and trans-regional move, the chapter "On the High Seas, Hurricane Coming On" reveals more details about Pleasant's enterprise: she constructs a hotel service economy run with the labor of runaway slaves. Her hotels service those in San Francisco making a living out of the gold rush. We find out she is the financier of the John Brown rebellion.

Within the layers of Cliff's novel emerges another story which follows two white abolitionist women who struggle with issues of complicity, sympathy and identification with the black women they know. Clover and Alice Hooper are white female liberals whose intentions are good, but as Cliff reveals, oftentimes miss the mark. Mary Ellen Pleasant's interaction with Hooper allows Cliff to stage the presence of the actually existing painting by Joseph Mallord William Turner (1840) entitled "Slavers Throwing Overboard the Dead and the Dying, Typhoon Coming On." The presence of this painting allows Cliff to call on the history of the Middle Passage and bring it to the forefront of the novel in ways that link the plight of American and Caribbean slaves together within the same peculiar triangle of capital and oceanic history. Cliff seems heavily influenced by her West Indian predecessors in terms of the ways in which she calls on the Middle Passage to suggest the impossibility of historical retrieval. This substory also signifies the difficulties of memorialization/memory in general: the characters in the novel discuss the painting, and contemplate where they could possibly hang it, all the while Mary Ellen Pleasant becomes more discouraged by their aestheticization of the struggles of her people into an image to be enjoyed in the home parlor. The image brought forth in Turner's painting haunts Alice Hooper, and despite her attempts to forge a bond and seek forgiveness from Mary Ellen Pleasant, and opt out of all her capital holdings still inadvertently invested in the Trade, she loses sleep: "...she had dreamed, brown arms and legs on the ocean floor, drifting soundlessly down, barnacled, burnished finally by their intercourse with sand..." (81) The conversations and contexts which Cliff

invents in the text between these two women of divergent positionality allows Michelle Cliff to intersperse the stories of privileged, yet still haunted whites alongside her black revolutionary figures. This juxtaposition allows Cliff to explore the (im)possibilities of alliance at the time and contemplate the tenuous lines of activist possibility in the present moment.

Annie and Mary Ellen part ways in their efforts at survival after the dissolution of the raid at Harper's Ferry gone wrong, Annie is captured in cross dress and placed upon a slave chain gang. When discovered as a woman, she endures frightful rapes which are turned into spectacle by the keepers. Eventually rescued by Yankees, Christmas follows a line of flight South and eventually ends up in solitude but sometimes seeking the company of the band of lepers who have been relegated to a colony along the Mississippi River. Here in the chapter entitled, "Life on the Mississippi" an explicit reference to Mark Twain's 1883 nostalgic travel narrative about river piloting even as the art was being lost to the steamboat, Cliff's own novel becomes the narrative of an alternate community's life on the river Twain knew so well. There, in the colony amongst the forgotten of many underprivileged groups, oral histories and storytelling become a way to pass the time, wherein we hear more about her own history and her friendship with Pleasant. We also hear tales about the Spanish Inquisition and the contemporary expelling of the Jews in Spain; we hear tales of the Pacific and anecdotes from the Tahitian grandfather and grandson concerning Captains Cook and Bligh. The Leper Colony, on the banks of the Mississippi, recalling Twain's travel narrative about the river, becomes a diasporic,

transnational site that enables Cliff to showcase all these histories and imagine them in a genealogy of struggle against enslaving and colonial forces. Links between several different struggles are made possible via Cliff's narration, especially in terms of her historical connection between island peoples of the Pacific and the Caribbean and their common experience of European "discovery" which they critique through their oral histories. In her chapter, "Oral History," Cliff makes possible the sharing of stories across rejected minority groups as they meet in the contact zone of the leper colony of Mississippi shores. She begins to create a link between the Pacific and the Caribbean via "island histories":

"We were eager for his departure [Capt. James Cook]. Too many liberties taken, for one thing. We could sense what was coming. We wanted to avoid bloodshed, which bloodshed was becoming inevitable with our growing realization that these Englishmen did not simply wish to visit us, to 'discover' us, as they put it. They wanted to own us, and the islands, tame the landscape to their purposes, tame even the slopes of Kilauea. Now what would Pele have done about it? We had to save them from themselves, and us from them..."
(47 – 48)

In the Pacific stories Annie Christmas hears on the Mississippi, she is able to link the foundational anti-colonial struggles of the islanders against Captain Cook with her own Jamaican past in the Caribbean. Cliff's oral histories make possible the poetic historiographic critique of the myth of discovery. In a critical move towards "worlding," Cliff weaves together Pacific and Caribbean discovery myths on the banks of the Mississippi, thereby forging a site for new community between the regions. We see a trans-local and trans-Oceanic consciousness emerge in Cliff's text from the river's edge.

After the failed raid at Harper's Ferry, Pleasant's trajectory is quite different than Annie's southern flight line to the shores of the Mississippi. Mary Ellen, instead, makes her way back north to book an ocean passage around Cape Horn and back up to San Francisco. Pleasant has become a prominent financier of the rebellion, donating \$30K of her investments in gold to the cause. However, in addition to Pleasant's more capitalist and entrepreneurial side, she also is invested in keeping alive the Voodun traditions imparted to her by her mother Quasheba as well as the itch for movement instilled in her by her mother's stories:

Quasheba taught her daughter the need for movement, even as a woman, especially as a woman. Movement in the sense of moving against, against, and toward, and away, and across, but not in circles, that was the danger, to go around and around and around. (126)

We also learn of Quasheba's teaching a long tradition of the Santeria/Voodun figures to Mary Ellen: "When Quasheba was little and afraid of storms, and convinced the ocean would wash over the dunes of the Sea Islands and wash her away, her own mother taught her about Yemaya, who was mother of the seas, and whose responsibility the churning waters were. "But why is she so angry, Ma?" "Too many of her children are at the bottom of the water." (126) Pleasant inherited from her mother, her mother's "hand wrought revolver" upon her death in a raid on the Great Dismal Swamp in 1825, when Mary Ellen was fourteen. Cliff notes how Mary Ellen Pleasant keep the gun close: "in all her days, [it] never left her side" (130-131). In her novel, Cliff instills the real-historical figure of Mary Ellen Pleasant with a concomitant drives for transnational movement, free enterprise, revolution and revolt,

independence, and syncretic religious leanings which challenge lack of recorded histories of black women in general, and of “Mammy Pleasant” in particular during the nineteenth century. Cliff’s novel and her poetic imagining of the real-historical figure of Pleasant (b.~1814/1817-d.1904), enacts the emergence of the *will have been* narrative that envisions for Pleasant a life beyond a timeline or simple chronology.

Michelle Cliff joins those writers before her, like Walcott, in reflecting on the immaterial history of the black Atlantic. She juxtaposes landed versus oceanic histories and reveals the traces left upon land that are lost at sea. Mary Ellen Pleasant’s reflective thoughts on the differences between a history on land reveal that:

The ocean was impassive. There were no ship tracks, no oceanic ruts where they’d plowed, like the ruts across High Plains, High Desert, burned into the earth, rivulets of human passage, visible from space. And alongside the ruts, the odd grave. Of the woman who was homesick and was taken suddenly, in her sleep; of the child, dying because the milk cow grazed on Jamestown weed; of the man, by his own hand, suddenly frightened, and unwilling to threaten the enterprise. But these were few and far between, trace elements of the human greening the ground, a periwinkle blooming were nothing but Indian paintbrush was before. O Pioneers! (209-210)

Michelle Cliff ends Mary Ellen Pleasant’s revelries about the divergences between land and sea with a dual reference to Whitman’s poem alongside Willa Cather’s regional writing. For Pleasant, and ultimately Cliff, an oceanic history is one which doesn’t have the apparent visible registers that land does; :

The ocean closed its books, darkness revealing nothing. She’s met a man in a diving suit once, a daring fellow, ready to launch himself into the San Francisco Bay. He told her the thing that impressed him was how quiet it was. “Not a single sound.” Underneath, underneath right now the painting came to life. The stunning fish, the brown limbs, the chain. In the darkness, in the silence at the bottom, bones comminuted into sand, midden becoming hourglass. Here and there a gold guinea shone, the coin minted fresh for the Trade, surface impressed by an

African elephant. Bone into sand, into coral, alive, glancing against gold, growing into it, into the African elephant. The sunlight on the surface of the water bathed her face. She felt everyone behind her. In the here and now. (210)

In an exchange that eerily echoes the debate between Derek Walcott and JA Froude, setting up Walcott's poem, Michelle Cliff stages Mary Ellen Pleasant's exchange with a man in a diving suit. However, while the diver is blinded by the calm smooth surface of the ocean where he can't hear a "single sound," Pleasant sees far below the surface. "Underneath, underneath right now the painting came to life," and all the images brought forth in Turner's "Slavers Throwing Overboard the Dead and the Dying, Typhoon Coming On" come back to haunt and reckon for Pleasant that the sea, and what lies beneath, are very much alive with a story resisting oceanic burial. Indeed, Cliff concurs with Walcott that "The Sea Is History."

Overall Cliff's novel reveals material labor versus leisure dynamics, power relations and processes. She creates a revisionist history via her own version of poetic historiography and thus enables a critique of anthropological and ethnographic disciplines in the process. The mythic pasts her novel forges can be routes to imagined possible futures, enabling a *will have been* philosophy of history. Her strategic use of anachronism to stage encounters between historical figures, fictional figures and ideological concepts and movements creates a "whirlwind" history in which the fictional and the factual intertwine and project a history that *will have been*. Indeed Cliff's narrator recognizes in the opening pages of the novel: "They inhabited a confused universe, this Caribbean, with no center and no outward edge. Where almost everything was foreign. Language, people, landscape even. Tongues collided.

Struggled for hegemony. Emerged victorious, or sank into the impossibly blue waters, heavy as gold” (6) Cliff’s narrator confirms, “The place was a whirlwind” (8). All of these aspects of her novel entail a geopolitical theory of space and time which critiques dominant national and linear narratives of history and official historical documentation at the same time it reimagines region, place, and nation. Cliff’s novel and work are not merely suggestive of alternate, additive historical revisionist projects, but rather she demands that we rethink, reread, and reimagine the way history can be constructed and to what end reconstruction is viable. Her imaginative novel becomes the tool via which these projects become possible.

Chapter Three

Asia-Pacific / Caribbean Militourism Nexus: Island Spaces on the Edges of the US Imaginary⁸²

Near Makapu‘u
a “Jaws” adventurer
caught a shark
and hung it upside down
on a wharf—
At Pūpūkea
I caught an āholehole,
and I ate it.
In the Honolulu Press
and the tournament boxscore,
egos reap the ocean of trophies—
On the North Shore of O‘ahu,
I harvest a gift of life.

-Joseph Balaz, “Spear Fisher” from “After the Drought,” and
Mālama: Hawaiian Land and Water (1985)⁸³

If you travel to the Hawaiian island of O‘ahu in Waianae out towards Makaha and you head back in the direction of Honolulu, you will leave Keaua‘ula Beach and the Yokohama surf. You can make a *māuka* left turn towards the mountains onto Kolekole Pass, entering what used to be the Makua Valley, now the abandoned Lualualei munitions site. If you have a US military ID, or are traveling with a local that works for the military, you can pass through the Lualualei gates and begin your travel up roads and past streets with uncanny names like Iwojima, Kwajelein and Roosevelt. These streets lead into the landscape, bringing to mind a militarized

⁸² My introduction to this chapter draws on concepts from a poem of mine entitled “*Reflections on Kolekole Pass*,” previously published in *Kurungabaa: A Journal of Literature, History and Ideas from the Sea*. Volume 3, Issue 2, May 2011.

⁸³ See Joseph Balaz’s full poem “Spear Fisher,” in his book of collected poems, “After the Drought,” Honolulu, Hawaii: Topgallant Publishing Co., Ltd. 1985, and published also in Dana Naone Hall’s edited edition, *Mālama: Hawaiian Land and Water*, Honolulu: Bamboo Ridge Press, 1985): 72.

history of the Pacific. You then can wind up Kolekole Pass traveling alongside green dense foliage that surrounds the road but which you cannot enter. You cannot enter the landscape of what used to be the Makua Valley because there are barbed wire fences and weapons cellar doors once bearing weapons of destruction for the entire Pacific. You are told not to take pictures except for at the lookout. Once you've climbed onto the vista point lookout, on a clear day you'll see a picture-perfect Diamond Head in the distance and a concrete Waikīkī to go along with the concrete weapons barracks you've just passed in this unusable militarized landscape. At the commemorative vista point, the only place from which you *can* take pictures, you'll read an engraved plaque telling you that weapons were tested here in ancient Hawaiian times—spears were sharpened on rocks by natives—so apparently as “legend” would have it (or as the sign projects and guarantees), it's okay now to do the same. Somehow you are led to believe that what goes on at Lualualei is only a continuation of, not an aberration from, native traditional practice. The landscape has been fenced and cordoned off for everyone's security; families have been removed from it in order to sharpen, not the spears of traditional times, but American missiles.

Today the green foliage pushes at the edges of the barbed fences marked “stop” and “keep out” warning don't tread on me; you might step on a left-over bomb. After taking in this vista point and crossroads of beautiful view and eerie history, you will reach “the rock” and descend to the base of the pass—the US military base at Schofield. You can go for an adventure tour through the infantry training battle course. There is an ambush site #2. You could gather near a sign

marked “Gas Chamber.” Wasn’t this island once called “the gathering place”? Instead, every sign I encounter and every sign I read along Kolekole pass tells me don’t try to gather in the Makua Valley—stop, keep out, ID required, Navy & Army property.

Kolekole Pass became in fact my accidental militour at the end of a time period of research at the University of Hawai’i at Manoa when I was looking through the archives at early travelogues and the documents of more contemporary Pacific activism. We traveled through the road on what would be considered a picture-perfect afternoon on O’ahu. In the midst of archival work at the university, I have also found that experiences outside the academy that happen in connection with the visit but by happenstance can be the most revealing. These experiences outside of the archive make you reinforce the necessity to keep delving into the history and persistence of the US military presence on Hawai’i and local and native perspectives on, reactions to and imbrications with this presence. Driving along Kolekole Pass reminded me of the importance of land use, distribution and sovereignty issues in Hawai’i’s past and present. Seeing in person the differing world-views behind land and ocean use, so well captured in Joseph Balaz’s poem “Spear Fisher,” helped me see the incommensurable tourist and militaristic extractive and consumptive logics undergirding land and ocean use versus a local more sustainable relation with land and sea. Hearing the locals talk of their complex native and diasporic ancestry, and learning about the connection of families with both the land of the Makua Valley and the surf at Makaha and the enduring watermen’s lifestyle in Waianae *and* the US

military was an unexpected yet fortunate benefit from this journey to the Westside of O'ahu from the Manoa Valley.

The enduring histories and struggles of the People of Hawai'i are what the writers I address in this chapter bring alive. Both Maxine Hong Kingston in her recent text *The Fifth Book of Peace* (2003) and Rodney Morales in his first novel *When the Shark Bites* (2002) bring to the fictional realm the material topics of the US military presence in Hawai'i and the local and Native Hawaiian people's struggle to come to terms with and battle against this presence. In Kingston's text, would-be American tourists Wittman Ah Sing and Tanya return as characters first drawn from Kingston's earlier novel *Tripmaster Monkey*. Wittman and Tanya attempt to "escape" to the islands from the tense politics of the Vietnam War and evade the draft in San Francisco only to find they have landed on the US training grounds for the Vietnam War in Hawai'i. Conversely, Morales' novel takes up some seasoned veterans of Native Hawaiian activism, and addresses the continuing difficulties and possibilities of constructing, maintaining, and telling the history of an activist movement in the midst of the multifarious and powerful foes of US militarism and global tourism. This chapter first reflects on colonial discourses that served to constitute the Pacific Islands as small and remote as well as the critical move by Pacific scholars to revise this colonial geo-political positioning. The seemingly remote and far-flung geographic locales of Pacific Islands has brought them to the center stage of both a militarized and tourist industrial complex, where the remote appeal and construction of islands simultaneously if not incommensurably serves the function of both industries.

Following this critical look at the colonial discursive tendencies to classify Pacific and Caribbean island spaces as remote, my readings of the texts by Kingston and Morales will bring to the fore the ways that island spaces constitute the very center of militarized and tourist discourses.

Conjuring the Pacific: Alternative Political Geographies of Oceania

Fantasies of the Pacific Versus Viable and Sustainable Pacific Dreams

Island spaces in general and the expanse of Pacific Islands in particular become interpolated in the contemporary tourist economy via a “brochure discourse,” evident in travel magazine publications like *Condé Nast*, whose advertisements often suggest that such island spaces are benign, tranquil, and for the most part out of capital time and the Protestant work ethic. Flipping through the pages of the particularly invidious March 2003 issue of *Condé Nast*, woven between the ads for Prada, Chanel, Rolex and Louis Vuitton, we are all familiar with this “brochure discourse” articulated in advertisements like that of Le Méridien Resorts beckoning us to “BREAK before you do” by staying at one of “twenty-eight resorts worthy of your ten days off” as the Westin hotel chain promotes. These brochures uncannily seem to anticipate how, as Princess Cruise Lines projects, “I [should] want to forget how to work and remember how to play” while, as the Halekulani Resort in Waikīkī boasts, we can hand over all the work to the “housekeepers [who] have over 130

things to do in each room.”⁸⁴ It is evident in publications like *Condé Nast*, which advocate “Truth in Travel” through “Our World,” that the culture of the brochure has invested a lot of labor in guaranteeing the necessity of this island fantasy of Euro-American leisure. An entire modern capitalist industry has been forged around representing these islands as spaces of retreat, benign and tranquil in nature, and out of capital time. I borrow the terms “brochure discourse” and “the culture of the brochure” from Bahamian Caribbean scholar Ian Gregory Strachan and Nobel Prize winning poet and essayist St. Lucian Derek Walcott and propel these terms into this discussion of the Pacific region to continue a dialogue between the two regions that seeks to uncover how these regions are interpolated within modern tourist economies as well as at the edges of US empire.

As Strachan and Walcott note, such “brochure discourse” reveals “a region in danger of being reduced to sun, sand, sex, smiles, and servility by multinational capitalism and with the eager cooperation of its own local political and economic elites.”⁸⁵ While “the culture of the brochure” remains very pervasive in our contemporary globalized moment of tourism, we urgently need to critique the kinds of mobility and immobility these industries of tourism create in their wake and to interrogate the seamless images of benign, tranquil and leisurely island spaces both in the Caribbean and the Pacific that the industries attempt to secure. As Arif Dirlik urges in his essay “Pacific Contradictions,” “the beachcomber and the entrepreneur

⁸⁴ *Condé Nast Traveler: Truth in Travel*. Thomas J. Wallace, Ed. March 2003. See the following pages of the issue for the respective advertisements mentioned above: Le Méridien Resorts, 31; Westin Hotels, 37; Princess Cruises, 77; and Halekulani.com, 119.

⁸⁵ Strachan, Ian Gregory. *Paradise and Plantation: Tourism and Culture in the Anglophone Caribbean*. Charlottesville & London: University of Virginia Press, 2002: 2.

are two sides of the same coin.”⁸⁶ Teresia Teaiwa coined the term “militourism” to account for what she calls the “profound symbiosis” of the “dominant and given narratives of militarism and tourism.”⁸⁷ While Teaiwa has since qualified her term by noting how militarism, tourism and natives alike are involved in a complex, “system of articulations,” (Teaiwa, *MTN* 6) her term “militourism” is useful to think of the ways in which both entities require and depend upon the simultaneous avowal of the appearance of security that militarism provides that paves the way for tourism, and the disavowal of the ways the military’s presence has caused and continues to cause detrimental effects to the indigenous populations and environmental landscapes that are so fetishized by the tourist industry.

Teaiwa’s analysis of the US’s bombing of Bikini Atoll versus the rise in mass-popularity of the bikini bathing suit is an adept case study of the disturbing rhetoric and material effects of militourism. Teaiwa reflects:

The bikini bathing suit is testament to the recurring tourist trivialization of Pacific Islanders’ experience and existence. By drawing attention to a sexualized and supposedly depoliticized female body, the bikini distracts from the colonial and highly political origins of its name. The sexist dynamic the bikini performs objectification through excessive visibility inverts the colonial dynamics that have occurred during nuclear testing in the Pacific, objectification by rendering invisible. The bikini bathing suit manifests both a celebration and a forgetting of the nuclear power that strategically and materially marginalizes and erases the living history of Pacific Islanders. The bikini emerges from colonial notions that marginalize “s/pacific” bodies while genericizing and centering female bodies.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Dirlik, Arif. “Introduction: Pacific Contradictions.” *What Is in a Rim? Critical Perspectives on the Pacific Region Idea*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1998: 5.

⁸⁷ Teaiwa, Teresia. *Militarism, Tourism and the Native: Articulations in Oceania*. UCSC Doctoral Dissertation. March 2001, 5. All subsequent references will be made in the text as *MTN*.

⁸⁸ Teresia Teaiwa, “bikinis and other s/pacific n/oceans.” *The Contemporary Pacific*. The University of Hawai‘i Press: Volume 6, Number 4, Spring 1994, 87. All subsequent references will appear in the text as *BOSPN*.

If we examine the histories of island locales more carefully, and account for the place of the Pacific Islands within a globalized imperial history, we can dive below this glossy tranquil surface to see the ongoing interdependence of the tourist, military and capital economies driving the course of US empire on Pacific Island shores.

The contemplation of the geo-political formation of an entity like the Pacific has been critically well documented. This vital scholarship has sought to acknowledge the dueling visions of the Pacific at large in both the economic and military spheres as well as the self-revisioning that has emerged from the Pacific from both native and diasporic communities: the former vision proliferated by hegemonic powers via a strategy of “regional security” imposed from the outside, with the latter mode of perception opting for a more sustainable, human vision of the Pacific via a strategy of “regional solidarity” from within. In the second edition of the “Pacific Formations” series edited by Arif Dirlik, *What Is in a Rim? Critical Perspectives on the Pacific Region Idea* (1998), Neferti Tadiar describes the vision of the Pacific based upon the economic security of the Free World:

Once a dominantly geographical area composed of dispersed political territories, the Asia-Pacific is increasingly sold on the idea of constituting a purely economic network among its member nations... For the fantasy of the Asia-Pacific community is one that takes form and force within a particular global purview, namely, the First World fantasy of the “Free World,” or international community, that shapes international relations through the political and economic practices of individual nations.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ Tadiar, Neferti Xina M. “Sexual Economies in the Asia-Pacific Community.” *What Is in a Rim? Critical Perspectives on the Pacific Region Idea*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1998: 219. All subsequent references will be made in the text.

While the First World fantasy of the Free World that Tadiar goes on to describe in her case study of the Philippines is what she calls, “indeed a dim prospect,” she notes, “yet the existence of other such collectives leaves space for hope, for other desires to emerge within this already overdetermined region” (241). The kind of community Tadiar remains hopeful for,

... must engage in a movement of alliances not for aggression but for the assertion of shared desires for self-determination and for the strength to forge an alternative international community that does not buy into another fantasy of the Free World. In other words, we must struggle against the practices that reproduce the political-libidinal relations of our present lives and engage in alternative modes of production to realize a more just form of community. But we can only begin working for this if in our actions we are already dreaming other worlds in other ways. (Tadiar 242)

It is my argument that the literary work like that of Maxine Hong Kingston and Rodney Morales and the activist communities they represent in their work seek to forge alternative transnational Pacific communities that refuse the EuroAmerican Pacific fantasy of the Free World and its tourist primacy. This EuroAmerican Pacific fantasy of the Free World is what attempts to seamlessly prevail in publications like *Condé Nast* and is economic, ideological and recreational in its scope.⁹⁰ I borrow the term “EuroAmerican Pacific” or “American Pacific” from both the work of Arif Dirlik and Rob Wilson who have each sought to expose the US’s power of imagination involved in our government policy’s hegemonic construction of the psychogeography of the Pacific Region. What Tadiar, Dirlik, and Wilson have sought to reveal in their scholarship and as George Lipsitz articulated in his Pacific Seminar

⁹⁰ Thanks goes to colleague Dina El Dessouky for helping me to think more about the tripartite nature of the referent “First World’s Fantasy of the Free World.”

keynote address (Summer 2005), is that regions are often defined by historical struggle and not merely given by geography. The historical struggles that take place in the literary realm, in writing communities and in activist organizations forged in and around the Pacific, are what come to constitute the ongoing process of what I call, “revisioning a peaceful Pacific,” or imagining alternative communities for survival and sustainability through creative cultural production where peace is by no means passive or leisurely but must be continually dreamed and imagined, sought after and actively produced.

Pacific Postcolonial Ecologies versus Island Militarization and Cold War Area Studies

In looking at the area or region of the Pacific, US foreign policy is oftentimes concerned with countries which lay along the “Pacific Rim,” represented commonly by members of the economic forum APEC (acronym for: Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation). However encompassing of twenty one Pacific Rim countries this economic forum seems to appear, since its inception in 1989, no Pacific Island located in Oceania (Polynesia or Micronesia) other than Australia (1989), New Zealand (1989) and Papua New Guinea (1993) is a “member economy,” and up to 2007, Guam has repeatedly been denied membership opposed by the United States, who in effect represents the interests of Guam. An entity like APEC (Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation) goes to show how the Pacific Islands in the central oceanic area of the region demarcated as “Asia Pacific” and bordered by countries along the Pacific Rim have continually been ignored as potential member economies and their

interests placed upon the back burner of global economic policy. While APEC stands in as a forum to regulate the economic “security” of the Asia Pacific region, the Pacific Island nations of Oceania have had to refigure this short-sighted and biased vision of security for the interpolated area. A vision of economic security for Pacific Rim regions of APEC is often at odds and incommensurable with the economic, cultural, and environmental security of the islands of Oceania.

While APEC, since its inception in 1989, has promoted a discourse that seeks to align and unify member economies of the region via reducing trade barriers⁹¹, Cultural Studies scholars of the Pacific remain more skeptical about this facile unification. Rob Wilson, for instance, has termed the APEC coalition a type of “post-communist co-prosperity sphere” while Bruce Cummings essentially termed the entity a “capitalist archipelago”. Wilson, in his 2001 article, “Doing Cultural Studies inside APEC,” remains suspicious of the discursive unified vision that an entity like APEC projects. He states:

In such a discursive framework, our everyday spaces and lives inside the creativity and chaos of the Pacific are being shaped, coded and reorganized under this “Asia-Pacific” banner. This cheery vision of regional coherence and geopolitical unity demands critical and global/local interrogation.⁹²

For Wilson, this kind of economist regionalism proffered by APEC is wary, at best.

He continues:

While sophisticated in the ways of global capitalism, APEC’s vision of the “Asia-Pacific” is culturally and politically naïve, ignoring, bypassing or just

⁹¹ See APEC’s website: <http://www.apec.org/>

⁹² See Rob Wilson’s “Doing Cultural Studies inside APEC: Literature, Cultural Identity, and Global/Local Dynamics in the American Pacific,” *Comparative Literature* (University of Oregon, Eugene. Fall 2001. Vol. 53, No. 4): 390. All subsequent references will be made in the text.

plain suppressing the cultural complexities and historical issues within the region in order to form this new identity. This kind of uncritical regionalism can be as dangerous....for the absent others against which APEC is forging its identity....are silenced and bypassed, if not oppressed. The assumption of some Asia-Pacific unity is, after all, the invention and construct of the more prosperous globalizing powers who stand to benefit most by the borderless circulation of peoples, goods, and symbols within its *economist* framework. (Wilson 393)

The constructed *economist* framework of APEC is for Wilson a “post-political” and a “meta-geographical” trope under whose umbrella disorienting struggles against colonial entities and alternative modes of production are obfuscated. Wilson warns, “As this trope of the APEC community would have it, colonial history, world wars, and cold war trauma may now be washed away in the magical waters of this New Pacific” (392). In terms of a heterogeneous Pacific, scholars like Wilson and Pacific writers themselves opt for a more messy, localized vision of what the on the ground and in the ocean Pacific looks like, over and above APEC’s constructed aerial economic umbrella that refuses to account for a vast majority of the Pacific Islands at the core of the demarcated region. Wilson leaves us with some words of advice and some pedagogical suggestions on how to potentially “[Do] Cultural Studies inside APEC.” He recommends:

...if there is to be an Asia-Pacific Cultural studies worthy of its peoples, symbolic heritages, and cultures, then one of the tasks for such a poetic is to challenge and critique these economic master formations and discourses of the Pacific region....Cultural criticism needs to frame and locate such stories as master-tropes within history, pushing to unmask such global visions/representations of the “Asia-Pacific” as coherent, unified, user-friendly, anti-socialist, and evenly enriched region where the culture of global capitalism will come home to roost. Correspondingly, wherever it is to be located or housed—on the borders of traditional disciplines (like English) or larger area studies formations (like Asian studies)—an “Asian-Pacific Cultural Studies” needs to nurture, support, and teach literatures and narratives of those

less powerful and subordinated in the region, whose complex claims on the Pacific...have too long been tokenized or ignored in the interests of settler peoples and *their* nation-states. (394)

Wilson's essay reflects upon this ongoing struggle between economist and cultural studies frameworks of the Asia-Pacific region. This chapter similarly highlights social and cultural movements in the Pacific that would help us challenge such economist rubrics that opt for discursive geographical unification by emptying out historical struggles for recognition and self-determination in the region. I will often use the term "Oceania" to refer to the Peoples of the Pacific Island nations lying at the center of APEC's imagined Pacific Rim, "Oceania" being a term I glean from Pacific scholar Epele Hau'ofa, in his seminal essay "Our Sea of Islands," which illustrates a ecologically different kind of regional and oceanic connectedness than the imposed economist vision of APEC. Hau'ofa reflects on the move on the part of Peoples of Oceania to refuse the historical and current attempts at colonial mapping and limiting boundaries imposed upon the expanse of the Pacific:

But if we look at the myths legends and oral traditions, and the cosmologies of the peoples of Oceania, it will become evident that they did not conceive of their world in such microscopic proportions. Their universe comprised not only land surfaces, but the surrounding ocean as far as they could traverse and exploit it, the underworld with its fire-controlling and earthshaking denizens, and the heavens above with their hierarchies of powerful gods and named stars and constellations that people could count on to guide their ways across the seas. Their world was anything but tiny. They thought big and recounted their deeds in epic proportions. (Hau'ofa 90-91)

The peoples of Oceania have been confronted with complex histories of colonization and attempted subjugation at the hands of multiple global European, US and Asian superpowers.

In the course of the twentieth century, Pacific peoples of Oceania have conjured several social movements of the region alongside forms of literary cultural production that have stood up to refuse this vision of security proffered by entities like APEC and a Cold War model of Area Studies. Instead, treatises like Hau'ofa's "Our Sea of Islands" envision a more viable articulation of the region that does not empty out the living and connected entities of the Pacific Island nations. Here I investigate conflicting and competing conceptions of "security" for the Pacific and explore how many Pacific Islanders' notions of what constitutes "security" for them are arguably at odds with a Cold War inspired vision and the nuclear and other weapons testing strategies that the US had in store for the Pacific Islands of the Strategic Trust Territory inherited at the close of World War II⁹³ alongside the Hawaiian Islands upon which statehood was imposed in 1959 after over sixty years of being kept as a US territory.

The logic of the Cold War between the US and the USSR structured many area studies models in political and university settings that we still see lingering today. Research and readings of Pacific social formations like the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Movement and their newsletter publications suggest that the "Cold War" carried out in the lofty bureaucratic political setting of 1950-60-70-80s Washington resulted in a very "Hot War" on the ground in the Pacific, whereby the lives and environments of the peoples of the Pacific experienced an intensified

⁹³ For a review of the experience of the Pacific Islands of the Strategic Trust Territory placed under the stewardship of the US, see Roy Smith's informative text, *The Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Movement after Muroroa*, London & New York: Taurus Academic Studies, 1997.

imposition of militarization, rather than postponement or deterrence of militarization. While the threat of Soviet nuclear prowess remained on display in Castro's Cuba during the missile crisis in the Caribbean in 1962, the fact of US nuclear prowess and proliferation affected the lives of Pacific Peoples and US troops ranging from the first ever atomic bombs dropped in wartime in August 1945 on Japanese territories of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to bookend WWII, to the *Able* and *Baker* tests of Operation Crossroads on Bikini Atoll in July of 1946, to continued military testing on the Hawaiian Island of Kaho'olawe as late as the 1990s, including a nuclear simulations test in 1965. The US Atomic Energy Commission between 1945 and 1962 organized 232 explosions in the atmosphere after which testing went underground.⁹⁴ As historian of the international Pacific Stewart Firth notes, in his eye-opening text, *Nuclear Playground*, the Energy Commission, "was to develop atomic energy 'subject at all times to the paramount objective of assuring the common defense and security'" (7), and thereby announced a Pacific Proving Grounds to be located on the atoll of Enewetak. The world's first hydrogen bomb was tested by the US there in 1952. The northern side of the islet after the dropping of this bomb ceased to exist, and all that was left was a crater in the reef. The US returned to bombing Bikini Atoll, with a second hydrogen-bomb test code-named *Bravo* in March 1954, which has come to be known historically as one of the messiest hydrogen-bomb tests because of its wide-ranging fallout effects. Residents living in these militarized islands were forcibly removed, and the US's Pacific Proving Grounds has left a class of what

⁹⁴ See Stewart Firth's *Nuclear Playground*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1987): 7. All subsequent references will be made in the text.

Glenn Alcalay has called forever displaced “nuclear nomads” in its wake.⁹⁵ And while the bomb testing itself may have a contractual end-date that we are able to periodize according to co-governmental documentation and legislation like the Partial Test-Ban Treaty of 1963, and monetary reparations have been negotiated between the US and many of these Pacific Island States,⁹⁶ the long-term environmental and cultural effects cannot be quantitatively measured or underestimated. The role of Pacific social movements and their literary and cultural production become a vehicle in which Pacific Peoples can trace these environmental and cultural effects and imagine possible viable futures entailing the revival of modes of cultural expression that confront such biased visions of “security”.

A historical, ongoing and emerging Pacific ecological vision can be defined by the principles of *land and oceanic interconnectedness* and *sustainability* that we find in Pacific Island cultures, in particular the Hawaiian mantra of “aloha ‘aina,” that are in stark contrast to a US vision of the Pacific as remote outpost for nuclear testing and ongoing site for further militarization. The United States began its bomb testing in the seemingly remote Southwestern desert of Alamogordo, New Mexico, in 1945. When the threat of nuclear testing was too close to home for many, testing became relocated to several islands “remote” from the US continent in the Marshall Island chain starting with the Bikini atoll *Crossroads* tests in 1946. Of course, the islands were not “remote” to the Marshallese. Stewart Firth notes that, “Remoteness, which

⁹⁵ See Glenn Alcalay’s chapter thirteen, “Pacific Island Responses to U.S. and French Hegemony,” appearing in Arif Dirlik’s collection, *What’s in a Rim: Critical Perspectives on the Pacific Region Idea*. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1998.

⁹⁶ Firth documents that initially the Bikinians (\$325,000) and Enewetakese (\$175,000) were given mere “lease” moneys for the use of their atolls (Firth 46-47).

had once served to insulate Bikini atoll from the rest of the world, now made it the centerpiece of American military attention” (Firth 2-3). Challenging this conceptualization of “remoteness,” Firth contends that, “Nowhere on earth is remote, but some places are better to be in than others. The men who decided to test nuclear bombs in the Pacific and Australia live in Washington and London and Paris, not in the Marshall Islands, the Tuamotu Archipelago of French Polynesia or the Great Victoria Desert of South Australia, the places those men chose for their explosions” (x). Firth’s research examines the ongoing plight of Pacific Island nations in their nuclear pasts and presents and their struggles with major global superpowers. In a scathing analysis of the superpowers’ global nuclear policy in regard to the Peoples of the Pacific, Firth states, “the peoples of the atolls and deserts either did not matter at all or did not matter much” (xi). However, history has proven that perhaps the projection of the remoteness of the Marshall Islands in theory, they were not remote *enough* in fact. As Elizabeth M. DeLoughrey states:

In fact, the Bikini Atoll was not remote enough to prevent the neighboring Rongelap Islanders from suffering the deadly effects of nuclear fallout carried by the wind. It was not remote enough to prevent nuclear contamination of the Pacific and its spread to Africa, Antarctica, and Europe. It was not remote enough to prevent its detailed photographic documentation by the U.S. military to ensure that tens of thousands of nuclear test images were distributed worldwide as a testament to their apocalyptic power in the Cold War. This troubling legacy of U.S. imperialism is....unknown by most Americans. (DeLoughrey 18)

DeLoughrey grippingly states here, and as Robert Stone’s 1988 documentary film *Radio Bikini* suggests from archival footage of the era, the potential long-range disastrous environmental effects of nuclear testing were apparently unknown and

therefore disregarded. This can explain why US soldiers on location in the Marshall group captured in the film's archival footage could horrifyingly be seen bathing in, fishing from and drinking the recently contaminated waters of the Pacific in 1946. Over and above this new category of US soldier harmed during "peacetime," the displacement and essential exile of the native Bikinians from their isle which still endures the environmental effects of testing over sixty years later to this day, despite recent attempts, to borrow Paul Lyons' term, to show the ways in which the US government sought to "historicize" the atoll, testifies to how an isle's seeming "remoteness" to the US government enabled the complete disregard for the Bikinians' cultural attachments to place.⁹⁷

To me, it is truly amazing how the discourse and myth of the deserted, remote Crusoean island persists today and is a model for rationalizing both tourist discourse and military logic, when even in Defoe's 1719 story, which brought the novel to the Western world in the form of an island travel and adventure story, the island upon which Crusoe landed was indeed inhabited and was a site of struggle. Defoe's story in particular, and the deserted island adventure story in general though, have had their import and lasting effect as DeLoughrey notes the Western obsession with the myth of the depopulated, deserted isle:

The desire for depopulated islands in which European men could refashion themselves helps explain why, between 1788 and 1910, over 500 desert-island stories were published in England alone (Carpenter, 1984, 8) and why

⁹⁷ See Lyons' elaboration of his term "historicism" in *American Pacificism*: "I emphasize senses in which a popular, public sphere-oriented scholarship and tourism were, in terms of US popular consumption of Oceania and a touristic episteme, complementary activities..." (21).

Robinson Crusoe underwent six reprintings in the first year of publication (1719). (12)

DeLoughrey captures the historical contradictions in fact that go along with the perpetuation of this Western myth of isolation and remoteness of the islands of the Caribbean and Pacific:

Considering the multiple waves of European voyagers, cartographers, botanists, beachcombers, traders, slavers, missionaries, and colonial officials to every single island in the Pacific and Caribbean, and the resulting eradication of many island inhabitants, the perpetuation of this image of island isolation can be best described as a European myth that seeks to erase the colonial intentionality of the past. (12)

Thus, the move to see islands in vast oceans as remote, both in the age of exploration and the nuclear age, requires an ability of imperial forgetting, or to borrow again Rosaldo's term "imperialist nostalgia" where the depopulated island that justifies current colonial motives and intentions must be literally dreamed up as an empty blank slate, a *tabula rasa*, and mythologized for the imperial enterprise to stay afloat. Several routes of forgetting need to be enabled to make possible the US's colonial legitimacy in the Pacific. As Teaiwa reflects, the naming of the tourist fashion item of the bikini which essentially 'explodes' onto the scene after the very island Bikinians had to give up, captures the "bitter irony in this transformation of the beach and the production of the bikini, for in Marshallese "bikini" means beach, and for the Bikini Islanders the beach was the space they crossed to surrender their island for the nuclear tests of the United States" (Teaiwa, *BOSPN* 98-99). While the shocking fashion item emanates everywhere at midcentury, exposing more bare skin, the Bikinians find themselves with nowhere to live to call their own and no immediate chance to return

from and end their “nuclear nomadism.” Teaiwa again suggests that the emergence of the female body on display via the bikini in its ostentatiousness ironically and detrimentally covers over the plight of those affected by the repercussions of the bomb: “The sacrifice of Islanders and military personnel during nuclear testing in the Pacific cannot be represented without threatening the legitimacy of colonial power, so nuclear technology becomes gendered and domesticated. In the end the female body is appropriated by a colonial discourse to successfully disguise the horror of the bomb” (Teaiwa, *BOSPN* 92).

And so the US’s Cold War logic of deterring the nuclear threat and shifting testing grounds from deserts located within the American continent to the Pacific made sense to the American government and appeased the American public as long as the threat appeared “remote” to them. Hence the simultaneous disregard for and appeal of the Islands as the Strategic Trust Territory and the Island of Kaho‘olawe in the Hawaiian Islands chain in US Cold War consciousness. Activist movements like the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific movement dating from 1975, where activists of Oceania, under the leadership of the group ATOM (Against Tests on Moruroa) drafted the first People’s Charter calling for the Pacific as a nuclear free zone, and the Protect Kaho‘olawe ‘Ohana movement of Hawai’i, have been explicit in their articulation of a vision of the Pacific that refuses such military occupation and destruction of their Native territories. Thus, an entity like the Pacific Concerns Resource Center, established in Hawai’i in 1980, an organization that supports activism of the NFIP movement as its secretariat, proffers what we may call a Pacific

ecological vision by advocating the linked tenants of “human rights and good governance, demilitarization, decolonization, environmental concerns, and sustainable human development,” tenants which are regularly applauded in the NFIP annual newsletters and conference reports. For example, the 2003 NFIP annual report begins with the mission statement professing “to coordinate, articulate and disseminate information about the concerns and struggles of the peoples of the Pacific in their desire to exist free from exploitation, from the threat of environmental degradation and from both foreign and internal forms of subjugation.”⁹⁸ Roy Smith, in his analysis of the success of the NFIP movement in terms of its political sway concludes that as the dual driving forces of the movement, the provisions of decolonization and sovereignty were a necessary element for demilitarization, denuclearization, and the ultimate “security” of the region. These newsletters of the NFIP movement are housed in various forms in the library archives across the Pacific, such at the University of South Pacific, Suva, Fiji and at the Hamilton Library in the Pacific and Hawaiian archives at the University of Hawai’i, Manoa.

By looking at newsletters and publications of these various movements, alongside other forms of literary cultural production that emerge from the articulation of a Pacific ecological vision, we can see a critical anti-colonial / post-colonial counter-vision to the ongoing proliferation of a US-militarized concept of “security” sustained by Cold-War area studies. We must continue to look to the peoples of the Pacific themselves for an alternative understanding of what defines the term

⁹⁸ See the NFIP 2003 Annual Report, entitled, “For a Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific.” This document is housed at the University of Hawai’i at Manoa’s Hamilton Library.

“security.” These modes of cultural production such as the newsletters and reports of the NFIP movement can also serve as an alternative historical archive to the documentation achieved by powerful colonial states like the US government and modes of colonial historiography. While Pacific peoples are redefining what security means for them, they are simultaneously challenging how their historical experiences have been documented and represented by producing and reading from their own archives. As a result, they are reframing Pacific-based visions of land and ocean.

Revisioning a Peaceful Pacific

In contradistinction to “militouristic” imaginings of the Pacific, alternative political geographies have been forged in an attempt to revision Pacific lands and surrounding oceans in terms of an actively produced peace, where peace does not mean ‘passivity’ but rather a *continuously produced community* that must be constantly updated and constructed. In Maxine Hong Kingston’s, *The Fifth Book of Peace* (2003), a combination of personal memoir infused with a fictional story at its center, she forges for a similar type of community. This work canvasses Vietnam, Hawai’i, and the California coast, in order to link together what sort of reimagined Pacific “sangha” or transnational community she envisions. In the wake of such long, ongoing wars like Vietnam, nuclear testing in the Pacific, and the US’s contemporary continued presence in Iraq for the past two decades, Kingston’s lead seems a viable move to create ongoing conversations, relationships, and outlets for cultural production. What Kingston’s text accomplishes is to articulate the social movement

and connectivity it documents, by creating an alternative “sangha” or community of writers, consisting of veterans of all modern wars, and peace activists whose existence become dedicated to capturing “one peaceful moment” and making the moment last.

In a mode of transnational reading, I would place Kingston’s recent text in conversation with the ongoing Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Movement that has fueled anti-colonial and military resistance and forged a sense of Pacific Island community in the long twentieth century. While the connection between Kingston’s text and the NFIP is not explicit, I aim to connect the two entities by demonstrating how both are invested in revisioning a peaceful geo-political Pacific imaginary. What both Kingston’s text and the various Pacific Islands that are associated with the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific movement reveal is that social movements and communities forged often define the nature of the political geographies they produce in their wake.

A Community of Writers, Writing as Community

The history of the creation of Kingston’s latest text was a struggle in itself and her way of defining the “sangha” or the community that infuses its pages emerged out of its tenuous production. Kingston had initially intended on writing a fourth book of peace--her version being the fourth installment in a series of three ancient books of peace--legendary Chinese texts that Kingston believes did exist but of which she can find no material evidence in all her seven trips and various associates’ trips to China. While she had begun her own fourth book of peace, and had managed to write what

she calls “156 good pages,” the only copy of this manuscript was lost in the Oakland-Berkeley Hills Fire of October of 1991 that completely destroyed her house and several of her community’s homes, taking the lives of twenty-five people.⁹⁹ Upon retrieving the remnants of her book in the ashes she explains that, “I touched the lines, and they smeared into powder. I placed my palm on this ghost of my book, and my hand sank through it. Feathers floated into the air, became air, airy nothing” (Kingston 34). The project of reimagination that becomes Kingston’s “fifth book of peace” grows directly out of the ashes of her fourth book, so to speak. The fourth book started out as a work of fiction, but the fifth book becomes a complex intermingling of genres with the first section featuring Kingston’s own memoir of the fire, the middle section showcasing a fictional account with a Hawaiian setting returning us to the characters we know so well from *Tripmaster Monkey* (1990), and a final non-fiction section documenting the ongoing heterogeneous writing community of all veterans Kingston helps form in coalition with Thich Nhat Hanh’s model of a meditative “sangha.” In the wake of her community’s fire and the loss of her manuscript, Kingston describes how, “Because I asked everywhere for Books of Peace, and I told everyone that I had lost the one I was writing, veterans of war began sending me their stories” (242). After receiving a vast amount of letters and stories from veterans male and female from various wars across the world, especially the Vietnam War, war widows, medics, and peace activists alike, Kingston decided to

⁹⁹ Kingston, Maxine Hong. *The Fifth Book of Peace*. New York: Vintage Books, 2003: 3. All subsequent references will be made in the text.

conjure a writing workshop, inviting all these veterans to the Berkeley campus in June 1993 organized by the Community of Mindful Living.

“Sangha” is a word that can define a community of Buddhist monks, but for Kingston’s purposes, she uses the term to articulate the transnational community of writers who have come together in the wake of past and future fires and old and new wars in an effort to write peace into being. She writes:

The Buddhist word for the community that lives in peace and harmony is “sangha”. To live happily, wholly, truly, each of us has to create sangha. The sangha is the place—the sangha is the people with whom you can exchange feelings and thoughts. The sangha inspires you, and keeps you thriving, and makes life worth living. Build the community with resources at hand, whatever’s, whoever’s here, whoever shows up, whoever happens by. Make community, *communitas*, sangha of those people in your apartment building, on your street, at your job, wherever you are. (364)

Kingston takes the model of Buddhist sangha and adapts it for her veterans’ purposes, introducing in addition to the practice of walking meditation and eating meditation found in Thich Nhat Hanh’s Plum Village practice, writing meditation. For Kingston and her expanded network of veterans, writing becomes a way of revisioning history. Kingston instructs her workshopers:

“Writing is like meditation: you sit breathing in silence, only you add one thing—the writing. Instead of letting thoughts and pictures and feelings go by, you hold on to them. You slow them down. You find the words for them.... Writing, you shine light—the light of your intelligence—into a scene of the past, into the dark of forgotten things, fearful things. Dave said it: Writing you change. And you change the world, even the past. You make history.... Write things out, and you won’t need to carry memories in your body as pain. The paper will carry your stories. We, your readers, will help you carry your stories. See how light the paper is?” (266)

In the context of these workshops and writing meditations, Kingston takes over the role of her fictional character Wittman Ah Sing, becoming trans-Pacific Tripmaster

for the expanded network of veterans. By encouraging them to talk-story, Kingston notes, “We tell stories and we listen to stories in order to live. To stay conscious. To connect with one another. To understand consequences. To keep history. To rebuild civilization.”¹⁰⁰

Attempting to “Escape” to Hawai’i: “Barely America”

In the fictional middle section of Kingston’s text entitled, “Water,” we revisit the main cast of characters featured in her earlier novel *Tripmaster Monkey* (1990). The racially mixed couple Wittman Ah Sing, Chinese/American English majoring Cal Grad, and his white artsy girlfriend/wife Taña make the intertextual leap into Kingston’s fictional chapter of *The Fifth Book of Peace* (2003). Blurring the lines between fiction and memoir, we can also see some of the ventures Wittman, Taña, and son Mario take on in O’ahu, Hawai’i as vestiges of Kingston’s own memories of her experiences in the summer of 1978 as she records in *Hawai’i, One Summer* (1987), especially the adventures recorded in the chapters “War” and “Chinaman’s Hat.” Indeed, Kingston notes in her preface to *Hawai’i, One Summer* how in “the middle of our seventeen-year stay in Hawai’i,” “I was continuing my depression from the Vietnam War. The fallout from that war went on and on—wars in Cambodia and Laos, MIAs, agent orange, boat people.”¹⁰¹ However, Kingston’s first portrayal of the family, at the start of “Water” reveals the persistence and the ability of the “brochure

¹⁰⁰ Maxine Hong Kingston, “Introduction: Tell the Truth and So Make Peace.” *Veterans of War, Veterans of Peace*. Kihei, Hawai’i: Koa Books, 2006: 1. All subsequent references will be made in the text as *VWVP*.

¹⁰¹ Maxine Hong Kingston, *Hawai’i, One Summer*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1987): xi.. All subsequent references will be made in the text as *HOS*.

discourse” to lure potential visitors and guests to the isles. While Kingston herself is very much aware of the place of the Pacific, and Hawai’i in particular, at the heart of the edges of US empire, her fiction features a set of characters once naïve towards this central location. Her characters embark on a defamiliarizing journey which entails their coming to consciousness, all the while making an investment in the seamless “brochure discourse” that Kingston’s readers must also face, quite improbable if not impossible to realize.

Kingston’s characters Wittman and Taña initially reproduce this “brochure discourse” in their attempt to escape the US draft during the Vietnam War. Hawai’i, for the young couple, seems about as far away from Washington D.C. and the headquarters of the war as one could hope. In what we might call a constitutive contradiction of the Pacific region in general, they imagine and project the islands as their escape destination of choice, not coincidentally invoking and falling into the “brochure discourse” so evident in publications like *Condé Nast* et al, at the same time they would like to disconnect themselves from the US war machine in such a Deleuzian line of flight. They walk the thin line between evasion and identification with the United States. Kingston highlights their disidentification with the governmental regime that is propagating the war in Vietnam, however, she also highlights the privileged mobility that a US passport affords her characters in this moment of attempted delinkage: “They were headed for the piece of land that is the farthest away from any other land. No need for passports, of course, to go to Hawai’i, but their passports were at the ready, just in case....In Hawai’i, give the US one last

try, the fiftieth and last state, barely America” (Kingston, *FBOP* 69). Only recently admitted as a state in 1959, Hawai’i’s status as “barely America,” affording imagined and actual mass-escapes from the US continent has persisted despite its central role in US militarism and colonialism via a strategy of “regional security” since the imperially driven overthrow of Queen Liliuokalani in 1893.

What makes the experience of the island locale so intensified for Kingston’s “hippie colonist” characters is the simultaneity of both militourist realities they experience—Hawai’i is both a staging ground for war *and* a potential paradise. While they are on the plane leaving SFO, Wittman discovers that, “The literature in the seat pocket advertised and promised Paradise” (69). However, the continuing presence of fourteen US military bases in the Hawaiian Islands alone and 45,567 combined military personnel promises that Hawai’i historically has been and continues to be a launching pad for war and containment in the militarized American imagination of the long twentieth century.¹⁰² Wittman and Taña attempt to “escape” the Vietnam War by heading to Hawai’i, the Pacific edge of the United States; instead, they find themselves at the center of a militarized stronghold that is at once both the edge of the US nation and the center of US empire in the Pacific.

What could turn into a type of 747-tribute poem, with Wittman’s musings that, “Air travelers are suspended above troubles” (70) is disallowed by his encounter with a diasporic Native Hawaiian woman named Polly who is returning to the isle as

¹⁰² See “U.S. Military Major Bases and Installations – Hawai’i,” *About: U.S. Military*, 19 Feb. 2007 <<http://usmilitary.about.com/library/milinfo/statefacts/blhi.htm>> for an overview of current U.S. Military bases and personnel in the Hawaiian Islands.

a lawyer to promote the cause of Hawaiian sovereignty.¹⁰³ Polly questions their arrival, their exploitation of aloha, and their attempt to seek escape in her homeland before they even land the plane by declaring, “That’s exactly what we need, more haoles and kachinks coming to Hawai’i to live on welfare. The tourists are bad enough, but—hippie colonists!” (73). Before Wittman, Taña and their son Mario even land on O’ahu, Polly has problematized all the representations of the Pacific promoted by EuroAmerican authors and artists ranging from James Michener to Gauguin.

Wittman and family land on O’ahu, in Honolulu to find that they have left the protests on the streets and campus of Berkeley, California only to arrive for a different kind of struggle. Upon arrival, Kingston notes, “This side of Honolulu International Airport looked like an air-force base—covering the ground were death planes with no markings...And many fighter jets, like darts parked in rows. So—it’s here they take off to and come back from Viet Nam. We are at a staging area for the war” (80). Moving a few more feet through the airport, they come across “rows of coffins on the ground and a row of coffins on the conveyor belt for luggage. The conveyor belt was not moving. Each coffin was draped with an American flag” (81).

¹⁰³ See Rob Wilson’s critique of the genre of what he terms the “747-poem” in his *Reimagining the American Pacific: From South Pacific to Bamboo Ridge and Beyond*. Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2000: ix. See also Terese Svoboda’s “The 747 Poem” in *Asia / Pacific as Space of Cultural Production*, Rob Wilson & Arif Dirlik, Eds. Durham & London: Duke University Press, 1995: 250. Svoboda’s poem plays upon at the same time it critiques the genre of the 747-poem. The speaker’s perspective in Svoboda’s poem remains grounded, local, as she watches the tourist jet rise away, leaving a cloud of exhaust behind—a reversal of the tourist’s 747 poem, who is just passing through the island.

Thus, in attempting to evade the Vietnam War, Wittman has ironically and uncannily arrived at its center stage.

In order to make a conscientious objection to the war in Vietnam and all wars, Wittman brings to Hawai'i a different kind of staging ground—the theater. We are all familiar with his improvisational mode of cultural production we find in Kingston's *Tripmaster Monkey*; in *The Fifth Book of Peace*, Wittman and his fellow objectors put on a performance of Megan Terry's *Viet Rock (A Folk War Movie)*. Wittman finds himself surrounded in Hawai'i not only by the US military apparatus, but all manner of protest against it. He finds "Sanctuary", as do many AWOL GIs and other protestors of the Vietnam War at the Church of the Crossroads. It is here in Sanctuary that Wittman helps uneducated young soldiers write their own "Statement of Consciousness". The community that Wittman forges in the O'ahu Sanctuary is carried over into the real-life activism that Maxine Hong Kingston carries on with the veterans she works within the writing "sangha". After noting she was not completely satisfied and could find no "happy ending" to her fictional work even though she "wrote past where the burned book left off," Kingston notes, "Things that fiction can't solve must be worked out in life" (241).

Similarly to Kingston's imagined Sanctuary at the Church of the Crossroads and the actually existing writing sangha, the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Movement has gone about imagining a community forged in and around the Pacific that refuses the EuroAmerican fantasy of the free world and advocates another kind of international community. In a world that has not resembled anything fantastic or

free in the wake of such colonial and neocolonial histories, Teaiwa notes how in addition to demilitarization and anti-nuclear hopes, NFIP “has adopted a radical platform that advocates independence and sovereignty movements in the Pacific” (Teaiwa, *BOSPN* 100). The NFIP is a loosely organized information and lobbying network of trade unions, private aid organizations, environmentalists, disarmament lobbies, women’s collectives and Christian groups who, “operate on the premise that whatever happens in one part of the Pacific Ocean affects the whole ocean, the continentals living on the edge of it, and the islanders living in the midst of it” (101). If we review the archives of NFIP’s seminal brochures and newsletters housed in the University of the South Pacific at Suva, Fiji, we can see that the organization formed headquarters in Suva, Fiji, Honolulu, Hawai’i, and San Francisco, California in the early 1980s. Similarly to how Maxine Hong Kingston and her veterans as well as her fictional characters form a traveling nexus reconnecting the locales of Vietnam, Hawai’i and the US, I am interested in how the various networks of the headquarters of the NFIP movement had their beginnings. Clearly at the heart of the NFIP movement is the necessity of networking the centers and rims of a Pacific defined by communal struggle more so than any given geography. Today, many of the concerns of the NFIP movement are represented by the Pacific Concerns Resource Center whose web outlet continues to document the groups’ commitment to a revised “peace” basing its goals on the mantras of, “human rights and good governance,

demilitarization, decolonization, environmental concerns, sustainable human development.”¹⁰⁴

Pacific scholars have vehemently voiced a concern over the representation of Pacific Islanders in colonial historiography. Native Hawaiian scholars in particular, like Haunani K. Trask and Noenoe K. Silva have emphasized the historical inaccuracy of the ‘passive acceptance’ of the Hawaiian population of the military takeover of their island in 1893 with the US’s illegal overthrow of Queen Liliuokalani.¹⁰⁵ And with the Hawaiian language being banned by the US government as a possible language of instruction in schools as early as 1896, Native Hawaiian, or Kanaka Maoli, have struggled for linguistic and historical recognition.¹⁰⁶ Research like that of Noenoe K. Silva, that digs into the Hawai’ian language archive of materials around the turn of the 20th century and the period of annexation, reveals to us that the response to the US takeover was anything but passive. In the course of her research amongst the Hawaiian language archives, Silva came across a Hawaiian Petition in 1897 addressed to William McKinley opposing annexation. Appended to this petition were the signatures of 21,269 Kanaka Maoli. Because of the ongoing failure of US and other colonial historiographers to read the Hawaiian archive, or

¹⁰⁴ See the Pacific Concerns Resource Center website to review the key mantras organizing their activism: <<http://www.pcrc.org.fj/index.cfm>>.

¹⁰⁵ See Haunani-Kay Trask’s, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai’i*, Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1993 & 1999, for her personal memoirs and reportage on the ongoing existence of native Hawaiian resistance to US colonialism.

¹⁰⁶ See Noenoe K. Silva’s discussion in *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*, Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2004, of how “Kanaka Maoli” signifies the terminology meaning ‘indigenous Hawai’i an’ in the Hawaiian language and also serves to connect to familial relationships with other parts of Oceania: “for example, Maoli is cognate with Māori of Aotearoa and Mā’ohi of Tahiti. It reminds us that the Hawaiian Islands are centered in the Pacific (and not an appendage of the U.S. West Coast)” (13).

perhaps because of willful dismissal, “the existence of the resistance in this case has been nearly erased in historiography” (Silva 125). The imposition of English that followed the coup of 1893, and the banning of the Hawaiian language,

guaranteed that the mo‘opuna (descendants) of the antiannexationist struggles would be unable to read their ancestors’ side of the story. But as power persists so does resistance, finding its way like water slowly carving crevices and into and through rock. The resurgence of the Hawaiian language through a popular movement consisting of both taro roots and academics is creating scholars like myself who are now able to read the archive and effectively challenge the misrepresentations and omissions of the Kanaka Maoli in historiography. (163)

Contemporary Hawai’ian scholars have taken it upon themselves in the wake of the cultural renaissance and resistance that followed statehood in 1859, as opposed to cultural assimilation or acculturation, to look for and bring their people into historical representation by listening to the voices of the archive and participating in the Hawaiian cultural practice of linguistic revival.

While Silva’s groundbreaking work takes us back to the turn of the twentieth century, other Native Hawaiian and local scholars and writers are turning our attention to the ongoing living practices of Hawaiian culture in the contemporary moment. For example, Daviana McGregor’s recently published work, *Nā Kua ‘āina: Living Hawaiian Culture*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2007) guides us to look at the ways that Native Hawai’ians from the backland, backcountry, or *kua ‘āina*, have been responsible for keeping the cultural and spiritual practices of their ancestors alive. McGregor’s contemporary historical research takes a look at more rural communities of numerous islands’ *kua ‘āina* and their cultural kīpuka, or pockets of cultural resilience as a way to reveal that living Hawaiian culture has not been

destroyed but rather thrives in less populated, less urbanized centers, wherein methodologies of an oral historian are a key means of accessing these people's stories. Part of her work entails documenting the history of resistance on Kaho'olawe, as begun by the *kua'āina* and cultural kīpuka of Molokai—Walter Ritte and Noa Emmett Aluli who later recruited George Helm. Similarly to the way in which the US took up nuclear testing in the Strategic Trust Territories shortly after the close of WWII, the US military seized Kaho'olawe in the wake of the War, to be used as a site designated for “live fire ordinances and combat training. Kaho'olawe came to be called to “most shot at” island in the Pacific” (McGregor 251). In grave opposition to this military designated use of the island, kūpuna revealed that the island, “had served as a refuge for Native Hawaiian spiritual customs and practices and that it was a center for training in the arts of non-instrumental navigation involving the sighting of heavenly bodies” in addition to shoring some of “the abundant marine resources of the ocean surrounding the island” (252-253). The struggle for the island came to a head in March of 1977 when George Helm and Kimmo Mitchell were mysteriously lost in the ocean off of Kaho'olawe, after staging their own occupation of the island, never to be seen again. As McGregor states, “The movement for which they had become martyrs grew into an islands-wide movement that not only succeeded in stopping military use of Kaho'olawe in 1990, but also sparked the revitalization and impressive renaissance of Hawaiian culture, music, navigation, arts, agriculture, and aquaculture” (250-251).

When the Shark Bites...

This cultural revitalization sparked partly as a result of the activities of the PKO prompted native Hawaiian and local writers alike to take on the task of representing the struggle of the PKO to the public. Taking the historical fact of the mysterious disappearance of George Helm and Kimmo Mitchell in 1977 as a starting point, O'ahu local 2nd generation Puerto Rican writer Rodney Morales took on a six-year writing quest to bring the PKO struggle into fictional representation—one of the first of its kind. His first novel, *When the Shark Bites*, published in 2002 by the University of Hawai'i Press, takes a step further the non-fiction communal memorialization project Morales accomplished along with others with the publication of the Bamboo Ridge's *Ho 'i Ho 'i Hou: A Tribute to George Helm and Kimmo Mitchell* back in 1984. *When the Shark Bites* begins, literally, in the ocean in the Kealaikahiki Channel, between Maui and Kaho'olawe in the Summer of 1976, where one of the main narrators and activists of the movement in our text, Henry Rivera, is himself attempting to float at sea after a strategic occupation of the isle to protest the US military's bombing regime. Interestingly enough, in Morales' novel, the character many think stands in as a figure for Helm, Keoni, is indeed lost at sea; however, Morales' twist on historical events has a second character, Henry Rivera, saved from the Channel. Morales uses this shifted historical detail to his advantage, and what emerges in the novel is not merely a retelling of the ongoing struggle to protect Kaho'olawe, but a story about historical retrieval and the possibilities of historical documentation of cultural movements. The majority of the novel takes place not in

the midst of 1970s activist movements on Kaho‘olawe, but in 1990s O‘ahu. Morales conjures a portrait of 1990s Waikīkī that troubles the usual Waikīkī tourist-brochure discourse, as former activists to save Kaho‘olawe island find themselves in a very real material struggle to stay in their house on Tusitala Street, a portion of downtown Waikīkī that is slated for tourist development or “overdevelopment” as Morales’ characters like to call it. Henry’s family, consisting of his companion activist wife Kanani Wong, who had a brief intimate affair with the martyr Keoni days before his disappearance, and their two young children Makena and ‘Analu, find themselves evicted from their Waikīkī home and on their way to relocate to O‘ahu’s economically depressed west-side, Wai‘anae. While they are packing up, a graduate student named Alika from University of Hawai‘i, Mānoa, who is determined to document and tell the story of Keoni and his fellow activists comes knocking on their door. Henry speaks in his local pidgin of the transformation of Waikīkī to the avid note-taker Alika:

“This place is zoned for hotel rooms—commercial space. They think they gon’ be satisfied with two-story houses? They goin’ build something big here. Guarans. My guess is one thirty-story hotel. That way they get a return on their investment, eh? Thass how it works, eh?...Shit, when I was a kid all of Waikīkī was like this. Cottages and trees. *The Jungle*, we used to call it. Lotta local people used to live here. Almost all a’ that is gone now.” (36)

Morales’ novel makes possible a crucial connection in anti- and de-colonial struggles between lands that have been illegally occupied and confiscated for military use, such as on Kaho‘olawe, and the lands that have been *economically* confiscated by overseas urban developers for tourist use. Either way, according to Hawaiian culture, both uses of the land are incommensurable with the principle of aloha ‘aina.

Morales' novel is the story, then, not only of the activism of the 1970s, but of the ongoing struggles the native Hawaiian and local people find themselves in 20 years hence, and the intimately interconnected histories of the seemingly different periods. Morales' graduate student historiographer of the novel, Alika, shows up wanting to tell a story, literally seeking it out, compiling it from the oral reports of several past and present members of the PKO and Keoni's extended 'ohana. Kanani Wong, who marries Henry post Keoni's disappearance is at first skeptical of, but finally champions Alika's quest to get the story straight. She reflects:

What changed my head about cooperating was that in the nearly dozen years I'd spent teaching, whenever I'd ask students if they ever heard of Keoni, the man who touched so many lives in such a big way, they'd say *Who?* They had never heard of him. Now finally, there was someone who wanted to put his story down on the page, perhaps make his legend party of history, mythic undertones and all. We sometimes couldn't help but elevate Keoni to demigod status in our stories about him. Maybe now we could get the story straight. Maybe. (24-25)

Kanani seems at once motivated by and skeptical of the mythic undertones a person like Keoni takes on. Morales' novel becomes not so much about placing Keoni the activist lost at sea on a historical pedestal for posterity, but about how and why activists get inspired to do the work that they do—what motivates them. Over the course of the book, we find out that Keoni was indeed a complex and possibly flawed human being—as are all Morales' characters—however, what Morales manages to capture through Kanani's memories and her reportage are the ways that figures like Keoni can inspire and influence an entire cultural revival.

Morales' novel, while being a fictional memorialization of the work done by a cultural-political movement like the PKO, becomes a vehicle to represent the

subsequent important struggles of contemporary Hawai'i ans. The struggles Morales taps into range from freeway development of the H-3 highway, to water access rights, to spurious land use and allocation syndicates and Hawaiian Homes battles, to turf wars surrounding the recovery of ancestral bones on tourist development sites, to shark attacks and mysterious and strangely tattooed lifeguards and waterman, to surf contests on the North Shore. Admittedly, after so much academic reading, his book is like a guilty pleasure—dramatic, thrilling, cinematic—yet Morales is able to keep the contemporary story of the daily struggle of the Rivera family at the heart of his tale. What begins as Henry Rivera's swim for his life in the channel commemorated as the "pathway to Tahiti", and continues as Alika's efforts to record the story of Keoni, becomes a communally produced mo'olelo, or a type of Hawaiian oral tradition in which only a multitude of voices can combine to get the story "straight".

I'd like to close this chapter with one of the speeches that Kanai recalls from her memories of Keoni. Here in the late 1970s before his disappearance, Keoni responds to the forces that threaten the island of Kaho'olawe:

...So we're suing you in accordance with Environmental Protection statutes, including the Safe Water Act, the Natural Sanctuary Act, the Native Rights Act, the Clear Air Act, and the Endangered Species Act. We're looking for more acts to supplement this five-act drama, this Sisyphean tragedy of Shakespearean proportions—to cite your gods. You've always claimed that you're protecting us from outside intervention and don't seem to grasp that the outside interveners were and still are you. Who's protecting us from you? At Mākua, Mōkapu, Pōhakuloa, Lualualei, Kaho'olawe...all we see is evidence of the most heinous crimes against man and nature. Look at your own Declaration of Independence. Your Bill of Rights. You don't seem to see the parallels. Is it because you have too much invested in not seeing them? We're not about to raid the supermarkets and dump tons of Lipton into our precious harbors; we're not polluters. But we are going to wave these leaves and have one hell of a ti party, thank you. (68)

The PKO succeeded, after twenty years of formal struggle in the 1990s, in wrenching back the island of Kaho‘olawe. On May 9, 1994 the US Navy gave the island back to the state of Hawai‘i who placed the island in its trust until it could be given back to a “sovereign Native Hawaiian entity,” thereby looking to a future time, not yet arrived when the elements of demilitarization and decolonization will go hand in hand (See McGregor 275-276). Meanwhile, the ecological lessons we can take from the ongoing struggle for the preservation and cleanup of the isle are encompassed in the Hawaiian concept of traditional kua‘āina stewardship principles for guiding the development of a land use plan for the island, especially the “ahupua‘a principle of land use” which promotes that “a land should run from the sea to the mountains” with no barring of access and most importantly, “aloha ‘āina and mālama ‘āina, or respect and conservation of the land to ensure the sustainability of natural resources for present and future generations” (McGregor 283).

Lessons of Stewardship from Kanaloa, or Kaho‘olawe

Upon return of the island to the state of Hawai‘i, the state set up the Kaho‘olawe Island Reserve Commission to dictate stewardship principles. These principles were namely, as McGregor records, “activities that revolve around restoration” and the “develop[ment of] traditional kua‘āina stewardship principles for guiding the development of a land use plan for the island” (McGregor 281). They are outlined as follows:

1. “ahupua‘a principle of land use” promotes that “a land should run from the sea to the mountains” with no barring of access. (282)
2. “natural elements—land, air, fresh water, ocean—are interconnected and interdependent”; “...these ahupua‘a also include the shoreline as well as the inshore and offshore ocean areas such as fishponds, reefs, channels, and deep-sea fishing grounds” (282).
3. “of all natural elements, fresh water is the most important for life and needs to be considered in every aspect of land use and planning” (282).
4. “acknowledgement that Hawaiian ancestors studied the land and the natural elements and became very familiar with the land’s features and assets. Ancestral knowledge was passed down through place-names, chants, and legends that name the winds, rains, and features of a particular district” (283).
5. “aloha ‘āina and mālama ‘āina, or respect and conservation of the land to ensure the sustainability of natural resources for present and future generations” (283).

The concept of security dictating the US actions towards Pacific Islands and their inhabitants during the emergence of the Nuclear Age and until recent years in the case of Kaho‘olawe and the use of island landscapes for military testing completely disregard Native claims to land and sea and the principles of stewardship outlined by McGregor. The Hawaiian drive towards a more sustainable existence and one that combines principles of respect for both land and sea is one we can see emerge from these Stewardship Principles alongside the anti-colonial discourse that emerges in publications of NFIP and the PKO alongside imaginative works like that of Kingston and Morales. This body of literature and activism retains a hope and a desire that in spite of the EuroAmerican fantasy of the freeworld, that we can imagine the world otherwise, that other visions and ways of being in the world are possible and, hopefully, probable.

Epilogue

Revisiting California Shores: Oceanic Crossings

Taking a bit of an anecdotal turn and as a current resident of Santa Cruz, California, this embattled “surf city” of the central California coast has its own seemingly adopted Pacific cultural signs. Rob Wilson’s musings on the surfer statue that dons West Cliff Avenue and his interrogation of the statue’s out-looking and ocean-facing gaze and its go-native versus imperial ambivalence, “where sky meets the sea in Santa Cruz, / this place of holy crossings” capture the incommensurable tendencies to gaze upon the Pacific with an intention towards control and ownership of versus reverence for the oceanic expanse.¹⁰⁷ Further in the heart of downtown off Pacific Avenue, how might we read the cultural sign of the Hula’s Restaurant and Tiki Lounge? I am well aware of the US’s entrepreneurial surf-culture industry’s ability to adopt, adapt, eroticize and assimilate images of anything emanating from the islands. But inside the Hula Lounge, on the southeast wall hangs a photo of several classic “woody” surf wagons with the backdrop of what looks like a “bikini” explosion—not of scantily clad women adorning the hoods of the cars, but of the bomb explosion itself. What are we to make of this cultural artifact’s presence in a local Santa Cruz restaurant? Is this an uncanny effort at a history lesson—a calling to take a second look and think twice about the interconnection of militarism and tourism in our favorite and desired island sites? Or is the casual display of the photo

¹⁰⁷ Rob Wilson, “White Surfer Dude,” appears in the collection editing by himself and Christopher Leigh Connery: *The Worlding Project: Doing Cultural Studies in the Era of Globalization*, (Santa Cruz: New Pacific Press, 2007): 204-208.

on the wall of a casual dining restaurant in Northern California that adopts Island kitsch as its *modus operandi* of luring folks of all ages inside—a photo featuring a woody cum bikini bomb(shell)?—another instance or perhaps a strange reversal of the overexposure that is a testament, as Teresia Teaiwa notes about the bikini, to “the recurring tourist trivialization of Pacific Islanders’ experience and existence”? (Teaiwa 87). Where Teaiwa suggests that the bikini distracts and covers over a colonial and nuclear history even as it exposes more skin, this poster’s framing creates a bizarre juxtaposition or exposure in its overt ambivalent display.

Taking a look at today’s virtual media, it remains more disturbing that in a Google search for the key words “bikini explosion,” the seamless image of the tourist brochure discourse is “barely” threatened by alternating websites: one site does indeed recall the history of the bomb dropped on Bikini Atoll; the other, in blatantly obscene metaphor, documents the “bikini’s explosion” onto the fashion scene with the introduction of French Louis Reard’s post-war invention.¹⁰⁸ However, even the more historical website provides a virtual link to the touristic appeal of Bikini. Because Bikini Atoll has since reopened its beaches and grounds as a tourist site in order to economically enable the ongoing relocation of its dislocated inhabitants and the environmental cleanup of the atoll, *Condé Nast* could unabashedly within its pages in 1997 claim Bikini as, one of the “Ten Best” scuba diving destinations, and in 2000, as one of the “Top 50 Worldwide Island Escapes” declaring, “There are not

¹⁰⁸ See respectively: <<http://www.bikiniatoll.com/home.html>> and <<http://www.canada.com/topics/lifestyle/story.html?id=f87e22f8-31d9-477e-a049-4d937a6e6db0&k=10242>>.

many places that could look more like the Garden of Eden.” To me, it is very striking how easily this newly “discovered” Edenic paradise has so recently been transformed from the local Bikini Islander’s living hell. The clear lack of historicization in these statements by *Condé Nast*, despite the Bikinian natives’ attempts to make their tours educational, is disturbing. DeLoughrey comments, “In a disturbing full circle from colonial to tourist occupation and consumption, Bikini Atoll has been designated one of the best tourist spots for scuba diving in the military wreckage. One company calls the Bikini trip an “island adventure” and, while admitting the region’s extensive militarization, entices tourists to visit “to get a real sense as to how Robinson Crusoe must have felt”” (DeLoughrey 18). In lieu of any cultural, environmental or monetary reparations for Bikini Atoll that may ever be able to accomplish the full restoration of Bikini to its native population, Bikinians now must make their livelihood and find their entrance into the global market via a tourist economy that promotes consumption of militarized history as the central tourist experience. In the wake of ongoing “bizarre juxtapositions” as Teaiwa calls such military and tourist double exposures in her 1994 scholarship, new and ongoing geo-political formations that are both creative and activist in their orientation, like the Veterans of War, Veterans of Peace “sangha” and like NFIP and the Protect Kaho‘olawe ‘Ohana, are direly needed just as we need direly to continue documenting their existence in both scholarly and popular writing so as to resist the seamless annihilation of such ongoing struggles and histories.

Wandering back up to West Cliff, that Santa Cruz esplanade where the water meets the cliffs and follows along the Pacific edge, today there is a new memorial. The new memorial, installed in 2010, acts as a counter to or perhaps a correction of the potential ambivalent stare of the “white surfer dude” out to sea. This newly installed plaque and map of the Hawaiian archipelago serves as a prehistory to the narration of surfing’s history in Santa Cruz at the Mark Abott Lighthouse and museum. If you find yourself standing cliff-side to see the break at Steamer Lane, you will no doubt stand in the footsteps of three Hawaiian princes that made their way along California shores back in 1885. In an uncanny reversal of the east to west trajectory of US colonial expansion to Hawaiian shores, 1885 would have three Hawaiian princes bringing their national sport to this “place of holy crossings.” The plaque is entitled, “Surfing Was First Brought Here by Hawaiian Princes” and reads, “During the summer of 1885, three young Hawaiian princes rode the waves at the mouth of the San Lorenzo River on redwood planks they ordered cut in the shape of Olo surfboards by the local timber mill.” The bronze lettering bears the names of the three princes who lived and went to school in the same environs in which we now tread: “H.M. Queen Kapi‘olani’s nephews: H.R.H. Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana‘ole, H.R.H. Prince David La‘amea Kahalepouli Kāwananakoā, H.R.H. Prince Edward Abnel Keliāhonui.” The plaque notes that “While attending St. Matthew’s Hall Military School in San Mateo, [the princes] stayed during their vacations with the Swan family in Santa Cruz and started a craze by bringing for the first time the Royal Hawaiian sport of surfing to the Pacific coast of the Americas.”

While the plaque commemorates the amazing sport of wave riding and surfing's arrival in Santa Cruz, and perhaps puts a rest to the Santa Cruz's versus Huntington Beach's claim to the title of "Surf City" once and for all, the memorial also serves as a reversal to the Hawaiian-shirt-sporting tourist who visits Waikīkī for a week each summer: in 1885, three Hawaiian princes came to stay for a while. That they dwelled here, sought recreation here, and transmitted to California youth the sport that would come to be synonymous with the state, reveals to us the powerful processes of transculturation and is a confirmation that the shores of California were and still are now, a mighty contact zone.

Works Cited

- Alcalay, Glenn. "Pacific Island Responses to U.S. and French Hegemony." *What's in a Rim: Critical Perspectives on the Pacific Region Idea*. Arif Dirlik, Ed. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1998.
- Anderson, Kat. "Native American Cultivators." *Green Versus Gold: Sources in California's Environmental History*. Ed. Carolyn Merchant. Washington D.C.: Island Press, 1998.
- Anderson, Kat & Thomas C. Blackburn. *Before the Wilderness: Environmental Management by Native Californians*. Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press, 1993.
- Anzaldúa, Gloria. *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*. Aunt Lute Books: San Francisco. 1987, 1999.
- Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation. Feb 1 2008. <<http://www.apec.org/>>.
- Balaz, Joseph P. "Spear Fisher." *Mālama: Hawaiian Land and Water*. Dana Naone Hall, Ed. Honolulu: Bamboo Ridge Press, 1985, 72.
- . "After the Drought," Honolulu, Hawaii: Topgallant Publishing Co., Ltd. 1985.
- Césaire, Aimé. 1955. *Discours sur le colonialisme / Discourse on Colonialism*. Trans. Joan Pinkham. New York: Monthly Review Press. 2000.
- . 1969. *Une tempête / A Tempest*. Trans. Richard Miller. New York: Theatre Communications Group, Inc. 2002.
- Cliff, Michelle. 1984. *Abeng*. New York: Plume. 1995.
- . *No Telephone to Heaven*. New York: E.P. Dutton. 1987.
- . *Free Enterprise*. New York: Plume. 1993.
- Clifford, James. *Routes: Travel & Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- Condé Nast Traveler: Truth in Travel*. Thomas J. Wallace, Ed. March 2003.
- Connery, Christopher Leigh. "Introduction: Worlded Pedagogy in Santa Cruz." Rob Wilson & Christopher Leigh Connery, Eds. *The Worlding Project: Doing Cultural Studies in the Era of Globalization*. Santa Cruz, CA: New Pacific Press, 2007. 1-12.
- . "Ideologies of Land and Sea: Alfred Thayer Mahan, Carl Schmitt, and the Shaping of Global Myth Elements." *boundary 2* 28:2 Duke University Press. 2001.

- . "The Oceanic Feeling and the Regional Imaginary." *Global/Local: Cultural Production and the Transnational Imaginary*. Ed. Rob Wilson and Wimal Dissanayake. Durham: Duke University Press. 1996.
- . "Pacific Rim Discourse: The US Global Imaginary in the Late Cold War Years." *Asia/Pacific as Space of Cultural Production*. Ed. Rob Wilson and Arif Dirlik. Durham & London: Duke University Press. 1995.
- DeLoughrey, Elizabeth M. *Routes and Roots: Navigating Caribbean and Pacific Island Literatures*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007.
- Deleuze & Guattari. (1980). *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism & Schizophrenia*. London: Continuum, 2004.
- Dirlik, Arif. "Introduction: Pacific Contradictions." *What Is in a Rim? Critical Perspectives on the Pacific Region Idea*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1998.
- Dussel, Enrique. *The Invention of the Americas: Eclipse of "the Other" and the Myth of Modernity*. New York: Continuum. 1995.
- Fanon, Frantz. 1952. *Peau Noire, Masques Blancs / Black Skin, White Masks*. Trans. Charles Lam Markmann. New York: Grove Press. 1967.
- . 1961. *Les damnés de la terre / The Wretched of the Earth*. Trans. Constance Farrington. New York: Grove Press. 1963.
- Firth, Stewart. *Nuclear Playground*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1987.
- Friede, Eva. "The Bikini Explosion." *The Gazette*. Canada.com. 20 June 2006. 22 Feb 2007 <<http://www.canada.com/topics/lifestyle/story.html?id=f87e22f8-31d9-477e-a049-4d937a6e6db0&k=10242>>.
- Froude, James Anthony. *The Bow of Ulysses or, The English in the West Indies*. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1888.
- Gillman, Susan. "The New Newest Thing: Have American Studies Gone Imperial." *American Literary History* 17(1), Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Gilroy, Paul. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993.
- Glissant, Édouard. 1990. *Poétique de la relation / Poetics of Relation*. Trans. Betsy Wing. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1997.
- . 1981. *Le Discours Antillais / Caribbean Discourse: Selected Essays*. Trans. J. Michael Dash. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1989.

- Grewal, Inderpal. *Home and Harem: Nation, Gender, Empire, and the Cultures of Travel*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. 1996.
- Hau'ofa, Epeli. "Our Sea of Islands." *Asia/Pacific as Space of Cultural Production*. Rob Wilson & Arif Dirlik, Eds. Durham & London: Duke University Press, 1995.
- James, C.L.R. *World Revolution 1917-1936: The Rise and Fall of the Communist International*. Furnell and Sons, 1937.
- . 1938, 1963. *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*. New York: Vintage Books. 1985.
- . 1938. *A History of Pan-African Revolt*. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company. 1995.
- Kaplan, Amy. "'Left Alone with America': The Absence of Empire in the Study of American Culture." Amy Kaplan & Donald Pease, Eds. *Cultures of United States Imperialism*. Durham & London: Duke University Press. 1993.
- Kili/Bikini/Ejit Local Government Council. "Bikini Atoll." 22 Feb 2007
<<http://www.bikiniatoll.com/home.html>>.
- Kingston, Maxine Hong. *I Love a Broad Margin to My Life*. New York: Alfred Knopf, 2011.
- . "Introduction: Tell the Truth and So Make Peace." *Veterans of War, Veterans of Peace*. Kihei, Hawai'i : Koa Books, 2006.
- . 2003. *The Fifth Book of Peace*. New York: Vintage Books. 2004.
- . *Tripmaster Monkey*. New York: Vintage Books. 1987
- . 1987. *Hawai'i, One Summer*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 1988.
- . 1980. *China Men*. New York: Vintage Books. 1989.
- . 1975. *The Woman Warrior*. New York: Vintage Books. 1989.
- Kirkland, Caroline. 1839. *A New Home, Who'll Follow? Or, Glimpses of Western Life*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1996.
- Knight, Franklin W. *The Caribbean: The Genesis of a Fragmented Nationalism*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1990.
- Lyons, Paul. *American Pacificism: Oceania in the U.S. Imagination*. New York: Routledge, 2006.
- . "Pacific Scholarship, Literary Criticism, and Touristic Desire: The Specter of A. Grove Day." *boundary 2*, Vol. 24, No. 2. (Summer, 1997), 47-78.

- Marx, Leo. 1964. *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America*. Oxford University Press, 2000.
- McBride, Christopher Mark. *The Colonizer Abroad: American Writers on Foreign Soil, 1846-1912*. New York & London: Routledge, 2004.
- McClintock, Anne. *Imperial Leather: Race Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest*. New York: Routledge. 1995.
- McGregor, Davianna Pōmaika‘i. “Chapter Six - Kaho‘olawe: Rebirth of the Sacred.” *Nā Kua ‘āina: Living Hawaiian Culture*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2007.
- Merchant, Carolyn, Ed. *Green Versus Gold: Sources in California’s Environmental History*. Washington D.C.: Island Press, 1998.
- . *The Death of Nature*. New York: Harper & Row, 1989.
- Morales, Rodney. *When the Shark Bites*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2002.
- Morton, Michelle. “Utopian and Dystopian Visions of California in the Historical Imagination.” Unpublished Dissertation. University of California, Santa Cruz. June 2005.
- Pease, Donald. “C.L.R. James’s Mariners, Renegades and Castaways and the World We Live In.” C.L.R. James’s (1953) *Mariners, Renegades, & Castaways: The Story of Herman Melville and the World We Live In*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2001. vii-xxxiii.
- Pacific Concerns Resource Center. 19 Feb. 2007 <<http://www.pcrc.org.fj/index.cfm>>.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. Routledge: London. 1992.
- Roach, Joseph. *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.
- Sahlins, Marshall and Patrick V. Kirch. *Anahulu: The Anthropology of History in the Kingdom of Hawai‘i*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992. Vols. 1 & 2.
- Said, Edward. *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Vintage Books. 1993.
- . *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books. 1978.

- Silva, Noenoe K. *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*. Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2004.
- Smith, Henry Nash. *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1950.
- Smith, Roy. *The Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Movement after Muroroa*. London & New York: Taurus Academic Studies, 1997.
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- Strachan, Ian Gregory. *Paradise and Plantation: Tourism and Culture in the Anglophone Caribbean*. Charlottesville & London: University of Virginia Press, 2002.
- Svoboda, Terese. "The 747 Poem." *Asia / Pacific as Space of Cultural Production*. Rob Wilson & Arif Dirlik, Eds. Durham & London: Duke University Press, 1995: 250.
- Tadiar, Neferti Xina M. "Sexual Economies in the Asia-Pacific Community." *What Is in a Rim? Critical Perspectives on the Pacific Region Idea*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1998.
- Teaiwa, Teresia. *Militarism, Tourism and the Native: Articulations in Oceania*. UCSC Doctoral Dissertation. March 2001.
- . "L(o)osing the Edge." *The Contemporary Pacific*. Volume 13, Number 2, Fall 2001, 343-357. University of Hawai'i Press.
- . "bikinis and other s/pacific n/oceans." *The Contemporary Pacific*. The University of Hawai'i Press: Volume 6, Number 4, Spring 1994, 87-109.
- Trask, Haunani-Kay. "Fighting the Battle of Double Colonization: The View of a Hawaiian Feminist." Unpublished manuscript. Hamilton Library: Hawaiian & Pacific Collection, University of Hawai'i, Manoa. 1983.
- . *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993 & 1999.
- "U.S. Military Major Bases and Installations – Hawai'i," About: U.S. Military, 19 Feb. 2007 <<http://usmilitary.about.com/library/milinfo/statefacts/blhi.htm>>.
- Wendt, Albert. "Towards a New Oceania" *Mana Review*, vol. 1, no. 1 (Jan 1976), 49-60.

- Walcott, Derek. *What the Twilight Says*. New York: Farrar, Straus, & Giroux. 1998.
- . *Collected Poems: 1948-1984*. New York: Farrar, Straus, & Giroux. 1986.
- Wilson, Rob Sean. *Beattitudes / Beattitudes: On the Road to Beatitude for Post-Beat Writers, Dharma Bums, and Cultural-Political Activists*. Santa Cruz, CA: New Pacific Press, 2010.
- . "Afterword: Worlding as Future Tactic." Rob Wilson & Christopher Leigh Connery, Eds. *The Worlding Project: Doing Cultural Studies in an Era of Globalization*. Santa Cruz, CA: New Pacific Press, 2007. 209-223.
- . "White Surfer Dude." *The Worlding Project: Doing Cultural Studies in the Era of Globalization* Rob Wilson & Christopher Leigh Connery, Eds. Santa Cruz: New Pacific Press, 2007. 204-208.
- . "Doing Cultural Studies inside APEC: Literature, Cultural Identity, and Global/Local Dynamics in the American Pacific." *Comparative Literature*. University of Oregon, Eugene. Fall 2001. Vol. 53, No. 4.
- . *Reimagining the American Pacific: From South Pacific to Bamboo Ridge and Beyond*. Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2000.

Selected Bibliography

Primary Texts:

I. American Literature

Equiano, Olaudah. 1789. *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa*. New York: Norton. 2001.

Irving, Washington. 1836. *Astoria*. Boston: Twayne Publishers. 1976.

Emerson, Ralph Waldo. 1860. "Fate." *Collected Essays of Ralph Waldo Emerson*. New York: Penguin Books. 1981. 346-374.

Poe, Edgar Allan. 1838. "The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym." *The Collected Works of Edgar Allan Poe*. New York: Vintage. 1975.

Kirkland, Caroline. 1839. *A New Home, Who'll Follow? Or, Glimpses of Western Life*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1996.

Dana, Richard Henry. 1840. *Two Years Before the Mast*. New York: Penguin Books U.S.A., Inc. 1986.

----. 1859. *To Cuba and Back*. Carbondale and Edwardsville: South Illinois University Press. 1966.

Douglass, Frederick. 1845. *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*. Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press. 1988.

Melville, Herman. 1846. *Typee: A Peep at Polynesian Life*. New York: Modern Library. 2001.

----. 1851. *Moby-Dick*. New York: W.W. Norton & Comp. 2002.

----. 1854. *The Encantadas*. London: Hesperus Press Ltd. 2002.

----. 1855. "Benito Cereno." *Billy Bud and Other Stories*. New York: Penguin Books. 1986. 159-258.

----. 1856. "The Paradise of Bachelors and The Tartarus of Maids." *Billy Bud and Other Stories*. New York: Penguin Books. 1986. 259-286.

Taylor, Bayard. 1850. *Eldorado: Adventures in the Path of Empire*. Berkeley: Heyday Books. 2000.

Stowe, Harriet Beecher. 1851-2. *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. New York: Penguin Books. 1987.

Thoreau, Henry David. 1854. *Walden*. Boston: Beacon Press. 1997.

- Whitman, Walt. 1855. *Leaves of Grass*. London: Penguin Books Ltd. 1996.
- Delany, Martin R. 1859, 1861-1862. *Blake, or the Huts of America*. Boston: Beacon Press. 1970.
- Brent, Linda (Harriet Jacobs). 1861. *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*. New York: W.W. Norton & Comp. 2001.
- Twain, Mark. 1866. *Letters from Hawai'i*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 1966.
- . 1972. *Roughing It*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, & London: University of California Press. 1992.
- . 1883. *Life on the Mississippi*. New York: Penguin Putman, Inc. 2001.
- . 1884, 1885. *Huckleberry Finn*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, & London: University of California Press. 1998.
- . 1889. *A Connecticut Yankee at King Arthur's Court*. New York: Penguin Books. 1986.
- . 1894. *Pudd'nhead Wilson and Those Extraordinary Twins*. New York: W.W. Norton & Comp. 1980.
- . 1897. *Following the Equator*. New York: Dover Publications, Inc. 1989.
- Jackson, Helen Hunt. 1884. *Ramona*. New York: Penguin Books. 2002.
- Ruiz de Burton, Maria Amparo. 1885. *The Squatter and the Don*. Houston: Arte Público Press. 1992.
- Harper, Frances E. W. 1892. *Iola Leroy; Or, Shadows Uplifted*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1988.
- Turner, Frederick Jackson. 1893. "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." New York: Ungar. 1963.
- Crane, Stephen. 1898. "The Open Boat." *The Red Badge of Courage and Other Stories*. New York: Penguin Books. 1991. 135-160.
- Norris, Frank. 1899. *McTeague*. New York: Penguin Books. 1994.
- . 1901. *The Octopus*. New York: Penguin Books. 1984.
- Wister, Owen. 1902 *The Virginian*. Oxford & N.Y.: Oxford University Press. 1998.
- DuBois, W.E.B. 1903. *The Souls of Black Folk*. New York: W.W. Norton & Comp. 1999.

- London, Jack. 1908-1919. *Stories of Hawai'i*. Honolulu: Mutual Publications. 2001.
 ----. 1911. *South Sea Tales*. Minneola, N.Y.: Dover Publications, Inc. 2001.
- Cather, Willa. 1913. *O Pioneers!* New York: Penguin Books. 1989.
- Toomer, Jean. 1923. *Cane*. New York: W.W. Norton & Comp. 1988.
- McKay, Claude. 1929. *Banjo: A Story without a Plot*. New York, San Diego, &
 London: Harcourt Brace & Comp. 1957.
- Steinbeck, John. 1935. *Tortilla Flat*. New York: Penguin Books. 1997.
 ----. 1937. *The Grapes of Wrath*. New York: Penguin Books. 1997.
 ----. 1952. *East of Eden*. New York: Viking Press. 1970.
- Faulkner, William. 1936. *Absalom, Absalom!* New York: Vintage. 1990.
 ----. 1940. *Go Down, Moses*. New York: Vintage. 1990.
- Hurston, Zora Neale. 1938. *Tell My Horse: Voodoo and Life in Haiti and Jamaica*.
 Berkeley: Turtle Island Foundation. 1981.
- Paredes, Américo. 1940. *George Washington Gómez*. Houston: Arte Público Press.
 1990.
- Hemingway, Ernest. *The Old Man and the Sea*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
 1952.
 ----. *Islands in the Stream*. New York: Bantam Books. 1970.
- Stegner, Wallace. 1954. *Beyond the Hundredth Meridian*. New York: Penguin Books.
 1992.
- Baldwin, James. 1985. *Evidence of Things Not Seen*. New York: Henry Holt &
 Comp. 1995.
- Snyder, Gary. 1956-1996. *Mountains and Rivers without End*. New York:
 Counterpoint. 1997.
- Ginsburg, Allen. 1956. *Howl and other poems*. San Francisco: City Lights Books.
 1997.
- Kerouac, Jack. 1957. *On the Road*. New York: Penguin Books. 1976.
 ----. 1962. *Big Sur*. New York: Penguin Books. 1992.
- Morrison, Toni. *Beloved*. New York: Knopf. 1987.

II. Pacific Regional Literatures / Primary Texts

- Murayama, Milton. 1959, 1975. *All I Asking for Is My Body*. San Francisco: Supa Press.
- . *Five Years on a Rock*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 1994.
- . *Plantation Boy*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 1998.
- Wendt, Albert. *Sons for the Return Home*. Auckland: Longman Paul. 1973.
- . *Leaves of the Banyan Tree*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 1994.
- Kingston, Maxine Hong. 1975. *The Woman Warrior*. New York: Vintage Books. 1989.
- . 1980. *China Men*. New York: Vintage Books. 1989.
- . *Tripmaster Monkey*. New York: Vintage Books. 1987
- . 1987. *Hawai'i, One Summer*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 1988.
- . 2003. *The Fifth Book of Peace*. New York: Vintage Books. 2004.
- Cha, Theresa. 1982. *Dictée*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press. 2001.
- Hau'ofa, Epeli. 1983. *Tales of the Tikongs*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 1994.
- Grace, Patricia. *Potiki*. Auckland [N.Z.]: Penguin Books. 1986.
- Hagedorn, Jessica. *Dogeaters*. New York: Penguin. 1990.
- Theroux, Paul. *The Happy Isles of Oceania: Paddling the Pacific*. New York: Ballantine Books. 1992.
- . *Hotel Honolulu*. New York: First Mariner Books. 2001.
- Kadohata, Cynthia. *In the Heart of the Valley of Love*. New York: Viking. 1992.
- Yamanaka, Lois-Ann. *Saturday Night at the Pahala Theatre*. Honolulu: Bamboo Ridge Press. 1993.
- Hereniko, Vilsoni & Teresia Teaiwa. *Last Virgin in Paradise: A Serious Comedy*. Suva [Fiji]: Mana Publications. 1993
- Duane, Daniel. *Caught Inside: A Surfer's Year on the California Coast*. New York: North Point Press. 1996.
- Banggo, Kathy Dee. *4-evaz, Anna*. Honolulu: Tinfish Network. 1997.

Yamashita, Karen Tei. *Tropic of Orange*. Minneapolis: Coffee House Press. 1997.

Spahr, Juliana. *Dole Street*. Honolulu: Subpoetics. 2001.

III. Cuban & Puerto Rican Primary Texts:

Manzano, Juan Francisco. 1835 inglés; 1837 español. *Autobiografía de un escalvo*. Ed. Ivan A. Schulman. Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 1996.

Gómez de Avellaneda, Gertrudis. 1841. *Sab*. Ed. José Servera. Madrid: Cátedra. 1997.

Villaverde, Cirilo. [1879] / 1882. *Cecilia Valdés*. Ed. Jean Lamore. Madrid: Cátedra. 1992.

Martí, José. 1891. *Nuestra América*. Ed. Roberto Fernández Retamar. La Habana: Casa de las Américas. 1974.

Guillén, Nicolas. 1972. *El diario que a diario*. La Habana: Editorial Letras Cubanas. 1979.

Carpentier, Alejo. 1949. *El reino de este mundo*. Santiago, Chile: Editorial Universitaria. 1967.

----. 1953. *Los pasos perdidos*. Mexico: Compañía General de Ediciones. 1966.

Barnet, Miguel. 1966 / Esteban Montejo. *Autobiografía de un cimarrón*.

Cabrera Infante, Guillermo. 1967. *Tres tristes tigres*. Caracas, Venezuela: Biblioteca Ayacucho. 1990.

----. 1974. *Vista del amanecer en el trópico*. Barcelona: Editorial Seix Barral. 1974.

Morejón, Nancy. *Parajes de una época*. La Habana: Editorial Letras Cubanas. 1979. [selecciones de poemas]

López Nieves, Luis. 1984. *Seva: Historia de la primera invasión norteamericana de la isla de Puerto Rico ocurrida en mayo de 1898*. Hato Rey, P.R.: Editorial Cordillera. 2000.

Rubiera Castillo, Daisy. 1997. *Reyita, sencillamente*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2000.

IV. Postcolonial Caribbean Literatures / Primary Fiction Texts / Primary Historical and Theoretical Texts: Anglophone, Spanish & Francophone in Translation

- Césaire, Aimé. 1969. *Une tempête / A Tempest*. Trans. Richard Miller. New York: Theatre Communications Group, Inc. 2002.
- . 1947. *Cahier d'un retour au pays natal / Notebook of a Return to the Native Land*. Trans. Clayton Eshleman & Annetee Smith. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press. 2001.
- . 1955. *Discours sur le colonialisme / Discourse on Colonialism*. Trans. Joan Pinkham. New York: Monthly Review Press. 2000.
- Fanon, Frantz. 1961. *Les damnés de la terre / The Wretched of the Earth*. Trans. Constance Farrington. New York: Grove Press. 1963.
- . 1952. *Peau Noire, Masques Blancs / Black Skin, White Masks*. Trans. Charles Lam Markmann. New York: Grove Press. 1967.
- Lamming, George. 1960. *The Pleasures of Exile*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1992.
- . 1954. *In the Castle of My Skin*. New York: Shoken Books. 1983.
- Harris, Wilson. *The Carnival Trilogy*. London: Faber & Faber. 1993.
- James, C.L.R. *World Revolution 1917-1936: The Rise and Fall of the Communist International*. Furnell and Sons, 1937.
- . 1938, 1963. *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*. New York: Vintage Books. 1985.
- . 1938. *A History of Pan-African Revolt*. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company. 1995.
- Naipaul, V.S. *The Middle Passage; Impressions of Five Societies: British, French and Dutch in the West Indies and South America*. London: A. Deutsch. 1962.
- Rhys, Jean. 1966. *Wide Sargasso Sea*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc. 1999.
- Brathwaite, Edward Kamau. 1967, 1968, 1969, 1973. *The Arrivants: A New World Trilogy*. Oxford University Press.
- . 1992. *Middle Passages*. New York: New Directions. 1993.
- . *Trench Town Rock*. Providence: Lost Roads Publishers. Number 40. 1994.
- Wynter, Silvia. 1968-9. "We Must Learn to Sit Down Together and Discuss a Little Culture – Reflections on West Indian Writing and Criticism" *The Routledge*

- Reader in Caribbean Literature*. Alison Donnell & Sarah Lawson Welsh, Eds. London & New York: Routledge. 1996. 307-315.
- . 1990. "Beyond Miranda's Meanings: Un/silencing the 'Demonic Ground' of Caliban's 'Woman'." *The Routledge Reader in Caribbean Literature*. Alison Donnell & Sarah Lawson Welsh, Eds. London & New York: Routledge. 1996. 476-482.
- . "1492: A New World View." *Race, Discourse and the Origins of the Americas: A New World View*. Vera Lawrence Hyatt and Rex Nettleford, Eds. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press. 1995. 5-57.
- . "Columbus, the Ocean Blue and Fables that Stir the Mind: To Reinvent the Study of Letters." *Poetics of the Americas: Race, Founding, and Textuality*. Bainard Cowan and Jefferson Humphries, Eds. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1997.
- . "A Different Kind of Creature: Caribbean Literature, the Cyclops Factor and the Second Poetics of the Propter Nos." *Sisyphus and Eldorado: Magical and Other Realisms in Caribbean Literature*. Trenton, NJ: African World Press. 2002.
- Marshall, Paule. 1969. *The Chosen Place, the Timeless People*. New York: Vintage Contemporary Editions. 1992.
- . *Praisesong for the Widow*. New York: Plume. 1983.
- Retamar, Roberto Fernández. 1971. *Calibán y otros ensayos*. La Habana: Editorial Arte y Literatura. 1979.
- Agard, John. *Mangoes & Bullets: Selected and New Poems, 1972-84*. London: Serpent's Tail. 1990.
- . *Man to Pan: A Cycle of Poems to Be Performed with Drums and Steelpans*. La Habana: Ediciones de las Américas. 1982.
- Kincaid, Jamaica. 1978-1983. *At the Bottom of the River*. New York: Plume. 1992.
- . 1983. *Annie John*. New York: Plume. 1985.
- . *A Small Place*. New York: Farrar, Straus, & Giroux. 1988.
- . 1990. *Lucy*. New York: Plume. 1991.
- . 1996. *The Autobiography of My Mother*. New York: Plume. 1997.
- Glissant, Édouard. 1981. *Le Discours Antillais / Caribbean Discourse: Selected Essays*. Trans. J. Michael Dash. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1989.
- . 1990. *Poétique de la relation / Poetics of Relation*. Trans. Betsy Wing. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1997.
- Walcott, Derek. *What the Twilight Says*. New York: Farrar, Straus, & Giroux. 1998.
- . *Collected Poems: 1948-1984*. New York: Farrar, Straus, & Giroux. 1986.

- Cliff, Michelle. 1984. *Abeng*. New York: Plume. 1995.
 ---. *No Telephone to Heaven*. New York: E.P. Dutton. 1987.
 ---. *Free Enterprise*. New York: Plume. 1993.
- Gilroy, Beryl. *Frangipani House*. London; Portsmouth, N.H., USA: Heinemann. 1986.
 ----. *Boy-Sandwich*. Oxford; Portsmouth, N.H., USA: Heinemann. 1989.
- Philip, Marlene Nourbese. 1988. *She Tries Her Tongue, Her Silence Softly Breaks*. Charlottetown: Ragweed Press. 1989.
- Condé, Maryse. 1989. *Traversée de la mangrove / Crossing the Mangrove*. Trans. Richard Philcox. New York: Anchor Books. 1995.
- Brober, Erna. 1994. *Louisiana*. University Press of Mississippi. 1997.
- Danticat, Edwidge. *Breath, Eyes, Memory*. New York: Vintage Books. 1994.

Secondary Texts:

I. Critical Approaches to Globalization, Tourism/Militarism, Historiography, Imperialism, & Empire

- Amin, Samir. *Eurocentrism*. New York: Monthly Review Press. 1989.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso. 1983; 1991.
- Appadurai, Arjun. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1996.
- Arendt, Hannah. 1951. "Imperialism." *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. San Diego, NY, & London: Harcourt Inc.
- Balibar, Etienne. *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*. London: Verso. 1991.
 [selections]
- Benjamin, Walter. "Theses on the Philosophy of History." *Illuminations*. New York: Schocken Books. 1969.
- Clifford, James. *Routes: Travel & Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1997.

- Condé Nast Traveler: *Truth in Travel*. Editor in Chief, Thomas J. Wallace. March 2003.
- Davis, Mike, Kelly Mayhew, and Jim Miller. *Under the Perfect Sun: The San Diego Tourists Never See*. New York: The New Press. 2003.
- Enloe, Cynthia. *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 2000.
- Frow, John. *Time & Commodity Culture: Essays in Cultural Theory & Postmodernity*. Oxford & New York: Clarendon Press. 1997.
- Frow, John, Tony Bennett, and Michael Emmison. *Accounting for Tastes: Australian Everyday Cultures*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. 1999.
- Fusco, Coco. "Hustling for Dollars: *Jineteras* in Cuba." *the bodies that were not ours*. New York & London: Routledge. 2001. 137-153.
- Gilroy, Paul. *Against Race: Imagining Political Culture beyond the Color Line*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP. 2000.
- Grewal, Inderpal. *Home and Harem: Nation, Gender, Empire, and the Cultures of Travel*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. 1996.
- Hardt, Michael and Antonio Negri. *Empire*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. 2000.
- Harvey, David. *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers. 1989,1993.
- . *Spaces of Hope*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 2000.
- . *The New Imperialism*. London: Oxford University Press. 2003.
- Honey, Martha. "Cuba: Growth of Tourism and Ecotourism During the "Special Period"." *Ecotourism and Sustainable Development: Who Owns Paradise?* Washington D.C.: Island Press. 1999.
- Iyer, Pico. *The Global Soul: Jet Lag, Shopping Malls, and the Search for Home*. New York: Vintage Books. 2000.
- . *Cuba and the Night, a Novel*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1995.
- . *Falling off the Map: Some Lonely Places of the World*. New York: Vintage. 1994.

- Jameson, Fredric. "Periodizing the 60s." *The Ideologies of Theory: Essays 1971-1986*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1988.
- . *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*. Durham: Duke University Press. 1991.
- . *A Singular Modernity*. London: Verso. 2002.
- Kaplan, Amy & Donald Pease, Eds. *Cultures of United States Imperialism*. Durham & London: Duke University Press. 1993.
- Kempadoo, Kamala, Ed. *Sun, Sex, and Gold: Tourism and Sex Work in the Caribbean*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. 1999.
- . *Sexing the Caribbean: Gender, Race, and Sexual Labor*. New York & London: Routledge. 2004.
- Lenin, V.I. (1939) *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*. New York: International Publishers. 2002.
- Löfgren, Orvar. *On Holiday: A History of Vacationing*. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1999.
- Luxemburg, Rosa. *The Accumulation of Capital*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. 1951.
- MacCannel, Dean. *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1999.
- McClintock, Anne. *Imperial Leather: Race Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest*. New York: Routledge. 1995.
- Mies, Maria. *Patriarchy & Accumulation on a World Scale: Women in the International Division of Labor*. London & New York: Zed Books. 1986.
- Murphy, Gretchen. *Hemispheric Imaginings: The Monroe Doctrine and Narratives of U.S. Empire*. Durham: Duke University Press. 2005.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. Routledge: London. 1992.
- Stephanson, Anders. *Manifest Destiny: American Expansion and the Empire of Right*. New York: Hill & Wang. 1995.
- Urry, John. *The Tourist Gaze*. London: Sage Publications. 2002.

White, Hayden. *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth Century Europe*. Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press. 1973.
----. *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press. 1987.

Ziff, Larzer. *Return Passages: Great American Travel Writing, 1780-1910*. New Haven, C.T.: Yale University Press. 2000.

Zinn, Howard. *The People's History of the United States: 1492 to Present*. New York: Harper Perennial. 1995.

II. Caribbean & Latin American Literary, Cultural, and Historical Criticism

Anzaldúa, Gloria. *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*. Aunt Lute Books: San Francisco. 1987, 1999.

Benítez-Rojo, Antonio. *La isla que se repite: El Caribe y la perspectiva posmoderna*. Hanover, N.H.: Ediciones del Norte. 1989.

Browdy de Hernandez, Ed. *Women Writing Resistance: Essays on Latin America and the Caribbean*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press. 2003.

Canclini, Garcia. *Consumidores y ciudadanos: conflictos multiculturales de la globalización*. México, D.F.: Grijalbo. 1995. [selecciones]

----. *La globalización imaginada*. México: Paidós. 2000. [selecciones]

Chancy, Myriam J.A. *Framing Silence: Revolutionary Novels by Haitian Women*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1997.

Dash, J. Michael. *The Other America: Caribbean Literature in a New World Context*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1998.

De la Campa, Roman. *Latin Americanism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1999. [selections]

De La Fuente, Ajeandro. *A Nation for All: Race, Inequality, and Politics in Twentieth-Century Cuba*. Chapel Hill & London: The University of North Carolina Press. 2001.

Díaz-Quinones, Arcadio. *La memoria rota: ensayos sobre cultura y política*. San Juan, P.R.: Ediciones Huracán, Inc. 1993.

- Dussel, Enrique. *The Invention of the Americas: Eclipse of "the Other" and the Myth of Modernity*. New York: Continuum. 1995.
- Edmonson, Belinda. "Introduction: The Caribbean: Myths, Tropes, Discourses." *Caribbean Romances: The Politics of Regional Representation*. Belinda Edmonson, Ed. Charlottesville & London: University Press of Virginia. 1999. 1-11.
- . *Making Men: Gender, Literary Authority, and Women's Writing in Caribbean Narrative*. Durham & London: Duke University Press. 1999.
- Ferrer, Ada. *Insurgent Cuba: Race, Nation, and Revolution, 1868-1898*. Chapel Hill & London: The University of North Carolina Press. 1999.
- Fischer, Sibylle. *Modernity Disavowed: Haiti and the Cultures of Slavery in the Age of Revolution*. Durham & London: Duke University Press. 2004.
- Franco, Jean. *The Rise and Fall of the Lettered City: Latin America in the Cold War*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 2002.
- Gilroy, Paul. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 1993.
- Helg, Aline. *Our Rightful Share: The Afro-Cuban Struggle for Equality, 1886-1912*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1995.
- James, C.L.R. 1953. *Mariners, Renegades, & Castaways: The Story of Herman Melville and the World We Live In*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England. 2001.
- Knight, Franklin W. *The Caribbean: The Genesis of a Fragmented Nationalism*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1990.
- Kutzinski, Vera. *Sugar's Secrets: Race and the Erotics of Cuban Nationalism*. Charlottesville & London: University Press of Virginia. 1993.
- Luis, William. *Culture and Customs of Cuba*. Westport, CT & London: Greenwood Press. 2001.
- . *Literary Bondage: Slavery in Cuban Narrative*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1990.
- Mignolo, Walter. "Posoccidentalismo: las epistemologías fronterizas y el dilemma de los estudios (latinoamericanos) de áreas." *Revista Iberoamericano*. Vol. LXII, Núms. 176-177, Julio-Diciembre 1996: 679-696.

- . *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2000.
- Mintz, Sidney Wilfred and Sally Price, Eds. *Caribbean Contours*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1985.
- Mintz, Sidney Wilfred. *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History*. New York: Viking. 1985.
- . *From Plantations to Peasantries in the Caribbean*. Washington, D.C.: Latin American Program, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. 1984.
- . *Caribbean Transformations*. Chicago: Aldine Pub. Co. 1974.
- Moore, Robin D. *Nationalizing Blackness: Afrocubanismo and the Artistic Revolution in Havana, 1920-1940*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1997.
- Ortíz, Fernando. 1940. *Contrapunteo cubano del tabaco y el azúcar*. Madrid: Catedra: Musica Mundana Maqueda. 2002.
- Paquette, Robert L. *Sugar Is Made with Blood: The Conspiracy of La Escalera and the Conflict between Empires over Slavery in Cuba*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press. 1988.
- Patterson, Orlando. *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 1982.
- Puri, Shalini. *The Caribbean Postcolonial: Social Equality, Post-Nationalism, and Cultural Hybridity*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2004.
- Rama, Angel. *La ciudad letrada*. Hanover, N.H.: Ediciones del Norte. 1984. [selecciones]
- Reddock, Rhonda. "Feminism, Nationalism, and the Early Women's Movement in the English Speaking Caribbean (with Special Reference to Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago)." *Caribbean Women Writers: Essays from the First International Conference*. Selwyn R. Cudjoe, Ed. Wellesley, MA.: Calaloux Publications. 1990. 61-81.
- Rodney, Walter. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press. 1981.
- Saldívar, José David. *Border Matters: Remapping American Cultural Studies*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1997.

- Strachan, Ian G. *Paradise and Plantation: Tourism and Culture in the Anglophone Caribbean*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2002.
- Taussig, Michael. *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1980.
- Williams, Eric Eustace. 1944. *Capitalism & Slavery*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1994.
- . *From Columbus to Castro: The History of the Caribbean, 1492-1969*. New York: Harper & Row. 1971.

III. Postcolonial Theory & Criticism

- Ashcroft, Bill, et al. Eds. *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures*. London & New York: Routledge. 1989.
- Bhabha, Homi K., Ed. *Nation and Narration*. London & New York: Routledge. 1990.
- . *The Location of Culture*. London & New York: Routledge. 1994.
- Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies. *The Empire Strikes Back: Race and Racism in 70s Britain*. London: Hutchinson in association with the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham. 1982.
- Césaire, Aimé. *Discourse on Colonialism / Discours sur le colonialisme* (1955). New York: Monthly Review Press. 2000.
- Chakrabarty, Dipesh. "The Time of History and the Times of Gods." *The Politics of Culture in the Shadow of Capital*. Lisa Lowe & David Lloyd, Eds. Durham & London: Duke University Press. 1997. 35-60.
- . *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2000.
- Chatterjee, Partha. *Nationalist Thought in the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse?* London: Zed. 1986.
- . *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 1993.
- Dirlik, Arif. *The Postcolonial Aura: Third World Criticism in the Age of Global Capitalism*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. 1997.
- Fanon, Frantz. *Black Skin, White Masks / Peau Noire, Masques Blancs* (1952). New York: Grove Press. 1967.

- . *A Dying Colonialism / L'An Cinq, de la Révolution Algérienne* (1959). New York: Grove Press. 1965.
- . *The Wretched of the Earth / Les damnés de la terre* (1961). New York: Grove Press. 1963.
- George, Rosemary Marangoly. *The Politics of Home: Postcolonial Relocations and Twentieth-Century Fiction*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1999.
- JanMohamed, Abdul R. and David Lloyd. *The Nature and Context of Minority Discourse*. New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1990.
- Mbembé, Achille. *On the Postcolony / Notes provisoires sur la postcolonie*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 2001.
- McClintock. "The Angel of Progress: Pitfalls of the Term 'Postcolonialism'" *Postcolonialism: Critical Concepts in Literary and Cultural Studies, Volume I*. Diana Brydon, Ed. New York & London: Routledge. 2000.
- Memmi, Albert. *The Colonizer and the Colonized / Portrait du colonisé*. New York: Orion Press. 1965.
- Ngugi wa Thiong'o. *Decolonizing the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature*. London: J. Currey; Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann. 1986.
- Pandey, Gyanendra. "Voices from the Edge: The Struggle to Write Subaltern Histories." *Mapping Subaltern Studies and the Postcolonial*. Vinayak Chaturvedi, Ed. London: Verso. 2000.
- Prakash, Gyan. "Writing Post-Orientalist Histories of the Third World: Perspectives from Indian Historiography." *Mapping Subaltern Studies and the Postcolonial*. Vinayak Chaturvedi, Ed. London: Verso. 2000.
- Rushdie, Salman. *Imaginary Homelands*. New York: Penguin Books. 1991.
- Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books. 1978.
- . *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Vintage Books. 1993.
- Shohat. "Notes on the Postcolonial." *The Pre-Occupation of Postcolonial Studies*. Fawzia Afzal-Khan and Kalpana Seshadri-Crooks, Eds. Durham & London: Duke University Press. 2000.
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. *In Other Worlds*. New York & London: Routledge. 1988.

- . *The Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues*. Sarah Harasym, Ed. New York & London: Routledge. 1990.
- . *Outside in the Teaching Machine*. New York: Routledge. 1993.
- . *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 1999.

IV. Critical Approaches to US Literary West & Pacific Regionalisms

- Carter, Paul. *The Road to Botany Bay: An Exploration of Landscape and History*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1987.
- Connery, Chris. "Ideologies of Land and Sea: Alfred Thayer Mahan, Carl Schmitt, and the Shaping of Global Myth Elements." *boundary 2* 28:2 Duke University Press. 2001.
- . "The Oceanic Feeling and the Regional Imaginary." *Global/Local: Cultural Production and the Transnational Imaginary*. Ed. Rob Wilson and Wimal Dissanayake. Durham: Duke University Press. 1996.
- . "Pacific Rim Discourse: The US Global Imaginary in the Late Cold War Years." *Asia/Pacific as Space of Cultural Production*. Ed. Rob Wilson and Arif Dirlik. Durham & London: Duke University Press. 1995.
- Didion, Joan. *Where I Was From*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 2003.
- Deleuze, Gilles. "On the Superiority of Anglo-American Literature." *Dialogues*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1987.
- DeLoughrey, Elizabeth M. *Routes and Roots: Navigating Caribbean and Pacific Island Literatures*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007.
- Dirlik, Arif. *What is in a Rim? Critical Perspectives on the Pacific Region Idea*. Ed. Arif Dirlik. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 1998.
- Eperjesi, John. *The Imperialist Imaginary: Visions of Asia and the Pacific in American Culture*. Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England. 2005.
- Everson, William. *Archetype West: The Pacific Coast as a Literary Region*. Berkeley: Oyez. 1976.
- Hau'ofa, Epeli. "Our Sea of Islands." *Asia/Pacific as Space of Cultural Production*. Ed. Rob Wilson and Arif Dirlik. Durham & London: Duke University Press. 1995. 86-98.
- Kaplan, Amy. "Nation, Region, Empire." *The Columbia History of the American Novel*. ed. Emory Elliott. New York: Columbia University Press. 1991.

- McPhee, John. *Assembling California*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux. 1993.
 ----. *Basin and Range*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux. 1980.
- McWilliams, Carey. *California, The Great Exception*. New York: Current Books. 1949.
- Smith, Henry Nash. *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. 1950.
- Sundquist, Eric J. "Realism and Regionalism." *Columbia Literary History of the United States*. Ed. Emory Elliott. New York: Columbia University Press. 1988.
- Tadiar, Neferti. "Sexual Economies in the Asia-Pacific Community." *What is in a Rim? Critical Perspectives on the Pacific Region Idea*. Ed. Arif Dirlik. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 1998. 219-248.
 ----. *Fantasy-Production: Sexual Economies and Other Philippine Consequences for the New World Order*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press. 2004.
- Takaki, Ronald. *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawai'i*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 1983.
- Teaiwa, Teresia K. "L(o)osing the Edge." *The Contemporary Pacific*. Volume 13, Number 2, Fall 2001, 343-357. University of Hawai'i Press.
 ----. "bikinis and other s/pacific n/oceans." *The Contemporary Pacific*. Volume 6, Number 1, Spring 1994, 87-109. University of Hawai'i Press.
- Wendt, Albert. Ed. *Nuanua: Pacific Writing in English since 1980*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 1995.
- Wilson, Rob. *Reimagining the American Pacific: From South Pacific to Bamboo Ridge and Beyond*. Durham & London: Duke University Press. 2000.
- Wilson, Rob, and Arif Dirlik. *Asia/Pacific as Space of Cultural Production*. Ed. Rob Wilson and Arif Dirlik. Durham & London: Duke University Press. 1995. 1-14.
- Wood, Houston. "Cultural Studies for Oceania." *The Contemporary Pacific*. Volume 15, Number 2, 2003, 340-374.