UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

The Elite Domestic Sphere: Identity, Memory, and Nostalgia in Literatures of U.S. Empire 1885-1915

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

in

Literature

by

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The Dissertation of Stacey M. Trujillo is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically:

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Chair

University of California, San Diego

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DEDICATION

For Frankie

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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In "The Elite Domestic Sphere: Identity, Memory, and Nostalgia in Literatures of U.S. Empire 1885-1915" I analyze texts from three locations of US empire: California, Hawai'i, and Panama to explore how women responded to their displacement by US imperial expansion. Ultimately, I argue that the essentialization of

elite identity happens through a nostalgic reimagining of the domestic sphere. Chapter one "The Elite Hacienda: *The Squatter and the Don*," María Amparo Ruiz de Burton offers a strong critique of the railroad monopolies and the US government's support of the displacement of the Californios through the Land Act of 1851. I suggest that while the physical connection between San Diego and the US South fails because of the railroad monopolies, *The Squatter and the Don* (1885) the author offers another way to connect these regions through the marriage of Clarence and Mercedes. Through their essentialized elite identities, these characters represent the US South and California respectively. In Chapter Two "The Royal Domestic Sphere: *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen*" I analyze *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen* by Lili'uokalani, published in 1898 as a protest against the US annexation of the Islands. I argue that the Queen appropriates the tourist gaze in order to critique the exotification of the Islands and attempts to naturalize an elite ruling class that transcends national and racial borders. In Chapter Three "The Spanish Commodity Fantasy: Domestic Visions of Panama in Lady Mallet's *Sketches of Spanish Colonial Life in Panama 1572-1821*" I analyze Lady Mallet's *Sketches of Spanish Colonial Life in Panama* (1915) alongside the Panama authors to show how this text decenters the US from narratives about Panama during the construction of the Panama Canal. Through the nostalgic imagining of the elite Spanish domestic sphere, Mallet suggests that Panamanian culture can be traced to its origin within the elite Spanish home.

Introduction

In this dissertation I argue that the imagining of an essential, natural, elite class status in response to displacement by US empire happens through nostalgic representations of the domestic sphere. In what follows, I analyze several texts by women writers who experienced transformations in their status because of US imperialism, including María Amparo Ruiz de Burton's 1885 novel *The Squatter and the Don*; Queen Lili'uokalani's autobiography and protest against US annexation of the Islands, *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen* published in 1889; and the lesser known, *Sketches of Spanish Colonial Life in Panama* by Lady Mallet, published in New York in 1915. All of these texts are written in English and published in the United States. In my analysis, I am interested in how women in these various contexts respond to US empire and their own displacement, or the displacement of their community, through appeals to contemporary elite models of domesticity and femininity in order to construct an idealized past experience that was either destroyed or threatened by U.S. empire. Each of these authors has a different individual relationship to the displacement of the community at stake in these texts. By analyzing each author's efforts to render class status natural and essential through the domestic sphere, I situate these expressions of displacement and nostalgia in relation to multiple sites of empire.

While changing configurations of whiteness were an important aspect of elite identity in the US during the nineteenth century since racism underlined allconstructions of social hierarchies, I will not argue that these authors primarily claim whiteness as a way to access upper-class status. A lot has already been said about the

pivotal role of whiteness in Ruiz de Burton's *The Squatter and the Don*[1] and while there is definitely evidence in this text to support such a reading, I believe that by going beyond whiteness as a defining characteristic of elite identity, my analysis of these texts in this dissertation highlights its fragility as a defining category. There are plenty of "white" characters in each of the texts that I will analyze who do not have the elite identity that these authors privilege through their idealized imaginings of the domestic sphere. Therefore, whiteness can be a part of elite identity but it is not a defining or universal characteristic.

Since my project relies heavily on the concept of essentialization it is important to define how I will be using the term throughout my dissertation. The process of essentialization entails imagining a characteristic as a fundamental part of identity rather than a social construction. In this dissertation, these characteristics are elements of elite class status such as manners, etiquette, and even intellect that combine to show a superiority that is imagined as natural and innate. I suggest that these texts illustrate this superiority through contrasts with other characters that lack these essential, natural characteristics. Ultimately by essentializing elite class status these authors argue that it is not something that can be taken away by their displacement. The imagining of the domestic sphere is crucial to this argument.

While social mobility is a part of the American myth that any man can make his fortune, gaining financial status is not the same thing as being a member of the elite. The type of elite identity that I examine in my dissertation primarily overlaps with so-

[1] I will discuss some of these arguments later in this introduction.

called "old world" constructions of elite identity that focus on family lineage and breeding rather than capitalist prowess. The majority of scholarship on elite identity in a US context focuses on constructions of elite identity in the US South. For example, Amy Feely Morsman in *The Big House After Slavery* (2010) describes elites primarily as privileged landowners, and in many cases this also means plantation owners. Through the connection to the plantation, Southern authors also shaped their discussions of elite identity through its connection to the domestic sphere. Jane Turner Censer uses the phrases, "privileged" or "genteel" to describe upper-class Southerners.[2] There is also a sense of moral superiority and respectability as well as a focus on proper decorum; these elements are often juxtaposed against those who lack these characteristics in order to emphasize their significance. Basically, elite identity consists of a set of manners, decorum, and the ability to recognize these characteristics in others. The reason so much of the scholarship on elite identity in the US focuses on plantation owners in the South may be due to the decimation of the area after the Civil War. Similar to the experience of those displaced by US empire, many elite US Southerners lost their material wealth, including their ability to maintain their homes after the Civil War. However, it was more than just a material loss, it was an ideological loss; this led

[2] Censer defines her terms in more detail in a footnote, "I have defined 'privileged' or 'genteel' women loosely as those belonging to families whose parents or grandparents owned more than fifteen slaves in the antebellum period. Many of the women who appear in this study are from families that owned more than fifty slaves. I use the term 'old elite' to apply to all these former slaveholding families, even though the property losses of war and emancipation changes the economic situation of many of these families after 1865. Thus, my definition includes women who came from a privileged background but no longer lived in luxury or even comfort. Yet much of this deprivation was relative, and many in this 'old elite' continued throughout the nineteenth century to wield considerable economic and political power" (4).

to the Lost Cause memorialization that resonates with much of the domestic literature written in the South[3].

Resonating with the case of the Southern authors, my analysis of the construction of elite identity in each text in my dissertation will frame it as a response to the loss of power or authority due to the displacement by U.S. empire. All of these women writers in different sites of US empire work to regain their power by constructing a nostalgic past where they had more social influence. By naturalizing, or more precisely, essentializing what I am referring to as class elements, these texts work to divorce class from financial power, in favor of an emphasis on traditional family ties and legacy. By constructing elite class as something one is born into, as opposed to something one earns or something one can buy, these texts challenge narratives of social mobility heralded by writers such as de Tocqueville.[4] Since these texts are nostalgic, however, the challenge they offer to social mobility changes based on the imperial context. Ruiz de Burton and Mallet both depict an elite society that has already been displaced years before, whereas Lili‘uokalani’s text was written to protest her displacement immediately following annexation. In the case of Lili‘uokalani, her position as a displaced monarch is particularly significant because it emphasizes the role of birth and family lineage.

While I examine three distinct areas of US empire whose primary shared experience is their relationship to US imperial expansion through displacement, I

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[3] For more on the Lost Cause and memorialization, please see *Dixie’s Daughters* by Karen Cox.

[4] “There is still a class of menials and a class of masters, but these classes are not always composed of the same individuals, still less of the same families; and those who command are not more secure of perpetuity than those who obey—At any moment a servant may become a master, and he aspires to rise to that condition” (*Democracy in America* 180).

suggest that this connection is a strong enough foundation to warrant further analysis. From a scholarly standpoint, a lot has been written about US empire and this field continues to be a fertile topic for analysis. Early among these studies was the influential, not only for the field, but for my dissertation as well, *Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (2002) by Amy Kaplan. In this text Kaplan explores "representations of U.S. imperialism" and suggests "[t]he conquest of Indian and Mexican lands in the antebellum period cannot be understood separately from the expansion of slavery and the struggle for freedom" (28). There have also been a number of influential studies on the intersections between constructions of race and ethnicity and the expansion of U.S. empire. In *Hemispheric Imaginings: The Monroe Doctrine and Narratives of U.S Empire*. Gretchen Murphy examines "how political formulations of the Monroe Doctrine relied on certain stories of the nation and the hemisphere as a family" (ix). By framing the hemisphere "as a family," an intimate connection, naturalized through familial bonds, these "political formulations" appear benevolent, or at least benign. Murphy suggests, "[t]his domestic story… was one repeated and adapted in nineteenth-century fiction, which lent the story the emotional force necessary to make compelling the flexible terms of the Monroe Doctrine" (ix).

Scholars of US imperialism such as Amy Kaplan suggest that empire is intimately intertwined with the domestic. Rosemary George in *Keywords for American Cultural Studies* argues that "Such scholarship demonstrates that the domestic sentimentalization of the white middle-class home from the nineteenth century onward was intimately intertwined with the ongoing and violent expansion of U.S. interests across the North American continent and beyond" (90). In "Manifest Domesticity," the

first chapter of *The Anarchy of Empire*, Kaplan argues the "rhetoric of Manifest Destiny and that of domesticity share a vocabulary that turns imperial conquest into spiritual regeneration in order to efface internal conflict or external resistance in visions of geopolitical domination as global harmony" (31). In other words, by presenting imperial conquest as beneficial "spiritual regeneration," or at least benign, domestic rhetoric supports the mission of expansion while still focusing on the "home." In sum, "'Manifest Domesticity'" turns an imperial nation into a home by producing colonizing specters of the foreign that lurk inside and outside its ever-shifting borders" (50). Kaplan's theories are important for bringing an analysis of the domestic sphere into conversation with the study of U.S. empire; however, as George accurately points out, these theories were often centered on the middle-class domestic home of the US.

In my dissertation, on the other hand, I explore the relationship between empire and the elite domestic sphere for populations that have been displaced by empire. The texts I will analyze in my dissertation create a hierarchy of domesticity, one that essentializes class status and represents it through depictions of the domestic sphere. The construction of what I am calling elite domesticity is important because it is the foundation of the nostalgic construction of elite identity. In many ways, in each text, the domestic sphere becomes the signifier of elite identity that is constructed through an imagining of the past.

In the nineteenth century, the connection between travel and writing became an important way for the public "back home" to learn about and experience empire vicariously. Casey Blanton explains "Travel [during the nineteenth century] was not only a source of enjoyment but was also clearly balanced by a desire for education"

(20). The enjoyment of travel, often only an option for the upper classes, now had a new facet, to educate the public about the changing boundaries of the nation. The "desire for education" was a key factor in the expansion of the travel narrative genre; even those who could not afford to travel still shared this desire and travel narratives filled that need. Travel narratives were often about confronting difference and situated the travel writer as the one with the power to define normal and abnormal through the use of the "tourist gaze" (Urry 1). John Urry defines the construction of the gaze as follows: "There is no tourist gaze as such. It varies by society, by social group and by historical period. Such gazes are constructed through difference" (1). Instead of a "tourist gaze" being shared by all, it is rather contingent upon the author's perception of "difference": the portrayal of "difference" dominated the narratives. Through the tourist gaze, audiences of travel literature received a mediated account of the sites the author described which, more often than not, would "educate" by reiterating imperial narratives of otherness. Blanton explains the connection between the travel writer and the reader: "As industry emerged to support the various needs…travel books became a popular means of supplying the most literate with a vicarious journey" (20). I suggest in what follows that the popularity of travel narratives as a means to provide readers with a "vicarious journey" has a strong and enduring legacy. As I will show in my dissertation, travel literature often became the basis for choosing real travel experiences as expanded transportation networks made travel more affordable and, eventually, part of the middle class experience.

The subjective nature of travel writing, being shaped by the author's tourist gaze, makes it a useful tool in perpetuating the imperial narrative. That is not to say

that all travel writers were intentionally or even consciously presenting pro-imperial rhetoric; however, the role of travel and representation is a major focus of a number of influential studies of imperialism. Two critiques that I will use throughout my dissertation are “Imperial Nostalgia” (1989) by Renato Rosaldo and “The Art of Forgetting: Imperial Amnesia and Public Secrecy” (2012) by Robert Fletcher. Uncomfortable with the cinematic portrayal of colonialism, Rosaldo argues: "The white colonial societies portrayed in these films appear decorous and orderly, as if constructed in accord with the norms of classic ethnography. Hints of these societies' coming collapse only appear at the margins where they create, not moral indignation, but an elegiac mode of perception” (107) in which the “inevitable” decline of cultures is overwhelmed by imperialism mitigates the violence of colonialism. Therefore the viewer does not react with “moral indignation” but instead focuses on the appearance of “white colonial societies” that mirror traditional pro-imperialist rhetoric. Rosaldo concludes: “Evidently, a mood of nostalgia makes racial domination appear innocent and pure" (107). The “innocence” of the colonial relationship again dislocates it from its role in the demise of the colonized culture. He defines an important key term for my dissertation: "Nostalgia is a particularly appropriate emotion to invoke in attempting to establish one's innocence and at the same time talk about what one has destroyed" (108). Therefore, by not acknowledging the role of US imperialism in the decline of the Californios, for example, US tourists and even residents of California can look to the restored missions and other historical sites, such as Old Town San Diego, through “innocent” eyes.

Building on the work of Rosaldo, Robert Fletcher creates another important key term for my dissertation: “imperialist amnesia” (423). He defines this term as “a tendency on the part of 'agents of postcolonialism' to either ignore the history of colonial domination in their accounts or to present a sanitized version of colonialism from which evidence of exploitation, persecution, subjugation and genocide has been effectively effaced” (423). The active forgetting of the violent side of colonialism shapes the representation of history. This “amnesia” allows for nostalgia to “sanitize” the past. I will explore the nostalgia and amnesia that continue to characterize travel narratives both within and beyond the nineteenth century in each of my chapters. While it may manifest itself differently in each location, the common themes of nostalgia and purposeful forgetting through travel and representation unite each of these locations of US imperialism. Since my dissertation deals with three drastically different locations and historical contexts and relationships to US empire, I will provide a brief contextualization of each site in this introduction so that my chapters will be more specifically focused on the texts. I will follow this explication of the context of each site of empire with chapter abstracts of my dissertation.

US Empire: Three Nineteenth-Century Flashpoints

California: Spanish Fantasy

In 1848, the US- Mexico War came to an end, with the US acquiring a third of Mexico’s territory. While the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ended the war, guaranteed that people living in former Mexican territories would have all of the rights of citizenship, these guarantees were rarely enforced and Spanish land grants were relentlessly challenged in the courts. The Land Claims Act of 1851, while giving

Californios the right to appeal these decisions, also placed a heavy financial burden for the legal battles on the ranch owners.[5] This decline was rapid as migration from the Eastern portion of the United States quickly began to fill the newly acquired territories. David Gutiérrez describes the quickness of the Californios' decline in class status, arguing that "within two decades of the American conquest it had become clear that, with few exceptions, Mexican Americans had been relegated to a stigmatized, subordinate position in the social and economic hierarchies" (21). In essence, almost the entire group, "with few exceptions," had quickly been displaced by US empire.

The decline in class status that most Californios experienced in the decades following the war was blamed on a character flaw in the population. Historians such as George Bancroft and Herbert Bolton helped construct this narrative. Albert Hurtado, a contemporary historian, succinctly describes the early characterizations of the Californios: "With such lazy defenders, the easy going and virtuous golden age of California was doomed" (201-2). The idea of California's "golden age" highlights the nostalgic portrayal of the time period, one that the "lazy defenders" were unable to maintain, which disappears US expansion and the racist narratives of imperialism that facilitated this decline. This so-called flaw could also be viewed through the lens of nostalgia as romantic characteristics that became a part of the California's fantasy heritage. While still noted as an important and influential historical work on the Californios,[6] an example of this type of historical research is Leonard Pitt's *The Decline*

[5] For a more detailed history of California in the Mexican period and after annexation, see Douglas Monroy's *Thrown Among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California.*

[6] See the revised forward to the text by Ramón Gutiérrez where writes about Pitt: "He wrote a relational history of social groups before it was widely accepted that groups could not easily be studied in isolation

of the Californios (1966). He writes: "Whatever the failings of their civilization, the Californians took delight and pride in it. It gave them land, wealth, regal fun, family pride, a stake in government, and a sense of aristocratic refinement that was rare in more isolated reaches of Latin America" (13). Pitt establishes a nostalgic representation of the Californios' class status by praising their "sense of aristocratic refinement" which he claims is unique in "the more isolated reaches of Latin America." While they "took delight and pride in" their culture, he qualifies their refinement: the phrase "Whatever the failings of their civilization" indicates that this pride may have been misguided, or at least, unsustainable. For Pitt, the Californios are a part of the past and he also emphasizes the recentness of their claims to the state, though he empathizes with their loss. According to Pitt, "Although whatever they possessed by 1846 had come to them but recently, they had held it long enough to cherish it, should anyone threaten to seize it" (13). Pitt thereby emphasizes the newness of their culture, a claim that divorces Californio culture from the long legacy of Spanish colonization in the region. They have less of a claim to their lands, so this logic goes, because they have only had them for a short period of time. In the previous description, and his text as a whole, the loss of their class status seems inevitable.

In the revised forward to *The Decline of the Californios*, Gutiérrez places Pitt in line with a dominant fantasy of Californian history: "Much of the romanticism about

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of one another. He was profoundly concerned about bigotry, prejudice, and discrimination—issues still ever potent in California. And he told this history with passion, verve, and tireless archival density and research. These are some of the elements that account for the continued importance of Pitt's *The Decline of the Californios*" (xi)

Mexican California and the narrative of quick and utter demise of the Californios under American rule, which so centrally infused Pitt's account, was the product of the historical sources he used" (x). Those sources were the testimonios recorded by Bancroft and his team, which emphasized these romantic characterizations. In *Telling Identities: The Californio Testimonios* (1995). Rosaura Sánchez analyzes the testimonios of the Californios collected by their contemporary historians to complicate this romanticized narrative. She argues: "Taken as a whole, Californio testimonials, then, constitute the discourses of the subaltern, voiced here by a minority population that by the 1870s was painfully aware of its displacement" (4). Sánchez describes the effects of these types of characterizations as demeaning and disparaging: "Their loss was further compounded by the demeaning representation of Californios given in various historical accounts, as much by hegemonic historians as by visitors, sailors, merchants, and early Anglo pioneers. It was these, for the most part disparaging, accounts that the Californios felt the need to counter by offering a reconstruction of their history from their own vantage point" (ix).

While Sánchez is specifically referring to the testimonios of the Californios, the "reconstruction of… history" that I am particularly interested in for my argument is the reconstruction through nostalgic fiction. María Amparo Ruiz de Burton's *The Squatter and the Don*, published in 1885, participates in this nostalgia while also criticizing the political and social power structures in California that led to the displacement of the Californios. In my first chapter, I am interested in exploring how Ruiz de Burton utilizes her fictional narrative that revolves around the romance between Mercedes

Alamar and Clarence Darrell as a way to address larger economic concerns regarding the Texas Pacific Railroad.[7]

Hawai‘i: A Throne Usurped

The annexation of Hawai‘i in 1898 was the culmination of a longer fight between the Hawaiian monarchy and US business interests that wanted more political and economic control of the Islands. The Hawaiian elite were not blind to the imperial aspirations of western colonial powers during the early nineteenth century and they began resisting by restructuring their government. Noenoe Silva explains: “The ali‘i [elites] adopted Western dress and courtly manners; they and the maka ‘ainana learned writing and eventually took control of the print media; and they adopted constitutionalism, codifying laws in English and American ways in order to make treaties and to be recognized as an independent nation unavailable for colonization” (16). Silva notes that this active form of resistance is not often recognized in histories of colonization and its omission reinforces the racist imperial arguments that presented the monarchy as mere mimicry, or suggested that Hawaiians were unaware of the political atmosphere and even complicit in their own colonization. However, while the elite took steps to “be recognized as an independent nation unavailable for colonization,” US business interests continued to gain a stronger foothold on the Islands, both politically and financially.

[7] I will explore my argument in more detail in the chapter abstract portion of my introduction.

The 1887 so-called Bayonet Constitution effectively stripped the Hawaiian monarchy of much of its political influence and power and gave it to the cabinet members, primarily white annexationists. It was signed into law under duress by King Kalākaua. After Queen Lili‘uokalani acceded to the throne in 1892, she, with the support of the Native Hawaiian population, proposed a new constitution that would restore much of the monarchy’s power. According to historian, Neil Pronto, when she began receiving threats from the annexationists regarding the new constitution she “recognized that the collaboration among her cabinet, the leaders of the coup d’état, and the United States had taken on a concrete form. She withdrew the constitution. In doing so she eliminated the ostensible reason for the coup d’état but not the rationale for the constitutional changes she advocated” (16). A lack of an “ostensible reason” notwithstanding, the annexationists organized a coupe to overthrow the monarchy in 1883. Queen Lili‘uokalani was the eighth and last monarch of Hawai‘i; however, it did not stop her from continuing to fight for Native Hawaiian control of the Islands and to oppose annexation through all the means available to her at the time.

The annexationists established the Republic of Hawaii led by a provisional government immediately following the coup in 1893. While the coup had been a success, getting congress to approve annexation was more difficult.[8] With annexation

[8] In *A Nation Within* (2009) Tom Coffman describes the multitude of strategies used which illustrates the manipulation and subterfuge in a succinct way: “To gain support for annexation, Thurston and his colleagues had initially attempted to elicit America’s traditional antagonism for the British, but the British had proved to be insufficiently antagonistic. They were, in fact, busy cultivating an alliance with the Americans. Thereafter the little white group had turned to the Japanese. In response, the U.S. secretary of state had confessed that problems with Japan were unknown to him, but he had listened intently. With nurturing, the phobia of Japan had gone a long way toward diverting America’s attention from the Hawaiians. But even the supposed menace of Japan had not resulted in an ‘aye’ vote on annexation” (4-5).

still years away, the provisional government in Hawai‘i needed to limit the Queen’s still very vocal dissent against her overthrow, influence and reach. She was tried for treason and imprisoned in the palace in 1895. During her imprisonment she remained as politically active as her restricted mobility would allow. During this time she began writing her autobiography, the text I will analyze in my dissertation.

Lili‘uokalani published *Hawaii’s Story by Hawaii’s Queen* in 1898 to protest the pending annexation of the islands by detailing the history and injustice of the insurrection and arguing for the monarchy’s right to rule. Her text, written in English, is meant to appeal to a U.S. audience. While, in later decades her text would be read as a memorialization of the Hawaiian monarchy that never regained control of the islands, at the time it was published the text also functioned as a hopeful protest against annexation. In my chapter I will address, in part, the dearth of scholarship on this important text. Through my analysis of *Hawaii’s Story by Hawaii’s Queen*, I will argue that the appropriation of the tourist gaze by Lili‘uokalani de-exoticizes the Islands while establishing her own elite identity in relation to transnational elites.

Panama: The Canal and Independence

Beginning in 1848, the Gold Rush in California, part of the newly acquired territory from the U.S.-Mexico War, generated a lot of interest in a route through Panama. People coming from the eastern United States, Europe and other countries from around the globe wanted a shortcut through the isthmus in order to avoid the long

sea voyage around South America. However, the overland route through the Panamanian jungle held its own hazards. Travel narratives such as Baynard Taylor's *El Dorado* describe dense, threatening jungles and rampant disease, in this case cholera; however, Baynard also describes an overwhelming presence of U.S. Americans both traveling through Panama and working as merchants in the cities. These types of descriptions were not uncommon in the mid-nineteenth century and they illustrate the desire for and profitability of an easier, shorter route through the isthmus. U.S. investors looking to capitalize on the desire to cross the isthmus began construction of the Panama Railroad, which would greatly expedite travel between Panama City and Colón, the port cities on either side of Panama. In *Emperors in the Jungle: The Hidden History of the U.S. in Panama* (2003), John Lindsay-Poland explain the financial benefits of control over travel over the isthmus: "Charging $25 in gold per passenger and with forty thousand passages annually, the railroad was a cash cow for its New York owners. It netted more than $7 million in its first six years of operation. It was also the largest U.S. investment in Latin America at the time" (14). In addition to representing a large profit for U.S. owners, the railroad also secured U.S. involvement in the region because the U.S. would be able to intervene in the name of protecting its investment in the railroad. U.S. control of the railroad would also play an important part in facilitating Panama's independence from Colombia. Both the U.S. withholding use of the railroad to Colombian soldiers and thereby preventing them from reaching Panama City to quell the uprising for independence[9] and the quick acknowledgement of the independent

[9] After treaty negotiations with Colombia for U.S. control of the Canal Zone broke down, the U.S. began informal negotiations with Panama, offering to support them in their fight for independence in exchange for the Canal Zone. While the U.S. had utilized its control of the railroad to help Colombia put down

Panamanian government by the U.S. paved the way for the acquisition of the Canal Zone.

While the Panama railroad represents a significant focal point of U.S. political and financial involvement in the region, acquisition of the Canal Zone in 1903 in the Hay-Bunau-Varilla treaty marked a point of significant change. This treaty granted U.S. control of the Canal Zone, a ten-mile stretch of land on either side of the proposed canal route (Missal 40). Since the U.S. intended to occupy the zone during and after construction of the Canal, the problem of white settlement in the Canal Zone became even more of a concern for government officials as well as the Panama authors. In *Seaway tot the Future* (2008) Alexander Missal argues that due to these concerns, the Canal Zone held a distinct place among the contemporary sites of empire:

> The Panama Canal project shared many characteristics with colonial ventures and became part of the emerging American empire. And yet fundamental differences remained… In order to build the Canal and guarantee its operation in the decades to come, the commission has to set up a semi-permanent administration on the Isthmus that would organize the work and take care of the needs of its employees, including their social life. By definition, this mini-state had a single purpose: to produce and maintain the Canal (123).

The "semi- permanence" of the administration illustrates that they intended to remain in the Canal Zone, which would require that they continue to establish communities of

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Panamanian uprisings for independence in the past, in this case, U.S. interests now used their control of the railroad against Colombia. For a more detailed analysis of the role of the U.S. in Panama's fight for independence see *Emperors in the Jungle*, *The Canal Builders* and *Seaway to the Future* which are each included in the works cited for this paper. The decision to intervene in Panama's struggle for independence is often something that many of the Panama authors do not find problematic because it allowed the U.S. to begin construction of the Canal which is their primary focus.

white[10] U.S. citizens. This distinction lies primarily in the construction of a dual domesticity within the rhetoric of U.S. empire.

Construction of the Panama Canal in the early part of the twentieth century sparked the imaginations of many people throughout the United States. It marked a significant technological achievement—the construction of a sea passage through the isthmus that would expedite both the trade and travel. Furthermore, the project was a symbol of U.S. ingenuity and was hailed as an example of how the U.S. was able to succeed where others had failed; specifically, the key failure was France's attempt to construct a canal through the isthmus at the end of the nineteenth century which was unsuccessful for a number of reasons, including a high mortality rate in the workforce and lack of sustained funding. In 1914, the United States completed the construction of the Canal, and two world's fairs—the main one in San Francisco and a smaller regional fair in San Diego—commemorated this achievement the following year. In addition there was also a large amount of literature dedicated to the Canal, ranging from government manuscripts detailing the technical and political sides of the construction zones to countless newspaper articles, magazine pieces and full length books.

The authors of these texts were often referred to as the Panama authors and they produced a large variety of texts about Panama during and after the construction of the Canal. These texts gave detailed descriptions of the Canal, Panama and Panamanian

[10] Again, I make this distinction due to racial segregation in the Canal Zone as well as the overtly racist rhetoric of many of the Panama authors. For example, in *The Story of Panama* (1912) Carl Carr and Frank Gause, whom I quote extensively in this paper, highlight the difference between the living quarters of white employees and administrators and the "colored" labor force. They frame the emphasis on successful domesticity solely in terms of the white living quarters comparing them to what people would expect in the United States. Please see *Black Labor on a White Canal* and *The Canal Builders* for more detail on segregation in the Canal Zone.

history; however, they provided varying degrees of accuracy. While many texts primarily focused on the construction of the Canal, descriptions of life in Panama as seen from a U.S. perspective were also very popular. An important theme in a lot of the literature published in the United States was the control of an inhospitable landscape and the tropical diseases associated with this environment.[11] Through these themes, some of the Panama authors framed U.S. involvement in Panama as a civilizing mission in which the U.S. brings modern sanitation techniques and ultimately a better standard of living to the region.

Amy Kaplan argues that although scholars have begun to deconstruct the idea of separate spheres, another important yet contradictory binary remains between the domestic and the foreign. This binary can be applied to the Canal Zone in that it is both a "foreign" place, part of the "tropics," and domestic, a place for white settlement. She states, "the domestic [is] in intimate opposition to the foreign. In this context the *domestic* has a double meaning that not only links the familial household to the nation but also imagines both in opposition to everything outside of the geographic and conceptual border of the home" (25, original emphasis). The double meaning of the word domestic is important to my discussion of Panama because it illustrates the dual manner in which the rhetoric of many of the Panama authors works to frame the Canal Zone as part of the U.S. while including a picture of the traditional domestic space of the white family living successfully in the "tropics." As opposed to being an "anchor,"

[11] For a specific example see Sylvester Baxter's arguments in "Tropical Renaissance" an article published in *Harpers Monthly Magazine* in 1902. In this article Baxter argues that white people have struggled to live in the tropics because of disease, advancements in science have paved the way for them to settle in these environments.

Kaplan argues that "domesticity is more mobile and less stabilizing; it travels in contradictory circuits both to expand and contract the boundaries of home and nation and produce shifting conceptions of the foreign" (28). As the "white other" living in the "tropics," the settlers that many of the Panama authors discuss are initially "foreign" in relation to Panama. This conception of "foreign" shifts, however, within the rhetoric surrounding white settlement in the Canal Zone in a way that normalizes their presence through a focus on traditional white domesticity. Now the indigenous or other people of color in the U.S. occupied zone became foreign.

Sketches of Spanish Colonial Life in Panama (1915) by Lady Mallet was written against this historical backdrop and offers a sharp contrast to the narratives of the untamed "tropics" and the power of the US to tame this environment. Mallet's text highlights the successful domestication of Panama by the Spanish, while the United States was still a colony itself. By privileging a connection to an elite domestic past, Mallet constructs an individual, historical identity for Panama. This history of domestic harmony and elite hierarchies defines Panama as outside of US influence and control of the land in the Canal Zone.

While the social and historical contexts of each location I discussed in the preceding pages have a lot of differences, I bring them together in this dissertation because a comparative study of these locations will help uncover some of the ways that the domestic sphere is an imagined space of resistance. I suggest by analyzing this gendered space, the elite domestic sphere, as a site of resistance and political engagement, these texts enhance our understanding of elite women's writing. In this dissertation, I will analyze the convergence of marginalization and elite identity that

happens in relation to US empire through the work of three important female authors. María Amparo Ruiz de Burton, Queen Lili‘uokalani, and Lady Mallet all experienced US empire through different historical circumstances and subject positions.[12] Despite the differences among the authors, they each craft a response to the expansion of US empire through the nostalgic representation of the domestic sphere. Ultimately, these authors use nostalgic imaginings of the past domestic sphere to essentialize elite identity and thereby critique larger social upheavals caused by US empire.

CHAPTER ONE The Elite Hacienda: *The Squatter and the Don*

In this chapter I focus on how class and status are re-imagined in relation to the domestic sphere in María Amparo Ruiz de Burton's second novel *The Squatter and the Don: A Novel Descriptive of Contemporary Occurrences in California*. The title suggests that the novel is "contemporary" to the plotline, even though it was published in 1885, over a decade after 1872, which is when the novel is set. Therefore, we see that the novel is looking backward and reconstructing the past for the reader. The narrator criticizes corrupt government policies that displaced elite Californios after the U.S.-Mexico War and the acquisition of California by the United States by focusing on the struggles of one elite Californio family, the Alamares, to protect their land from invading squatters. Throughout the novel, the Alamares are characterized as morally and intellectually superior to the squatters and corrupt government officials that conspire not only to steal land but to prevent the construction of the Southern-Pacific

[12] I will explore their relationship to US empire more explicitly in the chapter abstract portion of this introduction.

railroad in San Diego. While the political, historical, and economic ramifications of this characterization are central to this novel, I focus my analysis on the centrality of the domestic sphere as well as the construction of elite identity that the novel uses as the springboard for its commentaries on these ramifications.

Ruiz de Burton's work has received a significant amount of critical attention since its republication as part of the Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage project. The critical introduction to *The Squatter and the Don* by Rosaura Sánchez and Beatrice Pita and the collection and analysis of her letters and life in *Conflicts of Interest* have been widely cited in much of the scholarly work on the novel. In their introduction, Sánchez and Pita identify Ruiz de Burton as a "subaltern author" and this has led to a debate about whether the text is oppositional or complicit with racist hierarchies that contributed to the displacement of the Californios. José Aranda Jr. in his article "Contradictory Impulses" argues that most of the scholarship around Ruiz de Burton follows the lead of Sánchez and Pita by focusing on the ways that the text responds to "hegemonic voices" (Sánchez). He takes issue with the use of the term "subaltern," arguing that it does not apply to Ruiz de Burton because of her privilege at many times in her life. In my argument, I do not use the word subaltern; instead I use the terms "resistant" and "oppositional." The reason I choose these terms is because I argue that it is important to identify how this text challenges the dominant narratives of the inevitable decline of the Californios and the role of monopoly capitalism. Primarily I do not use the word "subaltern," not because I necessarily disagree with its usage, but that I find "resistant" or "oppositional" avoids the meanings that some scholars, such as Aranda, apply to the term subaltern. As a whole, my terminology conveys how Ruiz de

Burton's text does not simply comply with traditional hierarchies and social norms, which is an important part of my argument.

Whiteness in Ruiz de Burton's work has received a lot of scholarly attention; it has been used to argue both sides of the "resistant" or "oppositional" interpretation of the texts. For example, in his article, "Historical Amnesia and the Vanishing Mestiza: The Problem of Race in *The Squatter and the Don* and *Ramona*," Jesse Alemán argues that the appropriation of whiteness is an important part of Ruiz de Burton's political critique and therefore he sees it as opposition. While he also compares her work to Helen Hunt Jackson's *Ramona*, David Luis-Brown argues in his "'White Slaves' and the 'Arrogant Mestiza:' Reconfiguring Whiteness in *The Squatter and the Don* and *Ramona*," that appeals to whiteness are not oppositional because they maintain racialized labor hierarchies. Luis-Brown concludes: "Whereas Stowe reconciles the races through antislavery sentimentalism, Ruiz de Burton promotes a racially homogeneous reconciliation between white representatives of the South and California" (181). While this dynamic is supported by the text, he goes on to conclude that in their analysis of the "Redeemer" image in this section, Sánchez and Pita ""miss the historical irony that white slaves, if redeemed, would go on enslaving Indians and blacks" (181). In this way, Luis-Brown does not acknowledge that the Californios were categorized as "white" at the 1851 California Constitutional Congress, which arguably destabilized whiteness on its own, as most Californios were not of "pure Spanish" blood. This also assumes that in order to be oppositional, the text would need to advocate an egalitarian labor system, which limits how the text can be read as oppositional. Whereas my writers' argument for an essentialized elite identity would not lead to a more egalitarian

social order, it would be oppositional to monopoly capitalism and to class status being tied only to financial status and membership in the dominant culture.

Many scholars that analyze the role of whiteness in the novel, whether they see the text as oppositional or not, refer to intermarriage, between Clarence and Mercedes as verification of the Alamares' whiteness. These readings suggest ways for the Californios to be integrated into the elite sphere; basically, in many cases, it points to assimilation. These readings are well supported by the text; however, I would like to offer another way to view marriage between Clarence and Mercedes. While I agree that Ruiz de Burton emphasizes the physical whiteness of the Alamares, I suggest that their marriage is not contingent upon Mercedes' whiteness. Their marriage is based on an essential elite identity that transcends financial stability and the fact that Mercedes has blonde hair. Clarence receives his essential identity from his mother, a displaced, elite Southerner; the strong identification, politically, morally, and socially, between Clarence and his mother emphasizes this connection. Therefore, if we read Clarence as a representation of the essential elite identity of the US South, and Mercedes as the representation of elite Californios, the marriage plot also serves to reinforce the novel's larger argument against the railroad monopolies that prevent the physical connection between San Diego and the US South. I suggest that by reading essentialized elite identity, rather than whiteness, as the element that validates their relationship, the romantic plot positions the sentimentally romantic relationship between these characters as an alignment among displaced regional elites who identify with an older order rather than a pathway to assimilation in the modern white US nation.

Through an analysis of the essentialization of elite identity through its foundation in the domestic sphere, I will show how Mary Darrell and Doña Josefa naturalize these elite characteristics for Mercedes and Clarence. I argue that an essentialized elite identity is not contingent upon financial status (although it is a happy coincidence that Clarence ends up being a millionaire) and therefore it is not something that can be taken away. This means that the reverse is also true because rich characters are often found lacking when compared to the idealized elites. Mercedes, and later Clarence both demonstrate this elite status through their travels to the East Coast.

Instead of centering whiteness and the protagonists as most other scholars do who conjoin María Amparo Ruiz de Burton's *The Squatter and the Don* (1885) and Helen Hunt Jackson's *Ramona* (1884), I will utilize this comparison to foreground my discussion of nostalgia and the legacy of elite Spanish identity in California. While perpetuating the Spanish Fantasy Heritage was neither of these women's overall arguments, this is one of the most enduring legacies of their texts, particularly for *Ramona*. I will return to this connection at the end of the chapter to show how San Diego promoters used the idealization of a past Spanish culture to inspire tourism through evoking imperial nostalgia.

CHAPTER TWO The Royal Domestic Sphere: *Hawai'i's Story By Hawai'i 's Queen*

In this chapter I analyze Queen Lili'uokalani's autobiography and protest against annexation *Hawaii's Story By Hawaii's Queen* published in 1898. I situate her text within the context of travel writing in Hawai'i, which highlighted the natural beauty

of the Islands filling the landscape with hospitable, generous, yet distinctly "other" Native Hawaiians. Mark Twain's writing on Hawai'i for the *San Francisco Union* newspaper inspired his immensely popular Sandwich Islands lecture tours that were the foundation for his literary career. These lectures highlighted the exoticizing, privileged gaze of the tourist on Hawai'i. I suggest that Lili'uokalani, on the other hand, appropriates the tourist gaze to privilege Hawai'i as the domestic norm while exoticizing the US and Britain as she recounts her travels abroad. Her elite status, as heir apparent and then Queen, is an essential part of her identity.

The life, rule, and activism of Queen Lili'uokalani, the last monarch of Hawai'i, has also intrigued scholars that focus on the history of the US on the Islands and the annexation. Neil Thomas Pronto's *The Rights of My People: Liliuokalani's Enduring Battle with the United States 1893-1917* thoroughly traces her public, active, opposition to the coup and US annexation. Noenoe K. Silva's *Aloha Betrayed: Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* uses Hawaiian-language print media sources alongside English-language sources published in Hawai'i to explore the role print media played in organizing and subverting colonial power dynamics. In chapter 5, "The Queen of Hawaii Raises her Solemn Note of Protest," Silva analyzes the Queen's songs and the editorials she published in local newspapers. Silva argues that these written protests functioned as a dialogue between the queen and imprisoned activists by using kaona, veiled meaning. Through her published writing in Hawaiian and English, Lili'uokalani and her supporters thereby undermined annexationists' attempts to censor and limit communication among the colonized. Lydia Kualapai concludes that, since it

is present in much of Lili‘uokalani’s writing, kaona[13] would also be an important factor in her autobiography and her use of this tactic reveals that she has a variety of audiences in mind as she writes *Hawaii’s Story*.

“The Queen Writes Back: Lili‘uokalani’s *Hawaii’s Story by Hawaii’s Queen* by Lydia Kualapai provides a nuanced analysis of kaona in this important text. However, while Lili‘uokalani figures prominently in scholarly work on Hawai‘i and US empire, with the exception of Kualapai and a few others literary analysis of *Hawaii’s Story* remains extremely limited.[14] In her dissertation, *Transnational Sentimentalism in Mid-to-Late-Nineteenth-Century US Literature,* Leslie Martins Hammer analyzes the Queen’s text, suggesting the Queen attempts to validate her right to rule through her acceptance of sentimental femininity. Hammer and Kualapai both suggest that lingering doubts over its authorship explain the lack of literary scholarship on *Hawaii’s Story*. In 1936, prominent annexationist Lorrin Thurston published *Memoirs of the Hawaiian Revolution*, where he argued that Lili‘uokalani was not capable of writing such eloquent English prose. While similar racist arguments were made in 1898 when she published

[13] “Used extensively in Hawaiian poetry and song, including the queen’s compositions, *kaona* denotes veiled or indirect meaning” (Kualapai 24).

[14] In the 1997 collection *Remaking Queen Victoria* “‘I know what is due to me’: Self Fashioning and Legitimization in Queen Liliuokalani’s *Hawaii’s Story by Hawaii’s Queen,*” Robin Bott argues that her book is an “… attempt at self-fashioning, in which she uses signs to construct herself as a legitimate and Westernized Hawaiian ruler” (140); however, he concludes that this strategy failed to convince her US American audience. He bases his argument on his analysis of Lili‘uokalani’s presence at the Golden Jubilee. This is an important event in the text, but Bott applies his analysis of this relatively short section to *Hawaii’s Story* as a whole. I engage with his argument in more detail in my chapter. It is worth noting that the results of a google search for Bott’s article also included the full text of a paper from the 2015 NAVSA conference (North American Victorian Studies Conference) at the Hilton Hawaiian Village in downtown Waikiki. UCLA graduate student Lindsay P. Wilhelm’s paper “Sister Sovereigns: Hawaiian Royalty at Victoria’s Golden Jubilee” focuses on the event that Bott analyzes, but makes an interesting argument about monarchy in the late nineteenth century through her analysis of images, press coverage of the event and quotes from Lili‘uokalani’s text.

her text, as an active, visible, public figure the Queen's physical presentation, mannerisms, and articulate speeches challenged these arguments. Thurston's memoir, published thirty-eight years after annexation and nineteen years after the Queen's death, met a more receptive audience when he claimed that a comparison of the text and her diaries proved that her command of the English language was too limited to produce such eloquent prose. It was not until 1995 that Miriam Funch examined the original documents rather than the photocopies that were the basis of Thurston's comparison and concluded "Queen Liliʻuokalani was more than capable of writing *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen*" (mla.org).

I begin this chapter with an analysis of tourist literature focusing on Hawaiʻi such as that written by Isabella Bird and Mark Twain. I analyze the role of the tourist gaze in these accounts and demonstrate the influence of such writing in the perception of Hawaiʻi. The majority of my chapter focuses on a close reading of Liliʻuokalani's text in which I analyze her domestic descriptions, use of the tourist gaze, and strategic discussions of race and the racialization of Hawaiians. I conclude with an analysis of the legacy of the domestic sphere and tourism in contemporary Hawaiʻi. Despite Queen Liliʻuokalani's pleas in *Hawaii's Story*, meaningful outcry or support from the US public on her behalf never materialized and the US annexed Hawaiʻi in 1898. *Hawaii's Story* details, through Liliʻuokalani's own words, all of these significant events; her retelling emphasizes her active, persistent resistance to annexation and the displacement of the monarchy.

CHAPTER THREE The Spanish Commodity Fantasy: Domestic Visions of Panama in Lady Mallet's *Sketches of Spanish Colonial Life in Panama 1572-1821*

In this chapter I analyze *Sketches of Spanish Colonial Life in Panama 1572-1821* published in 1915 by Lady Mallet. Through my analysis of *Sketches* I show how Lady Mallet establishes an essentialized, elite identity shaped by the Spanish colonial domestic sphere that remains a significant part of Panama's cultural heritage. This perspective eliminates the US and Colombia as defining factors in the development of Panamanian culture even though the Isthmus had achieved independence from Colombia in 1903 only to have a significant amount of land, the Canal Zone, colonized by the United States in the same year. Mallet uses her own family history as the basis for these stories; however, this is not a detail she acknowledges in the text until the 1933 Spanish translation of the *Sketches*. Her nostalgic retellings of family history connect Mallet's text specifically with nostalgic domestic literature from the US South that was also popular in the early twentieth century. Naturalized hierarchies, contented slaves, and beautiful happy homes are common features of both Mallet's text and those written by her US Southern counterparts. While I will explore important areas of divergence among these groups, the essentialization of elite identity is the defining factor that allows Mallet to construct a workable, nostalgic history for the young country of Panama that cannot be taken away by the turbulent physical and political present.

Panama and the Panama Canal Zone have begun to garner more scholarly attention within the discussion of US empire in American Studies. In *Panama Fever: The Epic History of One of the Greatest Human Achievements of All Time—The*

Building of the Panama Canal (2007), Michael Parker traces the construction of the Canal from the failed French attempt to the completion of the US Canal in 1914. From a cultural studies standpoint, Michael Conniff's *Black Labor on a While Canal: Panama 1904-1981* (1885) is still widely cited in work that focuses on race and labor in the Canal Zone. Julie Greene's *The Canal Builders: Making American Empire at the Panama Canal* (2009) expands Conniff's efforts through an in-depth archival research into the lives of laborers in the Canal Zone. Through an analysis of letters and diaries, Greene yields insight into the domestic sphere of the workers and women's roles the Zone.

With the exception of Mallet's text, the Panama authors privileged US-centered accounts of Panama to meet the growing demand for the information on the Isthmus and the Canal project. In general, writing on Panama is "characterized by a heroic account of the massive undertaking and technological accomplishments of the United States in building the canal. Authors often referred to the Panama Canal as the 'eighth wonder of the world' and compare its building to that of the Pyramids for its engineering genius" (Moore, 44). Ultimately, the Panama authors made imperialism a consumable product for US audiences and were a major factor in contributing to the acceptance and excitement over the Canal and the US as an imperial power.

I begin my chapter with an analysis of the Panama authors in order to discuss how Mallet complicates these narratives through her focus on the nostalgic past. Following in the vein of my other chapters, I focus the majority of my chapter on close readings of the text, including Lady Mallet's nostalgic depiction of naturalized class hierarchies, nostalgic portrayal of the domestic sphere, and negative portrayal of

revolutions and “pompous” men who, in the text, are relegated to the public sphere and therefore are not a part of the nostalgic imagining of the past. Therefore, the essentialization of class status is a part of the nostalgic representation of the domestic sphere; in this location it cannot be disrupted by what happens outside of it. I will conclude my chapter with a discussion of images in the text in order to highlight the roles commodities and domestic décor played in US empire-building in the early twentieth century.

Conclusion

Overall, through my analysis of these texts I hope to connect the discussion of elite domesticity to the construction of nostalgia for an idealized past. While the domestic sphere, class, and empire are all important elements to study on their own, my contribution will be to highlight the intersections between these important facets to show how the essentialization of class is something that happens through an imagining of the domestic sphere. Ultimately, I suggest that this imagining of the role of the domestic sphere in the past is something that is particularly important at times when class is in flux due to changes in social regimes and structures; this makes the study of imagining the domestic sphere particularly important in relation to U.S. imperial expansion. The imagining of an idealized domestic past is something that other scholars have analyzed in relation to the US South and the Lost Cause memorialization; however, I hope that my project will continue to expand this area of study by including an analysis of the ways this form of nostalgia functions in sites of empire such as California, Hawai‘i and Panama.

In these sites the imagining of the domestic sphere as representing elite class status has different stakes. For Mallet the depiction of the domestic lives of Spanish colonials highlights a cultured past that challenges US-generated narratives of the Canal Zone and Panamanian culture. Whereas Ruiz de Burton's construction of elite Californios attempts to essentialize their class status in order to forge alliances with other displaced elites, Lili'uokalani uses the domestic sphere to legitimize the Hawaiian monarchy and contest annexation. While the stakes might be different for each author, each case illustrates how a nostalgic imagining of the domestic sphere can be used to imagine an elite class status that cannot be taken away and is independent of contemporary circumstances. By discussing these sites of U.S. empire not only in relation to the respective authors but also in relation to larger discussions of empire building and race, I hope to make a meaningful contribution to the study of US women's writing and intersections of empire, race, domesticity, and class.

CHAPTER ONE

The Elite Hacienda: *The Squatter and the Don*

"The people of the United States have never in the least realized that the taking possession of California was not only a conquering of Mexico, but a conquering of California as well; that the real bitterness of the surrender was not so much to the empire which gave up the country, as to the country itself which was given up. Provinces passed back and forth in that way, helpless in the hands of great powers, have all the ignominy and humiliation of defeat, with none of the dignities or compensations of the transaction" (Helen Hunt Jackson, *Ramona* 15).

"My father is a blind worshipper of the Congress of these United States, and consequently it is difficult to persuade him that our legislators might possibly do wrong. He believes that Congress has the right to declare all California open to preemption, and all American citizens free to choose any land not already patented. Thus, he thinks he has the right to locate on your land (according to law, mind you), because he believes your title has been rejected. But as my faith in our lawgivers is not so blind, my belief is that Congress had no more right to pass any law which could give an excuse to trespass on your property, than to pass any law inviting people to your table" (María Amparo Ruiz de Burton, *The Squatter and the Don* 96-7)

The first quote from Helen Hunt Jackson's immensely popular novel *Ramona*, published in 1884, describes the experience of the aristocratic Mexican ranchers, who were displaced by US American settlers when California officially became a part of the United States after the US-Mexico War. While this selection suggests sympathy for the "helpless" population and highlights the aggressive acquisition of the territory by describing it as the "conquering of California," the overall criticism in this piece of protest fiction focuses primarily on the experience and mistreatment of the Native American population of California. However, since the Californios are "helpless in the hands of great powers," it also suggests that they share a common experience with Native Americans who are exploited and dispossessed by US American settlement of

the West. *Ramona* was Jackson's attempt to highlight the displacement of Native Americans by engaging the readers with a fictional love story set against the backdrop of an elite Californio ranch. The picturesque scene of the California rancho frames the tragic story of ill-fated Native American Alessandro and his love, Ramona. The novel ends with Felipe, the formerly elite Mexican ranch owner, marrying the widowed Ramona and returning to Mexico, where Felipe regains his social standing with his wife by his side. In this way, the novel attempts to solve the dispossession of the Californios by having them return to Mexico. This avoids the issues of race and class posed by their presence in California. Thereby, at the end of *Ramona,* the Mexican population dispossessed of their large and beautiful ranchos become an idealized part of the California's "conquered" past.

The second quote, from *The Squatter and the Don: A Novel Descriptive of Contemporary Occurrences in California* by María Amparo Ruiz de Burton, published in 1885, articulates some of the main critiques made in the novel as a whole. The speaker, Clarence, explains his father's appropriation of Don Mariano's land but does not justify his behavior; primarily the blame lies on the US government, who encouraged westward settlement in the Land Act of 1851. This excerpt also differentiates Clarence from the squatters, including his father: "But as my faith in our lawgivers is not so blind, my belief is that Congress had no more right to pass any law which could give an excuse to trespass on your property, than to pass any law inviting people to your table." This quote introduces an important theme in the novel, violation of the domestic space by Congress, as is suggested by the phrase "inviting people to your table." This respectful and well-articulated critique establishes Clarence as an ally

of the Alamares in their fight against the encroaching squatters and corrupt railroad monopolies. The novel begins in 1872, when Don Mariano Alamar,[15] the patriarch of the elite, landowning Alamar family is in the middle of a legal battle to have his land title recognized and in a personal battle with squatters who kill his cattle and aim to take his land. The love story between Clarence, who is a multimillionaire by the end of the novel, and Don Mariano's beautiful, blonde, blue-eyed daughter, Mercedes weaves throughout the political critiques of the various characters and ends successfully with their marriage and the promise of a secure financial future. However, their marriage cannot resolve the corruption in government or the encroachment of monopoly capitalism which facilitate the physical and financial decline of the Alamar men. Left to bemoan their fate is Don Mariano's wife, Doña Josefa, the representative of the lost, idealized, Spanish past.

Noted as the first Mexican American woman to publish a novel in English, scholars of Chicano/a history and literature have taken a significant interest in Ruiz de Burton's work since its reintroduction through the Recovering U.S. Hispanic Literary Project in 1992. Rosaura Sánchez and Beatrice Pita uncovered, edited, and provided critical introductions to both of her novels. Sánchez and Pita also compiled and introduced a collection of her letters, *Conflicts of Interest*, which gives important insights into the author's life and the context around her novels. Critical response to Ruiz de Burton's use of whiteness in the novel is a fertile topic for analysis and many

[15] The character of Don Mariano is based on her friend and confidant Don Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo. Vallejo, an elite landowner from Northern California experienced similar problems with squatters and navigating the American legal system. He published an autobiography; for more on his text see chapter two of *Remembering the Hacienda* by Vincent Pérez and chapter three of Genaro Padilla's *My History, Not Yours*.

critiques have focused on the minimization of racial difference through the Alamares' ability to claim whiteness.[16] *The Squatter and the Don* and Ruiz de Burton's first novel *Who Would Have Thought It?* (1872) both provide ample evidence for arguments concerning racialization, whiteness, social hierarchies, critiques of the US government, and imperialism. Both of these texts have also been put in conversation with *Ramona*. *The Squatter and the Don* offers the most apt connection to Jackson's novel because both critique displacement and take place while the Californios were losing power and land to Anglo interlopers. I began this chapter with the larger connections between these two novels; however, I will diverge from the focus on race and whiteness to analyze class essentialization in Ruiz de Burton and to show how the impact of the Spanish Fantasy, particularly through the popularity of *Ramona,* shaped the development of Southern California.

In this chapter I argue that in *The Squatter and the Don,* Ruiz de Burton constructs an essential elite identity for her Californio family, the Alamares by emphasizing refinement and manners constructed through the domestic sphere. While Mercedes' whiteness encourages her mobility within upper class circles on the East Coast, her essential characteristics—her elite manners, refined decorum, and beauty in general--facilitate her elite mobility. Through my analysis of this text I argue that the true definition of class status rests in the personal characteristics that these characters cultivate within the domestic sphere, which makes class status an inherent characteristic and independent from financial stability. Setting her novel in the not so distant past,

[16] See David Luis-Brown and Jennifer Tuttle's contributions to *María Amparo Ruiz de Burton: Critical and Pedagogical Perspectives* (2004) as two examples of arguments that claim that the whiteness of the Alamares eliminates the implication of racial mixing through marriage.

only thirteen years before the publication date, Ruiz de Burton counters constructions of the Californios as a part of the nostalgic past and argues that they will continue on into contemporary elite society through the marriage of Clarence and Mercedes. Ultimately, Clarence, a descendent of the elite South, and Mercedes, a descendent of the elite Californios, represent the union between the displaced South and the Californios, and their marriage fulfills the connection that the highly anticipated, but failed Texas Pacific railroad cannot. The essential elite identity of these characters naturalizes their relationship by emphasizing a common class status that cannot be taken away or earned.

In addition, while most critiques focus either on the romance or the male characters and their actions in the public sphere, I argue that the female characters, while inhabiting traditional gendered roles, are understudied, important agents of influence and change in the novel. As a displaced elite Southerner, Mary Darrell, through her articulate and well-reasoned critiques of squatters, suggests the powerful role of women as she controls the public sphere through her agency in the domestic sphere. Together with Doña Josefa, Mary also reinforces women's power within the domestic sphere by preserving essentialized class status through their children and ultimately ensuring that their legacy will continue. Through these strong, adult, female characters, Ruiz de Burton not only gives voice to the novel's critiques against the squatters, she also supplements the passive, non-political role of Mercedes and gives agency to women in the political realm. Overall, I suggest that reading these three primary female characters together highlights the gendered connection between the legacies of the displaced elite Southerner, represented through Mary Darrell, and the displaced elite Californios through Doña Josefia. While the magnitude of these two

historical injustices cannot be resolved, the marriage between their socially mobile and successful children, Clarence and Mercedes, suggests that legacies of these displaced, and disempowered groups will remain an important part of US society. Since, unlike Ramona and Felipe, Mercedes and Clarence remain and prosper in the United States, Ruiz de Burton challenges the idealized, but doomed characterization of Californios in regional literature.[17]

In this chapter, I will begin by contextualizing the representation of Californios in literature through the connection between *Ramona* and *The Squatter and the Don*. This analysis will help establish how the context, genre and authors of these texts shape their political agency. Then I will expand my discussion of the political aims of *Squatter* by analyzing the overt political critique, specifically the conclusion of the novel. I will use this discussion to introduce my central claim about the connection between displaced Southern elites and the Californios through the characterization of Mary and Clarence and the critique of the failure of the Texas Pacific railroad. I suggest that the essentialization of elite class status for the Californios also includes Mary and Clarence as representations of Southern elites. While Clarence was not born in the South, I will argue that the strong connection between Mary and Clarence throughout the text positions him in line with her heritage rather than that of his father, Darrell. In this way, Clarence inherits Mary's essential identity that is firmly connected to the US South. In addition, through an analysis of mobility, the domestic sphere and

[17] In *The Squatter and the Don* Ruiz de Burton uses real people as the basis for some of her characters, most notably Don Mariano being based on her friend Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo; however, in this chapter my analysis focuses primarily on the text of the novel and therefore when I say "Californios," I am referring to their portrayal in the novel, not the real people that the characters might reflect.

the performance of manners and etiquette, I will show how Ruiz de Burton challenges changing class structures and a corrupt legal system that disempowers and dispossesses Californios. Finally, I will conclude with a discussion of the tourist industry and California promotion by returning to the prominent influence of *Ramona*, which reinforces the Spanish Heritage Fantasy that Ruiz de Burton both complicates through political commentary and supports through essentialization.

Before writing *Ramona*, Jackson published non-fiction pieces criticizing the exploitation of Native Americans, which failed to attract the attention she needed to evoke real change; therefore, according to Delyser, she chose to explore fictionalized representations in the hopes of expanding her audience.[18] Delyser contextualizes Jackson's engagement with a new literary genre:

> At the same time that Jackson began to seek local color she would need to write a novel fictionalizing the plight of Native Americans in order to endear their cause to readers, what emerged as a leading literary form, one available for women authors in particular, was the regional novel: Set in remote (but real) corners of the United States, this fiction featured colorful characters speaking in dialects, lavish and loving place descriptions, and nostalgic representations of picturesque folkways and a life outside of modernity (17).

The regional novel therefore privileges "loving place descriptions" and "nostalgic representations of picturesque folkways," which makes the location of the text both

[18] "Indeed this was precisely author Helen Hunt Jackson's goal in writing *Ramona*: after her factual works on the Indians had failed to attract widespread attention she turned to fiction as a way to reach an audience that her dry analysis had missed, and sought to disguise the same poignant message of Native American mistreatment in the cloak of a compelling story. She peppered her tale of Ramona and Alessandro with actual incidents in the Native Americans history of southern California as well as meticulous details of landscape and life in the region" (Delyser xvii).

foreign and yet still domestic because they were a part of the United States. Just as travel narratives allowed readers to vicariously experience distant places, the regional novel expanded this experience to include "endearing" characters that brought the regional elements to life. While Ruiz de Burton and Jackson do not share the same goal in their writing, they both used elements of sentimental, romantic plots inspired by real events and people to craft their larger social critiques within the genre of regional fiction. In addition, for both authors, the region of Southern California was an essential element in the novels.

While *Squatter* has been characterized as a historical romance,[19] or sentimental protest fiction, I suggest that "regional fiction" is also an illuminating lens to help interpret the novel. Regional fiction evolved out of regional travel writing, both of which were accessible genres for female authors at the time. As Sánchez and Pita demonstrate in *Conflicts of Interest*, making money through publication of another novel was one catalyst that led Ruiz de Burton to write *The Squatter and the Don*. Therefore, with the popularity of regional writing, *Squatter's* focus on Southern California would have been ideal for this genre. Delyser argues that these specific connections were an important part of the regional fiction genre: "The presence of known and verifiable fact in [historical] fiction lends fictive elements credibility, while the familiarity of certain fictive elements in a work about the past serves to make that past live in the mind of the readers" (xvii). Just as Jackson researched *Ramona* through travel in California and interviewing California residents; Ruiz de Burton based

[19] For example, "Portrayals of Spanish in 19th-century American prose: María Amparo Ruiz de Burton's *The Squatter and the Don*" by María Irene Moyna

Squatter on real events, her own experience, and the experience of her friends. Sánchez and Pita explain, for example: "With the Burton purchase of the Jamul ranch in San Diego County in 1853, [Ruiz de Burton] came into the role of landed *californio* and experienced firsthand the tension and adverse effects that the Gwin Bill provoked, conflicts reconstructed in her 1885 novel *The Squatter and the Don*" (87). Since regional novels evolved out of the genre of travel writing, the connection to real events and settings, these novels included an element of realism, particularly in their representation of California. The political commentary in Ruiz de Burton's text is much more overt than Jackson's novel; the overt argument in Ruiz de Burton's text ensures that her argument against railroad monopolies and the corruption of the government are not lost on the reader. Ramona's critique of Native American displacement, on the other hand, has not always come through as the prominent critique in the novel. Drelyser suggest that the experience of the Californios is more "forcibly presented" (29) and led to the Ramona inspired tours of Southern California. While some of these differences are a part of the narrative voices in each text, arguably the more combative tone and explicit critique in *Squatter* can be attributed to the overlap with Ruiz de Burton's own experience with fights over contested land, squatters and financial hardship.

Following in the vein of Sánchez and Pita, who extensively researched and reconstructed her life story, many scholars, as do I, find the intersections between her life and her work to be illuminating points of analysis. Following the connection between Ruiz de Burton's life and fiction, Jose F Aranda Jr. argues that *The Squatter and the Don* was "her chance to address all these personal matters but on a much larger scale, and it is also her attempt to fund her family life and litigation" (24). Therefore, in

order to publicly "address all these personal matters," she needed to point to specific historical events, laws, and the real names of the "monopolists." This element of realism may have hurt the novel's popularity because the novel's critiques were so blatant about specific people, it was sure to cause a backlash.[20] Aranda concludes that, in contrast to protest fiction such as *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* "*The Squatter and the Don* aims to incite direct political action. The narrator employs an altogether alternative form of narrative persuasion that is aggressive, impatient, and vigilante" (18). While I agree that the tone of *Squatter's* narrator is more aggressive, particularly in the conclusion of the novel, than the sentimental protests in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, I argue it is an error to assume that less "aggressive" fiction does not aim "to incite direct political action." On the contrary, in *Ramona*, Delyser suggests that "By linking the fates of the Missions, the Californios, and the Indians, Jackson left the Americans as the only oppressors, intending her work to become a rallying cry to right the wrongs done to the Mission Indians by Americans and the American government, and to therefore help solve *contemporary* problems" (23). I argue that a similar connection can be made in *Squatter* through dual oppressions of Anglo encroachment backed by unjust laws and the corruption that led to the defeat of the Texas Pacific Railroad. By setting her novel in the not too distant past, *Squatter* shows that the oppressions can still be addressed as "contemporary problems." While *Ramona* was by far a more popular and influential novel,[21] *The Squatter and the Don* provides a clear, "impatient" critique of what caused the decline of the Alamares

[20] I will return to the critical reception of the novel in the final section of this chapter.

[21] I will discuss the legacy of *Ramona* later in this chapter by connecting it to the Spanish Fantasy and the Mission Revival.

and the problems that persist in California. Therefore the main critiques of the text, which Ruiz de Burton voices through the narrator, Mary Darrell, Clarence, Don Mariano, and Doña Josefa, among others, present her arguments prominently alongside the regional fiction elements that shape the plot. Ruiz de Burton does not allow her overall argument to come second to the plot or the structure of the novel. What Aranda refers to as "vigilante" could also be attributed to the author's personal connection to the experiences in the novel. Whereas Jackson was a tourist in California, Ruiz de Burton experienced racialization and displacement firsthand. While her experience does not exactly mirror that of her characters, she has a vested interest in the financial stability of San Diego.[22]

Ruiz de Burton's final chapter of the novel, "Conclusion: Out with the Invader," offers the most direct, sustained critique of the corruption, both individual and institutional, that foreclosed San Diego's future with the Texas Pacific. In this chapter, the narrator addresses the readers in an overtly political argument against the power and money hungry businessmen whom she calls "monopolists." She specifically identifies the men involved in the loss of the Texas Pacific Railroad, pulling the critique out of the fictional realm, since it is inspired by real events, and positions her argument firmly within the political sphere by naming the people that wronged San Diego. The narrator calls for action: "It seems now that unless the people of California take the law into their own hands, and seize the property of those men, and confiscate it, to reimburse the money to the people, the arrogant corporation will never pay" (338). While the novel as

[22] Sanchez and Pita *Conflicts of Interest*

a whole focuses on specific groups of people, primarily elites and their fight against the squatters and corruption, here the narrator includes "the people of California." Since the opposition by the Alamares men did not end well in the novel, here the fight against the railroad monopoly is shown to need an all-encompassing fight:

> But these, as well as the blight, spread over Southern California, and over the entire Southern States, are historical facts… Our representatives in Congress, and in the State Legislature, knowing full well the will of the people, ought to legislate accordingly. If they do not, then we shall—as Channing said—'kiss the foot that tramples us!' and 'in anguish of spirit' must wait and pray for the Redeemer who will emancipate the white slaves of California (343-4).

Sánchez and Pita interpret the call for a "Redeemer" as ironic: "The implicit double allusion (Christ/Lincoln) to the "Redeemer" is an ironic reference to the country's moral bankruptcy and the public's consent to its own subordination by corrupt monopolies" (35). When read through the lens of irony, this section becomes even more powerful because it also indicts the readers who "consent to [their] own subordination." Sánchez and Pita argue that this section reinforces the critique of the government that has been central to the novel as a whole: "Since the novel itself has positioned the government as the principle enabler and, as a consequence, culprit, it can only sarcastically suggest its participation in 'redemption'" (35). Therefore, waiting for the political realm to address these problems is ludicrous; the people need to act. By reinforcing that the "the blight, spread over Southern California, and over the entire Southern States, are historical facts," she not only reinforces the authenticity of her novel in general but firmly insists on the shared experience of the US South and California.

In *The Squatter and the Don*, the proposed Texas Pacific railroad, which would stabilize San Diego economically, also serves as a symbolic connection between the disenfranchised South and the Californians. In each region, the former elite have the will of a distant (northern) government imposed upon them which resulted in dispossession. David Luis-Brown argues: "By establishing commerce between the elites of different cultures and regions, the railroad epitomizes *Squatter's* political project of postbellum sectional reconciliation" (818). Importantly, the "elites of different cultures and regions" are the ones that, according Luis-Brown, will be the ones who facilitate the "postbellum sectional reconciliation" which I suggest is why essentialization of elite identity is a necessary component in the novel's "political project." Vincent Pérez also highlights the symbolic role of the railroad: "The Texas Pacific Railroad project serves in the novel to establish a sociopolitical and cultural kinship between Mexican California and the U.S. South, a solidarity based on a shared condition of military defeat and subjugation by the Yankee North" (64). The railroad would be the physical connection between these two regions that would be an economic boon for both of them. This is also an example of a specific, real life, historical connection that Ruiz de Burton uses in her novel. According to the San Diego Historical Society, the failure of the Texas-Pacific was a huge disappointment for the city as a whole.[23]

The connection between the experience of the Californios and displaced US Southern elites is a prominent element of the text as a whole and I argue it is the dynamic that shapes both the romantic plot and the economic plot represented by the

[23] See the "San Diego and the Gilded Age" by Rickey D. Best on the San Diego History web archive.

struggle for the Texas-Pacific Railroad. This identification is shaped by racial hierarchies that continue to exploit indigenous and black labor; however, these characters are only minimally visible, entering in a few scenes, because *Squatter* is primarily concerned with the top of the hierarchy. By reading the novel through the lens of essentializing the elite identity of the elite Californios and the displaced elites of the US South, I suggest that the novel memorializes what has been lost and suggests a possible solution much earlier in the text than the conclusion. David Luis-Brown argues that the role of the South in the novel is to establish an alliance among elite, displaced groups: "The novel calls for the victimized regional classes, white Southerners and *Californios*, both of whom embody old money, honor, traditional values, and a stable social hierarchy to redeem the nation morally by displacing the monopoly capitalists"(817). The embodiment of these characteristics are part of what I define as the essentialization of elite identity in the text. As he suggests, these groups still "embody" these characteristics even after their displacement; while "old money" is a part of their identity, it can be read as more of a symbol, than a financial reality. Basically, by essentializing these characteristics, money in itself is not the determination of class status. While the political project of connecting the South with California is well articulated by Luis-Brown, I suggest expanding this connection even further to the characters in the novel specifically. Luis Brown characterizes Clarence as a "sympathetic Northeasterner" (818). However, through his strong connection and identification with his mother and her elite southern identity, I argue that he can be read

as a representation of the elite South.[24] Therefore, the romantic relationship between Mercedes and Clarence is a solution that would ensure that both of their elite legacies will endure, suggesting a prosperous alliance represented through the romantic relationship between Mercedes and Clarence.

Through what I call the essentialized elite identities that the novel establishes through the characters and the dream of Southern and Californian alliance, Ruiz de Burton reinforces racial hierarchies that rely on the subjection of racial others and have often led to debates about whether the text is oppositional or not. I suggest that essentialization, rather than a focus on whiteness and assimilation, help to highlight how the text functions primarily as an oppositional text, even though it does not dismantle class hierarchies. Luis-Brown argues: "As the parallel between elite Californios and Southerners makes clear, Ruiz de Burton's alliance between these regions would not lead to a more egalitarian social order" (819). This is where the essentialized elite identity helps to shed light on this issue; constructing an elite identity that is an essential part of one's character privileges heritage and limits the social mobility of others to an extent. However, it is also something that cannot be taken away, which is the primary function of essentializing elite identity in the face of displacement. Essentialization of elite identity precludes the possibility of "egalitarian social order" because it naturalizes class hierarchies. However, even without an essentialized identity, nostalgia for a past is characterized by idealized representations of the labor of racialized others, and it is an important part of the way that California, through Spanish Fantasy, and the US South,

[24] This is an argument I will explore at length later in the chapter.

through antebellum nostalgia, are constructed through these dominant and still widely used conventions.

The Squatter and the Don: Characterization and Critique

In order to connect the social critique to the protagonists in the novel, Ruiz de Burton articulates these critiques through the voices of her characters. As the idealized patriarch and an important, educated voice of reason in the text, Don Mariano articulates his sympathy for the US South by framing it through the lens of morality. He explains: "The Congressmen from the north do not seem to feel all the interest they should in reviving the south. They are angry yet. The fact that they coerced back into the Union the southern people has not appeased them yet it seems" (166). The characterization of the northern congressmen as angry bullies makes them seem both petty and short-sighted. That they do not "feel all the interest they should in reviving the south" highlights through "should" what would be a moral obligation. In addition, "reviving the south," while meant in economic terms, also insinuates that the North has the power to breathe life into the South and refuses to do it. This foreshadows how government inaction and corruption leads to the steep physical and economic decline of the Alamares near the end of the text. The description of the Civil War as "coerc[ing] back into the Union the southern people" points to northern aggression, which complies with Southern narratives of the Civil War during Reconstruction and therefore emphasizes Clarence's his identification with the South. Just as California was taken in the US-Mexico War, "coerced... into the Union" the South was "coerced back into the Union." Finally, the anger of the Congressmen, according to Don Mariano, is spiteful;

inclusion in the Union "has not appeased them yet it seems" and "They are angry yet." However, it is unclear what will satisfy this anger, so the South, just like California, is left in a liminal position within the US.

Ruiz de Burton uses the dialogue of her characters to reinforce the standpoints that the narrator articulates and, in some ways, obscures the differences among the main characters who share the narrator's view point.[25] Using similar moral reasoning as Don Mariano, George explains to Elvira why the railroad is important from an economic standpoint: "Look at all the businesses of this town, all the farming of this county, all the industries of Southern California—everything is at a standstill, waiting for Congress to aid the Texas Pacific. Well, the poor South is in pretty much the same fix that we are. I am sure that there are many homes in the Southern States whose peace and happiness depend upon the construction of the Texas Pacific" (274). In this case, the reader is in the position of Elvira, and has the significance of the railroad explained to them by a well-informed male character. This presents a gendered dynamic that continues throughout the novel and which I will address in more detail in the following paragraphs. The primary culprit is Congress as a whole, rather than just northern Congressmen; however, the government's power to help, both California and the South, but unwillingness to do anything, is the focus of the critique. By literally stating the connection—he says "the poor South is in pretty much the same fix that we are"--we see his compassion for the "poor" South, but this statement also equates their positions to validate the claim that these two regions should work together. He also shows how

[25] In the introduction to the text, Sánchez and Pita argue that the narrator, "most clearly identifies this aristocratic, enlightened, upper-class family…" (20).

elements such as “peace and happiness” are dependent upon the economic situation improving if the railroad is constructed. The “homes in the Southern States” are the ones that feel it most painfully, which reinforces how the domestic sphere is the site of health, and happiness. Therefore, through inaction, Congress is literally hurting the communities on an intimate level, through the domestic sphere.

Gendered Agency

Sánchez and Pita define women’s roles in *Squatter* as limited while acknowledging that the female characters are not reductive or merely gender stereotypes. I would like to expand how we look at female agency in the novel by showing that it is in the domestic sphere where they cultivate the essentialized characteristics of elite identity. In the introduction to the text, Sánchez and Pita characterize women’s agency as follows: “Excluded from participation in the power struggle at the public level, women are reduced, however resentfully, to exerting their power in interpersonal relations. The novel seemingly falls back on the notion that, in the domestic sphere, women find a playing field on which they have the upper hand…” (46-7). While women’s agency within the domestic sphere was a common “notion” as Sánchez and Pita suggest, I argue that we do not necessarily need to read this as reductive. While women find agency in a specific gendered space, their influence extends beyond it as most of the major decisions happen within this sphere. Genaro Padilla argues that in Mexican-American autobiographies, women challenged the binary construction of the public and private spheres: “women refused to distinguish the domestic space of the ‘woman’s sphere’ in a way that makes private/public a strict

binary opposition; rather, domestic space provides a vantage point from which history is witnessed as well as the strategic space from which women act upon history" (118). By not distinguishing the public from the private sphere, these women did not accept that they were mutually exclusive. Using the sphere as a "vantage point" to view history reflects how women use it in *Squatter;* for example, Doña Josefa sees the encroachment and changes in the landscape from her position in the domestic sphere. Most of the important events in the novel happen within a domestic sphere: almost all of the important scenes between Clarence and the Alamares happen within the Alamar home. In *Squatter,* we see women working through this gendered location and redefining it as a space where change can originate but it is also the site that is under attack through the Land Claims Act, which also makes it the physical site of the political battle.

In *Squatter* readers see women negotiating power over the construction of class status through their control of the domestic space in the very beginning of the novel. Similar to the role of nostalgia that Padilla points out, we see the domestic sphere as the formative location of subversion. The novel begins with Mary Darrell, the reluctant, yet noble wife of Darrell, contextualizing the squatter/settler debate for the readers. The author uses this character's voice to explain the plight of many Californios in sympathetic but general terms. After warning her husband that he needs to learn from his past mistakes of taking land that belonged to another, she emphasizes the distinction between the legitimate and illegitimate acquisition of land: "Whenever you take up government land, yes, you are 'settlers,' but not when you locate claims on land belonging to anyone else. In that case, you must accept the epithet of '*Squatter*'" (56). By emphasizing the negative connotation of the term "squatter" Mary Darrell frames

the larger debate in the novel that emphasizes the connection between legitimate domestic spaces and class status. As the novel progresses, we see this early political commentary played out through the plight of the Alamares as they try to protect their land from the invading squatters, Darrell being one of them. Later, we see Mrs. Darrell follow through on her arguments against squatters when she tells her husband that she refuses to live in a house that he builds on land that someone else owns. Despite her political commentary throughout the novels, we do not see Mary Darrell involved in the public sphere outside of the home and therefore her only way to attempt to control her class status is through her sway in her own domestic sphere.

Mary Darrell directs the household with more authority than her husband; this shows how women's control of the domestic sphere is particularly important when male figures fail to live up to the moral guides established within the home. Pérez argues that Mary's understanding of the context of displacement reflects her Southern heritage: "Mary's determination to compensate Don Mariano for the land comes not merely out of the kindness of her heart but also from what Ruiz de Burton characterizes as a historical recognition of the homologous position the Californio hacendados and the white ex-planter class shared during this period" (32-33). Without the consent of her husband she ensures that Clarence purchases the land from Don Mariano, thereby allowing the Darrell home to be built upon land that they legitimately own. Instead of telling everyone about the purchase, Mary, Clarence and Don Mariano keep the purchase a secret. While this plot device leads to Doña Josefa's misinformed rejection of Clarence, it also emphasizes how Mary's power over the domestic sphere translates into the public outside of the home. It also aligns Clarence and his mother in opposition

to the unjust actions of Darrell as he works with the squatters against Don Mariano. Later, when the squatters are planning further action against the Don, Mary stands up to them and rebukes their behavior. Her authority in the domestic sphere allows her to exert significant influence outside of the home.

Clarence and Mary are in total accord on politics and often form a united front against Darrell, which demonstrates how a shared essentialized elite identity forms the "right point of view" on moral and political issues. Pérez argues "…Clarence and his mother's motivation for sympathizing with the Californio ranchers is influenced by Mary's Creole descent, which shaped Clarence's view of "Latin" people (8). The connection between Mary and her son serves to reinforce the essentialization of elite class status for both characters. From Mary, not from his rough father, Clarence inherits his respect for the Alamares and their plight because it resonates with his mother's "Creole descent." This essentialized identity comes from their connection to the South; however, their political stance mirrors that of the Alamares, which extends this connection to Californios as well. The narrator explains: "Mrs. Darrell had heretofore been the only will that had dared stand before it [Darrell's vanity], but Mrs. Darrell, being a wise little woman, not always made direct assaults upon the strong citadel—oftener she made flank movements and laid sieges. This time, however, all tactics had thus far failed, and Mrs. Darrell withdrew all her forces, and waited, in 'masterly inactivity,' for reinforcements when Clarence returned" (216). Mary is brave, being the "only will that had dared stand before" Darrell's vanity," which shows how she is more powerful from within the confines of the domestic sphere than Darrell who seeks power outside of it. The language of battle highlights how the "wise little

woman" strategically uses her power within the domestic sphere to unite against Darrell's ill-advised tactics. The "battle" language also adds an element of irony to the description; however, this irony is focused on Darrell rather than on Mary's interventions. She understands how to engage with her husband and knows when she should withdraw "her forces." She does not give in to her husband; she only withdraws from the argument because she knows that Clarence will support her side and be there to support her soon. The harmony in their political views also supports the essentialization of elite identity as being something one is born with. Mary, as an elite Southern woman can bequeath this status to her son, and thereby Clarence is also unquestionably elite.

At the end of the novel, after Mercedes and Clarence are married and their financial future is secure, Doña Josefa remains solemn and laments all she has lost, including her husband and their way of life, due to the injustices of US policies. Her lament reinforces that complete resolution is impossible if California continues the trend towards corruption and monopolies. The narrator comments that "Doña Josefa evidently did not believe that because '*misery there must always be in the world, no matter who causes it*,' that she was called upon to stoically submit to unmerited affliction. In a mild and dignified way, her mind rebelled. She regarded the acts of the men who caused her husband's ruin and death with genuine abhorrence… No subtle sophistry could blur in her mind the clear line dividing right from wrong" (335). Her rebellion is not physical; it remains "dignified" because it is an intellectual defiance. Her strong sense of "right and wrong" illustrates how a strong moral center is a part of her essentialized elite identity. While her political stance is much stronger here, it is

also still tied to her role as a mother and wife: “She regarded the acts of the men who caused her husband’s ruin and death with genuine abhorrence.” However, since the Alamares are symbolic, fictional representations of the larger collective experience of the Californios, I argue that her moral outrage extends beyond the domestic, family realm as well.

Doña Josefa’s physical presence alongside Mercedes and Clarence at the end of the novel also represents the closeness of the lost past that she represents. She memorializes the Californio elite legacy that is a part of the Spanish Fantasy through her laments and her physical presence. This memorialization coincides with the genre of regional fiction: “…this type of literature served as a sort of ‘cultural elegy,’ memorializing a culture on the brink of its demise while creating, through fiction, a ‘mentally possessable version of [that] loved thing lost in reality’” (Delyser, 29). Doña Josefa’s lament at the end of the novel, in particular, is a part of the “cultural elegy” as she mourns all her family has lost, and by extension all the landed, elite Californios have lost. Doña Josefa concludes the novel with her own words of protest: “Let the guilty rejoice and go unpunished, and the innocent suffer ruin and desolation. I slander no one, but shall speak the truth” (336). Mary Darrell’s critique begins the novel, and it is through her voice that the readers learn the historical context of squatters in California. She also voices the critique of this practice, as I analyzed earlier, which establishes Mary, the displaced elite Southerner, as an important moral center in the text. Therefore, it is fitting that Doña Josefa, still reeling from her own experience of loss and displacement, is allowed to adopt a similar position as Mary from the beginning of the novel. Doña Josefa’s dialogue returns the novel to the social and

political critique after Clarence and Mercedes are married; she says the last words of the fictional story. In this way, unlike the conclusion of *Ramona*, which directs the focus away from the tragedy of Alessandro's death to the successful remarriage of Ramona to Felipe and their removal to Mexico, Ruiz de Burton does not allow the completion of the love story to resolve the novel.

While the main agents outside of the home are men for the majority of the novel, some critics overlook the importance of the women's political roles inside the domestic sphere. For example, regarding Doña Josefa's protest at the end of the novel, Aranda reads it as dramatic shift in her characterization. He asks, "And only now does she mean to tell the truth that refuses to observe the social niceties and protocols of the upper-classes, especially its allegiance to wealth for wealth's sake?"(20). He acknowledges that her critique is particularly important "because she voices the final sentiments of the elder generation of Alamares who came of age during the Mexican period in Alta California" (20). Indeed, this supports my argument that in *Squatter*, she represents the Californios who experienced the nostalgically remembered time before California became a part of the US. However, by quickly transitioning into a discussion of the economic order as voiced by Don Mariano, Aranda leaves these important statements about Doña Josefa's role as a political agent and member of the upper-classes unexplored.

While Aranda interprets her protest as contrary to her earlier characterization, I suggest that while her character evolves due to her displacement, her essential characteristics remain the same. Aranda suggests that there has been a shift: "When she first appears in the novel, she embodies the quintessential characteristics of a doña:

elegance, propriety, exquisite timing and devotion to the domestic sphere" (18). These "quintessential characteristics," including her connection to the domestic sphere, are the essentialized class characteristics that differentiate the Alamares from the interlopers. As I have shown in so far in this chapter, the domestic sphere has always influenced the public sphere in *Squatter* and, although Doña Josefa allowed the male characters to be the main agents outside the home when they were able, now that she is displaced from that sphere her political commentary expands. Without her husband, who also shared an essential elite identity, she aptly takes on this role. I argue that Doña Josefa's political stance and strong conviction to "slander no one, but…speak the truth" does not show her disregard for propriety and social standing, as Aranda suggests; instead the phrasing indicates the opposite. She will not "slander" and only "speaks the truth," which is not a violation of propriety because it is the truth. Her disregard for offending "elite" society in San Francisco highlights that her elite identity is an essential part of her, not something that needs validation or acceptance and it is not contingent on her social standing. Furthermore, the so-called elite society that the narrator characterizes in the San Francisco scenes is not a true elite group; they have money, because of their corruption, and their financial status is their sole claim to an elite identity. Since elite identity is not contingent on money, as the novel demonstrates through Don Mariano's decline and the Alamares brothers incapacitations, the San Francisco elite do not share her status. The woman who tells her not to speak so frankly comes to visit; she is described as "an old friend, who having heard that Clarence was worth twelve million dollars, had called upon her, suddenly remembering that she used to know the Alamares years ago" (336). Therefore, the visitor is an example of someone who only values

money as a signifier of class. Doña Josefa is not arbitrarily insulting someone; that is not something that any of the essentially elite characters would do in the novel. By ending the novel with Doña Josefa speaking bluntly, yet politely, with a woman who only wants to be associated with Clarence and the family for their money, Ruiz de Burton reinforces her critique of what money-centered class status has become and insists that essential elite status will remain superior.

The Extension of Essentialized Identity

While Doña Josefa's laments highlight the importance of remembering their legacy, the sense of refinement that she bequeaths to Mercedes shows how this legacy will continue. Sánchez and Pita suggest that Doña Josefa's role "is to socialize her daughters to a point where they come to consent to their own repression" (44-5). However, I argue that in the context of the scenes in New England, the "repression" of the Alamar girls is exactly what helps differentiate them from other young women and ultimately highlights how their "consent" or willing participation is a part of their essentialized identity. For example, Mercedes is not passive in her interactions with male suitors, a behavior which shows an agency within gendered interactions that keeps her in a privileged position. While Doña Josefa supports patriarchy, I suggest in the novel there are different types of patriarchy, a variety which adds more complexity to the relationship of the female characters to that system. Don Mariano, adept, provider, and representative of tradition, who is a positive character throughout the text, does not represent a patriarchal figure that within the context of the text would make sense for Doña Josefa to rebel against. Darrell, whose behavior does not fit the standard of

idealized patriarch established through Don Mariano, is the type of patriarch that allows Mary Darrell to challenge her husband based on her claim to an essentialized elite identity. In many ways she controls the situation through her influence in the domestic sphere, particularly her relationship with Clarence. For the Alamares, Doña Josefa's ability to socialize her family and reinforce the essential characteristics is a much more powerful role than being a "supporter of patriarchy." To be clear, I am not saying that the patriarchy of the Alamares is gender enlightened or necessarily positive; however, within the context of the novel, the Alamares family dynamic is presented as the ideal.

While both Mary Darrell and Doña Josefa are important moral centers throughout the novel, the younger women, particularly Mercedes and Elvira, do not exhibit the same outright political consciousness. However, when the narrator explicitly connects them to the political side of the squatter debate, she uses irony to point the critique back towards the government rather than the ignorance of the young women. The narrator explains, "Elvira and Mercedes were very happy on hearing that the appeal was dismissed. They did not well understand what it all meant, but as they were told that now the government of the United States had said that the rancho belonged to their father, they naturally concluded that the squatters would go away, and there would no longer be any trouble about the destruction of their cattle, and their father not be so worried and unhappy" (194). While they do "not well understand what it all meant" in terms of the legal language of the dismissal, they assumed that the US government would enforce its ruling. This assumption should be logical if the government can be trusted but since the readers know that the government does not keep its promises and is easily swayed by corruption, then this statement comes across

as ironic. The "natural conclusion" that the problems that the appeal was meant to resolve but have in fact has not ironically shows the lack of faith that the narrator has in the government.

Now, I would like to transition to the romance between Clarence and Mercedes to analyze how these two characters, represent essentialized elite identities through the domestic sphere and their mobility outside of California. The propriety and ceremony involved in introductions is an important class signifier in the text that happens within the domestic sphere; the ability to recognize and preform this propriety establishes Clarence as a fellow elite, recognized and validated by Don Mariano. When Clarence goes to Don Mariano's house for the first time he renews his earlier protest about being seen by ladies in his work clothes. He says, "Had you not better speak to him, and make an appointment for me to see him tomorrow, or some other time? I'd rather not risk being seen by the ladies in this blue flannel shirt and heavy boots. I look too rough—like a smuggler or a squatter, sure" (92). The essentialization of class status in the novel works to expose the falsity of class distinctions based solely on appearance. While he worries he might appear low class, like a "squatter," the readers know that he is not. Indeed his "rough" appearance has no bearing on his first impression in his initial meeting with Mercedes. Instead his protest shows that he respects the boundaries of the home and its gendered inhabitants and he wants his appearance to reflect that respect.

The first meeting between Clarence and Mercedes sets up the rescue narrative that will eventually save the remaining Alamares from further degradation by having Clarence fill the role of provider. Not knowing that there was a guest in the living

room, Mercedes runs in, chasing Milord, her small dog, who has stolen her "bright-colored silk" (93): "Clarence was nearly stepping on the little runaway, when the door was flung open, and a girl rushed out, coming against him before she could check herself. In her effort to do so she turned her foot and staggered forward, but before she realizes she was in anyone's presence, she felt two strong arms holding her" (93). The pain in her foot prevents her from walking or standing unassisted. After Don Mariano enters the room, Clarence transfers her into her father's arms and he carries her to a nearby couch. While this scene emphasizes her physical weakness in relation to Clarence or any male character, it also introduces a parallel between Clarence and Don Mariano. When Victoriano arrives with their father, Mercedes does not trust her brother to carry her. She protests, "No, no. You take me Papa. Tano might drop me" (95). This exchange is meant to be humorous and suggest the good natured banter between the siblings; however, since Clarence and Don Mariano are the only two characters that successfully support Mercedes, I would also suggest that this scene foreshadows the rescue narrative where, after Don Mariano's death Clarence takes on the role of the patriarch, a role that Victoriano, or his brother Gabriel, cannot fulfill.

Elite Mobility

Throughout the first half of the novel, Doña Josefa is the enforcer of family honor in ways that reflect how class status was symbolized prior to U.S. acquisition of the region. As the enforcer, she symbolizes the barrier between the home and the vulgarity of society even when that vulgarity is imagined, as in the case of Doña Josefa believing that Clarence is a squatter. Doña Josefa is fair and noble; her initial rejection

of Clarence as a suitor for Mercedes is based on the false belief that he is a squatter. Doña Josefa is trying to preserve her family's legacy and protect Mercedes from the classed implications of being married to a squatter. This misunderstanding also serves as the catalyst for Mercedes to travel to the east coast with her sister Elvira and her husband George Mechlin. Aranda asks an intriguing question regarding this section of the text: "…why is Mercedes Alamar…so fluent in French and Newport etiquette, that she must act the role of New England coquette out East but simultaneously must be obsessively devoted to Clarence Darrell out West?" (14). While what he considers her "coquettish" behavior is hard to ignore in the masquerade party,[26] I argue that overall, Ruiz de Burton does not present her ability to attract suitors as an active choice on her part; rather as a plot device it shows her desirability among a wide circle of young, wealthy men.[27] However, that it is not an active choice does not necessarily imply that she is passive or lacks agency. When she receives praise for her ability to attract so many suitors, she firmly responds: "In my opinion, no kindhearted girl ought to desire to be loved except by the one she loves…Now I want you to know, I am not cruel; I am not heartless; so /I do not wish any man (but one) to be in love with me" (195). Here she clearly addresses attraction in terms of a moral difference, rather than a cultural difference between "Spanish" and New England society. These moral differences are character traits--"I am not cruel; I am not heartless"--and while to Mercedes they are easy and natural, it is clear by the praise she receives for her multiple suitors that this is

[26] See the end of Chapter XXI where Mercedes attends a costume ball (202-4).

[27] Sánchez and Pita would disagree with the characterization of Mercedes as a "coquette:" "She is reserved and is shown not to be interested in flirting or encouraging the attentions of the two smitten rich young bachelors in New York, for she is forever faithful to Clarence" (43).

not a conviction that everyone holds and therefore not all elites have the same essential characteristics. On several occasions Mercedes firmly explains to her heartbroken suitors that she does not want their romantic attention, which shows her constancy to Clarence and therefore makes her the ideal romantic female protagonist. These characteristics, rather than her whiteness, are the primary differences that elevate Mercedes above her contemporaries.

In answer to Aranda's question of "why," I will address it in two parts. First, I suggest that Mercedes' her fluency in proper etiquette, mobility through travel, and ease among elite circles validates her essentialized elite status through the eyes of northeastern elites. Chapters XVIII-XXI allows her to receive this sort of acceptance and validation that would not be possible in California due to the limited interaction she has with others outside of the domestic sphere. Back home, the primary focus of the plot centers on the squatter/landowner dynamic. Secondly, I suggest that her devotion to Clarence is already established through their common essentialized elite status at this point in the novel; therefore, wealthy suitors who have financial standing, but not the refinement of manners and etiquette that she so easily demonstrates, would not offer a real challenge to Clarence's status as her true love. It is important to note that the novel does not offer many options for suitable romantic matches for Mercedes in California. Primarily, with the exception of Clarence, the male characters in San Diego are low class squatters. However, I suggest that by establishing Clarence as a fellow elite, Ruiz de Burton shows that their romance is not solely based on limited options, but rather a shared status naturalizes their relationship. Since Mercedes' trip was never a threat to her relationship with Clarence, I argue that her physical mobility and social mobility

reinforces her privileged class status. Travel was the purview of the upper-classes and, at this point in the novel, the Alamares are still financially stable. This mobility not only reinforces her privileged status but highlights how the elite women use the stability of an elite domestic sphere to facilitate this mobility. Without the strong foundation of the domestic sphere where she cultivates her essentialized identity, mobility lacks a stable foundation. Ultimately, her mobility highlights her essentialized class characteristics that allow her to enter elite circles in any context. Leaving the vulgar company of a land being dominated by squatters and other unscrupulous characters allows Mercedes to demonstrate her cultural fluidity and desirability beyond the undiscerning taste of the interlopers. This section presents new elite characters for the Alamares to interact with to illustrate how the elite class status of Californios is recognized and appreciated by East Coast society, particularly through the eyes of matriarchal characters who preside over the domestic sphere.

Mrs. Lawrence Mechlin, George's aunt, reinforces the propriety of Mercedes' behavior by naturalizing it as a part of her identity, not a performative characteristic. Mrs. Lawrence Mechlin explains as follows: "I noticed last summer that Mercedes was not fond of running off to have a tete-á-tete with this one, and then with another, as many of our girls do, but I thought she avoided it on account of being engaged. Now, however, I see that her reason is even a better one. That it is inbred self respect, a lady's sense of decorum" (187). Mrs. Lawrence Mechlin, as her womanly counterparts in California, speaks with a voice of authority. By confirming that, despite all of the interactions with men, Mercedes was "not fond of running off" to flirt, Mrs. Mechlin emphasizes that the beautiful young Californio woman was not "act[ing] the role of

New England coquette out East." However, by comparing her to other young women, "as many of our girls do," she also highlights the difference between Mercedes and her contemporaries. She attributes Mercedes' behavior to her "inbred self respect, a lady's sense of decorum" which supports my argument that by essentializing elite characteristics, the Californios naturally exhibit an elite, even superior, class status. While the mobility of travel offers parallels between the two elite circles, it is important to note that this mobility is not about equating Mercedes with elite East Coast society members; in fact, the deficits of the East Coast women are evident in the fact that young women there do run around with young men. It also allows the East Coast deficits in etiquette to show when many of the upper-class young men who fall in love with Mercedes prove presumptuous.

Removal of the characters from southern California also allows Ruiz de Burton to demonstrate how Mercedes recognizes class status and manners through a discerning lens that is a part of her elite upbringing. While traveling, Mercedes complains about a man who is instantly captivated by her beauty and stares incessantly. Although Mercedes knows that the staring admirer is a member of the upper classes in New York and a man who will inherit a considerable fortune, she still privileges propriety and etiquette over financial status. She states: "I hope those gentlemen will cease to stare when they are acquainted. That young man with the red whiskers made me blush by looking at me so steadily. I hope that is not the custom of New Yorkers" (146). Her modesty, signified through her blush, highlights that although she is beautiful, she does not seek the attention of men other than Clarence. The "young man with the red whiskers" violates the rules of etiquette by "looking at [her] so steadily," which shows

Mercedes that this man does not have the same status, and allows her to demonstrate her own discerning eye for manners and propriety. George replies to her complaint that it is the custom in New York and that she will need to adapt; this also shows that the essential elite characteristics are not shared among all elites. Mercedes asks about the customs of the New Yorkers that she will be around, meaning the upper classes and not the average working-class person. As she learns shortly before their meeting in person, Mercedes' staring admirer is "Mr. Selden, of New York" (145) George explains that Selden "and Robert Gunther have been in Europe several years. His father, I know, is a millionaire, and he is the only son. So he considers himself a good catch, I suppose…" (145). For these characters, mobility, signified by having been to Europe, is the marker of class status because it reflects financial standing. George's rather dismissive explanation of Seldon's behavior--"So he considers himself a good catch, I suppose"--indicates that Seldon considers money the most attractive quality about himself, while also insinuating that his rude staring can be justified precisely because "he considers himself a good catch." Mercedes responds to George's description of her admirer by dismissing it: "'Bah!' ejaculated Mercedes; 'who cares!'" (145).

By dismissing money as an attractive quality in itself, Mercedes reinforces that love is more important to her, reinforcing her sentimental function in the text. This dismissal is also important because it shows that Mercedes loves Clarence and not what he can do for her financially and separates essentialized class characteristics from financial wealth. It is convenient then that Clarence has already established a considerable fortune that only increases throughout the novel and allows him to preserve the Alamares' rancho and their quality of life. However, throughout the novel

Mercedes is not a part of the financial side of the plot. By removing her from these elements, Ruiz de Burton emphasizes that her essential class identity is separate from financial status, while allowing "true love," rather than familial duty, to influence her marriage.

Clarence joins Mercedes on her trip in New England and his warm acceptance and ability to move within the same elite circles reinforces the essentialized class mobility that these two character's share. Since he is also identified as being from California, rather than a "sympathetic Northeastern" as Luis-Brown suggests, he is also a tourist. Clarence's class status comes from his mother's connection to the elite spheres of the US South; therefore, his easy mobility among the Northern elites that Mercedes has already charmed highlights that another displaced elite group can be easily integrated into elite society in a variety of contexts. The mobility and status among the East Coast elites of both Clarence and Mercedes highlights the essentialization of class status that transcends regional barriers. However, the engagement between Clarence and Mercedes, also represents the union between two, regional, elite groups that have been unjustly displaced: the US Southern plantation elite and the land owning, Spanish Californios. While the failure of the railroad eliminates the physical connection between the two regions, Southern elites and landowning Californios still establish an alliance among the two groups, signified through the marriage of these two characters.

While the mobility of Mercedes and Clarence signifies their privileged class status, physical mobility for the squatters signifies the opposite. The squatters, on the other hand, lack female influences and remain in transitional domestic spaces. The squatters came out West with the hope of securing cheap land and making a new life.

This signifies a divorce from their previous life and it becomes a forced mobility as they try to find appropriate settlements. Clarence builds his house on land he purchased from Don Mariano as soon as possible after arriving in San Diego. Therefore, by establishing a legitimate domestic space, he wards off the suggestion that as a son of an intended squatter he would also be tainted by that low standing. After Clarence builds his own house, on the land he buys from the Alamares, his house is not only well built but decorated and landscaped to signify its permanence. The narrator describes the home in the following way: "In the front garden of the Darrell house, opposite to the front door and surrounded by flowers and choice plants, Clarence had erected a fountain which was to emit its numerous jets of crystalline water for the first time when his mother should drive up to the door. She had done so, and the fountain was sending upward its jets of diamonds under the rays of the reflectors at the front door. The effect was pretty and brilliant. Clarence's filial love was sweetly expressed in the music of the fountain" (111). The arrival of Mary Darrell is what will make this house a home and again reinforces the connection between Mary and Clarence. The water turns into "diamonds" at the arrival of Mary Darrell, suggesting that the prosperity of the Darrell home is linked to the presence of his mother, an elite Southerner. The "flowers and choice plants" that surround the front door not only represent beauty but also care and cultivation of the domestic sphere that mirrors the homes of the Mechlins and the Alamares. As in these two previously established domestic spaces, Clarence's is a home where filial love is valued and women preside over the domestic sphere. The squatters are trying to "steal land" according to the novel even though "squatter's rights" were recognized by Congress; their negative characterization throughout *Squatter* highlights

that they do not have a valid claim to the domestic sphere. Therefore their mobility is not a positive characteristic because it lacks a foundation. Without a domestic foundation to validate their status, they remake themselves through their mobility, a trait that Ruiz de Burton criticizes through the negative characterizations of these class performers.

After a fight with his father who falsely accuses Don Mariano of trying to bribe Clarence by offering him Mercedes, completely embarrassed and feeling unworthy of the Alamares, Clarence again utilizes his mobility to escape the situation. Clarence's absence, lasting for a couple of years, is also a convenient plot device that removes him from the scene and therefore prevents him from assisting the Alamares as their financial decline accelerates.[28] When read through the context of elite mobility, I argue that these travels are also an important part of his class identity, which Ruiz de Burton uses to highlight Mexico as an elite travel destination. After visiting his mines in the US and getting very ill, he continues on to Mexico where he begins his grand tour. While communication between Clarence and the Alamares is limited by various circumstances, the family finally receives letters which function as a tourist narrative: "To George he related his travels in the interior of Mexico, speaking with great enthusiasm of the transcendent beauty, the sublimity of the scenery in that marvelous country" (283-4). Clarence's "enthusiasm" for "that marvelous country" is evident. Ultimately, Clarence's travels are underscored by his business interests, as he looks for places to invest. However, I would also suggest that his descriptions of Mexico

[28] "If Clarence could only have read these letters" (267). Variations of this refrain repeat throughout Chapter XXX

establish the country as another elite travel destination, alongside Europe and the East Coast. This passage is followed by a list of places he visited in Mexico; all of these descriptions are full of praise and idealization. After Mexico he travels south to Brazil and from there he goes to Paris.

Death and Family Ties

In the middle of the financial decline of the Alamares and the Mechlins because of the failure of the railroad and the continuing encroachment of squatters, the domestic space carries with it a nostalgic idealization. The narrator describes the house as follows: "The Alamar house looked once more as it had in the days of old, before squatters invaded the place; it was full of people, and music and laughter resounded under the hospitable roof. Mercedes, however, sat silent, and though she smiled her own sweet smile, it was too sad; it failed to deepen the cunning little dimples as it did in other days" (302). The domestic sphere retains the nostalgic representation of the past "as it has in the days of old." It is the site of the remembered celebrations and hospitality, which characterized the Alamares home "before squatters invaded the place." While the invasion of the squatters marks the decline of the Alamares, that the domestic space retains these memories shows its resilience. However, as Mercedes is still "too sad," the happy times of prosperity and hospitality within the home can only be located as a nostalgic site, representative of a past that will not come again. While the physical description of the domestic space establishes the Alamares as elite landowners with a historical connection to the land, as the Alamares and the Mechlin's financial troubles worsen the physical health of the male characters also declines. Don

Mariano's physical deterioration intensifies immediately after their meeting with the governor, a meeting that reveals that the railroad will not be built. "The Sins of Our Legislators!" the title of the chapter in which both Mechlin and Don Mariano die, directly ties the "sins" of the government to the physical death of these two patriarchs.

As he repents his previous behavior and reiterates how the "sins of our legislators" led to the loss of the railroad and the conflicts with the squatters that led to Don Mariano's death, Darrell insists that Clarence be integrated into the Alamar family. The aged and defeated Darrell beseeches his son "… I know you will devote your life to repair as much as it is possible the wrong your father did. I know you will be a good husband, but for *my sake,* also, I beg you to be a devoted son to the widowed lady whom I injured so frightfully" (331). He repeats his plea: "So now I beg and entreat, for my own sake, and as a slight reparation for my cruelty, that you be kind to that lady, as kind as if you were her own child" (331). The emphasis on Clarence becoming a "devoted son" to Doña Josefa is, according to Darrell, his primary function. Darrell knows that Clarence "will be a good husband," so Mercedes' future is stable. Darrell's repetition of the entreaty regarding Doña Josefa suggests that Clarence needs to fully integrate himself into the Almares family in order to address the wrongs that Darrell, the other squatters, and the corrupt legislation have done to this family. This plea also helps to resolve any lingering questions of whether Clarence's class status is tainted by his father's actions. Once Darrell, the only squatter character that makes a significant change in the novel, repents, he positions Clarence within the Alamar family, rather than his own, and thereby validates Clarence's new role of patriarch of the Alamares.

Clarence ultimately becomes the male provider for the remaining Alamares, taking on a multitude of roles. As Mercedes's husband, Clarence takes on the role of her provider; however, the physically weakened state of both Gabriel and Victoriano also places him, and his vast fortune, in the role of provider for them as well. Sánchez and Pita describe the completion of the rescue narrative in the text. They suggest: "It is upon [Clarence's] return to California that he fortuitously saves Gabriel from death and finally marries Mercedes. At that moment in the narrative he becomes the donor, the white knight who realizes a twofold goal through his marriage with Mercedes: a restoration of the economic health of the Alamares by buying their land and a restoration of harmony between family members. But while Clarence's intervention may redeem the Alamar family, he cannot, however, resolve the historical dilemma" (34). Therefore, while the romantic plot is fulfilled and supplies the financial redemption for the Alamares, Clarence cannot "resolve the historical dilemma" of government corruption and monopoly influences. In this way, the rescue narrative cannot be complete and must be addressed further by the narrator's intervention in the conclusion I discussed earlier. Through the marriage of Clarence and Mercedes, the novel illustrates that a union between the South and the Californios still carries redemptive qualities despite the failure of the railroad. Mercedes' brothers are unable to fill the masculine role of provider and as Sánchez and Pita point out are also a part of this rescue narrative. Clarence's "white knight" role complicates the arguments that blamed elite Californio women for the loss of land through marriage to Anglo men. Because it is clear that the Alamares family will never be restored to the prominence that they once had, the narrator is invested in preserving a nostalgic picture of them in

order to critique the ways that US empire facilitated their demise. Before I turn to a discussion of the legacy of this nostalgic picture of Californio life through this representations and others such as those in *Ramona*, I would like to briefly discuss the role of Native Americans in *The Squatter and the Don* to introduce the idealization of the mission system in California and the role it played in the Spanish Fantasy.

Unlike *Ramona*, where Native Americans were developed characters who the reader is meant to identify with, *Squatter* naturalizes their position as the laboring class and limits their development as characters. The indigenous labor force is mainly relegated to the very peripheries of *Squatter*. The Alamares have Native Americans working on their rancho, in contrast to Gasbang, one of the worst squatters, who exploits them through his corrupt monte games. While the Native American characters are seen as a source of amusement and, at times, exasperation by the Alamares, it appears that they are treated well in their position as laborers. These characters appear to be unintelligent and bumbling, fit for the labor they provide under the strict guidance of the Alamares. After responding that he will tend the horses immediately, "the lazy Indian, who first had to stretch himself and yawn several times, then hunt up tobacco and cigarette paper, and smoke his cigarette. This done, he having had a heavy supper, shuffled lazily to the front of the house…" (258). The repetition of "lazy" in this quote transfers the critique of Californios as being lazy that was part of the heritage fantasy, to the "lazy Indian." In this description the "lazy Indian" is not a self-sufficient character or productive character. In the rest of the narrative, Native American laborers are only present in a few scenes; their presence is a way to underscore the class status of the Alamares because the Indians are the labor force on the rancho. These characters are

not developed to the point of being named or having distinct characteristics. Instead, these characters also create a subtle parallel to the racialized labor that also characterized the mission system. This dynamic positions the Alamares in the place of benevolent overseers that take a paternalistic role over the Native characters similar to that of the missionaries as often portrayed in the Fantasy heritage of California. However, this racialized hierarchy also resonates with the idealized role of the Southern plantation owner and their black slaves, which furthers the connection between the landowning Californians and the plantation class of the U.S. South. Therefore, as the plantation home signifies the Southern elite, the missions, in addition to the ranchos, become the physical domestic space of the elite Californios through their nostalgic portrayal in the Spanish Fantasy.

The Spanish Fantasy and the Mission Revival: A New Legacy of the Domestic Sphere

The nostalgic legacy of the Californios that Ruiz de Burton establishes in her novel also resonates with the nostalgic look at the mission era, often used to characterize the Spanish colonial era and to negate the short period of independent Mexican rule in California. These romantic narratives of the missions and Spanish domestic life are also reinforced by the nostalgia in the text in combination with the representation of California in popular texts such as *Ramona* as I noted in the beginning of this chapter. Therefore, I would now like to turn to an analysis of the legacy of the nostalgic representation of the Californian domestic sphere and analyze how it functions in the fantasy of Californian heritage. While more tourism and Anglo migration to

California may not have been one of Ruiz de Burton's overt political goals, arguably as a San Diego resident, entrepreneur, and woman in constant financial straits, this might not have been contrary to her interests. As I will show through the conclusion of this chapter, the idealized domestic sphere and nostalgia for California's past it is one of the most important legacies of regional fiction portraying Southern California. While Ruiz de Burton's focus on class and the domestic sphere of elite Californios are central to her novel, ironically, this nostalgia and subsequent tourism can be traced more explicitly to *Ramona*, where ranchos and the Southern California landscape also functioned as characters in the novel.

The mild climate and upper-class society are two factors that were used to promote San Diego for both settlement and tourism in the late nineteenth-century. In a pamphlet *San Diego, California as a Summer and Winter Resort for Pleasure Seekers and Invalids,* the unknown author states, "The fame of San Diego, California, as a winter resort is now very generally known" (1). However, this pamphlet adds that it is also a summer resort, having less humidity than most summer retreats:" When we compare the tables showing the range of the thermometer and barometer…the heretofore noted European resorts, such as Mentone, Nice etc., are compelled to take a second place" (1). By placing San Diego alongside and even above upper-class "European resorts," the author establishes the upper-class atmosphere of San Diego. Later in the pamphlet, the reader finds out that the entire publication is an advertisement for a new hotel, the Florence Hotel. The pamphlet *San Diego* also argues that both San Diego and the Florence Hotel offer an upper-class environment. Regarding San Diego the author assures the reader: "there is good society here; the permanent resident being

for the most part Eastern people of education and refinement, with social and hospitable tastes, and with schools, churches, and places of amusement; while there are always present strangers of every quality from all parts of the world" (1-2). By establishing the residents as primarily the elite "Eastern people of education and refinement," the author counters arguments that would position San Diego as less developed or refined as their elite counterparts. As I have shown, Ruiz de Burton also uses the East Coast elites as a way of measuring class status; however in the pamphlet for the Florence Hotel, the elite Californios are not a part of the "good society" in San Diego. While the exact date of the pamphlet is not known, the Florence Hotel is referred to as "new" and it opened in 1885; therefore, at this time it is true that the influence and standing of the Californios had drastically diminished. Since this pamphlet was published approximately around the time that Ruiz de Burton published *Squatter*, I suggest that these types of erasures of the previous impact of elite Californios are part of what she addresses through her novel.

An earlier pamphlet, *The Rising City of the West: San Diego*, published by promoters of the South Pacific Railway in 1871 to encourage land speculation in the area, combines the climate and people it draws as a way to promote the city. The anonymous author explains that "The Society is good" and this is due to the mixture of the "intelligent" from two groups migrating to the area: "the former having sought this point for its superior climate, and for the field which it offers to energy and enterprise—the latter finding here relief from unpleasant associations, and a desired asylum of political quiet" (2). The climate is the draw for the Northeasterners and the "relief from unpleasant associations" and "desired asylum of political quiet" draws the southerners,

alluding to the devastation and prejudice against the region that the Civil War brought about. In this way, the "good" society also offers a chance for a kind of reconciliation of the North and South in a new territory. However, this reconciliation would come at a price to the holders of Mexican land grants who already live in the area.

This pamphlet, published around the time that Ruiz de Burton sets her novel, is an example of the type of promotion in San Diego that would have encouraged the white settlement of the region. For example, this pamphlet also blames the city's lack of development over the last two years on the Mexican land grants and their owners who have prevented it by holding on to their land. The author explains, "the choice lands of San Diego County have been jealously withheld from occupation save for grazing purposes. But this conservatism is passing away, and many large and fertile tracts have been subdivided and placed in market on favorable terms, at prices ranging from $2 to $5 per acre" (5). The author does not give a reason why "this conservatism is passing away" but instead naturalizes it as a part of the same progress that can be seen in other areas such as San Luis Obispo and San Bernardino. Therefore, even in 1871, this pamphlet reflects the discourse that naturalized the decline of the Californios primarily because they are unable to adapt to "progress" in the region.

Dydia Delyser explains how travel and tourism in Southern California developed in connection with writing such as *Ramona*, and, I would include *The Squatter and the Don*, which both presented the region through a nostalgic lens. Delyser argues: "Travel writing—ubiquitous in the nation's top magazines—and regional novels, both literary forms in high demand, made such out-of-the-way places 'visitable in print'" (34). In *Ramona*, with a wide reaching audience, Jackson

constructed Southern California through a nostalgic portrayal of "Californio culture." Whereas Pheobe Kroppe argues that "Californio life [is] scenery" in *Ramona* (35), Delyser suggests that the plot and descriptions of life on the rancho took precedence over the struggle of Native Americans in southern California. Therefore the "scenery" became the most important legacy of this text. Indeed Delyser concludes that "By the late 1880s travelers in large numbers began seeking out the locations described in Jackson's novel, making what came to be called 'pilgrimages' to places like the Home of Ramona and Ramona's Marriage Place" (31). Through tourism, the physical domestic sphere became the site of memorialization and served as a representation of the novel and the culture it describes. These were the sites that allowed tourists to feel they were connecting with the text and its characters. Therefore, as I have argued in this chapter, the domestic sphere becomes the tangible representation of identity and in the case of *Squatter*, the representation of elite identity.

While tourists yearned to connect with the text through visiting homes claiming to be the real places represented in the novel, the connection that they felt through these "pilgrimages" was shaped by "imperialist nostalgia," which undermines the central claim of *Ramona*. However, many readers interpreted this form of nostalgia in the text since Jackson's argument against the displacement of Native Americans is often overshadowed by the plot. By concluding the plot with Ramona marrying Felipe and returning to after Alessandro's murder, Jackson suggests the inevitable demise of both the Indian and the Californio presence in southern California (one which, especially in the case of the Indians, was widely believed in Jackson's time)" (Delyser 29). Therefore, without an overt textual argument against the dominant ideas of the

"inevitable demise" of these cultures, tourism inspired by this text was already in line with imperial nostalgia. Rosaldo defines the paradox of this form of nostalgia: "people mourn the passing of what they themselves have transformed… imperialist nostalgia uses a pose of 'innocent yearning' both to capture people's imaginations and to conceal its complicity with often brutal domination" (108). Overall, as tourists visited sites claiming to be connected with the novel, they mourned the loss of the fictional character without acknowledging how US expansion facilitated the displacement of the people who used to live in those spaces. Ironically, the expanded transportation networks and US settlement of the region, which led to the displacement of the Californios, also facilitated the tourist's travel to this site. While tourism in Southern California continued to bloom[29] and *Ramona* sites became a prominent part of the tourist literature, the domestic sphere continued to play a key role in the conception of the Spanish fantasy heritage that became an important part of the tourist imagination.

Imperialist nostalgia in Southern California tourism extended beyond the *Ramona* "pilgrimages" to the imagining of the missions as a site of nostalgic domesticity, rather than one that exploited Native American labor.[30] Pheobe Kroppe argues that white residents and tourists in Southern California "recast the eras of Spanish mission colonies and Mexican rancho settlements as an idyllic golden age" (2), which characterizes the Spanish Fantasy and makes the physical site of the mission the

[29] "By the late nineteenth century the nation's transportation network had grown significantly, and rail fares began to drop, making domestic travel accessible to more and more people until by the early twentieth century, tourism would be an established leisure pursuit for both the upper and middle classes" (Delyser 31).

[30] While the missions lost much of their power during the Mexican period, 1821-1848, the conflation of the Mexican haciendias and ranchos with the mission system in the tourist imagination did not account for these shifts and distinctions.

location of the "idyllic golden age." This history "became the raw material from which Anglo-Californians fashioned new memories" (2). These "new memoires" were appropriated and reinterpreted by white residents through the lens of imperialist nostalgia, using the missions as the physical connection to this past. Wietze argues: "Mission architecture was one of the outstanding reminders of California's claim to this early history, and it soon became a symbol of her antiquity" (12). Therefore, instead of sites of imperial oppression, the missions became symbols of an earlier time that ironically evokes the Spanish Fantasy as the foundation for white settlement and development in Southern California. Ultimately, these "new memories," that were an important part of the development of the region were built upon two representations of the domestic sphere: Missions and Ranchos.

As many scholars who study *Ramona* argue, Jackson's political critique was often overshadowed by its romantic elements. This led to a misinterpretation on the part of the readers and later tourists because "while both [Native American and Californio cultures] are presented as a loss, it is the Californio culture that Jackson more forcefully presented, and which, through her conclusion, leaves the lingering impression on the reader" (29). Therefore, while her intention was to protest the displacement of Native Americans, representations of sites connected to Californio culture were the ones that drew the most attention. Jackson's text lacked the strong political critique of historical figures, and therefore, it could be more easily shaped into a nostalgic piece rather than a politicized novel.

The forcefulness of the political critique in each novel could also account for the enduring presence of *Ramona* in American literature and the disappearance of *The*

Squatter and the Don from the scholarly and literary world for most of the twentieth century. Sánchez and Pita trace the novel's publication[31] and reception: "The book was seen as didactic, with a clear purpose; the fact that it set out to expose 'certain social and political evils' led reviewers to assume that the author had a 'grievance that is very deep and very sore'; yet even this reviewer finds the novel 'a very pleasant and readable tale'" (558-9). Clearly the political critique was not lost on the contemporary audience. The overtness of the political critiques limited its circulation when the San Diego Public Library was accused of censoring it in 1885 (559). I believe that its reception highlights how the novel was read, and should continue to be read, as oppositional to US imperialism.

María Amparo Ruiz de Burton's *The Squatter and the Don* and Helen Hunt Jackson's *Ramona* both resonate with the memorialization of an idealized past. Kroppe shows us how nostalgic representations of Spanish-California continued to be appropriated and reimagined to fit within narratives of U.S. empire. However, although we can read idealized representations of Spanish life in Ruiz de Burton's *Squatter and the Don*, as participating in this form of displacement, I suggest that the ways that the novel works against US domination of California complicate its easy integration into the legacy of the Spanish Fantasy. As Aranda argues "the novel's conclusion dissolves any pretense that the text is solely fiction" (18). Ruiz de Burton articulates her argument against the displacement of the Californios by monopoly capitalism and the corruption of the US government and legal systems through the commentary of the narrator,

[31] "As we know, MARB had the novel typeset and copyrighted; that edition underwent a few changes—more than likely to avoid libel charges—in the subsequent 1885 Carson & Co edition" (Sánchez and Pita, 558).

characters, and as I have argued, by mirroring the argument for the alliance between the US South and the Californios through the romance between Clarence and Mercedes. The essentialization of elite identity, constructed through the nostalgic representation of the domestic sphere, unites these regions and characters. Ultimately, *The Squatter and the Don* shows that the decline of the Californios was not inevitable, or due to a character flaw in the population, it was the result of the corruption and greed of US imperialism. The past injustices will not be forgotten or go unnamed. Doña Josefa is that past that refuses to be silenced: “Let the guilty rejoice and go unpunished, and the innocent suffer ruin and desolation. I slander no one, but I shall speak the truth” (336).

CHAPTER TWO

The Royal Domestic Sphere: *Hawaii's Story By Hawaii's Queen*

"The females had arranged a row of pillows on their mat, and all lay face downwards, with their chins resting upon them, staring at us with their great brown eyes, and talking and laughing incessantly. They had low sensual faces, like some low order of animal. When our meal was over, the man threw them the relics, and they soon picked the bones clean. It surprised me that after such a badly served meal the man brought a bowl of water for our hands and something intended for a towel" (Isabella Bird, *The Hawaiian Archipelago* 122).

"Toward midnight a native boy came down from the uplands to see if the *Boomerang* had got in yet, and we chartered him for subsistence service. For the sum of twelve and a half cents in coin he agreed to furnish coconuts enough for a dozen men at five minutes' notice. He disappeared in the murky atmosphere, and in a few seconds we saw a little black object, like a rat, running up our tall tree and pretty distinctly defined against the light place in the sky; it was our Kanaka, and he performed his contract without tearing his clothes—but then he had none on, except those he was born in" (Mark Twain, *Mark Twain in Hawaii: Roughing It In The Sandwich, Hawaii in the 1860s,* 229).

By the late nineteenth century, travel narratives that depicted the Hawaiian Islands as an exotic yet safe destination helped to shape the pro-annexation debate in the United States. Despite the differences in location, one an intimate dinner setting, the other out in nature, the common element in the lesser known Isabella Bird's text and Mark Twain's well known publications about Hawai'i is the role of the tourist gaze that shapes the Hawaiian people and the Hawaiian landscape as other and foreign to the US domestic. The abundance of tourist descriptions of Hawaii during the nineteenth century highlights not only the classed dynamic of travel at this time but also how travel reinforces narratives of imperial expansion. John Urry's *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* defines the tourist gaze in the following terms: "What

makes a particular tourist gaze depends upon what it is contrasted with; what the forms of non-tourist experience happen to be" (2). Blanton characterizes travel writing in a similar way: "Among the chief characteristics are the narrator/traveler who travels for the sake of travel itself; a narrative style that borrows from fiction in its use of rising and falling action, character and setting; a conscious commitment to represent the strange and exotic in ways that both familiarize and distance the foreign; a writerly concern with language and literature; and finally, thematic concerns that go beyond descriptions of people and places visited" (5).

In the case of Hawaiian travel literature, such as the two texts quoted above, one of the most important "thematic concerns" is the superiority of the traveler and, by extension, the traveler's culture. By using literary techniques such as humor, these narratives place their authors in a position of power that allows them to define Native Hawaiians through the racializing gaze of a white traveler. Just as the emotions and perceptions of the author became an integral part of travel writing, the tourist gaze is also shaped by the construction of the self and its relation to the other. What Twain and Bird highlight through their tourist gaze is what differentiates Native Hawaiians and the Hawaiian landscape from the US domestic space through an emphasis on hospitality and service. Bird's comment on the "badly served meal" highlights its difference from the elegantly served meals that she would presumably experience at home; this difference emphasizes the imagined superiority of Western domesticity, symbolized through meal preparation and service. In this case, service implies the dichotomy of privilege and power infused in the relationship between those who serve and those they serve. The served, the tourist, has the power to direct and then define those that serve

him. The mediation of this relationship was presumably an appealing part of travel writing. Indeed, that Twain would even be assigned by a newspaper to document his travels in Hawai‘i speaks to the public interest in descriptions of "exotic" locations. The authors become the guides through which the reader experiences these locations and the former's perceptions of the normal or exotic also become the lens through which the latter voyeuristically travels to these locations.

Heretofore Queen Lili‘uokalani's autobiography *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen*, which was published in 1898 in hopes that it would aid her efforts to restore power to the Hawaiian monarchy and oppose the pending annexation of the Islands, has not been placed in conversation with travel writing about Hawai‘i produced in the late nineteenth century. In what follows, I suggest that reading Lili‘uokalani's text alongside the travel literature written at the same time reveals the ways the queen appropriates the racializing and exoticizing gaze of the familiar travel narrative genre. In this chapter of my dissertation, I build upon these connections to travel literature to analyze Lili‘uokalani's multi-layered descriptions of travel, hospitality, and the domestic sphere that shape her argument against annexation in *Hawai‘i's Story*. Through an analysis of the ways she uses layered meaning, innuendo, and the conventions of travel writing in *Hawai‘i's Story*, I hope to add to the scholarly discussion of this important text in a way that acknowledges its complexity in both genre and content. Whereas nineteenth-century travel writing mainly focused on the untapped potential of Hawai‘i's natural resources and exoticized Native Hawaiians who these authors imagined welcomed US tourism and political intervention, Lili‘uokalani counters such dominant narratives in *Hawai‘i's Story* through her construction of the domestic sphere and by imagining an

elite identity for the Hawaiian ruling class, herself included. As she describes her travels throughout the Hawaiian Islands and abroad, she uses the familiar rhetoric of travel writing to de-exoticize Hawai‘i and contest annexation. By adopting the language of tourist literature, she utilizes the foreign/ domestic dichotomy, characteristic of this genre, to situate the US as foreign to the Hawaiian domestic space.

While a general connection to the tourist gaze helps to contextualize Isabella Bird's description of the experience in Hawai‘i , a closer reading of the quote helps to further define the foreign/domestic dichotomy emphasized in this genre of writing. The quote by Bird comes from a collection of letters she wrote to her sister during a visit to the Islands in 1871. She published this collection as *The Hawaiian Archipelago* in 1875. Bird, relatively well known at the time for her travel writing, undertook a variety of tours of "exotic places," often utilizing the veil of scientific discovery and exploration to justify her independent travel. Gender, as well as the implicit imperial hierarchy, shape her description of the intimate dinner she shared in the hut of a hospitable, male, Native Hawaiian host. The Native women in the scene do not participate in the performance of hospitality. In fact, Bird's dehumanization of the "females" through their comparison to "some low level animal" highlights their difference from the speaker through the rhetoric of scientific categorization. The "relics" she mentions are not only the leftover food scraps that the women eat: they also insinuate religious difference, equating pagan and Catholic religions. In this way, the comparison also serves to undermine the impact of the Protestant missionaries who had been working in the Islands since 1820 by undercutting their "civilizing" efforts and framing the Hawaiian population as, at best, mimics of Western civility.

The Native women are tied to their senses, as we see from “their low sensual faces;" therefore, they are also tied to their bodies, which highlights their physicality. This focus differentiates these women from the upper-class Victorian womanhood that defines the author. The perceived rudeness of the women, “staring” at the guests, “laughing and talking incessantly,” points to their inability to meet the standards of hospitality deemed appropriate by the author. The man, however, attempts to engage with these protocols when he surprises Bird with a “bowl of water for our hands and something indented for a towel.” That the man “threw” the “relics” at the women but brought his guests a bowl to use ultimately suggests that Bird deserves better treatment than the Native women. Through her negative description of the Native women, Bird implies that she deserves the man’s performance of hospitality, whereas the women do not inspire the same respect. While she notes the difference in treatment, however, Bird’s host still falls short of “Western” hospitality with his lack of a “real” towel. Overall, her tone is one of superiority to the Native Hawaiians that host her in their home and in this way she evokes the supposed racial hierarchy that underlined imperial expansion. In this case, she represents Britain and civilization whereas the Native Hawaiians are the uncivilized, who do a poor job of imitating “civilized society.” While Bird’s focus, like much of the travel literature of her day, was on the “scientific” side of her experiences,[32] her account of her stay with the Hawaiians in the intimate setting of the home suggests that the domestic sphere is also an important factor that shapes her perspective of civilization and savagery.

[32] See chapter three of *Travel Writing: The Self and the World* by Casey Blanton

While Bird is recognized in twentieth-century anthologies of writing about Hawai‘i such as *The Hawaii Reader*, compiled by Grove A. Day and Carl Stroven in 1959, her popularity has diminished in contemporary discussions of travel literature and Hawai‘i . She has been overshadowed, along with other travel writer's that focus on Hawai‘i, by Mark Twain, whose letters from Hawai‘i and subsequent lecture series dominate discussions of travel narratives about Hawai‘i in the nineteenth-century. Twain's lecture tours and flamboyant, masculine, public persona gave him access to a wider audience that Bird would not have been able to attract due to gender constraints, made even more prominent by the fact that Bird was an English lady. Her class status, however, was a double-edged sword, for it allowed her to travel but also required that she observe other gendered conventions, such as wearing fussy, restrictive, and expensive outfits, which were an important visible marker of femininity. Blanton characterizes women who traveled at this time as "well-educated, upper-class single women" (45). He adds, though, that "Victorian women, perhaps still feeling that duty to 'home,' often required a scientific purpose or artistic mission to frame their travels" (45), which also reinforced their upper-class status, because they needed to be "well-educated" to fulfill this criteria.

Despite their focus on scientific exploration, female travel writers did not receive the same respect as many of their male counterpart and were often considered "freaks" (46). Blanton explains that women travel writers, including Bird, "insisted on proper female dress: long skirts, blouses, and stout stays… the insistence on difference was a matter of asserting one's established role, and not presuming to overstep one's bounds as a woman" (46). By visually reinforcing the difference between the tourist and

the "native," white women's clothing represented the preservation of gendered Victorian values.[33] Since he did not face the limiting gender norms that constrained Bird and other female travel writers, Mark Twain did not need to establish a scientific objective or claim upper-class status to gain an audience. He originally went to Hawai'i on a newspaper assignment and his writing focused on entertainment and aspects of "foreign" life that had popular appeal. Twain, also recognized and even valorized by Day and Stroven,[34] remains dominant in discussions of nineteenth-century travel writing about Hawai'i.[35]

The second quote with which this chapter begins, which is drawn from Twain's newspaper writings, illustrates the sarcastic and humorous style that shaped his popular appeal.[36] While he returns to the topic of Hawai'i in his later writings, this quote comes from a collection of the original letters he wrote for the Sacramento *Union*.[37] Like Bird, Twain uses a simile to compare the Native boy to a "rat," which is also a "low order animal." The power dynamic implied through the service relationship between Twain and the boy mirrors the colonial power dynamic where white colonizers control and

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[33] Casey Blaton explains how women's clothing also inspired criticism: "The popular press was especially unkind. Cartoons of the day show… Bird perched precariously on camel or canoe, sandwiched in between groups of natives, looking ridiculously out of place in their dresses and bonnets. This kind of treatment trivialized their efforts and was largely responsible for them being seen as freaks" (46).

[34] See the introduction to Twain's writing in *A Hawaii Reader*

[35] Twain has also garnered a lot of scholarly attention for his writing and lectures on Hawai'i. I will explore these arguments, particularly Amy Kaplan's, after my analysis of Twain's quote that I include in the beginning of this chapter.

[36] Grove A. Day argues, "The Sandwich Islands experience also provided Mark with material for a lifelong career as a lecturer, and gave him a variety of subjects that appeared in later works" (xv).

[37] Similar to Day, in his text, *The Trouble Begins at Eight: Mark Twain's Lecture Tours* Fred Lorch describes the impact of these letters: "For Mark Twain's future career, the *Union* assignment was extremely important. It constituted a major turning point in his development as a literary personality, for it led directly not only to his emergence as a writer of books, but also as a public lecturer" (24).

direct the colonized. He emphasizes this relationship through the use of possessive language, calling the boy "our Kanaka." Twain also points out the financial side of the transaction, disclosing that "the sum of twelve and a half cents in coin" was the reason for the boy's compliance. Twain naturalizes this service relationship by defining it as paid labor in which the boy eagerly participates. Twain's mention of the boy's lack of clothing also symbolizes the latter's lack of civilization, similar to Bird's description of her "badly served meal." However, in each case Native Hawaiians attempt to fulfill the needs of the tourists, which the writers construe as natural parts of the interaction. Hospitality, in this context, is about serving others, and each writer's descriptions of the Native Hawaiians' eagerness to please and willingness to serve naturalize this dynamic, and most importantly, respond and contribute to the racial hierarchies of imperialism that shape these travel narratives.

The endurance of Twain's characterizations of Hawai'i does more than just attest to his popularity as a writer: it also shows how travel literature, which was gaining in popularity and availability in the late nineteenth century, influenced the perception of "exotic" locations such as Hawai'i. As Blanton notes, " Both American fiction and the American travel narratives that influenced it share a response to the idea of travel as a symbolic act, heavy with promises of new life, progress, and the thrill of escape" (17-18). The prominence of travel as a theme in US American travel writing and fiction is particularly pertinent to Twain's writing, which offers a mix of these two elements in both his lectures and his writings about Hawai'i. In *Displacing Natives: The Rhetorical Production of Hawaii* (1999), Houston Wood describes Mark Twain's lecture tours in the following terms: Twain "…charmed audiences for thirty years into accepting that

Hawai‘i is a place where travelers might expect to find safe lodging amid once fierce but now rabbitlike Natives" (86). In this case, the "thrill of escape" is offered in a tamed environment where the lodging is safe and the Natives are a source of amusement instead of threat.[38] The figurative taming of the environment and the people suggests the viability of imperial expansion. Wood's critique of Twain's lecture tours and racialization of Hawaiians mirrors other arguments about how travel literature contributed to the racialization and subsequent colonization of Hawai‘i by the United States. His dominance in discussion of travel and Hawai‘i could perhaps be summarized by the fact that, along with being the most canonical author who wrote such literature, in many ways he presented traditional travel narrative content in a more entertaining style.

In "The Imperial Routes of Mark Twain," which is chapter two of *The Anarchy of Empire*, Amy Kaplan introduces another facet of Twain's writings on Hawai‘i by exploring how following "the routes of imperial travel" shaped Twain as a USAmerian icon in addition to shaping the construction of Hawaiian culture for US audiences (59). She argues: "[His] flight from domesticity has been viewed in literary history as a hallmark of Mark Twain's writing; his rugged vernacular realism was seen to emerge from his rejection of the sentimental and genteel vetting of the domestic tradition" (59). Therefore, for Twain, travel becomes a rejection of domesticity, which was the important defining factor of civilization, as the quote by Isabella Bird insinuates. If we

[38] As Renato Rosaldo argues in "Imperial Nostalgia:" "Even politically progressive North Americans audiences have enjoyed the elegance of manners governing relations of dominance and subordination between the "races." Evidently, a mood of nostalgia makes racial domination appears innocent and pure" (107). I use his arguments in more detail in my introduction to this dissertation.

see Twain's construction of Hawai'i in his letters and speeches as a rejection of domesticity, then it also challenges the "domestic tradition" of Hawai'i and reinforces the otherness of Native Hawaiians. This power to define and interpret Hawaiian culture for a US audience emphasizes the role that travel narratives played in reinforcing the racial hierarchies of imperialism. By drawing on racial constructions of African Americans in the US South, Twain often made this connection in his writing and speeches to highlight the racial difference of Native Hawaiians.[39]

Twain's lectures, more than his original newspaper publications, on Hawai'i helped to establish his prominence in representing Hawaiian culture for US audiences.[40] In his analysis of Twain's Sandwich Island lecture tours, Fred Lorch argues that Mark Twain's main problem as he began his tour was "how to satisfy his own desire to make his audiences laugh while at the same time satisfying them that they had also been instructed" (44). This points to the problem between balancing entertainment and information for travel writers at this time. As Lorch points out, Twain wanted to entertain and the humorous constructions of "our fellow savages" kept audiences coming to see his lectures. However, since audiences also felt that they were learning about Hawaiian culture through these lectures, this humor often reinforced racial hierarchies that emphasized the "exotic" differences of Hawaiian culture. Kaplan

[39] This connection was prominent in a lot of the public representations of Hawaiians. Silva analyzes one political cartoon: "By borrowing the ready-made 'black' stereotype the cartoonist was able to signify the queen's racial difference immediately, a shorthand way to convey that she as essentially, naturally, unfit to rule" (177). While Silva focuses on one specific cartoon, this type of characterization was not uncommon.

[40] That is not to say that his writings did not become popular; on the contrary, as I will demonstrate later in this chapter, he is one of the most celebrated writers on Hawai'i. The subject of Hawai'i. and his nostalgic remembrances of this initial trip informed his writing in later years.

suggests that the performative nature of Twain's lectures also gave him a larger amount of freedom in his subject matter: "He merged the persona of the rough-hewn frontiersman with that of the educated traveler through their shared difference from his nonwhite subjects" (Kaplan, 59). Therefore, racial difference from Hawaiians was the element that made the mixture of two different classed positions in his public persona possible. Houston Wood criticizes Twain's popular reception as a speaker based on his use of race: "Though he had spent but a few months on the islands, he was sometimes introduced as a Native. This writer turned speechmaker induced masses of auditors in both North America and England to laugh at the inferior race he sometimes called niggers but, more often, 'kanakas'" (86). Twain claiming "Native" status was a part of the humor, because his white appearance immediately challenged this construction. However, according to Wood, the humorous tone of the speeches, when read through the lens of informing the audience as well as entertaining them, constructed Hawaiian culture for white audiences in a way that reinforced the superiority of white culture. By laughing "at the inferior race" of "kanakas" that Twain equated with "niggers," the audience, while already comfortable in their position atop the racial hierarchy, experienced a reinforcement of their position and privilege by being in on the joke.

Ultimately, this context of travel writing and lectures shaped a lot of the public discourse on Hawai'i during the debate on annexation of the Islands. These constructions emphasize difference both culturally and racially, which supported claims that Hawaiians were unable to govern themselves, or that annexation would benefit the Islands as well as the United States. The Queen responded through her memoir, which re-appropriated the power of representation that underlined travel narratives. Queen

Lili‘uokalani’s *Hawaii’s Story*, written in eloquent, formal English, describes her early life and royal rein while giving her readers an insight into the Hawaiian monarchy and its history. These sections not only work to legitimize her claim to the throne under Hawaiian law and custom but also introduce her English-speaking readers to Hawaiian life through the experiences which she offers as sentimental, universalizing commonalities: education, Christianity, and romantic love. Indeed, her narrative at times becomes a kind of travel narrative as she describes her travels among the Islands, which she includes to show the love of the Hawaiian people for their monarchs. As a domestic travel narrative, these sections reinforce her class status while also highlighting her connection to the Hawaiian people. In addition, Lili‘uokalani details her international travels, which allows her to adopt the tourist gaze while demonstrating the cultural fluency that enables her to move among respected upper class circles acting as an elite international ambassador. While the early portion of the text engages with the complexities of the travel narrative genre, the latter half of her autobiography is a clear and articulate protest against annexation. Well informed and active in the workings of her government Lili‘uokalani details the coup that led to her forced abjection and eventual imprisonment in Iolani Palace when she is convicted of treason against the provisional government. Contrasted with the beginning of the text, which is characterized by her mobility and authority, her imprisonment and loss of power is intentionally striking and unjust. As a whole, the text counters US centered versions of events that led up to annexation and pleads for justice through the reinstatement of the Hawaiian monarchy.

The performance of hospitality, as the quotes by Bird and Twain illustrate, was an integral part of travel literature, and is another way that the Queen engages with the themes of the travel genre. Lili‘uokalani uses the concept of hospitality to differentiate class status in relation to the domestic sphere and she complicates a strict upper/lower class binary by endowing all Native Hawaiians with the class signifier of generous hospitality. In *Aloha America: Hula Circuits Through US Empire* (2012), Adria Imada argues that while the idea of *aloha* was a source of strength for native Hawaiians, it was appropriated into U.S. imperialist discourse: “Imagined and deployed as mutuality, intimacy, and hospitality, aloha has managed to mask U.S. imperial expansion in Hawai‘i” (9). Travel narratives such as those by Bird and Twain reinforce this discourse through their emphasis on the service dynamic between Native and tourist. Imada concludes: “Rather than being seen as violent and aggressive, colonial encounters between Hawaiians and America were frequently imagined as points of intimate contact, with Hawaiians freely giving aloha to Americans, and Americans eagerly accepting these gifts of hospitality” (9). However, I argue that the Queen’s autobiography challenges these imaginings. She juxtaposes the generous hospitality of Hawaiians against the exploitation of that hospitality by those who overthrew the monarchy and support annexation. Therefore, the conspirators are framed as ungrateful guests who violated the hospitality of the Hawaiian Islands.

Lili‘uokalani establishes a dual narrative identity where she is both an elite monarch and a member of the Native Hawaiian collective, which lends authority and authenticity to her narrative. However, while Lili‘uokalani might share a collective identity with Native Hawaiians regardless of class status, she only draws parallels

between herself and white elites in *Hawaii's Story*. Working class, or "average" Americans are absent from her text, because they do not inhabit the same upper-class circles that she travels within in the United States. By highlighting her ease and fluency in upper-class society, something that most Americans would not be able to access, she places herself in a desirable position within US society. Readers of her text that do not belong to upper-class circles can access this sphere through her descriptions. This is a key element in travel narratives where the reader enjoys new cultural experiences through the eyes of the author. To say that Lili'uokalani is primarily a travel writer, however, would be to grossly simplify the importance of her text and its mission against annexation. Instead, I suggest that she uses elements of travel writing, an influential and recognizable genre, in order to address the exotification of Hawai'i, its people and the monarchy. By turning this gaze back on the US and Britain, she appropriates the power of that genre, placing herself as the voice with the power to normalize or other the objects of her gaze.

It is important to note that I am unable to speak or read the Hawaiian language. Therefore, I limit my analysis to the text of *Hawaii's Story* and other English language sources. I do this, in part to work within my larger thesis about the essentialization of elite class status through the portrayal of the domestic sphere in English-language sources from three locations of U.S. empire. I understand my ignorance of the Hawaiian language is necessarily limiting. As I have already noted, in my introduction, capable scholars such as Silva and Kuapalai have provided an in depth analysis of the ways that language shapes Hawaiian resistance to colonization in the larger canon of Lili'uokalani's prolific writings. However, despite the limitations of my study, I

believe that my analysis of insinuation and double meaning in *Hawaii's Story* offers insight into the ways the text was written because in many places, some of which I will analyze in this chapter, the multi-layered meanings would also be recognizable to an English speaking audience. This is particularly important when placing *Hawaii's Story* in conversation with travel literature written about Hawaii because they both share an English speaking audience.

I will begin my analysis of Lili'uokalani's text by focusing on how her early descriptions of travel throughout the Islands resonate with travel literature published by foreigners. However, in her descriptions, Lili'uokalani uses a de-exoticizing gaze to normalize Hawaiian customs. By de-exoticizing gaze, I mean that instead of describing feasts, ritual hospitality and funeral rites with detail, yet little actual understanding, as Twain did in his writings, Lili'uokalani explains the underlying reasoning behind these traditions and shows their similarity to Western customs. Therefore, with her knowledge and understanding as the lens through which the reader views Hawaiian customs, their descriptions are included in her construction of the elite Hawaiian domestic space. This privileged class status is recognizable to Western audiences. Through these descriptions Lili'uokalani works to establish a collective Native Hawaiian identity while at the same time maintaining a subject position as part of the elite monarchy. Through her emphasis on Hawaiian hospitality, I suggest that Lili'uokalani fights against the appropriation of *aloha* as a justification for annexation. After my analysis of her travels among the Islands, I will show how Lili'uokalani adopts the exoticizing tourist gaze in her descriptions of her time in England and traveling among the elite homes of the United States. I will use my analysis of

Lili‘uokalani’s travel abroad to then provide a more thorough discussion of race and the racialization of Native Hawaiians and analyze how the text reinterprets these racializations. Ultimately, I will show how she uses these descriptions to reinforce her own elite identity and therefore challenge annexation.

Throughout Lili‘uokalani’s text she mixes Native Hawaiian traditions with recognizable Western descriptions that normalize them for her English language audience. She begins *Hawaii’s Story* by placing her birth alongside the natural landscape and a hospital built by the monarchy; this threefold description links her birth to the physical land, the elite legacy of the monarchy and the symbol of civilization signified through the hospital. She writes, “The extinct crater or mountain which forms the background to the city of Honolulu is known as the Punch-Bowl; at its base is situated the Queen’s Hospital, so named because of the great interest taken in its erection by Emma, the queen of Kamehameha IV. Funds for the cause were solicited by the reigning sovereigns in person, and the hospital building was completed in 1860. Very near to its site, in Sept. 2, 1838, I was born” (1). By noting that these funds were solicited “in person” by members of the royal family, she shows how the monarchy worked to improve the lives of the Hawaiian people. While is it unclear who yielded to these solicitations and paid for the construction, the “reigning sovereigns” were the agents that facilitated this improvement, and were therefore fulfilling their role as protectors and providers for those under their rule. Her birth predates the completion of the hospital; however, by beginning her autobiography with this image, Lili‘uokalani immediately connects the monarchy to its work for positive change on the Islands. By

placing her birth alongside this example of improvement, she also establishes her personal connection to this legacy.

Within the space of the introductory paragraph, Lili‘uokalani establishes the dual Native and Western traditions that will frame her autobiography and her claim to a privileged, elite identity. The opening section of her text renders Native Hawaiian traditional genealogy intelligible to her audience by underscoring familial connections to Western religion and government structures. The Punch-Bowl, or the landscape itself, also frames the description, which connects the antiquity of the land to the system of monarchy in Hawai‘i and, by extension, to western ideas. Lili‘uokalani continues: “My father’s name was Kapaakea, and my mother was Keohokalole; the latter was one of the fifteen counselors of the king, Kamehameha III., who in 1840 gave the first written constitution to the Hawaiian people…” (1). The “written constitution” is an important part of her description because it highlights the length of time that the monarchy recognized the importance of government signifiers such as constitutions and focused on written rather than oral traditions. Noenoe Silva confirms the importance of the constitution, arguing that the Native Hawaiian elite recorded “laws in English and American ways in order to make treaties and to be recognized as an independent nation unavailable for colonization” (16). In relation to the structure of the first chapter of Lili‘uokalani’s text, historian Tom Coffman also identifies another layer of meaning: “While Lili‘uokalani appeared to begin her memoir in good Western fashion with a chapter entitled “Sketches of My Childhood,” she actually launched a Polynesian discussion of her genealogy” (10). Coffman’s characterization of her introduction highlights the presentation of Hawaiian traditions through the lens of Western

understanding that continues throughout her text. Coffman concludes that this structure shows that "the genealogies of the Hawaiians provide a glimpse of a highly complex, separate society that calls out across time to be understood" (10). While the genealogy shows a "separate society" of Hawaiian culture that transcends the traditional western autobiographical framing, this section, and her mention of the hospital in the opening sentence, still engages with markers of class and family legacy that fall within the framework of Western autobiography. By highlighting the accomplishments of her ancestors that would be recognized as significant by her English language readers, including "the first written constitution" and her great grand aunt's status as "one of the first converts to Christianity," the reader is also invited to recognize her ancestors as part of the Hawaiian nation's transition into a country which resembles that of her Western readers (1).

Hospitality

Throughout Lili'uokalani's text, her descriptions of travel among the Islands allow her to naturalize the Hawaiian tradition of monarchy. As the domestic traveler, Lili'uokalani normalizes the acceptance and love of the monarchy, which counters annexationists' arguments that the Hawaiian people want "democracy." Her inclusion of detailed descriptions of travel among the islands highlights another way in which the text renders tradition intelligible to her audience through descriptions that resonate with the familiar genre of travel writing. According to Lili'uokalani, the Hawaiian people show their love and acceptance of the monarchy through their hospitality. She emphasizes this in her description of a trip around the Islands: "Prince Lot had his

houses and lands in Hawaii and elsewhere. It was to these we went. His people welcomed our presence; and no matter how protracted our stay, Hawaiian hospitality, or love and loyalty, whichever it may please the reader to call it, was never exhausted" (25). It is a collective identity that connects her and her royal ancestors to the people of Hawai'i: "Hawaiian hospitality" is thus a common element that connects all Hawaiians.

However, while the intimacy of this hospitality, taking place in numerous houses belonging to Prince Lot, speaks to a collective Hawaiian identity, it also indicates a naturalized class hierarchy. Through the possessive language of "his people," Lili'uokalani shows that she and other royals are both of the people and above them. The emphasis on hospitality is a refrain that continues throughout the text. While traveling with a large group including her husband after she is deemed heir apparent, she notes that they still receive a warm reception. She writes "…large numbers are no discouragement to Hawaiian hospitality, especially under the additional inspiration of love and loyalty to their chiefs; so the people opened their doors with an 'Aloha nui loa' to us in words and in acts, and wherever we went a grand reception awaited us on arrival" (56-57). Taken together, these descriptions show the resilience of Hawaiian hospitality; it can never be "exhausted" or discouraged. However, the additional emphasis on the "inspiration of love and loyalty to their chiefs" highlights that their hospitality is also contingent on their acceptance of monarchy's system of hierarchy. Therefore, while white travel writers often praise the merits of Hawaiian hospitality, at times using it as a justification for annexation, Lili'uokalani shows the reader that while hospitality might be an inherent characteristic, it is particularly special "under the additional inspiration" of the monarchy. Through this description, she evokes the

classed systems of deference associated with monarchical government. Therefore, she shows how monarchy reinforces the strict class distinctions needed to maintain control of the population and continue to inspire hospitality.

Lili‘uokalani frames hospitality and etiquette as inherent parts of Hawaiian identity while at the same time crediting the monarchy with the maintenance of such strict rules of etiquette. The enforcement of etiquette is the monarchy’s job and the lack of etiquette reflects poorly on those in positions of power. She writes, “Strangers have remarked that in no part of the world visited by them have they found the rules of etiquette so exactly laid down and so persistently observed as in Honolulu, when the Islands were under the monarchy” (365). The strict observance of these rules of “etiquette” seems to be a characteristic of all Hawaiians in Honolulu; however, by qualifying this generalization with the phrase “when the Islands were under the monarchy,” she indicates a change in the ways that etiquette and hospitality are performed on the Islands. If the monarchy is dismantled, will this strict adherence to etiquette remain? Or will the rules become embarrassingly lax? Lili‘uokalani uses this description of hospitality to frame her own “natural” understanding and enactment of etiquette while she is in the United States. She continues: “It is to be expected, therefore, that I know what is due to me; that further, as the wife of the governor of Oahu, as the princess royal, and as the reigning sovereign, it was not necessary for me to take lessons in the departments of social or diplomatic etiquette before residing in the national capital of the United States, or making and receiving visits of any nature” (365). She emphasizes how her classed identity, as elite “wife,” “princess” and “reigning sovereign,” shapes her natural understanding of etiquette. It is not a learned

behavior--“it was not necessary for me to take lessons”--it is an essential part of her identity. Her ability to easily perform these “rules of etiquette” puts her at ease within the elite social and political spheres of the US and emphasizes her equality among the higher classes. Since she has already positioned herself as an enforcer of etiquette in Hawai‘i, it seems obvious that these “lessons” would not be required. However, by mentioning “lessons” she insinuates that others in Washington are not so well versed in etiquette. Evidently there are people among the elite spheres who need “lessons,” since they were unable to meet the standards of etiquette that are so well enforced on the islands. By establishing "generous hospitality" as something that is inherently a part of Hawaiian culture, Lili‘uokalani holds it up as the high standard by which she judges hospitality as a tourist in the US.

Lili‘uokalani’s appreciation of classed finery in the domestic sphere also shows her understanding of elite décor in the US, illustrating her easy familiarity with this type of luxury. She writes of Mrs. Charles Crocker’s home: “She occupied a most elegant mansion; and in its pleasant surroundings, and the generous hospitality with which we found ourselves entertained, the welcome there was not unlike that I have noticed in my account of our tour around our island home” (62). Here, Mrs. Crocker effectively emulates Hawaiian hospitality; it was “not unlike that I have noticed in my account of our tour around our Island home.” In this way, she points the attention of her readers back to these details earlier in the narrative to show that Hawai‘i is her domestic sphere and therefore the standard by which she judges her experience in the US. Through her “tourist gaze,” Lili‘uokalani judges and appreciates elements of the elite domestic sphere as they compare to Hawai‘i. This similarly infuses her earlier descriptions of

Island travel with a class element that resonates with her accounts of some of the finest homes in the US. While Mrs. Crocker's hospitality makes Lili'uokalani's visit enjoyable, the author also praises the physical space of the domestic sphere: "The least detail of her grand and beautiful residence was nothing less than perfection. The floors were paved with artistic designs in tiles of white, of blue, and other colors" (63). Lili'uokalani's recognition of these elite elements of design and style shows that she understands how these elements are a part of class status in the US. Far from the grass huts and humble spaces that white travel writers describe in detail during their visits to Hawai'i , Lili'uokalani easily recognizes the intricacies of domestic design which shows her intimate familiarity with these aspects of elite domestic spheres. By praising Mrs. Crocker's homes as "nothing less than perfection" she also establishes how class status is recognized through the physical space of the domestic sphere. While Lili'uokalani criticizes some of her experiences in the US, it is important that she includes a whole-heartedly positive account of her visit with Mrs. Crocker. This establishes a parallel between herself and an upper class US American woman; it also emphasizes the exclusivity associated with class status. The average US American would not have such intimate access to a home like Mrs. Crocker's but Lili'uokalani's ease and acceptance in such a sphere highlights that her elite status transcends international borders.

Reappropriating the Tourist Gaze

As readers would expect in travel narratives, while in the United States, Lili'uokalani visits many of the culturally significant historical sites in the nation's capital. Her descriptions focus on the gendered experience of prominent women in US

American history, which as a tourist she experiences through her entry into the home turned museum. The emphasis on gendered experience draws a parallel between Lili‘uokalani and prominent women such as Martha Washington, despite their vastly different roles in terms of power and leadership. This is important because it highlights the former’s own femininity within the framework of US gender norms. During a tour of the Washington home she recounts a story the guide told about Martha Washington watching her husband’s grave: “This story, with the scene of its happening around me as I listened, was most touching to my heart; the simple four-posted, old-fashioned bedstead, with its chintz curtains, the arm-chair with valance and chintz-covering, the well-worn steps descending to a lower floor,—these homely souvenirs all spoke to me of the sister woman who had sat and reflected over the loss of that heroic life which it was her privilege to share, and rendered the visit almost too sadly interesting for the accompaniment of a pleasant tour” (125). Her ability, as a tourist, to empathize with Martha Washington happens through her connection to the commodities within the domestic sphere: the “bedstand with its chintz curtains, the armchair with valance and chintz covering” are the “homely souvenirs” facilitate her identification with Washington. Whereas, the markers of class status that she recognized in Mrs. Crocker’s home were the focal point of identification and praise, in this case, the simplicity of the home decor adds to the “sadly interesting” nature of the visit. That is not to say that she pities Washington for not having more finery; instead this description, which highlights loss, also signifies loss through a less glorified description of the domestic sphere. The space reflects the mood of Washington, showing another way the construction of the domestic sphere connects to the experience of the inhabitants. Since racializations of

Lili‘uokalani as “black” often made connections to white womanhood all but impossible, by explicitly connecting herself to Martha Washington, Lili‘uokalani attempts to negate racial difference by focusing on class and gender.

While this tour of the US predates the queen’s overthrow,[41] the scene at Washington’s home, described through the tourist gaze, resonates with the themes of loss and mourning that Lili‘uokalani must have felt while writing her memoir during her imprisonment in Iolani Palace. In this way, she adds another a parallel between herself and this “sister woman”: both are noble, mourning women. In this scene, Washington appears almost like a prisoner in her home, looking out the window overwhelmed with loss. This resonates with Lili‘uokalani’s experience of imprisonment in her palace, where instead of mourning a husband, she mourns the loss of her nation. By connecting her own experience to the gendered and helpless figure of Martha Washington, Lili‘uokalani is no longer a “dangerous,” powerful monarch, imprisoned in her home; she is a helpless woman reduced to a lamentable state that is unworthy of her station.

Lili‘uokalani also uses the connection to Martha Washington, which she constructs through the tourist gaze, as a way to critique the lack of titles as an important class signifier in the United States. This connection helps to bridge the gap between Hawaiian and US American traditions to form a collective class status among ruling elites. She writes, “Why is it, by the way, that she is now ‘Martha Washington,’ when even in that day she was always mentioned as ‘Lady Washington’? Is it part of the

[41] She ascended to the throne in 1891. The coupe to overthrow the monarchy came to fruition in 1893.

etiquette of the new woman's era, or of the advancing democratic idea?" (126). By raising these questions and not answering them, Lili'uokalani critiques the egalitarian re-titling of historical figures that ignores class status, without needing to state this claim outright. Pronto writes, "As always, Liliuokalani was astutely aware of the historical and cultural implications and relevance of what was unsaid" (54). The unanswered questions all speak to a break with tradition, particularly in relation to class status. Whereas "Lady Washington" connotes respect and status, "Martha Washington" is too familiar and intimate. It blurs the line between historically prominent figures and the "common people." While she mentions it as an aside, "by the way," it leaves the reader to think about this change. It asks readers to question what is lost with the advancement of the "democratic idea" and the "new woman's era." Using her tourist gaze to question the ways that class status and titles have changed in the US allows her to critique these changes under the guise of curiosity. It is obvious that what she sees as a movement away from class distinctions through titles goes against the creation of an essential elite identity, which I argue is an important tactic she uses to contest annexation in *Hawaii's Story*. While Lady Washington's duties were primarily domestic, rather than overtly political, such as Lili'uokalani's role as monarch, this connection also shows how the Queen needs to walk a fine line with gender and power in her text. Drawing a parallel with George Washington, for example, would not have the same effect because it would so obviously transgress the boundaries of gender.

When her party arrives in England after leaving the US, Lili'uokalani describes the reaction of the British people to a public appearance by Queen Victoria. While her description highlights the affection that the British public has for their queen, and

therefore, their acceptance of monarchy in general, she also exoticizes the interaction through a tourist gaze that differentiates the Hawaiian monarchy from its British counterpart. She writes: "The streets were thronged with people anxious to catch a glimpse of their beloved sovereign. Strange it seemed to me at the time to learn that many who had grown from youth to age in London during a whole lifetime has never seen their queen" (142). Her description of the "anxious" and abundant crowd suggests that the British people are content with their system of government. Just being able to "catch a glimpse" of their "beloved monarch" is worth waiting in the large crowd. In Lili'uokalani's view, the British monarchy's failure to personally connect and engage with the people of London illustrates a marked difference from her previous descriptions of royal Hawaiians traveling among the Islands. This difference is "strange" to her, which again places her in the position of tourist and therefore affords her narrative power to construct normal and foreign behaviors.

Since, according to Lili'uokalani, it is "strange" for Queen Victoria not to engage more personally with her subjects, Lili'uokalani's travels among the Islands illustrates a more intimate and engaged relationship between the Hawaiian people and their queen. Therefore, her introduction of the British monarchy frames it as a foreign system, rather than an ideal she means to replicate. It is the admittance to the Native Hawaiian's domestic spheres and the hospitality they receive within these spaces that emphasizes her dual identity as part of the Native Hawaiian collective and her privileged position above them. According to Lili'uokalani, Native Hawaiians "love" their royal family, which they demonstrate through their generous hospitality. In the lengthy description of her travels in England, Queen Victoria remains in her palace,

separated from the people of her country. Lili‘uokalani’s comment on the lack of this domestic connection for the British monarchy establishes an important distinction between the two monarchies that she reinforces through the rest of the narrative. However, by using the language of the curious tourist, as is indicated by the phrase “Strange it seemed to me,” she does not explicitly criticize Queen Victoria. In this way, her utilization of the tourist gaze is more polite and diplomatic then many of those written by white tourists in Hawai‘i , while at the same time showing through her politeness and etiquette that she is superior to those who use such negative, unprovoked, descriptions of difference. As we recall, she did not “require lessons” to learn how to behave in social situations and she demonstrates that tact by acknowledging difference without openly criticizing it. It should be noted that Lili‘uokalani also saw Queen Victoria as a potential ally in her fight against annexation, so her tact has political implications as well. Overall, they share a common class status, rather than an identical form of government.

Robin Bott, on the other hand, argues in “‘I Know What is Due Me’: Self Fashioning and Legitimization in *Queen Liliuokalani’s Hawaii’s Story by Hawaii’s Queen”* that Lili‘uokalani uses her identification with Queen Victoria as a way to legitimize the monarchal system in Hawai‘i. He concludes that this “self fashioning” ultimately fails because her US audiences had a negative view of monarchy in general. If as I suggest, however, we read her descriptions of travel though the framework of travel writing and her essentialization of elite identity, her “self-fashioning” is less about being similar to a white elite monarch and more about defining herself as an equal among international elite spheres. Bott’s argument acknowledges the parallels between

the monarchies that Lili‘uokalani utilizes without analyzing the multi-layered meaning of these descriptions in relation to her focus on travel and foreignness. Regarding the quote discussed above, Bott argues the following: “The Hawaiian signs of status were not recognized as worthy of respect by the American businessmen who held the true power in Hawaii. Hence the markers of her Hawaiian status had to be normalized through a Western lens” (143). It is true that the American businessmen who organized the coup against the Queen did not respect her as a sovereign; however, arguably this lack of respect could have more to do with racism and greed than Lili‘uokalani’s status as a monarch. Since most of these people knew Lili‘uokalani, by all accounts a persuasive, well-spoken and regal woman, it seems odd that *Hawaii’s Story* would try to sway the opinion of the “American businessmen” by reinforcing her class status through parallels that she presumably already enacted in person. Bott’s interpretation assumes that the “American Businessmen” were her primary intended audience, which limits the scope of the text and its potential to persuade. His reading also discounts the ways in which Lili‘uokalani criticizes members of elite circles on many occasions. In addition, her negative characterization of the forces that overthrew the monarchy in Hawaii, including the “American businessmen,” shows that they were not solely her target audience. Instead, her criticism of the provisional government and annexationists, where she identifies the conspirators by name, indicates that she is attempting to shame them in the public sphere rather than impress them. However, Bott concludes that she makes her class status intelligible by “… emphasizing the similarities between her cultural beliefs and practices and those of the British and their monarch” (143). Again, while this is true to an extent, his conclusion that Lili‘uokalani’s “self-

fashioning" fails because of its heavy emphasis on this connection overlooks the ways in which she differentiates herself and the Hawaiian system of monarchy from her experience in Britain.

Bott's focus on Lili'uokalani's travels in Britain and connection to the British monarchy overlooks the her engagement with class and status in her descriptions of her tours in the US, such as her descriptions of Lady Washington and Mrs. Crocker which I discuss earlier in this chapter. While I agree that her connection to Queen Victoria is meant to legitimize her position as a ruling monarch, I argue that by including similar connections between herself and upper-class Americans, particularly those in positions of power and influence, Lili'uokalani attempts to construct an essentialized class identity and naturalize elites inhabiting the ruling class in all circumstances. By using the language of monarchy to describe leaders in the democratic system, she emphasizes that an inherent class status, rather than a specific system of government, as Bott suggests, validates her rule in Hawai'i.

Transnational Elite Identity

Lili'uokalani uses royal language to describe the first lady of the United States as a way to show her esteem for Mrs. Cleveland. Lili'uokalani writes: "And equally do I believe that too few among the nations has it ever been granted to have at the head a woman more worthy the name of queen than that one who presided with so much grace and dignity for eight years at the White House" (338). By giving Mrs. Cleveland the status of "queen," Lili'uokalani implies that Mrs. Cleveland has an active leadership role that is comparable to her own or that of Queen Victoria. This turns the language

that distinguishes power in the monarchical system to a universal signifier of class status. Since Mrs. Cleveland is "worthy of the name queen," this description places the first lady within an elite, powerful sphere of the ruling classes. By broadening her claim to praise her "among the nations," she suggests that these characteristics transcend international borders and connects Mrs. Cleveland to Queen Victoria as well. While Lili'uokalani enthusiastically praises President Cleveland for his stance against annexation, her praise of the First Lady illustrates that gendered class status shapes the connections she makes to white elites in her text. Therefore, while Queen Victoria offers her a chance to highlight a monarchical system of government with a woman at its head, she chooses to emphasize the importance of the First Lady in the United States.

Racialization, Nationality, and Identity

The racialization of Native Hawaiians in particular, but the queen especially, exposes how deeply racial otherness shaped the debate on annexation and the Hawaiian monarchy.[42] Lili'uokalani, obviously aware of the complex role race played in the debate, uses her narrative to minimize racial difference in places, while exploiting it in others. As Leslie Hammer points out in her dissertation, Lili'uokalani never claims whiteness for herself;[43] however, I suggest, that instead she removes whiteness from its prominent position in the construction of elite identity. By placing class, as recognized through the elite domestic sphere, above race, she argues that whiteness is not the true

[42] See my introduction to this dissertation for more detail on the debate surrounding annexation.

[43] Hammer argues that instead of adopting whiteness, the queen "…she performs whiteness, showing that she has an interiority of whiteness, while, at the same time, stressing that she has a racialized exteriority" (22).

marker of elite identity. She uses the term Native Hawaiians throughout to refer to herself and her subjects; however, this phrase evokes nationality and citizenship rather than primarily signifying racial difference. Lili‘uokalani describes the annexationists as follows: “Those who are not recent arrivals are sons of the missionaries, or allied to the families connected with the American Mission, and claim foreign citizenship to this day” (326). Instead of specifically addressing whiteness in relation to the conspirators and annexationists, she emphasizes nationality and citizenship. This description highlights the foreignness of the annexationists; they are either “recent arrivals” or, if they have been on the Islands for an extended period of time, they still “claim foreign citizenship.” Their foreignness places the annexationists in the role of tourists who have no claim to the Islands.

Lili‘uokalani exploits the foreign/ domestic dichotomy, often used in discussions of empire, in order to frame the annexationists as the foreign invading force, which naturalizes Native Hawaiian control of the Islands. Understanding the importance of categorizations in political discussions of Hawai‘i, she clarifies: “When I speak at this time of the Hawaiian people, I refer to the children of the soil—the native inhabitants of the Hawaiian Islands and their descendants. Two delegations claiming to represent Hawaii have visited Washington at intervals during the past four years… They are not and never were Hawaiians” (325). The “delegations” are therefore claiming Native Hawaiian identity in order to legitimize their power; this suggests that Native Hawaiians, such as herself, have a legitimate claim to the Islands, despite any assumed racial difference. She states in no uncertain terms that the delegations are “not and never were Hawaiians,” which negates their claim to speak for the Islands. Lili‘uokalani, on

the other hand, is a child "of the soil," as she painstakingly establishes in the genealogy she details in the beginning of her text. She emphasizes the difference here to legitimize her right to speak for her people. Kualapai argues that "…Lili'uokalani makes it clear that 'Hawaiian' is neither a racial marker nor a geographical locator but a word signifying a particular ancestry" (57). Here, that particular ancestry means "the native inhabitants of the Hawaiian Islands and their descendants." Therefore, by defining what she sees as legitimate Hawaiian identity through "ancestry," she challenges the annexationists who claim "Hawaiian" status because they live and work on the Islands. Interestingly, this genealogy does not specifically acknowledge children of mixed heritage which, since the beginning of colonization had become an increasing number of those living in Hawai'i. I suggest this omission helps to remove race and whiteness even further from the debate over power in the Islands. By making ancestry the primary focus, children of mixed heritage would still be able to trace their connection to "native inhabitants" and remain entitled to the status of Hawaiian.

Despite the racism inherent in imperial relationships, there were a lot of interracial marriages between white descendants of missionaries or businessmen and "children of the soil" in the islands; the queen's marriage to her husband John Dominis was no exception. Lili'uokalani appropriates the discussion of her own interracial marriage in *Hawaii's Story*. Illustrating that her marriage was a topic of discussion, in the 1990 introduction to Lili'uokalani's text, Glen Grant describes how race contributed to the tension in her marriage: "The widow Dominis resented the new bride and, despite Lydia's royal lineage, disapproved of the interracial marriage. For over twenty years Lydia Dominis quietly suffered the hostility of her mother-in-law, seeking solace in

frequent visits among her people, lengthy stays on her Waikiki lands, and in her music" (ix). Grant uses "Lydia Dominis," the queen's informal, married name, rather than her royal moniker, Lili'uokalani, to emphasize the familial relationship between the women. This also reflects Lili'uokalani's lack of power in this relationship; in this interaction, she was "Lydia" not the Queen of Hawai'i. While according to Grant, "royal lineage" was not enough to overcome her mother-in-law's prejudice, in her text Lili'uokalani still appeals to a common class status, or the construction of an essential elite identity, as a way to counter racialization and naturalize her right to rule and reclaim her privileged position of power. If Grant's assessment is to be believed (and based on the racism of the time, and other accounts of the racialization of Hawaiians, it is a plausible account of Lili'uokalani's relationship with her mother-in-law), then it also suggests that others knew about the tenseness in their relationship. This explains why Lili'uokalani includes a description of this unpleasant relationship in her text. Her description allows her to counter the insinuation that racial difference inspired familial discord through her own words and therefore regain agency over its telling.

In *Hawaii's Story,* Lili'uokalani frames her interracial marriage to John Domins in terms of a loving family relationship rather than a controversial racialized union. She chooses to explain any tension in her relationship with her mother-in-law as being the result of maternal attachment rather than racism. Regarding her husband's mother, she writes: "As she felt that no one should step between her and her child, naturally I, as her son's wife, was considered an intruder; and I was forced to realize this from the beginning" (24). The word "naturally" indicates that this is a normal part of a mother-in-law's reaction to her son's wife and therefore removes race as a catalyst for familial

tension. Since, in this description, Lili‘uokalani’s only transgression is to be “his wife,” Mrs. Dominis’ racially motivated animosity is not validated in the text. She continues: “My husband was extremely kind and considerate to me, yet he would not swerve to the one side or to the other in any matter where there was danger of hurting his mother’s feelings. I respected the closeness of the tie between mother and son, and conformed my own ideas, so far as I could, to encourage and assist my husband in his devotion to his mother” (24). According to Lili‘uokalani, her husband was also not at fault as he was “extremely kind” to her regarding his mother. She naturalizes the remaining tension by attributing it to loyalty to his mother rather than disloyalty to his wife; this frames their marriage as a supportive and loving union. By positioning herself as the dutiful wife and daughter-in-law, Lili‘uokalani demonstrates how she also possesses an important deferential quality which was a part of sentimental womanhood. Her deference goes only so far, however. By saying that she yielded “so far as I could,” she indicates that she did not completely yield and therefore, she retained her agency.

Since *Hawaii’s Story* has a specific political agenda--the reinstatement of the monarchy and prevention of annexation--it is particularly interesting that Lili‘uokalani chose to mention familial discord that might be seen as negative, even though, as I argue in the previous paragraph, she introduces the topic in a positive way. Its inclusion at all suggests that she may have been responding to critiques of her marriage. She concludes her discussion of her mother-in-law as follows: “Later in life Mrs. Dominis seemed to fully realize that there had been some self-sacrifice, and she became more and more a tender and affectionate mother to me as her days were drawing to a close” (24). By offering resolution to this “normal” kind of family strife, Lili‘uokalani shows

how she was able to resolve any tension and gain her mother-in-law's acceptance. While according to Grant, "royal lineage" was not enough to overcome her mother-in-law's prejudice, Lili'uokalani's description implies that she was able to overcome any hardship she faced through respect and "self-sacrifice," and so the story becomes one of triumph. She appears adept at compromise and managing difficult situations while maintaining a healthy respect for familial bonds. Perhaps even more important, this resolution comes as a result of her mother-in-law changing her behavior and "realiz[ing] that there had been some self-sacrifice." Ultimately, Lili'uokalani positions herself as never in the wrong. By choosing not to address her mother-in-law's racism, she erases it from her construction of her domestic life. Since race was such a prominent part of the annexationist debate and travel writing about Hawai'i at the time, Lili'uokalani's removal of it from her domestic life is meaningful. Outsiders may see Hawaiians as racially different, but those closest to her recognize her equality.

When Lili'uokalani addresses the racialization of Native Hawaiians, herself included, she frames it as a matter of etiquette and decorum. In each of these circumstances she assumes her equality based in her class status and thereby makes class, rather than whiteness, the most important indicator of status and privilege. When describing the royal jubilee in England she explains: "Several of the ladies of the royal household passed through the hall, and stopped just long enough, as they went by the door, to get a peep at the strangers from over the sea. So it would appear that even royalty can forget strict etiquette under the impulse of feminine curiosity" (143-4). The racializing "peep" is not disempowering or a threat to her sense of entitlement based on her assumption of equal class status. "Feminine curiosity" also diminishes the

significance of the incident. It was not a behavior that everyone engaged in, it was due to a gendered flaw among the "ladies of the household." The catalyst is simple "curiosity" rather than racist gawking. In addition, she minimizes the length of the racializing gaze; these women "stopped just long enough" and only gained a "peep." Instead of this incident being remembered as an embarrassing moment for the Hawaiian delegation, she includes it in her memoir to emphasize her power over the situation. She uses it to highlight her natural ability to observe etiquette while embarrassing the 'royalty" that would "forget strict etiquette under the impulse of feminine curiosity." In addition, describing the Hawaiians as "strangers from over the sea" highlights location and familiarity, rather than physical differences or stereotypes.

While she minimizes the racialization of Native Hawaiians in most of the text, when it suits her purpose she adopts and reframes this difference to argue against annexation. However, she distances herself from these descriptions through the use of third person to describe the Native Hawaiians and therefore applies the separation of royal class status that she uses throughout her descriptions of Native Hawaiians to her discussion of race. She writes: "So it happens that, overawed by the power of the United States to the extent that they can neither themselves throw off the usurpers, not obtain assistance from other friendly states, the people of the Islands have no voice in determining their future, but are virtually relegated to the condition of the aborigines of the American continent" (369). Significantly, this is a shared "condition" rather than a shared racial otherness that connects these two groups. By describing the Hawaiians as having "no voice" and being "overawed" by the US, she attempts to garner sympathy for the weak and powerless Native Hawaiians who are no match for the strong

Americans.[44] By comparing Native Hawaiians to Native Americans in the United States she calls upon activists in the US, that sympathize with indigenous peoples to also extend that sympathy and activism to Hawaiians. Sentimental protest fiction, such as Helen Hunt Jackson's popular *Ramona* (1885), still resonated with audiences at the time Lili'uokalani was writing *Hawaii's Story*. Since not everyone, particularly the "American businessmen" in Hawai'i would have found this comparison effective, this description is another way that Lili'uokalani uses her text to appeal to a variety of audiences; in this case, appealing to those who were sympathetic to the disenfranchised "noble savage" image. Since she is not among the "overawed," however, her text not only proves that she has a literal voice through her writing, but it also shows she has the power to stand up to those who try to exert their power over Hawai'i . By not including herself in this disempowered characterization, she retains the agency and power that she "deserves" as a member of the elite. As an elite woman, she is defending the voiceless Hawaiians from the power of the US.

In an even more forward and blatant discussion of race that marks a shift in the tone of *Hawaii's Story* near the end of the text, Lili'uokalani criticizes US American imperialism by highlighting the nation's inability to handle racial conflict within its borders. She writes: "And yet this great and powerful nation must go across two thousand miles of sea, and take from the poor Hawaiians their little spots in the broad Pacific, must covet our islands of Hawaii Nei, and extinguish the nationality of my poor

[44] I am not suggesting that she believes these power dynamics to be true; instead I argue that she uses it as a way to make her overall argument against annexation. This is a good example of double meaning; those who were familiar with her stance against US involvement, and her history of resistance to racializations mean t to disempower Native Hawaiians, would recognize these placating tactics.

people, many of whom have now not a foot of land which can be called their own. And for what? In order that another race-problem shall be injected into the social and political perplexities with which the United States in the great experiment of popular government is already struggling?" (310). On the one hand, in this passage she admits the racial difference of Native Hawaiians, suggesting that they would be another "race-problem" if their lands were annexed. At the same time, however, she indicts the US for its inability to deal with the problems that racism in the US has caused. This casts her description of the US as a "great and powerful nation" in an ironic light, indicating that the US is not powerful enough to overcome the challenges that the inclusion of racial otherness poses to the nation. This also points to the fragility of racial hierarchies in the US. Her repetition of "poor" argues against the construction of Hawai‘i as a profitable acquisition for the US, which was one of the driving arguments in favor of annexation. However, "poor" also evokes sympathy: they are "poor" because they lost their lands. This description positions the Hawaiian people as the victims of US aggression. Possessive pronouns also indicate shifts in perspective and reflect Lili‘uokalani's strategic positioning of herself in relation to the Hawaiian people. She is separate from the "poor Hawaiians" but shares their ownership of the Islands. Eventually they become "my poor people" which indicates her position of power. Again, she is both separate from and a part of the collective Hawaiian identity, which reinforces her elite identity.

The Domestic Sphere: Appropriation and Violation

The transformation of the palace, a marker of elite class status, into the queen's prison shows the violation of the sanctity of the domestic space by the US overthrow of the monarchy. In 1895 she was convicted of treason and imprisoned in ʻIolani Palace. The violation of this domestic space, makes her removal from it, after her pardon in 1896 become a release. It is no longer a marker of elite identity for Liliʻuokalani in *Hawaii's Story* and it is overrun by those who plotted against her and the monarchy. Therefore, she returns to Washington Place after her release. Her description of her return to Washington Place, another elite domestic sphere, naturalizes her position within that sphere: "As, in company with Mr. and Mrs. Wilson, I was driven from my prison—once my palace—to the gateway at Washington Place, my earlier home, it seemed though Nature, our kind mother, smiled on my return" (295). The transformation of the "palace" into a "prison" indicates the loss of status that she experienced during the coup and her imprisonment. However, her return to Washington Place, a beautiful domestic space, represents her symbolic return to her rightful class position. She may not be the one in power after the overthrow, but she retains her essential class status and shows this status through her connection to the domestic sphere. Instead of using Christian imagery, as she does in many other sections, here she personifies "Nature" as the "kind mother." Imagining nature smiling on her return to the uncorrupted domestic space of Washington Place naturalizes her connection to this space and her return to class status. By using this imagery, instead of the Christian imagery that characterizes many parts of the text, she blends the Hawaiian imagery of creation with her physical location at Washington Place. In this way she suggests that, while the Palace had been appropriated by the annexationists, the Islands themselves are

not incorporated into the US just yet. While Lili‘uokalani continued to travel to the US to fight annexation and petition for financial compensation for the lands taken from the monarchy and Native Hawaiians, she lived at Washington Place until her death. Her physical connection to this important elite domestic space in Hawai‘i continued to counter the annexationists’ narrative of Hawai‘i’s peaceful integration as a US territory.

Throughout the rest of her life at Washington Place, Lili‘uokalani maintained her royal public persona to ensure that younger generations of Native Hawaiians recognized their connection to Hawai‘i’s history as a sovereign nation. Shortly before her passing in 1917, after five young Native Hawaiian men lost their lives in a submarine attack on a US ship, Lili‘uokalani raised the US flag over Washington Place.[45] She publically addressed the deaths of the young men as follows: “In the past one-hundred years Hawaiians have never shed—nor caused blood to be shed—for their own desires. If now their lives are lost it is to be under a different flag.” (qtd Pronto, 207). This gesture associated the US American flag with the death of Native Hawaiians, by juxtaposing this violent image against a nostalgic characterization of peace under the monarchy. She also reinforces the relevancy of the monarchy; the “past one-hundred years” of Native Hawaiian rule ended when the “lives [were] lost” rather than when the US annexed Hawai‘i almost twenty years before this incident. Pronto argues that “Her gesture that day was intended to reflect the dignity with which she still held the right of her people to choose their own fate long after she was gone” (207). By showing that she was still the one in power, this symbolic gesture of raising an American flag

[45] According to Pronto, she had only raised the US flag over Washington Place when her mother-in-law passed away about 25 year earlier (207).

highlights how Lili‘uokalani’s public presence continued to reaffirm her eloquent resistance to US annexation. As Pronto suggests, this act, as with her continued resistance in general, was meant to inspire her people to continue this form of resistance and not allow US imperialism to define them.

The appropriation of the Queen’s home by US government powers reveals the symbolic power of the domestic space that was so closely associated with Queen Lili‘uokalani. After the Queen’s death, she passed away at Washington Place on November 11th 1917, her home became the official home of the governor of Hawai‘i. By adopting Washington Place as his home, it further shows that domestic spaces embody class status, in this case, the elite status needed to rule, in meaningful and recognizable ways. The Washington Place website describes the importance of the site as follows: **“**For more than 160 years, Washington Place has remained at the center of social and political life in the Hawaiian Islands and since 1922, has served as official residence for the governor of Hawai`i” (washingtonplacefoundation.org). This description naturalizes the transition between Lili‘uokalani’s time at Washington Place to its new role the governor’s residence and represents the rhetoric of US imperialism that smoothly integrates new territory into the nation.

The expansion of the tourist industry happened at rapid pace after the overthrow of the monarchy, which highlights how it helped to reinforce the displacement of Native Hawaiian rule, in particular Queen Lili‘uokalani. Daina Ahmad explains: “Tourists could also obtain permission to the ‘Iolani Palace...In 1894, James English, who had become friends with a military man, visited the Palace despite a state of martial law in Hawai‘i due to the restrictions resulting from the overthrow of the Queen” (107). The

Palace, functioning as tourist destination, so soon after the coupe already positioned it as a part of the past, and reinforces the assumption that the monarchy will not return to power. While this form of tourism was not as widespread as it would become, that tours of the Palace became available after US interests had control of the Islands through the provisional government, foreshadows how the tourist industry would become such a dominant part of the Islands under US rule.

Return to the Gaze: Exotic Hawai‘i

While Lili‘uokalani’s travels within the United States that I have discussed in this chapter were meant to disrupt the imperial narrative of savage Hawaiians who needed to be controlled, World Fairs’ exoticizing performances of Hawaiian culture fell within the framework Lili‘uokalani worked hard to disrupt. In many ways, World Fairs reinforced the travel narrative framework and “presented new mediums of entertainments and opportunities for vicarious travel in other lands” (Rydell 2). While Hawai‘i was less prominent in the 1898 World’s Fair than the long struggle to annex the Islands would suggest, Hawai‘i ’s role in World Fairs in general reinforced the same themes of travel narratives that began this chapter. Through her analysis of hula performances at the World Fairs, Imada provides significant insight into the ways the fairs reinforced the narrative of US empire. She concludes: “Performing scripts of aloha—love, affinity, and sharing—Hawaiian performers brokered the developing colonial relationship between the United States and Hawai‘i. These scripts produced an imagined intimacy between Hawaiian hosts and American guests, transforming colonization into relations of hospitality and mutuality” (126). The physicality and

visibility of these exhibits expanded the scripts to reinforce the themes of travel narratives, where audiences saw "evidence" of these differences through the physical presence of the performers. Whereas Queen Lili'uokalani used her body and voice to challenge racist assumptions, these exhibits reinforced them.[46] I suggest that this same "script" recalls the travel literature that focused on Hawai'i that the Queen articulately re-appropriated in *Hawaii's Story*. If the fairs were to reinforce and ultimately make legible what the public considered new forays into imperialism,[47] then these narratives had to remain consistent and the US conception of aloha was the thread that maintained this consistency.

After becoming a state on August 29th, 1959, including the Islands into the US rhetoric of nationhood renewed interest in a quintessential US American author, Mark Twain.[48] What Robert Fletcher refers to as "Imperial amnesia" shaped the popular reemergence of Twain's writing on Hawai'i; however, in this case, it was the editor of the reprinting of his letters that evoked this nostalgic connection. In his 1966

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[46] When I refer to the Queen using her body, I am using Silva's insightful analysis of an official, posed photograph of the Queen in a gown: "Claiming this upper-class status is meant to strengthen her claim that she is the proper head of state of Hawaii as well as counter the claims that she is incapable. The ostentatiously expensive gown and jewelry signify her real wealth. Simultaneously, her brown skin confounds the notion that upper-class, royal status belongs only to white people. The portrait disrupts the meaning making of the aristocracy, which depends on the existence of a dark other who is the opposite—the savage for the civilized" (179).

[47] I say "what the public considered new forays into imperialism" because, as I have shown in Chapter 1of this dissertation through the example of California, US expansion and "Manifest Destiny" have always been imperial ventures.

[48] While Twain was a popular figure in the imperial discourse surrounding Hawai'i, I do not necessarily mean to suggest that Twain's personal beliefs coincided with how his literature was used so manty years later. There is evidence to suggest, that even at the time of writing, he felt conflicted about the obvious US imperial ambitions in Hawai'i. For more on the contrast between his published letters and his personal journals see David Zmijewski's "Mark Twain's Dual Visions of Hawai'i: Censoring the Creative Self" published in the *Hawaiian Journal of History* in 2004. For the purposes of my argument, I am interested in Twain's published works and his lecture series that came out of his travel to Hawai'i.

introduction to a reprinted collection of Mark Twain's *Letters From Hawaii*, editor Grove A. Day frames Twain's writing as the benchmark for contemporary traveler, concluding with the following advice for contemporary travelers: "Finally, the millions of latter-day 'innocents' who follow Mark Twain's footsteps around the fiftieth American state might do worse than imitate the spirit in which he sojourned in the islands. Wherever he went, he found—among residents and foreigners alike—the hospitable spirit of aloha that is still a treasured quality of life in Hawaii" (xvi). By referring to Hawai'i first as "the fiftieth American state," Day implies that US control of the Islands did not alter or corrupt the Hawai'i that Twain explored in his letters. However, since Twain's letters pre-date the overthrow of the monarchy, the monarchy being a prominent theme in Twain's writing, it becomes the "public secret" within the text (Fletcher 424). By saying that Twain encountered "residents and foreigners alike," Day fails to acknowledge Native Hawaiians specifically; the use of the word "residents" rather than "natives" calls attention to the US presence in the Islands at this early time period. However, according to Day, what remains unchanged in Hawaiian culture is the "hospitable spirit of aloha" that he suggests all people living on the Islands embody. In this way, Day implies, aloha now belongs to everyone living on the Islands, including the quickly expanding white population, rather than being a unique characteristic of Native Hawaiians. In these ways, Day utilizes the form of aloha that Imada argues naturalizes the imperial relationship between Hawai'i and the US, while he encourages other tourists to follow Twain's example. This construction privileges tourist encounters

and ignores Twain's use of racialized characterizations.[49] Saying that all "residents" embody "the spirit of aloha" renders Native Hawaiians invisible in contemporary tourism. Day thereby erases Twain's use of race and avoids the complications that recognizing racial inequality or discord would add to the idealized travel experience.

While the popular reception of Twain's writing contributes to the imperial narrative, I suggest that by returning to Amy Kaplan's arguments in *The Anarchy of Empire* with *Hawaii's Story* in mind, we can better understand the themes of mourning and death that underlie Twain's accounts and that complicate the popular reading of Twain's role as a celebrated tourist. Kaplan characterized his experience as being defined by death: "As a tourist, Twain collected bones scattered through the landscape, explored ancient burial sites where he imagined human sacrifices, and searched for the exact location where Captain Cook was eaten. This obsession both exposes and disavows the colonial violence that linked the history of conquest to the present of his own journey" (68). Read through the lens of *Hawaii's Story*, which mourns the elite and powerful subject position that is quickly slipping away from the author, the "colonial violence" that Twain struggles to contain in his descriptions of Hawaiian rituals becomes starkly visible.

Today, there are multiple websites dedicated to promoting tourism on the Islands. These sites all focus on the same narrative of beautiful landscapes and welcoming natives that characterized the nostalgic travel writing in the nineteenth-

[49] For example, in *Displacing Natives*, Woods harshly critiques Twain's racialized characterizations of Native Hawaiians.

century.[50] This is the narrative that fits into the story of imperialism, ignoring the forceful overthrow of the monarchy, native resistance and exploitation. One website, calling itself Hawaii's official tourism site (gohawaii.com) reinforces the exoticizing, safe, travel narrative through striking images of the Hawaiian landscape and dark-skinned performers and servers, whom we are meant to see as Native Hawaiians, happily serving the, mainly white, smiling tourists. On the home page of that website an invitation beckons the would-be traveler. In large font it reads: "The people of Hawaii would like to share their Islands with you." Below in smaller script, the site tells us why we should want to accept this invitation: "The fresh, floral air energizes you. The warm, tranquil waters refresh you. The breathtaking, natural beauty renews you. Look around. There's no place on earth like Hawaii. Whether you're a new visitor or returning, our six unique islands offer distinct experiences that will entice any traveler. We warmly invite you to explore our islands and discover your ideal travel experience" (gohawaii.com).[51] The website proffers an invitation in the name of "the people of Hawaii," which I interpret as Native Hawaiians, due to the dark skinned characters in the images and the sense of otherness the phrase implies. The "people of Hawaii" are implicitly distinct from the US. According to this travel site, the "people of

[50] I use the word "nostalgic" here because, as Kaplan demonstrates, even the most lauded travel writer focusing on Hawai'i, Twain, reveals a sense of unease about the context of his travels through his association between death and the Islands. However, while Kaplan's arguments are illuminating, still contend that the majority of travel writing particularly when read through the lens of the dominant theme of aloha, as defined by Imada, maintain a persistent colonial narrative.

[51] This website is meant for tourists, and focuses on travel to the Islands. Gohawaii.com is the tourist side of hawaiiantourismauthority.org, the official site of the Hawaiian Tourism Authority. On the HTA site, focus on implementing tourism plans and initiatives. This shows that the gohawaii.com website represents the official framework of tourism as set out by the HTA. While this gives gohawaii.com credibility, it does not mean that it is necessarily different from independent tourist sites such as TripAdvisor and Hawaii.com.

Hawaii" want tourists, presumably white based on the images on the site, to "share" "their" Islands. The phrasing on this site perpetuates the fantasy that Hawai‘i was not a forcibly colonized, sovereign nation that the US took over and made into a state; thus the traveler is invited to reenact the script of imperialism through the safe location of a tropical paradise. However, in the list of the benefits of travel, the people of Hawai‘i are oddly missing. It is the "fresh, floral air" that will energize you. "The breathtaking, natural beauty" is what will renew you. The people of Hawai‘i on the other hand, are a part of the travel experience only as mediators to help facilitate your experience. Similar to Twain's dark-skinned boy who expertly climbs a tree to provide the tourist with a coconut, Native Hawaiians in contemporary travel narratives remain in the service position.

Despite the beseeching rhetoric of tourist sites attempting to entice travelers to the "exotic" land of Hawai‘i, the implications of tourism's connection to imperialism are not lost on contemporary Native Hawaiian activists, who as Lili‘uokalani did, refute the ways travel narratives speak for Native Hawaiians. Trask highlights, in specific terms how the legacy of imperialism continues to "reduc[e] our ability to control our land and waters, our daily lives, and the expression and integrity of our culture" (3). Her critiques show how Lili‘uokalani's similar arguments against annexation remain relevant, despite Hawai‘i already becoming a state. However, Imada's insightful analysis of how hula performances can complicate traditional aloha narratives that were used to justify annexation also highlights how Lili‘uokalani's attempted to gain support for the monarchy through a variety of rhetorical strategies. While at the end of *Hawaii's Story*, she evokes racist anti-annexation arguments by arguing that the

incorporation of Hawai‘i would add to the “race problem” in the United States, as I argued earlier, it is clear that she does not consider Native Hawaiians racially inferior to white US Americans but instead attempted to use all arguments at her disposal to persuade her readers to oppose annexation.

The official US narrative of Hawai‘i’s inclusion into the US presented colonization as a mutually beneficial and desired relationship, despite all of the evidence to the contrary. This was not only insulting to Native Hawaiians who experienced, and continue to experience, the racist legacy of colonization, it was completely at odds with more contemporary historical scholarship and the claims of Native activist movements. The large disparity between the US narrative of Hawaiian history and Lili‘uokalani’s *Hawaii’s Story by Hawaii’s Queen* meant that the latter remained in a subordinate position in terms of defining Hawaiian history for the US as a whole. However, in 1993, the US government passed the Apology Resolution, which "acknowledges that the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii occurred with the active participation of agents and citizens of the United States and further acknowledges that the Native Hawaiian people never directly relinquished to the United States their claims to their inherent sovereignty as a people over their national lands" (U.S. Public Law 103-150 (107 Stat. 1510)). The Apology Resolution highlights the “active participation” of the US in the displacement of Hawai‘i’s monarchial government and independence that Lili‘uokalani fights against through her autobiography. Hawaiian sovereignty movements, activists, and liberal scholars have continued to contest colonization of the Islands since annexation. The Apology Resolution validates Lili‘uokalani’s representation of the events leading up to annexation and gives her and other Native

activists a voice in the construction of the official US narrative of Hawaiian history. While the Apology Resolution was arguably an important symbolic gesture by the United States, coming decades after Hawai‘i became a state, the apology was issued at a point when it could not meaningfully disrupt US control of Islands.

The persistence of the “imperial fantasy” which maintains the colonial dynamic that positions “Hawaiians as supplicants and Americans as guests” (Imada, 11) demonstrates a longing for the past where the hierarchies of colonizer and colonized were formal and rigidly enforced. This fantasy underlies the tourist industry that maintains these hierarchies through the service and performance relationships that predominantly characterize Native Hawaiians’ visible roles in the tourist industry. Statehood allowed US travelers to experience a beautiful, exotic location and observe the “authentic” performance of Native Hawaiian culture, presented for the benefit of the tourist gaze. I suggest that the consistency of these themes in travel narratives and the contemporary tourist industry highlights the significance of reading *Hawaii’s Story by Hawaii’s Queen* as a response to these characterizations. Through adopting the tourist gaze to recount her travels abroad, Native Hawaiians become the subjects, rather than the objects of the gaze. Lili‘uokalani essentializes her own elite identity, and strategically extends this privileged identity to sympathetic whites, arguing that positions of leadership must remain the exclusive domain of transnational elites.

An eloquent and complex text, *Hawaii’s Story* is an important protest against the annexation of the Islands that deserves more scholarly attention as a piece of literature, in addition recognition of its contribution to Hawaiian history. Despite the Apology Resolution, the forceful overthrow of the monarchy, subsequent annexation of Hawai‘i,

and Lili‘uokalani’s protest in *Hawaii’s Story, by Hawaii’s Queen* remain tangential in history and literature fields outside of the Islands. This highlights the ways that US imperial conquest remains a challenge to the prominent narratives of American exceptionalism and claims that “transgressions” by the US are confined to the past. It also shows the influence that travel narrative techniques have in shaping the perception of a culture and the economic force of a travel industry that relies heavily on these narratives. The commonalities between the contemporary websites advertising a welcoming Native population inviting (white) travelers to explore the beauty of the Islands and the characterizations of Hawai‘i in nineteenth-century travel writing reveal less about continuing progress and improvement, as the World Fairs promised, and instead reveals the stagnation and fragility of the narratives that underlie US empire.

CHAPTER THREE

The Spanish Commodity Fantasy: Domestic Visions of Panama in Lady Mallet's *Sketches of Spanish Colonial Life in Panama 1572-1821*

"Whilst the opening of the Panama Canal must prove an universal boon it will doubtless work to the detriment of some countries and certain industries, at least until after adjustment of the new trade relations. America will always be the greatest beneficiary of the advantages accruing from the use of the waterway and we will briefly consider a few of the conditions that may most surely be calculated upon to follow the completion of the enterprise to which so large an amount of American energy, intellect and capital is devoted… No region in the United States may be expected to feel the immediate benefit of the new trade route to the Southern States and the vast Valley of the Mississippi…The immense saving in the journey from our eastern ports to the Pacific Coast with revolutionize the trade of the latter region" (C.H Forbes-Lindsay, *The Story of Panama* 255-7).

Published in 1907, *The Story of the Panama Canal* by C.H Forbes-Lindsay, characterized by a pro-imperialist sentiment, claims to recount the history of the Isthmus; however, the primary focus of this text, as the title suggests, is the Canal Zone and the "positive impact" of the US in Panama. This book, as well as much of the literature about the Canal, attempts to sell the Canal to the audience. The above quote illustrates Forbes-Lindsay's US-centered argument and privileging of US interests above all others. He begins by stating that the Canal will be a "universal boon;" in other words, the Canal will be a gift to the world. He soon strays from that universal narrative, however, to clarify that "America will always be the greatest beneficiary of the advantages." The statement that the US will "always be the greatest beneficiary" emphasizes that the Canal primarily supports national economic interests. Forbes-Lindsay also implies the permanence of this benefit, which suggests that the US will maintain its presence in Panama and continue to exercise control over the Canal Zone.

He acknowledges that the Canal might put "some countries and certain industries" at a disadvantage, but assures the reader that they will adapt. Again, while acknowledging a legitimate concern about the impact of the Canal on other countries, he then dismisses it by minimizing the negative impact: "at least until after adjustment to new trade relations." This suggests that these countries and industries need to adjust to the new power dynamic a US-controlled Canal will introduce into the global trade market. This, however, is a minor point for the author, since he primarily focuses on the positive impact the Canal will have on the US. The South, having been denied the economic opportunities available in the North, would now be an important connection for sea-trade. The Pacific Coast would be able to support its rapidly growing population through economic opportunity and connection with the rest of the nation.[52] For all of these reasons, Forbes-Lindsay poses the Canal as the way to unite the States and inspire economic growth throughout the country.

Forbes-Lindsay was one of many authors who focused on Panama and the Canal during the construction period. These writers, referred to the "Panama Authors" through magazines, books, and newspapers, among other media, took advantage of the public interest in the Canal. *In Seaway to the Future*, Alexander Missal argues that the primary concern of the Panama Writers was to inform the US audience: "They had to explain to the readers in the United States why it was relevant. Their writings, along with other travel accounts, photographs, and exhibitions at world's fairs depicting the new and often exotic dependencies of the United States, constituted what the historian Ricardo

[52] Two World Fairs, one in San Francisco and a regional World's Fair in San Diego World celebrated the opening of the Panama Canal in 1915. These fairs illustrate the how the Pacific coast saw the Canal as a boon to their economy.

Salvatore has called the “soft machinery if empire’” (55). Forbes-Lindsay’s text as a whole worked to reassure the US American public that construction of the Panama Canal was an important achievement that would secure the country’s place among the imperial powers.

In *Empire on Display* Sarah Moore argues that US intervention in Panama "was aligned with the foundational national metanarrative of progress that viewed westward expansion across a recalcitrant, untamed wilderness. With the actual building of the canal, America asserted its international predominance as *the* nation capable of realizing the centuries-old dream of a passage between the seas" (43). Succeeding where others had failed, most recently the French attempt to build a Canal in Panama, the US thereby fulfilled a “centuries-old dream.” With the acquisition of multiple territories outside of the continental US,[53] its role as an imperial power was strengthening while others, notably the Spanish empire, continued to decline. This situated the US at the heart of its own imperial imagination, on par with former European empires. As Moore indicates, Panama and the construction of the Canal fit snuggly in line with the ideology of manifest destiny.

While the Panama authors often claimed to offer a complete history of the Isthmus, the common theme of civilizing and taming an unruly and hostile landscape remained a part of the present, with little detail about how other European nations, specifically the Spanish, colonized the region. Although the Panama authors often connected Spanish conquest to the Panamanian landscape, these descriptions focused on

[53] While my second chapter discussed Hawai’i at length, the US also acquired Puerto Rico, the Philippines, Cuba, and Guam as a result of the Spanish-American War in 1898.

themes of conquest and adventure rather than domesticity. Published in New York in 1915, Lady Mallet's *Sketches of Colonial Life in Panama 1572-1821*, on the other hand, included detailed descriptions of the Spanish-colonial domestic sphere by narrating the daily life of an aristocratic family. Mallet includes idealized descriptions of slave life in a colonial home, where happy slaves care for Spanish children and maintain the household. This much less well-known piece complicates the cohesive narrative of the Panama authors by decentering the US from the literary construction of Panama. While this text does not conform to the goals of the Panama authors that I have just discussed, since the text was written in English and published in the US the year after the Canal opened, during the World Fairs honoring the Canal in both San Francisco and San Diego, it is clearly intended to be read by a US audience.

Independence from Colombia was still relatively new for Panamanians at the time Mallet published *Sketches*. By 1915, the Republic of Panama had only existed for around 13 years and during that time, US control over the Canal Zone and the construction of the Canal overshadowed Panamanian independence on the world stage. Through her title, *Sketches of Spanish-Colonial Life in Panama*, Mallet erases Colombia from the history of Spain's colonial legacy and situates Panama as the focal point. Mallet's text nostalgically idealizes the elite, Spanish domestic sphere in order to show how contemporary Panamanian culture has its foundation in this sphere. I suggest that this allowed Panamanians to envision their own connections to a larger, elite history. As a young republic, already confronting another powerful imperialist force in the Canal Zone, the drive to establish a collective, yet specifically Panamanian identity is validated by the nostalgia in the text. The Lost Cause poet, Abram Joseph wrote, "A

land without ruins is a land without memories—a land without history" ("A Land Without Ruins"). This reimagining of ruins and their conversion into memories and eventually history is essential to Mallet's project in *Sketches*.

In the chapter, I argue that Lady Mallet's text contributes an entirely new facet to the publications on Panama during the construction of the Canal by offering a nostalgic, elite past for the young republic of Panama that solely focuses on the connection between the country and an idealized legacy of Spanish rule. She erases the U.S. and Colombia as centers of power and control over the Isthmus; this representation is far removed from the current political state in Panama. Through this nostalgia, Mallet establishes a significant historical presence for contemporary Panama through the essentialization of elite identity that also resonates with the writings of authors in the US South who represented their own displacement by nostalgically "remembering" the antebellum period. Whereas Mallet constructs her nostalgia through the elite domestic sphere of Spanish creoles, the basis of the nostalgic representations of domesticity offered by US Southern authors is the plantation economy. I am not suggesting that Mallet was inspired by Southern women's writing, since I could not conclusively make that determination, nor do I think it is necessary. Instead, I will use scholarship on the development of Southern nostalgia in memoirs published in the early twentieth-century to argue that Mallet's text is a reconstruction of history and identity for the new nation of Panama. This happens through the creation of an elite essentialized identity that exists within the domestic sphere. This framework for Panamanian identity remains independent of the Canal Zone and US influence.

I argue that in *Sketches*, the nostalgic representation of the domestic sphere and the racial and class hierarchies it supports does not extend beyond the home to the public sphere, which is a site of revolution and "pompous" men that threaten to disrupt the tranquility of the domestic sphere. While she erases the US from the development of Panama as a nation, I suggest that when read against the context of the construction of the Panama Canal, which highlighted racial difference through segregated labor forces and dramatically changed the landscape of the isthmus, *Sketches* grounds these changes in a strong historical past that naturalizes racial hierarchies and idealizes a stable domestic life, resistant to the physical instability that the Canal represented. Mallet reinterprets this hierarchy, however, by privileging essentialized elite status over whiteness and therefore returns to the focus to the domestic sphere. Ultimately, I argue that *Sketches* positions the elite domestic sphere of the past as the birthplace of culture and identity in contemporary Panama.

I will begin my analysis by focusing on three key themes of the Panama writers: credibility and personal experience, labor and domesticity within the Canal Zone, and the lives of elite Panamanians. By exploring these themes through the literature of the Panama authors, I will demonstrate how the US narrative of Panama displaced Panamanians in a number of ways, both literally and figuratively. Then I will transition into my analysis of *Sketches of Colonial Life in Panama*. To contextualize my analysis of Lady Mallet, I will use scholarly discussion of nostalgia in the US South and explore her connection to the Canal Zone and elite identity in Panama by drawing upon biographical details that connect her specifically to the text. My primary focus in this chapter will be to analyze *Sketches* and situate it in relation to discourses of nostalgia

and resistance to US imperial control of the Isthmus. In conclusion, I will analyze the role of images and finery in *Sketches* to suggest that these elements show how contemporary Panamanian culture began in the domestic sphere of elite Spanish families.

While written for English-speaking audiences, contributing to the interest in Panama sparked by the Canal, *Sketches* was so popular and widely admired in Panama that it was translated it into Spanish to make it available for a wider audience. The detailed descriptions of elements in contemporary Panamanian culture highlights that this text was originally written for a non-Panamanian audience. However, the reception in Latin America, particularly in Panama, shows how this form of nostalgia privileges an idealized past that allows elite Panamanians to define their present in ways that separate it from the US and its wide reaching control of the Canal Zone and the Panamanian landscape.

The Panama Authors

US Panama authors often placed a statement validating their credibility at the forefront of the text, which allowed these texts to function as travel narratives that focus on travelers' personal experiences in this "exotic land." Missal describes the relationship between author and consumer in the following terms: "For most people, [Panama] could not be experienced firsthand (unless they traveled to the Isthmus, as many tourists did) but had to be imagined and interpreted through texts and images. This was the task of the Panama authors" (12). Therefore, as travel writers, the Panama authors interpreted and evaluated foreign Panama using the US as the established

domestic norm. Even though some authors could claim to have lived in the Canal Zone for years, or to have toured it during an extensive stay, the vast majority of texts written by the Panama authors were written from a US perspective. These authors could bring the reader into the Canal Zone, but their descriptions of Panamanian culture or history reflect the exoticizing gaze of the travel writer. Forbes-Lindsay describes his credibility as follows: "There is a close correspondence between my statements and those of the most reliable magazine writers. As I have depended chiefly upon official sources for my facts regarding the work and conditions on the Isthmus regarding the work and conditions on the Isthmus during the past two years it is evident that the information offered freely to the public by the Canal Commission since the inception of the undertaking has been of an entirely trustworthy character, and there is every reason to believe that it will be so in the future" (preface). Through this statement he validates the work of the "most reliable magazine writers" alongside his own. He also offers his text as proof that the "Canal Commission" reports are also of "an entirely trustworthy character." His physical presence in the Canal Zone for "two years" and use of "official sources" speaks to his desire for the public to envision the Canal Zone in ways acceptable to USAmerican officials. As Missal argues, images included in texts by the Panama authors, such as those in Forbes-Lindsay's *The Story of Panama and the Canal*, also add credibility to his claims and facilitate the reader's imaginative journey to the Canal Zone.

The Panama authors focused on the successful domesticity of the Canal Commission and their labor force within the Canal Zone, which ensured that they would be able to remain in Zone long enough to complete construction of the Canal. One

argument that the Panama authors had to contend with was the belief that whites could not successfully live in the tropics. Arguments along these lines cited the high death rate in the failed French attempt as evidence that the region was too hostile for the sustained settlement that would be needed to finish the Canal. In *The Story of Panama: The New Route to India*, published in 1912, Frank A. Gause and Charles Carl Carr utilize extensive descriptions of the domestic sphere of contemporary life in the Canal Zone. Indeed, the authors spend a significant amount of time in the text describing the living conditions of the white labor force and administrators. One chapter in particular takes the reader on a narrative journey through the neighborhoods furnished for the white employees: "We pass out upon Roosevelt Avenue and then get a glimpse of the quarters furnished white employees. They are not unlike the commodious quarters to be seen everywhere along the canal line. They are the homes of Americans who, because they are happy and contented, are bringing to a speedy conclusion this greatest of human undertakings" (37). They specify that these quarters are for the "white employees" and later refer to them as "Americans"; this ties the description of living quarters in the Canal Zone to the domestic space of the United States. Although white employees were not the only ones coming from the United States, here it seems that people of color are not included in these domestic spaces.

This distinction also alludes to the racial segregation of the workforce and living quarters within the Canal Zone. Descriptions of racial segregation can be understood as another way in which some Panama authors imagine the U.S.-occupied space as part of the United States. This "semi-state" was not a place where whites and people of color had to live side by side; rather, whites were separated and therefore protected from

people who originally inhabited the region. By placing the domestic space of white Americans within the geographic space of the "canal line" and "Roosevelt Avenue" I argue that the authors invoke the domesticity of empire that Kaplan describes, by bringing the recognizable U.S. domestic sphere into the tropical landscape of Panama. These people are not displaced white citizens fighting to survive in a hostile foreign environment; they are "happy and contented" due in part to their connection to the "homes" in the United States. According to this description and numerous others of a similar nature in the text, the canal administration has successfully incorporated the familiar domestic space of the United States into the foreign environment of Panama.

Since whiteness shaped the ideal US domestic town in the Canal Zone, most Panama authors also represented the living quarters of the "colored" labor force as being less idyllic, but used racist assumptions to claim that these spaces were worthy of their inhabitants. C. H. Forbes-Lindsay argues: "As a matter of fact the negro on the Canal is too well treated. He is pampered and his natural inefficiency is consequently increasing. He lives in a model tenement which is a palace in comparison with his Jamaican shack" (283). The comparison to "his Jamaican shack" is what makes the "model tenement" of the Canal Zone into a "palace." The image of "pampered" Jamaican workers is absurd when read from a historical perspective. However, his characterization highlights racist assumptions about entitlement, which suggest that Jamaican workers should not be "too well treated," and makes "natural inefficiency" an inherent characteristic: "He works when he sees fit, and loafs when he pleases" (283). Lindsay goes on to state that Jamaican workers often travel to Jamaica for a holiday and never return. This type of racist characterization of labor highlights the type of rhetoric

the Canal Commission used to keep the Canal Zone segregated and to implement the silver and gold roll pay system that categorized and paid worked based on race.[54]

With race, particularly the representation of blackness, being a defining factor in the civilizing narrative of the Canal Zone, the Panama authors faced the challenge of representing the Panamanian government in ways that would not present it as hostile or incompatible with US domesticity in the Canal Zone. Forbes-Lindsay, for example, included an image of the Panamanian president, Amador Guerrero, whose visible whiteness[55] reassured US audiences that racial hierarchies were still in place. He also addresses what he considers a misconception about the population of the Isthmus: "The native Panamans [sic] are a more attractive people than one would be led to suppose from contact with the lower classes in the city of Panama who are mixed and far from representative lot" (101). Their "attractiveness" stems from their upper-class status and from Lindsay's premise that they are not "mixed"--unlike "the lower classes in the city of Panama." Therefore by equating class and race, the upper-class "Panamans" become sympathetic allies. Since this text was published during the early stages of construction in 1907,[56] the reliability of the Panamanian government was an important reassurance

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[54] A lot has been written about the payroll system in the Canal Zone. For interesting and detailed analysis of the issue see *Black Labor on a White Canal* by Michael Conniff and *The Canal Builders* by Julie Greene.

[55] This image is found at the end of chapter V. The reverse side of the image includes a similar portrait of Ferdinand De Lesseps, the "Promoter of the French Enterprise." Both men have white hair, white skin, and are dressed in formal attire.

[56] While the publication copyright is by W.E. Skull, the original copyright 1906 by The John C. Winston Co shows that there was a delay in publication. The author explains this in the "Preface": "This book has been withheld from the press for several months pending the decision as to the type of waterway to be adopted. The 85-foot level plan, upon which the Canal will be constructed, is described in detail and illustrated by maps. For the purposes of comparison a description of a counter project has been included."

for the successful completion of the Canal that would take years to finish. As Forbes-Lindsay put it, "the well-to-do creole families…entertain the strongest feelings of admiration and respect for the American people, and, if we may judge from recent experiences, our relations to Panamans [sic] will continue without difficulty or friction" (101). Given the problems during the negotiations with Colombia over the Canal Zone, which led the US to aid Panamanian independence, the continued cooperation of the Panamanians would help reassure readers of the successful completion of the Canal project.

According to the Panama authors, upper-class allies in Panama helped to support the stability of the Canal Zone. *The Story of Panama: The New Route to India* (1912) Charles Carr and Frank Gause write, "The better class of Spanish residents in Panama City and Colon are refined, cultivated and intelligent people, among whom the canal builders have found interesting and intimate friends" (250). In the text, this is the only time that that the authors ascribe cultivation and even intelligence to people other than white U.S. American citizens, aside perhaps from the buccaneers and explorers they allude to in the introduction. By describing their ability to be "interesting and intimate friends" of the white U.S "canal builders," the authors emphasize the difference between the "Spanish residents" and the rest of the Panamanian population. They characterize the Spanish in elite terms: "These people have been educated in American and in foreign universities" (250). The Spanish residents' education is esteemed because it takes place outside of Panama in the U.S. and abroad[57] and is probably why

[57] Forbes-Lindsay makes a similar assertion: "It has long been the practice with the well-to-do creole families send their children of both sexes to the best colleges of Europe and America. Consequently the

they can be "interesting and intimate friends" to the upper ranks of the "canal builders." The international education of the Spanish residents also suggests that they speak English. By emphasizing the inclusion of these "intimate friends" into the society of the Canal Zone, Carr and Gause validate the privileged class status of the Spanish residents: "The Panamanians of the first families are regular attendants at the semimonthly balls given by Commission employees at the Tivoli Hotel. Once entry is gained to their charming homes the visitor begins a delightful friendship" (250). The Spanish residents—here referred to as Panamanians—have access to the recreation areas of the white employees and, given the segregated context of the Canal Zone, this access seems to signify their whiteness. The authors also take the reader back into the domestic space as a further validation of the Spanish residents' worthiness of U.S. white friendship since entry into the "charming home" of the Spanish in Panama is the catalyst for this friendship. According to Carr and Gause, they are the very cream of the Panamanian crop, the "first families" of Panama. One has to be considered part of the Panamanian Spanish "aristocracy" in order to be friends with the white Canal employees or administrators. While the racist undertones of these descriptions are problematic, they do introduce white residents other than the white U.S. citizens into the landscape of Panama.

The overlapping details and repetitious themes in the descriptions of what I will refer to from now on as "Spanish elites" is a common characteristic of the Panama

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upper class is distinguished by refinement and culture as well as many natural qualities of an admirable character" (101).

authors. However, the distinction between Spaniards living in Latin America and Creoles—people of Spanish descent born in Latin America—was particularly important in the history of Latin America, according to Tulio Halperin-Donghi. The dominance of the term Spanish over Creole speaks to the affiliations of the intended US audience of much of this writing. Ultimately, this is not a distinction that most Panama authors, including Lady Mallet, make in their texts. The notable exception is Forbes-Lindsay, who uses the phrase "well-to-do creole families" to refer to the elite Panamanians. In *Sketches of Spanish Colonial Life in Panama*, Mallet also refers to each character as Spanish, even though she also narrates how some of them were born in Panama. By calling them Spanish rather than Creole, Mallet evokes the long history of Spain, endowing the new Republic of Panama with strong historical presence.

Lady Mallet

When the isthmus was still a part of Colombia, however, there is evidence to suggest that many Panamanians did not share a positive view of their former colonizers because they associated Spain with Colombia. Missal argues that before independence, "Among the Panamanian elite, the Colombian regime was not well regarded" (39). Missal continues by explaining why: "The conservative rulers in Bogotá, devoted to fostering Spanish traditions, had cared little for their northern province and looked down on the multiethnic country. From the perspective of the Isthmus, the Colombian capital high up in the Andes was far away" (39). Therefore, the "fostering of Spanish traditions" also implied the racialized hierarchy that placed, light-skinned Spaniards in Colombia above "multiethnic" Panama. The distance Missal describes between the

Colombian capital and Panama is both literal and ideological. Feeling removed from the center of power, yet still judged by it, reinforced the same dynamic as colonialism; however, in this case Bogotá was the metropole. In either situation, the "Panamanian elite" were placed in a subordinate position outside of Panama, which disrupted their narrative of elite status. Therefore, instead of focusing on whiteness, which constructions of a "multiethnic Panama" might challenge, Mallet regains the privileged status of the Panamanian elite though the essentialization of class status through the connection to Spanish elites and their legacy in Panama.

In the "Introduction" to *Sketches of Spanish-Colonial Life in Panama 1572-1821,* Mallet acknowledges her choice to write her text in English; this admission positions her as a translator, for her English-speaking readers, not only as a literal translator of language, but also of culture and history. This introduction therefore, also works in similar ways as the claims of credibility of the Panama authors. To establish her credibility Mallet positions herself within the common descriptions of Spanish elites living in Panama that I analyzed earlier. She writes: "I must crave indulgence for my audacity in writing in a language which I only learned when I went to boarding school, and I have been urged not to have the style corrected or changed by an editor" (vii). While Mallet's self-effacing claims "crave indulgence" from her readers, she also proves that she can write fluently and clearly in English without receiving help or "hav[ing] the style corrected or changed by an editor." While not mentioning the name or location of the boarding school, further research placed her at the prestigious

Manhattanville school of New York.[58] By choosing not to mention this connection, Mallet leaves the U.S. out of her narrative from the beginning and emphasizes her links to Latin America. The erasure of the U.S. in the text is a stark contrast to the other Panama authors, who choose to position their texts in relation to the United States either through the content or the dedications.[59]

This short introduction also establishes her class status independently from her husband's title because she went to a "boarding school" to learn English. On the title page, it says "By Lady Mallet"; however, instead of giving more information on the author, such as her first name, she is introduced as "Wife of Sir Claude Coventry Mallet, British Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Panama and Costa Rica." Lady Mallet indicates she is not British, as her husband's introduction on the title page might lead the reader to believe, because she states that English is not her first language. Therefore, the detailed introduction of her husband's position in Central America now suggests that she is from Latin America. Just as those "interesting and intimate friends" of the "canal builders" came from elite Spanish families, Lady Mallet identifies herself with this class in Panama and garners credibility and authority for her text. More commonly, sources give her name as Doña Matilde Obarrio de Mallet; she received her title "Doña" from her family, which reinforces her upper-class

[58] See Manhattanville print archives

[59] Texts such as C.L.G Anderson's 1911 text, *Old Panama and Castilla del Oro* dedicated this text to the "Builders of the Canal," even though this text focused on pirates and conquistadors rather than the Canal.

background.[60] Therefore, she is a life-long cultural insider to the aristocratic spheres she will describe in *Sketches*.

By positioning herself as an insider through both class and culture in the Introduction, Mallet establishes her authority as the facilitator of the reader's look into Spanish colonial life, devoid of the domineering presence of the Canal in Panama narratives. While continuing her self-effacing tone regarding her writing Mallet writes: "Everything I mention has happened, and has been told me by the persons themselves, or their descendants. Truthfulness is the only merit I can claim for my little volume" (vi). Similar to the Panama authors, she attempts to position the text as "truthful" from the very beginning of *Sketches* and therefore further her credibility. Mallet, as interpreter, translator and seeker of the information has placed herself at the forefront of the text as a whole. Since these stories were "told" to her by the people involved, or by the "descendants" of the people involved, then this text has multiple levels of mediation. She also claims "at last I have been persuaded to tell my little stories. I have endeavored to tell them just as I would speak them, avoiding lengthy details which would seem pretentious and form a big book" (v-vi). The "pretentious… big book" she refuses to write, may allude to the numerous, lengthy books by the Panama authors; however, I argue that this quote illuminates her role in constructing a cohesive narrative through these "notes" and "little stories" (v). Therefore it is precisely her involvement

[60] After her marriage, sources refer to her either as Lady or Doña, depending on the language of the source; however, the name Lady Mallet, as she is listed on the title page of *Sketches*, is the only source I found where she did not at least include her first name. As I will show later in the chapter, her full name: Doña Matilde de Obarrio y Vallarino de Mallet.

in the text that shapes its meaning and as I will show through my analysis of the text, Mallet organizes her "little stories" to reinforce the construction of elite identity through the nostalgic domestic sphere, juxtaposed against the chaotic public sphere as a site of revolution and negative change.

Mallet chooses to omit an important detail that connects her to the text beyond the role of mediator; this text includes stories from her own family history. The stories that she details, particularly in the first, most nostalgic chapter "Michinga" are those recounted to her by her grandmother Rita de Vallarino de Obarrio. Most Spanish language sources that refer to *Sketches* make this connection; however, this personal connection, which could be traced if she included her full name in the English version, is specifically omitted by referring to herself solely as Lady Mallet. In a letter to her Spanish editor, she claims that all of these incidents happened in her family home, and that she chose to include stories of slavery, although emancipation predated her mother's birth, because this formulation accorded with the theme of Spanish colonial times. Therefore, *Sketches* is less of a Spanish Colonial times, and more of a family history shaped by large temporal shifts but still based on "truth."

The omission of her familial connection in the original English version makes the nostalgic representation of the domestic sphere, particularly in the first chapter, extend beyond her family to a collective experience of Panama. Nostalgia is so important in the text because, as David Anderson puts it, "The nostalgically remembered past stands against the present and thus invited comparison. The former was made into a spectacle that was beautiful, bearing little or no relation to the latter" (Anderson 107). Her nostalgic representation of Spanish Colonial times, defined by

racial difference, slavery, and elite domestic spheres offered a sharp, but flattering contrast to the chaotic physical and political landscape of Panama during the US occupation of the Canal Zone. Mallet's text proved to be so popular among Panamanian and Spanish-speaking audiences in Latin America that it was translated into Spanish in 1933 by Agustís Ferrari.

Nostalgia: The Domestic Sphere

Before continuing my analysis of the first chapter, "Michinga," the longest chapter that includes her grandmother's nostalgic memories of slavery in the domestic sphere, it is important to establish the scholarly foundation of the study of nostalgia which I will use as the foundation of my analysis. David Anderson explores the role of women's literature in the construction of nostalgia: "In 1895 Letitia M. Burnwell published *A Girl's Life in Virginia before the War* for her nieces in order to counteract the negative imagery 'applied to their ancestors'" (122). He explains: "Burnwell's Old South was a region of romance, remembered as a world of laughter, music, dancing, parties, and weddings" (123). These elements are located primarily within the domestic sphere of the plantation. Also studying women's writing and the reimagining of the past, Elizabeth Moss explains the role of the most popular Southern female domestic novelists: "Writing about the world they knew… they mounted a domestic defense of their native or adopted region, thus laying the foundation for the romanticized version of southern history that captured American imagination during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries" (2). The "world they knew" is an important element in this

nostalgic memory formation because it privileges women's and children's experiences within the domestic sphere.

This same privileging happens throughout Mallet's text. The idealized domestic sphere is a site of redemption for the entire region. Focusing on the stability of the domestic sphere, these authors attempt to mitigate defining role of the public sphere, which was a site of contention, rebellion, and change. As Anderson puts it, "Nostalgic pages of flowery prose revealed a lavish Old South of immense wealth, self-sufficiency, honor, hospitality, happy master-slave relations, and, incredibly, the scents and sounds of innocent plantation upbringings remembered in old age" (Anderson 10). "Innocence" differentiates this type of nostalgic writing from its public sphere counterparts because the focus on the domestic sphere suggests that these images are not political, they are intimate. However, nostalgic writing is undeniably political; it creates the site of the nostalgically remembered home as redemptive for the society as a whole. It is in this sense that I apply the term "nostalgia" to Lady Mallet's text.

In *Sketches of Spanish Colonial Life in Panama*, Mallet uses nostalgia to frame the "happy master-slave relations" of her ancestors through the innocent gaze of childhood memory. As evidence, Mallet introduces, for instance, "José Antonio Paez, a big handsome slave who had come from Medellin, was the god of the kitchen quarters and the delight of the children" (6). This happy relationship between the children and the family's "big handsome slave" resonates with the nostalgia that the US Southern authors emphasized in their texts. She describes him as "the god of the kitchen quarters and the delight of the children," which shows the idealization of José and of his relationship to the family from a child's point of view. Mallet continues: "His principle

duty was to carry the young ladies to school at seven in the morning. Little Rita would sit astride on his neck, while he would carry Doña Manuelita and Doña Pepita in his strong arms. With one hand he held a large umbrella against the sun and the rain" (7). While he is a "god" in the kitchen, his "principle duty" of taking the children to school seems trivial and therefore reflects the nostalgic gaze of childhood. It also emphasizes the wealth of the family, by showing that they can afford to have a slave whose "principle duty" is nonessential. His physical body becomes the transport for these "young ladies." While Mallet does not specify their ages exactly, carrying three girls of school age in addition to an umbrella suggests he is a man of considerable strength and size. His physical body is a vehicle of transport; however, it is also facilitates an intimate, almost familial relationship.[61] He is also a site of safety and a physical barrier between the girls and the outside world.

The presence of another slave, a young girl, in the idealized scene with José complicates the nostalgia because she remains nameless, and therefore undefined, despite her assumed connection in age to the Spanish girls. The excessiveness of this description continues: "A little girl slave followed, carrying a basket upon her head with the little frocks to be worn during school time and a change of linen in case the little damsels in their play hours should moisten their clothes romping in the great heat of the day" (8). The words "little damsels" emphasize the romantic, fantasy-like framing of the scene. The presence of the additional slave in the scene, however, complicates the nostalgic imagery. The "little girl slave" is an afterthought; she does not

[61] I say "almost familial" because he is still identified as a slave. This categorization keeps him adjacent to, but still outside of the bonds of family even in nostalgic descriptions.

have a name, and her role, "carrying a basket on her head" with a "change of linen" ready in case they needed it, is superfluous. The description also suggests a similar age between the "little girl slave" and the "little damsels," which emphasizes the power dynamic of the privileged Spanish girls. The loving description of José as a "god in the kitchen," juxtaposed against the nameless, "little girl slave" who serves no function except to underscore their privilege, exposes the oppression of slavery even while it attempts to mask it through nostalgia. This is the only mention of "Little Rita," Mallet's grandmother. After this, the text focuses on Michinga[62] as the primary female protagonist who serves as a uniting character among most of the "sketches."[63]

Returning the nostalgic slave relationships to the domestic sphere, Mallet includes accounts of elaborate dinner customs that required formal attire, where the slaves supposedly happily participated in the preparation of the children. She writes that after the children returned from school, "all the slaves [were] busy bathing them, doing the little girls' hair up in wonderful fashions with curls, gold and pearl ornaments and ribbons, the slaves vying with each other that their special charge might look the best" (13). The lavish description of the children's dressing ritual emphasizes her focus on child-rearing and on the financial luxury that structures this elite domestic space. The children even have "gold and pearl ornaments" that accent their "wonderful fashions" and emphasize that finery is a part of their everyday lives. Through her descriptions of

[62] While it is clear that Michinga is a real person, her relation to Rita is not clear. The genealogy that identifies Rita as Mallet's grandmother does not include Michinga as a sibling, which is the relationship this chapter implies by only mentioning Michinga by name from this point on, and generically to "the children" throughout the other scenes.

[63] In the letter to the editor of her Spanish edition Mallet says she chose to use Michinga in this way because *Sketches* was her book and not meant to be a history.

childcare, however, her text also recalls romantic ideas about the slave labor utilized during the colonial period in Panama. This description of slaves "vying" amongst each other to make the master's child look the best places the "Spanish" children at the center of the slave's experience. In these descriptions, the slaves enjoy adorning their "special charge," so much that it becomes a kind of game. Just as Mallet's description of José in the previous paragraph revolves around his role with the children, this description of female slaves also places children at the center of the experience, which reflects the nostalgic gaze of a childhood memory. She does not confuse them with members of the family or even regular servants; she distinctly refers to them as "slaves." McPherson refers to such an idealized construction of slaves as the myth of the "happy darkie" (45); the contented slave or "happy darky" is a recurring character in Mallet's domestic descriptions which emphasizes the nostalgic view of the past and naturalizes racial hierarchies as a part of that space.

The intimate evening gatherings in the elite Spanish home, which include both children and slaves, become privileged spaces of entertainment and performance where contemporary Panamanian culture is born. The children are the primary focus in the scene, preforming for the crowd: "When the lights were lit all the family and favorite slaves would meet in the drawing-room. The children recited the last bit of poetry they had learned, friends came in, they played the piano, and sang the latest French poem, with purest French accent" (16-7). The inclusion of the children's "purest French accents" and their access to the "latest French poem" defines the performative space of the "drawing-room" as one that is controlled and mediated by connections to Europe, which reinforces the elite identity of its inhabitants. The performances of French

poetry, however, is also observed by the "favorite slaves" who are included in the entertainment for the evening. By including the phrase "favorite slaves," she insinuates that not all of the slaves were included and creates a hierarchy among the slaves of the household. However, their presence also makes them a part of the audience, a privileged position for the slaves. By viewing, and assumingly enjoying the performance of the children furthers the nostalgic construction of the relationship between the slaves and the children.

This short description of "elite" activities such as reciting poetry is used to introduce a far more detailed section on slave dancing in the drawing room in order to frame the dances as the being a part of the elite domestic sphere and not the independent culture of the slaves. The slave dances Mallet describes, such as the cumbia, are recognizable elements of contemporary Panamanian culture, which connects these contemporary cultural elements to Spanish colonization. Mallet privileges the entertainment of the elite family as the primary catalysis for slave performances: "Other evenings…the slaves were made to dance for the amusement of their masters. This was the form of entertainment which pleased the children best" (17). The performances of "French" poetry by the children have already established this as an elite space and therefore the dancing of the slaves contained within that elite sphere. That the "slaves were made to dance for the amusement of their masters" shows that their performances are controlled and even dictated to by the Spanish elite. It is the children specifically that enjoy this form of entertainment: it "pleased the children best."

The dances performed by Mama Chepita, another idealized slave character, were not only entertaining, but they also include the participation of the children. Through

this connection Mallet shows that contemporary Panamanian performances such as the cumbia were first adopted by elites through the mediating force of the elite domestic sphere. Mallet emphasizes the children's mastery of these performances: "Michinga and her little brother, Don Prospero, became experts in *Tamborito*" (20). Furthermore, Mallet insinuates that Michinga's dance performances were more entertaining than those of the slaves. It was a special event, when "she did dance, her audience were absolutely electrified… *Opas!* And *Ipas!* from all were deafening" (20). Michinga receives validation from the originators of the dances, the "favorite slaves," but also from the Spanish elite audience that is watching her in this domestic performance. Michinga is superior in her performances to the slaves: "Every clever move, every graceful motion of the little beauty set the slaves on strings, and they would clap hard enough to break their hands if they could have been broken" (20-1). Yet the outpouring of emotion is reserved for the slaves in the scene. They are the ones who "wept copiously" (20) and would "clap hard enough to break their hands."

By emphasizing the emotional outbursts of the slaves in the scene, Mallet claims for herself and her class the regality and elite decorum of the Spanish elite, who we assume are also watching. The descriptions of the slaves dancing merely conveys the conventions of the dances, such as the steps and how many people were involved. This level of detail makes these performances recognizable as contemporary dances, but they lack the emotional reaction of the audience that characterizes Michinga's performances. As Michinga receives an enthusiastic reaction to her dances from the slaves, Mallet shows how they are gladly transferring this cultural tradition to the Spanish elite, who are better at it anyway. Since it happens within the elite domestic sphere, the

transference of what becomes a staple of Panamanian culture is reinterpreted and signified with cultural importance that only the elite sphere can provide.[64] In essence the slave custom has been refined when appropriated by the elite Spanish and this refinement allows it to transition into contemporary Panamanian culture.

Outside the Domestic Sphere

While the descriptions in chapter one present a nostalgic domestic sphere as the birthplace of contemporary Panamanian culture, this nostalgia does not extend to the public sphere during Spanish Colonial times. The tile of chapter three, "Privileges and Pomposity of the Noblemen," indicates the dramatic shift in tone where Spanish "noblemen" and other men in power are seen as petty and blamed for the downfall of the idealized domestic sphere of the first chapter. Mallet begins this chapter by emphasizing negative qualities that characterize Spanish noblemen: "Some of the old Spanish noblemen were very pompous people and enjoyed extraordinary privileges" (41). Here Mallet flatly criticizes the colonial men in power even though they included Michinga's family at one point.[65] Therefore, while Michinga is the subject of nostalgic

[64] While dances such as the Cumbia were well known at this time, and Mallet describes this dance in detail, the cultural importance of the origin of these dances is still a contentious topic. While Mallet and another Panamanian author, Narsico Garay in his 1930 article "Traditions and Songs of Panama" attribute the origins of Cumbia to Panama; the English language site of Colombian tourism challenge Garay's claims regarding the origin of the dance: "The fine writers must have forgot that Panama once belonged to Colombia until the early twentieth century" (discovercolombia.com).

[65] "At the time when the old city of Panama became the most important town on the New Continent, from which all expeditions started in search of new countries to conquer, for the proud monarch who boasted that in his dominions the sun never set, the valuable services of the Municipal Councillors [sic] of Panama merited that these noblemen should be allowed the singular distinction of being Veinticuatros, so that Michinga's father became Veinticautro of Panama, just as his father was Veinticautro of Sevilla" (42-3).

reminiscences, this nostalgic characterization does not extend to her father and grandfather outside of the home. Mallet argues that the noblemen were overly invasive in the lives of the colonists: "seemed to have considered no detail in life too trivial for their interference" (43) and criticizes their violent punishments for runaway slaves. These punishments included "mutilation, hanging, and horror of horrors, the worst culprits were to be publically quartered!" (43). Through the phrase "horror of horrors" and use of an exclamation point, Mallet presents the violence as a sensational spectacle. It is not so abhorrent that she cannot speak of it; instead this sensational description of violence marks the difference between the nostalgic peace of the domestic sphere and the extremity of violence outside of it. Importantly, this violence is not directed at other Spanish elites who never appear to be in danger; instead she chooses to detail the violence against the already subordinate group, slaves. While the violence is not condoned in the text,[66] it is mitigated by being directed solely at slaves.

The descriptions of pompous noblemen is one of the few scenes that Mallet connects to a specific year; the violent decrees were issued in 1561. I suggest that she cites this specific temporal gap to distance the Spanish legacy in contemporary Panama imagined through the domestic sphere from the violence of colonial men in power in the public sphere. The main critique however, does not reside in the violence I discussed in the previous paragraph. Instead Mallet criticizes the noblemen for their ingratitude for all of the privileges they enjoyed under Spanish rule: "But with all of these privileges,

[66] Her negative portrayal of violence and bodily injury could be explained by noting that she was the founder of the Red Cross in Panama, in 1917. She founded the institution after acknowledging the lack of adequate medical care in the country. These lacks existed outside of the Canal Zone, which had its own separate facilities and amenities.

in 1821 we find them proclaiming their independence from Spain, making a solemn oath by the cross and the gospels to maintain the Catholic religion and defend the purity of the Blessed Virgin. What an extraordinary mixture of petulance and fanaticism!" (46). Nostalgia is completely absent from this description; these men acted out of "pomposity" that falsely elevated their egos to believe that they should be independent from Spain who had given them "all of these privileges." Again, Mallet gives a specific date; she claims that the noblemen began to seek independence from Spain in 1821. While for a lot of Latin America this is true, Independence on the Isthmus, which quickly joined Gran Colombia, occurred in 1819. It is not clear why she would cite 1821, rather than 1819; however, I suggest a possible reading would be to dissociate the Isthmus from Colombia. Gran Colombia, while an important presence in Latin America, is not mentioned in the text at all and only existed from 1819-1831; however, the Isthmus of Panama remained a part of Colombia until 1903. I suggest that by using the 1821 date, Mallet further positions Panama in line with its Caribbean neighbors, such as Costa Rica, which established independence from Spain in that year.

A Prosperous Future

Despite her negative portrayal of independence from Spain and her nostalgia for the domestic sphere under Spanish colonial times, Mallet refers to the endurance of their Spanish heritage to argue that South America, without help from contemporary world powers, will ascend to its rightful place among the world elite. This is another important distinction between Mallet and many of the Panama authors, who tend to frame Panamanian progress as a positive result of U.S. intervention. In a section of

commentary that seems even more abrupt than her other brief criticisms of independence Mallet valorizes the endurance of the colonial legacy: “But the indomitable courage and perseverance of the conquerors have not died out, and after more than a hundred years of revolutions we find South America a prosperous country” (39). Therefore, the positive characteristics that people in Latin America retain are due, Mallet suggests, to their historical connection to Spain. It is their Spanish heritage, the endurance of the “conquerors,” that gives them their “courage” and “perseverance.” This idealization of Spanish influence/heritage is in line with her focus in the text; however, here she expands her scope to South America as a whole. It is one “country” and she does not return to a discussion of Panama, specifically, until the next chapter. She praises the development of Latin America, equating it to Europe: “It has prospered, passing through a million calamities, and some of the nations have placed themselves, in a few years, on a level with the nations of Europe in many respects. Any one [sic] who has travelled in Argentina, Chile and other countries, can testify to that” (39). Again Panama is conspicuously absent; Argentina and Chile are her specific examples of civilization in Latin America even though she does not mention these countries again in the text. She does not mention Colombia, even though Panama’s recent connection to Panama would be the reason the Isthmus would be considered a part of South America rather than Central America. She evokes the tourist gaze here, assuring the reader that “anyone who has traveled [in the region]… can testify to that.”

It is not speculation for Mallet that tourists would agree; it is a statement of fact. Considering that this text was published in the United States in the context of extensive U.S. involvement in Panama, as Mallet bypasses a connection to the United States and

instead focuses on establishing Latin American credibility by placing Latin America on "a level with the nations of Europe," she privileges Europe as the center of power and influence. She concludes that the men will soon have a "full of knowledge and appreciation of the untold wealth which is theirs to develop. And they will develop it, and form great nations" (40). Her statement includes a possessive optimism—the "untold wealth" of Latin America is "theirs to develop." Claiming ownership of the wealth in the region for Latin Americans is especially significant because at the time the US claimed ownership of the Canal Zone. This demonstrates a further erasure of the United States within the context of her narrative because the U.S. occupation of the Canal Zone and the Canal itself illustrates the lasting legacy of U.S. involvement.

Naturalized Hierarchies

While whiteness is connected to the emphasis on Spanish heritage, Mallet privileges an essentialized elite identity, defined by Spanish heritage rather than skin color, to suggest that true class status reflects elite heritage and cannot be determined by whiteness alone. While Mallet does not challenge the whiteness of her characters--indeed Michinga's beauty is connected to Mallet's description of her whiteness--she includes a white slave to illustrate her argument about proper roles within the essentialized hierarchy. Of two slaves she writes: "Benancio fell in love with Benancia from the first day she arrived. He was a very handsome negro and all the slave women liked him, but Benancia, who was thin and ugly, considered herself his superior because her skin was white, and despised all his advances" (5). Benancio is described as "a very handsome negro" and desirable among the other slave women. As she did with José in

the beginning of *Sketches*, Mallet connects attractiveness to a positive characterization overall. Benancia on the other hand is "thin and ugly," which suggests she is not worthy of Benacio's attentions. She also "considered herself his superior because her skin was white," which is an ironic description since Mallet has just described her as "thin and ugly." Therefore, her shared status as a slave equates her to Benancio despite her false assumption of superiority based on her skin color. Essentialized elite identity comes from Spanish origins, not whiteness in general. Later, Mallet accounts for Benacia's origins by referring to her as an "Arabian slave woman" (36).

Benancia's eventual rise in class status is also an important symbol of the disruption of the essentialized hierarchies caused by the revolution. Mallet criticizes Benancia in the following terms: "Equality and independence had set the country on fire. Benancia the white slave was the first to leave her masters" (34). Benancia, as "the first to leave her masters," is the ultimate affront to the idealized, master-slave relationship that the text emphasizes in the beginning of this chapter. To show how the "fire" of "equality and independence" corrupted the class structure of Panama, Mallet writes, "the former slave Benancia la Señora Benancia, and Benancia's daughter married a Spanish Don, and so did the daughters of other Benancias" (38). Therefore, while Benancia is white, she is not Spanish, and her original position as part of the underclass, working for the elite family, is her proper place. She becomes a symbol of class transgression, like "the daughters of other Benancia's." Mallet argues that the immediate result of "Benacias" ascending to positions of power was an utter breakdown of the elite characteristics she lauds in the nostalgic sections of the text: "Education was neglected and morals became loose. When the men were always fighting, or away

preparing revolutions, the wives left alone, penniless and idle, were often consoled by the attentions of other men" (38). The wives of "loose morals" are "Benacia" and others like her.

This is also an example of one place where Mallet mentions multiple revolutions: "men were always fighting, or away preparing revolutions." The Isthmus not only gained independence from Spain, but it also attempted, on multiple occasions to gain independence from Colombia. In any case, these revolutions, according to Mallet, all contribute to the Benicias being "left alone, penniless and idle." Despite the transgression of class status that led to an overall decline in the former colonies, Mallet ends this section with an assurance that an elite legacy remains. She writes that some families in "Panama and other South American colonies have remained distinctly Spanish, refined, educated and virile as were their ancestors" (38-39). Just as the Panama authors praised a superior class of Spanish families in Panama, Mallet affirms that the connection to Spanish traditions saved some families from this fate. As Panama authors such as Carr and Gause indicate, the "first families" of Panama are Spanish. Mallet confirms that those families are the ones that "remained distinctly Spanish," and the contemporary Panamanian elite is not the offspring of "other Benicias."

In "Chapter V: The Slave Jaunillo El Gacho and His Stone Throne," Mallet creates a vignette that works as a parable for proper Master-Slave relations by emphasizing acceptance of one's role within the hierarchy, which is never challenged or complicated in the text. This reinforces the nostalgic paradigm that structures the beginning of Chapter One. Jaunillo, whom she refers to as Johnnie, becomes one of the violent, vigilante leaders of escaped slaves, threatening travelers after he escapes from

an abusive master. Johnnie is ultimately redeemed through his acceptance of his place within the privilege hierarchy and asks to be allowed to serve in an elite man's home. Mallet frames his story as follows: "Johnnie had deserted his master after leaving a poisoned dagger in the heart of the overseer who used to flog him mercilessly for any insignificant misdeed" (61). This illustrates a sharp contrast to the slaves who lovingly styled the hair of the children in the colonial estate. Although he may not be described in the same ambivalent way, the violence he faces at the hands of the overseer is not justified in the text. Instead Mallet describes this violence as "merciless," and overall, unprovoked. This also reinforces McPherson's myth of the "happy darky" by insinuating that Johnnie was unhappy because of the way he was treated, not because he was a slave in general. As an aggressive figure, Johnnie threatens to disrupt Mallet's romantic description of Spanish colonial times; however, after being captured and jailed by the Spanish,[67] he transforms over time into a docile and non-threatening figure.

Upon his release, the reformed Johnnie goes to Don José Manuel de Arce's home, whom he had a "great veneration for," and returns to his proper place in the racial hierarchy, with a benevolent master who visits him in prison with gifts of tobacco and clothes. Mallet suggests that Don Manuel is interested in Johnnie is as a source of entertainment: "Jonnie interested him, his clever talk and bizarre appearance fascinated the old genteelman [sic]" (65). The "bizarre appearance" is due to his disfigurement when he was captured; however, by describing it as merely a feature that "interested"

[67] Mallet says that upon his capture Johnnie was "almost lynched"… but was protected and received the legal punishment. However, the "punishment ordered by law" was that he had his "ears cut off and he was then sent to Chiriqui prison for life" (64-5). This violent description is in line with her earlier criticism of the punishments enforced by the "pompous noblemen" during the early Spanish colonial period.

the Don, Mallet diminishes her earlier critique of the violence done to runaway slaves. Eventually, Don Manuel allows Jonnie to go with other slaves to find his stone throne, "the emblem of his former power" (65). Now that Johnnie has an internalized respect for his new master, he enjoys the paternalistic type of slavery relationship that conforms to Mallet's earlier domestic descriptions. This parallel also frames Johnnie as a source of entertainment for the children of the Spanish elite. Mallet describes the nostalgic domestic scene as follows: "Johnnie ended his days as a doorkeeper to the Arce family. He was to be seen always on his throne, sitting by the door with all the children in the neighborhood, Michinga among them, surrounding him to listen to his endless stories" (67). This nostalgic representation of Johnnie's "tamed" role, as a "doorkeeper," and storyteller also emphasizes the how slaves, or ex-slaves, were seen as a source of entertainment.[68] His primary role is to entertain and serve, which minimizes his previous rebellious and violent behavior.

To compliment the story in Chapter V, Mallet includes a photograph of Johnnie's throne and, by connecting it to indigenous symbols, places his leadership of the insurgent group outside of the Spanish colonial imaginary. Mallet also states that she now owns this throne, which can be read as a further taming of the violent and aggressive slave and his indigenous connections through literal possession. Of the throne she writes: "I give a photograph of Johnnie's throne at the beginning of this chapter. It is in a very good state of preservation and is a typical specimen of the thrones of stone made in Cuzco and used by the Incas and caciques. It represents the figure of a

[68] Temporally, this is another scene where Michinga, if this were "a history" could not have been in because it predates her birth. Therefore, by including her in this scene, I suggest that Mallet attempts to connect this scene back to the main narrative of Michinga's life as a unifying thread in the text.

crouching Indian with a seat resting flat upon his back" (69). Here Mallet interprets the image of the throne through an archeological lens, rather than using the nostalgic descriptions she attributes to Spanish colonial relics. Unlike the finery she describes throughout the text, for which she also includes images, the throne did not influence Panamanian culture because it was foreign to the Spanish colonies. It represents the colonized others. However, by possessing the throne, she reintegrates Jonnie and the sensational story within the context of Spanish power: "The throne was given to me by Don Eduardo Icaza who married the heiress of the Arce family, and he was moved to make me this precious gift with its authentic history in recognition of a service I was once able and very pleased to render him" (68). Mallet, a symbol of the legacy of the Spanish colonial families herself, literally possesses the throne, which, devoid of its insurgent power, "was given to me by Don Eduardo Icaza," and she received this "precious gift with its authentic history in recognition of a service I was once able and very pleased to render him." She includes this description to not only validate the "authentic history" but also show her continued connection and influence in the elite circles of Panama. With Johnnie's story, the look back on Spanish Colonial life through narratives abruptly ends.

When this story of redemption and reintegration is read against the contemporary context of West Indian labor in the Canal Zone, it reveals how Mallet's nostalgic image of Spanish colonial slavery helps to define the experience of the West Indians while suggesting a solution to the problem. As the British Consul, her husband, Sir Claude Mallet received a lot of complaints from the West Indian laborers about the way they were treated. Julie Greene explains: "Mallet attended to some complaints, but

he generally empathized with U.S. officials and shared their negative opinion of West Indians" (141). This "negative opinion" reflected racist attitudes of the officials that compared them to "exaggerated version of Negroes from the U.S. South," who were supposedly talkative and lazy (145). Claude Mallet describes how he threatened his workers in response to the multiple strikes that interrupted construction in the Zone: "What I have always done has been to get the employer to do what is just towards the men and then tell them in unmistakable language to work, and if they do not work they will starve, and if they disturb public order the government counts upon enough force to keep the peace, and their acts be on their own heads if they suffer in consequence of defying armed forces" (qtd. in Greene 141). By putting "the employer" or in Mallet's words "the master," at the top of the hierarchy and by getting the "employer to do what is just towards the men," he eliminates the barrier that would, if the laborers accept their position within the system, prevent them from fulfilling their role. However, Claude Mallet's description of his process to resolve strikes relies primarily on threats to the West Indians. They are the ones that need to be coerced to fill their role; the employer, is easily persuaded, according to Mallet. His allegiance to the employers at the top of the hierarchy is clear and he naturalizes the negative outcomes for the workers, such as starvation and violence, as results of their own actions, not the exploitation of West Indian labor.[69]

While according to Greene, as I have discussed above, Mallet was complicit in the power dynamic established by the Canal Commission, the evidence Matthew Parker

[69] Not surprisingly, Claude Mallet received a lot of complaints about his own treatment of West Indian workers. Julie Greene details some of the complaints in Chapter Three: Silver Lives of *The Canal Builders*.

presents in *Panama Fever* from Claude Mallet's letters to his wife immediately following the US treaty with Panama for the Canal Zone suggests a less enthusiastic view of US intervention. However, it is possible that the difference in time and the person to whom he was writing his letters influenced his voice. Claude Mallet was in his early 20s when he took over his father's position as the British Consul during the French canal project. Having worked with one unsuccessful and one successful canal project might have also shaped his interpretation of the two enterprises and led to the positive reaction to the way the US handled the Canal Zone, as Greene suggests.

Since Mallet claims her text sold out in the Canal Zone, I suggest that Julie Greene's analysis of racialized domestic labor in the Canal Zone reflects how the essentialization of hierarchies in Mallet's text would have also resonated with white women living in the zone both during and after construction of the Canal. Greene argues that in the Canal Zone, "housewives were compelled to negotiate the tensions of empire in a supposedly private and intimate realm. Their main interactions with West Indian and Panamanian women occurred in their own houses. The labor of West Indian and Panamanian women was indispensable to the canal project, and it often fell to white American housewives to manage them" (228). Therefore, in these descriptions of a world of grandeur and unquestioned racial hierarchies, some of these women may have found a comforting, even though unrealistic, depiction of domestic life in Panama. In terms of antebellum nostalgia, McPherson describes a similar attitude towards slave labor in terms of the myth of the "happy darky," which I have referred to throughout this chapter. She argues, "These myths functioned as a kind of escape scenario, simultaneously underwriting and disavowing the early twentieth century's fierce

lynching campaigns, insisting on a more perfect past, where paternalistic race relations ensured the good behavior of loyal servants" (45). "Loyal servants" and "paternalistic race relations" are two of the important values that Mallet's text relies upon to construct her nostalgia. There is also an implicit class argument in these myths since upper-class families are the ones used to depict these romanticized version of race oppression in both Mallet's and Southern white author's texts.[70] While this type of "escape scenario" could resonate with women in the United States who confronted the violent reality McPherson describes, it may also hold particular significance for white women in the Canal Zone who wanted to see their own experience in a positive light.

In next section of the text on "The National Costume," Mallet focuses on contemporary Panamanian clothing and accessories for women and highlights the influence of elite Spanish colonial traditions on contemporary fashions to underscore that this influence is still the foundation of contemporary culture. Mallet begins with an image of a young Panamanian woman posing for a picture wearing a "Pollera" and connects this specific garment to the "gypsy" inspiration of colonial fashion for servants. She positions the garment within the social hierarchy: "It was particularly worn by the children's nurses, and the dress is so pretty and so appropriate in a hot climate that even the ladies of the nobility would sometimes wear it in the privacy of the home, during the hot hours of the day. There are even to-day, in the Spanish families of Panama, old servants who never wear any other dress" (73). The dress is not only "pretty" but also "appropriate" for the tropical climate, which explains why it is now a

[70] For more examples of Southern women writers see *Domestic Novelists in the Old South* by Elizabeth Moss

part of the "National Costume." By including a connection to Spanish elites in her praise of the garment—she writes that "even the ladies of the nobility would sometimes wear it in the privacy of the home, during the hottest hours of the day"--Mallet emphasizes the class hierarchy that distinguishes elites from the rest of the population. These elite women would wear this practical and attractive garment in the privacy of their own homes, since women's domain, the domestic sphere, allowed them certain freedoms to adapt to the climate. By following this sentence with a connection to servants, however, Mallet emphasizes that it was not the normal "costume" for elite women beyond the "privacy of the home." The dedicated "old servants" wear the pollera because it is a signifier of their role within a "Spanish home" and by never wearing anything else, she emphasizes that their role as a servant is a defining characteristic of their identity. As in other descriptions throughout the text, loyalty and acceptance of the essentialized elite identities of "Spanish families" is a point of praise and nostalgic reflection.

The nostalgia she feels for the loyalty of servants who maintain tradition suggests the sense of loss she feels over the rapid changes and influx of immigrant labor that the construction of the Canal brought to the Isthmus.[71] Continuing her praise of the servants who wear the pollera, Mallet writes "These old women, relics of a past age, are delightful to talk to, their Old World respect to their masters, their wonderful memory of past events and their devotion to the family in whose house some of them were born

[71] Both Conniff and Greene discuss how the large influx of West Indian labor into the Canal Zone resulted in heightened racial tension in the labor force and among the general population living in the Canal Zone and surrounding areas. Greene's analysis is more specific to my project because, as I have already attempted to demonstrate she relates immigrant domestic labor to white women from the U.S. living in the Canal Zone with their husbands who worked on the construction project.

of slaves that had been set free, make them rare treasures that with true sadness we see disappearing, for the will never be replaced" (73-74). These women have an "Old World respect to their masters" and a "devotion to the family" that supports Mallet's nostalgic representation of slavery because these servants, after being "set free," remained within the homes of their masters. It is also their "memories" she regrets to lose because they are the embodiments of the nostalgic Spanish colonial domestic sphere and she assumes they will reinforce her narrative with more evidence from their own experiences. When read against the influx of West Indian labor to serve domestic roles in the Canal Zone, this nostalgia also points to the low opinion of West Indian labor shared among many Canal Zone officials, including her husband Sir Claude Mallet.

The Endurance of Spanish Finery

Through her description of the types of fabric included in the Pollera, Mallet reinforces the influence of the Spanish elite in these contemporary designs and emphasizes that this influence as a defining characteristic of Panamanian culture. She explains of the "Linen crash called *coquito*" (80) that "In many instances it is ornamented with exquisite designs made in cross-stitch. One of the prettiest of these is called the Vallarino design" (80). Since Vallarino is her family name, this section not only identifies her family's designs as being superior--"one of the prettiest"—but also shows how her family was an integral part of the formation of what is now Panamanian cultural identity. She establishes the connection to elite Spanish families: "others are known by the name of other distinguished old hildalgo families, it would seem that the

Spanish ladies vied with each other in inventing pretty designs for the dresses of their maide [sic] servants" (80). This description places the "Vallarino design" among those of "other distinguished old hildalgo families," which expands the original connection from her family's influence to a larger legacy of designs by the old elite.

On its own this chapter sounds like a brochure explaining and displaying the types of commodities, specifically jewelry and clothing, available in Panama and the conspicuous consumption of finery in the Spanish colony. The focus on women's ornaments also resonates with the domestic focus and feminine focus in *Sketches*. The final section of Mallet's text includes a variety of close-up pictures of jewelry, all displayed on plain backgrounds similar to a catalog or a museum brochure. While this disjuncture at the end of the text is a bit surprising for readers expecting more continuity, I wish to place this focus on specific commodities within the rhetoric of commodities and empire that Kristin Hoganson describes in *Consumers' Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity 1865-1920.*[72] Like Kaplan's discussion of empire and domesticity, Hoganson connects domestic products to the public's understanding of empire. When reading this connection in relation to Missal's characterization of the "typical" audience for the Panama authors, we see how the texts written about Panama could participate in the public's understanding of empire through a focus on the products associated with domesticity. Hoganson argues that the domestic imperium "maintains that empire was not just located out there, but that it had purchase

[72] Lori Mersh in *Sentimental Materialism: Gender, Commodity Culture and Nineteenth-Century American Literature* contextualizes the role of commodity culture in the United States which also informs my argument in this next section of the paper.

at home, thanks to consumerist desires and fantasies. Ultimately it collapses the distinction between 'abroad' and 'at home' by showing how they came together in the domestic realm of the consumers' imperium" (12). In this way, Hoganson suggests that consumers were able to experience empire through their participation in consumer culture in the United States. Missal characterizes the audience for the Panama authors as follows: "They all shared an interest in the world around them, hoping to keep the transformations of the modern era under control and create a new (albeit illusive) civic unity. These 'challenged' middle-class Americans spearheaded the search for order. Last but not least, they had the money and the leisure time to spend on books and magazines" (12).[73] The emphasis on disposable income is important because it connects Missal's proposed audience for the Panama authors and Hoganson's consumers participating vicariously in empire. It shows how representations of empire, both in the form of literature and other commodities, were consumed by the public in the United States. This suggests some of the ways an audience in the United States may have interpreted Mallet's discussion of luxurious commodities now available to them through the construction of the Panama Canal.

Mallet's text resonates with Hoganson's consumer imperium through her discussion of specific commodities in the final section of her text; however, Mallet also uses one specific example—the rosary--to emphasize the conspicuous consumption of finery in the Spanish Colonial time period as an indicator of wealth and status. She writes, "The rosary which a gypsy wears of carved wood beads, and the scapular of

[73] The "search for order" here also resonates with Kroppe's discussion of Anglos in California (which I quoted at the beginning of this paper) who were looking to representations of the Spanish empire in hopes of making sense of the world around them.

cloth were copied by the Spanish Don who wished to attire his servants in a manner befitting his wealth and position" (74). She does not name the "Spanish Don"; however, since in other places she uses specific names, it is possible that she is referring to a specific person, possibly a family member. More important than the specific person is the reason he chose to have these pieces. She explains that he "wishes to attire his servants in a manner befitting his wealth and position" and therefore the servants also become physical manifestations of his wealth. Mallet continues by claiming ownership of these signifiers of wealth: "The one in my collection, which is illustrated in these pages, has a blade of solid gold, exquisitely carved, while the handle is a work of art in filigree and pearls…" (74-5). It is literally a "work of art" and emblematic of the access to finery in the colonies of Spain and how this finery remains a part of Panama.

Hoganson connects this consumer culture to empire in three ways. She argues that "Consumers participated in the formal empire of U.S. political control, the informal empire of U.S. commercial power, and the secondhand empire of European imperialism through shopping for trifles and savories" (11). Therefore, by being consumers, people were not limited to a single connection to empire. The variety of ways in which a consumer could participate in empire illuminates a possible reading of Mallet's text. By owning some of the products she describes in the text, she becomes a participant in Hoganson's consumer imperium. At the same time, her British title—"Lady"—and the focus of her text—the Spanish colonial domestic sphere—both connect her to the "secondhand empire of European imperialism."

As both a tourist destination and a domestic space, the Canal Zone offered women the opportunity to participate in empire through their purchasing power;

therefore, the pictures and detailed descriptions of jewelry in Mallet's text can be analyzed in relation to this context to suggest how these descriptions resonate with the consumer side of empire both within the Canal Zone and in the United States. In fact, according to Mallet, her text sold out in the Canal Zone, which shows that it was widely read in the colonized area, even though she states that it was not popular among a Panamanian audience at the time. Greene argues that after the population of white U.S. housewives in the Canal Zone grew in 1909, stores in the area began "selling a greater diversity of goods, catering more successfully to women with hand-embroidered petticoats, fine linens, fancy dishes, fabric and hats. It was said that buying such items became a preoccupation for some women who would set them aside to take home to the United States, thereby accumulating fine goods that might have taken a lifetime to afford back home" (Greene 241). Greene suggests that women in the Canal Zone were able to "accumulate fine goods" at a higher rate than women in the United States. In all of these ways, women's participation in the consumer culture that Hoganson describes became a marker of the ability of the United States to tame this tropical environment.

Since women within the Canal Zone purchased international items, the availability of many different luxury items also reflects the way that the Canal would help to make these items available in the United States. Mallet showcases her own collection of jewelry and finery though images in the text. While she only identifies some of the jewelry as belonging to her, in a letter to the editor of the Spanish edition of *Sketches*, she clarifies that these are all a part of her own collection. Mallet writes, "Two kinds of hair combs are worn, one with a band of elaborate gold work, called *de balcon*, because of the resemblance of the work to a balcony railing. These are placed towards

the back of the head on either side, the others called *de perlas*, because the gold work is surmounted with pearls, are worn a little more to the front. Corals are sometimes used instead of pearls" (75). Mallet also includes a photograph of these combs; one has broken teeth, which emphasizes its authenticity because it makes it seem as though it has been worn down through use. She emphasizes "elaborate gold work" and pearls to illustrate the high quality of the items. This description, coupled with the specific picture of the items in the pages of the text, also resonates with a catalogue description advertising these items for sale. By including possible variations of the combs and adding that "Corals are sometimes used instead of pearls," she also suggests that these items are not necessarily rare, which emphasizes that they could be available for consumers who travel to the Canal Zone. Since the Canal Zone continued to be a destination for tourists from the United States who were eager to see this Canal in person, it is possible that items like the ones Mallet displays could be another way to entice tourists by appealing to consumerism.

Contemporary Connections

The long colonization of the Canal Zone by the United States led to tensions among the Panamanian population outside the perimeters and what were called the Zionians, the families, officials, and military personnel, primarily US citizens, living in the Canal Zone. While this is a complex topic in itself, and other scholars continue to explore the impact of this colonial relationship,[74] I am interested in the role nostalgia

[74] See Leda Cooks "Zionians in Cyberspace" (2002) for an interesting analysis Zionian identity.

plays in the memories of US Americans who lived in the Canal Zone. The Panama Canal Society, which was formed in 1932, states that its mission is "to Preserve American Ideals and Canal Zone Friendships." A significant portion of the site includes submissions of photos, memoirs, short stories, and poems depicting life in the Canal Zone. "Reflections on Panama… of Memories of Home" by Lynette E. Stokes evokes the nostalgic memories of Panama: "That crystal water, that Gatun water. No where [sic] else on earth was there a sweeter taste, a more refreshing feel, a more enjoyable time. A body of water that represented a reason for why we were here, why we came and the directions in which we were headed. A wondrous man-made feat, a wonderful tropical playground we called HOME." Descriptions like those in Stokes' short piece attempt to reclaim this imperial domestic space through justifying it as "home." The emphasis on "HOME" in all capital letters highlights the importance of the conception of home and the ability to claim it through a nostalgic remembering of the past. "Home" implies belonging, a naturalized position of inclusion and intimate connection.

Organizations like the Panama Canal Society are examples of Fletcher's imperialist amnesia, which "forgets" the role of imperialism. Fletcher argues: "Imperialist amnesia has been an integral feature of travel writing since its inception. Although travelers in colonial territories have always gazed through 'imperial eyes', their own implication in the colonial processes that underlie their very presence is seldom acknowledged in accounts of their experience" (428). In many of the personal narratives submitted to the Panama Canal Society, the authors normalize their presence in the Canal Zone; it is not a colonized space, it is "HOME." In general, interactions with Panamanians outside of the Zone are not the primary focus of these accounts,

showing how “their own implication in the colonial processes that underlie their very presence” is conveniently overlooked because it disrupts the nostalgic memories these account seek to recapture.

The Panama Canal continues to be a major tourist site in Panama today. While a study of how this has changed since the US gave control of the Canal Zone and the Canal to Panama in 1999 would be an interesting comparative study, I would like to end by turning my analysis to the way that the Spanish legacy functions in contemporary tourism. The historic district of Panama, Casco Viejo is one of the major attractions for tourists, in addition to the Canal. The website, published in English, states that it was designated a World Heritage Site in 1997 (cascoviejo.com). The site also offers real estate for sale in the district; it also mentions that people live in Casco Viejo in restored Colonial estates. The juxtaposition of the contemporary elite domestic sphere, alongside the museums, restored cathedrals and the ruins of old buildings, is striking. Unlike the Zonians, who write in the vein of imperial amnesia, the historic district of Panama emphasizes imperial nostalgia through it overt ties to historic Spanish past. Similar to Mallet’s text, this focus on the legacy of Spain in Panama contests the involvement of the US as the most important or most noteworthy historical presence in contemporary tourism.

Conclusions

The publication of the Spanish edition of *Sketches* did not happen immediately, which shows that the text was originally intended for a US audience. Translated into Spanish in 1933, the Spanish version includes a lengthy letter to the editor written by

Mallet explaining the family connections in her text and her temporal diversions. She references a growing interest in the Spanish colonial time period in Panama by referring to other texts, such as Narcio Garay's 1930 "Traditions and Songs of Panama," which focuses on the formation of Panamanian culture. Mallet has a street named after her in Panama City and is well known for her campaign against tuberculosis in the region. A stamp with her image on it was used to help raise funds to fight the disease. There is still a lot of contradictory information available regarding this important woman's contributions to the reimagining of Panamanian history and to the development of the country through her work in education, health care, and women's rights. According to her letter to the editor of her Spanish edition, Mallet indicates that even in 1933, genealogists in Bogotá incorrectly identified her parents. Therefore, finding correct information regarding her life has been a problem for a long time. Many Spanish language sources that discuss *Sketches* or Mallet in general often conflate the publication year of the Spanish version of *Sketches* with the original English version in 1915. Her letters are not digitized and most of her writings are not available online.

When I began researching *Sketches* in 2012, there was only one rare book dealer that reprinted the text; that is the Kessinger Publishing's Rare Reprints copy, which I use in this chapter. In 2016, a search for the text not only includes a google books edition but multiple reprints from various rare book dealers. I believe this demonstrates a growing interest in this text and I hope that I am right. Further scholarly interest in this text will also hopefully lead to more of her writings in English becoming available. The letters of her husband, Sir Claude Coventry Mallet, are also limited to print editions in special collections and I am grateful to scholars such as Julie Greene and Mathew

Parker, who include evidence from his correspondence that I used to glean an understanding of Matilde Mallet's physical location and relationship to the Canal Zone while she was writing *Sketches*. All of this suggests that further archival research into Mallet's own writing would be an important contribution to the scholarly field of the study of US empire in Panama and women's roles in contesting, reinforcing, and/or complicating imperial narratives that utilize nostalgia.

Despite the lack of scholarship on Lady Mallet's *Sketches of Spanish-Colonial Life in Panama 1572-1821,* this text highlights some key themes in both the study of U.S. empire and the role of the United States in Panama in the early twentieth century. While Mallet's focus on idealized descriptions of slavery during Spanish colonial times in Panama resonates with antebellum nostalgia in the United States, it can be read in relation to the race dynamics that imperial expansion of the United States intensified. Mallet's text, through its depiction of slavery and paternalistic race relations, reflects an escapist fantasy that essentializes elite identity and hierarchies of power and privilege. Perhaps one of the most significant contributions that an analysis of Mallet's text adds to discussions of U.S. empire is accounting for the absence of the United States from the text itself. This brief, yet complex text erases the U.S. in Panama at a time when the physical and political presence of the U.S. was very prominent in Panama through the construction of the Canal and control of the Canal Zone. While this erasure is significant, however, it is also incomplete. *Sketches*, published in New York and arguably read along with many of the other Panama authors for whom the U.S. and the Canal are the primary focus of the text, cannot erase the United States from Panama except within its own pages. Mallet acknowledges that the book sold out in the Canal

Zone, but outside of the text, U.S. occupation of the Canal Zone and the completion of the Panama Canal, celebrated through two world fairs, dominated discussions about Panama in the United States. Nevertheless, perhaps the attempt is one of the important facets, along with the focus on domesticity and antebellum racial hierarchies, that make Lady Mallet's *Sketches of Spanish Colonial in Panama 1572-1821* a significant text in the study of U.S. empire and the history of Panama. Moving forward, we need to privilege Panamanian voices in these studies and Doña Matilde de Obarrio de Mallet's voice should be prominent among them.

CONCLUSION

Reclaiming a Nostalgic Past

Through my analysis of María Amparo Ruiz de Burton's *The Squatter and the Don* (1885), Queen Lili'uokalani's *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen* (1898) and Lady Mallet's *Sketches of Spanish Colonial Life in Panama* (1915), I have argued that the essentialization of elite identity happens through nostalgic representation of the domestic sphere. While each of these authors had a different relationship to US empire and their texts came out of three different historical contexts, I would like to conclude my dissertation with an analysis of how these texts construct a history that mediates the narrative of displacement through their own voices. By narrating a history, fictionalized or not, from the perspective of loss, these texts contest US imperial narratives that displace them ideologically as well as physically.

The overt political critiques in *The Squatter and the Don*, I suggest, challenge its categorization as simply a sentimental or romantic narrative. However, the nostalgic representation of the past was in line with the formation of the Spanish fantasy that was already shaping representations of the Californios and the history of California. California thereby became a part of the Manifest Destiny narrative, which recasts US empire as an engine of freedom for all. The Mission Revival reinforced the imagining of a grand "Spanish" past for California that US Americans promoted among the ruins, while ignoring their role in creating those ruins. The diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds of elite Californios in reality have been reduced to a hegemonic Spanish off-whiteness that could not adapt to the inevitable forward trajectory of US

"progress."[75] Imperial nostalgia assured the rapidly developing region that the real colonizers had disappeared, leaving their missions and elite Spanish homes for US Americans to adopt and claim for their own. On the other hand, Mexican Americans and immigrants from Mexico are uneasily accommodated, if at all, within this nostalgic creation of the past.

Queen Lili'uokalani's autobiography and protest against annexation, *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen*, appropriated the exoticizing gaze of tourist writings on Hawai'i and turned it upon the US. Through her travels in the US and Britain, she establishes herself as being part of a transnational, essentially elite class. This construction is not merely a mimicry of Western culture, as some have suggested; Lili'uokalani's narrative reveals a discerning eye for elite spaces and behaviors that she implies are a natural part of her elite identity. She reminds the reader that "she did not require lessons" to interact in a variety of upper class settings. However, the tourist industry that expanded almost immediately after the US overthrow of the monarchy reinforced the traditional exoticizing gaze of the white authors that Lili'uokalani complicated in her text. The tourist industry has continued to expand, becoming a central part of the economy of the Islands, while the overall narrative of welcoming Natives and the enthusiastic performance of hospitality have remained consistent. Rather than mourning the loss of Native culture, as would be characteristic of imperial nostalgia, in the contemporary tourist industry Native culture appears alive and well, but

[75] María DeGuzmán's *Spain's Long Shadow: The Black Legend, Off-Whiteness, and Anglo American Empire* (2005) argues that Spain was often used as a contrast to white US American, to use her terminology, Anglo-American, constructs of empire. Spain was an empire, whereas US expansionism was manifest destiny.

contained within the narrative of tourism. Imperial amnesia, on the other hand, allows the tourist to participate in these performances without acknowledging the ways that Native culture has been displaced and appropriated by the tourist industry.

In *Sketches of Spanish Colonial Life in Panama* Lady Mallet uses her family stories to reconstruct an elite history for the young republic of Panama through essentializing an elite identity constructed by the nostalgic imagining of the domestic sphere. What is more, she naturalizes hierarchies of class that privileges Spanish heritage over constructions of whiteness. Her representation of slavery responds to antebellum nostalgia in the US, focusing on domestic harmony and happy slaves; however, she complicates strict racial lines that characterized US Southern slavery by including a white slave, whose transgression and rise in class status after emancipation contributes to the larger deterioration of strict class structures after the revolution. When read against the context of the construction of the Panama Canal and overwhelming influence of the United States in Panama at the time, Mallet's nostalgic portrayal of Spanish colonialism complicates the narratives of the Panama authors that praised the US for conquering a hostile physical environment.

The importance of the domestic sphere in relation to the study of US empire has been well established through the scholarship of Amy Kaplan and others. This scholarship demonstrates how the domestic sphere and conceptions of the domestic in relation to the foreign were integral parts of how the public perceived expansion and the integration of new territories into the nation. My dissertation calls attention, however, to how the representation of the domestic sphere can also function as a site of resistance to US in writing of those being displaced by US empire. But this was a very specific type

of domestic sphere: these authors use the conception of the elite domestic sphere as a marker of elite class status to contest their displacement. The intimate space of the idealized nineteenth-century domestic sphere is also defined by whiteness, which these texts challenge; Kaplan argues: "One of the major contradictions of imperialist expansion is that while the United States Strove to nationalize and domesticate foreign territories and peoples, annexation threatened to incorporate non-white foreign subjects into the republic in a way that was perceived to undermine the nation as a domestic space" (28). As Kaplan suggests, the construction of whiteness was an important part of the workings of US empire. My analysis of these three texts, however, highlights how whiteness is not the most important factor in elite identity. While there is variation among the authors in terms of their own identification with whiteness, in general they privilege an essentialized elite identity that is independent of skin color or even financial status. Images of Lady Mallet and Ruiz de Burton show that they both have light skin and appear to be Spanish rather than mestiza. I suggest, while whiteness comes into each of these texts as a signifier of beauty, it is not the primary element that gives them their elite identity. Each text includes negative characters that are "white." The authors criticize them due to their lack of manners, decorum and/or education; their skin color does not define them. Lili'uokalani on the other hand, is visibly Native Hawaiian, and her connection to her heritage is part of her essentialized elite identity. It is this connection that allows her to claim her royal lineage that entitles her to the throne.

While the domestic sphere is an important part of the study of US empire, the role of the elite domestic sphere in scholarship on the United States primarily relies on

the conception of the idealized portrayal of plantation homes in nostalgic writings by US Southern authors. The home not only serves an ideological purpose but also provides a physical space to connect this nostalgia to a tangible location. In the US, "Plantation houses satisfy some desire for connection with history; as these sites contextualize the present within a history that is tangible, they convert a sense of collective identity, of a heritage that Americans share" (Adams 164). The shared "heritage" and "sense of collective identity" are visible in the space of the home. Just as plantation homes became emblematic of an elite southern identity, domestic spheres in each site of empire I analyze in this dissertation continue to endure as sites of memory, history, and identity.

For Mallet, Lili'uokalani, and Ruiz de Burton, the importance of remembering a past that was not a part of the narratives of US empire was a common goal in their texts. In regard to Southern literature that utilized nostalgic themes David Anderson argues "Obligatory was a suitable preamble to the reading public to justify their publication. To that end, most postwar reminiscences began with a common strategy: a warning to future generations against the ganders of forgetting or misremembering the past" (118). In this dissertation, I have argued that the construction of a collective identity through a shared history was not only an important part of US Southern literature but is also a defining characteristic of literature produced by elite subjects who experienced loss and displacement in sites of US empire. Memory and the construction of the past in these texts are subjective and strategic. In these texts, I suggest that "misremembering" also refers to the construction of history from solely a US perspective. Ultimately, nostalgia, a mediated construction of memory, is the dominant historical narrative in each text.

The construction of history in these texts also creates a sense of community that is in contrast to dominant narratives of US empire. In his study of the role of empire in the World's Fairs, Robert Rydell argues that these fairs reinforced US the rhetoric of US imperialism. He argues: "Diversity… was inseparable from the larger constellation of ideas about race, nationality, and progress that molded the fairs into ideologically coherent 'symbolic universes' confirming and extending the authority of the country's corporate, political, and scientific leadership" (2). He explains that these "symbolic universes" helped to situate the viewer within a historical timeline. Basically it makes them feel as though they are part of a larger whole; something that was here before them and will remain after they are gone. As Rydell suggests, the fairs were a part of the traditional narrative of imperialism, justifying racial and social hierarchies through their representation in the exhibits; however, these "symbolic universes" can also work against the narratives of imperialism. The three texts I analyze in my dissertation are also engaged in this type of symbolic work. Finding a connection to an elite, nostalgic past allows the authors to position themselves within a "symbolic universe" that cannot be erased by the US.

While Ruiz de Burton's work has justifiably garnered a lot of critical attention since its rediscovery in the 1990s. Lili'uokalani's autobiography is widely read in Hawai'i, although outside of the Islands it is often discussed for its historical details rather than its literary attributes. Lady Mallet's *Sketches of Spanish Colonial Life*, as far as I know, has not been the subject of scholarly attention; however, when I began studying this text in 2012, there was only one company that offered a print edition of the text; since then it is now available as a digital book as well as a few different rare

book reprint companies that make the text available. All of these texts are significant to the study of US empire because they are speak back to US imperial narratives from colonized women's perspectives.

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