UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

Empires of Disease: Criminal Encounters, Contagious Nations, and Archives of U.S. Culture and Literature

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

in

Literature

by

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2015

The Dissertation of Christopher Michael Perreira is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically:

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DEDICATION

for Dominic and Isabella

in memory of Andy Don and Omar Romero

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"'That's right, for me the Sanatorium is jail': Race, Disease, and Medical Miseries in Alejandro Morales's *The Captain of All These Men of Death*." University of Kansas, Department of American Studies, Lawrence, 2015.

"'How was I going to keep him a prisoner, and at the same time leave him a free man?': Carceral Archipelagos in Melville, London, and O.A. Bushnell." Futures of American Studies Institute, Dartmouth College, 2014.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Empires of Disease: Criminal Encounters, Contagious Nations, and Archives of U.S. Culture and Literature

by

Christopher Michael Perreira

Doctor of Philosophy in Literature

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Professor Rosaura Sánchez, Co-Chair
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Empires of Disease explores the figure of the "prisoner-patient" in literature, culture, and archives of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, specifically within the contexts of incarceration and medicine in Hawai‘i, Louisiana, and California. I focus on representations of prisoner-patients in order to interrogate dominant perceptions of medicine as a humanitarian enterprise, examining the historical convergence of race,

colonialism, culture, and medicine in archives and artifacts. When analyzed together, these texts reveal an enduring tradition of discussing medical experimentation on "wards of the state," often rationalizing the use of dehumanizing experiments on racialized prisoners.

Chapters one and two examine the case of Keanu, a Native Hawaiian prisoner who was sentenced to death in 1884. Analyzing Keanu's commuted death sentence, which was granted after he consented to experimental leprosy inoculations, I posit connections between Keanu's value as a racialized prisoner-patient and the colonial conditions leading to U.S. annexation in 1898. In chapter three, I examine imperial tensions within cultural texts written about the Pacific Islands and Oceania, including travel writing, fiction, and medical history. Chapter four turns to the Carville Leprosarium in Louisiana to examine connections between colonial medicine, race, and the formations of a national public health institution. I read patient and prisoner memoirs as documentation of racialized criminality to argue that Carville, as a medicalized carceral space, frames public health law and discourse as a form of racial property. In chapter five I examine medical internment at the Los Angeles Olive View Sanitarium in the 2008 novel *The Captain of All These Men of Death* by Alejandro Morales, arguing that such narratives expand our conception of prison literature and U.S. national history by linking medical violence to ideologies of nation, progress, and citizenship. Through an analysis of the prisoner-patient in hospital and prison spaces, print culture, official history, and cultural production, *Empires of Disease* argues that these enduring legacies of empire, state-sanctioned violence, and cultural texts reveal a deeply contested transnational history.

Introduction: Rereading the Archive

On January 29, 1898, historian and University of Chicago professor Hermann Eduard von Holst addressed the Commercial Club of Chicago on the evolving legislation to annex the Hawaiian Islands. The talk, later published in *The Advocate of Peace* under the title "The Annexation of Hawaii," attacks the growing annexation movement and supporters of Manifest Destiny ideologies—the self-defined mission to "Christianize" the world via colonization and annexation.[1] In his speech, von Holst links the move to annex Hawai'i to previous U.S. actions, noting the significance of ongoing interest in making Cuba, as Thomas Jefferson suggested to John Adams in 1823, part of the new nation's "system of States."[2] Challenging the claim that the United States is *not* operating under frameworks of expansionism and empire, von Holst asserts instead that even if annexationists are not "consciously driving at further annexations," the fact of U.S. expansionism and empire for him is "so palpable that it requires almost an effort not to

[1] Von Holst, "The Annexation of Hawaii."

[2] Thomas Jefferson, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson: Autobiography, Correspondence, Reports, Messages, Addresses, and Other Writings, Official and Private* (316-17). One representative statement by Jefferson on the future annexation of Cuba, written in an 1823 letter to John Adams: "Do we wish to acquire to our own confederacy any one or more of the Spanish provinces? I candidly confess, that I have ever looked on Cuba as the most interesting addition which could ever be made to our system of States. The control which, with Florida Point, this island would give us over the Gulf of Mexico, and the countries and isthmus bordering on it, as well as all those whose waters flow into it, would fill up the measure of our political well-being. Yet, as I am sensible that this can never be obtained, even with her own consent, but by war; and its independence, which is our second interest, (and especially its independence of England,) can be secured without it, I have no hesitation in abandoning my first wish to future chances, and accepting its independence, with peace and the friendship of England, rather than its association, at the expense of war and her enmity."

see" (65). Von Holt notes that the ongoing interest in acquiring Cuba is the foundation for those politically motivated to acquire Hawai'i:

> I do not mean to assert that the bulk of the annexationists of to-day are already now consciously driving at further annexations. On the contrary, I believe that the ardor of the majority of them would be considerably cooled if they could be made to realize how likely this annexation is to lead to the annexation of other outlying territory. I confess that it is a rather bold assumption, that they do not realize it, for it is so palpable that it requires almost an effort not to see it. The question of the annexation of Cuba is of older date than that of the annexation of Hawaii,—all the "manifest destiny" arguments apply to it much more manifestly,—all the startegic [*sic*] lectures we are so liberally treated to in regard to Hawaii are…but repetitions of the strategic lectures in regard to Cuba, delivered *usque ad nauseam*, to those who sleep in their graves for many a year.

Annexationist attempts to naturalize empire-building as an inevitable fact of history, Von Holts suggests above, require incredible efforts and a willingness, on a national scale, to self-deceive. If such political maneuvering is not explicit—not a conscious "driving at further annexations"—then what is it? Despite the explicit critique of annexationists, von Holt (perhaps in a self-aware attempt to be diplomatic) suggests that such views are explainable by considering the power of historical narrative, or a kind of critical practice of revealing the structures shaping an otherwise *irrational* support of expansionism. Supporters of annexation "could be made to realize how likely this annexation is to lead to the annexation of other outlying territory." Von Holt identifies a problem of historical narrative that is fundamental to processes of empire-building, a problem that is worked out in political and military decision-making "driving at further annexations," but also asserts that it does so without those actors "seeing it," and therefore, acting without knowing what they are actually acting out.

U.S. expansion throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, von Holt continues, has been made possible by nationalist rhetoric and patriotic "enthusiasm [that] is intensely contagious" (70). Indeed, his framing of nationalism as "intensely contagious" implies anxieties about race and difference.[3] This allows von Holst to link—and therefore criticize—any resistance to the continued willingness to support expansionist and annexationist projects to sentiments of disloyalty, foreignness, and xenophobia: "to resist infection is to placard oneself as deficient in patriotism."[4] This critique of U.S. empire is useful for framing this dissertation and its central concept, "empires of disease." In articulating the function of empire, von Holst relies not only on the conceptual language of disease to describe the circulation of political ideologies—an "intensely contagious" idea of patriotism, for example—but also characterizes the actions of U.S. legislators who support unfettered expansion as a dormant and unseen infection. In this framing, only an infection or sickness would be capable of making American citizens undermine their own already healthy, robust, and relatively insular nation-state.

[3] Many scholars have examined the politics of "racial contagion" in relation to U.S. empire and imperialism. Anna Brickhouse, in *Transamerican Literary Relations and the Nineteenth-Century Public Sphere*, for example, notes this conceptual framework as one connected to isolationist thinking: "By the mid-1820s, a mere three years after the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine, the cultural ideal of [U.S.] hemispheric affiliation [with Latin America] seemed on the verge of extinction. When president John Quincy Adams, a gradual convert from isolationist to hemispheric foreign policy, entreated Congress to send diplomatic repetitive to Bolivar's 1826 Congress of Panama, his partisan opponents invoked the rhetoric of racial contagion, complaining that he had caught 'Spanish American fever' from his chief advisor, the ardent pan-Americanist Henry Clay"(Brickhouse 5).

[4] Rosaura Sánchez's recent article "The Toxic Tonic: Narratives of Xenophobia" (2011) situates xenophobia in U.S. history as a discursive framework which locates "an underlying master discourse." Sánchez continues: "Criminalization is one key aspect of the current xenophobia narrative as it offers justification for the plot of imminent threat from immigrants. Xenophobia in the United States has always been linked to a defense of the territory and of jobs and privileges for particular Euro-ethnic groups. For this reason, xenophobia has always gone hand in hand with racist policies and practices – and with nativism, the narrative that those who are native-born are the only ones entitled to the nation's benefits and resources, a notion that historically has not extended to natives who are racially or ethnically different nor, of course, did it save the Native Americans from near extermination" (127-28). For more discussion on xenophobia and empire, see Tomas Almaguer's *Racial Faultlines The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California* and Matthew Frye Jacobson's *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876-1917*.

Contagious nationalist expansionism will ultimately be the nation's downfall, in other words, bringing war with other nations over acquired territories, along with foreign populations into the United States—i.e., "non-whites"—like an infection. On this point, in a final attempt to convince annexation supporters to reconsider their position on Hawai'i, if not to check their more explicitly racist views, von Holst concludes the speech with familiar nativist, xenophobic scenarios popular throughout the nineteenth century:

> A committee of the Hawaiian Senate…has informed us that 'good government cannot be permanently maintained in these islands without aid or assistance from without.' What is this if not a formal official declaration that Hawaii is permanently incapable of self government? Therefore, if we annex Hawaii we consciously insert into the nation's lifeblood a foreign body which cannot be assimilated. […] Am I to be answered that so tiny a thing in so huge a body can surely not do much harm? Beware! A foreign body in the blood, which cannot be assimilated, will cause festering though it be never so tiny, and if it be not removed the festering will spread, slowly perhaps, but steadily. An incongruous element will be introduced into our institutions and, what is a hundred times more portentous, this will bring about progressing vitiation of the thinking and feeling and of the habits of the people. We will have two heterogeneous basic principles, two heterogeneous sets of institutions, two heterogeneous sets of ideas, sentiments, and practices; and, as with two different money standards, the baser will constantly encroach upon and irresistibly filch ground from the better. The eclipse of the republic will have set in. (von Holst 70)

Unlike the initial uses of contagion and disease described in the opening of the speech, deployed as descriptors that convey negative connotations for patriotism and national enthusiasm, in this passage something else surfaces. The first half of the speech suggests that contagion and infection can begin to explain how expansionism has occurred and is uncritically accepted by U.S. citizens. Yet, at the close of the essay, those concepts describe a national threat: native Hawaiians, Chinese, Japanese, and Portuguese laborers—the "non-'whites'" residing and laboring on the islands—are "incapable of self

government," "unfit for citizenship," and will ultimately be the undoing of the nation.[5] This final plea to expansionist supporters comes after several long critiques of U.S. policy, racist law (including the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882), and accusations that are meant to shame U.S. Americans for not abiding by their own central and founding documents and ideals (68).[6] But even as those critiques emerge in the writing of anti-imperialist, anti-annexationist figures such as von Holst, the reliance on race, disease, and contagion conflations reveals the crux of imperial thinking and discourse.

Empires of Disease: Criminal Encounters, Contagious Nations, and Archives of U.S. Culture and Literature, then, takes seriously such narratives as archives in U.S. culture that have only been explored marginally. This framework opens up important ways to consider the mechanisms for articulating citizenship and personhood, nation building, colonialism, and tensions between medical and carceral institutions. In it, I argue that many of these concepts found their discursive power in the nineteenth-century politics of race, colonialism, and empire. In "The Annexation of Hawaii," we see that the very language used to attack the formation of a U.S. empire and its evolving "foreign policies" is grounded in a medical conceptual framework that is also highly politicized and racialized: the language of "infection," "contagion," "consent," the "nation's lifeblood," and "foreign bodies" that are "festering" within the nation's blood. Yet these concepts are also anchored in the material manifestations of the institutions of medicine

[5] See two studies of race and labor in Hawaii: Ronald Takaki's 1983 *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii, 1835-1920* and, more recently, Moon-Kie Jung's 2010 *Reworking Race: The Making of Hawaii's Interracial Labor Movement*.

[6] Citing the Declaration of Independence, van Holst continues by emphasizing the notion of consent in the social contract to be governed: "We, the democracy par excellence, with the Declaration of Independence tucked under our arm, are now to abjure the old faith and proclaim by our act a new creed to this purport: 'the consent of the governed' is a good enough thing, if you are the governed; a fool, who stickles about it if his chance to govern depends on disregarding it."

and science as they emerged alongside and operated together with empire and colonialism. They take on particular power as U.S., British, Spanish, and French empires *advance* and *make progress* in the areas of science and medicine in colonial spaces (Hawai‘i, Trinidad, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico).[7] Medical subjects, in this context, are legally and socially constructed, situating prisoners, slaves, sex-workers, orphans, colonized indigenous peoples, and other racialized and gendered subjects as the "raw materials" for actual as well as metaphorical experimentation[8]—a liberal framing of modernity that imagines the national body as white, male/masculine, and free.

In an attempt to think alongside, through, and in tension with what has been called the transnational turn in the field of American studies, this dissertation traces connections across several geographical lines: sanctioned deadly medical experimentation on a Native Hawaiian prisoner on the island of Moloka‘i; colonial legacies in travel writing on the Pacific Islands and Oceania by writers such as Herman Melville; the memories of incarceration and medical treatment of Hansen's disease patients at the Carville National Leprosarium in Louisiana; and, leading up to WWII militarization of Southern California, the emergence of a public health institution in Los Angeles. As these sites and the archives produced within them lead to histories and cultural production that link together (often through medical discourse) the Kalaupapa (Kalawao) "leper settlement" on Moloka‘i, the Trinidad Leper Asylum, the Carville hospital, the Culon Leper Colony in

[7] For two important recent examples, see Laura Briggs' 2002 *Reproducing Empire: Race, Sex, Science, and U.S. Imperialism in Puerto Rico* and 2006 Warwick Anderson's *Colonial Pathologies: American Tropical Medicine, Race, and Hygiene in the Philippines*.

[8] Harriet Washington's 2006 *Medical Apartheid: The Dark History of Medical Experimentation on Black Americans from Colonial Times to the Present*, Andrea Smith's 2005 *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide*, Natalia Molina's 2006 *Fit to Be Citizens?: Public Health and Race in Los Angeles, 1879-1939*, Nayan Shah's 2001 *Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco's Chinatown*, and Pennie Moblo's 1996 dissertation, *Defamation by Disease: Leprosy, Myth, and Ideology in Nineteenth-Century Hawai‘i*.

the Philippines, and the public health policies implemented in California, this project is necessarily interdisciplinary, multi-regional, and temporally fluid. I rely heavily on conversations in American studies, critical race theory, colonial and postcolonial studies, but I also turn to critical prison and science studies, scholarship and theories of the archive and memory, feminist critique, and indigenous studies. Additionally, I focus on print culture from the contemporary periods I investigate—scientific journals, travel writing and fiction, newspapers, congressional statements, speeches, and letters—as well as more recent fiction and cultural production that look back to early moments in history in order to re-engage and interrogate those dominant historical narratives.

I approach some canonical writers such as Herman Melville as important cultural producers who have shaped much of the global conversation about Hawai‘i and the larger Pacific Islands archipelago. Paul Lyons recently asserted "nearly every U.S. writer on Oceania recalls reading Melville as the principal motivation for going to the islands and uses his writings as a touchstone" (40). This dissertation takes up such a claim as an entry point into broader conversations about empire, focusing on the ways literary genre, historical memory, and the archive shape these touchstones as they move across locations, laws, national borders and boundaries, and cultural discourses through the institutions of science and medicine. I use the phrase "empires of disease" in the dissertation title to capture several meanings throughout the following chapters. I investigate several sites and moments in history not often associated with one another, spanning the late-nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century, and it is important to explain how I use the concept and why I find it useful. Transnational historiography continues to develop frameworks that move beyond nation-centered and period-based

histories. Paul Kramer, for example, in his studies of U.S. empire and colonialism in the Philippines, argues that transnational histories are foremost "suspicious of periodizations that emerge from a single, nationally defined context," but instead work to chronicle "boundaries and plotlines that correspond to the rhythms of transnational dynamics themselves" (200).[9]

First, I emphasize how medical discourse and technologies operate at a basic level through imperial pathways—medical journals reporting from colonial spaces, congressional reports discussing the stability and threats of territories, and even border security attempting to protect the United States from "foreign" diseases and contagious bodies. The forms of knowledge from these pathways produce not only laws and policies that impact, often violently, vulnerable communities, but also the vocabularies with which to identify and categorize communities as threats to "the public." For example, in chapter five, "'Gentlemen, I have succeeded in discovering the real cause of tuberculosis': Race, Tuberculosis, and Critical Memory in Alejandro Morales's *The Captain of All These Men of Death*," I trace discussions about migrant labor in Los Angeles, published in a 1944 edition of *California and Western Medicine*, to the public health imperatives whose priority is to contain racialized communities as a "menace" to society, in order to protect "citizens of nearby communities, and so to the people of the State at large" (Anonymous 49). I frame this historical event, however, by centering a

[9] In "Race, Empire, and Transnational History," Kramer presents his case for the transnational framework: "My analysis of the racial politics of Philippine-American colonialism hopes to point the way more generally toward a more thoroughly 'transnational' history of the American empire. It begins from the assumption that transnational history if not a what but a how, not a subject, and something less rigorous than a unitary method, but rather a set of overlapping reorientations and reframings that can be applied, in virtually infinite variety (and with widely varying degrees) to any historical subject. […] First, transnational histories are suspicious of periodizations that emerge from a single, nationally defined context, seeking out chronological boundaries and plotlines that correspond to the rhythms of transnational dynamics themselves" (200).

recent critical remembering in Alejandro Morales's 2008 novel, which interrogates the experiences through the eyes of a Chicano tuberculosis patient. Ultimately, this dissertation argues for a critical vocabulary that places a certain emphasis on the conceptual framework based on notions of the medical, the scientific, and the social laboratory.

Additionally, I explore sites and archives which depend on and often make possible the dehumanization of racialized peoples who are, through white supremacist logics, categorized as unfit for citizenship and not fully human. While the colonial and state-sanctioned projects I consider in the first half of my dissertation enable this through the legal and political precarity underlying nineteenth-century colonial, criminalized spaces—a critical framework that Lisa Lowe has described as the work of locating those "imperatives of the state subsum[ing] colonial violence within narratives of modern reason and progress"—many scholars have shown that such violence functions, albeit very differently, in U.S. culture well into the twentieth century.[10] I argue, however, that these policies, regularly categorized under the rubrics of public health, are extensions of practices developed and refined in colonial spaces, a complex dynamic that has yet to be fully explored.

As a conceptual framework, *Empires of Disease* relies on work in ethnic studies focused on disease and medicine, but also diverges by centering the relationship to empire in these histories. Work in critical medical and ethnic studies have opened up space in American studies scholarship for rethinking the categories of public health in the

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[10] Lisa Lowe, *Intimacies of Four Continents* (2). Also see Harriet Washington Medical Apartheid and the prison study *Acres of Skin*, recent books on experiments in the twentieth century on prisoners in the United States.

United States. These important works find the use of central and singular locations, and are useful ways to locate law and racial formations circulating the discourse of medicine, disease, and public health. My emphasis on multiple sites and temporalities, viewed through imperial pathways, makes visible the importance of measuring the movement of these various concepts, what some have described as the intimacies, transits, or traffic between sites and peoples.[11]

Finally, I intend the phrase "empires of disease" to capture not only histories of empire and medical violence, but also the contestation and struggle implicit in both words "empire" and "disease." As so many have argued, empire is not unidirectional, carrying with it responses, fighting, resistance, and critical forms of appropriation, all important in how I consider the cultural production that emerges, engages, unsettles, and reconfigures the dominant and official historical narratives associated with these examples. Again, I am not interested in reinforcing temporal and causal narratives that privilege origin in this way, but rather look to show how legacies in the archive and in cultural production consistently work to interrogate historical authority through critical, collective memory.[12] As my project seeks to make visible those convergences within empire, my hope is to recognize the limits of making forms of knowledge in the archive and cultural production

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[11] See, for example, Jodi Byrd's *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism*, Adria Imada's *Aloha America: Hula Circuits through the U.S. Empire*, Lisa Lowe's *Intimacies of Four Continents*, Danika Medak-Saltzman's "Transnational Indigenous Exchange: Rethinking Global Interactions of Indigenous Peoples at the 1904 St. Louis Exposition," Shelley Streeby's *Radical Sensations: World Movements, Violence, and Visual Culture*, and Ann Laura Stoler's edited collection *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*.

[12] Recent models of scholarship have been useful in considering the comparative racial formations in my study. David Kazanjian's "flashpoints," for example, developed in part from Walter Benjamin's *Theses on the Philosophy of History*, is especially relevant for this project. For Kazanjian, writing history "does not mean passively recognizing a smooth and fixed sequence of events," but rather, it entails "catching glimpses of those flashes, as if they were individual frames of a film running too slowly to be sutured into a moving image" (27).

conform to rigid temporalities outlined in positivist models of history. That is, as many of the examples in this dissertation move from one location or period to another, I seek to show how knowledge production emerges and re-emerges within and outside national borders, laws, disciplines, and archives. Following such models, my project looks at several flashpoints as ways to think in tension with the historical narrative that has shaped discussions of U.S. nation-building, the Pacific Islands, the Gulf of Mexico, and the U.S.-Mexico borderlands.

Equally important, "disease" has come to mean something contentious in colonial and postcolonial studies, disability studies, and gender and sexuality studies. An important example for this dissertation comes from the long and often violent fight over naming and resisting the narratives that accompany the labels "leper" and "leprosy." Activists at Carville hospital as well as Kalaupapa have labored to show how racialized, stigmatized diseases shape not only discourses surrounding public health, but also law, criminalization, and social and cultural marginalization. Keri Inglis, Warwick Anderson, Nayan Shah, Laura Briggs, Natalia Moline, Nancy Ordover, and Alexander Minna Stern have offered critical entry points into the way medicine and disease operate alongside conceptions of race as national projects.[13] *Empires of Disease* contributes to those discussions.

Empires of Disease also explores the figure of the "prisoner-patient" in literature, cultural production, and archives of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, specifically

[13] In addition to Warwick Anderson, Laura Briggs, and Nayan Shah (cited earlier), Keri Inglis's 2013 *Ma'i Lepera: Disease and Displacement in Nineteenth-Century Hawai'i*, Nancy Ordover's 2003 *American Eugenics: Race, Queer Anatomy, and the Science of Nationalism* and Alexander Minna Stern's 2005 *Eugenic Nation: Faults and Frontiers of Better Breeding in Modern America* offer important insights into scientific racism and nation-building in the U.S. context.

within the context of medicine in Hawai‘i, Louisiana, California, and other U.S. territories. As a figure, the prisoner-patient works to interrogate dominant perceptions of medicine as a humanitarian enterprise and I examine the historical convergence of race, colonialism, and medicine. In chapters one and two I consider the 1884 case of Keanu, a Native Hawaiian prisoner sentenced to death. Keanu's death sentence was commuted to life in prison after he consented to experimental leprosy inoculations, and I posit connections between Keanu's value as a racialized prisoner-patient and the colonial conditions leading to U.S. annexation in 1898. In chapter three, I trace what I call native criminality in cultural texts written about the Pacific Islands and Oceania, discussing travel writing and fiction by Herman Melville and O.A. Bushnell to nineteenth-century literature about the Pacific Islands, including Herman Melville's *Typee* (1846). I explore the "carceral archipelago" as a conceptual framework and show how Bushnell's *Molokai*—a novel about the prisoner Keanu and his medical case—responds to a long literary tradition that naturalized the conflation of indigeneity and criminality. I argue that *Molokai* imagines Keanu as a speaking subject by presenting tensions between anti-imperialist sentiments and settler colonial investments.

Drawing on the global implications of Keanu's medical case, chapter four turns to the Carville Leprosarium in Louisiana to examine connections between colonial medicine, race, and the formations of a national public health institution. Specifically, this chapter investigates tensions between racialized criminality and prisoner-patient memoirs about Carville by Stanley Stein (1963), José Ramirez (2009), and Neal White (2009), as well as the well-publicized medical case of Josefina ("Joey") Guerrero, arguing that Carville as a medicalized carceral space frames public health law and

discourse as, following Cheryl Harris's study of whiteness and law, racial property. These cases and narratives written in and around Carville suggest that performance and performativity in medical spaces both reinforce and disrupt conceptions of citizenship—national, cultural, and medical—and illustrate the ways in which racialization shapes these discourses at multiple stages in U.S. cultural history. Chapter five examines medical experimentation at the Los Angeles Olive View Sanitarium. I argue in this chapter that early twentieth-century prisoner-patient narratives expand our conception of prison literature as a global phenomenon. I analyze the role of prisoner-patient memory archives and in Alejandro Morales's novel, *The Captain of All These Men of Death*. As a counter-narrative, *The Captain* reframes U.S. national history by linking global narratives of medical violence to ideologies of nation, progress, and citizenship.

The contradictions motivating texts such as Hermann von Holst's "The Annexation of Hawaii" also animate other expressions in the published articles of *The British Medical Journal* by scientists, physicians, political, and religious figures. Yet, there are other critiques that surface in the patient-run newspapers such as the *Olive View Point* and Carville's *The Star*, as well as the memoirs of prisoner-patients at Carville sanatorium/federal prison through the narration of race, class, disease, and criminality. Literary texts such as Herman Melville's *Typee*, O.A. Bushnell's novel *Molokai*, and Alejandro Morales's *The Captain of All These Men of Death*, at times, challenge and interrogate those narratives and ideologies, and at other times, reinforce them. In this dissertation, I look to these diverse texts to consider how notions of disease shape the conceptual frameworks of nation, citizenship, belonging, criminality, and the contested definitions of humanness and personhood in U.S. culture since the nineteenth century.

Chapter One

"Shall We Annex Leprosy?": Containing Diseased Bodies of Empire in Hawai'i

> Death came not only through infection and disease, but through racial and legal discourse that crippled the will, confidence, and trust of the Kanaka Maoli as surely as leprosy and smallpox claimed their limbs and lives.
>
> Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio[14]

> Without land and sovereignty, Hawaiians will remain the hapless victims of a flourishing settler society that benefits from criminalizing, incarcerating, dehumanizing, deporting, and exploiting the Native.
>
> Healani Sonoda[15]

Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio's recent history of the Hawaiian people before U.S. annexation—from the early nineteenth century to 1887—asks for new ways of understanding the contested historiography of Hawai'i. Looking to *mo'olelo* (translating loosely into English as "history, story, tale, folktale, account"), Osorio offers a counter-narrative to conventional histories validated by narrow frameworks of "fact" and "historical evidence" (250-51). Osorio notes that *mo'olelo*, when translated literally, means "a fragment of a story, [told] as though the teller recognizes that he is not saying everything there is to say about the subject." When confronted with the history of colonial violence in Hawai'i, beginning with fragments or pieces is to enter into a cultural politics of power, oppression, struggle, and memory. Re-membering the pieces, parts, and fragments of a "dismembered" people in this context necessarily begins with questions that interrogate the stakes of this historiography. Native Hawaiian activist-scholar

[14] Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo'ole' Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (3).
[15] Sonoda, "A Nation Incarcerated" in *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i* (111).

Haunani-Kay Trask similarly points to the considerable catalogue of Hawaiian history that has ignored such questions, a phenomenon she describes as "the West's view of itself through the degradation of my own past" (153). Similarly, Noenoe Silva notes that "it is easier not to see struggle if one reads accounts written by only one side, yet since the arrival of Captain Cook there have always been (at least) two sides of a struggle going on" (2).

As Osorio, Trask, Silva, and others have argued, the ties between "*mo'olelo*" and "the land" in recent scholarship on Hawai'i signal the necessity of placing these longer histories of Hawaiian struggle—which include the imperial and colonial archives representing "the West's view of itself"—in continued dialogue with sovereignty movements and resistance narratives that began with "the arrival of Captain Cook." As part of a sustained critique of colonial violence, U.S. annexation in 1898, and the declaration of statehood in 1959, these stories unfold in contemporary legal discourses surrounding the dismantling of entitlement laws for Native Hawaiians, what Judy Rohrer has described as the reactionary mobilization of "color-blind ideology both inside and outside the courtroom" (440).[16] Rohrer observes that the Hawaiian population is now dominantly *haole* (foreign) residents, with the Native population reportedly close to 20% and declining.[17] Furthermore, anti-prison scholars point out that a staggering percentage of Native Hawaiians represent the prison population in Hawai'i, with nearly half of the current number of Native Hawaiian prisoners deported to private prisons in the U.S.

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[16] Rohrer, "Attacking Trust: Hawai'i as a Crossroads and Kamahameha Schools in the Crosshairs." *American Quarterly* 62.3 (2010): 437-55.

[17] Rohrer, 439. Also see J. Kehaulani Kauanui, "Diasporic Deracination and 'Off-Island' Hawaiians," *The Contemporary Pacific* 19.1 (2007): 137–60; Eddie Zheng and Helen Zia, *Other: An Asian & Pacific Islander Prisoners' Anthology*. Asian Prisoner Support Committee, 2007; and *Asian Settler Colonialism*.

mainland.[18] *Mo'olelo*, then, is necessarily political in that it seeks to resist historiographies imbricated with colonialism and imperial modernity, as well as reckon with the legacies of those discourses and narratives. I begin with these critiques to situate my own entry point into this history; that is, I begin by addressing the legacies of empire and colonialism in the Pacific as history and memory shaped by connections to land, rights, sovereignty, and cultural and political resistance. For Hawaiian scholars like Osorio, this story "does not belong" to Hawaiians as a "people…so much as [Hawaiians] belong to it." Hawaiian history, Osorio continues, "owns…, shapes and contextualizes" Hawaiian people (ix). The critical engagement with Hawaiian story and historiography from this entry point is indicative of what Noelani Arista describes as the new and important work of Hawai'i's history "currently being engaged across disciplines and in communities both at home and around the world" by Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian scholars (15).[19]

In this chapter, I examine the case of Keanu, a Native Hawaiian prisoner who was subjected to experimental leprosy inoculations in 1884, and place this event within the context of the dismantling and dismembering of Hawaiian sovereignty. I argue that colonialism and imperialism were significantly shaped by and entangled with nineteenth-century colonial medical policy and practice. I explore these aspects by interpreting what I term the *Keanu archive*, which, for this discussion, begins in 1884 when Keanu was sentenced to death for the murder of a Japanese farmer. After the Hawaiian Board of

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[18] Sodona, "A Nation Incarcerated," 2008; Meda Chesney-Lind and Kat Brady's "Prison" in *The Value of Hawai'i: Knowing the Past, Shaping the Future*, 2010.

[19] Noelani Arista, "I ka mo'olelo nō ke ola: In History There Is Life" in *Anglistica Aion: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 2010. This issue of *Anglistica*, entitled Sustaining Hawaiian Sovereignty, edited by Cristina Bacchilega, Donatella Izzo, and Bryan Kamaoli Kuwada, is one striking example of global engagement with Hawaiian history.

Health commuted Keanu's death sentence to "life in prison" when he "consented" to experimental leprosy inoculations, this archive moves into the medical dialogues in specialized journals, popular magazines, and imperial medical histories on leprosy in the Pacific. The archive extends into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries through cultural texts such as O.A. Bushnell's 1963 novel *Molokai*, and even recent popular histories such as John Taymen's 2007 book *The Colony: The Harrowing True Story of the Exiles of Molokai*.[20] These literary and visual texts work to produce, in both intimate as well as public spaces, representations of Keanu's person, his status as a criminalized prisoner, and his value as a medical subject.

I connect settler colonial narratives to Keanu's own complex subject position, which is most often narrated as a criminalized native prisoner-patient. This formation of Keanu as a racialized, colonized prisoner-patient, and the public debate surrounding this case, are indicative of what I read as the impossibility of Keanu "consenting" to deadly medical experimentation, at least in the way that U.S. and European scientists, doctors, religious figures, and others in the colonial archive imagine. Instead, I argue that, when reading these archives against the grain, the emergence of the *figure* of Keanu is firmly rooted in the question of Hawaiian sovereignty and the conditions of colonialism. A close examination of these archives reveals a historical process of criminalizing and nativizing that occurs contemporaneously with the formal legal mechanisms of the United States and Great Britain, ultimately making possible various forms of scientific and medical knowledge production, and in turn, working to naturalize colonial medical violence. The

[20] Bushnell's novel, Taymen's history, and other cultural texts representing Keanu's case are taken up in Chapter 3: "'How was I going to keep him a prisoner, and at the same time leave him a free man?': Carceral Archipelagos in Melville and O.A. Bushnell." In that discussion, I argue that these texts play instrumental roles in re-imagining Keanu as a speaking, autonomous subject.

colonial archive in this discussion, then, emerges not as static or a "comprehensive collection of given facts or a source of recorded history," a view of the colonial archive that Lisa Lowe and others have argued against (196).[21] Rather, the archive here serves as a site of knowledge production to be read as a technology for "knowing the colonized population that both attests to its own contradictions and yields its own critique." Similarly, Danika Medak-Saltzman asserts that when critics approach colonial histories, they must " look at the archives more carefully and…read against the colonialist narratives that cloak [indigenous] experiences" (592). Put another way, I turn directly to these archives to both locate where the producers of these kinds of knowledge, fictions, and narratives erect their subject, Keanu. At the same time, I rely on those same archives that, through narrative processes, produce Keanu as a criminal, native subject for empire to open up a theoretical space that illuminates "the intellectual possibilities" of transnational indigenous exchange that move beyond the meanings created by the logic of the empire.

Finally, I contextualize Keanu's case by tracing a longer settler colonial history of Hawai'i, focusing on nineteenth-century political and religious insinuation, which helped produce a governing system that undermined the monarchy by transforming it into a "representative democracy" with most of the political power residing in the settler presence and serving the political and economic interests of the United States.[22] I turn to discussions in Pacific Island Studies, Native and Indigenous Studies, and Critical Race

[21] Lowe, drawing on Ann Stoler's discussion on working with archives, notes: "the colonial archive became 'a supreme technology of the…imperial state, a repository of codified beliefs that clustered (and bore witness to) connections between secrecy, the law, and power'" (196).

[22] I am drawing specifically on Osorio's use of the term "insinuation," which seeks to distinguish between more direct forms of colonialism, dispossession of land, and state violence and the shifts in culture, language, education, and religion that operate at a hegemonic level.

Studies, and Prison Studies to develop a broader theoretical framework in order to understand Native subjectivities and sovereignty movements in relation to U.S. empire. I do this not to collapse the historical, legal, and cultural specificities of these moments, but to build on and contribute to the transnational frames that Native, Indigenous, and Pacific Island studies emphasize, and to make connections across and between nations, empires, colonialisms, and sovereignty movements. Throughout, I emphasize the ways in which racial and colonial ideological formations and knowledge production travel *through* empire and the discourses of imperial medicine and science— what some scholars have described as movement through the circuits, networks, transits, and laboratories of empire and modernity—that came out of Hawai‘i and other colonies.[23]

1.1 Reading Prisoner Consent through Value and Native Criminality

> The biocolonial ideology that casts Native people as guinea pigs, instead of people who deserve quality care, was summed up by an [Indian Health Services] administrator who, during a 1992 meeting with WARN [Women of All Red Nations] activists, said she encouraged Native people to participate in medical experiments because they provided the only access to health care for Native people. She added that once drugs are proven "safe," they are generally no longer available to Indian Health Services.
>
> Andrea Smith[24]

The "biocolonial ideology" that narrates "Native people as guinea pigs," as Andrea Smith discusses above, has a long history and deep roots in Western conceptions

[23] Jodi Byrd, *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism*, Adria Imada's *Aloha America: Hula Circuits through the U.S. Empire*, Jean J. Kim's "Transnationalizing U.S. History: Medical and Scientific Trans-Pacific Circuits in the Making of U.S. Empire," Lisa Lowe's "Intimacies of Four Continents," and Danika Medak-Saltzman's "Transnational Indigenous Exchange: Rethinking Global Interactions of Indigenous Peoples at the 1904 St. Louis Exposition," Ann Laura Stoler's *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's* History of Sexuality *and the Colonial Order of Things*.
[24] Andrea Smith, *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide* (116).

of the category "human," defined often in postcolonial studies as the Enlightenment subject: what Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson describe as enduring conceptual and narrative framing of universality as "unified, rational, coherent, autonomous, free, but also white, male, Western" (27). The persisting definition that denies Native peoples legibility as fully human articulates a figure not valued enough for adequate health care, but *highly valuable* for medical experimentation and various forms of institutionalized violence. As scholars continue to show, the manifestation of this ideology—the narrative of Native criminality—shapes the ways empire, colonialism, and state-sanctioned violence get told and retold in the historical record. Andrea Smith's work examines sexual violence against women of color and Native peoples, arguing that a deeper analysis is needed to account for the ways colonialism and patriarchy structure the state and Native sovereignty. Centering sexual violence "as a tool of patriarchy *and* colonialism" reframes the critical lens to reconsider "how we define sexual violence, as well as the strategies to eradicate gender violence" (Smith, A 3).[25] In this context, the legal, economic, political, and cultural life of nineteenth-century Hawai'i emerges from U.S., British, and other European empires as a problem of the modern state, and Native peoples become visible as "racialized enemies within the state that ensures the growth of the national body" (9).

Certain questions under this rubric of power come sharply into focus for imperial and colonial governments in the nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries. Who, for

[25] Andrea Smith draws specifically on Kimberlé Crenshaw's "The Intersection of Race and Gender" and Neferti Tadiar's "Sexual Economies in the Asia-Pacific Community." Extending Crenshaw's politics of intersectionality and Tadiar's framing of the gendered and sexualized dynamics of colonial relationships, Smith argues that this definition resituates "entire communities of color [as] the victims of sexual violence" (8).

example, will bear the burden of *managing* Hawai‘i and Hawaiians? As the political undoing of Hawaiian society unfolds, and the imposition of U.S. law continues to facilitate the transformation of the Hawaiian government from monarchy to representative democracy, Hawai‘i’s availability appears more and more inevitable to those participating in the imperial processes of the empires. Debates in political as well as popular spheres ask whether British, French, Spanish, or U.S. interests will prevail in absorbing these newly “available” territories.

Outside Hawai‘i, newspapers, magazines, and letter writers discuss the usefulness, the profitability, the danger, and the ethics at stake. In 1898, for example, the popular magazine *The Cosmopolitan* published an essay called “Shall We Annex Leprosy?” in which the anonymous author addresses well-known anxieties about making a contagious disease and a “contagious people” an official part of the U.S. nation-state.[26] The author describes a “tacit agreement” among foreign planters, government, medical authorities, and residents to ignore the violent practices targeting and exploiting Native Hawaiians and their land (557). The author, wishing to expose the immoral behavior of settler colonialists in Hawai‘i by making visible this “tacit agreement,” briefly mentions Arning and Keanu (though not by name), concluding the essay with a passing comment on the “eminent scientists in Honolulu” who “tried the virus on a man who was condemned to be hanged and [then] was sent to Molokai as a leper” (560). From the perspective of Andrea Smith’s framework of sexual violence, we can see this discussion as a public, highly visible conversation about whether Hawai‘i is “sexually violable and ‘rapable’” (10).

[26] Anonymous Teacher, “Shall We Annex Leprosy,” *The Improbably First Century of Cosmopolitan Magazine*, and *The Black Press Views American Imperialism (1898-1900)*, ed. George Marks.

The title of *The Cosmopolitan* article itself is suggestive of sexual violence, particularly in the context of the widespread belief that leprosy (Hansen's disease) was intimately tied to, if not "an outgrowth," of syphilis. In 1903, for instance, the prominent political figure, member of The Hawaiian League, co-architect of the Bayonet Constitution, and then-president of the Board of Health, William O. Smith, clearly connects syphilis with leprosy in this way. While being questioned by Senator Theodore Burton in a United States investigation report on the status of the spread of leprosy and the settlement on Kalaupapa, Moloka'i, William O. Smith stated:

> Some one intimated here the other day that [leprosy] was the outgrowth of the syphilis, which the [Hawaiian] people acquired from white men. Before white men came venereal diseases were unknown. So far I have been able to learn from physicians […] it seems to me a better opinion to contend that syphilis was a natural disease for leprosy to grow in. It spreads through the other islands. (United States Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico 309)

As an official statement from the president of the Board of Health, William Smith's concerns echo the dominant narratives of the United States and its clear yet aggressive posturing as benevolent saviors *and* colonizers, laying claim to legitimacy through political *and* sexual dominance over the Pacific Islands. Such a narrative again bears witness to the sexual violability and "rapable" characteristic Andrea Smith describes in *Conquest* (10). The observation that "venereal diseases were unknown" before white men arrived is made not in order to raise questions about the colonial and sexual violence of U.S. dominance but rather to determine, as a medical concern, the relationship between leprosy and syphilis. Senator Burton's question and William Smith's response to the spread of leprosy—"through the other islands"—are ultimately meant to address the colonial management of disease in a newly acquired territory of the United States, not to

engage the legacies of colonial violence that produced the conditions for U.S. annexation of 1898.

While such debates were happening in these public forums, another important conversation was taking place in a more insular (though still public) space: the medical journals traveling across the empires. Discussions by scientists and medical doctors were published regularly on the latest medical progress, developments, and experiments taking place in the colonies. In the following section, I situate the print culture on Keanu as experiments on him were occurring in real time, so to speak, as well as the aftermath of those discussions within scientific communities by linking those texts with recent scholarship reading the construction of the criminal native, a discursive concept anti-prison activist Luana Ross calls the social construction of native criminality.[27] Both aspects of this narrative about Keanu—the nativizing and the criminalizing produced in various forms of print culture and scientific knowledge production—are the underlying narratives making it possible for scientists to have this discussion at all. Looking at Keanu's case as a kind of *human* economy, I consider the ways in which this construction of the criminal native reveals a value system established within a medical context, which provides the raw materials for its scientific and humanitarian knowledge productions.

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In the 1880s, a sensational transnational exchange about the Native Hawaiian prisoner, Keanu, and the "contagious nature of leprosy" (Hansen's disease) took place

[27] Ross's *Inventing the Savage: The Social Construction of Native American Criminality* offers an important critique of representations of criminalized native subjectivity. While her study focuses specifically on the long histories of U.S. Native American incarceration, particularly Native women, I draw on her work to illuminate the case of Keanu.

within U.S. and British medical journals.[28] In 1884, Keanu was tried in the Hawaiian courts for the murder of a Japanese farmer and husband of a Hawaiian woman with whom Keanu was alleged to be romantically involved. The local newspapers referred to the event as the "Kohala Murder Case," and details of the trial were widely discussed across the islands. Even while Keanu maintained a plea of innocence, news reports noted that on July 9, 1884 the *haole* (white/foreign) Chief Justice A. F. Judd and jury found him guilty of first-degree murder within two days. He was sentenced to death—"to be hung"—on October 28, 1884.[29] Within weeks of the verdict, Dr. Eduard Arning, a British-born, German-educated microbiologist who had recently moved to Hawai'i to study the contagious nature of Hansen's disease, submitted a special request to use Keanu's soon-to-be-executed body for more humanitarian purposes.[30] Arning proposed that Keanu be used in experimental leprosy inoculations, with a promise to "really advance our knowledge of the obscure disease" (Wright 1359). King Kalākaua approved the request, with immense political pressure from the settler political and religious figures that made up the Hawaiian Board of Health. Keanu's consent provided the legal mechanism to commute his death sentence to life in prison, and to discursively *transform* Keanu into Arning's ward. Soon after acquiring Keanu, Arning began his experiments by

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[28] Anonymous. "The Contagious Nature of Leprosy," 917-18.

[29] Discussed in detail in Arthur Albert St. M. Mouritz's 1916 *The Path of the Destroyer": A History of Leprosy in the Hawaiian Islands and Thirty Years Research Into the Means by Which It Has Been Spread* (153).

[30] According to O.A Bushnell's 1967 biographical essay of Arning, "Edward Arning: The First Microbiologist in Hawaii," the initial purpose of Arning's travels to Hawai'i were to research leprosy as well as collect ethnographic data on Native Hawaiians, a project funded by the Humbolt Institute of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences. Bushnell notes that the Institute commissioned him to "make a study-tour to Hawaii for the joint purpose of investigating leprosy and acquiring an 'ethnographic collection'. In the negotiations for this stipend, Arning's sponsors were two of Germany's most prestigious scientists: Dr. Rudolf Virchow, the foremost pathologist of his time, and Dr. Emil du Bois-Reymond, an eminent physiologist" (4). Bushnell quickly notes that such a state-funded project, if proposed in the 1960s when he wrote this biographical essay on Arning, would have been "greeted with suspicion if not with horror in an application for a research grant today."

removing a "leprous nodule" from the cheek of a nine year-old Hawaiian girl and then surgically inserting it into the folds of Keanu's opened arm. Within two years Keanu began showing signs of Hansen's disease, which led to further incarceration at Kalaupapa, Molokaʻi, the quarantine settlement established by the 1865 "Act to Prevent the Spread of Leprosy."[31] Keanu died on Molokaʻi in 1893.

In the middle of the procedures, news of the initial experiments traveled quickly to the Caribbean and soon caught the attention of Dr. Beaven Rake, the Trinidad Leper Asylum medical supervisor, and on August 20, 1887, Rake published "Leprosy and Vaccination" in *The British Medical Journal*. An instrumental platform for Western medicine to communicate from the colonies, *The British Medical Journal* allowed physicians and scientists to weigh in on the Keanu case, as well as comment on other medical experiments. When the details of Keanu's case reached Trinidad, Arning's "groundbreaking" work was already firmly established as a valued precedent in imperial medical discourse. It is clear from his essay that Rake interpreted this value against the unsuccessful attempts to identify how the *Mycobacterium leprae* bacterium is transmitted, prompting the statement: "Seeing that inoculation experiments on various animals with leprous material (tubercles, pus, etc) in different parts of the world—Spain (Neisser), England (Thin), Hawaii (Arning), and Trinidad (*loc. cit*)—have hitherto failed to transmit leprosy, I think one is justified in arguing *a fortiori* that vaccination with pure lymph is incapable of doing so" (Rake 443). Rationalizing an institutional move away from failed animal experimentation so that science could begin prioritizing experimental

[31] For legal and cultural analyses of the impact of this 1865 Act, see Pennie Moblo's dissertation *Defamation by Disease*, Emily Russell's "Locating Cure: Leprosy and Lois-Ann Yamanaka's "Blu's Hanging," and Kerri A. Inglis's *Maʻi Leprera: Disease and Displacement in Nineteenth-Century Hawaiʻi*.

work on racialized *human* subjects (what Arning described as "human soil"), Rake discovered in the Keanu case the discursive space to mark a particular value in colonized, racialized bodies.[32] "I have had no hesitation," Rake continues, "in vaccinating both my own children out here [in Trinidad] from native arms, Hindu and negro."

This example articulates[33] in a colonial context the legal, medical, and cultural frameworks for producing the discursive *figure* of the "prisoner-patient"—a figure I discuss below as one that specifically emerges from the conditions of colonialism in Hawai'i and other U.S. territories in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the decade following the initial 1884 inoculations, Arning and Keanu became internationally known in journals and popular media, and this sensational narrative impacted imperial policy, public health regulations, and medical practices.[34] This exchange, which unfolded as a global conversation, moving across empires through colonial medicine, is itself a marked phenomenon for several reasons. But perhaps most notable is the fact that it was publicly announcing what we would now describe as articulations of racial hierarchies constituted by the conditions of colonialism, racial capitalism, and white supremacy. Yet from Keanu's case, other complex questions emerge. What kind of *value*—racial, medical, colonial, or criminal—is produced here? How is it that Keanu's body is at once devalued as a prisoner and, at the same time,

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[32] See O. A. Bushnell's "Dr. Eduard Arning: The First Microbiologist in Hawaii" (12) and John Tayman's *The Colony* (147)

[33] I draw on David Kazanjian's reading of *Capital* on "articulation" and his tracking of its linguistic meanings (Kazanjian 7-9).

[34] Henry Press (H.P.) Wright, for example, published extensively in the 1880s and 1890s on the dangers of leprosy in the colonies to European nations. Later in this chapter I analyze the impact of his published books and articles, which argued for an aggressive, large-scale segregationist policy that distinguishes the "clean" European populations from the "heathen nations" inflicted with "savage diseases" (Wright, *Statutes of the Hospital* xv). Some of Wright's published works: *Leprosy and Segregation*, "The Inoculability of Leprosy," *Leprosy—An Imperial Danger*, and "The Spread of Leprosy."

highly valued as a racialized medical subject? What is the relationship between this state-sanctioned incarceration and the emergence of an institutionalized public health, particularly in the context of Hawai‘i’s colonial history? Furthermore, what does a transnational analysis of these prison and hospital narratives reveal about the production of race, medicine, law, and criminality since the nineteenth century?

Recently, historians of nineteenth-century Hawai‘i have begun to respond to some of these questions, often framing the Pacific as a medical laboratory. Rod Edmond, in *Leprosy and Empire: A Medical and Cultural History*, notes that the Hawai‘i of the 1880s had emerged as “the imperial world’s leprosy laboratory,” creating special conditions for this kind of work to be done as a legitimate public event (91). The implication is that the specific site of Hawai‘i produced special conditions for medical science, particularly in that the colonization of Hawai‘i created opportunities for scientists to *try out*, on the global stage, experiments that yield rare currencies for scientists to advance their own careers and reputations. Medical historian Harriet Washington, however, warns against locating this kind of medical violence as isolated instances—what Giorgio Agamben describes as a tendency of historians to situate instances of medical violence as “sadocriminal acts” (156). Such a narrative of institutionalized violence, in other words, underestimates the structural and legal mechanisms making possible racial, gendered, and colonial violence. For Washington, the “Frankenstein” or “mythical madmen” narratives work to fictionalize “rogue” figures working alone and “outside” the legitimate venues of medicine and science, excusing medical abuse without interrogating the racial and gender structures of Western medicine. Instead, I emphasize the naturalization of racialized medical violence, regularized in U.S.

history and nearly always carried out by "overachieving adepts with sterling reputations, impressive credentials, and social skills sufficient to secure positions of great responsibility" (Washington 12-13). The figure of the prisoner-patient subject, then, is central for understanding what the raw human materials were, and how they became instrumental for creating the conditions of possibility for medicine to be narrated in popular and technical literature as a universally benevolent institution, even in the face of blatant acts of racial and gendered violence.[35]

What kind of value is created here in this specialized and relatively insular medical discussion? How is it that Keanu's body is both *devalued* as an incarcerated life and, at the very same time, highly *valued* as a medical subject? The archives in this chapter reveals a number of ambitious medical scientists exploiting these "laboratory" spaces to advance their own careers and reputations, and they became spectacles, along with a host of vulnerable, usually unnamed, medical subjects. Keanu's high visibility, however, was a major exception to this more common medical subject anonymity, an anomaly that can be understood as made possible by his status as a criminal prisoner sentenced to death. Keanu's native criminal status provided an overwhelming sense that experiments on Keanu could be justified, since he was already defined as legally and socially dead under the imperial legal system. The same framework that allowed Hawai'i to be read as unused fertile land also conveniently applied to Keanu. Put another way, it would be a waste not to exploit such a rare opportunity for human experimentation.

[35] For Washington, the foundational elements of citizenship as they have emerged from U.S. history depend on the upholding of two particular types of bodies, what she identifies as "one healthy and white and the other filled with sick, disaffected people of color." She brings together archives that demonstrate the depth of dehumanizing and deadly experimentation on young women of color, soldiers, prisoners, and children without legal protection.

In *Homo Sacer*, Giorgio Agamben perhaps best captures the significance of medical state-sanctioned violence, noting that it is hardly an exceptional characteristic but rather an indication of the legitimacy produced and expressed by these institutions. Reviewing testimonials of human test subjects and the official documents of the Nuremberg trials, Agamben states: "Reading the testimony of VPs [*Versuchspersionen*, human guinea pigs] who survived…is such an atrocious experience that it is very tempting to consider the experiments as merely sadocriminal acts with no relation to scientific research. But unfortunately this cannot be done. To begin with, some (certainly not all) of the physicians who conducted the experiments were quite well respected by the scientific community for their research" (156). Agamben's discussion brings out the nature of the problem: The project underpinning the possibility of a medical ethics, while at the same time coercing consent from prisoners to conduct harmful and lethal experiments on their otherwise healthy bodies, is largely a question of whether subjecting subaltern communities to harm and early death for the "advancement of science" and the benefit of the "public at large" is "ethical." That is, the question of medical ethics in this context depends on the production of citizenship as one that *requires* institutionalized forms of exclusion, a concept reproduced under nationalist frameworks and the presumed sovereignty of the state. Disrupting the notions of medical ethics, then, is not simply a matter of locating the individual doctors and political actors and their "sadocriminal acts," but of mapping and reckoning with the longer genealogies of structural legitimacies of the larger scientific community within these nationalist histories.

Despite the cultural representations that imagined scientific advancement, progress narratives, and anxieties of technological transformations of the nineteenth-

century popular forms of storytelling, the example of Hawai‘i and leprosy did not seem to register as a manifestation of Dr. Frankenstein, or even the human experimentation in Jack London's 1889 "A Thousand Deaths."[36] Harriet Washington has directly challenged these notions that these practices predominantly were carried out by fringe physicians who, like Frankenstein, are depicted in media and other forms of representation as working on the margins of legitimate medical science. Discussing the specific record of medical violence targeting African Americans in U.S. history, Washington observes:

> [W]hen it comes to the [medical] abuse of African Americans, a different set of ethical standards has long prevailed and abusive researchers have historically been closer to the norm than we would like to think. Conventional wisdom pins experimental abuses on the 'Dr. Frankenstein' stereotype—a scientific outcast of dubious pedigree who harbors blatant social or mental maladjustment. But, historically, most perpetrators of ethically troubling experiments utilizing African Americans have been overachieving adepts with sterling reputations, impressive credentials, and social skills sufficient to secure positions of great responsibility. The stereotype of the abusive researcher as a coolly amoral renegade is a stock figure borrowed by journalism from science fiction…. Professionally and socially, these rogue stars have much more in common with the top strata of other successful American researchers than they do with mythical madmen" (12-13).

The markers of legitimacy that Washington describes—"overachieving adepts with sterling reputations, impressive credentials, and social skills sufficient to secure positions of great responsibility"—require more nuanced analyses and critique, particularly because such codes surrounding medical ethics continue to inscribe narratives about "mythical madmen" through the language of exceptionalism and anomaly. Washington's framework helps to dispel the notion that such acts were *merely sadocriminal*, as

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[36] See Harriet A. Washington's 2006 *Medical Apartheid: The Dark History of Medical Experimentation of Black Americans from Colonial Times to the Present* and Jack London's "A Thousand Deaths" in *Future Perfect: American Science Fiction of the Nineteenth Century: An Anthology, Revised and Expanded Edition*, edited by H. Bruce Franklin.

Agamben puts it, and suggests, on the contrary, that they have been integral to maintaining structures of white supremacy and nation-building for the United States. In the case of Keanu, it seems clear that the mythical madmen narrative does not work either, but rather the opposite is true: the valuing of Keanu's criminality in particular exposes what is otherwise a naturalized assumption about the colonial space of the empire. Racialized peoples in the Pacific Islands, in other words, systematically became more and more visible to the scientific community as expendable subjects to be utilized in articulating empire's project of modernity and the advancement of scientific progress.

To return to Beaven Rake's article in *The British Medical Journal*—specifically his excitement over finally finding Dr. Arning's work to be the most legitimizing rationale for seeing racialized labor and indigenous peoples as an untapped source of human subjects for experiments. Rake's commentary above provides a frame for understanding how the discursive construction, on a larger scale, of criminality was instrumental in making these ideologies uniquely acceptable ways of talking across multiple empires and temporalities about human experimentation. In many ways, these discussions in medical journals reflect the extent to which colonial medicine embraced this process of dehumanization. For medical science, the case of Keanu opens up new pathways for trafficking biopolitical knowledge, not only at the moment of the experiments in the 1880s, but also as rational legal justification for human experimentation in other contexts in the twentieth century. Again, Agamben makes such connections between the emerging science of the colonies and medical violence, recalling the case of Keanu as a kind of origin point for justifying human experimentation that took place in the concentration camps under Nazi Germany. Agamben states:

> What is…disquieting is the fact…that experiments on prisoners and persons sentenced to death had been performed several times and on a large scale in our century, in particular in the United States…. Thus in the 1920s, 800 people held in United States prisons were infected with malaria plasmodia in an attempt to find an antidote to paludism. There were also the experiments–widely held to be exemplary in the scientific literature on pellagra–conducted by Goldberg on twelve prisoners sentenced to death, who were promised the remission of their penalty if they survived experimentation. Outside the United States, the first experiments with cultures of the beriberi bacillus were conducted by R. P. Strong in Manila on persons sentenced to death (the records of the experiment do not mention whether participation in the experiment was voluntary). In addition, the defense [of German physicians at the Nuremberg trials] cited the case of Keanu (Hawaii), who was infected with leprosy in order to be promised pardon, and who died following the experiment.

Several historians and scholars working on empire and disease chart these moments of medical violence in colonial spaces by pointing to the archives that publicly managed the colonies, which often include what some have called the colonial archive: court proceedings and hearings, economic updates, and bureaucratic minutia. Here Agamben locates an originary moment for structural violence as a legal precedent for continued behavior. Yet few have taken up the role of the medical journals and the ongoing dialogues taking place there between physicians, scientists, and interested members of the literate European and U.S. citizenry as a discourse that directly charts how these events occur, and to what degree the logics of empire made this public discussion possible through a discursive production of native criminality. In Raymond Edmond's 2009 study, for example, in a chapter entitled "Scientists discuss the causes of leprosy, and the disease becomes a public issue in Britain and its empire, 1867-1898," Edmond works to bring out the public nature of this discourse, but does not question the frameworks of criminality that the courts and the Board of Health leverage to gain access to a prisoner's

body. There is very little attempt to critique legal systems in the colonial context, only a brief mention that Keanu is a "Hawaiian man and a convicted murderer" (Edmond 91).

My analysis builds on these histories in order to ask: what were the conditions that at once allowed for the devaluing and revaluing of Keanu, in particular, and racialized peoples in colonial spaces, more generally? From indigenous peoples to laborers brought to the Caribbean from Asia and Africa, Beaven Rake's commentary on Keanu's case opens up what might be described as an imperial medical theater,[37] exhibiting bodies of knowledge eager to legitimize the conditions of possibility for medical science to utilize racialized subjects ("native arms, Hindu and negro," as Rake wrote) in ways that move far beyond the frameworks of colonized and colonizer. For Rake and the many others participating in this emerging discourse of public health and security in colonial spaces, narrating Keanu as both native *and* criminal reinforces the notion that the racialized peoples in the colonies, as native "others," can be placed in distinct opposition to the "colonizer." In many ways illegible to the juridical frameworks anchored within the metropoles of the British and U.S. empires, the colonized native is situated as foreign and *outside* the center of law and national borders, a distinction stemming from the "racial denial of any common bond between the conqueror and the native" (Mbembé 24). Ann Laura Stoler has also noted the impact of this colony/metropole relationship, as colonial bureaucrats moving regularly between

[37] The medical gaze of medical journal operates similarly to the actual medical theaters that dominated European medical training in the academy. I believe the connection is important, especially in the context of the visual representations printed of Keanu (and Hansen's disease patients in general) that serve to showcase the work of the medical expert physician. Relevant studies on the development of medical theater and the dehumanizing gaze of the scientist: Londa Schiebinger, *Nature's Body: Gender in the Making of Modern Science*; Tomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud*; Steven Jay Gould, *Mismeasure of Man*; Gail Kern Pastor, *The Body Embarrassed*; Jonathon Sadway, *The Body Emblazoned*; and Michael Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England*.

metropole and colony form "their perceptions and acquired knowledge of difference" through this transit framework (16). Indeed, Achilles Mbembé has argued that the colonies of empire always already operate outside the normative imperial frameworks, as colonies function as zones in which "war and disorder, internal and external figures of the political, stand side by side or alternate with each other." Colonies, in this frame, serve as the location where the controls and guarantees of judicial order can be suspended—the zone where the violence of the state of exception is deemed to operate in the service of "civilization." Under this logic, a sovereign right to kill goes largely unchallenged in the space of the colony, as the very concept of "civilization" is defined against a racialized, native, criminalized colonial space and subjectivity, producing the conditions for state violence to articulate its legitimacy as a necessary and natural expression of modernity. Mbembé links the state of exception and the state of siege to the trajectories by which the "state of exception and the relation of enmity have become the normative basis of the right to kill" (16).

Drawing on Foucault's concept of biopolitics, Mbembé argues that politics functions in colonial spaces not as Foucault formulates—the right to live and let live—but as "the work of death," producing a conception of sovereignty as the direct expression of the right to kill (14). Mbembé continues: "In such instances, power (and not necessarily state power) continuously refers and appeals to exception, emergency, and a fictionalized notion of the enemy. It also labors to produce that same exception, emergency, and fictionalized enemy. In other words, what is the relationship between politics and death in those systems that can function only in a state of emergency?" This last question foregrounds systems operating within "a state of emergency," the structural

frame Mbembé identifies as dependent on and producing the tensions between the state and a "fictionalized enemy." The narrative is not only informing the formulation of an enemy of the state, but also the formulation of those who are protected by it and lay claim to its conceptions of "full citizenship"; that is, the normative subject protected by the state is at the center of Mbembe's formulation. For the purposes of this chapter, which puts these questions in conversation with those of race, disease, and criminality as they play out in Keanu's case, Mbembé's attention to relationships between states of exception, politics, and death point us to other related questions about deviation and naturalization, contagion and conformity, and containment of "fictionalized enemies" as an imperative produced by and expected of the state.

I look to Mbembé's analysis because it foregrounds the processes of colonizing, nativizing, and criminalizing of people, but also because it emphasizes the centrality of colonized land and spatial terrain, building on (and moving beyond) Foucault's European-centered analysis of power. Mbembé's differentiation between human and colonial subject is in dialectical relation to a desire to *utilize* the space and its subjects as medicalized laboratories and test subjects, as Foucault's discussion of biopolitics outlines. Foucault argues that power is inscribed on bodies, but also disseminated through particular state mechanisms and technologies (i.e. hospitals, quarantines, prisons, as well as medical journals and other forms of knowledge production in service of managing people) that travel through imperial networks and circuits. These new technologies treat "threats" to public health, such as epidemics, contagious bodies, or non-normative "criminal" behavior, as the antithesis of the productive citizen. Foucault adds that these nineteenth century medical discourses fundamentally shaped the development of "a

medicine whose main function will now be public hygiene, with institutions to coordinate medical care, centralize information, and normalize knowledge," taking on the characteristic of imperial campaigns put forth explicitly to "teach hygiene and to medicalize the population" (244).

Yet the limits of Foucault's analysis of European biopolitics and sovereignty are apparent, as Stoler has argued, especially when read against the racial formations of Keanu as a native criminal.[38] Accounts of Keanu published in *The British Medical Journal* and other journals, newspapers, and books written from 1887 into the twentieth century, typically describe Keanu with the same set of biographical details, rarely deviating from his status as criminal and native: he was "a murderer in Hawaii, named Keanu," "the convict Keanu," the "Sandwich Island convict," "a condemned murderer," and, as one chapter heading of a widely read 1916 history of leprosy in Hawai'i states, "Keanu, the Murderer" (Mouritz 152).[39] Over the years of published dialogue among interested physicians, scientists, and other members of the reading public, and even to some degree in Foucault's own tendencies to abstract and universalize European subjects in his analysis, the formation of Keanu's identity as a kind of discursive interpellation reveals how these discussions function to produce imaginary forms of indigeneity and criminality.

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[38] See especially Stoler's "A Colonial Reading of Foucault: Bourgeois Bodies and Racial Selves" in *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*, (140-61). Also see Noenoe Silva's discussion of Foucault in *Aloha Betrayed*.

[39] See several primary documents for these discussions: "Leprosy" (1889), "Leprosy and Vaccination" (1887), "Remarks On Some Facts Illustrating The Early Stages Of Leprosy" (1890), "The Inoculability of Leprosy" (1888), and Arthur Mouritz's *The Path of the Destroyer: A History of Leprosy in the Hawaiian Islands, and Thirty Years Research Into the Means By Which it Has Been Spread* (1916). In my research on contemporary print culture on Keanu, I have not yet found one that does not invoke on the one hand Keanu's "criminal" status and, on the other, his "native" Hawaiian identity as the central context for human experimentation.

In contrast to Foucault's framework, Rona Tamiko Halualani locates this process of nativizing and criminalizing in longer histories of colonization, a phenomenon she calls "abstract nativism." In Halualani's *In the Name of Hawaiians: Native Identities and Cultural Politics*, she describes the process of abstracting native identity as an historical and temporal interpellation of Hawaiian Natives that directly informed discourses on sovereignty and Native rights. The cultural signification of geography "articulates Hawaiian identity via a representational ambivalence in the mid-1700s though the 1900s via the scientific technology of mapping and the circulation of the geographic in explorer journals, historical narratives, and popular discourses" (6). This long historical narrative of contact and discovery, written by European explorers before and after Captain James Cook's arrival in the 1770s, fundamentally shaped cultural politics and representation in the Pacific. Such representations, Halualani continues:

> racialize Hawaiians out of modern time and into anachronistic space, distinguishing Hawaiians from colonial explorers through the construction of a temporal difference of prehumanity. Hawaiians are framed as residing within a since-past static present, one in complete distance from modern, moving European time. *Kānaka* become, then, vestiges of a cultural past, their presence and discovery/origination of Hawai'i unrecognized and thus their claims to sovereignty devalued.

The question of value—value of the body, the human, and "claims to sovereignty"—is directly linked to the persistent narrative that demarcates the "native" as pre-modern from the modern subject, situating Hawaiian space, subjectivity, and personhood "out of modern time" and into "anachronistic space." The constitutive processes informing the ideological formations of modernity, in other words, are committed to capitalist colonial logics of empire. In this context, Keanu's case provided a special moment for science and medicine; the process of racializing the Native Hawaiian out of modern time situates him

not only as "prehuman," but at the same time, as criminal, whose life has been given over as the property of the state in order to benefit its "modern" subjects. By deploying the conceptual frameworks firmly rooted in the Western modalities of "the modern," this transfer of property makes possible the necessary revaluing of Keanu's body, but as something outside the modern framework that would otherwise define a subject as human.

As most of the medical reports on his case point out, Keanu had been awaiting his execution date when asked to submit his body to these deadly experiments, a point I discuss in detail later in the next chapter but is important to foreground here. The rector of Greatham Parish in England, H.P. Wright, for instance, justified Dr. Arning's decision to use Keanu this way in *The British Medical Journal* 1888 article, "The Inoculability of Leprosy." Wright upholds the sovereignty of the state (abstractly defined) as the foremost authority to grant or take life for the criminalized body: "The State, which could take life for the terror of evil doers, could also grant life in order to stay, if possible, in some degree, the advance of the most terrible disease that tortures man" (Wright 1359). For Wright, the persistent threat of "the most terrible disease that tortures man" ultimately gives the government (in this case the British government, but his endorsement of state power clearly extends to U.S. and other European nation-states) the biopolitical power to manage such threats and protect its fully human citizenry. It does this by *writing* Keanu "out of modern time" as an example of criminalized prehumanity. This justification again serves to inscribe these narratives of criminality, nativeness, and prehuman existence by situating Keanu primarily as a racialized and criminalized subjectivity outside of the frame of modernity, and at the same time within it, so that it allows the state to hold him

"criminally culpable," as Saidiya Hartman has noted about the precarious legal existence of the enslaved. These specific constructions of native criminality emerge out of bodies of scientific discursive spaces entangled with dominant understandings of colonial spaces and their *value and utility* across these spatial and temporal transits of empire. Keanu, in this way, is repeatedly remade and revalued.

Luana Ross, in her study of Native American incarceration in the United States, *Inventing the Savage: The Social Construction of Native American Criminality*, argues that the Native body, as a racialized, criminalized figure, finds its origins within legal and historical constitutions always already entwined with "the loss of sovereignty." This "loss," I suggest here, has direct ties to the case of Keanu and questions surround the history of Hawaiian sovereignty addressed briefly in the discussion above. The connection between criminality and loss of Native sovereignty is clear for Ross: "Proposing that Native American criminality is tied, in a complex and historical way, to the loss of sovereignty, I begin…with important historical information on the disruptive formal and informal federal and state policies that chipped away at the sovereign status of Native people" (5). As Jonathan Osorio argues, Hawaiian sovereignty was "dismembered," not through direct and physical seizing of lands, "but through a slow, insinuating invasion of people, ideas, and institutions" (3). Ross considers how the production of native criminality occurred. Through various state and federal procedures, the U.S. government "defined Native Americans as 'deviant' and 'criminal,'" making it possible to undermine native rights to land through racial criminalization and systematic incarceration (Ross 5). While Ross addresses the specific incarceration cases of Native Americans in Montana, this framework raises questions that I explore in this chapter

about how the state may recognize individuals and groups not as complex persons, historically situated and racialized in specific ways, but as bodies framed by binary structures such as citizen / enemy, and a part of / apart from the nation, a frame that divides subjects into those who belongs and those who needs to be contained.

Similar to Halualani's conception of abstract nativism, Jodi A. Byrd also outlines another process of flattening specific indigenous subjectivities into the narrow figure of "the Indian." In *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism*, Byrd sees the constructions of "Indianness" in Hawai'i and their movement across spaces as central for understanding the production and reproduction of contemporary narratives of empire. Byrd posits that the very term "Indian," as the "radical otherness" structuring twentieth century discourses on the multicultural liberal settler state, "threatens the entire foundation of the United States precisely because it is the ongoing colonization of indigenous nations and their lands that made the U.S possible at all" (158). This reading of empire in transit—a framing that evokes the actual transport and movement, as well as the dialectical transitionality of representational knowledges of "Indianness"—calls attention to the persistent making and remaking of indigenous subjectivities in Hawai'i and the United States. This framing opens up a window into how an interpellative discourse centered on Keanu functions and performs an enduring yet transforming representation outside of Hawaiian place. The narrative that makes and remakes Keanu's identity as both native and criminal suggests that this early moment of representing Keanu overlaps with other forms of "Indianness as an injected contagion," as Byrd describes the process. The collapsing of indigeneity not only elides other emerging forms of native subjectivity across the Americas, but also brings to light the always already

criminalized and out-of-the-modern narrative that Halualani describes, serving to "erase the transnational distinctions of all the people who collapse under its sign and as it is reified, the sign itself—which now bears indigeneity, sovereignty, and racial minority—becomes a site of contagion as indigenous and occupied peoples throughout the empire struggle to resist U.S. hegemony" (Byrd 157). In this way, the criminalized indigeneity of Keanu is *performed* through medical discourse to the point of interpellation. The medical journals demonstrate this production of a devalued subject as savage, anachronistic, and undeserving of sovereignty or citizenship, whose only possibility for revaluation is through narratives of modernity and commodification within a framework of state-sanctioned medical violence.

Chapter Two

"Suppose for a moment, that Keanu had reasoned thus": Loosening the "Autobiographical" from the "Criminal" Medical Subject

> Professional morality, medical ethics, self-respect and respect for others, have given way to the most uncivilized, the most degrading, the most perverse kinds of behavior.
>
> Frantz Fanon[40]

> Science and medicine may have fueled the reemergence of the beliefs in blood, but so did folk theory of cultural contagions, as threatening as those of bodily ones.
>
> Ann Laura Stoler[41]

In this chapter, I examine two essays from *The British Medical Journal*, one of the many medical archives on Keanu produced in late-nineteenth century. Within the context of the making and remaking of value through the native criminal prisoner-patient outlined in the last chapter, I read these archives against the grain to argue that H.P. Wright—English rector and prolific writer of layman medical commentary—documents the public production of Keanu as a usable subject for medical experimentation in his publications on preventing leprosy from infecting European nations. Analyzing Wright's article, "The Inoculability of Leprosy," I show how speculative accounts of what Keanu *might* have thought when he consented to experiments illustrate the production of Keanu (the figure) in print culture, making possible legitimate medical violence. This section introduces the contradictions between articulating a racialized and criminalized figure as

[40] Frantz Fanon, "Medicine and Colonialism" in *A Dying Colonialism* (138).
[41] Anne Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (151).

both imprisoned (and therefore, an available ward of the state) and at the same time free to "consent" to experimental inoculations.

In 1884, Dr. Eduard Arning, the lead physician charged with studying the contagious nature of leprosy in Hawai'i, chose Keanu as the ideal subject for experimentation. Arning later noted that Keanu was an excellent subject because, among other things, he was "a large, well-built Kanaka, to all appearances in robust health" (87). On the issue of whether leprosy was a contagious disease, Arning was quoted stating that the "question […] could only definitely be settled by the inoculation of a healthy individual of untainted nationality in a country free from leprosy" (Wright 1359). Arning was trained as a microbiologist under Robert Koch, the soon-to-be famous German scientist known for isolating the bacterial causal agents of cholera and tuberculosis, advancements in microbiology that ultimately won Koch the Noble Prize in Physiology and Medicine in 1905. Arning adopted Koch's then-experimental methods for his own leprosy inoculations, which initially used potato slices, gelatin, and eventually, guinea pigs. When it became apparent that those materials were not working, however, Arning aggressively sought the human option, what he himself described as a kind of human soil: "As every seed requires its peculiar condition of soil, atmosphere, etc., to allow it to strike…so does the leprous germ…[need] human soil" (Bushnell 12; Tayman 27).

Arning's description of the ideal medical subject is telling in its own right. It is striking, for example, when he states that the experiments require "a healthy individual of untainted nationality in a country free from leprosy," suggesting the degree to which Arning's own thinking was framed by the concepts "individual," "untainted nationality," and "country." These discourses were pervasive in colonial medicine, particularly as an

expression of how definitions of the nation are shored up against the idea of the colony and the colonized. As Arning's descriptions of the ideal subject reveal—spoken bluntly and without reservation—the public documentation of such human experiments was relatively new for scientists of this time. As a result, discussion of Keanu's physical and mental health, and his status as a criminal native, loomed large in the medical imaginary and regularly reads as haphazard and clumsy scientific speculation. Published images, charts, and written dialogues traced Keanu's family genealogy, guessing at whether Keanu might have had contact with leprosy in earlier periods of his life; scientists researched and argued over his status as a "clean" subject, all in scientific efforts to categorize Keanu as their "control" for these inoculation experiments. Questions about the status of Keanu's family—specifically, Keanu, his son, Eokepa, and his nephew, David—became important parts of this medical story (see Figures 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4).

Figure 2.1. “David, Keanu’s Nephew.” The sketch of Keanu’s nephew, David, was printed anonymously in *The British Medical Journal* in a medical report on the health status of his family, entitled “The Contagious Nature of Leprosy” (1890).

Figure 2.2. "Eokepa, Keanu's Son." This sketch of Keanu's son, Eokepa, printed anonymously in *The British Medical Journal* in a medical report on the health status of his family, entitled "The Contagious Nature of Leprosy" (1890).

In the 1890 article, "The Contagious Nature of Leprosy," sketches of the three men served to map these anxieties around kinship, heredity, and disease, accompanied with descriptions of their biological health status and, specifically, how advanced their leprosy cases were. The author points out that Keanu's death sentence "was commuted on condition that he submitted to the experiment. Much interest attached to the case, as it seemed to be one in which the appearance of the disease was only to be accounted for on the supposition that it had been communicated by the inoculation of leprous matter. It was stated that there was no history of leprosy in his family" (Anonymous 917). A genealogical chart of Keanu's family visually documents the investment scientists placed on this case (Figure 2.3).

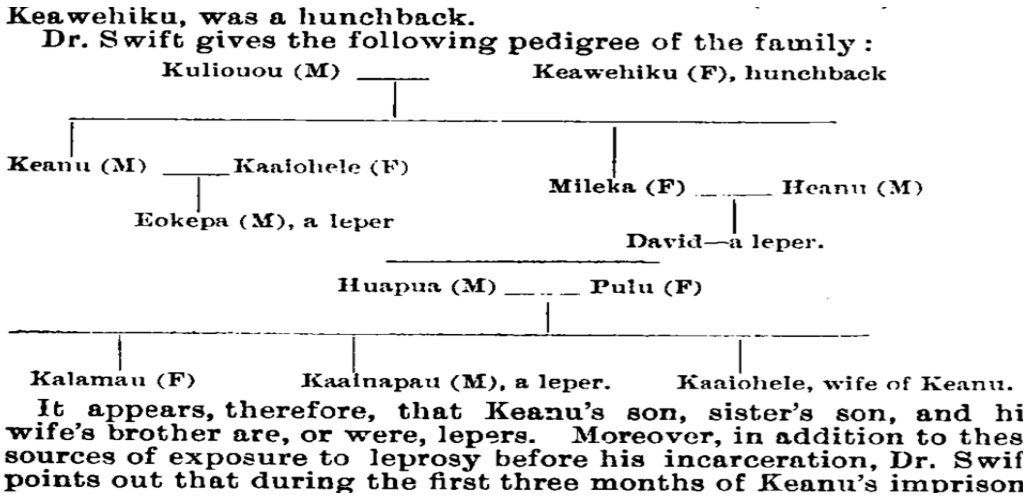

Figure 2.3. "Keanu's Family Pedigree." Keanu's "pedigree," charting traces of Hansen's disease in his family, printed in "The Contagious Nature of Leprosy."

An image of Keanu published in Gavan Daws's biography of the Belgium priest, Father Damien, who famously spent time caring for patients on Moloka'i, presents a closely framed image of Keanu's scared face.[42] The photo (not presented here) was recorded by Daws as found in a "private collection," along with a portrait of Dr. Arning, and is believed to be commissioned by Dr. Arning in order to document his successful experiment—that his inoculation did in fact infect Keanu with leprosy. The image focuses on his face and does not capture the scar on Keanu's arm. In contrast to that photo, the sketch of Keanu in *The British Medical Journal* offers a large, carefully drawn image of Keanu two years after the initial experiments narrates another story (Figure 2.4).

[42] Gavan Daws, *Holy Man: Father Damien of Molokai* (114-15). Daws appears to be the first to publish this photograph and to identify it as Keanu; however, some have suggested that it is not Keanu. Also see Tony Gould, *A Disease Apart: Leprosy in the Modern World* (82). Gould reprinted both images of Keanu and Arning, taken from Gaws's biography.

Figure 2.4. "Keanu." This sketch of Keanu, printed in "The Contagious Nature of Leprosy" (1890), represents the patch of scarred tissue on Keanu's left arm, where Dr. Arning surgically implanted the "leprous nodule" excised from the cheek of a twelve-year old girl.

Appearing in the second column opposite the detailed description of the subject: carefully outlined in the text is Keanu's age, inaccurately recorded as "70 years" (he was closer to 54 years old), his physical state (178 pounds and "in robust health"), the accounts of several painful accidents he suffered while detained in the hospital due to "attacks of vertigo," and comments on his appetite and mental state.[43] On his mental and physical condition, the author of this article reports: "The prisoner was then suffering from bruises of the face, head, back, and lower extremities, received by falling down a metallic winding staircase in the gaol at Honolulu during a fit." The article continues mapping a biopolitical sketch, noting that Keanu's nephew, David (Figure 1), is also a patient in the

[43] Tony Gould, *A Disease Apart: Leprosy in the Modern World* (83).

same hospital ward, with "a bed adjoining Keanu's" (Anonymous 918)." David, described as 20 years old and "a far advanced tubercular leper, covered with sores, almost blind, nearly deaf, and utterly helpless," is said to be the son of Keanu's deceased sister, Mileka. Finally, the report identifies several family members as sick and infected with leprosy, including Keanu's son, Eokepa: "Nor is this Keanu's only relative, his own son Eokepa…, aged about 23, and his first cousin Maleka, on his mother's side, are both lepers, and reside at the Leper Settlement. Eokepa has been a leper since 1873, leaving school in that year on account of the disease. Keanu's brother-in-law, Kaainapau, died a tubercular leper at Kalawao, in 1885, and his (Keanu's) mother, Keawehiku, was a hunchback." [44]

The report does the work of identifying Keanu as both a prisoner and a patient, indicating, on the one hand, the ways these discussions nearly always present his status as a "criminal" patient, and on the other hand, evoking rhetorically in readers the sentimental tropes of benevolent humanism. The hospital physician, Dr. Swift, for example, finds Keanu to be "a good-natured, industrious, honest man." Further, the image of Keanu depicts his fingers wrapped in bandages—one of the more visible markers of Hansen's disease (leprosy) patients—meant to protect the parts of the body that are numb, unfeeling, and exposed, but also to make the effects of the disease less visible to those who did not want to see it. But it is the dark patch on Keanu's arm (about

[44] The report continues: "It appears, therefore, that Keanu's son, sister's son, and his wife's brothers are, or were, lepers. Moreover, in addition to these sources of exposure to leprosy before his incarceration, Dr. Swift points out that during the first three months of Keanu's imprisonment in the gaol at Honolulu, he was in charge of a turnkey named Malaihi, who is now a leper on the island of Molokai, and according to his own statement, has been a leper for twenty years. Dr. Swift further observes that if the inoculation did produce the disease in Keanu, its ravages in the short space of five years "are such as to make it unparalled in the history of this settlement, and contrary to what little experience I may have acquired during a continuous residence amongst a thousand lepers for nearly two years"

one inch long and half an inch wide) that is perhaps the most telling detail of the illustration, as it registers the work of Dr. Arning's original inoculation procedures.

Arning's work, despite its widespread acceptance among the medical community, did have its critics, and many of these discussions occurred in print culture, not just in medical journals but also popular magazines and literary magazines, such as the *Cosmopolitan*. Within the first three years of the inoculation, for example, H.P. Wright, a rector of Greatham parish in England, published an article in *The British Medical Journal* in 1888, "The Inoculability of Leprosy." In this essay Wright fiercely defends the reputation of Dr. Arning as a humanitarian and advocate for people afflicted with leprosy. Wright criticizes Arning's detractors, stating:

> Sir,—Allow me to say a few words in defense of Dr. Arning. In England and on the Continent he has been severely blamed for inoculating Keanu, an Hawaiian, with leprosy. Surely such an attack is most unjust. This able physician is world-known for his long and skilful labour in behalf of the leper. […] And what is the return he gets for this faithful devotion to his profession? He is publicly accused of cruelty and heartlessness for inoculating with leprosy a condemned murderer, who, to save his life, submitted willingly and gladly to the experiment. (Wright 1359)

This defense of Arning, his work, and his place as a humanitarian, makes a moral claim by situating the doctor as the benevolent savior, and Keanu as the desperate "condemned murderer." Wright rhetorically builds up Keanu as a figure who deserves to be killed, but instead cunningly "saves his own life" by opportunistically taking advantage of Dr. Arning's well known humanitarian efforts "in behalf of the leper." This question of bearing the responsibility for those incapable of doing so is a regular theme in Wright's work. In the larger context of British empire, Wright published widely on the moral and ethical duty of the English government to keep leprosy—a disease he describes as

primarily impacting the "heathen nations" of the British empire—out of the "civilized nations." This is notable, for it reminds us that the intersections of empire, religion, charity, humanitarianism, and medicine worked in tandem, and Wright's essays are a clear articulation of how these ideologies leveraged power across the colonies.[45]

Similarly, Osorio describes the centrality of the Christian missionary projects of the nineteenth for understanding not just Hawaiian land dispossession, but also how cultural and linguistic colonization impacted the people of Hawai'i, key components that transformed Hawaiian identity. Osorio states: "The mutilations [to Hawaiian society] were not physical only, but also psychological and spiritual. Death came not only through infection and disease, but through racial and legal discourse that crippled the will, confidence, and trust of the Kanaka Maoli as surly as leprosy and smallpox claimed their limbs and lives" (Osorio 3). This history of the cultural and political dismemberment of lāhui emphasizes the degree to which Christian insinuation, as he describes it, set the foundation for political takeover, a point brought out most poignantly in the question: the Christian conversion of the Native Hawaiians was the primary objective of missionaries, but "conversion to what?" We can read Wright's work as participating in this missionary discourse, as it draws on familiar tropes of the proselytizing narrative to "civilize" and "save" those subjects. In the context of many ongoing Christian efforts to bring the native populations of the empire to Christian civilization, one of the missionary projects in Hawai'i—as was the case for other colonies—was to transform the native "heathen" into something closer to a "human." As Osorio suggests, it was not just recognition as human, but recognition as possessing individual rights to their personhood and their property.

[45] Noenoe Silva, "Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika: Emergence of the Native Voice in Print" in *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (45-86).

Religious leaders in Hawai‘i in the early and mid-nineteenth century were explicit about this point, as is seen in the memoirs of Hiram Bingham, leader of the first American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), who wrote that the missionary was “to introduce and extend among them the more useful art and usages of civilized and Christianized society, and to fill the habitable parts of those important islands with schools and churches, fruitful fields and pleasant dwellings” (19).

As a rector and known commentator on the scientific developments around medicine and the treatment of leprosy, Wright saw himself as a figure positioned to introduce this particular Christian narrative to the English-speaking, literate populations of Europe and the United States. He translated and facilitated publication of, for instance, an Italian text, *Statues of the Hospital of the Holy Virgin Mary of Siena* (1880), in which Wright declares in the preface that the very concept of the hospital is unequivocally a Christian invention, one that the “heathen nations” could not have conceived of before Christianity brought the enlightened possibilities of health care to the sick of society. In the preface, Wright states: “KIND and continuous care of the sick in hospitals was the necessary fruit of Christianity: ‘A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another.’ Such care was unknown to heathen nations” (xv). Wright’s alarmist statements about “heathen nations” carried a good deal of weight with public opinion. In another publication entitled *Leprosy—An Imperial Danger* (1889), Wright warned the British public that leprosy was sure to return to the United Kingdom if extreme measures were not taken by medical and governmental authorities to contain the disease within these “heathen nations.” Responding to one criticism in *The British Medical Journal*, which takes issue with his statements about the contagious nature of leprosy, Wright again

warns that "leprosy may, and probably will, if there be negligence, again assail counties which once were highly leprous, but now are clean" (Wright 1305).

Wright's commentaries, though non-scientific, relied heavily on medical and scientific knowledge production by way of correspondence, amateur research, Christian teachings, and public media, an important point to observe as these conversations were circulating in public discourse. But how far was Wright's reach, and to what extent did such a figure shape the discourses on ethics and the case of Keanu? What were the avenues for non-medical commentary for "publicly accus[ing Arning] of cruelty and heartlessness," allowing for a platform for public critiques and defenses of empire like Wright's to emerge? This public debate over the "ethics" of Arning's experiments intersects not only with the varying and often-contradictory investments in the narratives of empire, but, as suggested above, with Christian missionary projects that reached directly into colonial spaces and medical policy.[46] For Arning the scientist, these discussions were likely legitimatized only when taking place within the medical communities that carried out the actual experiments, especially because such discussions read as insular and specific to scientific exchange about their subjects. In this context, humanitarian concerns operated as the main framework of such critiques.

In the remainder of "The Inoculability of Leprosy," Wright moves from his defense of Arning and the "unjust" attacks on the benevolent doctor to a peculiar speculative commentary about what Keanu *might* have said in this moment of consent, indexing for this discussion an important display of how Keanu's subjectivity emerged as

[46] See, for example, Hokulani K. Aikau's *A Chosen People, a Promised Land: Mormonism and Race in Hawai'i* (1).

interpellation in print culture.[47] Determined to show that Keanu, a racialized prisoner-patient occupying a colonial subject position, possessed a "self" that is legible to his readers, Wright imagines Keanu's thought process, enabling him "to speak not only for but literally in place of" this subaltern figure, what Saidiya Hartman describes as a "flight of imagination" that produces a disturbing fantasy of white identification with the enslaved and captive (18). While her reading of Presbyterian minister and abolitionist John Rankin's fantasy of identification emerges from a text that intends to "highlight the crimes of slavery," Hartman's understanding of the production of empathy opens up a window into how these "flights of imagination" operated across the empire and, though remotely, in the racial colonial imaginary:

> Although Rankin's fantasy culminates in indignant outcries against the institution of slavery and, clearly, the purpose of this identification is to highlight the crimes of slavery, this flight of imagination and slipping into the captive's body unlatches a Pandora's box and, surprisingly, what comes to the fore is the difficulty and slipperiness of empathy. Properly speaking, empathy is a projection of oneself into another in order to better understand the other or 'the projection of one's own personality into an object, with the attribution to the object of one's own emotions.'

The differences between Hartman's reading of Rankin's letters and my reading of Wright's published articles are clear: Rankin saw himself as an agent working *against* the institutions of slavery and racial subjection, while Wright clearly aligned himself with the dominating institutional mechanisms of medicine and Christianity. Wright, in fact, lauded Arning's work, and of course was not alone in his public praise of utilizing racialized, colonial, and especially criminalized subjects like Keanu for such experiments. Yet both Rankin and Arning are moved to "speak not only for but literally in place of" their

[47] Saidiya Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*, (6).

imagined subjects in order to conjure these violent fantasies of identification. What Wright's work demonstrates is not simply a sense of entitlement and power, from Greatham Parish, over the thoughts and intentions of Keanu, but more so the production of subjectivities, what Hartman, in her discussion of the failures of U.S. Reconstruction, describes as "the limits of emancipation, the ambiguous legacy of universalism, the exclusions constitutive of liberalism, and the blame worthiness of the freed individual" (6). Wright is participating, in other words, in the liberal discourses of modernity that effectively make and produce individuals by deploying the liberal discourses of "possessive individualism [and] the making of the contractual subject" (7).

In the recent collection of lectures, *Empire of Liberty: Power, Desire, and Freedom*, Anthony Bogues, drawing on Foucault's formulation of "pastoral power," notes that this form of imperial power "could not be exercised 'without knowing the inside of people's minds, without exploring their souls, without making them reveal their innermost secrets. It implies a knowledge of the conscience and an ability to direct it'" (18-19).[48] This power to know and shape "conscience," Bogues argues, became a form of power that explicitly sought to control and maintain colonial rule at the ideological level, a "drive to capture [a colonial subject's] desire and reshape it" (19). This key distinction depends on a visible shift that makes and remakes the "private intentions" of Keanu

[48] In her essay, "The Intimacies of Four Continents," Lisa Lowe links this to a matter of privacy, intimacy, and interiority developed out of European enlightenment thought: "For European subjects in the nineteenth century, this notion of intimacy in the private sphere became a defining property of the modern individual in civil society, and ideas of privacy in bourgeois domesticity were constituted as the individual's 'possession' to be politically protected, as in 'the right to privacy.' We can trace this narrative of the modern individual, or Western man, who possesses interiority of person, as well as a private household, in the liberal political tradition from Rousseau, Kant, and Hegel through to its critique in Marx and Engels" (199-200).

available for public discourse and consumption. Wright continues in his defense of Arning:

> Suppose for a moment, that Keanu had reasoned thus: 'I readily submit to inoculation with leprosy, not only because I shall save myself from immediate death, but also for a higher reason. I have killed one man, and deep is my sorrow; should I by this inoculation become a leper, such a result may tend to save the lives of many.' How far such thoughts were in the mind of Keanu we cannot say, most likely they were not there at all; but this we can say, the great benefits arising from such a result were well in the mind of Dr. Arning, who simply carried out a compact made between Keanu and the State. The State, which could take life for the terror of evil doers, could also grant life in order to stay, if possible, in some degree, the advance of the most terrible disease that tortures man. (1359)

The "private" is revealed here as the intimate knowing of mind, soul, and the "innermost secrets" of Keanu, serving to produce and reimagine Keanu as, at once, rational and irrational, selfless and criminal, savage and civilized, and ultimately *free* and *unfree*. To put this another way, Wright's speculation, itself a kind of colonial project, works to create a liberal, autonomous subject whose criminal subject position (as a prisoner) denies sovereignty over his own life, but offers control enough over his own body to consent to Arning's experiments for "a higher reason" and the benefit of Wright's narrow understanding of humanity. David Kazanjian, through a reading of Marx's first volume of *Capital*, has observed similar formations of citizenship and "equality" in the early nineteenth century. "To be represented as a citizen," Kazanjian writes, "a subject must be abstracted from its particularities just as a coat and tailoring or linen and weaving are abstracted from their particularities. This formal abstract citizen-subject is thus brought into a relationship of formal and abstract equality with its fellow citizen-subjects, and this relationship is represented as freedom. That is, subjects in capitalist civil society become

citizens to the extent that they understand themselves as formally and abstractly equivalent to other subjects" (18-19). In Wright's speculative account of Keanu's thoughts, which performs the kind of abstract equality that Kazanjian describes, Keanu is made to speak his consent in a way that makes legible medical science while at the same time disappears medical violence. To "Suppose for a moment, that Keanu had reasoned thus," in other words, registers the degree to which this public discourse unfolded around Keanu, focusing most on articulating an unsettling subjectivity based in guilt and criminality. The imagined confession places new value onto this criminal figure in order to engage the "higher reason" of both scientific enlightenment as well as a Christian ethics. Wright is clearly aware of tensions around human experimentation—reminded, possibly, by Arning's critics—and for this reason deploys language that situates Keanu as *deserving* (if not *indebted*) to be killed.

Considering Wright's other statements and works about the moral inferiority of "heathen nations," his speaking for and then immediate doubting of Keanu's moral capacity, speaks volumes. "How far such thoughts were in the mind of Keanu we cannot say, most likely they were not there at all" illustrates, I am suggesting here, how ideologies of Western superiority and white supremacy structured an organizing principle of empire, while at the same time intersect with those of benevolence and charity.[49] These processes allow, in the first place, Arning, and other colonizing voices to literally speak

[49] I draw on several conversations on white supremacy as an organizing principle, but particularly important for this discussion is Dylan Rodríguez's definition in *Forced Passages: Imprisoned Radical Intellectuals and the U.S. Prison Regime*. Drawing on Stuart Hall, Rodríguez ties the structures of white supremacy directly to the structures that shape the prison industrial complex: "White supremacist regimes organic (if not unique) to the United States—from racial chattel slavery and frontier genocide to recent current modes of land displacement and (domestic/undeclared) warfare—are sociologically entangled with the state's changing paradigms, strategies, and technologies of human incarceration and punishment…. For theoretical purposes, white supremacy may be understood as a logic of social organization that produces regimented, institutionalized, and militarized conceptions of hierarchized "human" difference" (11).

for Keanu (in law, in medicine, and so on), and creates the conditions for Wright's explicit move to, in the same sentence, imagine and then immediately dismiss Keanu's thought processes. And finally, the last section of the article by Wright:

> Dr. Arning, in a letter received by me a few days ago (December 3rd), gives the following important particulars, and asks a very reasonable question: "The experiment was performed after mature deliberation, and on the authority of the advisers of the Crown and the Privy Council of State; influential foreigners, laymen, and learned judges reporting in committee on the subject. It was done with the condemned criminal's written consent, and with all due care and exactness as to really advance our knowledge of the obscure disease. Will it not stand as having been done in the interests, not against the laws, of humanity?"

The shifting value of Keanu's life and body—devalued as a prisoner sentenced to death, yet extremely valuable as a medical subject—reveals a logic of exchange that produces the conditions of possibility for white supremacist science and racial governmentality to occur publicly and relatively unchallenged within these venues, for "advanc[ing] our knowledge of the obscure disease," as Dr. Arning put it above. Keanu's commuted sentence was made possible by the frameworks of colonial imperialism, ultimately allowing for systematic reproduction of the conditions of impossibility for control over one's own racially marked body. The notion of consent in which Wright and Arning anchor their claims to Keanu in these texts—that volunteering one's own body "for the advancement of science" is a benefit to Western civilization—provides a rare opportunity for scientific knowledge production, fundamentally dependent on the conditions that produce Keanu as a native criminal in the first place, and which are conveniently the same conditions that bring Arning to Hawai‘i. For Keanu, the event of "consenting" to inoculations, with the alternative being execution, still led to his illness, further incarceration, and death on Kalawoa, Moloka‘i. These processes of colonial law, business

investment, medicine, and national sovereignty made Keanu twice (if not three times) criminalized: once for the act of murder, and then, after his sentence was commuted, again for being infected with a criminalized disease, and finally, as colonized and native. On this last point, as a narrative indexing what I would call the anxieties of empire, I read the criminalizing of disease and native bodies to be intimately connected to the legal, economic, and political discourses deployed to dismantle Hawaiian sovereignty. Further, how does Keanu's case and the criminalizing of disease established in the "Act to Prevent the Spread of Leprosy" reveal the deep connections to major historical events such as the 1887 Bayonet Constitution, the event that leads to the deposing, criminalizing, and incarceration of Queen Lili'uokalani, and, finally, to U.S. annexation in 1898. These historical events, when read alongside Keanu's narratives and the figure of the prisoner-patient, express the deep contradictions surrounding sovereignty, nation building, and the politics of the body.

By connecting these settler colonial histories in Hawai'i to Keanu's own complex subject position, this chapter illustrates how the formations of Keanu as a racialized, colonized prisoner-patient, and the public debate surrounding this case, were intimately tied to the conditions of *impossibility* for consent that was manufactured by the state, public health, and the forces of U.S. empire. Instead, I argue that, when reading these archives against the grain, the emergence of the figure of Keanu can be understood as being firmly rooted in the politics of Hawaiian sovereignty and the conditions of colonialism. As Mark Rifkin notes of the imposition of U.S. trading logics in early- and mid-nineteenth-century Hawai'i: "[the] nominal independence, a limited engagement between autonomous agents according to the universally acknowledged and applicable

rules governing exchange, serves as a template for what will become the vision of Hawaiian nationality adopted and implemented by U.S. policy, a vision in which the space of Hawaiian sovereignty is imagined as separate and empty—a cipher within the homogenizing imaginary of international commerce" (Rifkin 54). I interpret Keanu's "consent" to deadly medical experimentation as an emergent action of this "homogenizing imaginary of international commerce"—one that cannot be understood without Hawai'i's longer colonial genealogies. This event is deeply shaped by the logics of U.S. transnational capitalism, which takes its form against the processes that imagine and narrate Hawaiian sovereignty as "separate and empty."

A close examination of these medical archives reveals a historical process of criminalizing and nativizing occurring contemporaneously with the formal legal mechanism of the state, making possible various forms of scientific knowledge, and in turn, working to naturalize colonial medical violence as a valuable form of profit. To briefly return to Giorgio Agamben and his description of prisoner-patient testimonials:

> Reading the testimony of VPs [*Versuchspersionen*, human guinea pigs] who survived, in some cases the testimony of the very subjects described in the extant records, is such an atrocious experience that it is very tempting to consider the experiments as merely sadocriminal acts with no relation to scientific research. But unfortunately this cannot be done. To begin with, some (certainly not all) of the physicians who conducted the experiments were quite well respected by the scientific community for their research. (156)

Agamben captures the contradiction presented in articulations of state-sanctioned medical violence, noting that it is not an exceptional characteristic, but rather an indication of the legitimacy produced and expressed by these institutions. That is, it is this rule that produces the exception. The tension underlying these archives, then, is that "medical

ethics" narrated in these archives lay claim to the authority of progress and modernity, while at the same time coerces consent from patient-prisoners to undergo harmful and lethal experiments on their otherwise healthy bodies, following Lisa Lowe's assertion that colonial relations "were the conditions of possibility for European philosophy to think the universality of human freedom, however much freedom for colonized peoples was precisely foreclosed with that philosophy" (193).

The question of medical ethics in this context, then, depends on the production of citizenship as one that *requires* institutionalized forms of exclusion; a concept reproduced under nationalist frameworks and presumed sovereignty of "The State" in colonial spaces, as H.P Wright put it above. Disrupting this notion of medical ethics, echoing Frantz Fanon's observation that medical ethics, respect for others and one's own life, have been pushed aside by "the most uncivilized, the most degrading, the most perverse kinds of behavior," is not simply a matter of locating the individual actors and their "sadocriminal acts" but of mapping and reckoning with the longer genealogies of legitimacy produced by a larger scientific community, particularly within the spatialities of colonies—what Achilles Mbembé has termed in another context, necropolitics.[50] The colonial archive emerges not as a static collection of given facts produced by official recorded histories about Hawai'i, but rather as a site of knowledge production to be read as a way to know "the colonized population that both attests to its own contradictions and yields its own critique" (199-200). These archives locate where the producers of these kinds of knowledge, fictions, and narratives erect their subject, Keanu; at the same time, it relies on these archives as the producers of Keanu as a criminal, native subject in order

[50] Achilles Mbembé, "Necropolitics."

to open up a theoretical space that reveals the possibilities of transnational indigenous exchange, moving beyond the meanings intended to serve empire.[51]

Chapter 2, in part, has been submitted for publication in the *Journal of Transnational American Studies*.

[51] Danika Medak-Saltzman, "Transnational Indigenous Exchange: Rethinking Global Interactions of Indigenous Peoples at the 1904 St. Louis Exposition." *American Quarterly* 62:3 (2010): 591-615.

Chapter Three

"How was I going to keep him a prisoner, in a prison without walls, and at the same time leave him a free man?": Fantasies of Freedom in the Writings of Herman Melville and O.A. Bushnell

> [D]iscursively and ideologically, the island is not merely a unit within the broader signifying concept of the archipelago. In actuality, the island is a separate, cultural, and political signifier that stands apart from and in direct opposition to the notion of the archipelago. As a signifying construct, the island replaces and tames the archipelago's more threatening relational currents.
>
> Michelle Stephens[52]

A passage from O.A. Bushnell's 1963 novel *Molokai*—a fictionalized retelling of the 1882 case of the Hawaiian prisoner-patient, Keanu, discussed in the chapters above—helps to illustrate the central problem of this chapter. In the novel, when the fictional character Father Damien asks Keanu's legal executor/guardian, Dr. Newman, about their recent arrival on the quarantined island of Moloka'i, Damien raises concerns about what the doctor intends to "do" with the prisoner Keanu. Understanding that Keanu does not have "leprosy," Damien asks directly: "Why did you bring him here?" Missing Damien's point—that there is an ethical dilemma in bringing an uninfected prisoner to this legally designated quarantined, carceral space for Hansen's disease patients—Dr. Newman pauses before answering. Rather than respond to and acknowledge the ethical quandary, Dr. Newman instead wrestles with logistical challenges and controls of his experiment:

> This was a great question, as it was the great weakness, in my whole plan. How was I going to keep Keanu away from all contact with lepers, while he was set down in the midst of one of the most dismaying concentrations of lepers in the whole world? How was I going to keep him a prisoner, in

[52] Michelle Stephens, "What Is an Island? Caribbean Studies and the Contemporary Visual Artist" (Stephens 12).

> a prison without walls, and at the same time leave him a free man, in spirit and in body? A free man? He was an animal, wild and untamed. I did not need to look at him, lying sleek upon smooth rock beyond Father Damien, to know that he was like some jungle cat taking his ease in this moment of respite, but ready to spring, to run, to hunt, perhaps even to kill, when he felt the instinct rise in him again. To cage him would be to kill him; and while I felt no special affection for him, or any compulsion to spare him the caged panther's long pining and slow dying, neither did I want to jeopardize the success of my experiment upon him. (Bushnell 67)

Setting aside the content of Newman's thought process for the moment—as it clearly intends to critique such a scientific outlook as a dehumanizing mechanism—I would like to first focus on the way this narrative frames medical violence through point of view. As a rhetorical strategy, having access to these intimate thoughts undoes easy identifications between readers and the character. This "rational" scientist, in other words, follows his thoughts to their unthinkable conclusions: Keanu is not fully human, even animalistic, and therefore needs no consideration within a liberal humanist tradition. The phrase "A free man?" posed not as a statement but a question, is dismissed as a misapplication of the category "human" to a non-human subject, what Newman earlier refers to as "not even a man," but rather "a superlatively handsome animal—exactly the animal I needed" (49).

Instead, Damien's initial question—"Why did you bring him here?"—inaugurates Newman's mediation on the practical logistics of the experiment. How is it possible, Newman asks, to keep Keanu an untainted test subject, "away from all contact with lepers," in order not to jeopardize the scientific experiment? The success of the medical project is, in Newman's mind, the measure for all other considerations. Again, disidentification between readers and this character is key, as readers might see the operation of scientific logic and methodology as both the strange and familiar trope of

dehumanization under the carceral and medical gaze. Bushnell depicts a scientist committed to his work (as Mary Shelley does with Dr. Frankenstein) so that it anchors the work of "objective science" in Enlightenment progress narratives, while at the same time calling upon a discourse familiar as a human rights violation, prominent in humanitarian discourses throughout the nineteenth-century.

In this chapter, I suggest that such a passage illustrates for readers a mode of distancing from medical violence in order to recognize coloniality as a state-sanctioned form of racial violence. In the above passage, thoughts on inhumane treatment initiated by Damien's question are supplanted by the impossibility of Keanu to be recognized as *human in the first place*, and the figure that emerges is one ultimately undeserving of humane treatment. Newman's initial thoughts wander quickly from his mind as he finds himself contemplating the philosophical implications of the experiment and what they might reveal about more abstract notions of freedom, containment, and humanness. In colonial contexts, the "thoughts" of Bushnell's character transition this fictional story to another kind of discourse: the nature of "free" in the statement "A free man?" creates tensions for Newman that move Keanu into a predatory horror "ready to spring, to run, to hunt, perhaps even to kill, when he felt the instinct rise in him again."

I argue here that Bushnell's deployment, and at the same time interrogation of nineteenth-century conceptions of freedom, contract, and liberal discourses surrounding the question of labor and value are directly connected to those playing out in medical journals across empires and continents. Furthermore, the question "Why did you bring him here?"—a question materially grounded in bringing Keanu from a prison in Honolulu to Moloka'i's Kalawao, "a prison without walls"—serves to frame Newman's

philosophical conclusion that Keanu was never "a free man," but was always already a dangerous animal in need of taming, domination, and caging. Newman's pressing dilemma of how to keep Keanu a prisoner and "at the same time leave him a free man" begs other questions: from where does such a speech act emerge? What kind of frameworks of ownership, notions of property, collusions with state and legal institutions, and assertions of power are expressed here, both intentionally and unintentionally? What cultural genealogies make possible the conditions of narrating Keanu as less than human? I argue that Bushnell's novel at once writes Keanu's story as a means to make these discourses visible, but also to invert, through the inner dialogues of Newman and others who were instrumental in making Keanu's body available for these experiments, medical violence and native criminality as constitutive component of modernity and empire-building.

This chapter turns away, then, from the medical archive and its discourse as a technical framework for narrating and managing imperial subjects to focus on the literary and cultural manifestations of these discourses of medical violence and native criminality. The construction of these discourses—what many have referred to, in other contexts, as fantasy—has been well documented in studies of travel and maritime literatures in the Pacific.[53] Paul Lyons, for example, argues that Herman Melville's travel writing looms large in Western ideologies of Oceania, suggesting that figures such as

[53] For a range of discussion on fantasy and the national U.S. imaginary, see Jason Berger's *Antebellum at Sea: Maritime Fantasies in Nineteenth-Century America* (2012); Hester Blum's *The View from the Masthead: Maritime Imagination and Antebellum American Sea Narratives* (2008); Ward Churchill's *Fantasies of the Master Race: Literature, Cinema and Colonization of American Indians* (1992); Elizabeth Maddock Dillon's *New World Drama: The Performative Commons in the Atlantic World, 1649-1849* (2014); Paul Lyons, *American Pacificism: Oceania in the U.S. Imagination* (2006); *Reimagining the American Pacific: from South Pacific to Bamboo Ridge and Beyond* and, for analysis of recent political conceptions of national fantasy, Donald E. Pease's *The New American Exceptionalism* (2009).

Herman Melville provided a sustaining fantasy script of American Pacificism—a term Lyons refashions from Edward Said's orientalism. Jason Berger has noted that such fantasies have "significant political import in this era, for they emerge (or reemerge) to organize, condition, and respond to experiences in which social, political, and economic antagonisms often occurred or came to a head" (4). The "problem of the sea" in cultural production, Berger suggests, is perpetually framed not by contact between colonial and colonized subjects so much as by the "limitations" that writers such as Melville faced when attempting to represent ocean and island life as a "coherent cultural and imaginative space." Scholars have sought to explore the implications of fantasy and the maritime imaginary within the context of U.S. national formations.

What has not been deeply explored, however, is the relationship between converging forms of racialization and the criminalization of indigenous peoples in the Pacific archipelago, particularly in cultural representation. Such representations not only reveal a cultural production of limited knowledge and exposure, but also an extension of the discursive manifestation of subjects exceeding legal spheres in colonial spaces. Elizabeth Maddock Dillon recently argued for a more explicit return to the cultural as a site of contestation, noting that "representation (and the political power attached to representation)" should be understood in terms of the "arenas of cultural contestation and meaning making that have political force and value" (9). As markers of contestation, the shape of cultural representation reflects a continuous engagement by cultural producers and consumers alike, and I would add that it signifies the location of a site of tension around those represented.

This chapter, then, examines nineteenth- and twentieth-century literature as a continuous discursive site working out these tensions, particularly in relation to shifting notions of indigeneity, colonialism, criminality, and nation building. Specifically, I respond to the implications of such representations in an Oceania context, using Herman Melville's *Typee* (1846) and O.A. Bushnell's *Molokai* (1963) as dialogic texts to situate contact through the lens of settler colonialism and the emergence of a carceral state. After setting up a theoretical foundation which responds to and interrogates Michel Foucault's concept "carceral archipelago" (marginally discussed in *Discipline and Punish*), the second section then addresses the genre of travel narrative and some of the more widely read representations of the nineteenth-century Pacific. I situate Melville's *Typee* as a text that helps to explore the legacies of travel writing and the conflation of "native" and "criminal." Focusing on Melville's depiction of "contact" between the narrator, Tommo, and his first encounter with Kory-Kory, the native Marquesan who becomes central to the story. I ask what narrative problems emerge when Melville attempts to represent the "strange" and "entirely incomprehensible," an attempt that is achieved through frameworks of criminalized native bodies (2). That is, Melville's "entirely incompressible" subject in *Typee* is made intelligible by explaining peoples in the Marquesas through a comparison with prisoners he has observed in the U.S. Northeast: "those unhappy wretches…gazing out sentimentally from behind the grated bars of a prison window" (83).

The third and final section of this chapter returns to Bushnell's *Molokai* to show how it centers medical violence and settler colonialism by retelling the story of the native Hawaiian prisoner Keanu, narrating, primarily through the historical medical archive, a

counter-narrative to this fantasy. I argue that *Molokai* disrupts narratives made popular by Melville's travel writing by presenting colonial medicine enacted upon Native Hawaiians not as a national discourse of public health but as a form of legitimate state violence that shores up white claims to Hawaiian land.[54] In my first and second chapters of this dissertation, I analyzed the figure of Keanu (a character and central the subject of *Molokai*) to argue that the circulation of such discourses in medical journals and popular magazines helped to produce a highly valuable criminalized medical subject for study. More generally in this chapter, I hope to shed some light on broader questions of knowledge production in the field of American studies by taking some consideration of its relationship to imperialism and colonialism. I begin with this framework in part because the question of how to consider "Western" texts in island-space—specifically texts written by non-native Hawaiians inhabiting the islands—is important for rethinking what Brian Roberts and Michelle Stephens have called a "continentally oriented (neo)colonial modernity" (3). Several scholars have begun to articulate a more nuanced "archipelagic turn" in American studies, and to develop an analytic which accounts for representation of archipelagoes across the globe that does not relegate island-space and

[54] I am here drawing on the work of Achilles Mbembé, Saidiya Hartman, and Colin Dayan's, as well as Walter Benjamin's "A Critique of Violence," Foucault's *Society Must Be Defended*, and Giorgio Agamben's *Homo Sacer*. Mbembe has stressed the importance of political sovereignty, the "colony," and forms of legality that exceed and are "outside" national legal systems. (23). In "Necropolitics," for example, Mbembe states: "That the technologies which ended up producing Nazism should have originated in the plantation or in the colony or that, on the contrary—Foucault's thesis—Nazism and Stalinism did no more than amplify a series of mechanisms that already existed in Western European social and political formations (subjugation of the body, health regulations, social Darwinism, eugenics, medico-legal theories on heredity, degeneration, and race) is, in the end, irrelevant. A fact remains, though: in modern philosophical thought and European political practice and imaginary, the colony represents the site where sovereignty consists fundamentally in the exercise of a power outside the law (*ab legibus solutus*) and where 'peace' is more likely to take on the face of a 'war without end.'"

peoples to a continentally-determined understanding of social and cultural logics of modernity.[55]

Furthermore, I attempt to consider more directly the term "carceral archipelagoes" to think through political and social formations not necessarily contained by coloniality, and to foreground the relationships that have emerged from colonial discourse. Michel Foucault's concept is useful for this discussion, as it provides a conceptual vocabulary that accounts for legacies of Euro-American legal and disciplinary frameworks at work in the Pacific Islands. At the same time, however, my use of Foucault is also intended to highlight questions on biopolitical frameworks in this specific history and region.[56] This discussion takes more centrally the histories of colonialism and the cognitive mapping of a Pacific archipelago as existing within a narrative structure of the European carceral state that Foucault outlines. I provide a critical lens into the notion that criminality is constructed in and around representations of Pacific Islander bodies in colonial medical discourse and beyond.

3.1 The Carceral Archipelago: Rethinking Nation/Ocean Frameworks

> The United States of America's democratic homeland diminishes
> (at least more noticeably for its more privileged occupants) as its
> police and prison archipelago grows.

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[55] Roberts and Stephens note: "[Americanist] scholars…have only deployed the term insular according to what is a widely accepted usage, namely to describe a state of being 'cut off from intercourse with other nations, isolated; self-contained; narrow or prejudiced in feelings, ideas, or manners.' But it is important to trace and remark on the entrenched epistemic violence resulting from and perpetuated by a continentally oriented (neo)colonial modernity that has looked toward the island's defining geoformal attribute and ascribed to it this derogatory second meaning, which ineluctably links island-space (and by extension island peoples) to an anti- cosmopolitan mentality."

[56] Mark Rifkin and others have raised similar questions, using the work of Giorgio Agamben as a test case for situating European thought in colonial and indigenous contexts. See "Indigenizing Agamben: Rethinking Sovereignty in Light of the 'Peculiar' Status of Native Peoples."

Joy James, "The American Archipelago," in the Preface to
Warfare in the American Homeland[57]

If Melville's fictions extend over centuries, serving for writers as a kind of "touchstone" and "principal motivation for going to the islands," as Paul Lyons has suggested, how might we read such a narrative influences within the context of adventure tourism in the Pacific Islands? And how might we read it not simply as an origin point of such representation, but rather as a convergence of travel writing as a print technology, racial capitalism, and colonial reproduction, which work to enable legitimate forms of state violence? At the turn of the century, for example, Jack London's travel writing could be read to extend these narratives within a post-U.S. annexation moment in such a way. Writing about Moloka'i while positioned as someone "between" U.S. imperial thinking while also holding in tension anti-imperialist positions, London represents those imprisoned at the Kalaupapa settlement as figures awaiting a Western awakening, what Colleen Lye has described as London's Western progressive spirit.[58] London's writings on Hawai'i, in other words, were shaped as much by racial discourses emerging from Hawai'i as from anti-Asian racism and xenophobia shaping law and definitions of citizenship in the United States. As the majority of the Pacific Islands were economically and legally dominated by settlers, the 1882 Exclusion Act took on new meaning against what some imagined as the new Hawaiian gateway through which racialized diseases

[57] Joy James, *Warfare in the American Homeland: Policing and Prison in a Penal Democracy* (xii).
[58] Colleen Lye, *America's Asia: Racial Form and American Literature, 1893-1945*. Lye notes that London's notions of 'East' and 'West' in the Pacific "did not exist in strict, hierarchized relation" but as essentialist, orientalist attitudes toward "the Asiatic subject," attitudes that allowed such a subject to "awake fully fledged, into capitalist modernity" (17).

from "the East" could enter the United States.[59] At this historical crossroads, such narratives escalate racial capitalism and trade, nation-building and expansion, and, perhaps most important here, institutional discourses of contamination and containment (criminalized and racialized) centered on race, nation, and disease. And if this legacy of representation (beginning in this discussion with Melville) extends as a literary trope, what texts work to change and shift, critique and modify this narrative conflation of "native" and "criminal"? I take up these questions here.

This chapter also explores the concept "carceral archipelago" and the ways in which it intersects with other theoretical frameworks. The term was introduced in Michelle Foucault's *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, locating 1840 and the French penal colony Mettray as the "point of emergence of the formation of an art of punishing"—the beginning of the European "carceral system," according to Foucault. He argues that 1840 is important as a marker of the end of the process in "the lower reaches of criminal law." Foucault continues: "It was the most famous of a whole series of institutions which, well beyond the frontiers of criminal law, constituted what one might call *the carceral archipelago*" (296-97). Archipelago—generally understood to mean a series or cluster of islands in an ocean—here takes on meaning as an institutionalized circulation of power and discipline that existed not only within but *as central to* a carceral state.[60] By locating the formation of disciplinary power institutionally around the

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[59] Ericka Lee, "The Chinese Exclusion Example: Race, Immigration, and American Gatekeeping, 1882-1924" (2002) and *At America's gates: Chinese Immigration during the Exclusion Era, 1882-1943* (2003).

[60] In "What Is an Island?" Michelle Stephens points to a more uncommon usage: "When [Antonio] Benítez-Rojo defines the Caribbean as a 'meta-archipelago,' […] he is reminding us that the word archipelago derives etymologically from the Greek *arkhi*, meaning 'chief,' and *pélagos*, meaning 'sea.' In the original meaning of *archipelago*, which now denotes an island-system or chain, the island itself does not appear. Rather, the archipelago was the name of a sea, the Aegean Sea, and the term retains a different set of

carceral—the "normalization of the power of normalization"—Foucault's concept takes on another meaning when considering colonial contexts, not only penal colonies.

While my own work departs from Foucault's analysis of power and punishment within a colonial and racialized context, the framework outlined here allows for a reading of how criminality functions by emphasizing less individual acts against the state and instead emphasizes the conflation of categories such as race and criminality, disease and deviance, and so on. A longer passage from the chapter "The Carceral" helps to illustrate this notion of the "carceral archipelago" or the "penitentiary technique," as Foucault often terms it, transported from the penal institution to the entire social body (Foucault 298):

> The generality of the punitive function that the eighteenth century sought in the "ideological" technique of representations and signs now had as its support the extension, the material framework, complex, dispersed, but coherent, of the various carceral mechanisms. As a result, a certain significant generality moved between the least irregularity and the greatest crime; it was no longer the offense, the attack on the common interest, it was the departure from the norm, the anomaly; it was this that haunted the school, the court, the asylum or the prison. It generalized in the sphere of meaning the function that the carceral generalized in the sphere of tactics. Replacing the adversary of the sovereign, the social enemy was transformed into a deviant, who brought with him the multiple danger of disorder, crime and madness. The carceral network linked, through innumerable relations, the two long, multiple series of the punitive and the abnormal (299-300).

Many have pointed out that Foucault's analysis of carceral systems is concerned most with "the disciplinary technologies perfected within [the prison] institution" more than the particular workings of the prison system (Davis 96). Regarding *Discipline and Punish*, Angela Davis notes: "While the category of class plays a pivotal role in his

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associations than that of the island. It retains the sense of islands as liminal spaces somewhere between land and water, defined by the relation *between* the territorial and the oceanic rather than by either alone" (40).

analysis—though his reconceptualization of power leads to critical revisions of class as a Marxist category—gender and race are virtually absent." Foucault ultimately fails to draw lines between the kinds of racial and gendered violence that emerges out of the penal colonies (prisons) within Europe, but significantly in the colonial spaces dominated by European and U.S. empires, as well as the penal systems of slavery. Joy James, for example, challenges many of the underlying assumptions of Foucault's analysis about punishment, violence, and the state, stating that "the metanarrative of *Discipline and Punish* vanquishes historical and contemporary racialized terror, punishment, and control in the United States; it therefore distorts and obscures violence in America in general" (James 24).[61] More recently, in *Slaves of the State*, Dennis Childs argues for a more complex genealogy of the carceral than put forth by Foucault, one where "the US system of mass imprisonment" could be understood more clearly as "a centuries-old regime of chattelized prison—industrial genocide that began well before the term PIC was ever uttered" (2).

With these critiques in mind, the framework of carceral archipelago has been generative as a way to think through the continuous distribution of power and racial violence leveraged in the colonial context. In "An American Archipelago"—the preface to the 2007 collection *Warfare in the American Homeland: Policing and Prison in a*

[61] Angela Davis, "Racialized Punishment and Prison Abolition" and Joy James's "Erasing the Spectacle of Racialized State Violence" in *Resisting State Violence: Radicalism, Gender, and Race in U.S. Culture* and *Warfare in the American Homeland: Policing and Prison in a Penal Democracy*. In "Erasing the Spectacle of Racialized State Violence," for example, James notes: "[Foucault's] text illustrates how easy it is to erase the specificity of the body and violence while centering discourse on them. Losing sight of the violence practiced by and in the name of the sovereign, who at times was manifested as part of a dominant race, Foucault universalizes the body of the white, propertied male. Much of Discipline and Punish depicts the body with no specificity tied to racialized or sexualized punishment. The resulting veneer of bourgeois respectability painted over state repression elides racist violence against black and brown and red bodies" (25)

Penal Democracy—Joy James picks up on the use of "archipelago" as a framework that resists the analytic of nation-state, idealized in recent political notions of home and homeland. James argues that "seeing an archipelago within and beyond national borders" places more emphasis on the ways in which "collective knowledge of domination and resistance…[have] been preserved and passed on" (xvi-xvii). I want to build on this emphasis on what is no longer considered, in Foucault's framing, "the offense" or "attack on the common interest," but reconceived as the anomaly that departs from this notion of a norm. In many ways, this produces the rationale for thinking the colonial into existence.

Such a framework holds significant sway with the legal formations in the Pacific Islands. In the case of Hawai'i, for example, missionary projects consistently aligned with disciplinary formations, especially in establishing law and definitions of criminality. Reverend Richard Armstrong and his family, sent in the Marquesas Islands and Hawai'i in the 1830s by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), wrote often about the need to "teach the young natives" civilized behavior because, for Hawaiians, "to lie and steal seemed as natural as to breathe." Armstrong described Hawaiians as "very repulsive in their personal habits and immoral in the extreme. […] Week after week passes and we see none but naked, filthy, wicked heathen with souls as dark as the tabernacles which they inhabit" (99). Armstrong, in a policy recommendation in 1846 to the Hawaiian King's minister of foreign relations, Robert C. Wyllie, states: "I think an effort should be made to connect some sort of manual labor, especially agriculture, with all the schools. […] Early habits of industry will supply their wants, make their homes comfortable and remove the temptation to wander about and commit crime in order to get money or fine dress" (103).

Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwoʻole Osorio notes that missionary thought was one of the central factors for the successful and thorough colonization of nineteenth-century Hawaiʻi, where the focus was not only on "a slow, insinuating invasion of people, ideas, and institutions," but also articulating a Hawaiian subject who possessed individual rights and claims to both personhood and property (3). Religious leaders in Hawaiʻi in the early- and mid-nineteenth century were explicit about this point, as Hiram Bingham, leader of the ABCFM, wrote in his memoirs that the ultimate goal was "to introduce and extend among them the more useful art and usages of civilized and Christianized society, and to fill the habitable parts of those important islands with schools and churches, fruitful fields and pleasant dwellings" (19).

With the immense archive of political and missionary discourses linking the "useful art and usages of civilized and Christianized society" and the "temptation to wander about and commit crime," I suggest that a framework such as the "carceral archipelago" helps to make visible the legal and "carceral mechanisms" suggested in Foucault's passage above as central for producing the concept I call native criminality. In the colonial context of Hawaiʻi, Foucault's suggestion that "a certain significant generality moved between the least irregularity and the greatest crime" sheds light on the ways Euro-American religio-legal institutions unfolded and shaped the discourses and cultural landscape, and fundamentally "haunted the school, the court, the asylum or the prison." The notion that, in the Pacific Islands, "the social enemy was transformed into a deviant, who brought with him the multiple danger of disorder, crime and madness," takes on a considerably new meaning when the "carceral network" of Foucault's analysis

of the penal colony of Mettray marks, "through innumerable relations," the emergence a punitive "carceral archipelago" of the Pacific Islands.

In the following section, I present a reading of *Typee: A Peep at Polynesian Life* as an entry point into a systematic and enduring refiguring of motifs and literary tropes working to nativize and criminalize indigenous peoples in the Pacific Islands. I argue that this narrative process emerges at the very moment, as Paul Lyons has noted, "of colonization in the Marquesas and Tahiti—a period of massive depopulation [through the spread of disease] and fragmentation in the islands" (40). Melville's early writings engage this historical moment and continue into the twentieth century to be present in cultural production. Before returning O.A. Bushnell, the next section takes up Lyons's claim that nearly "every U.S. writer on Oceania recalls reading Melville"—a text has and continues to be a "touchstone" for making and remaking the image of Oceania.

3.2 Templates and Touchstones: Imagining Native Criminality in Melville's *Typee: A Peep at Polynesian Life*

> There are some things related in the narrative which will be sure to appear strange, or perhaps entirely incomprehensible, to the reader.
>
> Herman Melville, Preface to *Typee*[62]

> Nearly every U.S. writer on Oceania recalls reading Melville as the principal motivation for going to the islands and uses his writings as a touchstone.
>
> Paul Lyons[63]

Herman Melville's first two books, *Typee: A Peep at Polynesian Life* and *Omoo: A Narrative of Adventures in the South Seas*, have been as important for conversations in

[62] Herman Melville, *Typee: A Peep at Polynesian Life*.
[63] Paul Lyons, *American Pacificism: Oceania in the U.S. Imagination*.

American and Pacific Islands and Oceania studies as they have been problematic. Melville's writing on the Pacific has continued, from its mid-nineteenth-century publications to the present, to impact the ways in which readers view the archipelago. The novelist and self-proclaimed prankster Bernard Radfar, for example, published a review in 2013 of *Typee*, claiming that what the book offers to readers moves far beyond a question of "fiction or non-fiction"—a binary Radfar interprets as an inhibitor of appreciating "literature" as "the closest [thing] we get to immortality that we know of." Radfar offers his complete endorsement of the "misunderstood" book: "My promise: You will go on his journey and see what Melville saw, but when he takes his memories from latent image to the visible page, a man is revealed who sees more than what is coming into vision." Radfar continues, cautioning readers not to misunderstand the purpose of such great literature: "We don't want the actual journey every time. That's dull reportage. The choices a writer makes define what, from all that could have been said and recorded, is said and recorded, and in what fashion." The "we" in his review, of course, is not identified, but the point is clear: the real value of Melville's early text is in its power to narrate the Pacific Islands *as a fantasy* for a "Western" reader (presumably the identity of the "we"), and to avoid the uninspiring reports of "the actual journey." Despite (or because of) Melville's literary embellishments, this canonical American writer manages to take the pulse of Nuku Hiva in the Marquesas Islands and uncover for his readers some universal truth, not only regarding the "other" but all of human experience.[64] The interpretation of Melville allows Redfar to follow in an enduring tradition that marks Melville as high-culture (even within postcolonial discourse) and to ensure that his work

[64] For an analysis of the critical discourse about whether Melville actually spent time in the Marquesas Islands, see Mary K. Bercaw Edwards' 2009 "Questioning *Typee*" in *Leviathan*, (24-42).

continues to be valued as canonical, ahistorical, and ultimately the product of an individual genius.

Critically, literary and postcolonial scholarship has moved to reframe the role of Melville's early travel narratives as not only misrepresentations of indigenous peoples in the Pacific Islands—impacting adventure and commercial tourism since the mid-nineteenth century—but also part of an enduring colonial legacy that continues to shape the present moment. John Carlos Rowe's 2000 *Literary Culture and U.S. Imperialism* notes: "What is significantly missing from most accounts of Melville as critic of imperialisms or critic of U.S. slavery is the relation between the two practices and their discourses of legitimation" (87). In fact, though deeply overlooked, Rowe argues that Melville's narrative works to connect slavery and colonialism "from the moment that Toby and Tommo flee the wage slavery on board the *Dolly* to their hysterical efforts to escape what they fear is the cannibalism for which the Typee are preparing them." From the beginning, then, the narrative generates an interrogation of wage slavery and the project of colonialism that has yet to be fully explored.

In *The Sign of the Cannibal*, Geoffrey Sanborn argues that Melville's work—*Typee* in particular—shaped the discourse of cannibalism significantly. *The Sign of the Cannibal* (1998) ultimately seeks to show how Melville "move[d] his readers through multiple stages of possible responses" to discourses of cannibalism and colonialism, presuming his readers have no relationship to those discursive or material realities (Sanborn 76). In other words, Sanborn seems to consider Melville's readers have very little contact to colonial discourse beyond what he calls "commonsense perceptions." While Sanborn's study opens up a number of questions for considering Melville's

cultural impact in relation to postcolonial theory, *The Sign of the Cannibal* appears to be motivated most by a literary desire to *recover* Melville from critics whose analyses make visible Melville's reliance on racist and orientalist tropes.[65]

The autobiographical element in Melville's life seems to account for why so many critics are willing to place (often uncritically) such authority in his representations of peoples not historically legible through a "Western" cultural framework. Hershel Parker has noted in the two-volume *Melville: A Biography* that Melville scholarship has proven to be a singular and an enduring fact-finding exploration, consistently taking "some episodes from Melville's early works as autobiography" (xiv). Ironically, Parker's own authority to distinguish fact from fiction emerged from having worked "with so much evidence, old and new," manifest in his over two-thousand-page biography on Melville's life (xiii). In relying on such evidence, the question of whether Melville "got things right"—whether his version of events was *true*—remains at the center of criticism and scholarship, and seems over-determined by questions first put to Melville by both readers and publishers that, in many ways, set discourses around form and narrative: did he actually experience the events he traces in these travel narratives, or is this just fiction?[66]

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[65] Sanborn reads Melville's book as primarily pedagogical, an intentionally instructive narrative for his readers: "What makes [*Typee*] worth our attention is what it encapsulates and draws us toward: the complex process of speculation on cannibalism that takes place in the book as a whole. Its purpose is to provide the reader with a map of the field within which Melville's narrator, Tommo, has been attempting to locate his changing opinions about the extent of cannibalism among the Typees, a secluded and reportedly dangerous tribe on the Marquesan island of Nukaheva. […] Melville calls up a commonsense perception of an object, raises the reader's interest in that object by subjecting it to close examination, and finally draws the reader, if he is successful, into sharing the discovery that the commonsense perception of the object has insensibly decayed, and that the subject and the object of this examination can no longer be found in their accustomed places" (77).

[66] Such notions about Melville's relevance continue to dominate discussion, even as others note these well-known pitfalls of positivist historiography. In a *New York Times* book review of Parker's 1996 biography, for example, Paul Berman states: "Mr. Parker tells us almost nothing about Melville's special insights into colonialism and race." But this minor question in the review is trumped by the overwhelming amount of data the biography handles: "You wade through Mr. Parker's gigantic leaf-drifts of petty facts regarding

Melville himself opens *Typee* with a cautionary and "nervous" preface, defending himself, John Bryant has suggested, "against anticipated attacks on his reliability (xxv). Bryant notes that the preface was written just before *Typee* went to the printing presses, and his anxiety about how it would be received in the United States and in England suggests that he was aware of the coming fact vs. fiction tension. "With the *Typee* manuscript before us," Bryant writes, "we know now more precisely than before just how much 'varnishing' Melville really did on his book. He was 'anxious' to meet his audience: anxious to have their praise, anxious of their complaint" (xxvi).[67] Furthermore, Rowe has suggested that Melville's focus on U.S. policy in the Marquesas shows exactly how far Melville seemed to conceptualize his literary project: "Melville wanted to use his experiences in the Marquesas for purposes that went well beyond the merely autobiographical or purely literary," noting that the "insistence upon *Typee*'s autobiographical realism has caused many literary critics to neglect what historians of the Marquesas in the nineteenth century have simply taken for granted: that the discovery, exploration, and exploitation of the Marquesas by various European powers and the United States presented a microcosm of modern imperialism at its worst" (Rowe 78).

This leads to another, perhaps more central concern: conversations continue to rely on Melville to provide insight into the thoughts and motivations of native peoples, what Paul Lyons has recently called American pacificism, drawing on Edward Said's orientalism that produces the figure of the Other. Why do Melville's early works, in other

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letter writing, cousins, sisters, rentals, sales, architecture, debts, billings and contested wills—reassuring yourself all the while that, at least, everything you could possibly wish to know about Herman Melville will eventually turn up."

[67] Bryant notes that before his edits and revisions, Melville wrote into his adventure narrative references to schoolbooks supporting colonial projects—books that "urged children to convert the heathens."

words, continue to be a "touchstone"—perhaps more accurately, a guidebook—for narrating native bodies into notions of liberal humanism and capitalist modernity? At the same time, how does such cultural production work to evacuate political consciousness and historical autonomy? Again, Paul Lyons observes: "That so many patterns of thought in American Pacificism are anticipated in *Typee* […] is less purely a testimony to Melville's inventiveness than a result of an in-cite-full archival methodology that relentlessly refigures the common motifs of his day" (40). How, in other words, does this neocolonial cultural narrative enable a discourse *about* the Pacific Islands through writers such as Melville without a critical attention to militarization, a legal narrative which exceeds its own frameworks, and what we might think of, borrowing Achilles Mbembe's term, the necropolitics of colonial spaces?[68]

In many ways Melville's work has been read historically as a critique of empire, and therefore a progressive text for understanding more complex moments of contact that preceded it. Indeed, C.L.R James, while lecturing on Melville, was surprised to find "the readiness of every type of audience to discuss him," raising contentious questions over the significance of Melville's ongoing attraction (125). For James, the stakes of his Melville book, *Mariners, Renegades & Castaways: Herman Melville and the World We Live In* (1953), was heightened by the established cold war U.S. ideologies—an intellectual project both disrupted and enabled by his incarceration on Ellis Island. In it, James puts peculiar pressure on the understanding of Melville's work as paralleling the

[68] I do not mean to suggest that scholars have not taken up this discussion, but rather that conversations in Melville studies have continued to prioritize investments in a canonical, author-centered approach. Critical discussions of Melville tend to happen outside of this dominant area of American studies, most clearly with scholars informed by transnational, postcolonial, indigenous, and ethnic studies. See works by Paul Lyons, Geoffrey Sanborn, Donald Pease, John Carlos Rowe, Toni Morrison, Samuel Otter, and to some extent, Stephen Sumida.

conceptual and physical spaces of a carceral United States. In the concluding chapter, James writes: "What form [my book on Melville] might have taken had I written it according to my original plans I do not know. But what matters is that I am not an American citizen, and just as I was about to write, I was arrested by the United States Government and sent to Ellis Island to be deported." What "mattered" to James in 1952 was that he was *not* an American citizen, but rather that he was "arrested by the United States Government," detained as a political prisoner. The political conditions that helped to produce it, James regularly makes clear, enabled theorizing from the precarious space of containment and statelessness.

In the introduction to the 2001 edition of *Mariners*, Donald Pease refers to James's interpretation of *Moby-Dick* as "an effort to question the legality of the state's emergency powers."[69] I wonder how the presence of prisons and criminality as they emerge in such cultural production structures the representations of racialized and criminalized bodies beyond Melville's time. Indeed, while Melville's work is continually viewed as a form of cultural and political critique of American nationalist formations, how might we read these critical engagements with discursive nation-building as narratives emerging from the naturalization of "the native" as a figure occupying the always-past space of pre-modernity, "savage," and uncivilized? This is all to suggest that Melville writes native bodies as belated or pre-modern, a characterization that later achieves a kind of fixity in other representations through his canonical status, allowing it

[69] The state of exception, in Agamben's reframing of Carl Schmitt's understanding of sovereignty, interrogates an important placement of state power and political will. As Colin Dayan has discussed in her recent book *The Law Is a White Dog*, "In the fiction of civil death, broadly understood, the state reinvents what happens after literal death. In a secular word, the enthusiastic embrace of something vague like the soul's salvation allowed reformers to point to an abstraction, thus masking the concrete object of punishment: the minds unraveling" (70).

to find new currency every time it resurfaces. More recently scholars have asked how *Typee* and *Omoo* continue to shape the thinking of Western writers in the Pacific Islands from his own time into the twentieth century as a form of tourist enthusiasm invested in neocolonial forms of possession and dispossession. Several critics of the region have argued that Melville's text introduces a problematic in the mid-nineteenth century indicative of competing liberal ideologies that "derive not only from his own experience in ports that were nodal points for the flow (import/export) of foreign foods, people, and ideas but from an emerging American discourse on globalism" (Lyons 56).

In what follows, I introduce a reading of *Typee: A Peep at Polynesian Life* as an entry point into a systematic and enduring refiguring of motifs and literary tropes working to nativize and criminalize indigenous peoples in the Pacific Islands. This narrative process emerges at the very moment, as Paul Lyons has noted, "of colonization in the Marquesas and Tahiti—a period of massive depopulation [through the spread of disease] and fragmentation in the islands," from which Melville's early writings emerged, and continue into the twentieth century to be present in cultural production (40). My reading of *Typee* is an effort to bring out some of these relationships as I see them operating within the text.

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In a perplexing passage from Melville's 1844 semi-autobiographical travel narrative *Typee*, the protagonist, nicknamed Tommo, makes this observation when he first sees Kory-Kory, a native of the Nuku Hiva Island: "His countenance thus triply hooped…with tattooing always reminded me of those unhappy wretches whom I have sometimes observed gazing out sentimentally from behind the grated bars of a prison

window" (Melville 83). Kory-Kory, a native of the Nukaheva Island, signifies Tommo's own anxieties about indigeneity. Kory-Kory's face (his "countenance") is partially covered by "three broad longitudinal stripes of tattooing," which "crossed his nasal organ, descended into the hollow of his eyes, and even skirted the borders of his mouth." The fear of cannibalism—a narrative written into the travel literature on the Pacific Islands since Captain James Cook's 1770 explorations—is what many scholars focus on.[70] Samuel Otter has described literature about the Marquesas as shaped primarily by "the stupefying power of cannibalism" (15-19). Reading the art of Marquesan tattooing against the pseudo-science of phrenology and racial taxonomy practiced in the nineteenth century, Otter suggests that what startles Tommo most is the "horrifying prospect of indelibility and insecurity" of the marked face; that is, the "unpredictable" markings on Marquesan faces represents for Melville "a native artistic retribution for the Western science of racial ethnology" (44-45). Similarly, Lyons writes in "Literary Tourism and the Discourse of Cannibalism From Herman Melville to Paul Theroux" that "Euro-American writing about Pacific islanders, cannot […] seem to resist the presence, specter, or legacy of cannibalism" (34). He also notes that "cannibalism," as a literary trope, "can be threatening or exotic according to the angle and desires of the perceiver" (32).[71]

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[70] On the question of mythmaking and cannibalism in Melville's work, see Stephen Sumida's *And the View from the Shore: Literary Traditions of Hawai'i* (1991); Paul Lyons' "From Man-Eaters to Spam-Eaters: Literary Tourism and the Discourse of Cannibalism from Herman Melville to Paul Theroux" (1995); Gananath Obeyesekere's *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook: European Mythmaking in the Pacific* (1997); Samuel Otter's *Melville's Anatomies* (1999); Mary K. Bercaw Edwards', *Cannibal Old Me: Spoken Sources in Melville's Early Works* (2009); Paul Lyons' *American Pacificism: Oceania in the U.S. Imagination* (2010).

[71] Similarly, Lyons notes: "The moment is bifurcated, structured something like 'homosexual panic.' As Caleb Crane puts it, 'the writer is attracted to something repulsive; he is not in control of his own actions' (32). The fear is placed onto the brown body of the 'cannibal,' who, while possessing an enviable physique, presumably lusts after the viewer's body in a repulsively gustatory manner. The 'double-bind of attraction and repulsion' before the attractive cannibal's desire produces 'delicious shudders' (33), which the author

Yet Tommo's first thought when he sees the "three broad longitudinal stripes of tattooing" on Kory-Kory's face is that of "the grated bars of a prison window." Tommo's first contact with Kory-Kory does not engage the island geography. Instead, the sight of Kory-Kory's face triggers a kind of narrative displacement, imaginatively transporting Kory-Kory to a precarious legal institutional space: the U.S. prison. Such an encounter was made possible by the transits of empire traveling from the contested colonial spaces of the South Pacific to Melville's own northeastern United States. Scholars have written on the ways this text, taking after Captain David Porter (1780-1843), the U.S. naval commander who claimed the Marquesas Islands for the United States, operates as a kind of subtext in *Typee*, particularly as U.S. imperialism established gateways for trade and liberal democracy.[72] The visuality—a "peep of Polynesian life"—recalls (Tommo's verb is "reminded") something impossibly strange—what Melville, in his Preface, tells his readers will be "entirely incomprehensible" (Melville 2). It is striking that the "strange and incomprehensible" figure of Kory-Kory is made possible, at least in this representation, by evoking the figure of "the unhappy wretch" behind the prison walls.

How should we interpret this quick and seemingly natural association between tattooed indigenous bodies (specifically faces) and the figure of the tragic "wretch" wasting away in prison? What are we to make of such fast formulations of native

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masters by assuming a jokey, belittling attitude before an audience positioned as holding similar concerns, and by expressing hostility to what has provoked the panic."

[72] Rowe, "Just how much Melville knew of Porter's specific plans to develop the Marquesas is not know, but Melville's comment in Typee about the sins of western traders in the region seems to comment directly on Porter's formal proposal in 1815 to President Madison 'that he be placed in charge of a voyage of exploration into the Pacific,' specifically for purposes of commercial and military colonization. Herbert summarizes Porter's larger ambitions in this post-War of 1812 proposal to Madison: "Porter argues that his voyage might open trade relations with Japan, which was then closed to all Western nations except the Dutch. He further argues that great improvements could be made in the American relation to China. While the American national territory extended scarcely west of the Appalachians, in short, Porter had a vision of a Pacific empire" (85).

criminality? This depiction of prison and the prisoner finds the presence hidden deep within the marked face of Kory-Kory, I suggest, an inscription of indigeneity and a presumed state of guilt and criminality, producing a figure that can only exist outside of the categories of modernity and the fully human subject. Narrating Kory-Kory as both native *and* criminal reinforces the notion that the racialized peoples in the colonized Pacific can be placed in distinct opposition to the conqueror as the native "Other"—a distinction Achilles Mbembé has argued exists outside the juridical legibility of the metropoles of the British and U.S. empires. The colonized native, in this framing, lies outside the center of juridical laws and national borders, a distinction stemming from the "racial denial of any common bond between the conqueror and the native" (24). The colony, Mbembé argues, always already operates outside the normative imperial frameworks:

> Colonies are zones in which war and disorder, internal and external figures of the political, stand side by side or alternate with each other. As such, the colonies are the location par excellence where the controls and guarantees of judicial order can be suspended—the zone where the violence of the state of exception is deemed to operate in the service of "civilization."

Within this context, the very concept of "civilization" is defined against a racialized, native, criminalized colonial space and subject, producing the conditions for state violence to operate on an unannounced legitimacy as a necessary and natural expression of modernity. And it is the marked face of Kory-Kory, I suggest, that makes this legal frame legible as particularly linked to the criminalized space of the U.S. prison.

The question is not simply one of colonial figures like Tommo, acting out singular expressions as an agent of colonialism upon one-dimensional figures of colonized

subjects. Tommo's "reading" of Kory-Kory speaks instead to the various forms of criminalization that structured, among other things, naval and imperial industries (including the industry of whaling). In part, then, I read this moment in *Typee* as a framing discourse of contract and labor; Tom (before he was renamed Tommo) was contracted as a member of the American whaling ship *Dolly*, and became criminalized when he fled the ship because of the captain's regular and generally authorized abuses of the crew members, a discussion Melville takes up more explicitly in the Naval context in his novel 1850 *White-Jacket, or, The Man of War*. Put another way, Tommo is transformed into a kind of fugitive figure before Kory-Kory takes him in, hiding from the imperial agents who are charged with capturing and detaining deserters.

While Tommo is situated very differently than Kory-Kory, his criminalized lens, so to speak, filters into what he sees around him on the island. In the often-cited chapter 27 of *Typee*, for example, Tommo meditates on what he describes as the legal and "social conditions and character of the Typees" (200). He states:

> During the time I lived among the Typees, no one was ever put upon trial for any offence against the public. To all appearances there were no courts of law or equity. There was no municipal police for the purpose of apprehending vagrants and disorderly characters. In short, there were no legal provisions whatever for the well-being and conversation of society, the enlightened end of civilized legislation.

Michael Rogin interprets this passage by comparing the context of the "Melvill [*sic*] family" and their losses of property and social capital in New York. Having witnessed the legal process dismantle and undermine his inheritance of property and the family estate, this reading of economic and social status, or apparent lack of such structures, is convincingly informing these reflections of the island life as a kind of "child-centered

paradise," while at the same time noting that this paradise is a prison. Rogin puts it this way: "Tommo experiences Typee as neither patriarchy nor matriarchy but as child-centered paradise. But the paradise, which is also a prison, depends on his helplessness" (44). The romantic depiction of communal, peaceful and harmonious life prompts Tommo's question: "How are we to explain this enigma?" (200). While Melville's not very subtle tone prepares the reader for the following taunting statements targeting missionaries and others who would not challenge the conflation of "native" and "savage"—while at the same time valorize industrial capitalist democratic societies as civilized, advanced, and superior "social orders"—the category of "criminal" never seems far from Melville's mind.

Caleb Smith's book *The Prison and the American Imagination* traces many of these deep-seated anxieties of emergent carceral narratives in U.S. literature. On Melville's "Bartleby, the Scrivener," for example, Smith notes that the city prison, The Tombs in which Bartleby lives his last days was "one of the monuments of the reform movement, designed in the 1830s by the most famous penitentiary architect in America […] and a model of modern penitentiary discipline" (81). He argues that the spatial configuration of prisons in the hands of cultural producers like Melville articulates a "poetics of punishment," where the prisoner emerges as a figure "at the boundary between citizen and captive, between the community of the living and the exile of the living dead" (18). The very notions of citizenship and freedom, in this example, were shored up by, if not borne out of, conceptions of captivity and the emergence of the carceral institutions evolving out of the late-eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth centuries.

While Smith's reading opens up a space to reframe the nineteenth century as a literary moment defined in many ways by carceral discourses, *Typee*'s invocation of Kory-Kory as the longing and tormented figure trapped behind the "grated bars of the prison window" calls for something different, something that more directly recognizes the relationships between the U.S. nation-state of the nineteenth century as an emerging empire. I would suggest that what is needed in the project of rethinking the prison and the literary imagination—its relationship to the emergence of a democratic, liberal institution whose conceptions of freedom depend upon the frameworks of chattel slavery *and* colonialism as centrally carceral projects—is a global, transnational conception that is deeply attentive to the politics of empire and colonialism. The conditions of possibility for criminalization shape this narrative more than has been previously acknowledge in Melville scholarship.

3.3: The Figure of Keanu in O.A. Bushnell's *Molokai*

> The specimens he examined, both microscopically and culturally, for the presence of leprosy bacilli came not only from the tissues of lepers, but from every conceivable source: the pus, scabs, blood, spittle, sputum, urine, feces, and smegma of lepers, the scurf of their skin, the rotting remnants of their corpses, the very dust of their graves, gave him material for study. So did the foods they ate, the water they drank, the houses they lived in, the clothes they wore, the air they breathed, even the mosquitoes, lice, bed-bugs, and other vermin which bit them, the flies, the roaches, the animals great and small which lived with them. He thought of everything, peered into everything, even the family poi bowl—and he found Hansen's bacilli (or what he thought were Hansen's bacilli) almost everywhere in the leper's environment. But never could he succeed in growing the damnable things in any medium at all…

O.A. Bushnell, from a biographical essay on Dr. Edward Arning[73]

> Is this not better than killing a man outright—as the judges and the Courts of your Kingdom are permitted to do in your name? There is no certainty that my experimentation upon [Keanu] will succeed. Indeed, there is every chance that he will not become a leper. But what certainty does one of your prisoners have, a murderer condemned to death, that he will escape your hangman?

O.A. Bushnell, from *Molokai*, Dr. Newman to King Kalākaua[74]

As I suggested above in the opening of this chapter, O.A. Bushnell's novel *Molokai* poses important problems for narrating the historical documentation of the Keanu case as an emergent response to this notion of native criminality. Dr. Newman, the fictionalized representation of Dr. Eduard Arning, continuously reconciles medical violence by calling attention to other forms of state-sanctioned violence: in Keanu's case, the hanging of Keanu for first-degree murder. It is clear that Bushnell's aim in writing historical fiction is not to frame the Keanu case as a product of colonial law and imperial medicine, as I have been arguing throughout these three chapters through the discourses with medical archives and journals. Rather, Bushnell's fiction reveals an attempt to make visible the ethical importance of what he regularly calls "a high point in Hawaii's medical history." In fact, Bushnell's 1967 biography of Arning places unparalleled importance on his scientific work, coming close to suggesting that Arning managed to usher in a Hawaiian medical renaissance based on (superior) European scientific knowledge. On Arning's initial medical reports on the state of leprosy on the islands, Bushnell notes:

> Never before in Hawaii had such words been used, because never before had such a *modern medical intellect* come among the physicians of Hawaii. By the standards of their day, a few of those were good doctors; a few were quacks and derelicts, flotsam and jetsam from the seven seas and

[73] O.A. Bushnell, "Dr. Edward Arning: The Microbiologist in Hawaii" (11-12).
[74] O.A. Bushnell, *Molokai* (28-29).

> the six continents; most of them were contented mediocrities. Whether good or bad, few of them would have understood much of Arning's vocabulary or of his reasoning. (my emphasis 9)

Bushnell, a trained microbiologists and longtime professor of medical history, regularly balances in his work the issue of historical documentation and social and cultural critique. While so much of his attention, in both creative and scientific venues, is focused on histories of colonialism, imperialism, and the impacts of Western disease on the Hawaiian population, much of his work values the histories of contact in the Pacific as a civilizing mission. Stephen Sumida has suggested as much in describing Bushnell's literary style, arguing that the multicultural and multiethnic environment of his childhood (due to various diasporic migrations bringing peoples to the islands) ultimately helped him develop a literary voice that might be compared to William Faulkner or Mark Twain. Sumida notes that a literary technique like Bushnell's "comes naturally to a writer raised in a society characterized by the coexistence of different cultures and points of view, where, too, one is aware (as Twain and Faulkner knew), that what the outside world thinks of this locale is at odds with what the local people know" (Sumida 192). What's important about this in this discussion is that Bushnell does indeed straddle a complicated understanding of "the local" point of view, expressed directly in his representations of Keanu.

In this section, my aim is to consider, within the context outlined above, O.A. Bushnell's fiction as a cultural counter-narrative to stories of colonial violence, something that has been little discussed regarding Bushnell's fiction. I ask directly how Bushnell's 1963 novel *Molokai* works to challenge the narrative conflations and associations discussed in the previous sections. The naturalized construction of a carceral

archipelago producing a consistent narrative of native criminality is, in other words, disrupted in *Molokai*, and works as a kind of response to this enduring literary tradition. Sumida describes Bushnell as a "Hawai'i-born, third-generation descendant of a mix of European immigrants to Hawai'i including Portuguese Norwegian."[75] His fiction and non-fiction work to make visible this form of racialized criminalization by centering acts of violence produced by naturalized colonial realities as the conditions of possibility for medical violence in the Pacific Islands and Oceania.

The broader question concerning whose work might counter narratives of imperialism and settler colonialism takes center stage at the height of Bushnell's literary career. Controversially stated in a keynote speech at the 1978 "Talk Story: Our Voices in Literature and Song; Hawaii's Ethnic American Writers' Conference,"[76] Bushnell accused Hawaiian locals of letting "outsiders" narrate for Hawaiians who they are and what they think.[77] He states: "In Hawaii, […] writers are stifled at birth. Our geniuses with words and pen never have a chance. […] 'Outsiders,' not only from the Mainland, will be writing the novels telling us what we are and what we think. They will turn out

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[75] In *And the View from the Shore: Literary Traditions of Hawai'i*, in a chapter entitled "Hawaii's Local Literary Tradition," Stephen Sumida notes that Bushnell—a medical historian at the University of Hawai'i, established writer of historical fiction about Hawai'i, and, in Sumida words, "Hawai'i-born, third-generation descendant of a mix of European immigrants to Hawai'i including Portuguese and Norwegians," which allowed Bushnell to grow up "leaning to read the pulse of the land and its people" (164) —set out to challenge "local" Hawaiian writers to do more to represent Hawai'i's ethnic voice, counter-narratives to those written by "outsiders." (277)

[76] Sumida, *And the View from the Shore: Literary Traditions of Hawai'i*. Sumida's reflections on the conference, known also as "Story Talk: Words, bind, words set free," were published in 1986 in *The Best of Bamboo Ridge: The Hawaii Writers' Quarterly*, edited by Eric Chock & Darrell H.Y. Lum (302-21).

[77] In his 1991 *And the View from the Shore*, Sumida addresses an enduring belief that "Hawaii's local people have been stereotyped as being silent or quiet, not merely reticent but deficient in verbal skills and therefore incapable of creating literature of any merit, much less a literary tradition" (277). Sumida is responding, in part, to O.A. Bushnell's critique of ethnic Hawaiian writers (specifically Asian American writers of Hawai'i)—comments Bushnell presented as the opening keynote address to the 1978 "Talk Story: Our Voices in Literature and Song; Hawaii's Ethnic American Writers' Conference."

the stuff that the rest of the world will read."[78] Popular novelist James Michener, for example, made it clear that readers outside of the Hawaiian Islands were more than willing to take his 1959 encyclopedic novel *Hawaii* as the authoritative book on Hawaiian culture, history, and social life.[79] Published the same year that the United States claimed Hawai'i as an official state, Michener's novel seemed to stand not only for the theft of land and ongoing colonial project of the U.S. government, but another measure of cultural imperialism that sought to create, as Haunani-Kay Trask has described, "the West's view of itself" through the degradation of Hawai'i's past (153). Regarding Michener, Stephen Sumida outlines the cultural stakes this way:

> Michener's came to be known as the novel of Hawaii. Whatever one may have thought about the novel's literary merits and demerits, the general feeling was that it, after all, was even by its sheer mass the most and the best those small tropical islands could muster. Why should anyone try to surpass it? Or why should anyone look for older works that have told Hawaii's story with any more authenticity or imaginative flair? Hawaii's criticism of the novel—unfavorable criticism which was quite abundant—lashed Michener for factual inaccuracies or, when he told the truth, for casting our ancestors in the lurid light of scandals involving family characters closeted generations ago. (302)[80]

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[78] See reference to "Talk Story: Our Voices in Literature and Song; Hawaii's Ethnic American Writers' Conference," quoted in Stephen Sumida's 1991 *And the View from the Shore: Literary Traditions of Hawai'i* (239).

[79] Michelle Stephens points to Philip E. Steinberg observations on contradictory perceptions of island spaces and people: "Islanders sometimes construct themselves as inhabitants of places that are 'special' because of their enclosure behind watery protective barriers. However […] this self-identification of 'island-ness' is a relatively recent invention (perhaps first evoked by English males in the early nineteenth century) […]. It has always been the result of encounters with mainlanders and their perspectives on the distinction between mainland, island and sea" (13).

[80] Sumida traces Bushnell's statements to the popular writer James Michener and his widely read novel *Hawaii*, which implied that there was no Asian American literary voice in Hawai'i. Sumida states: "In 1959, Hawaii gained U.S. statehood, having been a territory since annexation in1898. Not by mere coincidence, in 1959 two books important to Hawaii's literature were published. […] One is James A. Michener's novel, Hawaii. […] Michener's came to be known as *the* novel of Hawaii. […] Michener and scholar A. Grove Day counter these charges with the obvious disclaimer that the novel is, after all, fiction. But there has also been another dissatisfaction with the novel among certain people in Hawaii: that the novel considered to be *the* novel of Hawaii has been written by an outsider. Why did no one born and raised in Hawaii, someone steeped in the ways and the knowledge of Hawaii's cultures and history, write the novel? Why did no one among each of the major ethnic groups of whom Michener writes tell his or her

Cultural production and historiography on and about Hawai‘i, then, reveals a colonial reliance on racist tropes and stereotypes of Hawaiian people and culture, narrated both as past and distant, "racialized...out of modern time and into anachronistic space," as Rona Tamiko Halualani has suggested (6). Along similar lines, Sumida's point in the above passage is clear: works like Michener's *Hawaii* have shaped, for centuries, the dominant narratives widely available for those people living outside the Hawaiian Islands. This takes on particular meaning at a moment when the example of U.S. nation-building, with the official inclusion of Hawai‘i as the fiftieth state in the union, unfolds and is constructed as yet another passive acceptance of U.S. hegemony in Hawai‘i.[81]

Halualani has argued that longstanding frameworks which represent Native Hawaiians as "vestiges of a cultural past" extends a colonial frame that depends upon the impossibility of indigenous bodies as participatory agents within the modern nation-state.[82] As many historians and activist scholars have noted, however, resistance to U.S. imperialism (economic, political, and cultural) and annexation has a long and deep history. In *Aloha America*, Adria Imada notes that as late as the 1880s, "hula was resurrected and enshrined by the Hawaiian monarchy as an anti-imperial, state-sponsored

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people's story from the inside out? The dissatisfaction was also that somehow we in Hawaii had been robbed, and now it was too late to overtake the thief. And it was our own fault—somehow" (302-03).

[81] Many have charted how this political maneuver came to be. Adria Imada, for example, notes that "Congress passed a bill making the territory [of Hawai‘i] the fiftieth state of the union and Hawai‘i' population approved statehood via plebiscite. However, this plebiscite offered only two choices on the ballot: statehood or continued territorial status. Furthermore, military personnel and non-Hawaiians who outnumbered Kanaka Maoli were allowed to vote" (274). Also see Trask, *From a Native Daughter* (30, 235) and Kauanui, "Colonialism in Equality" (643).

[82] Jodi Byrd's analysis in *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism* offers yet another examination of this continuous discourse. Byrd states: "In the face of these colonial processes that seek to mask the fractures within U.S. boundaries among American Indian nations, it seems important to examine how discourses of Indianness are used both by the imperial U.S. government, which occupies Hawai'i, and by those Native Hawaiian activists who frame 'Indianness' as an infection threatening their rights and status as an internationally recognized sovereign state" (xxxviii).

form of national revival in defiance of haole missionary settlers" (11). Similarly, in *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*, Noenoe K. Silva's unsettles what she and others have called the enduring myths of Hawai'i by employing not only Foucault's frameworks of "madness, illness, death, crime, sexuality, and so forth," but also foregrounding the study of colonialism in the Pacific Islands (Silva 6). Silva disrupts the "persistent and pernicious myths" portraying Hawaiian history and culture as passively accepting the "erosion of their culture and the loss of their nation," and her archival research reveals how native residents regularly resisted colonialism. Silva notes as one example on the Kalaupapa settlement on Moloka'i in the late nineteenth century. Residents, despite being quarantined as "lepers" and imprisoned on the peninsula, protested before and after the U.S. annexation of Hawai'i, and leaders in the Kalaupapa community "not only gathered signatures on the protest petitions, but earlier had organized a full day of activities to commemorate the queen's birthday on September 2" (149-50).

Bushnell's statements at the 1978 "Talk Story" conference reflect, though indirectly, central conversations extending from these early moments of colonialism, but those explicitly emerging from cultural and political contexts around the question of Hawaiian cultural renaissance and sovereignty movements in the twentieth century. In the 1980s, not long after the "Talk Story" conference, Haunani-Kay Trask began publishing on the ways in which Native Hawaiian interests were elided not only by North American and European colonial legacies, but from growing economic pressures from Asia, directly

impacting Hawai‘i and the Pacific Islands more broadly.[83] Trask writes on the impact of Japanese tourism on Native Hawaiians as it moves "into the Pacific with aggressive economic penetration as investors and as tourists in Vanuatu, Tahiti, Micronesia, Fiji, Sāmoa, and elsewhere" (50). The shift in global influences on the Pacific Islands, Trask notes, is felt most as travel increases through tourism: "In Hawai‘i, Japanese firms have purchased over nine billion dollars worth of real estate since the 1970s."[84]

Regarding the cultural renaissance, Paul Lyons notes in "Afterlives of (Native/non-Native) Collaboration Against Empire in Hawai‘i" that the legacy of colonialism is not only a question of economic pressure but rather "a specter [that] is haunting Hawai‘i – the specter of sovereignty" (81). On the discursive impacts economic shifts impose on discussions of localism in Hawai‘i, statehood and cultural nationalisms, and tensions surrounding the location and definitions of literary conventions and aesthetics, Lyons notes:

> The fault lines within such 'localism', in its literary form, became evident in the mid-1980s, and were debated through the 1990s, breaking around the question of whether Hawai‘i was to be thought of as affectively part of 'America' – as region, 'local' movement, or sub-nation within it, for which 'Bamboo Ridge' (the focal point of much of the debate about the politics of 'local' literature, despite, or because, its editors take a generally

[83] See Trask's collection *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai‘i*.

[84] This discussion takes center stage in Rob Wilson's *Reimagining the American Pacific: From* South Pacific *to* Bamboo Ridge *and Beyond* (2000), and then with deeper urgency with two other collections: *Asian Settler Colonialism* (2008), edited by Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Y. Okamura, and *Militarized Currents: Toward a Decolonized Future in Asia and the Pacific* (2010), edited by Setsu Shegematsu and Keith L. Camacho. In the introduction to *Asian Settler Colonialism*, Fujikane writes: "Read in the context of Hawaiian scholarship on U.S. colonialism…ethnic histories written about Asians in Hawai‘i demonstrate an investment in the ideal of American democracy that is ideologically at odds with indigenous critiques of U.S. colonialism. Although these historical accounts often recognize that Hawaiians have a unique political status as indigenous peoples, they do not address the roles of Asians in an American colonial system. Instead, they recount Asian histories of oppression and resistance in Hawai‘i, erecting a multicultural ethnic studies framework that ends up reproducing the colonial claims made in white settler historiography. In their focus on racism, discrimination, and the exclusion of Asians from full participation in an American democracy, such studies tell the story of Asians' civil rights struggles as one of nation building in order to legitimate Asians' claims to a place for themselves in Hawai‘i" (2).

> apolitical stance toward literature) might figure as sign – or taken to be an occupied/colonized place, whose subjects might form alliances internally, articulating their politics with indigenous claims, in support of the principle of sovereignty, and externally, in relation to decolonizing movements in the Pacific and elsewhere. To dissident creative writer/artists in Hawai‘i, the call of the U.S. state to a participatory citizenship built on Hawaiian displacement or legal assimilation inspires no affective loyalty.

As Hawaiian sovereignty movements took new shape in the 1970s and the questions around prisons and the disproportionately increasing incarceration rates for Native Hawaiians became more pronounced, the question of "local" cultural production also emerges as a central question in this conference.[85] Bushnell's act of naming "outsiders" who dominate the narration of Hawaiian identity raises questions about how "ethnic experience" in Hawai‘i should be understood, particularly as global capital invests in Hawai‘i as a tourist economy, as well as new prisons are erected and Hawaiian Natives are shipped off to prisons in the continental United States.[86] In other words, Bushnell's dictum—that outsiders are "telling us what we are and what we think"—points to a difficult contradiction steeped in the question of cultural representations of Hawaiian identity and self-determination.[87]

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[85] See "A Nation Incarcerated" in *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai‘i* (111).

[86] Also see Lyon's longer discussion in his book *American Pacificism: Oceania in the U.S. Imagination* (2006) on what he terms American Pacificism, a refashioning of Edward Said's "orientalism" and Toni Morrison's "Africanist presence" that centers Oceania as a site of knowing and knowledge production.

[87] In discussing the "publication boom" of nineteenth-century slave narratives, Toni Morrison has explained how the process of the deep contradictions of nation-building without discussing the presence of racial slavery occurs: "How could one speak of profit, economy, labor, progress, suffragism, Christianity, the frontier, the formation of new states, the acquisition of new lands, education, transportation (freight and passengers), neighborhoods, the military—of almost anything a country concerns itself with—without having as a referent, at the heart of the discourse, at the heart of definition, the presence of Africans and their descendants? It was not possible. And it did not happen. What did happen frequently was an effort to talk about these matters with a vocabulary designed to disguise the subject. It did not always succeed, and in the work of many writers disguise was never intended. But the consequence was a master narrative that spoke for Africans and their descendants, or of them" (50).

Bushnell's statement highlights a central concern over what constitutes a Hawaiian literary voice and at the same time the colonial relationships between Native Hawaiians and settlers communities from the United States, Europe, and more implicitly, the labor diaspora from Asia.[88] More specifically, for Bushnell, it addresses specific legal and medical discourses which begin with "first contact" representation, as it does with Bushnell's first novel *The Return of Lono: A Novel of Captain Cook's Last Voyage* (1956). Therefore, if *The British Medical Journal* and other scientific literature, discussed in previous chapters, discursively produced the *fiction* of a racialized prisoner-patient, made possible through the figure of Keanu, how does this figure emerge in Bushnell's *Molokai*? I suggest that his fiction could be read as a consistent return and revaluation of colonial historiography, written as a counter-narrative to the always already contested historical narratives of Hawai'i. Against histories of naturalized domination and colonialism, *Molokai* wages critiques against Euro-American imperialism by refashioning the colonial record in narrative form.[89]

Bushnell's *Molokai*, in other words, makes colonial relations explicit and central to narratives of Hawai'i. The novel, published just over a decade before the "Talk Story" conference, restages the story of the death row prisoner Keanu and the German microbiologist Eduard Arning, who successfully acquires Keanu for human experimentation and leprosy inoculation. Focusing most on narrating the doctor's point of

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[88] Edward Beechert, *Working in Hawaii: A Labor History*; Moon-Kie Jung; *Reworking Race: The Making of Hawaii's Interracial Labor Movement*; Gary Okihiro, *Cane Fires: The Anti-Japanese Movement in Hawaii, 1865-1945* and *Pineapple Culture: A History of the Tropical and Temperate Zones*; Judy Rohrer, *Haoles in Hawai'i*; and Ronald Takaki's *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii, 1835-1920*.

[89] See also Bushnell's other novels: *Ka'a'awa* (1972), which fictionalizes the impact of smallpox on O'ahu in the 1850s, *Stone of Kannon* (1979), *Water of Kane*, which documents the lives of Japanese contract laborers in the late nineteenth century, and Bushnell's last book, *The Gifts of Civilization: Germs and Genocide in Hawai'i* (1993), which historicizes the introduction of diseases and the mass genocide that ensued.

view (fictionalized as Dr. Newman), Bushnell resists cultural colonial frameworks that attempt to inhabit the thoughts of the historical figure of Keanu.[90] While so much writing on Hawai‘i emerges from narratives of historical romance, depicting romantic and gendered conceptions of Hawai‘i and Oceania as pastoral lands "ready for taking," racializing its peoples as "vestiges of a cultural past," Bushnell's novel presents another type of reading altogether. To return to the question: How might cultural texts deviate from the figures inhabiting the spaces of technical literature in science and medicine? Whereas the medical archive discussed in my first chapter produces this prisoner-patient figure in order to engender the possibility of consent for the primary purpose of making a criminalized and racialized body available and valuable for medical experimentation, Bushnell's text works to disrupt this dominant narrative. *Molokai* works to represent Keanu's plight not by inhabiting and then narrating from within a subaltern subjectivity—one that speaks *for* the prisoner-patient who, in the official recorded archive, had no possibility to speak—but instead redirects the colonial gaze to the doctor who manifests as legitimate imperial medical violence.

[90] Some have suggested that the character Dr. Newman is a fictionalized hybrid of several key actors in colonial medicine in Hawai‘i. See, for example, Dominika Ferens' "Queer ways of knowing islands: O.A. Bushnell" in *Ways of Knowing Small Places: Intersections of American Literature and Ethnography since the 1960s* (93-108).

Chapter Four

"The smell of grease paint had done me more good than Fowler's Solution": Memoir/Memory and the Performance of Racial Criminality at the Carville Leprosarium

This chapter builds on the medical discourse of leprosy discussed in the first two chapters, which focused on prisoner-patient discourses in Molokaʻi and medical journals, to another location: the Carville Leprosarium in Louisiana. An important interplay emerges between the public health institutions in the Pacific Islands and those that became a part of a larger conversation about the nation and the Louisiana Carville National Leprosarium. As Michelle Moran argues in *Colonizing Leprosy*, reading Molokaʻi and Carville in isolation and without the imperial framework that produced them misses the ongoing dialogue occurring between "mainland" and colonial spaces. I argued in the first chapters that dialogue in the medical conversation in journals and policies literally shaped the ways that bodies are medicalized through racialized and gendered lenses across the globe. What is also clear is that those practices find traction within the U.S. context, albeit with their own historical specificities. Regarding colonial practices transported to public health institutions within the U.S. borders, Moran notes:

> The establishment of leprosy facilities in Hawaiʻi and Louisiana demonstrated the remarkable success that public health officials had enjoyed in gaining the authority to inspect the bodies of citizens, identify certain individuals as threats to the public health, and confine them within specialized institutions. Doctors and medical administrators did not simply replicate on the mainland what had been developed in the territory, however…. Racialized and gendered assumptions of Hawaiians as promiscuous, unruly, and ignorant in the ways of Western medicine initially led health officials to favor a more open design for Kalaupapa. In Carville, health officials imposed more restrictive policies and mandated that patients follow the dictates of the modern medical institution. The Kalaupapa settlement provided a model for its Louisiana counterpart, but

> it was patients at Carville who acted as ideal test subjects in medical research. Only after physicians had been successfully treating patients in Carville with experimental sulfone drugs for several years in the 1940s did they transport the treatment to Hawai‘i after World War II. (12)

Moran urges a more nuanced and critical treatment of not only colonial subjects administered by U.S. public health officials, but also those who are racialized in those different spaces—viewing Hawaiians as "promiscuous, unruly, and ignorant in the ways of Western medicine." While her account does not consider the initial experimental inoculations on Keanu in the 1880s, which, as I discussed earlier, in many ways inaugurates the medical triumph narrative that culminates at Carville, Moran's insights are powerfully clear: these practices (and the conditions producing them) were constantly working in tandem with other sites and peoples. Though ideologies of white supremacy and colonial context shaped each place in significantly different ways, the medical institutions across these locations were in close contact at every stage and developed in deep conversation with one another, and suggests that to think transnationally in this context helps to better "understand the dynamic exchanges flowing between colony and mainland" (6).[91] Speaking from a similar framework, Warwick Anderson, after José David Salvidar, has described "the colonial laboratories of the Philippines, Puerto Rico,

[91] Another important study that takes this dynamic exchange as a starting point is Warwick Anderson's *Colonial Pathologies: American Tropical Medicine, Race, and Hygiene in the Philippines*. Anderson states: "The medical doctors and bureaucrats I write about were itinerants, with a global view of things that historians, so preoccupied with the local and constrained by nation or region, are only now coming to appreciate. In a generally uncritical, unreflective way, these colonial technicians were prepared to find the modern in the colony, the colonial in the metropole. In this case, the traffic between the United States and the Philippines, the Pacific crossings, enables us to recognize that colonial technologies of rule could also be used to develop the 'nation' and its various disciplines in both locations. The experience of empire allowed American scientists and physicians to bring many colonial bureaucratic practices-and even a new sense of themselves—back to urban health departments in the United States and elsewhere between 1910 and 1920. José David Salvidar, among others, has urged us to look at the borderlands between the United States and Mexico as 'the spaces where the nation begins and ends.' But we should remember that the colonial laboratories of the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Hawaii also were borderlands, where many 'experts' were experimenting with various national bodies, including their own" (Anderson 8)

and Hawaii" as colonial "borderlands, where many 'experts' were experimenting with various national bodies" (Anderson 8).

This section makes visible the links I have been making in this dissertation between hospitals and prisons. In this chapter, I consider how these forms of racialization become articulated not only through the lens of racialized patients of color at Carville, but also the ways that whiteness operates as a kind of platform or theater for performing criminality, citizenship, and racial formation.[92] The first section examines the 2009 memoir *In the Sanctuary of Outcasts* by Neal White. The memoir functions as an example of how criminality is made valuable through performances of whiteness at Carville in the 1990s. The memoir works to appropriate two narrative frameworks—prison autobiography and illness and recovery memoir—while at the same time ignoring the politics of mass incarceration and racialized punishment. White's text is especially useful for tracing recent forms of narrating criminality within medical spaces as opportunity—for overcoming the very concept of who and what the law has deemed "criminal." I argue that White's memoir presents direct connections between medicalized space and carceral discourse.

The next section examines the 1963 autobiography of the patient activist Stanley Stein, who was interned and quarantined at the Carville Leprosarium in 1931. Stein's autobiography, *Alone No Longer: The Story of a Man Who Refused to Be One of the Living Dead!*, traces the politicization of patients impacted by public health discourses

[92] For extensive discussions on theorizing race, class, and the ideological constructions of whiteness in history and in cultural production, see: Cheryl Harris, "Whiteness as Property"; Eric Lott, *Love & Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class*, and Toni Morrison, *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*; David Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness and Color: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* and *Colored White: Transcending the Racial Past*.

about Hansen's disease, referred to in these accounts as leprosy. These discourses produced a mechanism by which the state legitimized exclusionary policy and social action as a necessary action for the public good, and Stein was instrumental in challenging these notions. I complicate this narrative, however, by focusing on the ways in which Stein narrates his own transformation as a prisoner-patient into a "citizen" of Carville by performing in blackface in a Carville minstrel show. Following my discussion of Neal White's performance of criminality, I suggest that the performance of illness (as a prisoner-patient) through blackface enables Stein's rejection of being criminalized. Stein, in other words, finds his blackface performance to be his own pathway to reenter what he describes as a legitimized white space and society. In contrast to the examples of White and Stein, I suggest that the highly publicized case of Filipina Hansen's disease patient Josefina ("Joey") Guerrero, beginning with her involvement and aiding of U.S. troops in Manila in the 1940s, reveals another kind of performance that negotiates literal and figurative conceptions of medicine and citizenship. Finally, I conclude with another memoir, *Squint: My Journey with Leprosy*, written in 2009 by former Carville patient, José P. Ramirez. The cases of Guerrero and Ramirez offer discourses of race, medicine, nation, and incarceration that, in my reading, respond to and complicate the claims to whiteness discussed above in Stein's and White's memoirs.

To that end, this chapter investigates the relationships between whiteness and criminality—or the impossibility of white criminality—in this medical carceral space. I focus on the legal structures keeping whiteness from being perceived as criminal or

dangerous through the naturalization of racialized criminality.[93] And while I emphasize this process of racialized criminality, I also read it against medical space as the conditions of possibility for this narrative to emerge and operate within frameworks of white supremacy. I trace the naturalization of racialized citizenship in the medical context by placing it in direct conversation with earlier prisoner-patient writings from Carville.

4.1. Playing Criminal in Neil White's Prison Memoir *In the Sanctuary of Outcasts*

> My plan to write an exposé about the convicts and the leprosy patients fit perfectly with my mother's early vision for me. I had an opportunity to turn [my] incarceration into a great piece of journalism.
>
> Neil White, *In the Sanctuary of Outcasts*[94]

> I don't even know if I really would've gotten insights from just a regular prison, but Carville was, for me, just a wonderful, wonderful experience.
>
> Neil White, from an interview for his prison memoir[95]

> The concept of whiteness was carefully protected because so much was contingent upon it. Whiteness conferred on its owners aspects of citizenship that were all the more valued because they were denied to others. Indeed, the very fact of citizenship itself was linked to white racial identity.
>
> Cheryl Harris, "Whiteness as Property" [96]

In his 2009 memoir, *In the Sanction of Outcasts*, Neil White describes his first encounter with Louisiana's Carville Federal Prison. He arrives at Carville on May 3,

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[93] In Lisa Marie Cacho's recent framework, this chapter examines how "certain bodies and behaviors are made transparently criminal while privileged bodies and their brutal crimes are rendered unrecognizable as criminal or even as violent" (37).
[94] Neal White, *In the Sanctuary of Outcasts* (54)
[95] From a book promotional interview on www.NeilWhite.com
[96] Cheryl Harris, "Whiteness as Property" (1744)

1993, dramatizing the moment of "self surrender" as the beginning of his 18-month prison sentence as a federal inmate. White tells readers that, as a white-collar prisoner sentenced for a non-violent crime, he really didn't belong in prison. His crime was "check kiting," a form of bank fraud that consisted of "floating" large amounts of money from one bank to another, cashing bad checks to "pay the bills" and maintain the appearance of his thriving publishing business.

Formerly known as the U.S. national leprosarium, Carville was often referred to as "America's only leper colony." Since the facility's use became significantly reduced as a hospital at the end of the twentieth century—due to the fact that Hansen's disease has been treatable since the 1940s and was no longer considered a highly contagious disease—the U.S. federal government decided to address the problem of overcrowded U.S. prisons by turning the Carville hospital into a minimum-security prison in the 1990s. Built on Houmas Indian lands in 1894, the territory was purchased by Robert Camp and became known in the mid-nineteenth century as the Indian Camp Plantation (Figure 4.1).[97]

[97] Mary Ann Sternberg, in *Along the River Road: Past and Present on Louisiana's Historic Byway*, describes the history of the land ownership and (dis)use this way: "The historical property is known as Indian Camp Plantation, an agglomeration of small Acadian homesteads bought by Robert Camp. The name Indian Camp is thought to have double reference: the site once held a Houma village, and the house remained in the Camp family until the latter part of the nineteenth century. (Camp himself, however, called the place "Woodlawn.") […] Camp lost his property for the final time in 1874, and Woodlawn became a tenant farm under absentee ownership. It was abandoned and in disrepair in the late-nineteenth century, when a New Orleans resident, wanting to assure that the Louisiana Leper Home would not be moved near his neighborhood, informed the board of control about the Camp property. The first patients—five men and two women—were dispatched here from New Orleans in November 1894. Because neither steamboats nor trains would accept them as passengers, they were sent by coal barge at night and settled in the former slave cabins, which were, according to contemporary reports, in better condition than the main house. Two rooms in the main house were used for administrative offices. The Daughters of Charity arrived in 1896 to provide nursing services and remained at Carville, as the facility was always know, until the majority of patients were moved out in 2005. […] Today the area beyond the Indian Camp property belongs to the Lousisana Prison system and is closed to the public" (Stoler 187-88).

Figure 4.1. The Indian Camp Slave Quarters: 1896 photo of the unused slave cabin on what was then called the "Indian Camp Plantation," the location on which the Carville Leprosarium would be built. Image taken from Stanly Stein's 1963 memoir, *Alone No Longer: The Story of a Man Who Refused to Be One of the Living Dead!*

The Indian Camp served as a sugar plantation before collapsing as a failed business, when it was then abandoned as "unused" land from the 1870s to the 1890s. In 1894, the state of Louisiana acquired a five-year lease to refashion the property's slave quarters into a secret medical research institute. The first patients—only seven, transported from the New Orleans area—were secretly interned after being diagnosed with leprosy. Due to the public concern over the disease and its contagiousness, particularly in the densely populated port city of New Orleans, those patients were covertly shipped (approximately 60 miles from New Orleans) to the facility on a coal barge down the Mississippi River, earning the name for its patients "the secret people."[98]

Knowing almost nothing about this history—that the Carville hospital-turned-prison was embedded in a longer narrative of slavery, settler colonialism, plantation life,

[98] Carville's hospital became the National Leprosarium in 1921. Later, after years of growth and transformation, Carville's hospital was renamed the Gillis W. Long Hansen's Disease Center in 1986, before becoming the National Hansen's Disease Museum in 1996. On the name "secret people," see Betty Martin's 1950 *Miracle at Carville*. Also see the 1998 documentary *Secret People*.

and medical quarantine and internment—White describes his first encounters with the residents as a horrifying experience simply because he was afraid of being near what he perceived to be contagious Hansen's disease patients. Later, however, the experience allows him to appreciate his own incarceration not as punishment, but good fortune; he could tell their story and, in his view, redeem himself in the eyes of the world. In White's own words, Carville would turn out to be "just a wonderful, wonderful experience."

I argue that through a narrative of disease and containment, White's prison experience serves as the catalyst for performing criminality as a discourse that rewrites "whiteness" as impossibly criminal. When Neil White "self-surrendered" in 1993 to the temporary federal prison at Carville, he had no knowledge of its history, nor that it was still operating as the home of dozens of former Hansen's disease patients. He confesses in his memoir that he did not know the hospital was being used as an overflow for Louisiana federal inmates, while the residents living there for decades continued to call Carville their home. Instead, what he was prepared to find was a tough, unruly place, where he would be forced to live a harsh prison life in the presence of "dangerous criminals"—images, he notes, that came from movies and prison stories he had witnessed over years of living as an ambitious upper-middle-class entrepreneur who was married to a woman from a wealthy "Southern family."

Tellingly, the book opens with this narrative hook: "*Daddy is going to camp*. That's what I told my children. A child psychologist suggested it. 'Words like *prison* and *jail* conjure up dangerous images for children,' she explained." Finally, with deep knowing and penitence, White concedes to his reader: "But it wasn't camp. It was prison" (3). Sentenced to minimum-security quarters for his embezzlement crimes, White's

memoir fits uncomfortably in what is often classified as "prison literature" or "prison writing." It does follow many of the same rhetorical tropes: prison experience of learning, repentance, and transformation, written here as a kind of confession in a form highly digestible for a wide audience. Two pages into *In the Sanctuary of Outcasts*, for example, White once again announces his positive attitude and his faith in consumer capitalism, and that this would provide an "opportunity to turn this incarceration into a great piece of journalism" (54). As narrated here, the possibility of capitalizing on this experience—the experience of a self-identifying successful white man serving time in prison with former Hansen's disease patients—was to be taken for granted.

While the book was praised in blurbs by some authors as "astonishing," "a remarkable story," and "fascinating and full of universal resonance,"[99] the memoir received more lukewarm and even dismissive reviews by critics. In *The New York Times Book Review*, for example, Tara McKelvey, notes the book's significance as an artifact of Carville and a record of Hansen's disease patient history, but she is skeptical of the author's claim to self-discovery and personal transformation from criminal to humanitarian.[100] White's "tale of self-discovery," McKelvey writes, "is neither engrossing nor revelatory, but he offers a rare glimpse into this world of 'secret people,' men and women with hands 'shaped like mittens' and 'discolored faces' who have lived for decades in exile. […] Upon sentencing White, the judge said, 'Neil, I hope you can make something good come out of this.' His book, however flawed, accomplishes

[99] Some reviews, for example, come from John Grisham, John Berendt, and Robert Olen Butler.
[100] McKelvey's journalism and interviews focus on Abu Ghraib prisoners, discussed in *Monstering: Inside America's Policy of Secret Interrogations and Torture in the Terror War*.

that."[101] McKelvey's sentiment is, for the most part, the reviewer consensus. White's repeated moral commitment to "investigative journalism" reads to many as, at best, misplaced, and at worst, exploitative. But although critics identify *In the Sanctuary of Outcasts* as flawed in various ways, individuals and figures representing institutional discourses with stakes in the story also view the book as valuable.

Yet, the statement above by the Louisiana judge pinpoints a consistent legal contradiction embedded within racial discourses shaping and structuring criminality as much as it reflects a deep legacy of what constitutes personhood in law and the criminal justice system. The criminal case of Neil White is narrated as though, as legal subject, he is immune to criminalization. Lisa Marie Cacho has described this rhetorical conundrum as an ongoing misrecognition of white bodies in the criminal justice system who cannot, for various reasons, be legible as criminals. This makes it possible for White to relay in his memoir a definition of a "criminal" whose criminal status is evacuated of guilt by narrating his sentence not as punishment but a burden of social responsibility. Thus, the mandate to "make something good come out of this" becomes an opportunity to frame White's crime as not that serious, forgivable, and a moment for personal self-reflection. This narrative stands in deep tension with what many critical race and prison scholars have described as the racial caste system of the U.S. criminal justice system.[102]

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[101] Tara McKelvey, *NYT Book Review* (Aug 13, 2009): http://www.nytimes.com/2009/08/16/books/review/McKelvey-t.html?_r=0

[102] See, for example, Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*; Dennis Childs, *Slaves of the State: Black Incarceration from the Chain Gang to the Penitentiary*; Angela Y. Davis, *Are Prisons Obsolete?*; *Imprisoned Intellectuals: America's Political Prisoners Write on Life, Liberation, and Rebellion*; Ruth Wilson Gilmore, *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California* Dylan Rodriquez, *Forced Passages: Imprisoned Radical Intellectuals and the U.S. Prison Regime*.

Dennis Childs, in *Slaves of the State*, describes the performance of criminality by those who are essentially untouched by the criminalization mechanisms of the law as "convict" drag. While at Louisiana's Angola State Penitentiary, awaiting the arrival of archival materials and photos, Childs describes the playful amusement that tourists act out in the prison museum, which is on the grounds of the fully functioning plantation-style prison. He notes:

> While waiting at a table in a corner of one of the museum's rooms for a set of boxes that I hoped would contain visual evidence of Angola's blackface troupe of the early to mid-twentieth century, I considered how the sight of twenty-first century plantation tourists modeling striped shirts and laughing as they took photos of one another inside mock prison cells represented a disturbing fitting contemporary accompaniment for my attempt at counter-historical unburial of the practice of punitive performance at the plantation. The tableau of free civil bodies immersing themselves in 'convict' drag at the very site wherein mass civil death was being simultaneously visited upon thousands of criminally branded subjects represented a grotesque modern-day analogue of the long-standing intimacies of (neo)slave abjection and public pleasure, prisoner dehumanization and white/free self-definition, and captive performance and enactment of racialized violence within sites of chattel carcerality (Childs 103).

Childs finds this performance of criminality to be an expression of "white/free self definition," acted out and made possible by racial (neo)slave abjection and prisoner dehumanization. It signals the naturalization of non-white racialized criminality as the conditions for whiteness to perform "free self-determination." That is, the naturalization of whiteness as a form of value and property is intimately tied to what Childs describes as "racialized violence within sites of chattel carcerality." White's memoir performs such a notion of "convict drag," and the Carville prison operates for him as a kind of theater, as it does in the tourist museum described above, even (or perhaps in spite of) the fact that White is serving time as a federal prisoner. His memoir, then, manifests as his own proof

that he has "ma[d]e something good come out of this" by recording, witnessing, and documenting what he himself refers to as the "secret people" of Carville, finding in prison the "opportunity to turn…incarceration into a great piece of journalism" (White 54). Convict drag and the production of prisoner narrative and experience as something to be commodified works here to make claims to narratives that have often been produced as an active resistance to state power, as in the writings by prison intellectuals that serve as the sharpest critique of racial carcerality.[103]

Recent histories of medicine and disease have generated not only the financial ground for these projects to stand on, but also a growing readership for what Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson describe as the "burgeoning corpus of life writing about illness and disability" (142).[104] Built into the genre is the possibility, if not the expectation, that the narrator will be reborn, refashioned, and revalued in society. "Increasingly," Smith and Watson observe, "people are chronicling their journeys through illness, diagnosis, treatment, and survival as stories of self-reinvention" (141). Regarding Carville in particular, White's memoir fits easily into the small yet significant body of autobiographical writing that documents first-person experiences at Carville, peaking with patient memoirs such as Betty Martin's *Miracle at Carville* (1950) and Stanley Stein's *Alone No Longer* (1963), and continuing into the current moment.[105] However, White's *In the Sanctuary of Outcasts* performs other acts that I consider part of a carceral

[103] From Leonard Peltier to Wilbert Rideau's recent memoir *In the Place of Justice: A Story of Punishment and Deliverance* (2010), incarcerated writers of color more often use this as a means to critique racist laws, prison practices, and criminal justice frameworks, whereas Neal White is very explicit about his attempt to use his prison experience to recover his social status and commercial capital in the publishing world.
[104] Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson, *Reading Autobiography: A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives*, 2nd Edition.
[105] Two recent examples discussed in the last section of this chapter are Jose Ramirez's *Squint* and Marcia Gaudet's *Carville: Remembering Leprosy in America*.

narrative tradition of the United States and the dominant perception of the U.S. prison-industrial-complex as a legitimate institution with utility and necessity. The memoir, in other words, operates within frameworks of medicalized criminality based on valuing whiteness as a possession to be protected by the courts, even when that subject is the defendant in a criminal case.

When White reflects on his failed business and his new residence at Carville, for example, the tensions underlying whiteness and criminalization become clear. He finds particular comfort and inspiration in situating his story as an individualist narrative, where he plays out the underdog character in a revised version of Horatio Algier's Ragged Dick self-improvement stories. White begins:

> I was determined not to get beaten down by incarceration. I wanted to hold on to, even hone, my skills so I could start a new publishing business when I was released. […] I had a year to plan, to design mock-ups, and to create a great business and marketing prospects. I would use this time to plan my financial resurrection. If I could repay my bankers, investors, and creditors—give them a return on their money—it would feel like the money had been invested instead of lost. And I could be back on top. (42)

As White confesses throughout his text, the experience he has at Carville is something closer to summer camp than a mandated prison sentence. White frames his experience as a kind of business retreat, offering not a disciplinary experience but time to strategize for future prospects and investments—a "financial resurrection," as he puts it. While much of White's memoir strives to convey atonement and culpability, what actually surfaces is the impossibility of White—a one-time respected professional of a protected race/class status—to embody the racialized definition of the category *criminal*. Indeed, the passage demonstrates the remarkable reconstitution of carceral space transformed by a discursive investment in whiteness.

Cheryl Harris, in her analysis of race and law in "Whiteness as Property," notes that the law not only affirms whiteness as a value in society—a property—but as an entitlement and expectation. Harris states:

> The legal affirmation of whiteness and white privilege allowed expectations that originated in injustice to be naturalized and legitimated. The relative economic, political, and social advantages dispensed to whites under systematic white supremacy in the United States were reinforced through patterns of oppression of Blacks and Native Americans. Materially, these advantages became institutionalized privileges, and ideologically, they became part of the settled expectations of whites—a product of the unalterable original bargain. The law masks what is chosen as natural; it obscures the consequences of social selection as inevitable. (1777)

A value produced and reinforced through the "oppression of Blacks and Native Americans," for Harris, extends directly into the formations of the law and produces the conditions of possibility for white supremacy. The link between Harris's point and the longer history of the slave plantation and quarters and the dispossession of native Haumas lands (transformed into the commercial property, named "Indian Camp" after the owner Joseph Camp) reveals the consistency of these racial logics in the legal sphere. U.S. law itself, in other words, maintains white supremacist structures to be played out onto non-white bodies, and then to maintain whiteness as a valuable form of currency. A product of the "unalterable bargain" makes invisible capitalizing on whiteness, and in the case of Neil White, this is maintained even while he is classified as a prisoner and incarcerated in a federal prison. What do we make of an impossible subject like Neil White in prison, where his whiteness disallows and evacuates the legal and social meanings of "criminal"?

In the Sanctuary of Outcasts charts an unusual transformation at Carville, from the impossible white-collar criminal to become a reformed and revalued member of society. Yet, as many scholars have shown, this is not a new framework. In other media, this narrative is highly visible: popular films such as the 1996 *Dead Man Walking* (based on the autobiography of Sister Helen Prejean) stirred the mainstream imagination and provoked highly visible debates about the death penalty. In 2003, *The Life of David Gale* takes directly the question of justice in state execution, again with the central character as a white man (Kevin Spacey) whose innocence is always a question of debate and uncertainty, until finally, after the prisoner is executed, it is revealed that he is in fact innocent of the crime he was accused of committing. The narrative concludes that this innocent man's execution serves as the strongest indictment on capital punishment policies, and the recovery of white innocence and the impossibility of white culpability drive such narratives.[106]

Neil White picks up on these model prisoner archetypes. Before prison, White operated a successful magazine, a business venture he repeatedly describes as his big chance to move up again in his social rank. When this failed, prison became the occasion to remake his name as an ambitious go-getter, equipped with a stellar education and access above any other inmate he could imagine. Evaluating his new home at Carville—what he describes at one point as a tropical paradise that he would expect to find "in

[106] These examples in film reach back to other popular narratives in the early twentieth century. Paul Muni, in the 1932 film *I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang* (also based on a hugely popular memoir that documents a prison experience as a white man), again demonstrates what I am arguing is a deep narrative framework for an impossible white criminality. More recently, Harrison Ford in the 1993 film *The Fugitive* plays such a role.

Hawai‘i”—White reflects on his long and serious preparation as a young adult on the reality of prisons and their role in society:

> I had done my research on prisons. Not as an adult, but in high school. I had been captain of my debate team. I understood the pros and cons of capital punishment, mandatory minimum sentencing, drug decriminalization, bail reform, and community-service sentences. I won the state debate championship advocating drug trials on convicts. I argued with great passion that testing new medications on federal prisoners would expedite the FDA’s seven-year process to prove drug safety and efficacy, that the financial drain on taxpayers would be greatly reduced, and that these tests would give inmates an opportunity to earn money, pay restitution, and seek redemption, while thousands of innocent lives would be saved. When I was debating the merits of drug testing on prisoners, I never dreamed that I might someday be one.

What kind of transaction is represented here? And what work is White doing to construct what I am calling the *performance* criminality, what Childs calls convict drag? I would argue that this performance of criminality is not in fact criminal at all, but rather closer to what Cacho describes as the naturalized notion that “certain bodies and behaviors are made transparently criminal while privileged bodies and their brutal crimes are rendered unrecognizable as criminal or even as violent” (37). As an autobiographical narrative this passage self-consciously registers the disjuncture of assigning “drug trials on convicts” the natural position of devalued life. White’s comments here reflect a dominant, institutionalized view of incarcerated people as deserving to die, especially when it is beneficial to more efficient FDA process and tax reforms. It is especially acceptable when framed as redemption, a sacrifice of life for the safety of “thousands of innocent lives.” This new narrative, in other words, deploys an old discourse about the use and value of racialized incarcerated peoples.

4.2: Stanley Stein and Blackface Citizenship

> I had been gradually adjusted to the inevitability of becoming a fixture at Carville, yet I could not bring myself to accept citizenship at the going rate of morale. As a result I was generally considered a sourpuss during my first weeks as a patient.
>
> The success of [our] minstrel show made me a naturalized citizen of Carville. The smell of grease paint had done me more good than Fowler's Solution. [107]
>
> Stanley Stein, remembering his first year (1931) at Carville

This section examines the ways in which Stanley Stein, after being diagnosed and then interned at the Carville Leprosarium in 1931, attempts to reconstruct in memoir narrative his "campaign to rejoin the human race," a case of performing racial property. Stein himself refers to this event as the process of becoming "a naturalized citizen of Carville" through the performance of blackface minstrelsy, a peculiar conceptual framework given his own description of losing "anonymity" and "humanity" through the institutionalization of Carville. I intend to explore here the implications of these performances within this medicalized space, and to interrogate the racial dynamics of using blackface to regain a notion of naturalized citizenship, a notion of belonging that is dependent on making certain claims to whiteness. Recent histories have held that the Carville Leprosarium produced a space that resisted the social and political realities of white supremacy of the time. Referring to Carville as "an ethnic melting pot," Claire Manes in *Out of the Shadow of Leprosy: The Carville Letters and Stories of the Landry Family* (2013) notes that people "in this ethnic mix were united by the microbes that had

[107] Stein, *Alone No Longer* (Stein 53-55)

invaded their bodies." Yet Stein's account of Carville suggests other racial formations that were relying on familiar racial scripts.[108]

In his 1963 memoir *Alone No Longer: The Story of a Man Who Refused to Be One of the Living Dead!*, Stein offers his own story of medical incarceration at the Carville hospital after being diagnosed with leprosy in 1931. Born Sidney Maurice Levyson in Gonzalez, Texas, Stein charts his transformation—in both name and political formation—from a relatively ordinary life in a non-religious Jewish family to a Hansen's disease patient and patient rights activist. His transformation, he writes, began on the first day he entered the hospital. Upon his arrival, Sister Laura of the Sisters of Charity requested that he provide his "new name" for the hospital records, a routine practice meant to protect patients' family members from social stigmatization. When Sister Laura asked for his new name, Stein panics and remembers thinking: "Another name? What was wrong with my own name? Did I have to hide under an alias like a hunted criminal?" (11).

The category of "criminal" in the first part of *Alone No Longer* frames much of this narrative and the problem to be overcome: regaining or recovering one's humanity in this hospital was ultimately an effort to resist a process of criminalization. In response to his new institutionally assigned number, Stein states:

> Henceforth I would always be No. 746, a number identified not only with my case history but with everything I would do at Carville for the next

[108] In one recent articulation of the "ethnic melting pot" at Carville, Claire Manes notes, in *Out of the Shadow of Leprosy: The Carville Letters and Stories of the Landry Family* (2013), the following: "For slightly more than one hundred years, Carville, Louisiana, a quirky village on a bend in the Mississippi River south of Baton Rouge, was an ethnic melting pot; its hospital was the home to men, women, and children from not only the United States but from locations as diverse as Japan, Puerto Rico, Mexico, and the Philippines. Those in this ethnic mix were united by the microbes that had invaded their bodies and in some cases made them outcasts from their families and themselves" (8).

> third of the century, from seeking laxative tablets to making a laundry list. I was sinking into the quagmire of anonymity which society reserves for the victims of leprosy, mental illness, or crime. We were no more entitled to individuality than a convict in a penitentiary.

Like many memoirs of disease, contagion, and quarantine, especially those coming out of the Carville experience, the discursive power to transform autonomous bodies into prisoner-patients is a central feature. The shift from name to number, from a person with unquestioned value to devalued medical subject, from "individuality" to "anonymity"; those transformations are constructed as the naturalized shifts only acceptable for those labeled diseased, disabled, and criminal. Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson, in *Rereading Autobiography*, suggest that such "narrative acts of reclaiming a body that have been stigmatized or objectified by medical science often resist naming the body as abnormative and voice critique of the damaged body as a social constriction of Western medicine" (141). The description above, in other words, is that of transformations of body from human to non-human, and the comparisons frame these narratives by asserting that this medical space is equivalent to prison life, the penitentiary, and criminalization.[109] Again, the connections between being denied "individuality" and the mundane activities that make up institutional life ("seeking laxative tablets and making a

[109] Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson, *Reading Autobiography: A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives*. Also look at Robert Elliott Burns's autobiography *I Am a Fugitive from a Georgia Chain Gang!* (1932) and the film version *I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang*, released in the same year. Burns, a WWI veteran, robs a diner and is arrested and sentence to hard labor. He escapes to Chicago and remakes his name as a successful engineer. When he is found out, however, the question of punishing a successful businessman creates a crisis for the community, and ultimately he is pardoned as a contributor to society. The narrative of white imprisoned bodies found particular narrative sway, doing the work of igniting serious debate about the failures of the U.S. legal system for white citizens. As a cultural event, *I Am a Fugitive* engaged a wide U.S. audience by making the story of this chain gang prisoner visible. In a 1932 *Times Magazine* article, for example, the author notes that Burns's "arrest aroused national interest, [and] stirred up…the question of crime & punishment." The "national interest" in this one prisoner constructs a "model citizen" whose punishment did not seem to fit the crime. After Burns escaped the chain gang bringing a public scrutiny to the penal system not as a form of punishment but of criminalization. How is it possible, the debate goes, that an innocent white man could be criminalized when he is so clearly a valuable member of our society?

laundry list") solidify for Stein the transformative power of this space, particularly as it works to unjustly make *criminals* out of patients.

The passage reveals an aggressive adaptation and application of these categories of prison life, categories that were in full operation not eighty miles away at Angola State Penitentiary. Dennis Childs has described this transformation at Angola as "a place that first converted black men, women, and children into chattel in the early nineteenth century—a geography that to this day continues to perform such mass (in)human conversion under its official name, Louisiana State Penitentiary (LSP)" (Childs 94). For Stein, the transformation begins literally as he enters medicalized spaces, where he takes not only his new name, "Stanley Stein," but also an institutional identity—case number 746. He frames the experience as a process of re-humanization, conceiving of social integration in prison space through a rejection of "anonymity" and the reclaiming of "individuality." Stein makes the stakes of his memory project explicit by stating that this process is really an attempt to "re-experience the exact point at which I decided to begin a campaign to rejoin the human race."

Stein and other patients at Carville were determined to demonstrate their humanity by creating The Little Theater—an amateur patient troupe that sought to entertain the doctors, nurses, staff, and other patients. The image that Stein provides in his memoir presents the cast after a performance of *Stray Cats* (Figure 4.2).

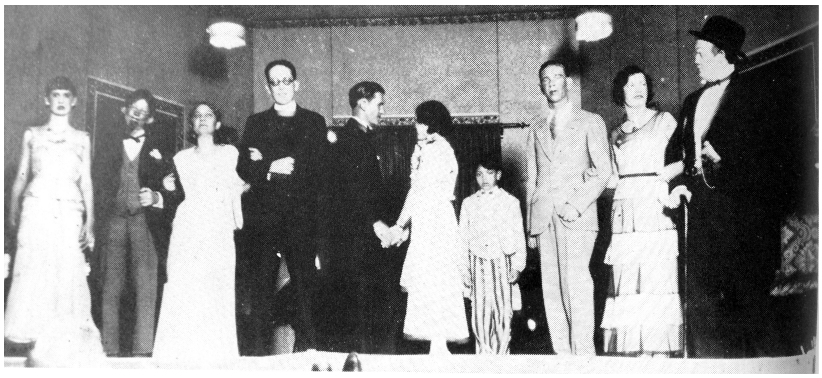

Figure 4.2. Stein in Blackface: 1931 photo of a minstrel show at Carville Leprosarium. Stein identifies these performances as the central fact in gaining a sense of belonging and becoming a "naturalized citizen of Carville." Image taken from Stanly Stein's 1963 memoir, *Alone No Longer: The Story of a Man Who Refused to Be One of the Living Dead!*

He notes that World War I veteran patient Gabe Michael, in an effort to "lift the patient body out of its deadly lethargy," organized a minstrel show in which Stein would perform as one of the star actors in blackface (Stein 53). This performance, as Stein understands it, enables a claim to whiteness that he suggests was simply not recognized before getting a hold of his transformative "grease paint." Whiteness and its value, in other words, had been obscured by the disease that was responsible for his incarceration—the "quagmire of anonymity which society reserves for the victims of leprosy, mental illness, or crime"—which could be most immediately recovered through blackface performance. He narrates the event this way:

> The success of [our] minstrel show made me a naturalized citizen of Carville. The smell of grease paint had done me more good than Fowler's Solution. The rehearsals had led to two-way friendships. The interlocutor's imitation of Bert William's "O Death! Where is Thy Sting?" destroyed—at least temporarily—the widespread impression that Stanley Stein was a snooty sourpuss. Strangers stopped me on the boardwalks to say hello. Doctors and nurses smiled at me as we passed. (55)

What happens in this passage that allows Stein to describe a transformation, through the performance of blackface, of his alienated self into a "naturalized citizen"? Why does this moment, according to Stein, trigger a desire to "rejoin the human race"? In *Theaters of Madness: Insane Asylums and Nineteenth-Century American Culture*, Benjamin Reiss argues that blackface performance in nineteenth-century asylums enabled white men diagnosed as insane to lay claim to "self-control." In a patient performance he uncovers in the New York State Lunatic Asylum in the 1840s and 1850s, Reiss notes that white patients "enacted scenarios of slave life for the ultimate captive audience; and under the watchful eye of the asylum authorities, they turned a famously unruly form into a spectacle of their own capacity for self-control. From behind blackface masks, they spoke to each other, to their doctors (who doubled as their captors), to the curious townsfolk and even politicians who were occasionally given admittance [to the minstrel show]" (Reiss 52). Such a moment signals a complex reconfiguration of race and belonging, produced by constructing whiteness against black bodies. Michael Rogin's foundational study *Blackface, White Noise* traces just such a racial transformation, examining the "conjunction between blackface and [Jewish] Americanization" as the enabling factor in entering American conceptions of whiteness (13).[110] Blackface offered a disavowal between Jewish ethnic identity and other racialized people, much as convict drag offered Neil White opportunities to leverage a familiar narrative of turning failure into success—

[110] Rogin continues: "The alternative racial roots are not arbitrary, for just as the frontier period in American history generated the classic American literature, so American film was born in the industrial age out of the conjunction between southern defeat in the Civil War, black resubordination, and national integration; the rise of the multiethnic, industrial metropolis; and the emergence of mass entertainment, expropriated from its black roots, as the locus of Americanization."

specifically turning punishment into new forms of economic, social, racial, and cultural capital.

The two cases here offer a look at the ways in which criminality in medical spaces disrupt several of these carceral narratives. White, experiencing Carville as a federal prisoner in the 1990s, publishing his memoir in the twenty-first century, performs and remakes rhetorical claims to whiteness as a form of racial property. This performance negotiates a longer history of such performance framed by Cheryl Harris and others as constitutive of material and discursive modes of property written in U.S. law. Stein's memoir offers an early instance of this performance within the context of blackface minstrelsy, making explicit this relationship between white supremacy enabled by performances of anti-black racism and notions of racialized citizenship, specifically around the construction of whiteness.

4.3. Josefina Guerrero's "Terrible Passport" and the Carville National Leprosarium

Other patient cases and memoirs at Carville, documented and written over its history, help to understand how these narratives continue to leverage and challenge notions of racial property and citizenship. For example, the highly publicized case of Josefina ("Joey") Guerrero in the 1940s and 1950s reveals another kind of performance that negotiates literal and figurative conceptions of citizenship. A citizen of the Philippines and member of the underground resistance movement during Japanese occupation of Manila, Guerrero became famous in the United States for using her visible disease as an "unfortunate passport" into and through Japanese occupied territories. Aiding the U.S. military, Guerrero "smuggled" maps and other documents through

checkpoints and other guarded areas to warn U.S. troops of recently mined areas. The United States officially recognized Guerrero with the highest civilian medal, which gained her admittance to Carville hospital as "the first foreign patient" to be treated there. For over a decade, Guerrero's case and her "right to U.S. citizenship" were discussed and debated in newspapers and on television programs, in Congressional Bills, as well as in the war histories and accounts into the 1960s. Guerrero's case and her time at Carville reveal imbrications of race, gender, disease, nationalism, and militarized citizenship as they are worked out on the discursive figure of "Joey" Guerrero.

Stein's own memoir records Guerrero's presence and history at Carville, noting that "Joey" introduced an interesting discourse on citizenship. After years of appeals from military officers, priests, politicians, Filipino patients at Carville, and other sympathetic people for Josefina Guerrero to be allowed to travel to Carville for treatment, she arrived and "received a heroine's welcome," as medical historian Tony Gould put it, on July 11, 1948 (182). In fact, Guerrero's arrival in 1948 attracted news media and government public relations attention, and while much of those archives are lost, some remnants have surfaced over the years. For example, footage recorded on a reel of Guerrero's arrival in California turned up in 1974, documenting the presence of military officials, religious leaders, and others who helped secure Guerrero's transport funding from the Novaliches Leprosarium in the Philippines (Figure 4.3).

Figure 4.3. Josephine "Joey" Guerrero's 1948 San Francisco Arrival. Military officials, religious leaders, and government agents welcomed Guerrero after assisting in securing her travel and entry into the United States for treatment at the Carville Leprosarium. (source: http://www.britishpathe.com/video/stills/mrs-guerrero-heroine-of-filipino-underground)

The stills from this sixteen-second reel footage offer a glimpse of the kind of reception presented to this "civilian hero," but it communicates other narratives. Joey's welcome bolstered by ongoing WWII gendered narratives of white benevolent saviors – priests and military officials in uniform welcome the bouquet-holding Filipina patient. Thus memories of the U.S. war in the Pacific are remade in yet another instance of indebtedness and salvation.

Considering Stein's early conceptions of citizenship, where "the smell of grease paint" from his blackface performance in the 1931 minstrel show "made [Stein] a naturalized citizen of Carville," this reflection on Guerrero's access to U.S. citizenship through Hansen's disease takes on a curious meaning. It suggests that notions of citizenship are leveraged, as Cheryl Harris has argued in "Whiteness as Property," as a concept of whiteness in the United States that was "carefully protected because so much was contingent upon it" (1744). Harris connects whiteness to aspects of citizenship as valuable centrally because "they were denied to others," revealing "the very fact of

citizenship" as constitutive of white racial identity. Those accounts of her life describe Guerrero's access to citizenship in similar ways, as does Thomas Johnson's 1963 narrative essay entitled "Joey's Quiet War." Johnson, discussing Guerrero's underground efforts against the Japanese occupation in Manila, notes that the visibility of the disease provided her with "a terrible passport that would get her through" (272). Yet Stein describes her dilemma in the United States as one that continues, through her service to the U.S. military, to provide access to certain privileges, but is continuously threatened by deportation and xenophobic immigration laws:

> She [Guerrero] wanted an American diploma. In fact, she wanted to become an American citizen. Having been admitted to the U.S. under an exception to the immigration laws, she realized that her status was precarious and that she might face deportation proceedings at the whim of a bureaucrat in a new administration. The *Star* [Carville's patient-run newspaper] and our American Legion friends went to bat for the girl who had risked death to save hundreds of American lives in the Philippines. Congressman James Morrison introduced a bill into the House (HR 2960) which would have given Joey U.S. citizenship, but memories of the war in the Pacific were getting a little dim on Capitol Hill and heroism was its own reward anyhow. HR 2960 died in Committee. (Stein 258)

Memories of the Pacific, in all accounts of this event, structured the notion of citizenship that became central to narrating Guerrero's value within the U.S. wartime context. After living at Carville for some time, Guerrero became active in patient advocacy and the Carville newspaper, the *Star*. When Guerrero attempted to enroll in and pay for a correspondence course offered by a Fifth Avenue fashion academy, Stein relays that she "got her check back with a note saying: 'Because of your wonderful service to your own government as well as that of the United States, we are extending you a scholarship in the Home Study Division….'" Not only does the United States attempt to heal her actual body within the medicalized space of Carville, but also simultaneously claims discursive

salvation of Joey, the fashion academy itself offers "free" lessons in domestic tutelage—a gesture meant to educate her into a proper gendered U.S. subject.

4.4. Conclusion: Race and Memory in José Ramirez's *Squint: My Journey with Leprosy*

While for Josefina Guerrero, Hansen's disease ultimately provided the condition of possibility for furthering her education and making very limited and contingent claims to U.S. citizenship, for José P. Ramirez, Jr. the disease inaugurated his arrival to Carville and a continued stigma and marker of social exclusion. Ramirez ultimately chronicles his own early struggles to find fair treatment as a Latino living in the United States while also dealing with the stigma of Hansen's disease and its symptoms. As a teenager in the 1960s, Ramirez journeys to Louisiana in search of the Carville Leprosarium, recalling the uncomfortable details of his displacement and ostracization by several communities. While drawing on these personal and intimate memories, Ramirez uncovers several historical narratives that produce the frameworks—in culture, religion, and elsewhere—of the category "leper." Smith and Watson suggest that Ramirez's memoir works to reclaim his own socially assaulted body: "[a body] stigmatized or objectified by medical science often resist naming the body as abnormative and [Ramirez's text] voice critiques of the damaged body as a social construction of Western medicine" (Smith and Watson 141).

His 2009 memoir, *Squint: My Journey with Leprosy*, consistently connects the longer historical memory of Carville to questions surrounding slavery, native dispossession, and Jim Crow laws. Unlike other memoirs discussed here, Ramirez insists

that those histories continue to live in and haunt the present, not only within medical spaces but in social places. Attempting to make sense of the stigmas of disease as they converge with various forms of racism, exclusion, and dispossession, Ramirez observes that the hospital grounds at Carville were "divided into two worlds," one for the diseased and one for the non-diseased (55). "This area," he remembers, "which had over twenty buildings, mostly cottages for public health service staff and visitors, was off limits to us residents of the 'other' world." The heightened sense of injustice that Ramirez points to, what he describes as "two worlds" divided by health and sickness, disease and contagion, is reminiscent of the structures of legal segregation built on ideologies of white supremacy in Louisiana. Ramirez follows by noting: "I was able to meet only a few of the children who lived on the station, but I always wondered what their thoughts were about growing up in Louisiana where segregation by race was a common practice, and then residing on the hospital grounds where segregation due to illness was commonly accepted."

The explicit connection to racism and Jim Crow in the South is an important one, especially in comparison to both memoirs by Stein and White. The details mentioned above that write the history of Carville—the "Indian Camp" as a slave plantation, taken Houmas land, and cultures immersed in Jim Crow legal discourse—serve as backdrop to the story of unjust or undeserving incarceration experiences that have little to do with the racial dynamics of the space. However, Ramirez develops here a more nuanced critique of the longer historical memory as it stands *in the present*. What were the thoughts of children who grew up "where segregation by race was the common practice" is a question that registers the ongoing racial violence of Jim Crow. When Ramirez reads this

"common practice" along with "segregation due to illness," it requires an engagement with memory, history, and those narratives that must be understood not as a distant past but rather a haunted present. Indeed, Cheryl Harris has argued that such ahistorical fantasies work part and parcel with colorblind ideologies of the contemporary moment, which hold sway in legal and popular discourse, "direct[ing] us to discuss race and racism in the past tense" (908).[111]

Ramirez again grounds the connection by commenting on the tension produced when framing the official history of Carville as a national project, narrated through tourist facts that situated such moments as dead and all but forgotten. In contrast to Ramirez's account, it is helpful to remember how much the official narrative situates Carville. A plaque outside of the property, for example, offers this version: "Indian Camp Plantation: The plantation home, built in the 1850's, became the site of the Louisiana State Leprosarium in 1894. The U.S. Public Health Service acquired it in 1921. It is now know as the National Hansen's Disease Center." The location of such a history is written firmly within a U.S. national narrative, complete with origin story and present-day status, without reference to the state violence or the race-narratives that produced the conditions of possibility for the institution to emerge.

Returning to Ramirez, we can see how this narrative refuses to naturalize the space, but instead makes those narratives visible by reading against the grain of historical record. Ramirez writes: "The oval design [of the Carville buildings], according to the National Register of Historic Places, mimicked the 'footprint that the former slave cabins

[111] See Harris's essay "Whitewashing Race: Scapegoating Culture" (2006), which reviews the 2003 collection entitled *Whitewashing Race: The Myth of a Colorblind Society*. Harris discusses the editors analysis of colorblind ideology and use of a black/white (or Black/not Black) binary as a framework for making visible the maintenance of white supremacy in the United States.

occupied' on the Indian Camp Plantation." Inscribed into the "oval design" of this medical space—the National Leprosarium—is a legacy of not only "slave cabins," but more to the point, the slaves who inhabited quarters. The passage echoes Cheryl Harris's observation that "The relative economic, political, and social advantages dispensed to whites under systematic white supremacy in the United States were reinforced through patterns of oppression of Blacks and Native Americans" (1777). This tension in Ramirez's account signals a contained liminal space that operates at the tense intersection of freedom and unfreedom. And this unfolds in historical fashion on indigenous lands within the naming of both forms of U.S. violence that produced it—stealing of native lands and slavery—without actually calling attention to those historical legacies in the very name of the plantation: the Indian Camp.[112]

[112] As Cheryl Harris argues, this process, written through and into law, ultimately "masks what is chosen as natural [and] obscures the consequences of social selection as inevitable."

Chapter Five

"Gentlemen, I have succeeded in discovering the real cause of tuberculosis": Race, Tuberculosis, and Critical Memory in Morales's *The Captain of All These Men of Death*

> Where Olive View was built was originally part of the 121,000 acres that made up the Mission San Fernando Rey, the seventeenth mission founded by Spanish Franciscan monks. During the mission period the Indians were reduced to complete dependency on the mission or they went off into the wilderness to survive. Over the years Mission lands became the focus of many legal and physical disputes as different interests laid claim to the land. The Indians were driven off and chaos reigned at the missions as Mexico and the United States battled for supremacy of the northern Mexican/Western American frontier that was slowly shrinking between them. Eventually, in order to support an army, the land was sold around 1846 by the Mexican government for a total of $14,000, or eleven cents an acre. The lands eventually gave rise to ranches and from them grew small communities that took the names of the ranches on which they were developed.[113]
>
> Alejandro Morales

> Alta California was considered a penal colony even as late as the 1820s, a land of savages fit only for convicts and ex-convicts.[114]
>
> Rosaura Sánchez, "The Mission as Heterotopia"

In Alejandro Morales's 2008 novel *The Captain of All These Men of Death*, the narrator, Robert Contreras opens a chapter entitled "The Olive View Sanatorium" by situating the hospital as intimately connected to California colonial history. As a socio-historical narrative, it tells the story of Spanish missions, land transfers, national border-making, and familiar and dominant histories of Alta California in the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In some ways, this narrative rehearses a well-documented history of U.S.-Mexico relations. And yet, something more surfaces from this retelling. The passage

[113] Alejandro Morales, *The Captain of All These Men of Death* (68-69)
[114] Rosaura Sanchez, *Telling Identities: The Californio Testimonies* (51).

above works to anchor a genealogy—deeply layered and stratified—of settler colonial history within the space of the Olive View institution. That is, the allusion to this twentieth-century invention—the Olive View Sanatorium as materially produced by the discourses of science and modernity—are rooted in longer narratives of progress, Manifest Destiny, and imperial ideologies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Beginning with the phrase "Where Olive View was built" reflects this connection, and allows for a reading that pushes up against the *familiar* by locating the hospital as a discursive presence—perhaps the better term is *haunted*—and as part of this medical space. The passage locates the hospital within a historically produced framework of the disciplined and the penal, temporally linking the structure of Olive View in the twentieth century with remnants of colonial and racial violence of early moments of Spanish colonialism and U.S. expansionism. Moreover, the passage reflects how the novel as a whole performs a counter-history of Olive View by foregrounding (and foreseeing) the tenuous connections among native dispossession, missionary settlement in the late-eighteenth century, Spanish colonial rule in the nineteenth century, the U.S.-Mexico War (1846-48), and several instances of "land transfers" leading to Anglo possession of land tracts which become naturalized as U.S. territories.[115] The narrative strategically situates a historical account that exceeds that of the U.S. nation-state; it links dispossession, Spanish colonialism, and the contemporary yet *elusive* memory of these histories, bringing together the narratives that articulate the conditions of possibility—the events

[115] The process of naturalization in the context of U.S. empire is the connection I am making here, particularly in regards to the expansion of empire through territorial naturalization. The Organic Acts in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, for example, demonstrate the immense push and process of naturalizing territories. See, for example, The Hawaiian Organic Act of 1900.

that set the stage—for the sanatorium to emerge as a naturalized institution of scientific and benevolent progress.

This chapter argues that the recent work of Chicano novelist Alejandro Morales situates this medicalized space as an extension of colonial and imperial modernity. Rosaura Sánchez has suggested that the dynamic of the California mission operated as a heterotopia, where the "very spatial configuration of the mission, built always a bit distant from the presidio, functioned as a strategy of containment and allowed for spatial mechanisms of control" (51). While this containment demonstrates the control mechanisms of Spanish colonialism in California throughout the nineteenth century, I want to suggest that its afterlife remains a constitutive element of the way U.S. culture conceptualizes medicine as a benevolent institution, even as it naturalizes medical violence as *something other than* violence.[116] Here I am arguing that Morales's work confronts racial violence as a central and formative element of U.S. history, law, medicine, and citizenship. Interestingly, before Morales notes the missionary history of the Olive View, he configures the sanatorium as "conveniently far from Los Angeles" in the same way Sánchez describes the mission "a bit distant from the presidio." When

[116] Tomás Almaguer, in tracing the formations and origins of white supremacy in California, has noted that as many as "four thousand Indians in California were pressed into service" to support *Californio* economic and social life in the mid-nineteenth century, where "Pomo, Wappo, Patwin, Maidu, Plains Miwok, and central valley Yukots fell victim to this exploitative relationship" (Almaguer 50). Almaguer presents several accounts of *Californio testimonios* recorded by Hurbert Bancroft and his associates, recording accounts for what would become *The History of California*. Narrating the enslavement of California Native Americans as a paternalistic extension of filial relations, Salvador Vallejo describes the relationship in 1884 this way: "Our friendly Indians tilled our soil, pastured our cattle, sheered our sheep, cut our lumber, built our houses, paddled our boats, made tile for our homes, ground our grain, slaughtered our cattle, dressed our hides for market, and made our burnt bricks; while the Indian women made excellent servants, took care of our children, made everyone of our meals…. Those people were considered as members of our families. We loved them and they loved us; our intercourse was always pleasant." For extensive analysis of the testimonios, see Sánchez's *Telling Identities*, as well as the archival collections in the edited volume of María Amparo Ruiz de Burton's life and letters, by Sánchez and Beatrice Pita, *Conflict of Interest: The Letters of María Amparo Ruiz de Burton*.

Morales follows his statement that Olive View is closer to a prison, inescapable, with the note about the mission, I suggest that this reflects a critical moment of recognition. The connection is not simply that the Olive View now occupies the land of the mission—"the Mission San Fernando Rey, the seventeenth mission founded by Spanish Franciscan monks"—but it also reconfigures that space in very similar ways, particularly in relation to other parts of the region's socio-economic geography.

In what follows, I argue that Morales's novel revisits these longer histories as a critical engagement with the novel's temporal frame, which allows these narratives to co-exist and, as a result, offers a critique of U.S. empire as a continuous thread that runs from nineteenth-century expansionism into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, incarnate in the spatial configurations of the hospital-as-prison. This kind of re-telling resituates dominant narratives of U.S. history through critical memory—a form of story re-telling, as I suggest below, that disrupts and unsettles naturalized, official narratives. My reading of prisoner-patient memory in *The Captain*, then, offers a counter-narrative that links U.S. empire and global narratives of medical violence to ideologies of nation, progress, and citizenship.

This chapter engages what Houston Baker has referred to, in another context, as "critical memory."[117] Any understanding of a stable present, Baker suggests, might be uprooted, unsettled, and evicted by contagious past. Whereas an official "record" does

[117] In "Critical Memory and the Black Public Sphere" (1994), Baker notes that to be critical "is never to be safely housed or allegorically free of the illness, transgression and contamination of the past. Critical memory…is always uncanny; it is also always in crisis." To engage in critical memory, for Baker, is to take up a reading practice that "judges severely, censures righteously, renders hard ethical evaluations of the past that it never defines as well-passed. The essence of critical memory's work is the cumulative, collective maintenance of a record that draws into relationship significant instants of time past and the always uprooted homelessness of now." What Baker makes visible is this "relationship" between an uncomfortable specter of the past, as it appears to exist in the "uprooted homelessness of the now."

the work of situating the events of history as a stable narrative of linear time, the "cumulative, collective maintenance of a record" of critical memory necessarily challenges it (3). *The Captain* works to make such a challenge. Its central story is of a fictionalized account of the author's uncle, Robert Contreras, and his tuberculosis medical treatment in wartime Los Angeles. The novel itself is written, for the most part, from Contreras's first-person point of view, beginning with his memories of attempting to enlist in the Army as a young man in 1944 to support the WWII effort. But instead of joining the Army, Contreras is diagnosed with tuberculosis by the recruitment physician and immediately interned under the authority of the Los Angeles Public Health department.

The story follows Contreras as he moves from one hospital to the next, until finally he is sent to the Olive View Sanatorium in Sylmar—the premier hospital on the U.S. West Coast treating tuberculosis at that time. Contreras lives at Olive View as a patient for about a decade, witnessing, among other things, forced incarceration of suspected "TBers," experimental (and often fatal) medical procedures carried out on indigent patients of color, and disappeared hospital residents. He joins the staff of patient-journalists and writes for and helps to publish the hospital newspaper, *Point*. Based on an actual historical publication produced at Olive View Sanatorium, the newspaper in the novel traces histories of tuberculosis and how the discourse of disease has impacted government and public health policy, dominant narratives of medical science, and marginalized communities of both the past and present.[118]

[118] On the Olive View-Point archive, see Gregory Morales's UCLA medical thesis "The Captain of All These Men of Death." Alejandro Morales describes this study as "[t]he inspiration for *The Captain of All*

The sanatorium in this rendering imagines another kind of institutional space, "a dimension in itself, an isolated community from which the only escape was death, a person's mind, or a negative sputum test." The description of this space—which, Morales reminds us immediately after the opening statement, was once indigenous land, missionary land, and Mexican territory, before it was legitimized as part of the U.S. nation-state—resembles something closer to a prison or a penal colony. The settler history leading to what Morales describes as an isolated community escapable only by death (physical or psychological) or state-sanctioned approval, in other words, begins long before the twentieth century.

As critical memory emerges in *The Captain*, the novel also serves as an important text for demonstrating how cultural texts in the twentieth first-century may work to *re-stage* these institutional moments of domination and power. Such a text negotiates counter-hegemonic narratives as a kind of refusal of what cultural memory theorist such as Marita Sturken and Lisa Yoneyama have described as collective or cultural amnesia of the official historical record. This is not to suggest, of course, that historians working on such moments are not also reconsidering those events. In Los Angeles historiography, for example, scholars regularly challenged the "social science" approach to the ways white supremacy and militarized nationalism has shaped social realities for racialized peoples. Vicki Ruíz's 1987 *Cannery Women, Cannery Lives*, for instance, makes connections between labor conditions in Los Angeles for racialized communities and contagious disease by pointing to specific sanitary policies that were fundamentally tied to the tendency of "social scientists, Protestant missionaries, and social workers [to] uniformly

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These Men of Death I owe to my son Dr. Gregory Stewart Morales, who suggested and encouraged me to write this novel based on his UCLA Medical School thesis on the treatment of tuberculosis" (xi).

deplore the overcrowded, unsanitary conditions in which Mexicans were compelled to live" (7). The conflation between race and disease directly impacted the ways the state sought to manage the development of the city around not only a colorline, but out of nativist stigma that persisted through narratives of foreignness and non-citizenship.[119]

In what follows, I trace a continuum among sanatoriums, public health campaigns, militarization, and incarceration in Los Angeles, and analyze the ways in which *The Captain of All These Men of Death* makes visible processes of racialization; by doing so, it offers a critique of U.S. empire. By attending to both official and unofficial records, histories, and cultural texts, I frame Morales's novel as a counter-narrative, paying close attention to the way it operates as a story of medicalized racism breaking and interrupting a familiar historical account. The novel's generic and rhetorical strategies—fragmentation, non-linear temporalities, alternative forms of publication, and so on—interrogate dominant frameworks of memory and history. These strategies center contradiction by refusing easy reconciliations of medical violence and narrative progress, especially as they unfold through racial and gendered violence, military action and medical experimentation, incarceration, disappearance, and unaccountable loss. I am particularly interested in how such narrative refusals produce and register a visible form of state violence, not only in the form of medical experimentation on poor people of color, but also, as Dylan Rodríguez has asserted in other contexts, in the form of

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[119] More recently in *Fit To Be Citizens?: Public Health and Race in Los Angeles, 1879-1939,* Natalia Molina outlines intersecting forms of conflating racial identity with disease by looking at Chinese, Japanese, and Mexican communities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Molina locates the 1870s as the beginning of "a long tradition among city health officials of tracing any blemish on the pristine image of Los Angeles—including all forms of disease and any manner of disorder—to the city's marginalized communities" (1). See also Mae Ngai's *Impossible Subjects* and Nayan Shah's *Contagious Divides*.

institutional public health policy and protocols that "necessarily exceed and violate its official directives and juridical norms" (46-47).[120] In the last section of this essay, I analyze these specific excesses of state power as extra-legal extensions of police powers and nearly invisible mechanisms for detaining and incarcerating, through public health imperatives, subversive and radical Mexican labor organizers.

I would like to offer one last word on representations of violence. As this essay takes seriously cultural representations of violence, several concerns come sharply into view. As I suggest above, *The Captain* makes visible state-sanctioned violence not only by going back to the settler legacies of the nineteenth-century origin stories of the U.S. nation-state, but also the institutional medical violence of twentieth-century public health. *The Captain* also narrates violence onto the bodies of his characters, a very characteristic quality of Morales's larger catalogue of work. Yet I find that the difficult question around how this violence surfaces raises important questions: what does this re-staging of racial and gendered violence in cultural production tell us, or perhaps more pressing, *how* does it tell us? To draw on a question posed by Saidiya Hartman, discussing the implications of racialized violence in a very different context—what does the "exposure of the violated body yield" (3)? What is the relationship between the readers or viewers and the

[120] Rodríguez provides an important conceptual language to measure and critique of the carceral institution through the writings and cultural production of what he calls "imprisoned radical intellectuals" within the prison regime. Rodríguez continues: "This regime functions through excesses and violations, at times uncodified or nominally 'illegal,' though generally occurring within generously interpreted rubrics of institutional policy and protocol. As an arrangement of power that harnesses and rearranges its logics of human domination and disintegration, this regime belies and abrogates its 'rule-governed' and 'legitimate' discursive-institutional inscription as the prison. Incidentally, this remapping of the state and its regime of carceral violence disrupts extant liberal and progressive 'human rights' critiques of imprisonment and policing practices, which largely reify such varieties of proctored bodily punishment as pathologies of the state, often framed in the language of 'brutality' and 'torture.'" (46-7)

representations of violence presented to them, a problematic Hartman has described as the "precariousness of empathy and the uncertain line between witness and spectator"?

Toni Morrison, in a recent interview, commented on this tension as inherent in cultural production taking up representations of violence. Morrison stated that, when confronted with this in her own writing, she simply refuses to "go into the surgery" of physical or sexual violence. She refuses "playing in it, digging in it, sensationalizing it, making it theatrical in language when it should be powerfully theatrical in the mind and the imagination" (Ghomeshi). Refusing "playing in it" is a peculiar way to describe what happens in cultural representations of violence, and Morrison's interesting use of medical vocabulary—"the surgery" as a metaphor for detailing a scene—to describe the tools of a writer is suggestive. As Morrison has suggested in her important work *Playing in the Dark*, where the "Africanist presence" is the constitutive force that makes possible the production of literary whiteness, the comment on resisting the urge, as a surgeon, to "play *in*"—to enjoy *being in*, or allowing readers and viewers *to be in*—such narratives of violence recalls Hartman's profound connections on the pleasures such violence has historically allowed through the history (the narrating) of chattel slavery, what Hartman terms (and titles her book) the scenes of subjection. Hartman, at one point, calls this phenomenon a narrative "flight of imagination" (18).[121] Morrison, implicitly picking up this discussion while describing her own relationship to literary scenes of subjection, suggests that cultural representations should instead attend to the consequences of

[121] Hartman traces a body of scholarship on this question of violence and pleasure in the history of slavery, and notes the importance of Eric Lott's *Love & Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (1993). Lott made important connections between blackface and white working class racial formations, specifically regarding the pleasure and entertainment apparent in early performances of blackface in the United States.

violence and not the act itself.[122] In this essay I ask what work is done through the often-graphic representations of violence in Morales's text, where the representations depicted here do in fact "go into the surgery" of violence against the most vulnerable. Does such representation risk, by exposing again and again the most vulnerable people in society, a kind of "play," or as Hartman puts it, a "precariousness of empathy and the uncertain line between witness and spectator" (4)? When put in conversation with Morrison and Hartman's theoretical work on this problem, we can begin to situate Morales's writing as work that registers a different kind of critique of the medicine, state power, and state-sanctioned-violence.

In four sections I examine this novel as a cultural text engaging, critiquing, and unsettling dominant narratives of history through the framework of critical memory. I analyze primary source material, including archives, history, and policies of exclusion in Los Angeles in the 1940s and 1950s. I argue that reading the archives—specifically the works in a medical thesis, contemporary articles in medical journals, and portions of the patient-run newspaper *Olive View-Point*—alongside *The Captain* enables me to historically situate the prisoner-patient of the novel within and against the institutions they inhabit, including the military, Los Angeles schools, and the hospital. Theories of violence provide the framework for comparing the narratives of Robert Contreras and Sandro Díez—a laborer who insists on having accounts of capitalist, racist, and gendered terror heard and recorded. I introduce my key term "structure of desire" to situate the ways these characters negotiate the violence of institutional terror inflicted on Mexican

[122] Joy James, in discussions of state violence targeted at radical subjects, presses this notion even further, suggesting that staging such acts of state-sanctioned violence make visible the ongoing attack and shoring up of a legitimate white, heterosexual, normative male body (24-43).

laborers specifically, and people of color in general, emphasizing Díez's persistent refusal to be subjugated.

5.1 The "bitter facts" and the Problem of History-Making

> *The Captain of All These Men of Death*, like my other novels, is a work of fiction, an attempt to conjure a fantasy of accuracy inhabited by those persons living or dead who intentionally, by their own free will, with pleasure or torment, read and identify themselves in the story. What they see of themselves is probably not far from the truth, however fiction.[123]
>
> Alejandro Morales

The question of how Morales deals with historiography in his fiction is ongoing, and scholars continue to find a generative tension for thinking about cultural production.[124] James Kyung-Jin Lee notes that Morales's most critically acclaimed and widely read 1988 novel, *The Brick People*, productively reveals a cultural politics at work.[125] The epigraph at the end of *The Brick People* states: "*The Brick People* is a work of fiction. Any similarity between the characters and people, living and dead, is coincidental" (Morales 319). Lee situates this familiar disclaimer as an important frame for the novel, pointing to a reading practice which surfaces as a deep source of tension for critics in the 1990s. Much of the scholarship on Morales, Lee notes, is concerned with "the most basic of questions" on history and fiction (6). The underlying problem with what many describe as historical fiction is this: how are we supposed to read Morales's work? Is it fact or fiction? Is *The Brick People* engaging, in other words, historical events

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[123] Morales, *The Captain of All These Men of Death* (xii).
[124] Recent U.S. reception of Morales's work, for example, can be divided into two types of criticism: those that focus on aesthetic value and those that emphasize the political/historical implications of his work.
[125] In "Fictionalizing Workers or, The Abuse of Fiction: Violence, Reading, and the Staging of Barrio-Space in Alejandro Morales's *The Brick People*" (2000).

(i.e. "true") or is it an imaginative revision of those events (i.e. "false")? Lisa Yoneyama describes such anxieties concerning methodology and knowledge-production as an intense yearning for "the real and the original" (4). Because Morales works to recover as well as re-imagine marginalized and subaltern voices, troubling those categories by exposing the limits of discipline-specific knowledge-production, it exposes the need for more nuanced, interdisciplinary frameworks.

The Brick People ends with a disclaimer about fact and fiction. *The Captain of All These Men of Death*, however, opens with a similar reading strategy, but one with strikingly different effects. The first paragraph of the acknowledgements page introduces a question about the cultural politics of "writing" through what might be described as a living archive:

> The inspiration for *The Captain of All These Men of Death* I owe to my son Dr. Gregory Stewart Morales, who suggested and encouraged me to write this novel based on his UCLA Medical School thesis on the treatment of tuberculosis. During the research phase of the thesis, Gregory asked if I knew any surviving tuberculosis patients. Gregory's request led us to my tío Mr. Roberto Contreras. I would like to thank my tío Roberto for his generosity and willingness to share his story as a surviving tuberculosis patient at Olive View Sanatorium. We did a series of interviews with tío Roberto that culminated in 1996 with a visit to Olive View Sanatorium on the grounds of the Olive View-UCLA Medical Center in Sylmar, California. Tío Roberto treated Gregory and me to a detailed tour of the abandoned building of Olive View Sanatorium. Gregory's thesis, tío Roberto's interviews, and the visit to Olive View Sanatorium resulted in this novel. (xi)

By Alejandro Morales's own account, the project of this novel is not to imagine a story, setting, or fictional reality outside of history, even with the fantastical and sometimes magical elements shaping the narrative. Rather, Morales firmly anchors his work in Gregory Morales's critical medical history, as well as oral history and *testimonio*. This

places his work in conversation with genres and traditions long used by Chicana/o, Latina/o, and Latin American writers to negotiate subaltern realities, what Cherríe Moraga has described as the deliberate choice to "refuse to end with the bitter facts" (viii). For Moraga, such facts have the power in official history to narrate the "pueblo" out of it: "the [land] developer's ultimate victory over a city in desperate need of tax revenue or the carte blanche secured by the INS (post 9/11) to invade the lives and livelihoods of immigrants, 'legal' and otherwise." Moraga suggests that her own approach, on the other hand, is "instead in the spirit of what remains possible in a pueblo, in spite of gentrification and globalization." While Morales has often been understood as a writer concerned with the structures that shape lives through violence, his move to frame the novel as he does suggests an engagement with history in ways that official history simply cannot do. Like Moraga, his work brings immediate attention to "the tenacious intellectual knot that one encounters when literary representation collides with historical re-creation" (Lee 32).

Moraga's framework helps to formulate another kind of question not only about remembering but also about forgetting, what Sturken and Yoneyama both describes as a co-constitutive tension between collective memory and a culture of amnesia. Sturken guards against the tendency to fall into the "trap" of verifying and authenticating historical fact, yet she anticipates critics in that such an approach risks producing an ahistorical, apolitical readings of memory: "We need not ask whether a memory is true but rather what its telling reveals about how the past affects the present" (2). Yoneyama suggests a similar problem of allowing historical questions and archival research to serve as verification of dominant historical narrative. The imperative to search for "origins"

becomes a way of "reauthenticating the truthfulness of what has already come down to us second hand" (4). The concern for Sturken and Yoneyama is not to pin down authoritative generic characteristics or historical accuracies, but rather to read the problem posed by those memories and their construction.

The Captain works to disrupt official narrative. The fictional character Contreras recognizes this distinction, for example, between official history and a more critical memory, as the narrative pulls back to frame the story as one with political and historical stakes. The everyday lives of the people in the sanatorium positions Contreras to note:

> Almost fifty years later I would read the fascinating and little-known history of this beautiful place in a thesis my great-nephew Gregory Morales wrote while he was a medical student at the University of California, Los Angeles. In Olive View's history, Gregory deciphered the sanatorium's mystical, romantic, and frightful dimensions and how they intersected with its staff's, doctors', and patients' lives. […] Gregory considered my life, like Olive View's history, important and valuable enough to be recorded and saved in his study. (Morales 67)

Contreras's modest reading of his own life events suggest that he does not see his own narrative as extraordinary on its own, but the struggle to *remember* himself as part of the fabric of Olive View history (a history worthy of recording) is part of what makes possible a critique of official history. That is, the kind of fictionalized memory-work that Morales offers here—in the form of self-narration and *testimonio*, collective experiences negotiating power—is at once "self-critically unsettling," as Yoneyama suggests, and at the same time resists becoming yet "another regime of totality, stability, confidence, and universal truthfulness" (5). Contreras's reflections looking back as a person in his seventies, more than any other section of his narrative, is something to be deciphered and considered as one thread intersecting with the numerous threads making up the social

fabric of this institutional space. As Contreras thinks back he does so by situating his own narrative, "like Olive View history," as a kind of tangled memory.

Gregory Morales's 1996 UCLA medical thesis, "'The Captain of All These Men of Death': Tuberculosis at the Olive View Sanitarium," operates as a kind of subtextual thread for Contreras and for the novel as a whole, creating a narrative depository of cultural memory. The thesis includes official (although not well-known) cultural histories of medicine and the treatment of tuberculosis, the poetry and writings of several "TBers," published in the *Olive View-Point* patient newspaper, as well as the interviews of Robert Contreras, in which Contreras reflects on his Olive View experiences during the 1940s, 1950s, as well as the 1990s. Gregory Morales describes similar accounts of his uncle's memory of his own treatment and the medical treatment of others, which involved some of the more notorious experimental surgeries of the wartime and post-war period. Contreras's first surgery, for example, involved the removal of two ribs; another, lasting eight hours, involved removing part of his lung.

In nearly all of his statements about Olive View and the "mystical, romantic, and frightful dimensions" of the experience, there is an eerie tension between the unmistakable closeness of death and the gratitude towards the caretakers and medical staff carrying out experimental medical procedures on these vulnerable patients. I would suggest that Contreras's own matter-of-fact statement recorded in Gregory Morales's medical thesis reflects this environment and the routine, mundane procedures taking place. "When I got the operation," Contreras tells his nephew, "a colored girl went before me. They used to operate two times a day. She died, and then I was next" (Morales, GS 19). As he remembers the procedures, the statement captures an ambiguity about the

relationship between these patients and the doctors carrying out these procedures. “She died, and then I was next” operates through multiple meanings: Contreras sees himself as the next in line to undergo a necessary yet routinely fatal operation, and more directly, he is situated as the next in line to die. This second reading implicitly acknowledges the racial and gendered dynamics of his memory: black and brown bodies positioned as expendable subjects for medical experimentation in the name of science, progress, and public health.

Gregory Morales’s medical history and the fictional representation of the thesis in *The Captain of All These Men of Death*, when read together, recover, document, and re-stage the institutional violence targeting poor and working-class patients of color and their experiences. It is peculiar that the critique above on page 67 of the novel comes from the older Robert Contreras reflecting on the current moment as a recovered and legitimated history in the form of his great-nephew’s advanced graduate work in the 1990s, a form that institutionally validates Contreras’s memories of institutional violence. Again, Moraga’s statement on the importance of such cultural texts centers this problem, and “document something of the people and history of this place and time in California, but […] are not exactly documentaries because they refuse to end with the bitter facts” (xiii). It is Moraga’s “not exactly”—of place, of experience, of memory, and what Foucault calls subjugated knowledge—and the refusal to end with institutional fact, truth, or history that creates another space in Morales’s work.

5.2. Citizenship and the Space of the Hospital in Wartime Los Angeles

Bringing together critiques of official history, imperatives to prioritize testimonios and oral history, and the project of remembering institutionalized spaces through historical and archival recovery and reconstruction rather than official history, or "what has already come down to us second hand," as Yoneyama puts it, it is apparent that the story Alejandro Morales presents can be understood as one that has always already existed, even if it has not always been documented. *The Captain of All These Men of Death*, in other words, is not "imagined" in any conventional sense, but is historically situated within these social conditions and lived experiences. To establish the historical context behind the emergence of a state-enforced system of incarceration, which occurs through discourses of public health and the protection of a white citizenry in California, I examine legal, medical, and labor discourses that circulated during the 1940s and 1950s. These discourses show, in part, how a rigid construction of white, masculine, able-bodied subjectivity was defined and maintained against a variety of migrant workers regularly categorized as disease-carrying, contagious, and "foreign" bodies of color.

In 1995, a year before Morales began research for this novel, *Los Angeles Times* staff writer Jill Leovy covered the 75th anniversary of the Olive View Sanatorium in Sylmar, California, the same central hospital described in *The Captain*. "Breathing New Life: Olive View" documents interview excerpts of former workers and patients who attended the inauguration of the new hospital facility, which was built to replace the old residential wards they once knew. Like the hospital patients in Morales's novel, the interviewees vividly recalled their own memories of Olive View Sanatorium and their experiences before and after being diagnosed with tuberculosis. Their accounts were fairly consistent, describing systematic subjection to the "horrifying and probably

ineffective treatments" of the tuberculosis medical center. Former patients and workers remembered a prison-like experience in which doctors, police officers, and Los Angeles County public health officials could have people arrested with a "stroke of the pen," as former hospital director J.P. Myles Black recalled. Workers were taken from their homes, denied access to their families, and then subjected to experimental procedures, such as inducing the collapse of the lung by way of rib removal.[126] Black continues, describing what he and many others in positions of power felt was a necessary action of police authorities: "They had to be controlled. Not because they had a disease, but because they were spreading it…. They were salad makers, waiters, dishwashers" (Leovy). The former hospital director J.P Myles Black's statement and Contreras's own testimony in both the novel and in Gregory Morales's UCLA medical thesis reveal much about *who* was targeted, criminalized, and made to be representative disease-carriers and contaminators. In this case, it was low-wage service workers with jobs that required intimate access to food preparation for middle-class and wealthier Los Angeles consumers. For decades, Olive View Sanatorium housed poor, marginalized, and racialized individuals who were separated from the Greater Los Angeles population and regularly subjected to an unthinkable number of experimental treatments and life-threatening procedures in the name of public health and protection.

This conversation about how to contain the spread of disease was not, of course, restricted to the legal sphere, but occurred primarily in the context of the advancements and the "progress" narratives of medicine; in many ways it was an extension of the modernizing project occurring across the globe, as science and medicine played key roles

[126] Thomas Dormandy, "Collapse Lung Theory" in *The White Death: A History of Tuberculosis*.

in maintaining colonial spaces under U.S. empire rooted in the nineteenth century. As many postcolonial theorists and historians have shown, it is clear that these discourses and conversations among medical doctors, specialists, and researchers were part of a larger project of modernity. In California, the project of modernity functioned within the intimate spaces of the poor, working-class, and migrant and "foreign" communities. An article in the medical journal *California and Western Medicine*, published in 1944, reveals the degree to which medical discourse intersected with and shaped political and government imperatives to manage—by way of public funding and the policing of the labor conditions of agricultural big business—poor, laboring bodies, many of whom were Mexican workers hired through the Bracero program. The author of the article in *California and Western Medicine* states:

> The problem of medical aid, however, to many of these needy workers and their families who are, or have been, and in places are still called upon to live and work under conditions that fail to conform to minimum public health standards as regards housing environment and facilities is, nevertheless, one that should be of wide concern to all Californians. Physicians need not stretch their imagination to visualize how such itinerant workers, who are often poorly nourished and diseased, when grouped together under conditions not by any means sanitary, may become a menace not only to themselves, but so to the citizens of nearby communities, and so to the people of the State at large. (Anonymous 49)

The tensions here between the desire for a social program designed to administer safe working conditions and the imperative to protect "the citizens of nearby communities, and…the people of the State at large" reveal the contradictions of capitalism, and nationalism, and the need of an expendable labor-force for U.S. consumers. The backdrop of this concern for workers and their labor conditions was the Bracero Program (1942-1964), the labor agreement between the U.S. and the Mexican governments that allowed

Mexican laborers to legally work to support the United States agricultural industry. From this policy emerged numerous narratives of xenophobic, anti-immigrant, and racist policies targeting Mexican and other workers of color.

Historian Emily K. Abel traces some of the connections among racialized labor, food production, and public health in the first half of the twentieth century in her recent study, *Tuberculosis and the Politics of Exclusion: A History of Public Health and Migration to Los Angeles*. Abel notes that in 1919, John L. Pomeroy, director of the Los Angeles County Health Department, insisted on the need for more protection from "unsanitary" Japanese and Japanese-American farmers in Southern California. Pomeroy again reinforces this notion of the "people of the State at large" which drives so much of the white supremacist, nationalist rhetoric and policy of the period, particularly as it pertains to law enforcement in the name of public health for a largely white citizenry: "About 85% of the vegetables are raised by Japanese, and our evidence shows that many of these places are very unsanitary. It is vitally necessary that more officers be employed to enforce the law—if *our people are to be protected* against impure food and disease" (Abel 62, my emphasis).[127] Again, "our people" specifically refers to what Pomeroy and many others understood to be the white residents of the region, as well as prospective white settlers from across the United States looking to invest their money in California. Examining these published documents, it is apparent that the prospective settlers were the central audience for such public health positions. As Abel notes in her work, these

[127] Scholars are beginning to trace histories of food production, migrant/local labor, and racist policies designed to "protect" white residents and consumers. Emily Abel notes other examples: "the booster journal *Land of Sunshine* advertised Southern California crops this way: 'Foreign oranges are grown in countries always more or less infected with cholera and other diseases, and picked and packed by dirty lazzaroni to be stowed in the unclean hold of some Italian sailing vessel, while the Southern California fruit is grown, handled and carried by clean and healthy Americans.'"

prospective investors were regularly given the same reassurance as the local white residents that "they would associate only with whites."

And yet, such treatment was not exclusively directed at people who racialized as such. An Irish-born cook was accused of transmitting TB to several families and then sentenced to 25 years in an isolation hospital. "Health officials," Abel observes, "routinely referred to her as an 'Irish woman,' and her ethnicity (along with her gender and social class) figured prominently in arguments for her incarceration" (62-63). The questions put to authorities, white consumers, and these targeted workers up to and beyond the 1940s were consistently framed by ultimatums that provided the ideological material to sanction and legalize exclusionary practices. These policies paralleled other major state-sanctioned exclusionary policies, such as Japanese internment camps via the Executive Order 9066 and racist treatment of Mexican laborers in Bracero programs.

Morales's *The Captain of All These Men of Death* makes these connections visible throughout, often doing so without explicit commentary. Noting in just a few sentences, Contreras quickly brushes past the personal narrative of one of the medical doctors of Olive View, Dr. Fujikawa, who was "the best pulmonary specialist in the United States" and "highly respected by [the Mexican] patients." A simple yet descriptive statement follows this praise of Dr. Fujikawa: "During the war, Dr. Fujikawa, like most Japanese, had been detained at a relocation camp" (Morales 114). Even as Contreras and the other patients feel compelled to acknowledge their own positions as dependent on these doctors, the patients in this novel and in the historical documents I trace here regularly connect their own racialized wartime experience to naturalized, "legitimate" forms of exclusion and the ongoing project of nation-building. For example, Contreras

repeatedly reminds us of his gratitude with statements such as: "Mayte had great faith in God. I had great faith in God. We both had faith in the doctors," "I, like most patients, had great respect, trust, and reliance on the doctors," and "[t]here were some doctors who were considered by patients as godlike human beings" (113). However, the brief mention of Dr. Fujikawa's incarceration in an internment camp exposes the juridical limitations of routine racist and classed discourses of hysteria underpinning the nation-state. Mike Davis has noted this trend in California history, and his work emphasizes the many dominant discourses of anti-Asian racism, such as "Yellow Peril." These racist discourses played an important role in creating white supremacist disaster narrative frameworks for reading race, nation, sexuality, and popular memory: "Such classic sexual hysteria…is typically the iceberg tip of more widespread social anxieties" (341).[128] Dr. Fujikawa's incarceration creates yet another connection to regular instances of unconstitutional uses of police power, but also a state-sanctioned form of incarceration aimed to protect a loosely-constructed group of residents identified as the white citizenry.

A number of recent histories focus on the complexity of disease narratives which are commonly built around not only the physicality of the individual body, but also the bodies of several racially marked and gendered groups and communities. In the United States such conflations between physical and phenotypic characteristics and contagion, disease, and microbiology play instrumental roles in the maintenance of racist, anti-immigrant, xenophobic, eugenicist, and white supremacist ideologies. Governmental and

[128] Davis teases out his claim that the protection of white women were commonly at the center of these hysteria narratives: "In this case, the post-1980 boom in imagined aliens coincided with the increasing visibility of immigrants from Mexico, Central America, and East Asia in the daily life of the Los Angeles region. Like the Aryan survivalist novel, the fantasy of alien impregnation played off white fear and disorientation in the face of irreversible demographic change." (341)

state mechanisms, as historian Nayan Shah and others have shown, in part create, maintain, and then allow for an aggressive targeting of people of color and "foreign" bodies. Shah's study of San Francisco's Chinatown reveals how institutionalized these practices were, and how quickly health authorities moved to conflate "the physical condition of Chinatown with the characteristics of Chinese people" (2). Conflations of race and disease have been articulated not simply as a public health concern for the whole of a citizenry or population, but as Shah's history consistently shows, one that threatens to infect "white Americans."

Institutionalized racism and the ways race is conflated with disease are at the heart of *The Captain*, making the perceived threat to white America a cultural and political point for defining the nation and delimiting the boundaries of full citizenship. The few examples noted above, which I suggest lie at the borderlands of the central narratives in Morales's novel, not only expose a contradiction at this particular moment and in this specific scenario, but make these contradictions visible as an ongoing, always existing state-sanctioned exclusionary nation-building project. The ultimatum these discourses always already produced, therefore, is this: What alternative is there? The real "threat" of the disease, invasion, or even a legal system not primarily serving a construction of a white citizenry, as discussed above, is crippling, dangerous, and potentially deadly. This construct produces the framework of legitimate forms of exclusion, since the institutions of government, defined by this officially legal and structural logic, are in place for this very reason, to serve and protect this white citizenry. It becomes the imperative under these conditions to do whatever is necessary to keep these threats from these communities. Out of these conditions, then, emerge powerful

narrative discourses that shaped legal, cultural, medical, public, and private spheres in significant ways.

5.3. "Another excited Mexican kid ready to go to war for America": Becoming Americans

> Frankly, knowing the history of these buildings sheds a completely different perspective on what having tuberculosis was and meant, on what medicine was and has accomplished, on how medicine became abusive, and how the patients, especially those of us who were poor, Mexican, and black, kept our mouths shut and didn't say a word about what the doctors and nurses did to us. Unfortunately, all this was so easily forgotten.[129]
>
> Robert Contreras, narrator of *The Captain*

The first lines of the prologue of *The Captain* introduce a tension between the narrator's subject-position (often passive, disconnected, observant) and the larger structural frameworks that shape the novel. Contreras, in many ways, is removed from the spectacular events of the novel, a position established with the casual address to the reader in the opening paragraph. The prologue begins: "You see, nothing really exciting happened in my life. I led a normal life. The strangest thing that happened was when my nephew came to visit with his son, who asked me for an interview" (1). The "normal" of this statement initially works to introduce the uneventful life of an unspectacular narrator, who struggles to recall his time as a patient at Olive View Sanatorium and, as Contreras describes, "the wonderful images of the past, photos in my mind that often shuffle through." The return to these dilapidated structures, with overgrown grass and shrubs overtaking the once manicured garden, the shattered windows and cracked walls, the

[129] Morales, *The Captain of All These Men of Death* (3).

fallen Mexican tiles and torn away "heavy wooden doors," for Contreras, charts uncomfortable memories of a painful past and forgetful present. The three characters—Alejandro Morales, Gregory Morales, and Roberto Contreras—stumble through the space of the abandoned hospital until they reach signs warning that the buildings were "earthquake hazards and that trespassing was against the law" (2).

Even as Contreras makes these foggy observations, setting up an uncertain pathway to his past, it is clear that he is attempting to reconstruct a narrative of his experience as a young Chicano shaped not only by physical spaces but also institutional discourses. Many of the discourses always already read people of color and laborers as aliens, foreigners, disease-carriers, and criminals, making them subject to the ominous message of this warning sign: "trespassing [is] against the law." It is crucial that Morales and others in the novel continually observe these markers and realities, because, as Contreras in the same passage notes, "knowing the history of these buildings," as well as the institutional structure and histories in which they are situated, changes the meaning of those spaces and the people who are moved through them. Over fifty years after the events of the novel occur, Contreras sees his experience, and those situated in similar ways—"those of us who were poor, Mexican, and black"—as part of larger economic, racial, and, as the story unfolds, sexualized and gendered bodies shaped by these forces (3).

In many ways, then, we can assume that at the very least the character understates the events of the novel. However, it is this notion of "a normal life" operating throughout that guides narrative devices that shape the characters and their conditions, and make it possible to see how power operates. Borrowing from Raymond Williams's conception of

structures of feeling, this section of my essay introduces what I call *institutional structures of desire*: the structures that produce the framework for marginalized groups to inhabit normative spaces, possess normative bodies, and occupy legibly national U.S. identities, ultimately formulating a conception of normativity. Looking at how the concept of normativity functions in the novel reveals the apparatuses in place that, as Contreras acknowledges in his later years, "kept [the patients] mouths shut." These structures expose the hegemonic policing of resistance, dissent, and refusal to conform to social processes of assimilatory efforts to Americanize.

Much of *The Captain of All These Men of Death* is focused not on Robert Contreras's undoing, the struggles he has as an individual, but rather other people's suffering, fighting, exploitation, dying, and subjection to violence in hospital and military spaces. This, I suggest, provides a larger critique of the institutions that emerge from a capitalist society producing and allowing violence. The suggestion of Contreras's opening statement that "nothing really exciting happened" *to* him in many ways rings true as the story progresses; Contreras watches and records—he documents what he sees—serving more as an observer who is part of the system and yet is situated to make the connections to power and violence precisely because he is not at he center of its subjugation. His position as observer is set even before he is categorized as sick, prompting his slow journey through hospitals.

Contreras is compelled to play his part in the military and to serve his country, but after waiting for the military doctors to complete his final medical examination to be admitted into the army, he is told that he has tested positive for TB. The military doctor tells him: "You have TB, Contreras. You must get treatment right away" (10). The

narrator of the first few pages quickly dissolves into despair as soon as he finds himself alone on a road that "cuts through miles of agricultural fields," effectively moving through the intersections—literally, a kind of crossroads—of disease, racialization, farm labor, and the military (11). Contreras continues in an explosive, confessional style: "I let go and wept. I went for a physical to join the army, and they told me something was wrong with my lungs. "They rejected me!" I screamed at the reddish early evening sky. I ripped my shirt off and ran. I ran faster, hoping that I would collapse dead. Maybe my lungs would burst and take that spot away." This part of the novel is important as it places Contreras within a specific narrative problematic that has to do with more than his individual desire to serve and participate in the dominant masculinist wartime frameworks of national citizenship and U.S. militarism. When Contreras leaves the military offices, he does so in a panic, not simply as a response to being rejected by the U.S. Army, but because he is rejected as a sick body, weak, and "unfit." Wishing himself a quick death to "take that spot away" shows the degree to which his physical body represents his own racialized and gendered position.

How are we to read Contreras's response? Gabriel G. Gonzalez notes that the "Americanization of Mexican children" (first-generation children living in the United States who identified racially, culturally, ethnically, and linguistically as Mexican) was part of the ongoing racist, anti-immigrant, xenophobic, nation-building project. The education of Robert Contreras as a Mexican American in Los Angeles during the first half of the twentieth century, like others across the United States, sought to assimilate and "Americanize": "The objective [of the Los Angeles school system] was to transform the Mexican community into an English-speaking and American-thinking community"

(Gonzalez 163). In 1923, for example, the Los Angeles school superintendent, Susan B. Dorsey, officially addressed a common complaint, published in *The Los Angeles School Journal,* encouraging public school district principals to Americanize Mexican students: "We have these [Mexican] immigrants to live with, and if we Americanize them, we can live with them." Implicit in this statement is an aggressive imperative to address what was often referred to as "the Mexican problem," one of many examples of xenophobic framing of questions on the cultural politics of citizenship and rights in the United States.

Throughout the 1900s and 1910s, similar anti-Mexican curricular policies were employed across the U.S. school system, from Los Angeles and San Antonio, to Phoenix, El Paso, Santa Ana, Fresno, and San Diego; this is the context out of which California's Division of Immigrant Education (under the Department of Education) emerged, designed explicitly for the "promotion, development, and improvement of Americanization programs" (165). Gonzalez notes that the state and federal governments were key in the development of these programs, and the University of Southern California and the University of California were instrumental in training teachers to effectively transform these students into English-speaking, American-thinking citizens. And yet these policies of "transformation" did not end at linguistic and national allegiance to the United States; teachers were trained to make English instruction complement the "cleanliness program." Gonzalez cites a teacher's guide issued by the California Department of Education to illustrate the naturalized and systematic operating on racist assumptions:

> The method of instruction recommended must have been humiliating for the children. In one particular model classroom vignette, the teacher helps a child wash his hands and face and comb his hair. Upon completion of

> the assignment, the teacher brings "him before class and [comments] favorably upon his accomplishment and looks, as [in] 'Look at José. He is clean.'" (169)

The Los Angeles school system, like the public health institutions of California, routinely operated under assumptions that Mexican communities were "dirty, shiftless, lazy, irresponsible, unambitious, thriftless, fatalistic, selfish, promiscuous, and prone to drinking, violence, and criminal behavior," which again served a larger project of nation-building by defining a legitimate white citizenry that invites non-whites only after the latter are transformed into an acceptable, normative citizen: "if we Americanize them, we can live with them" (163).

The contradictions of the U.S. education system are many, and central for thinking through these spaces and their relationship to the characters of the novel. As Contreras himself recalls: "It was that year at the end of the fall semester, at age nineteen, when I had graduated from Bellflower High School—the only one to accomplish this academic feat in my family" (Morales, A 7). The racially segregated system of the Los Angeles school district structured the social and economic spaces of Latina/o and black residents. The plot of the novel begins two years before the milestone Supreme Court case *Méndez v. Westminster*, which declared racial segregation in California schools unconstitutional, yet Mexican American children were repeatedly labeled "inferior" to white children in the region for many years following the court's decision.[130] These conditions, along with underfunding of schools serving Mexican and Mexican-American communities, make military service even more attractive and viable. Legal scholars Toni

[130] For recent critical scholarship that reframes the *Méndez v. Westminster* case, see Toni Robinson and Greg Robinson's chapter "The Limits of Interracial Coalitions: Méndez v. Westminster *Reexamined*," in *Racial Transformations: Latinos and Asians Remaking the United States* (2006). Also see Antonio Viego's study of race and psychoanalysis in *Dead Subjects: Toward a Politics of Loss in Latino Studies* (2007).

and Greg Robinson note that "although sections 8003 and 8004 of the California Education Code did not list children of Mexican ancestry as a group that could be segregated, white educators and school psychologists in Southern California believed Mexican American children to be inferior and, thus, more in need of 'Americanization'—that is, the assimilation of U.S. values and customs—than of a traditional academic education" (Robinson 96).

The social, political, and economic standing of Latinos in Los Angeles is more complex than the novel initially suggests, a detail that Morales knows intimately. When asked in an interview published in 1996 how, as a Chicano writer, Morales understands his audience, the author states: "One of the greatest challenges for any ethnic writer is to write about his/her community and always try to avoid stereotypes. In the United States you grow up with stereotypes; you are educated in all the stereotypes; somehow they're ingrained in the way you see things, and that's one of the issues ethnic writers have to confront. They have to create characters or situations that are not stereotype bound" (Gurpegui 6). While Morales is referring to contemporary writers and how they must deal with being "educated" as "ethnic" identities in the United States, we can see traces of his thinking through this question of representation as he begins writing and developing the characters of *The Captain*. Morales's own positionality on what he describes, in the same interview, as "not only a Chicano question but an Anglo American, so-called dominant culture, question" is complicated. When asked if he, like the fictional character Ricardo Moreno of his 1983 novel *Reto en el Paraiso*, "denies his Chicanidad," Morales states: "I have never denied that I am a Chicano or Latino or mexicano or Mexican American or Hispanic, spick, grease, mojado…I am all those names…. The

characters I work with are all those words and represent all those experiences" (7). It is significant that Morales neither disidentifies nor locates one social category, but goes beyond to claiming to embody "all those words"; yet he finds his fictional characters pushing these ethnic, national, racial, racialized, and racist markers to their limits in most of his work. Morales's refusal here takes on another meaning as he expands on this thought, stating that "we writers" have to respond to the reality of racism, noting that most of his work "play[s] with [the] fear" of Anglo American racist notions that "mexicanos will take over Southern California or California" (11). Morales concludes: "I guess my work deals with that, with the possibilities, I don't want to say assimilation, but the possibilities that ethnicity does not matter and really it does. It is very important and it is not. That's what many of us, if we go through the educational system or not, find ourselves confronting."

This racial tension constructed under white supremacist frameworks targeting people of Mexican descent that Morales describes—"It is important and it is not"—reveals what David L. Eng and Shinhee Han call "the condition of racial melancholia." In "A Dialogue on Racial Melancholia," Eng and Han raise important questions about the racial dynamics of assimilation, resistance, and loss (343). Their study—the result of several discussions that took place in 1998 around the rise in depression in Asian American college student communities—attempts to consider new "methods by which a more speculative approach to psychoanalysis might enhance clinical applications, and vice versa…" (343-44). Their goal here is not to re-center discussions in psychoanalysis which cast melancholia as pathological, but rather to begin to understand this psychic condition as a "depathologized structure of feeling" (344). This distinction takes into

account everyday struggles with experiences of immigration, assimilation, and racialization in relation to loss and mourning. Whiteness, as it has functioned in the United States, has clearly delimited the conditions of possibility for people of color, revealing what is *not* possible in terms of legal, economic, and political access. It has been the marker of *impossibility* more than one of possibility.

Material conditions undergird this psychic condition of racial melancholia. This structure of impossibility and sense of loss is one of the key factors underpinning Contreras's statement: "another excited Mexican kid ready to go to war for America" (Morales, A 8). Enlisting in the military in this context becomes a central gateway—one of the few options for blacks and Mexican American youths—for negotiating this loss, as racial, economic, and social hierarchies were consistently limited by white supremacist policies in residential and educational spheres, producing the material realities of segregated school systems discussed above. This point contextualizes Robert Contreras's attitude about serving in the U.S. military despite the anti-Mexican racism dominating political discourse and the media. Waiting in line in the recruitment office behind "another excited Mexican kid ready to go to war for America," Contreras's eyes and ears are focused on situating his own memories as distinctly U.S. American, indicative of some of the educational impacts of Americanization discussed above.

This is reflected in Contreras's nationalist reflections as he walks through the recruitment office: "I listened for a moment as the choir began to sing 'America the Beautiful,' a song I had enjoyed singing at school." A performative statement, certainly; and yet this performance of "Americanness" has immediate consequences for Contreras and his family and their complex relationship to military life: "I waited, and thought

about my four brothers all in uniform, all of whom had faced combat. Two were wounded, and after they had recuperated, they returned to their units for more action. I was one proud Mexican, proud of my brothers' contributions to their country." At the time Contreras attempts to enlist, his four brothers—Nash, Ralph, Enrique, and Luis—are deployed across the globe in "Italy,…the Rhine,…the Pacific,…Africa and later in Italy." Contreras is a proud Mexican because of the military service of his brothers—and their "contributions" to the United States—and yet we learn later in the novel that this patriotic pride and partial inclusion within the national framework comes at great cost. Contreras comments on his brother's health after his service, noting that his brother "came back from the war, but he came back not as Ralph, but as somebody else, some being whose mind and body had been terrorized and severely traumatized" (65). As the novel progresses it is clear that Contreras constantly struggles with this relationship, as he is exposed repeatedly to the suffering of others as they enter into military and other legal and national spaces. As the narrative moves away from this contradiction—the fact that his brother's contributions to their country left him terrorized and traumatized—he observes, "He was my brother; I loved him; I wanted to help him, but he was different from the brother that had left home."

This tension is familiar and even common in studies of Chicana/o and Latina/o subject formation, with its roots in the U.S.-Mexican War of 1848 and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, as many scholars have worked to show. Luis Alvarez's work points to this complex positionality, detailing Chicano youths' responses to the overt racism of 1940s Los Angeles as something that was not necessarily in opposition to nationalist, military service. The structures of white supremacy and the visibility of an entrenched

racial hierarchy did not discourage Chicanos from "willingly joining the service in an effort to assimilate in the United States during the war" (Alvarez, L 2). Based in the actual accounts of the experiences of the non-fictional Robert Contreras, Morales seems intent on constructing a character that explores a complex subject-position apart from the more visible radical narratives of the pachucas and pachucos of zoot suit history. In other words, Contreras does not attach himself to any forms of radicalism, does not criticize the United States and its militarism, or its global, imperial projects. On the contrary, he consistently reveals that his one ambition, like his four brothers, was to enter the war as a soldier to perform his patriotic duties.

The conditions presented here produce what I call a structure of desire that opens possibilities for Contreras's family. His social makeup at this early stage of the novel is shaped by a culture of military participation, which makes war songs like the one that opens the first chapter familiar to him: "From the halls of Montezuma / To the shores of Tripoli, / We fight our country's battles / In the air, on land, and sea…," sung by the military choir as he enters the recruitment office, for Contreras, is so much a part of the hegemonic fabric of his family's life that he seems even more compelled to "go to war" (Morales, A 7):

> A military choir practiced in the hall next to the recruiting station reception office in Long Beach, California. War was raging in the Pacific islands, on the sea, and in the air against the Japanese imperial forces. Allied troops advancing on Berlin had broken through German defense lines to watch American paratroopers rain upon the city. At that moment in history, I, Robert Contreras, walked in to volunteer to go to war.

The last line of this internal observation is difficult to ignore, especially in the context of the first section of this essay, which frames the novel as one that problematizes official

narratives of history. What "moment" are readers meant to see, and through whose eyes does this version of history unfold?[131] Morales frames the novel with this problematic historical narrative, constructing a contemporary novel about tuberculosis and sanatoriums in Los Angeles. The narrator's statement—his account of trans-national, trans-historical events of the deeply contested narratives of World War II—is uncritically wrapped up in a popular U.S. nationalist rhetoric, blurring lines between the "bitter facts" of official history and a more experiential account. Returning to Marita Sturken and the cultural politics of memory, she raises the question of how popular culture figures into the historical memory of war. She states: "The narrative of popular films weave themselves into the experiences and memories of those who took part in the war and those who remember viewing news coverage of it. They become part of cultural memory" (86). Sturken points to the need to approach mainstream conceptions of history—in this case, WWII Los Angeles—as in conversation with the narratives constructed in film and popular memory about those historical events in order to engage the complexity of those narratives. A region like Southern California, with its ongoing investment in weapon building and wartime production, is such a representational space, as it has been and continues to be the subject matter of numerous films, magazines, newspaper writings, novels, and popular cultural production.[132]

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[131] Lisa Yoneyama, "Traveling Memories, Contagious Justice: Americanization of Japanese War Crimes at the Endo of the Post-Cold War" (59).

[132] Wartime Long Beach, as well as the larger region of Southern California, had an enormously nationalistic and patriotic feel to it, as it was entrenched in multiple layers of economic and military infrastructure. In 1944 the production and maintenance of warships, extensive bases for army and naval training, as well as the increasing numbers of soldiers and sailors had its permanent impact on the cultural politics of the region, long before Dwight Eisenhower tagged it as the "military-industrial complex." The military and Southern California boosterism impacted communities of color on a variety of socioeconomic levels, especially as it created a necessity for a massive labor force to maintain wartime production and a constant supply of soldiers to disperse across the globe.

Built into this complex framework of citizenship and public health, as the title of this section makes clear, is yet another major discourse shaping Contreras's story: militarism in Southern California. Alejandro Morales introduces the protagonist of *The Captain*, Robert Contreras, as a young Chicano who must negotiate multiple identity formations around the spaces of wartime Los Angeles and U.S. nationalism. It is precisely within this context that Morales frames his novel by highlighting the need for brown bodies to always re-enter "legitimate" U.S. national spaces in order to validate the current but unstable forms of cultural citizenship in place at any given moment, just as Mexican children were repeatedly made to conform to and then perform "Americanness" in Anglo spaces of education. In this case, that cultural citizenship presented itself within the spaces of the U.S. military.

This important intersection of the practices in school systems and racial and cultural politics of militarized spaces like wartime Los Angeles, where the city's economic and social structures were deeply shaped by the presence of soldiers, sailors, weapons research, development, and manufacturing, the military in Southern California has continuously been a contested space for residents and non-residents. The military is both an institution that both creates access to economic and social mobility, as well as sites of cultural struggle, a process Luis Alvarez and others suggest were formative for the emergence of Chicana/o body politics.[133] Alvarez has focused on the power of zoot suit discourses to show how young people of color —Chicanas/os and Latinas/os, blacks,

[133] See these significant studies: Alvarez's chapter "Zoot Suit and Body Politics" in *The Power of the Zoot: You Culture and Resistance During World War II* (2008); Robin D. G. Kelley's *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class*; Edwardo Obregon Pagan's *Murder at the Sleepy Lagoon: Zoot Suits, Race, & Riot in Wartime L.A.*; Catherine S. Ramírez's *The Woman in the Zoot Suit: Gender, Nationalism, and the Cultural Politics of Memory* (2009).

Filipinas/os, Japanese Americans, and others—have mapped this struggle onto the body as a way of negotiating racism and sexism prominent in wartime Los Angeles. Robin D. G. Kelley in *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class* puts similar emphases on the cultural language of the zoot, arguing that the "language and culture of zoot suiters represented a subversive refusal to be subservient" (166). It is a particularly important site for study because this language, as Kelley continues on the same page, in a world where "whites commonly addressed [blacks] as 'boy,'… [the language of zooters] sharply contrasted with the passive stereotype of the stuttering, tongue-tied Sambo."

Edwardo Obregón Pagán in *Murder at the Sleepy Lagoon: Zoot Suits, Race, & Riot in Wartime L.A*. maps fights between white sailors and zoot suiters by closely reading the cultural, racial, and economic conditions that produced the L.A. riots of 1943. Obregón Pagán's social history focuses on the influx of young, white navy sailors sent to the Naval Reserve Armory and Training School located only a few blocks from the neighborhoods of Chavez Ravine, which became a kind of playground for sailors to watch movies and frequent bars. The author writes: "The navy did its best to steer sailors clear of places deemed 'troublesome,' declaring some thirty bars and taverns in the downtown area off-limits for 'sanitary reasons' and posting the shore patrol along the business streets of Los Angeles to enforce the sanction" (Obregón Pagán 150). In *Woman in the Zoot Suit: Gender, Nationalism, ad the Cultural Politics of Memory*, Catherine S. Ramírez notes that within this visibly masculinist struggle of cultural politics, the gendered dynamics for women were quite different. In contrast to the male speakers of pachuco slang, performing what is now widely recognized as radical form of resistance and cultural affirmation, "female Mexican American speakers have face heavier

consequences." Ramírez argues that, in contrast, woman "have been mocked, punished, or silenced for failing to reproduce the ideal subjects of U.S. National identify (the loyal, white, Anglophone citizen), of an oppositional Chicano cultural identity (el pachuco), and of normative femininity (the 'lady')" (85).

This significant precursor to the more known Chicano movement of the 1960s—restaged most visibly by playwright Luis Valdez in *Zoot Suit* and film-maker Spike Lee in *Malcolm X*—challenged the dominant frameworks of race (white vs. non-white) and fashion ("drapes" vs. the U.S. Navy uniform) before the events of the visible Chicano movement that followed. This tension between Mexican communities and the navy, in part, produced this body politics, which directly confronted the perceptions of white Los Angeles residents, law enforcement, and the military service that fueled racist public health policies for non-white workers, and re-inscribed narratives of the younger generation of Chicanas/os and Latinas/os of the 1940s as "savage and dirty, animal-like carriers of disease" (Alvarez 94-95). It is against this context of an emerging Chicana/o body politics of self-fashioning and recuperated sense of "confidence, security, and dignity," as Alvarez states, that I would like to read Morales's *The Captain of All These Men of Death*. Contrary to the spaces of resistance presented in these histories and the cultural production remembering this moment in Chicana/o history, within the institutional hospital spaces of *The Captain of All These Men of Death* there is an overwhelming sense of the *impossibility* of such a self-fashioned and empowered identity described by the scholars above. The characters portrayed in *The Captain*—especially those who are marked by race, gender, and sexuality—find the worst possible outcomes when they attempt to resist the institutionalized racism, sexism, and homophobia under

which the law, private business, and the spaces of public health operate. With so much attention paid to these moments of resistance to racism and sexism in wartime Los Angeles, Morales's decentering of those stories is noteworthy. Rather than celebrate the different forms of politicized group resistance and organization—the tragic story of Sandro Díez, a worker who narrates his own position as an exploited, racialized radical, would be one place to do this, an example I examine in the last section of this essay—Morales constructs this story around Robert Contreras, an observant narrator firmly rooted within a U.S. assimilation narrative, who consistently distances himself from the violent conditions that make up his surroundings.

5.4. "That's right, Mayte, Robert, for me the Sanatorium is jail": Representing Racial Violence in the Carceral Space

> Sometimes I noticed patients disappear from one day to the next or from morning to night. Overnight they would be gone with no explanation…. Once in a while a patient with a reputation of being a subversive, a political or social troublemaker on the outside, would come and go.[134]
>
> A man came to me [and] mentioned something about how sometimes in the 1950s Chicanos were disappearing.[135]
>
> *Alejandro Morales, from a 1996 interview*

Sandro Díez's story in *The Captain of All These Men of Death* produces a critique of state-sanctioned violence and the use of public health as a carceral institution. Díez is an Olive View patient and former worker at the Pacific Pipe Clay and Cement Company, who insists on narrating his own position as an exploited, racialized radical. He haunts the novel as the "patient with a reputation of being a subversive, [the] political or social

[134] Morales, *The Captain of All These Men of Death* (97).
[135] José Antonio Gurpegui, *Alejandro Morales: Fiction Past, Present, and Future Perfect* (8).

troublemaker on the outside" and stands as a visible critique of the structures of desire—defined below—always present in Alejandro Morales's work (97).[136]

The "social troublemaker" Sandro Díez is admitted to Olive View because he was diagnosed by a company doctor with tuberculosis. While in the hospital, Díez pushes Contreras to see their surroundings as structured by class and racial violence. Initially, Contreras persistently denies Díez's legitimacy and dismisses his account outright. Contreras does not hide the fact that Díez represents something Contreras does not what to see: "I never thought much of Sandro. I didn't like him. In fact, I considered him lucky that a doctor had specific interest in taking care of him…. I told Sandro several times. He didn't understand and didn't care. He just wanted out to be with his family" (Morales 172). But Díez insists that Contreras and Mayte—the woman driving much of the political content of the *Olive View-Point*, the hospital newspaper—write an honest account of his arrest and illegal incarceration at Olive View. He tells them how he and his family were arrested and detained as contagious TB-carriers, explaining that the real motivation behind their arrest was in fact due to Díez being identified as a subversive radical union organizer. After recounting the exploitative labor practices of the clay yard and describing the hazardous working conditions—workers "breathing the red dust all

[136] Sandro Díez's story is very likely based on an actual event. In an interview recorded in 1996, Morales's briefly refers to a conversation he had about someone's family incarceration at a hospital: "A man came to me about *The Brick People* and about *The Rag Doll Plagues*. He mentioned something about how sometimes in the 1950s Chicanos were disappearing, and I asked, "What do you mean disappearing? Were they being deported?" and he said, "No, no, no. They took my dad and my brothers and me away, and they said that we had tuberculosis. They took us here, to the county hospital in Orange Country, and they held us for about a year. But we were never sick." I asked, "Why did they do that?" and he said, "Later on we found out. They thought we were some kind of political radicals and that we were organizing certain unions and doing this and that. So that was a way of taking us out of circulation." So that's an interesting concept: they couldn't arrest them because they hadn't committed any crime, but they [still] took them away" (Gurpegui 8).

day"—and the routine attacks on workers by the foreman, Díez narrates his failed attempt to get help from the labor unions:

> Well, Melchor and I went to the union hall and told them what was happening at the company. The next day, afuera de la compañia, we were talking to the workers, individually catching them on their way home. […] They listened to me but were too afraid for their jobs to act. It took something ugly to make them finally respond. […] When I arrived at work there was a big fight going on in the common yard. El cabrón capataz was beating the hell out of a woman who had accused him of raping her the night before while her husband was working graveyard. I saw the husband on the ground. His head was horribly busted open. When I got there, the men were watching at first. They stood frozen as the foreman smashed his fist into the woman's face. But she kept coming at him. It had to stop. A few more blows to the face and head and she would have died. "What are you going to do? Look what he's doing! How long are you going to take this mierda?" I stepped in to pull the woman away, when suddenly one of the workers followed my lead, pushed the foreman back, and then proceeded to beat the hell out of him. In a minute or two the foreman crumbled from the many blows that were landing on his face, head, and stomach. (173)

The violence of this scene introduces to Contreras (and the reader) explicit acts of physical and sexual domination, not through the "legitimate" medical experimentation on black and brown bodies that Contreras considers to be "lucky," but as direct and physical assault. Because we get Díez story as a kind of testimonio, rather than through the eyes of Contreras, the visibility of this violence—naming acts of rape, busting heads, smashing fists into faces, and near-death beatings—registers another kind of systematic, routine violence enabled by capitalist logics situating workers as exploitable, expendable bodies. What astonishes Díez most about this story—aside from the fact that Sandro, his wife, and his children have been incarcerated for being "communists…attempting to infect the company with poisonous utopian ideas"—is precisely the fact that such state-sanctioned violence is unexceptional. The public display of violence at the yard at once makes a

spectacle and makes natural the foreman smashing "his fist into the woman's face," so much that the workers stand frozen, not know how to respond for fear of losing their jobs. As Díez reflects, he foregrounds the violence by noting that it would take "something ugly to make them finally respond," and yet that "something ugly" is not the act of rape, exploitation, or physical abuse, but the reality that a "few more blows to the face and head" would result in the woman's death. Morales suggests that Díez's realization of how violence in this space is naturalized and used for political purposes is distinct from the others watching; he is disgusted by the violence and angry that others are willing to watch.

This scene, in several ways, exposes the underpinnings of capitalist exploitation that occurs regularly in the United States, and Díez is situated to see the unregulated legal authority that justified his arrest—containing tuberculosis through public health imperatives—as an extension of carceral police power. This connection allows Díez to forcefully state: "That's right, Mayte, Robert, for me the sanatorium is jail. I'm not being treated here. I'm being punished! I'm a political prisoner because I suffer from a political disease!" (176). Throughout Díez's retelling, Contreras attempts to rationalize the situation, suggesting again and again that it is more likely that Díez does have TB, and that his anger must misplaced. Díez's response to Contreras's skepticism is telling: "The trouble with you, Robert, is that you're a lambiche who protects Olive View, protects the system. The system has treated you well, so of course you can defend it." Díez understands his own narrative and his ability to see and critique the state and its institutions because he has been shaped by his material conditions, just as Contreras has been shaped by his access to "the system." Díez's insists that Mayte and Contreras share

his story as it is; not as a successful confrontation with such violence, but as a desperate attempt to make this violence and the contradictions they represent visible; he wants Robert and Mayte to publish—to document—his story in the *Olive View-Point*, the patient-run hospital newspaper as a way of recording what agents in "the system" want to ignore.

In the opening of *The Captain of All These Men of Death*, Morales makes it clear that we should recognize the Contreras family's deep investment in the U.S. military, and the more implicit institutional investments of the military in the Contreras family and Mexican American families more broadly. Before he is committed to the sanatorium, Robert Contreras is in many ways introduced to us as a pawn being moved into the military—"another excited Mexican kid ready to go to war for America" (8). And yet it is precisely because we are encouraged to identify with Contreras as he witnesses the violence of these events as he sees them, as a kind of floating witness, that this tension is made visible when we meet Díez; it allows for a critique of the institutions created and made possible by U.S. empire that seek to envelop those who can be made part of "the system." The dominant U.S. institutions Contreras wants to enter is here seen as manufactured gendered nationalism that conflates patriotic fervor with dominant ideologies of heteronormative masculinity. For Contreras, the tensions and contradictions that he does not seem to acknowledge, even as he witnesses them again and again, are written as a common experience, represented by his own eagerness to go to war for America, and can be partially understood in the context of the state and federal policies of "Americanization" occurring in the public school system discussed earlier.

As the novel progresses, however, there is a shift away from this narrowed-vision witnessing that defines Contreras, and a move toward seeing the violence of the structure around him. Contreras becomes a spectator rather than a witness, and this distinction make his complicity more pronounced and more visible. This shift emerges not so much from his own engagement with people and these institutions as it does from bearing witness to the multiple routine acts of violence, not only in military and hospital spaces, as was the case with his brother's traumatic transformation after his military service, but in spaces of labor exploitation. The quotes that open this section of the essay reveal more of the transformation of traumatic witness. Paying close attention to the passive sentence constructions that form his inner-dialogue, Contreras repeatedly situates himself in a tangential relationship to the violence occurring around him: "*I never realized* that Olive View regularly conducted experiments. *Sometimes I noticed* patients *disappear from one day to the next or from morning to night*. Overnight *they would be gone with no explanation*…. *Once in a while* a patient *with a reputation of being* a subversive, a political or social troublemaker on the outside, *would come and go*" (Morales 97, my emphasis).

In my reading of *The Captain of All These Men of Death*, considering the structures of desire that shape lives is especially useful because they open up ways of understanding significant themes in Chicana/o studies. Shifting notions of home, belonging, complex relationships rooted in the idea of the nation, and what I am referring to as "structures of desire"—have been at the heart of these discussions since the end of the U.S.-Mexico War, and the beginning of a cultural politics of struggle, resistance, and refusal of domination and oppression. By "structures of desire," then, I refer to the

assimilatory conditions of a racially stratified notion of national citizenship. Robert Contreras, for example, is constantly navigating these structures and his overwhelming desire to enlist in the military and become yet "another excited Mexican kid ready to go to war for America." In *The Captain*, this racialized gateway to national belonging is intimately tied to discourses of national health and safety, framed and reinforced by practices of not just the military, but also governmental politics, the institutions of U.S. education, and even the hospital.

These structures emerging in the space of the hospital—often represented in Morales's text as a carceral space—legitimatize otherwise illegitimate or illegal forms of systematic violence. Saidiya Hartman's theorizations of representations of chattel slavery violence sheds some light on the problems of conceptualizing reform. She argues that political practices traditionally considered indisputable forms of resistance—"traditional political activity like the abolition movement, black conventions, the struggle for suffrage, electoral activities, et cetera"—ultimately fail because they offer a narrow view of "inchoate utopian expressions of freedom" (13). Dylan Rodríguez sees the violence of the carceral state operating in similar ways, reframing state-sanctioned violence "through excesses and violations," generally understood to be "illegal" when enacted by a "criminalized" individual (46-47). As "institutional policy and protocol," however, such acts are transformed around the logics of the space of the prison, remapping carceral violence as a necessary punitive state imperative. Within the framework of punitive state institutions, small, quotidian practices of resistance makes visible what Hartman calls the "desires and longings that exceed the frame of civil rights and political emancipation," expressing an "imagination of freedom quite at odds with bourgeois expectations" (13).

I suggest here that Morales's work—especially when focused on exploited brown laboring bodies and the practices seeking to manage those bodies—is firmly engaged in making visible another kind of violence tied to de-centering the U.S.-Mexico border as the ultimate delineation of rights and citizenship discourses. In a 1992 *Los Angeles Times* interview, for instance, Morales suggested that his speculative novel *Rag Doll Plagues* deals with "catastrophic events such as earthquakes, great diseases or ecological events" because those kinds of crises "force *us in the long run* to deal with each other in a different way" (McLellan). Using "catastrophic events" to disrupt and reorganize legal and social frameworks of race, citizenship, and national identity—a speculative move often employed to imagine other possibilities and to undo deep-seated social constructs—Morales's approach to *The Rag Doll Plagues* breaks from traditional notions of historical fiction or realism determined to end with Moraga's "bitter facts" discussed earlier in this chapter. It disrupts the naturalized institutions maintaining exploitative labor practices as a national project.

I emphasize Morales's phrase from the above interview excerpt, "us in the long run," because it brings into focus an urgency for a cultural politics which insists on making room for possibilities that exceed the frame of liberal political discourse and the practice of capitalist logics. Such an emphasis insists on work that recovers, traces, and disrupts the dominant historical narratives shaping notions of race, gender, sexuality, nation, and citizenship. In my reading, if we understand the "us" in Morales's "us in the long run" to be an inclusive address to marginalized people, this notion then directly challenges the naturalization of violence by representing the economic, political, gendered, and racial violence, as well as the unresolved contradictions of dominant U.S.

nationalism. I interpret this as an effort to confront and resist the very idea of the nation, a notion reflected in Morales's claim from the same interview that, in the social realities of his characters, "there isn't a border anymore."

Epilogue: Memory, Nation, and Violence in the Medical Archive

> The sexually transmitted disease inoculation study conducted from 1946-1948 in Guatemala was clearly unethical. Although these events occurred more than 64 years ago, we are outraged that such reprehensible research [funded and carried out by the United States] could have occurred under the guise of public health…. The conduct exhibited during the study does not represent the values of the United States.
>
> Joint Statement by Secretaries Clinton and Sebelius, October 1, 2010[137]

> [H]uman value is made intelligible through racialized, sexualized, spatialized, and state-sanctioned violences.
>
> Lisa Marie Cacho[138]

In 2010, while digging through archival documents on the Tuskegee Study of Untreated Syphilis, historian Susan Reverby uncovered papers documenting a U.S.-funded study (1946-48) of syphilis experiments on prisoners, soldiers, sex-workers, and orphaned children in Guatemala. U.S. physicians and medical scientists focused their research on the transmission of sexually transmitted diseases, including syphilis and gonorrhea. The research involved the deliberate exposure of contagious diseases to over 1,300 subjects, with under half that number receiving treatments after contracting a disease. Many of the 696 subjects involved in the post-infection procedures died shortly thereafter. Regularly perceived to be unaware of the experimental laboratory, which suddenly emerged around them, the prisoners and patients were treated unapologetically as raw materials.

The documents were uncovered seventy-two years after the experiments were concluded, and as the official statement above suggests (delivered by Hillary Clinton and

[137] U.S. Department of Health and Human Services: http://www.hhs.gov/news/press/2010pres/10/20101001a.html
[138] Cacho, *Social Death: Racialized Rightlessness and the Criminalization of the Unprotected* (4).

Kathleen Sebelius immediately after news media picked up the story), the question of what such medical violence means for the national memory and narrative of the United States takes on political importance at the highest levels. The announcement of this newly discovered archive was followed by President Obama's implementation of a U.S. Commission charged with finding the truth behind these events. This resulted in a 206-page interpretive report published in 2011 titled *"Ethically Impossible": STD Research in Guatemala from 1946 to 1948*. In it, the committee—comprised of historians, medical experts, and legal scholars—presented to the president their nine-month "thorough fact-finding investigation into the specifics of the U.S. Public Health Service-led studies in Guatemala involving the intentional exposure and infection of vulnerable populations" (Issues v). In a letter to the President by the Chair and Vice-Chair of the committee, Amy Gutmann and James Wagner, they claim that these actions were "especially egregious moral wrongs" due to the fact that the central agents of the study held "positions of public institutional responsibility," echoing Harriet Washington's assertion that such violence carried out by the highest officials necessarily implies a system in which such actions are valued and sanctioned. The letter to the President concludes with a statement that addresses not only the case at hand, but the importance of shaping the national narrative when dealing with such forms of explicit violence in the interest of the state: "The best thing we can do as a country when faced with a dark chapter is to bring it to light. The Commission has worked hard to provide an unvarnished ethical analysis to both honor the victims and make sure events such as these never happen again."

These uncovered papers were archived at the University of Pittsburg, and belonged to Dr. John Cutler. A high ranking U.S. Public Health Service medical officer,

Cutler went on to supervise experiments on humans at Sing Sing State Prison in 1954, the Tuskegee syphilis experiments in the 1960s, and then, after serving as assistant surgeon general in 1958, became professor and dean of the Graduate School of Public Health at the University of Pittsburg until the 1990s.[139] While much of Cutler's reputation was publicly praised, his participation in the medical experiments in Guatemala was virtually unknown and erased from institutional memory. As a result, the U.S. health services again found its ideal medical test subjects in the most vulnerable communities and "outside" its own borders. Similar to the case of Keanu, where colonial doctors sought to locate and use devalued, racialized bodies in the name of progress and science, this example manifests from an even more established medical institution: the U.S. public health services.

Yet despite the attempt to claim responsibility for and reckon with the official history of violence of U.S. funded agents at all levels of the government, including the U.S. military, the official narrative by Clinton and Sebelius lingers uncomfortably. *The conduct exhibited during this study does not represent the values of the United States.* While addressing the material manifestation of this archive, the statement brackets the events as past and gone, a memory forgotten and, once appropriately dealt with, can be again disentangled from the present "values of the United States." According to this logic, those scientific findings by U.S. doctors in Guatemalan penitentiaries and hospitals, meticulously documented in physicians' private journals and letters,

[139] See the summary publication, "Fact Sheet on the 1946-1948 U.S. Public Health Service Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STD) Inoculation Study." Cutler went on to became the assistant surgeon general in 1958, and later served as professor and dean of the Graduate School of Public Health at the University of Pittsburg until the 1990s. The University of Pittsburg accepted his personal and professional papers, which were held unnoticed until 2010.

photographs, charts and statistics, and summary reports, are not to be understood as part of the longer historical conditions of the United States. What, exactly, are we to do with those stubborn and unruly records of the past, especially those that do not fit nicely into the "values" shaped by and maintained by U.S exceptionalism, empire, and other forms of national fantasy?

John Cutler is very much a part of this stubborn and unruly record. But perhaps more important than individualizing the events that took place under his name and directorship is a clear reckoning of the incredible mechanisms that made such "work" possible in the first place. Cutler was advised, for example, by his supervisors in the United States to forego consent discussions with indigenous prisoners because they were "only confused by explanations," a position that served the entire endeavor as they sought to find ways around what was supposed to be "ethically impossible." Cutler, in a letter to a Dr. Richard Arnold in the United States, writes about this issue, noting that indigenous men posed challenges for the "project," but could also be immensely useful for sidestepping medical consent as well as cost obstacles:

> Dr. [Joseph] Spoto has been talking a good deal about our project and thinking about it. He say that with the Indians in the prison we may well do our work with little or no explanation, as they are only confused by explanations and knowing what is happening. Likewise our payment for the males will be considerably less than we had [originally] planned. He says that even though the officials are all ready for us we shall have to work very slowly in getting into the prophylactic and infection studies, for he does not want to make any mistakes or to do anything to jeopardize our work. In building the ground work we shall set up the lab, begin to make surveys of infection in the population of the prison and among the prostitutes, and to train the native workers. He would like very much, among the first of our projects, to try some treatment studies of gonorrhea on the patients who we can keep under observation in the hospital and prison…" (34)

While the U.S. and Guatemalan authorities worked together to create these conditions and to inoculate prisoner-patients, asylum patients, and children in orphanages, the subjects were not informed of the nature of the experiments and were rarely asked for consent. Instead, the officials involved conveyed the subjects' gratitude to the doctors, noting that prisoners and patients were happy to take part.[140] Several photographs collected from this archive attempt to document what appears to be prisoners reading consent forms, however, many of the images offer little context aside from the results of several painful experimental attempts to infect them with syphilis. One photo of a male patient in the Psychiatric Hospital, whose records identify him as "Celso," depicts him sitting with one of the physicians as they prepare for a procedure (Figure 6.1). The records indicate nothing about his age or the condition that initiated his hospitalization, but there are several notes and comments on the syphilis experiments, at least two that appear to have cause severe damage to Celso's genitals and possibly led to his death a year after the procedures in 1949.[141]

[140] In a letter to the "Distinguished Dr. Cutler," sent soon after he returned to the United States to begin new research, the director of medical services at the Penitenciaria Central de Guatemala, Dr. Roberto Robles Chinchille, spoke on behalf of the prisoners to express their universal gratitude. Robles Chinchille writes: "It is a privilege for us, to manifest you, by means of this lines, our everlasting gratitude which will remain for ever in our hearts, because of your noble and gentlemanly way with which you have alleviated the suffering of the guards, and prisoners of this penitentiary" (35).

[141] The records on Celso are unclear. Cutler states in the record that he died as a result of a lobotomy, however, another document claims that he was in fact alive in 1952. (63).

Figure 6.1. Guatemala Psychiatric Hospital Prisoner-Patient. Celso was subjected to at least two syphilis experiments beginning in 1947 and, according to Dr. John Cutler, died in 1949 during a lobotomy.

As reports and general correspondence among scientists, physicians, and policy makers in the United States describe indigenous inmates as "confused" and incapable of making decisions regarding their health and well being, the archives often refuse such totalizing narratives. The prisoners in these experiments found ways to resist what was happening. In one 1947 report, Cutler notes that "the Indians" had "very widespread prejudices against frequent withdrawals of blood." Cutler explained to a superior, Dr. Mahoney:

> Most of [the prisoners] believed that they were being weakened by the weekly or biweekly withdrawals of 10 cc. of blood and complained that they were getting insufficient food to replace it. The fear of what they saw was much more important to them than the potential damage which might be done by syphilis years later and could not be countered by promises of or actual administration of penicillin for syphilis and iron tablets to replace

> blood. In their minds there was no connection between the loss of a 'large tube of blood' and the possible benefits of a small pill.

This exchange illustrates a continued discourse of racialized medical violence, where the subject functions as a kind of raw laboratory materials. Dr. Cutler assumes the role of humanitarian working on the behalf of what he regularly calls the "uneducated and superstitious Indians." In much of the ongoing commentary by Cutler, there is little acknowledgement that these prisoner-patients are being treated for a disease he administered to them, but just that they are superstitious for refusing treatment that might cure them. And yet, a later report notes that the research project "as originally conceived at the prison could not be carried out," suggesting that what the scientists interpreted as a lack of understanding—"uneducated and superstitious"—disrupted the procedures enough for them to have to abandon the original plans.[142]

The official response to this archive came immediately after the documents were made public in 2010. On October 1, 2010, President Obama began a conversation with Guatemalan President Álvaro Colom, extending a personal apology for these U.S.-led medical experiments, expressing "deep regret" for the research, promising his "unwavering commitment to ensure that human medical studies conducted today meet exacting" standards to protect human subjects (U.S. Commission 3). In the official discourse, Clinton and Sebelius issued a formal apology to the people and government of Guatemala, which intended to acknowledge that the United States organized and funded

[142] The official narratives of why these experiments were carried out revolved around U.S. national security and national health. Indeed, the experiments were presented as a kind of solution to a military problem: American soldiers who were hospitalized with STDs needed a solution to this medical problem. Since the 1930s, U.S. military officials had been urging the federal government to fund experiments that would ultimately get diseased soldiers out of hospital beds and ready for battlefield. In 1938, for example, U.S. Surgeon General Thomas Parran insisted that operating without serious funding for STD research and physician training "would be like sending a battleship to sea with untrained officers and crew aboard."

the medical experiments. They describe the experiments as "clearly unethical," but quickly turned the statement into an opportunity to maintain international trade and labor relations with Guatemala. The three-paragraph statement concludes:

> The people of Guatemala are our close friends and neighbors in the Americas. Our countries partner together on a range of issues, and our people are bound together by shared values, commerce, and by the many Guatemalan Americans who enrich our country. As we move forward to better understand this appalling event, we reaffirm the importance of our relationship with Guatemala, and our respect for the Guatemalan people, as well as our commitment to the highest standards of ethics in medical research. (Clinton)

A question that emerges from such nationalist state narratives has much to do not only with questions of medical ethics, but also with the crafting of narratives that fit into a national framework. At the same time they lay claim to temporal/historical narratives based on positivist conceptions of modernity on which such claims to medical ethics can be made.[143] Much like the formal apology the U.S. government made in 1993 with the Apology Resolution, in which the United States acknowledged its role in dismantling the Hawaiian kingdom from 1893 to 1898, this formal apology serves no legal purpose and shifts no authority for the past crimes and violences done in the name of U.S. empire and expansion. Jodi Byrd, on this question of redress, notes: "While the apology, like much the United States does, is not legally binding and served only as a mea culpa it did set the

[143] For a discussion of "minority histories," see Dipesh Chakrabarty's *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Chakrabarty's states: "Subaltern pasts are like stubborn knots that stand out and break up the otherwise evenly woven surface of the fabric. When we do minority histories within the democratic project of including all groups and peoples within mainstream history, we both hear and anthropologize the Santal at the same time. We cannot write history from within what we regard as their beliefs. We thus produce 'good,' not subversive, histories, which conform to the protocols of the discipline" (106). Chakrabarty's critique of minority history as it has emerged from Anglo-American universities, as opposed to "the corresponding process in literature/English departments," raises the question of how such recovered histories and their retelling contributes to historical narratives that "implicitly assume a plurality of times existing together, a disjuncture in the present within itself," with the explicit purpose of making "visible that disjuncture" (98-109).

stage and indeed called for a process of reconciliation between the United States and citizens of the Hawaiian kingdom" (153). This joint statement presents a similar attempt at shaping the narrative of violence within a national frame and functions not to memorialize and remember so much as to forget and subsume.

When faced with these examples of humanitarian acts of medical violence, the question of how to frame this history reveals major contradictions. When these archives surfaced in 2010, U.S. representatives as well as human rights advocates quickly condemned the acts these documents record. Yet situating these histories is not simply a question of narrating the past. As legal scholars, policy makers, human rights activists, and medical ethics experts uncover and interpret this newly uncovered archive, the U.S. District Courts ruled in 2013 that the United States was protected from lawsuits under two separate immunity laws: the Federal Tort Claims Act and the International Organization Immunities Act. Memory and forgetting work to produce "national meaning," as Marita Sturken reminds us, as much as it provides the possibility for shifting and reshaping it (259). This dissertation attempts to show how such archives continue to unsettle state narratives that forget in the name of national imperatives, and then produce those national narratives as ahistorical and without its own violent past: to "question why and how we remember—for what purpose, for whom, and from which position we remember—even when discussing sites of memory, where to many the significance of remembering seems obvious" (Yoneyama 4).

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