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Crossroads in American Studies

Transnational and Biocultural Encounters

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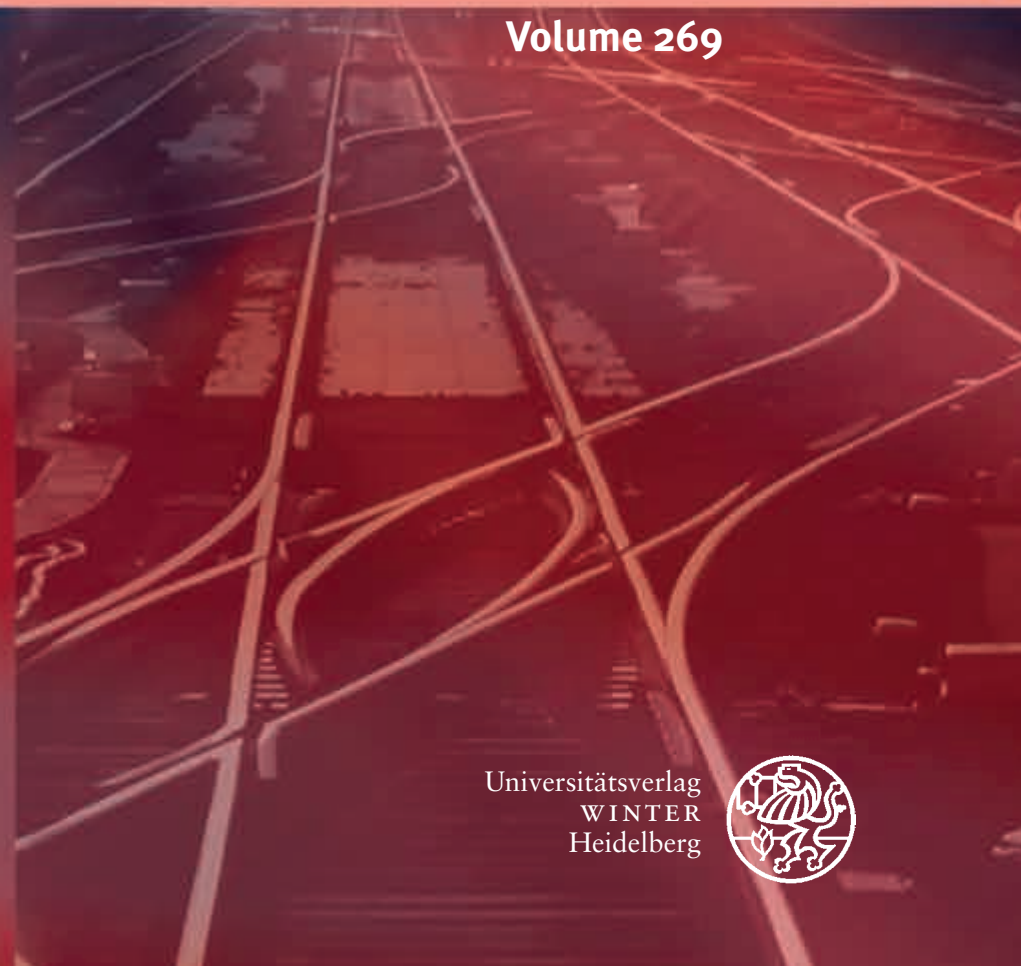

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Crossroads in American Studies

Transnational
and Biocultural Encounters

Essays in Honor
of RÜDIGER KUNOW

Edited by
FREDERIKE OFFIZIER
MARC PRIEWE
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FREDERIKE OFFIZIER, MARC PRIEWE & ARIANE SCHRÖDER

Introduction

> "Nur wenn, was ist, sich ändern läßt, ist das, was ist, nicht alles."
> – Theodor Adorno

Since its inception in the 1930s, the field of American studies has undergone a number of changes in research paradigms, theoretical approaches, and methodologies. Especially from the 1970s onward, scholars have challenged the formalist Myth-and-Symbol School by introducing new areas of inquiry and novel ways of analyzing and interpreting a broadening scope of texts and cultural phenomena. Subsequently, scholars have generated, followed, and criticized a number of at times overlapping "turns," among them the visual turn, the performative turn, the spatial turn, the postnationalist turn, the transnational turn, the biocultural turn, the hemispheric turn, and others.

The present volume seeks to explore two major turns that remain crucial perspectives on American literature and culture to this day: the transnational turn and the biocultural turn. This choice of perspective is not only energized by the topical and critical importance of the transnational and the biocultural for understanding recent developments in U.S. culture, but also by the contributions to the two "turns" by the German American studies scholar Rüdiger Kunow. This book aims to honor his work by assembling scholarly essays that relate to research areas Kunow has helped to shape in the past twenty years.[1] While his own work in the 1980s and early 1990s focused primarily on intersections between history and fiction, he has continuously opened up new fields of investigation and modes of inquiry in (German) American studies. Among the

[1] We would like to thank Veronika Hofstätter, Andy Lindemann, Sebastian Mühleis, Sonja Palmer, and Raphael Wohlfahrt for helping us in the editorial process.

most influential ones in this respect are what we will refer to as "transnational encounters" and "biocultural encounters," which we want to introduce in the following.[2]

Since the early 1990s, one of the main propositions put forth by practitioners of transnational American studies has been that the United States is becoming disunited culturally, politically, and socially in the wake of contemporary globalization and immigration. The alleged decline of the nation-state is, according to many "new" Americanists, mainly caused by multinational corporations that degrade the state to the role of managing a globalized economy, which in turn demands the permeability of borders for the circulation of commodities and capital. These challenges to the traditional nation-state imposed by globalization are increased by diasporas and transnational migrations. In response, Americanists have employed interdisciplinary research methodologies and approaches from cultural studies, postcolonial studies, border and critical race theory as well as transnational feminist and queer studies in order to emphasize how cultural and literary articulations have either tied in with, or criticized, socio-political ideologies and practices both inside and outside the United States.

The term "transnational" derives part of its critical currency from attempting to render visible the spanning of cultural patterns across and between nations. Kunow's contributions to transnational studies have focused primarily on questions of cultural mobility in which the notion of nationally contained and stable cultures is challenged. He first approached these questions in a sustained way when analyzing the work of Salman Rushdie. Based on his interest in the intersections between American and postcolonial literatures he investigates Rushdie's shift

[2] Althusser's proposed "materialism of the encounter" as both a political agenda and a philosophical concept aimed at making visible suppressed ideas, identities and representations. A number of Kunow's contributions to transnational American studies have been indebted to, and geared toward, a materialist analysis of relationships of power engrained in cultural and literary productions. As his work on mobility and disease shows especially vividly, Althusser's emphasis on the arbitrary and contingent nature of political processes can be made fruitful for critical analysis because literary and cultural productions often illustrate and rehearse possibilities of change that cannot yet be envisioned or which may seem utopian (Althusser 163-207).

from a diasporic to a cosmopolitan focus, claiming that his "critical and fictional writings are essentially about maintaining relations with spatially scattered locations" that increasingly include the United States (Kunow, "Architect" 371). Kunow enters the debate on Rushdie's move from the "margin to the center," from the "colonial periphery" (India) to the "nodal points of global capitalism" (London & New York), by showing the increasing site-lessness and cosmopolitan pluralism in and of Rushdie's work ("Detached"). In Kunow's other publications on subcontinental Indian diasporas in the United States, he further shows how the transnational is a salient concept for understanding cultural flows and encounters at various temporal and spatial moments. His analysis of diasporic literature and culture draws attention to the manifold ways in which the U.S. are related to other parts of the globe and how discrepant cultural localities and temporalities have intersected within its territorial boundaries ("Körper im Transit").

Kunow has both welcomed and criticized the transnational turn in American studies. He and others have repeatedly pointed out that the focus on transnational aspects of U.S. history, politics or literature may cause scholars to lose sight of more traditional objects of study related to the "core" of U.S. culture. If research itineraries continue to conceive of American culture as being primarily constituted by and from its margins, then other dynamics and trajectories might be in danger of being neglected. Perhaps the most important point of critique is that transnational cultural articulations, and the study thereof, may be too close for comfort and thus complicit with the dominant economic forces and political interests underlying contemporary processes of globalization. If American studies do not want to fall prey to the discourse and praxis of multinational corporations, for whom diversity seems to be the fuel needed to run their global production and marketing engines, scholars need to scrutinize the intersections and means of appropriation between transnationalism "from above" and "from below." Kunow and others have hence urged "new" Americanists to consistently confront and pursue the implications of cultural objects and practices in worldwide economic and political dynamics.

In order to further conceptualize the transnational, Kunow has presented a number of articles and books that focus specifically on phenomena of mobility. As a critical position, "mobility" opens up a range of analytic possibilities for studying American voices that articulate

different national origins and cultural heritages. He sharpens his approach to "cultures in and of mobility" by identifying sites that produce, and are produced by, the movement of people, ideas, and goods. Instead of conceiving a temporal or merely national approach to questions of mobility, he exemplifies a method for practicing transnational American studies by choosing *constellations* of mobility, which he lists and conceptualizes in alphabetical and non-hierarchical order: airplane/airport, arrival, bodies, borders, citation, contagion, and (cultural) copyright. While this literal "ABC of mobility," as Kunow points out, needs to be extended, it offers suggestions for further research of specific instances of cultural encounters in and through mobility at various historic moments and geographic locales. The demarcation of these and other transnational sites of mobility is primarily motivated by a desire to unearth the political and economic power relations in and of these constellations. With a nod to Althusser, Kunow's "ABC of mobility" stresses relations over the related elements and thus offers a critique of Homi Bhabha's notion of hybridity. Rather than conceiving cultural mobility as a singularly positive force in the development of humanity, Kunow asks us to focus on "processes of mediation, conflict, or incompatibility as they unfold" in various encounters with Otherness ("ABC" 349).[3]

Kunow's interest in notions of conflict and incompatibility has led him to further ponder the figure of the stranger and the concept of hospitality in American literature and culture. This required a pinpointing of the arguments presented in his earlier investigations of cultural mobility. Kunow maintains that the stranger forces societies to re-think questions of arrival, hospitality, and recognition that seem especially timely and pertinent with regard to increasing global flows of refugees and asylum seekers and their reception in Europe and the United States. This time, Kunow ends on a rather hopeful note, claiming that strangers

[3] In another take on cultural mobility Kunow adds more key terms to his ABC of mobility including mission, panic and risk ("American Studies as Mobility Studies"). After identifying and demarcating relational sites of mobility, he focuses more specifically on the mobilization of culture(s) through Christian missionary work since the nineteenth century, especially in the "global South," which marks an early instance of "the *trafficking* of cultures" ("Going Native" n.pag.). Other extended investigations into selected mobility constellations can be found in Kunow, "Enigma of Arrival" and "Stranger."

(i.e., migrants, travelers) are indeed "capable, at least potentially, of subverting the stable and predictable structures of everyday life and bringing about fresh and ground-breaking ones in an increasingly connected, yet also sharply divided world" ("Unavoidably" 30).

The field of transnational American studies is not only concerned with investigating literary and cultural articulations that transcend the nation, it also asks scholars from the United States and from other parts of the world to co-operate and to encounter each other's works. Outside views on America, although slow in receiving recognition in the United States, aid in decentering the hierarchy between U.S.-based Americanists and those residing in other countries by turning a mostly unilateral relationship into a more democratic, multilateral, and dialogic affair.[4] Rüdiger Kunow has been both a beneficiary and an active supporter of the practiced dialogism in transnational American studies since its inception. This *Festschrift* aims to continue the web of relations and conversations which he has helped initiate by bringing together a group of scholars with whom the honoree has collaborated on various projects and topics. *Crossroads in American Studies* opens with a focus on Transpacific studies, which mark a recent shift of scholarly interest also in the field of American studies. JOHN CARLOS ROWE outlines how investigations of Transpacific politics, histories, and cultures aid in our further understanding of American imperialism in this part of the globe. Such a scholarly "opening" of the Transpacific necessitates, Rowe argues, a combination of postcolonial and American studies approaches in order to counter practices and discourses of colonization and imperialism in the area. This interdisciplinary approach is further developed by ANJA SCHWARZ and LARS ECKSTEIN, whose contribution focuses on the role of maps and map-making in the colonization of parts of the Pacific region by the British Empire. As the authors illustrate, maps were crucial tools in producing and maintaining hierarchies and establishing relations to the Other, and at the same time, have allowed the Other to introduce alternative worldviews and epistemologies into Western discourses.

[4] In her by now seminal presidential address to the American Studies Association in 2014, Shelley Fisher-Fishkin cites works by German Americanists, among them Rüdiger Kunow, as examples of the fruitful and valuable research generated outside of the United States (34).

Shifting thematically from the Pacific region to the Asian mainland, ALFRED HORNUNG investigates the role of religious and secular inscriptions on the landscape in Tibetan culture. Focusing on the notion of transcultural life-writing, Hornung claims that Tibetan culture is appropriated by Chinese cultural diplomacy in an effort to present a specific version of the region to Western audiences. MITA BANERJEE takes up Rüdiger Kunow's interest in contemporary Indian literature and culture and their relations to forces of colonialism and imperialism by criticizing the cosmopolitan elitism put forth in Mira Nair's film *Monsoon Wedding*. She argues that the film hints at the centrality of language in the negotiation of cultural power in transnational encounters and then claims that a(ny) postcolonial reading of literary and cultural texts needs to (re)incorporate questions of class. In a similar vein, LISELOTTE GLAGE investigates the Anglophone Indian writer Shashi Deshpande, claiming that her novels ask pressing questions about the state of Indian modernity in the wake of British colonization. Deshpande's novels hence draw attention to differential temporalities of "tradition" and "modernity" that constitute the processuality of contemporary Indian culture(s). BERND-PETER LANGE addresses India's national poet Rabindrath Tagore and his literary legacy by analyzing how and why he, after receiving great acclaim during the 1910s and 20s, has now been virtually obliterated from collective Western memory. Furthermore, he shows how the poet remains a presence (although often an "absent present") in the contemporary literature of the South Asian diaspora.

NORBERT FRANZ approaches notions of encounter and the transnational from a Slavic Studies perspective. He complements the widely studied antagonism of the two sides of the Cold War by focusing on how American food (production) was received in the early and late Soviet Union. ERINA DUGANNE shifts the focus of this volume to Germany by investigating the transnational appropriation of Native American-ness by non-Native Germans. She analyzes photographs of German Indian hobbyists from the 1990s as perpetuations of, and challenges to, long-standing stereotypes of American Indians. GESA MACKENTHUN approaches Native American cultures from a historical and political angle. Looking at Pleistocene scholarship, she claims that Western science has hitherto bypassed a full-fledged incorporation of epistemologies from non-Western cultures. In addition, she argues that indigenous traditions, such as orality or conceptions of time, can help challenge and

revise the grand narratives of Euroamerican colonialism (relying on telos and providence), thus fostering a de-colonization of scholarly endeavors.

JOSEF RAAB's contribution reminds us of the importance of hemispheric approaches, which still remain relatively neglected in comparison to the Transatlantic relations researched intensively in American studies projects. Citing a number of examples from North and South America, he illustrates the validity and usefulness of a hemispherically informed transnational American studies approach. Such a hemispheric perspective is also taken and further theorized by JULIA ROTH, who calls for more decolonial, gendered perspectives in American studies as a means of highlighting questions of oppression and epistemology. She calls for a continuation of dialogues between artists and scholars from the Americas in a de-hierachized relationship. ANTONIA MEHNERT criticizes dominant notions of hybridity and "third space" in postcolonial studies by rehearsing their applicability to U.S.-Caribbean fiction. Using Junot Díaz's novel *Drown* (1996) as a case in point, Mehnert stresses the painful undersides and discontents of celebratory readings of postcolonial, diasporic, and transnational settings. A similar focus on hemispheric cultural relations and on the hidden, disavowed, and unheard in literary and cultural articulations is pursued by KEVIN CONCANNON. He asserts that Nella Larsen's Harlem Renaissance novel *Passing* is especially instructive for scholars working in transnational studies, because it shows the plurality of voices and positions (both aesthetic and political) that make up the nation.

Up to this point the essays collected in this *Festschrift* illustrate, to varying degrees, how areal and regional lenses help us to understand further the global presence and influence of U.S.-American literature and culture. DIRK WIEMANN's contribution tackles the planetary appeal and reach of the signifier "America" in and through literary texts by exploring the at times contested debates about the role of American literature in previous and current canon formations labeled "world literature."

While still writing and researching within the transnational paradigm, Kunow turned to further vantage points that challenged and expanded the perspective of *the trans*. In a conceptual essay on American studies and illness published in 2009, for instance, he picks the term "transmis-

sion" from his extended ABC of cultural mobility and provides a number of examples that illustrate the significance of the body for literary and cultural studies ("In Sickness"). Focusing on the cultural impact of global pandemics, Kunow uses the biotic as a useful lens through which to further study the transnational. In doing so, he develops a stereoscopic view on disease and mobility that resonates with existing assumptions in American studies while at the same time transcending them and asking new questions. His main interest in "biotic mobility" lies in analyzing the signifying practices it induces, how it is culturally performed, and what economic relations it is prone to. With a keen eye on literary representations of viruses and epidemics, Kunow enforces his argument that "the arena of the trans can no longer be conceived as simply the space of opportunity; it is always also the realm of hazards, risks incurred in transmission" ("In Sickness" 33). On the one hand, the threats of contagion force members of "risk societies" (Beck) to come to terms with the increasing dissolution of the local/global divide and the loss of territorial certainties that transnational flows produce. On the other, "risks incurred in transmission" make it necessary for American studies to consider even more closely the individual body, the "theater on which transnational processes of the transmission and exchange of biotic material unfold" ("In Sickness" 33).

This insistence on the body and the biological as vantage point for analyzing literary and cultural phenomena is for Kunow thus deeply connected to the interplay of the material and the immaterial, and to the relationality of individual (bodies) and groups or communities, as many of the aforementioned constellations of mobility show. Following this broadening and re-evaluating of the transnational paradigm, the articles in the "Intermission" of this volume introduce spaces of encounter, both in the literal sense of mobility, as well as in the sense of the encounter of Self and Other, the city, faith and religion, and the social body. They take different approaches to "encounter" that emphasize re-focalizations of and on the body from different perspectives. In doing so, the intermission forms a bridge to the final section on "Biocultural Encounters," introducing alternative ways of knowing and understanding cultural processes, which Kunow deems crucial for the current attempts to reconceptionalize identity and community formation outside of imperial and hegemonic predeterminations.

KLAUS LÖSCH and HEIKE PAUL propose to combine the traditional research paradigm of Self and Other, which is a central mobility constellation in transnational studies, with tacit knowledge as another or more visceral way of knowing. In their study of the conceptual relationship between "presence" and "alterity" they illuminate how the former used by a collective often relies on tacit knowledge in order to subjugate individuals associated with the latter. Providing a thematic shift from identity to space, JULIA FOULKES turns to *the* paradigmatic locus of transnational studies – the city – to offer a fresh perspective that centers on performance studies and dance. Drawing on the work of Lewis Mumford and Sharon Zukin she understands places like New York, Berlin or Antwerp as "culture cities" where space and movement become interconnected.

JAN AN HAACK's contribution connects Kunow's interests in transnational phenomena and the study of religion. By analyzing the "success story" of U.S. evangelical proselytization with Sara Ahmed's theory of an "affective economy," an Haack formulates an alternative theory to a general "return to religion" or concepts of "World Christianity." He stresses the corporate structure of missions and the implementation of neoliberal business strategies that transform faith into a consumable commodity. STEPHANIE SIEWERT offers another vantage point for the use of affect theory by focusing on the community-building force of emotions, specifically what she describes as an "affective double bind" between the fear of masses and the masses' fear in the early American Republic. She discusses the inherent ambiguity of the social body: on the one hand, its "mobility and mutability" provide the basis for democracy, on the Other, its sheer presence can also instill a fear of chaos and terror.

These directions of tacit knowledge, performance, and affect studies gesture toward a more narrow focus on the body as simultaneously actor and site of transnational flows, both in terms of material and immaterial encounters. This understanding of "the human body as a theater" ("In Sickness" 33) has led Kunow's own research to re-focalize the biological itself – not just as a lens but as an object and subject of study.

Already in "Epidemie als Signifikation" (2003) Kunow addressed the humanitarian crisis of HIV/AIDS and how it pertained to the body. As for many scholars that co-authored the "biocultural turn" (Paula Treich-

ler and Susan Sontag among many others) the AIDS epidemic of the 1980s and 90s marked a key phenomenon that emphasized a shift of American culture and American studies toward the cultural construction and representation of illness. This vantage point became one of Kunow's "trademarks," which enabled him to persistently emphasize the importance of a literary and cultural studies perspective in an apprehensive discussion of biocultural phenomena. The third section of *Crossroads in American Studies* is therefore dedicated to the study of "Biocultural Encounters" which Priscilla Wald recognizes as "an increasing turn in American studies from the familiar grounding terms of the citizen and the nation to the human and networks" ("American Studies" 186) in her presidential address to the ASA in 2009.

"The Biocultures Manifesto" (2007) by Davis and Morris is often cited as the starting point of the discussion that promoted the study of biological phenomena from a literary and cultural studies perspective under the umbrella term of biocultural studies. The authors championed this name because of its more inclusive reach in contrast to denominations such as "bioethics, or disability studies, or science studies, or medical humanities" (Davis & Morris 413).[5] In their manifesto they contend that "the biological without the cultural, or the cultural without the biological, is doomed to be reductionist at best and inaccurate at worst" (411). And with this intervention they attempt to challenge the by now proverbial "Two Culture" paradigm of the sciences and humanities (C.P. Snow). This perspective on the intersections of biology and culture has become crucial to the study and understanding of life, identity, and subjectivity and has since been developed further, describing an established field and a research perspective that is integrated into a wide array of disciplinary practices.

Scholars like Thomas Cole, Rita Charon or Philipp Sarasin have time and again shown that the understanding of the biological constitution of the human has always relied on cultural constructs, and that all bioscientific research generally is based on "cultural translation" to be socially significant and forceful. But as Kunow himself puts it: "I want to do a bit more than begging the biocultural obvious and propose that

[5] An initial conviction which was revived in a 2013 MLA panel, where Lennard J. Davis, Kathleen Woodward, Michael Bérubé, Rüdiger Kunow, and Jane Gallop discussed connections between theories of age and disability as an "intervention to mitigate ableism and ageism" (MLA 2013).

we need a cultural critique of the overall *biologization* of the human body in U.S. culture" ("Biology of Community" 280). Focusing on the triangulation of biology, culture, and society he turns to the normativity of medical and scientific discourses (Katz, Canguilhem, Foucault, Sarasin) emphasizing the "significant and signifying" characteristic of the biological (Kunow, "In Sickness" 25).

Using disease as a prism that makes power structures and processes of defining Self and Other visible, Kunow emphasizes the epistemic violence contained in the culturally determined "outbreak narratives" (Wald, *Contagious*). They can be found in the diverse discursive formations from "epidemic entertainments" (Tomes) to factual communications of the WHO or the interpretation of disease statistics. The construction of individual and collective identities, as well as processes of inclusion and exclusion, are now focalized through medicalization. With the concept of the dialectics of externalization and internalization, derived from Frederic Jameson's *Hegel Variations,* Kunow attempts to capture the key constellation in cultural studies also in a biocultural sense: the Self and the Other. More specifically he turns to "the *problem of living-with-others*" in what he calls "biological cohabitation" ("Biology of Community" 269). And since disease cannot be understood as purely biological, the focus on the cultural meaning in describing these cohabitations also epitomizes struggles and negotiations of the national imaginary self.

What remains the connecting link between Kunow's various fields of research is his commitment to the necessity and importance of the public space – both theoretically and ethically – as a place of negotiation that can enable the insertion of life, especially in its most endangered forms ("City of Germs" 187). Kunow understands this interjection of the precarious as especially threatened by the all-encompassing adoption of neoliberal logics that continuously erode all forms of social welfare. Furthermore, biotechnological advances and their consequences are entrenched in these developments limiting the space of negotiation to expert debate in which human life is frequently reduced to "human capital" ("Biology of Community" 275). Based on these logics of efficiency, individuals are held accountable not only for their life choices but also for their overall health and bodily performance, turning life narratives into what Kunow has termed "*biographies of culpability*"

("Biology of Community" 278).[6] One of the groups that is most damagingly affected by these "new" structures of identity constructions are the aged, who appear overdetermined and silenced at the same time. It is therefore no coincidence that Kunow has predominantly both analyzed and criticized the precariousness that "old" people encounter across the globe.

Age studies are not an entirely new area of inquiry in the humanities per se, but exist, especially as humanistic gerontology already since the 1980s. Margaret Morganroth Gullette's work on aging has been seminal in addressing the clear disparity between the over-determination of the meaning of old age on the one hand, and the lack of agency and voice of the aged on the other. Her focus on the "master narrative of aging" reads the representations of aging in literature and culture as an attempt to overwrite this culturally produced invisibility (Gullette, "Other End"). To dismantle the "regime of decline," which naturalizes a normative narrative of aging is precisely what Kunow hopes an American studies perspective can provide (Gullette, "Ageism and Social Change"). "Senescence," he argues, "lies at the crossroads of many discourses in America about gender, race, and class, but also about the body, politics, and the civic status of people in need" ("Chronologically" 39). While many scholars like Gullette, Kathleen Woodward or Thomas Cole have broadened the perspective on aging in the United States, a cultural studies approach still remains comparatively underrepresented. Rüdiger Kunow's scholarly work has decisively influenced Aging studies in the German American studies landscape, which he represents internationally as a founding member of the European Network in Aging Studies (ENAS).

As editors of the *Amerikastudien/American Studies* volume on "Age Studies" (2011) Kunow and Heike Hartung emphasize the cultural presence of old age and attempt to challenge the cultural understanding of age as lack and decline. In a culture (and cultural studies perspective) that is focused on or even obsessed with youth, Kunow "recalibrates" the looking glass to a "coming of age" as growing old, attempting to counter what he calls our "cultural illiteracy about aging" ("Coming of Age" 295). In his publications he stresses the relationality of the cultur-

[6] Kunow proposes to see this as the "Weberian inner-worldly asceticism" or the "biomedicalization of the Puritan work ethic" ("Biology of Community" 277).

ally constructed age identity as "intensely personal *and* collective, physical *and* cultural" ("Introduction" 16). Kunow therefore adds to Gullette's concept of being "aged by culture" the inevitable relationality, which he recognizes in the construction of elderhood "not as the property of individuals but as a *relation* between people" ("Chronologically" 24). Thus, age does not represent an essential category but another intersectionality that needs to be studied as such. Kunow makes clear, however, that though similar to race, class, and gender, age needs to be conceptualized differently because of the temporality that characterizes it – it is a "difference that time makes" ("Coming of Age" 295). The teleology contained in age representations, Kunow contends, describes an "impossible object" that is always on the move/a moving target, both ontologically as well as in its experience ("Coming of Age" 306).

In this conceptualization of age and the aging as "impossible objects" for critical cultural studies Kunow formulates a double bind (and hope). Though emphasizing consistently the construction of age, he does not do so in terms of cultural constructivism, which in his understanding obliterates the reality of corporeality and experience. Instead, he approaches it from a critical materialist perspective:

> To deal with age in terms of such resistance to theory does not constitute a plea for a return to an essentialized understanding of age or the body; it is a plea rather to reconsider our understanding of the body's susceptibility to endless semiosis, to redefine the relationship between the semiotic and the somatic. Everything may be constructed, but construction is not everything. It is in this sense that the "Coming of Age" contains a possible moment of exposure, perhaps also excitement, for a self-reflexive, critical Cultural Studies. ("Coming of Age" 307)

This reciprocity between research object and disciplinary development does not only refer to his own field of American studies but is always focused on interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary conversation in which cultural studies has its necessary place. It is Kunow's conviction that the humanities could and should provide "new ways of describing and theorizing what has been repressed and submerged in the master narrative of aging in our culture" ("Coming of Age" 304); ways that are urgently needed in a field dominated by biomedical and neoliberal discourses ("Old Age and Globalization" 300). The majority of contri-

butions to the section on biocultures pay tribute to this effort with a focus on age studies, while the concluding essay by Timothy Brennan broadens the perspective by offering a (reflective) metacritique of the role and current use of biocultures in contemporary cultural studies and critical theory.

The section opens with the "coming of age" of an American classic as HOLGER KERSTEN's article turns our attention to Mark Twain who offers an interesting corrective to common assumptions and social conventions about old age and the "publicly mandated age identity" ("Biology of Community" 273). The analysis of Twain's novels, travelogues, speeches, and letters emphasizes the desirability of youth, not so much in its physicality but rather in its spirit and provides a multifacetted and complex reading on this narrative of male aging. As a counterpoint, HEIKE HARTUNG's article on the spinster figure in detective fiction reminds us how differently men and women (still) age and are aged in "Western" culture. She argues that both the genre of detective fiction and ageism share an immediate link to the cultural cliché and social stereotyping that finds its combined embodiment in the character of the elderly unmarried woman. KORNELIA FREITAG's contribution connects the study of aging with that of transnationalism. Her analysis of narratives of aging in Ira Raja's anthology *Grey Areas* challenge Lawrence Cohen's claim that there is "*No Aging in India.*" She highlights the diverse understandings of "senile" in different national/cultural contexts. While objecting to a simple binary perspective on Indian vs. Western, Freitag instead stresses the intergenerational and relational meaning-making of aging.

PHILIPP KNEIS adds yet another intersectionality to the diverse processes of aging. By looking at examples from American Indian literature he addresses the representation of aging between cultures. Focusing on the concepts of age coding, exile, and survivance, Kneis aims at "illustrating key concerns within humanistic gerontology" for different American Indian national identities. ULLA KRIEBERNEGG provides a compelling and useful addition to the field of age studies through her analysis of its paradigmatic locus: the contemporary retirement home. By applying Foucault's "heterotopia of deviation" and Goffman's concept of the "total institution," Kriebernegg shows how the home's spatial dimension affects both the identity construction and life narrative of its elderly population. Turning from the present to the future, ROY

GOLDBLATT's analysis of Gary Shteyngart's novel *Super Sad True Love Story* illustrates the construction of old age in a culture obsessed with youth and eternal life. Using Shteyngart's dystopian world of ageist discrimination and marginalization Goldblatt shows how "indefinite life extension" can be read as the "new" American Dream that is bound to fail. His contribution concludes the thematic focus on aging and expands the discussion to the broader perspective of the struggle for manageability and controllability of life.

With the last contribution by TIMOTHY BRENNAN, this volume leaves the study of aging by directing its gaze toward another aspect – posthumanism – that is also crucial for the study of biocultures. Brennan confronts the supposed crisis of the humanities as a discipline and the relationship of meaning making in science and culture. From a metacritical perspective he focuses on the critique of posthumanist theory and its representative scholars. He foregrounds how the core assumptions of posthumanism stall human agency and subjectivity rather than liberating them – as is the self-proclaimed aim of post-humanist theorizing.

Brennan's closing paper shares a number of Rüdiger Kunow's current concerns and research interests as a materialist scholar. Kunow's analysis and critique still partake in and expose what he has described as the "phantasy of redemption at work in Cultural Studies" whose aim is to dismantle hidden oppressions, "the 'real pain' and suffering occasioned by EurAmerican modernity" (Kunow, "Postscript" 170). This "redemptive phantasy" is in his more recent publications increasingly coupled with a warning against the limited possibilities of public negotiation in a progressively neoliberal culture (Kunow, "Wertkörper"). Yet it is this possibility of public negotiation that Kunow emphasizes as a precondition for cultural and social transformation. And it is at this point, he argues, where the humanities and cultural critique are needed as an intervention that goes beyond the refrain, if not evergreen, of cultural constructivism.

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I. Transnational Encounters

JOHN CARLOS ROWE

Transpacific Studies and the Cultures of U.S. Imperialism

We have entered a new stage of scholarship of what was previously designated "the Pacific Rim," even though the precise boundaries of the region remain as contested as ever. In my view, this new stage can be characterized as predominantly postcolonial, in which interests revolve around efforts by formerly colonized states to achieve cultural, economic, and political sovereignty in their relation to the Pacific region both as a geographical site and as a series of commercial, military, and cultural routes. Despite the familiar criticism of postcolonial studies as "presentist," we know that the best work in postcolonial studies never forgets the imperial legacies so many have worked to overcome. The academic field itself is tied profoundly to these anti-colonial struggles, even when it is critical of specific postcolonial state formations in which the imperial heritage is still operative.

Area studies' specialists in the Pacific have done very substantial work on the diverse indigenous communities of this vast oceanic and insular region, as well as its contact zones with other oceans and seas and their bordering communities. Their archive is too vast to be summarized here, although I will try to include relevant scholars in what follows, but I want to acknowledge from the beginning that Pacific studies is usually post-colonial in its outlook. In many cases, scholarly investigations of the Pacific are closely connected with political and civil rights' movements led by native peoples in demographically and territorially small communities, further "minoritized" by the global interests of first-world powers, like the U.S., the People's Republic of China, Japan, and Russia. The recent turn in Pacific Studies toward the affirmation of indigenous and other local communities strengthened by their histories of resisting imperialism is evident in such collections as *Inside Out: Literature, Cultural Politics and the New Pacific* and *Milita-*

rized Currents: Toward a Decolonized Future in Asia and the Pacific.[1] Rob Wilson's *Reimagining the American Pacific: From "South Pacific" to Bamboo Ridge and Beyond* (2000) focuses on both the imperial realities and postcolonial utopia other scholars identify with the "new Pacific," and such work is complemented by Keith Camacho's recent *Cultures of Commemoration: The Politics of War, Memory and History in the Mariana Islands* (2011). Scholar-activist poets like the Chamoru writer Craig Santos Perez have contributed to coalitions of political and cultural activists with poetry like his *From Unincorporated Territory* and spoken-word performances on Guahan (Guam) and elsewhere in the Pacific, Asia, and the U.S.

These scholars are just a few of the many working today at the intersections of Asian, Pacific, Postcolonial, and Asian American studies and who remain attentive to the continuing effects of global imperialism in these regions. I cannot pretend to possess their expertise or to command these large, overlapping fields, but I do think much of their work has been marginalized in American studies, even the new American studies I strongly advocate for its hemispheric scope, its attention to the consequences of imperialist expansion, its respect for cultural and linguistic diversity, and its concern with transcultural and transnational relations. My effort in this essay, then, is to identify some of the ways in which the new American studies might more positively address the issues raised by the new Pacific and Asian studies. I recognize that my approach risks an incorporation of the work of such area studies of the Pacific into an enveloping American studies, which might itself be understood as cultural imperialism. But I think this risk is itself worthwhile if it will help us distinguish cultural inclusiveness and attention from neoimperialist appropriation. My goal, then, is to find ways for the new Pacific studies to influence the new American studies, as well as to identify some common concerns.

I want to offer my own understanding of how the term changes the scholarly study of U.S. imperialism. In addition to treating reductively a complex series of regions and routes in the Pacific, the term "Pacific Rim" employed a visual metaphor suggesting an emphasis of the "horizon" of East Asia. The Pacific Ocean and its diverse island cultures

[1] Edited by Vilson Hereniko, Rob Wilson, and Patricia Grace, as well as Keith L. Camacho, Cynthia Enloe, and Setsu Shigematsu, respectively.

signified as means of transport – way-stations in the journey between West and East. Unquestionably European and U.S. relations with East Asia were shaped by an Orientalism specific to Japan, Korea, and China, as well as to the border regions in South and Southeast Asia. Of course, there is a great deal of work still to be done to understand and challenge such Orientalism, but we must also recognize that the central attention paid to its critique in Asian studies has often resulted in another, unintentional Orientalist effect: the neglect of the multiple imperialist activities that have reshaped the Pacific island communities from nations in Europe, Asia, and the U.S.

Edward Said's adaptation of the European term for the Middle East is today over-used and not entirely appropriate either to East Asia or the Pacific (Said 1-3). My intention is not to debate terminology, but instead call attention to the insular communities otherwise overlooked as we cast our gaze toward that distant horizon of the Pacific Rim. The Transpacific perspective would bring into view these different human and natural communities by first addressing the multiple colonial inscriptions of them, treating both the hybridized postcolonial societies and recovering their indigenous or migratory histories. We should not abandon too hastily this critical study of colonialism in the Pacific, because many of its communities are so shaped by these different colonial influences as to be no longer recuperable in their traditional or indigenous forms. To be sure, independence and sovereignty movements throughout the Pacific suggest diverse agency on the part of the Pacific's traditional inhabitants, but in many cases such political activism is still engaged with oppressive colonial and neocolonial practices, often ignored by the wider world.

New postcolonial scholarship in the Transpacific area will thus be concerned primarily with a continuation of the work initiated by the Asian and African nations meeting at the Bandung Conference in Indonesia in 1955. That celebrated post-World War II gathering of so-called "non-aligned nations" recalled longer legacies of anti-colonial struggles, including the Pan-African congresses of the early twentieth century, in order to pursue postcolonial goals independent of the Big Three's one-sided declaration of "decolonization." Indeed, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and the U.S. had barely announced the project of decolonization before they began to divide up the world again according to their own neoimperial ambitions. Sixty-five years after the Yalta and

Potsdam conferences in which this postwar redistribution began, scholars have so thoroughly criticized such imperialism as to warrant new directions more in keeping with the agencies of the peoples once struggling as subalterns under colonial and neocolonial domination.

Valuable as I consider this new scholarship, I also am convinced we must continue to study the still operative legacies of imperialism and neoimperialism in the Pacific. Unlike the Atlantic, which at least since Paul Gilroy's *The Black Atlantic* (1993) has been reinterpreted in terms of several counter-narratives to the dominant North Atlantic narrative, the Pacific has remained relatively under-theorized in terms of the imperial narrative. First, the "Transpacific" region is far more difficult to conceptualize than the Atlantic, because of the Pacific's immensity both in size and complex borders. Does the Pacific "end" at the Coral Sea's and Tasman Sea's borders with the Indian Ocean, thus excluding Australia from consideration, but retaining New Zealand? Are there "primary" Transpacific routes, such as those defining the conventional "Pacific Rim" of Japan, Korea, and China by way of economic relations to the west coasts of the U.S. and Canada? How should we consider the North Pacific routes of Asian peoples who historically migrated by sea, Bering land bridge, or a combination of both to North America millennia before European contact, thus connecting however distantly in historical terms indigenous peoples on both sides of the Pacific? Second, such examples of the complex borders involved in any study of the Pacific region are rendered even more differential when we consider the re-mappings produced by imperial contestation among European, Asian, and Creole nationalists from the Western Hemisphere from the seventeenth-century voyages of global exploration to eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century colonization efforts in Asia and the Pacific to twentieth-century independence movements in the region.

The reconceptualization of the Atlantic as a series of flows and circulations, rather than as a specific geography or region, has been made explicit in recent years by cultural geographers interested in maritime "contact zones." Martin Lewis and Kären Wigen argue in *The Myth of Continents: A Critique of Metageography* that the "Continental" model for understanding the different regions of the globe has tended to reify geopolitical boundaries and neglected "the complex webs of capital and commodity exchange" that become visible when we think in terms of "oceans and bays," rather than "continents" or "cultural blocs" (1-25).

Since 1998, they have conducted a multidisciplinary research project at Duke called "Oceans Connect: Culture, Capital, and Commodity Flows across Basins." Interestingly, their own argument in *The Myth of Continents* tends to rely heavily on the Atlantic, even though Lewis began his career with a scholarly study of Luzon in the Philippines and Wigen is a specialist in Japan ("Oceans Connect").

In many respects, the idea of theorizing regions in oceanic terms finds its most interesting applicability in the Pacific, where so many different insular communities have traditionally defined themselves and been defined by outside forces, often imperialist, in terms of the economic, cultural, political, military, and other flows they facilitate. Indeed, oceanic thinking encourages connections between indigenous and imperial contacts in ways that I think might avoid some of the potential binaries we risk in postcolonial work that tends to forget its anti-colonial origins. Although I disagree with several of Lewis and Wigen's claims in *The Myth of Continents* and in some of the work that has come out of the "Oceans Connect" project, I want to draw on the broad conception of "oceanic" thinking to explain how my own work on Euroamerican imperialism in the Pacific may have continuing relevance to Transpacific scholarship.

My interests in Transpacific studies focus on the rise of the U.S. as an imperial power in its nineteenth-century contestation with other European powers in the Pacific. Trained as a literary and cultural historian, I am interested most in how U.S. imperialism was understood culturally between the War of 1812 and the Spanish-American (1898) and Philippine-American (1899-1902) wars. All of my previous work on U.S. neoimperialism in the post-World War II period, which has focused on the cultural responses to the Vietnam War and to post-9/11 military missions in Iraq and Afghanistan, follows my initial interest in U.S. imperialism in the formative years of the U.S. nation in *Literary Culture and U.S. Imperialism: From the Revolution to World War II*.[2]

I understand nineteenth-century U.S. expansion in and across the Pacific in terms of the expanded notion of "Manifest Destiny" elaborated by Richard Drinnon in *Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian-Hating*

[2] John Carlos Rowe and Rick Berg, eds. *The Vietnam War and American Culture*; John Carlos Rowe, *The Cultural Politics of the New American Studies*; John Carlos Rowe, *Literary Culture and U.S. Imperialism: From the Revolution to World War II*.

and Empire-Building (1980), which remains one of the key works in American studies to articulate the relationship between "internal" and "external" colonialism (268-74). Drinnon is particularly persuasive in his critical account of Henry Adams, the well-connected American historian who seems to have little to do with the Pacific, but who actually has much to say about the proper path of U.S. expansion across the Pacific with the primary goal of gaining a U.S. "foothold in Asia," as he termed it in a letter to his brother, Brooks Adams, on November 3, 1901. Every student who has read *The Education of Henry Adams* (1907) knows how deeply invested in European culture and politics Henry Adams was. His famous meditation on the steps of the Church of Santa Maria di Ara Coeli (a Christian church built on the foundation of an ancient Roman temple) traces all modern history back to classical Rome. Despite Adams's famous declaration of confusion and despair in not understanding what that history meant, his Eurocentrism is unavoidable and urgent: "Rome was actual; it was England; it was going to be America" (Adams, *Education* 91).

But ancient Rome had not expanded across the Pacific, as England had done in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with the U.S. following, annexing extensive territory from the Philippines to Hawai'i, American Samoa, and Guam in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Henry Adams was by no means naive or just old-fashioned. His close relationship with Secretary of State John Hay, Adams's close friend and neighbor (they occupied two "semi-detached mansions" designed by the famed architect Henry Hobson Richardson, located just across the street from the White House, where today's Hay-Adams Hotel stands) put him in direct, daily conversations with the architect of U.S. foreign policy in the Pacific and Asia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. There is little question that Adams understood profoundly the importance of the Pacific Rim to what he considered the British and U.S. inheritance of the Roman legacy: an imperial destiny, after all (Rowe, *Literary Culture* 165-76).

Traditional scholars of Henry Adams had little to say about his travels to the South Pacific and Japan in 1890-1891 with his close friend, the artist John La Farge, except to comment on Adams's "flight" from the tragedy of his wife, Marion Hooper Adams's suicide in 1885. But the trip that produced Adams's odd, privately printed volume, *Memoirs of Maura Taaroa, Last Queen of Tahiti* (1893) and John La Farge's exquis-

itely illustrated and Orientalist *An Artist's Letters from Japan* (1897) was more than just some junket for wealthy Americans, but part of the developing U.S. foreign policy narrative that would lead through Tahiti to Japan and to the colonial wars in Vietnam so many years later.[3] Adams's memoir is a "fictionalized autobiography" that betrays his deeply ethnocentric assumptions about Pacific "primitivism" and the need for the enlightenment Anglo-American civilization would bring. With its anxieties about mixed race genealogies, its reliance on European "heritage" and "values," Adams's family history is a small, but important, testament to the Pacific's role in U.S. expansionism in the period culminating in the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars.

What John Hay advocated was "free-trade" and his brand of modern U.S. imperialism depended on the argument that all foreign policy decisions should be shaped by free-trade ideology. Nearly a century before Hay formulated U.S. foreign policy in these terms, Captain David Porter attempted to annex the Marquesas Islands – he would have renamed them the "Washington Islands" – for the U.S. while he cruised the Pacific attempting to harass British shipping during the War of 1812. His effort was nearly the first U.S. extraterritorial annexation by legal fiat, had it not been that President Madison and other government officials missed his dispatch because they were fleeing a White House set on fire by British forces. What Porter wanted in the Marquesas was only nominally a "naval station," a "foothold" in Polynesia, or even trade with the local Happars and Taipi tribal peoples. He wanted most of all some symbolic status in the ongoing struggle of the European and Russian powers for colonial influence in the Transpacific region, already imagining that the next great stage of colonial contestation would be Asia. Melville's *Typee, a Peep at Polynesian Life* (1846) is a wonderful account of how Porter's Marquesan misadventures are linked with European colonialism and U.S. colonialism at home. Many have read Melville's novel as an allegory of the fugitive slave narrative and still others have interpreted it as a thinly disguised criticism of U.S. policies toward Native Americans (Rowe, *Literary Culture* 77-96).

[3] Although technically an autobiography, it is printed under Adams's authorship, as if he were the Western anthropologist recording the "testimony" of his native informant.

Less frequently remarked upon is Melville's connection of the Marquesas with the growing U.S. involvement in the Hawai'ian islands in the 1840s, a subject Mark Twain would take up more vigorously in his concluding sections of *Roughing It* (1872), as the U.S. meddled more directly in the colonial instabilities and internal politics of Hawai'i as the U.S. moved toward annexation of the islands. I shall not recount here the complex use Melville makes in *Typee* of Captain Cook's fate – both his death and the much-rumored fate of his body – in order to offer what seems to me a very profound indictment of how the U.S. would follow and improve upon the "cultural" arguments used to justify British colonialism, except to note that this transformation of "traditional" imperialism (exemplified by the British) into "neoimperialism" (exemplified by the U.S.) is extremely evident in the nineteenth-century Transpacific and yet still relatively under-studied. Re-enacted in several nineteenth-century theatrical productions, Cook's death was quickly mythologized in Great Britain and the U.S. as a "tragic" encounter between the "modern" explorer and the "primitive" native, even though the most likely explanation of Cook's death is his ignorance of Hawai'ian cultural and religious practices.

In *Island World: A History of Hawai'i and the United States*, Gary Okihiro provides a counter-narrative, in which the Hawai'ian influences on the shaping of the U.S. nation are given priority. In many respects, Okihiro provides a theoretical model for further studies of the Transpacific, insofar as he reads the continental U.S. from the perspectives of the maritime and Pacific islands, stressing the impact the latter have had on the U.S. nation. Recovering the history of how Hawai'ian immigrants lived in nineteenth-century California, fought in the Civil War, served as sailors on nineteenth-century New England whalers and commercial vessels, Okihiro emphasizes what Sara Johnson terms the "transcolonial imagination" at the height of Western nationalism (cf. Brickhouse). We should not forget, however, that the history Okihiro recounts cannot be separated from its imperial entanglements. Hawai'ians traveled more widely in the U.S. as American economic, political, and religious interests in the islands grew; the dialectical relationship must be understood to avoid a simple interpretation of the evils of Western imperialism and the victimization of Pacific islanders.

The annexation of the Hawai'ian islands by the U.S. in 1898 was motivated in part by the desire to control commercial routes that would

serve, among other far-flung enterprises, the ill-fated Klondike Gold Rush. In *China Men* (1980), Kingston links "The Great Grandfather of the Sandalwood Mountains" with "Alaska China Men," reminding us that the geographically disparate ventures of sugar-cane and pineapple agribusiness in Hawai'i and the Yukon Gold Rush are not only linked by way of Chinese workers, but also by the logic of U.S. neoimperialism (Kingston 121-49, 159-62). Much as Kingston condemns the mistreatment of Chinese immigrants during the period of Chinese Exclusion (1868-1943), she also recognizes the complicity of these same Chinese workers in the sorts of racial marginalization that would condemn Native Americans and African Americans to subaltern positions, subject not only to economic and social exploitation but often to social death and outright murder. Witnessing executions of Native Americans in Dawson on Douglas Island, Chinese miners were expelled from the Yukon by the judgment of the miner's meetings, then rowed out by local Native Americans to a ship in the harbor, where the captain of the ship promised to "take them home," only to have them agree: "'Yes, . . . Take us home . . . to Douglas Island,'" where they would ignore their exploitation, their conflicts with other radicalized and excluded minorities, Native Americans, and still look, as their fathers had hunted in the Sierra, for the yellow metal that drives men crazy (Kingston 161).

Kingston's fictional reconstruction of Chinese immigration to the U.S. complicates further Okihiro's efforts to recognize Hawai'ian contributions to U.S. nationalism and modernity. Oppressed by the Manchu dynasty in China, worked as virtual slaves by colonial agribusiness in Hawai'i, legally excluded from citizenship and basic civil liberties in the U.S., nineteenth-century Chinese immigrants also contributed importantly to U.S. modernization, whose expansionist logic also rendered these Chinese immigrants legally invisible and economically poor. The history of Hawai'i is one important example of how our study of the Transpacific often involves multiple imperialisms and thus several distinctly exploited groups.

Three other issues in Transpacific studies are of both historical and continuing relevance when viewed in terms of the cultural history of U.S. imperialism. The Philippine-American War is still neglected in American studies, despite wonderful new work on Philippine-American writers and culture from Bulosan to Hagedorn. Students do not even know we fought such a war against republican insurgents encouraged by

the U.S. defeat of the Spanish Empire. Philippine scholars like Dylan Rodriguez and Susan Harris have done remarkable work, but American studies continues to pay only the vaguest lip-service to this unrecognized war and the "postcolonial" situation of the Philippines from the capture of Emilio Aguinaldo to the exile of the Marcoses.[4] The extent to which the Philippines remain a U.S. client state is still neglected in scholarly debates. In the U.S. health care industry alone, Philippine immigrants, many with medical degrees from Philippine universities, are denied certification, forced to retake courses of study in U.S. institutions, and often relegated to part-time "home care" givers with far more expertise than their U.S. equivalents. Today's Philippine-American health-care workers are in many respects the late-modern heirs of the Piñoy agricultural workers whose exploitation Carlos Bulosan famously criticizes in *America Is in the Heart* (1946). Public debates in the U.S. regarding immigration reform hardly ever address these crises facing middle-class, well-educated Philippine immigrants, reinforcing the impression that "immigration issues" revolve around unskilled laborers from Mexico, Central America, and China.

What Chalmers Johnson has termed the U.S. "empire of bases" needs to be expanded to include specific studies of the Mariana Islands (Guam, Saipan, Tinian, et al.), American Samoa, and other U.S. military bases in the Pacific and Asia that serve the larger colonial purposes Johnson understands by the legal, territorial, and social boundaries established by the U.S. military (C. Johnson 151-86). U.S. military zones surrounding U.S. bases in Japan, for example, are outside Japanese jurisdiction and governed by the U.S. Military Command through its Military Police and Judge Adjutant General's authority. Workers in bars, restaurants, houses of prostitution, and other enterprises flourishing on the edges of U.S. military bases are thus protected not by Japanese law, but by U.S. military law. Immigrants to Japan who often work in such poorly paid, easily exploited jobs are thus doubly mistreated in this shadow economy and have little recourse in the U.S. military legal system, which certainly favors its own personnel and English-language fluency (C. Johnson 137-43). Many of these migrant workers in the sex

[4] See for example Dylan Rodriguez, *Suspended Apocalypse: White Supremacy, Genocide, and the Filipino Condition*, or Susan K. Harris, *God's Arbiters: Americans and the Philippines, 1898-1902*.

and entertainment industries come from other Pacific regions, such as the Philippines, and can thus be legally and economically marginalized both by the Japanese and U.S. governments. In addition, some immigrants are often caught between the cultural and social conventions of the host country and the U.S. military (see Parreñas).

The long history of different colonial conflicts in the Pacific have usually included U.S. participation from Porter's excursion in the Marquesas during the War of 1812 to the present, despite our tendency to think of U.S. neoimperialism as a recent phenomenon, developed primarily in the aftermath of the Cold War. Saipan was the principal airbase for the Air force bombers that targeted Japanese cities during World War II, and the *Enola Gay* took off from Tinian Island on August 6, 1945 on its mission to drop the atomic bomb on Hiroshima at the end of the War, as would the other B-29, *Bockscar*, which three days later dropped an atomic bomb on Nagasaki. Guam became a U.S. territory at the end of the Spanish-American War, was occupied by the Japanese in 1914, then again during World War II until U.S. troops reoccupied the island in 1944 after fierce fighting.

Following the Gilbert and Marshall Islands campaign during World War II (1944), the U.S. military established a large military base on Wake Island (Enen-kio) in the Marshall Islands. Atomic testing on the island of Bikini (Pikinni) in the Marshall Islands from 1946-1958 contaminated the atoll with Cesium-123. In 1979, the Republic of the Marshall Islands (RMI) achieved its independence from the U.S., operating from 1979 to 1986 under a "Compact of Free Association" with the U.S. and then ratified in 1990 as an independent republic by the United Nations. Nevertheless, the U.S. military still occupies Wake Island, despite the RMI's claim to it. And despite international appeals for clean-up of the toxic waste on Bikini Atoll, the U.S. has done nothing to repair the environmental and human damage left from the detonation of twenty-three nuclear devices on the Atoll. In addition to the U.S. military base on Wake Island, the U.S. maintains a missile testing range on Kwajalein Atoll within sovereign RMI territory.

The Transpacific can thus not be imagined apart from this long, continuing use of the Pacific islands by diverse imperial interests, which stretch from Spanish, Portuguese, French, and Dutch ventures in the region from the seventeenth to the end of the nineteenth century and include German, Japanese, and U.S. claims in the later nineteenth to first

half of the twentieth centuries. More careful scholarly accounts would include contested claims by South American nations to Pacific islands, such as Chile's military occupation of Juan Fernandez and Ecuador's annexation of the Galápagos Islands in 1832 (subsequently donating them to the U.N. as a World Heritage Site). Modern nations, territories, protectorates, and other geopolitical designations in the Pacific may in many cases have achieved "postcolonial" status of various kinds, but the legacies of imperial definition are profound and not easily dismissed. From the Spanish, English, French, and other imperial "names" given to islands often with their own indigenous names to economies and political processes deeply dependent on their previous colonial rulers, many islands in the Pacific are the means of broader military and commercial ventures across the Pacific, rather than ends in themselves.

I have only briefly alluded to the much more complex history of U.S. annexation of the Hawai'ian Islands and U.S. involvement in modern Philippine politics, in part to stress how these smaller, usually forgotten insular ventures are part of that larger history in which the U.S. has been involved since its inception. When considered merely as discrete entities, small, under-populated islands like the Marshall Islands hardly deserve our attention in the already crowded liberal arts curriculum. But when understood as crucial parts in the larger movement of the U.S. across the Pacific to gain a "foothold in Asia," these neglected areas gain significance not only in the study of U.S. imperialism but also in terms of their own struggles for cultural identity and geopolitical sovereignty. There is historical continuity linking the Plains' Wars in the late nineteenth century with the U.S. role in the Philippine-American War and the Taping Rebellion and Boxer Rebellion in China, as Richard Drinnon has pointed out (250-58). Of course, if we equate the indigenous revolts of the Lakota Sioux (among others) with those of Aguinaldo in the Philippines or Hung Hsu-Ch'üan (1812/13-1864), the Christian mystic who led the Taiping Rebellion, we will repeat the racist rhetoric of U.S. troops who called Philippine insurgents "Indians" in the Philippine-American War.

But the connections established by U.S. imperialism have had real consequences on colonized and postcolonial communities across the Pacific. The U.S. decision to use nuclear weapons to defeat the Japanese in World War II not only is related to later atomic testing in the Marshall Islands in our Cold War struggle for military supremacy over the Soviet

Union, but it connects perversely the Marianas (to which Guam and Saipan belong) with the Marshall Islands' Bikini/Pikinni Atoll. Environmental damage from military testing or just occupation also gives the inhabitants on these islands common cause to protest and work toward reform, reparation, and environmental restoration. European, Asian, and U.S. imperialist ventures in the Pacific not only provide a shared history of oppression and desire for postcolonial independence, but they have created shared conditions that can enable such coordinated, transnational organization for reform. Thus local struggles against U.S. military imperialism in Japan and the Korean Peninsula inevitably are connected with similar efforts in the Philippines and the smaller Pacific island republics hosting U.S. military bases.

Such coalitions of "non-aligned nations" were the goals of the Bandung Conference and remain worthy purposes in today's inequitable processes of globalization. Understanding the specific complaints and thus histories of colonized and occupied communities across the Pacific should include our broader interpretation of how such imperial and neoimperial practices have contributed to the long history of European, Asian, and U.S. expansionism. As I have suggested in this essay, there is a direct historical line connecting U.S. involvement in the Taiping Rebellion, the Boxer Rebellion, the Chinese Exclusion Laws, the Spanish-American and Philippine-American wars, the Portsmouth (New Hampshire) Treaty concluding the Russo-Japanese War, World War I, World War II, the postwar Occupation of Japan, the Korean War, support of the French in the Indochina wars, the Vietnam War, the U.S. invasion of and ongoing military presence in Iraq, and the current occupation of Afghanistan and deep involvement in Pakistan's politics and military campaigns against dissidents. When connected with this larger history, the people and eco-systems of the Pacific islands become visible and relevant, as do their challenges to such alternative forms of imperialism as operation of foreign military bases in their territory, often with questionable or archaic rights of access.

Indeed, the general issue of how and when the U.S. government acquired leases to land and facilities for military uses needs to be studied in detail. From Guantanamo in Cuba to Clark Airforce Base and the U.S. Naval Station in Subic Bay in the Philippines, U.S. military installations have been contested and challenged by local political leaders. In the Philippines, the nearly century-old U.S. military bases were closed

in 1991, although U.S. efforts to establish new military bases have led to U.S. political interference between the Philippine government and the dissident Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF). Since 2006, rumors have circulated that the U.S. has been in negotiations with the MILF to trade rights to military bases in territory it controls in exchange for help in concluding a favorable peace-treaty with the Philippine government (Scarpello). Not until the U.S. military base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba was used for "terrorist detainees," in order to avoid Geneva Convention provisions requiring legal due process for such prisoners of war, if held within the U.S., did the American public pay much attention to this long-established lease-agreement between the U.S. and Cuban governments. The lease is traceable back to U.S. efforts in the late nineteenth century to acquire a naval base in the Caribbean to control shipping in the region in anticipation of the construction of the Panama Canal. Rejected by the Haitian government in its efforts to lease, buy, or simply "annex" Môle St. Nicolas, the large natural harbor on the Northwest coast of Haiti, the U.S. looked to Cuba for a military base in the Caribbean.

In 2009, six Uighur men who were held in Guantanamo as Chinese dissidents, charged along with other Uighurs in terrorist acts in China, were sent by the Obama Administration to the tiny island nation of Palau, composed of 200 islands (only ten of which are inhabited) about 400 miles Southeast of the Philippines. Other Uighur detainees in Guantanamo have balked at being relocated to Palau, but the Obama Administration paid Palau $200 million to house these six detainees (Magistad). Viewed by most Americans as simply another instance of how difficult it would be to relocate the Guantanamo detainees, the removal of the Uighurs to Palau is by no means an exceptional path of migration between the Caribbean and Pacific. Nineteenth-century Chinese immigrants, often drawn from those who had already worked in Hawai'i, were imported to work as virtual slaves on the uninhabited "guano islands" of the Caribbean. The rich deposits of bird guano were a valuable fertilizer in the nineteenth century, but the labor and life on these islands for imported Chinese laborers were at the very limits of human existence. In short, migrations and diasporas from the Caribbean to the Pacific are stark reminders of the consequences of Euroamerican imperialism in the Western Hemisphere and the Pacific.

Finally, the comparative cultural, political, and legal study of Maori (New Zealand), Aboriginal peoples and Torres Straits' Islanders (Australia), and North American Native Americans needs to be included in any theorization of Transpacific studies and our continuing work on the consequences of modern imperialism. Considered in "oceanic," rather than "continental," terms, indigenous rights in New Zealand, Australia, and North America are closely related not only by respective appeals to legal precedents but also by shared indigenous arguments regarding their original rights to land ownership. In the U.S., the 1831 decision *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* of the John Marshall Supreme Court declared Native American tribes to constitute "domestic dependent nations." In the earlier Supreme Court decision in *Johnson v. McIntosh* (1823), the Court attempted to solve the problem of who owned the land by declaring native peoples mere "occupants" replaced by European "ownership" established by conquest and use, effectively converting indigenous "'owners of discovered lands into tenants on those lands'" (Lindsay Robertson qtd. in Calloway 268).

In Australia, the British used the legal doctrine of "*terra nullius*" – literally Latin for "no land" – to contend that the Aboriginal inhabitants of the Continent did not own the land, because they did not enclose it and thus use it productively, despite evidence that different Aboriginal communities traditionally granted each other seasonal access to their lands for purposes of hunting and gathering. Indeed, many Aboriginal leaders assumed that British settlers who requested land for farming and grazing were merely doing so on such unpaid lease arrangements, rather than actually settling permanently on Aboriginal lands. *Terra nullius* prevailed as a legal doctrine until 1992, when the celebrated Eddie Mabo case, first brought in the 1950s against the Australian government, was finally settled in favor of Mabo, who had in the meantime died. Even that case depended on establishing very clear indigenous claims to enclosed property, thus affirming the British principle of land ownership, because Mabo was a Murray Islander in the Torres Straits Islands, where islanders had for millennia enclosed land. In fact, Mabo's legal suit was based on the enclosure of his kitchen garden, but it did at least establish the concept of indigenous enclosure, even if the larger issue that different land uses than European enclosure might establish "property rights" was ignored in the final decision. Nevertheless, the Mabo victory in 1992 effectively overturned "*terra nullius*," although not

before more than two centuries' devastation of Australian aboriginal cultures, including the forced removal of Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders from their traditional homelands and the imprisonment of many in remote internment camps, often on inhospitable islands, like Flinders Island in the Bass Straits (between Tasmania and Australia), or the concerted efforts to exterminate Aboriginals as the Tasmanians did in the so-called "Black War" of the 1830s (Reynolds 186-89). *Terra nullius* probably influenced John Marshall as he framed his Supreme Court decisions in the 1820s and 1830s regarding Native American land rights; North American legal precedents and treaties justifying indigenous removal certainly influenced subsequent Australian decisions regarding the civil, economic, and legal rights of Aboriginal peoples and Torres Strait Islanders. Yet Australia barely figures in most U.S. university curricula and is rarely discussed in American studies scholarship, except as a distant analogy or comparison state.

There are, of course, countless other, equally complex indigenous rights' issues to be studied in "Transpacific" terms, including not just the many different insular peoples of the Pacific but also indigenous peoples of Japan, China, Korea, Tibet, Nepal, Mongolia, and other regions in Asia with historical, legal, or just "universal" ties to the indigenous rights of those living in Canada and the Americas. Indeed, those six Uighurs languishing now on Palau and their comrades on Guantanamo are cases in this point of indigenous rights' dissidents cast far and wide across the Pacific and the Western Hemisphere as a consequence of the displacements of Euroamerican imperialism. In particular, then, "Transpacific Studies" should include centrally "indigenous" rights; just how we read the rights' and cultural issues of the indigenous peoples "in the way" of European and U.S. imperialism will tell the real story of our research in the coming years.

The differences among indigenous peoples in the Pacific region should also remind us that "oceans disconnect" even more than they "connect." Thinking in oceanic, rather than continental, terms should also encourage us to articulate social, political, environmental, and human differences sustained by the *separation* of land masses by the oceans. Lewis and Wigen are thus not entirely correct to stress the "contact zones" of the world's oceans while ignoring the ineluctable fact that oceans disconnect in ways that produce dramatically different ecosystems. In *Following the Equator* (1897), Twain notes how the Austral-

ian Platypus "was never in the Ark" and makes hash of Darwinian theories of evolution (105). Its status as a monotreme (neither fish nor fowl!) threw nineteenth-century European natural science into such disarray that some naturalists insisted the Platypus must be a "hoax," not a real animal. Scientific efforts to study *Anata Ornithorhyncus* almost drove the shy creature to extinction in the nineteenth century, as the wry Twain himself acknowledges when he notes that while in New Zealand his host "gave me an ornithorhyncus, and I am taming it," a considerable challenge even for this great satirist (Twain 301)!

Some scholars might argue that in the era of air travel, satellites, and such related technologies as the internet, "oceanic" thinking, whether focused on contacts in maritime flows or on the differences such distances between communities create, is archaic and easily overcome. But when considered in eco-cultural terms, oceanic thinking also stresses our profound dependence on the health of oceans, the different global environments those maritime zones nurture, and common debt we have to the entire system of natural differences that is the true source of productivity, wealth, and health. We live in an era in which over-fishing and climate change have threatened immediately the health of our oceans. The Fijian government at the last Summit on Climate Change in Copenhagen argued that the rising level of the Pacific threatened the very existence of its nation. In 2009, the Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS) joined the Group of Least Developed Countries (LDCs) to create a coalition of some eighty countries advocating that the United Nations set a limit of 1.5° Centigrade – a limit so far ignored by most first-world, highly industrialized nations. AOSIS includes such small island states as the Seychelles Islands in the Indian Ocean and the Marianas and the Fiji Islands in the Pacific. Yet the history and contemporary global concerns of these island states hardly figure in liberal education, except as the conventional "Pacific Rim" that has traditionally designated one-way globalization and the seemingly ceaseless upward spiral of capitalist need. One way to resist such a limited conception of the Pacific is to understand the many different ways the communities of the Pacific have affirmed their own cultural, political, and economic identities, and a related critical part of that counter-narrative is our scholarly articulation of the ongoing European, Asian, and U.S. imperialism in the Transpacific region.

In conclusion, we should not assume that the disappearance of overt institutions and practices of imperial domination from the Pacific leaves us simply with postcolonial struggles for sovereignty and cultural self-representation. Decolonization is still an activist agenda, which depends on alliances among globally situated activists. Commercial exploitation of minerals and other natural resources on the Pacific seabed threatens not only the Pacific islands but the continental mainlands. The legacies of imperialism are historically long and culturally deep; they are as visible in the tattooing practices of Samoan Christians as they are in the tourism of Waikiki Beach and the Uighurs wandering a bit bewildered on the shores of Palau. Imperialism, indigeneity, and migration/diaspora all must be read together in their layered simultaneity; they are the currents of the Transpacific region.

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LARS ECKSTEIN & ANJA SCHWARZ

Epistemic Crossroads in the Pacific World: Re-Thinking Oceanic Histories with Tupaia's Map

In this essay, we explore the trajectories of American studies at the crossroads of two more recent "turns" in the field. The first of these turns is also the subject of John Carlos Rowe's contribution to this collection, in which he calls for a transareal expansion of American studies to the Pacific world. This expansion builds upon the broadening of previously more narrow interpretations of American studies which, over the past two decades, have begun to encompass the transnational Atlantic crossroads between Europe, Africa and the Americas. The important contributions of Atlantic studies, however, should not let us forget that the Americas have been, almost from the beginnings of European colonial expansion, at the center of a much wider system of exchange than merely the Atlantic. As early as 1566, the Spanish found a route to navigate from Acapulco to their Pacific colonies in the Philippines and Micronesia and back again, which turned the Americas into the very heart of a global economy of travelling goods, ideas and people. The transareal dynamics of the Atlantic and the Pacific thus reach back across the *longue durée* of Western modernity, as is also evinced by the earliest British forays into the Pacific: The voyages of John Byron, Samuel Wallis and, later, James Cook were prompted, at least in part, by the colonial rivalry with Spain over the Americas (Frost), and became progressively linked with the threatening loss of the British American colonies. And let us not forget that William Bligh's legendary journey on the *Bounty* in 1787 was initiated by a group of Caribbean planters who, reacting to diminishing food supply from the revolutionary United States, lobbied Joseph Banks and the Royal Society to transplant 3,000 breadfruit trees from the Pacific island of Tahiti to the Caribbean as a new staple crop for slaves. Examples like the journey of the *Bounty* call for a transareal extension of American studies to include what Tongan writer Epeli Hau'ofa has seminally called the "sea of islands" of Ocean-

ia into the transnational and biocultural narratives that have shaped Western modernity.

Such an extension, however, comes with its own ideological baggage. The current academic interest in the Pacific uncannily echoes a more general geopolitical shift in the (U.S.) American imagination which has lately seen political, economic and academic interests extend to the Pacific region. This has been expressed, not least, in Obama's repeated designation as Pacific president. We would like to link the Pacific turn, therefore, with a second development in American studies which enquires into colonial and postcolonial entanglements. What we refer to here is the hemispheric turn, which has made a complex body of decolonial theory emerging in, or in relation to, the Latin Americas more readily available to an Anglophone audience (cf. Raab, Roth in this collection). The partially belated reception of works of Enrique Dussel, Anibal Quijano, Ramón Grosfóguel, Walter Mignolo and others has had a significant impact on the academic field of postcolonial studies within which we would like to locate this contribution.

The engagement with Latin American decolonial theories has prompted postcolonial scholars, among other things, to attend more systematically to the history of modernity and its entanglement with colonialism (via decolonial adaptations of Wallerstein's World Systems Theory) as signposted in Mignolo's twin-concept of modernity/ coloniality. This involves attention to the ruptures and continuities between the first and second phases of accelerated globalization dominated by Southern European and Western European imperialisms respectively. And it concerns the insistence on the material grounding of knowledge production against some of the postmodernist strands in postcolonial thought, not least also in relation to an academic industry that is deeply entwined in the geopolitics of the modern world system. Most important for our arguments in the following, however, is decolonial theory's challenge against the enduring legacies of what Mignolo refers to as the "zero point epistemology" of Western modernity (Mignolo, *Western Modernity* 208); a challenge that echoes recent Pacific thought and that was acutely articulated by the Australian sociologist of science, David Turnbull, in relation to Oceania (*Masons*; "(En-)Countering"). Mignolo develops his critique of Western modernity's epistemology via readings of early modern maps of the world by Mercator and Ortelius which exemplarily mark, for him, the beginning of constructions that set

Europe as the zero point of observation in a purportedly objective Cartesian mapping of the globe and, by extension, as the singular locus of legitimate knowledge production, imbued with universal validity, against which all other epistemological positions are either measured or simply disavowed. Turnbull, building on the work of Enrique Dussel, similarly argues that "modernity had its originary moment as a European phenomenon in 1492, when Europe defined itself as the centre of world history in its encounter with the non-European other – an alterity it has since erased" ("(En-)Countering" 233).

Critical attention to some of the major arguments that have emerged from subaltern studies in the Americas and their resonances with Pacific theory may help us to attend more carefully to what is at stake when (Anglophone) American studies, as a discipline located in and around the hegemonic centers of global knowledge production, "incorporates" the Pacific world into its conceptual scope. What Dussel refers to as the "geopolitics of knowledge" in Western modernity, for instance, resonates most powerfully with the 1980s geopolitical notion of the *Pacific rim*, which continues to matter in more recent foci on the *Pacific region*. Among others, Epeli Hau'ofa has challenged the rim metaphor in his landmark essay "Our Sea of Islands." After all, it conceives of the Oceanic interior as a virtually empty space inhabited merely by scattered and isolated island people, attributing cultural and economic significance exclusively to the exterior landmasses of the Americas, Asia and Australia (Hau'ofa 13). Such a reading of the Pacific chooses to be ignorant of a 10,000 year-old history of migrations, trading patterns and cultural interaction across and between the archipelagos from the Solomons to Rapa Nui, and from Aotearoa/New Zealand to Hawai'i. These multiple exchanges have shaped a complex world that hardly encourages the conception of "islands in a far sea," as Hau'ofa puts it, but rather that of a veritable "sea of islands" (Hau'ofa 3, 7). Hau'ofa accordingly promotes the use of the term "Oceania," with its emphasis on the integral role of the sea in Oceanic history and identitarian politics, over the limiting landed logic of Western constructions such as "Pacific islands."

The work of Latin American thinkers like Quijano and Mignolo, as well as the Pacific interpolations from Turnbull, allow us to conceive of Hau'ofa's critical intervention as strategically "de-linking" Oceanic thought from the "zero point epistemology" of Western moderni-

ty/coloniality. Such de-linking, for them, seminally "brings to the foreground other epistemologies, principles of knowledge and understanding and, consequently, other economies, other politics, other ethics," by facilitating "new inter-epistemic communication" (Mignolo, "Delinking" 453; see also Turnbull, "(En-)Countering" 1, 133). It is precisely on the possible dynamics of such inter-epistemic communication in academic readings of Oceania that we wish to focus in this essay. We thus attempt to engage in an academic activity that Mignolo has framed as "border thinking," entailing "a critical reflection on knowledge production from both the interior borders of the modern/colonial world system . . . and its exterior borders" (*Local Histories* 11). In doing so, we are acutely aware that we embark on this project not at all from the subaltern speaking position which decolonial theory tends to promote with varying degrees of (strategic) essentialism, and thus with, at best, limited access to the "exterior borders" at stake. How, then, may we – and by extension, perhaps, a discipline like American studies – encounter the Pacific anew without recolonizing, but rather contributing to the process of decolonizing, the Sea of Islands?

We wish to argue in the following that such an endeavor from the centers, rather than the margins, of knowledge production requires a two-fold, pluritopic engagement. As the institutional heirs of the very Enlightenment discourses that emphatically underscored the epistemic supremacy of the West in transcultural encounters across the globe, we need to address, first, our own legacies of speaking and writing about the Pacific. Secondly, we need to find ways of engaging seriously with Indigenous knowledges from and about Oceania and their conflicting epistemic worldmaking practices.

This dual perspective is not to deny the deep entanglement of Western and Indigenous thought and practices through centuries of often forced cultural contact; instead, it invites us to self-reflexively come to terms with the ambivalences and ironies of border thinking and inter-epistemic reading in a postcolonial world. As our discussion of eighteenth-century European and Oceanic navigational worldmaking practices in the Pacific will show, some of the vast knowledges of *both* seafaring traditions have been retrospectively forgotten in the course of the shifts entailed by the "zero point epistemology" of Western modernity/coloniality. A recovery of this information depends significantly on making productive the mutual entanglement of both traditions. For

Indigenous voyaging, this entails accepting the fact that the transmission of voyaging traditions has often been both violently disrupted, yet also been partly enabled by Western regimes of knowledge. A vast percentage of Indigenous navigational techniques has vanished partly because of the region's incorporation into global networks of capital and exchange and partly because of the suppression of local knowledges by missionaries and colonial administrations alike. Yet the revival of these techniques has at least to some extent been made possible through the work of Western anthropologists and historians, making it difficult to conceive of the contemporary understanding of Pacific voyaging as a purely "traditional" affair (Turnbull, "(En-) Countering" 133-34). In our own (amateurs') approximation to the Oceanic world, we rely heavily on the previous work of both Indigenous (Hau'ofa, Teiawa, Gegeo) and non-Indigenous writers (Dening, Salmond, Sahlins, Clifford, Lewis, Finney). One of our crucial points in this essay, however, is that some of the Western eighteenth-century maritime knowledge that brought vessels like Cook's *Endeavour* to Oceania has equally been forgotten. The recovery of maritime worldmaking practices indigenous to Europe as undertaken in section three of this paper is equally facilitated by juxtaposing insights into eighteenth-century voyaging with the maritime practices and epistemologies that Europeans encountered in the Pacific.

To illustrate some of the complexities of our suggested approach, let us first exemplarily focus on what is probably the most widely researched manifest "trace" of early colonial encounters in Oceania: Tupaia's map, conceived and drawn during Cook's first Pacific voyage on the *Endeavour* in 1769. We suggest that a critical investment in Tupaia's map may set an alternative, inherently pluritopic "zero point" for (re)reading the ensuing colonial and postcolonial exchanges across the Sea of Islands.

Encountering Tupaia's Map

Tupaia plays a vital role in the early British encounters and narratives about the Oceanic world. A native of Ra'iatea in the Society Islands, he was a highly respected *arioi* priest of the rapidly expanding 'Oro cult, stemming from a family of master navigators. When around 1760, Raiatea was invaded by neighboring Boraborans, Tupaia was put in charge of the sacred treasures of the 'Oro movement and fled to Tahiti.

Here, he was soon accepted by the local *arioi* and became lover to Purea, wife of high chief Tevahitua of the Papara district. When Captain Wallis and the *Dolphin* arrived at Tahiti in 1768, Tupaia functioned as high priest and political advisor to the chiefly family, and played an important role in Purea's attempts to establish ceremonial bonds with Wallis in the effort to enlist the power of the newcomers for her political ends. After Wallis's departure, Purea's plans to establish her son Teri'irere as principal chief drew the archipelago into a bloody civil war during which Tupaia and the chiefly family had to flee to the mountains (Salmond 171). The tide of domestic politics turned to their favor again when, in 1769, James Cook and the *Endeavour* anchored at Matavi Bay. Purea, through establishing ceremonial *taio* bonds with Cook and Banks, sought to restore Teri'irere's prestige. Tupaia established particularly close relations with the young botanist Joseph Banks, with whom he discussed Tahitian beliefs, customs and navigational practices, while also conversing with Cook, Pickersgill, Parkinson, Solander and other crewmembers. With Parkinson in particular, Tupaia must have shared ideas about Tahitian tattooing and painting on dried barkcloth, as he was himself instructed in the use of watercolors. Only recently (H. Carter; Glyndwr) a series of watercolors depicting *arioi* themes previously attributed to Banks were clearly identified as Tupaia's own artistic achievements.

More famous than these watercolors, however, is a map of the Pacific which came to be known as "Tupaia's Chart" (Fig.1). How did this unusual document of cross-cultural and inter-epistemic dialogue come about? Upon the *Endeavour's* departure, Tupaia pressed Banks to take him on board along with his boy servant Taiata. On July 12, 1769, Banks memorably records in his diaries:

> This morn Tupia came on board, he had renewd his resolves of going with us to England, a circumstance which gives me much satisfaction. He is certainly a most proper man, well born, chief Tahowa or priest of this Island, consequently skilld in the mysteries of their religion; but what makes him more than anything else desirable is his experience in the navigation of these people and knowledge of the Islands in these seas; he has told us the names of above 70, the most of which he has himself been at. (Beaglehole, *Joseph Banks* 312-13)

Banks's acknowledgement of Tupaia's high if not equal status as a "most proper man, well born" and his admiration for Tupaia's navigational knowledge, as much as for his intimate knowledge of Oceanic customs and ceremonies, is striking here, and Banks would not be disappointed. In the following weeks it was Tupaia, upon Cook's orders, who safely piloted the *Endeavour* through the uncharted waters of the Society Islands until Cook took charge again and steered a Southern course toward Aotearoa/New Zealand (Salmond 176). Even more important for the ultimate success of Cook's first voyage must have been Tupaia's services as cultural translator and diplomatic advisor in the exchanges not only in the Society Isles, but especially with the Maori of Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Just as striking as Bank's admiration for Tupaia's knowledge, however, is Bank's simultaneous relegation of the *arioi* navigator priest to the status of mere curiosity. Banks asserts his own cultural and, ultimately, epistemic supremacy when he continues the diary entry quoted above: "Thank heaven I have a sufficiency and I do not know why I may not keep him as a curiosity, as well as some of my neighbours do lions and tygers at a larger expence than he will probably ever put me to" (Beaglehole, *Joseph Banks* 313). The ambivalence between avowal and disavowal evident in these lines has attracted repeated commentary (Thomas 81; Smith 149) and is indeed also characteristic of one of Cook's entries about the high priest in his account of the voyage (Beaglehole, *James Cook* 442), written on the occasion of Tupaia's death in Batavia, where he succumbed to dysentery. Cook describes Tupaia as highly intelligent, but also as aloof and unpopular with the crew (as opposed to Taiata, whom everyone loved). Despite their obvious personal and cultural differences, however, Cook and Tupaia embarked on an intriguing collaborative project – a map of the Pacific largely untraveled by European ships.

It was most probably at some point during the voyage South from Tahiti – a time when Tupaia advised Banks in writing his ethnographic report of Tahiti and Cook completed his maps of the Society Islands – that "Tupaia's Chart" came into being. Curiously, the first mention of the chart in the records is only months later in March 1770, when, at the end of his "General Description of New Zealand," Cook records a list of island names in his diaries. He remarks that "[t]he above list was taken from a Chart of the Islands Drawn by Tupia's own hands, he at one time