

PACIFIC PASTORALISM:
ANCIENT POETICS & THE DECONSTRUCTION OF AMERICAN PARADISE

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I AT MĀNOA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS
IN
AMERICAN STUDIES

MAY 2014

By
Travis D. Hancock

Thesis Committee:

Joseph Stanton (Chairperson)
Brandy Nalani McDougall
Robert Perkinson

Keywords: Pastoral, Paradise, Pacific Islands, Hawai'i, Herman Melville, Charles
Warren Stoddard, Mark Twain, Theocritus, Longus

ABSTRACT:

This aim of this thesis is to deconstruct the etymology of the word “paradise” within the context of early Pacific narratives by popular American authors, and then within today’s tourist propaganda. Fundamental to that process is the imagination of “Pacific Pastoralism,” in which the pastoral tradition is considered as a predecessor to American traditions of describing the landscapes and peoples of the Pacific region, as those descriptions fueled an economy forcibly mapped onto that space. Herein texts are analyzed via close-reading comparisons, historical research, and more lyrical methods such as rhetorical stargazing, echolocation, and narrative technique. While this thesis is indebted to scholars in the fields of American Studies and English literature, it attempts to open space for Pacific Island Studies to epistemologically counter its cultural materialist claims. In total, this thesis is a critique of tourist marketing, which was ferried from antiquity to the Pacific on wooden ships, and today renders beaches little more than golf course sand-traps.

Table of contents:

0. Pacific Pastoralism.....	1
1. Land-ho! <i>Longus & Melville</i>	14
2. Man-ho! <i>Theocritus & Stoddard</i>	35
3. World-ho! <i>Mark Twain & Literary Cartography</i>	55
4. Repatriation.....	73
5. Encomium.....	83
Works cited.....	85

O.

Pacific Pastoralism

“Look, stranger, on this island now...” -Auden

This thesis locates select works of mid-to-late 19th Century American travel writers, and their modes of rendering Oceanic peoples and spaces, within the pastoral tradition.¹ These selections include Herman Melville’s *Typee* and *Mardi*, Charles Warren Stoddard’s *South-Sea Idyls*, and Mark Twain’s Hawai’i chapters in *Roughing It*. Those texts, which I deem Pacific Pastoralist, will then be defined against the Classical pastorals of Theocritus and Longus, and compared in terms of cultural materialism. Next, this thesis considers echoes of Pacific Pastoralism in modern constructions of *paradise* that exploit Pacific islands and, by Indigenous connection, island natives. This deconstructive experiment avoids a uniform methodology, opting instead to utilize historicist discussions of the authors’ social contexts, and the matrices of supply and demand in which they wrote, to background the more formal comparative close-readings in each chapter. I hypothesize that this approach will reveal a *genealogy of misrepresentation* in Western writers’ encounters with Nature, not as a perfect continuity or structure, but as a constellation of inherited creative impulses reiterated in the moments of discovery that remapped the boundaries of Manifest Destiny.²

Definitions of the pastoral, even in our most concise and authoritative sources, are derivative, necessarily “of or pertaining to shepherds,” via the tradition of usage over time since Theocritus. Originally, this pertained to the sunny, lusty, sleepy, sweet, musical, seasonal, puerile, pious, peon lives of shepherds and subsistence agriculturalists on the islands of the Mediterranean and in Arcadia on the Greek Peloponnese. Since the pastoral’s effects flowed like seismic waves from a finite terrestrial space and time, including datable textual commodities enclosing ancient poetics, we cannot say that the definition itself has changed. Instead, what we can say is that Western *concepts* of the

¹ *Tradition* is chosen here over *genre* and *mode* to refer to the Classical Tradition: the transmission and reception of texts from Western antiquity. Furthermore, *tradition* implies willful actors, and avoids the passive self-designation implied in *genre*.

² This notion piggybacks on ideas by Amy Kaplan in *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (2002), about novels as “fantasies [that] enact...the detachment of national power from geographical boundaries,” (2002, p. 106) and Christopher McBride’s formulation (after Wai Chee Dimock) that Melville’s early writing fits into “shifting American ideas on extracontinental Manifest Destiny” that fueled “the growing perception of emerging American supremacy,” from *The Colonizer Abroad* (New York: Routledge, 2004), p. 11

pastoral have evolved, to the extent that the epithet “pastoral landscape” might today only bear faint traces of the Mediterranean island landscape as *locus amoenus*.

This thesis argues that locating Westerners’ Pacific texts in the pastoral tradition, and vice versa, should require an account of the pastoral works as *commodities* in the entertainment market, meaning physical paper/papyrus goods still in the ongoing process of literal excavation. By using a formalist reliance on what is sometimes called “pure pastoral” to define American works from the early periods of Pacific colonialism as pastoralist, we will find early sources for the Western hegemony in the region that predate the American expansionist rhetoric of Frederick Jackson Turner and the agrarian dreams of Thomas Jefferson. In the midst of advocating for this comparison, it is necessary to further explicate the *why*. This takes us into four categories, or subfields, that will be present in each chapter that follows: economy, literary culture, geography, and psychology. First, the proto-feudal supply and demand economy of the Hellenistic and Early Roman periods can be seen as analogous to the emergence of American market interests in the Pacific, all of which (including the publishing market for works about the Pacific) were based in urban centers that reinforced economic class/race structures as they expanded. Second, in both Greco-Roman antiquity and the Pacific Colonial period, pastoralism constructed a rhetorical space that fulfilled the intersecting demands for identity validation, fetishism/fantasy (often sexual), and general entertainment. Third, in terms of Mediterranean and Pacific Island geography, pastoralism has always derived from and been concerned with ordering/idealizing land in a way that reinforces hegemonic control for the elite landowning class. Fourth, all of these processes play into a desire to displace *guilt* intrinsic to the class that perceives itself to be more civilized and morally superior as it subjugates the Other.

The parallels drawn within these subfields will appear in the chapters outlined below, each of which focuses on one of “our national literary texts,” after Christopher McBride’s designation.³ Like McBride’s project, my selections are geared toward “uncovering underlying American colonialist attitudes and their historical function,” which can be best gleaned from works validated by popular consumption. More importantly, the popularity of the works at hand reveals the public patronage of the pastoral in a moment of encountering the “noble savage” and “inventing the barbarian.”⁴

³ McBride (2004), p. 5

⁴ cf. Hall, Edith. *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-Definition through Tragedy*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989)

Indeed, the pastoral always dealt with the *barbarian*, a label with etymological roots based in the habitual onomatopoeic mimicry (*bar-bar*) of a foreign, extra-urban language, a diminutization that might have been as much about empowering civilization as concealing insecurity. Pastoralism can be seen as always playing into hyper-masculine schemes of *knowing* better than rural peoples, displacing both the guilt of dispossessing/controlling/exploiting them, and the fear of their incursion into the technologically dominant culture's colonial, lingual, bodily, and genetic arenas.

In regionalizing, or decentralizing, the pastoral tradition, *Pacific Pastoralism* further entrenches Western travel literature within the trajectory of post-colonial thought instigated by Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1979) and continued by Paul Lyon's *American Pacificism: Oceania in the U.S. Imagination* (2006). Their mode highlights the latent socio-cultural discourses that constitute hegemony in everyday parlance, casually reaffirming Western colonialism and imperialism. In using the term to describe texts by my chosen authors, I acknowledge the inadvertent implication that they constitute the pastoral, meaning that any inventions of their own thereby expanded the definition of pastoral for their time; following Kathryn J. Gutzwiller's summation that pastoral's "delineation must correspond exactly to certain inceptive works and yet contain and encompass later supplementations, to form an impossible blend of then and now."⁵ Logically, this would lead us to think that if I am correct in locating my authors in the pastoral tradition, then Paul Alper's *What is Pastoral?* (1997), a "landmark" survey "as generous and expansive as [pastoral] itself is," should nominate their works, subjects, and settings as somehow contiguous.⁶ He does not. Nor does he register the entry of pastoral into the Pacific. Like the incorporated territories of the Pacific, the assertion of Oceanic pastorals would seem to be as noncontiguous parts of an empirical whole.

This project tries to avoid the suggestion of an "impossible" canon or genre, as historical precedents have led to various entanglements. This is in fact why Alpers attempts to limit his application of pastoral, too, opting for a closer adherence to a Classical model, stating, "...the central fiction of pastoral...is not the Golden Age or idyllic landscapes, but herdsmen and their lives," and adding that "when pastoral writing is properly understood, it can be seen to be far more aware of itself and its conditions than

⁵ Gutzwiller, Kathryn J. *Theocritus' Pastoral Analogies*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), p. 200

⁶ Alpers, Paul, *What is Pastoral* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), jacket blurbs by Harry Berger and Stanley Fish, respectively.

it has usually been thought to be, or even capable of being.”⁷ While I largely agree with this argument, I also assert that in the Pacific several highly self-aware American writers were employing pastoralism in ways that reflect the Classical models and impulses that generated the fictional herdsmen. Pacific Pastoralism then, in its totality, is framed as a discursive formation comprised of the westernmost echoes of an early poetic rubric, a phenomenal mimetic parallel between the material and literary cultures of ancient proto-capitalist empires and the globalizing capitalist empire of America in the 19th Century.

Perhaps some conflict in this terminology is inescapable. “Pastoral is a contested term,” Bryan Loughrey summarizes in the opening line to his 1984 casebook *The Pastoral Mode*. The *contest*—or Greek *agōn*, from which we derive *agony*, *protagonist*, *antagonist*—has been a salient theme in the pastoral since antiquity as well as in the criticism that has followed since its revival in the Renaissance. Consider an exemplary period from the English theorists:⁸

‘Tis natural to imagine, that the leisure of those ancient shepherds requiring some diversion, none was so proper to that solitary life as singing; and that in their songs they took occasion to celebrate their own felicity. From hence a poem was invented, and afterwards improved to a perfect image of that happy time; which, by giving us an esteem for the virtues of a former age, might recommend them to the present. And since the life of shepherds was attended with more tranquillity than any other rural employment, the poets chose to introduce their persons, from whom it received the name of Pastoral.

-Alexander Pope, *Discourse on Pastoral Poetry* 1704

Some have thought it necessary that the imaginary manners of the golden age should be universally preserved, and have therefore believed, that nothing could be admitted in pastoral, than lilies and roses, and rocks and streams, among which are heard the gentle whispers of chaste fondness, or the soft complaints of amorous impatience. In pastoral, as in other writings, chastity of sentiment ought doubtless to be observed, and purity of manners to be represented; not because the poet is confined to the images of the golden age, but because, having the subject in his own choice, he ought always to consult the interest of virtue.

-Samuel Johnson, *Rambler* 37 [On Pastoral], 1750

The contest concerning the definition of a pastoral tradition between Pope and Johnson summarizes the basic riff between the Neoclassicists and Rationalists in 18th Century

⁷ Alpers, Paul (1997), p. xi

⁸ Following quotations from Loughrey, Bryan, ed. *The Pastoral Mode* (London: Macmillan, 1984), pp. 50, 68

England.⁹ Where the young Pope deferred to the characters and “virtues of a former age,” revisionist Johnson felt that pastoral could bend the “manners of the golden age” to suit the intellectual progress of his time. As both passages evidence, the disagreement over defining the idyllic form concerned the changing Western *imagination*. Reiterations of this same debate continued over time, such as when William Empson’s expansive *Some Versions of Pastoral* (1935) introduced the rationalistic idea of a “pastoral process” that formulaically renders “the complex into the simple.”¹⁰ Three decades later, the rampant application of Empson’s liberal process was put in check by Thomas Rosenmeier, who felt that because “discussions of the pastoral lyric often suffer from a...lack of frugality,” “it is important to listen to the poets” to properly understand the “tradition, imitation, [and] continuity of artistic purpose.”¹¹ Rosenmeier was advocating for a neoclassical return. More recently, the contest has been marked less by stark disagreements than by efforts to offer the most comprehensive allotment for persistent applications and thematics of pastoral, like Alpers’ *What is Pastoral?* and Terry Gifford’s *Pastoral* (1999).

Historically, assertions expanding pastoral’s breadth have depended on a reading of the pastoral “in an extended sense, familiar to Americanists, to refer not to the specific set of obsolescent conventions of the eclogue tradition, but to all literature...that celebrates the ethos of nature/rurality over against the ethos of the town/city.”¹² This is the sense espoused by Stephen Sumida in *And the View from the Shore* (1991), the first book to thoroughly consider that “in Hawai’i’s literatures European and North American concepts of the pastoral bear force and substance.”¹³ In some respects, Sumida follows Leo Marx’s *Machine in the Garden*, reconfiguring Marx’s industrial locomotive metaphor to view Euro-American ships as machines in the watery gardens of the Pacific. While my project is naturally aligned with Sumida’s in thinking of Pacific Pastoralism, it deviates necessarily over “concepts of the pastoral” by asking not what *can be* deemed as pastoral in the Pacific or even “What is pastoral?” but in asking for a return to a general

⁹ Explained in Loughrey, (1984), pp. 18-19

¹⁰ Empson, William. *Some Versions of Pastoral*, 1935, p. 22, from Loughrey, Bryan, ed. *The Pastoral Mode*. (London: Macmillan, 1984), p. 89

¹¹ Rosenmeier, Thomas. *The Green Cabinet: Theocritus and the European Pastoral Lyric*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 3

¹² From Buell, Lawrence, “American Pastoral Ideology Reappraised,” *American Literary History* 1 (1989) p. 23; cited in Alpers, Paul, *What is Pastoral* (1997) p. ix

¹³ Sumida, Stephen H. *And the View from the Shore: Literary Traditions of Hawai’i*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991), p. 4

inquiry about *how* and *why* pastoral emerged in antiquity, and then *why* I am able to find remnants of the originary corpus in early Pacific portrayals. In my view, these remnants are concrete, and require less abstract conceptualization than a liberal application of pastoral as a diachronically amorphous *genre*. This is not meant to be revisionist as much as it is meant to be circumventive through the conservative adherence to physical texts' immediate semiotics. This avoids contingencies in scholarship, and specifically "the tendency to polarize our response to pastoral...at times of major critical discussion."¹⁴ More broadly, this project avoids the tendency in American Studies to historicize with such contingencies or ulterior motives in mind, by focusing instead on a potentially new way of thinking about the present status quo, albeit through a return to intellectual origins.

In spite of the array in pastoral scholarship available in 1991, Sumida's *View from the Shore* poises its arguments in the wide frame William Empson established in 1935.¹⁵ This allowed him to discuss Asian-American writers from Hawai'i within a pastoral/heroic binary that he saw as "inseparable in Hawai'i's oral and written literatures...as far back as memory can recall."¹⁶ Whether or not Sumida's reliance on Empson's model was calculated or due to limited access to resources, he noticeably elides the groundbreaking work by Frank Kermode¹⁷ and Raymond Williams that, especially in Williams' case, introduced a cultural materialist reading of pastoral that, as we will see, actually befits pastoral in antiquity and maintains great relevance to the texts of Pacific Pastoralism.¹⁸ The lens of cultural materialism is side-stepped in *View from the Shore*, as is the important reality that the pastoral and heroic terminologies employed derive from the Western (not Asian-Pacific) traditions, and even more formally, from Proto-Indo-European lingual descent, making the application of them to Oceania's Indigenous forms of expression, like mele and oli, a willful imposition.

To the extent that it is possible, this discussion suspends the contest over pastoral altogether in order to engage, as it were, in a mode of thinking similar to that eschewed by Samuel Johnson, one that will regularly move toward a consideration of pastoral in its

¹⁴ Gutzwiller, Kathryn (1991), p. 175

¹⁵ *Some Versions of Pastoral* is the only pastoral study cited by Sumida; see *View from the Shore* pp. 104, 318

¹⁶ Sumida, Stephen (1991), p.3

¹⁷ See Kermode, Frank *English Pastoral Poetry: From the Beginnings to Marvell*, (1952)

¹⁸ See Williams, Raymond. *The Country and the City* (1973). Note: The use of overt "Marxism" is passed over here, because it removes a closer discussion about the production of cultural materials (books) into broader structural discussions about labor and power, of interest later.

purportedly “obsolescent conventions.” However, this is not simply another neoclassical return. The “lilies and roses, and rocks and streams” found in pastoral are not treated here as clichés or imagined “pure forms” but as concrete elements within a deliberate scope for the mimetic process. Many of the selective impulses, affinities, and dictions found in works by 19th Century American writers can be seen as inherited from antiquity.

The comparative approach will be the driving method through my chapters. In light of the commonality of islands between my texts and authors—Sicily, Lesbos, Manhattan, Nantucket, Marquesas, Tahiti, Hawai‘i, or the floating island cosmos of the ship—my analysis moves into the realm of “tidalectics,” discussed by Elizabeth DeLoughrey, after Kamau Brathwaite. DeLoughrey summarizes tidalectics as “an ‘alter/native’ historiography to linear models of colonial progress....drawing from a cyclical model, invoking the continual movement and rhythm of the ocean” and foregrounding “alter/native epistemologies to western colonialism and its linear material biases.”¹⁹ All of the authors discussed evince a common phenomenal process that, regardless of a chronology of influence or westward progress, make island worlds—to which they sailed, on which they ate, where they slept—into sellable words. The comparative method used to elucidate Pacific Pastoralism aligns with DeLoughrey’s “rationale for this mode of inter-island comparison...[moving] beyond restrictive national, colonial, and regional frameworks and to foreground shared histories, particularly as they are shaped by geography.”²⁰ Expanding the inter-island scale of discourse, this discussion will gradually grow to a planetary scale, especially when we engage with Twain, whose literary cartography will be central to expanding Pacific Pastoralism into a broader discussion about American imperialism. Of course, the islands also produced the scholars and artists whose epistemologies are becoming more focal in the shaping of island geographies via text, often breaking the terrestrial bounds of both island topographies and Western discourses.

When I historicize authors and their works, it will be for the sake of contextualizing the comparison that is ultimately rooted in the texts. This push towards formalism comes from Classical textual criticism, which accounts for the transmission of texts coming from fragments, literally as scraps of papyrus. Such a method might prove

¹⁹ DeLoughrey, Elizabeth M. *Routes and Roots: Navigating Caribbean and Pacific Island Literatures*. (Mānoa: University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa Press, 2007), p. 2

²⁰ *ibid.* p. 3

to befit more recent writers like Charles Warren Stoddard, who wrote in coded diction, tried to burn all of his manuscripts prior to his death, and whom history has largely forgotten. Or Mark Twain, whose unpublished Hawai'i novel is speculated about at great length in *View from the Shore*. Or Melville, the poet-philosopher whom scholars have turned into another fleeting leviathan. These are writers who, after only two hundred years, present themselves to us enigmatically, in dubious autobiographies, scattered letters, and faint marginalia, leaving much left unknown. In my view, such lacunae nominate a re-focusing on extant *words* as curated objects, which we can parse etymologically and/or semiotically to reveal moments of repeated mimetic impulses.

My first chapter will examine the idea of a pastoral novel in the Pacific through a materialist consideration of Herman Melville's Pacific narratives, focusing on *Typee* (1846). Keeping the scope of analysis narrow, this chapter will consider the consumerist demand as the impetus for book production and dissemination, using the original development of the fiction market in antiquity as a model. Initially, Melville's repeated idyllism in Pacific narratives will be viewed as reflective of a mimetic impulse employed by our only extant pastoral novelist from antiquity, Longus, author of *Daphnis and Chloe*. To help us locate Melville in the tradition of Longus, *Mardi* (1849) will be held up against his first tale, *Typee*. In *Typee*, or Tai Pi valley, "the paradise he was looking for" as a young man, Melville initiates a habit of rendering Polynesians in Classical terms.²¹ For example, just prior to the "Feast of the Calabashes," in which Melville's surrogate Tommo removes his tapa-cloth "toga" (opting for a makeshift loin cloth) and praises the "exquisite simplicity of attire adopted by the nymphs of the vale;" he states:

I should like to see a gallery of coronation beauties, at Westminster Abbey, confronted for a moment by this band of island girls; their stiffness, formality, and affectation, contrasted with the artless vivacity and unconcealed natural graces of these savage maidens. It would be Venus de' Medici placed beside a milliner's doll.

-*Typee*, p. 191²²

In this passage, the Classical imagery—the nymphs and a Renaissance depiction of the Roman love goddess—is appropriated to laud the "savage" over the Western strictures of self-representation that had strayed so far from the freedom in ancient forms. By

²¹ Quote by D.H. Lawrence, from facsimile reproduced in "D.H. Lawrence on Herman Melville's *Typee* and *Omoo*" in *The Occidental Quarterly*, May 24, 2009, <http://www.toqonline.com/blog/lawrence-typee-omoo/> (Accessed April 5, 2013)

²² All page citations for *Typee* and *Mardi* from Melville, Herman. *Typee, Omoo, Mardi*. (New York: The Library of America / Viking Press, 1982 / 1984)

aligning Pacific Islanders with the Classical ideal, he denies the Western prerogative to claim a Greco-Roman intellectual heritage—one method by which Melville leveled his critique against modern civilization’s expansion into *his* “paradise.” At the same time, there is an understanding that this exoticist preference would not be so offensive as to alienate readers. This type of conscious internal contrasting by Melville instigates and nominates the comparative technique picked up in this project.

Mardi signaled the gradual end of Melville’s financial success, which here will be read as a result of his shift away from pastoral, an evidently key factor to appeasing the 19th Century American literary consumerists’ demand for exotica—or for forms of description that removed dimension from objects of imperial conquest rather than make them complex humans, as Queequeg’s portrayal would approach. Still, the transformational aspect of *Mardi* actually mirrors a transformational process epitomized in Longus, that which initially blended Theocritean poetry with the early realism inherent to the novel form.

The next chapter focuses on Charles Warren Stoddard, who never shifted from idyllism, and who incidentally sustained a degree of literary success throughout his lifetime. In spite of his relative anonymity in the canon, Stoddard was a friend to essentially every major author of his time, not to mention politicians and even Queen Lili’uokalani. Stoddard offers us *the* purest reiteration of the original pastoral impulse within the Pacific, affirmed by his regularly coded homoerotics. By reading Stoddard as pastoralist, an epithet casually applied by others without any further analysis, we can view his positionality as a writer as analogous to pastoral’s relationship to other literary forms: Heroic, Romantic, Realist, Modernist. Perpetually a *sub*-something, pastoral has been bashed, but never quite disappeared, much like Stoddard himself. In this location, his *South-Sea Idyls* emerges as the modern echo of escapism, social elitism, latent/covert sexuality, and romanticism that germinated the ‘paradise found’ marketing rhetoric in America’s tourist literature.

Always reading, writing, loving, lusting, and traveling (repeatedly to visit his plantation-owning family on Maui), Stoddard’s life locates him as a Pacific Pastoralist. However, this section will move beyond the contextual details that infer the Theocritean to perform a side-by-side comparison of selections from Theocritus’ *Idylls* and Stoddard’s *Idyls*, highlighting moments in which Stoddard repeats themes, devices, images, and metaphors found in Theocritus. This is not meant to be exhaustive, nor is it meant to affirm that Stoddard was alluding to Theocritus. The comparison is meant to

elucidate the inherited Western proclivities and devices activated in moments of encountering and representing “nature” and objects, including people deemed “natural” by “the tourist in quest of the idyllic,” or the guilt-ridden sexual deviant in search of a mask.²³ In *Genteel Pagan*, biographer Roger Austen recounts Stoddard’s numerous epistolary friendships. Herman Melville can’t really be counted among them. Melville, like Whitman, was a passing acquaintance and momentary supporter. However, the “major” Pacific travel writers like Stevenson and London were very close to him, and could even be called his champions (though few came close to William Dean Howells in this respect).

Mark Twain, on the other hand, was a colleague, roommate, travel partner, employer, and confidante at various times. Twain is obviously a much more dominant figure in the historical record than Stoddard, which matches Twain’s ambitions to map the world from a uniquely American perspective, instigated by his eastward-looking and old-world-jabbing travelogue, *The Innocents Abroad* (1869). Following the success of that work, Twain, like Stoddard, was commissioned to write about Hawai’i by a Californian newspaper. This is to say that both men, for a time, derived capital backing from urban centers at the edge of American civilization where readers looked at interests further west via text. While Stoddard was allowed to be mostly social, Twain had to keep his eyes to the ground when writing what became his *Letters from Hawai’i*, and then the latter chapters of *Roughing It* (1872). In these “plantation letters,” written solely “for the commercial interests of his California sponsors,” as McBride explains, Twain’s job was literally and figuratively to turn the Pacific landscape into paper: newspapers and paper money, in newspaper sales and eventual agricultural profits. In light of that mission, his gaze, however comically brilliant at times, is predisposed to the service of himself as an outlier of the metropole, acting as a literary cartographer for economic ventures. If one looks to Stoddard to get a sense of familiarity between America’s 19th Century literati, he becomes a sort of glue.²⁴ If one looks specifically at, or for, the pastoral, he might be considered a catalyst, someone who wrote so sensitively and sensuously about the Pacific that others, like the brusque Twain, perhaps writing vicariously, didn’t have to.

In this sense, Twain is an inheritor of the traditions of *describing* the Pacific going back to Captain Cook, as the very act of describing means, by definition: 1) to

²³ Sumida referring briefly to Stoddard, a rare inclusion in his study. *And the View From the Shore* (1991), p. 58

²⁴ Or even *pater familias* for London, who often called Stoddard “Dad.” Cf. n148 (p. 52)

represent in words; 2) to give rise to a geometric structure; and 3) to scientifically reveal a new species by technically explaining its characteristics and particularly how it differs from other species.²⁵ The root verb in *describe* comes from the Latin infinitive *scribere*: to write, coming from the Greek σκάρηφος (*skariphos*): planing, writing, drawing. Throughout this etymology persists a representational and dimensional system of symbols, shapes, and lines that effectively flatten, remove dimension from, and transform objects. This reflects the general mode of Orientalism formulated by Edward Said, a brand of fantastical misrepresentation that reveals how “cultures have always been inclined to impose complete transformations on other cultures,” to the extent that all cultural nuance of the imagined Other is chiseled away to shape an ethnic foil.²⁶

This third chapter will therefore use Twain as a guide through the idea of land as text, which has always been salient to pastoral. The notions of Elysium, Arcadia, and Eden—all of which have been mapped over Pacific spaces—testify to this pastoral phenomenon. The words *bucolic* (Gr. *boukolos* - *cowherd*) and *pasture* (Lat. *pascere* - to graze, feed, nourish) allude to the animals with which humans render land into production. Pastoral then, since its germ in Hesiod’s *Works and Days*, our first farming manual, idealized that inherently toilsome occupation, and because those topographical Paradise motifs are as present today as in Twain’s era, he will guide us—often by horse—through another experiment. *Roughing It* will serve as a jumping-off point for discussions about present-day spaces in Hawai‘i, “the apex of the American colonial project.”²⁷ Specifically, these are sites of agritourism that feature a transformed intersection of literature-derived marketing and a romanticization of agriculture: Turtle Bay Resort, Kualoa Ranch, and Dole Plantation. Since Twain’s *Sacramento Union* letters were intended for the speculators and *Roughing It* for “the resting reader,”²⁸ these sites will be read as the spoils of their gambles, oceanic ottomans for the empire in recline; and in this reading we too may locate pastoral.

That chapter may require some use of imagination. If pastoral concerns a manipulative gaze, then pastoral criticism requires an imagination. What was “natural to *imagine*”²⁹ for Pope became those “*imaginary* manners of the golden age” for Johnson, and still exists in “the U.S. *Imagination*” within the scope of Lyons’ American Pacificism.

²⁵ Definitions from Liddell & Scott’s lexicon.

²⁶ Said, *Orientalism*, (New York: Vintage / Random House, 1978), p. 67

²⁷ McBride (2004), p. 5

²⁸ Twain, Mark. Preface to *Roughing It* [1872]. (New York: New American Library, 1962)

²⁹ In following sentences, all italics are my own.

Indeed, Amy Kaplan asserts that by the time Twain arrived, he “found Hawai‘i and America closer than he *imagined* geographically,” distilled into the image he “promoted throughout his writing and which has continued in the tourist trade today.”³⁰ Specifically, and *pastorally*, that was “the image of Hawaiian paradise as a place without labor or history...increasingly available as a commodity to attract foreign settlers and tourists.”³¹ That outcome recalls Tommo’s question about the attentive Marquesans of Tai Pī: “But why this excess of deferential kindness, or what equivalent can they *imagine* us capable of rendering them for it?” (*Typee*, p. 130). What was rendered to them for their kindness? Or, again, to shift the inquiry away from *what*; *how* has the West rendered the open, uncharted Pacific, and *why* did it do it in a way that fits into a lexicon invented in Greece around 300 BC? Have Pacific places like the islands of Hawai‘i ever *truly* lost status as *terra incognita* under the imperial gaze?

Despite its deconstructivist tendencies, this thesis ultimately seeks to answer these questions by drawing imaginary lines after another active, if abstract, human process: connecting stars to retrace stories, genealogies, origins. And as this analysis navigates through the stellar iterations of Pacific Pastoralism, viewed as and within what Michel Foucault formulated as an “economy of the discursive constellation,” it seeks to deny the ability to unsee those processes in our collective “field of memory.”³² A natural side-effect of suggesting such new asterisms is that it binds American fictions with yet another lash within what Rob Wilson calls the “contexts of colonial damages and ‘postcolonial’ renewals.”³³ However, my critical stargazing strives to add another voice to “the articulation of an engaged process of decolonization, critical negation, and culture-based resistances to forces of global belittlement and symbolic effacement, the workings of ‘Pacific orientalism,’ and the semiotics of Euro-American domination.”³⁴ Admittedly, others are doing this better, and with more creativity; therefore with respect to the region, I will defer finally to the Pacific Islander scholars and artists, the Pacific’s real navigators.

Rob Wilson’s remarks above come from his introduction to *Inside Out*, subtitled *Toward Imagining a New Pacific*, a direct reference to Albert Wendt’s

³⁰ Kaplan, Amy. *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (2002), p. 80

³¹ *ibid.*

³² Foucault, Michel. *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. (New York: Vintage / Random House, 1972), pp. 66, 58

³³ Wilson, Rob. “Introduction.” *Inside Out: Literature, Cultural Politics, and Identity in the New Pacific*. (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1999) p. 1

³⁴ *ibid.* pp. 1-2

“Towards a New Oceania” (1976), which instigated a Pacific-centric response to centuries of Euro-American cultural hegemony. Within Wendt’s concentric ripples, many are actually reappropriating pastoral tropes and perspectives in order to, from Epeli Hau’ofa’s view, “actively reconstruct our histories, rewrite our geography, create our own realities, and disseminate these through our educational institutions and societies at large.”³⁵ With respect to pastoralism, these responses give force to the wave of scholar-artists “writing ourselves,” as Regis Stella advocates, or “unwriting Oceania” to unmask colonial palimpsests, as Steven Winduo prefers.³⁶ Beyond reappropriation, the *written* activism of innovators like Manu Meyer responds to pastoral as a branch of the West’s epistemological stemma, denying even the empiricist assumptions surrounding the significance of *text* inherent in this thesis.³⁷ Although I will not be exhaustive in this section, the discussion of Oceanic responses will round out my project to serve as ballast to the deconstructive approaches in the main analysis. Indeed, Pacific Islanders perpetually demonstrate that which empirical science is only beginning to discover: that remembering is the same as imagining, that memory is knowledge, and in forgetting is death. In the end, my hope is that this experiment will contribute to the augmentation of *imagined* entitlements that govern America’s imperial movement—the imagination that foresaw, and still sees, utopian colonies, economic opportunities, and idle vacations in the Pacific—by excavating the etymological routes to our intellectual roots through land, sea, and sky, and denying the conveniences of amnesia.

³⁵ Hau’ofa, Epeli. (2008), p. 76

³⁶ from Stella, Regis. *Imagining the Other: The Representation of the Papua New Guinean Subject* (Mānoa: University of Hawaii Press, 2007) and Winduo, Steven *Unwriting Oceania: The Repositioning of the Pacific Writer Scholars within a Folk Narrative Space*. *New Literary History*. Vol. 31, No. 3, Philosophical and Rhetorical Inquiries (Summer, 2000), pp. 599-613

³⁷ cf. numerous articles, and Meyer, Manu (2003). *Ho’oulu: Our Time of Becoming Hawaiian Epistemology and Early Writings*. Honolulu: Ai Pohaku Press.

1.

Land-ho!

Longus and Melville

The Greek novelist we call Longus lived in the 2nd Century CE on the Aegean island of Lesbos. He might have been from a wealthy Mytilenean family.³⁸ Being from Lesbos, he would have read Sappho's erotic poetry.³⁹ Having written our only extant pastoral romance, *Daphnis and Chloe* (*D&C*), we can infer that his writing "derived from the tradition of pastoral poetry, known to us chiefly from the *Idylls* of Theokritos," as J.R. Morgan explains.⁴⁰ In *D&C*, "elements of Longus' description allude verbally to Theokritos, and motifs of Theokritos' poetry are deployed to become episodes within a developing narrative."⁴¹ Nothing outside of *D&C* remains of his writing, and we know nothing else about his life beyond what can be inferred from that text, and a few dubious references by others.

Herman Melville was born in New York in 1819. He came from a patrician family of gradually declining means, and was educated in a number of schools in New York City and Albany, where he focused on English literature and the Classics, often alluded to in his writings. In 1841, he sailed from Massachusetts to the Pacific aboard the whaling ship *Acushnet* to the Marquesas Islands, and subsequently to Tahiti, and Hawai'i. These voyages generated material for most of his major narratives, of which *Typee* (1846), *Omoo* (1847), and *Mardi* (1849) mark the first full-length Pacific narratives by an American actively utilizing fiction.⁴²

This chapter oscillates between these two authors, searching for resonances that attest to the pastoral novel's entry into the Pacific. Following first contact, texts

³⁸ Discussed in Cueva, Edmund P. *The Myth of Fiction: Studies in the Canonical Greek Novels*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007) p. 44

³⁹ Froma Zeitlin asserts his sources for imitation were "Homer, Theocritus, and Sappho," from "Gardens of Desire in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*" [148-196] in *The Search for the Ancient Novel*.

⁴⁰ Morgan, J.R., ed. *Greek Fiction: The Greek Novel in Context*. (New York: Routledge, 1994) p.64

⁴¹ *ibid.* p. 64; [Alternate transliterated spelling of Theocritus from Morgan].

⁴² The extent to which the writings by figures like Capt. David Porter (journal: 1822), explorer Jeremiah N. Reynolds (reports: 1836), and historian James Jackson Jarves (history: 1843; novel: 1857) can be considered fictional is debatable.

containing Western ideas—maps, Bibles, syllabaries, journals, etc.—were brought to the Pacific by explorers, whalers, missionaries (and their wives), and lesser-known travel writers. In 1846, *Typee* inadvertently facilitated a shift in which Euro-American ideas about the Pacific left the realm of scientific letters and entered the literary market's realm of creative exploit, allotting sustainable reciprocity between imperial and romantic fantasies. Similarly, the vastly popular *Daphnis and Chloe* reveals the successful transfer of pastoralism into the staple product of elite literary entertainment, the romance novel.⁴³ It is worth noting that both Melville and Longus complicated and grew the idea of the novel in their own times, part of which resulted from willfully employed pastoralism. To get a sense of these resonant processes, I compare the authors' respective plots, tropes, representational devices, and publication contexts.

To start, let us consider a make believe interplay between passages written approximately 1,700 years apart, in which Melville's and Longus' narrators present opposing perspectives on a common event: a boat's approach to an island. First, we have the narration by Tommo, Melville's surrogate, describing preliminary visual contact with the Marquesan island of Nuku Hiva:

Soon, other evidences of our vicinity to land were apparent, and it was not long before the glad announcement of its being in sight was heard from aloft,—given with that peculiar prolongation of sound that a sailor loves—'Land ho!' -*Typee*, p. 20⁴⁴

Second, we have Longus' archetypal pastoral figures, the youths Daphnis and Chloe, breaking from eating and sexual exploration in their island's (Lesbos) countryside to take in the sights and sounds, from the shore, of a passing commercial fishing boat:

While they were eating—and kissing more than they ate—a fishing boat came into view, sailing past them. -*D&C*, p. 20⁴⁵

Approaching Nuku Hiva, Tommo discerns the island thus:

⁴³ The word Romance (like the French *roman*) originally meant a novel, especially an adventurous novel dealing with love, coming from the Latin word *romanus* or *romanicus*, meaning, roughly, "in the Roman language," or "in the common language." This etymology has often led scholars to believe the ancient novels were a low class form. As discussed below, that was not the case.

⁴⁴ All citations of Melville novels from Melville, Herman. *Typee, Omoo, Mardi*. [1846, 1847, 1849] (New York: The Library of America / Viking Press, 1982 / 1984)

⁴⁵ All citations of Longus from Longus. *Daphnis and Chloe*, trans. Christopher Gill, in Bryan Reardon, ed. *Collected Ancient Greek Novels*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989

Aye, there it was. A hardly perceptible blue irregular outline, indicating the bold contour of the lofty heights of Nukuheva [sic]. -*Typee*, p. 21

Longus develops the scene of the approaching vessel, giving context, and importantly revealing the difference between the idle countryside voyeurs and the industrious city-based sailors:

There was no wind, and the sea was calm, and so the sailors had decided to row and were rowing vigorously. They were hurrying to get their freshly caught fish to the city in good condition for one of the rich men there. As they lifted their oars, they did what sailors usually do to take their minds off their tiring work: one man was acting as cox and singing chanteys to them, while the rest behaved like a kind of chorus and shouted out in unison, taking their time from his voice... -*D&C*, p. 326

The Greek sailors are motivated by the same forces that Pacific whalers would face: delivering the catch. But for the greenhorn Tommo, the apprehension of the islands' valleys, glens, and groves is actually "startling" in its idealism—what Sumida interprets as the realization, or reification, of a Western fantasy or "dream."⁴⁶ Removed from any commercialized speech, Melville constructs the topography of the island in romantic language:

We had perceived the loom of the mountains about sunset; so that after running all night with a very light breeze, found ourselves close in with the island the next morning: but as the bay we sought lay on its farther side, we were obliged to sail some distance along the shore, catching, as we proceeded, short glimpses of blooming valleys, deep glens, waterfalls, and waving groves, hidden here and there by projecting and rocky headlands, every moment opening to the view some new and startling scene of beauty. -*Typee*, p. 21

Comparing Longus' description of the Lesbian coast reveals topographical parallels:

...when they ran under a particular headland and rowed into a crescent-shaped bay surrounded by land, a louder shout was audible, and the coxes songs traveled clearly to the land...It was pleasant to listen to; the sound from the sea came first, and then the sound from the land started and finished corresponding later. -*D&C*, p. 326

As Longus' narrator (a fictional version of himself), continues to describe the sailors' chant, he suggests a rustic indulgence in the chorus, whom Daphnis and Chloe find "pleasant to listen to." Thus in both Melville's prolonged "land ho!" and Longus'

⁴⁶ Sumida, Stephen (1991), p. 4

development of the commercial sailors' collective echo, we find a shared interest in the vocality of sailing, in the sounds of others. In *Mardi*, Melville would sonorously recapitulate the theme exactly.⁴⁷ Moreover, despite the time between the passages from *D&C* and *Typee*, and their geographic antipodality, their common features pile up: the winds, the geography of the islands' bays and headlands, the proximity to land, the relatively slow movement of the whaling ship and fishing boat, both of which embarked from cities that function as economic centers, the undetected gaze. Melville concludes the description of the approach by relating the immediate effects of the dreamlike place to his audience, anticipating their reactions, and then checking them with the suggestion of a subverted paradise from which he will derive narrative tension:

...many people are apt to picture to themselves enamelled and softly swelling plains, shaded over with delicious groves, and watered by purling brooks, and the entire country but little elevated above the surrounding ocean. The reality is very different... -*Typee*, p. 21

Here Melville almost directly invokes the tropes of landscape in the pastoral; though none of this comparison is meant to say that Melville was alluding to the passage from Longus. Rather, it gets at the fact that he was unavoidably pastoralist, as even his subversive mention of "reality," alluding to cannibalism (which he never would actually face), pales before the romantic glow of the island. In sum, the mimetic echoes in this rhetorical call-and-response suggest that these authors, in their respective periods of composition, imagined scenes presenting mutual ease and enjoyment in a moment of simultaneous discovery: the country and the city at peace.

Stepping back from the texts, we can entertain questions about textual reception that these passages inspire. The popularity of *Typee* allows us to figure Tommo as a stand-in for the literate, urban American at large, one of the "many people" referred to by Melville, who transitively discovered the Pacific islands through his eyes. It is reasonable then to assume that Longus' narrator, being aligned with his rural heroes as they look out at the commercial visitor, would transitively align his readers in a shared rustic gaze. But the latter assumption, which suggests a city/country binary, is false, and in fact, these texts share a key parallel more important than the similarities listed above. Specifically, Melville and Longus were *both* urban writers making a similar "scene of

⁴⁷ "(*Bow-Paddler.*) / Who lifts this chant? / Who sounds this vaunt? / (*All.*) / Dip, dip, in the brine our paddles dip, / Dip, dip, the fins of our swimming ship!" *Mardi*, p. 876

beauty” out of a *real* topos—in which *making* takes a poetic sense, from the Greek *poieō*: *I make, I do, I create*. This constructed experience is what readers wanted, and what they found in both *Typee* and *Daphnis and Chloe* in their respective times. Earning readers’ patronage gave Melville his initial, if short-lived, fame and literary success. For Longus, patronage had to come prior even putting a quill to papyrus.

Before the rise of Western capitalism, feudalism, and the various forms of patronage in Europe going back through the Renaissance, Middle Ages, and the Roman Imperial period, there were stratified economic classes. This is attested to by our early evidence of a supply-and-demand economy that gradually moved from subsistence goods to specialized products. Textual historians L.D. Reynolds and N.G. Wilson have found that by “the middle of the fifth century [BCE] or a little later that a book trade can be said to have existed in Greece: we find references to a part of the Athenian market where books can be bought.”⁴⁸ With respect to the development of a literary market, one must consider readership, which to understand “it is crucial not to lose sight of the causal link between wealth and education.”⁴⁹ In an imperial patron-client relationship, Emperor Augustus famously sponsored Virgil, a union which resulted in both the high-art texts of the epic *Aeneid* and the pastoral *Eclogues*. But patronage, the financial sponsorship of production, was not limited to the Imperial circle. At the same time that Virgil composed hexameters for the court in Rome, Longus was writing his pastoral in what has long been perceived as a lowbrow form: the romance, or ancient novel. However, the outdated train of thinking of a “juvenile readership” for the ancient novels can be traced to “dismissive modern verdicts” by influential works like B.E. Perry’s *The Ancient Romances* (1967) and Tomas Hagg’s *The Novel in Antiquity* (1983).⁵⁰ Classical scholars like Ewen Bowie and Susan A. Stephens offer more recent corrections. A papyrologist by training, Stephens returns to artifactual realities in Hellenistic and early-Roman Period life:

First, the technology of book production remained laborious and time consuming; books were costly. Egypt maintained a monopoly on the production and marketing of papyrus from which the majority of the ancient book rolls were made...Add to this the cost of a

⁴⁸ Specifically, from fragments of Eupolis and Plato. From Reynolds, L.D. and N.G. Wilson. *Scribes and Scholars*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), p.2

⁴⁹ Stephens, Susan A. “Who Read the Ancient Novels?” [pp. 405 - 437] in Tatum, James, ed. *The Search for the Ancient Novel* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), p.407

⁵⁰ Bowie, Ewen. “The Readership of Greek Novels in the Ancient World,” [pp. 435-461], in Tatum, James, ed. *The Search for the Ancient Novel* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), p. 436

skilled copyists' labor and it is obvious that owning ancient books would have fallen outside the experience of all but the well-to-do...Second, the rise of an ancient middle class is a myth...

...No evidence currently available allows us to construct another set of readers for ancient novels. The need to create a different audience for stories we perceive as romantic or fanciful may simply reflect our own prejudices.⁵¹

Stephens is sure that those writing those texts were of the same education, and thus wealth, as the elite readers. However, this may not allow for enough distance in the triangular relationships between publisher, writer, and reader. Patrons throughout history, from “the wealthy individual in Syrian Antioch who commissioned a mosaic depicting a scene from *Metiochus and Parthenope*,”⁵² an unattributed Greek novel, to the Countess of Pembroke, have functioned most like modern publishers, even if for personal entertainment. They footed the bill for the production of the book in the same type of transaction enacted by publishers John Murray (London) and Wiley & Putnam (New York, now of the Penguin Group) when they paid Herman Melville and sent his manuscripts for *Typee* to press. But whereas Stephens adamantly equates publisher, writer, and reader in terms of class, Tim Whitmarsh suggests a potential skew. Citing the “slipperiness” of Pierre Bourdieu’s “cultural capital,” which is always “more difficult to control than its economic counterpart,” Whitmarsh offers the example of the “ex-slave Epictetus [who] uses the language of education, and references, among others, Homer, Aristophanes, Sophocles, Euripides, Plato and Xenophon.”⁵³ For the sake of comparison, Frederick Douglass can be seen as an apt parallel to this phenomenon closer to our time. Whitmarsh’s complications allow him to perceive *Daphnis and Chloe*, in which “urban visitors are presented...as dangerous,” as “subtly subversive” as it explores “the relationship between city and country, between rich and poor.”⁵⁴

Of course the same can be, and has been, said of Melville, who never presents us with anything less than the potentially subversive, forward-thinking, and enigmatic. But when pastoral is seen as subversive, it typically falls into what William Empson called “proletariat pastoral,” a satirical iteration of pastoral that may in itself be an oxymoronic misnomer. This project is less interested in pursuing that derivation than in examining pastoral processes as connected to the aspects of narratives intended to fulfill popular

⁵¹ Stephens, Susan A. (1994) pp. 406, 415

⁵² Whitmarsh, Tim. “Class” pp. 72- 87, from *The Cambridge Companion to the Greek and Roman Novel*, Whitmarsh, ed. (Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 72

⁵³ *ibid.*, p. 73

⁵⁴ *ibid.*, p. 79

demand. On Melville's *Typee*, sources agree that it was "a best seller, even a literary fad on both sides of the Atlantic."⁵⁵ Published in the States and in London, the "peep at Polynesian life" was for the entertainment of consumers around an antipodal oceanic rim, the Atlantic. At Melville's time, validation by the European market was important for one's intellectual identity, a stroke of luck expedited by the fluidity with which texts were transmitted across its expanse. In fact, it was Melville's stately brother Gansevoort who physically transported the manuscript to John Murray.⁵⁶ Authors like Henry James and later T.S. Eliot would come to personify and master this transatlantic duality (or liminality).

Several ancient novelists survived the middle passage too, through canonization in Alexandria's anthologies, ongoing market success, artistic reincorporation, and fortuitous storage conditions.⁵⁷ A modern Alexandrian, the late Bryan P. Reardon anthologized the definitive modern *Collected Ancient Greek Novels*; and of *D&C* he states:

In 1988 the British Library mounted an exhibition on *Daphnis and Chloe*, with several dozen versions of the book on display; it was called *Daphnis and Chloe: The Markets and Metamorphoses of an Unknown Bestseller*. Best-seller it certainly has been...in five hundred years since the first printed reference to the work, by Poliziano in 1489, some five hundred different editions, translations, and adaptations have appeared, in various languages.⁵⁸

Comparable perhaps only to Heliodorus' *Aethiopica* in popularity, *Daphnis and Chloe* is quite unlike the four other extant Greek novels, most of which "devote considerable energy to locating themselves in the real world."⁵⁹ What separates *D&C* from all others, and what made his work so successful over time, is essential to this entire current project, namely, that "Longus...parades his unreality."⁶⁰ This is to say that he took from Theocritus the notion of a *locus amoenus* as a setting, in spite of trends around him pushing toward realism, and that that amalgamation sold. This is analogous to this thesis' argument for the location of Pacific work by 19th Century American authors in the pastoral tradition, as that designation emanates from what I see as a

⁵⁵ McBride (2004), p. 29.

⁵⁶ Detailed in Arthur Stedman's essentially canonized "Introduction to the Edition of 1892."

⁵⁷ Novels not discovered in the Vatican or in monasteries come largely from a preserved trash-heap at Oxyrhynchus, Egypt and from recycled usage in the embalmed wrapping of mummies.

⁵⁸ Reardon, B.P. "μῦθος οὐ λόγος: Longus's Lesbian Pastorals" pp. 135-147 in *The Search for the Ancient Novel* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), p. 135

⁵⁹ Morgan (1994), p. 65

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p. 65

conscious and deliberate choice to superimpose Romanticist lenses in the face of an increasingly Realist and Modernist movement.⁶¹ J.R. Morgan's summarization of *D&C's* pastoral is key to this comparison:

Pastoral is not about photographic depiction of the countryside, but about the indulgence of urban nostalgia for a world of bucolic simplicity, sunshine and leisure, where a man's only problems are of the heart, and even they find relief in an outpouring of spontaneous song beneath a shady tree. It is a literary holiday, whose whole point is that the world it depicts does not, and never could exist. Longus even seems to poke fun at the fantasy of his countryside by exposing the distance between the muck and toil of real agricultural life and the hygienically packaged artefact which pastoral purveys to its fastidious urban clientele.⁶²

The formulation of pastoral in its initial novelistic adaptation as a "literary holiday" and romantic fantasy that disguises, or even mocks, reality, finds an apt foothold as we climb the ladder from Melville's beachcombing ventures, to Stoddard's homoerotic vacations, to Twain's comedic surveys of Hawai'i's plantation life. Delineating those American texts within the pastoral tradition therefore implies the deliberate grafting of gilded abstraction *over* an inferior reality, an unpolished, barbarian topography. Literary mimesis, like cartography and economy, rely on abstract systems for semiotic conveyance; and in each of these systems, concrete intermediaries are required: the book, the map, the currency. In each of these interrelated systems, that intermediary object, often a commodity, facilitates the representation of nature: the physical and/or demographic landscape.

While Longus is not "photographic," Reardon explains that *D&C's* "setting is in some respects fairly realistic."⁶³ Both Suzanne Saïd and Ewen Bowie have compared Longus' descriptions with the physical topography of Lesbos and found parallels in the archaeological record; however, both also emphasize his having a "tourist's curiosity" (Saïd) that "does not expect his readers to demand a depiction of Lesbos that is *both* realistic *and* accurate" (Bowie's emphases).⁶⁴ Shadi Bartsch suggests that Longus

⁶¹ Indeed, in 1905 Yone Noguchi wrote an article about Stoddard for *National* magazine titled *In the Bungalow with Charles Warren Stoddard: A Protest Against Modernism*. See <<http://www.archive.org/stream/nationalmagazine21brayrich#page/304/mode/1up>>

⁶² Morgan (1994), p. 65

⁶³ Reardon (1994), p. 143

⁶⁴ Saïd, Suzanne "The City in the Greek Novel," in Tatum, James, ed. *The Search for the Ancient Novel* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), p. 229; Bowie, Ewen (1994), p. 451

attempted to mimic painters' ability for direct visual representation, but because both Longus and his readers were "operating from a position of superior knowledge," his painterly ekphrasis "can only reinforce the suspension of the works between art and reality."⁶⁵ As we will continue to see, the pastoral processes of the ancient novel affirm the same kinds of elitist constructs that many attribute to the cultural hegemony perpetuated in the Pacific since the dawn of its exploration.

Daphnis and Chloe is largely about knowledge and power, especially knowledge as an empowering urban quality that separates it from the country. Since the refinement of goods (from food processing to book production) occurred in cities, where wealth always tends to accumulate, literature idealizing extra-urban *chora* (countryside) became another form by which the city elites affirmed their identities as rulers of extra-urban production sites. In this sense, the ancient novels sponsored by elite patrons were part of what Michel Foucault has called the *régime du savoir*, or "the way in which knowledge circulates and functions, its relations to power," marked by "secrecy, deformation, and mystifying representations imposed on people."⁶⁶ Following Foucault, Edward Said further developed these concepts within the discursive formulation behind *Pacific Pastoralism: Orientalism*, in which "the nexus of knowledge and power creating 'the Oriental' and in a sense obliterating him as a human being" is the literary norm.⁶⁷

The plot of *D&C* is motivated by the clumsily attained sexual education of its rural heroes, who become at once comical and pathetic. As the seasons change, they must overcome obstacles like competitive suitors, warring neighbors, and inborn ignorance. This process is replete with interludes of music, sleeping, and tending to their flocks. As one translator, Christopher Gill, explains, the lead characters "want nothing but to live in idyllic simplicity with each other, and with their goats and sheep, in their familiar meadows, hills, and woods, worshipping the pastoral gods, especially Pan and the Nymphs," while Eros intrudes at will.⁶⁸ The best summary comes from Longus himself, in his proem, which features an ekphrasis on "a painting that told a story of love" that the narrator finds in a sacred grove while hunting in Lesbos:

⁶⁵ Bartsch, Shadi. *Decoding the Ancient Novel*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), pp. 167, 39

⁶⁶ Foucault, Michel. "The Subject and Power" [1982]. In *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, edited by H. Dreyfus and P. Rabinow, pp. 208-226. 2nd ed. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1983). p. 212

⁶⁷ Said, Edward. (1978), p. 35

⁶⁸ Gill, Christopher. "Introduction," in Bryan Reardon, ed. *Collected Ancient Greek Novels* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), p. 286

The picture: women giving birth, others dressing the babies, babies exposed, animals suckling them, shepherds adopting them, young people pledging love, a pirates' raid, an enemy attack—and more, much more, all of it romantic. I gazed in admiration and was seized by a yearning to depict the picture in words... something for mankind to enjoy. It will cure the sick, comfort the distressed, stir the memory of those who have loved, and educate those who haven't.⁶⁹

What Longus decides to include here is revelatory, especially in the assurance that everything within the scope of his narrative—birth, country upbringing, shepherd life, pirate raids, wars—will *all* be subsumed into the romantic (ἔρωτικός, *erotica*), things of Eros, amorous love, bordering on the sexually erotic.

Herman Melville opens *Typee* with a preface worth comparing to Longus' proem. In between his time spent in Tai Pi and writing, the author claims to have been “tossing about on the wide sea,” witnessing things that only sailors see: “Stirring adventure; and many things which to fire-side people appear strange and romantic,” which, “when ‘spun as a yarn,’ not only relieve the weariness of many a night-watch at sea, but to excite the warmest sympathies of the author’s shipmates,” such that “his story could scarcely fail to interest those who are less familiar than the sailor with a life of adventure” (*Typee*, p. 9). These preludes have several things in common. Thematically, they both introduce romance and adventure—connected to islands and oceans (pirates/sailors). Both authors directly address their readers, for whom they invoke the healing, relieving, and educational aspects of their romantic narratives, along with presumed memories and sympathies. Beyond these narrative details, they both justify the act of turning the perceptive gaze into the descriptive act of writing. In effect, these passages act as sales pitches for consumers, in which their identities as “writers of travels among barbarous communities,” tourists, are cloaked under the utilitarian occupations of sailor and hunter (*Typee*, p. 9).

The blending of these identities on the page allowed both writers to both validate their extended forays into nature and necessitate a return, escape, or nostos, back to the city—a journey figuratively taken by the reader as well. This combination of kinesis and stasis is salient to the work of Longus, Melville, and many other travel writers. As Christopher Gill explains, “What is characteristic of the Greek novel in general is the forward thrust of its narrative movement...What is typical of pastoral poetry, on the

⁶⁹ Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*, trans. by Christopher Gill in Reardon (1989), p. 289

other hand, is its intensely static quality...What is formally distinctive in Longus' novel derives from its alteration of narrative (often narrative events that in some way jeopardize the peace of the pastoral world)."⁷⁰ Tourism is about movement too, the tour, and yet it is always about *stasis*, rest, relaxation, the "stay," something emphasized by the fine line between island tourist and maroon.

Gill's parenthetical note above is important when thinking about Melville. Is Tommo trapped by cannibals, his injured leg, or reveling in a preferred state of nature? Tommo at once refers to himself as "a captive in the valley" (*Typee*, p. 106), and then compares that 'Happy Valley' to modernity, exclaiming, "Civilization, for every advantage she imparts, holds a hundred evils in reserve" (*Typee*, p. 149). Early on, Melville reveals his inner conflicts, which grew as he became "aware of the touristic desires [he] stimulated almost immediately, and continues to stimulate."⁷¹ According to Paul Lyons, whether Melville liked it or not, "*Typee* has always been read touristically" because his pastoral tendencies told the public, "Adventure is possible: Eden is real."⁷² On the contrary, "Greek novelists...were also interested in exotic travels and tried to satisfy the taste of their audience for tourist attractions," as explained by Suzanne Saïd.⁷³ In the contrasts availed by pastoral, in which rural settings allowed reflections on both an idealized nature and on cities as centers of technological progress, ancient readers found a medium deserving perpetual patronage. If this was not Melville's goal, then it leads to the question of why he rendered a space so many have found idyllic and pastoral.⁷⁴

Stephen Sumida offers some theories in *And the View from the Shore*, which precedes the current attempt to align *Typee* with "predecessors in a pastoral tradition," though certain departures are necessary when using a revised rubric set by ancient predecessors.⁷⁵ Sumida laid valuable groundwork in discussing Melville's perspective, highlighting the "exotic pastoral notions which the narrator...applies to the Typee and their valley," exemplified when "Melville couches his sketch of Fayaway in a familiar form, the prototypical Western pastoral love song."⁷⁶ Furthermore, he adroitly assigned

⁷⁰ Gill (1989), p. 286

⁷¹ Lyons, Paul. (2006), p. 45

⁷² *ibid.* pp. 46, 45

⁷³ Saïd, Suzanne (1994), p. 228

⁷⁴ Indeed, the word *idyllic* is ubiquitous in summaries of *Typee*. *Idyll*, in fact, means "a scene," as in "that which is seen: a shape, form, or object." The definitions correlate to *Typee*'s subtitle: "A Peep at Polynesian Life," as well as its descriptive, episodic style.

⁷⁵ Sumida, Stephen (1991), p. 25

⁷⁶ *ibid.* p. 24

that “familiarity” to the demands of the reading public, the consumers. And that he configures Tommo’s singing, recreating, and increasing “indolence” to a general “blindness to how the Typee must work to support life in their valley” gets at the relationship between “indolence and toil” in Classical pastoral—that relationship in which the “soft life” necessarily blinds the literate, landowning readers to the rural characters’ toilsome existences.⁷⁷

However, *View from the Shore* shifts into a different paradigm by ascribing Melville’s changeful applications of pastoral, which Sumida sees as Melville’s constant device for critique, into a reflection of the “American taste for pastoral self- and communal sufficiency.”⁷⁸ This reading appears to derive from Sumida’s definition of pastoral, which he states “is written by an urban poet about an imagined rural or simple life, and in criticism of the ‘civilized’ and sophisticated.”⁷⁹ Working from this definition when discussing *Typee*’s pastoral as connected to an American work ethic suggests a deference for Henry Nash Smith’s development of the pastoral yeoman-farmer out of Jefferson’s expansionist rhetoric.⁸⁰ And in that myth and symbol stream of American studies, which includes his overt reliance on Leo Marx, Sumida means ultimately to include “misunderstood” Asian-American writers in trends of American thought, a project that dominates the majority of *View from the Shore*. As a result, white Hawaii-based writers like John Dominis Holt and O.A. Bushnell and discussed within the same binary as Asian-American nisei writers like Milton Murayama and Patsy Saiki.

For example, he finds in Saiki’s *Sachie: A Daughter of Hawaii* an organizational structure “reminiscent of the pastoral shepherd’s calendar devised in the European Renaissance,” because the narrative follows seasons and contains twelve chapters.⁸¹ Thus, Sumida explains, it is in that narrative framework that the main character, Sachie, tries to “come to terms with her ‘American Japanese’ identity.”⁸² In the ethnic elision inherent to such liberal inclusiveness—reading a blend of mostly Western intellectual traditions *into* his authors—Sumida potentially privileges the predominance of a

⁷⁷ *ibid.* pp. 26, 27

⁷⁸ *ibid.* p. 24

⁷⁹ *ibid.* p. 92

⁸⁰ cf. Smith’s *Virgin Land: The American West as Myth and Symbol* (Harvard: 1950 / 1978), which frames Manifest Destiny as an originally top-down process resulting from “Jeffersonian ideal of a society of small landowners tilling their own soil.” (Smith, p. 134) This “yeoman farmer” was promoted during political moments like the Homestead Act, but ultimately required mass popular approval, which occurred in mythic distillations in popular literature, as in the ‘dime novels.’

⁸¹ Sumida, Stephen (1991), p. 93

⁸² *ibid.*, p. 94

Western intellectual heritage over the bifurcated force he is attempting to impart to them.

In my view, Sumida's trajectory runs into problems by relying so heavily on the subversive potentiality of pastoral because it limits a full appreciation for why pastoral has survived the ages. Pastoral has survived because it has served since antiquity as a lexical toolbox for the artist infatuated with nature, and as a guiltless mode of entertainment for readers poised above the nature depicted. In *that* understanding of pastoral, the subsequent features of *Typee* are accounted for: primitivism, fetishism, exoticism, eroticism, tourism. This is not to say that Melville was not subversive; that he was critical and self-aware has been incontrovertibly evidenced in Melvillean scholarship and within the text itself, "which may be thought to bear rather hard" on the likes of missionaries, the French, and "Civilization" generally.⁸³ But Melville surely knew that his momentary aspersions could not dissuade civilization, and that his didacticism would give power to future colonizers, to some degree, through *information*. As in *Daphnis and Chloe*, education plays into power, expressed implicitly by Tommo's superiority to the native's taboos and explicitly in the figure of Marnoo, the multilingual inter-valley messenger. Marnoo is a young, beautiful, "beardless," "feminine," "Polynesian Apollo," (though his role and description better fit a Hermes, or Hermaphrodite) whose "natural quickness...had been wonderfully improved by his intercourse with the white men and his partial knowledge gave him a great ascendancy over his less accomplished countrymen" (*Typee*, p. 124). Marnoo is constructed much like many heroes of the pastoral, the romances, and Greek mythology, as an ephebe, or a young man, usually of an upper class, undergoing isolation as part of an initiation into manhood. Like ephebes across ancient Western traditions, Marnoo is idealized, deriving his individual status and power from the same white incursion that Melville spends time bashing elsewhere. Melville cannot fully sidestep the burden of depicting the Euro-American ship as the Puritanical "city upon a hill."⁸⁴ If we extend Melville's logic explaining Marnoo's "ascendancy," the publication of *Typee* can then be seen to effectually increase the *already superior* white man's knowledge of/over the Marquesans. In this passive justification of Euro-American colonial presence comes the implication that they will be the justified power in the region as colonialism increases.

⁸³ Melville, Herman. *Typee*, preface of 1846.

⁸⁴ cf. John Winthrop's sermon "A Modell of Christian Charity," circa 1630.

But *Typee*, a “A Peep at Polynesian Life” or “A Romance of the South Seas,”⁸⁵ was not taken entirely as truth by his readers. Indeed, the differing subtitles, corresponding to *Typee*’s dual publication, reveal the inner imbalance—and especially the predilections of the publishers. Is it the adventure of a romancer or a “peep” by an amateur anthropologist? *Typee*’s alternating styles can be read soberly or sensually—as reportage/voyeurism and experience/intercourse. For Melville, this seems to have been the result of his infatuation with the valley, and especially the “nymphal” Fayaway, coming up against an urge to offer an authoritative scientific account. This ambiguity, or ambivalence, would grow throughout his career, eventually manifesting less as pastoralist scientist and more as philosopher scientist (specifically, as cetologist).

But in *Typee*, his first work, Melville turned often to a familiar paradigm to blend the austere and romantic self, that being the construction of a narrator informed by an amalgamation of Classical figures. Tommo as a captive hero recalls several Homeric figures, the most obvious being Odysseus as trapped in total *stasis* for seven years on the nymph Calypso’s island. Next, Tommo as an injured hero alludes quite directly to Philoctetes, the heroic archer stranded on an island (Odysseus’ idea) after his leg grows infected from snakebite—written about by Homer in the *Iliad*, and later dramatized by Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. Just before entering the valley Tommo says, “one of my legs was swelled to such a degree, and pained me so acutely, that I half suspected I had been bitten by some venomous reptile,” while acknowledging simultaneously that “there are no venomous reptiles, and no snakes...found in any of the valleys” (*Typee*, pp. 43, 191). For Melville, Nuku Hiva is almost an improvement of Eden.

What of Tommo the romantic hero, seducer of island nymphs? When he watches them bathing in the valley’s lake, there could be traces of the voyeuristic David, the Judeo-Christian pastoral archetype, watching Bathsheba. Added to that reading is the regular use of Edenic imagery—before the serpent arrived—configuring a Pacific Adam and Eve. While that avenue will be explored further shortly, in this process of elimination it is valuable to entertain Tommo as a Daphnis corollary, too. Though Melville does not directly allude to *Daphnis and Chloe*, he does put *Typee* in the romance tradition. And in his representational development of the Other, and of the Pacific landscape, we find many elements from the pastoral romance of Longus. By way of Tommo, Melville describes Marquesans in pseudo-scientific quantitative language. After aligning himself with “scientific” reportage by Mendaña, Cook, and David Porter,

⁸⁵ *Peep* was the American subtitle; *Romance* was the English.

he confirms the overwhelming “beauty” of the islanders’ faces by noting “the European cast of their features” that “present profiles classically beautiful,” with some, like Marnoo, being “in every respect models of beauty” (*Typee*, p. 166). As this passage makes clear, the ideal form for Melville, his predecessors, and his readers is an essentially statuary Greco-Roman “model,” implicitly agreed upon in Euro-American consciousness. Tommo is not far off the mark in his features, though he seems to present himself as average, stock. The literary transformation of this objectified beauty started with Homer and had been chiseled into a stock type by the time it reached the novelistic tradition: symmetrical, fair-skinned, blue-eyed, golden-haired, and divinely attractive. Melville emphasizes all of these traits in Fayaway, a “beauteous nymph” with “strange blue eyes” and “the most beautiful example” of “light olive” skin (*Typee*, p. 165).⁸⁶

Of all the heroines in the ancient novels, none are as defined by their rural lives as Chloe, for which she is comparable to Fayaway. If it is not direct allusion, it is a repetition of mimetic impulse by an urban male writer’s gaze. Other parallels further speak to this correlation. In *Daphnis and Chloe*, both of the lead characters begin as rustic bumpkins, until Daphnis is seduced and physically instructed in lovemaking by a city woman named Lycaenion. Thus empowered, he is able to educate Chloe. Fayaway and Tommo’s relationship centers around an exchange of knowledge as well. When Tommo’s partner Toby disappears, he endeavors “to learn from her” what happened, assured that he might by her “countenance, singularly expressive of intelligence and humanity...reposing in full confidence in her candour and intelligence” (*Typee*, pp. 131-132). He gleans his impression of her through her body, her countenance, and physical position, yet actually fails to learn much about Toby’s disappearance from her speech. For all his praise, Tommo undoubtedly sees himself as Fayaway’s intellectual superior—in fact, as superior to all the islanders—demonstrated when he effectively breaks their taboo by convincing them to allow her into a canoe with him. When the idea comes to Tommo, he explains that he “could not understand why a woman would not have as much right to enter a canoe as a man,” actually admitting that despite numerous gender inequalities in American society, he cannot understand this apparently groundless imbalance abroad (*Typee*, p. 118). So he sets about persuading the elders through a few warm “solicitations,” which, to his surprise, do the trick. “However it was that the

⁸⁶ Fayaway’s skin is compared to others, who are both darker and lighter, hers being the perfect blend, which Mendaña allegedly said looked like Southern Europeans. And Marnoo is described explicitly as being symmetrical in his build.

priesthood of Typee satisfied the affair with their consciences, I know not,” says Tommo, the implication being that he had sold them on an entirely foreign epistemology without even possessing their language. In doing so, Tommo achieves nothing less than “Fayaway’s emancipation,” all for the sake of an indolent day in “some fairy region” where Fayway disrobes and discovers the technology of the sail by distending her tappa clothing, which Tommo then replaces with a dress of calico (*Typee*, p. 120). He frees her, teaches her, clothes her, and probably has sex with her, suggested by sensuous language throughout.

Incidentally, in every canonical ancient romance, the female character is at some point transported by boat, often against her will. Chloe is kidnapped by pirates, causing Daphnis to lament that she will have to spend the rest of her days in a city. The important parallel here is that the romances all took place near water, with *D&C* taking place surrounded by it on Lesbos. Pastoral itself emanated as an island literature; Theocritus was from Syracuse and then lived on the island of Cos, and both islands are featured in his spatial descriptions. This connection between Theocritean islands and future pastorals will be explored further in the proceeding chapter on Charles Warren Stoddard. But here it is important to emphasize the germination of an ‘island paradise’ as a novel setting, which may have been initiated by Longus.

Daphnis, Chloe, and their foster parents all work for a landowner named Dionysophanes,⁸⁷ who turns out to be Daphnis’ father, and within his property there is a beautiful garden. The word used by Longus for garden is *paradeisos*, meaning most literally ‘a walled enclosure,’ then ‘a garden,’ and eventually forming the root of the modern word *paradise*. In Froma Zeitlin’s summation, the *paradeisos*:

...reveals the inherent tensions between city and country in eros and art...[and] seems to blossom as a microcosm of the pastoral world at harmony with the larger environment [...] not cultivated for any practical function...but rather for its conspicuous beauty [...] Meticulously laid out with an eye to every detail, the garden park invites the spectator to enjoy its beauties and relish its skillful design. It also invites the reader to consider the rhetorical and symbolic values of that ornamental design.⁸⁸

In the climax of *D&C*, this garden space must be perfect prior the arrival of Dionysophanes in his annual inspection. Furthermore, the garden is the site where

⁸⁷ This name means, roughly, ‘the appearance of Dionysus,’ a sexual, orgiastic figure salient to garden sanctuaries.

⁸⁸ Zeitlin, Froma. “Gardens of Desire in Longus’s *Daphnis and Chloe*.” in *The Search for the Ancient Novel* (1994). pp. 158-159

Dionysophanes will marry Daphnis and Chloe, and Zeitlin goes into depth decoding the inherent “sexual messages of the garden...first, between maiden and garden, and second, between agriculture and matrimony.”⁸⁹ Lush, aesthetic, erotic, cultivated by an invisible hand for spectacle and leisure—without much unpacking, the development of *paradeisos* into today’s ‘Pacific paradises’ comes into focus.

But *Typee* might have been the first to popularize the notion of a paradise in the Pacific through first-hand experience. This raises a train of questioning latent in all this comparison: how aware was Melville of these etymologies and how deliberate were his applications? Had he read *Daphnis and Chloe*? That gets us into guesswork; even if we were to locate certain texts among his school syllabi or personal library, the degree to which he applied them is largely unknowable. Two decades before Melville arrived in Hawai‘i, a “Yankee Trader” for Bryant & Sturgis, Charles Hammatt, wrote in his journal, from O‘ahu, “The King [Liholiho] embarked for Mowee [sic] about 25 June, and will probably have a real drunk there. We hear he has been happy as a Cloe [sic] ever since he has been there.”⁹⁰ If the pastoral cheer of Chloe was in his mind, can we infer that it was in Melville’s? Perhaps. What we do know for sure is that he had something in common with Longus, in that his “narrator’s desire ushers us immediately into the whole legacy of mimetic theory he has inherited, drawn from rhetorical, philosophical, aesthetic, and educational ideas that were refined and increasingly valorized over the centuries.”⁹¹

Naturally, Melville had many more centuries of Western influence to synthesize when he entered the Pacific, his literary, watery *terra firma*. *Typee* is quite unlike any American novel before it. Whereas Cooper’s *The Crater* and Poe’s *Narrative of Gordon Pym* invented Pacific settings, Melville based his on real experience. What is surprising is how reliant he still is on the myth and prejudice—even when retroactively writing about the valley. Melville imposes the expectation of a native threat when Tommo first considers what fate might await his foray into the island’s valleys, saying, “The very name of Typee struck panic into my heart” (*Typee*, p. 66) It should be noted that *panic* refers directly to to mythical apparition of Pan, the focal god of pastoral, which typically induces a startling rendition of *deus ex machina*. Is that what Melville meant? He knew Greek and Latin; that’s all we know. Paul Lyons relegates that panic, or “memory of panic” to a performative “semiotics of fear” from which Melville drew narrative tension,

⁸⁹ *ibid.* p. 159

⁹⁰ Hammatt, Charles H. *Ships, Furs, and Sandalwood: A Yankee Trader in Hawai‘i, 1823-1825*. (Mānoa: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1999), p. 20

⁹¹ Zeitlin, Froma (1994). p. 153

and possibly parodied colonial prejudices.⁹² Whatever the objective, it is overcome the moment Tommo becomes “a spectator of such a scene” as Taipivai was on first impression:

Had a glimpse of the gardens of Paradise been revealed to me I could have scarcely been more ravished with the sight...

...Over all the landscape there reigned the most hushed repose, which I almost feared to break lest, like the enchanted gardens in the fairy tale, a single syllable might dissolve the spell...

...I then suggested to [Toby] that beyond this ridge might lie a capacious and untenanted valley, abounding with all manner of delicious fruits...and if we found our expectations realized we should at once take refuge in it and remain there as long as we pleased...These circumstances, however, only augmented my anxiety to reach a place which promised us plenty and repose.

-*Typee*, pp. 65-67

In true testament to the etymology, *Paradise* as connected to *garden* is immediately applied to the “Polynesian landscape,” at once an Eden, heaven, haven, and theatre of repose. Sick from his night exposed, taking in this view “from the spot where [he] lay transfixed with surprise and delight,” he maintains a degree of fear: the duality of the tree of life. This proximity of life and death are salient to pastoral: “Et in Arcadia ego,” says Death;⁹³ elegy being a popular mode in Theocritus. This duality is present in Longus’ first depiction of Lesbos, too:

There were hills covered with game, plains rich in wheat, slopes with many vines, pastures stocked with sheep, and the soft sand of a long beach, washed by the sea. A goatherd called Lamon, who grazed his flocks on this estate, found a child being suckled by one of his she-goats. There was a copse of oaks, with brambles and wandering ivy, and soft grass, on which the child was lying.

-*D&C*, Book 1, lines 1-2⁹⁴

Daphnis, the exposed infant, is left with the question of death hanging over him, lying in the grass before the mountains and fruitful hills of the island. The parallels in the imagery of setting and characterization go on, necessitated by a similarity of project in two distant eras. Far beyond the scope of what Michael Rogin calls Melville’s “subversive

⁹² Lyons, Paul. (2006), p. 93

⁹³ cf. several pastoral paintings of Nicolas Poussin with that title.

⁹⁴ trans. Christopher Gill in Reardon (1989), p. 291

genealogy,”⁹⁵ meaning his immediate family, he repeatedly evidences a lexical genealogy comprised by noun, verb, and adjective built into familiar metaphors and salable myths we have called *pastoral* since antiquity.

Whether or not his readers accepted the cannibal fear full-heartedly, or felt the spurn of Melville’s colonial critiques, this image, of an “enchanted garden,” in which reposed the naked nymph of Fayaway, that faraway fay, is what they bought with their money—“Money! ‘That root of all evil’ [which] was not to be found in the valley” (*Typee*, p. 111). In Melville’s world, the whimsical manipulation of reality, and more specifically the poetics of mythic adaptation by way of “barbarous” Pacific people and landscapes, were merely incidental to the production of entertainment, and absolute truth (as opposed to verisimilitude) was far less relevant. Melville’s early career illustrates the public’s indifference in the system of supply and demand. Falsely presumed to be works of purely fictional exotica, *Typee* and *Omoo* (1847) sold very well, causing Melville to reason that an even more incredible text—“a romance of Polynesian adventure”—might “possibly, be received for a verity, in some degree the reverse of [his] previous experience” (*Mardi*, Preface, [p. 661]). After all, the only sources of comparison American audiences had were similar accounts, in literature and historiography, which systematically reinforced Western mythic (mis)representations of the Pacific as an uncivilized, rural space, just as comprehensible and conquerable for the civilized mind as the rural wilds of the Louisiana Territory in Western dime novels.

In Melville’s shift away from the pastoral anthropologist of *Typee*, “*Mardi* casually dismisses the reader, a docile specter,”⁹⁶ or unwelcome fellow reveler, or civilized intruder into his textual empire. Melville moves into an almost alienating philosophical identity, bent on allegory, and in totality *Mardi* can be parsed (though not without difficulty) as an allegory for world history up to/during the 1840s, when missionaries and their imported writing systems were still new to Polynesia. This presents numerous anachronisms and objective transpositions not found in earlier works. For example, in an obscure passage deep into *Mardi*, he depicts an old Pacific Islander in a mysterious archipelago, a hermitted “Antiquarian” named Oh-Oh whose tiny island boasts both a museum of oddities and a vault containing a “collection of ancient and curious manuscripts,” at once a catacomb and an archival library (*Mardi*, p.

⁹⁵ cf. Rogin, Michael. *Subversive Genealogies: The Politics and Art of Herman Melville* (New York: Knopf, 1983)

⁹⁶ Dimock, Wai Chee. *Empire for Liberty: Melville and the Poetics of Individualism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), p. 110

1039). But the objects and texts within the vault are all quite ridiculous and ironic—from “the Jaw-bones of Tooroorooloo, a great orator” and a “tangled lock of Mermaid’s hair” to “Letters from a Father to a Son, inculcating the Virtue of Vice” and the “Pastorals by a Younger Son” (*Mardi*, pp. 1035, 1036, 1040). At once a satire of colonial museums’ ‘cabinets of curiosity’ and a possible allusion to P.T. Barnum, Melville transposes not only writing but copious literary productions in a Pacific Island setting. That Oh-Oh’s objects on display all refer to subjects and myths imported from the West makes the scene more conspicuous. Melville’s thought process here might reflect the manner by which “Europeans shaped their understandings of their Pacific island observations and experiences with their own imported mythologies,” as Stephen Sumida posits.⁹⁷ But most important for us is the inclusion of Pastoral, a rare mention, as an object among those serving his allegory and satire, the product of a younger, less developed self.

Mardi can thus be seen as a shift away from the pastoral novel of Longus, and into the normative mode of Ancient Romance, in which Melville could have been well versed through his education or reading of anyone from Henry Fielding to Miguel Cervantes. In *Mardi* there are numerous tropes from that tradition, such as the picaresque hero, the story-within-a-story, the white-skinned native and racial subversions, the *scheintod* (fake death), damsel’s kidnapping, marauding pirates, and a general tendency toward being epic. All of these features can be sourced to the Classical analogs from which they derive, and are most thoroughly encompassed by Heliodorus’ *Aethiopica*, another text probably available to Melville. In full, *Mardi* is a nearly impenetrable tome (τόμος, tomos, section, roll of papyrus, volume), filled with countless aphorisms and philosophical tangents, like a nineteenth-century *Tristram Shandy* of the Pacific.

Mardi can be seen to mark the simultaneous start and finish of Melville’s career as a financially successful novelist. The fact that his stylistic development failed to entice audiences is particularly interesting. While Melville’s critics pointed to a weak and rambling narrative as the main failing, I suggest that it was the forceful imposition of material and ideological anachronisms onto the too-hypothetical islands comprising *Mardi*. Besides Melville’s mystical belle Yillah, the characters and spaces they inhabit are imbued with farcical and/or philosophical burdens that make them totally opposite from the pastorally rendered Marquesans and Tahitians of his earlier narratives. *Mardi* is devoid of the exoticizing and eroticizing powers of pastoralism that delighted American

⁹⁷ Sumida, Stephen (1991), p. 9

audiences. The text was altogether too experimental, reliant on tropes from Ancient Romance but not enough from what had been his “younger” intuition, the mimetics of pastoral, a tried-and-true best-seller.

2.

Man-ho!

Theocritus and Stoddard

His days he passed in sleep, his nights in the business and pleasures of life. Indolence had raised him to fame, as energy raises others, and he was reckoned not a debauchee and spendthrift, like most of those who squander their substance, but a man of refined luxury. And indeed his talk and his doings, the freer they were and the more show of carelessness they exhibited, were the better liked, for their look of natural simplicity.

-Tacitus, *Annals*, 16.18

In the seminal biography of Charles Warren Stoddard, *Genteel Pagan*, literary historian Roger Austen tells us that Stoddard received a copy of Petronius' *Satyricon* from famed book collector DeWitt Miller in the last years of his life.⁹⁸ Whether or not that reading experience yielded to Stoddard the summary of Petronius offered by Roman historian Tacitus, Stoddard must have seen something of himself in its pages. Born in 1843, Stoddard was transient, gay, and airy in manner, a friend to the American literati and elites, with penchants for finery, curiosities, indolence, and "homoexotic" experiences. Incidentally, Roger Austen, who found his life and even mood following Stoddard's path in the course of writing *Genteel Pagan*, according to his editor John W. Crowley, met a drawn-out suicidal end that recalls Petronius in its own morbid way. Austen botched overdose attempts in a Santa Monica hotel and a Puerto Vallarta bathtub following nights of homosexual indulgence, only to drown years later alone in Lake Sammamish, Washington.⁹⁹ The prolonged theatrics of Petronius' death are recounted by Tacitus:

Yet he did not fling away life with precipitate haste, but having made an incision in his veins and then, according to his humour, bound them up, he again opened them, while he conversed with his friends, not in a serious strain or on topics that might win for him the glory of courage. And he listened to them as they repeated, not thoughts on the immortality of the soul or on the theories of philosophers, but light poetry and playful verses.

-Tacitus, *Annals*, 16.19

Though far too sentimental for a violent end, Stoddard's death (1909), too, was

⁹⁸ Austen, Roger. *Genteel Pagan: The Double Life of Charles Warren Stoddard*. Edited by John W. Crowley. (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1991), p. 166

⁹⁹ *ibid.* pp. viii, xx.

prolonged, if by fluctuant health and papers like the *Overland Monthly* reporting that Stoddard, “the author of many of the sweetest poems in the language, is dying,” as early as 1904.¹⁰⁰ However, an important difference, regardless of the resemblances their lives and temperaments had to Petronius, is that neither Stoddard nor Austen were ever explicitly at the service of the expanding American empire from which they both derived careers. While Stoddard would have enjoyed Petronius’ title under Nero—Arbiter of Elegance—he had little taste for politics. Stoddard, who shied from the “redskin” literary mold of fellow Californian writers, certainly did not care for the rough stylings of Theodore Roosevelt, whom he encountered a few times.¹⁰¹ More overtly, both Stoddard and Austen have been largely forgotten, which may be due to a lack of modern champions, as Petronius had in Tacitus, and later Federico Fellini;¹⁰² though Crowley tried to elevate Austen, whom he thought, “unlike Stoddard...deserves to be remembered for his writings.”¹⁰³ It should be added that in his time the genteel “paleface” Stoddard was championed by the “redskins” Twain and Joaquin Miller, San Francisco notables Bret Harte and Ina Coolbrith, and most prominently by William Dean Howells, a founding father in American Realism, “The Dean of American Letters,” and the literary arbiter at the helm of the *Atlantic Monthly*. In his introductory letter to the 1892 republication of *South-Sea Idyls*, Howells guarantees that “the whole English-reading world will recognize in your work the classic it should have known before.”¹⁰⁴

Within the broader *genealogy of misrepresentation* being dissected in this paper, the point of the oscillating comparison above is to draw out the echo of *persona*, a particularly resonant node between the realms of gay literature and pastoral. In fact it is Austen’s thesis that Stoddard’s written life was devoted to expressing his latent (gay) self, largely through bonds with other male writers, through codified language, metaphors, intimate letters, “light poetry and playful verses,” in a world that was not ready to accept him as he was. As this chapter seeks to demonstrate, fictionalized authorial persona was salient to the Pacific works at hand, as authors like Melville, and here Stoddard, appear

¹⁰⁰ *ibid.* p. 191n.5 after Beringer, Pierre. “Charles Warren Stoddard,” *Overland Monthly*, n.s. 43 (April 1904)

¹⁰¹ *ibid.* p. 17, Austen outlines the dichotomy between “redskin” writers, meaning the lowbrow, though popular, frontiersman writers who had “gone native,” and the highbrow “paleface” writers who were of a finer ilk, though viewed as a bit foppishly out of place on the West Coast.

¹⁰² cf. *Fellini Satyricon*, Federico Fellini’s 1969 film adaptation of Petronius’ work.

¹⁰³ Austen, Roger (1991). p. xxii

¹⁰⁴ Howells, W.D. in Stoddard, Charles Warren. *South-Sea Idyls*. (New York: Scribners, 1892, printed again 1921), p. vi

as thinly veiled figures (heroes) within the narratives of Pacific Pastoralism. At the point of its inception, ancient pastoral evinces far greater proclivities for homosexual than heterosexual heroes. We cannot say whether this development was primarily a result of early patrons' demands, Theocritus' own predilection, a broader cultural norm (as pastoral may have been an oral form prior to Theocritus' texts), or a mixture of all three. While Theocritus was less present in his poetry than Longus as narrator in *Daphnis and Chloe*, the authorial persona that he, at the very least, *affected* endowed most of his *Idylls* with some degree of homoeroticism. The discussion that follows will develop the argument that Charles Warren Stoddard's persona helps to locate *South Sea Idyls* within the pastoral tradition through its echoes of the homoerotics inaugurated by Theocritus.

While not a pastoralist, Petronius Arbiter is an appropriate transitional figure, as he helped to pioneer the concept of introducing the authorial self into narrative action in Western antiquity, an innovation without which Western letters might have been drastically different. As Classical scholars R. Bracht Branham and Daniel Kinney explain:

What Petronius has done would be the equivalent of replacing the authorial narrator, Homer, with a character/narrator; something not done in epic or in any example of fiction known to him. This was a radical innovation and produced a 'quantum leap' in the realism and immediacy of the entire narrative. Even the *diegesis* (narrative) is now an act of *mimesis*...¹⁰⁵

That move is important to keep in mind when comparing pre-Petronian texts, like those of Theocritus, to post-Petronian works. Stoddard's famed *South-Sea Idyls* (1873) certainly would not have been the same, if it would have existed at all, without the omnipresent narrator, whom Stoddard only distinguishes from his real self through incredible events.

Although we cannot know exactly what Stoddard read at every period of his life, what influenced him, and which of these he deliberately mimicked, close attention to his texts can provide valuable insights into inherited tools at his disposal. One biographer, Robert L. Gale, found *South-Sea Idyls* "old fashioned...replete with classical references, paraphrases of Shakespearean clichés," and his *Poems* (1867) "unfortunately neoclassical."¹⁰⁶ Gale appears to have worked largely off of the initial biography of Stoddard by Carl Stroven, and it should be added that almost all Stoddard scholarship

¹⁰⁵ Petronius, *Satyrical*. "Introduction." R. Bracht Branham and Daniel Kinney, trans. and ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), p. xxii

¹⁰⁶ Gale, Robert L. *Charles Warren Stoddard* [Boise State University Western Writers Series]. (Boise: Boise State University, 1977), pp. 14, 37

has been patently biographical, with critical essays only emerging in recent years.¹⁰⁷ Among these there is an agreement that three of Stoddard's most enduring literary heroes were Defoe, Whitman, and Melville. But if history remembers these authors for their adventurousness, self-reliance, philosophical depth, and/or contributions to the development of an American cultural identity, then Stoddard's tastes significantly diverge from the norm. Austen calls Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* "a volume [Stoddard] would always treasure because it was a gift from a chum," and from which he would best remember the idyllic aspects of Crusoe's "Island of Despair."¹⁰⁸ Melville's *Omoo* had "excited his imagination," to the extent that comparisons to Melville's "subject matter" would follow Stoddard throughout his life,¹⁰⁹ not least because of a tendency to "rewrite Melvillean moments into fey, homoerotic scenes."¹¹⁰ And Whitman, whom he had been predisposed to dislike, he grew to admire for an imagined comradeship; writing to him from Honolulu:

You will easily imagine, my dear sir, how delightful I find this life. I read your Poems with a new spirit, to understand them as few may be able to. And I wish more than ever that I might possess a few lines from your pen. I want your personal magnetism to quicken mine, how else shall I have it?¹¹¹

In sum, what Stoddard takes from these major influences can be seen, liberally, as pastoral: the ideal, the exotic, the erotic; the ingredients for the authorial self as an island, at once isolated and longing for a closeted community that he supplanted with "barbarism," meaning "people who are not afraid of instincts and who scorn hypocrisy [sic]."¹¹²

When he took his first trip to Hawai'i—a six month prescription following a nervous breakdown—the "malleable, unformed, and uncertain" Stoddard was

¹⁰⁷ Lyons (2006) and McBride (2004) being among very few others published in monographs; though several dissertations have been emerging; namely Kelvin Ray Beliele's *Beloved Savages and Other Outsiders: Genre and Gender Transgressions in the Travel Writings of Herman Melville, Bayard Taylor, and Charles Warren Stoddard* (PhD. diss., University of New Mexico, 2009), and John-Gabriel H. James' *A Lens of liminality: an Interpretive Biography of Charles Warren Stoddard, 1843-1909* (M.A thesis, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 2004)—none of which go into pastorality in any depth.

¹⁰⁸ Austen, Roger (1991). p. 6

¹⁰⁹ *ibid.* pp. 33, 61

¹¹⁰ Lyons, Paul (2006), p. 110

¹¹¹ Stoddard, letter to Whitman, March 2, 1869. From The Charles E. Feinberg Collection of the Papers of Walt Whitman, 1839—1919, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Accessed via <<http://www.waltwhitmanarchive.org>> 3/31/14

¹¹² *ibid.* Stoddard, letter to Whitman, April 2, 1870

immediately and profoundly “enchanted with the tropical kingdom,” its flora and fauna, and especially the “rainbow-tinted crowd” of islanders.¹¹³ At the time, 1863-1864, “he had not yet discovered the type of writing that would bring him fame.”¹¹⁴ Worthy of note for our purposes is the turning point this Pacific voyage created in his life; in 1865, “He made his poetic debut in book form with the publication of *Outcroppings*, the first anthology of California verse,” edited by Bret Harte.¹¹⁵ But the four ethereal *Outcroppings* poems were still far from the stuff of *South-Sea Idyls*. Quite ungrounded from any terrestrial space, three of the poems play on the movements of mythologically personified cosmic bodies (sun, moon, and Mars). Notably, the only poem to diverge, “At Anchor,” discusses a return home from “the Summer isles of the sea,” home being replete with “rock, and stream, and dell: / ‘Tis here he only cares to dwell, / ‘Tis here he ever longs to rest.”¹¹⁶ Home would continually be a complicated theme for Stoddard, and here we see what might be willful performativity by way of his subject to designate home as *locus amoenus*. For after returning from Hawai‘i, he was forced to return to a school-life he quite disliked at San Francisco’s Brayton Academy—where his only pleasures were reading Virgil, Xenophon, or admiring other boys.¹¹⁷ Important to notice alongside this domestic rift is his immediate melding of the pastoral with the islands he had visited.

Indeed, following the mixed reviews of *Outcroppings*, Stoddard sought validation from the likes of Whitman, Melville, Tennyson, Emerson, Longfellow, William Cullen Bryant, and John Stuart Mill, among others whom “he could imagine might be sympathetic.”¹¹⁸ To these giants he sent seven poems, including only “At Anchor” from *Outcroppings*, pairing it with several riddle-like poems, the comparative “Cherries and Grapes,” in which he seems to outline his preference for Classical/native dark-skinned men over fair, hard-hearted women, and finally, “Madrigal,” “an insipid pastoral scene, complete with brook and blushing maid.”¹¹⁹

¹¹³ Austen, Roger (1991), pp. 26, 27

¹¹⁴ *ibid.* p. 26

¹¹⁵ *ibid.* p. 26

¹¹⁶ Stoddard, Charles Warren. “At Anchor,” from *Outcroppings: being selections of California verse*, ed. Bret Harte (San Francisco: A. Roman & Company, 1866), p. 67

¹¹⁷ Austen, Roger (1991), p. 21

¹¹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 32

¹¹⁹ *ibid.* p. 32. From “Cherries and Grapes:” “Not the cherries’ nerveless flesh / However fair, however fresh, / May ever hope my love to win / ...I love the amber globes that hold / That dead-delicious wine of gold / ...Yet tropic gales with souls of musk / Should steep my grapes in steams of dusk...”

Madrigal

A maid is seated by a brook,
The sweetest of sweet creatures;
I pass that way with my good book,
But cannot read, nor cease to look
Upon her winsome features.

Among the blushes of her cheek
Her small white hand reposes,
I am a shepherd, for I seek
That willful lamb, with fleece so sleek,
Feeding among the roses.¹²⁰

Again, considering his sexuality, subtly coded in “Cherries and Grapes,” the shepherd’s effusive adoration for the maid in “Madrigal” suggests a purely fictional, or performative, first-person narration. In this way, it recalls the sexual ambivalence presented by the typically fraternal Whitman in a rare reference to heterosexual love by the “I” in “Once I pass’d through a populous city,” writing, “of all that city, I remember only a woman I casually met there, who detain’d me for love of me.”¹²¹

Remarkably, in his only recorded letter to Stoddard, Herman Melville responded directly to “the little effusion entitled ‘Cherries and Grapes,’” which “struck him” as he “read with much pleasure.”¹²² The shade of validation he did get here from Melville (along with eventual approval from Whitman) is telling. There is something further to be said about Stoddard’s habitual adoption of a shepherd’s perspective in the same period of time that he was processing those enchanting islands and attempting to communicate his sexuality. That he then sent such pastorals to his most important predecessor in Pacific writing, who, in spite of philosophical and stylistic shifts, found pleasure in Stoddard’s effusions, seems further telling. Perhaps Melville was not so reformed. In a very similar moment, upon finishing *Moby Dick* (1851), Melville had gushed to Nathaniel Hawthorne in thanks for *his* approving words: “In my proud, humble way, —a shepherd-king,—I was lord of a little vale in the solitary Crimea; but you have now given me the

¹²⁰ Reproduced from facsimile in Stoddard, letter to Whitman, March 2, 1869. From The Charles E. Feinberg Collection of the Papers of Walt Whitman, 1839—1919, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Accessed via <<http://www.waltwhitmanarchive.org>> 3/31/14.

¹²¹ Whitman, Walt. *Leaves of Grass*. from “Children of Adam,” in 1900 edition, p. 117

¹²² Melville, Herman, letter to Charles Warren Stoddard, Jan. 20, 1867. from Horth, Lynn, editor. *The Writings of Herman Melville: Correspondence*. (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1993), p. 399

crown of India.”¹²³ While the comparability of this epistolary act is stretched, it suggests that for Melville and others, canonized ‘greats’ in fact,¹²⁴ Stoddard’s stylings were not merely “insipid pastoral scenes,” but stabs perfectly becoming of the ‘Boy Poet’ of San Francisco.

The two pastoral poems that were among his first widely disseminated published works offer us a starting block from which to consider Stoddard’s later work, and especially *South-Sea Idyls*. Those early poems evince a childish simplicity paired with social audacity as he began to come into his own; however, it may be argued that he remained paralyzed in this state for much of his life, hiding behind coded speech, overwrought riddles, hyper-idealised scenes, and inversions of instinct. John Crowley, editor of *Genteel Pagan*, describes letters in which Roger Austen vented over Stoddard’s “infantilism” and “fraidycat and warped and spoiled crybaby point of view.”¹²⁵ In some respects, Austen echoes several of Stoddard’s contemporary critics, too. In a less demeaning variation, this chapter argues outwardly that Stoddard avoided full paralysis, and managed to achieve fame, by co-opting the pastoral as a dramatist mask for his narrator-self, behind which he could idealize the island stages on which he performed his homoerotic exchanges with other male characters. Due to his employment of the pastoral, the generally unwitting public was appeased by an *inherently* familiar, innocent form into which Stoddard’s homoerotic, or “homocolonial,” conventions were patently subsumed. In turn, while his gradual passage into obscurity was indeed due to his underdeveloped skills as a writer and increased American homophobia, as Austen and Christopher McBride both suggest, an equally viable explanation is the public’s disillusionment with European pastoral norms as they were displaced by America’s pastoral myths, not the least of which was the paradisiacal frontier promulgated by Pacific Pastoralism. That is to say that pastoral became incorporated into the spatial politics of the developing American Pacific, to which Stoddard’s mode of ephemeral, homoerotic “effusion” did little direct service in the way Twain would as speculator for planters—part of Twain’s literary cartography discussed in the next chapter. However, as we will see, both of these Civil War period authors’ pastoralism somehow benefited from and contributed to pro-imperial cultural hegemony in the Pacific, followed by London, Michener, and a burgeoning rhetoric of the tourist market. Stoddard, in particular, was

¹²³ *ibid.* Herman Melville letter to Nathaniel Hawthorne, Nov. 17[?], 1851.

¹²⁴ For a more thorough account of “praising” reactions, see Austen, Roger. (1991), p. 33

¹²⁵ Austen, Roger. (1991), p. viii

more interested in describing the male relationships afforded to him by colonialism than directly acknowledging colonial moves that buffeted American imperialism; namely, the establishment of shipping routes, the presence of American press in Hawai'i, and his family's ability to buy ranchland and develop a sugar plantation on Maui.¹²⁶

In some respects, this argument expands upon ideas developed by Christopher McBride in *The Colonizer Abroad*, namely those in his chapter "Charles Warren Stoddard and the American 'Homocolonial' Literary Excursion," alluded to above. As McBride explains, "Stoddard's narrator works within a homoerotic variation of [a] stereotypical colonial paradigm and has therefore adopted a homocolonial mode of travel writing," meaning that "the narrator can exhibit behavior in which he could not participate openly in Western culture."¹²⁷ Noting Stoddard's "classically Western disposition" that informed his rendition of the Pacific "as an area for imagination, travel, and repose,"¹²⁸ my argument adds the specific application of pastoral elements to the abstract "variation" McBride discusses metaphorically as a "homocolonial mode" of exploitative representation. If Stoddard was an agent of colonialism, it was an inadvertent side-effect of his predispositions, and he certainly falls short of deliberate imperial agent; he was writing primarily to entertain the public, and both sides of himself.

In cultural and biographical terms, pastoral is nominated for the convenience with which it could placate Stoddard's perpetual dilemma: the *guilt* which was the result of his natural instincts, and which permanently complicated his sense of home. Stoddard never seemed to stop moving, always looking for a more perfect space, and always looking for love. As discussed in the previous chapter, pastoral begets the notion of ideal *stasis*, a homeostasis, or perhaps "homo-stasis," or simply home. Furthermore, pastoral has always implicated an alleviation of guilt, namely the guilt ancient landowners felt regarding their laborers, who became idealized figures in an idealized landscape. This is, of course, akin to the propaganda that depicted African slaves as happily singing and

¹²⁶ "Rose Ranch," was owned by Stoddard's brother-in-law, Parker N. Makee, son of Captain James Makee, "a distinguished pioneer builder, first in the whaling industry and later as a rancher and sugar planter." Notably, James Makee built "Rose Ranch" in Ulupalakua, Maui (still operating today as Ulupalakua Ranch) after selling his first home in Nuuanu to King Kalakaua, who would be a regular visitor to Rose Ranch. From "The Story of Hawaii and Its Builders." The Honolulu Star Bulletin, Territory of Hawaii, (1925) Edited by George F. Nellist, via USGenWeb Archives at <<http://files.usgwarchives.net/hi/statewide/bios/makee49bs.txt>>; and "History" at <<http://www.ulupalakuaranch.com/>>. Accessed 4/28/14.

¹²⁷ McBride, Christopher (2004), p. 93

¹²⁸ *ibid.* p. 101

eating watermelon; or what Paul Lyons calls “the lotus-eater school” that “softens and eroticizes Oceania.”¹²⁹ Writing pastoral, for Stoddard, allotted an idealization of space and people in lieu of facing guilt-inducing reality (society), or writing Realism, while making a guilt-free living. Indeed, for the readers of *South-Sea Idyl's*, the pastoral elements' guilt alleviation generated simultaneous phenomena: entertainment of the senses, and an expanded “scope of colonial power in the American imagination” coupled with the ability to “avoid confronting the damage and disease wrought by their colonial incursions.”¹³⁰

Having nominated pastoral as Stoddard's mask, the onus falls on the argument to justify itself before drawing further conclusions. As the previous chapter demonstrated, the ancient novelist Longus adapted Theocritus when writing *Daphnis and Chloe*. Then, we experimented with noticing the resonances of the ancient pastoral novel in Melville's *Typee*. Though some early reviewers of Stoddard's poetry detected a “Keats-like quality,” we do not need to trace a reliance on the Romantics to delineate pastoral in *South-Sea Idyls*.¹³¹ Instead, we will perform another phase of the experiment, which holds Theocritus and Stoddard side by side, in an even more textual manner than we did for Longus and Melville.

Theocritus was born in Syracuse, Sicily around 270 BCE, and moved to the island of Cos, and then to Alexandria, Egypt. He invented pastoral, or *boukolikon* (βουκολικός), from *boukolos* or ‘cowherd,’ from *bous*, ‘cow.’ The Latinate *pastoralis* came later, after *pastor*, Latin for ‘shepherd.’ Thus, Leo Marx once tried to summarize pastoral concretely in saying “No shepherd, no pastoral,” but he erred through hypercorrection. Theocritus' “Idyll X,” for example, contains rural farm types, harvesters, instead of herdsmen. Similarly devoid of actual shepherds, *South-Sea Idyls* includes many overt themes found in Theocritean pastoral, focally: nature, death, sex, eating, music, recreation, hunting, and festivity. In Theocritus, these themes emerge from his subjects/objects, descriptions, and actions, or nouns, adjectives, and verbs.

Among Theocritus' *Idylls*, the ordering of which is probably the result of Alexandrian anthologizers, “Idyll I” ranks among the most famous. In a sense, its being placed first poises it as the inaugural poem of pastoral. According to noted Theocritus scholar Richard Hunter:

¹²⁹ Lyons, Paul. (2006), p. 136

¹³⁰ McBride, Christopher (2004). pp. 110, 104

¹³¹ Austen, Roger. (1991), p. 31, after the Sacramento *Union* (notably, Mark Twain's sponsor for his *Letters from Hawai'i*).

The poem, with its beautiful, musical opening, injunction to 'begin bucolic song,' and account for the 'sufferings of Daphnis', the first bucolic singer and/or original subject of bucolic song, seems always to have been placed first in ancient collections of Theocritus' poetry, and came to symbolize the essence of the bucolic genre.¹³²

"Idyll I," usually called "Thyrsis' Lament for Daphnis," or some variation on that, involves an encounter between a herdsman and the shepherd Thyrsis in the Sicilian countryside. The herdsman promises Thyrsis a decorated cup if he will sing a lament about the mythic shepherd Daphnis' lovesick suicide that spited the love goddess Aphrodite. Combing through the first verses of the poem, a verbal catalogue of images and descriptors emerges, giving readers the first semiotic impression of the bucolic realm: sweetness, music, pine tree, whispering wind, spring, Pan, he-goat and she-goat, meat, milk, shepherd, song, sweetness, tumbling water, Muses, rock, ewe, lamb, tamarisks, sloping land, resting Pan, the hunt, Pan's lip, song, elm tree, Priapus' image (a phallus), oak trees, a seat, a singing match, three sucklings, two milk pails, and the deep cup.¹³³

The herdsman's famous description of the cup launches the practice of ekphrasis in pastoral, which we saw in Longus' fictional extrapolation of a painting to render the entirety of *Daphnis and Chloe* (same Daphnis, variant story). Theocritus' detailed description of the graphics adorning the cup, which goes on for over thirty lines, features more of the imagery that would become foundational to pastoral: beeswax, a fox, ivy, bread, cheese, flowers, fruit, "a vineyard, heavy laden with dark grape clusters," along with a summation of the entire cast of pastoral types: a beautiful maiden, two men, a grey-haired man, and a youth, set within the archetypal frames of love, lust, contest, and rural toil.¹³⁴

Without attempting the foolhardy task of locating the echoes of all these images and descriptors in *South-Sea Idyls*, several of the places where these initial expressions find footholds will inform a consideration of Stoddard's registration of pastoral into the Pacific. It should be noted that Stoddard and his American publisher, James R. Osgood, decided on the title *South-Sea Idyls*, even after "South Sea Bubbles" was suggested by

¹³² Theocritus, *Idylls*, "Introduction." Hunter, Richard, ed. (Anthony Verity, trans.) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 85

¹³³ from Theocritus, "Idyll I," lines 1-30. J.M. Edmonds, trans. *Greek Bucolic Poets*. Loeb Classical Library Volume 28. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1912)

¹³⁴ *ibid.* lines 30-60

Bret Harte, thus maintaining the allusion to a Theocritean tradition.¹³⁵ In “Idyll I,” Theocritus’ early inclusion of rustic gods Pan and Priapus, and later Hermes and Aphrodite, is significant. “Priapus’ image” is described as being present in the grove of elms and oaks in which Thyrsis sings to the herdsman. In mythology, Priapus was the son of Aphrodite and Dionysus, and a god of fertility and specifically male genitalia, represented by phallic iconography. So, following the imagery, we are led to believe that within the very first scene in pastoral, the physical presence of a phallic statue (or carving) was presiding. There is no mistaking that pastoral will be an erotic form.

Here we may turn to Stoddard’s own prefatory ekphrasis to *South-Sea Idyls*, which is a poem, called “The Cocoa-Tree.” Writing in the first person, Stoddard personifies a coconut, by giving it speech as it describes its journey to an island shore. Situated there, he goes into the second stanza:

...Widowed within this solitary place
 Into the thankless sea I cast my fruit;
 Joyless I thrive, for no man may partake
 Of all the store I bear and harvest for his sake...¹³⁶

His diction repeatedly refers to a connection to men, being “widowed,” not partaken of in spite of all he has to offer them. Notably, in the narratorial use of first person, Stoddard as writer becomes configured within an agricultural lens, both as a product, the “fruit” and “harvest,” and the cultivator, all of which takes on the hint of a phallo-sexual nature in the third stanza:

...I watch my tattered shadow in the wave,
 And hourly droop and nod my crest forlorn,
 While all my fibres stiffen and grow numb
 Beck'ning the tardy ships, the ships that never come!”¹³⁷

That the coconut, now a tree, standing tall, droops and stiffens in direct correlation to the movements of men suggests, especially after Roger Austen’s model, a pattern of male-male longing, arousal, and erectile response. This analysis might best be served by hindsight, after reading all of *South-Sea Idyls*, a process through which the active reader becomes gradually versed in Stoddard’s codes, like the sensuality of eating.

¹³⁵ Austen, Roger (1991), pp. 44, 58

¹³⁶ Stoddard, Charles Warren. “The Cocoa-Tree,” in *South-Sea Idyls*. (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, [Late Ticknor & Fields, and Fields, Osgood, & Co.], 1873), lines 9-12

¹³⁷ *ibid.* lines 15-18

For example, in one of the early stories in *Idyls*, titled “Joe of Lahaina” after a boy with whom the narrator is “housekeeping,” the consumption of coconut milk and bananas comes directly within a discussion of intimate moments in “comfortable silence” just before going to bed, having “nothing else to do” (*SSI*, p. 101). Drinking coconut milk, eating bananas—consumption in general—in domestic settings comes in similar moments throughout Stoddard’s Pacific narratives. He offers summary his tendencies in a 1869 letter to Whitman:

I mark one, a lad of eighteen or twenty years who is regarding me. I call him to me, ask his name giving mine in return. He speaks it over and over, manipulating my body unconsciously, as it were, with bountiful and unconstrained love. I go to his grass-house, eat with him his simple food, sleep with him upon his mats, and at night sometimes waken to find him watching me with earnest, patient looks, his arm over my breast and around me.¹³⁸

Looking beyond possible allusions here to Melville’s Ishmael/Queequeg sleeping arrangement, the eating of island foods with island natives almost always occurs in the moment in which we might expect sexual activity to occur, and that his descriptions of those foods typically take on a sensual element within an intimate context suggests the type of coding analyzed by Roger Austen. The Hawaiian practice of lomilomi fits, for Stoddard, less into observations of cultural practices than into the cornucopia of individuated sensuality availed to his body. In his most famous story early on in *Idyls*, “Chumming with a Savage,” we see this laid out quite clearly in reference to the Hawaiian Kána-aná:

Again and again he would come with a delicious banana to the bed where I was lying, and insist upon my gorging myself, when I had but barely recovered from a late orgie of fruit, flesh, or fowl. He would mesmerize me into a most refreshing sleep with a prolonged and pleasing manipulation. It was a reminiscence of the baths of Stamboul not to be withstood. -*SSI*, p. 32

Here in the final turn, Stoddard connects the entire activity of eating, being mesmerized by manipulation (which alleviates active participation, and thus guilt), and satisfaction to a Greco-Roman/Orientalist homoerotic theatre, Turkish baths. Furthermore, he implies that either that old world comparison, or the reminiscent satisfaction in that realm,

¹³⁸ Stoddard letter to Whitman, March 2, 1869, from Honolulu. From The Charles E. Feinberg Collection of the Papers of Walt Whitman, 1839—1919, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Accessed via <<http://www.waltwhitmanarchive.org>> 3/31/14

cannot “be withstood;” one *must* make that connection. Moves like this facilitate a consideration of *South-Sea Idyls* within the context of a Pacific Pastoralism bequeathed by Western antiquity, by way of the erotics salient to pastoral. To be more specific, comparing the inaugural moves in “Idyll I” of Theocritus allows us to read Stoddard’s prefatory coconut tree as a phallic sign-post akin to a Priapic invocation. In this way, we can say, beyond even the realm of allusiveness, that Stoddard felt impulses that echo pastoral in its purest iteration, making his introduction an induction of the pastoral into the Pacific from the start of the work.

“Joe of Lahaina” is further sexualized if we consider its real-life model for Stoddard, namely his tendency to usher boys and young men into his life, which he called his ‘Kids.’ There were many of these at different stages of his life, with which he is assumed to have conducted various degrees of pedophilia (though pederastic sex is only conjecturable), Kenneth O’Connor, a boy thirty-seven years younger than Stoddard, was the most important. He lived for a time in Stoddard’s famous house of collected oddities and ‘oriental’ curiosities, the “Bungalow.”¹³⁹ What appears to have been predatorial was essentially an extreme variation of a Euro-American cultural norm, prevalent among travelers and Catholics priests alike, though his tendency to host boys in his professorial dorm at Notre Dame purportedly made his colleagues uneasy.¹⁴⁰ But it was far more excusable and culturally reasonable in Pacific settings, where he could coerce boys without a Christian morality at stake. That Stoddard’s romance with boys in some ways resembles “Greek love” is not lost on John W. Crowley,¹⁴¹ and the notion is potentially corroborated by the narrator’s description of a night with the boy Joe: “when a lot of us were bathing in the moonlight, I saw a figure so fresh and joyous that I began to realize how the old Greeks could worship mere physical beauty and forget its higher forms” (*SSI*, p. 102). Indeed, it seems that Pacific islands are configured after the model of ancient gymnasias, into which Stoddard, via his narrator, fits into the typical Greek relationship of *erastes* and *eromenos*, the adult male *lover* and the youthful male *one being loved*. Perhaps intentional, perhaps coincidental; the repeatedly used moniker “Kid” aligns conveniently with an application of the *erastes/eromenos* model to the pastoral goat’s offspring *kid* and an elder he-goat, as it were. If we entertain that context, it should be added that in Stoddard’s only actual novel, *For the Pleasure of his Company*

¹³⁹ Crowley, John W. introduction to Austen, Roger. *Genteel Pagan* (1991), p. xxxv. In another phase of his life, Stoddard lived with the O’Connors.

¹⁴⁰ *ibid.* p. xxxiii

¹⁴¹ *ibid.* p. xxxvi

(1903), his analog, Paul Clitheroe, finds himself offered a strangely fitting job at one point, through a priest who explains:

He can offer you the lot of a shepherd; it will be your simple duty to lead your sheep from one vale to another in search of new pastures...You will pass your time alone with your flock, wandering under the sun by day, and sleeping under the stars by night. A young poet might find himself in his element here. He could review his Vergil with unwonted ardor; he could even learn to play upon the pandean pipes; surely the picture is not distasteful. Such a life must necessarily be monotonous, but it should be both pleasant and peaceful...He saw all the possibilities of a pastoral life under conditions such as have made Arcadia a land of dreams.¹⁴²

Like the poem “Madrigal,” from Stoddard’s earliest publication, *For the Pleasure of his Company* reveals a continued identification, or at least consideration, of self as shepherd, up to six years before his death in 1909, essentially bookending his career with overt pastoral. Furthermore, Stoddard was a devout, self-converted Catholic, and pastoral as metaphor in Christ’s parables and the Psalms would have been a readily available trope. Whether or not this truly informed Stoddard’s psychology with regard to his affection for youths, many certainly entered his fold of influence, in real life and in narrative, including several instances of botched missionary work in *South-Sea Idylls*.

Theocritean pastoral is replete with homosexual and pederastic romance, more so than most ancient forms. Specifically, “Idyll XXIX” and “Idyll XXX” are explicit love songs to youths from older men, hinging on a *carpe diem* logic that would scandalize readers today:

O by those soft lips I beseech you remember that you were younger a year ago, and as we men wax old and wrinkled...Come then, think on these things and be the kinder for’t, and give love for love where true loving is; and so when Time shall bring thee a beard we’ll be Achilles and his friend.¹⁴³

The point here is that there is no time to be spared if the boy wants the glory enjoyed by Patroclus, the hero Achilles’ famous eromenos. Also evident here, and prominent among other idylls, is a hint of competition, as the point of the poem is to sway the listener to love the singer, before another, perhaps younger, suitor gets him. Another form of contest takes center stage in “Idyll 12,” or “The Beloved,” wherein the loving singer ends

¹⁴² Stoddard, Charles Warren. *For the Pleasure of His Company; an Affair of the Misty City, Thrice Told* (San Francisco: A.M. Robertson, 1903), pp. 50-51

¹⁴³ Theocritus. *The Idylls*, from *The Bucolic Poets*. trans. J.M. Edmonds. (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1919), Idyll XXIX.25 [note: Putnam family, and John Wiley, published *Typee*]

his praise of his beloved youth with an homage to one “Diocles the Pedophile” (*Diocleaton philopaida* [‘loving boys’]), suggesting a laudatory springtime “kissing-match” around his grave, for boys, to be judged by Ganymede, the original catamite with “lips like the touchstones which show the money-changer whether the gold be gold or dross.”¹⁴⁴

In these pederastic idylls, Theocritus blends several thematics we see regularly in his corpus, and in Stoddard’s *South-Sea Idyls*: homoerotics, contest, music/song, and death (literally, and through elegiac style). At the end, the value of gold is alluded to, not uncommon in Theocritus, though it is more commonly described as finery and lustre than directly as currency. Midway through *South-Sea Idyls*, a short and often ignored tale entitled “A Canoe-Cruise in the Coral Sea” casually associates these themes with money. Longing for a Tahitian youth to paddle him around the shore, Stoddard’s narrator solicits “a group of wandering minstrels,” among which “one youth played with considerable skill upon a joint of bamboo, of the flute species, but breathed into from the nostrils, instead of the lips” (*SSI*, p. 172). Naturally, he wins this one’s favor, saying thus:

I knew the vague notion that money is money, call it dollar or dime, generally entertained by the innocent children of Nature; and, dazzling the unaccustomed eyes of the flutist with a new two-franc piece, he immediately embarked. The bereaved singers sat on the shore and lifted up their voices in resounding discord, as the canoe slid off into the still waters.

-*SSI*, pp. 172-173

As it turns out, paying the winning youth, Fefe, ends up being a gamble for the narrator. After musing indolently on the water, “looking down upon a thousand-domed mosque” of coral colored in a classical palette (rose, purple, gold), reveling on a tiny shoal, and returning to shore in time for a dance, the narrator makes a horrifying discovery when “Fefe raised his or her skirts, and danced with a shocking leg,” the result of *elephantiasis* (*SSI*, p. 175). There, in the ambiguity and disfigurement that amounts to an ironic miscalculation of genitals, the narrator’s fantasy dies. In a typical fashion, this allows the narrator to exit, leaving behind his pathetic exploit, a lost cause, personally guiltless and justified. Just as the mythical Ganymede was to judge the kissing-match with the precision of a money-changer, Stoddard’s narrator as economic purveyor in a colonized space is depicted as the ultimate arbiter of fortunes: while he sings best, Fefe is no longer of service to him, having been exposed as unworthy of his heart’s and wallet’s

¹⁴⁴ *ibid.* Idyll XII.36-37

investment. As in ancient pastoral, the characters deserving the glorification of writing, the investment of the publisher/patron, were always rendered in godly superlatives, something which achieves standard distillation within the ancient romance novels.

Like Fefe, Joe of Lahaina, too, reaches a disfigured end, contracting leprosy, sourced from Stoddard's trips to Moloka 'i:

I shall never see little Joe again, with his pitiful face, growing gradually as dreadful as a cobra's, and almost as fascinating in its hideousness. I waited, a little way off, in the darkness,—waited and listened, till the last song was ended, and I knew he would be looking for me, to say 'Good night.' But he didn't find me; and he will never again find me in this life, for I left him sitting in the dark door of his sepulchre,—sitting and singing in the mouth of his grave,—clothed all in death. -*SSI*, p. 114

So, too, did the Cyclops' sing in Theocritus' "Idyll XI" to the white sea-nymph Galatea. Seeking a cure to his lovesickness, "seated on a high rock, looking out to sea," he sings: "O, I know, my beauty, the reason why you shun me: the shaggy eyebrow that grins across my forehead, unbroken, ear to ear; the one eye beneath."¹⁴⁵ Stoddard's narrator is often the fair, effeminized, imagined object of desire, the damsel in distress—a configuration in which he repeatedly pretends to disengage from the position of dominant, colonial arbiter and become subject to external forces. This is of course complicated, or even made impossible, by the narrator's touristic gaze (that requires money), and Stoddard's role as the crafter of narrative.

This trend reaches its most extreme in Stoddard's "Pearl-Hunting in the Pomotous." Once again in French Polynesia, Stoddard discovers a native called Hua Manu, whom he describes as "colossal," "Hercules," and "a regular South Sea Monte Cristo"—terms of flattery to convince the man to dive for pearls on his behalf. On an island he calls "Motu Hilo...a fragment of Eden" on which "no man has squatted...to levy tax or toll," the narrator says to the agreeable Hua Manu, who somehow already loves him, "Let's invest in a canoe, explore the lagoon for fresh oyster-beds, and fill innumerable cocoa-nut shells with these little white seeds. It will be both pleasant and profitable, particularly for me" (*SSI*, p. 141).

Hua Manu dives repeatedly, at the expense of bleeding ears and eyes, until a storm moves in and takes their craft, nearly drowning the narrator, and resulting in their being stranded for a time. Fortunately, Hua Manu saves him both from drowning and

¹⁴⁵ Theocritus, Idyll XI.17-18;30-31. *The Poems of Theocritus*, trans. Anna Rist. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978), pp. 106, 107

dehydration by, unbelievably, biting open his veins and feeding him his blood. "I must have nearly drained his veins, but I don't believe he regretted it," says the narrator, after learning of how he was saved, and that Hua Manu died, staring at the object of his love, for whom he gave his life (*SSI*, p. 152). In this incredible passage, Stoddard achieves something very unique and significant. In a sense, he tells that surface narrative that was just recounted. But, in his coded language during his near-drowning and parched unconsciousness, Hua Manu's life saving is conveyed to tell another narrative: in which the pearl diving, the canoe investment, and escape to a secluded, untaxed, uncivilized island, amounts to a secret, ravishing sexual encounter unparalleled anywhere in *South-Sea Idylls*. Much of this comes through a dream induced by his unconsciousness, best quoted at length for its full effect:

...a dream of an island in a sea of glass; soft ripples lapping on the silver shores; sweet airs sighing in a star-lit grove; someone gathering me in his arms, hugging me close with infinite tenderness; I was consumed with thirst, speechless with hunger; like an infant I lay in the embrace of my deliverer, who moistened my parched lips and burning throat with delicious and copious draughts. It was an elixir of life; I drank health and strength in every drop; sweeter than mother's milk flowed the warm tide unchecked, till I was satisfied and sank into a deep and dreamless sleep...

-*SSI*, p. 150

The last ellipses are Stoddard's own, leading to a jump that puts him back on the main ship, the *Great Western*, and allowing one's imagination to fill in the intermediary time. We are pushed to imagine an event similar to those beneath scenes of eating discussed above, here up to the brink of oral sex. We can also give attention to the full catalogue of pastoral elements showcased in this passage. On the surface, there is familiar diction: dreams, islands, sweet airs, a star-lit grove, lips, drops of sweet milk, sleep. What these connote are themes of sleepiness, sweetness, male-to-male love, succor, indulgence, and the concurrence of birth/life and death. Even deeper is Stoddard's potentially subversive message that he had been enacting these *petites morts* in the Pacific, among Melville's cannibals, and *living* to tell the tale, while the reading public was, literally, buying it—thus administering their implicit approval. Along these lines, Christopher McBride discerns Stoddard's fantasy:

“[His] opportunity to satisfy both his economic yearnings and his sexual lusts with a compliant native. Of course, such behavior would not have been sanctioned by American editors, readers, or critics. But Stoddard is able to skirt the gaze of a heterosexual public by his clever use of euphemistic language.”¹⁴⁶

In “Pearl-Hunting in the Pomotous,” McBride suggests that the euphemisms fit into a sort of “vampire motif” coming out of a Victorian gothic aesthetic,¹⁴⁷ one which also subsumes his monsterring of Joe, Fefe, and other hapless island victims, like the deformed Taboo in “A Fête-Day in Tahiti,” rendered much like a Pacific Quasimodo.¹⁴⁸

With respect to Hua Manu, McBride’s theory is aided by Stoddard’s foreshadowing of the blood-sucking moment in his description of a shark in the water around the natives approaching the *Great Western*: “some monster who has sucked human blood more than once” (*SSI*, p. 137). However, I would argue that to a much greater extent, the “euphemistic language” employed goes far beyond resonance in the Victorian Era, and is, in very pure essence, the lexicon of ancient pastoral repeated in the Pacific arena. Stoddard’s very persona necessitated a co-optation of pastoral to mask his “nature,” without sacrificing his career as a writer.¹⁴⁹ That is to say that Stoddard took from Melville what the public bought, that which made him famous—the pastoral—and put it to use in reconciling his liminal identity—the American travel-writer and homeless deviant—while guiltlessly selling *South-Sea Idyls*, and inadvertently marketing the Pacific as a paradise for all.

While others have debated the deliberateness of Stoddard’s subversiveness, the last of these results was surely unintended; it was supposed to be Stoddard’s paradise alone. When he sees the Marquesas for himself, Stoddard (notably diverging from a fictional narrator) states, “Herman Melville has plucked out the heart of its mystery, and beautiful and barbarous Typee lies naked and forsaken” (*SSI*, “In a Transport,” p. 302). Whereas Melville defended the uncivilized life (which backfired), Stoddard *tries* to align himself with the barbarian again and again. In “Chumming with a Savage,” he “renounced all the follies of this world, actually hating civilization, and feeling entirely above the formalities of society...[and] resolved on the spot to be a barbarian,” only to later identify with “the superior attraction of a foreign invader” in “Pearl-Hunting in the

¹⁴⁶ McBride (2009), p. 81

¹⁴⁷ *ibid.* p. 82

¹⁴⁸ More French and, I think, befitting the narrative, than Robert Gale’s suggestion of a “dusky Caliban” in Gale, Robert (1977), p. 12

¹⁴⁹ As Roger Austen suggests, “Stoddard had no useful occupation, and being a poet seemed the only vocation open to one of his temperament.” *Genteel Pagan* (1991), p. 34

Pomotous (*SSI*, pp. 24, 137). This fluctuation, and the ironic equality/elitist complex it speaks to, is rampant throughout. Indeed, it is marked in his life by his willful conversion to Catholicism in spite of his active homosexual lifestyle. In *South-Sea Idyls*, this manifests in the attempts to Christianize natives like Kána-aná, by actually taking him to San Francisco (a la Henry ‘Ōpūkaha ‘ia), only to return him unsuccessfully converted, and curse Christianity and the manacles of modern proprieties. The narrator concludes saying, “Of what use to him could be a knowledge of the artifices of society? Simply a temptation and a snare!” (*SSI*, p. 61). But like Melville, Stoddard always ends up *escaping*, that is, maintaining a Western life that is considered vastly superior in commercial and cultural capital.

And what of Theocritus? Beyond a shared vocabulary, they were both transient writers, familiar with islands, writing for urban patrons, friends with royalty (respectively, Queen Lili‘uokalani¹⁵⁰ and Ptolemy II, Theocritus’ eventual patron), interested in homosexual narrative, idealized settings, poetry, and came to be anthologized for years beyond their deaths. The Alexandrians catalogued Theocritus and his followers, and A. Grove Day and Carl Stroven placed Stoddard next to Twain in *A Hawaiian Reader* (1955). In spite of this, neither poets have maintained mass popularity, though one invented a poetic tradition and the other inducted its homosexual aspects into a new frontier. This might be explained by considering dichotomies in their times, namely, the binary utilized at length by Stephen Sumida in *And the View from the Shore*: the pastoral and the heroic. Theocritus wrote both pastoral verse and epic, but it was his greatest follower whom we still read: Virgil, author of the *Aeneid* and the *Eclogues*, under the patronage of Augustus, Rome’s emperor at the height of Roman power, just following the fall of Theocritus’ Ptolemaic Egypt. In that time, the Alexandrian libraries were destroyed. Today, we are left with fragments, and many of Theocritus’ *Idylls* are actually spurious and hard to attribute to him.

By the reckoning of his greater society, Charles Warren Stoddard was a “paleface,” genteel, simple poet of the old world, hardly a Realist and definitely not a Modernist. Stoddard’s friend and brief employer Mark Twain, on the other hand, was a

¹⁵⁰ Mentioned by Roger Austen and affirmed by Charmian London, Jack London’s wife, in her diary entry for July 1, 1907, written en route to Moloka’i: “Mr. Cleghorn also suggested that he could arrange a private audience with Queen Liliuokalani [sic] at her residence in town, if we desired. Which reminds me that Jack holds a letter of introduction to her from Charles Warren Stoddard, who knew her in the days of her tempestuous reign. He and Jack have called each other Dad and Son for years, although acquainted only by correspondence.” From London, Charmian. *Jack London and Hawaii*. (London: Mills & Boon Limited, 1918), p. 103

“redskin” with grit and humor and, most importantly, the politics to match the burgeoning empire. When Twain inspected Hawai‘i and its plantations, he did so for the *Sacramento Union*—and transitively for the future of Lincoln’s Union. When Stoddard described “Rose Ranch” in “Plantation Days,” based on stays at his family’s plantation on Maui, in *Island of Tranquil Delights*, he wrote of “Halcyonian Hawai‘i, of the days that are no more, and have not been for a very long time...in that degenerated territory.”¹⁵¹ As early as 1904, the romantic opportunities Stoddard purchased with his visits had already “degenerated.” His popularity faded as he lost his health, and the saccharine style of *South-Sea Idyls*, in which the pastoral/heroic binary was severely lopsided, fell out of vogue within the increasingly imperialist culture. America demanded virile heroics with mass appeal, but Stoddard’s economics were always geared toward a personal exploitation of islanders for personal gain, and when that evinced an imperial paradigm, it, too, was clumsily stuffed behind the pastoral mask.

¹⁵¹ Stoddard. *Island of Tranquil Delights*. (London: Herbert B. Turner and Company, 1904) p. 169

3.

World-ho!

Mark Twain & Literary Cartography

This chapter argues that Mark Twain's literary cartography in *Roughing It* (1872) translated Pacific Pastoralism onto a *global* level of discourse by mapping the American agricultural matrix over the Pacific landscape as *paradeisos*. Unlike *Typee*, *South-Sea Idyls*, and similar works from the period, Twain's transcontinental travel narrative was the first to trace a terrestrial route to the Pacific before sailing to the Sandwich Islands and back. In his particular place, time, and mode of expression, Twain's semi-autobiographical work conveniently spoke to and for the interests of a nation in flux, attested to by the mass public approval—and consumption—of his first domestic-centered novel. The central plot motivator in *Roughing It* is the pursuit of wealth, by speculation, which displaces most of the peripheral drives we find in Stoddard: the quest for love, the idyllic, and the guilty conscience. In some senses, Twain's text becomes a biography of a young “venture capitalist” America negotiating the space between real and mythic identity.¹⁵² Comparatively, and/or complementarily, we might see Stoddard's life as allegorical biography of American insecurity and inner conflict in a period of intentional rupture, or what Amy Kaplan famously called “the anarchy of empire.” For in the moments of its presumably triumphal expansion, as in the successful publication of a best-selling travelogue, both the nation and the author might have felt most vulnerable, actually homeless and naked before the world. Twain, then, is seen as re-affirming American identity, and virility, as he verified the nation's territorial entitlements and emerged as a self-assured “national figure.”¹⁵³

In 1866, two years after Charles Warren Stoddard made his first trip to Hawai'i, Samuel Clemens arrived in Honolulu aboard a ship named after a Homeric hero, the *Ajax*, to write letters for the *Sacramento Union* for \$20 each. Although the letters were published throughout that year, it was not until 1872 that Clemens, as Mark Twain, would curate their contents into a novelistic piece, *Roughing It*—albeit one which, as exhibited to varying degrees in *Typee* and *South-Sea Idyls*, challenged both the concept of the novel and of an American Literature. As Leonard Kriegel explains in the

¹⁵² The nation was literally split during this period: the Civil War. Clemens, too, was splitting in twain, becoming two, Clemens and Twain.

¹⁵³ Kaplan, Amy (2002), p. 19

introduction to the 1962 reprint of *Roughing It*, “the facts of journalism are no longer allowed to interfere with the demands of narrative art. Twain gives his imagination free rein...the imagination of the novelist and not the reporter.”¹⁵⁴

In light of this shift, *Roughing It* emerges as Twain’s first full-length public offering with an American setting, the narrative concerning his ventures in the far American West, tacking his revised letters from the Sandwich Islands, the title he preferred for the Kingdom of Hawai‘i, before his heroic return to California. Indeed, structuring the majority of narrative as he does, after the chronotopic trajectory of his travel, effectively tracing the path of Western expansion, Manifest Destiny, and American imperialism—longitudinally right to left—Twain encloses his *descriptive* experience within the confines of the westward story and tangible book. Holding this against the *readerly* experience, in which the characters, spaces, and actions within the narrative, as semiotically represented in words, are processed from left to right, we can consider the islands as caught within a matrix of imaginations that, despite the difference between writer and reader, were uniformly American—within an American currency. Then, Twain joins readers for the last leg of his path, sewing Hawai‘i into the fabric of an American homeward-bound narrative. In its very physicality then, *Roughing It*, the book, instigates a process of incorporating the foreign kingdom, the literal territory of Hawai‘i, into the national *home*, much in the same way that it would become represented cartographically. His text reflects the disrupted visualization of the majority/contiguous/mainland, depicted on maps as the central *here* within the empirical, commercially centered U.S. Conversely, Hawai‘i is mapped as the minority/noncontiguous/island *there* that is floating, movable, and expendable—a vacation home, or slave quarters, separate from the Big/White House. Indeed, in thinking of the islands as rooms of the house, we hit upon the original notion of *economy*, in Greek *oikonomia*, “management of a household, administration,” from οἶκος (*oikos*, “house”)- νόμος (*nomos*, “law”).

This way of thinking about *nation*, in a reflexive relationship with national literary texts, is in line with the call by Wai Chee Dimock to “rethink the adequacy of a nation-based paradigm,” because “territorial sovereignty, we suddenly realize, is no more

¹⁵⁴ in Twain, Mark. *Roughing It* [1872]. (New York: New American Library, 1962), p. xxi

than a legal fiction, a man-made fiction.”¹⁵⁵ In that frame of mind, my reading of a relationship between land and text is helped by two theories. First, it implicates what Dimock calls “literary ecology”—or a “multiplane environment” in which the “semantic field” may have “an entire landscape, an entire map of the world...sprung up and around it”¹⁵⁶—employed here with respect to how Americans saw the Pacific islands’ relationship to their national identity in works of literature. Secondly, it follows Paul Giles’ variation of ‘historical-geographical materialism,’ which elucidates how, specifically in the 19th Century, the “amorphous territorial framework of the United States engendered parallel uncertainties about the status and authority of American discourse.”¹⁵⁷ Keeping these theories in mind while viewing Twain’s discussion of Hawai‘i in *Roughing It* as cartographic representation, then, enters his historical representations of the Pacific landscape into this thesis’ broader discussion of pastoral and cultural materialism, or “the material individualization of the book...the frontiers of the book...variable and relative.”¹⁵⁸ *Roughing It* translated letters into book form, which in turn became Twain’s “Sandwich Islands Lecture,” changing in each phase of to suit the demands of his public.

This perspective gets at a new model in American Studies that is decidedly “planetary” in its approach to concepts of American Literature and American Empire.¹⁵⁹ However, as this project takes place in the Pacific context, it is important to point out that such thinking has been salient to Pacific Island studies for some time, as that field since its inception has been *inter-* and *trans-*national in the very conception of an Oceanic cohort, beginning as early as the 1970s with Albert Wendt. Since then, there have been efforts led by Epeli Hau‘ofa to transcend nation and island, the “dry surfaces in a vast ocean far from the centers of power,” to view Oceanic interconnectivity as contingent on waterway linkages, as in *Our Sea of Islands* (1994), which promotes “a more holistic perspective in which things are seen in the totality of their relationships.”¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁵ Dimock, Wai Chee. “Planet and America, Set and Subset” [pp. 1-16] in *Shades of the Planet: American Literature as World Literature*, edited by Wai Chee Dimock and Lawrence Buell. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), pp. 1, 2

¹⁵⁶ Dimock, Wai Chee. “African, Caribbean, American: Black English as Creole Tongue,” [pp. 250-274] in *Shades of the Planet: American Literature as World Literature*, edited by Wai Chee Dimock and Lawrence Buell. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), pp. 290-291

¹⁵⁷ After David Harvey (1989). Giles, Paul. “The Deterritorialization of American Literature,” [pp. 29-61]. in *Shades of the Planet: American Literature as World Literature*, edited by Wai Chee Dimock and Lawrence Buell. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), p. 39

¹⁵⁸ Foucault, Michel. *Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972), p. 23

¹⁵⁹ Promoted by Gayatri Spivak, Paul Gilroy, Wai Chee Dimock, Lawrence Buell, and others.

¹⁶⁰ Hau‘ofa, Epeli. “Our Sea of Islands,” in *The Contemporary Pacific* (Volume 6, Number 1, Spring 1994, 147–161), pp. 152-153

This is certainly a planetary method, as it transcends not only land-based systems, like those requiring urban centers, but the very concept of a territorial jurisdiction for discourse. Indeed, long before the emergence of a Pacific Island studies, Pacific island peoples traced their identities through the stars as they discovered islands that would become their nations, creating complex dialectics between oral poetry, genealogy, and celestial navigation—a process which precluded systems of othering, those which employ ethnic foils to validate identity, and superiority.

In *And the View from the Shore*, Stephen Sumida asserts that Twain’s “pastoral, paradisiacal view of Hawai‘i is obvious nearly everywhere in the writings that resulted from his visit.”¹⁶¹ Enter Twain, on a horse called “Oahu” [sic], touring Nu‘uanu Valley, “impressed by the profound silence and repose that rested over the beautiful landscape,” saying:

‘What a picture is here slumbering in the solemn glory of the moon! How strong the rugged outlines of the dead volcano stand out against the clear sky! What a snowy fringe marks the bursting of the surf over the long, curved reef! How calmly the dim city sleeps yonder in the plain! How soft the shadows lie upon the stately mountains that border the dream-haunted Manoa Valley [sic]! What a grand pyramid of billowy clouds towers above the storied Pali! How the grim warriors of the past seem flocking in ghostly squadrons to their ancient battlefield again—how the wails of the dying well up from the—’

At this point the horse called Oahu sat down in the sand. Sat down to listen, I suppose. Never mind what he heard. I stopped apostrophizing and convinced him that I was not a man to allow contempt of court on the part of a horse. I broke the backbone of a chief over his rump and set out to join the cavalcade again.

-*Roughing It*, p. 349

In passages like this Twain evinces what Sumida sees as a “pattern” of “retreat to a pastoral setting, followed by a return to an urban, civilized world.”¹⁶² This suggests that what at first appears to be a pastoral impulse, which we might expect in Melville and count on in Stoddard, is checked by Twain’s patent self-consciousness. Specifically, the topography of the valley is romanticized in exclamations focusing primarily on an imagined sleepiness, a perpetual trope in the pastoral. Then, in his abrupt break from vocalized “apostrophizing,” represented visually on the page, the familiar narrator/self Mark Twain becomes the habitual butt of the joke and and ironically self-aware hypocrite. The humor derives from the affectation of such “romancist” nature worship,

¹⁶¹ Sumida, Stephen. (1991), p. 39

¹⁶² *ibid.* p. 40

what Twain mockingly calls “the ineffable school,” explaining, “I know no other name to apply to a school whose heroes are all dainty and perfect” (*RI*, p. 272). This “pattern” of discussing the “enchanted islands” would be summarized by the observation: “It was such an ecstasy to dream, and dream—till you got a bite. A scorpion bite” (*RI*, p. 341). Like the dream, the narrative is repeatedly interrupted. Well aware that Nu‘uanu is a significant site in the history of Hawaiian warfare during unification, home to royalty, and the site of the Royal Mausoleum,¹⁶³ Twain uses himself as a scapegoat while mocking both Hawaiian history and the historical impulses that rendered the “picture” of paradise into which he landed. In a sense, Twain’s mode of representation maintains Hawai‘i as *terra incognita*, a spatial blind-spot between the romanticization and humor in the foreground of the American readers’ imaginations. In the view of Haunani-Kay Trask, this became the enduring cartography, a half-visible Hawai‘i, “mostly a state of mind...the image of escape from the rawness and violence of daily American life.”¹⁶⁴ To this Trask adds, “Hawaii—the word, the vision, the sound in the mind—is the fragrance and feel of soft kindness. Above all, Hawaii is 'she,' the Western image of the Native 'female' in her magical allure.”¹⁶⁵ Trask’s assessment of Hawai‘i today encompasses the effects of Twain’s contributions to “how Hawaii came to be territorially incorporated, and economically, politically, and culturally subordinated to the United States.”¹⁶⁶

However, this train of analysis follows Sumida’s example, and represents just *one* way of viewing Twain’s writing about Hawai‘i as pastoral, but one that ultimately relies on a liberal interpretation of a Twain battling romantic urges and writing complex pastoral. This mirrors the pastoral scholar William Empson’s notion of turning complexity into simplicity in *Some Versions of Pastoral* (1935). But as Classicist Thomas Rosenmeier points out, Empson’s “speculations...are drawn from the most developed and the most differentiated products of the tradition,” far from the Theocritean invention that “does not put forth a view of the world, except by accident and implication.”¹⁶⁷ Therefore the notion of a “retreat” in the pastoral is derived from more recent iterations of the pastoral-esque, that which became the romantically picturesque.

¹⁶³ In *Roughing It*, he writes about the funeral of Princess Victoria Kamāmalu Ka‘ahumanu IV, an event he could neither fully comprehend nor accurately report.

¹⁶⁴ Trask, Haunani-Kay. “'Lovely Hula Hands': Corporate Tourism and the Prostitution of Hawaiian Culture” in *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawaii* (Mānoa: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1999), p. 136

¹⁶⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ Rosenmeier, Thomas. *The Green Cabinet* (1969), pp. 17-18

This loose and contingent application of pastoral, which Sumida discerns to be Twain's preferred frame of mind, thins out as Sumida bases the majority of his inferential arguments on Twain's unpublished Hawai'i novel, essentially *ex silentio*.

In my view, Twain's writing about Hawai'i in the *Union* letters and then *Roughing It* can be located within the pastoral tradition by way of "implication" drawn directly from Theocritus and Longus. Both of those ancients were writing within a literary market, supplying texts for elite, wealthy readers with specific aesthetic demands concerning the rendering of settings and characters. We saw those aesthetic tastes paralleled at times in *Typee*'s landscape and in the characters of *South-Sea Idyls*. *Roughing It* speaks broadly to that supply-demand economy, as it reflects the demands of a consumerist class that saw itself as superior to the Pacific's "barbarian" landscapes and people, and therefore entitled to exploit the islands and dispossess the indigenous islanders. The central mode by which Twain renders a pastoral map of the islands is through his treatment of landscape as a paradisiacal garden, which began as a request of private agriculturalists (*Union* readers) and transformed into his own impulse to describe and inform.¹⁶⁸ In light of the etymology of *paradise*, briefly discussed within Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*, 'paradisiacal garden' is itself redundant; *paradise* comes from the Latin *paradisus*: a park, orchard, heaven; via the Greek *παράδεισος* /*paradeisos*: a garden, esp. a Persian garden, or the blessed area of the underworld; via the Avestan/Old Persian *pairi.daēza*: a walled enclosure, encompassing.

Longus' passages regarding the garden, *paradeisos*, are worth returning to in order to compare Twain's construction of Hawai'i. In the plot of *Daphnis and Chloe*, the difference between a comic and tragic ending hinges on pleasing Dionysophanes, the landowner and master of Daphnis and his foster father Lamon, through the upkeep of his garden. This garden was:

...a very beautiful place and bore comparison with royal gardens. It was two hundred yards long, lay on elevated ground, and was over a hundred yards wide. It had every kind of tree...there was shade in the summer, flowers in the spring, grapes for picking in the autumn, and fruit in every season... From there the plain was clearly visible, so you could see people grazing their flocks; the sea was visible too, and people sailing past were in open view. -*Daphnis and Chloe*, 4.2¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁸ As he regrets in his preface to *Roughing It*, "it could not be helped: information appears to stew out of me naturally." Twain, Mark. *Roughing It*, 1872 "Prefatory."

¹⁶⁹ Longus. Gill, Christopher, trans. in Bryan P. Reardon, ed. *Collected Ancient Greek Novels* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989). p. 333

Just before Dionysophanes is set to inspect the garden, with his son Astylus (whose name translates to “city-boy”), that garden is destroyed by raiders, creating major dramatic tension, as a bad showing might result in death for Lamon and Daphnis. Fortunately, Lamon quickly tills it back in order and, after much glossed-over toil, Dionysophanes arrives, finding “the plains plowed, the vine shoots trimmed, and the garden looking beautiful” (4.13).¹⁷⁰ As a result of the appeasement of the urbanite landowner the characters find happy resolution, and the urban readers are able to issue a collective sigh of relief: the landlord did not have to kill his laborers for failing to present returns on his investment.

In very similar ways, Twain’s *Union* letters are both an inspection of plantations and a speculation for future investors, and he does not disappoint. In *Roughing It*, his discussions of sugar plantations are drastically abridged, yet what he decides to include in his greater narrative reveals that which he felt was essential to leave with casual readers. During his tour of Hawai’i island, he mentions passing “several sugar plantations—new ones and not very extensive,” in other words, recent ‘seed investments’ beginning to show returns (*RI*, p. 376). Twain then goes into some detail advising proper methods for cultivation, adopting an admonitory tone, addressing what “ought” to be done in order to reap the miraculously high “average yield of an acre” in Kona: “two tons of sugar...only a moderate yield for these islands, but...astounding for Louisiana and most other sugar-growing countries,” without even using irrigation systems (*RI*, p. 376).

As promising as that reportage sounded in comparison to America’s continental output, it was hardly unprecedented. As Euro-American planters and traders learned through their experiences in the Caribbean, island-based production could generate exorbitant yields through intensive cultivation of limited, temperate space, which usually required a mass of expendable, imported labor. With regard to Haiti, C.L.R. James has stated, “On no portion of the surface of the globe did its surface in proportion to dimension yield so much wealth as the colony of St. Domingue.”¹⁷¹ The collective Western memory would have born this pinnacle of productivity in mind throughout future island exploits. Conversely, we know from historian Ashli White that Americans were “motivated by fears of an uprising at home” following the Haitian Revolution in the 1790s, as they attributed “the insurrection to conditions specific to slavery as practiced

¹⁷⁰ *ibid.* p. 338

¹⁷¹ James, C.L.R. *The Black Jacobins*. (New York: Vintage Books, 1963), pp. 45-46

on the island.”¹⁷² So planters would learn to temper the demand for maximum yield with less combustible labor conditions in island markets; low wages instead of lashes, racially segregated plantations instead of multiethnic hotbed cities.

Twain reveals what *was* unprecedented in his narrative configuration of the plantation-based economy growing in Hawai‘i: the commingled allure of virgin opportunity and Edenic living. He frames his apparent digression into “information” about sugar plantations between two noteworthy turns. (1) Earlier in Twain’s tour of the island, “in the sultry atmosphere of eternal summer,” he passes into Kailua-Kona, a “journey well worth taking,” for the following reasons:

It was pleasant to ride occasionally in the warm sun, and feast the eye upon the ever-changing panorama of the forest (beyond and below us) with its many tints, its softened lights and shadows, its billowy undulations sweeping gently down from the mountain to sea. It was pleasant also, at intervals, to leave the sultry sun and pass into the cool, green depths of this forest and indulge in sentimental reflections under the inspiration of its brooding twilight and its whispering foliage.

We rode through one orange grove that had ten thousand trees in it! They were all laden with fruit.

-*Roughing It*, p. 375¹⁷³

Like the garden in *Daphnis and Chloe*, the landscape here is valued for its beauty first, and then for its productivity, and described in a mixture of romantic and quantitative language. While this passage closely resembles Melville’s first description of the Tai Pi valley, it differs significantly in project; what was a secret and potentially dangerous hiding place for Tommo is a place worth visiting for an indiscriminate *all*—implicitly meaning Americans who can afford the trip. This admonition gets more specific as he turns immediately into agricultural adviser in the very next paragraph, narrowing the audience to potential planters.

(2) Also notable are the sections that follow the plantation discussion. By way of a “crazy” man, probably a narrative invention, Twain launches into an anecdote about a correspondence between a boy “sincerely attached to agriculture,” namely to growing turnips, and Horace Greeley, an American authority on agriculture, and Western expansion (*RI*, p. 378). According to the crazy character—a preacher? a planter?—the correspondence is “the talk of the world... ‘all the world has heard of it. All the world. The

¹⁷² White, Ashli. *Encountering Revolution: Haiti and the Making of the Early Republic*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), pp. 124-125

¹⁷³ The description of “whispering foliage” closely resembles Theocritus opening lines of *Idyl I*, addressing whispering pines—Theocritus might have invented the metaphor.

whole world. It is a large world, too, for a thing to travel so far in”(*RI*, p. 377). Here we see a repeated use of global language salient to *Roughing It*, which seems to be part of Twain pitching his reportage from the front lines of a globalization—read all about it! As it turns out, the “talk of the world” concerns an indecipherable letter from Greeley to the turnip boy, which changes upon each reading, and finally amounts to almost trivial advice—but too late, the boy has died out of depression from not being able to save his turnips. Comic, absurd, and yet topical, Twain’s story directly connects agriculture and writing. In effect, it reflects on his very own situation while working for the *Sacramento Union*. His invention of the “crazy” persona allots comic storytelling while working as a reporter writing letters about something so transforming in his and countless others’ lives, and yet so small, even trivial prior to the Caribbean boom, that sweetening agent—sugar—“the star ingredient of a world economy,” as Dimock calls it.¹⁷⁴ It had happened to tulips, why not turnips instead of sugar?

In the line of Western celebrities, Twain depicts himself as a bumbling tramp writer somewhere between, if still beneath, Captain Cook and Greeley—though he claims “I’m only a private personage—an unassuming stranger” in *Roughing It* (p. 357). But after the story about Greeley’s fictitious letter, Twain’s tour takes him to “that spot whose history is familiar to every schoolboy in the wide world—Kealakekua Bay.” (*RI*, pp. 383-384), which leads into an obligatory recounting of Cook’s death, found in Melville and Stoddard too—perpetuating the verification that cannibal days are thoroughly in the past: it’s safe now. *Typee*, *South-Sea Idyls*, and *Roughing It* all explicitly discuss the physical marker at Kealakekua Bay, and Stoddard and Twain produce a facsimile of the engraved text there regarding “the Renowned Circumnavigator,” displayed, according to Melville on a “strip of ship’s copper nailed to an upright post in the ground” (*Typee*, p. 271). The deference toward the tangible, empirical proof of Cook’s presence, and death, there infers all phases of American land-claims, from Plymouth Rock itself to Gold Rush prospectors’ wooden-stake plot claims in California. Reminders of Cook’s monument, then, reaffirm the broader Euro-American claim of Hawaiian land, that was evidently a barbarian geography, a claim further affirmed by a mined, technologically superior remnant: a scrap of copper.

¹⁷⁴ In her paraphrase of Philip Curtin’s *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex* (1990), in Dimock, Wai Chee. “Planet and America, Set and Subset” [pp. 1-16] in *Shades of the Planet: American Literature as World Literature*, edited by Wai Chee Dimock and Lawrence Buell. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), p. 7

Past and present, wild and civilized, heathen and Christian, poor and rich, and so on; *Roughing It* is full of contrasts, a theme Twain fully develops. From the morning he arrived in Honolulu, “every step revealed a new contrast,” and he lists these in language marked by its dimensionality: “the line of the beach,” the town “spread over a dead level; with streets from twenty to thirty feet wide, solid and level as a floor, most of them straight as a line and few as crooked as a corkscrew.” This tendency, a certain attention to numeric and geometric detail, confers all definitions of *description*, from semiotic to mathematical levels. In this way, he follows the pattern set by early explorers in the Pacific, starting with Cook, whose “Secret Instructions” from the British government, stated that his mission in the waters of *Terra Australis* (in addition to mapping the transit of Venus) was:

...to observe the Nature of the Soil, and the Products thereof; the Beasts and Fowls that inhabit or frequent it, the Fishes that are to be found in the Rivers or upon the Coast and in what Plenty and in Case you find any Mines, Minerals, or valuable Stones you are to bring home Specimens of each, as also such Specimens of the Seeds of the Trees, Fruits and Grains as you may be able to collect, and Transmit them to our Secretary that We may cause proper Examination and Experiments to be made of them. You are likewise to observe the Genius, Temper, Disposition and Number of the Natives, if there be any and endeavour by all proper means to cultivate a Friendship and Alliance with them, making them presents of such Trifles as they may Value inviting them to Traffick, and Shewing them every kind of Civility and Regard; taking Care however not to suffer yourself to be surprized [sic] by them, but to be always upon your guard against any Accidents.¹⁷⁵

Several days into finding the islands of Hawai‘i (site of his final “Accident”), two voyages and ten years later, Cook reports:

At noon, the coast extended from South 81° East, to North 56° West; a low flat, like an isthmus, bore South 42° West; The nearest shore three or four miles distant; the latitude was 20° 59'; and the longitude 203° 50'. Seeing some canoes come off to us, I brought to. As soon as they got along-side, many of the people, who conducted them, came into the ship, without the least hesitation...

...In the evening, the horizon being clear to the Westward, we judged the Westernmost land in sight to be an island, separated from that off which we now were. Having no doubt that the people would return to the ships the next day, with the produce of their country...¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁵ “Secret Instructions to Captain Cook,” June 30, 1768. Australian National Archives, via <http://foundingdocs.gov.au/resources/transcripts/nsw1_doc_1768.pdf> Accessed and retrieved 12/20/13.

¹⁷⁶ Cook’s journal. November 26, 1778.

Following his initial instructions, Cook maintained dutiful subservience to the prerogatives of the Empire, those which urged detailed observations geared toward the extraction of resources from lands that probably would, and of course did, contain indigenous societies. As many, following Foucault, have discussed, the act of describing implies a “knowledge is power” construct in which the reporter reflects the tendency to passively generate an Other, whom, by the very fact of having been compared and described, becomes controlled and subdued. This was magnified in early cartographic efforts, as the acts of exploring and mapping the unknown rendered Pacific space colonizable. The treatment of space and people was deeply connected in the European mind, as we can see when we consider what the French explorer and cartographer Dumont D’Urville considered to be a 19th Century improvement to previous attempts at mapping the region:

...Mr. de Rienzi’s nomenclature relies on solely geometric divisions, so his sections are clearly more regular. But mine, as it is based on the varying degrees of similarity between the tribes in each division, will have the advantage of reminding us, by its very name, of the type and characteristics of its inhabitants. Thus in my text, when the names Polynesian, Micronesian and Melanesian are mentioned, it will be instantly clear that I am referring to copper-skinned peoples who speak a common language and obey the laws of *tapu*; or to copper-skinned peoples who speak various languages and do not believe in *tapu*, or lastly to the blacks of Oceania.¹⁷⁷

One translator of that passage, Geoffrey Clark, elucidates some of the processes at work in Dumont D’Urville’s famous essay:

How boundaries are formed and maintained by human groups in colonial and non-colonial circumstances is a perennial problem... Here, we are interested...in the historical development of an abstract and overarching hierarchical structure that was placed on the Pacific in the 19th century.¹⁷⁸

Like Melville, Twain obsessively researched the Pacific, drawing from a historiography that included Cook, his predecessors, and a few early “historians,” like James Jackson Jarves. The material typically began at the point of contact, and that contact with land

¹⁷⁷ Dumont D’Urville, Jules-Sebastien-Cesar “On the Islands of the Great Ocean,” 1832. Translated by Isabel Ollivier, Antoine de Biran and Geoffrey Clark. (*The Journal of Pacific History*, Vol. 38, No. 2, 2003,) p. 173.

¹⁷⁸ Clark, Geoffrey Clark. “Dumont D’Urville’s Oceania,” (*The Journal of Pacific History*, Vol. 38, No. 2, 2003), p. 158

and people was subsumed into a patternistic, empirical default rigorously adhered to by hyper-rationalist Enlightenment Era explorers. We see the iterations of this rationalism in Melville as anthropologist, and in Twain as cartographer, ever the lament of critics who felt the Hawai'i chapters of *Roughing It* were “considerably less exuberant” than the Wild West rambles preceding them.¹⁷⁹ But like all cartography, it isn't just numbers and geometry; it is visual geography and artistry. In *Roughing It's* Hawai'i chapters, the visually impressive qualities of such geography often take precedent, as on the hike up Haleakalā on Maui.

Mounted on a commanding pinnacle, we watched Nature work her silent wonders. The sea was spread abroad on every hand, its tumbled surface seeming only wrinkled and dimpled in the distance. A broad valley below appeared like an ample checker-board, its velvety green sugar plantations alternating with dun squares of barrenness and groves of trees diminished to mossy tufts. Beyond the valley were mountains picturesquely grouped together; but bear in mind, we fancied that we were looking up at these things—not down. We seemed to sit in the bottom of a symmetrical bowl ten thousand feet deep, with the valley and the skirting sea lifted away into the sky above us! -*Roughing It*, p. 407

In this passage, the oscillation between abstract “wonders” and quantitative diction is almost perfectly balanced. The sea is “wrinkled and dimpled,” while the valley is marked by “dun,” “checker-board” squares—regular brown patches of fallow land that, if no longer virginal, will produce long into what Trask calls “the foreseeable capitalist future.”¹⁸⁰ What is “picturesque” is at once “symmetrical.” The symmetrical, taming *lines* are means by which the West subdued nature's chaos and turned profits, without losing (or perhaps enhancing) aesthetic appeasement. Herein we have the modern utterance of the pastoral garden, *paradeisos*, beautiful and measurable, a product of Nature and yet expressly at the service of the production of a global export, already worked to the point of immediate barrenness, and still inverted into an ethereal effect. The sky was hardly the limit, as First Hawaiian Center, the tallest building today in Honolulu, would scrape it 138 years after Charles Reed Bishop founded First Hawaiian Bank, financier of many a planter.

The barrenness Twain cited was the result of the Sugar Kings, who were already calling many of the shots while Kamehameha V was in power, and who would eventually take over the islands' landscape. Long before the emergence of anti-imperialist Twain, he was writing for them. Like pastoral, this oligarchic process has its parallels, or origins, in

¹⁷⁹ Sumida, Stephen. (1991), p. 40

¹⁸⁰ Trask, Haunani-Kay. (1999), p. 136

antiquity. As notable classicist and archaeologist Ian Morris extrapolates,¹⁸¹ in city-states with less emphasis on pure democracy than Athens, there existed an “agro-literate state,” in which an elite minority was able to “control state institutions...and use culture to underwrite social structure to distance themselves from the subjects of the state.”¹⁸² And as Mireille Corbier has explained, after this Greek city-state model, Rome’s empire exemplified the extension of a minority-rule into extra-urban hinterland, wherein the extent of territory owned “played an important role in the development of social inequalities. It allowed for the upward mobility and consolidation of land-based fortunes of the local notables.”¹⁸³ These landowners lived either in the town itself or in villas, around which “the distribution of cultivation reflects the power of the privileged unit of consumption represented by the town.”¹⁸⁴

This is the Hawai‘i Twain entered in 1866, and the direction it had been going since contact, or at least since the Great Māhele, which instigated the process of dispossession. As Jon Osorio explains it, “the single most critical dismemberment of Hawaiian society was the Māhele or division of lands and the consequent transformation of ‘āina into private property between 1845 and 1850.”¹⁸⁵ This transformation, as Stuart Banner outlines, meant that “European and American colonizers reorganized traditional indigenous systems of property rights in land in order to make them look more like European property systems.”¹⁸⁶ In light of that shift, I read *Roughing It* to promulgate a subsequently disenfranchising idea: that which will be American property can, and will, also be the site of the American vacation (Lt. *vacatio*: freedom, exemption, immunity [from work]). The Hawaiian plantation will be the Southern plantation that was the neoclassical villa—all sites powered by an urban industrial machine operating under the auspices of *home*.

The abstract would become the tangible; rhetoric would become commodity. In a figure, Amos Cooke, one of the first missionaries and founder the of Chiefs’ Children’s

¹⁸¹ Drawing on the work of E. Gellner’s *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: 1983)

¹⁸² Morris, Ian. “The Early Polis as City and State,” [pp. 25-58] in *City and Country in the Ancient World*, edited by John Rich and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill (New York: Routledge, 1991), p. 46

¹⁸³ Corbiere, Mireille. “City, Territory, and Tax” [pp. 21-239] in *City and Country in the Ancient World*, edited by John Rich and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill (New York: Routledge, 1991), p. 223

¹⁸⁴ *ibid.* p. 212

¹⁸⁵ Osorio, Jon. *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887*. (Mānoa: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2002), p. 44

¹⁸⁶ Banner, Stuart. *Preparing to Be Colonized: Land Tenure and Legal Strategy in Nineteenth-Century Hawai‘i*

¹⁸⁶ (Law & Society Review [via Blackwell Publishing], Vol. 39, No. 2 [Jun., 2005]), pp. 273

School, would go on to partner with Samuel Castle to control massive portions of these plantations after his tenure with the Congregationalist sect's American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). And it is worth noting that while all of his associations—including the ABCFM, the Royal School, and Castle & Cooke—are still operating in some form, the task of preparing his royal scholars for “preeminence in the islands” produced ephemeral results.¹⁸⁷ This is understandable when we consider that the only texts in the curriculum that may have been unique and at least slightly pertinent to the children's situation were *Cook's Voyages* and Dibble's *History of the Sandwich Islands*. These texts were presented partly due to a feeling by Amos Cooke that the children's education “ought to be done by natives,” though that was infrequent at the time.¹⁸⁸ Therefore as the pupils lived out what we consider “Hawaiian history,” carrying within them living and oral histories, they were already confronting Western interpretations, impositions, and punishments. The rest of the texts reported were practical standards, and many seem to have been treated as offhand incidentals any legitimate royal child must experience. An abridged list includes these titles: Emerson's Arithmetic, Smith's English Grammar, Olney's Geography, Parley's Second Book of History, Gallaudett's Natural Theology, and Grinnel's Moral Philosophy, among others.¹⁸⁹ The way Cooke lists these in the possessive creates a striking effect. Each text belongs to the mind of a scholar writing from America's East Coast or from England. The scholars at the Chiefs' Children's School were expected to facilitate a transfer of ownership of this knowledge through repetition and immersion. The extreme foreignness of the material is often ignored. The case of Olney's Geography is notable though, as that text presented a new method of learning geography, explained by geographer Simon Baker:

The text was unusual in that it began with an exercise in local geography rather than a description of the solar system. It was profusely illustrated and the pictures were integrated with the text, unusual for its day. Descriptions of national character, often a very negative nature, were included... generations of school children grew to adulthood greatly influenced by Olney.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁷ From the Royal Charter for the Chief's Children's School.

¹⁸⁸ Cooke, Amos. “1844 Report to ABCFM,” from facsimile housed at the Hawai'i Mission Houses Museum Library. Cooke, Amos S. letter to Rev. R. Andrews, Boston. (specific date not found)

¹⁸⁹ Cooke, Amos. “1845 Report to ABCFM,” subheading “Instruction,” from Cooke, Amos S. letter to Rev. Dr. Green, Boston. March. 22, 1845. Hawai'i Mission Houses Museum, Honolulu, HI.

¹⁹⁰ Baker, Simon. “Jesse Olney's Innovative Geography Text of 1828 for Common Schools.” *Journal of Geography*. (Vol 95, Issue 1, 1996 pp. 32-38). p. 32

It is unclear how these methods translated to an island nation in the Pacific, or if it improved the royal children's ability to comprehend global topography any better than their access to Hawaiian knowledge of oceanic navigation from a Pacific-based epistemology. However, when considering such a text in their curriculum, illustrated and locally-based, we can begin to imagine their early understanding of "nation" as a construct, of the world's geography as decentered from the *self*-centered foreign powers exerting influence and control in Hawai'i.

Another exemplary figure of the "elite class," Sanford Dole, the son of Christian missionaries to Hawai'i, would be essential to overthrowing the monarchy, and an apt host to his cousin James, whose pineapple plantations still dominate the islands, and the world's agricultural market. Jennifer Fish Kashay outlines the evolving relationship between merchants and missionaries, whose shared modes of representation and desire to "to re-create Western society from their own point of view" led them to treat "the Hawaiians as pawns as each group pursued its separate scheme to advance its own objectives."¹⁹¹ The separate aims, in Kashay's words, eventually converged "as the evangelists became increasingly preoccupied with more worldly concerns."¹⁹²

Roughing It incorporates the success of Twain's "Sandwich Islands Lecture," "an unknown commodity in the Pacific market,"¹⁹³ into its very narrative fabric, which speaks to the contrast between American proclivities for exotic escapism and the security of domesticity. Like the theatres for such oratory, or the eventual movie screen that protected audiences from King Kong, the book as domestic product provided an insurmountable fourth wall. As *Roughing It's* Hawai'i chapters move away from the business aspects in the *Union* letters, offering more room for imaginative narrative, they become prophetic. For in the ultimate success story Twain wishes to tell, his own, he implies a glaring truth: that the islands as sites for vacation will win out. While the private sector may be enticed, hoi polloi clamours elevated Twain to international fame and wealth. Beyond this, the speculative literary cartography that generated *Roughing It* predicts, and might have even been formative in, the eventual rise of what we call

¹⁹¹ Kashay, Jennifer Fish. "Agents of Imperialism: Missionaries and Merchants in Early-Nineteenth-Century Hawai'i." *The New England Quarterly*. Vol. LXXX No. 2 (June 2007. pp. 280-298), p.281

¹⁹² *Ibid.* p. 281

¹⁹³ *RI*, p. 418

agritourism. Like Twain, after the fictitious landowner Dionysophanes, tourists would come to the islands in decades and centuries later to tour the plantations for themselves.

* * *

As I hope to make clear, Pacific Pastoralism repeated the past as it simultaneously comprehended and branded the Pacific, but it also paved a way for how the Pacific would be (mis)represented in future texts by setting the people and spaces within an ongoing tradition. The idealizing tropes within pastoralism—many of which directly echo ancient pastoral—were co-opted, if subconsciously, by those who would sell the Pacific first to agriculturists then to tourists, modern day iterations of early explorers. In Hawai‘i’s transition from an agricultural economy to one driven primarily by tourism, we see simply a shift in the scales that still privileges a pastoral reading.

Hawai‘i is sold to the tourist market on the same terms that Theocritus rendered agricultural landscapes for his patrons. Today, when the past is incorporated into the tour, it is portrayed as already past, damage done, and many continuing harsh realities surrounding racial exploitation, disenfranchisement, subjugation, and diminution are ignored. Postcards, brochures, websites and travelogues pop in bright colors of the picturesque. And, while beaches and volcanoes probably get the most coverage, there is no dearth of ideal portrayals of Hawai‘i’s countryside landscapes in both pictures and words. While tourism propaganda has arguably emerged as its own genre, I hope to have demonstrated the ways depictions, descriptions, and even physical renderings of Hawai‘i’s wilderness fit into the preexisting disguise of pastoral. In many ways, the pastoral has operated as a precursor to the notion of tourist literature, due to the necessity of promoting agriculture, a perpetually toilsome preoccupation, as a positive. The peaceful elements of agricultural life; the bucolic, rather than the Hesiodic/Georgic, are more often highlighted. This might be evidenced today through the ATV tours and rodeo shows at Kualoa Ranch on O‘ahu’s windward coast, a truly *bucolic* setting as grazing land for cattle. Or we may find the pastoral in the 2011 rebranding scheme of Turtle Bay Resort, on “O‘ahu’s Fabled North Shore,” which prominently features pillars of “Romanticism” and “agritourism,” manifested in “interpretive tours of Turtle Bay’s own farmlands.”¹⁹⁴ Pairing these schemes with “Hawaiian” pillars, like “watermen” and

¹⁹⁴ Wentzel, Marty. “North Shore Favorite Rebrands,” via

“talk-story,” we can see the rural resort’s development fitting into the tourist industry’s “propaganda” that shows “why Hawaii needs more golf courses, hotels, and tourist infrastructure and how Hawaiian culture is ‘naturally’ one of giving and entertaining.”¹⁹⁵

Another apt example at the intersection of agricultural and touristic economies is the Dole Plantation at Helemano, O‘ahu. For the laborers employed by Dole, largely Filipino descendants living in the diaspora in Central O‘ahu since the early days of the Hawaiian plantations, October and November of 2013 meant a new pineapple planting cycle. After crews swept through the tilled acreage of soil to fumigate it with pesticides and instill it with GMO fertilizers, teams of between five and ten laborers took the fields to spread out the myriad piles of pineapple tops into extensive, quantified, orderly rows. Day by day, they turned the vast plains sprawling out under Mt. Ka‘ala into stratified producers of capital, idle earth into active, growing commodity.

Tourists pass these fields on the way to explore Dole’s visitor’s center at Helemano, where their attentions are diverted from toil and heat, and to enjoy the exhibits in the “plantation style” museum house, try pineapple ice-cream, or get lost in the maze—that benchmark in man’s habit of shaping nature for human use and entertainment. Analogous to a physical book and book production (or any art production), the production of a site like this can almost be considered a text inscribed with pastoralism, as an intersection of commodity and entertainment. Travel writing about places like Hawai‘i enticed more Western industry, to the extent that, within three hundred years of Cook’s first encounter, islands over 3 million years old were suddenly striated with plow lines and rows of pineapple and sugar, *lines* governed by the same Western principles of order and economy that dictated how Euro-Americans would order and comprehend lines on the pages of those enticing travel journals. *Roughing It* instigated this circular process, and like the globe, it keeps spinning around.

Writing is inscribing is organizing words is representing ideas is marketing is economy is agricultural production. Food is produce. Pineapple is produce. Sugar is refined, like whale oil, like petroleum. Writing is always imprinting on nature: cuneiform wedges pressed into clay earth; liquid dyes printed ink onto bark. In this land/text dialectic, I view the development of a Pacific literary culture/market as analogous to developments in the natural environment, as the introduction of maximum yield crop

<<http://www.travelagewest.com/Travel/Hawai'i/Info/North-Shore-Favorite-Rebrands/#.UuX2TdV6fnA>> accessed 01/20/14.

¹⁹⁵ Trask, Haunani-Kay. (1999). p. 138

lines into Hawai'i's *ahupua'a* was essentially coeval with the mapping of a Pacific literary market.

In the period surrounding the events in *Roughing It*'s narrative, Mark Twain simultaneously escaped the Civil War conflict and wrote himself into the role of "imperial explorer," a term formulated by geographer Jamie Winders. According to Winders, northern travel writers in the postbellum period conjured visions of "a defeated South materially and symbolically open to northern investors and explorers" and, as a result, "translated the South's natural features, wasted on southerners themselves, into potential resource."¹⁹⁶ Like these explorers, Twain's cartography of islands undergoing the imperial process was realized through literary production. The dissemination of those texts pushed the psychology of Pacific Pastoralism onto an increasingly globalized stage. Wherever American readers actually experienced *Roughing It*, they effectively gazed onto a garden through the windows of a Ptolemaic palace, an urban villa, a city on a hill, and a neoclassical plantation house—laughing.

4.

¹⁹⁶ Winders, Jamie. "Imperfectly Imperial: Northern Travel Writers in the Postbellum U.S. South, 1865-188" *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* (Vol. 95, No. 2 [Jun., 2005], pp. ¹⁹⁶391-410) p. 401

¹⁹⁶

Repatriation

“*The economy of the discursive constellation...*” -Foucault

Pastoral echoes do not resonate from any moral or immoral realm, but from human poets. It is a Classic tradition, meaning a kind of “norm,” as the complicated poet Gary Snyder explains,

...that is proved by staying power and improved consensus. Staying power through history is related to the degree of intentionality, intensity, mindfulness, playfulness, and incorporation of previous strategy and standards within the medium—plus creative reuse or reinterpretation of the received forms, plus intellectual coherence, time-transcending long-term human relevance, plus resonances with the deep images of the unconscious.¹⁹⁷

When assessing this tradition’s effects, it is difficult to measure the degree to which its white, male inheritors were intentionally complicit with Pacific imperialism, when we may alternately view them as self-aware, self-critical thinkers navigating the status quo and trying to come down on the right side of history, without going broke. However, thanks to the feelings the pastoral could create as well as placate, the tradition was incidental in the Western political and cultural hegemony in the Pacific. For the Western imagination, the pastoral fueled hopes for the sustainability of a guiltless dream of adventure, vacation, fetish, and profit. In a specifically American context, Pacific Pastoralism cloaked the wolfish paradisiacal construction and commercial packaging of Hawai’i in sheep’s clothing. In the underbelly of that glowing phase in the course of empire was a potent medium in the rhetoric of idealization underwriting both of the industries, agriculture and tourism, that led to America’s dominance in the region.¹⁹⁸

In essence, my aim has been to deconstruct the historical processes that transferred imbalanced triangles of the past into the present. For example, when $a^2 + b^2 = c^2$ is seen in Pacific Pastoralism as $demand^2 + supply^2 = misrepresentation^2$, the last is always the greatest of the three, the hypotenuse (ὑποτείνουσα, *hypoteinousa*, ‘being stretched under,’ ‘straining under’), that expendable line exploited for the balance of the shape. Each facet in this equation multiplies itself beyond what Foucault calls “the little parallelepiped,” the book: the map and container of earth-shaking ideas.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁷ Snyder, Gary. “Tawny Grammar” in *The Practice of the Wild*. (Berkeley: Counterpoint Press, 1990), pp. 78-79.

¹⁹⁸ Excluding the military, whose industrial complex was primarily stateside.

¹⁹⁹ Cited in text below.

At certain points, I have asked myself if it is possible to unyoke the pastoral from beastly connotations in the negative field where I have located it throughout this thesis. Admittedly, my project has been a means of critiquing my own epistemology, which I cannot escape or substitute. My own upbringing in Hawai‘i can be traced to the tourist boom immediately following statehood, an imperial victory that largely quelled the erasure of our Pacific Pastoralists. My father moved to the islands to pursue what Twain calls “the art of surf-bathing,” which “none but the natives ever master” (*RI*, p. 392).²⁰⁰ My mother came to sunbathe, and never left. As I attempt to repatriate some space for a new dialogue following the epistemic archaeology comprising this thesis, there appear to be a few ways I can surf through my final perspectives concerning Pacific Pastoralism. I can espouse the mode of “environmentalism” advocated by Lawrence Buell, which is:

...to think against the grain of a nation-based paradigm... an affective style, animated by an attachment to particular localities, a feel for the near-at-hand, and haunted by the fragility and finiteness of mountains, streams, plants, and living creatures.²⁰¹

The affectation of that environmentalism walks a fine line between naturalist and romanticist. That thinking allots a valuable proponentcy for ‘āina and cultural connections to it, and yet potentially implicates a certain entitlement to problematic nostalgia.

Alternately, I can advocate for the anti-pastoral, as instigated by George Crabbe long ago in the times of Pope and Johnson:

When Plenty smiles — alas! she smiles for few,
And those who taste not, yet behold her store,
Are as the slaves that dig the golden ore,
The wealth around them makes them doubly poor:
Or will you deem them amply paid in health,
Labour's fair child, that languishes with Wealth?

-George Crabbe, from “The Village,” 1783

Like Dickens, Crabbe appears to have realized the inherent bullshit in gilded depictions of a black-skied, coal-driven Industrial Revolution. As an historical outlier, he opens our minds to the alternative paths literary culture could have taken that were evidently less interesting to the prerogatives of consumerism and imperialism.

²⁰⁰ Had he been right, O‘ahu’s North Shore might have been spared the commercial onslaught that winter’s surf competition season brings each year.

²⁰¹ Dimock, Wai Chee and Lawrence Buell, eds. “Introduction,” in *Shades of the Planet: American Literature as World Literature*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), p. 12

Perhaps it is better to negotiate a more conscientious contemporary brand of politics, following Eric Cheyfitz's stance in *The Poetics of Imperialism*:

I do not believe in philanthropy, which presumes an understanding of the position of the other, but in social justice, which presumes nothing, but grounds itself in the difficult politics of imagining kinship across the frontiers of race, gender, and class. This politics must begin and end with a critique of one's own place.²⁰²

This presentist advocacy for an almost Whitmanian comradeship avoids some of the faux nostalgia in sentimental environmentalism, and gets at the personal dissection I have attempted. Still, in the end, it may be best to fall back on the wisdom Chekhov imparted to a friend: "You are right to demand that an artist engage his work consciously, but you confuse two different things: solving the problem and correctly posing the question."²⁰³ Maybe this is the right question: how to move *forward* in a space now financially dependent on a tourist market bequeathed by pastoral impulses?

Melville, albeit one of our makeshift perpetrators actually put forth an early variation of planetary thinking in his construction of *Mardi*, that "new constellation in the sea" representing the world floating in a mythic region of the Pacific—an alternate geography (*Mardi*, p. 822). As discussed earlier, *Mardi* marked Melville's departure, or escape, from pastoral's "imagined geography,"²⁰⁴ upon seeing the tourism-inducing effects of idealizing the Marquesas and Tahiti. Channeling chapter titles from *Typee* and *Mardi*: Land-ho!, Man-ho!, and World-ho!, I have attempted to elucidate the West's changing relationship to the land, people, and economics in the pastoralist literature that Melville exemplifies, if a bit ahead of the curve in his own time, and closer to ours. While I trace this *genealogy of misrepresentation*, in English, in a thesis that itself unavoidably extends pastoral historiography, Melville stands as a stargazing proxy:

Oh stars! oh eyes, that see me, wheresoe'er I roam:
serene, intent, inscrutable for aye, tell me Sybils, what I am.—
Wondrous worlds on worlds! Lo, round and round me, shining, awful
spells: all glorious, vivid constellations, God's diadem ye are! To
you, ye stars, man owes his subtlest raptures, thoughts unspeakable,
yet full of faith.

²⁰² Cheyfitz, Eric. *The Poetics of Imperialism: Translation and Colonization from The Tempest to Tarzan* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), p. xx

²⁰³ Chekhov, Anton. Letter to A.S. Suvorin (October 27, 1888), in *Anton Chekhov's Short Stories* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1979).

²⁰⁴ Said, Edward. (1978), p. 98

But how your mild effulgence stings the boding heart. Am I a
murderer, stars?

-*Mardi*, pp. 840-841

This final question is remarkable. Earlier, Melville's narrator had killed a Pacific Islander while saving the damsel, Yillah. He turns to the stars to navigate his guilt, and asks if his actions, in the lawless Pacific context, amount to murder. The white narrator enacts the type of "imperial nostalgia" discussed by cultural anthropologist Renato Rosaldo. That is,

...a particular kind of nostalgia, often found under imperialism, where people mourn the passing of what they themselves have transformed. Imperialist nostalgia thus revolves around a paradox: a person kills someone and then mourns his or her victim.²⁰⁵

For Melville, departing from the style of *Typee*, this is the first instance of a protagonist committing murder, and we can feel him weighing the moral consequences. In a sense, we can hear him asking: is dispossession murder? We today are left to ponder these things. Do we hold *Omoo* accountable for an influx of syphilitic sailors running ashore like so many mythic satyrs in pursuit of the "dusky nymphs" of Tahiti? The train of questioning, interrogating these white men, grows Socratic and similarly unending.

Having spent a good deal of time discussing ancient and modern pastoral works as material commodities, literal fragments, and physical books, I should provide some space for returns—concrete and abstract repatriation. As Foucault notes:

The book is not simply the object that one holds in one's hands; and it cannot remain within the little parallelepiped that contains it: its unity is variable and relative. As soon as one questions that unity, it loses its self-evidence; it indicates itself, constructs itself, only on the basis of a complex field of discourse.

-*The Archaeology of Knowledge*, p. 23

The field of discourse has been in the process of complication by island-centric voices for some time. Indeed, the best answers regarding how to move forward come from Oceanic scholars and artists who offer alternatives through a unique blend of epistemological traditions. As the late Māori filmmaker Merata Mita expressed:

The body of a country's literature reflects the life of its people. It mirrors their tensions, conflicts, creativity, struggles, hopes, aspirations and dreams. Thus is reflected the

²⁰⁵ Rosaldo, Renato. "Imperialist Nostalgia." *Representations*, No. 26, Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory [Spring, 1989], pp. 107-122), p. 108

collective consciousness of a nation, the people's images of themselves.²⁰⁶

Heeding that implicit call to action, Māori scholar Marata Tamaira has begun work deconstructing the romantic simplification of Pacific Islanders into tropes in visual arts, advocating expressly for a “reimagining [of] the ‘dusky maiden’ through the visual arts,” and effectively striving to undo that which Fayaway came to stand for in the American mind.²⁰⁷ This effort exemplifies the Pacific writing back against the pastoral mode, often reappropriating its tropes and effects to invigorate legitimate self-representation, or to ultimately eliminate *representation* and to achieve undiluted self-definition on the world stage.

As we have seen, Stoddard employed the homoerotics of pastoral in his personification of, and identification with, the coconut tree. In *Roughing It*, Mark Twain catches those trees in the crosshairs of his ambivalence; they are “not more picturesque than a forest of colossal ragged parasols,” but “might be poetical, possibly...and yet, without any question, there is something fascinating about a coconut tree—and graceful, too” (*RI*, p. 345). He measures them, describes them, makes similes and metaphors of them, and renders them useless on the grounds that they do not entertain his senses. On the opposite end of the spectrum, Rotuman scholar Vilsoni Hereniko has brought the coconut tree out of the pastoral landscape and replanted it into indigenous Oceanian jurisdictions. He begins in his essay “Representations of Cultural Identities” in the impactful Pacific collection *Inside Out* (1999), writing, “Like eunuchs, they grace the shoreline of Waikiki. Coconut palms without coconuts”— removed to protect tourists passing beneath.²⁰⁸ Starting that way, he immediately addresses the sexualization of the trees in the erotics of Western writing, while citing the castration of Pacific cultures inherent in the grooming of a tourist destination. As Hereniko configures this act, “coconuts are removed so that dreams of Eden may remain intact.”²⁰⁹ Far removed from the superficial sultriness applied by Stoddard and Twain, Pacific Islanders held coconut trees in a spiritual stature, which had sexual elements embedded in procreative and

²⁰⁶ Mita, Merata. “Indigenous Literature in a Colonial Society” [pp. 310–314.] In Witi Ihimaera, (ed.), *Te Ao Marama: Regaining Aotearoa: Maori Writers Speak Out*, Vol. 2, *Whakaatanga O Te Ao: The Reality*.(1992) pp. 312-313

²⁰⁷ cf. Tamaira, Marata. “From Full Dusk to Full Tusk: Reimagining the ‘Dusky Maiden’ through the Visual Arts,” (*The Contemporary Pacific*, Vol. 22, No. 1, pp. 1-35)

²⁰⁸ Hereniko, Vilsoni and Rob Wilson, eds. *Inside Out: Literature, Cultural Politics, and Identity in the New Pacific*. (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1999), p. 137

²⁰⁹ *ibid.*

creationistic beliefs, as well as serious utilitarian importance. Rather than lamenting the colonial perversions of that emblem, Hereniko sets about reappropriating coconut trees “to evoke feelings of a shared identity.”²¹⁰

This type of *written* activism is sometimes in direct and active response to the pastoral, like Albert Wendt’s corrective manifesto, *Towards a New Oceania*, in which he vehemently asserts that within the Pacific:

...there was no Fall, no sun-tanned Noble Savages existing in South Seas paradises, no Golden Age, except in Hollywood films, in the insanely romantic literature and art by outsiders, in the breathless sermons of our elite vampires, and in the fevered imaginations of our self-styled romantic revolutionaries. We, in Oceania, did not/and do not have a monopoly on God and the ideal life.²¹¹

In this revisionist tapestry Wendt lays bare many aspects of the Western pastoral scope. We may recall Christopher McBride’s analysis of Stoddard’s vampirism in “Pearl-Hunting in the Pomotous,” to start. Beyond that, the notion of the “sun-tanned Noble Savage” is a mainstay throughout the work of Melville, Stoddard, Jack London, Michener, and into the impressionism of Gauguin, corresponding to the rural, and pleasantly barbaric country types salient to pastoral. Furthermore, Christian doctrines contain several forms of pastoral, from the Psalms of the Old Testament to Jesus’ repeated shepherd parables in the New Testament. And the evangelism of the Pacific virtually paralleled the original apostles’ quest to civilize/Christianize the pagan gentiles of the Greek countryside— in fact the New Testament was translated into Hawaiian directly from Greek *koine*, due to shared simplicities in vocabulary.²¹² Wendt’s denial of “the Fall” [of Adam/Man] in the Pacific refutes notions of a heavenly “Paradise Revisited/Found” projection onto the space. But for all the apparent destructiveness of Christianity perceived by Wendt, it has become a mainstay in the Pacific.

Richard Moyle has discussed the re-focusing of English language and the reorientation of Western spaces like Christian churches, government community centers,

²¹⁰ *ibid.*

²¹¹ Wendt, Albert. “Towards a New Oceania” (1977). [pp. 9-19] in Paul Sharrad, ed., *Readings in Pacific Literature*, (Wollongong, NSW: New Literatures Research Center, University of Wollongong, 1993), p. 12

²¹² More on this in Gilmore, Roland, “The Ark of Olelo Hawaii” in *Hana Hou!* Vol 13, no. 3 (June/July 2010).

and public parks for self-determining cultural practices, such as song poetry. Poetry is *the* primary mode of pastoral, and in Pacific nations like New Zealand, common pastoral themes and dictions are being reapplied through English language poems to serve the colonized cultures. Moyle explains how common subjects like “praise of the scenic beauty and fecundity of land” and “idealized relationships” are woven together with “loyalty to family, community, and church, responsible stewardship of ancestral land, [and] service to one’s own people...relationships that are believed to be at the heart of cultural identity.”²¹³

Poetry, novels, films, and scholarship comprise what Merata Mita called “the body of a country’s literature,” the aim of which, in Pacific-based contexts, is to decolonize and de-commodify the body: the people, the land. However, scholar/artists of the region do this in different ways. Vilsoni Hereniko, a multifaceted scholar and artist, calls on his cohorts “to correct mistranslations, to advocate for specificity and nuance.”²¹⁴ Art of this thrust, and the poetry described by Moyle above, are focused on revealing Pacific Islanders— their cultures, and islands— as they are in reality: demonetized, demystified, *demythified*, *real*.²¹⁵ Like the islands’ “scenic beauty” and “fecundity of land,” other aspects of the Pacific traditionally praised in Western pastoral are re-defined and re-purposed throughout Pacific Islander writing. In contrast to the stargazing passage within the metaphorical worldview Melville *applied to the Pacific Mardi*, Epeli Hau’ofa has offered a holistic view *emanating from* the space:

[Pacific Islanders’] universe comprised not only land surfaces, but the surrounding ocean as far as they could traverse and exploit it, the underworld with its fire-controlling and earth-shaking denizens, and the heavens above with their hierarchies of powerful gods and named stars and constellations that people could count on to guide their ways across the seas. Their world was anything but tiny. They thought big and recounted their deeds in epic proportions.²¹⁶

²¹³ Moyle, Richard, “Sounds Pacific: Pacific Music and Dance in New Zealand.” [pp.103–115] in Sean Mallon and Pandora Filimalo Pereira, eds., *Pacific Art Niu Sila: The Pacific Dimension of Contemporary Pacific Art*, (Wellington, NZ: Te Papa Press, Museum of New Zealand, 2002), p. 109

²¹⁴ Hereniko, Vilsoni. “Film as a Colonizing Medium: Indigenous Knowledge, Translation, and the Market Economy,” (2008). p. 35 [unpublished]

²¹⁵ This is not to suggest that Pacific Islander artists and scholars do not produce in order to make money, or that they do not depict their own peoples, occasionally, in romanticized ways. However, it *is* meant to suggest that in self-representation, the exploitative and hegemonic nature of external representation has been increasingly subverted, sometimes through an embrace of the very irony their works entail.

²¹⁶ Hau’ofa, Epeli. *Our Sea of Islands* (1994), p. 152

Hau'ofa reminds us of the triumphs of Pacific exploration by Pacific Islanders, which reached mythic heights long before the conflagration of Cook as the Hawaiian god Lono that embellished the West's sense of its own heroics. Ironically, Pacific Pastoralism is marked by a particular brand of small-mindedness that resulted from the incredible stretching of an idealized Mediterranean onto the vast Pacific. Hau'ofa envisions the Pacific ocean itself as his "most wonderful metaphor," as its "vastness and majesty, its allurements and fickleness, its regularities and unpredictability, its shoals and depths, its isolating and linking role in our histories" inspires "the imagination and kindles a sense of wonder, curiosity, and hope."²¹⁷ What might seem like romantic language is the effect of his anglicizing of cultural metaphors for a homeland that transcends terrestrial boundaries, translated into language the world *outside* of the Pacific Rim can understand. In some senses, this translation fits Hau'ofa's writing into a wave of subverting linguistic hegemony to invigorate the idealized ocean into the turbulent politics of community space reclamation.

Implied throughout this discussion, and hit upon directly by many Pacific scholar/artists, is an innate connection between people and their spatial habitat (or habitus), meaning land *and* water. As discussed above, texts inscribed with pastoral tradition can be viewed as maps over landscapes, meaning popular textual productions can be seen as analogous to commodified landscapes. So, having already examined some ways in which Pacific writers are responding to pastoralism through revisionist scholarship and redirective creative works, it may be useful to look at ways in which space responds or reacts to historic modes of idealizing and commodifying. The rows of pineapple on Dole's property reflect the Western impulse to order nature to produce maximum efficiency. Similarly, Western maps, novels, poems, scholarly tracts, and tourist brochures concerning the Pacific semiotically present information in linear, longitudinal forms, ordered thus for the efficient production of a specific epistemological comprehension of the spaces/peoples described. In both contexts, the act of ordering is forced. In abstract representation, both land and ideas of land are as amorphous as water—and water itself has not been spared from the same methods of organizing space: "The Pacific is figured not as a place to live in but as an expanse to cross, a void to be

²¹⁷ Hau'ofa, Epeli, "The Ocean in Us," "Pasts to Remember," [pp. 41–79.] *We Are the Ocean: Selected Works*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), p. 55

filled in with lines of transit: ploughing the sea.”²¹⁸

Epeli Hau‘ofa has discussed how *time*, too, “stresses linear progression,” including “the notion of cumulative development or modernisation, which is equated with progress towards the capitalist utopia, the dream of the wretched earth.”²¹⁹ In this statement, Hau‘ofa connects linear time *to progress to economy to earth*, and in that final turn alludes to the people of the earth who have suffered from the effects of colonialism and imperialism.²²⁰ But Hau‘ofa suggests a reconception of time on nonlinear terms, advocating instead for “ecological time,” or the sense of time presented by nature itself, which is inherently cyclical, seasonal.²²¹ And while he cites examples of how information and ideas can be expressed through time in circular thinking in Pacific languages, he advocates for a spiral, that is, a compromise between colonizer and colonized. But this too can be viewed as reappropriation, though it may be unconscious—pastoral narratives from Longus to Shakespeare paid close attention to changing seasons to mark time.²²² Again and again, what was lost is being found, revisited, and repurposed.

These Pacific Island scholars are speaking on behalf of the land, as indeed they see themselves as connected to it. “My mom actually gave birth to me in this thatched house somewhere in the forest, so I kind of feel a very special connection to the forest, and I always use that as a metaphor,” explains Steven Winduo.²²³ Indeed, Hau‘ofa has explained more broadly that:

...to remove a people from their ancestral, natural surroundings or vice versa—or to destroy their lands with mining, deforestation, bombing, largescale industrial and urban developments...[is] of the same enormity as the complete destruction of all of a nation’s libraries, archives, museums, historic buildings, and all its books and other such documents.²²⁴

Land is text, and here the exploitation of land is inadvertently reconfigured into an analogy for the fragments of Western letters, in Alexandria, in Stoddard’s fireplace.

²¹⁸ Winduo, Steven. “Unwriting Oceania: the repositioning of Pacific writers scholars within a folk narrative space.” [pp. 599–613] in *New Literature History*, 31: 3, (2000), p. 600

²¹⁹ Hau‘ofa, Epeli (2008), p.66

²²⁰ cf. Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth*, (1961).

²²¹ Hau‘ofa, Epeli (2008), p. 65

²²² cf. Longus’ *Daphnis and Chloe*. Shakespeare’s *Winter’s Tale*.

²²³ Interview with Noe Tanigawa, Hawaii Public Radio, June 11, 2009

²²⁴ Hau‘ofa, Epeli (2008), p. 75

Pacific people are of the land, or, being of flesh and bone, 'oiwi, of calcium and carbon, are mineral, are land. They are real, organic, and animal, as much as any human of any ethnicity and color. Part of the process of the *empire writing back* to the emperors is the obnoxious reassertion of these facts. The parameters of paradise are as arbitrary as the demarcating boundaries of Polynesia, Micronesia, and Melanesia in Dumont D'Urville's cartography. Pacific Islanders are not only sun-tanned, but fair or dark due to varying degrees of genetically passed melanin. Nothing so abstract as the pastoral, romantic, economic, or cartographic dreams of the West is *naturally* transmitted from these places into the Euro-American mind. The abstractions are laid over the oceanic space and its inhabitants like square blocks forced through circular holes. Truly, what the hegemony of Pacific Pastoralism most egregiously elides is the actual balance in nature and time. For all the Pacific's beauty, it is violent, wrought by fire. Does not Kilauea, towering over Cook's grave, daily inflict its arid, rocky reminders into the West's intrusive memories of fecundity and verdure? Or, for all the lives lost to foreign disease and imperialist wars, have islanders ever ceased to sing and dance?

5.

Encomium:

“*Pastoral implodes.*” -Meena Alexander²²⁵

On July 9, 2014, Theresa Papanikolas, curator of European and American Art at the Honolulu Museum of Art, will give a lecture titled “The Exotics of Leisure: Art Deco in Hawai‘i” to accompany the release of her book and the museum’s exhibition on the same subject. Art Deco, Papanikolas explains,

...manifested itself in Honolulu and its environs as a schematized visual language based on the natural beauty and fabled past of the islands. As such, it served as a motivating source for modernism in the fine arts and a sustaining mode for constructing ‘paradise’ for the tourism and advertising industries...an image of Hawai‘i as an Arcadia unspoiled by the urbanization that was ultimately transforming it.²²⁶

In a sudden burst of bright colors, rude shapes, and streamlined geometry, the Art Deco style dominated the tourist market in the decades following Stoddard and Twain, essentially taking up the mantle of Pacific Pastoralism in the visual arts.

In roughly the same period that curators at the Honolulu Museum of Art were selecting and assembling the visual works to comprise the Art Deco exhibit, the Los Angeles-based Samoan poet and painter Dan Taulapapa McMullin saw the publication of his poetry collection, titled *Coconut Milk*. In his poems, bright colors, rusticity, technology, English language, floral beauty, and the fruits of nature—all the echoes of pastoralism from Melville to Art Deco—are fearlessly re-located in the multiplicitous Pacific here and now, with every hue of irony reflected through prisms of grace.

We may find all of this *progress* in McMullin’s unique description of what the Greeks called *nostos*, a homecoming or welcome home, in “Sa Moana Poem Number Two:”²²⁷

²²⁵ Alexander, Meena. *The Poetics of Dislocation* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009), p. 17

²²⁶ Papanikolas, Theresa. “Art Deco in Hawai‘i.” Press release. Honolulu Museum of Art. Via <http://honolulumuseum.org/art/exhibitions/14238-art_deco_hawaii/> Accessed May 1, 2014.

²²⁷ McMullin, Dan Taulapapa. “Sa Moana Poem Number Two,” from *Coconut Milk*, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press [Sun Tracks Series], 2013) lines 5-12

The blue and white airplane doors opened to dawn
As in rushed green heat of rainforest and warm tropic sea
My uncle the doctor drove us in a station wagon with cracked windshield
Thru miles of breadfruit, mango, guava, coconut, hibiscus, cacao

Everyone from my mother's village was out to greet us dancing singing
Every fale home covered in flowers, vines of flowers twining the church pillars
My tamafai sister waited shyly for us among the blooms having arrived earlier
Already changed like we would soon be, brown and free, heart wild as a bird in flight

Works Cited:

Primary / Literature:

Chekhov, Anton. Letter to A.S. Suvorin (October 27, 1888), in *Anton Chekhov's Short Stories* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1979)

Cook's journal. "November 26, 1778." in *The Journals of Captain Cook*. London: Penguin Books, 2003

Cooke, Amos. "1844 Report to ABCFM," from facsimile housed at the Hawai'i Mission Houses Museum Library. Cooke, Amos S. letter to Rev. R. Andrews, Boston. (specific date not found)

Cooke, Amos. "1845 Report to ABCFM," subheading "Instruction," from Cooke, Amos S. letter to Rev. Dr. Green, Boston. March. 22, 1845. Hawai'i Mission Houses Museum, Honolulu, HI.

Cooke, Amos Starr and Juliette Montague Cooke. "Royal Charter for the Chief's Children's School." *The Hawaiian Chiefs' Children's School: A Record Compiled from the Diary and Letters of Amos Starr Cooke and Juliette Montague Cooke by their Granddaughter Mary Atheron Richards*. Rutland: C.E. Tuttle Co., 1970

Crabbe, George., from "The Village," [1783] in *George Crabbe: Selected Poems*. Edited by Philip Henderson. London: Lawson and Dunn, 1946

Dumont D'Urville, Jules-Sebastien-Cesar. "On the Islands of the Great Ocean," 1832. trans. Isabel Ollivier, Antoine de Biran and Geoffrey Clark. *The Journal of Pacific History*, Vol. 38, No. 2, 2003

Lawrence, D.H. "On Herman Melville's *Typee* and *Omoo*," facsimile reproduced in *The Occidental Quarterly*, May 24, 2009

London, Charmian. *Jack London and Hawaii*. London: Mills & Boon Limited, 1918

Longus. *Daphnis and Chloe*, trans. Christopher Gill, in Bryan Reardon, ed. *Collected Ancient Greek Novels*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989

Johnson, Samuel. *Rambler 37* [On Pastoral], [1750] in Loughrey, Bryan, ed. *The Pastoral Mode*. London: Macmillan, 1984

McMullin, Dan Taulapapa. "Sa Moana Poem Number Two," from *Coconut Milk*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press [Sun Tracks Series], 2013

Melville, Herman, "Letter to Charles Warren Stoddard, Jan. 20, 1867." in Horth, Lynn, ed. *The Writings of Herman Melville: Correspondence*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1993

Melville, Herman. "Letter to Nathaniel Hawthorne, Nov. 17[?], 1851." in Horth, Lynn, ed. *The Writings of Herman Melville: Correspondence*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1993

Melville, Herman. *Typee, Omoo, Mardi*. [1846, 1847, 1849] New York: The Library of America / Viking Press, 1982 / 1984

Petronius, *Satyrical*. Translated and edited by R. Bracht Branham and Daniel Kinney. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997

Pope, Alexander, *Discourse on Pastoral Poetry* [1704] in Loughrey, Bryan, ed. *The Pastoral Mode*. London: Macmillan, 1984

"Secret Instructions to Captain Cook," June 30, 1768. Australian National Archives, via <http://foundingdocs.gov.au/resources/transcripts/nsw1_doc_1768.pdf> Accessed 12/20/13.

Stoddard, Charles Warren. *For the Pleasure of His Company; an Affair of the Misty City, Thrice Told*. San Francisco: A.M. Robertson, 1903

Stoddard, Charles Warren. *Island of Tranquil Delights*. London: Herbert B. Turner and Company, 1904

Stoddard, Charles Warren. "Letter to Whitman, March 2, 1869." From The Charles E. Feinberg Collection of the Papers of Walt Whitman, 1839–1919, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Accessed via <<http://www.waltwhitmanarchive.org>> 3/31/14

Stoddard, Charles Warren. "Letter to Whitman, April 2, 1870." From The Charles E. Feinberg Collection of the Papers of Walt Whitman, 1839–1919, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Accessed via <<http://www.waltwhitmanarchive.org>> 3/31/14

Stoddard, Charles Warren. Selected poems, in *Outcroppings: Being Selections of California Verse*. Edited by Bret Harte. San Francisco: A. Roman & Company, 1866

Stoddard, Charles Warren. *South-Sea Idyls*. Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, [Late Ticknor & Fields, and Fields, Osgood, & Co.], 1873

Tacitus. *Annals*. in "Introduction." Petronius, *Satyrical*. Translated and edited by R. Bracht Branham and Daniel Kinney. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997

Theocritus. *Idylls*, in *The Bucolic Poets*. trans. J.M. Edmonds. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1919

Theocritus, "Idyll XI." in *The Poems of Theocritus*, trans. Anna Rist. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978

Theocritus, *Idylls*, trans. Anthony Verity, edited by Richard Hunter. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002

Theocritus, "Idyll I," trans. J.M. Edmonds, in *Greek Bucolic Poets*. Loeb Classical Library, Volume 28. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1912

Twain, Mark. *Roughing It* [1872]. New York: New American Library, 1962

Whitman, Walt. *Leaves of Grass*. from "Children of Adam," [1900 edition]. New York: Bantam Classics / Random House, 2004

Secondary / Scholarship:

Alexander, Meena. *The Poetics of Dislocation*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009

Alpers, Paul, *What is Pastoral?* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997

Austen, Roger. *Genteel Pagan: The Double Life of Charles Warren Stoddard*. Edited by John W. Crowley. Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1991

Baker, Simon. "Jesse Olney's Innovative Geography Text of 1828 for Common Schools." *Journal of Geography*. (Vol 95, Issue 1, 1996 pp. 32-38)

Banner, Stuart. *Preparing to Be Colonized: Land Tenure and Legal Strategy in Nineteenth-Century Hawai'i*. *Law & Society Review* [via Blackwell Publishing], Vol. 39, No. 2, Jun., 2005

Bartsch, Shadi. *Decoding the Ancient Novel*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989

Bourdieu, Pierre. *La Distinction*. 1979. My access to this text and concepts, via: Grenfell, Michael, ed. *Bourdieu, Language and Linguistics*. New York: Continuum, 2011.

Bowie, Ewen. "The Readership of Greek Novels in the Ancient World," [pp. 435-461], in Tatum, James, ed. *The Search for the Ancient Novel*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994

Cheyfitz, Eric. *The Poetics of Imperialism: Translation and Colonization from The Tempest to Tarzan*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997

Clark, Geoffrey Clark. "Dumont D'Urville's Oceania," (*The Journal of Pacific History*, Vol. 38, No. 2, 2003

Corbiere, Mireille. "City, Territory, and Tax" [pp. 21-239] in *City and Country in the Ancient World*, edited by John Rich and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill. New York: Routledge, 1991

Cueva, Edmund P. *The Myth of Fiction: Studies in the Canonical Greek Novels*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007

DeLoughrey, Elizabeth M. *Routes and Roots: Navigating Caribbean and Pacific Island Literatures*. Mānoa: University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Press, 2007

Dimock, Wai Chee. "African, Caribbean, American: Black English as Creole Tongue," [pp. 250-274] in *Shades of the Planet: American Literature as World Literature*," edited by Wai Chee Dimock and Lawrence Buell. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007

Dimock, Wai Chee. *Empire for Liberty: Melville and the Poetics of Individualism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989

Dimock, Wai Chee. "Planet and America, Set and Subset" [pp. 1-16] in *Shades of the Planet: American Literature as World Literature*," edited by Wai Chee Dimock and Lawrence Buell. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007

Empson, William. *Some Versions of Pastoral*, [1935]. New York: New Directions, 1974
Kaplan, Amy. *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002

Foucault, Michel. *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. New York: Vintage / Random House, 1972

Foucault, Michel. "The Subject and Power." In *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, edited by H. Dreyfus and P. Rabinow, pp. 208-226. 2nd ed. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1983

Gale, Robert L. *Charles Warren Stoddard* [Boise State University Western Writers Series]. Boise: Boise State University, 1977

Giles, Paul. "The Deterritorialization of American Literature," [pp. 29-61]. in *Shades of the Planet: American Literature as World Literature*," edited by Wai Chee Dimock and Lawrence Buell. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007

- Gilmore, Roland, "The Ark of Olelo Hawaii" in *Hana Hou!* Vol 13, No. 3., June/July 2010
- Gutzwiller, Kathryn J. *Theocritus' Pastoral Analogies*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991
- Hall, Edith. *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-Definition through Tragedy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989
- Hammatt, Charles H. *Ships, Furs, and Sandalwood: A Yankee Trader in Hawai'i, 1823-1825*. Mānoa: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999
- Hau'ofa, Epeli, "The Ocean in Us;" "Pasts to Remember," [pp. 41–79.] *We Are the Ocean: Selected Works*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008
- Hau'ofa, Epeli. "Our Sea of Islands," in *The Contemporary Pacific* (Volume 6, Number 1, Spring 1994, 147–161)
- Hereniko, Vilsoni. "Film as a Colonizing Medium: Indigenous Knowledge, Translation, and the Market Economy," (2008). p. 35 [unpublished - via Tarcisius Kabutaulaka, U.H. Mānoa, private correspondence]
- Hereniko, Vilsoni and Rob Wilson, eds. *Inside Out: Literature, Cultural Politics, and Identity in the New Pacific*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1999
- Howells, W.D. in Stoddard, Charles Warren. *South-Sea Idyls*. New York: Scribners, 1892, reissue 1921
- James, C.L.R. *The Black Jacobins*. (New York: Vintage Books, 1963)
- Kashay, Jennifer Fish. "Agents of Imperialism: Missionaries and Merchants in Early-Nineteenth-Century Hawai'i." [pp. 280-298] *The New England Quarterly*. Vol. LXXX No. 2 June, 2007
- Kermode, Frank *English Pastoral Poetry: From the Beginnings to Marvell*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1972
- Loughrey, Bryan, ed. *The Pastoral Mode*. London: Macmillan, 1984
- Lyons, Paul. *American Pacificism: Oceania in the U.S. Imagination*. New York, Routledge, 2006

- McBride, Christopher. *The Colonizer Abroad: Island Representations in American Prose from Herman Melville to Jack London*. New York: Routledge, 2004
- Mita, Merata. "Indigenous Literature in a Colonial Society" [pp. 310–314.] In Witi Ihimaera, (ed.), *Te Ao Marama: Regaining Aotearoa: Maori Writers Speak Out*, Vol. 2, *Whakaatanga O Te Ao: The Reality*. 1992
- Morris, Ian. "The Early Polis as City and State," [pp. 25-58] in *City and Country in the Ancient World*, edited by John Rich and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill. New York: Routledge, 1991
- Morgan, J.R., ed. *Greek Fiction: The Greek Novel in Context*. New York: Routledge, 1994
- Moyle, Richard, "Sounds Pacific: Pacific Music and Dance in New Zealand." [pp.103–115] in Sean Mallon and Pandora Filimalo Pereira, eds., *Pacific Art Niu Sila: The Pacific Dimension of Contemporary Pacific Art*. Wellington, NZ: Tepapa Press, Museum of New Zealand, 2002
- Nellist, George F., editor. "The Story of Hawaii and Its Builders." *The Honolulu Star Bulletin*, Territory of Hawaii, (1925) via USGenWeb Archives at <http://files.usgwebarchives.net/hi/statewide/bios/makee49bs.txt>
- Noguchi, Yone. "In the Bungalow with Charles Warren Stoddard: A Protest Against Modernism." *National Magazine*, 1905. Via <http://www.archive.org/stream/nationalmagazine21brayrich#page/304/mode/1up> Accessed 4/1/14
- Osorio, Jon. *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887*. Mānoa: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002
- Papanikolas, Theresa. "Art Deco in Hawai'i." Press release. Honolulu Museum of Art. Via http://honolulumuseum.org/art/exhibitions/14238-art_deco_hawaii/ Accessed May 1, 2014.
- Reardon, B.P. "μῦθος οὐ λόγος: Longus's Lesbian Pastorals" [pp. 135-147] in *The Search for the Ancient Novel*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994
- Reynolds, L.D. and N.G Wilson. *Scribes and Scholars*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968
- Rosaldo, Renato. "Imperialist Nostalgia." *Representations*, No. 26, Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory (Spring, 1989), pp. 107-122. University of California Press, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2928525>

Rosenmeier, Thomas. *The Green Cabinet: Theocritus and the European Pastoral Lyric*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969

Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage / Random House, 1978

Said, Suzanne. "The City in the Greek Novel," in Tatum, James, ed. *The Search for the Ancient Novel*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994

Stella, Regis. *Imagining the Other: The Representation of the Papua New Guinean Subject*. Mānoa: University of Hawaii Press, 2007

Stephens, Susan A. "Who Read the Ancient Novels?" [pp. 405 - 437] in Tatum, James, ed. *The Search for the Ancient Novel*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994

Sumida, Stephen H. *And the View from the Shore: Literary Traditions of Hawai'i*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991

Rogin, Michael. *Subversive Genealogies: The Politics and Art of Herman Melville*. New York: Knopf, 1983

Snyder, Gary. *The Practice of the Wild*. Berkeley: Counterpoint Press, 1990

Tamaira, Marata. "From Full Dusk to Full Tusk: Reimagining the 'Dusky Maiden' through the Visual Arts," [pp. 1-35]. *The Contemporary Pacific*, Vol. 22, No. 1, spring 2010

Trask, Haunani-Kay. "'Lovely Hula Hands': Corporate Tourism and the Prostitution of Hawaiian Culture" in *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawaii*. Mānoa: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999

Ulupalakua Ranch. "History" at <<http://www.ulupalakuaranch.com/>>. Accessed 4/28/14

Wendt, Albert. "Towards a New Oceania" (1977). [pp. 9-19] in Paul Sharrad, ed., *Readings in Pacific Literature*. Wollongong, NSW: New Literatures Research Center, University of Wollongong, 1993

Wentzel, Marty. "North Shore Favorite Rebrands," Nov. 7, 2011. www.travelagewest.com, Via <<http://www.travelagewest.com/Travel/Hawaii/Info/North-Shore-Favorite-Rebrands>> accessed 01/20/14.

White, Ashli. *Encountering Revolution: Haiti and the Making of the Early Republic*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010

Whitmarsh, Tim. "Class" pp. 72- 87, from *The Cambridge Companion to the Greek and Roman Novel*," Edited by Tim Whitmarsh. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008

Williams, Raymond. *The Country and the City*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1973

Winduo, Steven. interview. Noe Tanigawa, Hawaii Public Radio, <www.hawaiipublicradio.org> June 11, 2009

Winduo, Steven *Unwriting Oceania: The Repositioning of the Pacific Writer Scholars within a Folk Narrative Space*. *New Literary History* Vol. 31, No. 3, Philosophical and Rhetorical Inquiries. Summer, 2000

Winduo, Steven. "Unwriting Oceania: the repositioning of Pacific writers scholars within a folk narrative space." [pp. 599–613] in *New Literature History*, 31: 3, 2000

Zeitlin, Froma. "Gardens of Desire in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*" in *The Search for the Ancient Novel*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994