American Literature and Global Time, 1812-59

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Abstract

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American Literature and Global Time, 1812-59 explores the effects of the early stages of globalization on time consciousness in antebellum American literature and non-fiction. It argues that oceanic trade, extracontinental imperialism, immigration, and Pacific exploration all affected how antebellum Americans configured their national pasts, presents, and futures. The ensuing pluralisation of time that followed disallowed cogent conceptions of national identity. It analyses transnational geographies to examine how they transmit heterogeneous times. The project's interest is in U.S. national sites that counterintuitively acted as fulcrums for the importations of foreign times and non-U.S. sites that interacted with and modified the homogenous progressive time of nationalism. As such, my project seeks to combine the transnational and temporal turns. It argues that the ethnic, racial, and geographic contestation emphasized by transnational critics found parallels in how antebellum Americans conceived of time. Conversely, it suggests that there were profound links between globalization and the sorts of instabilities in time identified by the critics of the temporal turn. Over its course my project identifies a series of "global times" that came into being in the years between the War of 1812 and the discovery of petroleum in 1859. These fall under three broad headings. First, what I term, entangled times that came about as a result of the movement of ships across borders and different social contexts; secondly, foreign local times that re-set the clock of imperialism and national progress; and, thirdly, a huge mass of reconfigurations in the origins and futures of the still-young United States.

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Introduction: Time Beyond the Nation

This project explores how the early stages of globalization shaped the perception of time in antebellum American literature and non-fiction. It contends that the increase in world trade, the global character of the maritime labour force, the influx of immigrants into the United States, nascent attempts at extra-continental U.S. imperialism, and the opening up of new oceanic terrains in the Pacific created a temporally heterogeneous nation. This reorientation of time occurred despite the fact that the increase in global trade and U.S. imperial exertions aimed to export a homogenous "American time" to the world. I focus on ostensibly national spaces and projects, including American exploring expeditions, the Washington Prime Meridian, nativist novels, and maps of the nation, which functioned counter-intuitively as fulcrum points for the importation of foreign times and chronologies. I also consider non-U.S. sites, such as the North American Pacific Coast, Tahiti, the decks of ships, and even outer space, which disoriented time perception and unsettled the U.S. national imaginary. These spaces, projects, and sites, in traversing the borders of the nation-state, introduced histories and temporalities that exceeded the limits of "national time" while also creating pathways for the exchange and mixing of different forms of time. The collision between these previously geographically separate times forced antebellum Americans to refigure not only their national past, present, and future, but also the very structures of history on which they based these terms.

As such *American Literature and Global Time, 1812-59* joins together the temporal and transnational turns in American literary studies to identify the vital importance of extra-national and nationally-contested spaces for time perception in nineteenth-century America. It expands the geographical scope of recent work on time by Thomas Allen, Dana Luciano, and Lloyd Pratt, beyond the boundaries of the nation to show how antebellum Americans

imported and engaged with foreign times. It builds on the temporal turn's general rejection of progressive, diachronic accounts of the development of time, of the sort outlined by Michael O'Malley, Ian Bartky, and Carlene Stephens, to argue for a link connecting the incipient energies of globalization to temporal heterogeneity. Conversely, my project asserts that the plural and contested transnational geographies of the nineteenth century identified by Paul Giles, Susan Gillman, Jennifer Greeson, Amy Kaplan, Rodrigo Lazo, and others, affected how writers of the era conceived of time. The unsettled borders of the nation and its complex ethnic composition found parallels in similar fluctuations in national time consciousness. Although Wai Chee Dimock's *Through Other Continents* offers a neat point of convergence connecting these two schools of criticism, rather than drawing on her trans-historical framework, my analysis concentrates on the years between 1812 and 1859, also known as the "Golden Age of American Sail." It does so as my account of transnationalism pays particular attention to U.S. activities at sea, building on the accounts of an oceanic America offered by Ian Baucom, Hester Blum, Cesare Casarino, and Paul Gilje and which Margaret Cohen has theorised more broadly.

I draw on these oceanic accounts because of the importance of the sea in creating a global antebellum America. After the War of 1812 and the discovery of petroleum in 1859 the fate of the United States became interwoven with that of the rest of the globe. Advances in maritime technology meant that the U.S. economy depended on foreign trade while also facilitating unprecedented levels of population mobility. The governments of the time responded by manifesting a neo-colonial interest in non-American spaces in an attempt to gain some degree of control over, what we can now recognise as, the early forces of economic globalization. Both they and other antebellum Americans attempted to forge homogenous conceptions of national time to mitigate the threat posed by these extra-national

forces. These attempts failed. They did so for a variety of reasons. For a start, U.S. Americans' own sense of their national identity was still undeveloped. Uncertainties about the nation's geographic limits, their political, social, and ethnic origins, and what constituted an "American" anyhow, led to disagreements over, and different models for, national time. In addition, the transnational dependencies caused by a proliferation of global trade opened up routes, and created agents, whether the labouring body of the sailor or the foreign immigrant, for the exchange of different modes of figuring and perceiving time, history, and futurity. That the borders of the nation were permeable allowed these foreign forms to enter into the nation and take hold while simultaneously letting seemingly "American" notions of time exit the nation and morph as they did so.

My project therefore places the antebellum era on the crest of global modernity. It suggests that the period offers a unique window into changes in time consciousness as a result. The various forces of globalization put forms of time that, while undoubtedly heterogeneous, were previously limited to discrete spatial areas (local regions, the body, and, most pervasively, the nation) into motion. These times retained the imprint of their geographic origins. This fact allows for us to track and describe the changes they underwent after they left their foundations and identify the sorts of links that remained. Similarly, such trends give increased importance to forms of time that ostensibly refused to move. Far from being irrelevant to the project of modernity these temporalities all contribute to the contestation over the meanings of national and transnational pasts, presents, and futures. Importantly these transformations, pitched on the tides of global modernity, do not tend towards temporal homogeneity or its annex, cogent formations of, in particular, national identity. In this sense, *American Literature and Global Time* wrestles with and seeks to exceed the paradigms established by Benedict Anderson in *Imagined Communities* and the extended, and certainly

deserved, afterlife that this book has had in the academy. To rehearse a well-known argument, Anderson suggests that the modern day nation-state emerges in conjunction with a fundamental shift in how humans perceived time. Earlier forms of social organisation, most notably for Anderson what he labels "dynastic realms" and "religious communities," made no separation between the past, present, and the future. The present reality of the world did not differ from what it had always been and the coming of the apocalypse was perpetually imminent. This way of perceiving time created links and kinships between these people and the world of the Bible and the genealogical past of their rulers. Anderson terms such a model of time consciousness "simultaneity-along-time." The political organisation of these societies came under threat. Global exploration, the onset of democracy, and print culture eroded the idea of the sovereign, priest or Bible as the single, cosmological source of political and religious authority. Similarly translation and the printing press undid the notion that there existed a sacred and authoritative language. The nation-state arose as a way to offset the loss of these certainties. In so doing it provided a new model of belonging in time that Anderson terms "simultaneity-across-time." As he phrases it, 'what has come to take the place of the mediaeval conception of simultaneity-along-time is, to borrow again from Benjamin, an idea of "homogenous, empty time," in which simultaneity is, as it were, transverse, cross-time, marked not by prefiguring and fulfilment, but by temporal coincidence, and measured by clock and calendar.'[1] In these societies a shared sense of a homogenous present knits the national citizenry together. This collective affinity manifests itself in print culture, whether through the date at the top of a newspaper or the "meanwhile" of the realist novel, which allowed characters to act in unison though perhaps unaware of each other's existence.

[1] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London and New York: Verso, 1991) [1983] p.24

Yet, as this project argues, the cultural and political life of the nineteenth century puts Anderson's theory to the test and revokes some of its most fundamental tenets. As chapter two shows, in my most sustained engagement with Anderson, uncertainties about the natural limits of the United States meant that antebellum thinkers, in a gesture that pluralized time, posited a variety of different models of "simultaneity-across-time." These frequently exceeded the borders of the nation. As they actualized these models through exploring expeditions, coastal definition, and travel, they met local times that reset and altered their conceptions of time. Similarly, as Americans explored the Pacific regions they formulated non-national networks of kinship with local peoples whose temporal provenance exceeded the historically shallow bounds of the post-Revolutionary nation. As such, global modernity does not create a rupture with the past, but rather a realignment of the nation-state's relationship to that same past and its geographical origins. Antebellum figurations of time required units that went beyond that of the nation and often relied on, and came about as a result of, non-U.S. sites. Additionally, even when antebellum Americans attempted to forge a national time, the results rarely matched up to the provisional geographic unit of the nation, and, indeed, bore the impress of the callow and contested sense of U.S. nationhood itself. Nonetheless, the hold of Anderson's paradigms meant that studies of time in the nineties and early 2000s characterized nineteenth-century America in terms of a homogeneous, national time. These studies argued that technological advancement and the proliferation of industrial capitalism led to the standardization of time. Key historical contexts, such as the development of the railways, the mass production of watches, clock discipline in factories, the creation of time zones and public timepieces recur. These subsume individual, "pre-modern," local, and intimate accounts of time to larger categories of social belonging associated with modernity, whether industry, the city, or, most often, the nation. These books include works by Ian

Bartky, Michael O'Malley, and Carlene Stephens.[2] O'Malley's book replicates Anderson's framework. He describes how a shift from divine to mechanical authority brought about a congruent move from natural, local, and religious times to the standardized time of factory labour, national time zones and clocks and watches. These changes demonstrate, for O'Malley, structural transformations in how we value work, leisure and technology.

Some of the contexts identified by Bartky, O'Malley, and Stephens recur in *American Literature and Global Time*. I extract them from a critical paradigm which supposes a homogenous national time as the logical end-point of transformations in nineteenth-century time consciousness. Instead I place them within the context of economic globalization. This shift in scale and context means that these same materials tell a different story about time. For instance, chapter one examines how Thoreau phrases the railroad running through Concord in terms of a global capitalist marketplace with the train carrying commodities from all around the world into the New England countryside. O'Malley follows Leo Marx in reading this incident in terms of a binary between natural locality (heterogeneity) and industrial clock modernity (homogeneity).[3] By taking a global perspective I show how Thoreau in fact revels in describing how different forms of time, drawn from a variety of geographical contexts, meet, merge, and interact. Thoreau's invocation of this meeting point is not in an elegiac pastoral mode which laments the coming of a homogenous global modernity. Instead he depicts how the coming together of different times undermines a linear logic of time that unproblematically assumes natural or local time as existing prior to that of human or industrial time. As he describes the mixing of these times he bewilderingly unsettles the order

[2] Ian R. Bartky, *Selling The True Time: Nineteenth-Century Timekeeping in America* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2000); Michael O'Malley, *Keeping Watch: A History of American Time* (London and New York: Penguin, 1990); Carlene E. Stephens, *On Time: How America Has Learned to Live by the Clock* (Boston, New York and London: Bulfinch Press, 2002)
[3] For Marx's reading see Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (London, Oxford, and New York: Oxford University Press, 1964)

of the past and configurations of the future. I also suggest that we cannot read clock discipline without understanding how it varied according to different regions and social contexts, for instance in the denationalized zones of the Pacific or California or on the island of Juam in Herman Melville's *Mardi*.

Recent work in the temporal turn in American literary studies, partly inspired by work in post-colonialism, has challenged these Anderson-inspired accounts of time.[4] These books, by Thomas Allen, Wai Chee Dimock, Dana Luciano, and Lloyd Pratt deny the totalizing existence of the homogenous empty time of the modern nation-state in the antebellum era. By using the intellectual models of Louis Althusser and Henri Lefebvre, which insist on the historically and culturally specific instantiations of seeming "abstracts" like time and space, they emphasize the conflicts, contradictions, and pluralities in how Americans of the period reckoned and perceived time.[5] For them nineteenth-century America is best described in terms of temporal heterogeneity rather than homogeneity. Thomas Allen argues Americans expressed and experienced this heterogeneity through clock and watch design, shifts in the horologic marketplace, domestic manuals, political rhetoric, geology, paintings, and fiction and non-fiction texts. These various modes demonstrate to him how citizens of the era formulated a cogent national identity out of different forms of time. They deployed time specifically to overcome the ideological contradictions between American republicanism and continental expansionism. By imagining the U.S. inhabiting the future they could pass over the realities of spatial annexation in the name of a glorious and triumphant national destiny. He identifies 'a nationalist rhetoric that produces the United States as a republic whose real

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[4] Most notably see Homi Bhabha's essay 'DissemiNation: Time, Narrative and the Margins of the Modern Nation' in Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994) pp.199-244

[5] See Louis Althusser, 'The Errors of Classical Economics: Outline for a Concept of Historical Time' in Louis Althusser and Étienne Balibar, *Reading Capital* (trans. Ben Brewster) (London: NLB, 1970) and Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith) (Oxford and Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell, 1991) [1974]

territory is more temporal than spatial.'[6] There were doubtlessly profound links between nationalism and time in the antebellum era. To sever the relation of these links to, and give them precedence over, national and transnational space is to lose sight of how the changing boundaries, composition, and location of what often was only notionally "American" space created congruent shifts in time consciousness. As transnational and oceanic critics have suggested, antebellum citizens negotiated with a variety of different ethnic, racial, and geographic models as they sought to define American identity. These critics define the nation in terms of cross-cultural exchange, border zones, and contests over national sovereignty. They do so to mark how citizens of a variety of different ethnic, racial, and national origins drew and re-drew their formulations of what it meant to be an American. Allen's geographic paradigm, however, implies that antebellum Americans were confident of bringing about a triumphant national future. Such a future meant that the United States would inevitably occupy the west in a narrative of providential expansion. He therefore suggests that writers and thinkers of the era use a variegated but almost always progressive temporality to call into existence an agreed-upon and shared conception of national community in the future. My project emphasizes, instead, how geographic uncertainty and transnational interactions undermined both the idea of a single future for America and the possibilities of realizing a coherent national identity. In chapter four, for instance, I look at how, while working and mapping the contested Pacific Northwest and the ocean around it, an area that Russia, Great Britain, Mexico, and the United States all had designs on, antebellum Americans constructed a variety of geographic models for an imperial future in the region. These speculative visions of empire rarely involved the presence of the United States. Similarly, in chapter three, I show how foreign immigration into the newly acquired western territories led to nativist

[6] Thomas Allen, *A Republic in Time: Temporality and Social Imagination in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008) p.18

thinkers imagining that an imminent apocalypse would strike at the heart of U.S. democratic permanence.

In this sense, my project interrogates and challenges accounts of nationalism in the era that take the logic of Manifest Destiny as totalizing. Under this rubric a progressive time, tending towards a triumphant, homogenous, and monadic future, underpins westward spatial expansion. *American Literature and Global Time* rejects this paradigm. Not only was expansion multidirectional but there was not a single agreed-upon vision for the future of the United States. I examine how conceptualisations of unstable national and transnational geographies acted as agents for the transmission of global temporalities. These same temporalities disallow the codification of a shared national identity. As such, my project focuses on mobile and transnational spaces, whether the deck of the ship where sailors worked, the not-yet-fully incorporated territories where immigrants lived, or the islands that speckled the Pacific Ocean. In so doing, I draw on and depart from the work of Lloyd Pratt and Dana Luciano, both of whom identify other agents for the transmission of orders of time that run counter to and restructure a homogenous national antebellum present. Pratt argues in *Archives of American Time* (2010) that "genre" articulates what he terms a "deep locality," or a series of often pre-/anti-national local times. For Pratt, genre is an entity that bears the impress of its historical iterations and resultantly carries with it, as it moves through separate epochs, different modalities of time. Where in Anderson's formulation, print culture tended towards homogeneity, then, Pratt argues that texts create 'a conflicted experience of time'[7]: 'Despite its often well-articulated wish that the nation share a consistent experience of time around which its members might unite, the available evidence contradicts the idea that this

[7] Lloyd Pratt, *Archives of American Time: Literature and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010) p.5

experience of national simultaneity actually came to pass.'[8] He therefore demonstrates how literature disrupts narratives of linear, progressive time that aimed to give the impression of rigid national and racial identities in the antebellum era. "Deep locality" shows the continuing presence of the past in the present, with cyclical, local, recursive, and messianic simultaneities-along-time reorganizing fictions that posited the unconflicted emergence of national modernity. His reading of the ekphrastic portrait of George III / George Washington in Washington Irving's *The Sketch-Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent* is representative: 'Irving's *Sketch-Book* encourages a rather different view of literature as a form of constant borrowing that secretes the time consciousness of other places and other peoples in its very form…As Irving has it, literature sticks us to our place. In a reversal of fortunes, the figure of print turns out to be a force for deep locality.'[9] "Local time" is, then, for Pratt, a mobile and heterogeneous phenomenon that percolates into the entirety of antebellum American society and which accordingly refigures national time. *American Literature and Global Time* expands on Pratt's rubric by looking at local times that came to the U.S. from outside of the nation. Pratt's focus is on American sites, whether Rip van Winkle's changing village, the Puritan past and local dialects of *The House of the Seven Gables*, or the mix of rivers, forests, boats, and houses that constitute the settings of Southwestern humour. I identify local times in the American hemisphere which undermine the homogenizing time of imperialism, Pacific island times that upset the logic of global cartography, and localized historical moments in the cosmos that disrupt linear historiography.

Where my focus is on "transnational geography" and Pratt's is on "genre," Dana Luciano in *Arranging Grief* (2007) shows how reflections on the dead body, whether in consolation literature, sentimental culture, antislavery narratives, or Civil War addresses, transmitted

[8] Ibid p.5
[9] Ibid p.53

sacred times into the antebellum and post-bellum nation. For her the "feeling body" introduces orders of sacred history that explode into, disrupt, and run against linear progressive time. As such, the body connects nineteenth-century America to recursive natural, divine, and humanist times often associated with "pre-modernity." Such temporalities transcended the narrow affiliations of nationhood. For Luciano, 'the altered flow of time experienced by the mourner could be (and, I argue, was) understood as a version of sacred time, the regenerative mode that transcended ordinary time in a ritual revisiting of origins.'[10] Her reading complicates Anderson's analysis which paints the national dead as an abstract, anonymous, and homogenous grouping. For Anderson, this grouping allows citizens of nation-states to feel a bland continuity with the past which supports the project of progress. For Luciano, 'the sacralization of personal feeling complicates the chronological distinction upon which Anderson founds the modern nation,' by individualizing the bodies of the dead.[11] These bodies possess traumatic wounds and links to living individuals. They resist attempts to subsume and bury them in a homogenous national past and instead exert a sacred time in the present. Her analysis of the differences between the abstraction of Lincoln's Gettysburg address and the corporeality of his Second Inaugural address is relevant in this regard: 'The affective language of embodied suffering thus calls into play a sacred temporality different from the protomodern monumental nationalism that resounds throughout the Gettysburg Address; in contrast to the symbolic tropes favored in the Gettysburg Address, the theodicity at the Second Inaugural's core aligns it with the messianic temporality of exegetic allegory, in which all earthly experience is the exemplification of Biblical principles. Its vision of timelessness aligns American national history and the monumental appeal of democratic truth with the dictates of divine law. At the same time as they decenter the nation, then, the Biblical appeals in the speech also authorize that nation's historical actions, providing

[10] Dana Luciano, *Arranging Grief: Sacred Time and the Body in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2007) p.7
[11] Ibid p.224

spiritual compensation for the physical and emotional suffering of the war.'[12] *American Literature and Global Time* again looks beyond the nation and identifies routes through which foreign sacred times came to the antebellum nation. For instance, chapter three argues that nativist activists feared new immigrants carried unchanging anti-Republican sacred pasts along with disease, predispositions to criminality, and other social problems, on their bodies. They feared that these same pasts, usually linked to the despotism of the Catholic Church, would enter into the United States and destroy the Republic. Anti-Catholic texts and anti-immigrant tracts are therefore full of dead foreign bodies that do not decay. These embalmed corpses show their fears that a non-American past might overbrim into the present. The immigrant body is less important than the fact that it symbolizes some form of geographical and temporal alterity. Other writers also saw how sacred times in non-American geographies might upset the progressive U.S. project. In chapter four, for instance, I examine how Richard Henry Dana Jr. describes the meeting in 1830s California between an industrial clock discipline that tends towards economic productiveness and a seemingly inert Catholic sacred time that does not acknowledge the dictates or aims of global modernity.

As the introduction shows, this project identifies less a single "global time," as in its title, than a series of times that exist within that term's rubric. Broadly speaking, my project identifies three linked transformations in antebellum American time that emerged with the early stages of globalization. These transformations focus on entangled times, foreign local times, and resultant refigurations of the national past, present, and future. The circulation of bodies and commodities in the antebellum era undermined national sovereignty and created identities that drew on a variety of distant transnational geographic contexts. I argue that we can identify a congruent shift in time, as local, sacred, and natural times from different

[12] Ibid p.226

regions came together and mixed. Ship decks, immigrant spaces, and maps acted as the sites where such times merged to create new, what I term, hybrid or entangled times. These hybrid times came about as globalization challenged cogent national identities and, simultaneously, sought to bring about a systemic rupture with the past. On the oceans these times suggested the unease that sailors felt as mercantilism morphed into industrial capitalism. This economic transition meant that their recursive storytelling traditions became threatened by the dictates of clock discipline. Meanwhile Americans perceived that, as the United States was necessarily imbricated in the world system, they would have to forge a national time that drew on foreign materials. Rather than these efforts creating an unconflicted and homogenous national time they in fact introduced pathways for foreign local times to enter the nation. As such, these foreign local times transformed accounts of national progress by re-setting its clock. Rather than national time moving unproblematically forward in a linear narrative, these foreign times made it flow multidirectionally and upset the homogenous surface of the present. Such irruptions into the present rippled into the national past and future. Global times, histories, and indeed, historiographies, threatened to latch on and engraft themselves onto the national narrative. By doing so they redacted the past and created new myths of origin that challenged those of Puritan and Revolutionary descent. The future felt concurrent changes. Foreign temporalities and non-American space made it increasingly difficult for even the most ardent nationalists to imagine an all-encompassing U.S. American future. They feared that foreign empires and citizens might come to occupy their future just as they might take over vast tracts of the unbounded continent and globe.

The content and conclusions of this project posed a problem of organisation. As it rejected chronological accounts of the antebellum nation it could not draw on a linear, forward moving historical format for its structure. Similarly, as it emphasized the inconsistencies,

contradictions, and instabilities in national identities as they interacted with the globe, an author-by-author approach would not have worked. Therefore each chapter focuses on specific and sudden intensifications in U.S. interactions with the globe in the antebellum era, namely oceanic trade, extra-continental imperialism, mass immigration, and the formulation of a Pacific imaginary. The outer limits of these historical-spatial folds in the world system set the conditions of possibility for a wide range of antebellum writers, thinkers, travellers, and politicians as the U.S. interacted with given configurations of the globe. Each fold creates a different set of routes and pathways for global times to enter into the nation and dictates its own periodization and archive. My first chapter sets the chronological bounds of the project by outlining the broad impact of the "Golden Age of American Sail" on time consciousness in work by a variety of writers who broadly engaged with globalization, and in particular the oceanic marketplace. This period saw a vast increase in maritime trade after the War of 1812 and prior to the discovery of petroleum in 1859. The interaction between the United States and the world via the sea transformed the time consciousness of the post-Revolutionary nation. Maritime enterprise made the borders of the nation permeable to new forms of time by connecting the post-Revolutionary state to distant markets and places. The chapters that follow concentrate on three separate historical movements that followed from the increasingly influential position of the United States at sea. Chapter Two concentrates on continental and extracontinental imperialism, transportation, surveying, cartography, and exploring expeditions and sees how they left their mark on Ralph Waldo Emerson's "Self-Reliance", Henry David Thoreau's *Walden*, Herman Melville's *Moby-Dick*, and Edgar Allan Poe's *Eureka*. Maritime technology was increasingly reliable and American vessels could travel with fewer restrictions. This increasing reliability facilitated projects that sought to map the coasts of the United States, the hemisphere, and the world. Although these projects were geographically dispersed, all of them attempted to make "American time" assume

dominion over world time and space. They did the opposite: they unsettled America's historical position and its attendant time consciousness. Chapter Three focuses on immigration to, emigration from, and movement within the United States. Advances in ship design meant that ocean travel became increasingly easy, cheap, and regular. This made possible a rise in immigration that led in turn to increasing anxiety about what constituted the shape structure, and content of U.S. national history in texts such as Herman Melville's *Pierre*, Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The House of the Seven Gables*, and James Fenimore Cooper's *The Prairie*. The fourth chapter explores the development of American trade in the Pacific Rim. The United States expanded its commercial presence in the region as a result of Great Britain's ameliorative trade policy in the wake of the War of 1812, and came to dominate the whaling and fur trades. But the territorial fate of the region was by no means decided, and Americans working in the Pacific experienced a multiplication of national pasts, presents, and futures as shown by Washington Irving's *Astoria*, Adam Seaborn's *Symzonia*, and Richard Henry Dana Jr.'s *Two Years Before the Mast*.

Chapter One, 'Globalization, Labour, and Oceanic Time, 1812-59,' establishes a transnational framework for analyzing antebellum American time. It argues that the "Golden Age of American Sail" introduced new forms of time into the young nation. Ships trading with distant markets around the world accidentally opened routes for the importation and exchange of time. This meant that antebellum Americans were fascinated by the ways in which time changed as it moved through the permeable borders of nations, regions, and social contexts. Herman Melville, Henry David Thoreau, and Harriet Beecher Stowe all explore the interaction between time and global space. Stowe infuses the New England domestic time of Miss Ophelia (characterised by regulation, order, demarcation, and economy) with the language of cartography, before seeing how it changes when placed in the excess time of the

south of Augustine St. Clare. On board ships the transnational composition of the maritime workforce, which frequently included Native Americans, Pacific Islanders, African Americans, and others excluded from the U.S. national project, meant that the deck became a meeting point for different forms of time. These encounters created "oceanic times" of sea labour characterized by their tangential relation to the economic dictates of the nation. "Oceanic time" took a variety of shapes, from meditations on the narrative potential of leisure, through to the alternative denationalized imagined communities created by the circulation of newspapers and texts at sea. Herman Melville in *Moby-Dick* explores most fully how maritime labour impacts on time consciousness. Though the image of Ahab enforcing a rigid and linear clock time of industrial labour onto the crew is, perhaps, a familiar one, the "mariners, renegades, and castaways" of the workforce disseminate their own unique and challenging temporalities too. For instance, when Pip is abandoned at sea, he sees into an anti-teleological time that allows him to exceed the progressive mandate of Ahab's project.

Chapter Two, 'Imperialism, Non-American Space, and the Problem of National Time, 1830-55' examines how the nascent continental and extracontinental imperial efforts of the United States affected national time. It argues that the actualization of expansionist energies in exploring expeditions, the cartographic definition of coastlines, and the development of a transportation infrastructure, pluralized rather than homogenized time. The boundaries of the United States were still provisional, and debates raged about what its outer limits would be, whether the western coast, the hemispheric edges of South America, or indeed the entirety of the world. As a result, writers and thinkers of the era deployed a malleable and expansive progressive time onto distant regions in an attempt to see how far American influence could extend. The oceanographer Matthew Fontaine Maury sought to rationalize the entire extent

of the globe's oceans, and Edgar Allan Poe tried in *Eureka* to depict and hierarchize the entirety of the known universe. Both men did so through positing a shared experience of American national time that encompassed the entire globe. This action had unintended consequences, and exposed the nation to heterogeneous foreign local times and historical chronologies that exceeded its own temporal bounds. Arguments concerning the American Prime Meridian placed the United States in an uneasy proximity with European empire and led to questions about the value of retaining an Anglophone cultural heritage. The rhetoric and tenor of these discussions proved fruitful for Ralph Waldo Emerson as he constructed his own version of imperial selfhood in 'Self-Reliance.' Elsewhere the surveying expeditions of Charles Wilkes in the Pacific and James Melville Gilliss in South America met recursive local times that reset the clock of imperial endeavour and which disallowed the creation of reliable maps.

Chapter Three, 'Mass Migration, Nativism, and Immigrant Time, 1830-57' explores how the vast increase of immigration into the United States impacted on how antebellum Americans imagined the Revolutionary past, the democratic present, and the uncertain futures of the nation. The increasing ease and reduced cost of ocean travel, when combined with the U.S. acquisition of new territories and the vast poverty endemic to European urban industrialization, meant that European emigration to America spiked in the first half of the nineteenth century. A widespread anxiety about the effects of immigration on national character followed, as evidenced by the rise of the anti-immigrant "Know-Nothing" party and in controversies over the Naturalization Act. For nativist thinkers, immigration meant that they lived in a time of crisis. They perceived that the huge mass of foreign-born citizens threatened the permanence of American democracy. These controversies, I argue, percolated into Herman Melville's *Pierre* through his focus on the immigrant Isabel. She flattens out

Pierre's lineage meaning that he can no longer see beyond an insubstantial and fragile present. These fears about the prospects of democracy translated into concurrent visions of an apocalyptic future. Nativists imagined immigrants simultaneously occupying the American west and the nation's own time-to-come. I argue that Charles Brockden Brown's *Wieland* anticipates such issues through depicting a recurrent and traumatic sacred time of immigration that reasserts itself throughout history. This time brings about apocalyptic moments that destroy the American republican family. The effects of immigration were not only felt on the present and future. The past of the nation changed too. Nativist activists and novelists suggested that immigrants carried with them fragments of an unchanging foreign past on their sea-crossings. These pasts, they feared, took root in the American soil. For them, such a process of interchange threatened to redact their own myths of origin, replacing the Puritans and the Revolutionary generation with foreign referents. As such, historical time for them was cyclical and defined by repetition. Nathaniel Hawthorne makes similar links between immigration and recurrence in *The House of the Seven Gables*. He examines how a fundamental landlessness in the Pyncheon family leads to a breakdown in linear time. The chapter concludes by looking at how Herman Melville uses immigration to posit alternative origin myths for the United States. These origin myths phrase the American continent in terms of endless cycles of migration over hundreds and hundreds of years.

Chapter Four, 'The Pacific Trading Economy and the Past, Present, and Future of the United States, 1812-46' explores the changes in time consciousness caused by the development of U.S. commerce in the continental west and Pacific Ocean between 1812 and 1846. It deploys an unfamiliar oceanic paradigm to argue that in envisioning this region antebellum Americans combined the Pacific Ocean and the west coast to form a macroeconomic imaginary that extended from California to Asia, Antarctica, and the Pacific Islands. The

victory of the United States in the War of 1812 did not settle the territorial and economic fate of the Pacific imaginary and the antebellum nation only actualized its presence through the Oregon Treaty and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in the late 1840s. This chapter argues that the geographic uncertainty in the intervening years meant antebellum Americans experienced a bewildering set of national pasts, presents, and futures when working and exploring in the region. Time multiplied into a variety of different forms that ran counter to the linear and progressive nationalist logic of Manifest Destiny. It first looks at the futures that antebellum Americans imagined for the region. These speculative accounts, whether by explorer Benjamin Morrell or Washington Irving, create alternative imperial formations that expressly exclude the presence of the United States from the area. Charles Wilkes, for instance, suggests that an Anglo-Norman maritime empire, extending to China, will rise up and take control of all oceanic trade. Secondly, it argues that the geographical shape of American trade with the Pacific caused its own unique form of what geographer David Harvey has called "time-space compression." American vessels had to travel from Boston around Cape Horn and along the South American coast before entering the Pacific and reaching North America again. This forced the national past to collide with a bewildering foreign present. In both Herman Melville's *Omoo* and Richard Henry Dana Jr.'s *Two Years Before the Mast* this caused an alinear and chaotic reorganisation of biographical and historical chronology. Thirdly it explores how thinkers of the time made links between the region and the origins of the American aesthetic and political project. They sought to connect the American continent to the Pacific through imagining a complex oceanic genealogy that exceeded the temporal bounds of the Revolutionary nation. Philologists suggested that the Pacific islands provided the source for the Native American language, and the colonialist David Porter postulated that Nukuheva was the fountain of a natural democratic social order. But the rhetoric could cut both ways, and had the effect of turning the historical clock upside

down. Washington Irving dwells on what is lost in the name of progress, suggesting that the incipient forces of globalization obliterate ideal forms of republican kinship. Progress transmutes into degeneracy. Such narratives of degeneracy emerge, the chapter concludes, from an anxiety about how efficient American industrial clock time was and whether it would ever take hold in the Pacific region. It examines the fate of clock time in *Omoo*, *Mardi*, Richard Henry Dana Jr. and *Symzonia*.

Chapter One: Globalization, Labour, and Oceanic Time, 1812-59

By the 1820s, American ships were not only transporting goods and commodities as they crossed the oceans to trade with different nations. Unbeknownst to them, they also carried a vast array of local, national, and sacred forms of time. Previously these times were, if not static, then at least associated with, and linked to, a discrete and spatially enclosed area, whether town, country, body, or the nation. The increase in maritime trade facilitated the movement of these times away from their points of origin. Ships moved them across oceans and national borders and connected them to previously distant cultures. Distinctive modes of maritime labour and particular oceanic practices of storytelling acted as the agents of transmission for these forms of time.

During the early years of the nineteenth century, it became clear that the future interests of the United States depended on a complex transatlantic and transpacific trade network. The collapse in imports and exports that had followed Jefferson's Embargo Act (1807) proved that the nation had to maintain and develop links with distant foreign markets to safeguard its financial and political future.[1] The War of 1812 occurred as the United States attempted to challenge Great Britain's belligerent and restrictive trading policy. The unexpected naval victories during that war, as well as the associated rhetoric of free trade and sailors' rights, meant that the United States forced Great Britain into opening up maritime trade under the terms of the Treaty of Ghent (1814).[2] Unbeknownst to those who negotiated the treaty, these shifts in how Great Britain policed the seas led to an unprecedented growth in American maritime internationalism. This growth has retrospectively been termed the "Golden Age of American Sail," and refers to the period between the War of 1812 and the discovery of

[1] Exports fell from $108 million in 1807 to $22 million in 1808, imports from $145 million to $58 million.
[2] During the war, the U.S. Navy had 23 ships and caught 254 enemy craft; 517 privateer vessels caught 1345 British prizes worth $45.5 million.

petroleum in 1859 at Oil Creek, Pennsylvania. During these years, the United States consolidated its ascendant position at sea through a concerted programme of technological development and by facilitating a thriving oceanic culture in science and literature.[3] The importance of the sea to the United States was such that the geographer Arnold Guyot was able to declare, in the middle years of the nineteenth century, that '[t]he New World is essentially oceanic' with 'its position in the midst of the oceans, between the extremes of Europe and of Asia, facilitating its commerce with these two worlds.'[4] Therefore, no matter how 'brilliant' the 'prospects to which the West may aspire from the exuberance of its soil, life and action will always point toward the coast' (163) and it is 'because America is enthroned queen-like upon the two great oceans, that she will be called to play a part as mediator between the two extremities of the world' (163).[5]

Guyot was right to identify the important links that the sea provided between the United States and the rest of the globe. During the "Golden Age of American Sail," oceanic markets and maritime industry proved vital to the prospects of the nation as trading and naval vessels explored the Atlantic and Pacific. Markets opened up for U.S. goods in Latin America as the Spanish empire broke apart. Trade with South American countries accounted for around 20 per cent of all U.S. trade in between the years 1820 and 1860. Writers and politicians also created complex webs of hemispheric cultural kinship with their newly liberated partners, with whom they shared a commitment to national sovereignty, self-definition, and political

[3] We can index the growth in the importance of the sea by noting the rise in the number of seamen from 20,000 in 1791 to an ethnically diverse 103,000 in 1835.
[4] Arnold Guyot, *The Earth and Man: Lectures on Comparative Physical Geography, In Its Relation to the History of Mankind* (trans. C.C. Felton) (London: Richard Bentley, 1850) p.177, 28. All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.
[5] The case could be made that the United States always had been oceanic, including in the pre-Revolutionary era. It was the Sons of Neptune, after all, who enforced a boycott against The Stamp Act in 1765 and 1766, and many people connected with the waterfront vehemently opposed the Townshend Duties in 1767.

revolution.[6] Meanwhile, the whaling industry advanced further and further into the Pacific where David Porter carried out the first act of U.S. extra-continental imperialism in the Marquesas in 1813. American whalers dominated in the Southern fisheries, exploiting superior ship design, the low cost of building materials, and a transnational workforce to have 700 vessels operating there compared to Britain's 34 in 1841.[7] Herman Melville deployed the triumphalist rhetoric of the era as he estimated that the industry employed 18,000 men and brought in $7 million per year, while the collective worth of the ships was around $20 million. The changing face of global trade allowed Ishmael to boast that 'the Yankees, in one day collectively, kill more whales than all the English.'[8] Similarly, Owen Chase, the first mate of the ill-fated ship the *Essex*, reflects that in the wake of the 1812 War, which had led to the temporary stagnation of the economy, the 'energies' of trade 'burst out afresh; and our sails now almost whiten the distant confines of the Pacific' enriching the inhabitants of places like Nantucket 'without bringing with it the usual corruptions and luxuries of a foreign trade.'[9] With the repeal of the British Navigation Laws (1849), the British could use American ships causing a large demand for U.S. vessels in the years between 1843 and 1855.[10]

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[6] For an account of the relationship between the U.S. and Latin America see Anna Brickhouse, *Transamerican Literary Relations and the Nineteenth-Century Public Sphere* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). Brickhouse makes the case that the shared political project of North and South America created a (frequently problematic) political and aesthetic kinship between writers and thinkers in the two regions.

[7] See Lance E. Davis, Robert E. Gallman, and Karin Gleiter, *In Pursuit of Leviathan: Technology, Institutions, Productivity, and Profits in American Whaling, 1816-1906* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1997). For a further account of the effects of the Pacific trading economy on time consciousness please refer to chapter four.

[8] Herman Melville, *Moby-Dick or The Whale* (ed. Harrison Hayford, Hershel Parker, Thomas Tanselle) (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2001) p.109, 239 All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.

[9] Owen Chase, *Shipwreck of the Whaleship Essex* (London: Pimlico, 2000) p.4, 5. All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.

[10] To create this account I have primarily drawn on two historical accounts of the Golden Age of American Sail. Benjamin Labaree et al.'s *America and the Sea: A Maritime History* (Mystic, Connecticut: The Museum of America and the Sea, 1998) offers an empiricist account of governmental laws, trade figures, and first-hand accounts of the U.S.'s military and commercial exploits at sea in the maritime era. Chapters five through nine covering the early Republic and the antebellum period are of particular interest to early Americanist scholars. Paul A. Gilje's *Liberty on the Waterfront: American Maritime Culture in the Age of Revolution* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004) provides a meticulous reading of first-hand sources to attempt to

These changes in the world market found their equivalents in the development of a governmental infrastructure dedicated to the sea: this set of institutions and projects made the ocean integral to the workings of the antebellum nation-state. The government established the U.S. Depot of Charts and Instruments in the 1830s. Its job was to "rate" (or determine the accuracy of) chronometers for the Navy and to ensure that they were seaworthy. The appointment of Alexander Dallas Bache as Superintendent reinvigorated the U.S. Coast Survey in 1843. After the decades of false starts that had followed Thomas Jefferson first authorising it, the Survey mapped the coasts of the United States with increasing exactitude, aiding commercial and military vessels to navigate their way through dangerous and previously unknown coasts.[11] Americans concurrently developed a set of maritime-specific intellectual and cultural discourses. The head of the U.S. Naval Observatory, the secessionist southerner Matthew Fontaine Maury, invented the science of oceanography and published his extensive work on currents and the migratory patterns of whales in *The Physical Geography of the Sea* (1855).[12] In other words, the energies of the United States were geared outwards beyond the boundaries of the nation. The sea became an arena where the United States could test out the dictates of economic, cultural, and territorial imperialism.

The ocean also functioned as a crucial resource for the imaginative energies of antebellum writers as they debated the parameters and qualities of an American literary tradition. These aesthetic gestures of self-definition occupied a nationally ambivalent position. The purveyors

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describe the day-to-day lives of common sailors in the era. Gilje argues that sailors were on the edge of the republican political project, frequently lacking rights or political representation. They formed a nationally ambivalent community who only tacitly embraced the Republic's foundational commitment to liberty.

[11] For an account of the political wrangling that surrounded the U.S. Coast Survey see Hugh Richard Slotten, *Patronage, Practice, and the Culture of American Science: Alexander Dallas Bache and the U.S. Coastal Survey* (Cambridge, Melbourne and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994)

[12] Stephen J. Dick in *Sky and Ocean Joined: The U.S. Naval Observatory 1830-2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) gives a readable account of Maury's tenure, focusing on the controversies surrounding his appointment and his scientific discoveries. For a more extensive reading of the effects that Maury's project had on time see chapter two.

of ocean tales, rather like Cooper's titular Red Rover, seemingly had to display the colours of many flags before settling on the stars and stripes.[13] As Thomas Philbrick has shown, the boom in maritime fiction in the antebellum period evolved in close conjunction with the models provided by their transatlantic forebears. American writers initially deployed Byronic tropes and the generic gestures of writers like Tobias Smollett to create Romantic tales of heroism and piracy. The maritime short story proved particularly popular, with writers like William Leggett and John Sherburne Sleeper ("Hawser Martingale") gaining considerable critical acclaim. In the wake of Richard Henry Dana Jr.'s *Two Years Before the Mast* (1840) the market changed, with literary audiences favouring gritty realistic non-fiction accounts of working life at sea. Numerous copycat accounts written by humble seamen followed. It is against this context, of course, that Melville's early works of travel in the Pacific should be read.[14] As Hester Blum has demonstrated, these accounts of maritime work combined relentlessly accurate depictions of maritime labour with epistemological contemplation. They played a crucial but frequently overlooked role in antebellum literary culture. More generally, sailors played an active role in the dissemination of texts, circulating books from ship to ship, and they were unusually literate for members of the working class. Their accounts of life at sea interacted with larger programmes of moral and social reform, whether to do with saving their souls or protecting them from flogging.[15]

As all these examples of maritime activity would suggest, the "Golden Age of American Sail" led to a systemic change in how the United States interacted with the world. Literary,

[13] The Red Rover sails under a variety of flags as his pirate ship sails about the coastline of pre-Revolutionary America. It is only with the conclusion of the book, where Cooper reveals him to be a hero of the Revolutionary War, that he embraces the stars and stripes. See James Fenimore Cooper, *Sea Tales: The Pilot; The Red Rover* (New York: The Library of America, 1991)
[14] Thomas Philbrick, *James Fenimore Cooper and the Development of American Sea Fiction* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1961)
[15] See Hester Blum, *The View from the Masthead: Maritime Imagination and Antebellum American Sea Narratives* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008)

scientific, economic, and political culture all felt the force of the growing relation between the United States and the rest of the planet. The antebellum nation conceived of itself in terms of how it related to the distant regions that oceanic trade brought into dizzying proximity. Like Ishmael as he contemplates the meanings of nature from the mast-head, American national identity in the period was borne on the currents and became 'diffused through time and space; like Wickliff's sprinkled Pantheistic ashes, forming at last a part of every shore the round globe over' (*Moby-Dick*, 159).[16] Given that recent work in cultural geography has argued that forms of time consciousness evolve in conjunction with changes in the composition of space, how did these early energies of globalization alter time consciousness?[17] What effects did the development of a global oceanic culture have on time – or as Lloyd Pratt phrases it in the concluding remarks to *Archives of American Time* (2010), '[w]hat might a reckoning with time and the global look like?'[18]

These questions would have been familiar ones to some antebellum American writers and thinkers. Many of them viewed time and space in tandem – from Edgar Allan Poe in *Eureka* (1848), who revealed that '*Space and Duration are one*,'[19] to Arnold Guyot whose work

[16] Recent work in transnationalism has pushed the date for America engaging with the world further and further back. Gretchen Murphy, for instance, draws specific attention to the Monroe Doctrine (1823) and its importance in creating a hemispheric political and aesthetic imagination. What my opening historical remarks have tried to suggest is that we can in fact push this date further back to 1812 at the very least, and that we do not need to limit the discussion of transnational consciousness to the hemisphere but, rather, a more spatially extended and geographically diffuse oceanic globalism. See Gretchen Murphy, *Hemispheric Imaginings: The Monroe Doctrine and Narratives of U.S. Empire* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006).

[17] John May and Nigel Thrift have proposed the concept of TimeSpace, which yokes the two concepts together and places them in an unstable and always changing interrelation. For them, work of the "spatial turn" of the nineties (the reverberations of which continue to be felt in transnationalist discourse) was misleading as it retained a 'familiar and unhelpful' (1) dualism between time and space. Instead of searching for 'a singular or universal social theory of time' which 'must be doomed to failure,' (3) we should instead attempt to describe a 'multiplicity of space-times' (3) that coexist and interact. See John May and Nigel Thrift (ed.), *TimeSpace: Geographies of temporality* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001) See also Paul Glennie, and Nigel Thrift, *Shaping the Day: A History of Timekeeping in England and Wales 1300-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)

[18] Lloyd Pratt, *Archives of American Time: Literature and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010) p.196

[19] Edgar Allan Poe, *Poetry and Tales* (New York: Library of America, 1984) p.1340. All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.

concentrated on ‘the two-fold domain of nature and of history’ (Guyot, 25). More recent work in transnationalism has suggested that taking a global perspective refigures the historical chronologies of the nation-state, casting it into a variety of relationships with anterior and non-American cultures. Paul Giles, for instance, identifies a medieval rhetoric in antebellum cultural discourse that played havoc with Republican and democratic sentiment. For him, ‘to place American literature within a larger spatial circumference might be seen as analogous to reading it across different temporal dimensions.’[20] For Susan Gillman, reading time in a comparativist setting creates an uneven and frequently unstable landscape of temporality as ‘local, regional, and national geographies are invariably crosscut by their location in sometimes surprising or conflicting global geographies,’ meaning that ‘multiple times exist simultaneously within and across the same places or coexist as uneven temporalities.’[21]

This chapter deploys a specifically oceanic model to identify three other ways in which America’s interaction with the globe via the sea impacted on time consciousness. This oceanic perspective, as Margaret Cohen has suggested, refigures historical and literary chronologies, as ‘maritime developments have their own timelines as well as geographies: timelines with what might be called a semiautonomous relation to other periods central to Western modernity.’[22] The trade routes of ships evade the spatial circumscription of the nation-state, while the deployment of oceanic technologies and the genealogies of maritime intellectual cultures are not always congruent with the periodizations of terrestrial historiography. I argue that the incipient stages of globalization introduced pathways for

[20] Paul Giles, *The Global Remapping of American Literature* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011) p.24
[21] Susan Gillman, ‘Afterword: The Times of Hemispheric Studies’ in Caroline F. Levander and Robert S. Levine (ed.), *Hemispheric American Studies* (New Brunswick, New Jersey, and London: Rutgers University Press, 2008) pp.329-30
[22] Margaret Cohen, ‘Literary Studies on the Terraqueous Globe’, *PMLA* 125:3 (May 2010) p.659

previously foreign times to enter into the United States. The links between the United States and the world via the sea allowed for the transposition and exchange of different and frequently conflicting modes of time consciousness. These times, whether drawn from the lengthened historical scales of the planet, the transnational spaces where maritime labour took place, or the narrative tradition that developed on board ships, existed at a tangent to the progressive dictates of nationalism.

My first section examines accounts of time consciousness travelling across national, social, and cultural borders. I argue here that antebellum American authors obsessed over what happened to local, sacred, and domestic modes of time as they moved through and interacted with a variety of social and national contexts. According to Herman Melville's *Pierre* (1852), this process of exchange created entangled hybrid temporalities, which bear the impress of a geographically varied set of local, national, and sacred modes. Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) explores a similarly dynamic process as an efficient domestic time of New England meets the excess temporalities generated by the slave south. Meanwhile, in *Walden* (1854) the forces of global trade unsettle distinctions between local, natural, and clock time. Geological and geographical discourse also posited a malleable transnational model of temporality. Arnold Guyot created a global historiography based on the westward movement of historical consciousness across the world and along the lengthened temporal axis of the planet. The second section concentrates on the decks of ships. It makes the case that these places of labour were the pre-eminent arenas for the transposition and merging of different modes of time. The ship deck became a place where different attitudes to the past, the future, work, and leisure challenged one another. Progressive temporality, whether that of social discipline or economic subjugation, competed against the recursive times of the transnational workforce. Pip and Fedallah in *Moby-Dick*, for instance, each offer accounts of

an anti-teleological time that runs counter to the homogenizing clock time of Ahabian industrial capitalism. Even the restrictive social discipline that governed maritime labour operated in a liminal zone between feudal orders of social discipline, and a new, emergent progressive nationalism and egalitarianism. In this sense, the "Loom of Time" episode of *Moby-Dick* exemplifies this process of transposition, binding together progress, transnational change, and free will. In this respect, it opens up the ship deck as a site of possibility for the generation of new modes of time consciousness and the preservation and metamorphosis of existing ones. My third section dwells on one of these preserved yet changing forms of time: the narrative time of the maritime storytelling tradition. It looks at how the dilatory nature of oceanic work allowed for the production of a transnational and alinear narrative tradition. I analyse the maritime short stories of William Leggett and John Sherburne Sleeper to show the counterpoise between traditional forms of oceanic storytelling and the dictates of economic progress. This conflict meant that oceanic texts and stories frequently operated beneath a heightened and concentrated eschatological moment that accords to Frank Kermode's notion of *kairos*. This oral and textual tradition of storytelling created a shared experience of maritime time that remained at cross purposes to the "simultaneity-across-time," to use Benedict Anderson's terminology, of the national public sphere.

Time across Borders

In his account of the mythical pamphlet in *Pierre* (1852) entitled "Chronometricals and Horologicals," Herman Melville offers a considered reflection on the international trade in time consciousness and meditates on its effects.[23] He suggests that global travel produces an

[23] Herman Melville, *Pierre; or The Ambiguities* (ed. Harrison Hayford, Hershel Parker, Thomas Tanselle) (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1995) pp.210-15. All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.

entangled rather than standardized experience of time. This entanglement comes about as a result of an incomplete rupture between globalized modernity and what are, resultantly, only notionally "pre-modern" times. At sea, antebellum Americans continued to feel the threads that bound them to a divine time. These links showed the continuing hold of a sense of what Benedict Anderson terms "simultaneity-along-time." Melville emphasizes that this perception of sacred coterminousness is far from redundant or inert. Instead it plays an active role in forging a contested oceanic modernity as it moves around the world on board ships. Written by Pierre's philosophical antagonist Plotinus Plinlimmon, Pierre reads this pamphlet as he travels from his ancestral home in Saddle Meadows to a bleak and unnamed city with his sister Isabel and the disgraced maid Delly. The pamphlet ostensibly outlines a relativistic schema for conceiving of ethical value in a fallen world. Rather than striving for heavenly perfection, Plinlimmon suggests, we ought to accept human imperfection and, resultantly, live according to a "virtuous expediency". This notion of virtuous expediency provides a divine dispensation that offsets sin for the average person so long as they attempt to be 'an honest dealer, an honest citizen, and all that' (*Pierre*, 214). Any person who tries to do more than this while on earth, like Jesus, faces social opprobrium, risks committing all manner of absurdities and running 'like a mad dog, into atheism' (215). The pamphlet provides an ethical scheme through which we can judge Pierre's actions and decisions in the novel. By attempting to fulfil an absolutely undiluted heavenly good in acknowledging his forgotten sister to the world, Pierre falls into madness, dying a penniless murderer in a dank urban jail. Critics have long-attempted to unpack the pamphlet's convoluted ethical message and sought to link it to Pierre's travails in the novel, even though the prevailing response to it has been one of confusion. [24]

[24] Critics have tended to attempt to explicate the moral system of the pamphlet, rather than concentrating, as I do, on the historical and contextual cues that it gives. Hershel Parker and Brian Higgins acknowledge it as 'the remarkable centrepiece of the novel' (114) yet take pains to distance Melville from its message, drawing attention to 'its smug, heartless tone' and the 'fundamental flaws' in its 'reasoning' (115). Myra Jehlen shared

There is more to its message than solely ethics. The historical moment it depicts frequently exceeds the simple narrative demands of the novel itself. The pamphlet deploys the language of clocks, watches, and chronometers to convey the complex cross-pollination that took place between different forms of time as they travelled across the world on board ships. It records the changes that an intimate sacred time underwent as it enters into the world system of trade, exchange, and frequent oceanic crossings. It begins by invoking a form of trans-temporal heavenly kinship and describes how it finds an expression in the human body. For Dana Luciano, this form of sacred kinship would demonstrate the way in which the antebellum body was 'an instrument of affective time-keeping'[25]. Through its connection with eternity, this embodied temporality enters into a timeless realm of humanist kinship. These links with heaven emphasize a dilatory religious experience over progressive, linear time. 'It seems to me, in my visions,' Plinlimmon tells us, 'that there is a certain most rare order of human souls, which if carefully carried in the body will almost always and everywhere give Heaven's own Truth, with some small grains of variance' (211). This sacred mode appears to be isolated and static. The human body protects it from the dictates of modernity, allowing for it to retain an affective link with a perfect eternity (even though it has been cast into a fallen world.) Yet, for Herman Melville, the energies of globalization made the boundaries of body, town, and nation porous. This spatial unsettling meant that this trans-historical link to the divine left the body and heaven behind. Instead it entered into a relationship with the pathways and logic of imperialism and global maritime transportation. In the pamphlet, this

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this moral outrage at its message, arguing that the pamphlet's author, Plotinus Plinlimmon, 'is unambiguously evil' (209). Gillian Silverman has built on Jehlen's sentiments to argue that the philosopher is 'the novel's paradigmatic individualist and also its most noxious presence' who offers 'a cautionary lesson to Pierre' about 'the dangers of the too solitary self' (360). See Brian Higgins and Hershel Parker, *Reading Melville's* Pierre; or The Ambiguities (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006); Myra Jehlen, *American Incarnation: The Individual, the Nation, and the Continent* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press, 1986); Gillian Silverman, 'Textual Sentimentalism: Incest and Authorship in Melville's *Pierre*', *American Literature* 74:2 (June 2002) pp.345-72

[25] Dana Luciano, *Arranging Grief: Sacred Time and the Body in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2007) p.5

takes the form of placing 'Heaven's own Truth' within a metaphor that seemingly runs counter to it. For 'peculiarly coming from God, the sole source of that heavenly truth, and the great Greenwich hill and tower from which the universal meridians are far out into infinity reckoned,' these souls 'seem as London sea-chronometers (*Greek*, time-namers) which as the London ship floats past Greenwich down the Thames, are accurately adjusted by Greenwich time, and if heedfully kept, will still give that same time, even though carried to the Azores.' (211) Plinlimmon therefore presents a hybrid time, with one foot in heaven, the other on earth. On the oceans, this eternal heavenly kinship can only find expression in the language of an imperial clock time that would ostensibly seek to override and homogenize it. He places the individual's experience of links with the divine in a collective and shared experience of standardized time. This gesture places sacred time in a spatial logic that unhouses it from its ontological and eternal source, as 'in nearly all cases of long, remote voyages – to China, say,' even 'chronometers of the best make…will gradually more or less vary from Greenwich time' (211). In other words, Plinlimmon shows how this seemingly unalterable entity begins to change, vary, and, apparently at least, fade, while at sea.

The presence of this sacred time on the ship deck nonetheless shows the simultaneous presence and mixing of different orders of time consciousness. And, indeed, far from disappearing it plays an active role in the re-formulation and restructuring of time at the dawn of global modernity. Ian Baucom has argued that globalization has a direct link to the homogenization of temporal difference. The forces of virtual capital obliterate locality in the name of a profit-led capitalist project. The challenge that studies of global and transnational literature face is to avoid recapitulating the project of capitalist modernity and to 'escape the

endlessly duplicable laws of global form'. [26] If we can do this we might be able to discover 'territories of temporal difference that have escaped the synchronization of the global clock,' allowing us to discover (after Ernst Bloch and Fredric Jameson), 'the noncontemporaneity of the contemporaneous.'[27] What "Chronometricals and Horologicals" shows is that a binary that places globalization and temporal heterogeneity in opposition may in fact be misleading. Even though globalization pulls sacred time away from its geographical foundations in heaven and its terrestrial manifestation in the individual's body, the result is not homogeneity, but instead entanglement – the sacred time, seemingly of little use to the project of trade or imperialism, enters into history. Boats then transmit and disseminate it across the earth. It survives and is active albeit in a changed form.

The pamphlet presents a distinctive historical moment where different forms of time leave their point of origin behind. What we resultantly see is a "geographicalization" of time, as given spaces and places play a constitutive role in the formulation and metamorphosis of temporality. Sacred time traverses the distance between heaven and earth to enter into the body and human history. Concurrently, this sacred time leaves the body and ships carry it across the world. The result of this historical movement is that global travel obliterates notions of an "absolute" time. It brings different sacred, local, and national ways of formulating time into direct contact and competition. One mode does not succeed or have precedence over another. This mixing process creates an earth defined by temporal non-coincidence rather than standardization. Plinlimmon tells us how 'in an artificial world like ours, the soul of man is further removed from its God and the Heavenly Truth, than the chronometer carried to China, is from Greenwich. And, as that chronometer, if at all accurate,

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[26] Ian Baucom, 'Globalit, Inc.; Or the Cultural Logic of Global Literary Studies', *PMLA* 116:1 (January 2001) p.167
[27] Ibid p.161

will pronounce it to be 12 o'clock high-noon, when the China local watches say, perhaps, it is 12 o'clock midnight; so the chronometric soul, if in this world true to its great Greenwich in the other, will always, in its so-called intuitions of right and wrong, be contradicting the mere local standards and watch-maker's brains of this earth' (*Pierre*, 211). Melville juxtaposes different modes of time consciousness, based on both heavenly and terrestrial markers, to create a relativistic world where local, national, and sacred times compete for sovereignty. The fact that trade has joined up the world means that there is no longer a single geographical point around which Plinlimmon can orient his conceptions of time. It brings previously distinct localities into interaction, with each place disseminating its own model for assigning value to time. Plinlimmon demonstrates this point as he argues that 'though the chronometer carried from Greenwich to China, should truly exhibit in China what the time may be at Greenwich at any moment; yet, though thereby it must necessarily contradict China time, it does by no means thence follow, that with respect to China, the China watches are at all out of the way. Precisely the reverse. For the fact of that variance is a presumption that, with respect to China, the Chinese watches must be all right; and consequently as the China watches are right as to China, so the Greenwich chronometers must be wrong as to China. Besides, of what use to the Chinaman would a Greenwich chronometer, keeping Greenwich time, be?' (212)[28]

Travel across the world in ships, whether in the name of trade, imperialism, or both, had the effect of removing certain forms of local and sacred time from their geographic point of origin and transplanting them into places that were previously distant from the United States.

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[28] Brad Ricca has argued that this construction means that Melville privileges a local and subjective time over a standardized global one. This means that '[i]n temporal terms, Pierre thus decides (conveniently) to live his life as local time – dependent on what he experiences in the firsthand now. With systems of affixing time and space falling down around him like stones, Pierre exists only in the moment' (14). However, the point is surely not to do with Melville or Pierre favouring a transcendent local time but instead describing the process by which time becomes entangled. See Brad Ricca, '"Strange Imperious Instantaneousness": Mysteries of Time/Space in *Pierre; or, The Ambiguities*', *Leviathan* 8:2 (June 2006) pp.3-16

These forces of globalization created mixed times that participated in an array of geographic and, indeed, ontological orders. When travelling across the world antebellum Americans, Melville suggests, resultantly lost an absolute scale for reckoning and granting value to time. They realised that the radical co-presence of different times made it impossible to forge a single, standardized, and shared experience of time. Instead they became obsessed with seeing the changes that occurred to different forms of time as they moved from one social context to another. In *Uncle Tom's Cabin* Harriet Beecher Stowe analyses what happens to the domestic time of New England as it enters into the slave south. In contradistinction to Melville's more fatalistic conclusions, she suggests that the temporal reorganisation of domestic life can actualize social transformation. Thomas Allen has made the case that antebellum Americans placed domestic economy in a dialectical relationship with the market. The domestic time of women could offer moral redemption to a debased and unrelentingly progressive public sphere if it organized a household in an economical and well-regulated way.[29] For Stowe, questions of geography complicated this model.[30] In *Uncle Tom's Cabin* she suggests that New England domesticity has to merge with and take control of oppressive forms of time consciousness in the south. It is only in this way that domestic economy can restore moral value to time – moral value that someone like Plinlimmon systematically destroys. Stowe demonstrates this point through depicting how Miss Ophelia attempts to order the house and educate Topsy on Augustine St. Clare's estate. Stowe's initial portrayal of Miss Ophelia accords with Allen's sentiments. Stowe invites us into a typical New

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[29] See Thomas Allen, *A Republic in Time: Temporality and Social Imagination in Nineteenth Century America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008)

[30] Harry Harootunian has analysed the paradox in Marxist thinking that makes clock time both homogenous and heterogeneous: '[o]ne of the seeming paradoxes of both temporal and spatial matrices under capitalism seems to be the persistent segmentation and proliferation of multiple spaces and temporalities that, through the mediation of state and nation, manage to homogenize and even universalize their apparent dissociations' (45). Thinking about the effects that geography and social context have on conceptions of clock time is one way of uniting these seemingly divergent aspects of capitalist time. Time exists in relation to, and in active interaction with, movements in space. Even if a given form of time tends towards a homogenizing social control, there are always ways in which it also pluralizes time. See Harry Harootunian, 'Some Thoughts on Comparability and the Space-Time Problem', *boundary 2* 32:2 (Summer 2005) pp. 23-52

England farmhouse where there is an 'air of order and stillness, of perpetuity and unchanging repose' and 'where all household arrangements move with the punctual exactness of the old clock in the corner.'[31] She characterizes Miss Ophelia in the same way, drawing on some standard tropes for a regulated and ordered time, such as '[i]n punctuality she was as inevitable as a clock, and as inexorable as a railroad engine' (205). As with Plinlimmon's sacred time of eternity, this time consciousness seems almost outside of history, geographically sequestered in the rural idylls of New England from the tides of change and progress.

The situation alters once Stowe introduces the prospect of Miss Ophelia moving to St Clare's estate. Jennifer Greeson has argued that we should read the south through the lens of transnationalism. This is because the south existed as an 'internal other' in nineteenth-century America, containing the ghosts of a colonial past and illustrating the continuing hold of anti-egalitarian racialist discourse.[32] The two regions operated according to very different economic models, with the south favouring a predominantly agrarian and mercantilist one in contradistinction to the emergent industrial capitalist one of the north. This fact meant that Americans frequently viewed it as a separate and foreign economy, one only linked to the north through the sort of economic interdependencies caused by the early stages of globalization. Stowe's model of American geography accords with this awareness of a foreign, yet internalised, other. As Miss Ophelia's relations agonize over whether to let her travel to work for St Clare, the 'good mother' enquires whether New Orleans "wasn't an awful wicked place," and suggests that going there is "most equal to going to the Sandwich Islands, or any where among the heathen" (*Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 203). Similarly, the 'gray-

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[31] Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin; or Life Among the Lowly* (London: Sampson Low, Son and Company, 1853) pp.202-3 All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.
[32] Jennifer Rae Greeson, *Our South: Geographic Fantasy and the Rise of National Literature* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England: Harvard University Press, 2010) p.3

headed father' takes 'Morse's Atlas out of the bookcase, and looked out the exact latitude and longitude; and read Flint's Travels in the South and West, to make up his own mind as to the nature of the country' (203).[33] As a result, Greeson suggests that antebellum Americans conceived of the nation in terms of two separate time zones. Her analysis of the writing of northern thinkers shows how the South simultaneously embodied a feudal social order as well as offering a glimpse into the imperial futures of the United States in the long nineteenth century. Stowe therefore analyses how Miss Ophelia adapts her domestic time to the dictates of southern life. The particular problem of southern time, for Stowe, is the way in which it tends towards excess. This excess generates disorder and moral depravity, and is both the product of, and a contributor to, the economic oppression of slavery. Miss Ophelia confronts St Clare on this issue as she chastises him because his house has "no time, no place, no order, – all going on in this shiftless way!" St Clare responds, "My dear Vermont, you natives up by the North Pole set an extravagant value on time! What on earth is the use of time to a fellow who has twice as much of it as he knows what to do with?" (269) Initially, Miss Ophelia simply attempts to apply New England domestic time onto a Southern setting as she tries to educate Topsy. Stowe tells us how '[s]he instituted regular hours and employments for her, and undertook to teach her to read and to sew.' (311)

Miss Ophelia's attempts to regulate the actions of Topsy and her behaviour in this fashion fail. They do so in part because there is no necessary link in the novel between ordering time and social and political emancipation. Indeed, Shelby attempts to increase Tom's value by telling the slave-dealer Haley that "Tom is an uncommon fellow; he is certainly worth that sum any where, – steady, honest, capable, manages my whole farm like a clock" (14). Indeed,

[33] Amy Kaplan initiated readings of this sort when she demonstrated how 'domestic and foreign spaces are closer than we think, and that the dynamics of imperial expansion cast them into jarring proximity' (1). See Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Harvard University Press, 2002)

Mark M. Smith has shown how slave-owners in the south deployed the homogenizing clock time of industrial capitalism on plantations. They did so to preserve the feudal hierarchies of mercantilism while simultaneously attempting to maximise profit. In response slaves could draw on the rhythms of nature to delineate the passing of the working day – something that their working-class counterparts in the North could not do when trapped inside windowless factories.[34] Miss Ophelia's attempt to control Topsy's behaviour by teaching her how to regulate and value time possesses an uneasy, though by no means absolute, proximity to some of the techniques of the slave owners themselves. Her task becomes to restore moral value to time in such a way as not to do this. Miss Ophelia achieves her aim through demonstrating to St Clare that, far from having excess time, he can use the present moment to bring about social transformation. She moves away from regulating and ordering the house and instead emphasizes what St Clare calls an "eternal *now*." Miss Ophelia values this designation as "*Now* is all the time I have any thing to do with" (392). The crucial scene in this regard is where she forces St Clare to set Topsy free and into her care. St Clare wants to delay doing this as he believes that his word and his promise to do so in the future ought to be enough for her. Miss Ophelia insists, however, that he act immediately, as "now is the only time there ever is to do a thing in" (388). St Clare signs the papers in spite of the fact that 'like most men of his class of mind' he 'cordially hated the present tense of action, generally' (388). Her domestic economy restores morality to and partially redeems the public sphere of time but in a way that adapts to her new location in the south. She operates within the context of wasted, or excess, time to show that, in fact, there is no such thing. Change requires a new model for the present based on this notion, rather than through clock discipline as such. Once again, we meet a sort of hybrid time, one that has moved from one region to another, across social and economic borders, and resultantly has changed in composition.

[34] Mark M. Smith, *Mastered by the Clock: Time, Slavery, and Freedom in the American South* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997)

The force of these changes in the configuration of time was felt even at the most local levels of society. The development of the train network brought foreign goods, including those of the South, into the rural regions of the United States. This circulation in commodities connected residents of these places to the rest of the world. In *Walden* (1854) Thoreau tells us how he is 'refreshed and expanded when the freight train rattles past me' as it brings him closer to 'foreign parts [and] coral reefs, and Indian oceans, and tropical climes, and the extent of the globe.'[35] The train's passing makes him feel 'more like a citizen of the world at the sight of the palm-leaf which will cover so many flaxen New England heads the next summer, the Manilla hemp and cocoa-nut husks, the old junk, gunny bags, scrap iron, and rusty nails' (109). This sense of global citizenship impacted on time consciousness. In *The House of the Seven Gables*, Clifford Pyncheon celebrates how the railway allows him to participate in a shared transnational present. He describes how 'the world of matter has become a great nerve, vibrating thousands of miles in a breathless point of time' meaning that 'the round globe is a vast head, a brain, instinct with intelligence!'[36] As Wai Chee Dimock has argued, Thoreau feels proximity to distant ages and cultures as a result of this global interconnectedness. At certain points these links between Walden and elsewhere tend towards temporal homogeneity.[37] Thoreau also reflects, however, on the ways in which forces of

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[35] Henry David Thoreau, *Walden* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) p.109. All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.

[36] Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The House of the Seven Gables* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009) p.264. All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text. For a full discussion of how this transnational "simultaneity-across-time" evolved as the United States developed a cogent programme of extracontinental imperialism, please refer to chapter two.

[37] Wai Chee Dimock has argued that the presence of these fragments of other civilisations shows the temporal heterogeneity of *Walden*. She formulates her version of New England transcendentalism out of a series of non-linear links to non-American histories and texts and to vast planetary scales. At times, the opposite seems to be the case. This proximity to non-American cultures can homogenize world history precisely through relocating it to an all-encompassing Walden. Thoreau demands an absolute experience of time where '[w]e should live in all the ages of the world in an hour; ay, in all the worlds of the ages' (11). For him, all 'times and places and occasions are now and here' as 'whether we travel fast or slow, the track is laid for us' (89). We can nonetheless see other ways in which globalization did pluralize time in *Walden*. See Wai Chee Dimock, *Through Other Continents: American Literature Across Deep Time* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006)

trade, as manifested by the railroad, create overlaid and intermixed times. In contradistinction to the binary set up by Leo Marx where a local time resists an urban one, Thoreau in fact explores how the train makes natural, technological, and human time cross-pollinate.[38] He deploys a series of metaphors and similes that create overlaps between technology and nature. For him the train moves 'with planetary motion' (106), its whistle 'sounding like the scream of a hawk sailing over some farmer's yard' (106), its wheels 'dying away and then reviving like the beat of a partridge, conveying travellers from Boston to the country' (105). The constant presence of industry in the natural world leads to the creation of forms of time that are similarly hybrid and difficult to separate out. Thoreau demonstrates the connections between a technological and a more natural and recursive mode of cyclical time as he watches 'the passage of the morning cars with the same feeling that I do the rising of the sun, which is hardly more regular' (107). These intermixtures allow Thoreau to question whether the sources of clock time in fact lie in nature or, indeed, vice versa. 'Sounds' concludes with Thoreau reflecting on the 'whippoorwills' beginning 'to sing almost with as much precision as a clock, within five minutes of a particular time, referred to the setting of the sun, every evening' (113). He questions whether there can indeed be a fundamental and 'natural' time consciousness for humans or whether the perception of time always evolves in conjunction with society. He asks '[h]ave not men improved somewhat in punctuality since the railroad was invented? Do they not think and talk faster in the depot than they did in the stage-office?'

[38] Leo Marx's reading of the links between technology and temporal homogeneity in *Walden* has remained the standard one since the publication of *The Machine in the Garden* (1964). Marx relies on a counterpoise between natural and clock time. He argues that in 'Sounds' Thoreau attempts to preserve the pastoral mode by letting us 'imagine that he has escaped the clock, the Concord definition of time and, indeed, the dominion of the machine' (249). Marx suggests that Thoreau knew that this effort was in vain. The only way that he can recuperate the pastoral is through *Walden*'s form which shows 'the possibility of redemption from time, the movement away from Concord time, defined by the clock, towards nature's time, the daily and seasonal life cycle' (261). James Guthrie has recently added to critical sentiments like these. He sees throughout *Walden* a contrast 'between time determined by economic constraints versus time experienced naturally' (138). The reality is that Thoreau describes the grey areas between different modes of time. He links the existence of these grey areas to the energies of early globalization. See Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (London, Oxford, and New York: Oxford University Press, 1964) and James R. Guthrie, *Above Time: Emerson's and Thoreau's Temporal Revolutions* (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 2001)

(108) *Walden* depicts the forces of globalization changing and merging different forms of time together. It is a text that operates in a temporal liminal zone; it endorses neither an anti-progressive technophobia nor a relentless urge towards modernisation. It supposes an intermixed historical moment, where local and natural time might play an active role in a globalized future, and clock time is, possibly, a product of the planetary past.

The dynamic interaction between different economic marketplaces set intimate and private temporalities, as well as natural and technological ones, into motion and altered them as a result. Yet, many Americans also drew on the movement of larger and deeper formulations of the imperial past of the globe across national boundaries. By doing so they created non-national models for history. Geographer Arnold Guyot, for instance, created a historiography that extended for millennia and encompassed the entire extent of the world by drawing on these mobile forces.[39] In his most celebrated work, *The Earth and Man* (1850), he traces the entirety of human history by explaining the determining influence that physical place has on culture. He suggests that, through a phenomenon which he terms 'the geographical march of history' (*Earth and Man*, 267), dominant cultures have gradually moved further and further westwards across the planet, from the early stages of civilisation in the East to the 'land of the future' (28) that the antebellum United States, supposedly, was. These cultures distinguish themselves from others through their capacity to realise and narrate their own history. For Guyot, the 'truly historical nations' exceed 'the Mongolian and Malayan races, which might be called the semi-historical nations,' who themselves are 'superior in civilisation to the

[39] Guyot was born in Switzerland but fled to the United States (and later became a citizen) to escape the political conflagrations of Europe in the 1840s. Alongside his compatriots Louis Agassiz and Charles Léo Lesquereux, he played a vital role in shaping the genuinely transnational antebellum scientific scene. Indeed, Paul Giles has termed him the 'most influential geographer of his era' (*Global Remapping*, 8). As he was already well-known prior to his arrival, he was invited to deliver the Lowell lectures in Boston in 1849 and took for his subject comparative physical geography. For a brief account of his life by one of his contemporaries, see James D. Dana, *Memoir of Arnold Guyot 1807-1884* (read before the National Academy, April 21 1886) (no publication information)

copper-coloured' (203). He posits a model for history that depends upon the transnational movements and lengthier arc of planetary time. This model rejects a Herderian national paradigm to suggest instead that scientists should try to see 'all the phenomena together…which are presented by a vast country, by an entire continent' (19). This movement recapitulates the logic of times moving across the world in the wake of globalization but places these forces in the past. He describes how different modes of historical consciousness travel over continents and change as they interact with new spatial surroundings. He connects the United States to a longer chronology, showing how its own gestures of nationhood participate in a larger global genealogy of empire, because 'civilisations representing the highest degree of culture ever attained by man…pass from one country to another, from one continent to another, following a certain order' (268).[40] The United States remains unique for him as it expresses all of these histories at once. Its position between two oceans places it in the middle of the globe, and it unites the best of the new world and the old. Guyot goes so far as to suggest that 'the futurity and prosperity of mankind depend on the union of the two worlds. The bridals have been solemnised. We have witnessed the first interview, the preliminaries, the betrothal, the espousal, so fortunate for both' (212). The true citizen of the United States is a member of all times and all nations, and America itself 'must have no other limits than those of the great globe itself' (283). He composes his vision of America out of all of these histories, then, seeing in the land a vast array of overlaid coterminous imperial times that have been and will be, arguing that the United States shows 'as in a vast picture, the past, the present, and the future' (293).

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[40] Paul Giles suggests that Guyot's analysis of the United States tends towards an exceptionalist ideology. He suggests that Guyot creates 'a theory of hemispheric evolution as providential and thus entirely consonant with the exceptionalist qualities of U.S. national identity' (*Global Remapping*, 8). However, Guyot's lengthened global genealogy changes the framework for understanding the nature of U.S. empire and connects the nation to other cultures. As a result, other cultures permeate into the nation and so work against Guyot's rhetoric of exceptionalism. In this sense, Bruce Harvey's reading of Guyot is instructive. He makes the case that the U.S. is a special case for Guyot in the way in which it can exceed local place and geographical circumstance. For Harvey, he is an 'heir to Hegel' as he 'reads history as the process of escaping the binding perspectives of local place and circumstance' (57). See Bruce A. Harvey, *American Geographics: U.S. National Narratives and the Representation of the Non-European World, 1830-65* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001) pp.50-60

The Transnational Workforce and Oceanic Time

The entangling of time in the antebellum period evolved in interaction with the early stages of economic globalization. Ships and citizens carried local and sacred times into distant regions to create new forms of time consciousness. Forms of time that had once been spatially delimited, whether by locality, body, or planet, moved away from their point of origin and into the world. This is not to say that globalization obliterated and homogenized these modes of perception. They survived in a changed form and retained their power to influence behaviour and culture in a way that ran counter to the demands of the linear progressive time of the nation and economic growth. This section will argue that the ship deck acted as a crucible where these different times mixed together. Members of the maritime workforce carried with them their own local time consciousness. They brought about a conflicted sense of oceanic time composed of a variety of different orders of time and historical moments through work. Cyclical models of time gained particular traction on board ship decks, whether they related to the origins of the world or to trauma. Antebellum American writers, particularly Herman Melville in *Moby-Dick*, argued that foreign members of the workforce articulated their own versions of the earth's past. Often they drew these models from their own geographic point of origin. Through the roles that Pip, Fedallah, and Queequeg play in *Moby-Dick*, Melville suggests that antebellum Americans found it difficult to separate these transnational historical structures from the progressive mandate of trade. Indeed, the regulation of work on board ships depended on melding a feudal social order with the dictates of industrial labour.

Cesare Casarino has argued that oceanic trade in the nineteenth century operated in a liminal historical zone between a dying mercantilism and an emergent industrial capitalism, while also uncannily adumbrating globalized postmodernity. For him, the ship in the antebellum period was a "heterotopic" site in that it directly experienced the disorienting effects of one means of production transitioning to another. As the transition was by no means complete maritime labourers experienced a mixture of economic models, some of which were archaic, some so modern that they had yet to be named. For instance, on board whaling ships the workforce was paid according to a system of 'lays' rather than a labouring wage. Conversely the multi-ethnic composition of the workforce anticipated the transnational deterritorialized activities of the corporations of today.[41] The mixture of a pre-modern economic social order and an incipient capitalist modernity had direct effects on the marking of time for the purposes of labour. On the one hand, sailors depended on the observation of natural events, such as the rising and falling of the sun to define their day and geographical position. They would subsequently structure their working life around these natural phenomena. This nautical mode of "task orientation," to use the terminology of E.P. Thompson, was frequently disorienting. Richard Henry Dana Jr. discusses his uneasiness at the conflict between natural events and the linearity of the national calendar. He recalls how he both crossed the equator 'under a burning sun in the midst of December,' and 'bea[t] about among ice and snow on the fourth of July.'[42] On the other hand, the rigidly anti-democratic social discipline of the ship meant that captains enforced an essentially arbitrary clock time. This feudal form of control nonetheless operated according to a similar logic as that of the factory. In *White-Jacket*, Herman Melville tells us that the captain of the ship made the final decision on the "true"

[41] See Cesare Casarino, *Modernity at Sea: Melville, Marx, Conrad in Crisis* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2002). Such an analysis is slightly misleading. As the introductory remarks to this chapter demonstrated, it is appropriate to talk about the antebellum era in terms of globalization and interactions between different national economies. The ship doubtlessly was the agent that bound these different regions and economies together.

[42] Richard Henry Dana, Jr., *Two Years Before the Mast & Other Voyages* (New York: The Library of America, 2005) p.49. All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.

value of time, even though it was his sailing-master who actually calculated it, using solar observation. The sailing-master had to report the position of the sun to the captain as, in the words of Melville, '[i]t is not twelve o'clock till he [the captain] says so.' On doing this, the captain would say "*Make* it so."[43] These links between the ship deck and the homogenizing discipline of factory labour in part explain why Ishmael so often associates both Ahab and Starbuck with the machinery of horology in *Moby-Dick*. Clock metaphors permeate into Ahab's very being. He prepares the doubloon for the crew and Ishmael reflects that he produced 'a sound so strangely muffled and inarticulate that it seemed the mechanical humming of the wheels of his vitality in him' (*Moby-Dick*, 162). Similarly as he consolidates his control over his workforce, Ahab boasts to himself that 'my one cogged circle fits into all their various wheels, and they revolve' (167). Ishmael frequently compares the capitalist Starbuck to clocks as well: 'like a revivified Egyptian, this Starbuck seemed prepared to endure for long ages to come, and to endure always, as now; for be it Polar snow or torrid sun, like a patent chronometer, his interior vitality was warranted to do well in all climates' (115). Starbuck expresses his failure to stop Ahab's pursuit of the white whale in similar terms, as he laments "my whole clock's run down; my heart the all-controlling weight, I have no key to lift again" (169). In *White-Jacket*, Melville brings these links between capitalist clock time and social discipline to the fore. He adopts a mock-heroic tone to illustrate how the hierarchies of shipboard authority generate an absurd organisation of the working day. He does this through addressing the government about the illogical ordering of meals at sea, an unevenness that favours the powerful and punishes the workforce. He explains that sailors have 'just cause, almost for mutiny, in the outrageous hours assigned for their breakfast and supper,' which are '[e]ight o'clock for breakfast; twelve for dinner; four for supper; and no meals but these; no lunches and no cold snacks' (*White-Jacket*, 29). Although the time of

[43] Herman Melville, *White-Jacket: or, The World in a Man-of-War* (ed. Harrison Hayford, Hershel Parker and Thomas Tanselle) (Northwestern University Press and Newberry Library: Evanston and Chicago, 1970) p23. All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.

twelve o'clock for dinner meets with his approval as 'Noah himself, in the Ark, must have gone to dinner at precisely *eight bells* (noon)' and 'because at that hour the very time-pieces we have invented arrive at their terminus,' it is ridiculous that 'all the meals of twenty-four hours are crowded into a space of less than eight' (29). The organisation of meals, then, allows him to see directly into the links between time and authority and to make the observation that 'the dinner table [is] a criterion of rank on board a man-of-war' (29).

However, as the first section of this chapter has demonstrated, time in the antebellum era was unevenly dispersed and varied according to the region in which American citizens deployed it. Clock discipline was no different, as ship captains used it as a means of incorporating local people from the Pacific islands into their workforces.[44] For them, the linear schematics of clocks could subordinate an international workforce to the hierarchical dictates of national progress. In the Pacific, as Matt K. Matsuda has shown, '[s]mall groups and individual islanders joined whaling and sealing crews and signed on for fur trapping, voyaging from their homes to the Americas, around the north and south Pacific, and across the ocean in search of goods for the South China Sea.'[45] Paul Gilje has suggested that one third of sailors were foreigners in 1836, with African Americans making up around fifteen per cent of the workforce between 1800 and 1830. Indeed, Frederick Douglass was able to escape disguised as a seaman because it was common for freed slaves to work at sea.[46] One foreign member of the workforce was a Pacific islander named Wymontoo who signed up for a whaling voyage on the *Julia* in Herman Melville's *Omoo*. In order for him to become a fully-fledged member

[44] E.P. Thompson famously suggested that factory owners consolidated the early capitalist economy by inculcating a rigid time discipline into the working classes. By instituting regular working hours they naturalized an oppressive cycle of work that depended on the clock rather than nature. They synchronized the actions of workers through enforcing a spatial-temporal grid that monitored output and punished leisure. We can see a similar process in the Pacific, although the geographical specifics of the situation alter Thompson's construction. See E.P. Thompson, 'Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism', *Past and Present 38:1* (1967) pp.56-97
[45] Matt K. Matsuda, *Pacific Worlds: A History of Seas, Peoples, and Cultures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012) pp.184-5
[46] Gilje, *Liberty on the Waterfront*

of the crew, the men decided that they needed to baptise him and change his name. Their choices of names show the role that the calendar and clock played in initiating islanders into the American trading project. The narrator recounts that '[b]reakfast over, the first thing attended to was the formal baptism of Wymontoo' and that '[t]here were various opinions as to a suitable appellation. Some maintained that we ought to call him "Sunday," that being the day we caught him; others, "Eighteen Forty-two," the then year of our Lord.'[47] They change Wymontoo from a native into the terms of the western year to memorialize the moment that he entered into the American economy. As a result, they homogenize his identity and eliminate his difference from them through the calendar.

Transnational workers like Wymontoo, as well as others excluded from the national project, exerted their own forms of time consciousness as well. They did so by labouring with citizens of the United States on the decks of ships. These acts of work mixed different forms of time together and produced transnational temporalities that knocked progressive, linear time off course. The "Loom of Time" episode in 'The Mat-Maker' chapter of *Moby-Dick* is representative. It shows how progressive and deterministic models of history merge with transnational chance and the individual will of sailors. As Queequeg and Ishmael engage in an act of maritime labour, working together to weave a mat, the latter reflects that it seems as if the machinery he and Queequeg use 'were the Loom of Time, and I myself were a shuttle mechanically weaving and weaving away at the Fates' (214). Even though the 'fixed threads of the warp' are 'subject to but one single, ever returning, unchanging vibration,' the 'unchanging vibration' nonetheless accommodates the 'crosswise interblending of other threads with its own' (214). The warp's forward-moving 'necessity' can therefore fuse with Ishmael's 'own destiny,' while Queequeg's 'easy, indifferent sword' for him 'must be

[47] Herman Melville, *Omoo: A Narrative of Adventures in the South Seas* (ed. Harrison Hayford, Hershel Parker and Thomas Tanselle) (Evanston and Chicago: Northwestern University Press and The Newberry Library, 1968) p.34. All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.

chance' (214-15). The transnational incursion of 'chance' alters the course of progressive time by 'sometimes hitting the woof slantingly, or crookedly, or strongly, or weakly, as the case might be,' (215) upsetting the forward-moving motion of the loom. This intervention 'has the last featuring blow at events' and so generates models of the future that depart from the teleological one of the warp. Ishmael tells us how the 'difference in the concluding blow' produces 'a corresponding contrast in the final aspect of the completed fabric' (215). The ship deck facilitates these moments of merging and the subsequent alterations to fate. Donald Pease is correct to note, then, in his reading of C.L.R. James' *Mariners, Renegades, and Castaways* that the transnational workforce of *Moby-Dick* 'instead of ratifying the continuist and homogenous time reproduced within U.S. literature and history' redescribes 'lived historicity as composed out of interruptive temporalities.'[48]

Queequeg's act of work, and the presence of transnational workers more generally, undo notions and narratives of destiny. That the ship deck is bewilderingly full of different orders of time means that there is no fixed vision of what the future will be. Another crew member excluded from the dominant racial identity of the United States, Pip, articulates an anti-teleological vision of the world when he falls into the water. When this traumatic event occurs, Pip travels back in time to the initial stages of creation. He sees another loom working away, this time to forge the world. Once more, rather than finding design, there is only perpetual, chaotic reformulations and contestations of the present. The past, present, and future are all in flux. We get a direct insight into a historical moment when globalization was 'breaking-up…the ice-bound stream of Time' (13). Ishmael describes how the sea almost drowned 'the infinite of his [Pip's] soul' and carried him 'down alive to the wondrous depths,

[48] Donald E. Pease, 'C.L.R. James, *Moby-Dick*, and the Emergence of Transnational American Studies' in Donald E. Pease and Robyn Wiegman (ed.) *The Futures of American Studies* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2002) p.154

where strange shapes of the unwarped primal world glided to and fro before his passive eyes; and the miser-merman, Wisdom, revealed his hoarded heaps; and among the joyous, heartless, ever-juvenile eternities, Pip saw the multitudinous, God-omnipresent, coral insects, that out of the firmament of the waters heaved the colossal orbs. He saw God's foot upon the treadle of the loom, and spoke it; and therefore his shipmates called him mad' (414). Pip's vision provides a radical critique of both the captain of the ship and the nation he lives in. Ahab founds his mission on a blind faith on a single future where he will inevitably triumph. He looks to signs, dreams, and riddles to predict his destiny. Meanwhile nationalist proponents of Manifest Destiny (which was, as we shall see in the coming chapters not the only nationalist vision of the future) argued for a Providential national narrative. The west for them was a site where ancient prophecies of national triumph would inevitably be fulfilled. Pip's insight proposes a different world, one which has a perpetually reforming and collapsing temporality, without order or motive.

Melville suggests that time at sea was chaotic, disordered, and contested then. On board the *Pequod* the transnational workforce caused several different orders of time to exist at once within the oceanic present of the labouring ship deck. This temporal and transnational co-presence meant that the crew of the *Pequod*, at least, struggled to place themselves in history. For them, transnational workers dissolved the distinctions between a past so distant as to appear indistinct and a mysterious future they could barely realise. The ship deck is a place where time moves both forwards and backwards, and in and out of different geographies. As such, Melville's ship offers a challenge to anthropologist Johannes Fabian's description of "allochronic" discourse in *Time and the Other* (1983). Fabian writes that anthropological study historically has equated the spatial distance of a culture from the imperial metropole with a congruent distance in time. Early explorers and contemporary anthropologists placed

local peoples in newly "discovered" areas further back on a developmental and progressive chain that ultimately led to a rational western modernity. This historical hierarchy meant that 'not only past cultures but all living societies were irrevocably placed on a temporal slope, a stream of Time – some upstream, others downstream.'[49] Scientists and explorers denied these cultures access to the present in a gesture that facilitated political oppression and imperial annexation. He describes how anthropologists deny these local cultures "coevalness," which is to say that they place them '*in a Time other than the present of the producer of anthropological discourse*.'[50] On board ships there is neither temporal nor spatial distance between western and foreign workers. Transnational labourers actively interact with and alter the oceanic present, becoming part of its story. They therefore make it conflicted and heterogeneous.[51] The crew locate Fedallah, for instance, in the past, present, and future simultaneously. Through him they see into a historical moment that they thought had long since vanished. For them, '[h]e was such a creature as civilized, domestic people in the temperate zone only see in their dreams, and that but dimly; but the like of whom now and then glide among the unchanging Asiatic communities, especially the Oriental isles to the east of the continent – those insulated, immemorial, unalterable countries, which even in these modern days still preserve much of the ghostly aboriginalness of earth's primal generations, when the memory of the first man was a distinct recollection, and all men his

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[49] Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002) p.17

[50] Ibid p.31

[51] Rey Chow warns us not to go too far in this critical direction though. Ascribing vibrant difference to Other cultures and emphasizing how they elude the logic of Western philosophy can sometimes participate in an "allochronic" logic. It is more fruitful to view these cultures as heterogeneous parts of modernity itself rather than antagonistic towards it: 'The moves permitted by the rules of the originary exclusion – the difference that makes the difference, as it were – have already been exhausted, and the critics dealing with *X* can only repeatedly run up against the incommensurability between the experience of temporality as self-deconstruction (with its radical theoretical nuances) and the experience of temporality as allochronism (with its racialist anthropological ramifications). // In sum, contemporary uses of poststructuralist theory have tended to adopt poststructuralism's solution, differencing, without sufficiently reflecting on its flip side, its circumvention of exclusion. Yet contemporary issues of identity and cultural conflict almost invariably involve the politics of exclusion. Can these mutually incompatible states of affairs be reconciled with each other?' (Chow, 184) ; Rey Chow, 'The Interruption of Referentiality: Poststructuralism and the Conundrum of Critical Multiculturalism', *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 101:1 (Winter 2002) pp.171-86

descendants, unknowing whence he came, eyed each other as real phantoms, and asked of the sun and the moon why they were created and to what end; when though, according to Genesis, the angels indeed consorted with the daughters of men, the devils also, add the uncanonical Rabbins, indulged in mundane amours' (*Moby-Dick*, 231). Again, transnationality provides an alternative origin myth that does not accord with ideas of design. There is no divine presence and Melville relies on a non-official, 'uncanonical' rendering of this past. Yet that Fedallah provides a wormhole into distant history is not the point as such. Instead the living presence on the deck of the ship of this fragment of the transnational past indicates that Melville felt globalization had failed to bring about a rupture with cultures that came before it. It had not standardized them nor erased them to produce a homogenous account of modernity. Instead, this transnational past is, paradoxically, not past. Through Fedallah, it plays an active role in composing and formulating the contested oceanic present. As such, the crew take Fedallah's origins to indicate a concurrent control over the future.[52] He decides on their own placement in time and their ultimate destiny, not the other way round. So although Stubb suggests that "all the coopers in creation couldn't show hoops enough" (326) to calculate Fedallah's age, this lengthened lifespan contributes to his suspicion that Fedallah "seems to know all about ships' charms" (325). Fedallah's numerous riddles and signs come to undermine Ahab's quest. Like Queequeg's 'chance' they provide ironic adjustments to, and swerves away from, his monadic intimations of the future. Melville places Pip in a similar position in time. He associates him both with the origins of mankind and the apocalyptic ending of the world. So although, as we have seen, he sees the 'unwarped primal world,' he also provides 'the sometimes madly merry and predestinated craft with a

[52] As C.L.R. James famously noted, Melville makes his crew ethnically mixed to articulate a utopian vision of the future for the working class. Though these transnational workers carry with them the 'whole historical past of man,' Melville, through them, also articulates 'an entirely new conception of society, not dealing with profit and the rights of private property…but with new conceptions of the relations between man and man, between man and his technology and between Man and Nature' (88). See C.L.R. James, *Mariners, Renegades and Castaways: The Story of Herman Melville and the World We Live In* (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 2001)

living and ever accompanying prophecy of whatever shattered sequel might prove her own' (411). Moreover, his tambourine gives signs of a divine time as it is 'prelusive of the eternal time, when sent for, to the great-quarter deck on high, he was bid strike in with angels, and beat his tambourine in glory' (121).

On board the *Pequod*, Melville depicts an entangled oceanic time that makes the present unstable. This instability means that it becomes impossible to generate workable models for progressive time. Instead, vastly different historical moments and orders of time are coterminous on deck. These coterminous orders of time exist as a result of the transnational workers exerting their own geographically varied time consciousness. This time consciousness forces adjustments to the progressive mandate of trade and imperialism. Ships then carried this unstable and geographically multitudinous oceanic time around the world. They imported it to the United States and, subsequently, re-exported it once more.

Oceanic Time and Narrative

In the antebellum period, the varied geographic constitution of the maritime workforce meant that the ship deck produced new forms of time. These times modified forward-moving arcs of progress and allowed ships to transport transnational histories across the seas. The foreign members of the workforce were not the only sailors with a stake in altering progressive, linear time. This section examines how the experience of labour at sea led to the development of a distinct form of oceanic narrative time and how the forces of industrial modernity

threatened it. It focuses in particular on the way maritime writers of the era conceived of the workings of a nautical storytelling community. This community was unevenly organised and at a tangent to the “simultaneity-across-time” of the nation. For writers from William Leggett to John Sherburne Sleeper, this maritime storytelling tradition depended on asserting loyalty to an oceanic time based on an archaic sense of narrative recursion and repetition. Conversely Owen Chase saw maximizing the economic productivity of work as a way of circumventing a cyclical traumatic time caused by almost indescribable oceanic catastrophe. The dilatory and frequently intermittent nature of maritime labour opened up a space on deck where this tradition could thrive. These gaps in work, as Hester Blum has suggested, created a distinctly nautical form of vision which she terms the “sea eye.” The “sea eye” oscillated between minute descriptions of work and more metaphysical reflections on the nature of being. For her, this way of viewing the world ‘comprehends the coextensive nature of labor and contemplation described in seamen’s narratives.’ She argues that sailors were ‘[n]either crude, unthinking drones nor disembodied transcendental eyeballs,’ and that, instead, they articulated ‘a method for aligning reflection and literary production with labor practice.’[53] When there was work left to do on deck sailors took the opportunity to tell handed-down stories about the past and tried to express their experiences from their years at sea. Herman Melville draws a parallel between the ‘wonderful patience of industry’ of ‘the savage’ and the actions of ‘the white sailor-savage’ (*Moby-Dick*, 270) as the latter create objects and stories while not working. These stories often self-consciously commented on their own telling and resultantly emphasized the importance of recursive structures of narrative time. Non-fiction writers like Richard Henry Dana Jr. and Nathaniel Ames used these stories to reorganize the chronologies of national history and the forward-moving logic of plot.

[53] Blum, *View from the Masthead* p.3

Maritime writers also reflected on how the dictates of economic progress manifested themselves on deck and threatened the existence of this tradition of tale-telling. The economic imperatives of maritime industry demanded that sailors ought to attempt to make every single moment as financially productive as possible. As the antebellum period went on, there was as a result scant time available for storytelling. As Cesare Casarino has suggested, then, when sailors tried to write about their experiences, they were often caught at historical cross-purposes. He focuses in particular on Herman Melville and Joseph Conrad to show how they concurrently tried to preserve quickly disappearing and obsolescent narrative forms while also attempting to realise some of the innovations of literary modernism. This situation came about, he suggests, as the ship felt the full force of two divergent modes of economic production (mercantilism and industrial capitalism) coming into contact. '[I]f,' Casarino argues, 'the world of the sea, whose practices and centrality to political economy was largely inherited from an older mode of production, suddenly became an indispensable element in the emergence and consolidation of a new mode of production and of its imperialist enterprises, the nineteenth-century sea narrative was an archaic form of representation that suddenly began to perform according to new narrative structures and to fulfil new cultural imperatives, and that, hence, played a direct role in the production of emergent cultures of modernity.'[54] For my purposes, this movement between different economic models is less important than the fact that oceanic narratives articulated some of the transformations in time consciousness that I have linked to the early stages of globalization. These oceanic stories articulated a complex web of different times, demonstrating a conflict between progressive linear time and cyclical time, as well as presenting a vast array of unfamiliar historical chronologies to the reader. These chronologies provide a transnational and frequently alinear model of history that can alter our understanding of narrative and national time in the antebellum period.

[54] Cesare Casarino, *Modernity at Sea* pp.5-6

Sailors sought to create a shared sense of maritime community through the exchange and circulation of texts and letters while at sea. Ships setting out from American ports carried messages from relatives to seamen who had long since shipped as well as recent copies of newspapers from their native towns. The hope was that a ship on the voyage out might cross paths with a ship on the voyage home and exchange these documents, thus passing on the letters to their intended recipient. As a result, this oceanic mailing system attempted to connect the nomadic maritime American workforce to their nation, creating links to home that extended across the vast blanks of the ocean.[55] This model of textual culture would seem to accord with Benedict Anderson's notion of "simultaneity-across-time."[56] By circulating and sharing these documents, antebellum mariners brought into being a maritime public sphere based on a shared experience of the present of national time. In the post-Revolutionary years, as Carlene Stephens has suggested, the development of a mail system had similar effects. After the Post Office Act of 1792 and until the dissemination of telegraphic technology in 1844, mail carriers 'epitomized speed and punctuality.'[57] The postal system enforced a rigid public time too, with offices refusing to send letters that arrived after closing hours. Stephens quotes from a guidebook to Philadelphia in the 1820s that states, '[g]reat punctuality is observed in closing the respective mails at the minute, and strangers wishing to transmit letters by mail, are advised to be a little before the time, as it is impossible to send a letter by that day's mail, even if it should come but a moment after it is closed.'[58]

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[55] Hester Blum discussed this mailing system at the Eighth International Melville Conference in Rome in 2011. She built on her work in *The View from the Mast-Head* (2008) to show the various ways in which this mail system led to a community of texts and linked Melville's references to it to their historical contexts. This paper was read under the title 'Dead Letter Reckoning.'
[56] See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London and New York: Verso, 1991)
[57] Carlene E. Stephens, *On Time: How America Has Learned to Live by the Clock* (Boston, New York and London: Bulfinch Press, 2002) p.59
[58] Ibid p.60

The nature of oceanic trade meant that this experience of "simultaneity-across-time" was ultimately unrealisable. It resultantly offers a critical model that challenges recent depictions of transnational writing communities: the exchange of texts among mariners did not necessarily translate into a cogently organised system of cultural affiliation.[59] Relatives addressed messages to men long since dead and many letters never found the addressee. In *Moby-Dick*, Ishmael reflects that even though '[e]very whale-ship takes out a goodly number of letters for various ships' their 'delivery to the persons to whom they may be addressed, depends on the mere chance of encountering them' (*Moby-Dick*, 317). As a result, 'most letters never reach their mark; and many are only received after attaining an age of two or three years or more' (317). The oceanic mail system did not bring about a homogenous and shared maritime present. Once again, 'chance' prevails. The potential delays in receiving a letter meant that sailors could not feel coterminousness with those on land. They became aware of the gaps in time between them and those they left behind. This was particularly the case when the letters conveyed information made redundant by subsequent events at sea. Ishmael, for instance, describes the irony of the *Pequod* carrying a letter for the deceased first mate of the *Jeroboam*, Harry Macey, and the ways in which this incident strangely correlated with the ravings of the tyrannical Shaker prophet Elijah.[60] Similarly in 'The Encantadas,' Salvator Tarnmoor meditates at length on the oceanic mailing system on the islands, as it

[59] Even though transnationalist readings of the antebellum era attempt to separate themselves from and challenge the boundaries of the nation, they often recapitulate the logic of Anderson's national time. They show how ethnic and racial groups, once excluded from the discussion of American literature, assert themselves through translation and developing vibrant print cultures. Rodrigo Lazo, for instance, in *Writing to Cuba* (2005) focuses on what Arjan Appadurai would call a "diasporic public sphere" that coagulated around conceptions of Cuban culture. He concentrates on a vibrant Spanish language press that sought to articulate the revolutionary potential of Cuba. In focusing on cultures like this, transnationalist critics often unwittingly subscribe to the dictates of Anderson's "imagined communities." That is, these cultures seem to exist in a homogenous historical moment, with individual members of these communities linked together through a shared sense of time. It is in this way that transnationalist critics come to rely on a model of nationhood, even if they redirect its energies towards new non-national geographies. See Rodrigo Lazo, *Writing to Cuba: Filibustering and Cuban Exiles in the United States* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1996)

[60] The presence of this irrelevant past did sometimes provide consolation to the sailors as many of them simply enjoyed having 'papers of a date a year or two later than the last one on her blurred and thumb-worn files' (*Moby-Dick*, 239).

provides for him another sign of the 'vanishing humanity' in those desolate places. He tells us how 'though it may seem very strange to talk of post-offices in this barren region, yet post-offices are occasionally to be found there.'[61] Generally these post-offices 'consist of a stake and bottle,' and the letters are 'not only sealed, but corked' (172). The sailors that write these letters intend for them to contain the latest information about fishing conditions and the stock of tortoises on the islands. Rather than providing contemporary information, these letters only attest to the passing of time, not its homogenization, and offer facts whose relevance has long since diminished. Tarnmoor recounts that '[f]requently, however, long months and months, whole years glide by and no applicant appears,' and instead the stake just 'rots and falls' (172).

The geographical particulars of trading routes, and the day-to-day contingencies of sailing life, had the capacity to disrupt linear conceptions of history. The antebellum sailor's republic of letters was temporally uneven rather than homogenous. The nature of maritime labour had similarly disruptive effects on time consciousness. Nathaniel Ames remembers that the predominant feeling he had when at sea was boredom. The reason was that working on board ships involved frequent bouts of inactivity and the pointless repetition of menial tasks. Unlike in the factory, there was no necessary link between time and money, or, indeed, time and economic progress. For Ames, this quandary means that he meditates on his incapacity to produce a linear plot. With perhaps with a dose of sarcasm, he tells us how, '[i]n a sea life of twelve or thirteen years, it can hardly be expected that much that is wonderful or interesting could have occurred.'[62] Ames links this lack of action to his cognizance that 'the nautical part of my life' was predominantly spent in 'a very matter of fact kind of way,' meaning that

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[61] Herman Melville, *The Piazza Tales and Other Prose Pieces 1839-60* (ed. Harrison Hayford, Alma MacDougall, Thomas Tanselle) (Evanston and Chicago: Northwestern University Press and The Newberry Library, 1987) p.172

[62] Nathaniel Ames, *A Mariner's Sketches* (Providence: Cory, Marshall and Hammond, 1830) p.5. All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.

‘hardly any thing will be found in its narration worth remembering’ (5). In contradistinction to Blum’s argument, which equates labour with philosophical meditation, Ames suggests that the opposite applies: that the relentlessly material nature of work at sea actively shuts down the potential of sailors to create linear narrative. Nautical labour for Ames ‘consists in merely ringing the changes upon gales and calms’ and other comparable acts that ‘may be tolerably interesting to the patient, but monstrous dull to both narrator and auditor’ (5).

For other writers of the sea, precisely these gaps in work allowed for the creation of an oceanic storytelling tradition. By drawing on the supra-national movement of ships across the world, this tradition permeated through and travelled across the borders of nations, reconfiguring linear national histories. For Richard Henry Dana Jr., for example, this oceanic narrative tradition provided a comic counterpoint to the logic of the exceptionalist liberal historiography espoused by people like George Bancroft. Based on a more dilatory experience of time, these stories treat government officials of different nations and sailors as equals, and they have the potential to go on without end. Dana Jr. describes how during an intermission from work because of bad weather, the captain of another ship, Job Terry, visits his ship. Terry proceeds to tell ‘a “yarn” when he came aboard, which lasted, with but little intermission, for four hours. It was all about himself, and the Peruvian government, and the Dublin frigate, and Lord James Townshend, and President Jackson, and the ship Ann M’Kim of Baltimore. It would probably never have come to an end, had not a good breeze sprung up, which sent him off to his own vessel’ (Dana, 34).

The nature of labour fused working time, leisure time, and storytelling together on board ships. This mixed experience of time had the capacity to produce both historical and narrative structures that did not operate according to causal and linear notions of national and narrative

progress. The demands of capitalist trade put this form of work and its associated traditions under severe pressure. Maritime writers of the era frequently reflect on the clash between these dilatory forms of oceanic experience and a newly emergent and impatient need to progress forward. As Ahab soliloquizes, "[w]ould to God these blessed calms would last. But the mingled, mingling threads of life are woven by warp and woof: calms crossed by storms, a storm for every calm' (*Moby-Dick*, 492). Strangely these sentiments allow Ahab to reflect that a larger Providential destiny might not underpin his life. Instead, he invokes a cyclical model of the world where '[t]here is no steady unretracing progress in this life; we do not advance through fixed gradations, and at the last one pause…[b]ut once gone through, we trace the round again; and are infants, boys, and men, and Ifs eternally' (492). Like Melville, other writers of the sea found the counterpoise between calms and storms suggestive. William Leggett, for instance, in 'The Encounter,' drew on precisely the same juxtaposition to describe the conflict between progressive, eschatological, and oceanic experiences of time. This short story recounts how a storm of almost unprecedented violence strikes the evocatively named ship the *Active*. In the midst of the squall, it almost collides with another vessel. As this potentially cataclysmic event occurs, its crew hears a mysterious and possibly supernatural screaming sound.

The story begins with the crew relaxing as a result of sailing into a particularly prolonged calm. Some beguile 'their watch with prattle about home, or gay anticipations of the future' while the master's mate anticipates that they "shall have a dull and lazy night of it" as 'he returned forward from adding on the log-slate another "ditto" to the long column of them which recorded the history of the day.'[63] This is an essentially homogenous form of time, where past, present, and future process by in anonymous succession. The calm means that

[63] William Leggett, *Naval Stories* (New York: G. & C. & H. Carvill, 1834) pp.14-15, 15, 15. All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.

there is little work that the crew needs to carry out and the day is repetitive and uneventful. As there is not much to be done, and plenty of empty time, they gather beneath the deck to tell stories of the sort that so amused Dana Jr. Leggett describes how '[t]he midshipmen in the steerage had gathered round their mess-table, and were engaged in lively chat and repartee, and in cracking nautical jokes and witticisms upon each other. Their discourse was plentifully interlarded with sea-phrases; for these juvenile sons of Neptune, however slender their seamanship in other respects, have commonly great volubility in rattling off the technicals of their profession, and surprising facility in applying them to the ordinary topics of conversation' (20). Notable among the crew is the young Charles Burton who engages in witticisms with the other men. They talk of their laziness and mock the weather and so 'in chat and merriment of this sort the evening slipped away, until the hour for extinguishing the lights arrived' (22).

Leggett, however, introduces another model of time onto the ship through the character Vangs. Vangs deploys the rhetoric of eschatology and Biblical prophecy to warn the men of the potential effects of their laziness. He invokes teleological conceptions of Fate to anticipate a storm that will come and punish the men for their laxness. As the master's mate tells him, "you are turning prophet" (16). Vangs equates history with individual destiny and like Ahab, sees the future as already written. He makes various predictions of impending doom, including suggesting that "[t]here is something brewing in the clouds we none of us understand…We shall have more wind than we want before long, or I am out in my reckoning"' (23). When the storm eventually hits it operates in an eschatological mode that anthropomorphises the storm. In so doing, he suggests that it strikes the ship to destroy the dilatory and leisured time consciousness of the men on board. He recounts how '[t]he ocean, now, as if to revenge itself for its constrained inactivity, roused from its brief repose, and

swelled into billows that rolled and chased each other with the wild glee of ransomed demons' (26). The storm punishes the earlier space in labour that allowed for maritime storytelling, revenging 'itself for its constrained inactivity, roused from its brief repose.' We might see the storm as the repressed presence of a coming future for the ship deck. It introduces a progressive working time that destroys an earlier experience of leisured labour at sea. The storm has the effect of expediting the *Active*'s voyage, driving it relentlessly 'towards her place of destination' (26). The ship only survives because of Vang's foresight, although both he and, the instigator of the tale-telling Charles Burton, are thrown overboard and die, as '[t]here was one on deck, however, who had foreseen this awful change, and made preparations to meet it; and when this tempest burst, in full, fell swoop, upon his ship, it found nothing but the bare hull and spars to oppose its tremendous power' (25). In this sense, we might read 'The Encounter' as a cautionary tale of nautical domestic economy. Vangs prepares the *Active* for a violent storm that would otherwise have destroyed it. He does so by deploying a model of time that regulates and orders the behaviour of the crew on deck and which concerns itself with a potentially disastrous future. Ultimately, though, Leggett's message is an ambivalent one as he concludes the story on an elegiac note. The crew repair the ship when they return to port. This act of repair showcases the effects of the men using time efficiently as '[t]he officers and crew lent themselves earnestly to the duty, and a short time served to accomplish it' (32). It also demonstrates how the need for the ship to remain active and economically productive can mask its past, as '[i]n less than a week, every thing set up and all a-taunto, the ship hauled out again, gleaming with fresh paint, and looking as proud and stately as before the disaster.' (32) However, Leggett attempts to preserve an account of the disaster. His own short story seeks to commemorate the loss of Charles Burton (and those like him), lamenting how 'his silvery voice was hushed' and 'his gay heart was cold' meaning that 'his messmates mourned his timeless fate with real sorrow' (32). He seeks

to memorialise the lives of sailors who have been lost. Ultimately his conclusions are fatalistic as he reflects that the relentless forward-movement of linear time will soon destroy the memory of not only the working sailor but the maritime storytelling tradition itself (a tradition which, of course, he is part). He concludes by asking, '[b]ut where was she who had been wrecked in the encounter? Where and who were those who perished with her? Fond hearts were doubtless eagerly awaiting them, and anxious eyes strained over the ocean "to hail the bark that never could return." No word, no whisper ever told their fate. They who saw them perish knew not the victims, and the deep gave not up its dead' (32).

Leggett's work suggests that in the antebellum era progressive time threatened the continuing existence of an oceanic mode of labouring time. For his contemporary John Sherburne Sleeper, who wrote under the pseudonym "Hawser Martingale," these silenced nautical voices would necessarily reassert themselves. In his own short story, 'The Haunted Ship,' one sailor named Tom Tiller, 'just for the sake of killing time,' tells the story of how the ghost of a murdered mariner haunts the captain that took away his life.[64] The murdered mariner's name was Dacres. He was a great favourite with all the crew precisely because he revelled in an oceanic leisure time that allowed for creative expression. Tom Tiller recalls how Dacres 'associated very little with the captain, but whiled away his time in reading, writing and playing on the violin, to which he was extremely partial' (132). One night the captain and Dacres have a dispute for mysterious reasons that Tom Tiller never reveals. The two men go beneath deck and the crew hear the strains of Dacre's favourite sea ballad "The girl I left behind me!" coming up from beneath deck. The music swiftly stops. Whatever had occurred during the confrontation had clearly altered time, speeding it up, as the captain comes on board alone 'looking as if at least twenty years had been added to his age, during the last

[64] John Sherburne Sleeper, *Tales of the Ocean* (Boston: S.N. Dickinson, 1842) p.129. All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.

twelve hours' (133). When Dacres does not emerge, the crew go below and find him dead. Although they suspect that the captain has killed him, there is no evidence. They give Dacres an anonymous sea burial, casting him unmemorialized into the waters. His ghostly presence remains on board: prior to any disaster, the men hear the distinct sound of "The girl I left behind me!" playing somewhere on the ship. The relentless playing of this song demonstrates the continuing presence of a maritime past on the ship decks that the forces of social order seek to destroy. The captain reflects that Dacres "will not rest in his watery grave…[h]e has come for me and I must obey his summons" (134). In an inversion of Leggett's tale, then, Sleeper links an oceanic creative tradition with the vengeful forces of nature. During one storm, various members of the crew fall into the water, with Tiller recounting how '[w]e heard their screams for assistance, which sounded far louder than the rush of waters, and seemed like the spirit of the storm uttering a deep and wild cry of vengeance' (135). Throughout the rest of the voyage, the song continues to play sporadically, each time before some disaster, 'as if for the purpose of reminding us that the deed of violence was not yet forgotten' (136). In this way, it articulates a peculiar form of time. On the one hand, it is fated: it metes out justice on the basis of a rigid moral code. On the other, the return of this song celebrates and commemorates an oceanic time opposed to such notions of progress and design. When the crew hear the song playing consistently throughout one night 'they felt as if some dreadful disaster was impending' (136); similarly, in the final fatal storm 'as if to add to the horrors that surrounded us, at intervals was heard, mingled with the fierce blasts of the storm, the wild, unearthly strain, which sounded in our ears, like the precursor of destruction' (137). This final storm leads to the death of the guilty captain. Like the dead in Leggett's 'The Encounter,' the squall throws him into the ocean, unburied and unmemorialized, as '[b]y the fiat of an offended Providence he was cut off with all his imperfections on his head; and his remains never received Christian burial' (138).

Leggett and Sleeper commemorate an oceanic storytelling tradition that the forces of progress threatened to annihilate. William Leggett's work suggests that it was inevitable that this maritime archive would soon disappear, because it could not adapt to the demands of modern life. Conversely John Sherburne Sleeper's stories suggest that it was precisely because sea tales were recursive and archaic that they would survive. The ghostly sounds of "The girl I left behind me!" exemplify an oceanic time that refuses to progress forwards yet which nonetheless continues to impact on daily life on board ships. Other writers of the sea found the links between oceanic narration and temporal recursion deeply troubling. In *Narrative of the Most Extraordinary and Distressing Shipwreck of the Whale-ship Essex* (1821), Owen Chase suggests that the dangers that sailors experienced at sea frequently led to a cyclical and potentially destructive traumatic temporality to coagulate around images of ruined ships. In contradistinction to Sleeper and Leggett, Chase argues that maximizing the economic value of time whilst on deck could be positive. For him, labour offered a way for sailors to repress maritime trauma. Chase attempts to deploy the rhetoric of economic productivity to offset the dangers of what he terms "recurrence." For him, recurrence is a form of cyclical time that brings a destructive and unchanging past into the present. His attempts to prevent it from manifesting itself fail. His narrative therefore comes to demonstrate the links between acts of narration and maritime trauma.[65]

[65] The term "recurrence" occurs early on in the narrative in two different forms. He first uses it to describe the constant presence of danger for sailors at sea, and their heroic self-possession in the face of it. Prior to the accident, he reports how one of the whale boats sinks, yet boasts that '[w]e are so much accustomed to the continual recurrence of such scenes as these, that we become familiarized to them…It is this danger and hardship that makes the sailor; indeed it is the distinguishing qualification amongst us; and it is a common boast of the whaleman that he has escaped from sudden and apparently inevitable destruction more often than his fellow' (Chase, 15-16). When he comes to reflect on the sinking of the *Essex* and the months of starving and privation that followed it, his use of the word changes. He tells us how 'I have not been able to recur to the scenes which are now to become the subject of description, although a considerable time has elapsed…Frequently in my recollections on the subject, even after this lapse of time, I find myself shedding tears of gratitude for our deliverance, and blessing God, by whose divine aid and protection we were conducted through a series of unparalleled suffering and distress, and restored to the bosoms of our families and friends' (Chase, 17).

His account tells of how a whale, with seemingly willed and demonic intent, attacks and sinks the *Essex*, the ship on which he was first mate. The crew initially survive through escaping on the whale boats. But supplies quickly run short and the extreme circumstances force the men into cannibalism. The book's almost gothic depictions of privation and human suffering captured the imaginations of the antebellum literary audience, providing one source for Poe's *Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym* and *Moby-Dick*. Initially his tone is triumphant as he celebrates the United States' dominance at sea and extols the heroic bravery of Nantucket whalers. He demonstrates the centrality of whaling's contributions to the national economy and extemporises on the effects that it has had on America's standing in the world. These celebratory invocations of progress quickly vanish once he comes to describe the wreck of the *Essex*. He tells us how 'from the pleasing anticipations we had formed, of realizing the certain profits of our labour, we were dejected by a sudden, most mysterious, and overwhelming calamity' (Chase, 22). The accident concentrates the passing of time, filling every moment with significance. After rescuing some supplies from the sinking ship, he marvels at the efficiency of the men, as 'from the time we were first attacked by the whale, to the period of the fall of our ship, and of our leaving her in the boat, more than ten minutes could not certainly have elapsed! God only knows in what way, or by what means, we were enabled to accomplish in that short time what we did' (23). Chase frequently has recourse to constructions such as this one as he emphasizes the importance of work for the crew. The situation requires that they maximize the productivity of every single moment of time. This pose is not only pragmatic. It is also essential because acts of labour suppress the crew's memory of the traumatic event. He describes the work that they do the boats as an 'employment, which cheated us out of some of the realities of the situation' (31). His account is full of statements about making the most efficient use of time. Rather than dwelling in an

inactive state of ‘vacant idleness,’ he recalls how he asserted ‘the necessity of not wasting our time’ (29). Similarly, he tells of how ‘it was all-important that while our provisions lasted we should make the best possible use of time.’ (33) When one of the boats begins to leak, he emphasises that there was ‘no time to be lost in devising some means to repair it’ (40).

Once the crew on board the boats complete the tasks, they are left only with an empty leisure time. In the case of someone like Dana Jr. these gaps in between work led to the production of a vibrant storytelling culture. In Chase’s case the opposite applies, as the absence of labour leads to the men fixating on a recursive and unmoving traumatic moment in the past. Work and progress allows them to forget, while moments of leisure force them into an unwilling act of remembrance. He describes how ‘when they ceased to be occupied, they passed to a sudden fit of melancholy, and the miseries of their situation came upon them with such force as to produce spells of extreme debility, approaching almost to fainting’ (31-2). As Maud Ellmann has argued, this incapacity to progress and move forward characterizes traumatic time in Freud’s work. She suggests that ‘[t]rauma…arises from the time lag between experience and understanding; the psyche is permanently scarred when the event arrives too soon, the sense too late…in trauma, this missing meaning functions like a scratch on a broken record, forcing the psyche to repeat the shattering experience ad infinitum.’[66] For Chase, the extremity of his situation, full of ‘long and watchful nights’ and ‘tedious days of partial starvation,’ creates plenty of gaps in work for this traumatic time to thrive. Chase’s own experience of trauma takes on a specifically oceanic tint, as he fixates on the image of his sinking ship. He recounts that after a day of work he ‘now had full leisure to examine, with some degree of coolness, the dreadful circumstances of our disaster. The scenes of yesterday passed in such quick succession in my mind that it was not until after many hours of severe

[66] Maud Ellmann, "Introduction" to Sigmund Freud, *On Murder, Mourning, and Melancholia* (London: Penguin, 2005) p.xi

reflection that I was able to discard the idea of the catastrophe as a dream' (Chase, 27). He tells us how '[t]he wreck was constantly before my eyes. I could not, by any effort, chase away the horrors of the preceding day from my mind: they haunted me the live-long night' (26). In another gap between working, he records how his 'thoughts so haunted' him and how 'every recollection was still fresh before me, and I enjoyed but a few short and unsatisfactory slumbers caught in the intervals between my hopes and my fears…the dismal looking wreck, and the horrid aspect and revenge of the whale, wholly engrossed my reflections, until day again made its appearance' (37-8). As with Sleeper and Leggett, Chase wrestles with the forces of economic productivity, profit maximization, and traumatic recursion. He suggests that it is preferable for sailors to embrace linear time and so stop glancing backwards to an oceanic past.

Conclusion

The accounts covered in the preceding section all demonstrate how bewilderingly intermixed oceanic time was. Progressive time negotiated with cyclical models of history. Leisure time allowed for the reorganisation of the national past. Traumatic recurrence overwhelmed the desire of sailors to maximize the productiveness of time. To use Frank Kermode's terms, time at sea did not resemble *chronos*, which is to say 'humanly uninteresting successiveness,' but rather *kairos*, which is a 'significant season' where 'that which was conceived of as simple successiveness becomes charged with past and future.'[67] Indeed, we might characterize the

[67] Frank Kermode, *The Sense of an Ending: Studies in the Theory of Fiction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967) p.46. This in part explains why there are so many prophets in Melville's fiction. From Jackson through to Elijah, Melville populates his ships with theorists of the apocalypse. Perhaps most notable is Jack Blunt in *Redburn* who records his dreams as he thinks that 'in his own dreams, lay all the secrets of futurity.' (90) One night he springs from his bed, professing the imminent occurrence of the apocalypse, shouting "cut down the forests, bear a hand, boys; the Day of Judgment is coming!" (106); Herman Melville, *Redburn: His First Voyage, Being the Sailor-boy Confessions and Reminiscences of the Son-of-a-Gentleman, in the Merchant Service* (New York: The Modern Library, 2002)

antebellum period as a “significant season” for maritime life. Different forms of time consciousness, drawn from a variety of geographical points of origin, came together as the United States asserted itself on the world system. Oceanic writers looked forward in order to grasp at a triumphant but unrealisable future while simultaneously looking backwards as they attempted to preserve a swiftly changing nautical past. The ship deck was cross-cut by deep transnational histories, a lengthened maritime story-telling tradition, and a vast array of sacred, local, and traumatic modes of time. The presence of these different times indicated the conflicts between these modes of time and a progressive, homogenizing time that sought to destroy them. The historical changes associated with the “Golden Age of American Sail” forced antebellum Americans to perpetually renegotiate and alter how they perceived time. With Owen Chase they realised that ‘[m]atters’ were ‘at their height’ and ‘all hope was cast on the breeze’. With him they ‘tremblingly and fearfully awaited…the dreadful development of [their] destiny’ (Chase, 88).

Chapter Two: Imperialism, Non-American Space, and the Problem of National Time, 1830-55

Antebellum American writers, scientists, and politicians sought to formulate a homogenous national time as they interacted with the world. They attempted to force this time onto distant continental and global places in order to offset neo-colonial anxieties that arose from the increasingly actualised energies of expansion. By invoking a shared conception of U.S. time, one that they could apply regardless of place, social context, or culture, they hoped to consolidate their national identity. However, the opposite occurred. Uncertainty about the future shape of the United States and the nature of its links with foreign places meant that they never brought about a homogenous imperial time. Instead, the early energies of expansionism led to national time taking on a variety of different forms. The interactions between local people and U.S. travellers and explorers revealed this national time to be internally heterogeneous. As a result, continental and extra-continental imperialism introduced a vast array of foreign local times and historical chronologies into the national imaginary. As Bruce Harvey has suggested, when they moved around the globe, U.S. writers and thinkers 'often situat[ed] "America" – the national symbolic order – within a more global and thereby more complex, sociocomparative context.'[1] These complex transnational exchanges had a profound effect on the experience of time in the era. As antebellum Americans worked, lived, and engaged with non-American spaces, their conceptions of national time increasingly came to vary with the particularities of foreign geographies.

A variety of exploring expeditions, mapping projects, and infrastructural developments defined American space and its relation to the rest of the world in the years between 1830 and 1855. The railroad expanded outwards from the east coast into the west. The miles of track

[1] Bruce A. Harvey, *American Geographics: U.S. National Narratives and the Representation of the Non-European World, 1830-65* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001) p.3

laid increased from just 73 in 1830 to 9,000 in 1850 to around 30,000 in 1860.[2] After a series of false starts subsequent to its initial conception in 1807, the Jefferson-conceived Coast Survey began in earnest in 1843 with the appointment of Alexander Dallas Bache as Superintendent. Increased levels of maritime commerce necessitated the resuscitation of the Survey and its project of mapping out all the bays and ports along the Eastern seaboard. Bache boasted that even in 'the approaches to our great marts of commerce' the Survey made 'actual discoveries, or developments so near akin to them that it is difficult to draw the line between them.'[3] Even though Herman Melville disapproved of assigning governmental funds to 'pen-and-ink work at observatories, and solvers of logarithms in the Coast Survey,'[4] it flourished, employing 776 people by 1855.[5] In the wake of the Lewis and Clark Expedition (1804-6) and the Monroe Doctrine (1823), the government sponsored several more voyages of exploration.[6] On the continent, John C. Fremont explored the western lands (1842-46) as the nation prepared for war with Mexico. This movement west found popular articulation in a wide array of travel narratives and journals, perhaps most notably Francis Parkman's *The Oregon Trail* (1847).

Yet, as Rachel Adams has suggested, movement within and from the United States has always been in a variety of directions, not just westward.[7] In the antebellum era in particular, the expansionist urge was not only provisional, in that U.S. citizens were unsure whether they

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[2] Carlene E. Stephens, *On Time: How America Has Learned to Live by the Clock* (Boston, New York and London: Bulfinch Press, 2002) p.99
[3] Alexander Dallas Bache, *Report of the Superintendent of the Coast Survey, Showing the Progress of the Survey During The Year 1854* (Washington: A.O.P. Nicholson, 1855) p.5
[4] Herman Melville, *White-Jacket: or, The World in a Man-of-War* (ed. Harrison Hayford, Hershel Parker and Thomas Tanselle) (Northwestern University Press and Newberry Library: Evanston and Chicago, 1970) p.113
[5] Hugh Richard Slotten, *Patronage, Practice, and the Culture of American Science: Alexander Dallas Bache and the U.S. Coastal Survey* (Cambridge, Melbourne and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994)
[6] For analysis of the permutations of the Monroe Doctrine for literature see Anna Brickhouse, *Transamerican Literary Relations and the Nineteenth-Century Public Sphere* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) and Gretchen Murphy, *Hemispheric Imaginings: The Monroe Doctrine and Narratives of U.S. Empire* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005)
[7] Rachel Adams, *Continental Divides: Remapping the Cultures of North America* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2009)

could realise their imperial urges, but also multidirectional and oceanic. The Perry Expedition (1852-4) attempted to open up the previously isolationist Japan to American ships and trade and to establish diplomatic relations between the two countries.[8] The U.S. Naval Expedition to the Southern Hemisphere (1849-52), led by James Gilliss, had more obviously scientific interests even though the Navy provided the funds for it. This expedition established the most southerly observatory on the American continent in order to find the parallax of Venus. The journey home through South America of Gilliss' assistant, Archibald MacRae is one of the most interesting travel documents of the period. The Chronometric Expeditions of the late 1840s and 1850s had a similarly scientific aim and most obviously tried to establish a U.S. national time. The head of the Harvard Observatory William Bond organised this Coast Survey sponsored expedition, which saw the exchange of hundreds of chronometers between Boston and Liverpool. The aim was to establish a reliable longitude for Cambridge, Massachusetts, by marking the time difference between the two places. Perhaps the most famous of the expeditions was the United States Exploring Expedition (1838-42), which, under the command of Charles Wilkes[9], established trading posts on Pacific islands in order to facilitate the growth of the U.S. whaling industry. By the time it came to map Oregon and the Pacific Northwest in 1841, it had covered well over 80,000 miles in a journey that had encompassed the desolate wastes of Antarctica, the coasts of South America, and a host of previously unmapped islands in the Pacific. It accumulated around forty tonnes worth of scientific specimens and discovered around 2,000 never before identified species in a haul that would eventually lead to the creation of the Smithsonian Museum in Washington.[10]

[8] For analysis of the Perry Expedition see Yunte Huang, *Transpacific Imaginations: History, Literature, Counterpoetics* (London and Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2008) and Gretchen Murphy, *Hemispheric Imaginings*

[9] For an account of the parallels between Wilkes and Ahab see David Jaffé, *The Stormy Petrel and the Whale: Some Origins of* Moby-Dick (Baltimore: Port City Press, 1976)

[10] Nathaniel Philbrick, *Sea of Glory: The Epic South Seas Expedition 1838-42* (London: Harper Perennial, 2005)

These voyages all attempted to define exactly the position of the United States against the boundaries of older European empires and newer markets in the Pacific. They combined a mixture of cartographical, economic, scientific, and military motives to assert the interests of the United States on the world. They ultimately failed to do so. As Anne Baker and Martin Brückner have argued, the fluctuating boundaries of the nation meant that antebellum Americans had constantly to readjust their notions of what the natural shape of the U.S. was. Their anxieties concentrated around the tasks of uniting the precepts of political republicanism with imperial expansion and forging an aesthetic form that could adequately encapsulate the geographical borders of the nation.[11] The United States was, in the years between 1830 and 1855, like Edgar Allan Poe's cosmos in *Eureka* (1848), 'a shadowy and fluctuating domain, now shrinking, now swelling, with the vacillating energies of the imagination.'[12] Brückner has therefore shown how educational textbooks articulated a nascent "imperial subjectivity" in order to train children in how to cope with a national geography that changed by the year. This subjectivity arose as a result of the 'amorphous and contested' boundaries of the United States and meant that 'literacy training was itself *about* the taking of space.'[13] Perhaps this is why Henry David Thoreau advised his readers to take 'advantage of the results of all exploring expeditions, using new passages and all improvements in navigation; – charts to be studied, the position of reefs and new lights and buoys to be ascertained, and ever and ever, the logarithmic tables to be corrected, for by the error of some calculator the vessel often splits upon a rock that should have reached a friendly pier.'[14] By invoking this cartographical rhetoric, Thoreau warns the reader of the

[11] See Paul Giles, *The Global Remapping of American Literature* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011) pp.1-11 in particular
[12] Edgar Allan Poe, *Poetry and Tales* (New York: The Library of America, 1984) p.1275. All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.
[13] Martin Brückner, *The Geographic Revolution in Early America: Maps, Literacy and National Identity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006) p.241
[14] Henry David Thoreau, *Walden* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) p.20. All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.

dangers of a lack of boundaries. He desires a unified and complete transcendental selfhood instead of a life like that of 'a German Confederacy, made up of petty states, with its boundary forever fluctuating, so that even a German cannot tell you how it is bounded at any moment' (*Walden*, 84). As Anne Baker has shown, Thoreau was far from alone in fearing the dangers of open space. She demonstrates that antebellum Americans created a variety of strategies for offsetting the threat of contested and metamorphosing borders. These strategies ranged from adopting an eschatological rhetoric to developing complicated metaphors about the body politic.[15] Hsuan Hsu has suggested that these anxieties were not limited to American space alone. Economic globalization and extracontinental acts of imperialism introduced foreign geographical scales into the province of the United States. This fact means that we should view the antebellum United States, in Hsu's words, 'as a synchronic system of overlapping and interconnected scales whose functions and relationships were contested and transformed throughout the nineteenth century.'[16]

As these examples suggest, critics have made it increasingly clear that the early energies of expansionism put the boundaries of the nation into flux. The same level of attention has not been paid to the effects of continental and extracontinental imperialism on time consciousness. This chapter aims to begin to address this gap. It suggests that efforts to consolidate the geography of the nation not only led to uncertainty about how to conceptualise space but also how to define national time. Work in the temporal turn in American literary studies has shown how a variety of communities, from the affective and trans-temporal ones of mourning to the white working class ones of Southwestern humour, were temporally heterogeneous. The workings of these communities undermined the

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[15] Anne Baker, *Heartless Immensity: Literature, Culture and Geography in Antebellum America* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2006)
[16] Hsuan L. Hsu, *Geography and the Production of Space in Nineteenth-Century American Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) p.21

progressive dictates of nationalism, expansionism, and public life in antebellum America.[17] These analyses have not, though, explored the internal temporal heterogeneity of expansionist and imperial accounts of the nation. Thomas Allen has suggested that 'temporal heterogeneity…becomes central to the experience of modern collective belonging' in the era.[18] In so doing, he passes over the intensity of the geographic and ethnic contestation identified by Baker, Brückner, Giles, and Hsu. The nation-state is the logical end point of his analysis, with heterogeneous temporalities cast as 'the threads out of which the fabric of national belonging has long been woven.'[19] The opposite was frequently the case. Projects that aimed to define the borders and identity of the United States had the unintended consequence of creating temporal heterogeneity. This temporal heterogeneity was transnational in nature, and it undermined coherent conceptions of nationhood.

The debates that raged in the antebellum era about whether to institute an American Prime Meridian and where to position it crystallise these issues. The Prime Meridian is the central point of world time, the place from which all longitudes are calculated and, in the words of Herman Melville 'the universal meridians are far out into infinity reckoned.'[20] An international conference of 1884 established Greenwich as the Prime Meridian, a designation it retains to this day.[21] Up until that moment the question of where to place the Prime Meridian remained unresolved. Numerous places made a claim on it. American astronomer Nathaniel Bowditch reflects in his navigational bible *The New American Practical Navigator* (1826) on how 'the Americans and English generally place the first meridian at London or

[17] See Dana Luciano, *Arranging Grief: Sacred Time and the Body in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2007) and Lloyd Pratt, *Archives of American Time: Literature and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010)
[18] Thomas Allen, *A Republic in Time: Temporality and Social Imagination in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008) p.11
[19] Ibid p.11
[20] Herman Melville, *Pierre; or The Ambiguities* (ed. Harrison Hayford, Hershel Parker, Thomas Tanselle) (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1995) p.211
[21] Stephens, *On Time* p.121

Greenwich, the French place it at Paris, the Spaniards at Cadiz; some Geographers place it at Teneriffe, and others at other places.'[22] These questions of geographical position gained in political capital as the United States attempted to undermine the military and economic control of the British over the oceans in the first half of the nineteenth century. William Lambert vigorously lobbied congress to have the Prime Meridian placed in Washington.[23] Geographical textbooks often calculated the longitude from Washington or, at least, Washington and Greenwich.[24] These attempts to centralise international time around an American source failed. Different regions and cities asserted their right to the Prime Meridian and thereby created a nation full of frequently conflicting time zones. The increase in global exploration, the exertions of the Coast Survey, the establishment of the National Observatory in Washington, and the commissioning of the first American nautical almanac meant that the government tried to settle these issues in the 1840s. Charles Davis, who was to write this nautical almanac and so had to decide on which meridian to use, collated the different opinions on the matter in his book *Remarks Upon the Establishment of an American Prime Meridian* (1849). This book shows the vast confusion about where a representative point for "American" time in the antebellum period might be. Davis argues that Americans should no longer 'suffer our geographical positions to remain any longer in their present confusion; to continue to leave it to the discretion of the Superintendent of the Coast Survey to lay down the longitudes on the government charts from New York City Hall, or from Washington, as the necessities or conveniences of the work might decide.'[25] He outlines how currently in 'school and other atlases and maps for sale in the book-shops of Boston, some are adapted to

[22] Nathaniel Bowditch, *The New American Practical Navigator* [Sixth edition] (New York: Edward M. Blunt, 1826) p.47. All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.
[23] Nathan Reingold (ed.), *Science in Nineteenth Century America: A Documentary History* (London, Melbourne and Toronto: Macmillan, 1966) p.13
[24] Stephen J. Dick, *Sky and Ocean Joined: The U.S. Naval Observatory 1830-2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) p.126
[25] Charles H. Davis, *Remarks Upon The Establishment of an American Prime Meridian* (Cambridge: Metcalf and Company, 1849) p.5. All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.

the meridian of Greenwich, some to the meridians of Greenwich and Washington together, and some to the meridian of Washington alone' (16-17). These books co-exist alongside older maps that use the Philadelphia meridian. Washington, Philadelphia, and New York were not the only places that claimed to be at the centre of American time. William Bond, the first superintendent of the observatory at Harvard, maker of the first seagoing American chronometer, and organiser of the chronometric expeditions of the 1840s and 50s, boasted that 'the longitudes of all the principle positions within the United States are dependent upon the longitude of Harvard Observatory.'[26] His son George Bond went even further, suggesting that the Observatory's association 'with nearly all of the great surveys which have been carried out on this continent during the last twenty years,' whether 'the proposed routes of the Pacific railroads' or 'similar enterprises in the United States, in Canada, the British provinces and Mexico' meant that Cambridge was undoubtedly 'now the central geographic point of this continent.'[27]

Davis' account, the triumphant rhetoric of the Bonds and the debates about the American Prime Meridian are exemplary. They show how the assertion of a U.S. national time onto the world does not homogenize non-American times. What occurs instead is precisely the opposite. "American" time becomes necessarily international and comparative while simultaneously producing a host of its own heterogeneous local times. This chapter therefore explores the effects of seemingly progressive accounts of imperial exertion and national self-definition on time. In particular, it focuses on fiction and non-fiction accounts of cartography and exploration, covering government documents to works of oceanography to canonical books by Melville, Emerson, and Poe. The first section argues that antebellum Americans had

[26] William Cranch Bond, *Annals of the Astronomical Observatory of Harvard College, Volume I., Part I.* (Cambridge: Metcalf and Company, 1856) p.cxc. All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.
[27] Quoted in Edward S. Holden, *Memorials of William Cranch Bond and of His Son George Phillips Bond* (San Francisco: C.A. Murdock & Co., 1897) / (New York: Lemcke & Buechner, 1897) pp.26-7

a dual time-consciousness. They counterpoised the United States against a foreign referent when attempting to articulate models of national time. National time and distant foreign spaces became linked and mutually co-extensive. Charles Davis, for instance, when conceiving of an American Prime Meridian, engages with the contemporaneous political organisation of the globe and the United States' transatlantic cultural heritage. A similar dynamic operates in Ralph Waldo Emerson's 'Self-Reliance' as he describes how a sovereign American selfhood ought to define time. This transnational mode of perceiving time, my second section suggests, meant that the antebellum American conception of "simultaneity-across-time," to use Benedict Anderson's designation, extended beyond the spatially delimited borders of the nation-state. It suggests that this transnational simultaneous had its sources in the writing of German explorer, geographer, and scientist Alexander von Humboldt. Writers of the era deployed Humboldt's paradigm to find out what the geographical limits of "American" time might be. They attempted to use a shared sense of the American present to homogenize the local time consciousness of extracontinental peoples. Yet there was an overwhelming uncertainty about what the natural boundaries of the United States were and what they would be in the future. As a result writers and scientists created a variety of different versions of this transnational "simultaneity-across-time." Each version drew on disparate and often separate models of the future geographical organisation of the globe. The American hemisphere provided the logical outer limits for American time for the scientists James Gilliss and James Espy. Matthew Fontaine Maury left land behind and embraced a more capacious sense of American influence extending across the world's oceans. Ahab engages with Maury's model in order to try and anticipate the future movements of Moby Dick. Edgar Allan Poe saw the potential to extend these expansionist energies almost infinitely. In *Eureka* he attempts to describe the present composition of the entirety of the universe at once.

Many writers also reacted against these two models of time as my third section suggests. For Herman Melville, it was impossible for man to conceive of and combine two different times. Whales could and in so doing they upset the logic of map-making by existing at all times and places at once. Melville suggests that imperial efforts to homogenize time would ultimately fail. Even Edgar Allan Poe reflects on the impossibility of conceiving of all existing matter at once. For Poe, the universe and, by extension, the world was necessarily temporally uneven, composed of a vast number of competing local times and historical moments. Poe's sentiments would have been shared by Charles Wilkes and Archibald MacRae. In their travel narratives they recount the ways in which locality resets and alters the homogenizing time of imperialism and cartography. Thoreau also reflects on the effects on travel and technology on time. He shows how the railroad slowed time down rather than causing it to speed up and progress towards a triumphant national future. Nonetheless these imperialist narratives and voyages of exploration certainly connected distant places with the United States. This new sense of proximity with other cultures reorganised the historical chronologies of the nation. In his discussion of where to place the Prime Meridian, Davis has to consider the legacies of empire and the links between science and imperialism. Similarly, in thinking about the chronometric expeditions, William Bond negotiates with European colonialism and meditates on the United States' own nascent imperialism. Matthew Fontaine Maury, on the other hand, has to disavow American history in order to create an oceanic archive that precedes the formation of the nation.

Transnational Time

The practicalities of land definition meant that antebellum Americans figured time in terms of a split between the "national" and the "foreign." These terms were not separate. They permeated into one another and interacted. As the United States expanded outwards, the government obsessively instituted programmes that aimed to demarcate the parameters of national space. To do so successfully these programmes had to find both the latitude and longitude of given points. Finding the longitude of a place requires the knowledge of the local time in two different places at once. Each hour of time difference between two places represents fifteen degrees of longitude. If, then, you are at sea in the Atlantic and know from solar observation that the local time is 3pm and know from a chronometer that the time in Greenwich is 1pm, you can calculate that you are 30 degrees west of Greenwich. As Nathaniel Bowditch reflected in *The New American Practical Navigator*, 'it is evident that if a watch could be so constructed as to go uniformly at all times, and in all places, an observer, furnished with a watch thus regulated, would only have to compare the time at the place of observation with the time at Greenwich shewn by the watch, and the difference of times would give the difference of longitude' (Bowditch, 162).[28] Many Americans would have had an experience of reckoning time and place in this way. Sailors at sea consulted chronometers to try and work out their position as they went into mapped and unmapped waters. The Chronometric Expeditions of the late 1840s and the Coast Survey all needed to define the

[28] Manufacturing such a watch was no easy task and beguiled scientists from Ptolemy to Isaac Newton. After a particularly grizzly accident British Parliament passed the Longitude Act (1714) to try and settle the issue for good. After years of wrangling the award money went to inventor and horologist John Harrison after Captain Cook tested his chronometers on his voyages into the South Pacific. In the United States the dissemination of these technologies occurred more slowly. It was not until 1812 that William Bond, who would go on to become the Superintendent of Harvard's observatory, manufactured the first American sea-going chronometer. Charles Wilkes was so concerned about the competence of American clock-making that he predominantly used European technology on his expedition and proposed to write a volume on clock design. This was in spite of the government founding the U.S. Depot of Charts and Instruments in 1830 to rate the reliability of naval chronometers and placing Wilkes as its head for several years in the mid-1830s. For accounts of the quest to find the longitude see Derek Howse, *Greenwich Time and the Discovery of the Longitude* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980) and Dana Sobel, *Longitude: The True Story of a Lone Genius Who Solved the Greatest Scientific Problem of his Time* (London: Fourth Estate, 1995). Howse's account is meticulous and analytic where Sobel offers a compelling narrative that casts John Harrison as an anti-establishment rebel. For a history of William Bond and his various inventions and discoveries see Holden, *Memorials of William Cranch Bond*. For Wilkes' thoughts on horology and scientific instruments see Charles Wilkes, *Hydrography* (Philadelphia: C. Sherman, 1861). For a history of the U.S. Depot of Charts and Instruments see Dick, *Sky and Ocean Joined*.

longitude to create accurate maps. As a result, this section suggests, the practical methodologies of longitudinal definition offer a fruitful structure of thinking about time more generally in the antebellum period. As antebellum Americans sought to discover the nature and character of the United States they juxtaposed a national time against a foreign one. These attempts to consolidate a unified national identity had the effect of creating a dual time consciousness, neither fully American nor non-American. Scientists like Charles Davis and philosophers like Ralph Waldo Emerson used this transnational way of perceiving the world to orient the United States in relation to the rest of the globe. In so doing, they created an American time that necessarily interacted with foreign places and spaces. For Emerson this led to the possibility of creating a homogenizing American selfhood that occupied the entirety of the world.

The issue of the American Prime Meridian was essentially one of longitude. This fact meant that it came to encapsulate some of the key issues that circled around American imperialism: whether extracontinental expansion would lead to the creation of a national time and how the United States ought to relate to world history. Charles Davis in his *Remarks Upon the Establishment of an American Prime Meridian* (1849), which he wrote prior to authoring the first U.S. nautical almanac, posits a comparative model to depict the tensions between an American and global time. He makes the case that every American has to know the local time of two places at once. He draws on a counterpoise between the respective times of the United States and Greenwich to argue for an American Prime Meridian. He asks whether 'we shall continue to reckon our longitudes from an inaccessible and indeterminate point [i.e. Greenwich], distant three thousand miles from our shores, and separated from us by an ocean' (Davis, 6) given that '[i]t does not give, in the fullest sense of the term, the geography of that country [U.S.], but its geography referred by one of its measurements to the standard

of another country' (18-19). Davis' attempts to establish this American Prime Meridian show his desire to reorganise global time about a North American axis rather than to create a hermetic national time. He imagines a new world map where '[o]ur meridian is not to fluctuate with regard to Greenwich, in obedience to future changes, but Greenwich is to fluctuate with regard to the American meridian. It is no longer to be said that this continent has been shifted half a mile to the east or west in respect to the opposite shores of the Atlantic, but the reverse' (22). It is precisely the fact that American space was unbounded and frequently nationally undefined that gives Davis' discussion urgency. It is only in this deterritorialized sense that an American time would be exceptional. Davis argues that 'the cogency of this argument in favor of the meridian' increases because of 'the nature and condition of this continent, which, in its vast extent of unknown and unsettled territory, is to afford for a century to come an ample field of research and enterprise to the explorer, the traveller, the surveyor' (11). Ultimately Davis' exertions are not in aid of what he terms reasons of 'national vanity' (18). He does not aim to create an internally homogenous and standardized national time. Instead he wants a Prime Meridian that reduces the time difference between U.S and non-U.S. space on the North American continent. He quotes from a letter sent to him from a senior scientist, Professor Coakley, to make this case. Coakley tells us that 'the interval of time between the Greenwich meridian and the various parts of our country is from five to eight hours; whereas the interval between the meridian of Washington and the extreme parts of Oregon will be little more than three hours, and for the whole Atlantic coast only a few minutes. For nearly all parts of the States this side of the Mississippi, the difference of time will not exceed an hour' (9).

Some Americans felt that placing the Prime Meridian within the borders of United States would disastrously impact on their transatlantic cultural heritage. The issue of the Prime

Meridian therefore reflects debates surrounding the chronology and nature of American history in the antebellum period. As Elisa Tamarkin has shown, antebellum Americans found it difficult to extricate themselves from their British forebears. They retained a series of cultural and political affiliations with the mother country and 'staged their deference toward England in elaborate rituals of fascination' even though 'their deference was insignificant, except that it allowed for an experience of belonging that was made possible because they had no one to belong to but themselves.'[29] In the case of the Prime Meridian, Davis' antagonists phrase this quandary through examining the effects of his proposal on national history. They argue that casting off the Greenwich Prime Meridian and replacing it with an American one would be tantamount to obliterating the United States' own past. One of Davis' fiercest critics, who remained unnamed, makes the case that "the same principle of an ideal independence, which will require us to abandon the meridian of Greenwich, must require us to abandon most of our instruments of art, science, and literature" (Davis, 34). This would then have the further effect of deleteriously stymying American cultural expression. Davis summarises an argument in the same vein that suggests 'we might as well change our language, as cease to count our longitudes from the present meridian' (34). He dryly notes that for this sceptic 'it means that the meridian and the language invariably go together' (34). Others resistant to the change went even further. These anglophiles argued that the Prime Meridian acted as a conduit that connected the United States to its own genealogical and historical heritage. To get rid of it would be to embrace a pointless fetishization of the new and to reject a rich cultural history that the United States had every right to participate in. Davis terms this the 'sentimental argument' and quotes one writer who says of the Greenwich Prime Meridian that "[w]e were in our father's loins when they established it…It is ours, as are King Alfred and Shakspeare" (36).

[29] Elisa Tamarkin, *Anglophilia: Deference, Devotion, and Antebellum America* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2008) p.xxiv

Some Americans worried, then, that by trying to assert a U.S. national time, Davis was doing the opposite, as a Washington Prime Meridian would destroy precisely what was exceptional about the United States' past. These men accuse Davis of pointless national pride and a damaging endorsement of the new. His response to their accusations is an ingenious exercise in cultural relativism. He explores the history of the Prime Meridian to show how, in some respects, Great Britain's history is no lengthier than that of the United States. He argues that, given the Prime Meridian was only founded somewhere between 1675 and 1719, '[t]he connection between our father's loins and the meridian circle, or between the zero of longitudes and good King Alfred, or the immortal dramatist, will not probably be as palpable to every one as to this enthusiastic declaimer' (37-8). Given the comparative historical shallowness of the Prime Meridian he sarcastically notes that 'I shall not be obliged to remind the reader of the period when the reign of Alfred ceased, or that of Shakspeare began' (37) and suggests that his interlocutor's 'reasoning seems to be as little luminous in the association of ideas, as in the chronological connection' (37). His argument has wider effects on how he conceives of transatlantic historiography. That Great Britain had only recently founded the Prime Meridian means that, in terms of world time systems at least, it has no greater historical depth than that of the United States. This removal of temporal authority has a congruent impact on national space. Davis draws attention to cartographical uncertainty in the United Kingdom. For him the Greenwich Prime Meridian is 'an unknown and unsettled station on the other side of the Atlantic' (35). Rather than disavowing the transatlantic heritage of the United States, Davis has it both ways. He shows how the young nation has a right to possess Great Britain's cultural heritage while also asserting its own societal and political history. Through creating its own Prime Meridian, the United States can reorganise global time and, in so doing, make valid claims to the cultural authority that comes with the

English language. He argues that '[t]he present meridian is not ours, in the sense that King Alfred and Shakspeare are ours, any more than are the currency and standards of weight and measure, or form of government, of Great Britain' (37).

The question of the Prime Meridian was a totemic one to Davis and other Americans. It allowed them to think through questions about the transatlantic roots of the United States. Even Davis' staunchest critics would doubtlessly have agreed with the overwhelming point of his argument. He makes it clear that U.S. national time would necessarily have to evolve and develop in conjunction with that of the world. Such a time, even if to some extent nationalist, was not separate from the rest of the globe. Every adjustment in how the United States conceived of its own time systems would necessarily impact on the organisation of world space. More generally, Davis' work shows how antebellum Americans viewed themselves and their culture in relation to other times, histories, and chronologies. He explores the limits of and potential for American political and, by extension, aesthetic expression. It is perhaps no surprise then that the language of chronometers, nautical almanacs, and longitudinal definition percolated into the essays of Ralph Waldo Emerson as he formulated his programme of American aesthetics. In a letter to his brothers Edward and Charles when they were in the West Indies, he cautioned them to maintain carefully links with their native land while still trying to experience life in other countries fully. He suggests that to do so they ought to develop a form of dual vision that balances a foreign time with that of the United States. In a construction that allegorises the methods of defining the longitude, Emerson tells them to 'keep one eye a patriot and the other an emigrant at the same time as the seaman keeps home-time with one watch and apparent with the other.'[30]

[30] Quoted in Brickhouse, *Transamerican Literary Relations* p.21

In 'Self-Reliance,' Emerson continued to use a similar language of time reckoning and expanded this quotation into a more fully developed theory. His thoughts follow a centripetal logic which parallels that of Davis. He argues that the problem with contemporary American selfhood is that it tries to formulate and define itself in relation to external reference points rather than demarcating and exploring the reality that is in front of it. This outward-looking tendency means that instead of perceiving time in terms of the natural world they rely on foreign data and commodities. Although many Americans may own 'a Greenwich nautical almanac…man in the street does not know a star in the sky'.[31] Similarly, although civilised man 'has a fine Geneva watch' he 'yet fails of the skill to tell the hour by the sun' (Emerson, 280). This situation means that they do not have their own time consciousness. As a result they cannot assign any meaningful value to or orient themselves in relation to the present moment. As the American man looks at his watch and almanac 'the whole bright calendar of the year is without a dial in his mind' (280). In this way, Emerson sublimates and interacts with Davis' methodology. Davis argues that for the United States to have a national time the Prime Meridian must move within its own borders. Similarly Emerson suggests that Americans must first and foremost privilege their own inward experience to describe the meanings of the present moment. Like Davis, Emerson links this centripetal movement to questions of tradition and a foreign cultural heritage. He outlines how '[t]he objection to conforming to usages that have become dead to you is, that it scatters your force. It loses your time and blurs the impression of your character' (263). When humans reject these traditions they can have access to more fundamental laws that are, in Emerson's words, 'no ephemeris' (266) (or a table showing the different positions of stars and that navigators used when at sea; this is what made up the bulk of Davis' own American nautical almanac). Emerson departs from Davis' logic here. Rejecting the narrow precepts of tradition and foreign cultural

[31] Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Essays and Lectures* (New York: The Library of America, 1983) p.280. All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.

heritage paradoxically means that the self can participate in a more broadly conceived global time. He says it is only because of a 'want of self-culture' (277) that so many Americans engage with the 'superstition of Travelling, whose idols are Italy, England, Egypt' (277). He creates instead a selfhood that radiates outwards and 'requires infinite spaces and numbers and time fully to accomplish his design' (267). This expanding selfhood has access to eternal laws and, in a moment of absolute global simultaneity experiences '[v]ast spaces of nature, the Atlantic Ocean, the South Sea' as 'long intervals of time, years, centuries, – are of no account' (271).

Such attempts to create a U.S. time clearly depended on a counterpoise between national and foreign materials. Davis shows how such a time interacted with the rest of the globe and reflects on the permutations it might have for U.S. history. In so doing, his book demonstrates how his programme of imperial cartography did not create a homogenous national time but occasioned considerable debate about the value and composition of the American past. Emerson follows a similar logic. His conclusions initially appear more simply nationalist. He conceives of time in terms of a balance between America and the rest of the world. He wants to move time inside the borders of the self rather than orienting it around an external referent point, whether an almanac or a watch. By assigning authority to internal experience and granting sovereignty to a natural time rooted in the American landscape, modern man can finally express themselves and consider the fullness of the present moment. He would seem to reject a foreign cultural tradition that he thinks deleteriously affects American aesthetics. This rejection of foreign materials only leads to another experience of global time. The Emersonian self encounters fundamental laws of nature and expands throughout the entirety of the world and other vast spaces. Emerson moves from viewing time in terms of a

counterpoise between the foreign and national to a more broadly conceived sense of simultaneity.

The Limits of Simultaneity

In imagining his selfhood extending throughout '[v]ast spaces of nature,' Emerson shows the links between the logic of expansionism and another shift in time consciousness. Emerson's ecstatic vision creates a sense of simultaneity that extends across the entirety of the globe. He argues that the self can conceive of the totality of created matter in a single moment of time. This apprehension of simultaneity, of the coterminous co-existence of different places and times, connects him to distant cultures and regions. Emerson was not alone in feeling a sense of what Benedict Anderson termed "simultaneity-across-time" in relation to units that were larger than that of the nation. The antebellum era saw profound changes in how scientists, writers, explorers, and philosophers conceived of simultaneity. The rise of nationalism in the eighteenth century had emphasised the importance of a shared "simultaneity-across-time," among citizens in a geographically delimited area. By the start of the nineteenth century this national paradigm of simultaneity had begun to shift towards a transnational one. Antebellum writers located the source for this shift in the work of German scientist Alexander von Humboldt. As Laura Dassow Walls has demonstrated, von Humboldt's influence over European conceptions of the Americas and on the philosophies of American thinkers was profound. For Edgar Allan Poe, the 'generalizing powers' of von Humboldt 'have never, perhaps, been equalled' (Poe, 1346). Emerson saw him as a representative man whose universalizing philosophy offered a model for finding eternal laws of order and design in the universe. Thoreau rigorously applied von Humboldt's precepts, making conclusions about eternity from the observation of the natural world around him. This fact meant that his 'local

would always speak to the cosmic.'[32] Von Humboldt encouraged his readers, both academic and general, to attempt to formulate theories about the world that took 'a wider horizon' than ever before and which could potentially contain 'the assemblage of all the material things with which space is filled.'[33] In this sense, science had the capacity to describe all created matter. His philosophy could overcome the particularities of place. This universalism allowed von Humboldt to develop a 'view of nature' that was 'general, grand, and free; not narrowed by proximity, sympathy, or relative utility' (*Cosmos*, 73). He encourages his reader to view locality as a subset of larger planetary rules. For him, this way of analysing phenomena involves taking 'a higher point of view' from which 'all the forms and the forces of nature may be contemplated in intimate and living connection' (40). This movement away from the local and national and towards the necessarily interconnected laws of the planet involves the creation of what we might term a transnational "simultaneity-across-time." Such a sense of global simultaneity allows for the scientist to see everything that occurs in a single moment at once. Regardless of the boundaries between nations, regions, and continents, this method can 'lay hold of the sure thread of the invariability of natural laws, amid the perplexities of ceaseless change' (4) as 'the whole mass of facts collected from different regions of the earth is comprehended in one glance' (18). Von Humboldt's "one glance" allows for the simultaneous apprehension of all created matter and the laws that uphold it. This mode of vision, this "simultaneity-across-time," extends across the entirety of the globe, reaching across national boundaries, social contexts, and different localities. At any given moment, then, humans engage with a complex set of links between different phenomena. These links

[32] Laura Dassow Walls, *The Passage to Cosmos: Alexander von Humboldt and the Shaping of America* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2009) p.264. For von Humboldt's impact on nineteenth-century American literature see pp.251-301
[33] Alexander von Humboldt, *Cosmos: Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe Vol I* (trans. Edward Sabine) (London: John Murray, 1847) p.55. All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.

connect them to the rest of the world and 'place us in communication with the whole globe' (24).

The permutations of von Humboldt's theories extended, paradoxically, into nationalist political and imperial discourse. Antebellum American explorers and scientists actualized von Humboldt's transnational simultaneous in a variety of different ways. They did so to test out the limits of an American national time, seeing how far across the borders of other nations it could extend. When either in or engaging with other countries they tried to use this time to create links with the United States. As a result, they created a series of different models for the organisation of American national time. The differences between these models attest to the uncertainty that many felt surrounded the United States' role in the world, whether in the past, present, or future. The leader of the U.S. Navy's astronomical expedition to Chile in 1849, James Melville Gilliss, for instance, conceived of a hemispheric simultaneous that extended from Boston to Washington to the southernmost reaches of Chile.[34] He conceived of a new method for measuring the parallax of Venus through making 'nearly simultaneous observations with those of the Washington Observatory on that planet.'[35] Gilliss emphasizes how carrying out these simultaneous observations would lead to the consolidation of an American national time while also aiding the work of the transnational scientific scene. [36] In a letter to C.L. Gerling, a European scientist, he outlines

[34] In the antebellum era the U.S. Navy played an important role in scientific discourse. Astronomy and geodesy were of particular interest to them, as was mapping the world and collecting specimens for scientific examination. This dual interest in science and militarism frequently led to conflicts between the increasingly professionalized scientists and the amateurs in naval service. Perhaps most notably the appointment of Matthew Fontaine Maury as head of what would become the National Observatory in Washington rankled with many in the scientific establishment. See Dick, *Sky and Ocean Joined* and Slotten, *Patronage, Practice, and the Culture of American Science*

[35] James M. Gilliss, *The U.S. Naval Astronomical Expedition to the Southern Hemisphere During the Years 1849-'50-'51-'52 – Volume III: Observations to Determine the Solar Parallax* (Washington: A.O.P. Nicholson, 1856) p.v All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.

[36] The Bonds at Harvard also helped with this project. George Bond makes the case for his observatory's geographic centrality in part because even 'the most remote scientific station on this hemisphere, Santiago, in Chili' (Holden, 28) recognizes its importance.

how he is 'sensible of the noble opportunity now within our grasp to present the world, from our own continent as a base, the dimensions of our common system' through using 'data wholly American' (Gilliss, v). As with Davis, it is specifically the huge spaces and the unique orientation of the American continent that gives Gilliss this opportunity. Gilliss reflects how the fact that the continent runs from North to South means that two vastly geographically separated observatories could make observations at the same time. This is because they would be on an almost identical longitude and so share the same local time. Gilliss tells us that 'America offers greater advantages to observatories lying on the same or nearly the same meridian than any other country – its greatest length being north and south' (v). These exceptional geographical circumstances allow Gilliss to connect the United States with the rest of the world. He places the United States' scientific tradition within the larger and historically deeper European one. A 'station on this continent' is of 'paramount consequence' to him as it would allow him to make 'a contribution from the New World to the Old World' (v).

American national time did not necessarily only expand along a North-South axis. Instead the energies of this transnational simultaneous were multidirectional. The meteorologist James Espy also saw how the exceptional geography of the United States might lead to the practical realisation of von Humboldt's transnational simultaneous. His particular interest was in the paths that storms took as they travelled across the continent. In order to gather enough information to track storms from 'their commencement…to their termination,' he proposed a series of 'simultaneous observations over a wide extent of territory,' or what he elsewhere termed 'a persevering course of simultaneous observations over our wide extended

continent.'[37] These observations aimed to standardize time for the needs of scientific research. Such coordinated observations were only possible in a large land mass as they would need to track storms and other natural phenomena across different regions. His programme of observations depended on ignoring the internal and external political boundaries of the nation and instead following the logic of the storm itself. This is because '[m]any storms, and those of the most interesting and important kind, are quite too large to be embraced within the bounds of a single state' (Espy, 171). In contradistinction to Gilliss, he has recourse to a different geographic model of transnational simultaneity-across-time, one that focuses on the needs of 'navigation and commerce' which 'require a much more extensive system of simultaneous observations' (171). He proposes a 'complete investigation' of the beginnings, middles, and ends of storms, through a 'system of simultaneous observations, extending over the whole of the United States, including the Bermudas, and a few of the West India Islands' (171-2). For him, American national time has to extend further eastwards into the Caribbean.

The counterpoise between Espy and Gilliss shows two of the different forms that notionally "American" simultaneity could take. There were many others too. These conceptions of simultaneity-across-time were spatially malleable and extended beyond the borders of the United States. This malleability demonstrates that antebellum Americans had yet to identify what the geographical limits of their national time were. The work of Matthew Fontaine Maury, head of the National Observatory at Washington, demonstrates these uncertainties most fully. His global simultaneous extended across the oceans. He hoped to create a shared and standardized oceanic time by handing out 'blank abstract logs' to ships' captains on which they could mark out the movement of tides, winds, and sea-temperatures at pre-set

[37] James P. Espy, *The Philosophy of Storms* (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1841) p.96, 85. All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.

intervals.[38] On their return to port they would then send these logs to Maury who would, in turn, collate and synthesize their data to describe the migratory patterns of whales and the currents of the tides. This would mean that, as in von Humboldt's model for collecting data, ships could situate themselves in relation to a global scientific simultaneous that coordinated, synchronized, and unified their disparate efforts. As a result of Maury's programme, they could compare their own observations 'with all similar observations by all other ships in all other parts of the world' (Maury, xiii). Maury suggests that every ship had the potential to become 'a floating observatory, a temple of science' (xiii). Maury's creation of this oceanic simultaneous had the effect of bringing distant coasts into a closer proximity with the United States. He boasts how his innovations have radically collapsed nautical time and space, as 'the remote corners of the earth' have been 'brought closer together, in some instances, by many day's sail,' (vii) including the newly incorporated state of California where the average length of journey fell from 183 days to 135. Maury's project demonstrates how antebellum Americans first posited then participated in a shared global moment. Their participation in this transnational present allowed them to collapse the distance between the United States and the rest of the world radically. In a striking construction, Maury suggests that his project has meant that 'the distant isles and marts of the sea have been lifted up, as it were, and brought closer, for the convenience of commerce, by many day's sail' (262). A sense of global "simultaneity-across-time" allows him to manipulate the world map and bring distant places closer together.

Maury's project not only reduced the distances between different places. It also attempted to glimpse into the future. Maury aimed to use his oceanic data so that ships could pre-empt what he took to be eternal and recurring patterns in nature. Herman Melville draws on

[38] M.F. Maury, *The Physical Geography of the Sea* (London: Sampson, Son & Co, 1855) p.xiii. All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.

Maury's project as he explores how Ahab seeks to control his destiny and anticipate the movements of Moby Dick. He concentrates on the ways in which Ahab writes time onto his maps. He does so in 'The Chart,' a chapter which for Ishmael, and for several recent critics, [39] is 'as important a one as will be found in this volume'.[40] In it he depicts Ahab making maps of the movements of whales. He links this activity to that of Maury.[41] He places Ahab in dialogue with Maury's oceanic archive as he goes 'to a locker in the transom' and brings 'out a large wrinkled roll of yellowish sea charts' which he then 'spread…before him on his screwed-down table' (198). Melville situates Ahab in relations to an oceanic past as 'seating himself before it, you would have seen him intently study the various lines and shadings which there met his eye; and with slow but steady pencil trace additional courses over spaces that before were blank. At intervals, he would refer to piles of old log-books beside him, wherein were set down the seasons and places in which, on various former voyages of various ships, sperm whales had been captured or seen' (198). By analysing the movements of the whale, Ahab seeks less to gain an insight into this past but to write the future into existence. Ahab writes on his maps and 'trace[s] additional courses over spaces that before were blank' (198) as he shares the belief that if the whale were to 'be closely observed and

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[39] Bainard Cowan was among the first to give the chapter sustained critical attention. He looks at the ways in which Ahab's mapping project demonstrates Melville's relationship to Kantian idealism. More recent work has sought to historicise the chapter and connect it to the currents of antebellum American imperialism. Anne Baker compares the chapter to the whale tracking work of Charles Wilkes. She argues that Melville engages with Wilkes through employing eschatological figures when describing cartography. More generally she sees the chapter as exemplifying Melville's Romanticism. She argues that Melville places the mind and world in an interactive relationship. This co-extensiveness demonstrates to her Melville's rejection of scientific empiricism. Eric Bulson also links the chapter to Wilkes. He suggests that the chapter shows Melville thinking through his relationship to popular literary modes. Hugh Crawford explores the links between Ahab and Maury in depth. He draws on the work of Bruno Latour to emphasize the importance of flows of information and non-human actors in the chapter. See Eric Bulson, *Novels, Maps, Modernity: The Spatial Imagination, 1850-2000* (New York & London: Routledge, 2007); Baker, *Heartless Immensity*; Bainard Cowan, *Exiled Waters:* Moby-Dick *and the Crisis of Allegory* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1982); T. Hugh Crawford, 'Networking the (Non) Human: *Moby-Dick*, Matthew Fontaine Maury, and Bruno Latour', *Configurations* 5:1 (1997) pp.1-21

[40] Herman Melville, *Moby-Dick or The Whale* (ed. Harrison Hayford, Hershel Parker, Thomas Tanselle) (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2001) p.203 All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text

[41] After having suggested the possibility of creating a chart that would map the movements of whales across the seas, Ishmael writes in a footnote that '[s]ince the above was written, the statement is happily borne out by an official circular, issued by Lieutenant Maury, of the National Observatory, Washington, April 16th, 1851. By that circular, it appears that precisely such a chart is in course of completion' (*Moby-Dick*, 199).

studied throughout the world; were the logs for one voyage of the entire whale fleet carefully collated, then the migrations of the sperm whale would be found to correspond in invariability to those of the herring-shoals or the flights of swallows' (199). He carries out these acts of cartography to find, of course, 'one solitary creature' in 'the unhooped oceans of this planet' (199). Ahab's view of nature is wilfully deterministic. He places Moby Dick on a developmental chain of cause and effect to try and control the whale's movements. He identifies 'a particular set time and place' when 'all possibilities would become probabilities, and, as Ahab fondly thought, every probability the next thing to a certainty. That particular set time and place were conjoined in the one technical phrase – the Season-on-the-Line' (200). In other words, he uses a denationalized "simultaneity-across-time" to assign definite borders to the future. By mapping he seeks to will his own Fate into being.

Antebellum Americans saw the potential power of a transnational simultaneous to control and manage world space. They realised that a shared time could reduce the distance between previously separate, foreign places and further the national economic project. Edgar Allan Poe explored these links between simultaneity, imagination, and the control of non-American space in *Eureka* (1848) and pushes them to their logical limit. In this prose poem, dedicated to Alexander von Humboldt, he examines how an almost absurdly extended "simultaneity-across-time," one that goes across the entirety of the cosmos, can offset the threat of unbounded space. Unlike Gilliss, Espy, and Maury, Poe's project is less about seeing how far American time might extend, than reassuring himself that it did indeed have limits. This negotiation between the energies of expansionism and a fear of the potentially unsettling effects of distant but now connected places means that the poem has an equivocal but by no means antithetical relationship to imperial ideologies as much recent criticism has suggested.

[42] In the poem Poe outlines his conception of the creation and destruction of the universe. Aside from its grand cosmological aims it is a work that is fundamentally about how to deal with and organize spaces and times that extend beyond the geographical and historical limits of the nation. He uses a version of von Humboldt's enlarged "simultaneity-across-time" to try and account for the entirety of created matter in his work and to synthesize it into an absolutely encompassing theory. He tells us how '[w]e need so rapid a revolution of all things about the central point of sight that, while the minutiæ vanish altogether, even the more conspicuous objects become blended into one' (Poe, 1262). This blending together of everything in the universe allows him to create an enlarged perspective that gets rid of 'all exclusively terrestrial matters' and instead considers '[t]he Earth…in its planetary relations alone' (1262). The aim of this perspective is to homogenize cosmical time into a state of absolute simultaneity so that he can come to know 'the great *Now* – the awful Present – the Existing Condition of the Universe' (1353). Where Gilliss and Maury's conceptions of simultaneity had distinct geographical limits, Poe's "great Now" extends to the outer reaches of the cosmos.

This vastly enlarged sense of "simultaneity-across-time" links together every atom in the universe and means that any small action causes effects that ripple across the entirety of

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[42] The lack of consensus on the *Eureka*'s political import in much recent scholarship suggests the complexity of the poem's ideological engagement. Recent readings of *Eureka* have described the relationship between the poem and nationalism. W.C. Harris suggests that *Eureka* wrestles with the problem of creating one out of many. He suggests that this is the foundational paradox at the heart of American democracy. In this sense, *Eureka* is a political parable that shows Poe's engagement with the contemporary political scene. John Carlos Rowe argues that the poem proves Poe's racism and imperialism. He suggests that Poe's use of a scientific idiom facilitates the racial hierarchies of colonialism. Perhaps the most nuanced reading is that of Jennifer Greeson in *Our South*. She makes the case that the poem is a satire on the universalizing claims of New England transcendentalism. As a result, we ought not to take the poem as a simplistic statement of Poe's own beliefs. She argues that the dedication to von Humboldt is ironic. For her, Poe does not believe that any locality can make a claim to global totality. *Eureka* is, therefore, an anti-imperial work, that subtly criticises U.S. expansionism through acrostic puns and sly references to the Gold Rush. See W.C. Harris, 'Edgar Allan Poe's *Eureka* and the Poetics of Constitution', *American Literary History* 12: 1-2 (Spring / Summer, 2000) pp.1-40; John Carlos Rowe, 'Space, the Final Frontier: Poe's *Eureka* as Imperial Fantasy', *Poe Studies / Dark Romanticism* 39-40: 1-2 (December 2006) pp.19-27; Jennifer Rae Greeson, *Our South: Geographic Fantasy and the Rise of National Literature* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England: Harvard University Press, 2010)

space. Just as Ishmael perceived when yoked to Queequeg that each human has a 'Siamese connexion with a plurality of other mortals,' (*Moby-Dick*, 320) so Poe realises that 'each atom attracts – sympathizes with the most delicate movements of every other atom, and with each and with all at the same time, and forever, according to a determinate law of which the complexity, even considered by itself solely, is utterly beyond the grasp of the imagination. If I propose to ascertain the influence of one mote in a sunbeam on its neighbouring mote, I cannot accomplish my purpose without first counting and weighing all the atoms in the Universe and defining the precise positions of all at one particular moment. If I venture to displace, by even the billionth part of an inch, the microscopical speck of dust which lies now on the point of my finger, what is the character of that act upon which I have adventured? I have done a deed which shakes the Moon in her path, which causes the Sun to be no longer the Sun, and which alters forever the destiny of the multitudinous myriads of stars that roll and glow in the majestic presence of their Creator' (Poe, 1286).[43] It is in this sense that we might read *Eureka* less as a parable of American exceptionalism, as much recent work has done, than as an allegory of the effects of the early stages of globalization on time consciousness. Poe's cosmos is less a cipher for an exceptionally conceived United States than one for the entirety of the earth. The increasingly bound up webs of trade forced the United States into a frequently uneasy proximity with other nations in the world. Poe's sense of "simultaneity-across-time" is instructive then. Rather than binding together the citizens of nation into a coherent unity, it expresses the terror that many antebellum Americans felt at the sudden and jarring interconnectedness of the globe. That a shared sense of time might extend indefinitely is a cause for fear. His fear of this capaciousness certainly marked a new period

[43] This vision of cosmic sympathy comes with racial overtones. Poe employs the language of genealogy when thinking about how these atoms interact. This language suggests that Poe viewed mankind in terms of a universal kinship and a shared lineage. He writes, '[d]oes not so evident a brotherhood among the atoms point to a common parentage? Does not a sympathy so omniprevalent, so ineradicable, and so thoroughly irrespective, suggest a common paternity as its source? Does not one extreme impel the reason to the other? Does not the infinitude of division refer to the utterness of individuality?' (1286-7)

for Poe whose previous stories tended to focus on the violent enclosure of dark and claustrophobic spaces.[44] Poe attempts to manage the geographical capaciousness of the universe through defining definite boundaries to it. As with many other American projects of the era, whether the Coast Survey or the various exploring expeditions, Poe obsessively assigns limits to unmapped space. This obsession with enclosure has less to do with gaining knowledge of the outer limits of the cosmos, than defining the extreme points of time. He rejects the idea of infinity so as to identify the beginning and end point of the universe. He tells us how 'as an individual, I may be permitted to say that I *cannot* conceive Infinity, and am convinced that no human being can,' even though a 'mind not thoroughly self-conscious…will, it is true, often deceive itself by supposing that it *has* entertained the conception of which we speak' (1274). His argumentation requires an identifiable beginning and end to the universe. He admits that '[a]s a starting point I have taken it for granted, simply, that the Beginning had nothing behind or before it – that it was a Beginning in fact – that it was a Beginning and nothing different from a Beginning – in short that this Beginning was – *that which it was*' (1304). He argues that the only way in which anyone could disprove his theory is if 'we are to conceive that what had a beginning is to have no end,' which, for him, is 'a conception which cannot *really* be entertained, however much we may talk or dream of entertaining it' (1280). *Eureka* is a poem that occupies an uneasy political position then. The logic of an expansive and homogenizing sense of simultaneity energizes the poem. *Eureka* also, however, meditates on the vertiginous terrors of this same time possessing no boundaries whatsoever. As we will see later in this chapter, this uneasy counterpoise had the

[44] Poe had previously given some thought to the position of the United States in the world. He heartily endorsed the Wilkes Expedition and engaged with the hollow earth theories of John Cleves Symmes which suggested that there was an inner world that man could enter through two holes at the poles. His most extensive treatment of global trade comes in *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym of Nantucket* (1838). This book depicts an exploring expedition that goes into the deeps of an undiscovered yet inhabited Antarctic populated by local peoples terrified of the colour white. This book does not give much consideration to the terrors of globalization. Instead it is remarkable for its continuous and almost obsessive use of enclosed and suffocating spaces, whether the storage areas beneath the decks of ships or the small hollows in a collapsed ravine. Its chronology is relentlessly developmental, with Poe retaining times and dates in Pym's journal. As we will see, by the time he wrote *Eureka* he was aware of the ways in which such chronologies could become disrupted.

effect of introducing disruptive local times and non-linear historical chronologies into the work.

The Problem of Locality

This chapter has so far identified two linked ways in which antebellum American imperialism impacted on time consciousness. The practicalities of land definition occasioned a dual time consciousness where Americans formulated their own time through comparing foreign and national materials. As Charles Davis made the case for an American Prime Meridian he juxtaposed American time against that of Greenwich. His efforts opened up larger debates about the nature and length of American history. In Emerson's work this double vision of time (which in his case took place through a contrast between foreign tradition and direct perception, an externally verified time and an experience of natural time) led to a sovereign self apprehending all of space in a single moment. Emerson was not alone in having a totalizing experience like this. Emergent programmes of imperial consolidation met their equivalent in an expansive "simultaneity-across-time" that went across the borders of the nation, into the hemisphere, the Caribbean, the oceans, and outer space. Scientists and writers from James Gilliss to Edgar Allan Poe drew on this transnational simultaneous to attempt to find the natural outer limits of the United States. The geographical parameters of this simultaneous varied. These thinkers created a series of different models for what American time would look like. Even though they attempted to use this "simultaneity-across-time" to create homogenous national communities, they did not know who or what to include in them. Not all American writers embraced these two models of time. In contradistinction to Emerson, Herman Melville in *Moby-Dick* argues that man's mind was not powerful enough to synthesize two distinct moments into a broader transcendent simultaneous. He tells us that

‘any one’s experience will teach him, that though he can take in an undiscriminating sweep of things at one glance, it is quite impossible for him, attentively, and completely, to examine any two things – however large or however small – at one and the same instant of time; never mind if they lie side by side and touch each other’ (*Moby-Dick*, 330-1). Where von Humboldt suggested that the scientific thought ought to try and contain ‘the whole mass of facts collected from different regions of the earth…in one glance,’ (18) for Ishmael ‘an undiscriminating sweep of things at one glance’ is impossible and means the loss of local particularity. However, Ishmael suggests that the whale might be able to do what man cannot. For him, the fact that the eyes of whales are on opposite sides of its head means that they must be able to see two separate scenes at once. He asks ‘[h]ow is it, then, with the whale? True, both his eyes, in themselves, must simultaneously act; but is his brain so much more comprehensive, combining, and subtle than man’s, that he can at the same moment of time attentively examine two distinct prospects, one on one side of him, and the other in an exactly opposite direction? If he can, then is it as marvellous a thing in him, as if a man were simultaneously to go through the demonstrations of two distinct problems in Euclid’ (331). The whale, then, offers Ishmael a paradigm for how to actualize these two models of imperial yet transnational time. It can forge a simultaneous unit out of seemingly disparate materials. In identifying this fact, he reverses the logic of von Humboldt, Emerson, and Maury. Where they suggest that an enlarged “simultaneity-across-time” can account for entirety of created matter, Melville plays with the same language to show how the extent of planetary space will always evade the capacity of man to reckon it. That the whale perceives things simultaneously upsets programmes of cartography. Sailors come to believe ‘the unearthly conceit that Moby Dick was ubiquitous; that he had actually been encountered in opposite latitudes at one and the same instant of time’ (182) and that he was ‘not only ubiquitous, but immortal (for immortality is but ubiquity in time)’ (183). Similarly, Ishmael tells us how

Scoresby records 'that some whales have been captured far north in the Pacific, in whose bodies have been found the barbs of harpoons darted in the Greenland seas. Nor is it to be gainsaid, that in some of these instances it has been declared that the interval of time between the two assaults could not have exceeded very many days. Hence, by inference, it has been believed by some whalemen, that the Nor' West Passage, so long a problem to man, was never a problem to the whale' (182).

Melville is by no means the only writer to express sentiments like these. This section explores others like him. Many of the same names and works occur. This fact shows how early American expansionist ideology often counteracted itself. Perhaps it is also simply because the nature of global space frequently upset imperial efforts to formulate a homogenous national time and a coherent geography. The sheer extent of planetary space made it impossible to conceive of a unifying "simultaneity-across-time." Writers and explorers depicted the meeting between the temporal heterogeneity of different parts of the planet and an imperial time that sought to homogenize it. The particularities of local ways of reckoning time proved especially resistant to the efforts of expansionism. Even Edgar Allan Poe admitted defeat. In *Eureka* he swiftly becomes overwhelmed by the (quite literal) scale of his task. He surveys the vast extent of cosmic space and argues that he would need to possess the 'eloquence of an archangel' (Poe, 1336) to describe it adequately. He suggests that even though advances in maritime technology made foreign places increasingly accessible to Americans, these energies of globalization had not led to a commensurate revolution in spatial perception. Americans had yet to develop a language or a mental faculty that could properly account for planetary extent. Quite the opposite in fact. Despite the fact that '[t]here are, perhaps, few of my readers who have not crossed the Atlantic ocean,' he asks 'how many of them have a distinct idea of even the 3,000 miles intervening between shore and shore?'

(1333) Similarly he tells us that '[t]he diameter of our own globe is 7912 miles' before asking 'but from the enunciation of these numbers what positive idea do we derive?' (1334) Not only could his readers not envisage these distances but he also doubts 'whether the man lives who can force into his brain the most remote conception of the interval between one milestone and its next neighbour upon the turnpike' (1333). He draws on the almost incalculable largeness of the earth to demonstrate the difficulties of perceiving the entirety of the planet at once. In so doing he undermines his earlier contention that '[w]e need so rapid a revolution of all things about the central point of sight that, while the minutiæ vanish altogether, even the more conspicuous objects become blended into one' (1262). He invites the reader to imagine that they are so positioned as to see 'a landscape stretching, say 40 miles, in every direction; forming a circle 250 miles in circumference; and including an area of 5000 square miles' (1334). In spite of the enormity of this scene 'the entire panorama would comprehend no more than one 40,000th part of the mere *surface* of our globe' (1334). If, then, '[w]ere this panorama…to be succeeded, after the lapse of an hour, by another of equal extent' until 'the scenery of the whole Earth were exhausted' we 'should nevertheless, be 9 years and 48 days in completing the general survey.' (1334) Earlier in the poem Poe had argued that the apprehension of an enlarged "simultaneity-across-time" could synthesize the entirety of space into a coherent whole. Here he shows how the human mind cannot use time to transcend the vastness of planetary space.

Antebellum Americans realised, then, that they could not use a national time to homogenize distant spaces. This was in part because they could not fully appreciate the sheer extent of the globe that developments in trade and transportation had made newly accessible. There were more reasons than this. The world was temporally uneven. As a result they discovered that other global places came with their own heterogeneous forms of time consciousness. These

local ways of perceiving time actively challenged the progressive impulses of imperialism and altered its own clock. In *Eureka*, for instance, Poe composes his universe out of a vast array of different yet coterminous historical moments. He extracts these moments from an almost unimaginably deep past as well as the distant future. He considers what he terms 'an infinity of local deviations from rectilinearity' (1347) that all contribute to the creation of 'heterogeneity out of homogeneity' (1278).[45] He reports how, because of the speed of light, there are events that the scientist can view which 'are this instant whispering in our ears the secrets of *a million of ages* by-gone. In a word, the events which we behold now – at this moment – in those worlds – are the identical events which interested their inhabitants *ten hundred thousand centuries ago*' (1340). Poe does not only see into the past of the universe but the future also. As he describes how atoms coagulate and form into planets he tells us that he is 'pausing, for a moment, on the awful threshold of *the Future*. For the present, calling these assemblages "clusters," we see them in the incipient stages of their consolidation. Their *absolute* consolidation is *to come*' (1324). Similarly he receives a letter from two hundred years after 1848. This letter confounds him as 'it seems to have been written in the year *two* thousand eight hundred and forty-eight' (1263). The temporal unevenness of the universe disrupts his attempts to establish a single, dominant, and homogenous time. But this is not all. The number of different historical moments in the universe lead him to consider the structures that underpin time itself. At certain points Poe's model for the Universe is linear, with a distant beginning proceeding unidirectionally to an inevitable and eschatological end. Within this linear structure Poe irons out the 'continuous differences of relative position among the multitudinous masses' of atoms by suggesting that this merely demonstrates how 'each proceeds on its own proper journey to the End' (1347). The letter from the future introduces another historical structure that runs against this linear one. The writer of the letter

[45] In this sense, we can read *Eureka*, with Jennifer Greeson, as a rejection of Emersonian transcendentalism, where a localized New England philosophy can provide 'an omniscient arbitration of the entire "universe."' (158); Greeson, *Our South*

argues that time is not causal and forward-moving but non-continuous and always on the cusp of an absolute and sudden revolutionary transformation. This is because mankind 'makes its most important advances – as all History will show – by seemingly intuitive *leaps*' (1264). Conversely, the poem concludes with an invocation of a sacred and cyclical time that will keep on forming and destroying the universe for all time. Poe asks 'are we not, indeed, more than justified in entertaining a belief…that the processes we have here ventured to contemplate will be renewed forever, and forever, and forever; a novel Universe swelling into existence, and then subsiding into nothingness, at every throb of the Heart Divine?' (1356)

As Antebellum Americans tried to phrase their past against that of the rest of the world they encountered other historical scales and forms of time too. In his nautical almanac *The American Ephemeris and Nautical Almanac For The Year 1855* (1852)[46] Charles Davis ended up using two Prime Meridians. For nautical calculations he deployed that of Greenwich, for terrestrial ones that of Washington. This reorganisation of global time led to a concurrent adjustment in world history. On a page entitled 'Chronological Eras' he orients all of the world's past around the American Revolution. On this page he presents a series of historical events and works out how far distant from this foundational event they were.[47] He follows the sentence 'THE YEAR 1855, WHICH COMPRISES THE LATTER PART OF THE 79TH AND THE BEGINNING OF THE 80TH YEAR OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA CORRESPONDS TO' with a series of dates drawn from religious and ancient history.[48] This attempt to place the experience of the United States

[46] Nautical almanacs provided data of star movements for future years rather than their year of publication. Maritime journeys were frequently long and so captains of ships would often need data for many years in advance. This explains the discrepancy between the year of publication (1852) and the year in the title (1855) of Davis' almanac.
[47] This is in spite of him stating in his work on the Prime Meridian that '[i]t is incorrectly stated…that I suffered the proposed change to rest upon considerations in some way connected with our national independence' (Davis, 32).
[48] Charles H. Davis, *The American Ephemeris and Nautical Almanac For The Year 1855* (Washington, 1852) p.vii. All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.

at the centre of time backfires. It ends up connecting America to a series of foreign historical narratives. The plurality of these narratives indicates the difficulty antebellum Americans had in defining their own experience of nationhood. He links the United States to the Roman Empire as 1855 corresponds to the year '2608 since the Foundation of Rome, according to Varro' (Almanac, vii). He meticulously calculates the correlation between 1855 and a Judeo-Christian tradition as the year is equivalent to '5616 since the creation of the world, according to the Jews,' and '2602 of the era of Nabonassar, which has been assigned to Wednesday, the 26th of February, of the 3967th year of the Julian period, corresponding, according to the chronologists, to the 747th and according to the astronomers, to the 746th year before the birth of Christ' (vii). Davis does not only engage with western history. He also juxtaposes 1855 against Islamic history as it is '1272 (of twelve lunations) since the Hegira, or flight of Mahomet, which, as is generally supposed, took place on the 16th of July, in the year 622 of the Christian era' (vii). Davis' exertions demonstrate the problems that antebellum Americans had in identifying a history that they could parallel to their own. This lack of certainty over the meaning of their past has the effect of showing the difficulty they had in asserting their national independence over that of previous civilisations. The sheer number of previous empires overwhelms Davis as he attempts to actualize a homogenous American time.

The expansiveness of imperialism not only failed to bring about a homogenizing yet transnational "simultaneity-across-time." *Eureka* shows how these energies also introduced different but co-existent moments of history into the province of the United States. These bewilderingly anachronistic times often ran counter to linear time. They revealed the continuing but never dominant pull of a variety of different structures of temporality. These structures, in turn, had the effect of altering the workings of imperial time itself. For some antebellum American travellers this reformulation often took the form of a recursive local

time resetting that of exploration. Charles Wilkes, for instance, recounts a 'provoking' incident that nonetheless gave him 'much amusement after it was over' which occurred as he mapped not-yet-American regions in the Pacific Northwest.[49] After a day spent mapping regions near Cowlitz Wilkes went to sleep but woke up abruptly 'with the feeling of having overslept myself' (Wilkes, 398). He therefore 'jumped up to look at my pocket-chronometer' (398) which he had placed on his bedside table. To his surprise he sees 'lying near by it' (399) a 'small silver watch, which I had not before observed' and which 'showed the same hour' (399) as his time-piece. This should not have been the case as his chronometer was minutely and uniquely adjusted to show that of Greenwich. He 'could not help making an exclamation of astonishment' (399). At this point his host, Mr Forrest, enters the room and explains that as 'he had found my watch altogether wrong, (it showed Greenwich time)' he 'had set it for me' (399). Wilkes explains to him that in changing 'my Greenwich time for that of Cowlitz' he 'had interrupted my series of observations' (399). Mr Forrest was, however, unmoved and responded that he thought it 'passing strange' that Wilkes 'should prefer Greenwich time to that of Cowlitz' and 'that he was sure his watch was right, for it kept time with the sun exactly!' (399) This episode shows how a non-American locality can upset attempts to standardize world time. Wilkes' imperial time meets with a local time that does not sync up with his expansionist programme as it still sets its watch by the daily cycles of the sun. This local time resets Wilkes' one according to its own values rather than changing with the demands of his cartographical project.

Exploring expeditions which sought to homogenize the time consciousness of non-American places in fact have the opposite effect then. They facilitate an exchange in time in which the local one is an active player. Even though these local times are different to and

[49] Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842 Vol IV* (Philadelphia: C. Sherman, 1844) p.399 All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.

geographically separated from that of the U.S. nation they are not “allochronic,” to use Johannes Fabian’s terms.[50] They alter the clock of imperialism as much as they are changed by it. Any developmental scale that would label them redundant and pre-modern is necessarily deficient. They actively participate in the present moment and so make these same scales contested and temporally uneven. This rubric, in Lloyd Pratt’s words ‘allows for the retention of the local as a category of analysis’ but ‘does not counterpoise a resistant local community to a dominant national community in a battle whose victor is determined in advance.’[51] Lieutenant Archibald MacRae discovered the effects that local time could have on cartography as he travelled through South America. MacRae had been James Gilliss’ assistant in Chile. Gilliss instructed him to return home by land in order to get reliable longitudes of various points on the South American continent. MacRae detailed his experiences in a narrative of his journey back through unmapped foreign lands. His narrative is notionally an official piece of government documentation but has a strangely subversive humour to it. This humour anticipates techniques that someone like Mark Twain would come to use in his own travelogues. He starts his story by gently mocking his attempts to maintain his chronometers. He describes how ‘[t]he only real occupation I had, pending my departure, was to get a travelling rate for the pocket chronometers.’[52] He tries to accomplish this task by ‘wearing the three chronometers on my person in the same position I proposed to carry them in travelling, and making it a point to ride and walk about a good deal every day’ (MacRae, 2). The climate and the rocky and uneven roads quickly end his plan of deploying a standardized time. Two of the three chronometers ‘performed so irregularly as to be nearly useless for the determination of longitudes’ (2). For the rest of the narrative he exploits the

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[50] Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002) [1983]
[51] Pratt, *Archives of American Time* p.130
[52] In James M. Gilliss, *The U.S. Naval Astronomical Expedition to the Southern Hemisphere During the Years 1849-’50-’51-’52 – Volume II* (Washington: A.O.P. Nicholson, 1855) p.2. All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.

comic potential of this failure of homogenous time. Once his journey had started he recalls how he ‘took the chronometers out’ to wind them but quickly got distracted. As ‘the gold one had such a highly burnished case, I stopped to examine in it, as in a mirror, the condition of the sores formed on my nose by the sun’ (10). In this way, he tries to use the chronometer as a way of confirming that his identity has remained the same although he has been away from home for a long period of time. He does not achieve this self-recognition and instead the incident ‘led to so long a train of thought as to whether my friends would recognise me, that I eventually forgot to wind it, and the next morning found that it had run down’ (10).

The failure of his chronometers leaves MacRae without a standardized time to reckon the longitude. For the rest of his narrative he explores the other ways he can mark time and define unmarked space in light of this failure. He starts by experimenting with an aggressive narrative time as he volunteers ‘two or three stories to pass away the time’ to his South American travelling companions. They do not respond well to them. MacRae recalls how one of his stories ‘was so very good that I am sorry it cannot be given here. At least Joaquin – the arriero – thought so, for he did not recover from it for a long time’ (7). Elsewhere the nature of South American space bewilders him. He advises the reader that ‘[t]he traveller will save annoyance by not asking distances of the arrieros’ as ‘[t]hey have no idea at all’ (12) of the concept. They do not possess a standardized vocabulary for measuring space. MacRae argues that ‘[t]o them, with a good horse on a good road, a place is very near which is very far off, on a bad horse or road. Their “allá no mas,” (just there;) or “allá-cito,” (a little this side of just there;) generally turns out to be as far as the eye can reach’ (12). As with Mr Forrest in Wilkes’ narrative, the locals use the cyclical journey of the sun to reckon time. That they do this means that it is impossible to map the land. MacRae suggests that it is pointless to ask them to provide data for a map, as ‘[t]wenty Indians all speaking different dialects, and with

knowledge of neither north, south, east, nor west, except by the rising and setting of the sun or other heavenly body, nor any idea of distance but that which depends on the condition of their horses, could not be expected to give information sufficiently exact to insert into a geographical map' (64). This fact means that in South America the distances between places are 'all gum-elastic' (24). MacRae tries to re-institute a standardized time in spite of this lack of a shared sense of national geography. He attempts to set down the lay of the land by working out the distance between places 'estimated by the time occupied in accomplishing them, allowing, generally, about four miles an hour to the regular walk of the mules' (22). Once more the terrain proves resistant to this plan. The lack of a transport infrastructure means that 'the distances' that he calculated 'are considerably exaggerated, partly from over-estimate, but principally from the sinuosities of the road' (22).

During their journeys MacRae and Wilkes discover that travel does not necessarily move time forward linearly. Instead the local times that they meet while exploring disrupt standardized time. This disruption actively upsets their attempts to map foreign lands. As such, there was no necessary link between American imperialism and national progress. Henry David Thoreau explored similar issues to these in *Walden* (1854). As we have seen in chapter one, he depicted how the train connected Walden to the world. This connection meant that his local time mixed with that of other places. His treatment of the train does not only show this fact. He also demonstrates how transport and travel can actively slow down time. Thoreau argues that it is impossible to consider the speed of the train in isolation. Instead it is necessary to view train travel in the terms of a larger web of financial transactions and labour. When he makes these previously hidden transactions visible it appears to him that the train does not allow for man to move so quickly after all. Thoreau recounts how a friend of his chastises him for failing to 'lay up money' (*Walden*, 48). If Thoreau did, his friend argues, he

could consummate his ‘love’ for ‘travel’ as it would enable him to ‘take the cars and go to Fitchburg to-day and see the country’ (48-9). Thoreau disagrees. He challenges his interlocutor to an imaginary race as he has ‘learned that the swiftest traveller is he that goes afoot’ (49). He concentrates on the fare that he would have to pay to ride the train. He calculates that it is ‘ninety cents’ which is equivalent to ‘almost a day’s wages’ (49). If Thoreau walks he can travel for free. If he were to ‘start now on foot’ he would get to Fitchburg ‘before night’ (49). His friend meanwhile would need to work to earn his fare. Having done this he can board the train. He will therefore ‘arrive there some time to-morrow or possibly this evening’ (49). Thoreau concludes that even ‘if the railroad reached round the world’ he would nonetheless ‘keep ahead’ (49). Thoreau’s exploration of the links between economics, travel, and time allows him to make a broader point about how we calculate progress and speed. The financial cost of travel makes human lives less efficiently organized and considerably slower. He comes to rubbish the ‘indistinct notion’ that because of technological advancement ‘all will at length ride somewhere, in next to no time, and for nothing’ (49).

Antebellum Americans could not bring about a homogenous and transnational “simultaneity-across-time.” The globe was simply too large for them to do so. As they explored the world they discovered a series of local times that challenged and altered their own. These reconfigurations in turn had the effect of disrupting their cartographical programmes. They often could not reckon either foreign space or time. To conclude this chapter I want to examine how these issues frequently morphed into ones of historical chronology. As Americans mapped and explored the world they also tried to connect the nation to pre-national genealogies. Sometimes they did so to legitimize American intellectual culture. Other times they found that they had to disavow and replace American history with a global

one. As we have already seen, James Gilliss saw his work as an opportunity to make ‘a contribution from the New World to the Old World’ (Gilliss, v). He was not the only scientist keen to assert continuity with the United States’ European forebears. Charles Davis argues that the development of a coherent national map is simultaneous with the creation of a cogent political ideology. He argues that ‘[e]very nation, as it has advanced in science, and particularly the science of political economy, has executed such a work’ with the ‘great topographical map of France stand[ing] forth as one of the noblest symbols of her civilization and learning’ (Davis, 15). He uses a similar logic as he suggests that as science progresses ‘each nation has removed its prime meridian within its own limits’ (20). By doing this they ‘preserve unity of design, and an easy perception of the relations to each other of different parts of the same territory’ (21). Yet these maps, William Bond suggests, also set up historical links with other countries and so did not just define relations between different internal regions. His chronometric expedition mapped some of the eastern seaboard by calculating its longitude in relation to Liverpool. He notes how European empires have licensed similar programmes as they asserted themselves on a world stage. He comments that ‘Denmark, Russia, and England have fitted out expeditions of this kind at the public expense’ and resultantly have provided ‘the most elaborate specimens of attention to minute detail’ (cxxxix). His own expedition is only meaningful in this expanded geographical and historical context. It brings America into direct contact with Europe. These non-American acts of surveying mean ‘[i]t therefore has now become *our* duty to complete the chain which shall unite us more intimately with the Observatories of the Old World’ (Bond, cxxxix).

These men created continuities with non-American spaces to facilitate U.S. national assertiveness. They knew that they could legitimise U.S. culture through connecting it with European acts of geodesy and imperialism. As Matthew Fontaine Maury mapped the oceans

he also realised the value of a non-U.S. history. He did not look towards Europe but instead the denationalized space of the ocean. In so doing, he came to reject some of the foundational myths of America itself. He replaced them instead with an oceanic archive that extended across the entirety of the world. The ocean was the axis around which Maury oriented all design in nature. He updates the language of Enlightenment theology so that it accords with recent technological developments to make the ocean the centre of world time. He terms the Gulf Stream 'the chronograph of the sea, keeping time for its inhabitants, and marking the seasons for the great whales; and there it has been for all time vibrating to and fro, swinging from north to south and south to north, a great self-regulating, self-compensating pendulum' (Maury, 232). The oceans are to him 'as the main spring of a watch; its waters, and its currents, and its salts, and its inhabitants, with their adaptations, as balance-wheels, cogs and pinions, and jewels' (54). As a result of putting the ocean at the centre of world time he concurrently creates a maritime historiography that extends beyond the boundaries of the United States. His programme involved accumulating and then synthesizing a vast amount of data about currents and sea temperature. He draws on an alternative set of oceanic founding documents for his project. He describes how once he made his object known '[t]he quick, practical mind of the American ship-master took hold of the proposition at once. To him the field was inviting, for he saw in it the promise of a rich harvest and of many useful results' (xii). These economic motives do not move time forward. Instead Maury describes how, in order to fulfil his imperatives, mariners retreated backwards into the past. 'There was a flight up into the garrets,' he recalls, 'and a ransacking of time-honored sea-chests in all the maritime communities of the country for old log-books and sea journals' (v). Maury's own language bears the imprint of this retreat backwards. It relies on an almost medieval idiom, composed of compounds, garrets, and treasure chests. The effect of this archival project is to put sailors into contact with a maritime history that exceeds the dates of the nation. There is

also a secondary consequence. The final published book of currents upsets the usual logic of linear time as young captains can possess a knowledge of the sea normally reserved for the old. 'By putting down on a chart,' he argues, 'the tracks of many vessels on the same voyage, but at different times, in different years, and during all seasons' those who use his maps would have 'the combined experience of all those whose tracks were thus pointed out' (v). This contention means Maury thinks that young sailors 'would be immediately lifted up and placed on a footing with the oldest sea-captains' (vii). These maps also bring what was a lost oceanic past directly into the present. The compensation for older captains losing the benefit of their years of experience is that they 'might see in these charts also the voyages made in their young days spread out before them' (vii). Maury's rediscovery of this oceanic archive has unintended effects. As its documents lie outside the temporal and spatial borders of the United States, he comes to reject some of the most adhesive myths of American history. On looking over his data he noticed that all ships tended to follow rigorously pre-set paths leaving huge spaces empty. He tries to account for why '[a]ll the rest of the ocean on the wayside, and to the distance of hundreds of miles on either hand, was blank, and seemed as untravelled and as much out of the way of the haunts of civilized man as are the solitudes of the wilderness that lie broad off the emigrants trail to Oregon. Such was the old route' (x). He places a western typology on the ocean only to disavow it. He suggests that just as early settlers relied on word of mouth to travel over the western lands so too did the sailors. He rejects this mode of travel and so undercuts sacralised myths of U.S. continental expansion. He does so as this method of travelling does not make an efficient use of time as 'the route from place to place across the sea was, it was ascertained, handed down from sailor to sailor by tradition, or as legend, and very much in the same way that the overland route of the first emigrants to California continued to be followed season after season' (xi).

Conclusion

As Ahab sits at his charts, anticipating the migratory patterns of Moby Dick, Ishmael reflects that 'it almost seemed that while he himself was marking out lines and courses on the wrinkled charts, some invisible pencil was also tracing lines and courses upon the deeply marked chart of his forehead' (*Moby-Dick*, 198). This movement is exemplary for the chapter as a whole. Antebellum Americans sought to impose their own national time onto the world through acts of mapping and exploration. In Ahab's case he tries to pre-empt and control the future so as to bring about his eventual triumph over Moby Dick. However, they found that other places exerted their own forms of time. This collection of local, European, and planetary times wrote back. This 'invisible pencil' of non-American cultures, to use Ishmael's words, forced them to alter and reforge their own time consciousness continually. As a result, attempts at creating a homogenous national time through expansionism ended up having the opposite effect: they made U.S. time unstable, heterogeneous, and fluctuating.

Chapter Three: Mass Migration, Nativism, and Immigrant Time, 1830-57

The huge increase in foreign immigration between 1830 and 1857 occasioned a crisis in national time for many antebellum writers, politicians, and social theorists. These nativist activists argued that the presence of swiftly naturalized, often Catholic, and predominantly working-class foreigners in the United States threatened the Revolutionary past of the nation and endangered the future of the republic. They argued that immigrants who lived on the vast agricultural plains of the newly incorporated western territories or the urban slums in the rapidly industrializing cities on the East Coast occupied not only American space but American time. They did so by carrying with them a variety of, what many nativists perceived as, non-American modes of time into the United States on the increasingly frequent Atlantic crossings that brought them to the ports of the Eastern Seaboard. Nationalist ideologues argued that these times then took root in American soil, permeating into everyday life, and so obstructed the development of a homogenous national community. These same temporalities then restructured the very foundations of American historiography. They created alternative, transnational myths of national origin that ran counter to the unidirectional, progressive accounts of the emergence of the United States onto the world scene. As immigration transformed the ethnic, religious, and class demographics of the United States, even its most nationalist citizens experienced congruent shifts in how they formulated national time. In this sense, nationalist discourse about immigration in the antebellum period was a symptom of temporal heterogeneity even as it sought to advocate a homogenous national time.

Approximately five million immigrants arrived in the United States between 1815 and 1860. Three million came in the decade after 1845 alone. The reasons for this sudden spike in migration to America were numerous. They include technological shifts in oceanic travel,

pressures on food and land resources in Europe, and the pull of the burgeoning economy in an expanding United States. These factors knitted together previously distant countries through the exchange in population and created a newly connected globe with unprecedented levels of mobility. Advances in maritime technology meant that ships crossed the Atlantic Ocean with increasing frequency and speed while also becoming geared towards passenger travel. Packet lines, or ships that sailed on a regular schedule, like the Black Ball Line, came into existence, and ship-owners viewed the transportation of immigrants as a way of making an easy profit on return trips to America. In *Redburn*, Herman Melville reflected 'that owing to the great number of ships sailing to the Yankee ports from Liverpool, the competition among them in obtaining emigrant passengers, who as a cargo are much more remunerative than crates and bales, is exceedingly great; so much so, that some of the agents they employ, do not scruple to deceive the poor applicants for passage, with all manner of fables concerning the short space of time, in which their ships make the run across the ocean.'[1] This competition drove the prices of tickets down from around 1830 and, when combined with new methods of payment including the remittance system and prepaid fares, made emigration to America an increasingly attractive proposition.

These economic factors combined with social ones. In Great Britain concerns about urban poverty, pauperism, and social unrest led to the government rejecting the Revolutionary-era policy of George III and removing all restrictions on emigration in 1827. It was a frequent lament of American nativists that the British government actively encouraged and facilitated the emigration of the poor and criminal to an unsuspecting and welcoming United States. In Germany, rapid population growth placed pressure on the land and led to a fear that there would soon be a scarcity of resources. Political radicals from there, whether socialists,

[1] Herman Melville, *Redburn: His First Voyage, Being the Sailor-boy Confessions and Reminiscences of the Son-of-a-Gentleman, in the Merchant Service* (New York: The Modern Library, 2002) p.279

anarchists, communists, or the followers of utopian theorists like Charles Fourier, viewed the United States as a beacon of liberty that uniquely encouraged ideological dissent and social foment. Indeed, in the wake of the revolutions of 1848, one extreme group that had set up in America, the People's League for the Old and New World, demanded that the soon-to-be liberated European states be admitted into the union as 'the starting point of the World's Republic.'[2] Other causes such as the potato famine of the 1840s in Ireland, letters from family and friends already in America, emigrant's guides, and the need to escape from political repression in the wake of the failure of the 1848 revolutions all contributed to the vast tide of immigration. American governments of the time did not think to legislate against this flow but rather encouraged it. The western territories acquired in the Louisiana Purchase (1803) and the Adams-Onís Treaty (1819) as well as the industrial cities of the Northeast required a considerable influx of population to settle and to work the land or factory. The U.S. government sought to ensure its political future and its economic growth by sheer weight of numbers alone in this era of contested borders, shifting nationalities, and divergent imperial claims on the American continent. Other than the swiftly revoked Alien and Sedition Acts (1798), passed in the wake of Federalist concern about its voter base and which increased the period of residency required for citizenship to fourteen years, the only major piece of legislation passed regarding immigration was an 1819 act that made it law to enumerate immigrants at their port of entry. As a result, Herman Melville boasted that the United States was a uniquely cosmopolitan nation, a world family with a genealogy composed of every nationality imaginable. 'You cannot spill a drop of American blood,' he claimed, 'without spilling the blood of the whole world. Be he Englishman, Frenchman, German, Dane, or Scot; the European who scoffs at an American, calls his own brother *Raca*, and stands in danger of the judgment. We are not a narrow tribe of men, with a bigoted

[2] Quoted in Bruce Levine, *The Spirit of 1848: German Immigrants, Labor Conflict, and the Coming of the Civil War* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992) p.86

Hebrew nationality – whose blood has been debased in the attempt to ennoble it, by maintaining an exclusive succession among ourselves. No: our blood is as the flood of the Amazon, made up of a thousand noble currents all pouring into one. We are not a nation, so much as a world; for unless we may claim all the world for our sire, like Melchisedec, we are without father or mother…We are the heirs of all time, and with all nations divide our inheritance' (*Redburn*, 195-6).

Other antebellum Americans did not share Melville's enthusiasm for those immigrants who, in his words, 'swelled the census of [the] Northwestern states' and who transferred 'their ploughs from the hills of Transylvania to the prairies of Wisconsin' (*Redburn*, 195). For these nativist thinkers, the forces of globalization and the attendant migration of the workforce threatened the sovereignty of the United States. Immigrants brought with them economic links to Europe, political biases, and religious affiliations that they felt undermined the newly-established republican institutions in America. Protestant preacher and father of Harriet Beecher Stowe, Lyman Beecher, for instance, lamented that '[o]ur unoccupied soil is coming fast into the European market, and foreign capitalists and speculators are holding competition with our own. So that, were there no political and no ecclesiastical ends to be accomplished, the rapid influx upon us of such masses of uneducated mind of other tongues and habits would itself alone demand an immediate and earnest national supervision, on the same principles of self-preservation that would dyke out the ocean or turn the mountain torrent from carrying desolation over our fields.'[3] Similarly the Know-Nothing historian Frederick Rinehart Anspach said of the nativists that '[t]hey do not recognize the principle as

[3] Lyman Beecher, *A Plea for the West* (Cincinnati: Truman and Smith, 1835) pp.69-70. All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.

just, to wound at home that they may heal abroad, to impoverish those among us who ply the loom, or spread the sail, that others may be enriched at the expense of native energy.'[4]

This antipathy towards the global labour market underpinned much nativist ideology in the mid-nineteenth century and, in the words of Ali Behdad, created a 'potentially radical critique of industrial capitalism' through showing 'the self-interested intention of those who advocated lax immigration and naturalization laws.'[5] Nativism took a variety of forms in the antebellum period from flat-out xenophobia to mob violence. It found its most cogent and consistent expression in anti-Catholic sentiment. As historian Roger Daniels suggests 'it is against this background of religiously inspired anti-Catholicism, that the political and economic anti-immigrant attitudes of the pre-Civil War decades take on their full meaning.'[6] In Boston in the 1830s, unconfirmed rumours that Catholic convents were abducting and keeping young Protestant women against their will created a potentially inflammatory atmosphere of unease and social division. In 1834 a mob, whipped up to a frenzied pitch by preachers like Lyman Beecher, stormed the Ursuline Convent near Bunker Hill and burnt it to the ground. Judge Lemuel Shaw, Melville's father-in-law, acquitted several of the key players. This anti-Catholic sentiment did not recede but only gained in ferocity over the next two decades. In 1844, anti-Irish riots in Kensington, Philadelphia lasted for days and led to several deaths, many injuries, and much destruction of property. In the words of Know-Nothing advocate John Hancock Lee, 'the sharp crack of the rifle [was] heard in our streets,

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[4] Frederick R. Anspach, *The Sons of the Sires; A History of the Rise, Progress, and Destiny of the American Party, and its Probable Influence on the Next Presidential Election* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1855) pp.56-7

[5] Ali Behdad, *A Forgetful Nation: On Immigration and Cultural Identity in the United States* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005) p.128

[6] Roger Daniels, *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life* (New York: HarperCollins, 2002) [1991] p.269

and the swift and destructive bullet pierce[d] the very hearts of our countrymen!'[7] Similarly in 1853 crowds rioted in Cincinnati with the visit of Papal Nuncio Gaetano Bedini and there was general unease over the appointment of Catholic James Campbell to the position of Postmaster General. Occurrences like these seemingly made it increasingly easy to believe that a corrupt political establishment was currying the favour of an immigrant population at the expense of "American" interests. The American Party, or the "Know-Nothings," exploited this discontent at the main political parties to enjoy a brief, but pivotal, moment in the political ascendency in the 1850s. This semi-secretive group, founded by Charles Allen under the name Order of the Star Spangled Banner, demanded a twenty-one year naturalization period, the limitation of public office to native-born Americans, restrictions on disabled and poor immigrants and a King James Bible in every school. They exploited the failure of the two party system as the Whig Party disintegrated in sectional disputes over the revocation of the Missouri Compromise (1820) by the Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854). Between June and October of 1854 membership of the Know-Nothings rocketed from about fifty thousand to one million as they gained support for a variety of non-party issues from abolitionism to temperance to anti-Catholicism. In the elections of 1854 and 1855 they elected seven governors, forty-eight congressmen with another fifty-nine closely aligned with them.[8] They were particularly strong in Philadelphia, where they held an estimated one hundred and twenty thousand votes, about half of the total electorate.

Although disputes over slavery and the failure of their Presidential candidate Millard Fillmore in 1856 meant the movement disappeared as quickly as it had emerged, the Know-

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[7] John Hancock Lee, *The Origin and Progress of the American Party in Politics: Embracing a Complete History of the Philadelphia Riots in May and July, 1844, With a Full Description of the Great American Procession of July Fourth, and a Refutation of the Arguments Founded on the Charges of Religious Proscription and Secret Combinations* (Philadelphia: Elliott & Gihon, 1855) p.41

[8] Daniel J. Tichenor, *Dividing Lines: The Politics of Immigration Control in America* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002) p.61

Nothings left a deep and frequently passed over impression on antebellum society. Over the course of the 1830s through to the 1850s a culture industry grew up around nativist sentiment. The literary marketplace embraced accounts of Catholic intrigue, criminal foreigners, and Republican heroism. Maria Monk's almost entirely fabricated captivity narrative of her "experiences" in a convent, *Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk* (1836), was the best-selling antebellum book until *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852). Jenny Franchot suggests that '[f]rom 1800 to 1860, a partial count of anti-Catholic publications shows some 25 newspapers, 13 magazines, 210 books, 40 fictional pieces, 41 histories, and scores of giftbooks, almanacs, and pamphlets dedicated to the anti-Catholic cause.'[9] George Lippard satirizes this craze for religious defamation in his unfinished novel, *The Nazarene* (1846), suggesting of these anti-Catholic works, '[t]heir titles all told the same story…you might behold, the History of the Reformation, or the Horrors of the Inquisition, or the Pope Overthrown, or yet again, did your taste incline to the lively and vivacious in narrative, you might read the Extraordinary history of Mon-Clomeristiani, a converted Priest, or Seven years in a Monastery, by MacHowl, the Reformed Monk, or the Wonderful Experience of a Brother of La Trappe, who after being seven years in the gall and bitterness of Rome, was finally brought to a knowledge of the truth, and is now a Minister of the Evangelical Protestant church.'[10] The Know-Nothings' increasing prominence led to the production of a variety of items including, most strangely, "Know Nothing Candy." As Susan M. Griffin has shown, there were also many nativist novels in the period. She argues that these narratives 'all tell a story about America as a nation of brothers united against an incestuous usurper from another time and place' and included works such as Orvilla S. Belisle's *The Arch Bishop: Or, Romanism in the United States* (1855), Ned Buntline's *The Jesuit's Daughter*

[9] Jenny Franchot, *Roads to Rome: The Antebellum Protestant Encounter with Catholicism* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1994) p.106
[10] George Lippard, *The Nazarene; Or, The Last of the Washingtons, A Revelation of Philadelphia, New York, and Washington, in the Year 1844* (Philadelphia: T.B. Peterson, 1854) p.121

(1854), Helen Dhu's (Charles Edward Lester) *Stanhope Burleigh* (1855), William Engolls' *The Countess* (1847) and Edward Hinks' *One Link in the Chain of Apostolic Succession* (1854).[11] In addition to these works, as this chapter will argue, several canonical works, to varying degrees, bore the imprint of the immigrant controversies of the era. These works include Charles Brockden Brown's *Wieland* (1798), James Fenimore Cooper's *The Prairie* (1827), Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The House of the Seven Gables* (1851) and Herman Melville's *Pierre* (1852).[12]

This chapter explores how antebellum writers and political figures reconfigured their conceptions of national destiny, democratic permanence, and the Revolutionary past in the wake of the sudden spike in immigration in the years after 1830. In an era when American national identity itself was callow and undeveloped the presence of immigrants forced U.S. citizens to question the sources of their political project, to brood anxiously on its capacity to survive, and even to alter their formulations of the shape and structure of history itself. There has been curiously little thought given to immigration in antebellum American literature, with most accounts of immigrant culture beginning with the Chinese Exclusion Act (1882). Transnational criticism has considered the cultural importance and internal workings of given

[11] Susan M. Griffin, *Anti-Catholicism and Nineteenth-Century Fiction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) p.92

[12] I have composed this account from a variety of sources. For a history of the Know-Nothing movement see Tyler Anbinder, *Nativism and Slavery: The Northern Know Nothings and the Politics of the 1850s* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); for an economic history of how the changes in oceanic technology altered patterns of immigration into the U.S. see Raymond L. Cohn, *Mass Migration Under Sail: European Immigration to the Antebellum United States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); for a broad empiricist history of immigration into nineteenth-century America see Daniels, *Coming to America* pp.121-287; for a world systems analysis of mass migration throughout the past 1000 years see Dirk Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact: World Migrations in the Second Millennium* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2002); for the links between antebellum immigration, social reform, and political revolution see Levine, *The Spirit of 1848*; for a general survey of nativist sentiment see Peter Schrag, *Not Fit For Our Society: Nativism and Immigration* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2010); for a history of changes in immigration policy and legislation see Tichenor, *Dividing Lines*.

immigrant communities, be they Cuban (Lazo), Creole (Goudie) or Latino (Gruesz).[13] Similarly Jenny Franchot and Susan M. Griffin have carried out exhaustive work on anti-Catholic sentiment and its links with nativism.[14] However, critics have tended not to consider immigration as a broad, systemic phenomenon at a time when, as Peter Schrag phrases it, Americans 'tended indiscriminately to conflate race, ethnicity, nationality, and class' when thinking about people from other countries.[15] Ali Behdad's *A Forgetful Nation* (2005) is an exception. He shows how myths of an inclusive America that have developed over the course of the twentieth century in fact forget the frequently brutal historical conditions of actual immigration. These myths have allowed Americans to ignore the consistently exclusionary policies of their governments while also to formulate their own national identity around an ethnically shifting immigrant Other. For Behdad, even seemingly inclusive accounts of a multicultural America tend towards homogenization as they force immigrants to relinquish cultural and national difference. Therefore it is no coincidence for him that the ostensibly welcoming narratives of Ralph Waldo Emerson and Walt Whitman are contemporaneous with an explosion of nativism in the 1840s and 1850s. This historical congruence occurs because 'the myth of asylum, the nation of many nations, a nation of immigrants – itself proves on examination to be an amnesiac form of nationalism, at once neglectful of its own exclusionary tendencies and inattentive to the nativism with which it coexists. Like every national myth, the myth of immigrant America blots out the historical conditions of its formation and masks the politics of exceptionalism that motivate its celebratory discourse.'[16]

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[13] See Rodrigo Lazo, *Writing to Cuba: Filibustering and Cuban Exiles in the United States* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); Sean X. Goudie, *Creole America: The West Indies and the Formation of Literature and Culture in the New Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006); Kirsten Silva Gruesz, *Ambassadors of Culture: The Transamerican Origins of Latino Writing* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002)

[14] Franchot, *Roads to Rome*; Griffin, *Anti-Catholicism and Nineteenth-Century Fiction*

[15] Schrag, *Not Fit For Our Society*

[16] Behdad, *Forgetful Nation* pp.76-7; for how these currents of cultural inclusivity and homogeneity might impact contemporary notions of multiculturalism and transnationalism see Jared Hickman, 'On the Redundancy of "Transnational American Studies"' in *The Oxford Handbook of Nineteenth-Century American Literature* ed. Russ Castronovo (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) pp.269-288

This chapter attempts to begin to plug the gap in critical literature on the effects of large scale immigration in antebellum America. The first section makes the case that many nativist Americans perceived themselves to be living in a time of crisis and national emergency as a result of the massive influx of immigrants after 1830. This time of crisis put the past, present, and future of the United States into flux. The particular concern of Protestant nativists was with how immigrants unsettled and, subsequently, came to reside in nationally liminal spaces. Lyman Beecher argued that immigrants speeded up time in the west and so made an apocalyptic confrontation between despotism and liberty inevitable. For Frederick Rinehart Anspach, immigrants linked the United States to revolutionary events in Europe. These events indicated to him that the mid-nineteenth century was a time of *kairos*, where the political and religious fate of nations, and indeed the world, was to be decided. Holding together the sense of this heightened time of crisis was a concern about the permanence of the American republic. Thinkers like Samuel Morse and Samuel Busey worried that immigrants exposed a fatal flaw in American democracy. For them, the liberal politics of the government admitted an immigrant time that threatened to annihilate American institutions. They were not the only people to express concern about this issue. In Herman Melville's *Pierre*, the immigrant Isabel upsets chronological time, destroys the past, and so divorces Pierre from his Revolutionary legacy. These nativist anxieties underpin other writers' speculations about the permanence of the United States. In *The Prairie*, James Fenimore Cooper ponders whether westward immigration and the mixing of different nationalities would bring about an American future. Racially ambiguous immigrants from the western states, he suggests, lacked the capacity to transcend the practical needs of the present moment and so were incapable of forming sustainable and permanent societies. Similarly, he is uncertain whether Protestant Americans can merge with the vast mass of Catholics who suddenly became American

citizens with the Louisiana Purchase (1803). In this sense, as the second section argues and the work of Anspach and Anna Ella Carroll demonstrates, immigrants served as an index of time passing from a sacred Revolutionary moment of national coherence to a divided and ethnically heterogeneous antebellum republic. Other thinkers speculated on what would happen if this historical chasm were to grow any larger. Anspach, Busey and Morse all postulate an American future without "Americans" and describe what it would look like. In *Stanhope Burleigh* the pseudonym of male writer Charles Lester, Helen Dhu wonders whether the geographic configuration of the American continent made it better suited to Catholic despotism than Protestant republicanism. Other nativists also saw a coming political apocalypse but, rather than seeking to avert it, actively sought to bring it about. Lyman Beecher argued that the American west would be the site for a final showdown between a sacred time of political liberty and a recursive and backward immigrant time that tried to pull America back into the feudal past. The materials in this section all depict some form of sacred or apocalyptic time clashing with linear time. To conclude the section, I suggest that Charles Brockden Brown anticipates these issues in *Wieland*. He outlines how a trans-historical sacred trauma linked to immigrant life might impact on the genealogical continuity of the American republican family. It was not only the future of the United States that immigration threatened but the past as well, as the third section contends. In *Stanhope Burleigh* (1855) Helen Dhu suggests that Catholic immigrants would attempt to redact and occupy the American past, replacing a republican lineage with a despotic one. Those sceptical towards nativism, such as George Lippard and Louis Schade, however, suggest that anti-Catholics themselves repeat the logic of historical European barbarity. Such acts of repetition, for Lippard in *The Nazarene*, when viewed in conjunction with immigration, placed the United States in a cyclical history rather than a linear and forward-moving one. This cyclical history brought vastly distant times and places into the province of national

time. In *The House of the Seven Gables*, Nathaniel Hawthorne suggests that this same cyclical immigrant history exposed the fraudulence of Puritan myths of national origin. Given the resultant lack of a single, organizing mythos, Melville, in *Pierre*, creates alternative immigrant origin myths, drawn from a temporal span that exceeded the narrow historical boundaries of the national period.

Immigration and National Crisis

As the nineteenth century approached its mid-point many nativist activists felt that time was running out to save the bold political experiment of the United States. For them the young nation was at a tipping point where history bifurcated into an "American" and a "foreign" future. Citizens had either to act by reembracing the precepts of the Revolutionary generation or to hesitate and so prepare for epochs of political and religious despotism. The vast numbers of immigrants that daily came to their shores were the reason for this crisis. For these nativists, almost entirely men, mostly Protestant and "American-born," the new immigrants, mostly Catholic, working class and born in Germany or Ireland, endangered the political legacy that the Revolutionary generation had fought so hard to gain. In so doing, they threatened the very existence of the United States. These antebellum nationalists, then, in contradistinction to those like John L. O'Sullivan and other advocates of Manifest Destiny, looked less to a triumphant future than to an unsettled and potentially disastrous present where the fate of the nation was at stake. E.W. Hinks in the preface to his novel *One Link in the Chain of Apostolic Succession; or, The Crimes of Alexander Borgia* (1854) argued that '[t]he disciples of the church of Rome, or the descendants of the revolutionary patriots, must eventually rule the United States; and the time has come when it is a question for serious

consideration whether it shall be ruled by *us* or *them*.'[17] Soon-to-be inventor of the telegraph Samuel Morse shared Hinks' sense of urgency. In his anonymously published *Foreign Conspiracy against the Liberties of the United States* (1835) he addresses his fellow Americans and tells them that 'we must prepare ourselves for a vigorous warfare. We must be stirring, if we mean indeed to be victorious. Not a moment is to be lost. The enemy knows well the importance of the present instant.'[18] Samuel C. Busey in his *Immigration: Its Evils and Consequences* (1856) demands that the 'legislative department of the government interfere' to create new naturalization laws as '[a] few years more and the golden opportunity may have passed away.'[19]

These invocations of crisis came with distinct geographical parameters. Nativists grappled with the linked threats of unsettled spaces and huge levels of nationally ambiguous immigrants. Lyman Beecher's eyes were firmly on the newly acquired western territories in his *A Plea for the West* (1835). Beecher suggested that the huge population flows into these areas meant that they operated under a potentially disastrous speeded-up temporality. Beecher narrates how 'the West is filling up as by ocean waves; and such is her prospective greatness, that the capital of the East and of Europe hold competition for her acceptance and use, so that in a day, she is rising up to the high eminence that all other nations have approached progressively through the revolution of centuries' (Beecher, 29-30). Therefore, 'whatever we do, it must be done quickly' as 'there is a tide in human things which waits not, – moments on which the destiny of a nation balances, when the light dust may turn the right way or the wrong. And such is the condition of our nation now' (45-6). The increasingly globalized

[17] E.W. Hinks, *One Link in the Chain of Apostolic Succession; or, The Crimes of Alexander Borgia* (Boston: E.W. Hinks & Co., 1854) p.ix
[18] Samuel Morse, *Foreign Conspiracy Against the Liberties of the United States* (New York: G. & C. Carvill & Co, 1835) pp.124-5. All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.
[19] Samuel C. Busey, *Immigration: Its Evils and Consequences* (De Witt & Davenport Publishers: New York, 1856) p.44

world and the connections between different peoples and markets added to Beecher's sense of the need for swift action. The 'population will not wait, and commerce will not cast anchor, and manufactures will not shut off the steam, nor shut down the gate, and agriculture, pushed by millions of freemen on their fertile soil, will not withhold her corrupting abundance' (30). In his Know-Nothing history *The Sons of the Sires* (1855) Frederick Rinehart Anspach also looks to the globe for evidence of a crisis that will revolutionize and re-order the world. He notes that '[t]he aspects of the world plainly indicate that a momentous era is at hand – that events pregnant with tremendous realities are about to burst upon mankind…[There are] [a]gitations that reach to the profoundest depths of the social structure, and [are] causing kingdoms to vibrate to their centres' (Anspach, 97). These revolutionary events illustrate the coming of a conflict between the rising forces of liberty and the declining, yet still powerful, ones of reaction most fully embodied by the Austrian empire and the Catholic Church. Networks of commerce and migration mean that the United States necessarily shares in these European battles. Anspach reflects that '[t]hough we are far removed from those scenes of foreign conflict, we cannot remain unaffected by them. We are united to those nations not only by those bonds of sympathy which make the interests of humanity common, but commerce, with all its facilities for intercommunication, makes us partakers of the elements which enter into their conflicts, and sharers in the issues to which they will give rise. We live in no ordinary times. This period of our world's history is intensely interesting. It is a period of great struggles' (98). The most notable of these struggles was between republican Protestantism and despotic Catholicism. Nativists argued that the uncontrolled flow of swiftly naturalized immigrants brought with it European political structures that true patriots ought to actively oppose. Anspach, like many others, felt that the time for action was passing and that it might soon be too late. He employs both the moral logic and the imagery of gothic fiction to argue that '[t]here is a time in the history of

every vicious public sentiment, or monstrous conception, when it may be easily destroyed. This monster, born in the bosom of our republic, should have been strangled in its birth, but though it has grown to be powerful, it may yet be crushed; but if suffered to linger, and to feed upon the vitals of the nation, it will ultimately, like a malignant passion in the human heart, destroy everything exalted and good' (170).

Nativist thinkers thought that they lived in a time of crisis. That they lived in this time of crisis meant that they were rarely sanguine about the prospects of the nation as it battled against European political and religious despotism. What was at stake in their apocalyptic political visions, then, was the legacy of their nation's Revolutionary past. The unprecedented levels of immigration forced them to ask whether American democracy was a permanent institution or if it would soon be succeeded by older European forms of social organisation. As Beecher phrased it, 'I am aware that our ablest patriots are looking out on the deep, vexed with storms, with great forebodings and failings of heart for fear of the things that are coming upon us; and I perceive a spirit of impatience rising, and distrust in respect to the perpetuity of our republic' (Beecher, 42). He argues that even though '[i]t took Rome three hundred years to die,' the United States' 'death, if we perish, will be as much more terrific as our intelligence and free institutions have given to us more bone, and sinew, and vitality' (45). Fredric Jameson has argued that 'the movement of decolonization' which 'suddenly released an explosion of otherness unparalleled in human history' had marked effects on the perception of time in the wake of the Second World War.[20] Citizens of declining European empires suddenly had to wrestle with the fact that neither they nor the society they lived in was exceptional. This realisation meant that where, in the past, they could plot the trajectory of their own lives and their own nation using the language of Fate, Providence, and design,

[20] Fredric Jameson, 'The End of Temporality', *Critical Inquiry* 29:4 (Summer 2003) p.709

they now could no longer see beyond a radically unsettled and curtailed present. Jameson terms this occurrence the "existential reduction" of postmodernity, and suggests that '[t]he stripping away of that form of temporality – the security of the ego or the unique personal self – is comparable to the stripping away of universals in a nominalist age; it leaves me alone with my unique present, with a present of time that is anonymous and no longer belongs to any identifiable biographical self or private destiny.'[21]

The influx of foreign alterity in the antebellum period, which took the form of Irish and German immigrants that daily came to the ports of the east, had remarkably similar effects on U.S. national time. As a result of immigration, nativist thinkers questioned whether the Revolution was part of a grand divine plan and ruminated on whether American democracy was sustainable. Immigrants threatened to annihilate both the Revolutionary past and the American future and so leave them with nothing more than an uncertain present. They explored these issues using the language of family and home.[22] Nativists argued that the pure American republican institutions established by the Revolutionary generation should pass down from generation to generation in ordered and legitimate succession. They required American history to be causal and linear. Immigrants upset this genealogical logic. They did so as they sought unnaturally to engraft their foreign institutions onto those of America. As these institutions did not have any link to the American past or soil, these alterations appeared, to Samuel Busey, to be the products of what he termed "spontaneous generation," a phenomenon that blasted away both the past and the future in a manner similar to Jameson's "existential reduction." Immigrant ideology, in this formulation, just suddenly appears, out of nowhere, with seemingly neither past nor relevance to the United States. By coming into

[21] Ibid p.710
[22] For the links between the family and nationalism see Caroline F. Levander, *Cradle of Liberty: Race, the Child, and National Belonging from Thomas Jefferson to W.E.B. Du Bois* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006)

America, Busey in particular argued, these ideologies deleteriously altered American institutions. They fused onto American precepts and, in so doing, produced heterogeneous, disordered, illegitimate, and anti-Republican political results. 'A government,' Busey contends, 'to be homogenous, must preserve the homogeneity of its citizens, of its people, and the homogeneity of a people can only be preserved by the continuance or multiplication of its kind by generation or successive production, and there is not in nature any spontaneous generation, but all comes by propagation' (Busey, 9). The seemingly "spontaneous generation" of immigrant precepts and institutions caused problems as it interfered with the purity of the Revolutionary generation's laws 'as one nation becomes blended and commingled with another, its form of government and laws gradually change, its institutions give way, and others are established' (7). For Busey this means that he cannot but agree with Thomas Jefferson when the founding father said that foreigners coming to the United States "will infuse into it their spirit, warp and bias its direction, and render it a heterogeneous, incoherent, distracted mass" (quoted in Busey, 8). He wonders whether '[m]ay it not be possible – indeed it is highly probable – that when, in the course of events, the foreign population, now pouring in from Europe, shall have obtained the numerical strength which has been shown may soon occur, this very constitutional provision may be seized hold of, and through it some odious and oppressive feature may be engrafted upon the Constitution bequeathed by our forefathers?' before inviting the reader to 'ponder on these reflections, these probabilities of the future' (141). Samuel Morse employs a similar rhetoric. He paints the foreign immigrant as a stranger welcomed into an American home. These foreign strangers exploit the welcome that Americans give them before ignoring the traditions of the household and disempowering their host family. Morse argues that '[i]t is but to continue for a few years the sort of immigration that is now daily pouring in its thousands from Europe, and our institutions, for aught that I can see, are at the mercy of a body of foreigners,

officered by foreigners, and held completely under the control of a foreign power. We may then have reason to say, that we are the dupes of our own hospitality; we have sheltered in our well provided house a needy body of strangers, who, well filled with our cheer, are encouraged by the unaccustomed familiarity with which they are treated, first to upset the regulations of the household, and then to turn their host and his family out of doors' (Morse, 58-9).

Morse's depiction of an immigrant stranger destroying the permanence of the U.S. national family closely parallels the plot of one classic of early American literature, Herman Melville's *Pierre*. *Pierre* depicts the effects of the meeting between the immigrant Isabel and the latest scion of the heroic American line of the Glendinnings. As she enters into Pierre's family she forces him to adjust his conceptions of the national past and his own personal future. In so doing, he loses the ability to see beyond an impermanent and unstable present. He therefore surrenders his legitimate inheritance and extinguishes his family line. As such, we can read *Pierre* as a parable of how immigrant foreigners might impact on the fate and permanence of American democracy. Dominic Mastroianni reads *Pierre* in terms of political permanence too. Mastroianni detects in the novel a 'thread of political allegory whose central concern is whether a potentially permanent democracy can result from revolution.'[23] For him, Isabel is the central character in this regard. She demonstrates how a "revolutionary time" can appear at any moment to disorder the structure of American history in 'a pattern of electrifying temporal ruptures and unexpected links between past, present, and future.'[24] Yet for Mastroianni the determining historical context for this discussion is the European revolutions of 1848. *Pierre*'s engagement with these issues occasions a pluralisation of time,

[23] Dominic Mastroianni, 'Revolutionary Time and the Future of Democracy in Melville's *Pierre*', *ESQ: A Journal of the American Renaissance* 56:4 (2011) p.393
[24] Ibid p.402

with heterogeneous temporalities disrupting the linear time of the narrative and nation. In what follows I want to make the case that, instead, we ought to regard *Pierre* as a book whose temporalities reflect Melville's engagement with what he termed in *Redburn* 'that agitated national topic, as to whether such multitudes of foreign poor should be landed on our American shores' (*Redburn*, 338). Taking such a view means that, rather than identifying temporal heterogeneity in the book, we instead see how the immigrant Isabel forces Pierre to annihilate any form of the time other than the present.

Immigrants permeate into the very fabric of the book. In Saddle Meadows the 'necessitous emigrants, who had lately pitched their populous shanties further up the river' are objects for the philanthropy of the locals.[25] Immigrants also present for Pierre a symptom of the anarchic social life of the city as he sees 'the split coats, checkered vests, and protruding shirts of pale, or whiskered, or haggard, or mustached fellows of all nations…[o]n all sides, were heard drunken male and female voices, in English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese, interlarded now and then, with the foulest of all human lingoes, that dialect of sin and death, known as the Cant language, or the Flash' (265). Similarly the Apostles, where he comes to live, is in an area chiefly occupied by 'immense lofty warehouses of foreign importers' (240) and populated by 'unaccountable foreign-looking fellows in blue spectacles; who, previously issuing from unknown parts of the world, like storks in Holland, light on the eaves, and in the attics of lofty old buildings in most large sea-port towns' (267). Along with the other apostles, the natives of the city suspect these foreigners 'to have some mysterious ulterior object, vaguely connected with the absolute overturning of Church and State, and the hasty and premature advance of some unknown great political and religious Millennium' (269).

[25] Herman Melville, *Pierre or The Ambiguities* (ed. Hayford, Parker, Tanselle) (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1995) p.44 All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.

It is the immigrant Isabel, whose voice has a ‘strange touch of foreignness in the accent’ (113) and who Pierre’s aunt associates with “a cabin-full of French emigrants of quality,” (75) who brings about this ‘political and religious Millennium.’ As we have seen, antebellum nativists felt that uncontrolled immigration levelled out and flattened American history. It did so through obliterating the nation’s Revolutionary political lineage and, as a result, interrupted the linear chain of American familial succession. All that remained in the wake of these attacks was an impermanent democratic present. This unsettled present could not extend into the past or the future. In this regard, nativists may well have seen Isabel as a representative immigrant figure had they ever read *Pierre*. Isabel’s incursion into Saddle Meadows forces Pierre to choose between his own Revolutionary forebears and a new political and familial order that incorporates her immigrant past. He takes the latter option, rejects his mother, foregoes his rightful inheritance, and burns the image of his father. This new order, based on Isabel’s heritage, lacks any orientation in time. It has neither markers of the past nor a place of origin. In this sense, Isabel seems to have been, to use Samuel Busey’s terminology, created by “spontaneous generation.” She describes how, at one of the endemically vague locations in which she spent her youth, she reflected on her callow and shadowy sense of selfhood. “There I was,” she tells us, “just as I found myself in the world; there I was; for what cause I had been brought into the world, would have been no stranger question to me, than for what cause I had been brought to the house. I knew nothing of myself, or any thing pertaining to myself” (123). Similarly, she recalls that there was no way of placing another house she lived at in time or space: “No name; no scrawled or written thing; no book, was in the house; no one memorial speaking of its former occupants. It was dumb as death. No grave-stone or mound, or any little hillock around the house, betrayed any past burials of man or child. And thus, with no trace then to me of its past history, thus it hath

now entirely departed and perished from my slightest knowledge as to where that house so stood, or in what region it so stood" (115). When Pierre pledges his allegiance to her his own time consciousness changes accordingly. Prior to her arrival the 'hills and swales' of Saddle Meadows 'seemed as sanctified through their very long uninterrupted possession by his race' (8) and he surrounds himself with items and memories drawn from his family's heroic participation in the Revolution. In the new order defined by Isabel he has neither past nor future. Instead he only has what the narrator terms 'a remarkable instantaneousness' (182) or a 'strange imperious instantaneousness' (183). As a neologism (one that contemporary reviewer George Washington Peck took particular umbrage at), this word comes out of nowhere, means a sudden appearance of something from out of nowhere, and describes behaviour that seems to have no causal basis.[26] As such, "instaneousness" is at the very heart of what Isabel, another instantaneous appearance, does to time. As an "instaneousness" takes hold of his entire being, 'all the past seemed,' to Pierre, 'as a dream, and all the present an unintelligible horror' (183-4). This leaves him with a selfhood not unlike that identified by Jameson. It is purely located in the present, denies all its precursors, and disavows the power of the future. Pierre exclaims, that "[h]enceforth, cast-out Pierre hath no paternity, and no past; and since the Future is one blank to all; therefore, twice-disinherited Pierre stands untrammeledly his ever-present self! – free to do his own self-will and present fancy to whatever end!' (199) Pierre's presentism brings about the end of his line. He indirectly kills his mother and murders his only other living blood relation, Glen Stanley. His mother's gloomy meditations that "I, the mother of the only surnamed Glendinning, I feel now as though I had borne the last of a swiftly to be extinguished race" (131), turn out to be absolutely correct.

[26] See Brian Higgins and Hershel Parker (ed.), *Herman Melville: The Contemporary Reviews* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)

Pierre shares in antebellum concerns about how immigration might impact on democratic permanence. These nativists feared that the increasing immigrant population would lead to the destruction of what they took to be a pure Revolutionary national identity. Pierre's choice to merge with an immigrant line obliterates his own Revolutionary heritage and forecloses on its future too. Melville communicates the political charge of Pierre's shift in time consciousness through a series of metaphors. These metaphors align the effects of Isabel on Pierre with the attacks of populous foreign mobs on states of imperial permanence. The narrator refers to how, for the person who pursues an ultimate truth, '[s]udden onsets of new truth will assail him, and overturn him as the Tartars did China; for there is no China Wall that man can build in his soul, which shall permanently stay the irruptions of those barbarous hordes which Truth ever nourishes in the loins of her frozen, yet teeming North; so that the Empire of Human Knowledge can never be lasting in any one dynasty, since Truth still gives new Emperors to the earth' (167). Similarly, after first seeing Isabel the narrator reflects that Pierre 'felt that what he had always before considered the solid land of veritable reality, was now being audaciously encroached upon by bannered armies of hooded phantoms, disembarking in his soul, as from flotillas of specter-boats' (49). *Pierre* is, among other things, an allegory of the effects of immigration on national time. Pierre's choice to embrace Isabel's immigrant heritage causes a transformation in his perception of time. While growing up in Saddle Meadows he was certain of the permanence of his revolutionary legacy. Isabel exposes the fragility of these legacies and how swiftly the United States might lose them. Pierre not only experiences the effects of Revolutionary diminution, as in the accounts of Sacvan Bercovitch and Priscilla Wald, but also Revolutionary destruction.[27] Isabel shows

[27] See Sacvan Bercovtich, *Rites of Assent: Transformations in the Symbolic Construction of America* (New York and London: Routledge, 1993) and Priscilla Wald, *Constituting Americans: Cultural Anxiety and Narrative Form* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1995)

that, in spite of all the aggressive rhetoric of the nativists, “spontaneous generation” may be exactly how U.S. American political institutions of the future will come into being after all.

The thoughts of antebellum nativists on unregulated mass immigration orbited around the linked issues of national time, unsettled political space, and the permanence of American democracy. These controversies all percolate into James Fenimore Cooper’s *The Prairie*, which offers a meta-commentary on the effects population migration has on national time. It is a book full of nomadic groups who only partially identify with a nation-state, whether the emigrant clan of Ishmael Bush, the various tribes of Native Americans, or the individualist wanderer the “trapper” (Natty Bumppo). Cooper considers whether the westward movement of these groups will produce a national future. He does so in part through meditating on the effects on national coherence of the sudden influx of Catholics into the United States through the terms of the Louisiana Purchase. That Cooper perpetually defers the consummation of the marriage between the noble American Middleton and the rich, beautiful, and devout Catholic Inez indicates, at the very least, that he thinks it will take considerable time for the two areas to merge and so produce a cogent national identity. He gives his most sustained attention to these issues of migration and futurity through his depictions of Ishmael Bush and his fellow settlers as they violently drift their way across the American prairie. Throughout the book he articulates a consistent scepticism about the capacity of these nomads to establish a permanent democratic American society in the west. As such, he suggests that there is no necessary link between westward migration and the consolidation of national identity. In part, this failure occurs as Ishmael’s clan is only nominally “American.”[28] Cooper takes pains to emphasize that the members of his group are drawn from the liminal zones on the edges of

[28] The Biblical figure Ishmael was a by-word for immigration and a dangerous restlessness in the antebellum era. Anspach, for instance, asks The question is, whether they shall be permitted to pursue this course of action, and constitute in our midst a band of Ishmaelites, and not amalgamate or coalesce with other elements in our republic?’ (Anspach, 165-6)

the nation and that they are similar to the ‘swarms of that restless people, which is ever found hovering on the skirts of American society, [who] plunged into the thickets that fringed the right bank of the Mississippi, with the same careless hardihood, as had already sustained so many of them in their toilsome progress from the Atlantic states, to the eastern shores of the “Father of rivers”.’[29] To some extent the failure to create a sustainable community follows from the arid and unappealing land itself which blocks the unidirectional arrow of forward progress: the ‘comparative desert’ which forms ‘the scene of this tale’ appears ‘to interpose a barrier to the progress of the American people westward’ (884).

However, Cooper centres his debates on the future destiny of society in the west around the time consciousness of Ishmael and his sons. Cooper suggests that they will not be able to create permanent communities in the west as they cannot see beyond the present moment. Just as Isabel flattens out history and Busey’s immigrants appear by “spontaneous generation,” so the Bush clan do not conceive of either the past or the future. Cooper symbolizes this endemic presentism through Ishmael’s clothing, on which he wears ‘the trinkets of no less than three worthless watches’ which ‘dangled from different parts of his person’ (891). Cooper therefore suggests that Ishmael was ‘perhaps, incapable of maturing any connected system of forethought, beyond that which related to the interests of the present moment’ (892-3). His wife excoriates him for this lack of foresight, saying “[a] lazy hand at figures and foreknowledge is that said Ishmael Bush! Here he sat, lolloping about the rock from light till noon, doing nothing, but scheme – scheme – scheme, with seven as noble boys at his elbows, as woman ever gave to man, and what’s the upshot! why, night is setting in, and his needful work not yet ended” (1011). These immigrants mark time through satisfying the immediate needs of the present rather than through planning for a sustainable future.

[29] James Fenimore Cooper, *The Leatherstocking Tales, Volume I* (New York: Library of America, 1985) pp.887-8. All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.

Esther comments on her absent (and, as it turns out, murdered) son Asa that "[h]is stomach is as true as the best clock in Kentucky, and seldom wants winding up, to tell the time, whether of day, or night. A desperate eater, is Asa, when a-hungered by a little work!" (1014) Their focus on the present means that Cooper can make no definite statements on the ultimate destiny of the lands acquired in the Louisiana Purchase. He does not view the presence of citizens of the United States in these territories as inevitable by any means. When he discusses these lands, he tends to use the conditionals and qualifiers while deploying the language of hope rather than certainty.[30] He reflects that the land 'might have become the property of a rival nation' (887) and can only desire that 'the immense regions of Louisiana changed their masters, for the second, and, as it is to be hoped for the last time' (998) when they came into the union. Indeed, though he is certain that the purchase means that these areas will generally accord with the political and social aims of the United States, he refuses to guarantee whether they will remain in their possession. Instead the only assurance he gives is that 'if ever time or necessity shall require a peaceful division of this vast empire, it assures us a neighbour that will possess our language, our religion, our institutions, and it is also to be hoped, our sense of political justice' (887).

Visions of an Immigrant America

The first section of this chapter has explored the various crises in national time occasioned by the presence of immigrants in America. Antebellum nativists felt that the sudden influx of foreigners presented an immediate threat to the nation. They feared that these foreigners would overwhelm the land at the expense of native-born Americans. This sense of crisis was so widespread that it permeated into the work of canonical American fiction. In *Pierre*

[30] For a fuller reflection on the American west and time see chapter four. In this chapter, I link the western territories to the Pacific trading economy to show how many antebellum Americans in fact felt that progressive narratives of Manifest Destiny failed to function in the west.

Melville explores the effects that immigrants had on the family, the nation, and time consciousness. He emphasizes the ways in which interactions with immigrants stripped America of its past. As such, he interrogates wider issues about immigration and the permanence of the American republic. These depictions of national crisis demonstrate how immigrants unsettled antebellum America's history and destiny. Neither the past nor the future was safe from their influence. This section will explore the latter of these two terms. It will examine the specific alterations in how antebellum Americans conceptualised national futurity in the wake of large-scale immigration. When considering the sudden mass of ethnic and religious alterity coming into the country, nativist thinkers indulged in speculative visions of the future. These visions of time to come were only sporadically optimistic. More frequently, they painted pictures of the United States of the future as a despotic theocracy. Nativists feared that Catholic immigrants would take over the unsettled borders of the expanding United States and, from there, instigate a new era of political oppression. The materials covered in this section, therefore, all challenge the antebellum consensus which suggested that a triumphant future inevitably awaited the citizens of the United States as democratic progress spread into the western lands. Instead, the permeable borders of the United States, which allowed entry to a vastly differentiated set of nationalities, religions, and classes, alongside the fluctuating populations in spaces at the fringe of the nation, created a congruent malleability in nativist constructions of the future. Ultimately what was at stake was not only what the geographical end point for the United States was, but also who would live in that same geography and, indeed, what the word "American" itself would signify.

As the nineteenth century went on antebellum Americans were aware of the gap between themselves and the Revolutionary generation growing ever larger. They desperately wished to feel historical coterminousness with their heroic forebears. With regret, many only saw a

widening chasm between the sacred origins of the nation and an increasingly debased political landscape. They perceived contemporary politicians to be little more than self-motivated and hypocritical ideologues in contradiction to the leaders of the Revolution who had idealistically desired freedom, equality, democracy, and national homogeneity. Nativists identified mass immigration as the main reason for this fall from grace. They argued that, with increasing numbers of, particularly Catholic, foreigners coming into the United States, politicians had to adjust their policies so that they would appeal to the immigrant vote. They wondered whether this flaw in the democratic process might bring about the end of the union. Frederick Rinehart Anspach laments that the Catholic Bishop of New York, the naturalized Irish immigrant John Hughes, and those like him, have 'made and unmade governors, legislators, and Presidents. He and his coadjutors have, in a political sense much more than in a spiritual one, borne the keys, and had power to shut and no man could open, and open and no man could shut, the door of political preferment. This cringing to the papacy on the part of our public men, and their dread of giving offence in this quarter, has for years placed them in subjection to hierarchical dictation, and made them the pliable instruments of officious prelates' (Anspach, 46-7). Immigrants, and the tint of foreign corruption they carried with them, marked the passing of linear time in a narrative of American degeneracy. They indexed the change from a pure Revolutionary moment to the almost unredeemable barbarism of antebellum politics. Anspach recalls, for instance, the melancholy he felt as he once wandered into Independence Square in Philadelphia. He tell us that '[a]s I entered the beautiful enclosure, pregnant with so many stirring memories, and hallowed by the most sacred associations, the old clock pealed out the hour of ten. From the same point issued, seventy-eight years ago, those notes of liberty which swept on angel wings over this land – from that sacred place the proclamation went forth, that no foreign despot should oppress Americans' (16). Yet now '[i]t seemed as though there were something mournful in those

vibrations which announced the hour; and I almost imagined that the faithful chronicler of time was conscious that true patriotism had sadly declined – as if it knew the powerful sway which a despot beyond the ocean had acquired over this nation' (16). Anna Ella Carroll deploys a more aggressively bodily idiom to depict this same tension between Revolutionary fealty and contemporary foreign corruption. She laments that '[t]he graves of our fathers have been slandered, an unfathomable abyss has been sought to be created between the living and the dead; but though concealed in their coffins and charnel-houses, they speak to us to-day, and in their thoughts, their deeds, and their blood, they disclaim the aspersion that any system, religious or political, should be tolerated, that strikes at the foundation of free America.'[31] This sense of a renewed proximity to the Revolutionary dead means that, for her, '[n]o mere formulas, religious and political, can bind America – we can, without spade, or mattock, or pick, lay her bare to her foundations – and, alive, or concealed in the coffins or charnel-houses, and in the bones of the dead, faithfulness to the Constitution and laws, which seal our liberties, may be found inscribed. The brave deeds of our fathers speak to us – the thought of freedom is in their blood'.[32]

Other nativist thinkers did not share her optimism. They did not feel the continuing presence of the Revolutionary generation in America nor could they see such graphic illustrations of it in their struggles for political power. Instead, they questioned whether the links that bound them to their predecessors were now irreversibly sundered. As a result, they considered what the effects would be if the historical chasm got any wider. As their sense of the distance between themselves and the Revolution widened with further immigration, their visions of the future became increasingly alarmist, provisional, and even apocalyptic. Disruptions in

[31] Anna Ella Carroll, *The Great American Battle; or, the Contest Between Christianity and Political Romanism* (New York and Auburn: Miller, Orton & Mulligan, 1856) p.22-3
[32] Ibid p.iv

their conceptions of the nation's past found parallels in their figurations of its future. Like Lyman Beecher, many of these nativists looked to the west and saw a threatening void that was as much temporal as it was spatial. The seeming boundlessness of the nation was a cause for concern as much as celebration. They feared that Catholic immigrants would come to own these lands and create an empire that undid democracy through subterfuge. Even though Susan M. Griffin is correct to note that 'Catholicism is the primitive that Protestantism leaves behind,' they were equally concerned about what future this primitive might birth.[33] As Dennis Berthold observes, this anti-Catholic paranoia often came with its share of the bizarre.[34] For instance, one popular conspiracy theory suggested that the Pope threatened to move the Vatican to the Mississippi Valley. At the base of this delusion was the fear that Catholic immigrants might control the unpopulated western spaces with greater ease than Protestant republicans. The splendour of the scenery, after all, accorded with the baroque artistry of Catholic architecture. Moreover, the Catholic Church was a genuinely transnational institution with plenty of experience in governing across national boundaries and huge units of space. Anspach, for instance, tells us how '[t]hat power, ever ready for self-aggrandizement, looked with a wistful eye to the dominion of this broad land. The Mississippi valley would have made more than a second Italy. It would have been a magnificent seat for the sovereign Pontiff, and then it would have been not only far more beautiful and extensive than the states now subject to the triple crown, but it would have yielded such handsome revenues. The Pope of Rome could have made it quite convenient, to shift the seat of his dominion from the seven hills to that broad valley, seeing that he would not have broken the hearts of his people by leaving them' (Anspach, 57-8). He reflects that the western topography would have added to the ease of this change. He describes the

[33] Griffin, *Anti-Catholicism and Nineteenth-Century Fiction* p.5
[34] Dennis Berthold, *American Risorgimento: Herman Melville and the Cultural Politics of Italy* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2009) pp.51-9

Mississippi, 'that noble stream – the father of rivers – would in point of majesty, have accorded much better with the boasted extent and magnificence of the Catholic Church, while it might have been a practical illustration by the filth gathered from afar and near, of the corruption of that mammoth mother of pollution. And while it would have been much more convenient for Arch John to go for his red cap, it would have been in all respects rather a desirable change from the narrow limits of the present papal sovereignty, to the possession of a country washed by the Atlantic and Pacific and filled with invaluable treasures' (58).

Anspach's treatment of the Mississippi Valley Pope shows how nativists thought that seemingly "American" virtues, in this case its landscape, could provide the seed of destruction for the nation. For Helen Dhu in *Stanhope Burleigh* it is republicanism and democratic liberty itself that undermine the nation's future. She depicts the villainous Jaudan, the head of the secretive Jesuit organisation, planning to work his way into American society. Jaudan thinks that the freedoms of American life will allow him to construct an eternal Catholic empire in the United States without obstruction or harassment from the government. He thinks that Catholics should migrate to the United States from a "decadent Europe" and "the corruption of expiring civilization on this side of the Atlantic."[35] Here they will construct a permanent Catholic empire, one that is unthreatened by the whims of an unstable European political establishment. Jaudan attempts to offset any disappointment occasioned by leaving Europe by asking his followers whether they will not find "a continent with all the vigor of primal life, and all the enginery of the most magnificent political and social system man has ever seen, wherewith to develop human nature, and give a reign of a thousand years to the company of Jesus?…what can we not do in that far off Garden of the World, where Washington has secured for ever, to all creeds, and all believers, equal civil rights?" (29) He

[35] Helen Dhu, *Stanhope Burleigh. The Jesuits in our Homes* (New York: Stringer & Townsend, 1855) p.28, 29. All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.

concludes by reflecting that "I almost think, sometimes, that we are playing the fool, to linger around these seats of expiring dominion, while we should be digging deep, in the New World, the foundations of a power over the minds of men, which will give eternity to the duration of Loyola's name" (29). Samuel Morse, on the other hand, feared that the erosion of Republican precepts might change the potentially liberatory democratic mob into one that endorses and celebrates despotism. He sees signs of a foundational change in the mass sentiment of the United States indicated by the fact that many people started to worship titles over actual virtue. He suggests that, if this trend continues, 'even a *Pope*, a *Viceregent of God*, the great divinely appointed appointer of Rulers, the very centre from which all titles emanate, may possibly in his scarlet and gold and jewel-decked equipage, astonish our eyes, and prostrate us on our knees as he moves down Broadway' (Morse, 69).

Anspach, Dhu, and Morse all fear a coming political apocalypse. This event would tear away at the foundations of the Republic and establish a despotic political order in the west based on oppression, ostentation, and rigid social hierarchies. In Lyman Beecher's religiously inspired anti-immigrant rhetoric, what Americans ought to dread most is just the opposite. He suggests that further immigration will obstruct the United States journey towards a religious apocalypse that would confirm its status as the new Promised Land. Such an apocalypse would unleash absolute liberty to the world, create a community of believers, and concentrate the past, present, and future into a single dynamic mass of redeemed energy. He announces that '[i]nstead of its being a work of difficulty and dilatory movement, when the time to favor Zion comes, it shall outrun all past analogies of moral causes, as if seed-time and harvest should meet on the same field, or a nation should instantly rush up from barbarism to civilization' (Beecher, 8). Even though he initially thought Jonathan Edwards' opinion 'that the millenium [sic] would commence in America' (9) a 'chimerical' (10) one, 'all

providential developments since, and all the existing signs of the times, lend corroboration to it' (10). As with Anspach and Dhu the west is where this apocalyptic event will take place. It is 'plain' to him that 'the religious and political destiny of our nation is to be decided in the West' because it 'is destined to be the great central power of the nation, and under heaven, must affect powerfully the cause of free institutions and the liberty of the world' (11). Rather than bringing about an apocalypse, for Beecher, Catholic immigrants brought with them a static and unchanging time. This temporal inertia slowed down the pace of U.S. apocalyptic time as it rushed towards its destiny and pulled it backwards to the animalistic barbarism of the dark ages. Nonetheless, if this slowed-down immigrant time gained hold in America, he thought it would violently annihilate the nation, making its citizens regress into earlier anarchic forms of social organization. Beecher attempts to characterise this time, suggesting that it desires 'rest and primeval darkness' which it can only achieve through 'the extinction of our light' (51). He suggests that the United States' main 'danger is, that our intelligence and virtue will falter and fall back into a dark minded, vicious populace – a poor, uneducated, reckless mass of infuriated animalism, to rush on resistless as a tornado, or to burn as if set on fire of hell' (37). The irony is that the torpor of European powers only exposes them to an endless and cyclical process of revolution followed by reaction, where the politics of the United States can create a nation free from such historical recursion. He asserts that '[u]ntil Europe, by universal education, is delivered from such masses of feudal ignorance and servitude, she sits upon a volcano, and despotism and revolution will arbitrate her destiny' (37). Beecher was not alone in making links between immigration and the apocalypse. For Adventist William Miller, increased travel around a globe connected by religion provided direct evidence that the world was soon to end. He notes that in the Book of Daniel one verse links the redemption with "Many running to and fro". Miller argues that '[a]ll must acknowledge, that this text is remarkably fulfilled in this day…[i]f it means missionaries of

the cross, no man can dispute the fulfilment. See the heralds of salvation crossing and re-crossing on every part of the habitable globe. If it means common travellers, or the rapid means of travel, still our text holds good, and the fulfilment obvious.'[36]

Antebellum nativists narrated the meeting between two different orders of time and reflected on the consequences of their coming together. For Anspach, Dhu, and Morse national progress clashed with an apocalyptic futurity. For Beecher and, to a lesser extent, Miller, a sacred time of prophetic fulfilment grappled with a retrograde Catholic immigrant stasis. This stasis attempted to wrest the United States backwards in time and divert it from its religious destiny. In *Wieland*, Charles Brockden Brown draws on a similar bifurcation between sacred and ordinary linear time. Brown suggests that immigrants brought two very separate models of time with them to America. One of these models is a secular labouring time that when deployed on suburban agricultural tracts of land can provide an engine for economic progress. The other is a recursive and potentially infinitely repeatable sacred time that disrupts natural patterns of succession and brings about apocalyptic moments of crisis. Brown associates this sacred time with the tenets of radical European Protestantism but, throughout the nineteenth century, it would become linked with a variety of different sects, whether the Catholics, the Mormons, or the Shakers. Even though Brown wrote *Wieland* thirty years prior to the spike in immigration and the subsequent nativist reaction to it, it uncannily prefigures questions about the links between immigrants, time, and the future of the republic. Perhaps this fact is in part because of the controversies surrounding the Alien and Sedition Acts that were contemporaneous with the writing of the book and which represent the earliest anti-immigrant legislation in the United States. Within this context of immigration and nation formation, Christopher Looby is right to note that Brown structures *Wieland* around 'certain

[36] William Miller, *Evidence from Scripture and History of the Second Coming of Christ About the Year 1843; Exhibited in a Course of Lectures* (Boston: Moses A. Dow, 1841) pp.289-90

issues of time, political legitimacy, social solidarity and cultural coherence,'[37] even if, as Stephen Shapiro remarks, the author's 'concerns transcend a preoccupation with the national'.[38] Brown interrogates these fertile problems through the figure of Clara's father, the German-British immigrant Wieland Sr., a character who for Looby is little more than a 'deracinated crank.'[39] Crank or not, he plays a pivotal role in the plot and is a fulcrum for issues concerning the "foreign" presence in the fragile early Republic. The mysterious temporalities surrounding his coming to America and his untimely death ultimately decide on whether the 'ancient security' of the 'inviolate asylum' of Clara's house, Wieland Sr.'s estate, and, by extension, in a book which asks whether it is possible 'to make the picture of a single family a model from which to sketch the condition of a nation,' the United States, will last.[40]

In *Wieland* Brown explores the manifestations of a non-linear sacred European time on the American continent. This sacred time appears in the novel in spite of the protagonists attempting to repress it with a clock discipline linked to acts of immigrant labour. Brown deploys the language of shocks, vibrations, and bodily trauma to convey the threat this sacred time poses to the continuity of American institutions, most notably the family. This language communicates how apocalyptic moments of sacred crisis, brought to America by immigrants, might continue to reverberate throughout American history. The emblem for this form of time is a clock that Wieland Sr. made and which re-appears at crucial moments in the plot. This clock is, on the one hand, a representation of Wieland Sr.'s artisanal immigrant industriousness 'on account of its being his workmanship' and so is a fit heirloom to pass from one generation to another as it 'was regarded, by everyone of our family, with

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[37] Christopher Looby, *Voicing America: Language, Literary Form, and the Origins of the United States* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1996) p.146
[38] Stephen Shapiro, *The Culture and Commerce of the Early American Novel: Reading the Atlantic World-System* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008) p.215
[39] Looby, *Voicing America* p.152
[40] Charles Brockden Brown, *Three Gothic Novels* (New York: Library of America, 1998) p.56, 29. All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.

veneration' (52). This product of hard-working immigrant labour accords with Clara's initial depictions of Wieland Sr. She describes how, when in London, his employer rigidly disciplined him through work. 'He was,' she reflects, 'treated with rigor, and full employment was provided for every hour of his time' (7) meaning that time was homogenous for him as 'every engagement was irksome, and every hour tedious in its lapse' (7). When he comes to America this attitude towards work, which maximizes the economic productivity of time, allows him to become successful. He buys 'a farm on Schuylkill, within a few miles of the city, [and] set himself down to the cultivation of it' and there 'passed fourteen years in a thrifty and laborious manner' (9-10).

The clock also represents a hidden counter-narrative of immigrant time that exists beneath the surface of Wieland Sr.'s ostensible success. Although he appears to have been integrated into suburban America he can never fully shake off the religious extremism of his youth. When in London he came across a book containing the teachings of the Camissards, an extreme Protestant sect. After this discovery he spends every moment of his leisure reading this text and the Bible. He becomes convinced that his destiny lies in bringing about a religious re-ordering of society in the still non-American west. In so doing, he would have, perhaps, provided ammunition for Anspach's thoughts on religious foreigners taking over these empty spaces or for Beecher's vision of a clash between two different models of sacred time. As Clara tells us '[h]e had imbibed an opinion that it was his duty to disseminate the truths of the gospel among the unbelieving nations' and '[t]he North-American Indians naturally presented themselves as the first objects for this species of benevolence' (9). He fails miserably, twice, in this regard – on first arriving in America the difficulties of the mission seem insurmountable to him and on his retirement he achieves no success in his proselytizing mission and so swiftly returns home. Nonetheless, his religious fervour remains and it brings

about moments of sacred crisis, where Wieland Sr.'s peculiar brand of religious mania threatens the continuation of his line. Brown dwells on descriptions of the clock at pivotal moments in the plot: first in the critical minutes before Wieland Sr.'s death, secondly as Clara first hears the disembodied voice of Carwin, and finally when Theodore grants Clara three minutes to prepare for her death. He does so to depict the recurrence of a sacred time that moves multidirectionally and non-linearly in contradistinction to the ordinary successiveness of linear time. The normal passing of time on the estate guarantees social order, security, and serenity. As Clara phrases it as she comes to maturity on the farm, '[t]he future, like the present, was serene. Time was supposed to have only new delights in store' (20). The sacred time of her father does not. Instead it intensifies and concentrates time and creates traumatic shockwaves that echo and re-echo throughout the Wieland family history. These shockwaves unsettle the future and re-organize the fabric of social life. Clara describes how, just prior to his death, seemingly by spontaneous combustion, Wieland Sr. obsessively looks at the clock he had made. She tells us that 'frequent and anxious glances were cast at the clock. Not a single movement of the index appeared to escape his notice. As the hour verged towards twelve his anxiety visibly augmented…At length the hour was spent, and the clock tolled. The sound appeared to communicate a shock to every part of my father's frame' (14). Many years later this same shock of religious apocalypse appears again and, this time, Clara is the one who experiences it. Clara articulates this alternative narrative of succession, one where traumatic familial moments re-exert themselves at seemingly random intervals, unsettling the future, by meditating on her father's death and on the clock that strangely seems to embody it. She describes how '[m]y mind was thronged by vivid, but confused images, and no effort that I made was sufficient to drive them away. In this situation I heard the clock, which hung in the room, give the signal for twelve. It was the same instrument which formerly hung in my father's chamber…It had fallen upon me, in the division of his property, and was placed

in this asylum. The sound awakened a series of reflections, respecting his death. I was not allowed to pursue them; for scarcely had the vibrations ceased, when my attention was attracted by a whisper, which, at first, appeared to proceed from lips that were laid close to my ear' (52). The potential for this sacred crisis to infinitely recur places the estate underneath an apocalyptic time of *kairos* rather than *chronos*, to use Frank Kermode's terminology again. All events and actions on the estate exist less in reference to linear time than to a destructive end that will annihilate everyone living there. In the days and months prior to his conflagration Wieland Sr. becomes certain that some catastrophic event of religious retribution will befall him. Time ceases to flow unidirectionally and instead is always at the point of an absolute and cataclysmic collapse. Clara recalls that '[t]ime, instead of lightening the burthen, appeared to add to it. At length he hinted to his wife, that his end was near. His imagination did not prefigure the mode or the time of his decease, but was fraught with an incurable persuasion that his death was at hand. He was likewise haunted by the belief that the kind of death that awaited him was strange and terrible. His anticipations were thus far vague and indefinite; but they sufficed to poison every moment of his being, and devote him to ceaseless anguish' (12). Brown therefore suggests that immigrants potentially introduce alternative narratives of succession where a recursive sacred trauma, rather than land and inheritance, gets passed down from one generation to the next.[41]

[41] These moments of sacred trauma recur in anti-Catholic literature too. Writers such as Maria Monk and Rebecca Reed reflect on how the months and years they spent in monasteries altered their sense of time. For them, time ceases to move forwards, but instead is an unstable mix of past, present, and future. This confusion and intermixing of times impacts directly on their narratives as they seek to tell their tales. Monk, for instance, writes '[m]y feelings are frequently distressed and agitated by the recollection of what I have passed through; and, by night and by day, I have little peace of mind, and few periods of calm and pleasing reflection. Futurity also appears uncertain. I know not what reception this little work may meet with; and what will be the effect of its publication here, or in Canada, among strangers, friends, or enemies…It would distress the reader, should I repeat the dreams with which I am often terrified at night; for I sometimes fancy myself pursued by my worst enemies; frequently I seem as if shut up again in the Convent; often I imagine myself present at the repetition of the worst scenes that I have hinted at or described…I cannot banish the scenes and characters of this book from my memory. To me it can never appear like an amusing fable, or lose its interest and importance. The story is one which is continually before me, and must return fresh to my mind, with painful emotions, as long as I live' (Monk, iv-vii). Similarly, Reed looks back to her youth and sees it taken over by the shadow of what was to come: 'While in New Hampshire I spent many pleasant hours, which I think of with delight. Memory oft brings to view and faithfully delineates those hours of retirement and happiness which I imagined I should spend, were

Immigrant Origins

The second section of this chapter has argued that nativist writers predicted a disastrous future for the United States as a result of mass immigration from Europe. As the number of years between the antebellum and Revolutionary generation grew larger, nativist writers felt that immigrants actively sundered them from their national predecessors. This feeling of separation and historical distance meant that they marked the signs of a coming apocalypse for the United States that would ruin all of the advances it had made. These apocalyptic futures often involved the conflict between different forms of sacred and political time. Some writers foretold the incursion of Catholic despotism into the unoccupied future and unpopulated West. Others sought to bring about an American apocalypse in the West in aid of the cause of political and religious liberty. In *Wieland*, Charles Brockden Brown anticipated these issues. His work shows how a sacred time of immigrant trauma might reappear constantly throughout American history and do harm to the perpetuity of its institutions. For the antebellum Americans considered in this section, immigration not only affected the future but the composition and structure of the national past as well. The huge number of immigrants within the borders of the United States connected the growing nation to a vast array of non-American pasts. These pasts exceeded the geographic and temporal bounds of the still historically shallow nation. These immigrant histories placed pressure on, redacted, and frequently superseded, American myths of national origin, whether Puritan or Revolutionary. They brought American national history into direct contact with other places

I an inhabitant of a cloister. // While writing this narrative, I often lament my little knowledge of history, for had I been more acquainted with it, I do not think I ever should have united myself to an institution of this nature' (Reed, 51-2). See Maria Monk, *Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk, as Exhibited in A Narrative of her Sufferings During a Residence of Five Years As a Novice, and Two Years as a Black Nun, in the Hotel Dieu Nunnery At Montreal* (London: Richard Groombridge, 1836). All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text. Also see Rebecca Theresa Reed, *Six Months in a Convent* (Boston: Russell, Odiorne & Metcalf, 1835)

and times and so shifted the locations and origins of U.S. culture. But it was not only the content of the American past that altered. The shape of time itself changed. Antebellum Americans sought to account for the proximity they felt to non-U.S. times by adopting cyclical and other non-linear structures for history. They reasoned that it was because nineteenth-century America re-enacted moments drawn from world history that these foreign pasts were suddenly relevant to them. In this formula, immigrants were the agents that linked America to histories that were not its own. This sense of connection with the distant past led to some writers formulating alternative myths of national origins. To do so they took a larger historical view that looked over changes on the American land over centuries. They found evidence for the presence of migrants on the American continent that preceded the coming of Columbus. For them, America's national history had always depended on immigration for its own population and identity.

Antebellum nativists maintained that immigrants' links to foreign pasts were foremost among the many ills, whether medical, social, or behavioural that they brought with them to America. These pasts, with connections to European despotism, religious extremism, or political anarchism, were inimical to American republicanism. But rather than seeking to slough off these unpleasant associations, immigrants sought to perpetuate them, planting them in American soil and passing them onto the next generation. In battling against immigration, then, nativists perceived that they also engaged in a war over what of history would survive. In his polemical tract, *Immigration: Its Evils and Consequences*, Samuel Busey argues that upbringing absolutely determines immigrant psychology as '[t]he associations of youth stamp their impress upon the character of the grown up man, and give bent to the mind. The endearments of the past cling around him in the future, and the ties of relationship and companionship cannot be severed' (Busey, 6). He reiterates the fact that

even though '[t]hey have left home and kindred, severed associations, and cut asunder the ties of relationship…the principles they "imbibed in youth," still cling to them' (21). He suggests that immigrants try to maintain their own communities as they wish to create the conditions in which these same principles can thrive: 'Their association and free intermingling with the natives is disastrous to many of the habits, customs, and peculiarities, which they have brought with them from their fatherland, and which they desire to transmit to their children, and hence it is that these exclusive organizations are adhered to' (29-30).

As such, nativists viewed immigrants as carriers for foreign history. Immigrants resultantly made America a patchwork of different pasts, presents, and futures. To convey this sense of the foreign past overbrimming into the national present, nativists frequently deployed the figure of the dead immigrant or Catholic (or both) body. As Shelley Streeby has argued immigrant bodies were sites for negotiations over race, history, and class in antebellum America. In the Mexican War literature of the time, the mangled forms of immigrant soldiers expressed tensions in the codification of a white "race" over and above the sectional conflicts of region, religion, and, indeed, nation.[42] When nativists depict dead bodies they articulate their concerns over the continuing survival of recursive foreign pasts that refuse to cede to the dictates of progressive American modernity. Samuel Morse describes the '*death-like torpor*' of the Catholic Church 'from whom the light of the nineteenth century has been so carefully shut out' (Morse, 29). Other works literalise this language of morbidity. Dead bodies people works of anti-Catholic literature in particular. Part of the reason for the temporal disorientation that Maria Monk feels throughout her narrative is that, within the convent, the dividing line between the living and the dead is a thin one. She recounts a story about the founder of the convent, Sister Bourgeoise, and describes how '[h]er body is buried, and her

[42] Shelley Streeby, *American Sensations: Class, Empire, and the Production of Popular Culture* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2002)

heart is kept, under the Nunnery, in an iron chest, which has been shown to me, with the assurance that it continues in perfect preservation, although she has been dead more than one hundred and fifty years' (Monk, 71). In addition she tells us that '[w]hen a Black nun is dead, the corpse is dressed as if living, and placed in the chapel in a sitting posture, within the railing round the altar, with a book in the hand, as if reading' (167). These dead bodies form the basis for immigrant loyalties and bonds that transcend the borders of the nation-state and the vicissitudes of the present moment. George Lippard's unfinished work *The Nazarene* fictionalises the events leading up to the anti-Catholic Kensington riots of 1844. In this book he outlines a grand conspiracy where rich, Protestant ideologues exploit the undirected frustrations of the white poor to bring about conflict in a morally depraved Philadelphia. One scene takes place in a secret room of a striking and starving Irish immigrant's house. Here Irish Catholics plot to riot against Nativist activists. To enter this secret order the leader of this gang, O'Brien, makes two newcomers swear an oath while holding the hand of his recently deceased wife. "Are ye indade a Priest?" O'Brien asks one of them; "[t]hen ye need not fear the dead. Advance – take the hand of the corpse within your own, and repate the Oath which I will utter!" (Lippard, 206) Busey feared the political effects of bonds with the foreign dead such as these. He describes how one Hungarian patriot in a lecture tour of America 'appealed to the passions, prejudices, and animosities of the foreigner' and 'depicted to him in glowing language the injuries and suffering of his fatherland' (Busey, 61). Busey reflects 'Fatherland! In that single word lie concealed all the hopes of the foreigner. It was the home of his ancestors; in its soil lie buried kindred and friends. He rejoices over its prosperity, and mourns over his adversity' (61). These dead bodies frequently threaten Republicanism and the legacy of the Revolution. During the struggle for Independence many foreign mercenaries fought for, and died with, the British. Nativist politicians suggested that as a result they cannot but resent the liberty that they now experience in America, knowing

that their ancestors died opposing it. Busey quotes an ex-Senator who asks, '[w]ith what reverence can the German regard the name of Washington when he remembers that his pathway to freedom was strewn with the dead bodies of mercenaries?' (116)

Nativists took the links that immigrants had to the foreign past to be threatening to the future of the republic. These non-American historical moments disrupted the homogenous surface of the national present. Their refusal to advance or change upset the logic of linear time and progressive accounts of the path of world history. George Lippard perceived, then, that in order to present an accurate portrait of national time, he had to incorporate wormholes that brought seemingly unrelated times and places into the province of the U.S. in his fictions. The beguiling temporalities of his work have subsequently occasioned much debate. For Michael Denning, Lippard's novels exemplify the power of print culture and linear time to articulate an Andersonian sensation of "simultaneity-across-time." He emphasizes the way that Lippard connects the 'disparate stories' in his novels 'by calendrical and geographical coincidence.'[43] Conversely, for David Reynolds, Lippard's work displays a temporal and spatial instability that defies the logic of forward moving time. He describes how 'Lippard brashly violated narrative linearity and chronological sequence, often shifting tone and perspective to create a kind of quicksand effect.'[44] Such debates percolate into the more recent reading of *The Nazarene* by Samuel Otter. Otter suggests that the novel is radically uneven as it attempts to combine a realistic depiction of social foment with an enlarged diachronic historical scale: 'He suggests that the circumstances were arranged by a few individuals to augment their power and wealth, imputing the conflict among white laborers to capitalist deviltry. But he also links the events to vast developments of, one has to admit,

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[43] Michael Denning, *Mechanic Accents: Dime Novels and Working-Class Culture in America* (London and New York: Verso, 1998) [1987] p.90

[44] David S. Reynolds, *Beneath the American Renaissance: The Subversive Imagination in the Age of Emerson and Melville* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988) p.207

uncertain relevance…Lippard apprehends the synchronic and diachronic aspects of the riots, but he reduces the local and reaches too far back for the historical.'[45] The context of immigration shows that all of these perspectives can, and had to, exist together. Immigrants made these seemingly disparate histories pertinent to Lippard's city. He demonstrates this fact through his depiction of a mythical immigrant crossing in which the "Wandering Jewess" tells of her past to a Catholic priest and Protestant emissary. He gives a précis of the novel thus far and the events that he has described to say '[i]n the same hour, that Paul Mount-Laurel pleaded the cause of gilded crime, with Nora's the weaver's child, a solitary boat, floated on the broad bosom of the Atlantic, tossed gently to and fro, by the tremulous waves' (Lippard, 209). He goes on, '[a]t the same moment, that CALVIN WOLFE, the Pope of the Holy Protestant League, in the den of the Conspirators pressed the hand of the dead woman, and repeated a blasphemous Oath, this solitary boat, tossing over the tremulous waves of the Atlantic, bore on, to the fearful death of starvation, three persons, a Preacher with grey hairs, a Woman with darkly flowing tresses, a Priest with a tonsured brow' (209). Lippard pushes the boundaries of national time into non-national arenas just as the imperial exertions of chapter two did. This act leads to the incorporation of the nomadic history of the "Wandering Jewess," with events drawn from Roman times and the days before Jesus' birth given prominence. Lippard tells us 'the course of our Revelations, leads us from the old city of William Penn, yonder to the dark Ocean – then through the scenes of a strange and wondrous history – then to the awful image, baptized by the memories of a thousand years, steeped in the gloom of uncounted ages, the awful image, now, breaks into the sky, grand with Colosseum, Catacombs and Cathedral – to ROME!' (208-9) Lippard recognises that immigrant past and national present must of necessity co-exist. Immigrant narrative provides

[45] Samuel Otter, *Philadelphia Stories: America's Literature of Race and Freedom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010) p.183

a gateway through which he can access non-American times and subsequently weave them into the fabric of daily life in the United States.

For other writers, however, the transnational past of immigrants could not co-exist with exceptionalist narratives of Revolutionary or Puritan descent. Instead, these two versions of history were involved in an inexorable battle in which only one could triumph. They feared that immigrants would attempt to occupy and then redact the American past. In so doing, they could re-make U.S. history in their own image. Such acts stripped Americans of their own rightful past and the legitimate political, social, and financial rewards they expected from it. Melville, for instance, demonstrates how Isabel forces Pierre to rework his narrative of Revolutionary descent so that it incorporates her own history and the repressed historical sins that come with it. The narrator describes Isabel's face appearing to Pierre, '[e]ncircled by bandelets of light…vaguely historic and prophetic; backward, hinting of some irrevocable sin; forward, pointing to some inevitable ill' (*Pierre*, 43). Isabel's presence warps what has gone before as she fuses herself to, and becomes an integral part of, the Glendinning family history. 'The conjectured past of Isabel,' the narrator asserts, 'took mysterious hold of his [Pierre's] father; therefore, the idea of his father tyrannized over his imagination; and the possible future of Isabel, as so essentially though indirectly compromisable by whatever course of conduct his mother might hereafter ignorantly pursue with regard to himself, as henceforth, through Isabel, forever altered to her' (104). These changes to the past lead to Pierre creating alternative myths of his origin as he sensed 'that for him the fair structure of the world must, in some then unknown way, be entirely rebuilded again, from the lower-most corner stone up' (87). Helen Dhu meanwhile considers the effects of Catholic immigration on the Puritan past. Dhu suggests that the ideal form of succession involves reduplication and replication. Stanhope Burleigh, the hero of the novel, is a model for Republican virtue as he

not only enacts the political and moral tenets of Protestantism but also replicates the physical aspects of the past almost exactly. He looks on a portrait of his father and remarks, “Why, mother, it seems a portrait of myself!” (Dhu, 173) She replies, “Yes, for you are just like your father. And there is the picture of your grandfather; and there, of your great-grandfather; and there, of his father; and there, the first of your ancestors who came to America” (173). The Catholic immigrant and head of the Jesuits Jaudan threaten this pattern of succession. He introduces another reduplicating national, religious, and familial line into the United States. This line erases the Puritan history of the nation. It replaces it with a Catholic one based on Jaudan’s face. Stanhope looks at the picture of his Puritan originator and ‘remembered the history of that heroic, liberty-loving God-fearing man. He stood with his gaze riveted for a while upon the face of his ancestor. A shudder came over him. He looked again. His ancestor’s face had disappeared, but in its place he saw the wily image of Jaudan, the Jesuit’ (173-4).

Nativists accused immigrants of editing the American past and so obscuring the heroic origins of the nation. Immigrants put a malign and recursive transnational genealogy in place of these same origins. This genealogy re-enacted the narratives of non-American pasts, often linked to Catholic brutality, on American soil. However, as Lloyd Pratt notes in his analysis of a similar repainting of King George in ‘Rip van Winkle,’ ekphrastic moments of historical realignment like this show how ‘new temporal modes are coeval with old ones; long-past and present orders of time work together to undo the social ordering of the present.’[46] As such, the incident implies not only the sudden presence of the Catholic past in the new nation, but also an uncanny recognition of parallels between this same past with that of American Puritanism. Stanhope represses this historical similarity in the name of advancing the

[46] Lloyd Pratt, *Archives of American Time: Literature and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010) p.27

nationalist Republican project. Those who were sceptical of the nativist movement did not. They argued that Protestant nativism in fact repeated the logic of European political and religious oppression. As such, it was the nativists themselves who falsely edited history to serve their own ends. In *The Immigration into the United States of America, From a Statistical and National Economical Point of View* (1856), Louis Schade made the case that immigration provided the necessary labour for economic growth and that it is vital that people continue to come to America to populate the new territories. In this regard, the social requirements of antebellum America are, for him, not dissimilar to the post-Revolutionary years. In this historical arrangement the proposed policies of the Know-Nothings are closer to those of George III than those of the Revolutionary patriots they ostensibly worship. Going through the various aspects of their policy he notes that '[t]heir first proposition is substantially the policy of the king of Great Britain, which the signers of the Declaration denounced to the world as tyrannical; their alternative proposition is substantially the policy of the federalists of 1798, except that it is worse by just one-half…I propose now to vindicate the wisdom and patriotism of the fathers of the republic against the reckless and factious attacks of the modern federal advocates of the policy of king George the Third.'[47] George Lippard goes even further in *The Nazarene*. He suggests that the power of nativist Protestant movements comes from their similarity with Catholicism. The leaders of these groups subsequently try to obscure this parallel and alter history to serve their own ends. At the headquarters of a secret organization, the Holy Protestant League, led by the villainous banker Calvin Wolfe, there is a painting. It depicts a man engulfed in flames, suffering for miscellaneous religious crimes. The scene horrifies all onlookers within the image, except for a single man who looks out of a window and is absolutely unmoved. The inscription beneath it reads, 'THE DEATH OF THE MARTYR LATIMER, WITH THE POPISH CARDINAL

[47] Louis Schade, *The Immigration into the United States of America, From A Statistical and National-Economical Point of View* (Washington: 1856) p.4. All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.

LOOKING FROM THE WINDOW' (Lippard, 122-3). Calvin Wolfe's hired lackey, the criminal Malachi, is suspicious that someone has altered this inscription and so, '[w]ith his finger nail he stripped a long slender piece of parchment from beneath the picture. The inscription in a bold round hand, disappeared with this parchment, and where it had been pasted, appeared in dim Gothic letters, these remarkable words' (123): 'THE DEATH OF MICHAEL SERVETUS, WITH JOHN CALVIN LOOKING FROM THE WINDOW' (123). Malachi comments, "A stroke of policy in Calvin [Wolfe]! To buy an old picture of some Protestant atrocity, and by pasting a new inscription over the old one to transform it into a first rate Catholic barbarity!' (123)

Antebellum Americans perceived profound and troubling links between their nation and different configurations of the immigrant past. Nativist writers felt that these pasts might colonize and disrupt a continuous line of American succession that reached back to the Puritan era. Those sceptical of anti-immigrant rhetoric saw that it was the nativists themselves who repeated the barbarities of European political and religious history. There are, nonetheless, similarities between these seemingly polarized positions. Both assume a model for U.S. history that exceeds the boundaries of the nation and which imports moments of the European past into the American continent. They conceive of their history in terms of transnational recurrence and repetition rather than exceptionalist progress and linearity. As such, immigration forced antebellum Americans to cast their history as cyclical and necessarily comparative instead of unidirectional and teleological. Indeed, in another immigrant novel, *The House of the Seven Gables*, Clifford Pyncheon claims that advances in transportation, which made migration easier than ever before, would have a counterintuitive effect on time. For him, these technological developments would not move time forwards but lead to the repetition of the past albeit in changed forms. He characterizes such a past in terms

of the perpetual movement of mankind from place to place. He suggests that "our wonderfully increased, and still increasing, facilities of locomotion are destined to bring us round again to the nomadic state."[48] This fact is because "all human progress is in a circle; or, to use a more accurate and beautiful figure, in an ascending spiral curve. While we fancy ourselves going straight forward, and attaining, at every step, an entirely new position of affairs, we do actually return to something long ago tried and abandoned, but which we now find etherealized, refined, and perfected to its ideal. The past is but a coarse and sensual prophecy of the present and the future" (259-60). For Clifford, then, progressive linear time is an illusion. Instead history essentially remains static even if it is perpetually regenerative. Nomadism, migration, and travel provide a fitting model for this theory of history. The numerous geographic displacements that these phenomena induce, moving the individual from nation or home, find parallels in a circular and recursive historiography. Clifford believes that such transformations are utopic and tend towards the aesthetic perfection of mankind.

Clifford makes a link between immigrant landlessness and cyclical time. The experience of the diasporic Pyncheon clan in the rest of the novel bears out such a connection. The Pyncheons are not "U.S. Americans" as such. During the Revolution they fought on the royal side before a last minute conversion and they possess deep genealogical, financial, and political ties to Britain, India, and the rest of the world. Moreover, as Hawthorne and subsequent criticism emphasizes, they lack a rightful land of their own.[49] To build their mansion they dispossessed the Maule family and overrode their legitimate claim on the ground. From the earliest Pyncheon onwards they obsess over their redundant entitlement to a

[48] Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The House of the Seven Gables* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009) p.259. All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.
[49] Most famously in the essay by Walter Benn Michaels, 'Romance and Real Estate', in *The American Renaissance Reconsidered* ed. Walter Benn Michaels and Donald E. Pease (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985) pp.156-82

vast inland territory. This foundational lack of territory condemns them to repeat the past endlessly. Hawthorne describes, again and again, their struggle to move time forward. The crucial scene in this regard is chapter eighteen. Here, Hawthorne places the static corpse of Judge Pyncheon, another dead immigrant body that forces itself into the present, against the relentless linearity of public clock time. The narrator mocks the Judge for failing to attend the various meetings, including an auction of land and a political committee, that he misses as the Judge's 'own undeviatingly accurate chronometer' (270) ticks on. For the narrator '[b]e the cause of what it may, this little, quiet, never-ceasing throb of Time's pulse, repeating its small strokes with such busy regularity, in Judge Pyncheon's motionless hand, has an effect of terror, which we do not find in any other accompaniment of the scene' (279). Hawthorne literalises this juxtaposition between an unmoving Pyncheon immigrant time and a progressive public time by depicting the regular return, every day at midnight, of the other dead Pyncheons. '[J]ostling and elbowing one another' they try 'to reach the picture' (279) behind which an early Maule hid the deed to their land claim. He describes how, 'at midnight, all the dead Pyncheons are bound to assemble in this parlor! And pray, for what? Why, to see whether the portrait of their ancestor still keeps its place upon the wall, in compliance with his testamentary directions!' (277) This recursive and perpetually unfilled desire for a land of their own does damage to the Pyncheon's myth of Puritan origins. The Judge is not, no matter what the political committee think, 'deeper grounded, by hereditary descent, in the faith and practice of the Puritans' (274) than other people, but instead is an immigrant citizen who lacks a cogent territorial basis for his identity. As such, history will perpetually repeat for him until he can find a land that he can call his own.

Conclusion

Immigration forced each of the writers in this section to reconsider antebellum America's national origins. Immigrants brought about deviations from and alterations to unconflicted linear narratives of Puritan and Revolutionary descent. They did so by grasping hold of and re-shaping the foundations of the U.S. political project, returning to the roots of the nation to replace the Puritan fathers with malign non-American progenitors. These attempts did untold damage to the structure of American history in an era when, as Philip Gould has shown, writers of national romances attempted to enforce a linear causal historiography based on republican virtue.[50] Immigration therefore pluralized the American past, creating a number of different myths of national origin, many of which preceded not only the Puritans but the coming of Columbus too. Several writers drew on these myths to place the United States in a lengthier world historical context, where over the course of millennia, population movement made and unmade nations. The United States was not particularly exceptional in this regard. As Louis Schade suggests, '[e]migration is as old as mankind. The first history of men is nothing but a narration of events which befell individuals or whole nations whilst migrating from one country to another, pictured by single deeds of gallantry or depravity of prominent men' (Schade, 3) even though 'emigration in the American sense was unknown' (3) as these immigrants 'came to the land of their choice as freemen' (3). This awareness of the continuing backward and forward movement of population over the course of millennia allowed Herman Melville in *Pierre* to identify evidence for earlier migrations in the North American continent itself. For him, the Puritans were not necessarily the first men to migrate to these supposedly new lands. As Samuel Otter and Paul Giles have both noted Saddle Meadows contains Anglo-Saxon and medieval anachronisms that undermine the region's

[50] Philip Gould, *Covenant and Republic: Historical Romance and the Politics of Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)

claims to democratic republicanism.[51] Melville also suggests that other civilizations that existed outside of this European framework left their mark on the American land as well. He does so through depicting Pierre's examination of the Memnon Stone, a giant, ponderous rock buried in the woods that surround Saddle Meadows. As a youth Pierre thinks that he is the first to discover this rock. However, he comes upon a mysterious inscription, "S. ye W.," scratched into its side, which upsets such a notion. As he looks at it, '[t]hen he knew, that ignorant of the stone, as all the simple country round might immemorially have been, yet was not himself the only human being who had discovered that marvelous impending spectacle: but long and long ago, in quite another age, the stone had been beheld, and its wonderfulness fully appreciated – as the painstaking initials seemed to testify – by some departed man, who, were he now alive, might wag a beard old as the most venerable oak of centuries' growth…Pierre pondered long, but could not possibly imagine [who had made the inscription]; for the initials, in their antiqueness, seemed to point to some period before the era of Columbus' discovery of the hemisphere' (*Pierre*, 133). This discovery undoes the "newness" of the new world that Columbus came upon. Melville suggests that long since obliterated civilizations came to and occupied the American continent prior to Columbus' own migration. As Pierre investigates the provenance of the initials he comes upon a theory of sacred origins for it. This theory removes the United States from a national context and places it in a Biblical one. This Biblical historiography supposes a divine typology for the nation that accords more with Benedict Anderson's notion of "simultaneity-along-time" than the (supposed) "simultaneity-across-time" of modern nationhood. He gets this theory from a 'venerable kinsman' of his who thinks that the initials are of 'Solomon the wise' (133). His kinsman comes to this conclusion as he 'maintained, that the old Scriptural Ophir was

[51] Paul Giles, *The Global Remapping of American Literature* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011); Samuel Otter, *Melville's Anatomies* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1999)

somewhere on our northern sea-coast; so no wonder the old gentleman should fancy that King Solomon might have taken a trip – as a sort of amateur supercargo – of some Tyre or Sidon gold-ship across the water, and happened to light on the Memnon Stone, while rambling about with a bow and quiver shooting partridges' (133). Perhaps America had always been, and remained, a nation of immigrants after all.

Chapter Four: The Pacific Trading Economy and the Past, Present, and Future of the United States, 1812-46

The Pacific economy's vital role in consolidating the young nation's position in a nascent capitalist world system had troubling effects on how antebellum Americans conceptualised the national past, present, and future. Writing about the West and the Pacific from this period oscillates between triumphant expansionism and more anxious rumination on the Pacific's relationship to the national form. In the wake of the War of 1812, the British began to relax the restrictions on U.S. maritime trade, agreeing to stop impressment and respect the neutrality of their ships. U.S. industry in the Northern states increasingly depended on the almost exponentially growing revenues created by the Pacific trade in fur and sperm whale oil. The national government sought to protect its interests in the region through the United States Exploring Expedition (1838-42) which mapped out previously unknown islands and made diplomatic agreements with local peoples. David Porter's illegal and unacknowledged annexation of Nukuheva (1813) in the Marquesas was the first example of U.S. extra-continental expansionism, and John Jacob Astor's trading colony at Astoria on the Columbia River attempted to extend the bounds of commercial empire further than ever before.

In spite of these economic and territorial advances, the Pacific and the west occupied an uncertain place in the national imaginary. As Paul Giles has argued, it was only after the conclusion of the Civil War that the boundaries of the nation were codified.[1] The Treaty of Ghent (1814) had left the future of the North West unresolved. This uncertainty led to a series of stop gap solutions over the sovereignty of Oregon and the trading rights of British industry on the American continent. The governments of the period had also to negotiate with an obstinate Russian empire with interests in Canada and who made unenforceable laws

[1] Paul Giles, *The Global Remapping of American Literature* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011)

regarding trade with Pacific islands and coasts. The two congressional reports on the Northwest territories in 1821 and 1826, though expansionist, illustrate uncertainty about the future role of the United States in the region after the fanfare of the Lewis and Clark expedition, and they dwell on the Spanish and British claims to the land. Even in the 1830s, after the first emigrants had begun to head to California, the titular narrator of the Peter Parley educational series was able to reflect that, '[i]t is I suppose, not more than two or three thousand miles, from Boston or New York across the land, to the Pacific. But there are no roads across the country, and it is difficult and dangerous to travel there. I believe no persons have ever been from the United States, across the rivers and mountains, to the Pacific Ocean, but Lewis and Clark, and some men who went with them.'[2]

Despite what was still during the period a callow sense of the geography of the west and the Pacific, these territories are now read through the retroactively assigned progressive linear time of Manifest Destiny. Even the most acute critics take U.S. expansion into the Pacific area to be inevitable and sanctioned by the messianic dictates of a national Providence. Hsuan Hsu draws on the idea of inevitable westward movement to suggest that '[a]s the western boundary of the continent, the Pacific became a privileged site and symbol of the notion that America was Europe's successor as the protagonist of world history'.[3] These sentiments accord with Paul Lyons' assessment that the Pacific was a space where the United States 'could constitute itself through expansion.'[4] These readings pass over the uncertainty with which Americans of the era viewed the region, and they delimit our sense of the changing time consciousness that followed the provisional entry of the U.S. into a global Pacific

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[2] "Peter Parley," *Tales About the Sea and The Islands in the Pacific Ocean* (London: Thomas Tegg and Son, 1837) p.121

[3] Hsuan L. Hsu, *Geography and the Production of Space in Nineteenth-Century American Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) p.132

[4] Paul Lyons, *American Pacificism: Oceania in the U.S. Imagination* (New York and London: Routledge, 2006) p.49

economy. This is to say that Hsu and Lyons' paradigm reproduces a post-1846 to 1898 consensus that reads the entirety of the nineteenth century in terms of the political actualization of John L. O'Sullivan's thesis of westward expansion. This paradigm shows the continuing if implicit hold on contemporary critics of Fredrick Jackson Turner's retroactively conceived frontier thesis. Critics tend to invoke the Oregon Treaty (1846), the United States' victory in the Mexican War (1848), the Gold Rush and the incorporation of California in the west, the Perry Expedition, and the Treaty of Kanagawa (1854) with the Japanese in the Pacific to show how Americans viewed the region in terms of an already ratified providential future. As Lloyd Pratt has shown, however, these visions of the future were in part wish fulfilment on the part of antebellum Americans looking to dictate to their heirs a national and racial identity that in fact did not exist.[5] More than this, even Manifest Destiny's most confident adherents were not always sure just what to make of the Pacific and how to read its relationship to the United States.

In other words, the progressive imperialism that emerged after 1846 and which extended to the Philippine-American war of 1899 should not in and of itself be taken for granted as a settled fact of antebellum life. There is instead much evidence to suggest that the jarringly rapid incorporation of the Pacific territories opened up questions about the trajectory of U.S. history. Such questions undermined the logic of American progress under which the government annexed them. When Richard Henry Dana Jr. returned to the California coastline twenty-four years after his canonical non-fiction narrative *Two Years Before the Mast* (1840), he was overwhelmed by the extent and pace of the change that the region had undergone. He reflects that when he first arrived in California in the mid-1830s, 'there was not a lighthouse, a beacon, or a buoy, and the charts were made up from old and disconnected surveys by

[5] Lloyd Pratt, *Archives of American Time: Literature and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010)

British, Russian, and Mexican voyagers. Birds of prey and passage swooped and dived about us, wild beasts ranged through the oak groves, and as we slowly floated out of the harbor with the tide, herds of deer came to the water's edge, on the northerly side of the entrance, to gaze at the strange spectacle.'[6] On his return, a cosmopolitan and thriving San Francisco has succeeded the previously unmapped region. The city is 'the great centre of a world-wide commerce (Dana, 366) and 'one of the capitals of the American Republic, and the sole emporium of a new world, the awakened Pacific' (367). The pace of this change disorients Dana and makes him reflect on what has been lost in the name of progress. As he thinks about the immense growth of the area, he tells us that, '[t]he past was real. The present, all about me, was unreal, unnatural, repellant [sic]…All, all were gone! not a vestige to mark where one hide-house stood…I alone was left of all, and how strangely was I here!' (378) There is no narrative of cause and effect that could create the change before him, and Dana clearly does not view American progress, or even U.S. American presence, in the region as inevitable or divinely sanctioned. The shock of these new scenes makes his life appear discontinuous and precipitates a collapse in his selfhood by upsetting his perception of the development and pace of linear time.

In a passage where progressive time is equally ambivalent, Ishmael in *Moby-Dick* characterizes the Pacific less as a testing ground for U.S. imperialism than as a storehouse for a denationalized sacred time. For him it is the 'Potters' Fields of all four continents' uniting the dead of all nations in a humanist, as it knits together mankind together in a bond that transcends national borders, and cyclical time that means 'you needs must own the seductive

[6] Richard Henry Dana, Jr., *Two Years Before the Mast and Other Voyages* (New York: The Library of America, 2005) p.366 All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.

god, bowing your head to Pan.'[7] This thanatocracy undoes the exceptionalist claims of the United States by associating movement west with a longer, mysterious eastern genealogy and with an even deeper and more elusive planetary time. 'The same waves,' he tells us, 'wash the moles of the new-built Californian towns, but yesterday planted by the recentest race of men, and lave the faded but still glorious skirts of Asiatic lands, older than Abraham' (482). As with the cosmological heartbeat that concludes Edgar Allan Poe's *Eureka*, the Pacific acts as the fulcrum of all creation, making 'all coasts one bay to it' and 'seems the tide-beating heart of earth' (483).

These examples confirm that even in the aftermath of the westward emigration of the late 1840s, expansion into the vast Pacific region disallowed conceptions of linear American progress westwards. In the earlier period of 1812 to 1846, these migratory effects had been amplified. Geographical uncertainty was met with a commensurate anxiety about what "Pacific time" might be and its relation to the United States. This chapter argues that the American encounter with the Pacific occasioned the appearance of four specific forms of time consciousness. First, the competing territorial and commercial claims on the west coast and the Pacific Ocean led to the imagining of several non-American futures for the region. These projective renderings of empire have a problematic relation to the consolidation of the United States as a nation, even if they assert a racist Anglo-American paradigm. These visions of a competing maritime Pacific empire lead to a surprising sense of the American west as a thing of the past rather than a project for the future. Washington Irving in particular suggests that Americans have already missed an opportunity to assert the precepts of Jeffersonian agrarian democracy in a new land that will now instead remain contested. Secondly, this chapter will focus on experiences of time disorientation that afflicted

[7] Herman Melville, *Moby-Dick or The Whale* (ed. Harrison Hayford, Hershel Parker, Thomas Tanselle) (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2001) p.482, 483. All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.

Americans operating in the Pacific economy, from the fictional narrator of *Symzonia* Adam Seaborn, to Herman Melville's nameless narrator of *Omoo*, to Richard Henry Dana Jr. These writers find that Pacific coasts are resistant to the cartographic project of American imperialism (with its totalizing time and space coordinates) and instead operate according to their own incommensurate forms of time. This often takes place in terms of a discussion about how to conceive of narrative form. For instance, Dana perceives a hybrid Californian language that disrupts the chronologies of national history and which cannot be admitted into a shared community of American texts. My third section retains an interest in these anxieties about language and draws them out into a wider argument about the Pacific origins of the political project of the United States. Many thinkers of the time viewed their relationship to the Pacific islanders in terms of a complex deterritorialized oceanic lineage that extended beyond the spatial and temporal boundaries of the nation. These origin myths had the unexpected effect of turning the historical clock upside down, making the Pacific communities a more, rather than less, advanced civilisation. To conclude, I will suggest that this narrative of degeneracy emerges as antebellum Americans questioned whether the commercial dictates of American industrial clock time can make the Pacific region an efficient contributor to the national economy.

The Oceanic Geography of the Pacific Rim

I want to use the Pacific Ocean rather than the United States as the point of departure for my analysis in order to track the various flows and movements of Pacific trade, as well as the transformations of time they engendered, rather than following the logic of westward continental expansion. To do so is to follow the impulses of Americans of the era. They conceived of the Pacific Ocean as a vast global economy with several spatially diffuse sites,

comprising San Francisco, Canton, the Sandwich Islands, Tahiti and other Pacific islands, the whale and seal rich Antarctic coast, interacting through the trade in sperm whale oil, fur, and other more ephemeral commodities. Although my description of this period's view of the Pacific might seem to represent a radically anachronistic account that retroactively assigns the deterritorialized impulses of postmodern virtual capital onto the antebellum era, the writing of the period does in fact suggest that this notion of a Pacific totality had as much a hold on conceptions of the west during this period as did narratives of terrestrial emigration along the Oregon Trail. Antebellum historian Robert Greenhow in his *The History of Oregon and California, And The Other Territories on the North-West Coast of North America* (1844), for instance, tells us that, although he wanted to write a history of the legal basis for making territorial claims on Oregon, it became necessary to consider California as well, and then extend 'southward from the Columbia countries, to the arm of the Pacific, called the Californian Gulf; and also to take into consideration the coasts and islands north and north-west of those countries, as far as the Artic [sic] Sea.'[8] As Stephanie Lemenager has argued, and as Greenhow's comments suggest, the western coast of the American continent was previously – and ought to be still – considered less as an isolated spatial construct than as a denationalized and unstable global marketplace, as '[n]ineteenth-century theories of commercial empire that took the oceans rather than the agricultural homestead as the originary site of national character defamiliarize the continental West by situating it within the emergent system of international capitalism.'[9] In his extensive and trans-historical account of the Pacific islands, moreover, Matt K. Matsuda has argued that rather than deploying a nationalist paradigm, we need to think of the Pacific in terms of oceanic currents, trade routes, and non-linear and unfamiliar chronologies. In this sense, we would do well to

[8] Robert Greenhow, *The History of Oregon and California, And The Other Territories on the North-West Coast of North America* (London: John Murray, 1844) p.vii
[9] Stephanie LeMenager, *Manifest and Other Destinies: Territorial Fictions of the Nineteenth-Century United States* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2004) pp.2-3

revisit Greenhow's vision. For Matsuda, '"the Pacific" is better described as multiple sites of *trans-localism*, the specific linked places where direct engagements took place and were tied to histories dependent on the ocean. These are not sequential narratives of civilizations, countries, and nations. "China" with its millennia of dynasties, conquerors, and grandeur is not a subject, but the port of Canton with its customs agents organising the trade of the world is.'[10] Such an account accords with Margaret Cohen's sense that oceanic analysis reveals "semi-autonomous" relationships between maritime trade and nation-states, but draws on an unnecessarily transcendent sense of locality.[11]

Ultimately my concern is less with what the Pacific *was* than what it was *taken to be*. American writers, at least, conceived of the region in terms of macroeconomic categories and vastly extended geographies that then find specific iterations in given locales. Consider, for instance, *Astoria* (1836), Washington Irving's account of the violence and struggle that accompanied the establishment of John Jacob Astor's fur trading outpost of the same name, which draws on a geography that is half-maritime and half-terrestrial. Irving conceives of Astor's project partly in terms of national interest and territorial annexation, where 'his projected establishment at the mouth of the Columbia' would be 'the emporium to an immense commerce; as a colony that would form the germ of a wide civilization; that would, in fact, carry the American population across the Rocky Mountains and spread it along the shores of the Pacific.'[12] Yet this commercial field also contains a distinctly oceanic consciousness, as the Sandwich Islands, under the rule of "Tamaahmaah" (Kamehameha), act as a pivot that orients the American west. As Irving reflects, '[t]he situation of this groupe of islands far in the bosom of the vast Pacific, and their abundant fertility, rendered them

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[10] Matt K. Matsuda, *Pacific Worlds: A History of Seas, Peoples, and Cultures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012) p.5
[11] See Margaret Cohen, 'Literary Studies on the Terraqueous Globe', *PMLA* 125:3 (May 2010) pp.657-662
[12] Washington Irving, *Three Western Narratives* (New York: Library of America, 2004) p.205 All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.

important stopping places on the high way to China, or the North West Coast of America' (Irving, 228) to the extent that Astor considered 'getting possession of one of these islands, as a rendezvous for his ships, and a link in the chain of his commercial establishments' (228). What is striking about this is less the way in which it increases the field for the energies of expansionism – a logic that Charles Olson draws on when he makes the case that '[t]he Pacific is, for an American, the Plains repeated, a twentieth century Great West'[13] – than how it baldy exposes the links between a denationalized drive to profiteering and the motives for acquiring further territory. As Paul Giles has argued, Irving should not be considered simply as a nostalgic historian nor as a cultural nationalist, but instead as a writer who dwells on the basis on which national identities have been created; for him, the "transpacific" in Irving's work is used 'not to reify binary oppositions between continental land masses, but to interrogate the principles of identity upon which such cultural formations have been grounded.'[14] In the case of Astor's proposed land grab, the energies of trade precede those of nation state, revealing the economic basis for nationalist principles of land ownership. Regardless of Irving's own particular views on the subject, his account shows how trade, rather than nation, shaped conceptions of the geographic shape of the American continent and the Pacific. The west is part of a larger field of oceanic economic contestation rather than the end point for the teleology of American expansionist urges.

Jeremiah Reynolds, a high-profile and influential supporter of American activities in the Pacific, uses this geography to revise the key dates in the history of the United States and to reconsider the national character of early settlers. For him, 'modern geography' begins in 1513 when Balboa opened the Pacific, and is as important a date as 1492. The British

[13] Charles Olson, *Call me Ishmael* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1967) p.105
[14] Paul Giles, 'Antipodean American Geography: Washington Irving's "Globular" Narratives' in *The Oxford Handbook of Nineteenth-Century American Literature* ed. Russ Castronovo (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) p.21

empire's dominance in part comes from rising 'like a sleeping leviathan from the depths of the ocean' to take control and explore the region.[15] In his *Pacific and Indian Oceans: Or The South Sea Surveying and Exploring Expedition: Its Inception, Progress, and Objects* (1841), which reprints a lecture he gave to Congress on the necessity of a Pacific exploring expedition as well as other associated documents, he makes the case that it is now the turn of America to take the lead in the region. Reynolds, if he is known at all, is associated with Poe's *Pym* and with his initial enthusiasm for the soon-to-be widely discredited hollow earth theories of John Cleves Symmes. In the 1830s, however, he played an important political role as he campaigned extensively for increased American assertiveness in the Pacific, becoming a spokesman for the centrality of maritime exploration and enterprise for the national project. He did this as he viewed the 'South Atlantic and Pacific Oceans' (12) as alternative oceanic engines for the production of American modernity after the victory against the British in the War of 1812. Though '[i]t is only with this new Saturnian reign that my dawn of recollection commences,' he speaks glowingly of how '[n]ot only had new channels of trade been opened by the persevering industry of our merchants, until the extreme east had been laid under contribution, but our fisheries had again extended from our coasts to the shores of Brazil' (11). This exponential expansion in trade led to the introduction of new agricultural products into the market, including cotton, and meant that '[e]verything was quickened by the spirit of progressive advancement, and the whole country felt the beneficial effects to the remotest village of our wide spread confederacy…The bosom of the earth poured forth its abundance in proportion to the extent of commerce' and '[t]he fables of the ancients became truths to us' (12). This passage articulates a remarkable global and maritime frame for the creation of recognizable forms of progressive time and shared national community. The flows of denationalized capital allow Reynolds to create his ideal model of citizenship and enterprise,

[15] J.N. Reynolds, *Pacific and Indian Oceans: Or The South Sea Surveying and Exploring Expedition: Its Inception, Progress, and Objects* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1841) p.18, 19. All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.

rather than conceiving the American nation through hypostatising a semi-religious notion of sacred land.

By relying on the circulation of commodities, Reynolds' address occupies an uneasy national position at best. His celebration of commercial competition asserts continuity with, rather than radical Revolutionary fissure from, the United States' European forbears. As Gretchen Murphy suggests, his rejection of agrarian precepts in favour of maritime industry places the United States into an uneasy proximity with the imperial powers that they ought to disavow. She argues that Reynolds 'attempts in his *Address* to demonstrate that the U.S. inherited its mission and character from Great Britain,' thereby creating a 'continuum between causes and effects, colonial maritime enterprise and westward expansion.'[16] Oceanic time, or more specifically "Pacific time," in calling on a denationalized spirit of enterprise and exploration, creates an economic lineage that exceeds the temporal bounds of the post-Revolutionary United States. This lineage causes a hybrid national identity, composed of terrestrial and oceanic qualities, where 'the elements of maritime enterprise have been from the earliest period of our history incorporated with the character of our people' (Reynolds, 8). Reynolds's attitude towards the American land is desacralized. The dictates of absolute economic productivity suggest that citizens should only feel a commercial bond to the land on which they live. The ancestors of the nation in this genealogical narrative 'would not remain contented with the character of tillers of the earth, however eloquently some Utopian enthusiasts might declaim upon the purity of a primitive people, and the contaminating effects of commerce and manufactures.' Instead '[t]heir pines had no sacred character which prevented them from being hewn down and fashioned into masts and spars' (14). In the present age this maritime resourcefulness takes the form of an aggressive if nationally

[16] Gretchen Murphy, '*Symzonia*, *Typee*, and the Dream of U.S. Global Isolation', *ESQ: A Journal of the American Renaissance* 49:4 (2003) p.257, 258

ambivalent progressivism. Reynolds asserts that economic endeavor connects Americans to a classical heritage of enterprise as 'wonders exceeding the prodigies of ancient times have been the result' of commercial growth, and '[f]or seven of olden time we can show an hundred, and these are but the earnest of our future achievements' (15).

Other writers were not so sanguine about the future prospects of the United States in this expanded Pacific imaginary. Explorers like Charles Wilkes and Benjamin Morrell, although notionally dedicated to advancing the national project, saw the region in a conditional mode where the American presence was far from inevitable. As a result the Pacific generated not a single future for these men, but instead a plurality of potential national futures and geographical shapes. Wilkes predicts that the area will resolve itself into a primarily maritime Pacific empire that will split the continent in half. For him, Upper California will play an important role in the creation of this empire, even though '[t]he country between it and Mexico can never be any thing but a barren waste, which precludes all intercourse except that by sea.'[17] In spite of this, '[i]t is very probable that this country will become united with Oregon, with which it will perhaps form a state that is destined to control the destinies of the Pacific' (183). This "maritime nation" is rich in its own resources as well as being excellently situated to exert control over the major ports of the Pacific, and the two states have 'within themselves every thing to make them increase, and keep up an intercourse with the whole of Polynesia, as well as the countries of South America on the one side, and China, the Philippines, New Holland, and New Zealand, on the other' (183). Even though he suggests that this nation will be founded on a progressive racialist paradigm of expansion, it is important that this vision does not involve the United States, but a more broadly conceived "Anglo-Norman" identity. This race can live in harmony with the United States, as its own

[17] Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition During The Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842* (Philadelphia: C. Sherman, 1845) (Volume 5) pp.182-3 All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.

expansionist impulses will be westward and southward, to take advantage of the lassitude and leisure of non-industrious Pacific and South American peoples. He reflects that 'this western coast, enjoying a climate in many respects superior to any other in the Pacific, possessed as it must be by the Anglo-Norman race, and having none to enter into rivalry with it but the indolent inhabitants of warm climates, is evidently destined to fill a large space in the world's future history' (183). The explorer Benjamin Morrell employs a similar rhetoric, suggesting that, 'the day is not far distant when this long-neglected and much-depreciated region of America will become the envy of its neighbours' to the extent that it 'may challenge a competitor in the same parallel of latitude on the western continent.'[18] As with Wilkes, Morrell does not believe that the current inhabitants of the region can actualize this potential; instead, 'this anticipated state of renovation and prosperity must be brought about by foreigners' (198-9). In his attempts to drum up some form of interest from the United States in the western coast, he aestheticizes the landscape, suggesting that the untamed bay of San Francisco merely requires the injection of artistic order into it to transform it into a usable resource and unity. Morrell laments that '[m]an, enlightened, civilized man, alone is wanting to complete the picture, give a soul, a divinity to the whole' (211). This leads to another projective fantasy of the west rendered in a conditional mode. A provisional syntax undermines the idealized pastoralism and industry of an American presence in the region. Though he preserves links between the citizen of the United States and progressive time, in that he sees the coming of empire as ultimately inevitable, he unwittingly weakens this progressivism by suggesting that it cannot be actualized. He suggests that '[w]ere these beautiful regions, which have been so much libelled, and are so little known, the property of the United States, our government would never permit them to remain thus neglected. The eastern and middle states would pour out their thousands of emigrants, until magnificent

[18] Benjamin Morrell, *A Narrative of Four Voyages, To The South Sea, North and South Pacific Ocean, Chinese Sea, Ethiopic and Southern Atlantic Ocean, Indian and Antarctic Ocean* (New York: J. & J. Harper, 1832) p.198. All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.

cities would rise on the shores of every inlet along the coast of New California, while the wilderness of the interior would be made to blossom like the rose' (211).

In a discussion of the formal veil provided by the science fiction genre, Fredric Jameson suggests that speculative narratives serve to transform the present into an agent for a soon-to-be realized future, where 'multiple mock futures serve the…function of transforming our own present into the determinate past of something yet to come.'[19] For him the consolidation of the capitalist system in the early nineteenth century required an imagination of the past that would allow for the reckoning of qualitative social change; this historical consciousness had the effect of creating an empty future that would ratify a narrative of progress. Reading Wilkes and Morrell with this in mind tells us a lot about national time in the antebellum period. They pluralize the futures of the Pacific region and so show an attendant anxiety not only about what the narrative of the United States would be, but also what it was. The provisional western boundaries of the nation simultaneously indicate the lack of national past as well as an agreed upon national future. Indeed, even after the defeat of Great Britain in the War of 1812, it seemed more likely that the naval prowess and the industrial advancement of the British would mean that the Pacific Rim would fall under their control. Washington Irving wrongly thought that the 'present harmony' that the Columbia River bay area was experiencing was only temporary and it was likely that the 'ill-adjusted question' as to who would ultimately take control of the land 'may suddenly start up into one of belligerent import, and Astoria become the watchword in a contest for dominion on the shores of the Pacific' (Irving 597). These territorial claims were genuine and meant that British writers were able to create their own model of "Manifest Destiny" for the Pacific imaginary. As with Wilkes and Morrell, these visions create alternative geographical formations that invoke the

[19] Fredric Jameson, *Archeologies of the Future: The Desire Called Utopia and Other Science Fictions* (London: Verso, 2005) p.288

future in such a way as to undermine the frequently racist and deterministic language of imperialism that supports them. What we get is a progressive time that, because of the uncertain territorial status of the Pacific, opens up the future as a site of national contestation rather than limiting its meanings.

The British historian Alexander Forbes' *California: A History of Upper and Lower California* (1839), for instance, connects California with the newly liberated Republics of Latin America. He uses a North-South axis, rather than an East-West one that would connect California with the United States. In the preface (written by his brother John), California will be the source of industrial modernity for the south of the continent as it is 'a country which will be found to be pre-eminently calculated to be the granary of South America, and whose present emancipated condition will, doubtless, greatly augment its commerce generally.'[20] Alexander adds to his brother's sentiments suggesting that California is 'admirably calculated for carrying on a trade with all the new republics bordering on the Pacific; and as its productions are of a different description from those of the countries chiefly situated within the tropics, it is capable of furnishing them with articles of indispensible [sic] necessity, which hitherto they have been obliged to procure from Europe, at an enormous expence [sic]' (313). Forbes imagines California to be a storehouse for industrial potential, a resource-rich land that can develop civilization in the previously politically distant Latin American republics. His celebration of technological advancement is ambivalent, as he views California as a place to offset the tensions caused by the creation of a poverty-stricken working class in England. He grapples with an England labouring under the strain of a sudden increase in the urban poor and rife with apocalyptic Malthusian anxieties. He sees California as a space for the release of these excess energies of progress. When so many people live in abject squalor,

[20] Alexander Forbes, *California: A History of Upper and Lower California* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1839) p.ix. All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.

he wonders why 'such delightful countries as California are so devoid of inhabitants' (310) when the richness of its resources could support vast tides of emigration. He goes on to suggest that were it to be placed in the hands of a liberal government and run by industrious men, 'it could not fail to become known and selected as a refuge by the innumerable starving population of the old world' (314), sentiments that he repeats, saying 'I know of no place, as I have already stated, better calculated for receiving and cherishing the superfluous population of Great Britain' (321). Such sentiments would doubtlessly have stoked the fears of the nativists we met in chapter three. In another one of the many paradoxes of progressive ideology, this emigration would be enabled by the power of steam travel using a canal that bifurcated the American continent, meaning 'Asia would be thereby brought by one-half nearer to Europe, and the passage to all the west coast of America and the Pacific islands shortened in a still greater degree. This revolution in the commerce with Asia and the Pacific ocean, if it were to happen, would aggrandize the country of which we have been treating in an extraordinary manner: and however distant this era may be, it is not to be supposed that in the present state of the world, when such rapid progress is making in every thing that is useful, this gigantic improvement will be indefinitely delayed' (319).

Britain and the United States competed for priority in assigning the geographical parameters of an imperial but still provisional future. The cultural and political negotiations between the countries can be seen to be as much trans-Pacific, taking in the entirety of that ocean, as trans-Atlantic (as in the world system model of Immanuel Wallerstein) dealing less in geographical certainties than in continually reformulated projections of territory. Within this matrix, the progressive teleology of Manifest Destiny and westward expansion looked increasingly conditional. Teleology seemed to be without a telos. The mobilization of British trade meant that for many antebellum Americans the Pacific Northwest was not, in the

vocabulary of Thomas Allen, a land of the future, but instead, a land of the past, with American designs on the territory consigned to the dustbin of history.[21] Even for the aggressively expansionist consul to California, Albert M. Gilliam, American interests in the west lay in the balance. In his *Travels in Mexico, During the Years 1843 and 44* (1847), he excoriates '[t]he tardy policy of the government [which] would render the acquisition of the bay and port of San Francisco of little use to the nation, in competition with British capital and enterprise.'[22] Unless 'a decided and energetic policy be adopted" with regards to this issue of 'such transcendent national importance' the United States 'may be prepared to surrender California likewise, and, with it, those vast commercial enterprises, to the cupidity of our British friends, and their determination to circumscribe our power and advancement' (Gilliam, 281). Gilliam places Britain's actions within a transnational web of geopolitical wrangling in a capitalist world system, suggesting that 'there is an obvious connexion between the Chinese war, the Sandwich Island affair, and [Britain's] palpably unwarrantable and contumacious attitude in reference to Oregon' (287). In *Astoria*, Washington Irving shares these concerns, as he meditates on the failure of John Jacob Astor's flagship trading colony. If, as Jeffrey Insko suggests, Irving's historiography self-consciously disallows the creation of a national past, he is nonetheless seemingly in earnest as he laments the end of Astor's experiment in Jeffersonian agrarianism and commercial empire.[23] Irving draws on the now familiar subjunctive mode, but redirects it to face the past, changing it to the conditional perfect, imbuing it with an elegiac ruefulness rather than an uncertain progressivism. Had Astor's project succeeded, 'the country would have been explored and settled by industrious husbandmen' and the 'fertile valleys…would have been made to pour forth their agricultural

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[21] See Thomas Allen, *A Republic in Time: Temporality and Social Imagination in Nineteenth Century America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008)
[22] Albert M. Gilliam, *Travels in Mexico, During the Years 1843 and 44* (Aberdeen: George Clark and Son, 1847) p.281. All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.
[23] Jeffrey Insko, 'Diedrich Knickerbocker, Regular Bred Historian', *Early American Literature* 43:3 (2008) pp.605-41

treasures to contribute to the general wealth…In a word, Astoria might have realized the anticipations of Mr. Astor, so well understood and appreciated by Mr. Jefferson, in gradually becoming a commercial empire beyond the Mountains' (Irving, 596).

Time-Space Compression and the Experience of Pacific Trade

Hester Blum's concept of the "verge" offers a fruitful way of describing spaces that provide imaginative and physical resources to the world without being easily incorporated into national economies or becoming reducible to the geopolitical logic of imperial conquest. 'A planetary notion of the verge,' for her, 'can identify speculative economies whose circulation does not proceed along clearly demarcated routes of exchange between states, or rest on guaranteed returns, but is instead organized around shifting extranational spheres of material and imaginative resources, the convergence point of various elements.'[24] We might extend the geography of her analysis, which specifically concerns the Polar regions, to suggest that the macroeconomic category of the Pacific imaginary was a "verge". As we have seen, the futures of the Pacific uneasily hovered between fictional fantasies of national development and the possibility of their political actualization. It is a locale that is half-fictional, half-real, and, in a very real way, unrealisable. The liminality of the region subsequently undermined the claims of a single progressive linear time.[25] This section will explore the ways in which this territorial liminality occasioned episodes of intense time disorientation, and the forms that it took. The vast expanse and the unsettled national status of the Pacific meant that

[24] Hester Blum, 'John Cleves Symmes and the Planetary Reach of Polar Exploration', *American Literature* 84:2 (June 2012) p.246

[25] Several writers therefore had recourse to describing the Pacific precisely in the terms of a move from a recognisable geographic reality, with a set of cartographical coordinates and landmarks, into a fictional terrain that exceeded the descriptive capacities of representation and nation. These writers include Edgar Allan Poe in *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym* (1838), the pseudonymously authored *Symzonia* (1820), and Herman Melville's *Mardi* (1849).

antebellum Americans writing about and working in the region struggled to place their experiences within the chronologies of national history or the rigid time-and-space coordinates of cartographical discourse.

Symzonia is a narrative of a Pacific fur-trading expedition that decides to explore deep into the Antarctic, entering into an interior world through the hollow entrance at the South Pole. It is authored by the pseudonymously named "Adam Seaborn" and, after years of neglect, has been the subject of increased critical attention in the last decade.[26] As the men enter into the geographical verge that separates the interior world from the exterior one, they undergo an intense experience of time disorientation. Having sent two dissenting crew members, Slim and Albicore, to sleep, Seaborn reveals their astonishment as they awake to find '[t]he sun…just setting in the bosom of the ocean,' meaning that 'they knew not which way was north, south, east or west.'[27] For them, the compass is of 'no manner of use' as 'the card turned round and round on the slightest agitation of the box' (78), even though Seaborn claims to know where he is having 'three excellent chronometers' (80) set to Washington, Greenwich, and Rio de Janeiro. Here a change in the shape and allocation of the hours of the day indicates a congruent loss of geographical certainty. Similarly, as "Taji," the unnamed narrator's demigod alter-ego, and his faithful but superstitious friend, Jarl, leave their ship in *Mardi* and cross the fictional threshold that separates reality and romance, the latter seeks to overcome his disorientation through an obsessive marking of time. Acting as a latter-day Robinson Crusoe, Jarl uses his oar as a watch, as 'on the loom, or handle, of which he kept our almanac; making a notch for every set sun' thereby creating a hybrid half-cyclical, half-

[26] See the articles on the subject by Hester Blum and Gretchen Murphy
[27] Adam Seaborn, *Symzonia: A Voyage of Discovery* (Gainesville, Florida: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1965) p.79. All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.

technological time.[28] This experience of temporal disorientation does not only take place as reality transitions to fiction: as I have suggested the Pacific at this time was composed of a complex mix of projective futures and conditional imaginings. As Paul Lyons has shown the antebellum reading public experienced the region as a narrative realm composed of a mess of citations and half-truths.[29] Even in notionally "non-fictional" work we see similarly exemplary scenes. In Herman Melville's *Omoo* (1847), the trip of the *Julia* is described in terms of a characteristic mix of cartographic uncertainty and time disorientation. The perpetually drunk and sporadically violent first mate Jermin guides the ship through a Pacific Ocean, 'considerable portions' of which 'remain wholly unexplored' and where 'there is doubt as to the actual existence of certain shoals, and reefs, and small clusters of islands vaguely laid down in the charts.'[30] Jermin claims to be navigating the ship to a paradisiacal hunting ground, replete with docile and trusting whales and so refuses to reveal to the crew 'the ship's place at noon, though such is the custom aboard of most vessels' (35). Jermin expressly excludes the narrator and the crew from not only establishing their local time, but also from placing this locality within the standardized matrix of global navigational time. The only chronometer on board has stopped working and so they cannot establish a relation to any fixed point on the globe. The narrator reflects on Jermin attempting to navigate and exclaims '[h]ow upon earth he contrived, on some occasions to settle his latitude, is more than I can tell. The longitude, he must either have obtained by the Rule of Three, or else by special revelation. Not that the chronometer in the cabin was seldom to be relied upon, or was any ways fidgety; quite the contrary; it stood stock-still; and by that means, no doubt, the true Greenwich time – at the period of its stopping, at least – was preserved to a second' (61).

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[28] Herman Melville, *Mardi: and A Voyage Thither* (ed. Harrison Hayford, Hershel Parker, Thomas Tanselle) (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1998) p.43 All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text
[29] Lyons, *American Pacificism*
[30] Herman Melville, *Omoo: A Narrative of Adventures in the South Seas* (Evanston and Chicago) (ed. Hayford, Parker and Tanselle) (Northwestern University Press and The Newberry Library, 1968) p.35 All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.

These experiences of time disorientation, caused by the shift between geographical fact, previously unmapped regions, and the speculative territories of imagination, take place against larger structural changes in the world system. David Harvey has argued that the development of a transnational capitalist marketplace in the nineteenth century, enabled by newly efficient modes of transportation, created an experience of “time-space compression.” The market brought previously distant regions into contact, and the contractions of one nation’s economy had direct effects on the experience of life in other places. The new sense of economic proximity and international relationships radically disoriented time consciousness by pushing together different national histories.[31] Though we can see similar effects on perception as America consolidates its own linked and spatially alinear Pacific economy, the specific geographics of the United States’ exploration and trade in the area means that the results are often quite different. In order to reach the west coast of the American continent, an ocean voyage would first have to journey south past Brazil and Argentina, and then, having rounded Cape Horn, back along the coast to California and Oregon. This journey disallowed linear and causal travel narratives, and for U.S. Americans arriving on the west coast, caused a jarring sensation of simultaneous proximity to and distance from the United States. For instance, when Benjamin Morrell arrived in California in 1825 he reflected that ‘[f]or the first time during our present voyage, we found ourselves moored in a North American port, within four hundred leagues of the south-west boundary of the United States, and yet more than thirteen thousand miles distant from it by water! Near to our native land, yet far from it!’ (Morrell, 197) In *Omoo*, these sentiments are given a distinctly temporal colouring as the narrator sees ‘an American whaler, a very old craft’ wrecked on the beach, ‘stranded on a strange shore.’ As he looks at it, he realizes that it is

[31] See David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989)

from a town on the river Hudson, near to where he grew up. This causes a collapse of historical structure, bringing distinct and incommensurate moments in history into contact, with the narrator barely being able to believe the difference between then and now, and its annex, here and there. ‘What were my emotions,’ he exclaims, ‘when I saw upon her stern the name of a small town on the river Hudson! She was from the noble stream on whose banks I was born; in whose waters I had a hundred times bathed. In an instant, palm-trees and elms – canoes and skiffs – church spires and bamboos – all mingled in one vision of the present and the past’ (*Omoo* 102). The compression of time leads to a reorganization of the narrator’s historical and biographical consciousness. It gives not only a feeling of proximity, but a discontinuous sense of the gaps in cause and effect.

The narrator soon suggests that this experience of time-space compression has distinct effects on the conception of global time and the creation of world maps. In considering the global form in Tahiti he brings together two modes of reckoning time into direct contact. He does this through recounting ‘a curious case of casuistry’ about ‘whether it was right and lawful for any one, being a native, to keep the European Sabbath, in preference to the day set apart as such by the missionaries, and so considered by the islanders in general’ (164). This controversy followed from the fact that ‘the good ship Duff,’ which carried the first missionaries to the island, therefore establishing ‘the Tahitian reckoning,’ went ‘by the way of the Cape of Good Hope; and by thus sailing to the eastward, lost one precious day of their lives all round, getting about that much in advance of Greenwich time’ (164). This means that when vessels arrive in Tahiti having sailed around Cape Horn, they ‘find it Sunday in Tahiti, when, according to their own view of the matter, it ought to be Saturday. But as it won’t do to alter the log, the sailors keep their Sabbath, and the islanders theirs’ (164). This discussion comes with a distinctly American social context. Michael O’Malley has shown that the

Sabbatarian movement in the United States politicized setting apart one day for the keeping of the Sabbath, protecting it from the creeping threat of industrial clock time.[32] Dana Luciano has argued that this movement illustrates a wider need felt by antebellum Americans to return to a cyclical pre-modern sacred time 'in a ritual revisiting of origins.'[33] In the case of *Omoo*, the Pacific scale obliterates the basis on which such arguments were founded. The narrator shows that the time coordinates of western modernity are essentially fictive; as a result, there can never be any "sacred" day per se, and, even more radically, any form of time denomination is essentially arbitrary. The controversy has the further effect of undermining the absolute time-and-space coordinates that underpinned the methodology of western cartography, and leads to the narrator postulating alternative forms that the world map and time consciousness might take. He tells of how an aged missionary attempts to describe the reasons for the discrepancy to the locals of Tahiti and their response: '"Here," says he, "you see this circle" (describing a large one on the ground with a stick): "very good; now you see this spot here" (marking a spot on the perimeter): "well; this is Beretanee" (England), "and I'm going to sail round to Tahiti. Here I go then" (following the circle round); "and there goes the sun" (snatching up another stick, and commissioning a bandy-legged native to travel round with it in a contrary direction). "Now then, we are both off, and both going away from each other; and here you see I have arrived at Tahiti" (making a sudden stop); "and look now, where Bandy Legs is!" (*Omoo*, 164) This representation of the globe only serves to complicate the situation as the Tahitians pull on their own sense of space and narratives of how and when the missionaries came. Rather than accepting this abstraction of the globe, they invoke a recursive and cyclical solar time that they mediate through their own traditions of storytelling. They do not accept the missionary's account, as 'the crowd strenuously maintained, that Bandy Legs ought to be somewhere above them in the atmosphere; for it was

[32] See Michael O'Malley, *Keeping Watch: A History of American Time* (London and New York: Penguin, 1990)
[33] Dana Luciano, *Arranging Grief: Sacred Time and the Body in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2007) p.7

a traditionary fact, that the people from the Duff came ashore when the sun was high overhead. And here the old gentleman, being a very good sort of man, doubtless, but no astronomer, was obliged to give up' (164).

Richard Henry Dana Jr.'s work offers a different take on the effects of Pacific time-space compression. *Two Years Before the Mast* shows the way in which time perception in one region might be extended and implanted into another. It illustrates how the co-presence and intermixture of national past and foreign present might in fact be the basis for the creation of a more spatially diffuse national time that extends from the east coast to the Pacific Northwest and Mexico. In this sense, the project of the book could better be said to be to familiarise an eastern audience with the Pacific rather than representing the life of the common sailor striving for justice against an outdated and martial maritime discipline as is generally assumed. Such tactics of familiarisation posit a narrative, instead of an expressly political, basis for its eventual incorporation by the United States.[34] He frequently invokes an Andersonian public sphere of texts and newspapers that causes a sensation of "simultaneity-across-time." The circulation of newspapers brings his Californian present and Bostonian past into a unity. Dana tells us how '[n]o one has ever been on distant voyages, and after a long absence received a newspaper from home, who cannot understand the delight that they give one' as '[n]othing carries you so entirely to a place, and makes you feel so perfectly at home, as a newspaper' (Dana 158). He repeats these sentiments as he suggests that 'there is nothing in a strange land like a newspaper from home' as it 'carries you back to the spot, better than anything else' (242). The effect of this strange familiarity is 'almost equal to *clairvoyance*' (242) and allows Dana to counterpoise his own circumstances on the west

[34] Dana proudly but falsely claims of his book in 'Twenty-Four Years After' that 'I found that almost – I might perhaps say quite – every American in California had read it; for when California "broke out," as the phrase is, in 1848, and so large a portion of the Anglo-Saxon race flocked to it, there was no book upon California but mine' (Dana, 369).

coast with that of his peers. Though this creates a comic inequality, it ultimately allows Dana imaginatively to re-establish and incorporate himself into the chronology of the life that he left behind. He is able to feel part of a shared community that specifically correlates with his own age. He tells us how he reads about 'the Commencement at Cambridge, and the full account of the exercises at the graduating of my own class. A list of all those familiar names, (beginning as usual with Abbot, and ending with W.), brought up their faces and characters as I had known them in the various scenes of college life' (242). Therefore, 'I could see them receiving their A.B's from the dignified, feudal-looking President, with his "auctoritate mihi comimissâ," and walking off the stage with their diplomas in their hands; while, upon the very same day, their classmate was walking up and down California beach with a hide upon his head' (242-3). The newspaper provides a shared time that unites the two seemingly divorced settings. The act of reading re-establishes a linear biographical narrative for Dana, and has the effect of restoring both the national and class identity that he thought he left behind when he went to sea.

Readings of *Two Years Before the Mast* have emphasized what Margaret Cohen terms "craft," or the valorization of the practical tenets of seamanship. This finds its stylistic equivalent in a rhetoric characterized by plain speaking, matter-of-fact description, and depictions of day-to-day life at sea.[35] As Hester Blum phrases it, '[t]he achievement of antebellum sea writing lies in its author's ability to make the "truth" of sea labor a productive compensation for any loss of the reader's romantic notions of life at sea.'[36] As we can see with Dana, this "truth" was mediated through already existing textual modes, specifically the newspaper. These familiarized the reader with the foreign landscape that the author described, and let Dana place his potentially disorienting experiences on the ocean into pre-

[35] Margaret Cohen, *The Novel and the Sea* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2010)
[36] Hester Blum, *The View from the Masthead: Maritime Imagination and Antebellum American Sea Narratives* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008) p.87

established genres, forms, and rhetorical modes. This Andersonian "simultaneity-across-time" in *Two Years Before the Mast* is not only newspaper based, but also constructed from the realist novel and half-conceived references to landscape painting and poetry. For instance, as he leaves the island of Juan Fernandez he looks back and reflects that it was the 'most romantic spot of earth that my eyes had ever seen' predominantly as the result of 'the associations which everyone has connected with it in their childhood from reading Robinson Crusoe' (Dana 44). He uses a similar rhetorical construction as he describes the grave of a young English sailor in the elegiac mode, saying '[i]t was the only thing in California from which I could ever extract anything like poetry' (101), and when he reflects that 'San Juan is the only romantic spot in California' (132). As a result Dana's identity as an author of maritime non-fiction is essentially performative. In a moment of clarity on a San Juan beach, he has an epiphany as he realizes that he still possesses an aesthetic appreciation of the landscape. He tells us that, '[m]y better nature returned strong upon me. Everything was in accordance with my state of feeling, and I experienced a glow of pleasure at finding that what of poetry and romance I ever had in me, had not been entirely deadened by the laborious and frittering life I had led. Nearly an hour did I sit, almost lost in the luxury of this entire new scene of the play in which I had been so long acting, when I was aroused by the distant shouts of my companions, and saw that they were collecting together…[and returning] back to our boat' (133). The circulation of texts, the importation of genres, and an aesthetic mode of vision can, in other words, annex far away spaces, and incorporate them into a national time. Dana's own text can be read as an extended attempted to create and then circulate a national identity (his own) that can survive an experience of time disorientation.

Conversely Dana also discovered that oceanic narrative could upset as well as consolidate national time. On several occasions he depicts modes of narration that cannot be brought into

sync with the linear chronologies of the official history of the United States. This recalibration of the coordinates of history takes on a threatening aspect in the text. In his desperate need for any information whatsoever from home, he starts to read Spanish language newspapers, which undermine the feeling of simultaneity that the ones written in English had created. He recounts how, '[i]n these papers, too, I found scraps of American and English news; but which were so unconnected, and I was so ignorant of everything preceding them for eighteen months past, that they only awakened a curiosity which they could not satisfy' (227). His half-understanding of the language means that he only gets fragments of a national narrative. Dana therefore imagines a reformulation of current events that displaces their normal linear order, and presents a troublingly unstable social order. 'One article,' he recounts, 'spoke of Taney as Justicia Mayor de los Estados Unidos, (what had become of Marshall? was he dead, or banished?) and another made known, by news received from Vera Cruz, that "El Vizconde Melbourne" had returned to the office of "primer ministro," in place of Sir Roberto Peel. (Sir Robert Peel had been minister, then? and where were Earl Grey and the Duke of Wellington?) Here were the outlines of a grand parliamentary overturn, the filling up of which I could imagine at my leisure' (227). The Spanish tongue means for Dana that the history of the United States becomes hybrid and unmoored, set loose into a political moment that lacks linear chronology or organization. Anna Brickhouse has argued that antebellum intellectuals and politicians saw links between the revolutionary history of the United States and that of Latin America.[37] Dana suggests that casting American history in the Spanish tongue led to a troubling collapse in historical structure, rather than any sense of hemispheric political kinship.

[37] Anna Brickhouse, *Transamerican Literary Relations and the Nineteenth-Century Public Sphere* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)

Other writers found ways that tacitly endorsed the way that Pacific time perception affected narrative form and attempted to apply it to their own work. The narrator of *Omoo* suggests that the Tahitian locals experience a potentially politically radical form of time-space compression that challenges the developmental logic of imperialism. He suggests that the islanders do not perceive time linearly but rather in terms of a concentrated generational time. This form of time obliterates individual time consciousness and casts it in terms of a collective tribal historicism, where moments of the past and present are coterminous. He develops this theory through a conversation with Captain Bob, the Tahitian jailor who oversees the men while being kept in indulgent captivity having refused to serve on the *Julia* any further. The narrator tells us, 'I asked him one day how old he was. "Olee?" he exclaimed, looking very profound in consequence of thoroughly understanding so subtile a question – "Oh! very olee – 'tousand 'ear – more – big man when Capin Tootee (Captain Cook) heavey in sight." (In sea parlance, came into view)' (*Omoo*, 119). Though the narrator knows that this is not possible, he humours Captain Bob, but soon assures him 'that he could not have been born at the time' (119). Captain Bob, however, 'explained himself by saying, that he was speaking of his father, all the while' (119). The narrator continues and reflects that 'all these people, young and old, will tell you that they have enjoyed the honor of a personal acquaintance with the great navigator; and if you listen to them, they will go on and tell anecdotes without end…As for the anachronism of the thing, they seem to have no idea of it: days and years are all the same to them' (119). In other words, this historical consciousness places the incursion of Captain Cook within a temporal logic that denies the possibility of linear development or discovery. This does not seem to be "allochronic" discourse in Johannes Fabian's terminology, as the power of narration remains with the islanders. Their form of time, far from being static and unchanging, is dynamic and places the western explorer within the traditions of their own island. Captain David Porter seemingly

discovers a similar trend in his voyage of imperial annexation to the Marquesas when he notes that the generational time of the islanders is more concentrated, as '[i]t must be observed that a man is here a grandfather at the age of fifty and sometimes much less: hence three generations exist within that period which would make, agreeable to their computation, about three hundred or three hundred and thirty years.'[38]

In *Omoo*, Melville tests out, often superficially, whether this compressed and alinear method of storytelling might fruitfully be applied to his writing, anticipating several of the formal innovations of *Moby-Dick*. Rather than following the tradition of maritime non-fiction where, as he puts it in *Typee*, 'no little degree of attention is bestowed upon dates' in order to support the narrative's claims to truth, he emphasizes the temporal vagueness of his experiences and the importance of subjective remembrance and reformulation.[39] As '[n]o journal was kept by the author during his wanderings in the South Seas…precision with respect to dates would have been impossible; and every occurrence has been put down from simple recollection' (*Omoo*, xiv). The often ostentatiously referential intertextuality of the book frequently undermines these claims to authenticity and subjectivity. Nonetheless, the citational method of the prose follows the logic of Captain Bob's narration, focusing on a disorganised pluralisation of sources and historical accounts. As the narrator comments on the question of whether Tahiti has been improved by western incursion, he argues that the immensity and scope of the task means that 'it would be altogether too assuming for a single individual to decide.' In the place of his 'own random observations' he presents 'those of several known authors, made under various circumstances, at different periods, and down to a comparative late date' (186). Melville plays with the possibility of organizing a narrative around a series

[38] David Porter, *Journal of a Cruise Made to the Pacific Ocean* (Philadelphia: Bradford and Inskeep, 1815) p.52. All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.
[39] Herman Melville, *Typee: A Peep at Polynesian Life* (Ed. Hayford, Parker and Tanselle) (Evanston and Chicago: Northwestern University Press and the Newberry Library, 1968) p.xiv. All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.

of fragments from different times to create an intertextual and not necessarily linear narrative surface. This playful and self-referential attitude to time manifests itself towards the end of the book through the narrator using alternative denominations for reckoning time. Where the start of the book began by using markers such as 'I had scarcely been aboard of the ship twenty-four hours when…' (19) and '[l]ess than forty-eight hours after leaving Nukuheva' (23), it concludes by using the Muslim festival of the Hegira to orient the narrative action. Having escaped from the grips of missionaries, the narrator tells us that '[i]t was on the fourth day of the first month of the Hegira, or Flight from Tamai (we now reckoned our time thus), that, rising bright and early…' (252) His experiences in Tahiti expose the narrator to the arbitrary means for the conception of time, and lead him to consider different ways of articulating narrative time.

This section has explored the various forms that Pacific time disorientation took for antebellum Americans. It has suggested a link between the complex web of fact and fiction in the region, its territorial liminality, and experiences of feeling unmoored from the global coordinates of navigational time. This recalibration in time perception took place against larger structural changes caused by the development of the Pacific economy. Drawing on the paradigm established by David Harvey, it has argued that the specific shape of American trade routes caused a Pacific form of "time-space compression". Antebellum Americans experienced a radical co-presence of past and present that undermined the homogenizing claims of imperial cartography on the region. Although there were ways of imagining the Pacific in terms of an enlarged public sphere of texts and newspapers, Pacific forms of narrative frequently intruded on them. Oceanic and Pacific storytelling reorganized the historical coordinates of the United States and western exploration, whether through a the chronologies of the Spanish tongue or a generational Tahitian time. Melville in particular saw

this as an opportunity to reformulate narrative structure in such a way as would answer to his experiences of time perception in the Pacific.

The Pacific Origins of the United States

Many Americans viewed the region as unmappable precisely because of this bewildering mixture of time coordinates. Antebellum Americans found that they could not readily locate themselves within the linear chronologies of national history or within the global time of imperial cartography. This contributed to what Yunte Huang has termed 'the unevenly temporalized space of the transpacific.'[40] Yet the Pacific Ocean was not only viewed in terms of a binary between a notionally stable national past and disorienting foreign presents. It also contained a vast array of deeper times that exceeded the temporal bounds of western nationhood and imperial exploration. These times were drawn from geological and anthropological discourse and directly impacted on conceptions of the geography of the ocean. This section will therefore explore the various myths of origin associated with the Pacific and how they related to and undercut progressive time. These myths show how antebellum Americans needed to conceive of their national time from outside the bounds of their own nation and history. The geological myths of the Pacific, for instance, allowed them to think about the historical provenance of nations. Similarly, anthropological discourse asserted an oceanic genealogy that linked citizens of the United States to Pacific islanders in a transnational form of kinship. The annexation of Nukuheva by David Porter shows how these origin myths could be put towards the ends of imperialism as he uses them to naturalize the tenets, and elongate the temporal span, of democracy. The rhetoric of kinship cut both ways and could call into question progressive time and undermine the political claims of

[40] Yunte Huang, *Transpacific Imaginations: History, Literature, Counterpoetics* (London and Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2008) p.2

democracy itself. *Symzonia* in particular, suggests that the United States is less the most advanced nation in the world than a debased and degenerate society that originated in a racially pure Antarctic race. More generally, Washington Irving shows how progress can destroy the communities that provide both a model for republican fraternity and a source for an American narrative tradition.

The mysterious and unsettled origins of the Pacific islands created much debate about how land masses were made and unmade, and the relationship between the age of the earth and the creation of national formations. In part because of the still frequently unreliable maritime surveying equipment, like the chronometer, it seemed that Pacific islands would appear then swiftly disappear in the sea. Sailing in the Pacific was often perilous as a result, and presented dangers to American whaling ships and traders. The government commissioned the United States Exploration Expedition in part to clear up some of the uncertainty about the existence or otherwise of islands, shoals, and coastlines. Similarly Matthew Fontaine Maury's oceanic textbooks aimed to map the movement of tides in order to facilitate the development of American commerce. This geographic uncertainty led many Americans to believe that the Pacific offered a window onto the processes of creation. For them the changing geography of the region was born only partly from the incomplete maps of the sea. Instead the region's unique geology was viewed as the main cause of the ever shifting contours of islands and other land masses. Jeremiah Reynolds, for instance, conceives of the Pacific in terms of a consistently evolving planetary time that actively threatens the American project in the region. He histrionically extols the heroism of the common sailor in sailing over 'the whole of that extensive tract embraced under the name Oceania' where 'we find the mariner in constant danger of striking his keel against some point of coral rock, shooting perpendicularly upward from an immense depth, and presenting, in every part, the germs of a new world, "or

the magnificent fragments of an old one"' (Reynolds, 41-2). The narrator of *Omoo* expands on the scientific basis for Reynolds's casually deployed mixture of old and new (new world versus fragments of an old one). For him the region either demonstrates radical newness, with the creation of the islands still unfolding, or a fatalistic narrative of decline and inevitable destruction. He outlines two possible myths of origins that possess contemporary currency. The first of these posits an active agent of creation that utilises a lengthened natural span to make islands. 'The origin of the entire group [the Coral Islands] is generally ascribed to the coral insect,' he tells us, a 'wonderful little creature,' who 'commencing its erections at the bottom of the sea, after the lapse of centuries, carries them up to the surface, where its labors cease' (*Omoo*, 63). Here the coral begins to collect floating jetsam, which slowly leads to the construction of a land mass, meaning that 'all over this archipelago, numberless naked, detached coral formations are seen, just emerging, as it were, from the ocean. These would appear to be islands in the very process of creation – at any rate, one involuntarily concludes so, on beholding them.' (63) The second myth is bleaker, and conceives of the islands in terms of relentless and indifferent natural decline. He outlines a more recent theory which '[i]nstead of regarding the phenomena last described as indicating any thing like an active, creative power now in operation' views the coral islands as 'merely the remains of a continent, long ago worn away, and broken up by the action of the sea' (63).

Reynolds and the narrator of *Omoo* depict land masses being perpetually created and destroyed in the Pacific. They expose the relatively shallow historical depths of the nation through drawing on elongated geological spans. These processes make the region difficult to map, and both men struggle to place the islands within the narrative offered by a homogenizing progressive time. Instead, in the Pacific, time seems to flow both ways, with the land either evolving slowly forward through the actions of a marine insect, or else

regressing backwards towards oblivion through the erosive processes of the waves. In an era when the geographic thought of people like Arnold Guyot emphasized a determining link between landscape and the fate of empire, these origin myths, by suggesting that the Pacific offers a way of seeing the very process of nature unfolding, instead suggest a fundamental arbitrariness in the making of nations and land. These discussions are tacitly linked to wider issues of divine agency in the world and its political adjunct, the march of empire. For proponents of Manifest Destiny, the Pacific was the arena where the future presence of the United States was divinely ordained and inevitable. These accounts of Pacific creation instead suggest a radical lack of anything like teleology or design in the composition of the globe. Instead there is only a deep and natural time that renders the presence of American commerce in the region provisional, and exposes the young nation to the essentially arbitrary contestations of imperial land-grabbing. It is therefore revealing that Jeremiah Reynolds draws on the rhetoric of the coral insect to conceive of American progress in the Pacific. As we have seen earlier, his initial conceptions of a rapacious maritime modernity, which he outlined in his address to Congress, emphasized speed and a desacralized and resource-driven relationship to the American land. When he comes to consider the status of American progress in the Pacific, he draws on a longer and more dilatory arc. He suggests that knowledge of the region has accumulated slowly and without order, moving forward 'silently and unobtrusively,' therefore 'progressing as the labours of the zoophyte, that motionless inhabitant of the deep, from whose accumulated exuviæ the precipitous ramparts of calcareous rock are formed, until the coral reef, by slow degrees, rises above the surface of the ocean, and becoming an island, blooms with the luxurious vegetation of the tropic' (Reynolds, 31-2). This construction suggests that, rather like the coral islands themselves, the American presence in the region was itself provisional, either based on a dispersed and slow

accumulation of knowledge, or, more troublingly given his triumphalist tone, subject to the inevitable erosion caused by the deep and indifferent cyclical time of nature.

Antebellum Americans did not only think about the origins of the Pacific islands in terms of geological deep time but also in the language of a transnational genealogical humanism. Many early American philologists and anthropologists put forward theories that suggested that the inhabitants of the South Pacific islands were their continental forebears and looked to the Pacific for clues as to the formation of the American character. As recent scholarship has suggested, American writers of the era searched beyond the temporal boundaries of the nation to postulate a kinship with medieval and/or pre-historic peoples.[41] Cornelius Mathews's *Behemoth* (1839), Ephraim Squier and Edwin Davis's *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley* (1848), and William Cullen Bryant's 'The Prairies' all used the mound builders to naturalize republican government on the American continent. These gestures resultantly created a heroic and still continental model for citizenship that effaced the presence of Native Americans and lengthened the historical span of the United States itself. This discussion was not limited to the American continent alone, with several thinkers suggesting that the previous inhabitants of the hemisphere came from the Pacific islands. As a result, they created a Pacific genealogy that not only deepened the history of the United States but that also exceeded and redrew the geographical boundaries of the nation. Charles Anthon in a letter sent to Jeremiah Reynolds and published in the *Pacific and Indian Oceans* volume tells him how '[i]t has long been a favourite theory of mine, that one of the early races which peopled our continent was identical with that from which have descended the inhabitants of the numerous islands in the South Pacific' (Reynolds, 142). He suggests that '[t]he fabrics accompanying the dried human bodies, or natural mummies, (if they may be so called,) that

[41] *American Literary History* dedicated a special issue to medievalism recently. See *American Literary History* 22:4 (Winter 2010)

have been found in the caverns of the west, strongly resemble the rude articles that are manufactured in the Sandwich and other islands of the Pacific' (142). Russ Castronovo has identified a link between dead bodies and the constitution of American citizenship, and so it is certainly suggestive that Anthon is drawn towards the burial rituals of the dead in asserting a transnational kinship.[42] We might indeed see his focus on these mummies as an extremely literal gesture that explicitly materialises, in an American setting, a Pacific genealogy. For him, '[t]he most striking proofs of this, however, if the theory be a correct one, will be found in a comparison of the languages of these islanders with one another, as well as with the remains of aboriginal tongues on our own continent.' (Reynolds, 142) Jno Pickering, in his letter, agreed with these sentiments and suggested that the Exploring Expedition to the Pacific would provide vital evidence as 'the affinities of the different people of the globe, and their migrations in ages prior to authentic history, can be traced only by means of language; and among the problems which are ultimately to be solved by these investigations, is one of the highest interest to Americans – that of the affinity between the original nations of this continent and those of the old world; in other words, the source of the aboriginal population of America' (139). We have already seen how Richard Henry Dana Jr. uses language to stabilise the construction of a simultaneous national time that exceeds the boundaries of the nation state. The theories of Anthon and Jno Pickering do not endorse this paradigm, established by Herder and which equated the language of a "Volk" with the boundaries of the nation. Instead, they move through geopolitical borders and assert a more fundamental kinship between peoples that precede those of the nation-state. As Pickering notes, 'the people of Otaheite and of the Sandwich Islands…at the distance of twenty-five hundred miles from each other, are of one family, speaking languages that are substantially the same' (139). In other words, normal linear geographical logic is collapsed in the Pacific, with the affinities

[42] See Russ Castronovo, *Necro Citizenship: Death, Eroticism, and the Public Sphere in the Nineteenth-Century United States* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2001)

between seemingly separate peoples exerting themselves through language. It would be tempting to see parallels in Anthon and Jno Pickering's letters between their theories of linguistic dispersion and the early and incipient energies of globalisation. After all, they both reject a national paradigm in favour of an invisible and more primal set of genealogical links between what would have been to most thinkers of the time racially distinct peoples. However, the opposite applies. Another Pickering, Charles, suggests that these forces of incorporation and global interaction threaten the foundational racial and natural purity of the islands, born from hundreds and thousands of years of non-interaction. Pickering, though a zoologist, focuses primarily on the study of man and writes that '[f]rom the vast influx of foreign vessels of late years, the original character of the population will, in all probability, soon be lost' (153). Where species were previously 'allotted in different sets to different portions of the earth' the increased presence of 'maritime intercourse is changing the face of things' as 'different races of mankind are brought into unexpected contact and are supplanting each other on every hand' (154). Charles Pickering's thoughts show, then, that the effects of an American presence in the region were up for debate. The pace of change and economic progress directly upsets American attempts at genealogical self-discovery. What might be taken to be the very evidence for a divinely ordained American territorialism in the region could well involve a necessary loss of the evidence of the continent's foundational origins. Charles Pickering attempts to justify the Exploring Expedition by suggesting that it will store and preserve the last vestiges of a swiftly disappearing and racially pure culture, as the region's 'history must be looked for hereafter, in these very exploring expeditions' (154).

David Porter gives these Pacific origin myths a distinctly political charge in his account of the illegal and unauthorized annexation of the Marquesas, the first ever incident of American extra-continental expansionism. Having landed on Nukuheva he proceeded to wage an illegal

and unsanctioned war on the locals caused by their perceived disrespect of American martialism and a nebulously conceived sense of their hostility. He justified his actions by invoking the parallels between American republicanism and the Pacific islanders' own form of government, suggesting in his declaration of incorporation, that 'the natives, to secure to themselves that friendly protection which their defenceless situation so much required, have requested to be admitted into the great American family, whose pure republican policy approaches so near their own' (Porter, 83). This is obviously, in part, a self-serving gesture, designed to offer moral justification for his incursion. But we can also see it as participating in a larger debate about the Pacific sources of the United States. Porter's annexation took place during the 1812 War against Britain which threatened to put a swift end to the youthful Revolutionary project. As Dominic Mastroianni has shown, and as we have seen in chapter three, the dynamics of democracy were still up for debate in the antebellum period, with many people feeling that the threat of unending revolution exposed their political system to constant and violent reformulation.[43] In pretending to discover a primal form of republican democracy in Nukuheva, Porter naturalizes and deepens the political claims of a form of government whose own history was still troublingly shallow. The organisation of Nukuhevan society has the further effect of letting Porter ignore the way in which his enterprise participates in the logic of European imperialism. He justifies expansionism by suggesting that he is merely advancing a social order that is already present in a state of nature. Although Porter's sentiments are in part allochronic, as they place local peoples further back on the developmental chain of political thought, there is also a complex web of kinship between the locals and antebellum Americans. Porter's emphasis is less on time differentiation than on parallels, links, and continuities, all of which fall beneath a general anti-British rhetoric as the locals 'as far as lies in their power…will prevent the subjects of Great Britain (knowing them

[43] See Dominic Mastroianni, 'Revolutionary Time and the Future of Democracy in Melville's *Pierre*', *ESQ: A Journal of the American Renaissance* 56:4 (2011) pp.391-423

to be such) from coming among them until peace shall take place between the two nations' (Porter, 83).

With regard to Melville, Hsuan Hsu has argued that 'Pacific islands…do not evoke the transnational, utopian possibilities of the ocean so much as they represent denationalized spaces whose inhabitants are deprived of the self-determination and human rights accorded to citizens of nation-states…Melville's island settings evoke feelings of solitude and stasis that seem antithetical to notions of progressive temporality and spatial interconnectedness commonly associated with globalization.'[44] What Porter's work shows is that even if the first half of Hsu's construction is correct, the second part by no means follows. Progressive American time depends on "pre-historic," natural, and extra-continental sources to justify its democratic project. This creates a genealogical chain that upsets claims of American exceptionalism as it places democracy within a wider transnational web of relations. As a result, the rhetoric of kinship can cut both ways, as Porter uses Marquesan society to illustrate some of the contradictions and half-truths of egalitarian discourse. In spite of the similitude with American democracy, 'these people cannot be said to live under any form of government, except a patriarchal one' and '[w]ealth, with them, as in all other countries attaches respect and gives power; they have such thing as rank among them; a rank which is hereditary; and they take much pride in tracing their ancestry' (Porter, 34). Porter uses the Pacific islanders to demonstrate the continuing hold of mercantile greed and aristocratic lineage in seemingly all societies. He suggests, then, that the Revolutionary watershed might not have been quite the moment of transition that it was made out to be. Charles Stewart, a missionary in the Marquesas, living on the islands a decade or so after Porter's war, goes further. He argues that the primal republicanism on the island illustrates some of the dangers

[44] Hsu, *Geography and the Production of Space* p.153

of absolute liberty and the problems of granting individuals the unequivocal right to self-definition at the expense of the dictates of law and government. 'I have been more than half-tempted,' he tells us, 'with all deference to the dignity of our own happy government to style it, – will you forgive me? – a republic *en savage*, in which every man is the representative of his own rights and the only lawgiver, with liberty in all cases promptly to wield the power of the executive, after having discharged to his own satisfaction the functions of the judge!'[45] Stewart goes so far as to suggest that given the similarities between the Pacific Islands and the United States, the Islands should adopt the American model and form a federal state. To articulate this view, he uses a construction that not only democratizes the Pacific, but also recasts American democracy in the language of savagery and tribalism. 'The necessity and advantages of such political arrangement,' he argues, 'was illustrated by an explanation of the general features and character of our own government, in which twenty-four distinct and independent states form a combination offensive and defensive under a chosen head or chief, always dwelling in peace together, and entering into war only against a common enemy from abroad, while all differences among each other are settled in amicable council.' (Stewart, 280) For both Stewart and Porter, American democracy was less a sign of modernity and progress than a civilised rendering of a pre-historic mode of social order. The United States was not, then, at the forefront of history.

Their thoughts nonetheless ultimately assume that democracy evolves from a pre-extant design found in pure, because primal, societies. They cast the United States as the first truly "natural" government in an era in which, as Deak Nabers has shown, the legal issues surrounding slavery increasingly meant a gradual and by no means smooth transition from

[45] C.S. Stewart, *A Visit to the South Seas, in the United States' Ship Vincennes, During the Years 1829 and 1830* (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1832) p.242. All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.

natural to constitutional law.[46] Problems arising from the dominance of this racialist paradigm for ordering society meant that some Americans saw civilisations in the Pacific trading rim as potentially representing an ideal from which the United States had fallen. There was a genuine anxiety about whether American commercial development in the region led to the progress of civilisation or caused a regression to a primal backwardness. Even Jeremiah Reynolds thought that the purpose of an exploring expedition should in part be 'to retrieve the character of civilized man, and in some measure atone for the accumulated injuries which centuries have seen of daily increasing enormity' (Reynolds, 69). Similarly the historian Robert Greenhow suggests that the Anglo-Saxon presence in the Pacific meant the inevitable destruction of local peoples. 'To conclude with regard to the Sandwich Islands,' he tells us, 'their population is rapidly diminishing under the too great warmth of the civilization suddenly planted among them, by which new vices have been introduced, and new wants, unaccompanied by any increase of energy and industry, have been engendered. The day is, probably, not too far distant, when the aborigines will be reduced to a few wanderers; and the islands will be, effectively, occupied by Anglo Saxons, the certain, though comparatively mild, exterminators of the uncivilized races with which they are brought into contact' (Greenhow, 374). Even accounts of western migration by land illustrate an uncertainty as to whether the American movement across the continent will beget a triumphant advance of civilisation, or a regression backwards into a primal savagery. Henry Augustus Wise's *Los Gringos: Or An Inside View of Mexico and California, With Wanderings in Peru, Chili, and Polynesia* (1849), which recounts a journey made in 1846, is for the most part an unremarkable document that alternates between describing hunting trips in the Californian wilderness with an almost childish glee and narrating military exercises carried out by the Americans in the Mexican War. Even the triumphalist and jarringly picaresque Wise pauses

[46] Deak Nabers, 'Thoreau's Natural Constitution', *American Literary History* 19:4 (Winter 2007) pp.824-48

to consider 'a frightful incident [which] transpired amidst the Californian mountains, which goes far to surpass any event of the kind heard or seen, from the black hole of Calcutta, to smoking the Arabs in Algeria.'[47] He tells how a group of emigrants got trapped in the mountains by harsh weather until they had to resort to cannibalism as 'men, women, and children starved to death, and were eaten by their fellows – insanity followed' (65). Their return to savagery violates the sacred relation among family members, disrupting a natural genealogical progression, as '[w]hen relief arrived, the survivors were found rolling in filth, parents eating their own offspring, denizens of different cabins exchanging limbs and meat – little children tearing and devouring the livers and hearts of the dead, and general apathy and mania pervaded all alike' (65). What is most shocking for Wise is the fact that 'the emigrants themselves perceived nothing very extraordinary in all these cannibalisms, but seemed to regard it as an every day occurrence' (65). Western emigration might, according to Wise, naturalize brutality rather than advance mankind, with the rugged conditions travellers have to overcome being 'almost sufficient in itself to deter many a good man and strong from exposing his life and property for an unknown home on the shores of the Pacific' (66).

Symzonia explores these issues of degeneracy most fully. Having entered into the centre of the earth, Adam Seaborn and his crew discover a racially pure utopian race living according to an ideal democracy, where every virtuous citizen has a say. As Hester Blum has suggested, the narrative is parodic and not entirely in earnest when putting forward Symmes's hollow earth theories.[48] It is important, given these wider questions about progressive time versus decline and the Pacific origins of the United States, that Seaborn imagines a more advanced race within the context of the Pacific trading economy. *Symzonia* answers to anxieties about

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[47] Henry Augustus Wise, *Los Gringos: Or An Inside View of Mexico and California, With Wanderings in Peru, Chili, and Polynesia* (London: Richard Bentley, 1849) p.64 All further references to this edition are cited parenthetically in the text.
[48] See Blum, 'John Cleves Symmes and the Planetary Reach of Polar Exploration'

whether American trade and its associated political project disseminate an advanced civilisation or a debased one. It is a narrative that is deeply (though not unequivocally) sceptical about the claims of American imperialism. In reading it we ought, as Gretchen Murphy argues, to take into consideration the ways in which it asks us to see how the United States' advance into the Pacific trading rim replicates the logic of old world European imperialism. For her, *Symzonia* 'poses the question: Are Americans really different from the British? Are they any more pure, any more enlightened, any more like the Symzonians? The text's answer is negative. Symzonia is an untouched Eden, but the nation of Adam Seaborn is not.'[49] It is necessary to examine the book's attitude to the direction of historical time in order to fully appreciate the dynamics of its ambivalent anti-imperialism. Seaborn's initial meetings with the Symzonians refigure his place within the dominant racialist paradigms of the era. These constructions equated whiteness with more advanced forms of civilisation and so created a hierarchical ethnic structure for conceiving of human progress. Seaborn realizes that, if these theories are correct, he in fact might be part of a debased race. He compares himself to a Symzonian and notes that 'the sootiest African does not differ more from us in darkness of skin and grossness of features, than this man did from me in fairness of complexion and delicacy of form' (*Symzonia*, 108). He adds to these sentiments as he describes how 'I am considered fair for an American, and my skin was always in my own country thought to be one of the finest and whitest. But when one of the internals placed his arm, always exposed to the weather, by the side of mine, the difference was truly mortifying. I was not a white man, compared with him' (110).

Seaborn's troublingly unironic deployment of this racist hierarchy directly affects his conceptualisations of American expansionism. He suggests that the movement and

[49] Murphy, '*Symzonia*, *Typee*, and the Dream of U.S. Global Isolation' p.263

emigration of western man across the globe indicates civilizational decline rather than progressive advancement as they fall away, with every new land discovered, from a racially pure ideal Symzonian character. So although he sees the Symzonians as the source of all mankind, they are certainly not a developmentally prior people. As a result, Seaborn turns the historical clock upside down, with the United States moving backwards rather than forwards. The linear movement of time's arrow makes the future a place of inevitable and further degeneracy, not a transcendent arena for the realisation of human perfectionism. Seaborn hears about certain exiles who had been cast out of Symzonia for their sensualism and greed, and made to live near the surface of the earth. Here, '[t]he influence of their gross appetites and of the climate, causes them to lose their fairness of complexion and beauty of form and feature' (132). On his first arrival in Symzonia the locals had 'apprehended that I was of that outcast race' as it was known that 'the descendants of the outcasts were enlarged in stature and size, owing to the grossness of their habits, and at the same time that they had lost their strength and activity' (133). As Anne Baker has suggested antebellum Americans rendered their obsession with national size and growth through bodily metaphors. These metaphors were a way of dealing with, and seeking to control, the fluctuating borders of the state.[50] Here Seaborn conflates his own size with the effects of outward migration and global exploration, so his enlarged but degenerate size conceptualises the debased energies of expansionism. It crosses his mind that 'we the externals were indeed the descendants of this exiled race; some of whom, penetrating the "icy hoop" near the continent of Asia or America, might have peopled the external world' (133-4). The urge to explore, discover, and expand into other regions does not indicate the triumph of progressive time. Instead it phrases American commercial, and more generally western, development of a global economy through trade in the Pacific rim in the nineteenth century in terms of decline; the "Best man," or the leader of

[50] See Anne Baker, *Heartless Immensity: Literature, Culture and Geography in Antebellum America* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2006)

Symzonia, uses the fact that 'we were inordinately addicted to traffic, and sent out our people to the extreme parts of the external world to procure, by exchange, or fraud, or force, things pernicious to the health and morals of those who receive them' (196) as evidence for sending Seaborn back to whence he came. The seemingly progressive time of trade actively undercuts American claims to racial and constitutional purity. Where Stewart and Porter postulated a pre-historic and natural democracy which legitimized the American political project, Seaborn's deeper genealogy is more problematic. Even though Americans are granted a lineage that exceeds the bounds of the nation-state, as in Anthon and the Pickerings, this genealogy only confirms their moral and genealogical debasement. Their forms of government and their commercial activities place them at the bottom of the developmental chain, not at the forefront.

Although on his exile Seaborn remained keen to maintain contact with the Symzonians, he nonetheless 'admitted that the permission of a free intercourse with the externals, might be productive of great mischief to his people, by introducing vice and disease, which had been observed to spring up amongst the South Sea islanders, and other unsophisticated nations, soon after their discovery by Europeans and Americans' (200). The seemingly rapacious advance of commerce meant that some writers dwelt on the spectre of what had been lost through progressive American time, rather than on what it could achieve in the future. Washington Irving in *Astoria*, for instance, seeks to preserve a record of a denationalised maritime and riverine community called the "voyageurs". Wai Chee Dimock has noted how Irving memorializes an Islamic presence in North America through his interest 'in the past as a kind of unerased habitat, with former inhabitants, also unerased, still a spectral presence,

not about to give up their claim on our world.'[51] These "voyageurs" are another ghostly revenant in his work, but rather than coming from an identifiable national community instead are hybrid and deterritorialized. He recounts how '[t]he dress of these people is generally half civilised half savage' and that their language is of a 'pyebald character, being a French patois, embroidered with Indian and English words and phrases' (Irving, 212). Irving suggests that these voyageurs offer a model for communitarianism that could survive in a mercantile economy but which the dictates of global capitalism will inevitably destroy. He terms them a 'confraternity in the Canadas' (210) who assert an alternative feudal fellowship. They offer a paradigm for republican virtue, calling each other by 'the familiar appellations of "cousin" and "brother," when there is in fact no relationship' meaning they form 'a community of adventure and hardship' (212). This is a meaningful source for a hybrid but swiftly receding folk narrative tradition as they sing songs to pass the time while on the rivers. 'The Canadian waters are vocal,' he tells us, 'with these little French chansons' that survive through a western oral storytelling tradition as 'they have been echoed from mouth to mouth and transmitted from father to son, from the earliest days of the Colony.' (213) The denationalized space of the Pacific west is, for Irving, a place where folk storytelling, of the (often Germanic) type that he drew on in his most famous short stories, can thrive. This fulcrum of possible creativity, Irving implies, might provide the foundation for an American-continent-based if not "American" folk tradition. In a moment of anachronism and national hybridity he describes how, on their way to meeting Astor, 'they swept, in full song, and with regular flourish of the paddle, round New York, in a still summer evening, to the wonder and admiration of its inhabitants, who had never before witnessed on their waters, a nautical apparition of the kind.' (214) These ghosts illustrate the continuing pull of a structure of society that is far from the progressive dictates of nationalism, and shows how they continue

[51] Wai Chee Dimock, 'Hemispheric Islam: Continents and Centuries for American Literature', *American Literary History* 21:1 (2008) p.39

to exert an influence on his imagination. Irving ultimately has recourse to the elegiac mode, as these anachronisms will soon be no more. Technological advancement means that the imaginative energy of the west is being swiftly replaced by the diurnal blandness of economic utility. 'We are talking of things that are fast fading away,' he laments, 'The march of mechanical invention is driving every thing poetical before it. The steamboats which are fast dispelling the wildness and the romance of our lakes and rivers and aiding to subdue the world into commonplace, are proving as fatal to the race of the Canadian voyageurs as they have been to that of the boatmen of the Mississippi. Their glory is departed. They are no longer the lords of our internal seas and the great navigators of the wilderness' (213). Therefore, '[i]n the course of years they will gradually disappear: their songs will die away like the echoes they once awakened, and the Canadian voyageurs will become a forgotten race, or remembered, like their associates the Indians, among the poetical images of past times, and as themes for local and romantic associations' (213).

Pacific Clock Time

These voyageurs will soon cease to exist because they live according to a present oriented leisure time that is far different to the clock time that characterises the development of an industrial economy. Irving tells us how after their long journeys they 'were prone to pass their time in idleness and revelry about the trading posts or settlements; squandering their hard earnings in heedless conviviality' (211); they also rivalled 'their neighbours the Indians in indolent indulgence and an imprudent disregard of the morrow' (211-12). It is precisely for these reasons that Irving valorises them. They favour a form of time that does not accumulate and cannot be measured according to the language of progress. Irving distinguishes their time consciousness from the homogenizing force of clock time that Pacific trade sought to import

into the region. To conclude, this section will build on these sentiments to examine what happens to clock time, as E.P. Thompson describes it, in a Pacific setting. This discussion has been constantly present, albeit implicitly, throughout this chapter as a whole. For Jeremiah Reynolds the Pacific was the testing ground for American industry and had the potential to be the crucible for its global triumph. For John Forbes, California could be transformed into a factory, drawing on the richness of its resources to become 'the granary of South America' (Forbes, ix). Similarly debates that raged over the day on which to celebrate the Tahitian Sabbath illustrate the anxiety that Americans felt concerning the possibility of importing their own calendar time into distant markets. Porter and Stewart too wonder about whether they can apply an American democratic time to the Marquesas. This chapter will make the case that American explorers attempted to transform the time consciousness of Pacific residents from their own local forms into a more efficient clock time. These attempts failed for a variety of reasons. In *Symzonia* the region acts as a mirror of American society. It demonstrates that the clock time of the United States might not be so efficient after all. Richard Henry Dana Jr. describes the clash between American trade and a recursive Pacific sacred time that can never be made productive. Finally, Herman Melville's *Mardi* satirizes the inevitable absurdities that arise when Americans attempt to apply rigid time structures onto Pacific islands.

E.P. Thompson famously demonstrated that the historical switch from agrarianism to industrial capitalism required the simultaneous creation of a totalizing time discipline. In order to maximize efficiency, factory owners transformed time consciousness from one based on "task orientation" to a homogenizing clock time that equated the hours of the day with the amount of money made. The powerful classes synchronized the actions of workers through placing them inside of a rigid temporal-spatial grid that regulated their movements and

punished leisure. Yet, as chapter one has shown, this clock time was “unevenly dispersed, and varied according to the region in which it was deployed.” Americans in the Pacific sought to consolidate their gains and incorporate the region into the national imaginary in precisely the same way as these early industrialists. Clock time was, for them, a way of subordinating an international workforce composed of Pacific islanders to the hierarchical dictates of national progress. Washington Irving celebrates island life when it is at its most efficient. He is at his most nationalistic when he judges the relative civilization of the Pacific islands in terms of how amenable they are to trade. In particular, he focuses on the government of “Tamaahmaah” (Kamehameha), the chief of the Sandwich Islands who was ‘aware of the advantages of trade and desirous of promoting frequent intercourse with white men’ (Irving, 235). For Irving, Tamaahmaah shows that there is the possibility of creating a form of economically productive savagery. Tamaahmaah rejects those who come to the islands in hope of finding leisure and rewards those who excel in industrial pursuits and work hard. Irving comments that of the twenty or thirty exiled whites on the island ‘many of them were mere vagabonds, who remained there in hopes of leading a lazy and an easy life. For such, Tamaahmaah had a great contempt; those only had his esteem and countenance who knew some trade or mechanic art, and were sober and industrious’ (235). This depiction of island labour offers a counterpoint to the cliché that suggested that all Pacific islanders were lazy and incapable of turning the present moment into a marker of progress and economic growth, where in the words of Tommo in *Typee*, ‘one tranquil day of ease and happiness follows another in quiet succession; and with these unsophisticated savages the history of a day is the history of a life.’ (*Typee*, 149)

There was however a widespread concern about how easily clock time could be imported into the Pacific. In part this came from anxieties about how efficient American clock time was

itself, and the associated worry that the organisation of Pacific societies in the trading rim might in fact already use time better. Once again these sublimated fissures in the Pacific imaginary surface in *Symzonia*. Adam Seaborn argues that, other than their racial purity, the most obvious sign of the perfection of the Symzonians is their attitude to labouring time. When he arrives, he notes how '[t]he active inhabitants all seemed engaged in something useful. Some were tending their cattle, some cultivating vegetables, fruits, and flowers, while others practiced the mechanic arts' (*Symzonia*, 119). Although their society is clearly pre-industrial it is nonetheless technologically advanced. Its agrarian economy demands absolute utility, and their government asks its citizens to attempt to maximize the productiveness of time. Seaborn tells us that '[t]he Symzonians slept but about three hours in the four-and twenty, and considered me a very gross and sluggish being because I could not do without six hours sleep' (180). Paradoxically this work ethic creates an excess of leisure time as it means that the needs of the citizens can easily be met. His guide Surui assures him 'that the labour necessary to procure all the essential comforts and rational embellishments of life, in this fruitful country, and with the temperate habits of the people, required but a small proportion of the labour which could be performed' (126). This enables their democracy as it means 'that there was abundant leisure for an annual assemblage of all the people, without any detriment to the business of society; and that every member of it enjoyed an abundance of the comforts of life, without excessive or constant labour' (126). This 'annual assemblage' is at the heart of their democratic society, and means that power is held to account, and that the most virtuous citizens can advance and run the country. Seaborn struggles to believe this as he 'had been accustomed to see a great proportion of mankind constantly devoted to hard labour, or incessantly applying to business, to obtain a precarious subsistence…it was difficult to comprehend how a great proportion of this people could leave their business and their homes, to pass months in a non-productive state, without oppressing the remainder of

the people with intolerable burdens' (128). He realises that this is because the clock time of early global capitalism does not in fact tend towards productivity, but rather waste, inefficiency, and the gratification of desires rather than needs. Seaborn laments that '[i]nstead of devoting our time to useful purposes, and living temperately on the wholesome gifts of Providence,' (129) people work in the name of global commerce, as 'thousands waste their strength to procure stimulating weeds and narcotic substances from the extreme parts of the earth, for the purpose of exciting diseased appetites, whereby, in the case of those who possess good things, the ability to enjoy them is destroyed' (130). It is with no little degree of irony that Seaborn gives Surui, as a parting gift, 'a handsome gold watch' (209).

In *Two Years Before the Mast*, Richard Henry Dana Jr. encounters the opposite problem. He continues on his project to explore whether national time (that we met earlier) can be exported. For him another form that American time takes is an industrious time of labour. Yet California possesses an unproductive and racially specific sacred time that threatens its development and, resultantly, American designs on the region. He dismissively suggests that 'there are no people to whom the newly-invented Yankee word of "loafer" is more applicable than to the Spanish Americans. These men stood about doing nothing, with their cloaks, little better in texture than an Indian's blanket' (Dana, 45). This laziness means that Californians cannot create a national economy as they are 'an idle, thriftless people, and can make nothing for themselves' (74). Similarly Charles Wilkes laments that dwellers in the region 'put no value whatever upon time, and in entering into contracts they have no regard for punctuality, frequently allowing two, three, and four years to pass by before payment' (Wilkes, 188). This Californian lassitude initially seems to open up an opportunity for Americans to control all of the trade in the region. Dana reports that many of them have set up shops on the coastline to serve the fur and whaling trades. As they have 'more industry, frugality, and

enterprise than the natives, they soon get nearly all the trade into their hands' (Dana, 79). The problem is that the region soon stakes a claim on the genealogy of the citizens of the United States, and they lose their utilitarian attitude to time. Dana exclaims that '[i]n the hands of an enterprising people, what a country this might be! we are ready to say' but adds, more fatalistically, '[y]et how long would a people remain so, in such a country?' (166) For Dana, laziness is a racialized category drawn from the specific character of place. The local genealogy produces a time consciousness which proves stronger than the claims of American clock time. Emigrants from the United States quickly lose their national bearing and instead enter into a Spanish-Pacific lineage. Any advances made through American industriousness are quickly lost as the children of the emigrants 'are brought up Spaniards, in every respect, and if the "California fever" (laziness) spares the first generation, it always attacks the second' (166). Dana locates the cause for this laziness in the sacred time of Catholicism. Its continuing hold over the calendar in California provides a theologically-ordained mandate for leisure over industry. Dana observes the Italians on another ship taking three days of rest and reflects, '[s]o much for being Protestants. There's no danger of Catholicism's spreading in New England; Yankees can't afford the time to be Catholics' (129). He later combines the absence of Catholic dogma with the emphasis on freedom of conscience that (supposedly) defines the political project of the United States, as he describes how '[t]he Catholics on shore have no trading and make no journeys on Sunday, but the American has no national religion, and likes to show his independence of priestcraft by doing as he chooses on the Lord's day' (184-5).

Elsewhere in the Pacific, unproductive and recursive forms of time disrupt the western links between technological development and time. South Pacific people horde commodities and so remove them from the capitalist marketplace, with the beaches of the islands resultantly

becoming storehouses for western anachronisms. As Yunte Huang has suggested, acts of collecting by locals means that western objects become '[f]lotsam of time, wrapped in their solid singularity' therefore creating 'a static moment, a whirlpool within the incessant forward flow.'[52] The narrator of *Omoo*, describes how when he visits Queen Pomaree's island palace he sees an 'incongruous assemblage of the most costly objects from all quarters of the globe' (*Omoo*, 310) which 'were, doubtless, presents from foreign powers' (310). In spite of this, '[t]hey were more or less injured: the fowling pieces and swords were rusted; the finest woods were scratched; and a folio volume of Hogarth lay open, with a cocoa-nut shell of some musty preparation capsized among the miscellaneous furniture of the Rake's apartment' (310). Indeed, *Omoo* is full of dated western items, left to rot, rather than being replaced, whether this be 'a number of rusty old cannon' which 'lie half-buried among their bleaching bones' (163) or the stocks at the prison, 'a clumsy machine for keeping people in one place, which, I believe, is pretty much out of date in most countries' (116). These abandoned articles indicate the way in which a non-progressive time can re-organize western chronologies, and create juxtapositions between different historical eras. This restores time to the commodity, showing how it changes as it enters into different marketplaces. The unproductiveness of the South Pacific creates an awareness of the historical situation of the traded object.

It is in *Mardi* that Melville most fully examines the results of attempting to import a rigid clock time into the Pacific. He dwells on the absurd results of living by the clock, as well as suggesting that this homogenizing time cannot obscure a history of colonial violence. He does this through depicting a strange King named Donjalolo who rules over the island of Juam and is well-known in the region 'for certain peculiar deprivations, under which he

[52] Huang, *Transpacific Imaginations* p.66

labored.' (*Mardi*, 218) After beginning to describe Donjalolo, Taji pauses to consider the Temple of the Year that '[v]eracious Gaudentio di Lucca' reported as existing 'somewhere beyond Libya' (228). The structure of this temple materialized time as it is 'three-hundred-and-sixty-five pillared…whereof, the columns did signify days' (228). This digression is important as, on Juam, Donjalolo makes similar efforts to create architectural structures that contain and order time consciousness. He spends his days alternating between two houses, the House of the Morning and the House of the Afternoon, '[w]hither – after spending the shady morning under the eastern cliffs of the glen – daily, at a certain hour, Donjalolo in his palanquin was borne; there, finding new shades; and there tarrying till evening; when again he was transported whence he came: thereby anticipating the revolution of the sun' (235). Donjalolo's actions baldly show the strangeness of attempting to order the day and society according to an inflexible clock time. Taji adds to this absurdity by moving on to outline the King's harem. He has thirty wives each 'corresponding in name to the nights of the moon' as 'in Juam, time is not reckoned by days, but by nights; each night of the lunar month having its own designation; which, relatively only, is extended into the day' (241). These wives take turns to bask in Donjalolo's affections as they 'in uniform succession…ruled queen of the king's heart' (241). Taji connects Donjalolo's deprivations to contemporary astronomical discourse which attempted, as we have seen, to organize society according to the strictures of true time. A shared and accurate time provided a way of synchronizing the actions of citizens in the young republic, allowing for commercial development. In the words of Elias Loomis, '[a]n accurate knowledge of time is important to all business men, but especially to banking and other houses where business is entirely suspended at a fixed hour of the day. A small mistake in the time might occasion not only serious disappointment, but also pecuniary loss.'[53] Taji draws on this context as he tells us how Donjalolo is 'furnished with a card,

[53] Elias Loomis, *The Recent Progress of Astronomy Especially in the United States* (Third Edition) (New York:

whereon are copied the various ciphers upon the arms of his queens; and parallel thereto, the hieroglyphics significant of the corresponding Nights of the month. Glancing over this, Donjalolo predicts the true time of the rising and setting of all his stars' (*Mardi*, 242). Taji ultimately suggests that the ordering of time according to astronomical verification is no more or less true than any other. Like the Temple of the Year, he suggests, all ways of denominating time are essentially arbitrary and of human construction. He describes how Donjalolo frequently gets bored meaning that 'one of the wives was weeded out' and soon replaced by another 'beautiful stranger' who 'thenceforth commenced her monthly revolutions in the king's infallible calendar' (243). Donjalolo's efforts to control time are all the more ridiculous as he continues to feel the pull of the generational Pacific time that this chapter earlier identified. His time consciousness is radically alinear, and he frequently sees the ghosts of his ancestors, being 'haunted by specters, and beckoned to by the ghosts of his sires' (223). His family took the throne through violence, and he continues to feel the guilt occasioned by their rapid and unjustified ascension to power. He faints on seeing Taji's companion Samoa as he mistook him for 'the noon-day specter of his ancestor Marjora; the usurper having been deprived of an arm in the battle which gained him the girdle' (227). Melville resultantly suggests that, Americans cannot simply apply clock time to the Pacific. The vestiges of former modes of perceiving time remain, and the spectre of colonial violence can never be fully effaced.

Conclusion

The "Golden Age of American Sail" brought many new terrains into the national imaginary of the United States. The Pacific region was, nonetheless, exceptional as it was an area where

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Harper and Brothers, 1856) p.288

the United States could genuinely assert not only economic ascendency but also claim discovery. Charles Wilkes went further into the Antarctic than anyone had previously and their whaling vessels regularly claimed to have found unmapped and uninhabited islands hidden in the vast blanks of the ocean. They discovered, however, that the Pacific had temporalities of its own. This collection of planetary pasts, compressed and coterminous historical moments, and plural futures upset their attempts to create a U.S. national time in the ocean. As such, it never truly could be their own.

Conclusion: Time Beyond the Globe

At the dawn of the nineteenth century it appeared to many antebellum Americans, as they looked from their coastlines out onto the increasingly populated oceans, that there was nothing new left under the sun. The great age of colonial exploration was a thing of the past. Representatives of the imperial powers travelled through South America, Africa, the Middle East, the Pacific Ocean, and Asia in pursuit of consolidating these nations' political and economic power. Trade and maritime transport crossed all of the world's oceans, covering even gigantic stretches of the previously overwhelming Atlantic and the Pacific. The perpetually restless colonial eye of the British had even fastened onto the extreme ends of the world. Their whaling ships drifted into the Arctic, in search of a North West passage after Captain Cook had gone further than ever before at the other end of the earth, into Antarctica, setting up his *ne plus ultra*. We might read this spatial limit as also a historical one, a point that set the outer bounds of what could possibly be known. The globe had reached a saturation point. Each ship that crossed the seas brought the end of history closer with every trip they made. Post-Revolutionary and antebellum Americans did not fail to see a poignant irony that arose from this situation: that it would perhaps be the fate of the so-called "New World" never to know the thrill of discovering another "new world" that they might call their own.

As a result, various writers depicted a globe that appeared to them inert, mapped, and utterly and helplessly exhausted of anything novel. As Ishmael gazes from the sandy plains of the Nantucket shore out onto the vast blank of the sea, he reflects how '[t]he prospect was unlimited, but exceedingly monotonous and forbidding; not the slightest variety that I could

see'.[1] For Captain Peleg, this experience is representative as he asks, "Can't ye see the world where you stand?" (73) Richard Henry Dana Jr. reflects on the links between geographical and temporal ends. He tells us that he once showed '[a] map of the world' to the South Pacific islanders that dried hides with him which 'kept their attention for hours'.[2] He recalls how 'those who knew how to read point[ed] out the places and referr[ed] to me for the distances. I remember being much amused with a question which Hope asked me. Pointing to the large irregular place which is always left blank round the poles, to denote that it is undiscovered, he looked up and asked – "*Pau?*" (Done? Ended?)' (142) Adam Seaborn in *Symzonia* undertakes his journey to discover new markets and countries, which he thinks must exist if human rationality is to remain valid. These are 'objects of vast importance, since the resources of the known world have been exhausted by research, its wealth monopolized, its wonders of curiosity explored, its every thing investigated and understood.'[3] For him, '[t]he state of the civilized world, and the growing evidences of the perfectability of the human mind, seemed to indicate the necessity of a more extended sphere of action. Discontent and uneasiness were every where apparent. The faculties of man had begun to dwindle for want of scope, and the happiness of society required new and more copious contributions'.[4]

Such a world ought to appear familiar to us in age where literature is exhausted, genius is unoriginal, resources are dwindling, and, famously, according to some, globalized late capitalism has brought about the end of history. With this last point in mind particularly, we should look to see whether transnationalism is part of this story of exhaustion. Over the past

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[1] Herman Melville, *Moby-Dick or The Whale* (ed. Harrison Hayford, Hershel Parker, Thomas Tanselle) (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2001) p.72

[2] Richard Henry Dana Jr., *Two Years Before the Mast & Other Voyages* (New York: The Library of America, 2005) p.142

[3] Adam Seaborn, *Symzonia: A Voyage of Discovery* (Gainesville, Florida: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1965) p.3

[4] Ibid p.13-14

decade new geographic paradigms have emerged in nineteenth-century American literary studies. As we have seen, these have re-drawn the parameters of the United States and made national identity a site of contestation rather than consolidation. These geographies have had a wide scope, whether transatlantic, hemispheric, trans-Pacific, or oceanic. Yet, one day, we will have to face up to the problem of scarcity. Where do we go when we run out of new spaces to align nineteenth-century America against? Would this saturation point signal the end of transnationalist criticism? Or is the world simply too large to ever become critically exhausted? Even though my answer to the last question would be a resounding "no," I think that we can have hope that transnationalism is far from over as some critics have recently claimed.[5] To guarantee its survival we must, ostensibly paradoxically, think outside of empirical geography and go beyond the globe. We need to move from describing projections of what the world *was* to examine instead speculative visions of what the globe *might have been*. This critical position would give us access to speculative terrains of consciousness that exceed the bounds and cross-cut the daily life of the world.

The possible routes such a criticism might take are potentially endless. A seeming paradox of contemporary Americanist scholarship provides an instructive example of one direction this criticism could go. It is a well-known fact that the interest of much recent criticism is transnational and involves analysing outward projections of power by the nation-state. What critics have not noticed (as far as I know) is that these descriptions of exteriority have evolved in conjunction with a congruent movement inward. Christopher Castiglia in *Interior States* (2008) has tracked the various ways in which the antebellum state sought to discipline the internal lives of its citizens. These disciplinary mechanisms disallowed communal

[5] See Jared Hickman, 'On the Redundancy of "Transnational American Studies"' in *The Oxford Handbook of Nineteenth-Century American Literature* ed. Russ Castronovo (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) pp.269-288

democratic action.[6] Milette Shamir in *Inexpressible Privacy* (2006) examined how shifts in architecture and writing demonstrated a desire for secret domestic spaces, free from the intrusive glare of the public sphere.[7] The parallel emergence of studies on internality and transnational exteriority is no coincidence. It repeats a split that antebellum Americans themselves felt as they attempted to overcome the exhaustion of space. Adam Seaborn goes outwards into the globe to try and discover new lands. But his journey ultimately involves moving inwards into the centre of the earth. Here he discovers less a new country than an idealized model of republican selfhood. Other visions of geographical expanse participate in this logic of contrary motion. Think, for instance, of Emerson's transparent eyeball. Or, even, the cosmos in Poe's *Eureka* which is as much a mind as a universe. Conversely, articulations of notionally interior realms often appear to describe utopian terrains for the reorganisation of the social and political life of the antebellum Republic. Hawthorne in *The House of the Seven Gables* repeats rumours that the Maules have control over the Pyncheon's dreams. Through operating within this interior realm, what Hawthorne terms 'the topsy turvy commonwealth of sleep,' they can create alternative formulations of power, ones that apocalyptically shadow those of the nation.[8] We might also look at the millennial religious visions of freedom that Eva has as she dies in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Such spaces need not be utopian though. With Agamben, we might look towards dystopic and unaccounted spaces of exception, which exist off the grid and strip citizens of their right to a selfhood.[9] All these spaces are potentially transnational, yet exceed the cartographical logic of the globe. In looking to the future of

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[6] Christopher Castiglia, *Interior States: Institutional Consciousness and the Inner Life of Democracy in the Antebellum United States* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2008)

[7] Milette Shamir, *Inexpressible Privacy: The Interior Life of Antebellum American Literature* (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006)

[8] Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The House of the Seven Gables* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009) p.26

[9] Giorgio Agamben, *State of Exception* (trans. Kevin Attell) (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2005)

transnationalism, then, we would do well to bear Ishmael's injunction about Kokovoko in mind: 'It is not down in any map; true places never are.'[10]

[10] Melville, *Moby-Dick* p.55

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