

**Pacific Scholarship, Literary Criticism, and Touristic Desire:  
The Specter of A. Grove Day**

---

**Paul Lyons**

In the course of only seven months an entire change had taken place:—we might have imagined ourselves in a different country . . . singing is a punishable offense.

—Otto von Kotzebue, *A New Voyage around the World in the Years 1823–1826*

The past is a foreign country: they do things differently there.

—L. P. Hartley, *The Go-Between*

Writing of the search for “authenticity” in an age increasingly skeptical of any “real” to be found, Dean MacCannell applies sociologist Erving Goffman’s notion of front/back distinctions to tourism. MacCannell’s tourist “quests” for authentic experience: “touristic consciousness is motivated” by

I am indebted to Rob Wilson for his encouragement (and to his *Reimagining the American Pacific: Local Culture, National Identity, Transnational Space* [Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, forthcoming]) and to Cindy Franklin, Laura Lyons, and Craig Howes for commenting on versions of this essay.

*boundary* 2 24:2, 1997. Copyright © 1997 by Duke University Press.

a belief that behind staged "fronts" there are concealed "back" regions.<sup>1</sup> If what tourists re-cognize (when perception approaches preconception) as "front" appears to be cliché, they nonetheless believe it has a connection to a hidden reality; they approach this engagement by being guided "behind" touristic fronts, with an implied hierarchy arranged around the difficulty of escape from the "packaged." The problem for the tourist who considers such matters is that

it is very difficult to know for sure if the experience is in fact authentic. It is always possible that what is taken to be entry into a back region is really entry into a front region that has been totally set up in advance for tourist visitation.<sup>2</sup>

For the tourist with a philosophical bent, this search for a displaced real resonates with a broader problem of knowing. For Hegel, "it is manifest that behind the so-called curtain which is supposed to conceal the inner world, there is nothing to be seen unless we go behind it ourselves."<sup>3</sup> A tourist inclined toward cultural studies might, in turn, foreground questions about the historical and political formations in, and through, which observations of "culture" are constituted as knowledge.

Here, MacCannell's front/back paradigm applies usefully to the contrast generally made between "touristic" (fake) and "scholarly" (genuine) writings, in which tourism is the "front" accused of "staging" history (presenting out-of-timeness to those taking time-out), while scholarship, in however qualified a way, claims to recuperate "history" in greater depth. That the back regions scholarship discovers are certainly, from other perspectives, only "fronts"—refractions of the psychosocial principles and desires that "back" the historian's perception—suggests the inherent instability of the tourism/fake-scholarship/real binary and the ways in which consciousness itself is always "deeply backgrounded."<sup>4</sup>

1. Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (London: Macmillan, 1976), 101. MacCannell refines and extends his analysis in *Empty Meeting Grounds: The Tourist Papers* (London: Routledge, 1992), which considers tourism as a "total social fact" that today occupies "the gap between primitive and modern" (17).

2. MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 101.

3. G. W. F. Hegel, *Phenomenology of Spirit* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977). Quoted in Slavoj Žižek, *The Sublime Object of Ideology* (London: Verso, 1989), 196.

4. My sense of "deep backgrounding" is informed by William V. Spanos, *The Errant Art of Moby-Dick: The Canon, the Cold War, and the Struggle for American Studies* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1995). Spanos cites Michael Herr, *Dispatches* (New York:

In fact, to explore points of contact among touristic and scholarly writings as modes of regarding and constructing "foreign" places and peoples is to discover senses in which the two have been complementary activities and are, perhaps, inherently connected.<sup>5</sup> For instance, in the period of the expansion of Pacific tourism, which increased after World War II and boomed in Hawai'i following statehood in 1959, a mode of Euro-American historical scholarship and touristic promotional narratives has often expressed its desires—and guided its readers' gazes—in similar ways. What might be called "histouricism"—a writing in which "history" *backs* touristic drives—has its primal scene in the seductive dimension of historical writing that promises "us" transport to a "foreign country." History, in this touristic moment, implies textual access to alterity. It offers not just events but place as key to knowing others whose actions have meaning "there," who cannot breathe outside their historical environment. "We" are both here and there (becoming); they are there (being).<sup>6</sup> The dynamics of this simulation within histouricism are at once those of promotional narratives ("The Good News from"), and those of touristic moral disengagement, in which tourism means that *we* travel to look at *them* in their habitat from a "privileged distance" that remains "primarily visual."<sup>7</sup>

The general lure of access to otherness has been widely critiqued in terms of a "politics of nostalgia for a premodern world,"<sup>8</sup> though generally without reference to indigenous and settler peoples affected by tourism. With tourism, the front/back spatial metaphor implies a temporal one as well: the real has an anterior relation to its present markers—to move deeper into the heart of Pacificness is, implicitly, to go back in time. For John Frow, who

Avon, 1978)—"We were backgrounded deep, deep" (Spanos, 257)—as an exemplary understanding of an "imperial, racist" project that disguises itself as a providential history, while predicated on the notion that America only destroys in order to save (Spanos, 185).  
5. See Andrew Ross, "Cultural Preservation in the Polynesia of the Latter-Day Saints," in *The Chicago Gangster Theory of Life: Nature's Debt to Society* (London: Verso, 1994), 21–98. Ross notes that anthropologists such as Margaret Mead and Thor Heyerdahl have "shaped popular consciousness about Polynesia, and have done so in the name of science" (40).

6. See George Robertson, Melinda Mash, Lisa Tickner, Jon Bird, Barry Curtis, and Tim Putnam, "As the World Turns: Introduction," in *Travelers' Tales: Narratives of Home and Displacement* (London: Routledge, 1994), 6. For a nuanced discussion of "the symbolism of time in travel" (including primal fantasies), see Barry Curtis and Claire Pajaczowska, "'Getting There': Travel, Time and Narrative" in the same volume (199–215).

7. Curtis and Pajaczowska, "'Getting There,'" 209.

8. John Frow, "Tourism and the Semiotics of Nostalgia," *October* 57 (summer 1991): 140.

follows MacCannell and others in preferring "tourism" to "culture" as allegoric sign for Eurocentric modernity, even the "post-tourist" feels a nostalgia for nostalgia that represses understanding of the exploitative dimensions of global tourism (the politics of who gets what, where, how, and why). For Frow, there is no way out of a semiotics of nostalgia, marked by structures of rupture, loss of authenticity, and intensified commodity relations. Heritage and cultural preservation become entangled with an appropriating, corporate tourism, which is often "a way of taking possession without subjugation and violence."<sup>9</sup>

If nostalgia is a condition for many forms of touristic gazing, more located understandings of nostalgia, which foreground the race/class dynamics of touristic relations, are necessary, especially in places where the "guests" are primarily white and the "hosts" are primarily nonwhite. It is important to recognize the complexities of relation among that which is "foreign" in a temporal sense and that which is simulated as foreign in the present in ways that reinstitute racist representation at the moment of claiming to break it down. Otto von Kotzebue's "different country," where missionaries dictate the forms of "native" cultural expression, may be elided within L. P. Hartley's "foreign country" of history in ways that obscure its vexed relation to tourism today, where promoters are all too eager to have "natives" sing for supper, and Natives may be compelled to do so in complex ways. Certainly, there are differences between the drives behind national heritage industries, spiritual tourisms, and ethnic tourisms structured around gazing at foreign peoples and cultures. It matters who those others are, what their histories have been, and how they have been represented within touristic discourses.

In Pacific contexts, the fact that tourist boards have emphasized both primitivity and its domestication within modernity forces promoters away from simple nostalgic narratives (the Pacific "past" as modernism's ultimate other) and toward double-voiced narratives that celebrate tourism's role in both development and cultural preservation. One obvious "predicament" is that tourism spoils or museumizes the purity it looks for, creating complex scenes of acculturation, which, in its regulatory mode (toureers must match their billing or disappoint), tourism disavows. An imperialist nostalgia creeps in, which Renato Rosaldo describes as a way to establish "one's innocence and at the same time talk about what one has destroyed." In the process,

9. Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 57.

imperialist nostalgia transforms "the responsible colonial agent into an innocent bystander" or rationalizes development through discourses of inevitability (while denying the intellectual and technological accomplishments of island societies).<sup>10</sup> This is nostalgia's emplotment, the direct line from Gauguin, with his bittersweet sense of powerlessness to oppose history or the sickness he brings, to even a canny, contemporary critic of tourism such as John Urry, who can conclude: "It is difficult in the absence of alternatives to see that developing societies have much choice but to develop their attractiveness as objects of the tourist gaze, particularly for visitors from North America, western Europe and increasingly from Japan."<sup>11</sup> Where primitivity was, civilization and tourism *must* eventually be, with development often a code word for dependency.

Against this narrative, the objects of tourism are regarded not as what has been lost but as what has been saved. In this Euro-American marketing of "paradise," Pacific tourism is not so much a narrative of decline as one claiming to recuperate the past and redistribute its "aura" as a reward of human progress, as part of vacation breaks motivating the labor/leisure model of modern civilization. In seeking at once to "distance and appropriate" the past, histouricism has an oddly antiquarian spirit.<sup>12</sup> At the same time, histouricism historicizes tourism as the redemptive outcome of the spread of modernity. It does not deny that in the modernizing process "overthrows" occurred; rather, it frames "overthrows" in ways that gloss or justify their costs from the vantage point of liberal progressive promotional narratives. Such narratives represent Americans as "assuming responsi-

10. Renato Rosaldo, *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis* (Boston: Beacon, 1989), 70.

11. John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage, 1990). While some notion of the "gaze" is important for discussing tourism, theorizing the gaze is complexified by the endless variety of tourist occasions. For one thing, like colonialism, with which forms of tourism share structural features, tourism is always creating its own cultures. For a canny overview of theories of tourism, see T. Selwyn, "The Anthropology of Tourism: Reflections on the State of the Art," in *Tourism: The State of the Art*, ed. A. V. Seaton et al. (Chichester, England: John Wiley and Sons Ltd., 1994), 729-36.

12. Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1993), 142. Stewart argues that "the antiquarian searches for an internal relation between past and present which is made possible by their absolute disruption. Hence his or her search is primarily an aesthetic one, an attempt to erase the actual past in order to create an imagined past which is available for consumption" (143).

bility" and "natives" as needing and desiring intervention, as well as sharing its benefits—which include, paradoxically, opportunities to reappropriate native customs. In other words, historicism discloses tourism as never simple nostalgia, as never the avoidance of history, but as fetishized history that breaks up otherness in order to assimilate it to the gazer's needs. Historicism exemplifies what Fanon calls the "perverted logic" by which the indigenous past is disfigured, a "devaluing" of history that has "dialectical significance" in the present.<sup>13</sup>

Consider, for example, the cultural work involved in the mode of manipulating "facts" in the following typical, founding accounts of how America acquired Hawai'i:

In 1893 Queen Liliuokalani was overthrown by prominent businessmen and the U.S. military. Hawaii was suddenly under the jurisdiction of a United States provisional government. The Republic of Hawaii came into existence on July 4, 1894, with Sanford B. Dole, a missionary descendant, as president. The islands were annexed by the United States in 1898 and made a territory in 1900. Hawaii became the 50th state in 1959, ending the campaign for statehood that had begun at the turn of the century. Today Hawaii's population exceeds one million and Honolulu is the country's 11th largest city. Unique in so many ways, our islands offer endless opportunity for informative exploration, sightseeing and cultural enrichment.

A revolution, led mainly by American residents who desired that the Polynesian kingdom should become annexed to its closest neighbor nation, in 1893 overthrew Liliuokalani, the Hawaiian queen, who was trying to force the people to go back to the days of strong rule by the crown. Despite a royalist counterrevolution in 1895, the Republic of Hawaii survived until 1898, when the Spanish-American War revealed to the United States the importance of Pearl Harbor as a Pacific defense station. Hawaii became an organized territory, self-governing under Congress. Visitors curious to view this new possession began to come in increasing numbers.<sup>14</sup>

13. Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, pref. John Paul Sartre, trans. Constance Farrington (New York: Grove Press, 1966), 210.

14. A. Grove Day, *Jack London in the South Seas* (New York: Four Winds Press, 1971), 56. Hereafter, this work is cited parenthetically as JL.

Both passages present the overthrow as fully historical yet somehow natural, or apart from human agency. The Republic "came into existence" on America's Independence Day (as an extension of an American revolutionary impulse), and, after its strategic importance was "revealed" by the Spanish-American War, it "became an organized territory." The events are recited (as infinitely reiterable facts) in the voice of the tour guide. The reader who visits this "place" in history without prior knowledge is powerless to interrogate the facts and absolved from trying; the guide transfers responsibility for the otherwise estranged facts to himself, allowing the reader to relax and "learn" through a process Urry terms "edu-tainment."<sup>15</sup>

The first passage above is from a recent weekly tourist brochure, *Oahu Gold* (May 1996), available on every block of Waikiki; the second, arguably "more" touristic passage is from a work of literary scholarship, *Jack London in the South Seas* (1971), by a writer whom James Michener called "the foremost authority on Pacific literature."<sup>16</sup> Both passages sublate race to accounts of a democratic acquisition from which everyone is presumed to benefit. The first passage implies a "campaign for statehood" among all of Hawai'i's peoples—irrespective of race/class interest—from the overthrow forward; the second suggests that fed up Hawaiians agreed to be "led mainly by American residents" in a "revolution" against their own queen. That the two passages are similar in style (obfuscatory passives), historical vision, structure (skipping from politics to tourism), and a grounding (if unconscious) racism that represses indigenous counternarratives suggests continuities among Pacific scholarship and touristic writing that are best approached in terms of the time/place-bound demands of the tourist industry, with its linkages to American geopolitical, spiritual, economic, and libidinal desires, however much these may be seen as nested within a general reflex against a traumatic modernity.

15. Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 153. In the same work, Urry argues that "holidays are not so straightforwardly contrasted with education and learning as in the past" (154). For Urry, history and authenticity are not givens but are "assimilated into ourselves and resurrected in an ever changing present" (110). Forms of "edu-tainment" include Elder Hostel, Study Abroad programs, or textual travel in *National Geographic*. On the "gloss of education" in the Kodak Hula show, see Elizabeth Buck, *Paradise Remade: The Politics of Culture and History in Hawai'i* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993), 2.

16. James Michener, foreword to *Hawaii and Points South: True Island Tales*, ed. A. Grove Day (Honolulu: Mutual Books, 1986), xii.

....

Here is an "imported" people, only about a hundred years old which has supplanted, devoured the autochthones by every means of legal destruction, and which now tries to revive these old populations . . . to slowly reconstitute their religions and legends . . . in order to create for itself new local ancestors as a memorial.

—Victor Segalen, "Les Immémoriaux"

What redeems it is the idea only. An idea at the back of it.

—Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*

The "Pacific career" of A. Grove Day (1904–1994), author of the second founding account discussed in the previous section, was coterminous with the drive to statehood in Hawai'i and the rise to dominance of the tourist industry. Day's career, thoroughly implicated as it was in touristic perception, suggests a complex set of relays among American ideology, scholarship, literary criticism, popular culture, and the tourist industry. Day would write prolifically on a variety of "Pacific" subjects for over thirty years after statehood (1959), but his outlook remained largely stationary and shaped by desires that connected the assumptions and goals of tourism with the "democratic" vision articulated during the drive for statehood. For instance, he describes an early "history" as being aimed at "those who are concerned about that fitness of Hawaii's people to become citizens"<sup>17</sup> and expresses confidence that those who can be induced to visit will become advocates: "Most of the thousands of tourists who visited the islands," he writes, "became enthusiastic supporters of Hawaii's claims to statehood" (H, 292). Before and after statehood, Day sought to establish a tradition of fine "Pacific" literary writings, which functioned for him like heirlooms, displaying a durable American connection to the islands, weaving a cultural narrative "at the expense of a larger view of history and causality."<sup>18</sup> Likewise, writings about the wider Pacific form a background against which the

17. A. Grove Day and Ralph S. Kuykendall, *Hawaii: A History, from Polynesian Kingdom to American State* (1948; reprint, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1976), vi. Hereafter, this work is cited parenthetically as *H*. I refer to this work as Day's, though the primary research is Kuykendall's. Day describes the "collaboration" as follows: "I supplied most of the final manuscript and the publishing know-how; he supplied his fund of lifetime study and an occasional verbatim paragraph" (in *What Did I Do Right?: An Auto-Bibliography* [Honolulu: A White Knight Chapbook, 1974], 27). It is important to note about the statehood ballot that the yes/no "vote" precluded discussion of Hawaiian sovereignty. 18. Stewart, *On Longing*, 137.

progress of Hawai'i ("From Primitive Times to Statehood," as Day habitually put it) can be set off and assessed. The rest of the Pacific is what Hawai'i evolved from, what it might still be without intervention, but also what it retains in now domesticated form.

Though Day's writings rarely attracted the mainland audiences he sought, his works continue to sell well in Hawai'i, and he played a significant role in "authorizing" Euro-American writing about the Pacific.<sup>19</sup> When Day's college friend Carl Stroven (with whom Day collaborated on five anthologies of "Pacific" literature) initiated his Pacific literature class at the University of Hawai'i in the summer of 1936, it was the first course of its kind "in" America and marked a gradual shift in the consideration of Pacific texts from the anthropological to the literary. Day, who arrived in Hawai'i in 1944 with an interest in discovery narrative and primitive art, as evidenced in *Coronado's Quest* (1940) and *The Sky Clears: An Anthology of Indian Poetry* (dissertation, 1944; published, 1951), began teaching the course in the late forties.<sup>20</sup> Pacific literature in English has been taught continuously in the English Department at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa (which Day chaired from 1948–1953) to this day, only recently beginning to balance dis-

19. Only two of Day's books were large commercial successes, one an anthology, *The Greatest American Short Story* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1953), the other a collaboration with James Michener entitled *Rascals in Paradise* (New York: Random House, 1955), which was a national best-seller for ten weeks. My use of the word *authorize* invokes Jonathan Arac's discussion of F. O. Matthiessen as a figure who played a "decisive role in making possible the American academic study of American literature" in "F. O. Matthiessen: Authorizing an American Renaissance," in *The American Renaissance Reconsidered*, ed. Walter Benn Michaels and Donald Pease (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 90. This involved delimiting the field through the mobilization of a group of figures (canon formation). In far more sophisticated ways than Day, Matthiessen allied his project with "those who believe now in the dynamic extension of democracy" (Arac, 95). According to Arac, Matthiessen's "American Renaissance" required a certain denial of history and depoliticization—an evasion of slavery, the Civil War, and nonwhite perspectives in the interest of Democratic wholeness—that began as "a Depression tactic of harmony" and became "a postwar myth of empire" (Arac, 99). See F. O. Matthiessen, *American Renaissance: Art and Expression in the Age of Emerson and Whitman* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941), 4.

20. Day considered "Literature of the Pacific" his favorite course, and claims to have originally come to Hawai'i "because of a book"—an anthology of "our rich heritage of Pacific literature in English" to be coedited with Stroven (this finally appeared as *Spell of the Pacific*, with a foreword by James Michener, in 1949). See Gay Sibley, "Conversations with a Nesomaniac: An Interview with A. Grove Day," in *Literary Arts Hawaii: A Publication of the Hawaii Literary Arts Council* (spring/summer 1988): 23.

cussion of works by indigenous writers against those of literary "travelers" and "discoverers."<sup>21</sup> Credentialed in part by his status as university expert, Day wrote entries about Hawai'i for *World Book Encyclopedia* (1957–1959) and *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1959–1974—"for fifteen years," he claimed, "my article was the authority"<sup>22</sup>). In 1979, he received the Hawaii Award for Literature. Upon his death in 1994, Day was eulogized in a *Honolulu Advertiser* editorial as "Hawaii's Literary Lion," to whom "Hawaii and the rest of the Pacific owe . . . a particular literary debt." The editorial concluded that Day was "the pre-eminent source" for the literature of the South Seas, as well as "a scholar and serious literary historian."<sup>23</sup> In this, Day appeared as the "literary man" in a larger project involving a variety of Pacific experts centered around the university and the Bishop Museum, most of whom took more "scientific," less library-bound approaches, and some of whom were explicitly concerned with the preservation (if not perpetuation) of Hawaiian and other Pacific cultures. Though Day did associate with these scholars in what was a much smaller university setting (the university went from 2,500 students in 1946 to 25,000 in 1976), his literary vision has left a different legacy from the work of scholars such as Kenneth Emory (archaeology), Katherine Luomala (folklore), and Samuel Elbert (linguistics). Day's

21. It would be simplistic to imply that today, when literatures of, and about, the Pacific still fight for institutional space and "legitimacy," there has been a thorough break from Day's patterns of perception. For an overview of "the tortuous development of the discipline of Pacific history at the University of Hawaii," see Brij V. Lal's introduction to *Wansalawara: Soundings in Melanesian History* (Pacific Islands Studies Program, University of Hawai'i, 1987, photocopy), 1. The Stroven course (English 480) remains the only course on the books in Pacific literature in the English Department at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, with the exception of the cross-listed "Ethnic Literature of Hawai'i," initiated by Richard Hamasaki and Wayne Westlake through the ethnic studies program. The English Department has hired its first Pacific literature specialist, who will arrive in the fall of 1997, and English 480 is now cross-listed with Pacific Island studies. The slowness to hire a Pacific specialist results, in part, from problems of offerings and credentialing. Even where there are courses, there may be no degree. The Hawaiian Studies Department at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa has no M.A. or Ph.D., making it difficult to get a degree that would meet university hiring standards. However, the University of Hawai'i at Hilo has recently been granted an M.A. by the Board of Regents.

22. Day, *What Did I Do Right?* 58.

23. "A. Grove Day: Hawaii's Literary Lion," editorial, *Honolulu Advertiser*, 29 Mar. 1994. In a front-page piece, "A. Grove Day Killed in Fall from Apartment" (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 28 Mar. 1994), Harold Morse described Day as a towering literary figure . . . who brought to life the colorful history of Hawaii and other Pacific islands."

legacy has been noted by Subramani and Stephen Sumida, among others in passing, but he has received no sustained critique.<sup>24</sup>

Many of Day's generation served in the Pacific during World War II, but unlike the scholars mentioned above, Day carries over into his work a vision of the American Pacific as a theater of liberatory values. He writes, characteristically, that "the war and the needs of the postwar world have shown how necessary it is to use writing and reading to hold civilization together,"<sup>25</sup> suggesting a cultural-ethical split between American cultural forms and their others, which become, structurally, both "communism" and "primitivity." Day rarely offers explicitly political sentiments. His diction is heavily partisan, but the works present themselves as anti-ideological, with a moral authority produced by a massive interaction between a liberal Christian mind and the archive. Though written in a chatty, Panglossian, anecdotal way, every word implies that Day's texts rest on capacious research and insider's knowledge. He could have written more "academically," he seems to say, were he not, in a democratizing spirit, aiming for the widest audience. Day gives no sources, no notes; he admits no uncertainties, posits no alternative interpretations, and reprints essays thirty years later without revision, as if revision would admit ambivalence. Chronology hardly matters in his work.

The dynamics of such writing—as Edward Said, Aijaz Ahmad, Mary Louise Pratt, and David Spurr argue in critiques of colonial discourse—is that what is delivered as unbiased and historical promotes, grounds, and mystifies the consuming culture's investments. Ahmad argues that "non-fiction" has been central to the dispossession of Native peoples, since to assert that "what one is presenting is 'essentially descriptive' is to assert a level of facticity which conceals its own ideology, and to prepare a ground

24. See Subramani, *South Pacific Literature: From Myth to Fabulation*, rev. ed. (Suva, Fiji: Institute of Pacific Studies, 1992), 80, 87. In "A. Grove Day: A Critical Appreciation" (*Honolulu Advertiser*, 3 Apr. 1994), Rob Wilson suggested that "in certain respects, [Day] took an exclusionary approach to mapping Pacific cultures . . . that is now being challenged and undone by indigenous, hybrid and ethnic perspectives." See also "Goodbye Paradise: Global/Localism in the American Pacific," in *Global/Local: Cultural Production and the Transnational Imaginary*, ed. Rob Wilson and Wimal Dissanayake (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press), 312–36, which critiques "the de-historicizing fantasy of a dominant culture expanding its terrain and *telos* of development-driven material prosperity—at whatever cost to indigenous or local culture—into the Asian-Pacific" (320).

25. A. Grove Day, "Writer's Magic," *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors* 33, no. 2 (summer 1947): 269.

from which judgements of classification, generalization and value can be made."<sup>26</sup> Echoing Said, Pratt focuses on how "travel and exploration writing produced 'the rest of the world' for European readerships" and how travel writings "encode and legitimate the aspirations of economic expansion and empire."<sup>27</sup> In this, Day appears as a centric figure for an Americanist Pacific Orientalism that resembles Said's "orientalism" (Said's orientalism applies to the Orient "most of the time," but not exclusively<sup>28</sup>) but differs in its manifest tropes (i.e., not Oriental despotism but primitive communalism), institutional and geopolitical bases, disciplinary affiliations, and latent underpinnings. Day consolidates discourses and "knowledges" based on a one-way gaze that is deeply enmeshed in American spatio-temporal desires.

In this sense, Sumida's description of the construction of Hawai'i as "a blank appeal to the tourist world" that denies history—his view of tourism as synonymous with ahistoricism—actually minimizes the damaging cultural work done by historicism, with its multiple linkages that often make it hard to distinguish the "touristic" from the "not-touristic."<sup>29</sup> Day does not deny history and cannot be accused of ignoring "facts." He "knows" more in terms of a certain kind of sociohistorical and bio-bibliographic detail than most who would critique him. Rather, whether seeing "through" literary texts, the archive, or previous scholars, he deploys history as a rationale for promoting Hawai'i as a destination for tourism, investment, and military buildup. Thus, in the foreword to *Hawaii: A History* (1948), a work that was "a required text for the large courses in History of Hawaii at the University" for several decades,<sup>30</sup> Day skips between an imperial vision—"it is believed

that a reading of Hawaii's eventful history will give many clues to the future of America's role in the Pacific era"—and an assurance that "the romance of swaying palm trees and hula skirts has not passed away" (H, v):

Tourists can still find in these islands the picturesque languor of flowery Polynesia. But no one should overlook the forces by which, through economic initiative and under democratic ideals, a group of Pacific islands have been transformed, within a few lifetimes, into a thriving commonwealth . . . of many ancestral stocks, all working together to erect an American state. . . . The true story of the creation of this commonwealth . . . is one that should bring inspiration to all believers in progress. (H, vi)

Day and Kuykendall's work posits an overlap between the interests of scholars and the interests of the general touristic reader: "It is hoped that the book will be of special interest not only to residents of Hawaii and to students of its history, but likewise to the many visitors . . . who have come to its shores in the past and who may come in the future" (H, vi). Likewise, Day presents Robert Louis Stevenson's *Travels in Hawaii* "for the enjoyment of readers who have visited America's fiftieth state or wish to do so" and notes that the areas Stevenson describes "are much better known to visitors today and the footsteps of R. L. S. can more easily be retraced."<sup>31</sup> In a perverse echoing of indigenous knowledges, every feature of the landscape becomes a touristic marker. Thus, Day finds Mark Twain's *Letters* "laden with dozens of descriptions of scenic features of the islands that are still landmarks today."<sup>32</sup> Everywhere, Day stresses the ways in which "a group of Pacific islands" (i.e., recalcitrant, savage spots) has been "transformed" into an area whose markers reveal to tourists a historic (geo-cultural) relation between Hawai'i and America.<sup>33</sup> Hawai'i is realized both as a "defense

26. Aijaz Ahmad, *In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures* (London: Verso, 1993), 99. See David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1993); and Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Knopf, 1993), and *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979).

27. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 5.

28. Said, *Orientalism*, 2.

29. Stephen Sumida, "Sense of Place, History, and the Concept of the 'Local' in Hawaii's Asian/Pacific Literatures," in *Reading the Literatures of Asian America*, ed. Shirley Lim and Amy Ling (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992), 215. Sumida does suggest that decontextualized cultural production—in particular, a snatching out of context of Hawaiian Renaissance works—serves "the exoticist interests of tourism, whether in popular culture, the arts, or in scholarship" (220). In this context, see Houston Wood, "Displacing Natives: The Rhetorical Production of Hawai'i" (Ph.D. diss., University of Hawai'i, 1996).

30. Day, *What Did I Do Right?* 20.

31. A. Grove Day, introduction to Robert Louis Stevenson, *Travels in Hawai'i*, ed. A. Grove Day (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1991), xxxiv, 3.

32. A. Grove Day, *Mad about Islands: Novelists of a Vanished Pacific* (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1987), xii. Hereafter, this work is cited parenthetically as *M*.

33. Day describes how American "residents" desired "annexation" to their "closest neighbor nation," as if there were some natural geographic connection between the United States and Hawai'i. He locates the islands as near or far, depending on the occasion. Describing an 1804 episode in which Russians attempted to stake a claim to Hawai'i, Day refers to Hawai'i as if it had Cuba's proximity to the continent: had the Russians succeeded, Hawai'i would have been "a menacing Soviet bastion offshore from California" (in *Rogues of the South Seas* [Honolulu: Mutual Press, 1986], 3). When praising the

outpost of the nation" and as "one of the Nation's finest playgrounds" (*H*, 214, 240). It defends freedom and rewards workers with visits to a place culturally disposed to languorous aloha.

The most telling quality of Day's account of Liliou'kalani's overthrow cited earlier is the ease with which it glides from the illegal annexation to a discussion of the tourist industry and the role literary writers have in promoting Hawai'i. The passage continues: "When the Londons toured the islands in 1907, however, most Americans did not know the charm of this group of mid-Pacific islands, now the Fiftieth State. Jack set out to describe some of its wonders for his readers" (*JL*, 56). This promotion is what Day's "history" and literary criticism are invested in. Their form has a touristic feel—postcard mini-"facts" jumbled with sight-seeing description. In the end, it is Day who, through presenting London as unwitting travel agent, describes the "charm" of the islands to mainland readers:

London kept repeating that he could not understand why Oahu, which he called "the garden of the world," was not thronged with tourists. . . . Jack kept shaking his head about the lack of interest of the American people in their recent possession. "They don't know what they've got!" he said. "Just watch this land in the future, when once they wake up!" He could not guess that, partly because of his writings, more than a million people a year would come in the 1970s to the Pali Lookout to visit this panorama in the Fiftieth State. (*JL*, 62)

In such passages, where scholarship, imperial politics, and touristic promotion have become fully conflated as part of an implied democracy-extending mission, "front" (Pacific scholarship) and "back" (touristic desire) collapse into each other. In this—what Haunani-Kay Trask calls "jingoistic tourist promot[ion]"<sup>34</sup>—it is not so much A. Grove Day at issue as his exposure of discursive formations and apparatuses: the universities that validate him; the publishers and university presses that extend his audience and authority; the bookstores that position his work as authentic Hawaiiana; the tourists whose desires his books cultivate; the postwar/cold war imaginary of which Day seems an overdetermined instance (where fighting commu-

power of American ideals, he writes of building "citizens even on an island far from the continental coast" (*H*, 237).

34. Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i* (Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press, 1993), 183. Trask writes most explicitly on the devastating effects of tourism on Hawaiians in the chapter "Lovely Hula Hands: Corporate Tourism and the Prostitution of Hawaiian Culture" (179–97).

nists gets allied to Americanizing antipluralistic, primitive societies); the specific contexts of the drive to finalize Hawai'i as American space; and the "deeper background" of the national project.

That conditions existed within and outside the academy in which Day could function as expert for many readers reveals core values underwriting major American sociopolitical institutions. If Day's fantasies finally have little authoritative to say about Pacific peoples and cultures, they tell a lot about the means by which his expertise could be constituted. If there is a Day (scholar) "behind" tourism, Day himself is a "front," or symptom, of national desires. What is at issue then, as Anne Anlin Cheng makes clear in an essay on race and fantasy, is not "the real versus the unreal" but the "question of how those categories come to acquire their particular status and currency."<sup>35</sup> Day's fantasies resonate with national narratives that "back" a tradition of American imperialism and intervention into third world countries, in which America recasts itself as a redeemer nation—the "lighthouse of democracy in the Pacific," as Betty Farrington put it, echoing John Winthrop.<sup>36</sup> In an editorial written to coincide with Nixon's 1972 visit to China, for instance, Day wrote that the United States was "clearly the nation with the greatest stake in preserving peace not only in Oceania, but among all the many leading countries bordering the Pacific. The assumption of responsibility for the Philippines in 1898, and for the 3 million square miles of the United States Trust Territory in 1947, underlined America's commitment."<sup>37</sup>

35. Anne Anlin Cheng, "Race and Fantasy in Modern America: Subjective Dissimulation/Racial Assimilation," in *Multiculturalism and Representation*, ed. John Rieder and Larry E. Smith (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i: East-West Center, 1995), 180.

36. Quoted in A. Grove Day, *Hawaii and Its People* (Honolulu: Mutual Press, 1993), 283. (Day does not document the Farrington text.) Hereafter, this work is cited parenthetically as *HIP*.

37. "Should U.S. Get Out of the Pacific?" *Honolulu Advertiser*, 18 Feb. 1972, op. ed. Day argues in this editorial that "the 21st Century will be the century of the Pacific Community. Americans should not forget that they have been pioneers." He notes that America "embarked in 1867 on overseas expansion when Midway was annexed." Of the fate of several Micronesian possessions, Day writes, "The United States will retain control over the strategically located island nations, however; thousands of American lives were spent during the war to obtain possession of some of these stepping-stone regions, and Americans would not willingly give military or naval bases on our Pacific frontier to possible enemies" (*M*, 21). In this perennial, ruthless crisis mode, all areas of the world must be assessed in light of their strategic value. The vision is common to cold war compilers of Pacific adventures, among whom A. B. C. Whipple, associate editor of *Life* magazine in the forties, might be taken as representative: "If the U.S. Government had had the foresight in the Pacific that it had in the American West, we would not later have had to win back from the



That an explicitly touristic promotion of Pacific paradises accelerated during the Vietnam War, which Day skips over in his discussion of America's "assumption of responsibility," suggests the extent to which tourism blocks from self-knowledge the contexts of its development, its effects on Natives and locals, and the racist principles around which such erasures are organized.

....

Hawaii's going to become a state pretty soon, and I think Americans ought to know, from the pens of those who did the building and watched it, what happened there.

—James Michener, introduction to *A Hawaiian Reader*

Did not Columbus himself set sail because he had read Marco Polo's narrative?

—Tsvetan Todorov, *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other*

Chris Connery and Rob Wilson discuss attitudes toward the Pacific in terms of an "oceanic feeling," in which the sea, with its awful immensities and indefinitenesses, stimulates and emboldens America's Pacific desires. This sense of a Pacific sublime underlies touristic writing about the Pacific from past to present, from D. H. Lawrence's notion of Polynesians "turning over in the same sleep" to Annie Dillard's egregiously exoticist "Sirens of the South Seas."<sup>38</sup> Day's anthology titles consistently stress the oneiric,

Japanese many islands that were discovered by American whalers in the first place" (see *Yankee Whalers in the South Seas* [Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle, 1973], 9).

38. Chris Connery, "The Oceanic Feeling and the Regional Imaginary," in Wilson and Dissanayake, *Global/Local*, 284–311. D. H. Lawrence typifies the ways in which, as Marianna Torgovnick, in *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellectuals, Modern Lives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), argues, ethnographically informed literature, "especially when influenced by Freud, collaborated with other aspects of our culture in perpetuating an image of the primitive that is still with us, and still immensely powerful and seductive" (3). See Lawrence, *Studies in Classic American Literature* (New York: Viking, 1966), 132. Day reprints Dillard's article, originally written in 1985 for an airline magazine, in *The Lure of Tahiti* (Honolulu: Mutual Press, 1988) as a serious "travel essay" that illustrates two centuries of "joyous intermingling of genes between islanders and thousands of strangers of varied ethnic groups." For Day, it is "amazing, however, that one can still define and view a 'typical' Tahitian type—especially among the women of the island" (headnote 3; my emphasis). Drawing eclectically on anthropologist Douglas Oliver and Louis de Bougainville, Dillard presents Tahiti as a sexual paradise of "sweet ease" and "voluptuous luxury"

luring quality of the Pacific places, as in *The Spell of the Pacific* (with Stroven, 1949), *The Lure of Tahiti: An Armchair Companion* (1986), and *The Spell of Hawaii* (with Stroven, 1968), or *Mad about Islands: Novelists of a Vanished Pacific* (1986), a collection of Day's introductions to the "Tales of the Pacific" series that Day edited for Mutual Publishing (Honolulu) that expresses his vision of the literary Pacific. This vision, as his subtitle suggests, is one of the "vanished" Pacific as redeemed by novelists who, acting like salvage anthropologists, record scenes of its inevitable displacement into touristic economies. The "classic" texts capture and transport readers to primal time-places, inducing a sublime delirium. Thus, Day's title evokes Michener's term *nesomaniac* ("person mad about islands") to describe the Pacific dreamer. Such a person may seek to "escape the humdrum round of daily existence . . . through the looking glass of literature" (*M*, 1) or may be physically drawn to the Pacific through reading. London's "imagination was kindled by reading the romantic books of Herman Melville and Robert Louis Stevenson" (*M*, 1); Day's was likewise fired by literary tourism. Michener suggests the dynamics of this nesomania, in which writing whets what Said calls the "geographical appetite"<sup>39</sup>:

From his early years, A. Grove Day kept his eyes toward the Pacific. Childhood reading of Jack London and Robert Louis Stevenson whetted his desire to visit the South Seas, and when as an undergraduate at Stanford University, within view of the broad Pacific Ocean, he wrote his first novel (never published), the setting was remote Rennell Island, southernmost of the Solomons, where almost anything could happen.<sup>40</sup>

In other words, Day dreamed of islands through reading until he wound up on one, and then he dreamed he was connected to the history of the region and Hawai'i until he felt that the island's history was his to use to entice others. From this position, he could write histories that confirmed and reproduced the custodial logic that enabled him to be the sort of Pacific expert he was, convinced that he articulated the hopes for a multiracial paradise at the same time that he could not help envisioning the university as an "outpost," and he always positioned his reader as Euro-American. (Day writes, for in-

that "Gauguin in no wise exaggerated" (4), and, despite riots among tourist workers, anti-nuclear protest, and a growing maohi sovereignty movement, Dillard presents Tahitians as "langorous," happy natives.

39. Said, *Orientalism*, 216.

40. Michener, foreword to *Hawaii and Points South*, ix.

stance, of "a time when our European ancestors knew little more than the shores of the narrow Mediterranean Sea" [*H*, 5].) Arguably, Day never escaped his childhood dream, and because he could not publish novels about places where "almost anything could happen," his scholarship expresses a displaced longing, becomes itself vicarious travel, a secondary tourism to "vanished" places that mediates as it guides the contemporary reader through previous touristic accounts. At the same time, Day exemplifies an American orientalist mind-set, passionate about democracy yet unable to acknowledge voices other than those of American consensus-historians as relevant in narrating Hawai'i.

Day is thus rendered incapable of reading the pantheon of authors he has loved since boyhood—most of whom have anti-imperialist moments—as anything other than American apologists and proto-boosters (my word) for what Teresia Teiawa calls "militourism."<sup>41</sup> In Twain, London, and Melville—writers whom Michener claims "helped mould the intellectual character of these islands"—Day cannot help but find confirmation of a messianic vision. Twain's travel letters are "an early prophecy of what America's role in the Pacific was to become in the century ahead of him" (*M*, 92). Regarding London, Day asks, "What other writer at this early date better glimpsed the role of America in Asia and in the Pacific, ocean of the future?" (*M*, xxi). Of Melville, Day reports, "Through his eyes we can see what the Pacific, America's ocean of the future, was like during America's past" (*M*, 60). The phrase "through his eyes" catches Day's habit of attributing and authorizing his own viewpoints and aspirations through literary figures—especially attitudes about Protestant Christianity. For instance, Day argues that Twain would not "have satirized the missionaries themselves, for these were the ones who brought the light of religion and civilization to the islands" (*M*, 100), despite the fact that Twain's bigoted journals repeatedly accuse missionaries of bigotry and hypocrisy.<sup>42</sup> Day filters out crucial interferences within

41. Teresia Teiawa, "Bikinis and Other S/Pacific N/Oceans," *Contemporary Pacific* 6, no. 1 (spring 1994): 87–109. Teiawa coins *militourism* to signify both a kind of tourism whose stability is underwritten by military presence and to suggest a symbiotic connection between invasive military and touristic drives: for instance, in discussing the genesis of the swimming apparel term *bikini* and the effects of nuclear testing on Bikini Islanders, Teiawa argues that "by drawing attention to a sexualized and supposedly depoliticized female body, the bikini distracts from the colonial and highly political origins of its name" (87). Perhaps the most famous of Twain's descriptions of Hawai'i, "the loveliest fleet of islands that lies anchored in any ocean," manifests a militouristic unconscious.

42. For instance, in the following passage, which suggests something about Twain's racial views that might be applied to discussions of the "n"-word in *Huck Finn*, Twain critiques

these early texts and erases the senses in which an author such as Melville always depended on (and parodied) texts that were themselves mediated and citational. Melville acknowledged that his South Seas was already a cliché and that "we whites have a sad reputation among many of the Polynesians."<sup>43</sup> Thus, Day's remediations constitute a conscription of "classic" writers into the project of promoting Pacific destinations and development.

Whether in coffee-table books, juvenile fiction, classroom texts, or scholarly articles, these promotional desires come out in guidebook excursions. In the middle of a "social history," Day writes, "This was the first Volcano House, on a site not far from the present world-famed hostelry reached by automobile from Hilo in less than an hour" (*HIP*, 185). In a literary introduction, he argues that Maugham's "best descriptions of *Pacific amenities* are to be found in a story that *should have attracted droves of sun-seekers* to head at once for French Oceania" (*M*, 177; my emphasis).<sup>44</sup> In an *American Speech* essay, he writes, "The visitor . . . will enjoy his stay more if he knows something about the Hawaiian language" and "a phrase or two of pidgin."<sup>45</sup> In this spirit, Day lauds Twain's decision not to mention leprosy in his "Letters" for fear of "discourag[ing] foreign investment" (*M*, 93) and argues that Twain made important contributions to the literature of the Hawaiian Islands because "what he wrote is still being . . . used in advertisements, and quoted over dinner tables" (*M*, ix). This idea of writings

British missionaries: "Thus in the neighborhood of a hundred preachers to save 50,000 niggers [Hawaiians], & they decreasing at rate of 12 percent. Double the preachers & you double this percent" (in *Mark Twain's Notebooks & Journals: Volume 1 [1855–1873]*, ed. Frederick Anderson, Michael B. Frank, and Kenneth M. Sanderson [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975], 135).

43. See Herman Melville's reconstructed lecture, "The South Seas," in *The Piazza Tales and Other Prose Pieces, 1839–1860*, ed. Harrison Hayford, Alma A. MacDougall, and G. Thomas Tanselle (Evanston and Chicago: Northwestern University Press/Newberry Library, 1987), 415. See M. Consuelo Leon W. for a discussion of how, "by 1820, American residents had an image of the Pacific Ocean and its shores that had resulted from innumerable perceptions and beliefs based on everything from maps to hearsay," in "Foundations of the American Image of the Pacific," in *Asia/Pacific as Space of Cultural Production* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1995), 29. Her essay includes early-nineteenth-century maps that have engravings of hula girls where the Polynesian Islands might be.

44. Compare: "Less than two centuries ago, the islands were inhabited by a race of Stone Age people who enjoyed a high culture developed in their oceanic environment and marked by *many amenities and charming folkways* which should be remembered in our more frenetic age" (*HIP*, 286; my emphasis).

45. A. Grove Day, "How to Talk in Hawaii," *American Speech* (Feb. 1951): 18.

that glamorize and saturate with preconceptions the gaze of potential (or current) tourists is the common denominator for Euro-American fictive and nonfictive touristic writing about Pacific places. Scholarly criticism that lauds such writing redoubles its motions and collapses the difference between scholarship and promotion. Day, as literary critic, could praise Michener's *Hawaii* for being "founded on truth but not fact" (M, 247). Likewise, Congressman Daniel K. Inouye of Hawai'i, functioning as unwitting cultural critic, paid tribute to Michener's promotional power, praising Michener for effect rather than accuracy—for bringing "the attention of the world to this glamorous, lovely area" (M, 242).

....

The "neo-Hawaiians" of today—alert, healthy, and smiling—are an outstanding proof of the power of American ideals to build citizens even on islands far from the continental coast.

—A. Grove Day, *Hawaii and Its People*

The Tourist trade is going to be the new missionary trade, only this time the Bible is to be the Yankee dollar, and the priests are to be the tourist owners, and the altar of sacrifice is to be our people.

—Albert Wendt, *Leaves of the Banyan Tree*

On bookracks in Waikiki, copies of Day's "Tales of the Pacific" series are displayed as definitive works. In superbookstores, Day's texts are mixed in with Hawaiiana and "local" writing, of which he was de facto a powerful suppressor. As Said argues, "The power to narrate, or to block other narratives from forming and emerging, is very important to culture and imperialism."<sup>46</sup> The influential anthology *A Hawaiian Reader*—which Michener described as "a birthday book to a new state"<sup>47</sup>—marginalizes local and Hawaiian voices, placing a short section on "Ancient Hawaii" as an appendix, disconnecting Hawaiian culture from contemporary literary expression in Hawai'i.<sup>48</sup> At the same time, Day and Stroven claim to judge their selec-

tions solely on these criteria: "Does this piece have literary value? Is it interesting? Does it capture in some significant way the spirit of the time and place?"<sup>49</sup> The implication is that nonwhite writers, if they exist, have nothing to contribute to the outsider's feel for the spirit of Hawai'i.

Despite his blindness to local and indigenous writing—or to cultural exchange among Natives and newcomers—Day styled himself a benefactor of Pacific Island studies and peoples. After his retirement, he "pledged \$10,000 in matching funds to establish a University Press publication to be called *Pacific Humanities Journal*,"<sup>50</sup> and books of his, such as *Hawaii and Points South: True Island Tales*, are inscribed, "To my Hawaiian students and other Polynesian friends this book is dedicated with aloha." In other words, he remained serenely unaware of his own racist viewpoints, as if for him racism was only an overt act of discrimination, like Jim Crow laws, which, he proudly reminded us, did not exist in Hawai'i. Day saw his meliorism as liberal along a spectrum of ideas presented as viable. Against open racists and segregationists, Day celebrated Hawai'i's diversity, but only insofar as others can be Americanized in his "Melting Pot of the Pacific"—made into smiling "neo"-Hawaiians.<sup>51</sup> In the days after annexation, Day writes, "Americanization of Hawaii's people was the watchword." However,

Many persons were not optimistic that this aim could be achieved, because so much of the population was made up of people from Asia. . . . The Oriental aliens were barred by law from becoming American citizens. Their children born in the islands were citizens under the Organic Act and the United States Constitution. Could they be made Americans in spirit as well? (*HIP*, 232–33)

rad (Wollongong, Australia: New Literatures Research Centre, University of Wollongong, 1993), 190–207.

49. Michener, introduction to *A Hawaiian Reader*, vii.

50. Sibley, "Conversations with a Nesomaniac," 25.

51. For instance, many senators argued against the inclusion of Hawai'i's peoples into America on biological grounds. Strom Thurmond saw "the Eastern heritage" as "different in every essential—" (*Congressional Record*, 86th Cong., 1st sess., 1959, 3461–4646) and invoked Rudyard Kipling's "immortal words, 'East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet'" (quoted in Gavan Daws, *Shoal of Time* [Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1968], 388). Daws adopted a bemused but condemning irony toward prestatehood racism (293–391), while Day recorded it as a difference of opinion, at the same time that he authored an essay entitled "Racial Aloha in Hawaii" (which appeared in the *Nation* in 1948).

46. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, xiii.

47. James Michener, introduction to *A Hawaiian Reader*, ed. A. Grove Day and Carl Stroven (1959; reprint, Honolulu: Mutual Press, 1984), xi.

48. For an exemplary discussion of the influence of Hawaiian literary forms on contemporary writers in Hawai'i today, and on the educational implications of suppressing Hawaiian foundations, see Richard Hamasaki, "Mountains in the Sea: The Emergence of Contemporary Hawaiian Poetry in English," in *Readings in Pacific Literature*, ed. Paul Shar-

This passage, with its suggestion that "person" equals "white American," implies a liberality in the Constitution, which guarantees citizenry for those born "in" America; but it elides Asian-Exclusion laws, which should give him pause about American democracy. Day takes as an article of faith that Hawai'i and its peoples have a prophetic connection to the American spirit: "Annexation," he writes, fulfilled "what seemed to be the destiny of the Hawaiian islands" (*HIP*, 213). Once Hawai'i officially becomes American soil, its history is, retroactively, American, and has *always* been American history in the making.<sup>52</sup> Hawai'i's American citizens become entitled to see their connection to American history, to feel proud of their role in renewing the American principle of inclusiveness, at the same time that inclusion is always also a moment of panic: "they" are *nascent* Americans, Americans with vestigial differences. Polynesians, in particular, illustrate for Day the democratic miracle by which "they" have been transfigured from Stone Age cannibals to American Christians. It is not surprising, then, that, when asked by Gay Sibley about being "criticized in the press as a 'colonialist'" for not recognizing contributions by nonwhite authors, such as "'Chinese and Japanese Americans' and others born in the islands," Day answered that he had always "been aware that there are excellent but untranslated writings about the Pacific Islands in a dozen languages."<sup>53</sup> For all his espousal of "racial aloha," Day expected that nonwhite writers had not achieved a command of English, or expected natives and settlers to write only in "their" languages. It seems to have escaped him that, largely through the Americanization of the educational system that he celebrates as linguistic "destiny," English was enforced as the primary language of peoples in Hawai'i. (In "How to Talk in Hawaii," Day writes, "English appears destined to be the main language in Hawaii, and in competition the native language has declined."<sup>54</sup> He thus mystifies the agency of the devastating outlawing of Hawaiian in schools, referring to "the abandonment of the Hawaiian lan-

52. This forces Day into double attitudes, and, following Kuykendall, he deals with this by dividing Hawaiian history into three more or less discrete segments. The ancient and archaic can be looked at with romantic distance. In his discussion of the period of the Hawaiian monarchy, Day offers a positive take on everything in Hawaiian history that forecasts annexation, and a negative, glossing view on all that opposes it—hence the undemocratic Kalakaua is always "Kalakaua Rex," and any revival of native custom is "backsliding" (*HIP*, 104). Finally, Day writes about the postannexation Hawai'i in terms of a gradual Americanization that culminates in overdue statehood.

53. Sibley, "Conversations with a Nesomaniac," 24.

54. Day, "How to Talk in Hawaii," 25.

guage as a medium of instruction" [*H*, 82].) Day thus could not register Sibley's suggestion that many of "them" were, in fact, writing original prose in English, and had been for over a hundred years. The exception was the inclusion of Milton Murayama's "I'll Crack Your Head *Kotsun*," in *The Spell of Hawaii*, which, as Day/Stroven put it, signaled that "young people of Oriental ancestry brought up in Hawaii are becoming aware of their background as a source of unique literary material."<sup>55</sup>

....

The Oceania found in this literature is . . . more revealing of *papalagi* fantasies and hang-ups, dreams and nightmares, prejudices . . . than of our actual islands. I am not saying that . . . the *papalagi* should not write about us, or vice versa. But the imagination must explore with love, honesty, wisdom and compassion . . . writers must [respect] the people they are writing about.

—Albert Wendt, "Toward a New Oceania"

Concluding that "it is useless to tell the dreamer that the 'real' South Seas is not exactly an Eden," and that "debunkers of Paradise have come and gone, but the legend will not die" (*M*, 12), Day presents accounts of the Pacific that stress the colorful roguery of its "characters" and the recent *primitivity* of indigenous peoples. This is done as if there were nothing more involved than escapist fantasy. Day's predilection for juvenile fiction—including stories of pirates, buccaneers, and rascals, and illustrated history books for "younger readers"—covers over the brutalities of colonial engagements. He can describe blackbirders as "daring" (*M*, 132) or as "recruiting plantation workers among the savage isles" (see flap copy of London's *South Sea Tales*). To Day, it seems witty to use *daring* and *recruiting* to describe the

55. A. Grove Day and Carl Stroven, eds., *The Spell of Hawaii* (Honolulu: Mutual Press, 1968), 323. Michener wrote, "Having arrived in the islands as laboring peasants, these Orientals did not produce a literature of their own, but Professors Day and Stroven have included important passages that give them representation" (*A Hawaiian Reader*, xiv). For a thorough rebuttal of the Stroven/Day/Michener notion of the nonexistence of non-European literatures in Hawai'i, see Steven Sumida, *And the View from the Shore: Literary Traditions of Hawai'i* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991), which extends the work he began, with Arnold Hiura, of documenting over seven hundred works by Asian Americans written between the early nineteenth century and the 1970s. See Arnold Hiura and Steven Sumida, eds., *Asian American Literature of Hawaii: An Annotated Bibliography* (Honolulu: Hawaii Ethnic Resources Center: Talk Story, Inc., 1979).

brutality of "traders" who kidnapped "natives" for use in Australia's sugar fields. When "they" kill a white man, it is treachery or primitivity surfacing; when whites demolish villages, it is swashbuckling adventure. The moment of potential critique is juvenilized, distanced, and romanticized.

This manner of channeling a belittling attitude toward "natives" into adventure narratives of a previous era is backed by Day's white supremacist vision of the Pacific. The dynamic by which he amasses references resembles that of collectors of primitive artifacts, who are "knowledgeable" within their own proprietary (anthropo)logics at the same time that they are unconcerned with the ethics of collecting. There is, in many cases, an attempt to separate "native" artifacts from the peoples that produce them ("The canoes contrasted with the savagery of their paddlers, for they were the most beautiful the Londons had yet seen in the South Seas" [JL, 144]). What makes this detachment possible is a tendency, when discussing Pacific Islanders, to lapse into notions of nineteenth-century ethnologists, with their evolutionist, classificatory "sciences," of which a passage from E. B. Tylor's *Primitive Societies* (1872) might be taken as representative: "Savage and barbarous tribes often more or less fairly represent stages of culture through which our own ancestors passed long ago, and their customs and laws often explained to us, in ways we should otherwise have hardly guessed, the sense and reason of our own."<sup>56</sup> Here is Day, in a work that in 1987 assumes his audience's complete ignorance of Pacific Islanders, distinguishing Pacific types:

The people of Melanesia, the "black islands" that extend from the mass of New Guinea eastward to the Fiji group, are termed Oceanic Negroes. . . . They closely resemble the earliest inhabitants of the continent of Africa. (M, 21)

Equally primitive are the Melanesian regions of the Solomons and the New Hebrides. Their histories reveal constant local wars in search of human heads and bodies, for the ancestors of most Melanesians were bold cannibals and proud warriors whose lives reveal what conditions must have been like in the Old Stone Age. (M, 22)

Elsewhere, experiencing the other as "object," Day writes of Melanesians as "savage heathens" or bushmen whose "worse than naked" bodies

56. E. B. Tylor, *Anthropology, an Introduction to the Study of Mankind and Civilization* (1881; reprint, New York: D. Appleton, 1913). Quoted in Bernard McGrane, *Beyond Anthropology: Society and the Other* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 85.

are "covered with a fine black, matted fur" (M, 168). Melanesians are lumped together as one type, despite the region being among the world's most culturally diverse (with one thousand distinct languages). In contrast, he sees Polynesians as further evolved, "usually governed under a tribal system resembling the feudal ties of Europe in the Middle Ages" (M, 30), though still "Pagan." These islanders

are on the average the tallest ethnic group in the world, and many of them are big, handsome people whose bodies make them appear truly to be the "noble savages" that Europeans had dreamed might exist somewhere in an unfound earthly paradise. As they get older, they often become heavy. They have large, deep faces, with long and broad noses and eyes which lack the Mongolian "slant." The beauty of Polynesian women is one of the great themes of South Sea literature. (M, 28)

Day prefers Polynesians because, in contrast to the "black" Melanesians, who coveted material possessions, they were "interested in such things as etiquette, government, religion, literature, and arts and crafts" (M, 30). For all his comparative affection for Polynesian culture, predictable things happen when Day describes Polynesian eating habits. Although a few pages earlier he has described islands as "tropical Edens, in which all the cares of living vanish beneath the shade of fruitful trees" (M, 19), he admits here that "nearly all the Polynesians were both good farmers and good fishermen" (M, 29):

They used a simple digging stick for gardening, and grew taro. . . . Life on hundreds of atolls depended mainly on the ingenious use of coconut and breadfruit trees. Their only meat came from a few pigs, chickens, and dogs (which were fattened for feasts). However, cannibalism was not uncommon in the old times in the northern and southern regions of the triangle, the Marquesas group and New Zealand. Fishing was a chief source of food as well as a favorite sport. (M, 29)

Cannibalism slips in between agriculture and fishing. The passage implies that humans were fattened, or that cannibalism was not a ritual practice, but a "delectation" (JL, 98). Day's list sandwiches cannibalism between the notion of dogs "fattened for feasts" and the "favorite sport" of fishing. Readers unfamiliar with debates about the facticity or function of Pacific cannibalism have no way to question this description. Still, Polynesians re-

main higher on Day's evolutionary chain because their culture resembles more his own culture and because they are "lighter-skinned" (M, 25).

There is, then, inescapably, a grounding white supremacy behind Day's conception of Pacific peoples. Disturbing things slip in whenever he comments on "stock," "race," and "blood": In describing the "rainbow of races" at the turn of the century, Day writes, "Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians comprised about one fourth; Chinese, about one sixth; and Portuguese, about one eighth . . . and less than five percent were of Anglo-Saxon blood" (H, 233). Since part-Hawaiians may have a high quantum of "Anglo-Saxon" blood, and since the Portuguese do not count as Euro-settlers, or "caucasians," this seems to suggest that he means something like "pure" Anglo-Saxon. It is not surprising (given Day's sense of white America as Pacific savior) that he published his "auto-bibliography," as well as a series of reprinted documents about explorers, under the imprimatur of "The White Knight Press." Day's first published book was a collection of "Tommy Dane" stories (originally published in *St. Nicholas* as Christian education stories), entitled *Tommy Dane of Sonora*, and he published three books "about a boy's camp" under the pseudonym Carl Saxon.<sup>57</sup> The conjunction of "Dane," "Saxon," and "White Knight" suggests what lies behind the Gobineau-like equation made in his work between skin color and evolutionary condition. As in Joseph Conrad (though less ambivalently), geographical remoteness allegorizes moral distance. In "Jack London's 'Heart of Darkness,'" the introduction to London's Pacific stories that was reprinted in *Mad about Islands*, Day thus speaks of London in his yacht leaving the "friendly great region of Polynesia" and heading toward the Poe-esque, surreal "threshold of Melanesia, the islands of black men, Oceanic Negroes—a region running from Fiji all the way to the Solomon Islands and the tip of dark New Guinea" (M, 166). Because Melanesians are darker skinned than Polynesians, New Guinea becomes "dark" or "black," and places such as Mailita are "horrible" with "avid black headhunters" (M, 170). Here, Day lauds London's ability to "describ strong qualities even in a small Melanesian."<sup>58</sup>

Day's views in these matters change hardly at all. Only on the last page of *Mad about Islands* do the racist principles nudge toward notions of cultural difference. Here, Day sees signs of a narrowing of the gap between the Occident and Oceania in the emergence of non-Euro-American literature in English:

57. Day, *What Did I Do Right?* 18.

58. A. Grove Day, foreword to *Jack London: South Sea Tales* (Honolulu: Mutual Press, 1990), xxv.

There are signs, however, that the two cultures are approaching common ground. In 1977, Albert Wendt of Samoa published a novel, *Pouliuli*, that dives deeply into the waters of his heritage. The main figure is an aging, high-ranking chief of those islands who is overcome by revulsion for all that this sabbatarian and conformist society cherishes. The book, valuable as ethnology as well as story, also displays qualities of poetry, fable, and folklore. Signs are abroad that will bring closer together the minds and hearts of Occidental and Oceanian alike. (M, 272)

The first thing that strikes any reader of Wendt is the way in which Day, in this presumably generous moment of envisioning Pacific and Euro-American "cultures" moving closer together, *must* misread *Pouliuli* at the moment of sensing the book's power. He fails, for instance, to note that the high-ranking chief who quests for personal freedom is, in complex ways, "mad" and that the book's title means "darkness." There is no attempt to understand the book through the categories it establishes and challenges. Day cannot consider the *fa'a Samoa* as a rich set of traditions. Rather, he credits Wendt as a writer "of Samoa" for expressing disgust with his own "conformist society." For Day, Samoan culture can easily be considered conformist and monolithic, but the same terms would never be used to refer to the "conformity" of Christian belief. (Perhaps Wendt is "of Samoa" rather than "Samoan" because of his mixed ancestry and his teaching outside Samoa?) In Day's mind, the two "cultures" (*Samoa* here a metonym for *Oceania*) approach "common ground" through a work that he perceives as preferring Western notions of "individualism" to Samoan tradition and that he misreads as renouncing the latter. The differences between cultures lessen to the degree that the Pacific Islander seems to move toward Western values without any corresponding movement from the other side. For Day, the book is "valuable as ethnology," presumably to the Western reader, as if this writer "of Samoa" were finally useful to the extent that he might add to the store of anthropological knowledge about Samoa.

....

One cannot help but suspect that underlying the seemingly humane concern about the preservation of the tradition of the islands of the South Pacific, and indeed of the Third World in general, are some rather insidious motives including keeping sections of communities contented with their relative poverty and oppression.

—Eveli Hau'ofa, "The Future of Our Past"

In the film *Witness*, Harrison Ford, playing a tough, but decent, cop who hides among the Amish from corrupt cops, is told that "tourists come snooping around, looking, they're rude." Later in the film, an elderly tourist points her camera at Ford, who, disguised as he is in Amish clothes, shocks the woman by saying, "Lady, you take a picture of me and I'll strangle you with your brassiere." The Ford character can say this, of course, because he is not really "of" the group being photographed, one of whose markers is pacifism. When Ford later punches a townie who has been mocking Amish pacifism, a local witness says, "This will be bad for tourism." These exchanges highlight conditions of ethnic and cultural tourism. First, tourism values ethnic "tourees" to the extent that they stay in character: a person in Amish clothes must not threaten tourists or punch townies. Thus, ethnic tourism is, on many levels, a way of regulating the behavior of tourees and involves complex relations among primary objects of tourism and local or settler communities.<sup>59</sup> Finally, though tourists must feel safe, at the same time that their conduct is relatively unregulated (they may "come snooping around"), to witness is to be implicated. For one thing, the "witness"

59. For Pierre van den Berghe, in *The Quest for the Other: Ethnic Tourism in San Cristobal, Mexico* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994), "ethnic tourism exists where the tourist actively searches for ethnic exoticism" (8). Van den Berghe studies tourism as a nested set of "ethnic relations": for instance, "tourists interact more with ladino middlemen than with the main object of their curiosity, the Indians. They *look* more at Indians, but they *talk* more to ladinos" (137). On the Polynesian Culture Center as "ethnic theme park," see T. D. Webb, "Highly Structured Tourist Art: Form and Meaning of the Polynesian Culture Center," *Contemporary Pacific* 6, no. 1 (spring 1994): 59–85, who argues that the Polynesian Culture Center (PCC) shows that "tourist art can be endowed with more than economic values" (81), namely, Mormon values. One might, that is, go to the PCC to see Mormons and their Pacific vision. For an alternative, "bargain-basement ethnography" of the PCC, see Ross, *Chicago Gangster Theory of Life*, 43–56. Following Epeli Hau'ofa (see the section epigraph, taken from "The Future of Our Past," in *The Pacific Islands in the Year 2000*, ed. Robert Kiste and Richard Herr [Honolulu: University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Working Papers, Pacific Island Studies Program, 1985], 152), Ross puts the problem of cultural preservation as follows: "Preservation from the outside can freeze a culture in place and thereby reinforce its underdevelopment. Preserving tradition from the inside can deprive subaltern groups of a usable history in which their challenges to the native elites are progressive precisely because they are challenges to tradition" (*Chicago Gangster Theory of Life*, 70). It seems useful to distinguish between "preservation" from the inside and outside (though perhaps this is not always as easy as it seems), but the second half of Ross's formulation—representative of his "ecological" critique of cultural nationalism as internally oppressive—begs the question of who is invested in tradition, how and why traditions are perpetuated and in so doing might be seen as imposing progressive Western categories "from the outside."

here—not an Amish person but a "local" who profits (in)directly from tourists gazing at the Amish—has internalized, or at least acceded to, the necessity of all parties acting in a way that protects the sovereign rights of the consumer. This consumer, as a Pacific tourist agency put it, "has a preconceived notion" and "is not so forgiving where he is wrong in [his] image of the islands and their people."<sup>60</sup> The whole scenario is not easily avoided. The Amish (or any culture that seeks to maintain a fluid, lived relation to its traditions—particularly one involving noncommodified social arrangements) cannot will away touristic interest, because perpetuating their lifestyle, by whatever self-determined principles, plays directly into the highly commodifying touristic quest for "authentic" difference and the unspoiled.<sup>61</sup> Resistance to tourism may step up touristic desire.

Cut to commercial (1996): A canoe full of Pacific Islanders, in "traditional" dress (a collection of signifiers redolent of nothing so much as *Joe versus the Volcano*), paddling intently through idyllic lagoons and out across the vast ocean. Finally, the postmodern city comes into view, and then the Golden Arches of McDonald's. Cut to an interior scene, where the islanders, between satisfied bites, extol the virtues of Big Macs in perfect English. In this McPostmodern "self"-parody, the ad laughs at its own notion that there is any "primitivity" left. The islanders can talk the way "we" do; at least, it is not possible to assume anymore that "they" do not. They have similar culinary desires now, and seeing island garb in a McDonald's jokingly assents to the so-called space-time compression. The Pacific Islander appears as a trope of the just completed globalization of capital, some later-day incarna-

60. Quoted in Ron Crocombe, *The South Pacific: An Introduction* (Auckland: Longman Paul, 1983), 28. I've borrowed this citation from Robert Nicole's unpublished manuscript, entitled "The Pen, the Pistol, and the Other: Orientalism and the Politics of Literature in Tahiti."

61. The cultural relation of Pacific Islanders to tourism is often much more complex than it is possible to represent here. For instance, in places such as the Solomon Islands, where tourism is small-scale, there are senses in which tourism has worked to revive native customs that were suppressed during the colonial period. For Eliam Tanirono, "tourism . . . can lead to both the enhancement and the deterioration of traditional values." See "Tourism in the Solomons," in *Pacific Tourism as Islanders See It*, ed. Ron Crocombe and Freda Rajotte (Fiji: Institute of Pacific Studies, 1980), 109. Economically, it is obviously crucial who runs tourism, and what sort of benefits there are for indigenous peoples. In the context of Hawai'i, Noel Kent demonstrates the degree to which tourism functions as a new plantation, bypassing local linkages and exacerbating metropole-periphery imbalances. See *Hawai'i: Islands Under the Influence* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993), 164–88. For a suggestive examination of these questions, see Denis O'Rourke's documentary, *Cannibal Tours*.



tion of Day's Americanized alert-smiling, neo-Hawaiian (echo of Michener's "Golden Man"). Pacific identity is represented as that which had to make the longest journey to postmodernity. The joke at the scene of inclusion marks a recurrent moment of postmodern panic. For an instant, there is still the controlling perception—people remain tinged by that with which they have been associated, even if they are no longer precisely "that." The whole dynamic, of course, hides the fact that many Pacific Islanders need not paddle across any oceans to go to McDonald's: McDonald's has come to them, and even adjusts its menu to local tastes (the McDonald's in Suva, Fiji, for instance, sells curry-flavored McVegetable burgers for Hindus who don't eat beef), and Pacific peoples have migrated to urban centers and elsewhere for a variety of reasons. Further, it erases any sense in which indigenous customs and noetics might be taken seriously within postmodernism.

Such representations of Pacific peoples, which repeatedly operate through comic, geohistorical montages, remain pervasive today in the American culture industry, where Pacific Islands and peoples are invariably connected to half-parodic, touristic signifiers.<sup>62</sup> If postmodernity seems to unfix and dislocate peoples (many of whom may want to remain located) with a vision of heterotopia, its pastiche, or de-differentiation of cultures into readily commodifiable entities, operates, as suggested, to reiterate an exclusion at the moment of seeming inclusion and to exert pressure on the behaviors and "destinies" of various cultures. Orientalist tropes—ugly stereotypes—have their lives *in history*, in cultural production of all sorts, including historiography and literary criticism. They are never quite emptied by overuse, or by parody, and bespeak a confused desire or primal fantasy that people and places continue, in some way, to match themselves as signs. Hence the nervous laughter with which post-tourists, in knowing an object is "inauthentic," still recognize the desire for a marker whose very inauthenticity evokes an entity once regarded as authentic. In continuing to recognize such markers of an otherness "elsewhere" only to commodify it within the world system, tourism operates as a machine for the perpetuation of fetishistic stereotypes, which must reiterate them, whether anyone believes them or not, and whether the nostalgia involved is at once for "'difference'

62. A jokey, exoticist remorse is pervasive. For instance, a November 1996 *National Geographic* picture of a chief surrounded by three naked Marquesan women has the caption, "What Joseph Banks Missed" (130); a September 1996 article in *Vogue* by Brian Preston that jokes about the global prevalence of the TV show *Dallas* shows a photo of a woman bathing by an empty beach and the caption, "Paradise Lost? Sexual mores on Nuku Hiva island have become restrictive since the time Herman Melville visited" (456).

and deference."<sup>63</sup> In this, as Jonathan Culler argues, "tourism reveals difficulties of appreciating otherness except through signifying structures that mark and reduce it."<sup>64</sup> Much of American popular culture, particularly that which deals with ethnic heritages, echoes Culler's own ("us"-actors/"them"-acted upon) difficulty. In Pacific contexts, the cultural memory masks *both* attempts to refigure collectively the memory of American imperialism in the Pacific and to promote an exciting vision of America's coming "Pacific Era."

Day's books on the racks in Waikiki, and the continuation of their logic within the global media and in jaded, postmodern touristic works such as Paul Theroux's *Happy Isles of Oceania*, suggest that his specter remains a telling figure for the backgrounded, aporetic quality of touristic impulses connate with the founding of the field of Euro-American literatures of the Pacific. In an (neocolonial) age where everything is potentially an object of tourism, and tourism (now the world's largest industry) appears an epochal, total social fact, Day's specter suggests that any descriptive project that does not question its motives and legitimacy in relation to the situated knowledges and aspirations of the other (political and cultural) will be flawed at the outset. Postmodernism—with its inability to see indigenous noetics or cultural expression as other than (a)temporal joke—conceals an uneasy nostalgia. There is a vital sense in which, as Teiawa puts it, Eurocentric theories "must remain ornamental to narratives that interrupt dominant historical and cultural constructions of islands as military bases and touristic sites."<sup>65</sup> This argues as a first move the necessity of counter-memory and of a recognition that indigenous and settler cultures have been involved in transculturation for centuries. For instance, if Polynesia is Christianized, its Christianity is thoroughly Polynesianized. If such entanglements are not foregrounded, and the touristic past is left intact, it may continue to generate simulations. Against regulatory parodistic globalism and the "dependency"

63. Curtis and Pajaczowska, "'Getting There,'" 202.

64. Jonathan Culler, "The Semiotics of Tourism," in *Framing the Sign: Criticism and Its Institutions* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), 167. Culler argues that condemning tourism as inauthentic risks "sentimental nostalgia for the organic," and that, though condemning tourism "may be morally satisfying," it risks cutting the condemner off "from the possibility of exploring semiotic mechanisms that prove persistent and ubiquitous" (167). Against this concern, one might invoke Trask's assertion that "without doubt, Euro-Americans and the (non-nuclear) Japanese see islanders as racially and culturally inferior. To the predators, the Pacific is vast and far away from the centers of 'civilization,' rendering it most suitable for dangerous projects (like nuclear testing) and romantic holidays" (268)—and, one might add, semiotic exercises.

65. Teiawa, "Bikinis and Other S/Pacific N/Oceans," 102.



theories of macroeconomics, Epeli Hau'ofa presents a "new and optimistic" historical understanding of islanders as voyagers who never stayed in their places and whose day-to-day lives elude the analysis and categories that others are so ready to provide. For Hau'ofa, islanders, who today circulate goods through communities in Los Angeles, Auckland, and elsewhere, must likewise refuse, in all senses, to accept the "mental reservations" created for them within militourism and postmodernism:

We are the sea, we are the ocean, we must wake up to this ancient truth and together use it to overturn all hegemonic views that aim ultimately to confine us again, physically and psychologically, in the tiny spaces that we have resisted accepting as our sole appointed places, and from which we have recently liberated ourselves. We must not allow anyone to belittle us again, and take away our freedom.<sup>66</sup>

66. Epeli Hau'ofa, "Our Sea of Islands," in *A New Oceania: Rediscovering Our Sea of Islands*, ed. Eric Waddell, Vijay Naidu, and Epeli Hau'ofa (Suva, Fiji: University of the South Pacific: School of Social and Economic Development, 1993), 16. The rest of the essays in the volume respond to Hau'ofa's vision, which revises his own earlier formulations. Wendt's vision of a new Oceania likewise counters the notion of static cultures and "outsiders" or Native elites "who try to impose" definitions of culture or try to proscribe roles that turn islanders "into servile creatures they can exploit. We must not consent to our own abasement" (207-8). For a trenchant writing against reductive Euro-American views of Pacific Islanders, see the "serious comedy" by Vilsoni Hereniko and Teresia Teiawa, *Last Virgin in Paradise* (Suva, Fiji: Mana Publications, 1993).