



Transnational American Memories

Edited by
Udo J. Hebel

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Transnational American Memories



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Introduction

UDO J. HEBEL

The declaration of the “memory boom” dates back to the 1990s (Huyssen 3) but the productivity and proliferation of memory studies has far from waned and has even been described as “memorial mania” (Doss 227). Introductions to the study of collective memories and cultures of memory (Erl) as well as interdisciplinary handbooks (Erl and Nünning) and anthologies of theoretical texts (Rossington) testify to the conceptual potential and material richness of an academic field that is still rooted in the groundbreaking theoretical studies of Maurice Halbwachs and Pierre Nora but that has long developed into a multifaceted and multivocal paradigm at the crossroads of ever so many disciplines, approaches, and scientific and political interests. The seemingly endless extension of the scope of scholarly explorations of commemorative practices and platforms of memory has prompted an equally remarkable variety of public history projects, conferences, and publications trying to assess the “merits of memory” (Grabbe and Schindler). If it takes a journal and a book series to evidence the academic inscription of a field of scholarly curiosity and interest, the launch of “Media and Cultural Memory” in 2004 and the arrival of *Memory Studies* in 2008 may be taken as respective gauges in the historical and institutional narrative of memory studies.

In the field of American Studies, memory and remembrance have proven to be particularly productive concepts in the wake of the revisionist impulse of the New American Studies since the late 1980s (Fisher). Widely discussed issues of identity politics and nation-building as well as theories of “imagined communities” (Anderson) and “invented traditions” (Hobsbawm and Ranger) – long-time favorites among (New) Americanists studying the multiethnic history and pluralistic society of the U.S. – reverberate with constructivist notions of memory and link up with political understandings of cultural memories and collective commemorations. Counter-memories and practices of oppositional remembrance have moved to the center of critical attention in, e.g., African American Studies (Kachun) and Native American Studies (“National Museum”; Elliott). The defining interdisciplinarity of American Studies and the discipline’s prominent involvement in recent theoretical turns (Bachmann-Medick),

from the visual and performative to the spatial, virtual, and transnational, provide Americanists with the wide-ranging scholarly vision suitable – and actually necessary – to account for the diversity of the manifestations and purposes of U.S.-American cultures of memory. The theoretical emphases and reorientations of American Studies (Radway; Pease and Wiegman; Rowe, *New American Studies*; Rowe, *Post-Nationalist American Studies*) have also foregrounded the potential of both well-known and recently recovered materials for American memory studies and offered manifold possibilities and perspectives to explore the political, cultural, and economic competition for commemorative participation and authority of memory in the United States (Hebel, “Sites of Memory”; Hebel, “Introduction”). Studies such as Jim Weeks’ *Gettysburg: Memory, Market, and an American Shrine* focus on the commercialization of famed sites of U.S.-American civil religion and public memory since the nineteenth century. Rob Kroes’s *Photographic Memories: Private Pictures, Public Images, and American History* explores the interplay of photographic visualization and memory from the mid-nineteenth century through the years after 9/11. Benjamin Hufbauer’s *Presidential Temples: How Memorials and Libraries Shape Public Memory* and Kirk Savage’s *Monument Wars: Washington, D.C., the National Mall, and the Transformation of the Memorial Landscape* can be read as representatives of the spatial turn in American memory studies. Ingrid Gessner’s *From Sites of Memory to Cybersights: (Re)Framing Japanese American Experiences* traces the processes and implications of the virtualization of physical locations and personal experiences of collective commemoration and forgetful erasure in contexts that are both national(ist) and transnational.

It is in these larger contexts that the present volume has been conceived as a sequel to the 2003 collection *Sites of Memory in American Literatures and Cultures* (Hebel). It follows the claim formulated elsewhere (Hebel, “In Lieu of an Epilogue”) that the transnational trajectories, implications, and politics of U.S.-American cultures of memories and sites of commemoration deserve more attention by interdisciplinary memory scholars in general and practitioners of American Studies in particular. The premises and purposes of transnational American Studies as advanced in programmatic publications by Shelley Fisher Fishkin, Alfred Hornung, Winfried Fluck, and Heinz Ickstadt inform the nineteen original contributions to this collection by leading scholars and newly emerging voices in the field of American memory studies on both sides of the Atlantic. The international background of the contributors reflects the transnational impact and relevance of the theories, issues, and materials engaged in the volume. The recognition of the boundless and creative transnational flow of commemorative energy in and out of the cultures grounded in or associated

with the space of what today is the United States of America makes for the wide geographical, historical, cultural, and political scope of the individual essays. Reading sites of memory situated in or related to the United States as transnational crossroads of remembrance and commemoration manifests their complex role and possibly controversial function as platforms and agents in the processes of cultural exchange and political negotiation across spatial, temporal, and ideological trajectories that inform the ongoing discussions about American Studies and/as Atlantic Studies, Hemispheric Studies, Pacific Studies.

A major part of the contributions to *Transnational American Memories* takes (literary) texts from the times of early colonial encounters in the Americas through the immediate present as repositories of and agents for the representation, recovery, and transformation of collective and individual memories over time and space. Juan Bruce-Novoa traces the interweaving of the mythical Mexican figure of Malinche with the Holocaust in contemporary Mexican-American-German poet Rita María Magdaleno's collection *Marlene Dietrich, Rita Hayworth, & My Mother* of 2003. Astrid M. Fellner emphasizes the palimpsestic layering and Transamerican framework of the archive of colonial American literature by juxtaposing scenarios of intercultural encounter in Jamestown as displayed in John Smith's *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles* (1624) with depictions of European-Native American encounters in Álgvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca's *Relacion* (1537-55) and Jacques Cartier's *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier* (1580). Carmen Birkle approaches the autobiographical novel *Saving the World* (2006) by contemporary Caribbean American writer Julia Álvarez from Atlantic Studies and Hemispheric Studies points of view and shows how the fictional recollection of an early nineteenth-century Central and South American expedition and disease narrative merges over time and space with a present-day story of the establishment of an AIDS clinic in the Dominican Republic. Orm Øverland presents immigrant letters as a storehouse of transnational memories and discusses how letters by nineteenth-century Norwegian immigrants to the upper Midwest, and especially the study of silences and the repression of memory in these documents, may help to retrieve immigrants' attitudes towards the Native Americans they displaced. Hans Bak's reading of James Welch's novel *The Heartsong of Charging Elk* (2000) investigates what happens to the Oglala Lakota protagonist when he crosses the Atlantic to Europe as part of Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West in the late 1880s, gets lost for several years in the French diaspora, and resorts to his tribal memory as a source of both sustenance and disorientation in this particular transnational context. Nicole Waller's recovery of William Peter Blatty's semi-autobiographical novel *Which Way to Mecca, Jack?* of 1959

highlights the significance of ethnic life-writing as the commemorative interpretation of personal experiences of marginality, discrimination, hybridity, and mimicry in the case of a Lebanese American narrator and his life in the prejudicial worlds of New York and Hollywood of the 1930s and 1940s and his time as U.S. Information Service agent in Lebanon in the 1950s. Mita Banerjee's discussion of the politics of transnational (American) memories starts from her analysis of Jonathan Safran Foer's *Everything Is Illuminated* (2002) and addresses the convergence of several particular historical and cultural moments of wider international scope: the building of the Jewish Museum in Berlin; the museum's recent public relations activities; the springing up in Europe, and especially in Eastern Europe, of a heritage industry capitalizing on sites of (lost) Jewishness. Alfred Hornung analyzes the representation of terrorist violence in literature written in the wake of 9/11, focusing on Jonathan Safran Foer's *Extremely Loud & Incredibly Close* (2005) and Don DeLillo's *Falling Man* (2007), to illustrate the replenishment of U.S.-American fiction by way of transnational memories at a historical and cultural moment which seemed to evidence a limit to the literary imagination. Given the absence of similar catastrophic destruction in the history of the continental United States since the Civil War, writers find analogies in the military actions of World War II both in Europe and Asia and use transnational memories of man-made destruction to cope with the impact of international terrorism on U.S.-American soil at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

Alfred Hornung's contribution makes for a transition into a second group of contributions that engages issues, implications, and concretizations of remembering war and its manifold manifestations and consequences in transnational contexts. Volker Depkat problematizes conventional understandings of war memories as inherently national and as a form of collective memory which is best analyzed within national paradigms. Focusing on the cult of memory surrounding World War I in the United States, Depkat not only suggests that the social cleavages and transnational interconnections of this and any other international military conflict translate into memory wars and the fragmentation of national memory but also that despite its strong national focus, U.S.-American memory of World War I had transnational elements to it from early on. David M. Seitz' records the controversies surrounding the burial in Europe and in the United States of fallen U.S.-American World War I soldiers as preserved in letters housed in the U.S. National Archives and Records Administration. Seitz recovers the testimonies of U.S.-American citizens whose responses to the government's inquiries recollect their respective attitudes to remembering the nation's intervention in global affairs at the beginning of the twentieth century. While some family mem-

bers relinquished the care of corpses to the government, others demanded the return of their loved ones' remains to the United States Members of the African American community noted that although their men had fought and died for the nation, African Americans were still treated as inferior citizens. Ingrid Gessner adds to the ongoing discussion of Holocaust memories by bringing into the official U.S.-American narrative of the liberation of the Dachau concentration camp the narrative of Japanese American soldiers who contributed to that historical liberation but were themselves members of an ethnic group interned for alleged reasons of national security at home in the U.S. Gessner's essay reads *The Gate of Heaven*, written collaboratively by playwrights/actors Lane Nishikawa and Victor Talmadge, and Solly Ganor's survivor memoir *Light One Candle: A Survivor's Tale from Lithuania to Jerusalem* (1995) as transnational constructions of memories of the Holocaust and the internment experience of Japanese Americans. Kristin Hass links the national memorials to the Korean War erected in the United States and in Korea in the 1990s and thus opens up a monumental dialog across two nations which, despite the differences of impact that the war had in the two countries, reveals the common impulse in the two memorials to have the Korean War remembered as a singular national triumph. Birgit Däwes' analysis of Oliver Stone's *World Trade Center* (2006), selected contributions to Alain Brigand's collection *11'09"11* (2002), and Wim Wenders' *Land of Plenty* (2005) as filmic memorial trajectories widens the perspective beyond the international wars of the twentieth century and examines the translation of the supposedly unambiguous iconic images of 9/11 into filmic narratives that, in turn, transform, or refuse to transform, the site of the former World Trade Center into the memorial space of Ground Zero.

The articles by Kristin Hass and Birgit Däwes foreground the spatial implications of memory studies and illustrate how specific locations of national commemoration in the United States (or any other nation) may become sites and agents of transnational memory. It is this particular space specificity of transnational sites of memory which informs a third set of contributions to *Transnational American Memories*. Astrid Böger explores the Chicago World's Fairs of 1893, 1933, and 1992 as vehicles for appropriating world history from a U.S.-American vantage point. Böger's analysis of the Chicago World's Fairs reconstructs the interplay of the forces of U.S.-American cultural memory production and the (intended or involuntary) processes of transnational memory formation over the course of one hundred years. Kirk Savage unfolds the multifaceted history of the Washington, D.C. monument to nineteenth-century Ukrainian artist, painter, and writer Taras Shevchenko. Savage situates the monument in the larger contexts of the competing commemorative adoptions

Shevchenko had to undergo by the Soviet Union and by Ukrainian nationalists in the diaspora abroad and at home and shows the erosion of the monument's political and cultural clout in changing political environments since the Cold War and in the wake of changing monumental rhetorics. Juliane Schwarz-Bierschenk reads the Southwestern borderlands as contested grounds of memory, replete with competing images and conflicting narratives of a multiethnic past. Taking the ancient trade route of the Spanish Camino Real as its focus and the controversial celebration of the four-hundredth anniversary of the Camino Real in 1998 as its historical and ideological context, Schwarz-Bierschenk's article argues that the commemorative projects along the Camino Real illustrate a spatialization of memory designed to concretely situate identities and communities in a region intending to recover its transnational history and legacy. Birgit Bauridl turns to African American sites of memory and discusses Philadelphia murals as public possibilities to honor and memorialize leading local figures, commemorate collective African (American) histories, and affirm and perpetuate traditions and values of various cultures and ethnicities. Bauridl shows how the Philadelphia murals store particular African American memories: physically on the very site of their display and virtually on a specifically created web site.

The final two articles by Michael Kammen and David W. Saxe relate to several of the aspects discussed in the preceding essays and extend the disciplinary and material scope of the volume at the same time. Evoking Randolph Bourne's early twentieth-century concept of a 'trans-national American nation,' Kammen presents the memories of artists who had come to the United States as immigrants during the early to mid-twentieth century and achieved cosmopolitan fame in the years thereafter, and traces the legacy of their transnational creativity as stored in museums around the world. Saxe's essay returns to textual documents as points of reference in collective memory and in political processes of commemoration and unravels the history of the commemorative veneration of the Magna Carta with special focus on U.S.-American constitutional and political history.

The volume is concluded by a commentary epilog. Edward T. Linenthal complicates theoretical concepts and terminologies guiding some of the contributions, emphasizes the political implications and conflicts at the core of so many acts of remembering, and points ahead to further work in the field of memory and remembrance studies.

The broad range of the present collection reflects the diversity and multiperspectivism of the field of transnational American Studies from which it emerges. Following and substantiating Shelley Fisher Fishkin's projection that "as the transnational increasingly attracts our interest, American stud-

ies scholars will welcome investigations of public memory and monuments in comparative perspective” (Fishkin 33), the volume focuses American memory studies on issues of transnational flow and intercultural exchange with emphasis on the political relevance and social implications of both the sites of (U.S.-)American memory studied and the American Studies practice of exploring them. I thank all contributors to *Transnational American Memories* for their support in that endeavor, their willingness to provide original work, and their continued cooperation throughout the editorial process. A special word of gratitude goes to Karin Amann, Augustus Cavanna, Ingrid Gessner, Veronika Hofstätter, and Veronika Jungbauer, (all from the American Studies Department of the University of Regensburg, Germany) for their untiring and competent support in preparing the manuscript for publications. I thank the Series Editors, Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning, for their immediate openness towards the project and their inclusion of the volume in the series “Media and Cultural Memory.”

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Transnational Recastings of Conquest and the Malinche Myth

JUAN BRUCE-NOVOA

It will be fruitful to investigate in further studies the effect of the Malinche figure on other cultures in order to evaluate how different sociopolitical influences affect the representations of the paradigm.

Sandra Messinger Cypress, *La Malinche in Mexican Literature*

Memory Maps and the Politics of Cartography

William Boelhower's now familiar diagram of ethnic semiosis assigns one of the four corners to memory as the instrument of recall and another to the encyclopedia or storehouse of all possible memories as images and events in history (*Through a Glass*). Their interaction forges an ethnic identity, with acts of recall offering to readers images to be shared as a common heritage. As I showed in my early work (*Chicano Authors*), highly diverse and locally focused Chicano authors shared certain readings and attitudes drawn mainly from a mixture of their exposure to the basic building blocks of Mexican popular culture as well as a U.S. education system that included a set of established historical and literary readings. Both sources offered cartographies of a usable past selected by repeated acts of recall filtered through social approval at multiple levels. The travel guides for traversing these spaces and what value was to be attributed to the images encountered can be seen as manuals of public and private political correctness and survival. Like Mexico City's Avenida Reforma, a street lined with statues commemorating the contribution of each state to the forging of the nation, incarnated historical events and civil virtues deemed worthy of admiration and imitation by citizens, a memorial stroll is a lesson in which many versions of the past are worthy of recall. How the route is designed for individual access is itself a lesson in social behavior and personal survival.

Ethnic authors and critics often speak of finding themselves relegated to the peripheral or blank zones of the authorized maps. They also envision their role as rendering these zones visible by, in Boelhower's terms,

selecting different items from the encyclopedia. These acts of alternative recall not only opened up more space on the map, they led readers to different monuments and traced different routes for the historical sojourn. New memorial routes expand the active encyclopedia of identity, even when the new items are drawn from sources far afield from previous drafts of the communal map or constitute new inventions produced more by the imagination than historical retrieval.

While ethnic criticism, in its attempt to offer a coherent vision of its field, may focus on the most common spaces and images a particular group frequents in its memorial voyages, the process is never complete and often contentious. To the patriarchal route found in much of the literature by Chicano writers, Chicanas have responded by constructing a female if not always feminist rerouting. To claims of centrality by one region, others regions respond with their local difference. A walk down memory lane with any one group should be balanced a return trip down alternate paths.

Chicano literature inherently is transnational because Chicano culture brings together elements from the U.S. and Mexican cultures, as well as ingredients from Native American nations. Most attention has gone to tracing lines between and among these obvious national mixtures, less to links beyond. Nash Candelaria's *Memories of the Alhambra* (1977) stated that a return to Spain, not Mexico, was necessary. Rolando Hinojosa's *Korean Love Songs* (1978) wrote the Chicano GIs experience in the Korean War into the active encyclopedia. Cecil Pineda's *Face* (1985) replayed the Mexican Malinche myth into a Brazilian context, forging wider Latin American ties. Ron Arias' memoir *Moving Target* (2002) related his father's military service in both World War II in Europe and later in the Korean conflict. "The Week in the Life of Manuel Hernandez" (1969), an unfortunately forgotten story by Nick C. Vaca, dedicated one day of the week to the protagonist's readings of key texts from European philosophy while studying in England, while Richard Rodriguez recalled his real student sojourn in London in his first book. My own *Only the Good Times* (1995) features a Chicano filmmaker forging a career in European cinematic and geographical context. Each text added possibilities of untypical transnational encounters that later Chicano authors can return to as they access the expanded Chicano encyclopedia. Rita María Magdaleno's poetry collection *Marlene Dietrich, Rita Hayworth, & My Mother* (2003) constitutes a mature, full-blown addition to this small, but significant venture into that wider transnational field. What foregrounds her work among the others is its interweaving of a major historical/mythical Mexican figure with a universally acknowledged European cultural matrix, the Holocaust, a transna-

tionalism also incarnate in the author's German/Mexican American heritage.

Malinche: Evolving Mythic Paradigm

Sandra Cypress convincingly demonstrates that the cultural myth of *la Malinche*, Cortez' mistress and interpreter, functions as "a paradigm for female images in Mexico, for the ways men and women relate to each other" (7). Using Victor Turner's concept of a cultural root paradigm as an archetypal pattern that acquires "allusiveness, implications, and metaphor" (Turner 154), she explains how it transcends time by recasting itself in accord with changing times. Cypress dedicates a chapter to Chicana writers for many of whom "their own political and social concerns and their questions regarding ethnicity are derived from *La Malinche's* experiences" (142). Their efforts make Chicanas major players in the recasting process of the paradigm. Cypress also sees international potential for *Malinche's* paradigm. She compares her to the Celtic Queen Boadicea, another avatar of female resistance to the conquering cultural other. In the epigraph above, she suggests expanding *Malinche* studies into distant cultural settings. I propose here just such a combination of international perspective and the Chicana-rewriting project.

Serious *Malinche* researchers admit that much claimed about her is utter conjecture. The 'facts' about her origins and life were contested from the start. Cypress demonstrates the point in sentences like the following: "We may also assume without knowing for certain that [*Malinche*] was the first-born daughter of a cacique and so a member of the privileged, educated class" (33). A paragraph that follows strings together semi-disclaimers like "*Marina* must have attended," "[m]ost historians agree," "[i]t is possible that [...]" The paragraph ends tentatively: "It would be expected, then, that *Marina* would have been conditioned by her socialization as a slave among the Amerindians to obey the commands of her new masters" (33). Claudia Leitner has shown that visual knowledge of *Malinche* is equally a product of contentious artistic speculation, including the depictions by Chicanas (see "Cover(t) Girl"). In short, *Malinche's* cultural myth refers to a core symbolic representation of a life experiences utilized as a model associated with performing national identity.

We can summarize *Malinche's* outline as follows: The family of a young woman, native to pre-Colombian Mexico, mistreated her and indentured her to another tribe. When a foreign power invades, she is given to the conquerors. As the leader's interpreter she plays a key role in his conquest of her people. She also has a sexual relationship with the leader,

who fathers her child, but eventually abandons her to return to his own family and his home country across the sea. Malinche comes to be seen as the combination of arch traitor to the indigenous people and mother of the Mexican Nation.

Chicana writers claim Malinche as the historical figure that most closely represents their essence. Scholars have documented a Chicana obsession with refashioning the myth of origins in the figure of this maligned and silenced mother (see Alarcón, "Feminist Literature;" "Traductora"; Bandau; Leitner; Pratt; Romero). The act of retracing her story has become a ritual of Chicana identity. Rita María Magdaleno's poetry collection *Marlene Dietrich, Rita Hayworth, & My Mother* fits the bill.

Searching for Mother; Discovering Malinche

The production details of *Marlene Dietrich, Rita Hayworth, & My Mother* guide our approach to the text. It appeared in The University of Arizona Press' "Camino del Sol, A Latina and Latino Literary Series" for "exceptional literary work by Latina and Latino authors" (see University of Arizona Press). The series features recognizable authors like Juan Felipe Herrera, Virgil Suárez, and Demetria Martínez. The prestigious academic press certifies Magdaleno's identity as a Latina.

The book presents Magdaleno's voyage of reconciliation with her dead mother. Her trip to the mother's home country – her own country of birth – assumes biographical and psychological dimensions as she visits maternal relatives to learn about her youth and discover what brought her parents together. Predisposed to a Chicano reading, readers are reminded of similar Chicano recuperation voyages. Section I opens with the author traveling along a border that divided a single nation into two countries by a war, another Chicano commonplace. The author seeks something to mend the rift with her mother:

[...] Here, I can feel an old separation –
of heart and land, of mother and daughter. This
trip is like going back more than forty years
and I'm thinking of my dead mother, of the borders
we once constructed between one another. (4)

Family and nation conflate, both having suffered decades of separation; mother and daughter equal the nation's split territory. The poem states the trip's and the book's goal as "journey back / to my Mother" (17). The ideal resolution would be reunification. Significantly, separation is expressed as space between 'heart and land,' the human and the nonhuman world separated but related by the conjunction. They should unite in the

ideal of 'heartland.' The following equivalencies arise: *heart* = *mother* while *land* = *daughter*, implying that a mother/daughter reunion must precede the integration of body/family/land/nation. The poem's project appears in the simile of mother/border:

"[...] wet border. She is
wide open like a mother
who is ready
to give birth."(4)

The author travels back towards her birth that equates to the rebirth of her original heartland and simultaneously her own rebirth within a reunion with her mother/land: motherland. That product is hybrid in its primary material, language, playing interlingually with its public language, English, and the parents' two intimate languages.

Leaving aside the title for now, the author's itinerary is predicted by her advertised ethnicity. The author visits the maternal family in its home space and explores her birthplace, replete with ethnic details. Her relatives provide glimpses of the familial past. In the process, she will discover a pattern of patriarchal suppression of women and even unmask the grandfather's violation of the author's mother. She will confront racism against her as the illegitimate product of the mother's liaison with a conqueror perceived as racial other. Finally, not all family members hail the author as prodigal child. All this helps us understand what drove her mother into the conqueror's arms. The author creates the setting to perform the past anew as the drama of the two young people from different sides of the war. Their relationship – perhaps love – that engendered the author are represented in established Chicano topoi: a conquering soldier and the beautiful native woman of the conquered zone. Later, the abandoned woman is left pregnant with a mestiza child who is the author recalling the story. The mother goes to the U.S. driven by her "immigrant dream" (49). The first poem of the collection's last section reprises the border/birthing image from Section I, clarifying it as the author's birth: "a shining moment & you believed America was *the pure/ dream* – my face, a dark moon surfacing between your / thighs" (79).

The author characterizes herself in Chicano terms: "dark daughter, *mojada*" and "a wetback escaping to an American education" (88). She escapes to her Mexican American father's native Arizona. When her parents' marriage fails, the daughter feels divided by a border that continues even after the mother's death (73). In the end, the text realizes what so much Chicano literature sets out to do: rescue from forgetfulness, suppression and incomprehension historical images and stories that determined the meaning of the past and restore the well-being of the present generation threatened by the loss of its familial and/or cultural axis mundi. The text

rescues and displays those images for appreciation and analysis, facilitating understanding of the forces that created them while revealing the reader's place in that tradition (Bruce-Novoa, *Chicano Poetry*).

The rescued past allows Magdaleno to organize her present from which to project herself into a mestizo, hybrid future, anticipated in the interlingualism. Although English predominates, a few Spanish phrases tone the text, such as "*alas y restos*, / birdwings / & ashes" (15) or "*una hija natural*, / illegitimate child" (52). The mestizo future assumes an ethnic identity in the author's characterization of her essence: "my Azteca heart" (28). The Spanish adjectival form 'Azteca' lends its English frame an ethnic specificity in the center of her bodily being. This is Chicano interlingualism at its subtle and simple best. These elements locate Magdaleno's text firmly in line with Chicano literature. However, privileging Chicano discourse ignores other signs and another discourse that occupies more space, while another geography serves as central setting, and another language, German, competes with Spanish for the position of other within the dominant English.

The title illustrates this play of German and Spanish within English: *Marlene Dietrich, Rita Hayworth, & My Mother*, two actresses and an anonymous mother, with nothing seeming to relate the former to the latter. Somehow the stars serve as a starting point for the reading. The nationalities referenced mirror that of the author's parents: German mother and U.S. father. Yet, nuances expand the contextual intertextuality to reveal that these apparently non-Chicano national references conceal links to Chicano discourse.

Arguably Germany's most famous film star of the World War II period, Dietrich had moved to Hollywood in 1930 and was pro-Allies (see Katz 366). The International Spy Museum lists her among celebrities involved in anti-Nazi espionage. Dietrich assumes Malinche characteristics in siding with the conqueror against her 'native' country. Her recording of Allied propaganda in German simulates a type of translating that aided the enemies of her native country. Considering the post-war Americanization of German culture, Dietrich resembles Malinche in her personification of the cultural hybrid formed in the ensuing peace.

Rita Hayworth offers similar hidden complexities. Of Spanish and British descent, Hayworth was a mestiza, "born Margarita Carmen Dolores Cansino [...]. Her parents were Volga Hayworth, of Irish and English descent, and Eduardo Cansino, who came from Seville, Spain" (Hoz). While some claim Hayworth epitomizes the struggle of a generation of Latinos who changed their names to be accepted by mainstream culture (see Hadley-Garcia), her mother's name was Hayworth. Yet ethnic critics call using the name 'Hayworth' an act of cultural betrayal, called

malinchismo in Mexico, even though Hayworth was a legitimate ethnic choice. Malinche's echo filters through it all: "She is known by different names [...] La Malinche is called Malinal, Malintzin, Malinche, or Doña Marina. Malintzin is formed from her Náhuatl birth name, Malinal, and Marina was given to her at her Christian baptism; la Malinche is the syncretic, mestizo form" (Cypress 2). No matter what name is used, someone finds it offensive, because Malinche figures occupy an in between position of hybrid identity unacceptable to any one group alone. Hayworth also reflects back onto Dietrich to remind us that Marlene was the professional name for Maria Magdalene Dietrich.

Dietrich and Hayworth shared the category of 'Love Goddess,' supreme object of masculine desire. Emerging from this context, the nameless Mother, in addition to fusing German and U.S. cultures, incarnates celluloid sexual desire. Her reality as mother is saturated with the mythic allure of stars who were pinups for GIs. Hence, to reach that reality will require demythification and mediation among the possible combinations of elements, with desire and role-playing central to our effort.

Magdaleno recontextualizes Chicano literary clichés within her personal situation as a German Chicana born in 1947 in Augsburg, Germany, daughter of a Mexican American soldier from Arizona. She revitalizes Chicano thematics by resituating them out of context within strange associations capable of renewing tired imagery. Freud might say that Magdaleno's poems produce the *Unheimliche*, that combination of the familiar and the strange. While translated as the uncanny, the word's center is *Heim* (home), the familial abode where one resides comfortably. Yet when something arises within that apparently secure context to produce a sensation of strangeness, the paradox perturbs us. The *Unheimliche* functions in Magdaleno's text on several levels: thematic, intertextual, and that of reader reception. Its regenerative power lies in its capacity to disorient readers as if they were crossing, not the familiar bicultural boundaries of Chicano writing, but other cultural borders unfamiliar in Chicano literary production.

The first uncanny twist comes in the opening poem of Section I: '*Grenze*' – the familiar topoi of the border displaced into an unexpected language. The persona finds herself in 1991 Germany aboard a train en route to Berlin. Until shortly before that date the city had been divided by a border dispute among the World War II Allies, a line that not only cut one country in two – the Federal Republic of Germany in the west and the German Democratic Republic under the Soviets in the east – but fractured Berlin itself, first politically and in 1961 with the construction of the Berlin Wall. The author evokes this zone using a linguistic tactic familiar to Chicanos, i.e. bilingualism: "they were split / by the border, *die Grenze*,

for more / than forty years" (3). The process deterritorializes a Chicano arch-theme by placing it in a German double, distancing it from U.S.-Mexican geography and holding up a mirror to cast reflections in both directions for mutual enlightenment. The border loses uniqueness to become an avatar of political circumstances repeated over time in different locations. Inserted into the uncanny, the border loses its uniqueness in the light of competing formulations of the topoi forcing it to circulate in the random play of mutual reflections. Within this new space there emerges the text's foundational metaphor of the mother giving birth to the author, the German Chicana Rita María Magdaleno, a new take on the Chicana mestiza.

Similarly, the archetypal couple of native mother/Malinche and Hispanic conqueror father undergoes displacement. Their familiar situation happens in another space and time, thus raising the possibility of it happening anywhere and anytime. The conqueror's attitude and comportment can no longer be classified as European, but global – recurring when and wherever conquering males encounter subjugated females forced to negotiate for survival. Here the invader is Chicano from whom the author derives her '*Azteca* heart.' The conquest denounced by Chicano literature here facilitates the author's ethnic affiliation. Conquest facilitates miscegenated identity. If a German mother can incarnate the Malinche experience, it is not specific to one culture or one historical moment but rather ubiquitous and arising from patriarchal politics that exploit women in crisis. The author's mother, grandmother and aunts suffered male abuse and exploitation, an attitude elevated to a national program under Nazism or Spanish colonialism – and implicitly under both pre-Columbian Mexican cultures and patriarchal Chicanismo.

The mother's fraternization with the foreign conqueror assumes the guise of an escape from abuse the author's female relatives suffered at the hands of her father and the Fatherland. The author's discoveries reveal motivation for the mother's sexual surrender to the GI who impregnates and then abandons her. Magdaleno's story is yet another Chicana vindication of la Malinche.

The past and the present link within repeating archetypal encounters. For example, "High Summer" (21-23) reprises the mother and daughter bargaining for survival on yet a different border. On a trip to Prague, Magdaleno plays western tourist in the eastern third world – a status shared by many former Soviet satellite countries in the 1990s. On the return drive they "stopped near Hlinsko to buy cherries." This sets the stage for the mother/daughter to be victimized by yet another conquest and invasion.

I am thinking about
 that mother, how she stood empty-handed
 beside her daughter, how they watched
 our silver bus pulls away, quickly.
 Now the sun drips orange behind wild
 hills curving all around us
 and I wonder what is left
 for that woman to give her daughter
 besides a small space at that roadside
 stand, to sell cherries. And sometimes
 to get cheated by people like us,
 tourists who need to take something
 home, who expect to travel with full
 pockets across the border. High
 summer, the moon swelling up
 fat and yellow over the border.
 Over each row of naked
 cherry trees. (22-23)

The two Czech women are victims of delayed repercussions of World War II, playing themselves out amid the newer form of conquest: globalization. The tourist plays the conqueror's role, enjoying the sights, purchasing consumer goods and returning with her booty of bargains. The culminating image is of cherry trees stripped of the fruit the woman sold to give something to her daughter. The situation resonates with the question – with the cherries gone, what can they offer the next tourists? The only thing left is their bodies, and the colloquial usage of *cherry* as virginity seals the metonymy between fruit and the young girl, just as the trees' naked state conveys the womens' condition. Magdaleno centers this encounter squarely in the female body as focal point of nature, and both are mercilessly exploited by conquerors. The uncanny results both from setting displacement into yet another border zone and another time period and from the Chicana author's complicity in the exploitation. As power-wielding invader/abuser, the author links with her conqueror father featured in Section II, while simultaneously sympathizing with the desperate women who foreshadow the author's female relatives in the World War II period.

Magdaleno utilizes nature to transcend geographic separation and to provide perspectives capable of illuminating otherwise obscure images. 'High Summer' crosses and re-crosses the border by shifting visual direction. She frames the poem with the moon seen first over Germany from the Czech Republic – directionally east to west – and then in reverse, over the Czech cherry trees from Germany – looking west to east. The poem crisscross the border like a colossal inverted V pivoting through itself on its axis with a movement that relegates sociopolitical division to a line

powerless to limit travel, yet ironically opening the powerless to exploitation. However, while Magdaleno sees nature as a poetic code beyond sociopolitical realities, her female protagonists remain trapped in the realities of scarcity that exposes them to foreign invaders who offer relief in exchange for prized possessions. Magdaleno is preparing readers for Section II.

The structure of 'High Summer' duplicates Magdaleno's depiction of her parents' relationship. A vision of youthful innocence transforms into mediation between the mother's desire to escape and the invader's desire to possess her. The ending is suspended in shifting perspectives that can only mark moments and locations in an oscillating relativity. The parents' relationship is salvaged but not idealized. Negative factors receive their due and failure is the result, despite nature's positive alternative.

Recreation of the parents' relationship begins in "My Mother's Hair," a poem placed on an unnumbered page – technically the roman numbered page ix – separated from Section I. The parents appear in a scene saturated with youthful innocence and replete with lighthearted signs of a spring:

When I think of my mother at seventeen, I see her
sitting on the floor of the warm kitchen
on Brunnenlechgässchen. It is 1946
and the war is over, a bright spring afternoon. [...]

My mother has gotten a perm, curls shining
like copper. "Pretty girl," my father is singing
and dancing around her. "Yes,
you are my pretty girl," smell of bread
rising, calendulas on the table.
Martha, my mother's best friend,
is riding away on her motorcycle.
The war is over.
My mother's hair
is shining. (ix)

In the home's bright, happy heart the couple plays like children on the floor, dancing and singing. The bread is still pure promise and calendulas splash yellow color into the warm kitchen in play with the metallic glimmer of the mother's hair. The calendulas' legendary healing properties underscore the promise of a future in which wounds can be healed. Youth takes flight in the friend's motorcycle. The scene is reminiscent of an impressionist painting of sensual, self-indulgent revelers.

This poem springs not from testimony of an eyewitness as in many later poems but rather as an imagined recollection that most satisfies the author. Perhaps for that reason the author foregrounds this image, positioning it not only first, but also outside the text's Arabic numbered main

body, a memory separate from, and thus uncontaminated by, what the book will reveal.

Section I underscores the first poem's isolation by relegating the mother to peripheral images in only six of its nineteen poems. She returns to full presence only in Section II. Section I features German relatives encountered while Magdaleno delves into her mother's youth within the pervasive Nazism of those years. When the text returns to the young lovers, Section I will have stripped away springtime optimism. The familial and societal contexts suffer degradation through reference to Nazi crimes, especially with reference to Dachau which is not far from Augsburg, native city of the author's maternal family. This context generates phantoms to crush all young life, like the child-abusing, bird-killing grandfather, or the uncle who assisted in the bird-killing and later joined the infamous *Schutzstaffel* (SS), a man who also would have killed the author "without hesitation" for being of "mixed blood"(28). Youthful joy and innocence disappear amid the accumulated bloodstained images of death, repression and suffering.

While the author's journey leads her from Berlin to Bavaria, Austria, the Czech Republic and Hungary, it also takes her into history. The Nazi past haunts both time zones, toning everything with gray doom in perpetual struggle with the colors of hope, principally associated with nature. This landscape must be disturbed, probed to uncover buried truths. The poem "Salzbergwerk: The Salt Mines Tour" (17-18) metaphorically summarizes Magdaleno's project. From charming Salzburg, with its gardens, castles, and "Mozart's little birth house," the author's route leads her by "Hitler's mountain retreat / his second headquarters." The journey back to her mother overlays present-day picturesque destinations onto the Nazi past at every turn. When she arrives at Berchtesgaden, pursuing one of the area's prized tourist excursions, a descent into the ancient salt mines, she depicts the event as a metaphor of her life-writing project.

Always, there is water: to draw out
the salt, to wash and cleanse.
At Berchtesgaden, I will know
that salt mining takes time and patience,
takes so much tapping, carefully
tapping to make sure a new spot
is stable and capable of releasing
the salt – "White gold" –
from that womb
of rock and black water. (17-18)

Magdaleno taps dark crystals of familial experience that, like prized salt, might both preserve and flavor her and her mother's life. Before effecting

that retrieval, however, the author must plumb the nether regions of communal memory.

A key 'spot' in Magdaleno's mine is Nazism. Post-war calendulas transmute into wartime white roses, emblem of the anti-Nazi student organization at Munich University whose members were condemned to death in 1943 (see Scholl). "Sophie and the White Rose" (5-8) is dedicated to Sophie Scholl who speaks from beyond: "Don't call me an heroine: I'm dead" (5). Like so much encountered in this section, death bespeaks frustrated youth, frustration made more poignant when Sophie asks her mother if the roses will bloom in June, a month she did not live to see. Once again, against despair and separation Magdaleno offers the hope of transcendent memory in a nature image.

Matching the white-roses poem, "The Red Door" (11-12) follows. The author hears children going to school and recalls what her mother recounted about her own school "before Hitler sent young girls / to farm camps." Interned there, she experienced her first menstruation, a life-blossoming act fused with death in the image of her brother in a "submarine / that never surfaced." Degraded youth takes voice in a question at the heart of Section I: "What do we call this memory / of death, this grief of children?" Degradation's effect is summarized verses later: "everything we believe / can begin to fall away." Yet the poem's last stanza, like Sophie's inquiry, turns from death to hope, here in the possibility that somewhere children return in the evening to nurturing homes.

The white and red poems mutually reflect, each featuring a sister and brother felled by the Nazi regime, with the sole survivor being the author's mother. Between the two poems stands "Memorial Walk" (9-10) that initiates the Dachau concentration camp series. The author's grandmother still insists that people were sent there for "[o]nly an adjustment / of their political attitude." She still fears truth, so it must be voiced as trees/umbrellas planted "in the heart of Dachau," like stone words declaring "*Never again*." Magdaleno again turns nature into signs of unexpressed truths. Dachau appears as major content in six of the nineteen poems in Section I, the infamous camp arising as a significant stop in the author's itinerary. From this poem's title, the *walk* becomes a leitmotif of walking tours through the same concentration camp, replete with a tour guide, in the poems "little Universe," "Second Tour," and "Those Red Tulips." Through spatial association, "Memorial Walk" places both the Scholls and the mother under Dachau's extended shadow. This Ur-poem echoes in "Memorial," in which the family cellar hides a secret torture chamber where the grandfather violated the author's mother – his own private Dachau.

While most of the negative imagery is associated with the Nazi regime, one poem accuses the Allies of their share of destruction. "Firestorm" (13-15), set in Hamburg, recalls the saturation bombings carried out by British and U.S. forces that created firestorms much more lethal than simple bombing. Operation Gomorrah, as the British called it, left over one million German civilians homeless and caused 50,000 casualties, 40,000 alone in the firestorms of July 27, 1943 (see Lowe).¹ Magdaleno starts in a mid-"1000 degrees" storm, and true to her wont, the first victims are "trees gliding out of the earth / like kindling" followed by "children / bursting / into bright candles, / *Whoosh*, the smallest / disappearing / completely." One child is foregrounded, "captured / most clearly, / the dazzling moment / he was torched, / bone fused / to metal, / a skeleton / pedaling / the charred / bike." The joyful image of the mother's brilliant hair transforms here into the child's blonde hair aflame in "green auras." The despair of mass death is countervailed by reference to the wizard Gandalf of *The Lord of the Rings*, who survived a fall into the fiery bit of doom to return, purified by the inferno. The author associates herself with these victims, claiming the devastated Hamburg as her city that rises like a "Phoenix bird, / *alas y restos*, / birdwings / & ashes / in my heart." The bilingual play of Spanish and English words functions trilingually by naming a German city. And once again the author taps her code of nature to express survival beyond death and forgetfulness.

The nadir of the author's exploration of this pervasive abuse of youth comes in "Memorial" (29-31) with the unmasking of the grandfather as a racist and incestual child abuser. "You kept / secrets in the cellar, / in the dark, you / entering my mother / at ten." This denunciation is reconfirmed in Section II where seven lengthy verses detail the forced act of fellatio the grandfather imposed upon the mother, an act compared to near violent death (50). The play between initial presentation and fuller elucidation prepares our move into Section II.

The first poem of Section II underscores its shift to focus fully on her mother by doubling the gaze that perceives: by describing a photo of a mother holding a baby – apparently the photo used on the book's cover – the poet's present and past perception share the same object of their vision. This "photo you will / mail to an American soldier / you say is my father" (45) simultaneously establishes and undercuts the paternal link by infusing it with doubt with "you say." The parents' romantic image suffers further degradation when the relationship is said to have begun when the

1 For reasons unknown, Magdaleno dates the firestorm of the title on July 27, 1944, a day on which no mass bombing took place in Hamburg.

mother's brother told a soldier, "yes I have a sister" (64). These words are a fragment of a cultural script of procurement: a soldier or tourist looking for sex asks a boy if he has a sister, communicating his desire and intention, and the youth responds affirmatively to confirm the transaction. This reading is reinforced in "Green Morning in the Summer Forest" (62-63) in which the mother receives from a soldier "black / stocking, silk and rare, / a fine black line that ran the back / of each firm calf" (62). The exchange of stockings for sex was common in World War II. Other verses show the mother in another familiar setting from the same code of images. "The smoky nightclub / on Haunstetten Strasse, / exotic, emerald earrings, / the GIs whispering, *Come here / & I will tell you how beautiful / you are*, gin & tonic, / American martinis" (62). In the context of post-war scarcity, it is legitimate to wonder how she acquired the emerald earrings – for that matter, how did her friend get a motorcycle in the collection's first poem? The penultimate stanza features the mother's desire, focused narcissistically on her need to feel herself loved. "My mother's leaving / & leaving again for those smoky / nightclubs, her need / to be loved & loved / & loved, each night, / her beautiful legs" (63).

Framing the poem with nature imagery, Magdaleno uses hummingbirds as metaphor for the mother – it is hardly coincidental that her father and her SS brother killed birds. Emerald-chested birds set against stinging black ants, the latter quickly transforming into "black tickets of love" (63). It is not difficult to visualize the teenage beauty flitting among U.S. soldiers as plentiful as ants ready to crawl all over her and offering merchandise to lure her to a light. The situation is confirmed in a *Deutsche Welle* study of the post-war period. "US servicemen were an irresistible draw for Germany's lonely, starving women. The men could get them corned beef and cigarettes – and show them a good time [...] chocolate and silk stockings" ("Occupation"). Love is expressed in terms of ration cards exchanged for silk stockings (see 62). In "I Am the Daughter" (70-71) the author directly calls herself, "daughter / of the edelweiss and the whore" (70). Her mother was treated as the latter, denied "analgesics" (52) to deliver her child for having conceived out of wedlock, and an unnamed man – we assume he was her father – "spit on her" (82). In addition to mistreatment by her own people, she would have had to struggle with the U.S. Army that tried to discourage these relationships by reassigning soldiers and refusing their pregnant German lovers information on their whereabouts (see "Occupation").

It is hardly surprising that Magdaleno's mother left Germany with her infant daughter to follow the GI who wanted to marry her (see 51). They traveled to America following Magdaleno's mother's "*pure dream*" (79) closely linked to the daughter's birth: "my face, a dark moon surfacing

between your / thighs" (57). Ideally her dream should be fulfilled by marriage that we see in a second photo poem dated 1948 of the newlyweds posing somewhere "between Tucson & Phoenix" (53). But the poem ends on a negative note when we are told that the wedding vow of permanence "would / be broken" (53). The following poem is titled "Falling in Love with Ludwig" and begins as follows: "You left for love on another continent" (54). But this relationship soon failed as well, "[Ludwig's] promises already fluttering away" (54). Only in Section III are readers provided a clue into the motivation for the first divorce: "They called / you 'a spy,' too beautiful for the barrio of south / Phoenix, 'Marlene Dietrich girl'" (87). Like Malinche she is rejected by the conqueror's people because of unacceptable phenotype difference – racism? *Deutsche Welle* provides collaboration with similar testimony: "Maria M. was 16 when she met her GI husband [...] She immigrated to the US in 1948, but she never felt at home in Ohio [...] 'They considered me the devil, I was known as the 'Nazi girl,' she said. 'I was isolated, nobody talked to me. It was like solitary confinement'" ("Occupation").

A third man became Magdaleno's stepfather, a Jewish concentration camp survivor (see 82-85). Like La Malinche, after being rejected by the conqueror and one of her own people, Ludwig, Magdaleno's mother ends up in a between position. Her Jewish husband is neither U.S. conqueror nor native Aryan. By marrying a concentration camp survivor, the mother can be seen to have attempted her own reconciliation with those phantoms in her and her nation's past and to answer the question posed in the sixth poem of Section III: "Where were you before the Holocaust?" (84). By paraphrasing the familiar question, 'Where were you during the war?,' Magdaleno shifts the emphasis to what was done to stop the killing before the violence. Magdaleno links her mother, like Malinche, to the question at the heart of the new nation that troubles all proposals of unity: The position one takes concerning the rights and wrongs of that crisis moment of violent foundation.

The Holocaust question haunts the last poems of Section II. For the author "[n]othing / has disappeared" (65). The grandfather's abuse remains unpunished and the supposedly deceased SS uncle is discovered alive, hiding in Budapest. While the journey succeeds in retrieving many images of the deceased mother – like one of mother and daughter in intimate nonverbal communication as they embroider a tablecloth (see 60-61) – the Holocaust remains a palpable wall between them. This motif of Section III links the fall of the border wall and the dream of coming together. Yet "Train, 1941" (91-92), the last poem of Section III, recalls the past again in which the twelve-year-old mother is "shaking rugs / at the upstairs / window" (91) while boxcars pass on route to Dachau. Magdaleno chooses

to end with two stanzas in which she juxtaposes the trains' regularity and her mother's steady work at the window. Magdaleno keeps the horror of that moment from slipping into history by marking these images as temporal and permanent with the word "still" in each side of the image. The falling Berlin wall has not facilitated a coming together with her mother. For Magdaleno the Holocaust remains present, and she rejects the acceptance of its horror implicit in her mother's having done nothing to stop it: "I would ask her, now; / ask for a ticket out / of that smoke-filled / country" (92). Yet, Magdaleno must be conscious of the irony of her high moral position with respect to the Holocaust. She has already shown that, when she could, her mother competed for her own tickets out, – "black tickets of love" (63) –, and took the first viable one given her to escape to her American Dream. That ticket was the birth of Magdaleno. Had she escaped before, we would have no author and no book.

The Chicano Uncanny

Magdaleno's demythification of her origins dialogues with and within Chicano literature. Abused German women mirror a Malinche abused by her family. The Nazi ideological context comments on the imperial aspirations of the Mexicans [Aztecs], including systematic sacrifice of enemies. This context justifies female fraternization with the conqueror as pragmatic survival plus anti-patriarchal resistance, just as feminists have interpreted Malinche. The nation-founding aspect of Malinche's myth, with the birth of a mestizo introducing a new entity, can be read into Magdaleno's person and story with respect to Germany. The miscegenated product of Magdaleno's tale appears at the start of the end of the national state, just as Malinche's child coincided with the beginning of its rise. Thus, the new mestiza can be seen as a founding figure of the transnational state and culture which we call the global. Post-World War II Germany is a viable candidate for the model of just such an entity. The Americanization of European culture in the last half of the twentieth century needs no elucidation. Reinhold Wagnleitner summarizes the process well: "It seemed that the United States alone had a corner on the codes of modernity. Especially the fascination that the myth 'America' had for young people must not be underestimated in this context" (2). What epitomizes better this new cultural phenomenon than a German born just as Americanization swung into high gear, a German who, as a Chicana, also represents the transformation of that U.S. culture both from the inside and outside through latinization?

The Chicano reading raises another question: does this demythification affect Chicano discourse as well? Again, Freud's *Unheimliche* offers insights. The uncanny "leads back to something long known to us, once very familiar" (Freud 370). Yet it also indicates "something withdrawn from the eyes of others, something concealed, secret [and even] hidden or dangerous" (377). We hide this familiar strangeness because it threatens our comfortable self-image. Everything about Magdaleno's parents qualifies. The ideal of family, of love, of home security hides yet holds those menacing phantoms. Homi Bhabha interprets the uncanny as collective cultural repression of "the foreign" that actually is native (see "Dissemi-Nation"). The national represses aspects of itself that clash with the desired self-image. Bhabha sees uncanny elements arising from marginalized groups within the national cultural who emit perturbing images of otherness. *Marlene Dietrich, Rita Hayworth, & My Mother* is the eruption of the uncanny in Chicano discourse – not Chicano culture as the uncanny of U.S. culture, but rather uncanny phenomena within Chicano discourse in the sense that this discourse would prefer not to acknowledge certain elements of its own archive. The initial image of the collection recalls the idealism of the early postulations of Chicanismo with its patriarchal ideal, just as the demythification of that ideal recalls Chicana feminism's devastating unmasking the misogyny at the core of those postulations. However, in as much as this demythification has already been authorized by academic institutions and to a certain extent incorporated into our public discourse, it is presently neither strange nor threatening to us. As Bhabha explains, the center appropriates certain marginal elements that can lend its nationalist discourse a semblance of heterogeneity without disturbing its unity. No, the truly uncanny in Magdaleno's book stems from other factors which Chicano discourse, for the most part, continues to ignore and silence.

Magdaleno attributes the demise of the family to others' hatred, especially as practiced by her SS uncle. However, by emphasizing not race or religion, but shade or tone in color, a difference that is always relative within sameness, Magdaleno opens what is usually seen as racism to a fear and loathing of otherness itself. It should be noted that within the hatred of otherness, Magdaleno emphasizes a particular orientation. Her Aztec heart is not the source of her uncle's hatred, rather she purposely insists on the mestizaje of her essence. The full statement of her essence reads "branch / of the linden tree shining in my Azteca / heart" (28). Here she places the origin of her uncle's hatred: "mixed blood you would have / spilled without hesitation" (28). Yet rejection of different physical appearance is attributed also to Magdaleno's father's Chicano family. The only cause readers are given for the failure of a relationship that was born in

the most difficult of circumstances and persisted in the face of great political, cultural and geographic opposition was the rejection of the mother for her Germanic looks. How can we refuse to recognize the denunciation of any nationalist discourse that continually vilifies the other under essentializing terms, like 'Anglo' or 'Euro' American, that betrays a prejudice equivalent to that of the SS uncle? In this way, the Nazi discourse emerges, in effect, as a double of Usonian discourse, but when the perspectives multiply, Chicano discourse surfaces as another double of that same odious national discourse, an involuntary repetition (see Bhabha 390) that filters up from within national discourse like the return of the repressed (see 394) which reveals its fundamental links with the other erased by public discourse. Prejudice against miscegenation is revealed as the repressed familiar of all nationalisms. Bhabha might well see Chicano literature as the double of the authorized literature of the U.S.: "scraps, patches, and rags of daily life [that] must be repeatedly turned into the signs of national culture" (297). Yet when Magdaleno places the Chicano within the center of U.S. power – the Chicano soldier as the "American GI" – she erases difference by demonstrating that Bhabha's binaries are too simple, too simplistic. When she triangulates the cultural forces with three languages sharing her textual surface, everything multiplies and fragments into extending variables. The repressed within the national field becomes the double that is essential to the One when seen from a multinational perspective. The double that seeks to see itself as the marginalized other comes to represent – we could say double – the central discourse when it moves beyond the national borders, becoming the authorized of its other facing yet another Other. In this manner, absolutes set off down Borges' bifurcating paths demonstrating that they all share the hidden, the repressed in the global scene.

Thus, repugnant Fascism shows itself as a possible variant of any group with nationalist goals, including Chicanos. Magdaleno creates many images to support the proposition: of her persona – she of the shining linden tree within the Azteca heart – as someone capable of behaving like a Gringa tourist, or of her father as the lustful conqueror of mid-century, of her family as long suffering women and brutal men, or of her Chicana family as intolerant Americans who voice anti-German prejudice.

Perhaps the discovery of the divisive duplicity of all nationalist rhetoric explains the need for the last poem in the collection. Magdaleno creates a frame to match the first poem, and like that one, the last appears outside Section III and without pagination. Positioned as a paratext outside the numbered collection, the poem occupies a privileged perspective from which it comments on the entire core, and in its pairing with the opening poem forms an arc that passes simultaneously through and over

the body of the work. “Cordate Envoy” (95) features the author contemplating a leaf. The poems have already established Magdaleno’s penchant for reading nature as a text, hence a leaf calls upon its alternate usage as a page in a book. In this way the author does a final reading in and through nature. The word *envoy* supports this interpretation, since in addition to its colloquial usage as a messenger or representative, its first denotation is as a message itself, in the sense of an *envoi* – with which Magdaleno adds French to her polyglot text. *Envoi* means a final commentary to a text, especially the last stanza of a poem that clarifies the meaning or the moral message of a work and it almost always addresses the person to whom the poem is dedicated. Magdaleno underscores the importance of this last commentary by associating it with the heart: *cordate*. Thus, readers are offered a final revelation and message from the heart. But this is no longer the Aztec heart that confronted the Nazi uncle. Perhaps the insight into the latent fascism in nationalism or the prejudice discovered in her Chicano family moves her to modify her nationalistic tendencies in favor of a more open perspective. Within Magdaleno’s code as established in the text, nature offers the portal to hidden meanings and transcendent values. It is no surprise, then, that in her final commentary and message Magdaleno would carry out a reading of nature in the form of a leaf.

The leaf in question here features a symmetric structure with the organization of its mass along and around a central axis. ‘Regimented lines’ extend from the central vein conveying an order from which emerges the evocation of the mother. Against this backdrop the daughter appears in “[b]rown spots, small imperfections [...] like the ones I will carry / on the surface of my own hands” (95). Mother and daughter share the space, related within a code of signs that pertain to a single living natural being, participants in the same ecological system. This mother/daughter union within the heart, which is also the very material of the world, dialogues with and responds to the images of separation of those elements in “Grenze,” the initial poem in Section I. The journey through the text has led to the possibility of reunion that the author sought from the start.

Nevertheless, the specifics of the locations where the mother and daughter appear on the leaf should not be overlooked. Each belongs to distinct strata: the mother is related to the orderly central circulatory system, while the daughter appears in the abject of the system as imperfections that threaten its purity. It is no coincidence that the blotches are brown and dark, the color and shade associated with Chicanos or, in the text’s terms, with Germany’s unwanted. Magdaleno creates in this last poem yet another avatar of the play between the authorized dominant and the troublesome subaltern. In the last sentence, spread over five verses, the leaf is viewed profiled against the sun. In the cosmic light the leaf

ceases to be a play of generations or ethnicities or nations and begs a different reading, one focused now on “pinholes of light,” small spots where the surface was pierced, “those places where wind / or the smallest pebble of grief / broke through” (95). Echoes return of those “spots” in the salt mine that must be carefully tapped to release their treasure from the hidden “womb” (18). And “this grief of children” was the phrase she used to express the “memory of death” (11) caused by the Hitler regime, and she raised the wind to its apocalyptic apotheosis in “Firestorm” in which horrifying images of incinerated children alternated with a literary tale of survival in the form of Tolkien’s Gandalf. In a surface where order and its counter-discourse dialogue, these punctures are the portals where what the author has identified as the essential human experience bleeds through despite efforts to obscure and hide it. Only an illuminated and purposeful reading discovers what are in effect almost invisible ‘imperfections’ on the beautiful surface. Magdaleno suggests that we do so with *Marlene Dietrich, Rita Hayworth, & My Mother*, reading its many levels, but especially those that venture beyond established modes of representation and old defensive prejudice.

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Performing Cultural Memory: Scenarios of Colonial Encounter in the Writings of John Smith, Cabeza de Vaca, and Jacques Cartier

ASTRID M. FELLNER

History, history! We fools, what do we know or care? History begins for us with murder and enslavement, not with discovery.

William Carlos Williams

Prologue: Setting the Scene

On September 10, 1570, a small group of Spanish Jesuits landed in Ajacán, site of the future Jamestown in the Chesapeake region of what was later called Virginia by the English. Establishing a mission in the Bahía de Santa María (Chesapeake Bay), the Jesuits intended to convert the Algonquian-speaking inhabitants to Catholicism. They came without soldiers and the only way to communicate with the Natives was through an interpreter, an Indian from the area who had spent some time in Spain, Mexico, and Cuba. Soon, however, the mission was destroyed when the Jesuits were killed by the Natives. The only survivors were a young boy, Alonso de Olmos, and the Indian interpreter, who, as it turned out, had led the attack against the Jesuits.

According to the archival records collected in the form of manuscripts, letters, and reports by Clifford M. Lewis and Albert J. Loomie in 1953, the Spanish had captured this interpreter, who was baptized with the name Don Luis de Velasco when he was a young man, and had brought him to Spain. Don Luis had told the Spaniards that his homeland was called Ajacán and that he was the son of a chief. He traveled with the Spaniards back to the New World, became the godson of the Mexican viceroy and ostensibly convinced the Spaniards to return to Ajacán to convert the Natives, promising to serve as a guide and translator.¹ How-

1 For more detailed summaries of Don Luis, his capture by the Spaniards, see Lewis and Loomie 15-18. Spanish sources do not agree on Don Luis's age or how he was picked up by the Spanish. See also Gradie's "The Powhatans and the Spanish Empire," 165-71.

ever, when he arrived in the Chesapeake with the Jesuits, he chose to re-join his people and, in February 1571, turned against them and led a surprise attack that killed the Spaniards. A Spanish relief ship came looking for the missionaries in 1572 and picked up Alonso de Olmos who told them his story of the massacre. The Spanish took revenge by attacking the Indians; yet, they failed to capture Don Luis and decided to leave. The Spanish withdrawal from the Chesapeake subsequently benefited the English, who founded Jamestown colony near the destroyed Jesuit mission.²

Anna Brickhouse has shown in “Hemispheric Jamestown” that the archival records of the Jesuit mission

cast a different light on the very origins of anglophone American literature – an English tradition rooted in a story of Native-European contact that not only had a historical precedent in the precise geographical location as the Jamestown settlement but was already embodied in a series of hispanophone narratives about the same native population and locality. (31)

Jamestown, the nation’s imagined point of origin, has always been a cross-roads of different cultures and traditions, and its history can only be fully grasped if viewed in relation to larger imperial histories in the Americas. Colonial American literature is full of depictions of (mostly conflictive) encounters and exchanges with Natives. In fact, the archival memory of the early Americas consists of many ‘polyphonic’ texts that “reverberate with a cacophony of European and native voices attempting to make sense of each other” (Castillo 2). Given the shared colonial histories that shaped the Americas and the multiple transhemispheric cultural flows that embed what is now the United States, it is therefore interesting to take a look at the palimpsestic layering that structures colonial American literature.

In the following essay, I will show that in the Americas, cultural memory, “the characteristic store of repeatedly used texts, images and rituals in the cultivation of which each society and epoch stabilizes and imparts its self-image” (Assmann qtd. in Grabes 129), can be seen as acts of imagination that are performed through what I call ‘scenarios of encounter,’³ acts of transfer that work through surrogation. Reading key passages on scenarios of encounter in John Smith’s *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles* (1624) in light of the chronicles

2 In “Spanish Jesuits in Virginia: The Mission That Failed,” Charlotte Gradie examines the Spanish presence in sixteenth-century Virginia, offering a series of explanations for the failure of the Spanish Virginia enterprise. As she states, the Jesuit’s withdrawal constituted a lost opportunity for the Spanish and signaled a new direction for Virginia history (see 133).

3 I borrow the term ‘scenario’ from Diana Taylor. While Taylor speaks of ‘scenarios of discovery,’ I find the concept of ‘scenario of encounter’ more useful for my analysis of colonial texts.

of the Jesuit mission in Ajacán, I want to challenge national narratives that present U.S. American literature as emerging from the British settlements in the early seventeenth century. Displaying the Transamerican quality of the archive of colonial American literature, I then want to juxtapose the scenarios of encounter in Jamestown with depictions of European native encounters in Álar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca's *Relación* (1537-55) and Jacques Cartier's *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier* (1580) in order to highlight the inter-connectedness of cultural evolutions in various places in the Americas.

Performing America

In this essay, I will use performance as my methodological lens to look at colonial texts that produce 'America'⁴ as hemispheric performance. Rather than treat 'America' as a place or an object of study, I follow the approach of performance critic Diana Taylor and view 'America' as a practice that creates itself through performative acts.⁵ It is a highly contested practice, "an act of passion and belief conjured into existence through verbal and visual performatives" (Taylor, "Remapping" 1421). It was "[c]onquered in part through naming and given to be seen through hypervisuality – maps, drawings, and tangible goods such as gold and material specimen (Indians)" ("Remapping" 1421). As Winfried Siemerling has poignantly stated, "[i]naundergated in expectations of replication, the New World was as much 'discovered' as it was articulated through colonial projection that sought to decipher and recognize familiar patterns" (4). The texts that emerged in

4 I use the term 'America' to refer to the North American continent. Abandoning the rhetorical malpractice of equating 'America' with the United States, I want to draw attention to the various circuits of hemispheric relations in the Americas when I take a look at some founding narratives produced by English, Spanish, and French colonizers. As Diana Taylor has stressed, for many Latin and South American scholars the term 'American' constitutes "an act of aggression, an appropriation by people in the United States that excludes other inhabitants of the landmass" ("Remapping" 1418). The term 'American' in American Studies, "re-enacts the historical and cultural politics of exclusion" ("Remapping" 1426).

5 The term 'performative' was coined by John L. Austin to describe cases in which "the issuing of the utterance is the performing of an action" (6). America is performative in that it constitutes the identity it is purported to be. America, however, can also be seen as a performance in the sense that it can be analyzed as one. Although not quite the same, I want to use the concepts of performativity and performance interchangeably here, referring both to actual performative practices in the early Americas, as they are described by early writers, as well as to the performative character of the texts themselves. What connects performance and performativity is the focus on iteration. A performance approach allows me to look at cultural texts both as performances that stage cultural encounters as well as performatives that discursively bring 'America' into being.

the years following the initial contact between European explorers and settlers and the native peoples of the Americas are marked by attempts to account for the incommensurability of the 'new' with recourse to known conceptualizations of the 'old.' Newness, however, enacts a kind of surrogation since the creation of a New England, New Spain, or New France is based on the memories of the old but at the same time supersedes the old, thereby effacing indigenous populations (see Roach 4). Thus, to the extent that European texts produced this New World, these discourses also spoke the language of the old. Repetition and reiteration, the key principles of performance, are therefore foundational practices upon which 'America' was created.



Theodor de Bry (1590)

American performatives are coterminous with memory and history. In his *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance*, Roach investigates the performative act of forgetting in relation to the colonial Americas, focusing on the surrogation of colonial history in the present day. As he illustrates, memory is selective, and involves collective enactments of forgetting in order to forge the importance of wide spread cultural memory. As “re-stored behavior” or “twice-behaved behavior” (see Schechner 36), performance “stands in for an elusive entity that it is not but that it must vainly aspire both to embody and to replace” (Roach 3). Roach’s focus on performance as surrogation allows him to stress “the three-sided relationship of memory, performance, and substitution” (2), which also depends on the idea of an original. Out of these affinities between performance

and memory, he states, “blossom florid nostalgias for authenticities and origin” (3-4). Since the meaning of originality is dependent on the copy, it is the copy that renders performance authentic.

Acts of origination are ubiquitous in New World histories – one of the first ones was visualized by Theodor de Bry. In his famous sixteenth-century engraving, the scenario of encounter is clearly theatrical. Carefully choreographed by acts of taking possession, such as planting a cross, his engraving enacts the drama of ‘discovery’ by offering a powerful display of native bodies. Semi-naked, the Amerindians, however, do not assume center stage but are pushed to the margin. Some are shown running away, leaving the scene; others are there as part of a group that is cropped by the end of the engraving. The Natives are acknowledged in this painting only to be disappeared in the act of displaying their presence. If performance is that which disappears, performance studies could, anachronistically speaking, be called “absence studies” in the Americas, “disappearing the very populations it pretends to explain” (Taylor, *Archive* 34).

The absenting of Amerindians and their traditions in European discourses on the Americas must be seen in connection with the important status of writing in Western epistemology. Writing, as Derrida has stressed, “is unthinkable without repression” (*Writing* 226). The repression in the European writings on the Americas is the “colonial repudiation through documentation that dates back to the sixteenth century Americas” (Taylor, *Archive* 25). Taylor explains: “What changed with the Conquest was not that writing displaced embodied practices [...] but the degree of legitimization of writing over other epistemic and mnemonic systems” (*Archive* 18). As Michel de Certeau has pointed out, the “discovery” and “conquest” of the “New” World were primarily projects of writing: “the conqueror will write the body of the other and trace there his own history [...] This is *writing that conquers*. It will use the New World as if it were a blank, ‘savage’ page on which Western desire will be written” (xxv, emphasis in the original). In *Colonial Encounters in New World Writing 1500-1786*, Susan Castillo, in turn, has stressed that the native cultures in the Americas “were anything but a *tabula rasa* on which Europeans could inscribe their beliefs, traditions and cultural practices” (8, emphasis in the original). To the contrary, there existed a rich and vibrant tradition of diverse forms of performances. These performative practices were, however, often deemed ritualistic and exotic. Because they were not codified in print they were dismissed as not noteworthy and were therefore either destroyed or ignored. As a result, these embodied knowledges did not find their way into the histories of American literature.

A shift to a performance studies approach, however, allows critics to identify these practices and analyze them not only as texts or narratives,

but as “scenarios that do not reduce gestures and embodied practices to narrative description” (Taylor, *Archive* 16). While I do not analyze early performative practices in North America per se, I am looking at performative texts that are considered foundational texts in North American literary history and that signal ‘beginnings.’ What interests me in these texts is how these narratives engage ‘colonial difference’ and how they enact conflictive encounters in order to produce ‘America.’⁶ Perceptibly, there is a spectral presence of Native American practices in early American literary texts, which, in turn, can be said to haunt the archive of American literature. In *The Archive and the Repertoire*, Taylor defines the concepts of archive and repertoire as follows:

‘Archival’ memory exists as documents, maps, literary texts, letters, archaeological remains, bones, videos, films, CDs, all those items supposedly resistant to change. [...] The repertoire, on the other hand, enacts embodied memory: performances, gestures, orality, movement, dance, singing – in short, all those acts usually thought of as ephemeral, nonreproducible knowledge. (19-21)

The archive is not necessarily opposite to the repertoire but rather a method of transmitting selective histories, as, for example, in the case of colonialism. The embodied knowledge of the repertoire resists the written knowledge of the archive. Thus the repertoire can expand the archive, which then offers a way of rethinking the canon and critical methodologies (see Taylor, *Archive* 26-27). Taylor also introduces the concept of the scenario which includes features of literary analysis, like narrative and plot, but focuses attention where text and narrative do not: on the physical environment or scene of encounter and the multiple sign systems in play, including nonverbal images, gesture, and visuals (see *Archive* 28-32). As a meaning-making paradigm, the scenario functions as an act of transfer and participates in the transfer and continuity of knowledge. As knowledge is stored and communicated through embodied practices, performance transmits cultural memory and collective identity from one generation to another through reiterated behavior (see Connerton 38). Significantly, the scenario is a paradigm that is formulaic and repeatable because it leaves out complexity. Reducing conflict to its stock elements, it encourages fantasies of participation:

6 ‘Colonial difference’ is a concept introduced by Walter Mignolo, who defines it as “the space where the restitution of subaltern knowledge is taking place and where border thinking is emerging.” It is “the space where the *local* histories inventing and implementing global designs meet *local* histories, the space in which global designs have to be adapted, adopted, rejected, integrated, or ignored” (Mignolo ix, emphasis in the original). In other words, ‘colonial difference’ is the space where two local histories, “the physical as well as imaginary location,” come together and where “coloniality of power is enacted” (Mignolo ix).