

Exporting the Standard Measure: The Function
of Travel in Selected Writings of Richard
Harding Davis

Mark Sullivan

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Abstract

Through a close reading of selected publications of the American travel writer Richard Harding Davis (1864–1916) this thesis illustrates how travel writing is essentially cartographic in nature and will examine how travel writing creates maps in and through discourse. Further, this thesis contends that an approach informed by concepts within the Deleuze and Guattarian framework is ideally suited to a critical engagement with travel writing as it is concerned with the occupation of and traversal through space and a pragmatic approach to semiotics.

The theoretical perspective is taken from select works of Deleuze and Guattari. Specifically, it adapts Deleuze and Guattari's approach to a pragmatic semantics and the consideration of reciprocal processes at work within discourse in order to consider and interrogate the discursive mapping at work within Davis's travel, amongst wider reflections on Davis's travel writing.

The first chapter undertakes a critical survey of Davis and demonstrates the critical neglect of him. The second justifies the choice of Deleuze and Guattari as the theoretical base of the thesis. The third chapter considers Davis's domestic travelogue, *The West from a Car Window* (1892) and engages with the mythologised West that permeated the culture of which Davis was a part. The fourth chapter interrogates the discursive rendering of Belize and Venezuela as they appear in Davis's travelogue *Three Gringos in South America and Venezuela* (1896) wherein Davis demonstrates two very different and distinct discursive practices. The fifth chapter provides a close reading of some of Davis's substantial war correspondence, specifically *Cuba in War Time* (1897), *With both Armies* (1900), and *With the Allies* (1914), and considers the manner in which discourse represents the contest for, invasion and eventual occupation of space.

The thesis builds on the idea that travel writing is necessarily a translation of an ostensibly foreign culture, territory or people via a domestic regime of signification, and examines this act of translation as a discursive cartography, a mapping of territory, culture and people.

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Introduction

My aim in this thesis is to illustrate how travel writing is essentially cartographic in nature through the application of a close reading of select publications of the American travel writer Richard Harding Davis (1864 – 1916). These close readings will illustrate the cartographic nature of travel writing and the semantic, political, economic and stylistic make up of that cartography. The driving theme of the thesis is then the manner in which travel writing, and specifically Davis's travel writing, creates maps in discourse. Supporting this close reading will be a deployment of several concepts within the collaborative works of Giles Deleuze (1925 – 1995) and Felix Guattari (1930 – 1992). That Davis is not an extremely well known or even regarded writer will be illustrated in the first chapter which will undertake a critical survey of his writing and existing responses to it. The principal conclusion of this survey is that his hitherto neglected travel writing provides a novel discourse previously unconsidered in any serious critical study outside of some marginal passing references. It is also the contention of this thesis that Deleuze and Guattari's critical work is often applied to a selective, even restricted collection of authors, so the application of their work to a reading of Davis provides a secondary novelty to the approach of this thesis. The previous applications of Deleuze and Guattari and the different approach this thesis intends to take is considered in more detail in the second chapter wherein the shortcomings of previous applications of Deleuze and Guattari are considered.

There are certainly more well-known American journalists and indeed travel writers than Davis: there are war correspondents and travel writers whose output could provide sufficient scope for a thesis concerned with the discursive representation of the traversal, occupation, semantic make up, and movement through space. Yet a reason to focus on Davis is that despite a modicum of celebrity enjoyed in his lifetime, his reputation has not survived. This means that his travel writing has not been subjected to anything that could be considered

a close reading before. This lack of previous consideration presents a very real gap in existing knowledge that this thesis aims in part to fill. Davis, active primarily from 1886 to 1915, was providing copy for numerous magazines, publishing collected works of travel articles and visiting as a journalist a broad spectrum of geographies encompassing Russia, Japan, South America, Africa and Europe. The first chapter will expand and articulate the existing gap in critical readings of Davis, and specifically the gap in close readings of Davis's travel writing and make the case for its value in the context of the thesis. Selected works from Davis's travel writing output will then provide the discursive basis of the thesis.

To return to the substance of Davis's output and the extent of it. Davis was a writer of substantive volume and the resulting output was so extensive that Henry Cole Quinby's work, *Richard Harding Davis: A Bibliography* (1924), a book which serves the sole function of cataloguing Davis's entire published and unpublished work, runs to two hundred and ninety-three pages. The following chronology is taken from Quinby's book:

- 1864 Apr. 18, R.H.D. born at Philadelphia
- 1879-80 Episcopal Academy, Philadelphia
- 1880 Sept. to June, 1881, Swarthmore College.
- 1881 Sept. to June 1882, Ulrich's Prep. School, Bethlehem, Pa.
- 1882 Aug. to June, 1885, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa. Editor and chief contributor to *The Leigh Burr*.
- 1883 Published *Adventures of My Freshman* (first book).
- 1885 Jan., trip to New Orleans as correspondence of Philadelphia *Inquirer*.
- 1885 Fall, to 1886, Spring, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.
- 1886 Summer, in Cuba.
- 1886 Sept., on the Philadelphia *Record*.
- 1886 Dec. to 1889, on the Philadelphia *Press*; wrote the Johnstown flood stories
- 1888 First magazine story (in St. Nicholas)
- 1889 Spring, on the Philadelphia *Telegraph*; in England with the cricket team
Fall, on the *Press* again. Sept., went to New York, began *Evening Sun* stories and specials and began to write for Scribner's Magazine.
- 1890 End of Dec., left *Evening Sun* and became editor of Harper's Weekly.
- 1892 Jan., went west for Harper's.
- 1895 Jan., went to South and Central America
- 1896 May, correspondent of the New York *Journal* in Russia and Budapest.
Dec. to Feb., 1897 sent by *Journal* to Cuba, then at war with Spain.
- 1897 May, in Greece during the Greco-Turkish war.
- 1898 Apr. 24, started for Cuba in the Spanish-American war as correspondent for the New York *Herald*, London *Times* and Scribner's Magazine.

1899 May 4, at Marion, Mass., married Miss Cecil, daughter of John M. Clark of Chicago.

1890 Jan. 10 started for Capetown and the Boer War, saw relief of Ladysmith as correspondent for New York *Herald* and London *Mail*.

Aug. 4, arrived at New York from South African trip.

1902 August, bought his farm, Crossways, at Mt. Kisco, N.Y.

1904 Feb., went to Russo-Japanese War for Collier's, returning in November.
Dec. 14, L. Clarke Davis (father of R.H.D.), editor of the Philadelphia *Ledger*, died.

1905 July, moved to Mt. Kisco house.

1906 March, went to Isle of Pines for Collier's.

1907 Jan. 5, went to the Congo to investigate the atrocities for Collier's.

1908 Spent winter in London and wrote last chapters of *Once Upon a Time* in the artist Turner's former home, which Davis had rented.

1909 Aug., War Manoeuvres at Middleboro, Mass.

1910 Early, separated from his wife.
Sept., mother died at Mt. Kisco.

1912 July 8, married Elizabeth G. McEvoy (Bessie McEvoy).

1913 Nov. 6, returned from Cuba after filming *Soldiers of Fortune*.

1914 Apr. 29, arrived at Vera Cruz in anticipation of the war with Mexico, as correspondent of the Wheeler Syndicate and New York *Tribune*.
June 22, arrived in New York.
Aug. 4, sailed for Europe to report the Great War.
Sept., writing for the *Morning Chronicle*.

1915 Jan. 4, daughter Hope was born in New York City.
Aug., went to the Reserve Officers' Training Camp at Plattsburg, N. Y.
Oct. 18, sailed for France on S.S. Chicago
Nov. 13, left Paris for Salonika.

1916 Feb., returned to New York
Apr. 11, died suddenly at Mt. Kisco.
Apr. 15, cremated and ashes buried in Leverington Cemetery, overlooking the Wissahickon Valley, beside his parents graves, near Philadelphia.¹

A contemporary of Stephen Crane, Frank Norris and Walt Whitman, Richard Harding

Davis's absence from the American canon of fiction is no accident of selectivity. Arthur Lubow closes his 1992 biography of Davis by concluding that his 'novels are all forgettable ...The journalism, which is more difficult to locate, has worn better'.² In this summation Lubow succeeds in encapsulating the stigma and even derision which accompanies Davis's work. Downey Fairfax at least credits Davis with some measure of self-awareness, suggesting that 'the name of Richard Harding Davis is not enrolled among the illustrious, nor was he

¹ Henry Quinby, *Richard Harding Davis: A Bibliography* (New York: E.P Dulton and Co, 1924), pp. xix – xx.

² Arthur Lubow, *The Reporter who would be King: A Biography of Richard Harding Davis* (New York: Charles Scribner's and Sons, 1992), p. 300.

under the impression that it was or would be'.³ That Davis had some measure of his critical standing speaks to a greater cultural awareness on his part than certainly later critics would perhaps give him credit for. Critical perspectives on Davis are built on an almost exclusive focus on his most popular novel, *Soldiers of Fortune* (1897), more recently his South American coverage and to a certain extent his own celebrity. This focus has narrowed the relevance of Davis as an author to a few select works which have been considered in a sphere of critical thought around empire and the emergence of the United States as a world power. The volume of Davis's output is significant, and if for no other reason than the fact that he was so well travelled (to Europe, Africa, and South America to name a few) he can be singled out amongst his contemporaries as a distinctive voice in American travel writing. The diversity in Davis's travel writing from domestic and overseas travelogues, foreign and war correspondence, provides for a unique opportunity to interrogate the manner in which a single author renders domestic, foreign and militarily contested space and the relativity that exists between these ambivalent demarcations of territory.

Travel writing studies is a broad church critically and engenders many methods of reading and supports a varied manner of considering travel writing. It is firstly because travel writing studies does not preclude any particular critical perspective that this thesis will pursue a reading based on the insights and conclusions found within Deleuze and Guattari's collaborative works. Secondly it is because Deleuze and Guattari provide many connected concepts that would allow for a consideration of travel writing as a discursive cartography. Chapters one and two will illustrate in more detail how this is the case. Precedent for considering discourse as cartography appears within the following reference to Leslie Fiedler's *The Return of the Vanishing American* (1968) cited by Deleuze and Guattari.⁴

³ Fairfax Downey, *Richard Harding Davis: His Day* (New York: Charles Scribner's and Sons, 1935), pp. 296-297.

⁴ Leslie Fiedler, *The Return of the Vanishing American* (New York: Stein and Day, 1968)

This book contains a fine analysis of geography and its role in American mythology and literature, and of the reversal of directions. In the East, there was the search for a specifically American code and for a recoding with Europe (Henry James, Eliot, Pound, etc.); in the South, there was the overcoding of the slave system, with its ruin and the ruin of the Plantations during the civil war (Faulkner, Caldwell); from the North came capitalist decoding hallucination, madness, the Indians, perceptive and mental experimentation, the shifting of frontiers, the rhizome ... Every great American author creates a cartography, even in his or her style; in contrast to what is done in Europe, each makes a map that is directly connected to the real social movements across America.⁵

Deleuze and Guattari's work is preoccupied with space across their collaborative works both as a conceit and as a lived materiality within which the subject is connected irrevocably in a mixing and conflation of processes and movements. The above quotation is almost brimming over with the recurrent themes of Deleuze and Guattari's *A Thousand Plateaus*; within the above there appears a preoccupation with Anglo-American literature as superior to a European counterpart, a making and unmaking of space, capitalism, culture, minority and majority. The third chapter will elaborate on how Deleuze and Guattari provide the conceptual insight to consider, if not Davis as a 'cartographer', then travel writing as a discursive cartography.

This thesis will encounter problems of selectivity, not least due to the supposed anachronism of applying Deleuze and Guattari to the work of Richard Harding Davis but also in suitability. Whether travel writing as a genre actually exists has been questioned. Davis, as a writer has a substantive catalogue of output that meets the definition of travel writing proposed previously in this introduction. The work of Davis that fits standard definitions of travel writing would prove far too broad for any one thesis to adequately consider. Against this substantial output a working definition of travel writing would be needed to contribute to a narrower view of Davis's output. Many critical works have attempted to define what travel

⁵ Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. 5th ed. Trans. by B. Massumi (London: Continuum, 2004), p. 520.

writing is and what, by consequence, it is not. Rather than positing a precise and universal definition of travel writing, my discussion proposes a definition of travel writing that can allow a focus on those works of Davis that can be distinctly identified as such. Youngs and Hooper outline the difficulties in defining travel writing which still resonate within the discipline:

Travel writing, however, remains a loosely defined body of literature ... whether this is despite or a consequence of the growing amount of critical energy expanded on its study over the past couple of decades is debatable. One's ready assumption would probably be that travel writing is a factual, first person account of a journey undertaken by the author.⁶

Youngs and Hooper proceed to expand on this 'ready assumption' to include a variety of cultural forms and discourses which could fall under the auspices of travel writing: however, this 'ready assumption' in fact provides a lean and efficient method of identifying travel writing within Davis's work. It does however require further expansion, if for no other reason than to better understand the ontological character of travel writing and in doing so provide a further measure against which to select work from Davis's catalogue. Syed Manzurul Islam writing in *The Ethics of Travel: From Marco Polo to Kafka* (1996), suggests the pre-eminence of space within travel:

Since travel is immanent in space, its form can only be envisioned from within an ontology of space. Moreover, the relation between the same and the other, more often than not, is grounded in spatial locations, as if space has the natural propensity to entwine individual bodies inhabiting it, shaping them in its very image.⁷

Islam, as Lisle argues, positions space as the 'primary ontological category of travel writing'.⁸ While this may be the case it remains so only because 'travel is immanent' within it. This rather simple determinism – space is primary but only to the extent that it provides the ontological basis for the travel within – belies a complex pattern wherein travel creates,

⁶ Glenn Hooper and Tim Youngs, 'Introduction', *Perspectives on Travel Writing*, ed. Glenn Hooper and Tim Youngs (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 2.

⁷ Islam, *The Ethics of Travel: From Marco Polo to Kafka*, p. 5.

⁸ Debbie Lisle, *The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p.137.

reorders and unmakes space in a reciprocal process immanent within the discourse itself. Davis's career as a journalist, correspondent and writer of fiction (whatever form that took) was marked by travel. Indeed, his war correspondence, from his coverage of the Spanish occupation of Cuba, the First World War in France, and the British war with the Boers in South Africa all involved travel, or the traversal of and contention of space. That war correspondence is ostensibly preoccupied with war as its primary figurative element should not discount the travel aspect, especially as Davis, with the exception of the American Spanish war was writing as a foreign correspondent. Of Davis's numerous short stories, a large number concern travel and the role and impressions of the American abroad and this does not include his explicit travelogues such as, *Our English Cousins* (1894), *The Rulers of the Mediterranean* (1894), *The Congo and Coasts of Africa* (1908) and *Notes from a War Correspondent* (1910) to name just a few.⁹ John Seelye's attempt to isolate and articulate the significance of Davis's travel in his book relies on clichéd conclusions and an almost parallel reading of the travelogues against Davis's fiction work whilst also considering the war correspondence as an almost independent category within Davis's work. This is despite his initial claim that Davis 'is an undeservedly neglected author, most especially in his travel writings, which were journalistically motivated but retain a freshness ... that have allowed them to survive the contemporary circumstances of their composition'. Seelye is preoccupied with Davis as omnipresent within his writing and so focuses on Davis and the pervading sense in which Davis's world view is communicated through his writing rather than providing any detailed reading of the works themselves.¹⁰

⁹ Richard Harding Davis, *Our English Cousins* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1894); Richard Harding Davis, *The Rulers of the Mediterranean* (New York: Charles Scribner's and Sons, 1894); Richard Harding Davis, *Notes of a War Correspondent* (New York: Charles Scribner's and Sons, 1910); Richard Harding Davis, *The Congo and the Coast of Africa* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1908).

¹⁰ John Seelye, *War Games: Richard Harding Davis and the New Imperialism* (Massachusetts: Massachusetts University Press, 2003), p. xi.

This thesis will then seek to explore the following questions: how can a reading of Deleuze and Guattari allow critics of travel writing to better understand and interrogate travel writing? What is the effect of travel on Davis's discourse? In what manner are the home and destination formulated and what is the effect of traversing the space in between at a discursive level, what sort of maps does Davis's writing create? This range of travel provides for the opportunity to interrogate not only the means by which Davis conceives of a home and the foreign, but also the differing effects the means of travel has on conceptualisations of origin and destination. What does travel do, and indeed how does travel initiate the discourse of home? Furthermore as Davis became more well-travelled, the more his points of reference broadened beyond the United States and the local in which he found himself what does that do to the 'homely comparisons' that Davis so readily deployed to communicate the foreign to his audience.¹¹ Scott Osborn finds Davis's work expanding to encapsulate other territories and cultures: in what manner is the foreign then mapped; is it not just translated through the cultural idiom of home but via approximations to other territories? If the representation of the foreign predominates in all travel writing then in what manner does Davis represent his domestic travel, how is the United States constituted and in what manner is it changed in its later exportation? That Davis was a New Yorker by design rather than birth did not go unnoticed by his peers: as early as 1892 it was remarked that 'Mr Davis has become a New Yorker with emphasis'.¹² That Davis would identify himself firmly as an 'Eastern man' has a particular relevance in situating him in cultural circles in 1890's New York but has greater significance when considered in the context of his travel writing.¹³ This geography of origin and how this self-identification affects his travel writing, and particularly the manner in which it fragments any concept of a unified United States, are prescient avenues of

¹¹ Scott Osborn, *Richard Harding Davis: Critical Battleground* (New York: John Hopkins University Press, 1960), p. 52.

¹² Hamlin Garland, 'Books Reviewed', *Atlantic Monthly*. Vol. 69, No. 412. Feb 1892, p. 266.

¹³ Richard Harding Davis, *The West from a Car Window* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1892), p. 4.

investigation hitherto neglected in readings of his travelogue, *The West from a Car Window* (1892), which will be considered in the third chapter. If Davis was responsible for framing the foreign in the context of a particularly dominant world view, then how does he map this onto space and to what extent does this become undermined within his own discourse? Considering Davis's discourse as a cartography, as a creative map of connections, approximations and power relations provides an opportunity to attempt to answer these questions.

While the study of travel writing is often concerned with the interrogation of bias in Western representations of foreign territories this thesis will suggest that Davis's travel writing, while typified by clichés and a moral homogeneity, is also prone to ruptures and tensions which reveal the frailty and fragility of the discursive cartography of territorial difference, approximation and exchange it creates. This is due in no small part to the period of economic turbulence, cultural transition and a very real crisis of national identity in Davis's heyday of the 1890s, as Mowry identifies:

The decade of the 1890s can be viewed as a 'water shed' in American history. While the business class lauded economic growth, others saw a downside to the development of capitalism. For many Americans those years marked the nation's transition from a simple, self-contained, predominantly agrarian society to a more complex, increasingly urban, and industrial one. The 'old America' seemed pure, free of the ailments that beset the Old World, while the 'new America' was at best a tarnished Eden, at worst the replica of its progenitor.¹⁴

It is within this historical context that Davis travels both within and outside of the geographical borders of the United States. At a time when the United States was seemingly attempting to reconcile its recent past and a present wherein the West is settled, travel was emerging as both a leisure pursuit and influential expression of culture and identity. Davis's response to and interaction with the West and the epoch defining event of its announced

¹⁴ George Mowry, *The Era of Theodore Roosevelt and the Birth of Modern America: 1900-1912* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1962), p. 33.

closing will be addressed in depth in the third chapter. Kaplan underlines the point above regarding the influence of travel at this time on culture and suggests it was perhaps far broader:

The entire world appeared to belong to the 'West' as travel became supported by technological innovations and financed by industrialization. Earlier in the nineteenth century ... diversified discourses of travel produced writing that influenced occidental science and literature as well as foreign policy for several generations to come. By the turn of the century, then, travel had become a crucial part of the imaginative capacities of the middle and upper classes in Europe and the United States.¹⁵

Davis contributed a great deal to popularising travel and was positioned at the epochal point at which the United States ceased to look inwards and began to look outwards in a way quite different than ever before. That his travel writing has been neglected in favour of considering his more populist works is an omission this thesis will attempt to correct.

To return to the issue of selectivity, travel writing for the purposes of this thesis will then be taken to be any non-fictional first-person account which concerns itself with the representation and traversal of space: that is to say, both a travelogue of the tourist type but also foreign correspondence wherein travel from one territory to another is significant and finally war correspondence which necessarily entailed the traversal of, and depiction of conflict within, space. This explicit inclusion of space along with travel and subjective position allows for a closer reading and consideration of the discursive construction and unravelling of space, the author's place within it and 'how the subjects and objects of these texts are located according to a prevailing geopolitical discourse'.¹⁶ Where the primary ontological category of travel writing is space, because 'travel is immanent' within it, then a method of reading rooted in space and the significance of creating, mapping, defining and traversing space would appear to be appropriate.

¹⁵ Caren Kaplan, *Questions of Travel: Postmodern Discourses of Displacement* (London: Duke University Press, 2000), p. 50.

¹⁶ Lisle, *The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing*, p.137.

If space is the primary character of travel writing then cartography, or map making, is what travel writing does. Maps can be drawn of spaces, shorelines, people, diasporas, cultures, currency, language and ethnicities, in this manner the cartography, the very real map making of travel writing, is limited to no specific cartography. Travel writing is taken as any nonfictive first-person account of travel, either the act of travel or an account of a foreign territory. All travel writing produces this effect, it is no more unique to Davis's travel writing than it is to any travel writer.

My argument, then, is that all travel writing is necessarily cartographic, its effect, what it does, is to make maps which place not only the author but the reader in a relationship with it. Any writing which concerns itself with the non-fictive representation of the ostensibly foreign, or the not home, is cartographic when in the service of reporting to a domestic audience. In the service of this aim travel writing concerns itself with the creation, approximation and description of space, material or otherwise, and in doing so renders maps of connecting space, politics, culture, author and reader.

Constructing a thesis using the discourse of Davis has value because Davis emerged as one of the first widely read American travel writers in the *fin de siècle*, a point in time when America and American culture was more overtly looking without rather than within and in doing so was grappling with an international context that was in many ways new. This newness was heralded by the closing of the Frontier, or rather the end of Western conquest as articulated in Turner's frontier thesis.¹⁷ This end of internal territorial expansion and the growing surplus of cultural, political and military energy no longer focused in this very westerly of directions had to seek new avenues of exploration. If America was to be on the international stage along with the intrigue and military connotations that that suggests then what role was it to play? What discussion of space, of the foreign would that encompass and

¹⁷ Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Dover Publications Inc, 2010).

how would it be rendered? Davis is a writer almost uniquely placed to provide some of the answers to these questions as we shall see in later chapters.

Similarly, Deleuze and Guattari's output covers a broad spectrum of works both individually and co-authored, perhaps the focus on *Kafka: Towards a Minor Literature* (1975) is in part a reaction to the density and complexity of the combined output.¹⁸ It would be possible to take many differing approaches to reading Davis's travel works and possibly more if his fiction work was considered also. One potential avenue would be to develop a thesis positing him as an underappreciated American Kipling (a title he was given) or as a seminal proponent of or contributor to some facet of American culture, politics or identity as forged at the turn of the century when it was exported.¹⁹ Whilst I will attempt to encompass larger thematic elements and also provide some commentary on Davis's cultural output the focus of the thesis is resolutely on the discursive construct on the page, as it were. Whilst Davis as cartographer necessarily includes the culture and personalities of his time in the maps he renders, I am conscious that these exist within and are in effect part of the map. By-and-large I will endeavour to focus on the cultural referents within Davis's works as they exist within and form part of the maps and avoid injecting or fabricating an extension of the map beyond the discourse. Chapter one will illustrate more fully how Davis's discourse is often a secondary component to his celebrity, and the wider cultural context through which Davis moved.

The thesis is structured in a manner which pairs specific works of Davis with specific chapters, or rather specific concepts within Deleuze and Guattari's, *Anti-Oedipus* (1972), *A Thousand Plateaus* (1980) and *Essays Clinical and Critical* (1993).²⁰ There are a number of

¹⁸ Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *Kafka: Towards a Minor Literature*, trans. By Dana Polan (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986).

¹⁹ Solensten, 'The Gibson Boy: A Reassessment', *American Literary Realism 1870:1910*, no. 4 (1971), pp. 304-305.

²⁰ Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizoprehnia*, trans. by. Robert Hurley, Mark Seem and Helen R. Lane (London: Continuum, 2004); Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand*

reasons for this approach : firstly, focusing on specific works of Davis's allows for a closer reading at the discursive level than would be possible if this thesis attempted to contend with the entirety of Davis travel work. Secondly deploying specific chapters of Deleuze and Guattari's *A Thousand Plateaus*, with supporting reference to many of the other works, allows for a sustained and focused engagement with specific interconnected concepts which would not be possible if this thesis attempted to grapple with the whole schizoanalytical model. By structuring the thesis as a series of close readings this thesis will avoid theorising or contending with the larger, broader and in some instances more oblique themes which run through Davis's and Deleuze and Guattari's writing whilst at the same time building specific connections between the works considered and the concepts deployed. For example, in the first chapter I will discuss Kaplan's assertion that Davis exported a narrative of American masculinity in his fictional writings and specifically *Soldiers of Fortune*, an assertion that is entirely valid; however what is the discursive construction of this exportation? In what manner does it frame or render space as a consequence? These are the sort of questions that a close reading informed by Deleuze and Guattari's works would answer. The final reasoning for structuring the thesis in this manner is that it will allow for a chronological approach to Davis's work, commencing from one of his earliest travelogues, *The West from a Car Window* published in 1892, *Three Gringos in South America and Venezuela* published in 1896, *Cuba in War Time* in 1897, *With Both Armies* in 1900, and *With the Allies* in 1914.²¹ More importantly than this linear progression however is the opportunity to commence from a domestic travelogue in *The West From a Car Window* which provides a comparative

Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia. 5th ed. Trans. by B. Massumi (London: Continuum, 2004); Gilles Deleuze, *Essays Critical and Clinical*, trans. by Daniel W. Smith and Michael A. Greco (London: Verso, 1998).

²¹ Richard Harding Davis, *The West from a Car Window* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1892); Richard Harding Davis, *Three Gringos in Venezuela and Central America* (New York: Charles Scribner's and Sons, 1896); Richard Harding Davis, *Cuba in War Time*. (London: Heinemann, 1897); Richard Harding Davis, *With Both Armies in South Africa 1900*. (New York: Charles Scribner's and Sons, 1900); Richard Harding Davis, *With the Allies* (London: London Ducworth and Co, 1914).

conception of home against many of the recurrent images of the United States in Davis's later foreign travelogues. The thesis will draw thematic threads across all the works considered and will do so at the discursive level; for example, if the West, or rather a dealing with the closing of the West is something that Davis addresses in his foreign travelogues, then how is this manifest within the discourse, as approximation? As mythologised nostalgia for a frontier so recently closed? And how are these balanced against Davis's actual material engagement with the West?

The first chapter will comprise a critical survey of Davis and illustrate clearly that there has been no dedicated consideration of Davis's travel writing as a distinct and recognizable category of writing. The study of travel writing provides a methodology of selectivity that is useful in isolating Davis's work and making the importance of space predominate within his work. What appeals within the discipline of travel writing is the absence of predetermined conclusions, or any limit necessarily on which theory can, or cannot be applied.

The second chapter will consider and appraise the application of Deleuze and Guattari in the context of literary studies and specifically the manner in which a predominant focus on the construct of the 'Minor Author' has caused many of the key concepts underpinning the schizoanalytical model to be marginalised or rather not given due consideration to previous critical applications of Deleuze and Guattari's concepts.²² The weaknesses in the focus on the minor author as characterised in *Towards a Minor Author* will illustrate the strengths and novelty in focusing on many of the other concepts within the sole authored and collaborative works such as *A Thousand Plateaus*. This chapter will also provide examples of how Deleuze and Guattari's work is saturated with considerations of the inhabitation, construction

²² Deleuze and Guattari, *Kafka: Towards a Minor Literature*, p. 17

of and movement through space and the manner in which power is enunciated within the maps created by language.

The third chapter, 'Davis's Arborescent West', will consider *The West from a Car Window* and the way in which Davis renders a fragmented and yet federated map of the American West and how Davis's discourse, in a manner reflects this fragmentary map. It will consider how Davis frames his view of the American West ostensibly first through 'a car window' but also through a prism of cultural referents which Davis injects into the map at the time of creating it as a series of proliferating juxtaposed points against a less than ideal West.

As distinctly non-fiction, Davis's travelogues are based within and deal with a very tangible material reality: the territories that Davis describes are real territories, the existing cultural representations of these territories that Davis plugs into these territories are experienced as materially productive objects within a network. These cultural referents present a point of departure against which to measure a material reality and it will later be seen that when Davis travels abroad this point of departure is galvanised as something ultimately more recognizable as an actual home rather than a cultural image as was the case in his coverage of the West. The chapter will also consider the axiomatic takeover of the West, how the drive westward was marked by new mechanisms in control and ownership and how Davis describes the remaking of the material space that occurred consequently.

The fourth Chapter, 'The Tracing and Map', will consider Davis's travelogue *Three Gringos in Venezuela and Central America* (1896) which provides an evolutionary point in Davis's career as it is Davis's first real coverage of a British model of colonialism and a diplomatic incident that brought forward serious questions about the United States' place in the world. The collected articles that make up the book provide the opportunity to consider both a colonial context in Belize and a more problematic context in Venezuela in the article 'The Paris of South America' wherein the United States was faced with political and

potentially military options for international intervention.²³ To address and consider the semiotic machinations at work in these two distinct types of maps, generating differing effects, the two chapters from *Anti-Oedipus: Introduction to Schizoanalysis* ‘Postulate on Linguistics’, and ‘On Several Regimes of Signs’ will be considered to unpick the effects created by Davis’s discourse. In the one instance concerning Belize it will be seen how Davis’s writing traces a map of dominance appearing in the semantic appropriation of space and the people within it.²⁴ In the case of Davis’s article on Venezuela I will discuss how Davis’s discursive cartography attempts to create a new map, a map where the semantic construction of history and space is emergent, unstable and in a process of failing. Davis’s two articles within the one travelogue illustrate two very divergent practices with notable shifts in tone and style.

The fifth chapter, ‘Davis’s War’, will select articles and collected works from Davis’s substantial war correspondence appearing across *With both Armies* (1900), *With the Allies* (1914), *With the French in France and Salonika* (1916) and *Cuba in War Time* (1897) which will be considered and provide an opportunity to interrogate Davis’s representation of a variety of landscapes and political territories from mountain ranges to trench systems and the manner in which armies of occupation, resistance, both domestic and foreign, traverse and operate in space.²⁵ This chapter will address how forces attempt to conform and control space, how these very same forces are unmade, at least partially by space and how a cartography of resistance links Davis’s idealized citizen soldiery. These works will be approached via the two chapters ‘1227: Treatise on Nomadology’ and ‘1440: The Smooth

²³ Richard Harding Davis, *Three Gringos in Venezuela and Central America* (New York: Charles Scribner’s and Sons, 1896).

²⁴ November 20, 1923: ‘Postulate on Linguistics’ (Deleuze and Guattari: 1986 pp.83-123 ‘587 B.C.-A.D. 70: Of Several regimes of signs’ (Deleuze and Guattari: 1986, pp.123-165).

²⁵ Davis, *With Both Armies in South America*; Davis, *With the Allies*; Davis, *With the French in France and Salonika*; Davis, *Cuba in War Time*.

and Striated' taken from *Anti-Oedipus: Introduction to Schizoanalysis*. Davis's war correspondence contains arguably his most vivid and compelling writing, interspersed with moments of self-reflexivity and dense passages of description. It is within Davis's war correspondence that his cartography illustrates a material atrophy in military occupation and a disorienting effect in the moving through space.²⁶

The conclusion will attempt to illustrate the manner in which Davis's discourse is not only cartographic but also the manner in which the actualised and mythologised concept of home, encompassing landmarks, a domestic language, approximation and metaphor, is retrospectively activated, given form only after leaving and how this retrospectively activated concept of home origin is injected into the maps Davis creates. In moving from the cultural referents in *The West from a Car Window* Davis posits home, or rather the icons and indexes of the West as points of approximation and in doing so alters them or causes them to destabilise in the process. Davis's writing illustrates a real tangible 'retrospective activation' of home, it appears immanent within the map but only at the point at which the map is rendered; in a manner the home, or domestic regime, exists for Davis only within his travel writing.²⁷ I will also illustrate that the approach holds true, in as much any of the conceptual approaches taken from Deleuze and Guattari can be applied to any of Davis's works and specially I will briefly describe how Davis's writing illustrates a series of becomings. Considering travel writing as cartographic in nature creates a novel approach to travel and to the representation of space that could be expanded much more fully. The approach is relevant to no one epoch or another, the means of travel and the exponential proliferation of travel necessarily creates more maps and the making of maps, literary or otherwise, is restricted to no epoch; Davis writing at the turn of the last century was writing at a time when travel

²⁶ '1227: Treatise on Nomadology' (Deleuze and Guattari: 1986, pp. 387 - 468); '1440: The Smooth and Striated' (Deleuze and Guattari: 1986, pp.523 - 552).

²⁷ Michael Householder, *Inventing Americans in the Age of Discovery: Narratives of Encounter* (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. 15.

became more popular and possible. This thesis provides a contribution to not only a better understanding of Davis's writing but also a critical interrogation of the dynamic effect of travel on the manner in which that writing is constructed.

Chapter 2: Richard Harding Davis and the Case for Travel

This chapter will undertake a critical survey of Davis to review and interrogate the critical reception of Davis during his own cultural milieu, in the years following his death, and more recently as his work has become exposed to a more contemporary context in which it has been exposed to a critical vocabulary far removed from his own times.

1.1 The critical History of Davis: A 'literary limbo'²⁸

Davis, like Theodore Dreiser, Stephen Crane, Ambrose Bierce and Frank Norris, undertook an apprenticeship as a journalist in the culture of 1890's New York. The selectivity of canonisation has served to ensure that Davis no longer enjoys such close association with his contemporaries and in most of the few instances when this does occur Davis is invoked as either the lesser, or antithesis of his peers (as will be seen later). That Davis has an archive of personal correspondence at the University of Virginia, whilst useful to a study of him, serves to engender biographical readings as it is comprised for the most part of correspondence with his family and friends. Those letters which do concern his work are few in number and testify to a frustration with editors and employers; in reading Davis's travelogues it is apparent that Davis populates his nonfiction work with his most considered self-reflexive moments. Those moments when Davis appears to be writing about his own process of rendering the world, around will be seen in the later chapters and encompass considered reflections on the role of perspective, the construction of images and the framing of the world around him.²⁹ The focus on Davis the writer rather than Davis's writing is compounded by the protectionism of his legacy following his death. Solensten encounters this problem when looking to the posthumously published *The Adventures and Letters of Richard Harding Davis* (1917),

²⁸ Solensten, 'The Gibson Boy: A Reassessment', *American Literary Realism 1870-1910*, 4, no. 4 (1971), pp. 304-305.

²⁹ Richard Harding Davis Papers, 1863-1916, Accession #6109-e, Special collections, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, Va.

ostensibly a biographical record which in promoting the image of Davis is conversely detrimental to his literary standing:³⁰

Charles Belmont Davis' editing of his brother's letters has done little to put Richard Harding Davis in the main currents of American literature. *The Adventures and Letters of Richard Harding Davis* (New York: Scribner's, 1918) is an epistolary diary of daring do aimed at the popular image of Davis during 1900-1916. Much correspondence from Owen Wister, William Dean Howells, Anthony Hope Hawkins, Rudyard Kipling, and others regarding literary figures and ideas is omitted.³¹

That Davis's celebrity came to be a cultural phenomenon in its own right may account for the populism that his work was and still is associated with. Davis was immortalised by noted illustrator and collaborator Charles Dana Gibson who projected 'the impressive Davis mug into every picture illustrative of American life'.³² This ensured Davis a marketable by-line and has a degree of social and cultural recognition not usually characteristic of journalists at the time. Davis possessed an almost unique status for his time, making him very much a medial component of his own culture. The portraits that appeared of him throughout the press testify to this, and in 1916 *Town and Country* wrote:

Richard Harding Davis is unique in that he has lived to see, while still in the prime of life, his own cycle of romance form about him ... To conceive a map of New York without his direct and indirect influence, his personality, his friends and enemies, would be like an automobile map of Long Island without the Jericho Turnpike.³³

That the portrait associates Davis so strongly with New York affirms his easterner status to such an extent that this anonymously authored portrait also places him securely within a map of the city. Lubow more succinctly identifies the nature of Davis's celebrity, commenting that to be 'famous virtually all one's adult life and forgotten promptly at death: this is celebrity in its purest form'.³⁴ The celebrity that so entwined the man, author and the characters of his works placed a shelf life on the relevance of his cultural output; his work in

³⁰ Richard Harding Davis, *Adventures and letters of Richard Harding Davis*. Ed. by C. B. Davis (New York: Metropolitan, 1917).

³¹ Solensten, 'The Gibson Boy: A Reassessment', p. 304.

³² Anon, *The San Francisco Call*. Oct 9, 1898, p. 6.

³³ *Town and Country* 71 'About People We Know' (ar 20.1916), p. 22.

³⁴ Lubow, *The Reporter who would be King*, p. 1.

some respects simply did not outlive him. This may go some way to explaining his omission from the American canon with Lubow again providing a concise explanation: ‘We remember those of his contemporaries who seem precociously “modern”; and so, we read Henry James and Stephen Crane, Ambrose Bierce and Jack London’.³⁵ The conclusion which can be reached from Lubow’s assertion is that Davis’s relevance and indeed ‘modernity’ relied on his own celebrity as much as on the quality of his work. John Solensten’s essay, ‘The Gibson Boy: A Reassessment’ proves invaluable in navigating the stigma which accompanies Davis’s work to highlight its potential. Solensten approaches Davis with no explicit agenda as such and writing after Davis’s death is able to illustrate the difficulties in approaching his output:

The works themselves confront the reader with a disturbing array of short stories in volumes titled by the most popular stories, problems of genre definition with oddities like *The Scarlet Car*, the lack of a thorough and inclusive editing of the letters, a complex interweaving of themes and situations in the journalism and fiction, the absence of any central body of criticism by Davis himself, and, to this date at least, no major published studies devoted exclusively to either [the] journalism or the fiction.³⁶

That at the time of this writing there is still no serious major published work which considers Davis’s work in its entirety cannot be put down to a simple absence of quality. Whilst Seelye does cover a great deal of Davis’s writing he does so with such brevity that there is a sense that any sustained reading of one or even a few of the travelogues would simply not be possible. Davis’s career as a journalist, foreign correspondent, novelist, essayist, dramatist, and travel writer ran so concurrently in his life that it is tempting to frame critical readings within the parameters of biographical or specific historical contexts simply in an effort to narrow focus onto individual works. For example, latter-day scholars of American foreign policy and culture, most notably Gretchen Murphy, Amy Kaplan and to a lesser extent John Seelye, limit their assessment of Davis to his coverage of the American –

³⁵ Lubow, *The Reporter who would be King: A Biography of Richard Harding Davis*. p. 1.

³⁶ Solensten, ‘The Gibson Boy: A Reassessment’, p. 303.

Spanish war (1898).³⁷ Such a narrow view has the effect of aligning Davis's entire output with the prejudices and deficiencies of a select group of works. Kaplan and Murphy in particular succeed in placing Davis's South American coverage in a sophisticated topology of critical theories but in doing so make the primary ontological character of his work a colonial or even imperial perspective. Additionally, this focus on South America as pre-eminent in Davis's body of work fails to take into account his coverage of Europe, Russia, Africa, and even the United States. If a work were to attempt to interrogate Davis's entire catalogue it would have to contend with not only his travel books but over a hundred articles and nearly as many short stories as well as over a dozen plays. The sheer volume of his output is daunting. That some articles were revised for publication in collected works presents difficulties of editorial revision. Coupled with Davis's movement through genre, this poses significant problems for any systematic reading. Davis's travel writing, which itself is difficult to quantify depending entirely on the definition of travel writing used, runs throughout his career, broadly commencing with *The West from a Car Window* (1892) and closing with his coverage of World War One (1914 – 1918). Taken as a substantive thematic cultural entity in its own right, Davis's travel writing presents a veritable cultural cartography spanning nearly twenty years.

The critical history of Davis is broadly concentrated on two periods, that during his lifetime and a resurgence of interest in the early twenty-first century; bridging the gap are Solensten's essay and Scott C Osborn's essay, 'The Rivalry Chivalry' (1956) and book *Richard Harding Davis: Critical Battleground* (1960).³⁸ What will follow is a critical survey of both periods which will illustrate the existing gap in readings of Davis. It is not the

³⁷ Gretchen Murphy, *Hemispheric Imaginings: The Monroe Doctrine and Narrative of U.S Empire* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005); Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the making of U.S Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002).

³⁸ Scott Osborn, 'The Rivalry-Chivalry of Richard Harding Davis and Stephen Crane', *American Literature*, vol. 28, no. 1 (March 1956). pp. 50-61; Scott Osborn, *Richard Harding Davis: Critical Battleground* (New York: John Hopkins University Press, 1960).

intention of this survey to undertake a close engagement with any of these readings but rather to bring to light the ambiguities and apparent complexity around approaching Davis's considerable written output. Following Davis's death his literary legacy was tethered to the major cultural preoccupations of his time, but the content of his work seems to have been overshadowed by a more general admiration of the man and a conception of 'youthfulness' that he was perceived to embody and purvey:

Everyone speaks of the extraordinary youthfulness of his mind, which was still fresh at an age when most men find avarice or golf a substitute for former pastimes. He not only refused to grow old himself, he refused to write about old age. There are few elderly people in his books but they are shadowy. They serve to emphasise the brightness of youth, and are quickly blown away when the time for action arrives.³⁹

Dunne's assertion not only casts Davis as a Peter-Pan figure of the American *fin de siècle*, it also evidences the ease with which unequivocal statements are made about his work. That Davis was 'the symbol of a young man's epoch' is interesting, but to suggest that he eschewed mature themes in favour of the frivolous would be a mistake.⁴⁰ If Davis was emblematic of a 'young man's epoch' it was an epoch typified by war and a crisis of masculinity which will be discussed via Kaplan's interrogation of his work

The most critically significant theme in the early criticism of Davis is a comparison to Rudyard Kipling which originated in their shared career trajectories, with one contemporary observer noting, 'they are similar in that both are writers of short stories and sketches, both began their careers as journalists and both leaped into fame at a bound, so to speak'.⁴¹ The connection is significant primarily for illustrating the extent to which the two succeeded in bringing about a cultural recognition of journalism. It is remarked that Kipling and Davis 'are typical illustrations of the forging prowess which the newspaper age applies to budding

³⁹ Finley Dunne, *Appreciations of Richard Harding Davis*. 1st ed. (New York: Charles Scribners and Sons, 1916), p. 72.

⁴⁰ Van Wyck Brooks, *The Confident Years 1885-1915* (London: J.M Dent and Sons Ltd, 1952), p. 63.

⁴¹ E.J. Edwards, 'The American Dickens' *Fort Worth Gazette*, Aug 17. 1891, p. 7.

genius'.⁴² The comparison with Kipling however was denied with equal vigour when it came to literary ability: one critic suggested that, 'Mr Davis is by no means so well orientated, in any sense of the word, as the infant phenomenon who had added a new country to the map and a new sensation to life'.⁴³ The review suggests that youth 'contains most of the resemblance' between the two and in doing so reinforces Dunne's assertion. No one critic attempts an explicitly comparative reading of the two authors and it appears sufficient to make the connection based on career trajectory and narrative content. Osborn focuses on the similarities of narrative point of view, resurrecting the comparative associations with Kipling in order to interrogate the resemblances in their social and racial agendas.

Undoubtedly Kipling greatly influenced Davis, but the influence did not so much alter Davis's course as move him more rapidly in the direction in which he had been going. The motifs of war and of travel in exotic countries, the responsibility of 'advanced' peoples to guide the 'lesser breed', the philosophy of action, the doctrines of essential goodness and perfectibility – those had already appeared in Davis.⁴⁴

That Davis shared common tropes and themes with Kipling is not debated. However such conclusions are perhaps not useful in considering Davis as a uniquely American writer which perhaps should be considered via a different context. The historical contexts of both writers would appear to be diametrically opposed. Kipling appears as the cultural purveyor of British Empire and Davis the product of the republican United States. The careers of the two would cross numerous times throughout Davis's life and while Davis may have admired Kipling's fiction this certainly did not extend to Kipling's reportage. For Davis the distinction between himself and Kipling in covering the Boer War and the First World War was one of moral and professional conduct. This will be considered in greater depth in later chapters.

The most pervasive invocation of Davis in a purely literary context is found in the thoughts of

⁴² Paul Shorey, 'Present Conditions of Literary Production' *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 78. No. 466. Aug 1896, p. 159.

⁴³ Garland, 'Books Reviewed', p. 266.

⁴⁴ Osborn, *Richard Harding Davis: Critical Battleground*, p. 39.

influential critic H. L. Mencken who frames Davis's status and role in culture in the United States in no uncertain terms:

Nine-tenths of our people – perhaps ninety nine-hundredths of our native born – have yet to see their first good picture, or to hear their first symphony. Our Chamberses and Richard Harding Davis's are national figures; our Norrises and Dreisers are scarcely heard of.⁴⁵

Over the course of ten years Mencken would return again and again to Davis, deploying him against an elite class of writers and in doing so effectively differentiating his works as distinctly the lesser. In Mencken's criticism authors simply appear in a category worthy of admiration posited against a categorically baser populism. Mencken again returns to Davis, at this time even more removed from developments in American literature, to remark, 'It is a superlative pleasure to dredge such glowing and memorable books out of the stream of drivel and commonplace, the endless avalanche of balderdash by the Oppenheims and Chamberses ... the jitney Richard Harding Davises'.⁴⁶ Mencken avoids the comparisons to Kipling but does deploy a comparative reading of Conrad's *Nostramo* (1904) in his final critique of Davis and his novel *Soldiers of Fortune* (1897).

His *Nostramo*, in its externals, is merely a tale of South American turmoil, and not unrelated to *Soldiers of Fortune*. But what great difference between the methods, the points of view, the psychology materials of the two stories! Davis is content to show us the overt act; Conrad goes behind it for the motive, the process of mind. The one achieves an agreeable romance only; the other achieves an extraordinary incisive study of Latin-American temperament-a study of the ideals and passions which lead presumably sane men to pursue each other like wolves, and of the reaction of that incessant pursuit upon the men themselves.⁴⁷

Mencken's comparison not only again serves to cast Davis as a lesser writer. Within his own cultural context his travel and reportage from foreign locations was found to be a maturing factor in his writing, with a contemporary review finding that 'a reading of Mr Davis's books leaves us with the impression that a wider survey of the world has given a

⁴⁵ Henry L. Mencken, *Mencken's Smart Set Criticism*. Ed. By W. H. Nolte (Washington: Gateway Editions, 1987) p. 202.

⁴⁶ Mencken, *Mencken's Smart Set Criticism*, p.318.

⁴⁷ Mencken, *H. L. Mencken's Smart Set Criticism*, p.225.

wider horizon to the mind'.⁴⁸ Five years earlier than this and with less substantial work to his name, a review found 'a quite unusual gift for rapid movement, with ingenuity ... and with an apparently absolute command of natural and convincing dialogue'.⁴⁹ But such reviews, while reflecting the strengths of Davis's writing, do little to justify his elevation to the literary canon. What Davis distinctly lacked was a critic willing to champion his work and the closest to approbation comes from Thomas Beer, whose allusion is at once helpful but oblique when he remarks that Davis's work, 'would one day have a second value'.⁵⁰

Davis's work, apart from *Soldiers of Fortune* (1897), has had a distinct lack of critical readings and yet despite this he has become aligned with a genre of writing quite detached from his first career as a journalist. Solensten restricts his attention to problems in 'genre definition' to Davis's short story 'The Scarlet Car', but nonetheless the pervasive conclusion is that Davis's work is synonymous with and embodies an almost Victorian style of Romance.⁵¹ The Romantic label is highly significant within the American literary context that Davis was a part of. In the 1890s there was a 'war waged in American literature ... between the realists and the romancers'.⁵² Davis's position in this contentious divergence in American literature appears to be a sacrosanct given:

The great theme of debate in the nineties, in literary circles, was the battle between realism and romanticism, especially in the novel, a subject which the *Atlantic Monthly* had been airing in the 70s and 80 or ever since the advent of Howells and Henry James ... while realism had generally won the day, with democracy and science ... the romantic mind had its revenge in the sudden outpouring of popular novels that began with Richard Harding Davis's *The Princess Aline*.⁵³

Despite being located firmly within the Romantic mode of writing, Davis has to a large extent become a victim of a polarised positions in the realist or romantic debate;

⁴⁸ Anon, 'New Figures in Literature and Arts'. *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 75. No. 451. May 1895. p. 658.

⁴⁹ Garland, 'Books Reviewed', p.268.

⁵⁰ Thomas Beer, *The Mauve Decade: American Life at the End of the 19th Century* (London: Alfred A Knopf, 1926).

⁵¹ Solensten, 'The Gibson Boy a Reassessment', p.303.

⁵² Lubow, *The Reporter Who Would be King*, p. 80.

⁵³ Van Wyck Brooks, *The Confident Years 1885-1915*, p. 87.

Solensten notes he ‘chose neither ‘poor, dear, real life’ ... nor Norris’s archetypal depths of Romance’.⁵⁴ Although the larger number of his works would appear to stand in contrast to the label, his better known and more popular works announced him as a formidable purveyor of Romance. His first success as a short story writer, ‘Gallagher’ (1890), was described as recently as 2005 as typical of the Romance tradition and representative of ‘a considerable number of sentimentally and moralistically rendered portraits of human behaviour’.⁵⁵ ‘Gallagher’ heralded Davis’s arrival, making him, ‘Byronically famous overnight’.⁵⁶ To suggest that Davis subscribed to the characteristics of a certain literary type, as Osborn and to a lesser extent Seelye appear to do, has the effect of grouping his entire output under a singular recognisable category. Seelye chronicles Davis’s catalogue of work with admirable diligence; however his conclusion that ‘it was all, finally, the stuff of romance ... of which Davis seemed to be a living avatar’, not only contradicts the other avenues of interrogation he himself identifies in Davis’s work but also regurgitates much earlier criticisms of it.⁵⁷ Seelye’s own assertion that ‘What Davis added to the mix of the new romanticism was primarily his own proper person’ mirrors contemporary conclusions that Davis’s heroes were ‘in fact miniature Davis’s’.⁵⁸

An early review of Davis in 1892 remarked that, ‘we live in hope that Mr Davis will soon be above explicit moralizing’.⁵⁹ Solensten suggests that Davis’s ‘self-defined ‘romance’ ought to be compared not only with the definitions of Bierce and Norris but also the Graustark and Ruritan formulae’, as prescribed formula for romance novels wherein the European or American adventurer travels to far off lands and effectively marries the princess

⁵⁴ Solensten, ‘The Gibson Boy a Reassessment’, p.305.

⁵⁵ Richard Harding Davis, ‘Gallagher: A Newspaper Story’, *Scribner’s Magazine*, July 1890; William Scheich, ‘The Romance Tradition’, *A Companion to American Fiction 1865-1914*. Ed. by R. P. Lamb and G. R. Thompson (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), p.44.

⁵⁶ Lubow, *The Reporter who would be King*, p. 68.

⁵⁷ Seelye, *War Games: Richard Harding Davis and the New Imperialism*, p. 19.

⁵⁸ Seelye, *War Games: Richard Harding Davis and the New Imperialism*, p.31; Anon., *The San Francisco Call*, Oct 9, 1898, p. 6.

⁵⁹ Garland, ‘Books Reviewed’, p.268.

and brings civilisation to the savage masses.⁶⁰ It is precisely this which Amy Kaplan engages with, albeit via the historical context of the American – Spanish war (1898), and in doing so brings to the foreground the relevance of Davis’s novel, *Soldiers of Fortune*.⁶¹

The formulaic plot of the romance uncannily parallels the popular narrative of the Spanish – American war as a chivalric rescue mission that in turn rejuvenates the liberator. The historical romance opens with its own lament for the closed frontier, as the hero mopes, disconnected with the dwarfed opportunities of his contemporary society. He then seeks adventure on a primitive frontier abroad, where he falls in love with a beautiful aristocratic woman, often a genteel American. The hero, usually a disinherited or ‘natural’ aristocrat, saves the kingdom ... at the end, the hero returns home with his bride, after relinquishing political control of the realm he had freed.⁶²

Kaplan cites four examples of this form of novel: accompanying Davis’s *Soldiers of Fortune* (1897) are Charles Majors’ *When Knighthood Was in Flower* (1898), Mary Johnston’s *To Have and to Hold* (1900) and George Bar MaCheon’s *Graustark* (1901).⁶³ Kaplan unites these novels under the auspices of a genre, ‘which reclaims the American West through the course of overseas empire’.⁶⁴ In doing so Kaplan effectively answers the question posed by Solensten about Davis’s relation to the *Graustark* tradition. That Solensten’s essay is absent from Kaplan’s study is surprising, primarily because it foreshadows so much of Kaplan’s and indeed Murphy’s discussions of Davis’s work.

It is Solensten again who provides impetus for revisiting the generalisations that surround Davis and suggests that Davis’s notoriety as a writer of romance existed alongside a claim that saw him ‘classified as the most despicable of American writers ... the superficial purveyor of journalized fiction’.⁶⁵ This argument repeats earlier opinions of Davis which sought to cast him as ‘distinctly a contemporary, an observer ... a recorder and artist rather

⁶⁰ Solensten, ‘The Gibson Boy: A Reassessment’, p. 306.

⁶¹ Davis, *Soldiers of Fortune* (New York: Charles Scribner’s and Sons, 1897).

⁶² Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S Culture*, pp. 100-101.

⁶³ George McCutcheon, *Graustark* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1901); Charles Majors, *When Knighthood Was in Flower* (Indianapolis: Bowen and Merrill, 1898); Mary Johnson, *To Have and To Hold* (Boston: Houghton, 1900).

⁶⁴ Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S Culture*, p. 101.

⁶⁵ Solensten, ‘The Gibson Boy: A Reassessment’, pp. 304-305.

than a historian or a philosopher'.⁶⁶ The American *fin de siècle*, as it was called by Ambrose Bierce in Hearst's *San Francisco Examiner*, was typified not by excess but a 'cutting loose from all that is conservative or restraining'.⁶⁷ While Osborn suggests that Davis 'attached no decadent significance to the term ... it meant simply bright, gay, witty, up-to-date'; there remains Davis's role as a journalist, in a new age which was marked by urbanisation, economic crisis and war.⁶⁸ Davis was certainly aware of other sides of life, with a reviewer noting, 'in fact, he knows his East Side and all the rest of the underside of his New York as Dickens does his London'.⁶⁹ That Davis ceased working the police beat did not necessarily mean he stopped reporting on the unpleasant aspects of American life such as his coverage of the Johnstown Flood (1889) and the first execution by electrocution in Auburn Prison New York (1890).⁷⁰

Fairfax succeeds in acknowledging the influence of Davis's journalistic apprenticeship at the *New York Evening Sun* newspaper, where 'Drama and colour could embellish the compilations of facts which stood starkly alone in the older type of journalism'.⁷¹ Davis's journalism certainly took the form of what one of his own characters would refer to as 'Sunday-special stuff'.⁷² This was so much the case that an 1898 review in the *San Francisco Call* declared, 'He is not a good reporter ... He tries to make word-paintings, and the result is a daub'.⁷³ But to classify Davis's writing as a 'journalized fiction' is something of a misnomer, rather what becomes apparent is that Davis practised something altogether different, not a fictionalised journalism but a literary journalism. That Davis's journalism was prone to literary diversions and an impressionistic style could see him placed

⁶⁶ Anon, 'New Figures in Literature and Arts'. *Atlantic Monthly*. Vol. 75. No. 451. May 1895, p. 657.

⁶⁷ Campbell, *The Year that Defined American Journalism*, p. 36:

⁶⁸ Osborn, *Richard Harding Davis: Critical Battleground*, p. 68.

⁶⁹ Garland, 'Books Reviewed', p.268.

⁷⁰ *The New York Evening Sun*. May and June 1889; *The New York Evening Sun*. 1890.

⁷¹ Fairfax, *Richard Harding Davis: His Day*, p. 56.

⁷² Richard Harding Davis, 'A Derelict', *Scribner's Magazine*. Vol. 30. Aug. 1901. p. 133.

⁷³ Anon, *The San Francisco Call*. Oct 9, 1898, p. 6.

with those of his contemporaries who practised a similar style especially Stephen Crane with whom Davis competed as a war correspondent in Cuba and Greece. Again, Solensten poses this very question:

Most importantly, Davis's integrity as a journalist involved no easy reliance on objective reporting. His concept of the journalist, and to a lesser extent the short-story writer, as impressionist made journalism more complex aesthetically, aligning it with important tendencies in French Painting and American fiction ... Or did his journalizing demand that the writer, whether journalist or factionalist, choose his moments carefully and thereby emphasize a more dynamic role for him as an artist? And this later question raises another; how does Davis relate to Stephen Crane and Ambrose Bierce as impressionists?⁷⁴

Osborn pursues the aesthetic complexity of Davis's journalism, finding his contribution to the collected essays, *The Great Streets of the World*, wherein Davis was published alongside Henry James, to be the first of 'many impressionist descriptive essays'.⁷⁵ Osborn goes even further, suggesting that Davis's contemporary 'reviewers generally agreed that he deserved his reputation as a descriptive writer of the impressionistic school'.⁷⁶ But how this manner of reporting complicated or undermined Davis's integrity as a journalist goes unconsidered, as does the effect of such a literary practice in his travel writing. Seelye provides his most developed contribution to the study of Davis in his discussion of the 1890 essay, 'A Summer Night on the Battery'; the inspiration for which Seelye ascribes to the 'French Symbolists'.⁷⁷

An experiment in style, it was a demonstration by Davis of his range of descriptive powers and proved to be an important transition piece, a bridge from his early, purely reportorial work to the travel writings and subsequent wartime journalism that was called feature writing, being much more personal in tone and more intensely descriptive than news reporting, emphasizing what was called 'local colour'.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Solensten, 'The Gibson Boy: A Reassessment', p.309

⁷⁵ Richard Harding Davis, 'Broadway', *The Great Streets of the World* (New York: Charles Scribner's and Sons, 1892); Henry James, 'The Grand Canal', *The Great Streets of the World*; Osborn, *Richard Harding Davis: Critical Battleground*, p. 39.

⁷⁶ Osborn, *Richard Harding Davis: Critical Battleground*, p. 45.

⁷⁷ Richard Harding Davis, 'A Summer Night on the Battery', *Harper's Weekly*. Vol. 34. No. 594. Aug. 2. 1890, p. 594; Seelye, *War Games: Richard Harding Davis and the New Imperialism*, p. 42.

⁷⁸ Seelye, *War Games: Richard Harding Davis and the New Imperialism*, p. 42.

It is interesting that Seelye locates ‘A Night in the Battery’ as signalling Davis’s departure from a more rigid style of writing, a position which does not necessarily take into consideration his time working at the *New York Evening Sun*. Not only does Seelye’s interrogation of the essay prove useful in diversifying Davis’s output but his assertion that the essay contains ‘characteristics that would become trademarks of Crane’s style’ readjusts Davis to his more experimental peers.⁷⁹ Despite this the contrast with Crane is never more evident than in comparisons of their reportage and war correspondence:

‘War memories’ can be seen as the direct antithesis of Davis’s book. Where Davis is impersonal and analytic, Crane is personal and subjective. In place of Davis’s chronological summary of major events Crane offers an assortment of anecdotes, their structure determined less by chronology than by the vagaries of memory, their content often trivial or absurd.⁸⁰

Davis’s proximity to Crane in respect of style or and Crane’s proximity to Davis is discussed in Osborn’s reading of Davis’s short story, ‘A Derelict’ in the 1956 essay, ‘The Rivalry Chivalry of Richard Harding Davis and Stephen Crane’.⁸¹ Osborn demonstrates a mutual admiration between the two writers which exceeds what would be expected based on readings such as Robertson’s above. But other critics have gone further in correcting the oppositional positions perpetuated by Robertson, with Leary going as far as to align the two writers together in the face of a common enemy:

Crane’s dispatches from the Cuban front resemble his anecdotal, impressionistic method of chronicling the Tenderloin and the Bowery, a self-consciously ‘literary’ mode of reporting that he and his friend Richard Harding Davis stubbornly defended against the ‘journalistic’ impartiality increasingly demanded by their editors.⁸²

⁷⁹ Seelye, *War Games: Richard Harding Davis and the New Imperialism*, p. 44.

⁸⁰ Michael Robertson, *Stephen Crane, Journalism and the making of Modern American Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), pp.168-169

⁸¹ Richard Harding Davis, ‘A Derelict’, *Scribner’s Magazine*, Vol. 30. Aug. 1901; Scott Osborn, ‘The Rivalry-Chivalry of Richard Harding Davis and Stephen Crane’, *American Literature*. vol. 28, no. 1 (March 1956) pp 50-61.

⁸² John Leary, ‘America’s Other Half: Slum Journalism and the War 1898’, *Journal of Transnational American Studies*. Vol. 1, no. 1 (2009), p. 23.

This thesis will not be considering Davis's writing on the American invasion of Cuba, firstly because there exist some credible and insightful critical considerations of his despatches and in comparison to Crane, as can be seen in the quotation above. Secondly Davis's coverage of the conflict is weighed down irrevocably by his own patriotism. Davis's coverage of the Spanish occupation of Cuba on the other hand offers a more nuanced and interesting engagement with the colonial apparatus of foreign conquest and this will be considered fully in a later chapter. Davis was a proponent of romanticism, but he was also not simply an impressionistic journalist; on the contrary the myriad and conflicting perspectives point to a simpler conclusion, that no one particular literary style can be said to predominate within his work.

1.2 Toward travel: Richard Harding Davis 'has been everywhere'⁸³

Davis's standing in journalism is subject to substantially less discussion than his position in the Romantic tradition. In approaching Davis's journalism it appears sufficient to select specific articles for praise as in the case when Lubow refers to Davis's coverage of the Greco – Turkish war as 'a minor classic of battlefield reportage'.⁸⁴ More generous associations align his journalism to Kipling's in having an immediate influence in steering contemporaries such 'as Frank Norris, Jack London, John Reed and Stephen Crane' into the profession.⁸⁵ Davis's journalism is also found to perhaps have continued to resonate with more celebrated authors, with Campbell suggesting that 'the lean, descriptive power with which Davis wrote ... anticipated the style of Ernest Hemingway'.⁸⁶

⁸³ Richard Davis Papers, 1863-1916, Accession #6109-e, Special collections, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, Va. Anon, News Paper Clipping. Box Three.

⁸⁴ Lubow, *The Reporter Who Would be King*, p. 149.

⁸⁵ R. Downs and J. Downs, *Journalists of the United States: Biographical Sketches of Print and Broadcasts News Shapers from the late 17 Century to the present* (North Carolina: McFarland and Co, 1991), p. 108.

⁸⁶ Campbell, *The Year that Defined American Journalism*. p. 141.

Perhaps the most measured positioning of Davis again emanates from Solensten's observation that Davis 'exists in a kind of literary limbo'.⁸⁷ Rather than interrogating the issue of genre in respect of Davis's work, it is arguably more useful to consider an aspect of his writing which succeeds in traversing many genres and in doing so will avoid replicating previous debates. Despite there being no focused consideration of Davis's travel writing, more recent critics do consider Davis's cultural representations of foreign cultures and territories. These however remain sufficiently compromised by a confusion of fiction and nonfiction to problematise the conclusions drawn. Osborn's interrogation of Davis's representation of the 'foreign', for instance, proceeds by attempting, or rather finding no distinction between, his fiction and non-fiction:

Although Davis's criticism of the world was not profound it was consistent, continuous, and sweepingly final. ... From some fixed and ultimate centre of judgement he was able to utter opinions on almost any subject and to feel they were right. He called this centre the American point of view, but it was more than that; it rested finally upon certain unquestionable assumptions which gave significance and order to his world-view. Basic to that view was the myth of a superior civilization among the enlightened nations of Western Europe, of the inferiority of everything contrary to their codes and values.⁸⁸

Osborn ascribes to Davis not only an all-encompassing world view but a moral code against which the rest of the world could only appear inferior. This is one of the many conclusive statements Osborn makes about Davis, and whilst there are certainly movements within his work towards a sense of superiority, there are ruptures in this. What is lacking is any detailed examination of works that would support this conclusion. Osborn, keen to advocate Davis as resolutely consistent in his cultural output and point of view, is correct in suggesting that he relied on 'homely comparisons' in his travel writing; that an 'incessant demand for 'copy' led to repetition of images and comparison', but in doing so he does not sufficiently consider the effect of such comparisons or even of repetition. Osborn is again

⁸⁷ Solensten, 'The Gibson Boy: A Reassessment', pp. 304-305.

⁸⁸ Osborn, *Richard Harding Davis: Critical Battleground*. p. 67.

effectively echoing an earlier and contemporary review of Davis's travel writing which noted that 'He made people visualise what he saw by comparisons with familiar objects at home'.⁸⁹ Davis relied on a 'few favourite images and devices', throughout his career with one example being the Johnstown flood 'as a yardstick with which to measure the superlative'.⁹⁰ It occurs in the context of both his coverage of Cuba during the Spanish occupation and in travelling throughout Africa, both of which will be discussed in later chapters where the use of approximations will be considered as components mapped against the foreign, as expressions of the ostensibly home, inserted into a foreign context. It is also important to note that Davis's 'homely comparisons' often took the form of geographic or architectural icons. New York landmarks appear as frequent measures or cyphers of space, with Davis remarking in one example in *Cuba in War Time* on the Spanish fortification, the 'trocha', that it was 'as wide as Broadway'.⁹¹ Essentially such comparisons concern space and in particular the measurement and inhabitation of space; how these icons travel and translate space, perhaps even re-situate or map space, and how they themselves are changed in the articulation are important questions yet to be posed. This thesis will consider these throughout all the chapters that follow as the use of American icons and landmarks as measures and approximations permeate all his travel writing. As referenced by Lisle earlier there is often the concept of 'losses and gains' in travel writing and the use of domestic landmarks and cultural referents familiar to the domestic, in Davis's case the American reader, serves a practical purpose of bringing to life the foreign through the approximation to the familiar. This thesis will demonstrate something more complex occurring in the chronology of travel writing and specifically in Davis's case it will be seen in the chapter considering his

⁸⁹ Osborn, *Richard Harding Davis: Critical Battleground*. p. 52; Osborn, *Richard Harding Davis: Critical Battleground*. p. 48; Downey, *Richard Harding Davis: His Day*. p. 103.

⁹⁰ Osborn, *Richard Harding Davis: Critical Battleground*, pp.68, 35. :

⁹¹ Davis, *Cuba in War Time*, p. 31.

American travelogue and latterly in the conclusion that these ‘homely comparisons’ occur only through leaving home.

Contemporary reviews of Davis’s work focused on the sensationalist and clichéd and whilst not academic reviews, but written for the popular press, these reviews tended to be aimed at the same audience. One such example concerning *Three Gringos in Venezuela and South America* (1896) asserts that Davis’s travelogue judges ‘that Central America is the greatest country on earth for a white man to keep out of’.⁹² Similarly a second review makes no attempt to engage with the travelogue beyond the sensational and within the press culture of New York at the time perhaps served to bolster sales of Davis’s travelogue:

In that part of the world, according to a saying gathered up by Davis, Somerset and Grisham and endorsed by them, the flowers have no smell, the birds have no song, the men have no honour and the women are not all that they should be.⁹³

This stands in contrast to an observation by Seelye, a contrast that can be explained by both the time in which the observations were written and the purpose of the writing, namely a review within the popular press and an academic study, which finds Davis’s travelogue to be acutely aware of the European presence in Central America:

Nor was Davis an innocent regarding the identity of the persons actually in control of affairs in Central America. They were not local officials but representatives of foreign commercial interests, chiefly German, who worked as consuls for countries other than those from which they came.⁹⁴

Seelye, like many of the critics who have approached Davis, reference this knowledge and perception of the reality of the geopolitical circumstances affecting the locations Davis visited. Osborn, for example, makes the point to emphasise that while travelling throughout South America, ‘He [Davis] discovered that, no matter who was president ... the actual rulers were the foreign business forms, which financed revolutions and in return were exempted

⁹² Davis, *Three Gringos in Venezuela and Central America*; Richard Davis Papers, 1863-1916, Accession #6109-e, Special collections, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, Va. Box 3.

⁹³ Richard Davis Papers, 1863-1916, Accession #6109-e, Special collections, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, Va. Box 4.

⁹⁴ Seelye, *War Games: Richard Harding Davis and the New Imperialism*, p.186.

from forced loans'.⁹⁵ The 'myth' of the superior civilisation which Osborn finds throughout all of Davis's work is at best conditional; if Davis's 'point of view' was sweeping, as Osborn suggests, it is at least found to be selective or rather informed enough to be critical of not only the foreign indigenous populations he encountered but also the foreign, and frequently European agents and governments that enforced their own colonial rule. It becomes clear that Osborn and to a lesser extent Seelye fail to sufficiently elucidate on these contrasts, however, at once acknowledging and dismissing them as not relevant or affecting his sweeping point of view Davis may well have subscribed to 'social Darwinism' but the success of this agenda in respect to his work is found to be variable. Ziff succeeds in a more balanced reading wherein Davis is also found, in his capacity as a journalist, to reveal the exploitative operations of Europeans within Central America:

In his reporting he had clearly shown that American interference in Central America was as bloody in its methods as was the practice of the native leaders who resented it, and that Wall Street had contracted for riots and executions. But he also carried in his reporting the assumptions of social Darwinism, that the bare and poor houses in Venezuela were bare and poor not because the people were poor, but because they were indolent.⁹⁶

As a relatively new avenue of literary criticism the study of Davis's works as 'travel writing' is absent in Osborn's and Ziff's perspectives, they do not identify parts of his nonfiction output as distinctly concerning travel; what is evident is that where Davis's travel writing is interrogated it evidences a potential to cast Davis in a new light and to provide counter points to the conclusions drawn about Davis as a writer which arise out of reading his fiction. Not only does Davis's travel writing hold this potential but it also allows critics to measure Davis's work against a whole new series of questions rooted in the material, rather than the fictional settings of his novels. Solensten, for instance, poses a number of questions regarding Davis's Central American coverage:

⁹⁵ Osborn, *Richard Harding Davis: Critical Battleground*, p.163.

⁹⁶ Larzer Ziff, *The American 1890s Life and Times of a Lost Generation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), p. 181.

What role is the young American abroad to take in the internal affairs of South American countries evolving toward a new nationalism which threatens American Business interests? What alliance between American business and the American military is necessary, and what are the personal as well as national effects of that alliance? These questions typify those issues moving beneath the surface of Davis's adventure stories.⁹⁷

Solensten focuses these questions onto 'Davis's adventure stories', and in doing so anticipates a great deal of the resurgent interest in Davis's writing which owes everything to his coverage of Central America in 1896, Cuba in 1897 and the Spanish – American war of 1898. A select few of Davis's works find prominence in these readings, most notably *Three Gringos in Venezuela and Central America* (1896), the novel *Soldiers of Fortune* (1897), *Cuba in War Time* (1897) and the collected articles of his coverage of the American – Spanish war (1898).⁹⁸ The American – Spanish war (1898 – 1901), ostensibly fought for Cuban sovereignty, has increased in significance at a time when the United States was repositioned as an ailing super power. In reading Davis's work in a context of United States imperial beginnings, Kaplan and Murphy, in particular, are in part interrogating a specifically American cultural conception of empire which still resonates today. A brief and crude summation of the conclusions both Kaplan and Murphy draw is that at a time when the Western Frontier had been settled the United States sought to recapture the pioneer and adventurer spirit so integral to the cultural self-conception of its citizens; this found expression in looking outwards, in framing international adventure and indeed even international intervention in the same terms as the settling of the West.

Soldiers of Fortune, published in 1897, preceded the war with Spain, and its importance to both Kaplan's and Murphy's work serves to unify their approaches and to a large extent their conclusions. Both critics explore the manner in which culture reflected

⁹⁷ Solensten, 'The Gibson Boy: A Reassessment', p. 308.

⁹⁸ Davis, *Soldiers of Fortune*; Davis, *Three Gringos in Venezuela and Central America*; Davis, *Cuba in War Time*; Richard Harding Davis, 'The Rough Riders at Guasimas', *Scribner's Magazine*. Vol. 24. Sept. 1898. pp. 261-262.

domestic conceptions of national identity in the context of an end to domestic expansion into the American West and the commencement of military endeavours abroad. Both critics draw a direct line of influence between the two and find Davis to be the proponent of a new type of imperial expansion for the United States.

It would be a disservice to reduce Kaplan's approach to a single component of the complex interweaving of concepts developed throughout *Anarchy of Empire* (2002). However, it will be necessary to take aspects which are more pertinent to a study of Davis. This in itself presents problems as Davis appears in the work 'situated in relation to multiple historical trajectories'.⁹⁹ Kaplan's interest is 'in how dominant representations of national identity at home are informed and deformed by the anarchic encounters of empire, even as those same representations displace and disavow imperialism as something remote and foreign to U.S nationhood'.¹⁰⁰ This appears to be an ideal goal for interrogating Davis's work: proponent of the 'American point of view', 'purveyor of social Darwinism' and reporter of European corruption throughout the world.

Kaplan's text seeks to 'emphasize the collapse of boundaries between here and there ... that the anarchy of empire brings to the making of U.S culture'.¹⁰¹ There persists a vein within Kaplan's reading of cultural expressions of US imperialism, concerned with the mapping of encounters, of the space in which they occur and the manner in which space is re-ordered, or changed by that encounter. For Kaplan, territorial expansion created 'ambiguous spaces that were not quite foreign or domestic'.¹⁰² Kaplan cites the Insular Cases as an example of this, wherein Puerto Rico was annexed as a 'dependency' of the United States but in doing so failed to grant the inhabitants of Puerto Rico US citizenship. This transformation of identity, in legal terms created 'a liminal space both inside and outside of the

⁹⁹ Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the making of U.S Culture*. p. 17.

¹⁰⁰ Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the making of U.S Culture*. p. 18.

¹⁰¹ Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the making of U.S Culture*, p. 15.

¹⁰² Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the making of U.S Culture*. p. 15.

Constitution'.¹⁰³ While this specific instance is located within a legislative discourse, Kaplan finds that cultural expression produces similar effects. Here Kaplan's approach focuses on the interactions between relative cultural encounters and a cultural cartography which seeks to map, or reconstitute, the spaces within which they occur. For instance, while the Insular Cases mapped Puerto Rico as liminal space the effect was to redefine the nature of American citizenship through the exclusion of Puerto Ricans. Not only is the domestic space remapped but the foreign territory becomes destabilised to be reconstituted as incomplete; similarly, the concept of a national identity becomes reconstituted in a new connectivity to something at once both within and without. Kaplan locates anxiety in this exchange and importantly the potential for anarchy:

The cultural expressions I analyse reveal an anxiety about the anarchic potential of imperial distension ... if the fantasy of American imperialism aspires to a borderless world where it finds its own reflection everywhere, then the fraction of this dream shatters the coherence of national identity, as the boundaries that distinguish it from the outside world promise to collapse.¹⁰⁴

Kaplan's reading aspires to the discursive analysis of Foucault, most notably evident in finding a national identity fallible in its most homogenous articulations. However, Kaplan does not approach Davis's writing as the site of this displacement but rather locates it as the setting for reconciling 'anarchic encounters'.¹⁰⁵ The potential for a cultural cartography of anarchic encounter thus becomes a cultural cartography of reconciliation in Davis's novel. The mode of this reconciliation is found in Davis's subscription to a myth of American masculinity and its perpetuation in *Soldiers of Fortune* wherein the 'primitive male body figured reassuringly as a return to a fundamental Anglo – Saxon heritage'.¹⁰⁶ The mythology of the primitive male finds kinship with Theodore Roosevelt's (1858 – 1919) ideal in 'The Strenuous Life' (1903) and Owen Wister's (1860 – 1938) *The Virginian* (1902) and is

¹⁰³ Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the making of U.S Culture*. p. 3.

¹⁰⁴ Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S Culture*. p. 16.

¹⁰⁵ Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S Culture*, p. 16.

¹⁰⁶ Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S Culture*. p. 98.

irrecoverably tied to the expansion into and eventual conquest of the American frontier.¹⁰⁷ Even while the frontier was in the process of closing, both Roosevelt and in less stark terms Wister were proclaiming the affirmation that came from the self-determinism that had spurred on the Western settlement and in Roosevelt's case enunciating a nostalgia for and a return to the ideals, ethos and drive that characterised the myths of Western expansion. Davis's own writing on the West discussed in the third chapter stands in stark contrast to any mythologizing of the Western settlement and again this evidences a discordance between the role his fiction and nonfiction work played in cultural exchanges of the day. Kaplan's approach is interesting in locating the influence of the West in Davis's work and in later chapters it will be seen that just as the 'homely comparisons' Davis deploys serve to approximate the foreign via the prism of the domestic the West comes to exist as a symbol for Davis when he travels abroad. Kaplan does not restrict this influence to Davis and situates it as a thematic element within the culture from which he emerged, contributing as it did to the domestic crisis.

In the 1890s the lament for the close of the frontier loudly voiced such nostalgia for the formative crucible of American manhood; imperial expansion overseas offered a new frontier, where the essential American man could be reconstituted in his escape from modernity and domesticity.¹⁰⁸

Essentially Kaplan's reading of the 'frontier thesis' postulated by Frederick Jackson Turner suggests that in the wake of the settled domestic frontier the culture of the United States imbued foreign territories with parallel values, or rather framed United States expansionism in the rhetoric of the frontier mythology. The transposition of the West onto overseas territories for Kaplan is realised in the action and adventure of the 'primal man'.¹⁰⁹

That worship of the unfettered individual, the strong pride of self, the strain of ambition, and the almost compulsive desire for power ran through progressive rhetoric like a theme in a symphony. From Frank Norris's strong-minded heroes to

¹⁰⁷ Theodore Roosevelt, 'The Strenuous life', *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt: The Strenuous Life*. (New York: Scribner's and Sons, 1903); Owen Wister, *The Virginian* (London: Collier-Macmillan, 1965).

¹⁰⁸ Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S Culture*, p. 99.

¹⁰⁹ Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S Culture*, p. 99.

Richard Harding Davis's men of almost pure muscle these feelings were a badge of a restless, sensitive, and troubled class. They were never far below the surface in the character of Theodore Roosevelt.¹¹⁰

While Kaplan is correct to locate the closing of the frontier as an influence on his work, she fails to consider Davis's non-fiction discourse on the West as a part of a larger engagement with this seismic shift in the psyche of the United States. While *Soldiers of Fortune* established the tradition which helped usher in the modern Western, his earlier travelogue, *The West from a Car Window* (1892; published in a serialised form in *Harper's Magazine* the same year), 'both anticipated and invalidated Wister's West, and though it was popular in its day, *The West from a Car Window* has not survived'.¹¹¹ Davis's travelogue suggests he possessed a much more complex awareness and ensuing interaction with the West as a cultural concept than Kaplan's reading of *Soldiers of Fortune* (1897) proposes. In the travelogue *The West from a Car Window* Davis demonstrated that he was capable of a more self-conscious engagement with the culture within which he operated, as Seelye notes:

But if in the *West from a Car Window* Davis did not contribute to the legend that Wister and his friend Roosevelt laboured so hard to promote, that is what makes the book valuable to us today. Not only did Davis render an account of a transformed 'new' American West the year before Turner announced that the frontier was officially closed, he vividly portrayed a region lacking those qualities which nourish the romantic impulse.¹¹²

The cynicism Davis articulates in his travelogue for the frontier may stand in contrast to the sentiment of some of his contemporaries, 'but in one sense, Davis's message was essentially the same as Remington's, Wister's, and Parkman's – the frontier epoch had reached its end'.¹¹³ Seelye's conclusion evidences the potential within Davis's travel writing and while Seelye attempts a closer reading and consideration of *The West from a Car*

¹¹⁰ Mowry, *The Era of Theodore Roosevelt and the birth of Modern America: 1900-1912*, p. 88

¹¹¹ Davis, *The West from a Car Window*; Seelye, *War Games: Richard Harding Davis and the New Imperialism*, p. 78.

¹¹² Seelye, *War Games: Richard Harding Davis and the New Imperialism*. p. 116.

¹¹³ David Wrobel, *The End of American Exceptionalism: Frontier Anxiety from the Old West to the New Deal* (Kansas: Kansas University Press, 1996), p. 41.

Window (1892) he chooses to not pursue this line of enquiry beyond the self-evident and explicit conclusions Davis's travelogue reaches.

The correlation between the close of the frontier and the United States expansion overseas is well documented and advanced in Frederick Jackson Turner's thesis on the subject, which Kaplan locates as heralding the 'disembodiment of American nationalism'.¹¹⁴ But if Davis was already cynical towards the iconography of the West then it could be suggested that the ideal he perpetuates in the transposition of the West was not romanticised as such but self-consciously idealised. Moreover, how did the ending of the frontier epoch manifest itself in Davis's coverage of foreign territories not as geographically convenient as Cuba? If *Soldiers of Fortune* and his reportage of the war for Cuban sovereignty reconstitute the conception of the West as a fluid and mobile cultural goal, then where else and in what manner did Davis export it? *Soldiers of Fortune* and the war with Cuba occur early in his career, a career which took in many more theatres of war, not to mention political assassinations, coronations and inaugurations.

While Kaplan finds *Soldiers of Fortune* to serve a reconciling function there remains a process of 'reconstitution'; even in her own consideration of the 'American man', inherent in such a process would be a necessary breaking down. What is exported in *Soldiers of Fortune* is not just a romanticised conception of the West but an inherently different West from its progenitor.

Murphy differs from Kaplan in framing a reading of *Soldiers of Fortune* in the context of the Monroe Doctrine (1823). Delivered in President Monroe's 7th congressional address, the Doctrine advocated isolationism in respect of Europe, 'from which we derive origin, we have always been anxious and interested spectators', but conversely also emphasised 'that the

¹¹⁴ Frederick Jackson Turner, 'The Problem of the West'. *Atlantic Monthly*. No. 78. Sept. 1896; Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S Culture*, p. 96.

American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power'.¹¹⁵ The Doctrine as a policy statement was oblique and although it possessed greater significance in 1895, 'no one seemed to agree on exactly what it stated, how it should be applied, or where its jurisdiction should be in the twentieth century'.¹¹⁶ Much like Kaplan, Murphy considers the national identity of the United States to be in crisis in the 1890s; within this context the Monroe Doctrine is deployed to reconcile 'the discourse of American exceptionalism with an imperial future'.¹¹⁷ Murphy connects *Soldiers of Fortune* to Davis's earlier travelogue *Three Gringos in Central America and Venezuela* as existing in the same cultural context and at first appears to write against the separation between Davis's fiction and non-fiction. Unfortunately, Murphy finds Davis's non-fiction contribution to the status and role of the Doctrine in the 1890s debate to be distinctly lacking:

Richard Harding Davis was a crucial voice in this debate. His influence, however, was not primarily in his journalistic writings. His comments on Venezuela in the Harper's article (and in its revision as part of the 1896 travelogue *Three Gringos in Central America and Venezuela*) in fact said very little to answer the question of national identity at stake ... The article's stance on US intervention was hazy ... Davis vacillates between recommending, on the one hand, that the US pursue only its self-interest and, on the other, that it fulfil its duty to protect weaker powers, revealing his inability to logically describe a consistent role for the US as a world power.¹¹⁸

The travelogue appears as the secondary source for considering Davis's engagement with the Monroe Doctrine when compared to his novel. Rather than providing a conclusive endorsement of foreign policy in the context of Venezuela's border dispute with Great Britain, the vacillation Murphy notes could in fact be a manifestation of the anxiety both Kaplan and Murphy discuss. That Davis's 'American point of view' is found to be populated

¹¹⁵ James Monroe, 'Seventh Annual Message, Dec. 2, 1823,' *Writings of James Monroe*. Vol. 7 (New York: G.P. Putman's Sons, 1902); Monroe, 'Seventh Annual Message, Dec. 2, 1823.'

¹¹⁶ Gretchen Murphy, *Hemispheric Imaginings: The Monroe Doctrine and Narratives of U.S. Empire* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), p. 120.

¹¹⁷ Murphy, *Hemispheric Imaginings: The Monroe Doctrine and Narratives of U.S. Empire*, p. 130.

¹¹⁸ Murphy, *Hemispheric Imaginings: The Monroe Doctrine and Narratives of U.S. Empire*. p. 121.

by contrasts or even misunderstandings provides perhaps a more interesting avenue of interrogation. Murphy situates the Monroe Doctrine ‘as an ideological touchstone’ and suggests that *Soldiers of Fortune* ‘updates the ideology of the Doctrine to reconcile perceptions of American tradition with global destiny’.¹¹⁹ Whereas Kaplan connects the West to US expansionism, Murphy avoids framing the same connection in explicit terms, instead deploying the relative concept of US exceptionalism which is embedded in the frontier mythology. What is striking about Murphy’s reading is how on the one hand *Three Gringos in Central American and Venezuela* is abandoned but also used in a comparative reading of the ‘semiotic systems’ at work in the novel. In focusing on *Soldiers of Fortune* and the cultural traversals, mirrors and imports the novel creates, both Kaplan and Murphy approach something like a perspective on the exportation and dominance of one culture over another without expanding their approach to his non-fiction works taken as cultural expressions in their own right; they exist as source material and adjunct to his fiction.

What does become evident is that Murphy and Kaplan use the existence of an ideology as the overarching and de facto pervasive influence working in Davis’s novel. What this ideology actually is, whether American exceptionalism or a crucible of masculinity, its substantive manifestation in discourse becomes restricted to a few discernible literary tropes serving to reconcile the anxiety of an already predestined US imperialism. Kaplan and Murphy’s template finds the transposition of one space onto the other, the West onto the foreign, to be complete and comprehensive in the novel *Soldiers of Fortune*.

If the conclusion to be reached from Kaplan and Murphy’s work is that Davis’s fiction reconciled national anxieties and legitimated United States expansion, then this thesis will argue that Davis’s non-fiction travel writing provides no such reconciliation. It would be inaccurate to suggest that Davis does not enunciate or perpetuate particular racial, moral or

¹¹⁹ Murphy, *Hemispheric Imaginings: The Monroe Doctrine and Narratives of U.S. Empire*. p. 130.

geopolitical agendas but within his travel writing such expressions occur in a fundamentally more complex relativity. Furthermore, what appears to be lacking in Kaplan's and Murphy's approach is any methodology that seeks to map the perpetuation of these agendas in textual terms and the effect of travel or traversals on discourse in any formal sense.

In focusing on Davis's travel writing there remains the risk of replicating Kaplan and Murphy's conclusions as 'The strong model of travel writing and empire would insist that their texts promote, confirm and lament the exercise of imperial power; and that this ideology pervades their representational practices at every level'.¹²⁰ What predominates within travel writing studies is the acknowledgement that 'the telling must be on home ground, or at least a voice articulated within the home culture'.¹²¹ This simple admission is useful, particularly in respect to Davis's travel writing, as there is no close critical reading on the discursive level.

In re-presenting other cultures and other natures, then, the travel writers 'translate' one place into another and in doing so constantly rub against the hubris that their own language-game contains the concepts necessary to represent another language-game. Just as textual translation cannot capture all of the symbolic connotations of language or the alliterative sound of words, the translation of one place into the cultural idiom of another loses some of the symbolic loading of the place for its inhabitants and replaces it with other symbolic values. This means that translation entails both losses and gains, and as descriptions move from one place to another so they circulate in what we have called 'a space in-between'. This space of translation is not a neutral surface and it is never innocent; it is shot through with relations of power and desire.¹²²

As has been evidenced already, the primary result of this form of translation is the exportation of domestic anxieties as part of a domestic cultural idiom. The most pertinent part of Duncan and Gregory's statement is 'losses and gains'; although it is implicit that the losses are constrained to the foreign, or native culture, this should not necessarily be assumed to be the case. Davis himself acknowledges the limitations of the necessity of approximation or

¹²⁰ Steve Clark, 'Introduction,' *Travel Writing and Empire: Postcolonial Theory in Transit* (London: Zed Books, 1999), p. 3.

¹²¹ Clark, 'Introduction,' p. 17.

¹²² James Duncan and Derek Gregory, 'Introduction.' In *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing*, Ed. by James Duncan and Derek Gregory (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 9.

even comparison in travel writing. Writing in *The Congo and Coasts of Africa* Davis pauses to ruminate on the difficulty he has in describing the Congo Free State:

In trying to sum up what I found in the Congo Free State, I think what one fails to find there is of the greatest significance. To tell what the place is like, you must tell what it lacks. One must write of the Congo always in the negative. It is as though you were asked: 'What sort of a house is this one Jones has built?' and were answered: 'Well, it hasn't any roof, and it hasn't any cellar, and it has no windows, floors, or chimneys. It's that kind of a house'.¹²³

It is precisely this almost literal reading of travel writing that often masks the potential for travel writing to evidence complex power constructions on a map of exchange. Whilst Davis's statement above is likely an aside and an attempt to hedge expectations somewhat on the description of the Congo that follows, there is also an admission that the almost facile comparisons that are required in describing the foreign are not up to the task. This straight approximation between a domestic and a foreign on the face of it favours a gain on the domestic front and a loss on the foreign; this undoubtedly has contributed to the ease of a critical reading based on the trappings of ideology. It appears that in the course of travel writing critics have attempted to navigate this apparently literal reading of 'losses and gains', and Lisle for instance, in approaching the travel writing of Paul Theroux, deploys a Foucauldian practice to avoid the assumptions and preconceptions of ideological-based readings.

What differentiates Foucauldian discourse analysis from the more over-determined ideological examinations of culture offered by the Frankfurt school (amongst others) is its claim that resistance is embedded in all discourses. While a Foucauldian approach locates the truth claims reinforced by discourses, it also reveals the discontinuity of all discourses and their failure to completely exclude other subjects, objects and meanings. In this way, discursive analysis uncovers and gives voice to that which is made silent within the discursive imposition of order; it reveals the ambiguities, ruptures and repetitions that are covered over every time we agree to interpret the world according to a single and incontrovertible reality.¹²⁴

¹²³ Richard Harding Davis, *The Congo and Coasts of Africa* (Middlesex: The Echo Library, 2007).

¹²⁴ Lisle, *The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing*, p. 13.

Lisle's discursive analysis of Theroux highlights the potential for reading Davis's travelogues and while Foucault's work provides ample critical insight there is a need to root any critical interrogation of Davis's travel writing in the definition of travel writing given here.

Travel writing is cartographic; it concerns itself with map making, the delineating and moving of boundaries, enunciations of power and a constant process of movement between relative poles of expression. Davis's work contains variances in perspective and while critical readings underpinned by a 'notion' of ideology are useful, they are perhaps not best equipped to deal with such instances. The key to understanding the Deleuzeguattarian departure from the 'unity' of ideology is found in their assertion that, 'You will never find a homogenous system that is not still or already affected by a regulated, continuous, immanent process of variation'.¹²⁵ Such a 'variance' problematises an approach which would seek to reduce Davis's discourse to a unifying world view which was 'consistent, continuous, and sweepingly final'.¹²⁶ However, this 'variance' would not necessarily find Davis's work exempt from the perpetuation of a particular social, economic, gendered or racial world view. Rather it would evidence active contests in the representation of cultural and material territories.

Perhaps more importantly a Deleuzeguattarian framework provides the conditions for locating within Davis's work a constant process of reciprocal exchange between different spaces, regimes of signs and symbols. Additionally, their conceptualisation of the 'nomad' and 'war machine' provide a method of interrogating war correspondence in a unique and enlightening manner. In his travel writing Davis was effectively a cartographer filling space with characters and interactions in a resolutely non-fictional, if literary manner and Deleuze

¹²⁵ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 114.

¹²⁶ Osborn, *Richard Harding Davis: Critical Battleground*, p. 67.

and Guattari's work provides several interlocking frameworks for considering the manner in which Davis's discourse achieves this.

The extent of Deleuze and Guattari's work also means that it is possible to apply a singular critical, albeit conceptually plural, perspective to Davis's work. For example, no other dual-authored body of critical work can provide a framework for considering the economic machinations of empire or even colonialism, a literary and axiomatic war machine, cartographic process as enunciation of power, a reciprocal process of creating and undermining cultural as well as physical space, a pragmatic engagement with regimes of signs and a discussion of the fragmented nature of the American national character.

Davis's travel writing has been neglected in favour of focusing on a number of preeminent works of his. The critical survey undertaken by this chapter has evidenced not only that critics are often too quick to dismiss the potential value in reading Davis's travel writing but more often reduce it to a common denominator, a singular point of view that never faltered; in doing so the potential in Davis's travel writing, in the maps he creates of spaces, has hitherto been neglected.

Chapter 2: Towards a Discursive Cartography

The previous chapter suggested that Deleuze and Guattari provide a theoretical basis for considering relative movements in language that can be useful in interrogating those ruptures of consistency in Davis's discourse which other critics have identified as a significant feature of his work. Having considered such ruptures in Davis's writing this thesis will go some way to identifying the value that Deleuze and Guattari can bring to a reading of Davis in considering a discursive cartography representing material, cultural and contested spaces. However, in the first instance it will be necessary to consider the general position that Deleuze and Guattari hold in respect to critical readings and the insights and conclusions which they provoke. Second, this chapter will consider their underrepresented concept of a major writing, which tends to be a critical by-product in responses that focus on their insights into minoritarian authors and minor writing. Thirdly, and most relevant to the later interrogations of Davis's writing, this chapter will reflect on how the concepts of major and minor relate to each other in Deleuze and Guattari's writing, and on how these concepts exist in reciprocal exchange, indeed how the majority of concepts within Deleuze and Guattari's work exist in a reciprocal movement from one pole to another.

The position that Deleuze and Guattari have come to develop in relation to literature is remarkable primarily because they resist perpetuating what they describe as a 'literary manifesto'.¹²⁷ In spite of this, assertions such as Ian Buchanan's and John Marks', that Deleuze 'restricts himself ... to a largely modernist canon', go some way to setting precedents of selectivity and consequently of suitability to what is an appropriate discourse for a Deleuzeguattarian reading.¹²⁸ The question of textual selectivity or even suitability abounds in the majority of critical readings founded on Deleuze and Guattari's writings with

¹²⁷ Ian Buchanan and John Marks, 'Introduction', *Deleuze and Literature*. Ed. by I. Buchanan and J. Marks. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), p. 4.

¹²⁸ Buchanan and Marks, 'Introduction', p. 4.

many taking impetus from the works of literature referenced by them. In this manner, Lecercle provides a concise definition of a discourse's suitability to a Deleuzian, if not an explicitly Deleuzeguattarian, reading:

Thus, Deleuze, the friend of Foucault, is like his friend, an admirer of Blanchot and Bataille ... with his friend, but also with the *Tel Quel* group, the early Kristeva and the incipient Derrida, a canon of high literature – the names (Artaud, Joyce, Kafka, Beckett) have recurrently figured in these pages. This amounts to an elitist view of literature, with a strong interest in the subversion of language and in its limits, a view where poetry will always be preferable to the novel, and where, if we must indulge in fiction, the experimental will always be preferred to the mainstream variety.¹²⁹

Davis would very much fall into the 'mainstream variety' in the above distinction.

The critical survey in the previous chapter evidenced that Davis was never confused with being a peer in terms of talent or significance to Stephen Crane for instance and by the existing measures of his writing Davis is very much of the mainstream. That he was a populist writer and successful appears sufficient to situate him as the antithesis of the types of writers Deleuze and Guattari favoured. As we have already seen, this predilection for the avant-garde served to position Davis as the lesser in his own life time and immediately following his death. The first difficulty in applying Deleuze and Guattari to Davis's writing arises here, namely is Davis an appropriate writer for Deleuze and Guattari and similarly are Deleuze and Guattari appropriate critics to apply to his writing?

There are a few elements that will ease the apparent discordance between the two. The first justification arises from within Deleuze and Guattari's work itself, wherein particular writers such as Walt Whitman and Herman Melville figure prominently, as does a preoccupation with Anglo American literature. This attention to popular American literature reduces the apparent disparity between the Deleuze identified in Lecercle's distinction above and the populist Davis which will be considered in full in the third chapter which focuses on Davis's domestic travel writing. However, to elaborate on the reasoning for Deleuze's

¹²⁹ Jean-Jacques Lecercle, *Deleuze and Language* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 199-200.

favouring of Anglo-American literature would be to anticipate a series of terms and concepts which will be discussed later.

Secondly that Deleuze and Guattari are close in spirit to modernism and postmodernism should not restrict their theoretical works to specific moments in literary and cultural history; indeed to do so is counter-intuitive precisely as the Deleuze and Guattari collaborative works themselves never linger on any one topic or epoch for long. Claire Colebrook engages with this epochal preoccupation and identifies its potential to misconstrue the potential for Deleuze and Guattari's work:

It's possible to regard Deleuze's work as exemplary of our time and so provide a theoretical rubric for our sense of the postmodern. However, to do this – to enclose Deleuze *within* history or post-modernity — would be to diminish the promise of the eternal return in his work ... What is new, Deleuze argues, is not just what supersedes the old; the truly new, tearing itself away from all narratives of historical recuperation.¹³⁰

If, then, there is no literary manifesto as such in the Deleuzeguattarian body of work, then there exists no condition within Davis's work that would identify it as unsuitable. The absence of a concise literary manifesto however does beg the question of what is there that could engender a close reading of travel writing? What is there in this corpus that can facilitate a reading of culture and Davis in particular? Through the collaborative works *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (1972), *Kafka: Towards a Minor Literature* (1975), and *A Thousand Plateaus; Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (1980) and Deleuze's individual works *The Fold* (1993), *Foucault* (1985), *Essays Clinical and Critical* (1993) *Difference and Repetition* (1968), *Dialogues I* (1977) and *Dialogues II* (1996), and *Proust and Signs* (1964), there is deployed to varying degrees a shifting terminology and focus, ranging from economic models, psychoanalysis, cinema, philosophy, literature and history under the umbrella of a lexicon seemingly imbued with a conceptualisation of the making and unmaking of space

¹³⁰ Claire Colebrook, 'Inhuman Irony: The Event of the Postmodern', *Deleuze and Literature*. Ed. by Ian Buchanan and John Marks (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), p. 100.

which is by no means consistent or homogenous. There is a rejection of Saussurian linguistic thought and a debt to Foucault's concepts of force and power, as well as an embracing of materialism and a contribution to pragmatics which will be explored in Chapter 4. There is also the unsettling trend for critics to embrace, if not the restricted attention to a limited body of literary texts noted by Lecercle then particular concepts such as 'minor literature', around which other concepts like 'rhizome' and 'nomadology' proliferate as finite cultural qualities. There is a vocabulary that apparently provides a language for describing space and spatial organisation including 'smooth', 'striation', 'territorialisation', 'reterritorialization' and 'deterritorialization'. However, in Deleuze and Guattari's work, these concepts are accompanied by other terms which indicate the incomprehensibility of space: 'molar' and 'molecular', 'lines' and 'lines of flight'. The refusal within the texts themselves to reconcile discordance and seeming contradictory concepts and their application give Deleuze and Guattari's collaborative work a unique quality, one which precisely resists being considered an integrated theoretical system. It is because of this that, as discussed in the introduction, this thesis will approach the collaborative works selectively so as to focus on the value that specific concepts can bring to Davis's travel writing.

2.1 The Major and the Minor

Deleuze and Guattari's most explicit contribution to critical and theoretical approaches to literary interpretation is to be found in *Kafka: Towards a Minor Literature*, which bridged the larger and more expansive paired works *Anti-Oedipus* and *A Thousand Plateaus*. Deleuze and Guattari define minor literature as that which is or has the potential 'to be affected with a high coefficient of deterritorialization';¹³¹ put otherwise, a minor literature, 'prevents language from becoming homogeneous'.¹³² There is, of course, an underlying

¹³¹ Deleuze and Guattari, *Kafka: Towards a Minor Literature*, p. 16.

¹³² Jean-Jacques Lecercle, *Deleuze and Language* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002), p. 196.

utopianism in any critical intervention that calls not only for resistance but also for a departure from homogeneity that could lead to an alternative future. Such an underlying utopianism is certainly evident in Deleuze and Guattari's schizoanalytical project, as well as in their account of minor literature, and of the marginalized writers who, they claim, effect a shift in representation. Deleuze and Guattari are not exempt from this and the resistance of 'minor authors' is rendered in the vocabulary of marginalised individuals:

Minor authors are foreigners in their own tongue. If they are bastards, if they experience themselves as bastards, it is due not to a mixing or intermingling of languages but rather to a subtraction and variation of their own language achieved by stretching tensors through it.¹³³

Deleuze and Guattari's comments here suggest a literary and a linguistic interruption that troubles major language and the social order of which it is part. However, their depiction of the minor author here risks a romantic understanding of writing since it favours the image of the artist as a figure who rallies against the language of the state, which they describe as 'a nexus of static, reactive forces'.¹³⁴ It is here that the division between the 'major' and 'minor' assumes a material effect. The state or major language as the static, reactionary force against which is pitted the force of variation, indeed of liberation, invokes a well-trodden paradigm of resistance. But this again belies a complex and sophisticated approach to language wherein 'major' consists in extracting meaning and 'minor' is conversely a liberated 'becoming'. Of minor literature Lecercle notes that, 'Its aim is not to foster or extract meaning, but to give rise to intense, and intensive, expression'.¹³⁵ In this respect, it offers not a revolutionary politics or a mode of ideology critique, but instead is concerned with articulating movements that unsettle the meanings that major language and writing seek to establish. For Deleuze and Guattari there is only one language and two treatments, the minor and major; that they quite knowingly deploy an action of 'treatment' suggests a conscious choice or even an active

¹³³ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 116.

¹³⁴ Jean-Jacques Lecercle, *Deleuze and Language*, p. 194.

¹³⁵ Jean-Jacques Lecercle, *Deleuze and Language*, p. 195.

treatment of language, perpetrated by the author; this idea of the author as self-consciously minor contributes significantly to the romanticised minor author.¹³⁶ It is evident that what has dominated the imagination of critics in the correlative concepts of ‘major’ and ‘minor’ is predominantly the ‘minor mode’ of literature; Deleuze and Guattari’s *Kafka* in privileging minor trajectories sets the precedent since this text is given over to examining literature’s minor trajectories. In a similar vein Mary Zamberlin’s *Rhizosphere: Gilles Deleuze and the ‘Minor’ American writings of William James, W.E.B. Du Bois, Gertrude Stein, Jean Toomer and William Faulkner* (2006), Alan Bourassa’s *Deleuze and American Literature’s Affect and Virtuality in Faulkner, Wharton, Ellison and McCarthy* (2009), Neil Campbell’s, *The Rhizomatic West: Representing the American West in a Transnational Global, Media Age* (2008) and Mary Bryden’s *Gilles Deleuze: Travels in Literature* (2007), proceed to pursue the ‘line of flight’, and the more revolutionary aspects of the schizoanalytical project such as the process of deterritorialization, minor writings and rhizomes in an array of writers and artists from Coupland to Eliot.¹³⁷

However, this identification of authors or artists as minor, and the deployment of concepts associated with the ‘minor’ as definable literary qualities or characteristics, stands in contrast to Deleuze and Guattari’s own theoretical works which go to great lengths to reject the oppositional predication of the major-minor vocabulary. The operative process of the minor mode of writing and language is found to co-exist with a relative movement of reterritorialization; a process that encapsulates the dangers that ‘restore power to a signifier, attributions that reconstruct a subject’.¹³⁸ And yet Kafka’s writing is in some manner exempt from this reciprocal and relative process; at no point is Kafka’s writing subject to a becoming major. Furthermore, Deleuze and Guattari themselves acknowledge that ‘a minor literature

¹³⁶ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 118.

¹³⁷ Campbell, *The Rhizomatic West*, p. 227; Bryden, *Gilles Deleuze: Travels in Literature* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

¹³⁸ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 10.

does not come from within a minor language; it is rather that which a minority constructs from within a major mode'.¹³⁹ Despite this there persists the doctrine of the 'minor author', in essence the self-conscious author who is capable of articulating the line of flight from the static mode of language. Taken with the avant-garde authors that populate Deleuze and Guattari's works this has created a potent formula of reading in a Deleuzeguattarian mode.

This principle of a selective treatment of language is reductive and is flawed primarily because it risks replicating the diametric opposition which Deleuze and Guattari themselves seek to challenge. The second construct, the self-conscious author capable of articulating the line of flight, misconstrues the inherent instability and reciprocity between revolution and reactive appropriations of language. I will suggest that there are discursive expressions of space and travel within Davis's writing which necessarily undergo reciprocal movements between poles of stability and instability, not by design necessarily but by an inevitable limitation in the process of discursive cartography, the point being that if travel writing is a discursive cartography then the making of the map occurs alongside its own unmaking. Further the pole of major is under-theorised in respect to discourse itself, and in order to engage with the reciprocal relationship between the major and minor modes that operate in all discourses it will be necessary to discuss more fully which attributes constitute the major treatment of language, how these are conceived by Deleuze and Guattari and how they can provide an approach to Davis. In doing so, it will become apparent that any attempt to establish a separation between major and minor discourses, on the basis of their apparently stable and determinable qualities, is unsustainable.

The process of deterritorialization and the tracing of the line of flight are often discussed in depth with the major appearing as the state mode. This fails to articulate the full extent of Deleuze and Guattari's approach. Minor literatures are by their nature resistive,

¹³⁹ Deleuze and Guattari, *Kafka: Towards a Minor Literature*, p. 16.

conceived within the heterogeneity of all language they react against and in conjunction with the appropriation of language by power which typifies the major treatment. Davis's writing contains tropes of a major language, a language which proceeds by differentiation and consistency in those differences. However his writing is also found to be the location for inconsistencies and ambiguities, never more so than within his travel writing. To say that Davis subscribed to the major treatment of language suggests a consciousness of such distinctions, Such a response would be misguided; rather, it is more useful to suggest that Davis inhabited the literary mainstream. What is important is that all language is necessarily 'heterogeneous', even in its 'major treatment', or its mainstream variety. This heterogeneity does not exclusively originate from a minoritarian treatment but a necessary occurring process of 'deterritorialisation'.¹⁴⁰ Deleuze and Guattari populate their works with contentions such as 'You will never find a homogeneous system that is not still or already affected by a regulated, continuous, immanent process of variation'; that these processes of variation have been read exclusively as the operations of 'minor authors' is a mistake.¹⁴¹ What is of primary interest in Deleuze and Guattari's rendering of the 'major' is not its assumed homogeneity but rather its inherent heterogeneity and habit of entering into liminal zones of transition. This chapter will seek to theorise a discursive approach to literature which does not rely on an opposition between imperialism and a revolutionary enunciation but the inherent variations of all language that are applicable to all discourse. In the following paragraph Deleuze and Guattari articulate the forces working within and against 'major' treatments of language and in doing so evidence the co-dependence between the two treatments:

Even politically, especially politically, it is difficult to see how the upholders of a minor language can operate if not by giving it a constancy and homogeneity making it a locally major language capable of forcing official recognition. But the opposite

¹⁴⁰ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 129.

¹⁴¹ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 114.

argument seems more compelling; the more a language has or acquires the characteristics of a major language, the more it is affected by continuous variations that transpose it into a 'minor' language ... For if a language such as British English or American English is major on a world scale, it is necessarily worked upon by all the minorities of the world, using very diverse procedures of variation.¹⁴²

Minority is inseparable from 'becoming' for Deleuze and Guattari and cannot be defined in numerical terms: 'A minority can be small in number; but it can also be the largest in number, constitute an absolute, indefinite majority'.¹⁴³ The categorisation of 'minor language' not only presupposes but requires a correlative 'majoritive mode'; in this sense the oppositional predication which Deleuze and Guattari invite invokes a determinism which is easily neglected and misconstrued. A major language is always in a state of transition. From one instance to the next, Davis's American English travels, and in travelling is worked on by many minorities and majorities and in this manner the language cannot help but be in transition. Not only will a minor language proceed toward major status, whatever that may be, but it becomes evident that the major treatment of language is far from stable and is the location for the gestation and emergence of minor treatments. The question is then not whether Davis was necessarily a major or minor author but rather what are those instances within his discourse which articulate major or minor poles in a process of reciprocal movement between the two.

2.2 Reciprocity

It will be evident that what Deleuze and Guattari are actually formulating is a process of thought based on reciprocal movements rather than the polar opposites the terms themselves suggest: 'The first would be defined precisely by the power (*pouvoir*) of constants, the second by the power (*puissance*) of variation'.¹⁴⁴ The distinguishing factor between the two treatments of language is manifest not in the absence of power but an

¹⁴² Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, pp. 113-14.

¹⁴³ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 18.

¹⁴⁴ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 112.

equivalence of power; a power of consistency or variation. But even this marked difference between the two is a fallacy because Deleuze and Guattari go on to state ‘that the constants are drawn from the variables’.¹⁴⁵ The most concise definition of the major mode is as follows provided by *A Thousand Plateaus*:

Majority implies a constant, of expression or content, serving as a standard measure by which to evaluate it. Let us suppose that the constant or standard is the average adult-white-heterosexual-European-Male speaking a standard language. It is obvious that ‘man’ holds the majority, even if he is less numerous ... That is because he appears twice, once in the constant and again in the variable from which the constant is extracted. Majority assumes a state of power and domination, not the other way round.¹⁴⁶

If we take Davis’s travel writing to be the domestic cultural idiom through which he represents foreign peoples, cultures and territories then he cannot help but situate those representations as variations of the idiom through which he writes. To return to Lisle’s insight, it is precisely this idiom which dictates ‘losses and gains’. In this sense Davis can be classified as a proponent of a major treatment of language, especially when ‘Majority implies a constant, of expression or content’. The hierarchal workings of a major language find precedent in Deleuze and Guattari’s discussion of the form of ‘content’ and ‘expression’ which even ‘though there is real distinction between them ... are relative terms’.¹⁴⁷ The form of content is rendered within an envelopment of difference, that is to say the difference between it and the form of expression becomes subsumed in the sign; the form of content ‘is not the sign’, it is what is dominated by the sign.¹⁴⁸ This presents the practising critic with a simple formulation of hierarchy; expression seeks not the effacement of its content (the expression becomes possessive in this formulation) but the domination of its content. Meaning emanates from this exchange within the major mode of language which ‘follows a

¹⁴⁵ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 114.

¹⁴⁶ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 116.

¹⁴⁷ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 49.

¹⁴⁸ Massumi, *A User’s Guide to Capitalism and Schizophrenia: Deviations from Deleuze and Guattari*, p. 12.

vector that goes from content to expression'.¹⁴⁹ The tool seeks and requires the mastery of the wood. The violence of this meeting of two forms is not a natural or indeed even a determining relativity. Echoing Foucault, Deleuze and Guattari discuss this relativity in respect of the prison system:

Take a thing like the prison: the prison is a form, the 'prison form'; it is a form of content on a stratum and is related to other forms of content (school, barracks, hospital, factory). This thing or form does not refer back to the word 'prison' but to entirely different words and concepts, such as 'delinquent' and 'delinquency', which express a new way of classifying, stating, translating, and even committing criminal acts ... the form of expression is reducible not to words but to a set of statements arising in a social field considered as a stratum (that is what a regime of signs is).¹⁵⁰

With Davis deploying a series of 'favourite images' and 'homely comparisons' and representing the foreign through a particular self-defined cultural idiom, his writing is populated with a recognizable regime of signs. Davis's travel writing does not constitute the Davis form, but rather comprises a whole series of translations arising from and occurring in a particular social field. This approach to the form of content and expression also contributes to the Deleuzeguattarian use of the 'order word':

The order-word is the variable of enunciation that effectuates the condition of possibility of language and defines the usage of its elements according to one of the two treatments; we must therefore return to it as the only 'metalanguage' capable of accounting for this double direction, this double treatment of variables.¹⁵¹

In the major mode, the order-word is the site of an 'incorporeal transformation'.¹⁵² The example Deleuze and Guattari use to illustrate this is that of the judge passing sentence wherein 'the transformation of the accused into a convict is a pure instantaneous act or incorporeal attribute that is the expressed of the judge's sentence'.¹⁵³ What is interesting and typical is that the 'order-word' does not occur in the minor-treatment of language. The example is convenient and certainly serves to perpetuate the major mode as the less

¹⁴⁹ Deleuze and Guattari, *Kafka: Towards a minor literature*, p. 73.

¹⁵⁰ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 74.

¹⁵¹ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 118.

¹⁵² Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 89.

¹⁵³ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 89.

numerable language of the judiciary. In an effort to form an analogy more suited to this writing, Davis's judgement of Peruvians as 'indolent' will be taken in this thesis as an order-word.¹⁵⁴ It extracts from language a constant, or in the least delimits the variability inherent in the statement and posits a hierarchy wherein the meaning is constructed from the juxtaposition between an absent industrious North America and an indolent South. Taken further, the Peruvian dwelling that Davis describes is subject to a 'disjunctive synthesis', or rather a process of recording which necessarily requires and is preceded by 'an apparatus of knowledge that classifies'.¹⁵⁵ This apparatus operates on abstracted qualities firmly embedded in the major mode. Massumi expands on the process of the disjunctive synthesis, suggesting that 'it employs a classification system of mutually exclusive identifications – nominal identities – and chooses only the ones judged suitable'.¹⁵⁶ But the disjunctive synthesis is preceded by a correlative 'synthesis of production', a process wherein 'connections made by the synthesis of production are multiple, heterogeneous, and continual'.¹⁵⁷ Out of the myriad connections of the productive synthesis, the disjunctive synthesis emerges as that which reduces on the one hand and records on the other.

The 'disjunctive synthesis' proceeds by a process of codification which is recorded on the body-without-organs and in essence seeks difference in connectivity. In the example of Davis's travelogue *Three Gringos in Venezuela and Central America* this is clearly in the favour of a racial hierarchy; the order-word in the major mode of language acts in this manner. The disjunctive synthesis is the culmination of these processes seeking a production of meaning via classification. Thus we have a formidable conception of the major mode of language but one which is still incomplete.

¹⁵⁴ Davis, *Three Gringos in Venezuela and Central America*, p. 56.

¹⁵⁵ Massumi, *A User's Guide to Capitalism and Schizophrenia: Deviations from Deleuze and Guattari*, p. 49.

¹⁵⁶ Massumi, *A User's Guide to Capitalism and Schizophrenia: Deviations from Deleuze and Guattari*, p. 49.

¹⁵⁷ Eugene Holland, *Deleuze and Guattari's Anti-Oedipus: Introduction to Schizoanalysis* (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 26.

It would be a mistake to ascribe the major mode of language a general aim in the modality of an omnipresent dominant regime; such formulations risk making the conception of the major mode of language one representing the despotic, tyrannical and even dictatorial. The major mode of language is not simply the state but rather any language which proceeds by a disjunctive synthesis; this can just as easily be applied to scientific disciplines as to dictatorial regimes. Our conception of power within this is at best simple; *pouvoir* is hierarchical in the first instance as it seeks exclusion and exclusivity but this does not explain power in respect of the state and its diverse operations.

The aim of any discussion of power as it is conceived in Deleuze and Guattari should follow their own mandate for literature, which is never better detailed than when they state that ‘we will never ask what a book means, as signified and signifier; we will not look for anything to understand in it’.¹⁵⁸ Buchanan summarising Deleuze and Guattari’s approach to literature writes that, ‘instead of asking what a work of literature means ... we might gain more by asking what can it do?’¹⁵⁹ Similarly any interrogation of power should avoid seeking its meaning. It is arguable that this practice takes no small inspiration from Deleuze’s reading of Foucault and his definition of power within which Deleuze concludes:

Therefore we should not ask, what is power and where does it come from? But how is it practiced? An exercise of power appears as an effect, since force defines itself by its very power to affect other forces (to which it is related) and to be affected by other forces.¹⁶⁰

Deleuze and Guattari provide no single definition of power perhaps because their focus is fixed on its effect rather than on its constitutive elements. It becomes apparent however that although Deleuze’s reading of Foucault appears quite separately from his collaborative work with Guattari, a considerable influence can be located in the collaborative

¹⁵⁸ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 4.

¹⁵⁹ Buchanan and Marks, ‘Introduction’, p. 35.

¹⁶⁰ Gilles Deleuze, *Foucault*. Edited and trans. by S Hand. Translated by S Hand (London: The Athlone Press, 1988), p. 71.

works with respect to their analysis of power. As has already been seen, Deleuze's engagement with Foucault and theories of power foreshadows the later Deleuze-Guattarian reading of expression and content:

What is Power? Foucault's definition seems a very simple one: power is a relation between forces, or rather every relation between forces is a 'power relation'. In the first place we understand that power is not a form, such as the state-form; and that the power relation does not lie between two forms, as does knowledge. In the second place, force is never singular but essentially exists in relation with other forces, such that any force is already a relation, that is to say power: force has no other object or subject than force.¹⁶¹

Power is a relation, the power-relation. Just as Deleuze and Guattari suggest there is no prison-form in terms of a form of content, there is also no power-form; rather there is only a series of possible relations. The resonance with the major treatment of variables should be self-evident. If the major mode is essentially a reductive process of selectivity in respect to language, then power within this function is not dissimilar.

Under such circumstances what can literature, a major-literature do? It can perpetuate any number of power-relations but to suggest that these are in the service of a tangible state goal would be a mistake. The major mode of language is not the ceaseless and resolute perpetuation of ideology; Guattari, arguably the more materially minded of the two, asks emphatically, 'what is the crystallization of power in the field of linguistics? One will understand nothing of this question if power is represented exclusively as an ideological superstructure'.¹⁶² In Deleuze's reading of Foucault, the state emerges as 'the overall effect or result of a series of interacting wheels or structures'.¹⁶³ The state apparatus is a culmination of diverse power-relations and does not exist outside the affects it can create:

The institutions are not sources or essences, and have neither essence nor interiority. They are practices or operating mechanisms which do not explain power, since they presuppose its relations and are content to 'fix' them, as part of a function that is not

¹⁶¹ Deleuze, *Foucault*, p. 70.

¹⁶² Felix Guattari, *The Guattari Reader*. Ed. by G Genosko. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1996), p. 141.

¹⁶³ Deleuze, *Foucault*, p. 25.

productive but reproductive. There is no state, only state control, and the same holds for all other cases.¹⁶⁴

Rather than asking what a majoritative mode means, it is then left to ask what does it do, what effects and relative resistances it produces. As this chapter has already discussed, a Judge's sentencing takes place within a pre-existing knowledge of variables but also power-relations, the state is only evidenced when it passes sentence. There is no major mode, only majoritative control, which 'is not made to be believed but to be obeyed and to compel obedience'.¹⁶⁵ But this is an oversimplification for power is 'diagrammatical' in as much as it serves to 'display relations between forces which constitute power'.¹⁶⁶ The judge passing sentence does not exist in isolation from other power-relations and to diagram the relativity in that meeting of forces exists in a matrix of other power-relations. The major mode seeks a single binary power-relation, the one amongst many. In the numerical this is articulated as 0-1 arranged according to 'presence or absence'.¹⁶⁷ In the case of Davis's racially charged conclusion that Peruvians are indolent, the abstracted variable as a constant establishes a power-relation, the sentence is passed and the incorporeal transformation effected, if only within the text, with lack being the defining characteristic; the Peruvians are literally negative in the power-relation. But, as has been seen, this particular abstraction of a constant exists within a larger literary context, in pre-existing knowledge of power-relations and this is precisely why power is diagrammatic, it reflects not just one power-relation but many:

Power-relations are differential relations which determine particular features (affects). The actualization which stabilises and stratifies them is an integration: an operation which consists of tracing 'a line of general force', linking, aligning and homogenising particular features, pacing them in series and making them converge.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁴ Deleuze, *Foucault*, p. 75.

¹⁶⁵ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 84.

¹⁶⁶ Deleuze, *Foucault*, p. 73; Deleuze, *Foucault*, p. 36.

¹⁶⁷ Russell West-Pavlov *Space in Theory: Kristeva, Foucault, Deleuze*. (New York: Rodopi, 2009), p. 177.

¹⁶⁸ Deleuze, *Foucault*, p. 75.

Deleuze's allusion to a 'line of general force' opens his reading of Foucault to a more direct link to his collaborative work with Guattari wherein the symbolism and deployment of lines becomes prevalent. Power is multiple in as much as it is diagrammatic and is typified by more than one 'power-relation' at any given time. For Deleuze and Guattari the line of 'rigid segmentarity' and supple line present a possibility for the negative in the articulation of binary power-relations to be reflected. The form of expression subsumes the form of content while the abstraction of a constant is at the expense of other variables but the diagrammatic project is able to reflect these relations within the larger context of the supple line:

It is sufficient to define bureaucracy by a rigid segmentarity with compartmentalization of contiguous offices, an office manager in each segment, and the corresponding centralization at the end of the hall or on top of the tower. For at the same time there is a whole bureaucratic segmentation, a suppleness of and communication between offices, a bureaucratic perversion, a permanent inventiveness of creativity practiced even against administrative regulations.¹⁶⁹

Rigidity accompanies suppleness and vice-versa; the power-relation, the effect of the power-relation between the manager and the office worker within the major mode is restricted; it is limited by / delimited to one possible constant but this is accompanied by the potential for a supple line, a second and even a third power-relation; it is the entirety of these power-relations which create a social reality. It is when a language aspires to homogeneity that it is in fact more prone to heterogeneity; this echoes Foucault's perspective that 'resistance is embedded in all discourses'.¹⁷⁰ Segmentarity is what Deleuze and Guattari use to describe a process of identification and measurement in the 'disjunctive synthesis', the operations of which Massumi frames in the context of mineralogy:

Long before the bulldozer arrives, mineralogy has abstracted as set of properties common to any number of distant deposits (inventing a category), and subdivided those properties (into types), and has defined the appropriate type for application ... separation is the goal; divide and quarry.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁹ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 235.

¹⁷⁰ Lisle, *The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing*, p. 13.

¹⁷¹ Massumi, *A User's Guide to Capitalism and Schizophrenia: Deviations from Deleuze and Guattari*, p. 49.

This process of identification and measurement finds a very real application to a critical reading in *A Thousand Plateaus*. It is surprising that no critic has actively engaged with Deleuze and Guattari's reading of 'In the Cage' (1898), Henry James's novella which appears in *A Thousand Plateaus*, wherein the prominence of lines in Deleuze and Guattari's approach becomes evident.¹⁷² In fact the novella appears within the larger body of work as a means of elaborating on the functioning of lines firmly within the context of deterritorialization and it is further important to note the absence of any characterisation of the novella as 'minor'. Rather it is the arena wherein a number of possibilities converge; rigidity and suppleness, minor and major. Deleuze and Guattari discuss the novella's plot and the manner in which lines of rigidity and suppleness appear:

The heroine, a young telegrapher, leads a very clear-cut, calculated life proceeding by delimited segments; the telegrams she takes one after the other, day after day; the people to whom she sends the telegrams; their social class and the different ways they use telegraphy: the words to be counted. Moreover, her telegraphist's cage is like a contiguous segment to the grocery store next door, where her fiancé works.¹⁷³

The onus on measurement, or time and communication, in this reading is important and also pertinent to a reading of Davis, indeed of any travel writing. Travel writing is populated with measurements between a foreign and domestic sphere of territory and culture. The traversing of borders is characterised as an act of measurement, for example a simple reference to the exchange rate of one currency to another is an instance of equivalence acting as a process of segmentarity. Deleuze and Guattari also indicate quite clearly the effect and the purpose of segmentarity on the major mode of language in reference to James' novella:

I am a man, you are a woman; you are a telegraphist, I am a grocer; you count words, I weigh things; our segments fit together, conjugate. Conjugality. A whole interplay of well-determined, well-planned territories. They have a future but no becoming. This is the first line, the molar or rigid line of segmentarity: in no sense is it dead, for it occupies and pervades our life and always seems to prevail in the end.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷² Henry James, *In the Cage* (London: Duckworth, 1898)

¹⁷³ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 215.

¹⁷⁴ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 216.

This is the principal line of the major mode of language and just as the disjunctive synthesis is preceded or followed by a connective synthesis so too is the rigid line of segmentarity; in the case of James' novella this occurs in the disturbance of an existing segment:

A rich couple comes into the post office and reveals to the young woman, or at least confirms, the existence of another life: coded, multiple telegrams, signed with pseudonyms. It is hard to tell who is who anymore, or what anything means. Instead of a rigid line composed of well-determined segments, telegraphy now forms a supple flow marked by quanta that are like so many little segmentations-in-progress.¹⁷⁵

It is important to note Deleuze and Guattari's conclusion in the case of the telegrapher:

She has reached something like a new line, a third type, a kind of *line of flight* that is just as real as the others even if it occurs in place: this line no longer tolerates segments; rather, it is like an exploding of the two segmentary series. She has broken through the wall; she has gotten out of the black holes. She has attained a kind of deterritorialization.¹⁷⁶

Rigidity and suppleness are dependent and co-exist, just as will be shown, Davis's work is not 'either...or' but in a constant state of flux capable of stability and ruptures. To return to the immediate context of Davis, and particularly his war correspondence: the line of suppleness appears in Deleuze and Guattari's analysis of James's 'In the Cage' as subversion occurring within a pre-existent line of segmentarity. The undermining of the rigidity of the telegrapher comes not from a new line but the metamorphosis of the existing line. This metamorphosis is not simply the product of a self-conscious artist but a naturally occurring movement of language or lines. Language cannot help but encounter diverse and supple lines which are not the exclusive domain of the rebel or revolutionary; suppleness is the reciprocal resistance embedded in discourse. Take for example Davis's coverage of the Greco-Turkish war; in the following passage a large number of segments are deployed forming a potent rigid line:

¹⁷⁵ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 216.

¹⁷⁶ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, pp. 217-218.

There was no selection of the unfit test; it seemed to be ruled by unreasoning luck. A certain number of shells and bullets passed through a certain area of space, and men of different bulks blocked that space in different places. If a man happened to be standing in the line of a bullet he was killed and passed into eternity, leaving a wife and children, perhaps to mourn him. 'Father died', these children will say, 'doing his duty'. As a matter of fact, father died because he happened to stand up at the wrong moment ... and he projected his bulk of two hundred pounds where a bullet, fired by a man who did not know him and who had not aimed at him, happened to want the right of way.¹⁷⁷

The rigid line is omnipresent in the above passage comprised of a number of segments. In the first instant, the soldier and latterly father and husband; the supple line emerges as that which engenders the conversion from one to the other and it is the bullet. Its effect is not to create a complete deterritorialisation but rather to initiate the movement from one instance of rigidity to another or from one series of power-relations to another. The diagrammatic project traces the supple line as breaking the segmentarity of one instance and its reconstitution into another, even if it remains very much a construction or myth.

Finally, and potentially the greatest opportunity to discuss Davis with Deleuze and Guattari is in the context of space and the discursive expression of material space. Pavlov states, 'Space is at the heart of Deleuze and Guattari's thinking because life expresses itself in the creation of spaces'.¹⁷⁸ A number of terms appear throughout the Schizoanalytical project which resonate with a geographic mode of thought but it becomes apparent that Deleuze and Guattari are in fact conceiving of something which connects completely with everything else in their work. It is here that the terms striated, haptic, territorialisation, deterritorialization, reterritorialization, icons, indexes and symbols join the already formidable lexicon of this writing. To commence with Territory: 'The territory is in fact an act that affects milieus and rhythms, that 'territorializes' them. The territory is the product of territorialisation of milieus and rhythms'.¹⁷⁹ Territory is not synonymous with space, though is something of a misnomer

¹⁷⁷ Davis, *Moments in Hell*, p. 16.

¹⁷⁸ Pavlov, *Space in Theory: Kristeva, Foucault, Deleuze*, p. 180.

¹⁷⁹ Pavlov, *Space in Theory: Kristeva, Foucault, Deleuze*, p. 347.

as this chapter has already noted: it should be ‘understood as being infected from the outset by a dynamising process’.¹⁸⁰ There is no territory, rather there is the effect of a process of territorialisation and so it is the reciprocity between the two that arguably should be the focus. The phrase ‘milieu’ appears abundantly throughout all of their collaborative works but the better definition remains the one provided by Brian Massumi in the translator’s forward of *A Thousand Plateaus*: ‘In French, *Milieu* means ‘surroundings’, ‘medium’ (as in chemistry), and ‘middle’. In the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari ‘milieu’ should be read as a technical term combining all three meanings’.¹⁸¹ In respect of territorialisation, milieu could be exclusively read as ‘surrounding’ if for no other reason than the spatial connotations of the word, but this would be a mistake as Protevi and Bonta’s definition of ‘milieu’ suggests:

The human body’s exterior milieu is the total of all materials accessible to it; its interior milieu is its organ systems; its intermediary milieu is the shell that surrounds it ... its annexed or associated milieu are the materials that are useful or in use as well as the sources and source regions of those materials: the English language, such-and-such religion, the town in which one lives, and so forth.¹⁸²

A human body is a territory; it is the product of territorialisation appearing as a process creating connections between the various milieus which it is a part of and exposed to. The human body is constituted as a space when territorialised. A town is a milieu but it is also space in as much as it is constituted by a process of territorialisation, the human body is a milieu in respect of the territory of the town, it is selected amongst many milieus as that which contributes to constituting the town as a territory. In Pavlov’s reading of Deleuze and Guattari, ‘all space emerges ... coagulating at the moment connections occur’, thus the territorialising process is productive in one respect, and also reductive in another. Protevi and Bonta go further in this regard, suggesting that ‘Territories are fashioned from parts of

¹⁸⁰ Pavlov, *Space in Theory: Kristeva, Foucault, Deleuze*, p.180.

¹⁸¹ Brian Massumi, ‘Translator’s Foreword: Pleasures of Philosophy’, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. 5th ed. Trans. by B. Massumi. (London: Continuum, 2004) p. xvii.

¹⁸² Mark Bonta and John Protevi, *Deleuze and Geophilosophy: A Guide and Glossary*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), pp. 113-114.

milieus and composed only of those milieu materials that have meaning and function for the territorial assemblage'.¹⁸³ Milieu seems to be a multiplicity, and that phrase is not deployed lightly in this context; it is multiple because it acts as the medium for the surrounding materials that are accessible to it. The process of territorialisation extracts, or rather takes aspects of many milieus all connected within 'a territory marked by indexes'.¹⁸⁴ Notably absent from the readings of literature deploying Deleuzeguattarian theories is any substantial discussion or engagement with 'indexes', 'icons' and 'symbols' as they appear in the Deleuzeguattarian theoretical works. This is perhaps because they do not explicitly occur within the context of 'the line of flight' of the minor project and yet they provide a pragmatic framework for reading the processes of territoriality, being as they are 'three kinds of signs; indexes (territorial signs), symbols (deterritorilised signs), and icons (signs of territorialisation)'.¹⁸⁵

Kaplan's 'primal man' can be taken as an index, a sign of territoriality transposed from the 'West' into a new constellation of relations with Cuba, Spain and the United States. What Kaplan perhaps fails to consider is how this index is changed in its transposition, how the index is in fact an icon, a reterritorialised index which has undergone a transformation in its exportation. On the face of it, this small reference provides a practical vocabulary for close reading; take Davis's description of the Rock of Gibraltar for example:

It is only after the sun begins to turn the lights out, and you are able to compare it with the great ships at its base, and you see the battlements and the mouths of cannon, and the clouds resting at its top, that you understand it; and then when the outline of the crouching lion, that faces all Europe, comes into relief, you remember it is, as they say, the lock to the Mediterranean, of which England holds the key.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸³ Pavlov, *Space in Theory: Kristeva, Foucault, Deleuze*, p. 1991; Bonta and Protevi, *Deleuze and Geophilosophy: A Guide and Glossary*, p. 158.

¹⁸⁴ Bonta and Protevi, *Deleuze and Geophilosophy: A Guide and Glossary*, p. 158.

¹⁸⁵ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 72.

¹⁸⁶ Richard Harding Davis, *The Rulers of the Mediterranean* (New York: Charles Scribner's and Sons, 1894), p. 7.

To read this passage in respect of the territories demarked and sent into ambiguity is interesting if for no other reason than its apparent simplicity; the ‘crouching lion’ acts as an index demarking the territorialisation of the rock. But it becomes apparent that Davis’s statement is altogether something more diagrammatic; it ‘plays a piloting role’ by reflecting power-relations.¹⁸⁷ The statement is not a complete index, or sign of territory demarking English property but represents the space as a polymorphism; the existence of England is not disputed, but the space which Davis maps is not entirely England, nor is it completely the Mediterranean or the ‘crouching lion’. To read this passage metaphorically is a mistake. To suggest that Davis is simply indulging in metaphor may be correct but to read it exclusively as metaphor would be the antithesis to a Deleuzeguattarian reading because ‘Metaphor is a false sign’.¹⁸⁸ Metaphor proceeds by hierarchy, within which the ‘literal meaning is more important than the metaphorical one and precedes it’; what is perhaps more useful is to consider Davis’s passage as a ‘sequence of intensive states, a ladder or a circuit’.¹⁸⁹ Davis’s passage is typified by a co-efficient process of reterritorialisation, manifest in the reference to England at its close, but it remains a sequence of variable indexes and icons in relation to many different milieus.

Davis’s description of the rock is not completely subordinated to the axiomatic type, but neither is it completely a deterritorialised enunciation. The diagrammatic project then could well be that which not only rejects redundancy but is also capable of producing the ‘placing in-variation’ of the minor treatment of language. This project culminates in a language stratum wherein all the potentials for the form of content remain immanent to the statement, which is not ordered. This is precisely what Davis does not do: his articulation is ordered and it is important to note that the sentence ends with England; it functions as

¹⁸⁷ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 157.

¹⁸⁸ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 57.

¹⁸⁹ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 21.

punctuation, ordering the preceding statements. There is no Gibraltar form, it is a statement in relation to other terms, the Rock, lion, England and Mediterranean; England is abstracted as the order-word of the sentence, it effects the incorporeal transformation from the preceding state to the other. But the form of the expression is not England but rather the set of statements that Davis has invoked. A hierarchy is asserted, this is true. In the case of the Rock of Gibraltar it also happens to be true; it is indeed under British military control. But the rock, lion and Mediterranean persist, the rock is not England's key to the Mediterranean because it is not the rock, indeed it is still the rock, the lion and territory which is as much Mediterranean as English; there is hierarchy but it is not total, nor are the statements interchangeable, each affecting a very different incorporeal transformation if they were to serve the order-word function. The quick and effective answer is that Davis's sentence is not diagrammatic, nor is it completely axiomatic, it presents no unified form of the space, merely the appropriation of one state which subordinates but is not constant, even within the confines of the one sentence. This example of reading Davis's work using Deleuzeguattarian concepts evidences poles of reciprocity, connections and exchanges which in the final summation do not rely on Davis being a major or a minor writer, rather they rely on a discursive cartography of space represented as materially experienced.

Chapter 3: Davis's Arborescent West

The West from a Car Window, published in 1892, was not Davis's first exercise in travel writing.¹⁹⁰ It was Davis's first and only domestic travelogue, the collected articles that comprise the book evidenced the construction of a particular style which came to be prevalent throughout his career. Within a few years of completing *The West from a Car Window* Davis had completed and published *Our English Cousins* in 1894, *The Rulers of the Mediterranean* in 1894, *About Paris* in 1895 and *Three Gringos in Venezuela and Central America* in 1896.¹⁹¹ The stylistic tone and publishing pattern Davis established in *The West from a Car Window* is recognizable in all of the above; namely articles published separately and later collected as a whole with a style infused with a 'personal view' which 'dramatized and humanized events'.¹⁹² *The West from a Car Window* was not Davis's most ambitious travelogue but, as his first extensive and only domestic one, it foreshadowed his travel writing career in much the same way that *Soldiers of Fortune* came to foreshadow his career as a novelist.¹⁹³ A general review of Davis in 1895 noted that 'there could scarcely be a greater contrast in material than that which lies between the Western frontier of the United States and the shores of the Mediterranean'.¹⁹⁴ What this review does not consider is the extent to which this contrast in geography was tempered by the apparent format which Davis established in covering the West. With the benefit of being able to consider Davis's travel writing career as a whole it becomes evident that, while a contrast in geographic subject differentiates his works, the particular style of his travel writing was established from the start. While the style of Davis's travelogue was sustained throughout his career there is

¹⁹⁰ Richard Harding Davis, *The West from a Car Window*.

¹⁹¹ Richard Harding Davis, *Our English Cousins* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1894); Davis, *The Rulers of the Mediterranean*; Richard Harding Davis, *About Paris* (New York: Echo Library, 1895); Davis, *Three Gringos in Venezuela and Central America*.

¹⁹² Osborn, *Richard Harding Davis: Critical Battleground*, p.32.

¹⁹³ Davis, *Soldiers of Fortune*.

¹⁹⁴ Anon, 'New Figures in Literature and Art', *The Atlantic Monthly*, 75:451, May 1895, pp, 654 -658.

something unique occurring in *The West from a Car Window*, in no other travelogue does Davis engage so heavily and so explicitly with cultural representations of the location. The travelogue is littered with fictional and artistic representations of the West through which Davis frames his writing, and in no other instance in his travel writing does this occur. This cultural framing will be discussed in much greater detail throughout the chapter.

It was in the distinctly American tradition of going West that Davis commenced his career as a travel writer proper and while he would return to Europe and undertake trips to Russia and Africa to provide travel copy for his publishers he would not go West again. It is this Westward journey and the articles that it produced that placed him firmly within a distinctly American cultural milieu in a manner his other works perhaps do not. What Davis encountered and recounted in his articles however was a West embodying few of the myths espoused by his peers. Davis's journey was far from unique but his representation of it situated him in opposition to a prevailing frontier mythology in the 1890s.

In the first instance, it is necessary to expand on the cultural context of Davis's departure from the East Coast in 1892. One year before Frederick Jackson Turner's epochal frontier thesis, 'which synthesized the prevalent frontier anxieties of the day', Davis documented his exploration of the Western states and in a sense pre-empted Turner's conclusion that 'the frontier epoch had reached its end'.¹⁹⁵ Lubow is insightful when he notes the circumstances, motivation and reality of the West at the time of Davis's journey:

It is of course an absurd idea to travel to a vast territory about which one knows next to nothing, spend less than three months there, and write a book about it. Still, writers did it then and do it now. When a reporter ventures into remote lands, the exotic subject matter compensates for the quick study. But the West was hardly mysterious in 1892. It was reliably, if tediously, accessible by the railroads that crisscrossed the continent. It had been mythologised and demythologised. In a spasm of self-confident elation, a young writer could imagine that he would find what others had overlooked, or that he would take what they had found and make it his own.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁵ David Wrobel, *The End of American Exceptionalism: Frontier Anxiety from the old West to the New Deal* (Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1993), p. 31; Wrobel, *The End of American Exceptionalism: Frontier Anxiety from the old West to the New Deal*, p. 41.

¹⁹⁶ Lubow, *The Reporter who would be King: A Biography of Richard Harding Davis*, p. 83.

Lubow deftly illustrates the hubris with which travel writers often conceive of and embark on a project or assignment. The West, as Lubow points out, had already been ‘mythologised and demythologised’ as Lubow puts it, by the time Davis departed from New York in 1892. What is striking is that this process was arguably something of which Davis already had a sense. In a very explicit manner Davis populates his travelogue with precisely those cultural artefacts which created and continued to perpetuate the myth of the West in his own time. These cultural representations of the West are not inserted into his discourse simply to be ‘demythologised’; rather, in an almost naïve way his travelogue explores a very real tension between expectations formed by culture and the reality of a first-hand experience. As noted, unlike many of the stylistic and thematic components of *The West from a Car Window* which would recur in his travel writing this tension between the cultural and the actual does not figure as prominently again. There are instances however wherein Davis takes to task his contemporaries’ representation of particular places in his other works such as the following aside Davis makes about Kipling’s coverage of Port Said, which had caused Davis to anticipate a den of iniquity:

I told them to hire me a house, and wake the people in Port Said up, and show me the very worst sights of which the city boasted ... but to the inhabitants of Port Said, who have enjoyed a notoriety they do not deserve, and who are like those desperadoes in the West who would rather be considered ‘bad’ than the nonentities that they are ... Port Said may have been a sink of iniquity when Mr Kipling was last there, but when I visited it was a coaling station. I would hate to be called a coaling station if I were Port Said, even by me.¹⁹⁷

Whilst Davis’s response to Kipling is arguably more a case of Davis finding journalistic integrity and professionalism to have been affronted by Kipling’s exaggerations in his description of Port Said, Davis was already drawing parallels to the myths that he encountered in the West. Davis’s travelogue is resolutely not fiction but it should be

¹⁹⁷ Davis, *The Rulers of the Mediterranean*, p. 99.

considered in a larger context of literary and artistic expressions of the West and should be included in a cultural tradition which even at the time of his writing was recognizable as ‘Western writing’. Wrobel points out the importance of travel to the Western writing tradition:

The individual travel narrative is one of the staples of Western writing and one that cuts across categories of interior and exterior expressions of regionalism. Both Westerners and non-Westerners have recorded their instant impressions of Western places in the course of travelling through the West. The tradition stretches back at least as far as Lewis and Clark at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the closing years of that century the West was still largely unknown territory for most Americans at the same time that many observers lamented that the frontier’s journey across the West was over and that the West was becoming just like the rest of the nation.¹⁹⁸

It is to this staple of the Western writing tradition that Davis contributes with *The West from a Car Window*. Critics of Davis and indeed scholars of the West locate the travelogue in a curious position and in doing so depart from the usual positioning of Davis as the purveyor of Imperial Romance. Davis’s travelogue is found to be something of an antithesis to the romanticism of Roosevelt’s writing, Wister’s later works and the staged images of Davis’s own illustrator Frederic Remington. Seelye, in a biographical summation of the travelogue, notes that, ‘the West as Davis saw it was a series of disappointments, in which expectations nurtured by such mythmakers as Roosevelt and Remington were repeatedly reversed’.¹⁹⁹ Char Miller similarly concludes that, ‘in search of the frontier crucible he discovered that it had been hammered out on an urban forge’.²⁰⁰ Again in an echo of Osborn’s and Seelye’s observations on Davis’s travelogues in South America and the Mediterranean, Miller is crediting Davis with an awareness of the complexities and even realities of the geopolitical context of the locale which he was documenting. Originating from the East Coast should also not disqualify Davis’s discourse from being situated as ‘Western

¹⁹⁸ David Wrobel, ‘The Literary West and the 20th Century’, in *A Companion to the American West*, ed. by William Deverell (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), pp. 470–471.

¹⁹⁹ Seelye, *War Games: Richard Harding Davis and the New Imperialism*, pp. 75-76.

²⁰⁰ Char Miller, *Cities and Nature in the American West* (Nevada: The University of Nevada Press, 2010), p. 2.

writing’; Wrobel notes that the ‘claim that real Western literature came from narratives of the region and that mythic, or fake, Western literature comes from the outside (read: Easterners), draws lines between Westerners and non-Westerners too sharply’.²⁰¹ Davis, as if aware of this prejudice, even in the 1890s and in a self-acknowledged attempt to ‘hedge’, remarks at the opening of the travelogue, ‘All that I may hope to do is tell what impressed an Eastern man in a hurried trip through the Western states’.²⁰² While Davis’s identification as an ‘Eastern man’ is both self-conscious and self-effacing it also suggests a very real distinction for him. While his contemporaries, particularly Turner and Roosevelt, deployed the West as emblematic of a cohesive national whole, Davis’s firm allegiance to the East as both his home and origin maintains a difference between it and the West. Wrobel’s point however is less to do with identity as a fixed point of origin than with the concept that what defines Westerners and Easterners is ultimately more fluid and dynamic than the dichotomy Davis perpetuates. The essence of travel is to commence from an outside, or rather from a ‘somewhere else’ and in this way the majority of ‘Western writing’ originates from somewhere else.

If Davis’s travelogue does indeed stand in opposition to the cultural framing of the West within his own time it is necessary to briefly interrogate what the elements of the frame most relevant to Davis included. Not least this frame included significant contributions to a sense of ‘national identity’ and unity. Campbell, when commenting on Wister and Turner, reinforces the conceptions of ‘national identity’ and the West as being intertwined, with the West serving to unify a disparate country:

In Wister’s metanarrative, national identity is forged by melting down exterior differences into a ‘new product’, as Frederick Jackson Turner called it, a composite American self, formed out of a migratory Westward journey ... and contact with the rigors of climate, geology, and indigenous populations, and the subsequent realignment of European values in the soil of the frontier.²⁰³

²⁰¹ Wrobel, ‘The Literary West and the 20th Century’, p. 461.

²⁰² Davis, *The West from a Car Window*, p. 4.

²⁰³ Campbell, *The Rhizomatic West*, p. 6.

What is of importance in Campbell's summation is that the 'composite American self' is not fulfilled in the arrival in, or conquering of, the West but rather in the process of migration. The very act of migration is sufficient to determine the character of the national identity and suggests a constant process, or rather to refer to the observations made in the second chapter a constant forging of identity through expansion. Wrobel suggests that the West 'is always at the heart of the nation's creation story' and this was certainly the case in the early 1890s.²⁰⁴ Interestingly, with the opening up of and subsequent closing of the frontier, it has been suggested that American writers brought up on 'the stories and legends of the old West ... had to create a new literature for a region with a newly acquired self-consciousness'.²⁰⁵ Davis's contribution was not necessarily literary in nature: his self-reflexivity throughout the travelogue, not only of his status as an Easterner but more importantly of the cultural frame through which he experienced the West, speaks to this self-consciousness. The pinnacle of this 'creation story' was reached with Frederick Jackson Turner's *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* (1893).²⁰⁶ Madsen summarises the principal thematic conclusion of Turner's thesis, stating that, 'it was not the civilisation of the Atlantic states but the Great West that best described America'.²⁰⁷ While Turner's thesis in part is a lament for the closing of the frontier, there persists within it an overarching conception of American identity emanating from the movement West. Roosevelt similarly posits Western settlement as a distinctly American feature:

For generations the great feature in the nation's history, next only to the preservation of its national life, was to be its Westward growth; and its distinguished work was to be the settlement of the immense wilderness which stretched across to the Pacific.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁴ Wrobel, 'The Literary West and the 20th Century', p. 471.

²⁰⁵ James H. Maquire, 'Introduction' to 'Part Two: Settled in: Many Wests'. Western Literature Association, *A Literary History of the American West* (Texas: TCU Press, 1987), p. 319.

²⁰⁶ Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* (London: Penguin, 2008).

²⁰⁷ Deborah Madsen, *American Exceptionalism* (Mississippi: The University of Mississippi Press, 1998), p. 123.

²⁰⁸ Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West Volume 1: 1769 – 1776* (Montana: Kessinger Publishing, 2004), p. 1.

For Roosevelt, the task of settling the West is both a ‘distinguished work’ and the ‘great feature’ of the nation’s history and by extension of the nation itself. Phillips, in considering the role of the West in cinema, traces its ‘dominant figuration’ to ‘the aesthetic genres of legendary history, painting and fiction – of Theodore Roosevelt, Frederick Jackson and Owen Wister respectively’, and summarises this figuration as a ‘heroic story about Euro-American cultural and political expansion on a large panoramic frontier, under a big sky’.²⁰⁹ While referring specifically to Turner’s thesis, Campbell perhaps attests to a more general theme of the cultural output of Roosevelt, Remington and later Wister:

In displacing the uncertainty and fluidity of migration and movement he asserts a rhetoric of interiority, of essential, rooted identity as the focus for the epic narrative giving coherence and authority to the Westward urge of nation building, providing Americans with a distinct creation myth, or what Bowden called the ‘perfect garden’.²¹⁰

This myth making was not restricted to fiction and/or the history of the sort Roosevelt practised, but as Primeau asserts it is just as prevalent in American travel writing which is imbued with ‘the quest motif’.²¹¹ While this could in fact involve a quest for anything, Primeau ultimately suggests that ‘the rootless search for personal and national identity ... reaches back at least to Emerson’s self-reliance, Thoreau’s self-sufficiency, and Whitman’s self-celebration’.²¹² Blanton goes even further than Primeau in asserting the importance of travel as a ‘symbolic act’:

Both American fiction and the American travel narratives that influenced it share a response to the idea of travel as a symbolic act, heavy with promises of a new life, progress, and the thrill of escape. Travel elevated to an idea, rather than a response to new surroundings, paves the way for a kind of travel writing that Americans excel in and which, in a sense, justifies the intrusion of the ‘imperial self’ in the service of a larger goal. It is a type of writing that has as its source Whitman’s notion of the

²⁰⁹ James Phillips, *Cinematic Thinking: Philosophical Approaches to the New Cinema* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), p. 54.

²¹⁰ Campbell, *The Rhizomatic West*, p 6.

²¹¹ Roland Primeau, *Romance of the Road: The Literature of the American Highway* (Wisconsin: The Popular Press, 1996), p. 19.

²¹² Primeau, *Romance of the Road: The Literature of the American Highway*, p. 19.

‘perpetual journey’ ... American travel literature is almost always ‘about’ something else, something beyond the senses of the traveller or even the world he sees.²¹³

In the midst of the mythologizing of the West, travel itself becomes more than a ‘response to new surroundings’ or indeed ‘new circumstances’, it becomes central to conceptions of individual and collective American identity. Blanton’s conclusion that ‘American travel writing is always about something else’ perhaps slightly over simplifies the nature of not only American travel writing but all travel writing. Davis’s travel writing will be found to be ostensibly ‘about’ the location he was describing, and that the writing is also about the United States or the machinations of European colonial powers is precisely what makes travel writing a cartography. In the same manner that Davis creates a map of the West in *The West from a Car Window*, charting his movement from one location to another it will also be seen that Davis is writing about a cultural map, plugged into and reflecting on the material map he renders in a rich discursive cartography.

It was within a ‘wave of popular interest in the West that Davis’s travel articles appeared in *Harper’s* from March to June 1892.²¹⁴ Seelye provides a concise and excellent appraisal of Davis’s work and its uniqueness in the tradition of cultural expressions of the West:

Davis’s account of his travels through Texas, Colorado and Oklahoma was in tone and subject matter perfectly in keeping with its valedictory function. As material for a journalist – as opposed to a nostalgic artist or novelist – the ‘storied’ West has already disappeared by the time Davis arrived, an absence which, with ingenuity that was typical of his writing, he made into a unifying theme of the book. Moreover, he steered wide of Roosevelt’s territory – the Dakotas and Wyoming – following his own route, which was largely through a wasteland that served as a stark backdrop to his negative take on the no-longer-wild West. What he reported back was therefore a salutary remedy for the version being touted by Roosevelt and Remington, a disparity ironically emphasized by the illustrations the artist prepared for Davis’s book.²¹⁵

²¹³ Casey Blanton, *Travel Writing: The Self and the World* (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 17.

²¹⁴ Henry Quinby, *Richard Harding Davis: A Bibliography* (New York: E.P. Dutton and Co, 1924) quoted from Seelye, *War Games: Richard Harding Davis and the New Imperialism*, p. 73.

²¹⁵ Seelye, *War Games: Richard Harding Davis and the New Imperialism*, p. 75.

Davis would depart from any heroic scope to his travels by remarking at the outset that an Eastern man travelling to the West would find that his ‘first practical surprise perhaps will be when he discovers the speed with which numerous states are passing under him, and that smooth road-beds and parlour cars remain with him to the very borders of the West’.²¹⁶ Immediately, the West is not only accessible but accessible in comfort. While Davis does frequently juxtapose a culturally created West with the more banal reality he finds, in doing so he also arguably dispenses with any greater meaning of the West in the positivist sense of the word. By that, I mean Davis does not identify the West as the crucible of American identity, nor as anything that is necessarily emblematic of the national character.

If Davis departs from the tradition of Western writing in as much as he eschews the ‘dominant figuration’ as it existed at the time, perhaps then a different manner of approaching the collected articles is required. Deleuze and Guattari’s approach to capitalism as a model which sets and then exceeds its own limits will be used to illustrate how Western expansion for Davis appeared as a series of traversals enabled by a centre of appropriation and a capitalism that constantly adapts its practices (or, in Deleuze and Guattari’s terms, axioms) to enable those traversals. The lack of any great symbolism or coherence in the West for Davis, while apparent in his ironic style, is also arguably due in part to the nature of the serialised articles that comprise the book. The West as a whole may have more resonance than the individual scenes that Davis paints and the first material effect of the serialised format of the book becomes apparent in the manner in which Davis rarely if ever discusses the West as one thing, as an all-encompassing whole. The immediate effect of this is to efface the one, the West that is, in favour of the many which comprise the one in the abstract; Davis is writing about the West but he is actually writing about the individual territories he visits and any summative or thematic consistency he draws between them is treated glibly and sparingly.

²¹⁶ Davis, *The West from a Car Window*, p. 4.

The effect of the serialised format on the travelogue is interesting and will be discussed later but there does not appear to be a great deal of critical insight into the effect of such a composition or arrangement on discourse, especially discourse which attempts to collect together parts of a map into a larger map. Deleuze's reading of Walt Whitman in *Essays Critical and Clinical* provides a method that can be adapted for approaching Davis's travelogue in a manner capable of highlighting the significance of its collected, even fragmentary, nature.²¹⁷

3.1 Fragmenting the West

Previous readings of the travelogue refer to it consistently as a 'book', with Lubow describing it as Davis's 'Western book' and in doing so drawing no clear distinction between it and fiction nor referring to its origin as a series of articles written independently in the course of travelling and published separately before being collected as *The West from a Car Window*.²¹⁸ The disparate nature of the articles has the effect of creating something of a disharmony when they are collected as a whole and this disunity becomes synonymous with the subject of the writing or rather of the West itself both for Davis and the reader. Each article takes as its subject a particular location which has primacy; the larger territory of 'the West', which in the travelogue exists as an all-encompassing label, is not the setting for Davis's travelogue but a geographical distinction within which the singular and ontologically 'one' locations Davis covers are situated. The effect is that the primacy of the location denies the secondary greater significance. Davis inverts the regional primacy that pervades Turner's later discourse by situating the West as a series of locally manifest and divergent geo-political expressions rather than as a material whole within which the local resides. This inversion breaks up the synergy of the West as a narrative foreground, and in order to consider this

²¹⁷ Gilles Deleuze, *Essays Critical and Clinical*, trans. by Daniel W. Smith and Michael A. Greco (London: Verso, 1998).

²¹⁸ Lubow, *The Reporter Who Would Be King: A Biography of Richard Harding Davis*, p. 83.

further it is necessary to deploy a theoretical model which eschews the ‘dominant figuration’ of the region. In *Essays Critical and Clinical* Deleuze expands on the ‘Superiority of Anglo-American Literature’ as it appeared in *Dialogues II* with a closer reading of Davis’s contemporary Whitman and in doing so theorizes the uniqueness of American literature as Deleuze saw it.²¹⁹

With much confidence and tranquillity, Whitman states that writing is fragmentary, and that the American writer has to devote himself to writing in fragments. This is precisely what disturbs us – assigning this task to America, as if Europe has not progressed along this same path.²²⁰

Marks reinforces this difference, suggesting that ‘American literature creates something schizophrenic from the neurosis of the Old World’.²²¹ It is the concept and use of the ‘fragment’ that Deleuze locates as the penultimate expression of this difference. While Deleuze ascribes this trait to Whitman in particular, it extends further to become analogous for the United States as a whole and a key component maintaining the ‘minoritarian’ status of American literature. Deleuze remarks: ‘is not American literature the minor literature par excellence, insofar as America claims to federate the most diverse minorities ... America brings together, extracts, it presents samples from all ages, all lands, and all nations’.²²² The federation of fragments, then, becomes the defining characteristic of America and American literature. But this federation should not be mistaken for a form of subjugation and it is in this seeming contradiction that Deleuze raises Whitman to something of a pinnacle.

But when Whitman speaks in his own manner and his own style, it turns out that kind of whole must be constructed, a whole that is all the more paradoxical in that it only comes after fragments and leaves them intact, making no attempt to totalise them.²²³

²¹⁹ Gilles Deleuze and Claire Parnet, *Dialogues II*. Trans. by Hugh Thomlison & Barbara Habberjam (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

²²⁰ Deleuze, *Essays Critical and Clinical*, p. 57.

²²¹ John Marks, *Gilles Deleuze: Vitalism and Multiplicity* (Michigan: Pluto Press, 1998), p. 128.

²²² Deleuze, *Essays Critical and Clinical*, p. 57.

²²³ Deleuze, *Essays Critical and Clinical*, p. 58.

The continued autonomy of fragments is predicated on the understanding that relations are and remain ‘external to their terms’.²²⁴ On this basis relations do not require a totalizing effect to create a whole, or rather the parts do not exist explicitly add up to something bigger, or indeed smaller. As Marks explains, America ‘as a federation of states’ presents ‘a totality which does not preclude the continued existence of discrete elements’.²²⁵ This paradox for Deleuze is a model more closely related to nature and in making this connection Deleuze further propagates the significance of the American federated model:

Nature is not a form, but rather the process of establishing relations. It invents polyphony: it is not a totality but an assembly, a ‘conclave’, a ‘plenary sessions’. Nature is inseparable from processes of companionship and conviviality, which are not pre-existent givens but are elaborated between heterogeneous living beings in such a way that they create a tissue of shifting relations, in which the melody of one part intervenes as a motif in the melody of another.²²⁶

This is precisely the correlation Herzogenrath finds in the dynamic relations between nature and democracy as constituted by fragments and ever shifting relations between those fragments in Whitman’s *Leaves of Grass*: ‘Whitman’s equation of the experiment of *Leaves of Grass* with the experiment of American democracy suggests that a static condition cannot hold, since this would be contrary to the dynamic processes of life and nature’.²²⁷ Ambrosini and Dury illustrate how this writing or structuring of fragments can appear in literature and in their critical engagement with the concept focus specifically on Robert Louis Stevenson’s *Treasure Island*.

Indeed, the book consists in a juxtaposition of multiple fragments (‘scraps of writing’), it breaks the linear, diachronic tradition, it is essentially discontinuous. There is no central unit acting as mainspring, no transcendence, no hierarchical system, no solution given from above.²²⁸

²²⁴ Deleuze, *Essays Critical and Clinical*, p. 58.

²²⁵ Marks, *Gilles Deleuze: Vitalism and Multiplicity*, p. 128.

²²⁶ Deleuze, *Essays Critical and Clinical*, p. 59.

²²⁷ Walt Whitman, *Leaves of Grass* (New York: Mundus Press, 1937); Bernd Herzogenrath, *An American Body/Politic: A Deleuzian Approach* (Lebanon: University of New Hampshire Press, 2010), p. 189.

²²⁸ Richard Dury and Richard Ambrosini., *Robert Louis Stevenson: Writer of Boundaries* (Wisconsin: Wisconsin University Press, 2006), p. 52.

Ambrosini and Dury would ultimately suggest that Stevenson's novel exhibits the characteristics of a rhizome, remarking that the novel becomes an 'incidental rhizome, it became its own reflexive subject'.²²⁹ This 'discontinuous' composition is not unique to works of fiction and it will be seen that the same can be said of not only Davis's work but many travelogues. Returning to the rhizome and its relevance, and even in some instances explicit correlation to Anglo-American writing, Primeau demonstrates the precedent and significance of the Deleuze and Guattari conception of the rhizome and the United States:

The American rhizome is found in the tribal spirit, in Whitman's grass, on the frontier, in apparently aimless rebellion, and in movement seemingly for its own sake in what Deleuze and Guattari see as Kerouac's dream 'to saturate everything' and 'become everybody/everything'. From the circling, churning pattern of motion and rhizomatic multiplicity, the modern highway traveller inherited a tradition of ambivalence wherein movement itself would become at least as important as reaching a goal.²³⁰

The synergy between Turner's promotion of the migration West as being more significant than its eventual settlement and Primeau's assertion that 'movement is as important as reaching a goal' should be self-evident. American travel writing in this perspective, at least as it pertains to the West, is then imbued with the conception of movement rather than destination, it draws its significance from the act of traversal more so than from the act of arrival. This however does not seem to be the case for Davis and his articles demonstrate something quite contrary to this location of value in the traversal. In fact, it becomes apparent that Davis's collected travelogue is more a series of arrivals and departures than a joined up coherent movement from a point A to a point B (and then C) and because of this the actual 'movement' becomes secondary to the locations at which he arrives and from which he subsequently departs. This is not unique in travel writing as such but does mark a departure from the tradition of Western writing to a certain extent. In much the same

²²⁹ D. Richard and A. Richard, *Robert Louis Stevenson: Writer of Boundaries*, p. 53.

²³⁰ Primeau., *Romance of the Road: The Literature of the American Highway*. p. 19.

way that Ambrosini and Day find *Treasure Island* to be ‘discontinuous, each section relates to the others through virtual connections, which are there for the reader to imagine’.²³¹

Davis’s travelogue makes the actual travel conspicuous by its absence, the reader is left to imagine the journey from one location to another as virtual connections. While there remains a brief mention of the ease of his initial journey, the remaining aspects of travel within the respective articles remain decidedly local, or within the territory in which he arrives.

Furthermore, Davis frequently displaces the chronology of his arrival in the various states he visits, commencing with a more general description of a location usually framed by a cultural referent before remarking on his arrival at the train station (for instance). In the article ‘At a New Mining Camp’ Davis recounts his early experiences with an ‘eager study of Bret Harte’, the author of *The Luck of Roaring Camp* (1868), and only after several pages, and after a general recounting of the mining camp, does he refer to the train journey and the landscape he observed in his approach.²³² This approach is never joined up with the location which the previous article takes as its subject, at least not explicitly, and while each location is ‘connected’ to a wider conception of territory, as in the West, the absence of long and even hard travel serves to isolate each destination into a decidedly local phenomenon.

The absence of travel between a point A and a destination B and the act of collecting the articles together creates virtual connections between the ‘discrete elements’ of the larger whole while not subordinating them to a larger or hierarchical unity. If there is a ‘whole’ for Davis it is the East; his identification as an easterner posits it as something which is complete. It is in this sense that what Deleuze identifies in Whitman appears useful for interrogating the way in which Davis’s travelogue considers the West and subsequently departs from any

²³¹ Ambrosini and Dury, *Robert Louis Stevenson: Writer of Boundaries*, p. 57.

²³² Davis, *The West from a Car Window*, p. 26; Bret Harte, *The Luck of Roaring Camp: Selected Stories of Bret Harte* (New York: Wildside Press, 2008).

totalizing narrative. Commenting on Whitman, Deleuze notes the following on the American experience and American writing:

If the fragment is innately American, it is because America itself is made up of federated states and various immigrant peoples (minorities)-everywhere a collection of fragments, haunted by the menace of secession, that is to say, by war. The experience of the American writer is inseparable from the American experience, even when the writer does not speak of America.²³³

If Deleuze is correct in this assertion, then Davis's experience of the West is also inseparable from the American experience. While Davis's tone and style are consistent throughout the collection the 'discrete elements' of each individual location ensure that the work appears fragmented. Davis states, 'I can only give impressions from a car window point of view, and cannot dare draw conclusions'.²³⁴ While this is on the one hand an admission of his inability to 'cover' the West it is also a departure from the concept of the West as a unifying theme or metaphor. The West is not a totality but is a series of framed impressions viewed from the relatively new transport technology of the connected rail system. In his private letters Davis would remark to his family that 'it has been a most dreary trip from a car window point of view'.²³⁵

It would be inaccurate to suggest that Davis fragments the West purposefully, rather the fragmentation occurs as a by-product of framing those instances of it which he does experience and writes about. Davis deploys this mobile framed vision in order to reflect fragments of a whole too geographically large to represent in its entirety. There is, then, real variance in the West, not by virtue of a democratic principle, as in Whitman, but certainly a sense of transient rather than fixed scenes connected by the reader more so than any narrative conceit. Deleuze suggests that the 'object of American literature is to establish relations between the most diverse aspects of the United States' geography – the Mississippi, the

²³³ Deleuze, *Essays Critical and Clinical*, p. 56.

²³⁴ Davis, *The West from a Car Window*, p. 4.

²³⁵ Richard Harding Davis, *Adventures and Letters of Richard Harding Davis*. Ed. by C. B. Davis (New York: Metropolitan, 1917), pp. 68-69.

Rockies, the Prairies – as well as its history, struggles, loves and evolution’.²³⁶ Just as Ambrosini and Day find this principle of connection, or rather relation, to be virtual in Stevenson’s *Treasure Island*, so too does it appear in Davis’s travelogue. Ultimately Davis’s *The West from a Car Window* takes samples from diverse territorial settings bringing them together after the fact rather than commencing with a whole. In the final article of the travelogue Davis recounts his visit to an Army post and opens with a passage which comes startlingly close to embodying the federated fragments which Deleuze values so highly and which also encapsulates an analogy of the travelogue itself:

The army posts of the United States are as different from one another as the stations along the line of a great railroad system. There is the same organization for all, and the highest officers govern one as well as the other; but in appearance and degree of usefulness and local rule they are as independent and as dependent, and as far apart in actual miles, as the Grand Central Depot in New York ... is distinct from the section-house at the unfinished end of a road somewhere on the prairie ... what is true of one is by no means true of another.²³⁷

The articles which make up the collection are themselves at once ‘independent and dependent’ and in the passage above Davis effectively anticipates precisely the paradox of independent but dependent discrete elements which Deleuze theorised later. It would be an error to suggest Davis had any intention of theorising either the West or his own work in such a way. The fact that this is clearly not the case perhaps makes Davis’s contribution to the concept of the fragment all the more valuable as it occurs as an expression of the ‘American experience’.

There is however a criticism of Deleuze’s approach to the West and Anglo-American literature which must be acknowledged. Deleuze’s advocacy for the West and Anglo-American literature arguably enunciates a perspective closer to the ‘creation story’ myth that Neil Campbell identifies in Turner. Interspersed throughout the rhetoric of the ‘line of flight’

²³⁶ Deleuze, *Essays Critical and Clinical*, p. 59.

²³⁷ Davis, *The West from a Car Window*, p.185.

is a considered effort to elevate the importance of Anglo-American literature; as Lecerle notes in Deleuze's *Dialogues II*, 'A whole chapter is devoted to a paean of Anglo-American literature (from Hardy to Kerouac), its constant becoming-revolutionary.'²³⁸ The extent to which Deleuze favourably renders Anglo-American literature should not be under-estimated:

To fly is to trace a line, lines, a whole cartography. One only discovers worlds through a long, broken flight. Anglo American literature constantly shows these ruptures, these characters who create their line of flight, who create through a line of flight. Thomas Hardy, Melville, Stevenson, Virginia Woolf, Thomas Wolfe, Lawrence, Fitzgerald, Miller, Kerouac. In them everything is departure, becoming, passage, leap, daemon, relationship with the outside. They create a new Earth; but perhaps the movement of the earth is deterritorialization.²³⁹

The reasoning for Deleuze's singling out of Anglo-American literature is found in a romanticised 'sense of the frontiers as something to cross, to push back, to go beyond'.²⁴⁰ That this is reserved for a list of writers firmly entrenched not only in the existing canon of American literature but writers that reaffirm the pre-eminence of the avant-garde artist in Deleuze and Guattari's work. There is the prevailing ideal throughout Deleuze's elevation of Anglo-American literature and culture that the axiomatic state mode is the concern and apparatus of an older European model which has no bearing on the United States. Lecerle continues to elaborate on Deleuze's preoccupation with Anglo-American literature noting that it is that literature's 'capacity to eschew the pettiness of the individual hero' which appeals to Deleuze.²⁴¹ This would immediately stand in opposition to the individual heroics which populate Davis's more famous novels and which the critical survey in chapter two has already considered. But Deleuze did not have Davis in mind when he asserted that the citizens of the United States were 'not exactly a people called upon to dominate the world. It is a minor people, eternally minor, taken up in a becoming-revolutionary'.²⁴² But Lecerle

²³⁸ Jean-Jacques Lecerle, *Deleuze and Language* (Basingstoke: Palgrave and MacMillan, 2002), p. 198.

²³⁹ Deleuze and Parnet, *Dialogues II*, p. 39.

²⁴⁰ Deleuze and Parnet, *Dialogues II*, p. 37.

²⁴¹ Lecerle, *Deleuze and Language*, p. 198.

²⁴² Deleuze, *Essays Critical and Clinical*, p. 4.

identifies this seeming dichotomy between a language of resistance and dominance as being reflective of American literature:

Anglo-American literature reflects both aspects: the revolutionary aspect of subversion of the imperialist language and the hegemonic aspect through which the major language comforts its majority in dialect interactions with the dialects of registers which minorise it.²⁴³

In contrast Culbert, though, points out that the elevation of the Anglo-American and particularly the figuration of the West as it appears in Deleuze and Guattari's work arguably endorses the expansionist and subjugating myth of American national identity espoused by Turner and Roosevelt:

In evoking the figure of the frontier, however, the authors show a striking insensitivity to the mythopolitical and imperial dimension of this motif in the American cultural imagery. Unwitting exoticists, the authors resurrect the dubious Frontier Thesis of the later nineteenth-century American historian Frederick Jackson Turner. As a result, literature and travel risk becoming allies of a romance of national identity, manifest destiny, and the ideology of expansion.²⁴⁴

Deleuze and Guattari concede that 'America is a special case [but] is not immune from domination by trees or the search for roots. This is evident even in the literature, in the quest for a national identity, and even for a European ancestry or genealogy'.²⁴⁵ There is then a tension within Deleuze's conclusions, between an elevation of Anglo-American literature and the reality of Westward movement which necessarily entailed the subjugation and displacement of countless people. If the national identity was forged in Westward movement then this movement included much violence and domination of indigenous peoples. Similarly to Culbert's assertion above, Byrd makes a connection between Deleuze and Turner:

Drawing on the paradigmatic Indian wilderness to encapsulate an America in which arborescence becomes Rhizomatic, *A Thousand Plateaus* performs a global, nomadic reframing in which the frontier becomes, again, Frederick Jackson Turner's site of transformation, possibility, and mapping.²⁴⁶

²⁴³ Lecerle, *Deleuze and Language*, p. 198.

²⁴⁴ John Culbert, *Paralyses: Literature, Travel, and Ethnography in French Modernity* (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2010), p. 97.

²⁴⁵ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 21.

²⁴⁶ Jodi A. Byrd, *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), p. 13.

Turner's proclamation that 'the frontier is the outer edge of the wave – the meeting point between savagery and civilisation' does parallel Deleuze and Guattari's conception of American 'frontiers as something to cross, to push back, to go beyond'.²⁴⁷ That the crossing, pushing back and edge of the wave can be colonial or striating in nature appears to go unacknowledged in their work. Perhaps a more useful reading would be one which focuses on these aspects of the settlement of the West as they figure in the discourse of Westward movement, and Davis as 'distinctly a contemporary, an observer rather than a student, a recorder and artist rather than a historian or a philosopher' is well placed to engender such a reading.²⁴⁸

Just as Davis later found the rulers of the Mediterranean to be 'themselves all subjects of Great Britain', and in South America the true controlling influence to be exerted by 'the foreign business forms, which financed revolutions and in return were exempted from forced loans', his travelogue on the West contains similar economic and political insights.²⁴⁹ Davis's travelogue is littered with allusions to the role of the market place in expanding the borders of the United States and the exploitation of newly acquired natural resources. This aspect of Davis's writing is noted by Char Miller, who concludes on Davis's travelogue:

But this well-travelled, if parochial, man understood from the transportation grid on which he journeyed and the U.S cavalry units with whom he rode – from the muddy mining communities he slogged through and the financiers and executives with whom he dined – that the contemporary Western economy depended heavily on the urban tools of conquest and commerce. The federal government's fiscal subsidies and military power; the massive investment of outside capital to extract precious metals, harvest timber, and run livestock operations; and the steady stream of migrants — all were key agents linking those distant and desperate places into the wider metropolitan marketplace.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁷ Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History*, p. 1. Deleuze and Parnet, *Dialogues II*, p. 37.

²⁴⁸ Anon, 'New Figures in Literature and Art', *The Atlantic Monthly*, vol 75, issue 451, May 1895, p. 657.

²⁴⁹ Seelye, *War Games: Richard Harding Davis and the New Imperialism*, p.140; Osborn, *Richard Harding Davis: Critical Battleground*, p.163.

²⁵⁰ Char Miller, *Cities and Nature in the American West* (Nevada: University of Nevada Press, 2010), p. 2.

In focusing on the economic reality of the West, Davis departs from any romanticism in favour of a knowing exposition of the commerce of expansion and control and it is in those terms that *The West from a Car Window* will now be considered. Deleuze and Guattari's insight into capitalism, in respect of its constant setting and traversal of boundaries, provides a useful and pragmatic framework with which to consider the geographic and economic expansion Davis depicted. Deleuze and Guattari theorise a model of capitalism which when reaching its own limits sets new limits by the addition of new axioms. In this manner capitalism is constantly exceeding its own limits only to impose new ones, the limit imposed by the new axiom. Holland attempts and successfully condenses this complex economic theory:

More particularly, they argue that capitalism is able to continually displace any apparent limits to its growth by adding new axioms to its systems of axiomatisation. Thus for example when biological and/ or political limits appear as obstacles to the extraction of surplus value ... capitalism adds axioms of technology to increase territory within the system of production.²⁵¹

Capitalism is then a model which creates not only its own limits but the means to exceed those limits. Davis documents the manner in which capitalism and particularly investment from the East encroaches into these disparate territories throughout the West and in doing so renders this axiomatic take over; how this manifested itself or territorialised is dependent on the resources to hand, for instance minerals or beef or fertile land, so that Davis's travelogue contains multiple expressions of capitalism and ultimately a fragmented capitalism- this will be considered in more depth later in this chapter.

3.2 Oklahoma City: 'a freak of our civilisation'

Of all the territories that make up the collected travelogue none appear to distress Davis as much as 'Oklahoma City'. Although the land race to settle Oklahoma territory and

²⁵¹ Eugene W. Holland, *Deleuze and Guattari's Anti-Oedipus: Introduction to Schizoanalysis* (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 114.

found Oklahoma City occurred when territory was purchased by the US government and opened up to settlement three years prior to Davis's visit, it occupies a large part of his article on Oklahoma City, 'A Three Year old City'.²⁵² This article is perhaps Davis's greatest interrogation of the actual political and economic mechanics of Western expansion, an expansion manufactured specifically to occupy the land. Davis remarks that 'the land ... was thrown open by proclamation of the president to white settlers, who could on such a day, at such an hour, 'enter and occupy it' for homestead holdings'.²⁵³ The very notion of 'opening up' land in this manner appears as something almost intrusive in Davis's discourse. The traversal of a limit, the land was previously closed to settlement and then opened to facilitate the settling of Oklahoma territory as it appears in Davis's discourse can be considered in a similar manner to the axiomatic methods of capitalism. What was not considered economically, legally or politically possible before has been made possible through the axiomatic proclamation.

Reaching the boundary of American territory, a new limit is set with the acquisition of Oklahoma territory for settlement; the new limit then becomes that beyond Oklahoma territory. However, there is a 'corollary' to this expansion; this unleashing of forces beyond existing limits coincides with the setting of new limits, as Deleuze and Guattari suggest in

Anti-Oedipus:

The more the capitalist machine deterritorializes, decoding and axiomatizing flows in order to extract surplus value from them, the more its ancillary apparatuses, such as government bureaucracies and forces of law and order, do their utmost to reterritorialize, absorbing in the process a larger and larger share of surplus value.²⁵⁴

Davis is quick to point out that 'A homestead holding is one hundred and sixty acres of land', so while the limit is traversed and more territory opened for settlement there remains

²⁵² Davis, *The West from a Car Window*, p. 95.

²⁵³ Davis, *The West from a Car Window*, p. 95.

²⁵⁴ Deleuze and Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 37.

a control on the scale at which this expansion can occur.²⁵⁵ Deleuze remarks that the American ‘limit/boundary’ is something to cross, however what Deleuze fails to consider is that this crossing, while often a line of flight, is more frequently an operation more similar in character and effects to Deleuze and Guattari’s own conception of capitalism. Just as capitalism adds additional axioms when encountering existing limits so too does the American federal government in purchasing the territory. An ensuing Presidential proclamation of the United States government of 1889 can be seen to have added both a capital axiom – more land, the acquisition of resource rich land, or as Davis put it, ‘the most fertile part of Indian Territory’ – and a legislative axiom which at one and the same time removes an existing limit whilst adding new limits (a homestead holding is one hundred and sixty acres). In addition, Davis casts the settling of the West in an altogether more colonial light, noting that ‘there are no Indians in this scene’.²⁵⁶ They have been paid one dollar and twenty-five cents an acre for land, which is worth five dollars an acre as it lies, before a spade has been driven into it or a bit of timber cut, and they are safely out of the way’.²⁵⁷ The settlement of the West, to some extent, is then synonymous with the acquisition of land and parallels the European model of expansion and the extraction of resources and displacement of existing inhabitants as defined by Patton:

In order for surplus labour to be extracted in the form of profit, both land and labour must become commodities ... the conversion of portions of the earth inhabited by so called primitive peoples into an appropriate and exploitable resource therefore requires the establishment of a judicial centre of appropriation.²⁵⁸

McChesney’s own insight into the opening of Oklahoma territory accords with Patton’s conclusions on colonial expansion, with McChesney stating that ‘it proved desirable to define private rights to land rather than continue ownership in the hands of the

²⁵⁵ Davis, *The West from a Car Window*, p. 96.

²⁵⁶ Davis, *The West from a Car Window*, pp. 95-6.

²⁵⁷ Davis, *The West from a Car Window*, p.95.

²⁵⁸ Paul Patton, *Deleuze and the Political* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 123.

Government, which was doing little to realise the value inherent in the land'. McChesney goes on to note that 'the most remarkable instance of racing for resources in the US occurred in the late nineteenth century, typified by the Oklahoma land Rush of 1889'.²⁵⁹ Perhaps travel writing is distinctly positioned to elucidate on the expansion and resetting of limits as Ziff asserts, regarding travel writing, remarking 'what is travel writing it is not simultaneously a movement forward past domestic boundaries and a meditation backward on the limits that have been transcended'.²⁶⁰ Deleuze and Guattari's approach to capitalism is useful in considering the manner of this 'movement forward' and the new limits founded in the movement but also in the after effect, the reactive forces which necessarily establish new limits. Deleuze and Guattari elaborate on this almost cyclical process at work in the traversal and establishment of limits when they discuss the relative dependencies at work in decoding and deterritorializing:

As a corollary of this law, there is the twofold movement of decoding and deterritorializing flows on the one hand, and their violent and artificial reterritorialization on the other. The more the capitalist machine deterritorializes, decoding and axiomatizing flows in order to extract surplus value from them, the more its ancillary apparatuses, such as government bureaucracies and the forces of law and order, do their utmost to reterritorialize, absorbing in the process a larger and larger share of surplus value.²⁶¹

Davis would remark in a letter to his family that in Oklahoma 'they drove me crazy almost with town lots and lots of sites and homestead holdings', but this observation appears understated in comparison to his published indictment of the bureaucracies and speculation in land which immediately followed the land rush and which were still evident three years later at the time of his visit: 'For speculation in land, whether lots on the main street or in homestead holdings on the prairie, and the battle for rights in the courts seem to be the

²⁵⁹ Terry Anderson and Fred McChesney, *Property Rights: Co operations, Conflict and Law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), p. 242.

²⁶⁰ Larzer Ziff, *Return Passages: Great American travel writing 1780-1910* (New Haven: Yale University Press 2000), p. 16.

²⁶¹ Deleuze and Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 37.

prevailing and ruling passion of the place ... The town swarms with lawyers, and is overrun with real-estate offices'.²⁶² While the Oklahoma land race opened land for settlement, the ensuing 'bureaucracies' which followed in its wake established a market consisting of new limits, new flows of commerce and exchange.

3.3 The Axiomatic West

Before returning to Oklahoma City and Davis's interrogative article it is worth expanding on the idea of the axiom and how it figured in Westward expansion on the North American continent, and specifically how it figures within Davis's articles. It is in the context of the proliferation of barbed wire throughout Texas that Davis's discourse converges the principles of an axiomatization and the subsequently controlling effect (a very real restriction of movement) that this new axiom brings, along with the forces of law and order effectively policing its imposition. The convergence of these two elements arguably created the grid-like pattern which underlies Campbell's work as Davis describes in the following quotation:

Before the barb-wire fence appeared, the Cattle wandered from one range to another, and the man of 15 thousand cattle would over stock, knowing that when his cattle could not find enough pasturage on his range they would move over to the range of his more prosperous neighbour. Consequently, when the men who could afford it began to fence their ranges, the smaller owners who had over-bred, saw that their cattle would starve, and so cut the fences in order to get back to the pastures which they had used so long. This, and the shutting off of water tanks and of long used trails brought barb-wire fence wars which raged long and fiercely between cowboys and fence men of rival ranchers and the Texas Rangers. The barb wire fences did more than this; they shut off the great trails that stretched from Corpus Christi through the pan handle of Texas, and on up through New Mexico and Colorado and through the Indian Territory to Dodge City. The coming of the rail road also made this trailing of cattle superfluous, and almost destroyed one of the most remarkable features of the West.²⁶³

Barb wire becomes in a sense a technological advancement; Brighton refers to barb-wire as 'an extremely successful modern tool for preventing movement and controlling populations ... originally introduced in the late 19th century to regulate bovine pastures in the

²⁶² Davis, *Adventures and letters of Richard Harding Davis*, p. 77; Davis, *The West From A Car Window*, p.122.

²⁶³ Davis, *The West from a Car Window*, p.136

American great Plains'.²⁶⁴ This new axiom is introduced by a limit – the limit on potential profit and/ or surplus which can be acquired while neighbours are effectively reducing each other's resources; the axiom's purpose is to surpass the existing limits of profit and surplus by controlling more resources. The fences then provoked conflict as they imposed economic hardship on those who could not afford to do the same. The Texas Rangers, then, regulate this conflict and the efforts made to combat the limit introduced by the new axiom. Finally, the barb wire restricts movement – the great cattle migration north — but it is also complemented by the rigid line of the transport imposed by the rail road, itself a technical axiom to increase profit. These two aspects combined, barb wire and the rail system, simultaneously control and reduce the time between space, originating in a desire for more surplus and resources.

Davis's entire travelogue is infused with a pervasive sense of the West as 'claimed', firstly in a geographic sense and secondly in the pursuit of the resources that reside within it. The barbwire is a case in point, putting a fence around what is owned. Davis would encounter a similar model at the mining camp at Creede, wherein the capitalist drive for Westward expansion exists at a completely different scale and is focused on a completely different resource. On arriving at Creede, Davis reflects on the manner in which the mining boom creates secondary markets, arising or proliferating from a resource rich centre:

But after I reached Denver, and even before, when I had begun to find my way about the Western newspapers, it seemed to be spelled CREEDE. In Denver it faced you everywhere from the Bill-Boards, flaunted at you from canvas awnings stretched across the street, and stared at you from daily papers in type an inch long; the shop-windows, according to their several uses, advertised Photographs of Creede, The only correct map of Creede, Specimen ore from the Holy Moses mine, Creede, Only direct route to Creede, Scalp tickets to Creede ... The gentlemen in the Denver Club talk Creede; the people in the hotels dropped the word so frequently that you wondered if they were not all just going to there, or were not about to write Creede on the register. It was a common language, starting-point, and interest. It was as momentous as the word Johnstown during the week after the flood.²⁶⁵

²⁶⁴ Andrea Brighenti, 'Lines, barred lines, Movement, territory and the law', *The International Journal of Law in Context*, vol. 6, no. 3 (2010), pp.217-227. p. 218.

²⁶⁵ Davis, *The West from a Car Window*, pp. 60-61.

The mining camp at Creede ‘spread out in endless concentric circles beyond the mining claim’, becoming a ‘collective enterprise’ which Davis appears to almost stumble across in his journey.²⁶⁶ It is however the ‘claim’ or the act of laying ‘claim’ to land and the resources under or in it that interests Davis more:

Prospectors scoured the sides of the mountains from sundown to sunset, and at night their fires lit up the range, and their little heaps of stone and their single stick, with their name scrawled on it in pencil, made the mountains look like great burying-grounds. All of the land within two miles of Creede was claimed by these simple proofs of ownership – simple, yet as effectual as a parchment sealed and signed. When the snow has left the mountains, and these claims can be worked, it will be time enough to write the real history of the rise and fall of Creede.²⁶⁷

The ‘claim’ is not necessarily an axiom in the same sense that barb wire was and continues to be; it is however a method of creating ‘territorial relationships’ according to Brighenti. These territorial relationships perhaps work in an inverse way to the axioms of traversal, in as much as the claims create boundaries where none existed before and in doing so create the conditions for a traversal. Brighenti continues:

Boundary-drawing is the kernel of the territorial claim, and the territory-making is in fact boundary-making. Put differently, territories are the operation, or effectuation, or boundaries. Boundaries themselves are not objects but forms and templates of social interaction that enable the production of functions, the management of distances and the setting of thresholds between events.²⁶⁸

The ‘proofs of ownership’ Davis finds scattered over the mountain are commodified before mineral has even been found or extracted, the claim itself has value regardless of the resources the claim entitles the owner to, with Davis remarking, ‘Of the inner life of Creede I saw nothing; I mean the real business of the place – the speculation in real estate and in mines’.²⁶⁹ The speculation is not in the mineral but in the claims themselves, mirroring the

²⁶⁶ Malcolm Rohrbough, ‘Mining and the Nineteenth Century West’ in *A Companion to the American West*, pp. 121- 122.

²⁶⁷ Davis, *The West from a Car Window*, p. 60.

²⁶⁸ Brighenti, ‘Lines, barred lines. Movement, territory and the law’, *The International Journal of Law in Context*, p. 223.

²⁶⁹ Davis, *The West from a Car Window*, p. 90.

continued speculation in plots in Oklahoma territory. Davis's travelogue renders very explicitly the escalation of capitalism and the displacement of value onto something other than the resource itself.

Davis's career encompasses two very distinct and opposed visions of the West, with the later of the two being recognized in the resurgence of interest in him where Kaplan in particular finds Davis invoking the motifs and sensibilities of the West in his fiction. It can be argued that Davis's first engagement with the West as it appears in *The West from a Car Window* is divergent from his apparent fictional engagement with the West in *Soldiers of Fortune*, which Kaplan suggests reimagined a mythic West. While *The West from a Car Window* addresses the economic nuances of expansion, *Soldiers of Fortune* returns the West to a vision closer to that perpetuated by Roosevelt. This 'transposed West' however, which Kaplan suggests functioned to legitimate international expansion, could also be considered to have taken on axiomatic character itself:

But axioms are hard to define ... they are the product of competing political and social forces, of ascendant regimes and coup d'états, but also of group fantasies and other manifestations of the collective libidinal – music, television, cinema, advertising, not to mention science and technology.²⁷⁰

Just as the West appeared as a cartographic regime of signs and indeed as an 'ascendant regime' at the time Davis started *The West from a Car Window*, it is arguable that the West has remained as an axiomatizing cultural referent. While the geographic locality of the West (as a discernible material goal for successive administrations) served to unify the disparate states which comprised the union, the eventual settlement of the West did not herald the end of its deployment as an axiom. This is never more obvious than in Davis's own novel *Soldiers of Fortune* and the cultural enunciations of the American, or rather romantic American, imperialism in the late 1890s. Kaplan, referring to Wister, traces *The Virginian*

²⁷⁰ Peter Gaffney, *The Force of the Virtual: Deleuze, Science and Philosophy* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), p. 47.

directly back not to the West as it appeared domestically but the West as it appeared in enunciations of empire:

The modern Western – initiated by *The Virginian* in 1902 – has an immediate genealogy in the popular historical novels of the 1890s and their romance of empire. By imagining contemporary American imperialism as the return to an original virile past, the historical romance re-opens the closed frontier and reinvents the West as a space for fictional representation.²⁷¹

Wrobel similarly linked the expansionist doctrine of the late 1890s to the closing of the frontier but does so in a manner altogether more economic in character: ‘some reckoned that the energies exerted in developing the continent would become a dangerous surplus if new fields of action were not found’.²⁷² Davis’s novel served to legitimate expansion, or, in another sense, a traversal of existing boundaries not by the introduction of a new ‘axiom’ (the axiom of capture) but through the transposition of an existing cultural axiom. Kaplan reinforces Wrobel’s allusions to the economics of a settled West, remarking that, ‘[e]mbedded in the discourse of closed space is the rhetoric of surplus energy that describes overproduction of goods and over saving of capital as a physical pressure in need of release’.²⁷³ Roosevelt is more explicit in his summation and interlinking of expansion in the West and expansion overseas and particularly as it pertained to the American-Spanish war in 1898:

At the bottom the question of expansion in 1898 was but a variant of the problem we had to solve at every stage of the great Western movement. Whether the prize of the moment was Louisiana or Florida, Oregon or Alaska, mattered little. The same forces, the same types of men, stood for and against the cause of national growth, of national greatness, at the end of the century as at the beginning.²⁷⁴

It would be wrong to suggest the West is ‘a group fantasy’ as such, it is however a collectively mythologised cultural entity its axiomatisation as a component of national identity or ‘greatness’, in Roosevelt’s terms, is apparent and persists even now. In Kaplan’s

²⁷¹ Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S Culture*, p. 119.

²⁷² Wrobel, *The End of American Exceptionalism: Frontier Anxiety from the old West to the New Deal*, p. 54.

²⁷³ Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S Culture*, p. 102.

²⁷⁴ Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, Vol. 1, pp. 11-12.

reading, 'American imperialism reclaimed and galvanized the meaning of the West as the site of origins', in the course of which the West came to embody ever shifting boundaries beyond the continent and arguably has been reconstituted time and again.²⁷⁵

3.3 The Cultural West

Of the eight articles which comprise the travelogue four commence with a reference to an existing cultural representation of the subject of the article. In fact, Davis's discourse is littered with cultural referents in a manner quite remarkable, and in this sense Davis's travelogue is an assemblage and, perhaps, self-consciously so. Deleuze and Guattari suggest that in respect of writing, 'the only question is which machine the literary machine can be plugged into, must be plugged into in order to work'.²⁷⁶ Deleuze expands on this concept in *Dialogues II* stating that 'the writer invents assemblages starting from assemblages which have invented him'.²⁷⁷ The cultural referents that litter Davis's work in this context are then other assemblages which both invent him and which are also plugged into by his own travelogue. In this way Davis was writing about the West but also about Western writing in a way that was quite unique. The three opening passages below illustrate this:

The ideas which the stay-at-home Eastern man obtains of the extreme borderland of Texas are gathered from the various sources, principally from those who, as will all travellers, make as much of what they have seen as is possible ... or he has read of the bandits and outlaws of the Garza revolution, and he has seen the wild west show of the Hon. William F Cody.²⁷⁸

My only ideas of a new mining camp before I visited Creede were derived from an early and eager study of Bret Harte. Not that I expected to see one of his mining camps or his own people when I visited Creede, but the few ideas of miners and their ways and manners that I had were those which he had given me.²⁷⁹

Many years ago the people of the East took their idea of the Indian from Cooper's novels and 'Hiawatha' and pictured him shooting arrows into herds of buffalo, and sitting in his wigwam with many scalp-locks drying on his shield in the sun outside ... Travellers from the west have told him that this picture belongs to the past, and they

²⁷⁵ Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S Culture*, p. 120.

²⁷⁶ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, pp. 4-5

²⁷⁷ Deleuze and Parnett, . *Dialogues II*, p. 51.

²⁷⁸ Davis, *The West From a Car Window*, p. 6.

²⁷⁹ Davis, *The West From a Car Window*, p. 59.

have been taught to look upon the Indian as a ‘problem’, and to consider him as either a national nuisance or as a much-cheated and ill-used brother.²⁸⁰

While Miller points out that for Davis ‘the west was hammered out on an urban forge’, equally it could be argued that the West for Davis had been hammered out in a cultural forge evident by the above. In this way Davis’s ‘window’ includes the cultural milieu from which he emerges; while it is ostensibly the car window and by extension the train which frames Davis’s journey and perspective, it is a perspective firmly within the scope of the existing cultural West as Davis knew it. Davis follows a pattern of exposing these various representations for the fictions which they are but there is not the sense that Davis is consciously seeking to debunk or demystify them and yet he does locate a tension between the image and the reality never better put than in his comparison of the mining town Creede with Harte’s more colourful imagining:

The men and the scenes in this new silver camp showed what might have existed in the more glorious sunshine of California, but they were dim and commonplace and lacked the sharp, clear-cut personality of Bret Harte’s men and scenes. They were like the negative of a photograph which has been under exposed, and which no amount of touching up will make clear. So I will not attempt to touch them up.²⁸¹

Davis realises that the West is a cultural, as well as physical journey, and while the real West may be like a ‘negative of a photograph’ this negative exists alongside an equally touched up image – the existence of the one does not necessarily discount the other, rather, in the negative and photo metaphor Davis is suggesting an almost symbiotic and necessary coexistence of the two. In this manner for Davis the cultural referents he deploys exist within the cartography of the West alongside the material reality of the West.

While it should not be expected that Davis should refer to Europe within his domestic travelogue, Ziff, in writing about American travel writing and the work of Henry James in particular, positions Europe as central to American travel writing:

²⁸⁰ Davis, *The West From a Car Window*. p.151.

²⁸¹ Davis, *The West From a Car Window*. p. 59.

James asserted that while a European writer did not have to deal with America at all if he chose not to do so, an American writer had no choice but to deal with Europe if he wished to be complete. Midway into the twentieth century this pattern reversed itself ... But to James's day, Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper, Henry Wadsworth Long Fellow, James Russell Lowell, and William Dean Howells, to mention a prominent few bore out his assertion. The conscious struggle of American writers to create a national literature demanded of them that they confront a world beyond the national boundaries. They did so in poetry, fiction, and literary criticism, and they did also in travel writing.²⁸²

This 'confrontation' with the world as it appears outside the national borders which Ziff locates as an important aspect in forming a national literature and arguably a national culture is inverted in Davis's work. Davis's cultural referents are distinctly American throughout his travelogue; rather than looking outside of the national boundaries Davis looks inwards and backwards. In this way Davis is critiquing the West as it was already known to him. Just as James, as recounted by Ziff, suggests the American literary machine must plug into Europe in order to 'work', so it appears Davis's travelogue must be plugged into a cultural West in order to work.

As was stated earlier, this pattern of paralleling culture with reality came to be a hallmark of Davis's travel writing. While Davis may have become more blunt in his observation this template of using travel as a means to interrogate the culture of his time started in *The West from a Car Window* wherein he is equally as ironic but perhaps less blunt. In a similar vein Davis also sought to dispel inaccuracy where he found it in previous critical writing, a case in point being his coverage of the Panama Canal in his travelogue, *Three Gringos in Venezuela and Central America* in which Davis recounts having read descriptions of 'a pathetic spectacle presented by thousands of dollars' worth of locomotive engines and machinery lying rotting and rusting in the swamps', only to find and recount himself that, 'the care the company was taking of its machinery and its fleet of dredgingscows and

²⁸² Ziff, *Return Passages: Great American Travel Writing 1780-1910*, p. 16.

locomotives struck me as being much more pathetic than the sight of the same instruments would have been had we found them abandoned to the elements and the mud'.²⁸³

While it has been seen that Davis's articles often commence with a cultural frame (which is contrasted to the real in the instance of Oklahoma) Davis complicates his own structure. Rather than comparing Oklahoma with an Oklahoma City as it appears in culture, Davis invents a substitute image used to represent Oklahoma City; a symbolic image which he then contrasts with a second image. This second image for Davis comes to represent the real against which the former is compared. Davis starts his article with a stark rendering of the value of Oklahoma City as he perceives it:

The only interest which the East can take in Oklahoma City for some time to come must be the same as that with which one regards a portrait finished by a lightening crayon artist, 'with frame complete' in ten minutes. We may have seen better portraits and more perfect colouring, but we have never watched one completed, as it were, 'while you wait'.²⁸⁴

This is the only instance where Davis refers explicitly to a frame in his travelogue while at the same time the collected articles are typified with framing devices, commencing with a cultural referent, the constant hedging and the framing of the entire travelogue through a car window. What is more significant about Davis's article on Oklahoma territory is the manner in which many of these devices are either reversed or made explicit. Oklahoma City was founded three years prior to Davis's arrival. The reference to the 'lightening crayon artist' is an attempt to slight the progress, or rushed completion of the city on Davis's part but this takes on greater significance when Davis later contrasts it to the Puritan arrival in the East. For Davis this contrast illustrates 'how much we have changed our ways of doing things'.²⁸⁵ The particular Puritans to which Davis refers are not historically specific individuals but rather as they exist in another image:

²⁸³ Davis, *Three Gringos in South America and Venezuela* p, 206.

²⁸⁴ Davis, *The West From a Car Window*. p.93.

²⁸⁵ Davis, *The West From a Car Window*. p.94.

We have seen pictures in our school-books, and pictures which Mr Boughton has made for us, of the Mayflower's people kneeling on the shore, the long, anxious voyage behind them with the Indians looking doubtfully from behind pine trees ... each man strong in the consciousness that he resisted persecution and overcame the perils of the sea, and is ready to meet the perils of an unknown land.²⁸⁶

Davis poses the 'lightening crayon artist' against an elevated image as history; in the first instance Davis juxtaposes these two images before juxtaposing the narrative he takes from the latter and the lack of narrative from the former. Deleuze, writing about cinema, refers to 'framing', 'the art of choosing the parts of all kinds which become part of the set. This set is a closed system, relatively and artificially closed'.²⁸⁷ While Deleuze is referring to a film set a parallel can be drawn in the manner in which Davis deploys the 'lightening artists' crayon image and Boughton's painting. For Davis the first almost exists in a vacuum, it is a closed circuit with the frame 'complete' while the second subscribes to a narrative of revolutionary emancipation encompassing a past (persecution), a present (arrival) and a future yet to come (the perils of an unknown land). Davis is not the first or last writer or even critical thinker to render the Pilgrim's voyage to America in such emancipatory terms and Herzogenrath points out Hardt and Negri's conception of this pilgrimage:

It should suffice to stress that the Puritans' exodus to America can be read as a consequence of what Hardt/Negri have termed the crisis inherent in [the beginning] of modernity. The revolutions around the time of the early Renaissance were grounded in a denial of transcendence and a focus on the needs of powers of this world. This emergent radical revolutionary process of deterritorialization however, with its tendency toward democracy, also brought with it the force of reterritorialization, a force attempting to control these emerging dynamics ... This "quasi-return" led to the Puritans' 'nomadism and exodus, carrying with them the desire and hope of an irrepressible experience.'²⁸⁸

There is no exodus or nomadism in the scene Davis depicts when recounting the land race but he maintains overtures to the Puritans and indeed invokes the bible story of Exodus with referents to the 'Promised land' and 'new Canaan'. Although Davis clearly means this in

²⁸⁶ Davis, *The West from a Car Window*. p.94.

²⁸⁷ Deleuze, *Cinema*. p. 9.

²⁸⁸ Herzogenrath, *An American Body/Politic: A Deleuzian Approach*, p. 54.

an ironic manner the implicit and explicit connotation is that while the settlement and founding of colonies in the East was the culmination of a liberation the land race for Oklahoma territory is a parody of these earlier values. What is startling in the following passage is the omniscience of the military power controlling the race; McChesney points out that, ‘the government used its monopoly on force to keep private claimants off the land’.²⁸⁹

I would like you to place in contrast with this the opening of Oklahoma Territory to the new white settlers three years ago. These modern pilgrims stand in rows twenty deep, separated from the promised land not by an ocean, but by a line scratched in the earth with the point of a soldier’s bayonet. The long row toeing the line are bending forward, panting with excitement, and looking with greedy eyes towards the new Canaan, the women with their dresses tucked up to their knees, the men stripped of coats and waistcoats for the coming race. And then, a trumpet call, answered by a thousand hungry yells from all along the line, and hundreds of men and women on foot and on horseback break away across the prairie, the stronger pushing down the weak, and those on horseback riding over and in some cases killing those on foot, in a mad, unseemly race for something which they are getting for nothing.²⁹⁰

Davis does not map out a narrative that starts with the Puritans arrival on the east coast which then culminates in the settlement of the West; nor does his article pursue the same culture as frame that his other articles posit. For Davis, at one and the same time the Puritans arrival is inseparable from the race for Oklahoma territory and yet divorced from it entirely. It is in this context that Davis’s summation of the land race as ‘a freak of our civilisation’ should be considered. Davis is astute enough to link the two events, not in any explicit causal sense with the former leading directly to the latter, but rather Davis’s irony-laden passage casts the settlement of the West in a spirit and with an effect quite different from the principles from which his peers were attempting to forge a national identity. The precise difference between the two and their irreconcilability appears to be located in the profiteering nature of the Oklahoma endeavour.

The history of its pioneers and their invasion of their undiscovered country not only shows how far the west is from the east, but how much we have changed our ways of

²⁸⁹ Terry Anderson and Fred McChesney, *Property Rights: Co operations, Conflict and Law* (Princeton University Press, 2003), p. 242.

²⁹⁰ Davis, *The West From a Car Window*. p.93.

doing thing from the days of the Pilgrim Fathers to those of the modern pilgrims, the ‘boomers’ and ‘sooners’ of the end of the century.²⁹¹

While Davis could quite rightly be accused of being naïve and obtuse in casting the East as a beacon of moral fortitude, he suggests something quite startling, the connotation being that American identity is better enunciated or captured in the East rather than the West, which is the very reverse of Turner’s thesis. Davis’s article criticises the nature in which the supposed egalitarian distribution of land was also subject to the machinations of cooperate interests. These interests made the expanded limit in and for ‘white settlers’ to come predisposed to agreed internal limits and divisions:

Fifteen minutes after twelve the men of the Seminole Land and Town company were dragging steel chains up the street on a run, the red and white barber poles and the transits were in place all over the prairie, and neat little rows of stakes stretched out in regular lines to mark where they hoped the town might be. At twenty minutes after twelve over forty tents were in position, and the land around them marked by wooden pegs. This was the work of the ‘sooners’ as these men were called who came into the Territory too soon, not for their own interests, but for the interest of other people.²⁹²

The limit of the United States is expanded and captured within twenty minutes.

Deleuze and Guattari propose a brief cartographic sketch of American literature, in the East, there was a search for an American code and a recoding with Europe (Henry James, Eliot, Pound), in the South, an overcoding of the ruins of the slave system (Faulkner, Caldwell, O’Conner); in the north, a capitalist decoding (Dos Passos, Dreiser); but in the West, there was a profound line of flight.²⁹³ In this ‘cartographic sketch’ Davis’s place is not immediately clear. However, the depiction of the Oklahoma land race and his focus on the arborescent qualities of the West present a number of possibilities. As a writer from the East Davis returns to ‘a search for an American code and a recoding with Europe’; Davis’s nostalgia for the puritans’ arrival in America, or rather on the East coast, while historically tied to Europe is divorced from it entirely, and, as has been seen, rather than looking beyond the borders of

²⁹¹ Davis, *The West From a Car Window*, p.94.

²⁹² Davis, *The West From a Car Window*, p.100.

²⁹³ Deleuze, *Essays Critical and Clinical*. p. xi.

America in an effort to constitute it, Davis looks inward. Overcoding, according to Bonta and Protevi, is an instance wherein meaning is derived ‘in relation of signifiers to other signifiers’.²⁹⁴ Davis finds no similarities between the Oklahoma land race and the pilgrims but one signifies the other; the latter is the progeny of the former, they are different but intrinsically linked. Overcoding is an ‘interpretative activity’ and ‘an inscription process that attempts to reinterpret old activities’ and, as Ziff suggests, travel writing is just as much ‘a meditation backward on the limits that have been transcended’ as it is the exploration of an undiscovered country. If the West is central to America’s origin story, then Davis is found to have looked further back and in doing so attempted to reinterpret the more recent origin story with one he considers more fitting.

²⁹⁴ Bonta and Protevi, *Deleuze and Geophilosophy: A Guide and Glossary*, p. 57.

Chapter 4: The Tracing and the Map

Following Davis's domestic travelogue this chapter will interrogate two articles from Davis's travelogue *Three Gringos in South America and Venezuela* and will discuss the manner in which Davis's writing creates two very different types of map. Part of this discussion will include the manner in which examples of Davis's travel writing, necessarily create space; in some instances, these spaces as denoted within the map serve to displace and redistribute existing power relations, and in others they perpetuate them. In both cases, Davis's travel writing emerges as a discursive cartography of space and any liminality is thus expressed firmly in discursive terms. Kay and Kinsley note that 'concepts of liminality have been important in recent work on travel and travel writing' and therefore should also be a consideration in respect to Davis's travel writing.²⁹⁵ Central to Kaplan's *Anarchy of Empire* is the creation of liminal spaces both within and without the United States in the cultural and legal discourses of the nineteenth century. Whilst the discussion of liminal or ambiguous space is interesting, there remains little insight into the written make up of these liminal spaces. In the case of the 'Insular Cases' discussed in the first chapter, the splitting of identities is a fact of law. What is perhaps more interesting is to interrogate the manner in which discourse articulates a power take over and the effect of this take over on the assemblage which constitutes the territory.

Kaplan, Seelye and Murphy suggest that Davis deploys empirical propositions in support of a world view, or, rather, a judgement given voice in discourse. In the case of Kaplan, Davis is seen to promote the myth of American masculinity forged in the West, and overseas expansion provided the arena in which Manifest Destiny could be exported and given new meaning. For Murphy, Davis's novel *Soldiers of Fortune* legitimates overseas

²⁹⁵ Lucy Kay and Zoe Kinsley, *Mapping Liminalities: Thresholds in Cultural and Literary Texts* (London: Peter Lang Publishing, 2007), p. 43

expansion and enunciates a clear understanding of the Monroe Doctrine, which provides a geopolitical back drop to Davis's article and to which this chapter will return in greater detail. In the case of Seelye, Davis is found to promote a chivalric romanticism which is construed as an ideological, as a moral, code. What needs to be noted here is that these commentators launch their criticism of Davis from a notion of ideology at the outset and in doing so potentially risk the critical error that Zamberlin, following Deleuze and Guattari, identifies as 'prescrib[ing] formulaic procedures based on pre-determined principles' in their conclusions.²⁹⁶ In critical considerations of Davis's work, this type of reading has resulted in any variance of both the internal discrepancies and liminal zones within the writing being neglected, or, if not neglected, perhaps not given close enough attention. If Davis's work was imbued with particular ideological or chivalric perspectives, then how are these constructed, given form and content in the expression and indeed within the map?

It has been seen in the introduction that Davis's work contains variances in perspective, and while critical readings underpinned by a 'notion' of ideology are useful they are perhaps not best equipped to engage with instances of variance and liminality, being as they are based on oppositional points. The Deleuzoguattarian departure from the 'unity' of ideology, is found in their assertion that, 'You will never find a homogenous system that is not still or already affected by a regulated, continuous, immanent process of variation'.²⁹⁷ Such a 'variance' problematizes an approach which would seek to reduce Davis's discourse to a unifying world view, which previous readings have found to be 'consistent, continuous, and sweepingly final'.²⁹⁸ However, a reading of Davis's work that draws upon Deleuze and Guattari's concept of 'variance' does not necessarily find Davis's work to be exempt from the

²⁹⁶ Zamberlin, *Rhizosphere: Gilles Deleuze and the 'Minor' American writings of William James, W.E.B. Du Bois, Gertrude Stein, Jean Toomer and William Faulkner*, p. 146.

²⁹⁷ Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. 5th ed. Trans. by B. Massumi, (London: Continuum, 2004), p. 114.

²⁹⁸ Scott Osborn, *Richard Harding Davis: Critical Battleground*, p. 67.

perpetuation of a particular and problematic social, economic, gendered or racial world view. The point is then not whether Davis was perpetuating a particular world view but rather in what manner he attempts to do this and in what manner it is undermined at the point of being articulated, if at all.

Deleuze and Guattari suggest readings that emerge from ideological positions, rather than focusing on the manifestation of an ideology (or rather ideological perspectives) in a text ‘misconst[rue] the nature of regimes of signs, which express organizations of power or assemblages and have nothing to do with ideology as the supposed expression of a content (ideology is a most execrable concept obscuring all of the effectively operating social machines)’.²⁹⁹ While Deleuze and Guattari are highly critical of positing ideology as a central conceit when approaching culture, it is important to note that the Deleuzoguattarian method itself often approaches this, as Massumi notes:

The ideological approach is in many ways closer to Deleuze and Guattari’s approach than either the communicational or postmodern, in spite of their frequent criticisms of it. It has major advantages over them. For one thing, it links the workings of language to a problematic of power, insisting on the intrinsic connection between language and extra linguistic forces. It also breaks the symmetry between expression and things ‘as they are’ already. Models of mirroring or moulding – in a word representational models – see the basic task of expression as faithfully reflecting a state of things. They focus on the ‘as-is’, as it is taken up by language. Ideological critique focuses on the ‘what might be’.³⁰⁰

While Deleuze and Guattari state that ‘there is no such thing as ideology and never has been’, their focus on the ‘as-is’ provides an alternative which to some extent retains proximity to the focus of ideological approaches while not necessarily embarking from a position of pre-determined principles, thereby avoiding formulaic readings whilst retaining a similar critical edge.³⁰¹ In the absence of ideology without variance, Deleuze and Guattari’s contribution to literary analysis emerges as a practicable method of reading which can

²⁹⁹ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia.*, p. 76.

³⁰⁰ Brian Massumi, *A Shock to Thought: Expression after Deleuze and Guattari.* (London: Routledge), p. pxvi.

³⁰¹ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 5.

counter the emphasis on formal and ideological qualities that characterises most readings of Davis to date, but also provide valuable insights into the construction of space within Davis's discourse. In the first instance pragmatics appears as a more explicitly interrogative tool of engagement than pursuing the 'line of flight', which still for the most part remains the primary focus for critics deploying Deleuze and Guattari's concepts in the context of cultural representations. Secondly a pragmatic approach to Davis's travel writing would be able to give full voice to those variances, resistances and reciprocal movements between positions that reside in Davis's discourse.

4.1 The Pragmatics of the Tracing and Map

The basis for Deleuze and Guattari's pragmatics is found in the two chapters of *A Thousand Plateaus*, 'Postulate on Linguistics' and 'On Several Regimes of Signs'.³⁰² Within these two chapters Deleuze and Guattari, 'develop the theoretical groundwork of a pragmatics-orientated linguistics and a material, 'machinic' semiotics, which among things, aptly formalizes the detailed analysis that Foucault conducts in his history of the modern prison'.³⁰³ While this chapter will refer to other parts of *A Thousand Plateaus*, it is in these chapters that the more detailed elaboration of them occurs. The pragmatic model requires a brief engagement with 'semiotics' as it is defined in their work, and how this semiotics operates within a territorial assemblage. Deleuze and Guattari provide a working definition of semiotics at the outset of their treatise on pragmatics, referring to it as, 'any specific formalization of expression a regime of signs, at least when the expression is linguistic. A regime constituting a semiotic system'.³⁰⁴ To illustrate further this rethinking of the idea of

³⁰² Deleuze and Guattari, 'November 20, 1923: Postulate on Linguistics', *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, pp.83-123); Deleuze and Guattari, '587 B.C-A.D. 70: Of Several regimes of signs', *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, pp.123-165)

³⁰³ Ronald Bogue, *Deleuze and Guattari* (London: Routledge, 1989), p. 160.

³⁰⁴ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 123.

the semiotic, they discuss four regimes in detail, the first component of pragmatics, ‘generative pragmatics’ and the first example to be applied to Davis is the ‘Signifying Regime’. The signifying regime appears as a series of emanating concentric circles from a signifying centre. Deleuze and Guattari suggest that this model is applicable to ‘all subjected, arborescent, hierarchical, centred groups: political parties, literary movements, psychoanalytical associations’.³⁰⁵ The centre of the signifying regime is a void; the series of emanating signs and formalized expressions surrounding the centre merely refer to other signs and expressions from one circle to the next ad infinitum. However, as Deleuze and Guattari go on to describe, the differences between these spheres needs to be observed as there is a tangible difference between the functions and effects of these circles:

There is a distinction between circles because although all signs refer to each other to the extent that they are deterritorialized, orientated toward the same centre of significance, distributed throughout an amorphous continuum, they have different speeds of deterritorialization attesting to a place of origin (temple, palace, house, street, village, bush, etc.) and they have differential relations maintaining the distinction between circles or constituting thresholds in the atmosphere of the continuum (private and public, family incident and social disorder).³⁰⁶

The formalization of expression in the signifying regime therefore is not reducible to a meaningful centre but ‘to a set of statements arising in a social field ... as a formation of power’.³⁰⁷ Davis’s ‘social Darwinism’, for instance, is not reducible to a single statement or centre of pre-eminence functioning as a prior narrative of social development.³⁰⁸ The significance of the centre is transposed onto the decentred radial lines which form around it, to a series of statements giving rise to Davis’s ‘social Darwinism’. This ‘series of statements’ constitutes the interiority of the regime; an interiority which is maintained by an interpretative framework which necessarily functions to regulate the system of equivalences

³⁰⁵ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 129.

³⁰⁶ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p.126.

³⁰⁷ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 74.

³⁰⁸ Larzer Ziff, *The American 1890s Life and Times of a Lost Generation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1979), p. 181.

which occur when signs refer to signs. Deleuze and Guattari refer to this as the function of the ‘interpretative priest’ who ensures that ‘interpretation is carried to infinity and never encounters anything to interpret that is not already itself an interpretation’.³⁰⁹ This interpretation also serves to maintain a system and an authority that it attaches itself to, once this system becomes entrenched it ‘ensures the interrelation of the various circles and their dependence on the despotic centre’.³¹⁰ It further stands that most, if not all, regimes are mixed and are comprised of many different overlapping semiotic systems, sometimes within the confines of one social body. In the course of Davis’s travels through Central America he encounters numerous foreign agents for Western business and government interests. He recounts that:

That the most interesting thing about them, to my mind, is the fact that none of them ever seem to represent a country which they have ever seen ... I find that after Americans, Germans make the best American consular agents, while the French consular agents would be more useful to their countrymen if they could speak French as well as they do Spanish.³¹¹

While Davis finds this state of affairs to be amusing on the face of it his discourse also reveals a veritable mixing of nominal identities and the regimes within which they operate. This is also illustrative of the multiple regimes which reside within any social body and territory: while there remain distinct domestic, business and political regimes, there also persists a constant movement and mixing throughout these regimes. Within a series of statements radiating from a signifying centre these identities, and the ensuing order-words which emanate from them, operate as the ‘function of its pragmatic implications, in other words, in relation to the implicit presuppositions, immanent acts, or incorporeal transformations’ that occur within it.³¹²

³⁰⁹ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 126.

³¹⁰ Bogue, *Deleuze and Guattari*, p. 139.

³¹¹ Richard Harding Davis, *Three Gringos in Venezuela and Central America*, p. 166.

³¹² Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 92.

Generative pragmatics does not solely consider ‘one’ signifying regime at play within a semiotic system. The form of expression and its content exists as part of a larger territorial assemblage and a real mixing of regimes at play at any one time. Deleuze and Guattari pose the following question, ‘what is the territoriality of the assemblage, what is the regime of signs and the pragmatic system?’³¹³ This second question returns to an earlier feature of the Deleuzeguattarian approach: they will never ask what a book means but rather what it does and it is in this context, and in the context of incorporeal transformation created by order words, that this question must be answered. The division between the territoriality of the assemblage and the semiotic systems which resides within it is also perhaps misleading. Territoriality should be understood as a, ‘dynamizing process’, or rather a process which, ‘creates insides and outsides, limits, zones and unevenness’.³¹⁴ Bonta and Protevi’s definition of territory provides a useful insight into its constitutive elements:

The milieus utilized by territories are the following: the interior milieu is the zone of residence (the home, shelter, or abode); the exterior milieu of the territory is its domain; the intermediary milieu is composed by the (usually mobile) limits or membranes separating the territory from others (constituting the border or boundary); the annexed milieu, which contains the energy reserves of the organism and may be spatially distant from the domain.³¹⁵

A territory is then created of interior, intermediary and annexed milieus. However, in order to extract from these milieus components which ‘have meaning and function for the assemblage a process of selection is required’.³¹⁶ The disjunctive synthesis, or positing of ‘nominal identities’, is the basis for this selection and in order to effect an annexation or to set a border of territoriality the transforming effect of order-words is required, supported by a signifying regime. To an extent it could be suggested that these two components exist in reciprocal presupposition; as Bonta and Protevi observe, ‘Territorial organisms achieve the

³¹³ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 555.

³¹⁴ Russel Pavlov, *Space in Theory: Kristeva, Foucault, Deleuze*, p. 180.

³¹⁵ Mark Bonta and John Protevi, *Deleuze and Geophilosophy: A Guide and Glossary* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), p. 158.

³¹⁶ Bonta and Protevi, *Deleuze and Geophilosophy: A Guide and Glossary*, p. 158.

expression of territory through marking; indeed, the mark brings about the territory'.³¹⁷ While a particular regime may indeed annex or create a territory, having done so it will necessarily connect with existing, neighbouring and perhaps even remote regimes of signs which contribute to the territory of assemblage, its interior milieus, its striated and haptic spaces, its borders and exteriority.

Pragmatics, as Deleuze and Guattari conceive it, is a method of unpicking this process of becoming and unravelling. But Deleuze and Guattari divide pragmatics along multiple lines. The first two, the 'generative' and 'transformational', serve as distinct methods of cartography: 'Generative pragmatics' studies the internal structure of an actual regime, creating a 'tracing' [*calque*], 'transformational pragmatics' studies the ways that regimes can change from one to another, or to mix and create new regimes, creating a 'map' [*carte*].³¹⁸ To trace is to miss the immanent 'processes of variation' which typify any nominally homogeneous system, whereas 'mapping' is illustrative of connections, interpretations, translations and thresholds'.³¹⁹ That Davis 'traces' is a conclusion already reached by most critics although that particular term was not deployed. It has already been seen that travel writing is necessarily a process of translation, of exportation and importation; in short, travel writing is uniquely placed as a genre to illustrate the manner in which a domestic regime pursues the representation and dominance of the foreign. Does it evidence the transformation and the creation of a new regime [*carte*] [n+1]? Or does it pursue representation via a specific or relatively dominant regime [*calque*] [n-1]?

³¹⁷ Bonta and Protevi, *Deleuze and Geophilosophy: A Guide and Glossary*, p. 158.

³¹⁸ Bonta and Protevi, *Deleuze and Geophilosophy: A Guide and Glossary*, p. 134.

³¹⁹ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 144.

4.2 A Tracing

Davis's depiction of Belize in his opening article 'On the Caribbean Sea' for the travelogue *Three Gringos in Central America and Venezuela* manifests those aspects of his work which give credence to the image of him as the champion of white Anglo intervention in South America.³²⁰ The article is nothing short of a glowing report on British Colonialism and is imbued with all the trappings of Anglo supremacy; indeed Wesley finds the machinations of an 'imperial ideology' at work throughout all of Davis's writing and his article on Belize certainly bears this out.³²¹ What Wesley does not provide however is any sustained interrogation of the form of content and expression that makes up this 'imperial ideology'. Considering Davis's article a 'tracing' allows for the opportunity to interrogate the semantic and, indeed, semiotic make-up of that which is traced and the manner in which it aspires to a 'signifying centre'.

Lubow considers the longer travelogue of which 'On the Caribbean Sea' is a part to be Davis's most successful, finding it, 'Tart and amusing ... in part because of the unfamiliarity of the territory'.³²² However, the humour which permeates the work appears to have blurred the distinction between its value as a record of non-fiction and its status among Davis's fiction works. For instance, Miner remarks on the book that, 'this story reflects more of the real Richard Harding Davis, tells a more personal story, than any of his other books'.³²³ It is not, however, a 'story' in the sense that *Soldiers of Fortune* (1897) is a story and it is not clear to which 'other books' Miner is referring. Britton goes even further than Miner, referring to the travelogue as Davis's '1896 adventure story'.³²⁴ Davis's travelogue is non-

³²⁰ Davis, *Three Gringos in Venezuela and Central America*.

³²¹ Marilyn Wesley, 'The Hero of the Hour: Ideology and Violence in the works of Richard Harding Davis', *American Literary Realism* 32, no. 2. 2000, p. 121.

³²² Lubow, *The Reporter who would be King: A Biography of Richard Harding Davis*, p. 123.

³²³ Lewis Miner, *Mightier Than the Sword* (Montana: Kessinger Publishing. 1940), p. 96.

³²⁴ John Britton, *Revolution and Ideology: Images of the Mexican Revolution in the US* (Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 1995), p. 28.

fictional and will be treated as such here and in doing so challenge the confusion in Miner and Britton's criticism.

To trace is to attempt 'the mimetic reproduction of the properties of an actual substance in an image...copying without changing in nature'.³²⁵ Davis's representation of Belize does just that, taking constitutive elements (substance) of Belize as he selects them to represent the whole. Davis commences his depiction of Belize with a brief account of Honduras:

British Honduras was firmly owned by Spain, as well, all of Central America, and was on account of its bays and islands, a picturesque refuge for English and other Pirates. In the 17th Century English logwood-cutters visited the place and obtained a footing, which has been extended since by concessions and by conquest, so that the place is now a British dependency.³²⁶

Proceeding by annexation, 'concessions and by conquest', Honduras is reconstituted into a new reterritorialized British Honduras. Davis avoids any complication of space in this sense, Honduras is simply space appropriated by the British through various means thereby generating a new territory. The form of content, in this case Honduras, is enveloped in the form of expression and subjugated to a signifying centre of the regime and indeed the Empire itself. 'British' thus serves as an order-word which effects both a corporeal and incorporeal transformation of the territorial assemblage of which it is now a part. The series of developments both nationally and internationally which preceded the subjugation of Honduras are recited as a benign progression to the present with Davis dispensing with history to proceed to the situation as it is. Davis continues:

It was not necessary to tell us that Belize would be the last civilised city we should see until we reached the capital of Spanish Honduras. A British colony is always civilised; it is always the same, no matter in what latitude it may be, and it is always distinctly British. Everyone knows that an Englishman takes his atmosphere with him wherever he goes, but the truth of it never impressed me so much as it did in Belize.³²⁷

³²⁵ Bonta and Protevi, *Deleuze and Geophilosophy: A Guide and Glossary*, p. 162.

³²⁶ Davis, *Three Gringos in Venezuela and Central America*, p. 5.

³²⁷ Davis, *Three Gringos in Venezuela and Central America*, p. 5.

The supposed homogeneity which Davis discovers throughout the colonies of the British Empire arguably evidences the text's adherence to the interpretative framework of the semiotic system at work within the territory. Davis is giving credence and voice to the signifying centre and the series of statements which arise within the social field. Davis is not unpicking the mixing of several semiotics but is tracing a territorial assemblage via a majoritarian treatment of language which for Deleuze and Guattari 'implies a constant, of expression or content, serving as a standard measure by which to evaluate it'.³²⁸ What characterises Davis's article as a 'major treatment' in the Deleuze and Guattari mode is for the most part the recurrence of the 'standard measure' of England, or Britain against which he measures the colony in Belize. The interface between the form of content and expression is not a dynamic interface between forces but rather a passive tracing from one sign (British) which refers to other signs (civilization) ad infinitum. This is continued in the following passage wherein Davis evokes another index (sign of territory) of the signifying regime, the one-shilling piece.

There were not more than two hundred English men and women in the place, and yet, in the two halves of two days that I was there I seemed to see everything characteristic of an Englishman in his native land. There were few concessions made to the country and to the huge native population who are British subjects themselves; but the colony in spite of its surroundings, was just as individually English as is the shilling that the ship's steward pulls out of his pocket with the handful of queer coins that he has picked up at the ports of a half-dozen Spanish republics. They may be of all sizes and designs, and of varying degrees of value, or lack of it, which changes from day to day, but the English shilling, with the Queen's profile on one side and its simple 'one shilling' on the other, is worth just as much at that moment and at that distance from home as it would be were you handing it to a hansom cab driver in Piccadilly.³²⁹

The one-shilling piece maintains equivalence in its remote location, remote that is from the centre from which it derives value and meaning. The native population is at once 'native' and decentred from the less numerable English but also enveloped in the nominal

³²⁸ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 116

³²⁸ Davis, *Three Gringos in Venezuela and Central America*, p. 6.

identity of 'British subject'. The native population is both within and without and in this sense they are deterritorialized from an indigenous relation to the land on the one hand and reterritorialized into the territorial assemblage of the dominant regime on the other. What is interesting is that Davis's discourse provides for the circumstances in which they remain both 'native' and 'subject'. It could be argued that the ambiguous status of the native population occurs very much in the design of the semiotic and imperial model. Within the same passage above Davis asserts that the colony, 'in spite of its surroundings was ... individually English'. That which surrounds the colony does not appear to be the tropical Honduran landscape but is the natives themselves, literally on the margins while being subjugated from the centre. In this way, Davis evidences the multiple radial circles of the signifying regime (circles within circles); the 'true' English, the British Subjects and the natives, with each one referring to and constituting the other, and with Davis as author appearing within the radial lines as interpreter. Davis's discourse evidences a hierarchical structure of interiority within the territorial assemblage; at the most interior are the English, further out the British subjects and at the periphery the natives.

Kaplan finds a similar discursive operation of incorporation and exclusion in an 1831 Supreme Court decision 'on Cherokee Nation V The State of Georgia'. Kaplan notes that the 'Indians were declared members of 'domestic dependent nations', neither foreign nations nor U.S citizens. This designation made the domestic an ambiguous liminal realm between the national and the foreign, as it placed the foreign inside the geographic boundaries of the nation'.³³⁰ While a 'liminal realm' is indeed created by legislation, Davis's discourse creates a liminal identity for Hondurans which he mitigates somewhat by inserting a further level of proximity to the centre with 'English'. That this position is essentially multiple for the 'natives', being both subject and 'native', surprisingly does not prevent them appearing static

³³⁰ Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S Culture*, p. 27.

in Davis's writing. The seeming contradiction between the two identities and order-words is already subsumed in the structure of British colonialism, at least for the 'less numerable' English, and for Davis who is ensuring 'the interrelation of the various circles and their dependence on the despotic centre'.³³¹ The natives, in other words, can be subjects but can never be English.

The imposition of the semiotic system, perpetuated by the smaller population and comprised of order-words and the homogenous system of a transposed currency (which itself maintains equivalence with an absent centre) evidences a distinctly 'major treatment of language'. Davis traces this semiotic system, and indeed even writes within it by deploying its order-words and units of measure as a constitutive whole. What is foreign to Davis – Honduras and Belize – is not translated through a domestic, nominally American, cultural idiom but is represented firmly within the parameters of the British Colonial regime. Further the article arguably not translated or subject to any transformation at all, it is merely a tracing of the image as Davis finds it. Davis's measure is London and the icon and indexes of the British Empire, the Queen's head and the shilling. The predominance of the major treatment is so complete that there appears little opportunity for any mixing of semiotic systems at all.

Davis continues:

It is interesting to see the responsibilities and the labour of the government apportioned out so carefully and discreetly, and to find commissioners of roads, and then district commissioners, and under them inspectors, and to hear of boards of education and boards of justice, each doing its appointed work in this miniature government, and all responsible to the representative of the big government across the sea.³³²

Davis is listing chains of signs, each a nominal identity and each referring and perhaps deferring its significance and authority to another until there remains only the link to the centre 'across the sea'. These institutions demark and striate space and in doing so make

³³¹ Bogue, *Deleuze and Guattari*, p. 139.

³³² Davis, *Three Gringos in Venezuela and Central America*, p. 36.

the mobile borders of the interior milieu effectively static. This is the ‘interior structure’ of the assemblage of enunciation which Davis is representing. Although Belize is a colony and a ‘miniature government’, the British imperial practice ‘is to make the world its home, to use it and transform it along largely familiar principles and structures’.³³³ It is through these structures and striations that Davis interprets and experiences Belize. The sketch of Belize composed as a tracing in this manner evidences the modes of colonisation and particularly the ‘apparatus of capture’ as Deleuze and Guattari describe its deployment by the axiomatic state:

The essential elements of capture as they define it are the constitution of a general space of comparison and the establishment of a centre of appropriation. The uniformity of land, labour and people are essential conditions for the extraction of rent, profit and taxes that provide the final basis for the development of modern nation-states.³³⁴

All of the above are apparent in Davis’s sketch: the establishment of a centre, the ‘big government across the sea’, the uniformity of the ‘general space of comparison’ in respect to the organisation of land, ‘commissioners and inspectors’ and indeed of the peoples that reside therein, ‘English’, ‘British Subject’ and ‘Native’. Belize’s connections to the British government identifies it as an annexed territory and within Davis’s article it is certainly a ‘general space of comparison’ in as much as Davis’s measure is the transposed centre. For Watson, the state and majoritarian culture are separate entities or separate organizations of power, with the majority operating by ‘a logic similar to that of the state, but with slightly different conceptual tools, such as counting, models and grids, which it uses to produce and maintain social hierarchies’.³³⁵ While Watson locates a similarity between the state and the

³³³ Gerhard Stilz, ‘Territorial Terrors: Colonial Space and Postcolonial Revisions’ in *Shared Waters: Soundings in Postcolonial Literatures*. Ed. by Barthes, S. (New York: Rodopi. 2009), p. 55.

³³⁴ Paul Patton, ‘The Event of Colonisation’ in *Deleuze and the Contemporary World*. ed. by Buchanan, I., and Barr, E. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 2006), p. 114.

³³⁵ Janell Watson, ‘Theorising European Ethnic Politics’ in *Deleuze and Politics*. Ed. by Ian Buchanan and Nicholas Thoburn (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), p. 208.

majority, he perhaps underestimates the extent to which the conceptual tools of the latter work in the service of the former.

Whereas for the British Empire the regime of colonialism and empire is relatively stable, in quite a different circumstance Davis's work illustrates how the 'assertion of sovereignty over vast areas of land' can lead to the ambiguous zones which Kaplan, among others, finds created by the 'Insular Cases'.³³⁶ For example, on the cessation of the American-Spanish war in Cuba and at the close of his coverage of the campaign Davis remarks that the Spanish war had its results. At least it made Cuba into a republic, and so enriched – or burdened – us with colonies that our republic changed into something like an empire. But I do not urge that'.³³⁷ Cuba is a republic and a colony, the U.S no longer a republic but like an empire – the process of metamorphosis is occurring at the time of Davis's writing. His simple urging for the contrary of his own conclusion remains unexplained, and his reportage of that particular conflict continues without returning to the question again. Whereas the legitimating system of interpretation and striation via 'conquest and concession' is quite clear in the case of Honduras, Davis's conclusion on the Spanish-American war contains a distinct lack of interpretative structure and cohesion. Davis's sentence almost fails to 'express' in as much as it fails to subordinate content to expression and assume a form of stability. The interpretative framework at work in Davis's representation of Belize serves to regulate inconsistencies such as these, as well as the polymorphism in the native, British Subject, identity subjection relationship. The major treatment of language is not simply manifest in the positive tone in which Davis renders the colonisation of Honduras, but also in the makeup of the semiotic system; the chains of signification, the shilling, the fewer than 200 English and how these produce veritable affects. The social body, the 'native' or 'British

³³⁶ Patton, 'The Event of Colonisation', p. 111; Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture*, p. 3.

³³⁷ Davis, *Moments in Hell*, p. 71.

Subject' is understood by the statements which arise in the semiotic system of the British Empire and as such do not constitute a mixing between foreign bodies and a domestic system of expression. Rather, they point to the subjugation of those bodies to the system of expression creating a, 'discourse of submission to order-words'.³³⁸

4.3 A Map

No system is immune from 'losses and gains' as has been referenced to throughout the previous chapters, and to replace an intransigent ideology with an equally intransigent 'tracing' would be counter to the reciprocal exchanges between discourse, the socio-cultural structure of which is a part and the act of interpretation which typify Deleuze and Guattari's approach. In order to take a different approach, a series of different questions are required, for instance, what then are the cutting edges of deterritorialization within Davis's article? It could be suggested that there are not any within his description of Belize. This however would miss the point. Deterritorialization is a relative process accompanied by acts of reterritorialization, and can never be absolute, creating a 'new earth'.³³⁹ What is found in Davis's tracing is in fact an assemblage of enunciation which itself is a product of deterritorialization. Bonta and Protevi state that 'in plain language, deterritorialization is the process of leaving home, of altering habits, of learning new tricks'.³⁴⁰ Despite Davis's linking and equivalences to Britain, the colony decentres the signifying centre; while Davis's work ascribes a homogeneity to British colonies in general, the actual 'concessions and conquest' of Honduras which created British Honduras necessarily involved a series of relative deterritorializations of both the British and Honduran semiotic systems. Davis encounters a Belize and Honduras essentially reterritorialized into a stable assemblage. 'British Honduras'

³³⁸ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 98.

³³⁹ Bonta and Protevi, *Deleuze and Geophilosophy: A Guide and Glossary*, p. 79.

³⁴⁰ Bonta and Protevi, *Deleuze and Geophilosophy: A Guide and Glossary*, p. 78.

designates possession not equivalence, and it is a failing of Davis's writing that only the latter is acknowledged in his discourse. Arguably such mixing of bodies and transformations occurred more obviously in the initial contacts and creation of the colony. Davis cannot be faulted for arriving late, as it were, but within his writing any variance is subsumed in the tracing of a dominant semiotic. In *A Thousand Plateaus*, Deleuze and Guattari write that tracing is a selective process:

It is instead like a photograph or x ray that begins by selecting or isolating, by artificial means such as colorations or other restrictive procedures, what it intends to reproduce. The imitator always creates the model ... The tracing has already translated the map into an image; it has organized, stabilized, neutralized the multiplicities according to the axis of signification and subjectification belonging to it. It has generated, structuralized the rhizome, and when it thinks it is reproducing something else it is in fact only reproducing itself.³⁴¹

Tracing is reproducing without changing or, rather, selectively reproducing in order not to change. To map, conversely, is not simply a case of fictionalising, or changing simply in order to change. Mapping is a practice which can account for variance and the relative processes which occur in the meeting of two systems even down to the level of individual signs which 'vary in function and meaning within different social orders according to the specific organisation of inextricably related practices and signs which constitute a regime of signs'.³⁴² Travel, or rather the effect of travel on Davis's writing in his coverage of Belize, is muted at best. If there is a translation occurring in the article it is of a British Colony via Britain and not via a distinctly North American cultural idiom. While 'Pragmatics should reject the idea of an invariant immune from transformation, even if it is the invariant of a dominant 'grammaticality', it is difficult to find such variance in Davis's article.³⁴³ The British semiotic, or rather the imperial model, predates Davis's arrival in Belize and his

³⁴¹ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 47.

³⁴² Bogue, *Deleuze and Guattari*, p. 129.

³⁴³ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 154.

article seeks to reproduce it, including its inconsistencies and ambiguities, with as little concession to the Hondurans and Honduran landscape as possible.

The ultimate effect of Davis's tracing of Belize is the perpetuation of what is rendered a benign colonialism and the 'mapping' of mixed semiotics may have exactly the same result. However, the manner in which this effect is generated is something altogether more creative and it is this which will now be considered with regard to Davis's article 'The Paris of South America' also published as part of *Three Gringos in Central America and Venezuela*. In order to understand the semantic function of this text, it is first necessary to further interrogate the second component of pragmatics:

The second, transformational component, shows how one abstract regime can be translated, transformed into another, and especially how it can be created from other regimes. This second component is obviously more profound, because all mixed regimes presuppose these transformations from one regime to another, past, present, or potential (as a function of the creation of new regimes). Once again, one abstracts, or can abstract content, since the analysis is limited to metamorphosis internal to the form of expression, even though the form of expression is not adequate to account for them.³⁴⁴

Travel writing is a translation, the filtering of the ostensibly foreign (peoples, landscapes, culture) through a nominally domestic idiom; to treat travel writing simply as a translation, though, risks tracing on the one hand (Belize as Britain) and on the other neglecting the transformational component. As has been seen, Davis does indeed evidence a practice of 'tracing' but his travel writing also has the potential to illustrate those transformations that occur in the regimes he exports and those he encounters. If Davis exports the West to Cuba, it is a West transformed occurring in the transposition of those icons, indexes and order-words which comprise the semiotic system. The project for the study and practice of travel writing should be 'making the transformational map of the regimes, with

³⁴⁴ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p.161.

their possibilities for translation and creation'.³⁴⁵ Deleuze and Guattari expand on the potential of the second component of pragmatics:

The second component is therefore the more profound, and it is the only means of measuring the elements of the first component. For example we may ask when statements of the Bolshevik type first appeared, and how Leninism, at the time of the break with the social democrats, affected a veritable transformation that created an original semiotic ... In an exemplary study, Jean-Pierre Faye did a detailed analysis of the transformations that produced Nazism, viewed as a series of new statements in a social field. At what moment is a regime of signs established, and in what domain? Throughout an entire people? In a fraction of that people? ... All these questions fall within the purview of pragmatics.³⁴⁶

We may therefore ask of Davis's article 'The Paris of South America': what statements of the American republic democratic type are affected by a transformation in the context of Venezuela, and what is the nature of the new semiotic system created from this? What happens to those statements, indexes and icons which appear in Davis's work when they are exported into new territorial assemblages, when they are mapped against and on-top of other regimes? What is the effect of these transformations of actuality? Kaplan's 'liminal zones' of encounter and exchange is in a sense a very pragmatically inclined agenda as they are zones of connectivity and variance. Kaplan herself asserts that 'mapping and overlapping terrain of the foreign and the domestic involves contests over the writing of history'.³⁴⁷ It is notable that the examples Deleuze and Guattari cite above are in the sphere of social, rather than literary, discourses and this certainly engenders a closer reading of Davis's non-fiction travel writing. In dispensing with 'ideology' as the hallmark of a materialist critical agenda, Deleuze and Guattari provide an alternative not reliant on the homogeneity of the ideological concept, as Bonta and Protevi illustrate the potential of pragmatics:

A possibility for materialist, problem-solving geography is to map complex spaces by way of their regimes of signs, and thereby partially to comprehend the ways that these spaces can generate territories across broad regions that can hold sway in any given landscape, relate to each other, create conflict and/or alliances and so forth.³⁴⁸

³⁴⁵ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 154.

³⁴⁶ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 154.

³⁴⁷ Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the making of U.S Culture*, p. 22.

³⁴⁸ Bonta and Protevi, *Deleuze and Geophilosophy: A Guide and Glossary*, p. 135.

Pragmatics and ‘mapping’ in particular thus allows for a practice which can illustrate how semiotic alliances and/or dominance can come into being. The tracing of Belize does not evidence the creation of a colony; a mapping however would illustrate that very process of becoming colonized or subjugated. Murphy’s study gives *Three Gringos in Central America and Venezuela* scant regard, and in particular it finds Davis’s article on Venezuela, ‘The Paris of South America’, to be lacking in a consistent point of view. Similarly to Kaplan, Murphy defers to Davis’s novel *Soldiers of Fortune* for the clearer enunciation of an American mandate for future relations with and expansion into the southern hemisphere. Whereas Kaplan does not refer to ‘The Paris of South America’ Murphy does locate it as the originator for a series of scenes which occur in the later novel. Principal amongst these are statues of Simon Bolivar and George Washington in ‘The Paris of South America’. Murphy in fact further reduces the significance of Davis’s travel writing, stating that ‘it was the novel that had initially motivated Davis’s journey through Central America and Venezuela, where Davis had hoped to gather local colour and detail for his fictional work’.³⁴⁹ Although there is no statue of Washington in *Soldiers of Fortune*, a statue of Bolivar and ‘Anduella ... the liberator of the republic of Olancho’, combined with the American hero Clay’s presence, ‘attest to the tradition of revolutionary identification between the United States and Latin America’. Murphy argues that Davis’s description of the two statues in ‘The Paris of South America’ symbolised and mythologised a parallel history.³⁵⁰

At the time of Davis’s presence in Venezuela the Venezuelan government was involved in a border dispute with Great Britain which had created a crisis of United States foreign policy as it existed in the Monroe Doctrine. Davis was evidently lucky in the timing of his article; the ensuing fall-out between Great Britain and the United States meant, as

³⁴⁹ Murphy, *Hemispheric Imaginings: The Monroe Doctrine and Narrative of U.S Empire*, p. 122.

³⁵⁰ Murphy, *Hemispheric Imaginings*, pp. 132, 133.

Seelye notes, that 'The Paris of South America' was 'published at a critical time in our history as the United States began to take an increased interest in Latin American matters'.³⁵¹

Murphy extends the significance of Davis's article to his future coverage of Cuba and his fiction:

Davis's involvement with the Venezuela border conflict suggests that his work engages not only with the specific question of Cuban independence, but also with the more general one about the status of the Monroe Doctrine. I do not mean to say simply that the novel dramatizes, rather than U.S. intervention in Cuba, U.S. intervention in Venezuela – a nation that like the fictional Olancho is located on the North West coast of South America. It seems more likely that Olancho, described by a character in the novel as 'one of those little republics down there', is an amalgamation through which Davis constructs a general and mythic relation between the United States and its Southern neighbours. My main point, instead, is that the historical context of the Venezuela conflict - the crisis it sparked over the Monroe Doctrine - is at the thematic centre of Davis's novel.³⁵²

The crisis created by the Venezuela border dispute is at the centre of Davis's coverage of Venezuela, and this chapter will close by considering how 'The Paris of South America' better illustrates the creation of the new semiotic and those impasses and anxieties which the fictionalised Olancho setting reconciles in *Soldiers of Fortune*. Early in the article Davis describes the statue of Bolivar in New York:

Shoved off by itself in a corner of central park on the top of a wooden hill, where only the people who live in the high apartment-houses at eighty-first street can see it, is an equestrian statue. It is odd, bizarre, and inartistic, and suggests in size and pose that equestrian statue to General Jackson which mounts guard before the White House in Washington. It shows a chocolate-cream soldier mastering with one hand a rearing rocking-horse, and with the other pointing his sword towards an imaginary enemy ... Sometimes a 'sparrow' policeman saunters up the hill and looks at the statue with unenlightened eyes, and sometimes a nurse-maid seeks its secluded site, and sits on the pedestal below it while the children of this free republic play unconcernedly in its shadow. On the base of this big statue is carved the name of Simon Bolivar, the liberator of Venezuela.³⁵³

Counterpoised to this is the status of Washington in Caracas:

Down on the north-eastern coast of South America, in Caracas, the Capital of the United States of Venezuela, there is a pretty little plaza, called the Plaza Washington ... it is Washington the statesman, not the soldier ... From bare windows of the

³⁵¹ Seelye, *War Games: Richard Harding Davis and the New Imperialism*, p. 166.

³⁵² Murphy, *Hemispheric Imaginings: The Monroe Doctrine and Narrative of U.S Empire*, p. 122.

³⁵³ Davis, *Three Gringos in Venezuela and Central America*, p. 221.

yellow and blue and pink houses that line the little plaza, dark-skinned women look out sleepily, but understandably, at the grave face of the North American Bolivar, and even policeman with his red blanket and Winchester carbine, comprehend when the gringos stop and take off their hats and make a bow to the father of their country in his pleasant place of exile.³⁵⁴

Murphy is entirely correct in claiming that Davis's article establishes parallels between the two monuments, and in doing so creates a link between Venezuela and the United States. Davis admits as much himself, commencing from a desire to establish this link on an equal footing, stating that 'the careers of Washington and Bolivar bear so striking a resemblance, and the histories of the two countries of which they are the respective fathers are so much alike, that might be written in parallel columns'.³⁵⁵ But this parallel also evidences something more complex than an attempt to perpetuate a shared history or revolutionary mythology. It is apparent from Davis's description that 'seeing' and 'knowing' play significant roles in the status of the monuments. For instance the 'nurse-maid' and 'sparrow' policeman in New York remain 'unenlightened' to the identity of the statue which is 'shoved off by itself in a corner' and visible only to those residents who 'live in the high apartment-houses at eighty-first street'.³⁵⁶ In Caracas however the 'sleepy women' and policeman 'comprehend' and bear witness to the statue. Bolivar in New York is effectively displaced twice – on one level of seeing and a second of understanding; Washington, on the other hand, can be seen from windows unimpeded and when the statue is seen its significance is understood. While Miner asserts that to Davis, 'Caracas ... seemed like home because the natives honoured George Washington next to Bolivar', Davis was not mapping an equivalence between the two. Indeed, Washington is already 'the north American Bolivar' whereas Bolivar is not 'a becoming' Washington.³⁵⁷ In this sense Davis, has 'organized,

³⁵⁴ Davis, *Three Gringos in Venezuela and Central America*, p. 221.

³⁵⁵ Davis, *Three Gringos in Venezuela and Central America*, p. 225.

³⁵⁶ Davis, *Three Gringos in Venezuela and Central America*, p. 225.

³⁵⁷ Lewis, *Mightier Than the Sword*. p, 104.

stabilized, neutralized' creating an organization going from content to expression to understanding.³⁵⁸

The map that Davis creates is loaded. The new semiotic system wherein both Bolivar and Washington co-exist and interact is already subject to a hierarchy of seeing and comprehension with Washington as an icon (a reterritorialized index of territory) which may travel, whereas Bolivar may not. Davis's discourse is an actualisation of power-relations in this respect, or 'an operation which consists of tracing 'a line of general force', linking, aligning and homogenizing particular features, placing them in series and making them converge'.³⁵⁹ By comparing the two statues Davis identifies and homogenises particular features which make them similar and then proceeds to differentiate them in the manner in which they are witnessed and understood.

Whereas Davis functions as the 'interpretative' documentarian in Belize, in this instance he removes himself from this function, transposing interpretation to 'social bodies' both in Caracas and New York. Bolivar is exported but displaced; Washington is exiled but imported. The statue of Washington literally occupies space whereas the statue of Bolivar at the time of Davis's writing did not. As an icon of United States revolutionary history, Washington's presence in Caracas does not enunciate a shared history as much as a changed semiotic of American revolutionary history – one which is extended beyond the borders of North America and one which is iconoclastic. As Bosteels notes, a map is 'never a transparent reflection of a stable territory already existing elsewhere', and in this way Davis has not simply imposed the cultural territory of Washington onto Caracas but has taken an already mobile index and mapped it into a new assemblage.³⁶⁰ Davis elaborates on how the statue of Washington came to occupy space in Caracas:

³⁵⁸ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 14-15.

³⁵⁹ Deleuze, *Foucault*, p. 75.

³⁶⁰ Bruno Bosteels, 'From text to territory: 'Felix Guattari's cartographies of the unconscious' in *Deleuze and Guattari: New Mappings in politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1998), p. 147.

Lafayette forwarded the portrait of Washington to Bolivar, who valued it so highly that the people who loved him valued the man he worshipped; and today you will see in Caracas streets and squares and houses named after Washington, and portraits of Washington crossing the Delaware, and Washington on horseback, and Washington at Mount Vernon, hanging in almost every shop and café in the Capital. And the next time you ride in Central Park you might turn ... and see if you cannot feel some sort of sympathy and pay some tribute to this young man who loved like a hero, and who fought like a hero, with the fierceness of the tropical sun above him, and whose inspiration was the calm, grave parent of our own country.³⁶¹

The map, the new semiotic which Davis creates, is one wherein Washington and all the statements which correspond to that designation exist in Caracas. As previously noted the map is loaded with Bolivar effaced by Washington. The map then is a different assemblage from the earlier tracing of Belize, not least because Washington's presence is not imperial in nature and because the residents of Caracas are mapped into Washington's presence through their witnessing and comprehension; the statue becomes a 'node in a production network' of a different sort to the representatives of the 'big government across the sea'.³⁶² Washington is rendered through a 'distant vision', one which includes Washington in all his history; this is a view which creates striated space, with Washington rooted in the Caracas locale that has a 'consistency of orientation ... through an interchange of inertial points of reference'.³⁶³ Washington crossing the Delaware, Washington on horseback, the statesmen; for Davis these cultural images are 'inertial points of reference'. This is reminiscent of the characteristics of tracing noted earlier in as much as those indexes of the British Empire functioned as 'inertial points of reference' but the manner in which Davis locates them is entirely more dynamic, illustrating as it does the creation of a semiotic complete with interpretative framework. Additionally, these recurring images illustrate the plurality of regimes which Washington inhabits. Transplanted to Caracas, Washington exists in a political proximity to Bolivar but also to a domestic sphere in cafes and homes as a general and politician. Interestingly an

³⁶¹ Davis, *Three Gringos in Venezuela and Central America*, p. 237.

³⁶² Bonta and Protevi, *Deleuze and Geophilosophy: A Guide and Glossary*, p. 61.

³⁶³ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 545.

early account of the settlement of Honduras by the British parallels Davis's latter attempts to create a semiotic bridge between two cultures. George Henderson writing in 1811 recounts that:

The government of the Mosquito Indians is hereditary; and a very exact and perfect idea of British law of succession is entertained by them. It is a subject which engages much of their attention, from its having long been one of close imitation amongst themselves. Indeed, it would perhaps be found that many points of our doctrine of primogeniture are much more accurately understood by these people than by some who are more immediately interested in such discussions.³⁶⁴

Just as Washington is seen and known, in this instance it is a 'perfect idea of British law' which is found to exist in Honduras. Such cognitive correlations are illustrative of the manner in which the foreign is made recognizable: The Mosquito Indians now share proximity with British Law (all the better for the on-going colonisation) just as Washington has physical presence in Caracas. Davis does not erect the statues and it could be argued he follows a simple equivalence between the two because it serves a narrative function in the article, being better to represent Caracas to his domestic audience. But the mapping of Washington in Caracas and the anonymity of Bolivar in New York foreshadows Davis's engagement with the Monroe Doctrine later in the article. It is the context of Venezuela's border dispute with Great Britain which generates those anxieties and impasses which the process of mapping entail as every map 'is a redistribution of impasses and breakthroughs, of thresholds and enclosures, which necessarily go from bottom to top'.³⁶⁵ Mapping the United States into, and perhaps onto, Caracas and Venezuela becomes problematic for Davis when discussing the Monroe Doctrine and the border dispute with Great Britain. Davis contextualises the border dispute:

The government of Venezuela at the time of our visit to Caracas was greatly troubled on account of her boundary dispute with Great Britain, and her own somewhat hasty action in sending three foreign ministers out of the country for daring to criticise her tardiness in paying foreign debts and her neglect in not holding to the terms of

³⁶⁴ George Henderson, *An Account of the British settlement of Honduras: Being a View of its Commercial and Agricultural resources, Soil, Climate, Natural History etc* (London: C. Baldwin, 1811), pp. 218-219.

³⁶⁵ Gilles Deleuze, *Essays Critical and Clinical*, p. 63.

concessions. These difficulties, the latter of which were entirely of her own making, were interesting to us as Americans, because the talk on all sides showed that in the event of a serious trouble with any foreign power Venezuela looked confidently to the United States for aid.³⁶⁶

Again, as with the statue of Washington the importance of comprehension, or rather reading and understanding is central to Davis's engagement with the Doctrine in Venezuela:

Venezuela's hope of aid, and her conviction, which is shared by all the Central American republics, that the United States is going to help her and them in the hour of need, is based upon what they believe to be the Monroe Doctrine. The Monroe Doctrine as we understand it is a very different thing from the Monroe Doctrine as they understand it; and while their reading of it is not so important as long as we know what it means and enforce it, there is danger nevertheless in their way of looking at it, for, according to their point of view, the Monroe Doctrine is expected to cover a multitude of their sins.³⁶⁷

While Washington was seen and understood, there is a palpable disquiet in the Doctrine being 'seen' in a manner which departs from an American perspective. The method of seeing, or rather the interpretative framework associated with Washington, is one which Davis transplants wholesale onto Venezuela but no such framework exists for the Doctrine. It is this interpretative framework which is at the centre of Davis's indecision, he says himself:

If the Monroe Doctrine does not apply in this case, it has never meant anything in the past, and will not mean much in the future. Personally, although the original Monroe Doctrine distinctly designates 'this hemisphere', and not merely this continent, I cannot think the principle of this doctrine should be applied in this instance. For if it does apply, it could be extended to other disputes much farther south, and we might have every republic in South America calling on us for aid in matter which could in no possible way affect either the honour or the prosperity of our country.³⁶⁸

Davis by turns endorses and reverses a position within the space of two paragraphs. It is for this reason that Lubow remarks, 'it would be more difficult to find a more comical illustration of the adage that muddled writing betrays muddled thinking'.³⁶⁹ Seelye, perhaps being more kind, concludes that, 'having drawn his line in the sand, Davis immediately took

³⁶⁶ Davis, *Three Gringos in Venezuela and Central America*, p. 269.

³⁶⁷ Davis, *Three Gringos in Venezuela and Central America*, pp. 272, 273.

³⁶⁸ Davis, *Three Gringos in Venezuela and Central America*, pp. 277, 278.

³⁶⁹ Lubow, *The Reporter who would be King: A Biography of Richard Harding Davis*, p. 123.

a few steps backward'.³⁷⁰ For Murphy however Davis's article, 'in fact said very little to answer the questions of national identity at stake'.³⁷¹ The 'circles within circles' of the signifying regime in Davis's engagement with the Doctrine occur without the 'interpretative documentarian' which Davis acted as in Belize and displaced onto the civilians of Caracas who 'honoured Washington'; rather than circulating information, they now 'distribute contradictory orders'.³⁷² The specific semiotic of the Doctrine does not map and cannot translate into the context of Venezuela's border dispute because of the fear that it could be extended further south. Davis is signalling the abatement of the Doctrine, calling for it to be halted lest it proliferate, or map beyond the United States control; or, beyond an interpretative framework which appears to not exist or at least exist in a state of ambiguity in the United States. Murphy suggests that while the Doctrine 'assumed its status as a sacred national tradition and cherished document ... no one seemed to agree exactly what it stated, how it should be applied, or where its jurisdiction should be in the twentieth century'.³⁷³ While Davis maps Washington in Caracas he is unwilling to map the semiotic of the Monroe Doctrine into the assemblage while tactilely endorsing such an endeavour. Davis does not refute that the Doctrine applies in this case; his objection stems from a lack of a domestic understanding of the Doctrine. While Venezuelans understand the Doctrine, their 'reading of it is not so important'. Davis is unable to counterpose their reading with a domestic interpretation or manufacture a parallel understanding. Davis tellingly refers to the border dispute as being a question 'of historical records and maps, and nothing else'.³⁷⁴

In the space of one article, Davis maps a new semiotic juncture between north and south via the node of production that is the statue of Washington but also denies this

³⁷⁰ Seelye, *War Games: Richard Harding Davis and the New Imperialism*, p. 189.

³⁷¹ Murphy, *Hemispheric Imaginings: The Monroe Doctrine and Narrative of U.S Empire*, p. 121.

³⁷² Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p.76.

³⁷³ Murphy, *Hemispheric Imaginings: The Monroe Doctrine and Narrative of U.S Empire*, p. 120.

³⁷⁴ Davis, *Three Gringos in Venezuela and Central America*, p. 83.

conjunction in respect to the regime of the Doctrine. The map is creative, creating a revolutionary connectivity on one hand and denying it on the other; the first is predicated on the basis of an exported significance, the second on the basis of ‘misunderstanding’ – or an understanding which ‘is not so important’. Whereas Davis’s map decentres Bolivar, the risk of a reterritorialized Doctrine creating a whole series of statements in a social field, including the expulsion of foreign diplomats, is something Davis cannot permit to exist within the map and yet it does exist. With Washington, the map is loaded in America’s favour, with the Doctrine this is not the case and so Davis is resistant to it but this is not a complete impasse and there are notable instances within the article where Davis gives voice to those readings which counter his own:

I suggested to one Venezuelan that there were other ways of dismissing foreign ministers than that of telling them to pack up and get out of the country in a week, and that I did not think the Monroe Doctrine meant that South American republics could affront foreign nations with impunity. He answered me by saying that the United States has aided Mexico when Maximilian tried to found an empire in that country; and he could not see that the cases were not exactly similar.³⁷⁵

The Doctrine is not transformed as such, mainly because Davis is not capable of tracing it as an image or regime in possession of its own interpretative framework. The Doctrine is shown to be unstable in its own right and veers between two equally liminal positions. Within the article the Doctrine is a ‘text generated between two or more poetics’ and in many ways, treats it as a ‘threshold’ or as ‘a transgression or entry into the Other’.³⁷⁶ Travel is a meeting of regimes: the domestic and multiple foreign. The effect of this meeting can be a passive endeavour or it can be something creative. In the first case the affect, what it does, is mimic a subjectification, replicating an image of an image and in the second the affect is to create a new map which is altogether more liminal in its character.

³⁷⁵ Davis, *Three Gringos in Venezuela and Central America*, pp. 275, 276.

³⁷⁶ Manual Aguirre, Roberta Quance, and Philip Sutton, *Margins and Thresholds: An Enquiry into the concept of Liminality in Text Studies* (Madrid: The Gate Way Press, 2000), p. 6.

Chapter 5. Davis's War Correspondence

Davis's war correspondence occupies a unique place within his body of travel writing being as it is more critically appreciated than the leisure travel works with even Lubow referring to his coverage of the German advance in first world war as, 'a dispatch that became a legend of war reporting'.³⁷⁷ Davis's war correspondence is comprised of all the same constitutive elements as travel writing, commencing from a point of departure and arriving at a point of destination. That the motive for travel may be more explicit the discourse should not discount war correspondence from any specific definition of travel writing. War correspondence concerns itself with the meeting of cultures, the crossing of borders and the representation of the foreign to a domestic audience. While war correspondence can be restricted to battles and the geopolitical manoeuvring of politicians it also holds true that war correspondence frequently involves the representation of armed forces moving through space and in accompanying such an advance, or indeed retreat, Davis is writing about a form of traversal. Davis's war correspondence includes armies of invasion, of occupation, and also the ensuing counter action to these forces, such as militancy, insurgency and revolution. In travelling with armed forces as well as throughout occupied space Davis's correspondence provides an opportunity to interrogate those meetings of force and those creations of space at the heart of conflict. While Davis consigned the British 'conquest and concession' of Honduras by the British to a sentence, his war correspondence gives insight into those acute collapses and appropriations of space unique to warfare. The effect of travel on Davis's writing is then the effect of travel through a war zone, through space which is dramatically deterritorializing and reterritorializing around him.

What is of interest within Davis's war correspondence is the way in which, 'forces at work within space continually striate it, and how in the course of its striation it develops and

³⁷⁷ Arthur Lubow, *The Reporter who would be King: A Biography of Richard Harding Davis*, p, 291.

emits new smooth spaces'.³⁷⁸ How does Davis engage with those operations of striation which occur within the state appropriated war-machine (interior to it) and those effects of striation it creates in the traversal of space (exterior to it). Conversely, what is the effect of a landscape that is 'smooth' (in the manner that the steppe and the desert are smooth) on the axiomatic war-machine moving within it, and Davis's discourse in representing it? Furthermore, how does Davis's discourse react to the striation of space, in so far as it too becomes striated in the mode of Davis's 'tracing' of Belize.

As with most attempts to reduce Davis's output to manageable groupings it will be necessary to reduce his war correspondence to a few selected works; this will include *With Both Armies* (1900), *With the Allies* (1914), *With the French in France and Salonika* (1916) and *Cuba in War Time* (1897).³⁷⁹ The most notable omission from this list is the coverage of the American-Spanish war (1898). This omission is primarily because Davis's patriotism as espoused within the coverage is such that it precludes any real insightful practice and secondly because both Kaplan and Murphy have extensively considered Davis's coverage of the Spanish – American war in respect to its significance to *Soldiers of Fortune* (1897).

While it may be appropriate to interrogate Davis's war correspondence in the same vein as this thesis has interrogated his other travel works, Deleuze and Guattari's critical framework contains a strong critical insight to the machinations of conflict within space. Deleuze and Guattari's concept of the 'Nomadic War Machine' and the 'nomad' is primarily explained in the chapters, '1227: Treatise on Nomadology' and '1440: The Smooth and Striated'.³⁸⁰ The nomad or nomadic war machine occupies a tangential proximity to the 'line of flight' and subsequently to 'minor literature' by virtue of its juxtaposition to an 'axiomatic' or state

³⁷⁸ Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 551.

³⁷⁹ Richard Harding Davis, *With Both Armies in South America 1900*. (New York: Charles Scribner's and Sons, 1900); Richard Harding Davis, *Cuba in War Time* (London: Heinemann, 1897); Richard Harding Davis, *With the Allies* (London: London Duckworth and Co, 1914); Richard Harding Davis, *With the French in France and Salonik*. (London: London Duckworth and Co, 1916)

³⁸⁰ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 388.

appropriated war machine.³⁸¹ This occurs in much the same way as a minor literature is differentiated from a major literature. Indeed, Richards goes as far as to suggest that in the ‘nomad’ Deleuze and Guattari ‘see embodied all the fugitive forces that European States ... have sought to contain and exterminate’ Just as the purpose of the major treatment of language serves to delimit variance in enunciation (through such means as the order-word and disjunctive synthesis) the purpose of the axiomatic war machine is to striate space whereas the nomadic war machine is conducive to smooth space.³⁸² Deleuze and Guattari state;

The first theoretical element of importance is the fact that the war machine has many varied meanings, and this is *precisely because the war machine has an extremely variable relation to war itself*. The war machine is not uniformly defined, and comprises something other than increasing quantities of force. We have tried to define two poles of the war machine: *at one pole*, it takes war for its object and forms a line of destruction pro-long able to the limits of the universe ... *The other pole* seemed to be the essence; it is when the war machine, with infinitely lower ‘quantities’, has as its object not war but the drawing of a creative line of flight, the composition of a smooth space and of the movement of people in that space. At this other pole, the machine does indeed encounter war, but as its supplementary or synthetic object, now directed against the State and against the worldwide axiomatic expressed by States.³⁸³

This rather simple binary proposition will be expanded on in greater detail shortly. In the first instance it is necessary to also state that the ‘Nomadic War Machine’ as Deleuze and Guattari conceive of it is not only a mode of inhabiting, or even of making space but of constituting assemblages and, ‘the drawing of a creative line of flight’.

In its deterritorialization of striated apparatuses, techno reveals a close affinity with what Deleuze/Guattari call ‘the war machine’. The war machine first of all relates to the nomadic mode of warfare that distinguished nomads from the state war machine – the army, with its general and hierarchical chain of command [n + 1]. The nomadic war machine was an immanently ‘organized’ machinic assemblage of man horse/stirrup/bow, operating according to internal logics ‘no longer tied to a State apparatus ... [but to] a physics of packs’, populating smooth space rather than the striated space of molar organizations.³⁸⁴

³⁸¹ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 423.

³⁸² Richards, Thomas, ‘Archive and Utopia’ in *Representations*, no. 37 special issue: Imperial Fantasies and Postcolonial Histories (winter, 1992), pp. 104-135. University of California Press

³⁸³ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, pp. 465 – 466.

³⁸⁴ Herzogenrath, *An American Body/Politic: A Deleuzian Approach*, p. 244.

On the one hand there is an ‘immanently organized machinic assemblage’ populating a smooth space and on the other, there is what some critics have considered to be ‘nomadic space’. Populating and creating ‘smooth space’, or rather moving as a ‘nomad’ through striated space confuses an already rather oblique concept, especially in respect to discourse. Some critics such as Bestrom have elucidated on the properties of nomadic space and its effects, stating:

Second, nomadic space affirms difference: it creates an ideological place an individual is freed from social constructions and is free to shape his identity as he desires, instead of being trapped within a specifically socially imposed category. Nomadic space is transformative, creative and accepting of all individuals.³⁸⁵

The veracity of Bestrom’s argument is not pertinent to this writing but it is worth noting the romanticism associated with ‘nomad’ and ‘nomadic’ as it exists in Deleuze and Guattari’s work. For the purposes of this writing and for ease of clarification what Bestrom refers to as ‘nomadic’ space will hitherto be referred to as ‘smooth space’; the reasoning for this is because the relation between ‘smooth space’ and the ‘nomad’ is not as simple as Bestrom suggests. An example of this is the desert which Deleuze and Guattari characterise as ‘smooth space’.³⁸⁶ Furthermore, much like the major / minor juxtaposition seen earlier, this continued ascription to the more radical aspects of Deleuze and Guattari’s work comes at the expense of engaging with a process which constantly moves from and between ‘nomadic movement’, ‘smooth space’ and ‘striated’ space as Deleuze and Guattari state themselves:

But nothing completely coincides, and everything intermingles, or crosses over. This is because the differences are not objective: it is possible to live striated on the deserts, steppes, or seas; it is possible to live smooth even in the cities, to be an urban nomad...It is not a question of returning to pre-astronomical navigation, nor to the ancient nomads. The confrontation between the smooth and the striated, the passages, alternations and superposition, are under way today, running in the most varied directions.³⁸⁷

³⁸⁵ Erin Bestrom, ‘The creation of nomadic space through travel’, *Intersections* Vol 10, no 1, May 27, 2010, pp. 199-217, p. 211.

³⁸⁶ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 421.

³⁸⁷ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 523.

Travel is not simply nomadic, nor is travel writing simply major or minor, a tracing or a map, it is more often than not considered to be a continually reciprocal process veering from one pole to another. Within the context of the ‘nomad’ Deleuze and Guattari also elucidate on ‘Nomadic art’ or an ‘abstract line’.³⁸⁸ Davis falls into the opposite category of this abstract line with his work constituting a ‘figurative line’. Although Davis was prone to literary digression in some instances his non-fiction work remains essentially representative in nature:

The figurative or imitation and representation, is a consequence, a result of certain characteristics of a line when it assumes a given form A system of this kind, which is rectilinear, or unilinear regardless of the number of lines, expresses the formal conditions under which a space is striated and the line describes a contour. Such a line is inherently, formally representative in itself, even if it does not represent anything.³⁸⁹

Davis’s work, particularly his non-fiction travel writing, and particularly again his war correspondence, is formally representative in this sense, constituting, ‘stable and symmetrical form of expression’, which is not to suggest that his work is not capable of illustrating ruptures in such a representation.³⁹⁰ This resonates with earlier engagements with the form of expression and content; the figurative line pursues a vector which goes from content to expression, as a writer, or rather a journalist, Davis undoubtedly aspires to represent. While the mapping of regimes in ‘The Paris of South America’ evidenced a potential for a dynamic creativity in Davis’s writing it remains very much the case that his work can be considered ‘major’ in the sense of its function is to represent a material reality.³⁹¹

It is in the context of the war-machine that Deleuze and Guattari converge several of their key approaches. The nomadic line and the figurative line are not synonymous with

³⁸⁸ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 549.

³⁸⁹ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 549.

³⁹⁰ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 549.

³⁹¹ Davis, *Three Gringos in Venezuela and Central America*.

smooth and striated because as we have seen it is possible to be a nomad in the most striated of cities and similarly write figuratively within the desert, or rather to be a minor author in the city and a major author in the steppe; to trace the ocean and map the nomad's movements. Ultimately and the key point before exploring these concepts in respect to Davis is to remember that, 'smooth space is constantly being translated, transversed into a striated space; striated space is constantly being reversed, returned to a smooth space'.³⁹²

5.1 The Axiomatic War Machine

Although commissioned by the *New York Herald* to cover the Boer War in South Africa in 1900 Davis took a second commission from the English *Daily Mail*, offering, 'to represent both papers with different stories'.³⁹³ Davis's articles 'mostly appeared' in *Scribner's Magazine* throughout January to October 1900, and it is these articles that comprise the collected work *With Both Armies* (1900).³⁹⁴ The opening of the book commences with the war underway and coverage of the British General Buller's advance into the South African veldt to relieve the besieged town of Ladysmith. Davis finds an army of invasion mired in a landscape seemingly complicit with the Boer enemy: 'This was the twelfth day of a battle Buller's column was waging against the Boers and their mountain ranges, or 'disarranges', as someone described them'.³⁹⁵ The British Army encountered a resistant territory, not just because of the military resistance of the Boers who occupy it but because of the landscape itself. In this way, and the manner in which Davis later describes them, the mountains appear as something akin to a 'smooth space', similar to how Deleuze and Guattari conceive the desert. Davis, describing these mountain ranges, writes:

³⁹² Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 524.

³⁹³ Lubow, *The Reporter who would be King: A Biography of Richard Harding Davis*, p. 206.

³⁹⁴ Henry Quinby, *Richard Harding Davis: A Bibliography* (New York: E.P Dutton and Co, 1924), p. 49.

³⁹⁵ Davis, *With Both Armies in South America 1900*, p. 5.

No map, nor photograph, nor written description can give an idea of the country which lay between Buller and his goal. It was an eruption of high hills, linked together at every point without order or sequence. In most countries mountains and hills follow some natural law. The Cordilleras can be traced from the Amazon River to Guatemala City; they make the water-shed of two continents; the great divide forms the backbone of the states, but these Natal hills have no lineal descent. They are illegitimate children, of no line, abandoned broadcast over the country, with no family likeness and no home. They stand alone, or shoulder to shoulder, or at right angles, or at a tangent, or join hands across a valley. They never appear the same ... in a ride of half a mile, every hill completely loses its original aspect and character ... they hide each other, or disguise each other.³⁹⁶

Davis's figurative representation of the Natal mountains fails to render them in any meaningfully cartographic way; they are almost rhizomatic, with any point connecting with any other.³⁹⁷ The chief characteristic of the mountains is the lack of a coherent character; Davis's rendering of the mountain range is one of 'affects more than one of properties'.³⁹⁸ They are illegitimate children devoid of paternal hierarchy, or rather, devoid of the supposed hierarchy that he perceives in other mountain ranges. Davis is almost self-consciously admitting the limits of his own discursive practice when he concedes that no image, or map could 'trace' or reproduce the mountains, and it is perhaps because of this that Davis invokes a series of effects rather than prescribing properties. The Cordilleras and the range of the Great Divide are subordinated to a 'law' of measurement, between a river and city in the case of the Cordilleras, but the Natal hills appear as 'an intensive rather than extensive space, one of distances, not of measures and properties'.³⁹⁹ Faced with the non-organized landscape, Davis situates the Natal hills as a site of disjunctive equivalence to better represent them. But, accompanying the British advance, it is Davis's proximity to the hills which gives rise to a 'close' or 'haptic vision'. Deleuze and Guattari define 'haptic vision' as:

The first aspect of the haptic, smooth space of close vision is that its orientations, landmarks, and linkages are in continuous variation; it operates step by step.

³⁹⁶ Davis, *With Both Armies in South America 1900*, pp. 5-6.

³⁹⁷ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 7.

³⁹⁸ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 528.

³⁹⁹ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 528.

Examples are the desert, steppe, ice and sea, local spaces of pure connection Orientations are not constant but change according to temporary vegetation, occupations, and precipitation. There is no visual model for points of reference that would make them interchangeable and unite them in an inertial class assignable to an immobile outside observer.⁴⁰⁰

Davis's 'haptic vision' of the landscape is evidenced in the continuous variation of the mountains, 'they never appear the same', and they 'disguise' and give flight to the 'character' previously found therein. Davis's orientation disavows points of reference within the landscape itself and so he must look exterior to the immediate space of the Natal hills, to the Cordilleras for example, in order to create a disjunctive synthesis. This is the accompanying 'long-distance' vision, one which can posit the Cordilleras as a 'natural' mountain range and in this manner Davis's work illustrates a mixing of spaces and perceptions. The Natal hills cannot be mapped, but the Cordilleras can be and are. In the reference to 'illegitimate children' Davis marks them at one and the same time as formless since they lack a genealogy but formed nonetheless. The range of the Great Divide 'forms the back bone of the United States'; it is one totality but the rhizomatic Natal hills are altogether more permeable and Davis acknowledges this in his description of the Tugela river which passes through the range.

To add to this confusion, the river Tugela has selected the hills around Ladysmith as occupying the country through which it will endeavour to throw off its pursuers. It darts through them as though striking to escape, it doubles on its tracks, it sinks out of sight between them, and in the open plain rises to the dignity of water-falls. It runs up hill, and remains motionless on an incline, and on the level ground twists and turns so frequently that when one says he has crossed the Tugela he means he has crossed it once at a drift, once at the wrecked railroad bridge, and once over a pontoon. And then he is not sure that he is still on the same side from which he started.⁴⁰¹

The methods of traversal or striation, the units of measure such as the map or even language, 'cannot give an idea of the country', just as the methods of traversing the river (the railway bridge, drift and pontoon) are intermittent striations rather than homogeneous

⁴⁰⁰ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 544.

⁴⁰¹ Davis, *With Both Armies in South America 1900*, p. 6.

solutions to crossing the river. The mountains cannot be represented, and this is precisely what Davis is attempting to convey. Davis's peer in Africa, and his British equivalent, Winston Churchill, reporting for the *Morning Post*, describes the same range in altogether more manageable terms: 'The northern side of the Tugela River at nearly every point commands the southern bank. Ranges of high hills strewn with boulders and dotted with trees rise abruptly from the water, forming a mighty rampart for the enemy'.⁴⁰² Churchill describes the river as a divide cutting between a north and south, between a hostile territory and the occupied territory of the British. Churchill sees the river as a boundary of territory demarking an emphatically discernible 'theirs' and 'ours'.

Davis would experience other disorientating landscapes throughout the course of his career, with one such example being the Trenches in the First World War. At the French lines in Champagne he observes that, 'where the trenches began and where they ended is difficult'.⁴⁰³ The juxtaposition between the open and natural veldt and the man-made subterranean trenches is stark, but it is interesting that Davis experiences a similar disorientation when trying to reach the front trench. He recounts:

Long since I had lost all sense of direction. It was not only a maze and labyrinth, but it held to no level. At times, concealed by walls of chalk, we walked erect, and then, like woodchucks, dived into earthen burrows. For a long distance we crawled, bending double through a tunnel ... The air grew foul and the pressure on the eardrums like that of the subway under the North River. We came out and drew deep breathes as though we had been long under water.⁴⁰⁴

Just as the veldt resists a formal cartographic description so too do the trenches; the effect of the space becomes the medium through which Davis attempts to figuratively communicate its topography and characteristics. The mountain range and river are literally

⁴⁰² Kenneth Morgan, 'The Boer War and the Media' (1899 -1902) in *Twentieth Century History*. Vol 13, No. 1 2002, p. 4; Winston Churchill, *London to Ladysmith via Pretoria* (London: The Dodo Press. 2008), p. 126.

⁴⁰³ Davis, *With the French in France and Salonika*, p.35.

⁴⁰⁴ Davis, *With the French in France and Salonika*, p.58.

escaping the disjunctive synthesis of a major treatment of language. It is into this landscape that Davis travels with Buller's column:

Into this maze and confusion of nature's fortifications Buller's column has been twisting and turning, marching and counter-marching, capturing one position after another to find it was enfiladed from many hills, and abandoning it, only to retake it a week later. The greater part of the column has abandoned its tents and is bivouacking in the open. It is a wonderful and impressive sight.⁴⁰⁵

The column of the British army embodies that which Deleuze and Guattari consider to be the axiomatic war machine as it takes 'the form of a state military institution'.⁴⁰⁶ While the nomadic war machine has been discussed earlier in respect to culture and literature, the axiomatic war machine remains largely the unspoken reactionary component of society. In order to consider adequately the meeting of this axiomatic war machine and smooth space which Davis outlines it is necessary to consider how it operates within space. Deleuze and Guattari look to the semiology of chess to illustrate movement and striation function in the axiomatic war machine:

Chess pieces are coded; they have qualities; a Knight remains a Knight, a Pawn a Pawn, a Bishop a Bishop. Each is like a subject of the statement endowed with a relative power, and these relative powers combine in a subject of enunciation, that is, the chess player or the game's form of interiority ... Within their milieu of interiority, chess pieces entertain bi-univocal relations with one another, and with the adversary's pieces: their functioning is structural ... Chess is indeed a war, with a front, a rear, battles... Finally the space is not all the same: in chess, it is a question of arranging a closed space for oneself, thus of going from one point to another, of occupying the maximum number of squares with the minimum number of pieces.⁴⁰⁷

Buller's Column is coded in just such a manner; the Column possesses relative strength militarily speaking and exists within a larger semiology. Furthermore, its functioning is, as with chess, essentially structural: as a 'Column' it adheres to principles of quantifiable units that are comprised of further units of measure interior to the Column (such as the number of officers, regiments, troops, or artillery, for example) which all function as subjects

⁴⁰⁵ Davis, *With Both Armies in South America 1900*, p. 7.

⁴⁰⁶ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 523.

⁴⁰⁷ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 389.

of the statement. The axiomatic war machine is not nomadic in its movement because, as Deleuze and Guattari propose, ‘the state does not appropriate the war machine without giving it the form of relative movement’.⁴⁰⁸ Buller’s Column is attempting to perform such a movement, ‘going from one point to another’, and in order to create a closed space it necessarily attempts to striate the space through which it moves.⁴⁰⁹ The presence or movement through space by an army is never passive. Striation of that space does not occur as an effect as such but is the fundamental goal of the axiomatic war machine. The effect of accompanying the Column in Davis’s reportage is not just a simple representation of striated or occupied space but a series of deterritorializing effects created by the smooth space of the mountains. The rigid line of the Column is twisted, turned, ‘marching and counter marching’, entering feedback loops in its attempt to traverse the veldt. The smooth space destabilizes the Column, changing its course as well as changing habitual actions within it; the abandoning of the tents and indeed tent formations while in camp is evident of this. In entering a smooth space, ‘the greater part of the Column has abandoned its tents and is bivouacking in the open’. This is not simply a slip in discipline but a change in habitual behaviour that is created by a connection to a smooth space; the Column, at least in this small way is reconstituted into a new connectivity with the space.

Davis’s discourse evidences a haptic vision: just as the Column abandons its formalised tent formations, Davis, in part at least, abandons a long-range vision in rendering the mountains. While war correspondence can often be said to focus almost exclusively on combat, Davis’s in contrast is less fixated on combat and instead more focused on the broader actuality of war. For instance, while it might be presumed that Davis would seek to render the

⁴⁰⁸ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 426.

⁴⁰⁹ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 551.

Column, instead he encounters and represents an altogether more complex organisation supporting it:

An army in the field is not regiments or armed men, marching with a gun on shoulder, or crouching behind trenches ... Before one reaches the firing-line he must pass villages of men, camps of men, bivouacs of men, who are feeding, mending, repairing, and burying the men at the 'front'. It is these latter that make the mob of gypsies which are apparently without head or order or organization. They stretched across the great basin of the Tugela, like the children of Israel ... by day they swarmed across the plain, like hundreds of moving circus-vans in every direction, with as little obvious intention as herds of Buffalo.⁴¹⁰

The caravan is not a homogeneous unit (measurable); it is not a Column, nor is it necessarily disparate or comprised of rigid interior units. Within it Davis finds 'mules from Spain and Texas ... camps of Kaffirs, hospital stations with the Red Cross waving from the nearest and highest tree'.⁴¹¹ There is little sense that these distinctions or identities amongst the multitude are aggregated. While the fighting force of the axiomatic war machine is striated as a Column (or, to use its proper name, Buller's Column), the caravan of support appears as something more immanently self-organized. Although it is 'apparently' without 'head or order' it also a 'swarm' or 'herd' wherein hierarchy is not required; in short it 'does not start from quasinatural unity' unlike the Column.⁴¹² Faced with this multitude Davis defers to an inertial point of reference to root his discourse; just as the Cordillera mountains anchor the Veldt and the 'Subway under the north river' makes sense of the trenches, the 'children of Israel' image has the same function. In this sense Davis's discourse, or rather the territorial assemblage to which his work refers and of which it becomes a part, is reterritorialized.

It is also important to contrast Davis's coverage of the Boer war (and, in particular, the British advance within the landscape of the veldt) to his reportage of the German advance through Brussels in the first years of World War One in *With the Allies* (1918). The collected

⁴¹⁰ Davis, *With Both Armies in South America 1900*, p. 8.

⁴¹¹ Davis, *With Both Armies in South America 1900*, p. 9.

⁴¹² Herzogenrath, *An American Body/Politic: A Deleuzian Approach*, p. 66.

articles which comprise the book ‘describe what Davis saw in August and September 1914 ... covering despatches to the Wheeler syndicate and Scribner’s Magazine’.⁴¹³ What this difference in territorial setting allows is an insight into how an army of advance operates in different spaces, in different times and how Davis’s reportage responds accordingly. Davis’s dispatch from Brussels commences with a comparison to the Johnstown flood or, in Osborn’s conclusion, Davis’s ‘yardstick with which to measure the superlative’:⁴¹⁴

All through the night, like the tumult of a river when it races between the cliffs of a canyon, in my sleep I could hear the steady roar of the passing army. And when early in the morning I went to the window the chain of steel was still unbroken. It was like the torrent that swept Connemaugh Valley and destroyed Johnstown.⁴¹⁵

As Seelye notes, Davis’s sympathies were obvious in his coverage of World War One and Davis ‘was in effect writing propoganda against the Germans with the intention of drawing the US into the conflict’.⁴¹⁶ Be that as it may, his dispatch from Brussels, when contrasted with his other war correspondence, illustrates what is arguably the penultimate expression of the axiomatic war machine. The first noticeable difference between the German and Buller’s advance is one of scale; while Davis can survey Buller’s Column and even its swarm-like support caravan, the German advance is constituted by so vast a force that it passes for three days. Davis is amazed by this and contrasts the German army with the more chivalric displays of military might he had previously witnessed:

As a correspondent I have seen all the great armies and the military processions at the coronations in Russia, England, Spain, and our own inaugural parades down Pennsylvania Avenue, but those armies and processions were made of men. This was a machine, endless, tireless, with the delicate organisation of a watch and the brute power of a steam roller. And for three days and three nights through Brussels it roared and rumbled, a cataract of molten lead. The infantry march singing, with their iron-shod boots beating out the time. They sang ‘Fatherland, My Fatherland’. Between each line of song they took three steps. At times two thousand men were singing together in absolute rhythm and beat. It was like the blows from giant pile drivers. When the melody gave way the silence was broken only by the stomp of iron-shod boots, and then again the song arose. When the singing ceased the bands played

⁴¹³ Quinby, *Richard Harding Davis: A Bibliography*, p. 79.

⁴¹⁴ Osborn, *Richard Harding Davis: Critical Battleground*, p. 35.

⁴¹⁵ Davis, *With the Allies*, p. 13.

⁴¹⁶ Seelye, *War Games: Richard Harding Davis and the New Imperialism*, p. 34.

marches. They were followed by the rumble of the howitzers, the creaking of wheels and of chains clanking against the cobblestones, and the sharp, bell-like voices of the bugles.⁴¹⁷

While the British and German armies are axiomatic in nature, Buller's advance into the mountain range results in a partial deterritorialization of habit with the Column becoming connected to the smooth space of the Veldt. It is important to note also that while Davis's main concern is the military fighting force, he is aware of its interdependence with, and symbiotic relationship with, the support caravan. The German advance though is the antithesis of a synergy between disparate elements. Davis likens the German line to a machine – to a 'chain of steel' – and its unity is singular; it is not just rigid in the same way that Buller's Column is, but is a truly aggregated homogeneous assemblage. What is startling when comparing the two pieces is that Buller's Column is contextualised into a territorial assemblage, placed by Davis physically within the landscape and consequently affected by it. The German line occupies an almost complete interiority. In the manner of Deleuze and Guattari's analogy with the semiotics of Chess, the axiomatic war machine creates interiority through the striation of space. The German line is also an enunciating machine. The singing – 'Father Land, My Father Land' – is part of the assemblage, not merely its effect but a series of statements that are interior to the assemblage. Another way of considering the German advance is as a figurative line, enunciating and representing, going from content to expression without variance.

The German chain is unbroken, and, in this manner, it creates a striated territory that is interior to the line of advancing troops. Davis recounts that 'to cross from one side walk to the other was not possible'.⁴¹⁸ The difference in the landscape through which the armies move should be noted. Davis spends little time describing Brussels other than to refer to it as

⁴¹⁷ Davis, *With the Allies*, p. 13.

⁴¹⁸ Davis, *With the Allies*, p. 12.

an ‘imitation Paris’, and it is necessary to note further that Davis is describing an advance through an already grid-like urban centre in respect to the German army.⁴¹⁹ The paved streets and already striated urban environment of Brussels necessarily acts as a correlative complement to the German march while the veldt actively works to decentre the British march. Lubow notes the effect that this military proximity to urban centres had on Davis, remarking that ‘Davis had followed war into the mountains of Greece, the jungles of Cuba, the veldt of South Africa and the millet fields of Manchuria; but never had he seen it fought so close to civilisation’.⁴²⁰

For Davis the German advance is not a traversal as such, nor is it an entirely natural movement in as much as it does not enter into any connectivity with the territory through which it passes. Davis remarks, ‘it was not of this earth, but mysterious, ghostlike. It carried all the mystery and menace of a fog rolling towards you across the sea’.⁴²¹ While Buller’s advance is a meeting of a striating force and a smooth space, the German advance is striated movement through an already striated space engendering the complete interiority it achieves:

All along the route, without for a minute halting the machine, the post-officer’s carts fell out of the column, as the men marched mounted postmen collected post cards and delivered letters. Also, as they marched, the cooks prepared soup, coffee, and tea, walking beside their stoves on wheels, tending the fires, distributing the smoking food. Seated in the Motor-trucks cobblers mended boots and broken harness; ferries on tiny anvils beat out horse shoes.⁴²²

The juxtaposition of the swarming caravan following the British with this extreme interiority should be self-evident. While the first operates in a seemingly double direction, towards dispersion and unity, the second achieves a ‘milieu of interiority’ which requires no connection to the space which surrounds it.⁴²³ The way the two advancing armies

⁴¹⁹ Davis, *With the Allies*, p. 7.

⁴²⁰ Lubow, *The Reporter Who Would be King: A Biography of Richard Harding Davis*, p. 291.

⁴²¹ Davis, *With the Allies*, p. 12.

⁴²² Davis, *With the Allies*, p. 14.

⁴²³ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 389.

communicate is also vastly different. In the mountain ranges Buller resides at the centre of a communication network:

Up on the highest hill, seated amongst the highest rocks, are General Buller and his staff This little jagged point of blistering rocks holds the forces that press the button which sets the struggling mass below, and the thousands of men upon the surrounding hills, in motion. It is the conning tower of the relief column, only unlike a conning tower, it offers no protection, no seclusion, no peace.⁴²⁴

The image of the conning tower appears often in Davis's war correspondence; a conning tower is the superstructure of a submarine from which steering and firing are ordered and in this context Davis means to refer to the armoured pilot house of a war ship. Within the 'disarranges' the conning tower of Buller's command is as much for purposes of navigating the Veldt as it is to conduct the quantities of force at his disposal. Davis's evocation of a 'button' in the machinic assemblage of the German advance is eerily singular which is contrasted to the multiplicity of forces at play in Buller's centre suggesting an altogether more diverse series of cause and effect. Communication to and from the conning tower is by Heliograph (comprising mirrors used to signal using the sun) and flag:

They sit on rocks, and wink out their orders by a flashing hand-mirror ... the Kopje is the central station of the system. From its uncomfortable eminence the commanding general watches the developments of his attack, and directs it by heliograph and ragged bits of bunting.⁴²⁵

This form of communication effects a whole series of connections within the smooth space of the mountain ranges; at one point, communication between the besieged town of Ladysmith and Buller's advancing Column is 'tapped into' by the Boers who tell one British Officer 'Go to Hell'.⁴²⁶ The heliograph and flag signify in the figurative sense but also illustrate the manner in which the state will 'utilize smooth spaces as a means of communication'.⁴²⁷ The line of communication which the heliograph and flag utilize is

⁴²⁴ Davis, *With the Allies*, p. 14.

⁴²⁵ Davis, *With Both Armies in South America 1900*, p. 14.

⁴²⁶ Davis, *With Both Armies in South America 1900*, p. 40.

⁴²⁷ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 425.

essentially the atmosphere. This is in contrast to the German line of communication, both in the army and to the centre (its command):

The German army moved into Brussels as smoothly and as compactly as an empire state express. There were no halts, no open places, no stragglers. For the grey automobiles and the grey motorcycles bearing messengers one side of the street always was kept clear; and so compact was the column, so rigid the vigilance of the file-closers, that at the rate of forty miles an hour a car could race the length of the column and need not for a single horse or man once swerve from its course.⁴²⁸

While the route of communication exists on the periphery, or on the edge of the line, it also remains interior to it; there are literally ‘no open spaces’. Whereas Buller exists at a centre, the German centre is notably absent, the lines of communication go nowhere, or rather go nowhere that Davis is able to document or recount. As has already been seen Davis is keenly aware of his orientation, or rather the importance of orientation and in numerous cases stresses the manner in which he is witnessing and documenting events. *With Both Armies* is no exception and while we have seen him oscillate between a haptic and longer-range vision it is in documenting a British attack on Railway Hill that Davis illustrates an altogether more self-conscious engagement with his practice of documenting and witnessing:⁴²⁹

They moved in regiments, but each man was as distinct as is a letter of the alphabet in each word on this page, black with letters. We began to follow the fortunes of individual letters. It was a most selfish and cowardly occupation, for you knew you were in no greater danger than you would be in looking through the glasses of a Mutoscope.⁴³⁰

The Mutoscope, invented in 1894, was a series of cards rotated for a single viewer in flipbook fashion and dominated the coin-in-the-slot ‘peep show’ business (it was a variation on the Edison Kinetoscope invented in 1892). The Mutoscope, as the name suggests, was devoid of audio capabilities. Within this single paragraph Davis breaks down the apparatus and artifice of his own writing and his own long-range orientation. The analogy is

⁴²⁸ Davis, *With the Allies*, p. 13.

⁴²⁹ Davis, *With the Allies*, p. 7.

⁴³⁰ Davis, *With Both Armies in South America 1900*, p. 21.

particularly apt as Davis is presumably viewing the battle through ‘field glasses’ from a distance. The letters on the page combine to form words with which Davis figuratively renders the attack just as the individuated soldiers comprise the three regiments which make the attack. Similarly, a Mutoscope is comprised of individuated cards that are ordered and rotated to simulate a complete moving image in the same manner that letters combine to create signs. In long-range orientation, Davis individuates the elements comprising the image; or rather he is unpicking the components of the form of expression. It remains an arborescent structure – commencing from a top-down perspective and although the soldiers are individuated they remain striated in respect to the territory of the unity of the word, complete image and regiment. Deleuze and Guattari state that ‘striated space ... is defined by the requirements of long-distance vision: constancy of orientation, invariance of distance through an interchange of inertial points of reference, interlinking by immersion in an ambient milieu, constitution of a central perspective’.⁴³¹ The word, the letters and the Mutoscope are apparatus facilitating this invariance of orientation – it is not possible to view the Mutoscope in a manner other than that dictated by the machine; it is not possible for Davis to write other than in words which are unintelligible. In this sense the word and the Mutoscope are ‘the curve joining individual points’.⁴³²

This is vastly different from Davis’s attempt to individuate the Germans marching through Brussels. The manner in which Davis likens the German march through Brussels to a ‘fog’ accompanies a near loss of vision: at one point Davis remarks, ‘you saw only a fog that melted into the stones ... but left you nothing at which to point’.⁴³³ While Davis was closer to the German line than he was to the British attack his attempts to penetrate the striation, the territorial assemblage of the Grey German uniform, is neither haptic nor long-distant because

⁴³¹ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 545.

⁴³² Deleuze, *Foucault*, p. 79.

⁴³³ Davis, *With the Allies*, p. 12.

both presume at least a relativity to a point or points of orientation from which a thing can be observed. The German line effects no such orientation, such is the completeness of its interiority:

No longer was it regiments of men marching, but something uncanny, inhuman, a force of nature like a landslide, a tidal wave, or lava sweeping down a mountain. It was not of this earth, but mysterious, ghostlike. It carried all the mystery and menace of a fog rolling toward you across the sea. The uniform aided this impression. In it each man moved under a cloak of invisibility. Only after the most numerous and severe tests at all distances, with all materials and combinations of colours that give forth no colour, could this grey have been discovered.⁴³⁴

The German uniform gives ‘forth no colour’; in a sense it almost fails to express, and it masks the multiple components of the line in its entirety. These two differing examples of Davis’s reporting are further contrasted with a third occurrence of the axiomatic war machine within his work. The Spanish occupation of Cuba created a completely different striation of space. This striation of space necessarily requires the erection of borders and boundaries, but the appearance of such borders does not appear comprehensively within South Africa and Brussels; both armies entertain ‘biunivocal relations’ with an opposite enemy but neither come close to the extent the Spanish achieve. Davis notes in the opening of *Cuba in War Time* that:⁴³⁵

The island is divided into two great military camps, one situated within the forts, and the other scattered over the fields and mountains outside of them. The Spaniards have absolute control over everything within the fortified places; that is, in all cities, towns, seaports, and along the lines of the railroad; the insurgents are in possession of all the rest.⁴³⁶

Whereas the German and British advances are about mobility, the Spanish occupation in Cuba is primarily about the occupation of space and the deployment of ‘the fortress as a regulator of movement’.⁴³⁷ The causes of the Spanish occupation of Cuba do not preoccupy Davis to any large extent. He briefly recounts the financial depression in Cuba in 1894 and a

⁴³⁴ Davis, *With the Allies*, p. 12.

⁴³⁵ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 389.

⁴³⁶ Davis, *Cuba in War Time*, p. 3.

⁴³⁷ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 426.

Spanish promise of reform which prompted old revolutionary leaders and families of prominence ‘to ask all loyal Cubans not to accept so-called reforms, when by fighting, they might obtain their freedom’. The Spanish response to this insurrection was to build forts, ‘some in straight lines, some in circles, and some zigzagging from hill-top to hill-top’.⁴³⁸

Davis notes the effect this had on the appearance and occupation of space in Cuba during the occupation:

It is difficult to imagine a line drawn so closely, not about one city or town, but around every city and town in Cuba, that no one can pass the line from either the outside or the inside They have placed forts next to the rows of houses or huts on the outskirts of each town, within a hundred yards of one another, and outside of this circle is another circle, and beyond that, on every high piece of ground, are still more of these little square forts, which are not much larger than the signal stations along the lines of our railways. No one can pass across the line of the forts without a pass, nor enter from the country beyond them without an order showing from what place he comes, at what time he left that place, and that he had permission from the commandante to leave it.⁴³⁹

The forts are designed to regulate flow and mitigate movement; Davis’s allusion to the ‘signal stations’ is apt because these stations serve to regulate speed and movement.

While the British are marching into a ‘maze’ in pursuit of the enemy the Spanish create biunivocal relations within space, designating it hostile and safe respectively. But the Spanish forts in fact effect only a partial striation creating the conditions for the ‘field’ or ‘hostile or rebellious smooth space’ that are exterior to the forts.⁴⁴⁰ Or, as Davis puts it:

There is no situation where it is so distinctly evident that those who are not with you are against you, for you are either inside of one circle of forts or passing under guard by rail to another circle, or you are with the insurgents. There is no alternative. If you walk fifty yards away from the circle you are, in the eyes of the Spaniards, as much in ‘the field’ as though you were two hundred miles away in the mountains.⁴⁴¹

The Spanish General Weylar, who was in command of Cuba, ‘ordered all pacificos, as the non-belligerents are called into the towns and burned their houses, and issued orders to

⁴³⁸ Davis, *Cuba in War Time*, p. 3.

⁴³⁹ Davis, *Cuba in War Time*, p. 4.

⁴⁴⁰ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 426.

⁴⁴¹ Davis, *Cuba in War Time*, p. 4.

have all the fields where potatoes or corn were planted dug up'.⁴⁴² The Spanish occupation or inertial non-movement in Cuba relies on bringing inside, incorporating into the interiority of the axiomatic war-machine, those components that previously existed outside of it. In effect, the Spanish occupation sought to deny the nomadic war machine of the insurgency connectivity to an agricultural populace. In this manner, the forts serve not only the purpose of mitigating movement but also of observing and capturing the population and as such they suggest a parallel with Foucault's Panopticon:

The Panopticon is a ring-shaped building in the middle of which there is a tower at the centre. The ring is divided into little cells, there is depending on the purpose of the institution, a child learning to write, a worker at work, a prisoner correcting himself, a mad man living his madness. In the central tower there is an observer, since each cell faces both inside and outside, the observer's gaze can traverse the whole cell.⁴⁴³

The forts serve this purpose: from the fort a pacifico is observed being pacified and an insurgent being belligerent. While the drawing of lines and marking of borders is about control it is arguably also intended to deprive an insurgency minority access to a larger social milieu. Hardt and Negri discuss just such a strategy in *Multitude* as a counter-insurgency measure, 'based on the environment-deprivation model'.⁴⁴⁴ This strategy recognizes that its enemy is not organized like a traditional army and thus cannot simply be decapitated Success does not require attacking the enemy directly but destroying the environment, physical and social, that supports it'.⁴⁴⁵ Davis remains unimpressed with this strategy, and considers the Spanish efforts of taking the fight to the insurgents, remarking:

Flying columns of regular troops and guerrillas are sent out daily, but they always return each evening within their forts. If they meet a band of insurgents they give battle readily enough, but they never pursue the enemy, and, instead of camping on the ground and following him up the next morning, they retreat as soon as the battle is

⁴⁴² Davis, *Cuba in War Time*, p. 5.

⁴⁴³ Michel Foucault, *Power: Essential Works of Foucault (1954 -1984)*. Vol. 3, ed. by James D. (Faubian. London: Penguin Books), p. 58.

⁴⁴⁴ Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 2004)

⁴⁴⁵ Hardt and Negri, *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire*, p. 57.

over, to the town where they are stationed ... they give as an explanation that they were afraid of being led into an ambush.⁴⁴⁶

In abandoning the 'field' or country to the insurgents the Spanish create the conditions for a zone of complete control (within the forts) and a zone of complete danger (without the forts). While the Spanish occupation has the effect of striating the territory within their control it also precipitates the relative creation of a smooth space which they cannot control and so do not venture into it. Davis also suggests the Spanish are cowardly and the Spanish officers too intent on profiteering from the occupation to pursue the insurgents into the 'field'.

Cuba can be seen to provide Davis with a context for rendering the difference between the previous territorial constitution of Cuba and their lot under Spanish occupation. Davis writes that the *pacificos* 'are now gathered inside a dead line, drawn one hundred and fifty yards around towns, wherever there is a fort'.⁴⁴⁷ This is literally a dead space within which connectivity and even the vitality of life (desiring production) is mitigated and not just slowed but stopped. These entropic conditions lead Davis to note that, 'many of them are dying of sickness and some of starvation'; and his judgement of the situation returns him to his superlative unit of measure, the Johnstown flood:⁴⁴⁸

I saw the survivors of the Johnstown flood when the horror of that disaster was still plainly written in their eyes, but destitute as they were of home and food and clothing, they were in better plight than those fever-stricken, starving *pacificos*, who have sinned in no way, who have given no aid to the rebels, and whose only crime is that they lived in the country instead of the town. They are now to suffer because General Weylar, finding that he cannot hold the country as he can the towns, lays it waste and treats those who lived there with less consideration than the Sultan of Morocco shows to the murderers in his jail at Tangier.⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁶ Davis, *Cuba in War Time*, p. 5.

⁴⁴⁷ Davis, *Cuba in War Time*, p. 5.

⁴⁴⁸ Davis, *Cuba in War Time*, p. 16.

⁴⁴⁹ Davis, *Cuba in War Time*, p. 15.

The reference to the Johnstown Flood disaster may indeed be cynical, in as much as it is placed to provide a domestic American audience with a measure against which to compare the state of the Pacificos. The strategy of ‘environmental deprivation’ Hardt and Negri consider has a similar outcome, with the suffering of ‘non-combatants’ being ‘really a means to attack the primary enemy’.⁴⁵⁰ However, a second more subtle analogy is apparent in Davis’s writing. In describing the constricting of space and the benefits of open space Davis is evoking a frontier like comparison. Davis describes the manner in which the Pacificos lived prior to the Spanish occupation:

It is true in the country, also, these people had no covering for their huts but palm leaves, but those huts were made stoutly to endure. When a man built one of them he was building his home, not a shelter tent, and they were placed well apart from one another, with the free air of the plain or mountain blowing about them, with room for the sun to beat down and drink up the impurities, and with patches of green things growing in rows over the few acres. I have seen them all over Cuba, and I am sure that no disease could have sprung from house built so admirably to admit the sun and air.⁴⁵¹

Davis’s nomenclature for the ‘field’ or ‘country’ becomes the ‘plain’ and, in this respect, it replicates a typically American index of the agrarian West. While Davis witnesses disease within the towns, his prescription of health through connectivity to the elements evokes parallels with the West as the ‘formative crucible of American manhood’.⁴⁵² Similarly to the predominance of the West as essentially a masculine space so too are the palm huts built by men in Cuba. While this reading of Davis is allegorical, it becomes evident that within this work the West figures perhaps more substantially so than in his actual writing on the West. This pre-Spanish agrarian paradise is contrasted against a new enforced urbanism in the Spanish controlled ‘dead lines’:

The huts in which these people live at present lean one against the other and there are, no broad roads nor green tobacco patches to separate one from another. There are, on the contrary, only narrow paths, two feet wide, where dogs and cattle and human

⁴⁵⁰ Hardt and Negri, *Multitude*, p. 58.

⁴⁵¹ Davis, *Cuba in War Time*, p. 13.

⁴⁵² Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the making of U.S Culture*, p. 99.

beings tramp over daily growing heaps of refuse and garbage and filth, and where malaria rises at night in a white winding sheet of poisonous mist.⁴⁵³

Perhaps more so than any other example within Davis's travel writing, this movement from an open space (agrarian) to urban striation (town) gives voice to the crisis which emerged in 1890s America. While Davis 'echoed others in the American press' and 'urged American intervention' in Cuba, it is apparent that Davis is explicitly framing the Cuban occupation in terms recognizable and very real to his readership.⁴⁵⁴ While he found the West in *The West Through a Car Window* to be allocated, divided, apportioned and striated along principles of ownership it is a very different nostalgic West which permeates his coverage of Cuba. Wrobel sums up the exact movement towards the urbanism of 1890s America:

For many Americans these years marked the nation's transition from a simple, self-contained, predominantly agrarian society to a more complex, increasingly urban and industrial one. The 'old America' seemed pure, free of the ailments that beset the Old World, while the 'new America' was at best a tarnished Eden, at worst the replica of its progenitor.⁴⁵⁵

The Spanish occupation as Davis depicts it removes the 'lone self-reliant cowboy on the frontier', or rather the lone self-reliant Cuban on the plain and places him in an urban dead space: moving from the, 'former agrarian paradise' to an 'industrial hell'.⁴⁵⁶ In these terms the Spanish striation of space is rendered by Davis as a removal from the frontier, a purging of the plain to create urban centres of control.

5.2 Belligerents

In the selected war correspondence considered in this chapter, the forces ranged in opposition to the German, Spanish and British state war machines are respectively the French

⁴⁵³ Davis, *Cuba in War Time*, p. 13.

⁴⁵⁴ John Leary, 'America's Other Half: Slum Journalism and the War of 1898' in *Journal of Transnational American Studies*, no. 209, p. 7

⁴⁵⁵ David Wrobel, *The End of American Exceptionalism: Frontier Anxiety from the Old West to the New Deal*, p. 53.

⁴⁵⁶ Wrobel, *The End of American Exceptionalism: Frontier Anxiety from the Old West to the New Deal*, p. 92.

state war machine, Cuban ‘belligerents’, and the Boer ‘guerrillas’.⁴⁵⁷ While the First World War finds numerous state war machines ranged against one another it is the Boer and Cuban insurgents which are constitutive of the antithesis of the state war machine. In Africa, Davis’s first encounter with resistance to the British was in fact not a Boer Militant but volunteer American fighters disguised as Red Cross ambulance corps. Davis remarks on encountering the ‘Chicago Ambulance Corps’ on his journey from the British Lines to the Boer occupied territory:

The Chicago Ambulance Corps laughed and winked. Already the men found that the Red Cross bandage had become burdensome and bound them too tightly. It was stopping the circulation of the fighting-blood in their Irish veins.⁴⁵⁸

While Davis describes these wounded combatants as Irish, it is evident that he is describing Irish-American soldiers. Already a distinction is clear for Davis, the ‘Tommy’s’ of Buller’s column are ‘Tommy’s’ and remain visibly so (even when they abandon their tents) the deception of the Chicago Ambulance corps evidences an altogether different and more ‘smooth’ traversal of space. The force opposing the British is of a very different ‘profession identity’ from them.⁴⁵⁹ A Boer farmer for instance fascinates Davis in their first meeting:

Toward midday we had our first sight of the Boer militant. He was a red-bearded farmer with a slouch hat, carrying a bandolier over his shoulder and a Mauser in his hand. He could not possibly appreciate the intense interest with which we regarded him.⁴⁶⁰

The Tommy’s, ‘in Khaki’ (in the semiology of chess, ‘a pawn remains a pawn’) are a regular army despite coming ‘from all the world’, which Davis is keen to point out include, ‘transports from Australia ... Canada, from India, from Scotland, Ireland, and England, and cattle ships, with horses, mules and oxen from Sydney, from Buenos Ayres, from Madrid,

⁴⁵⁷ Davis, *Cuba in War Time*, p. 1.

⁴⁵⁸ Davis, *With Both Armies in South America 1900*, p. 96.

⁴⁵⁹ Bonta and Protevi, *Deleuze and Geophilosophy: A Guide and Glossary*, p. 172.

⁴⁶⁰ Davis, *With Both Armies in South America 1900*, p. 179.

and Cadiz'.⁴⁶¹ The state war machine though composed of elements from multiple territories, remains singularly a 'regular army'. The Boers, for Davis though, are 'thirty thousand farmers, clerks, attorneys, shop keepers, and school-boys', but also militant. This nomadic-profession identity illustrates 'a becoming' noticeably absent from the British forces.⁴⁶²

The human profession-identity (I am a rancher and also a farmer) marks the various haecceities or becomings that are hyphenated as long as they are practicably combinable. Thus, we have mayor-loggers (an individual becoming-mayor, becoming logger), rancher-conservationist-teacher ... and so on ad infinitum. Individuals, then, have the power to create spatial alliances, to draw even conflicting spaces together in part because of the very rhizomatic qualities of their own body-systems as indexed to different territories.⁴⁶³

While Bonta and Protevi do not necessarily explore the implications or process of becoming insurrectionist or militant the pervasive citizen-soldier image figures heavily in the becomings Davis evokes. In deploying a similar 'becoming' nomadic, or rather becoming militant in his South African coverage Davis is again echoing an earlier model he discovered and represented in the West. While travelling throughout the West, Davis 'entrenches' with American troops on the border with Mexico and the manner in which he renders the multiple profession identities, or civilian-militant, parallels with his representation of the Boer's.

Davis remarks on the American troop:

He had been before enlistment a clerk, or a compositor, a cowboy, a day-labourer, painter, blacksmith, book-cavasser, almost everything ... I am sure they were too independent in their thoughts, though not in their actions, to have suited an officer of the English or German army.⁴⁶⁴

Davis's admiration for the civilian-militant is perhaps a distinctly American conception being as it is a legacy of the American War of independence wherein the right of the citizenry to carry arms was embedded in law, and a British invasion undoubtedly echoes

⁴⁶¹ Davis, *With Both Armies in South America 1900*, p.100; Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p.589; Davis, *With Both Armies in South America 1900*, p.101.

⁴⁶² Davis, *With Both Armies in South America 1900*, p.101.

⁴⁶³ Bonta and Protevi, *Deleuze and Geophilosophy: A Guide and Glossary*, p. 173.

⁴⁶⁴ Davis, *The West From a Car Window*, p. 35.

with American history. But to return to Cavalry Troop G, these soldiers appear again in *Cuba in War Time* and are again attributed nomadic qualities:

Years ago troops of United States cavalry were sent into the chaparral on the border of Mexico and Texas to drive the Garcia revolutionists back into their own country. One troop, G, Third Cavalry, was ordered out for seven days' service, but when I joined the troops later as a correspondence, it had been in the field for three months, sleeping the entire time under canvas, and carrying all its impedimenta with it on pack mules. It had seldom, if ever, been near a town, and the men wore the same clothes, or what was left of them, with which they had started for a week's campaign.⁴⁶⁵

Davis references Cavalry Troop G in a seeming attempt to further render the atrophy of the Spanish forces in Cuba. The profession identity for the British soldiers remain starkly one dimensional much like the identity of the Spanish occupation force in Cuba with Davis summing the difference between the British and the Boer's soldiers:

On the one bank of the Sand was the professional soldier, who does whatever he is ordered to do. His orders this time were to kill a sufficiently large number of human beings to cause those few who might survive to throw up their hands and surrender their homes, their country, and their birth right. On the other bank were a thousand self-governing, self-respecting farmers fighting for the land they have redeemed from the lion and the savage, for the towns and cities they have reared in a beautiful wilderness.⁴⁶⁶

Just as with Washington and Bolivar in 'The Paris of South America', Davis is evoking a parallel history to the United States; though devoid of explicit icons of territorial synergy such as Washington, in the above passage Davis may as well be narrating United States Western expansion. Davis transports the myth of western settlement and places it firmly in Africa with the militant-Boer farmers reimagined, or rather re-imaged into pioneers who pacify the 'plain', redeeming it from the savage, or Native Americans before a rebellion against British imperial machinations. While Davis laments the fate of Native Americans in his travelogue *The West From a Car Window*, the few mentions Davis makes of the Africans who the Boer has 'redeemed' the land from are telling; Davis remarks that the Boer, 'has no

⁴⁶⁵ Davis, *Cuba in War Time*, p.100.

⁴⁶⁶ Davis, *With Both Armies in South America 1900*, p. 193.

duties to perform, for his Kaffir boys care for his pony'.⁴⁶⁷ Despite the obviousness of the colonial connotations of the Boer's presence in South Africa, the Boers to Davis remain akin to those pioneers of American expansion, who settled a wilderness, which was in fact habited and in doing so displaced native peoples. Davis's paralleling of the Boer's presence in South Africa to Western expansion finds its penultimate expression in his admiration of the Boer Trek-wagon:

The trek wagons are as incongruous as are the caster's donkey-carts in Piccadilly. They are the most picturesque relics which remain to us from the days of the emigrant and of the pioneer ... It is much like the Victoria's and tram-carts. It is must like the great hooded carts which the empire makers of our west drove across the prairie ... that carried civilization with them, and that blazoned forth on their canvas as the supreme effort of the pioneer, 'Pile's Peak or Bust'. The ox-cart is the most typical possession of the Boer, and it and the lion, and the man with the rifle in his hands are the three emblems of the national coat-of-arms.⁴⁶⁸

This assemblage of man-horse-wagon enables settlement, diaspora and expansion.

While Davis enthuses the wagon with the romanticism of the Pioneer it is not nomadic in the sense that the man-stirrup-bow assemblage is nomadic for Deleuze and Guattari; the man-horse-wagon is emblematic of 'empire makers', in short a striating function. In this sense Davis concedes the striation of space which the Boer's wagon and the covered wagons of the pioneers brought to the respective wildernesses of the Veldt and South Africa. For Davis what commences as a 'line of flight' in nomadic movement becomes a rigid line, 'at times swept along by a stateless war machine. At others they subside into empire'.⁴⁶⁹

To return to the Spanish occupation of Cuba and Genera Weylar's order (in a situation very different from that of Davis's coverage of the Boers); the order evidences in no uncertain terms Deleuze and Guattari's proposition that, 'the response of the state against all that threaten to move beyond it is to striate space'.⁴⁷⁰ However this striation creates and,

⁴⁶⁷ Davis, *With Both Armies in South America 1900*, p. 189.

⁴⁶⁸ Davis, *With Both Armies in South America 1900*, p. 111.

⁴⁶⁹ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 245.

⁴⁷⁰ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 426.

‘develops other forces and emits smooth spaces’; in short, the conditions for creating a movement in the opposite direction, Davis notes:⁴⁷¹

The order, apart from being unprecedented in warfare, proved an exceedingly short-sighted one, and acted almost immediately after the manner of a boomerang. The able-bodied men of each family who had remained loyal or at least neutral, so long as they were permitted to live undisturbed on their few acres, were not content to exist on the charity of a city, and they swarmed over to the insurgents ranks by the hundreds.⁴⁷²

While Davis experiences the Boers and volunteer fighters in Africa first hand, he himself is striated by the Spanish occupation and the closest he gets to an insurgent is Rodriguez whom he immortalises in his article, ‘The Death of Rodriguez’.⁴⁷³ Davis’s depiction of the Cuban insurgents is sparser because of this; while the Boers are becoming-farmer, becoming-militant the Cuban non-insurgents, or civilians for lack of a better word remain ‘becoming-pacificos’ throughout Davis’s coverage. In the absence of first-hand experience of the Cuban revolutionaries they exist in Davis’s coverage very much in an un-aggregated ‘band’ or ‘pack’. Davis notes:

No one knows just where any one and of them is to-day or where it may be to-morrow. Sometimes they come up to the very walls of the fort, lasso a bunch of cattle and ride off again, and the next morning their presence may be detected ten miles away, where they are setting fire to a cane field or sugar plantation.⁴⁷⁴

While the Spanish forces of occupation find parallels with Deleuze and Guattari’s semiology of Chess in this way the Spanish insurrection finds parallels with their counter analogy of ‘Go pieces’. Deleuze and Guattari find that, ‘what is proper to Go is war without battle lines, with neither confrontation or retreat, without battles even’.⁴⁷⁵ Davis indeed witnesses no battles as such and as it is the Spanish who have instigated striation it is they who Davis finds to retreat to the garrisons and forts once contact has been made. The ‘bands’

⁴⁷¹ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 551.

⁴⁷² Davis, *Cuba in War Time*, p. 12

⁴⁷³ Davis, *Cuba in War Time*.

⁴⁷⁴ Davis, *Cuba in War Time*, p. 6.

⁴⁷⁵ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p.389.

of insurgents on the other hand appear to pro-long combat simply by not engaging in combat. The re-occurrence of this nominal collective identifier of 'bands' by Davis evokes semi-autonomous cells, which is a departure from the more civilian-militant resistance he witnesses in Africa. Deleuze and Guattari on bands:

Packs, bands, are groups of the rhizome type, as opposed to the aborescent type that centres around organs of power. That is why bands in general, even those engaged in banditry or high-society life, are metamorphoses of a war machine formally distinct from all state apparatuses or their equivalents, which are instead what structure centralized societies.⁴⁷⁶

While the 'band' label perhaps criminalises the Cuban insurgents the actual make up and operation of a band is arguably more nomadic in character than the war-machine of the Boer militants who, despite their polymorphic identity-profession have generals like DeWet and Botha even though these generals co-ordinated 'guerrilla warfare' after the occupation of Pretoria the Boer resistance is composed around the state, or the government in Pretoria who the Boer's in the field are fighting on behalf of.⁴⁷⁷ In the field, however, the Boer's and the foreign volunteers especially share proximity to the Cuban insurrectionists in that they are an effect, 'local mechanism of bands, margins, minorities' in a 'form irreducible to the state and that this form of exteriority necessarily presents itself as a diffuse or polymorphous war machine'.⁴⁷⁸ This is never more the case then when Davis encounters a group of volunteer fighters the night before a battle in South Africa:

Italians of Garibaldi's red-shirted army, Swedes and Danes in semi-uniform, French men in high boots and great sombreros, Germans with the sabre cuts on their cheeks that had been given them at the University, and Russian officers smoking tiny cigarettes, crowded the little drawing room, and by the light of a smoky lamp talking in many tongues of Spion Kop, Sanahsport, Fourteen Streams, and the battle on the morrow.⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷⁶ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p. 395.

⁴⁷⁷ Davis, *With Both Armies in South America 1900*, p. 201.

⁴⁷⁸ Sapone, Montgomery, 'Have Rifle with Scope, will travel: The Global Economy of Mercenary Violence', vol 30, issue 1, *California International Law Journal*, Fall 1999.

⁴⁷⁹ Davis, *With Both Armies in South America 1900*, p.176.

The semi-uniform, the University and the Officer designations are interesting given the setting; the collection of foreign volunteer fighters all appear to come from striated and indeed hierarchical axiomatic war machines, indeed they remain sufficiently within uniform for Davis to recognize them as such and yet Davis finds them part of an altogether different assemblage, with ‘no sergeants to keep them in hand, no officers to pay for their rations and issue orders’.⁴⁸⁰ Davis finds them to have partially ceased to occupy the semiology of the axiomatic war machine wherein ‘a knight remains a knight’; they each acquire not just a more fluid ‘profession identity’ but perhaps an agency within it not determined by external determinations’.⁴⁸¹

Each was his own officer, his conscience was his bugle-call, he gave himself orders. They were all equal, all friends; the cowboy and the Russian Prince, the French Socialist from La Villette or Montmartre, with a red sash around his velveteen breeches, and the little French noble men from the Cercle Royal ... Each had his own bandolier and rifle; each was minding his own business, which was the business of all - to try and save the independence of a free people.⁴⁸²

Davis’s war correspondence evidences the active making and constant unmaking of space, of the subjects within space and the effects of traversing space. As will be demonstrated in the conclusion, however, it is obvious that the persistent theme throughout Davis’s war correspondence is an approximate measure to the United States, to the citizen soldier and the myths of the West. Davis may have found the West to bear little resemblance to the cultural West in leaving it the United States and in encountering the military endeavours of the European powers Davis beings to enunciate a more active idealised and mythic association with the United States.

⁴⁸⁰ Davis, *With Both Armies in South America 1900*, p.177.

⁴⁸¹ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, p.389.

⁴⁸² Davis, *With Both Armies in South America 1900*, p. 177.

Conclusion

This conclusion will attempt to do the following; assess the extent to which the thesis has demonstrated that travel writing is cartographic in nature, return to the questions posed in the introduction and in doing illustrate how the home foreign formulation occurs within the cartographies Davis renders and what further opportunities arise in an approach that draws upon concepts developed by Deleuze and Guattari to interrogate travel writing.

A Discursive Cartography

Is travel writing cartographic? In the introduction I suggested that all travel writing is necessarily cartographic in nature, it concerns itself with the mapping of language, cultures and people into a discursive rendering of space. Further, it was suggested that an approach utilising specific concepts within the work of Deleuze and Guattari could illustrate how this cartographic practice results in a map that is not simply an interplay between unequivocal distinctions of home or foreign, but is a constantly emerging and shifting reciprocity of the regimes, icons and indexes at work within the territory created by the discourse. My first hypothesis was that any writing which concerns itself with the non-fictional representation of the ostensibly foreign, or the not home, is cartographic when in the service of reporting to a domestic audience. In the service of this aim travel writing concerns itself with the creation, approximation and description of space, material or otherwise, and in doing so renders maps of connecting space, politics, culture, author and reader. Cartography, the drawing of maps, is precisely what Davis is undertaking in his travel writing, rendering maps to allow his readers to navigate a new space.

The first chapter illustrated an existing gap in any critical reading of Davis's travel writing and included a critical survey that points to not only this neglect but also a critical history mired in predetermined conclusions of, if not Davis himself, then of the views that his work as a whole espoused. The second chapter similarly illustrated an existing gap in the

application of Deleuze and Guattari to discourse, arising in the main from a preoccupation with the concept of the minor author and the more revolutionary aspects of their critical insights whilst at the same time neglecting a plethora of reciprocal processes and contest within language.

In the third chapter, focusing on *West from a Car Window*, Davis's writing illustrates a cartography of federated elements, and in doing so creates maps of individual but connected spaces, each undergoing an axiomatic takeover that differs from location to location; in this manner Davis effectively maps an expanding capitalism and the clashing of this axiom with what came before it. But these maps also contain the culture of the West, the frames that Davis deploys and which are inserted into the map as reference points to the material reality in a manner so that the map contrasts the cultural and material. In this way Davis is rendering a cartography of a mythic cultural conception of space alongside the material territory and in doing so illustrates how the cartography of a territory encompasses both the cultural and physical, especially when they contrast and undermine one another.

The fourth chapter, 'The Tracing and the Map', showed how map making can perpetuate a pre-existing power takeover. Davis's article on Belize was a tracing, replication without changing, but in 'The Paris of South America' Davis illustrates how a new map is created through the construction of parallel history, through the insertion of previous connections into a new map. Such connections are to be found in Davis's interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine and how, without a pre-existing interpretative framework at play, the maps remain unstable and almost confused.

In the fifth chapter I demonstrated how Davis's discourse critiques maps of conflict in real military terms, how the material landscape figures within it to enable, as in the case of the German advance into Brussels, or hinder, as with the British army advance in South America. In both cases Davis creates a map of territory and then plugs himself into it. It was

also seen how Davis inserts into the map a kind of self-referential feedback loop wherein perspective is part of the map (long range and short-range vision). This in itself is an echo of the interpretative framework central to the map Davis creates in 'The Paris of South America' in the fourth chapter. Davis focuses on point of view and the importance of perspective in the description of space, and as a consequence he inserts into the map the vision with which it was created.

What emerges through this is semi chronological, 'semi' as works which could readily be described as travel writing have been excluded, reading of Davis is also a recurring element which perhaps gives rise to the principle figurative component of a discursive cartography, the conception of home. Whilst the previous chapters have demonstrated and made reference to a domestic regime or a conception of home, it becomes apparent that the recurrence of the domestic regime within a discursive cartography is necessitated by not just a traversal of boundaries but by a departure.

The chronology of Davis's career necessitates the direction of this interaction in one sense, indeed as does the process of travel itself commencing as it does with a physical departure from a home and arrival somewhere other than home before a return. This simple determinism can perhaps be expressed as the transposition of the conception of home, whatever form that takes, onto a foreign location, if for no other reason than the conception of home predates and therefore necessarily provides the lens through which the latter is viewed and represented. This approach, although comparative in one sense, finds many parallels with biographical and psychological critical insights into literature. Any critical perspective which considers, or postulates a formative conception, whether it be ideologically informed or psychologically engendered, of home follows a dictum which commences from a point A and arrives at a point B in chronological time at least. This conception of 'home' as something

identifiable, or as a means of self-identification is of great importance to the field of travel writing as Lisle notes:

For example, travel writers repeatedly differentiate themselves from others by situating their authority in a stable, superior and unquestioned home. While the author is not actually at home for the duration of the narrative, home provides the geographical anchor from which he/she can make observations and judgements about foreign people and places ... what is politically significant about this spatialisation of subjectivity is the way destinations are produced, evaluated and judged according to the supposedly universal categories of civilisation and security that characterises the travel writer's home.⁴⁸³

This differentiation between a home and a foreign is evident in Davis's work, indeed it serves as a consistent trope in his work as with many travel writings. Just as Islam noted that travel writing so often dealt with 'losses and gains'. Householder however in discussing the approximation that occurs in all activities of export and translation suggests something more complex is occurring. Householder notes that departure remains a precondition for arrival and in this manner to posit a pre-existent and ostensibly dominant home becomes only possible in the act of departure; the temporality of travel necessitates a retrospective construction of the concept of home appearing only at the point of departure:

To think travel and imagine its potential intellectual, commercial, or corporeal benefits, it is first necessary to posit a fixed position – origin or destination against which loss or gain can be registered. But even in conceptualizing this fixed point of origin ... the traveller's journey has already begun, since the meaning of 'home' can be activated only retroactively, contingent on a primordial condition of departure.⁴⁸⁴

This retrospective activation of the meaning of home is ultimately what Davis is creating through his travel writing, in creating maps of foreign locations he is in fact creating a retrospective and approximate map of the United States which seemingly for Davis can only exist in this approximation. In this way the cartography of the foreign becomes not just a translation of the foreign through a dominant home, or domestic idiom but a creation of the

⁴⁸³ Lisle, *The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing*, p.137.

⁴⁸⁴ Householder, *Inventing Americans in the Age of Discovery: Narratives of Encounter*, p. 15.

home and foreign simultaneously within the map, one retrospectively evoked and the other cast in comparison.

The Formulation of Home

Perhaps more pervasive throughout Davis's work, and at work throughout all the layered themes deployed throughout this thesis, is a writer grappling with a constantly emerging and disappearing conception of home. Home, conceived in icons, indexes, regimes, cultural artefacts, nostalgia and so on is inserted into each of the maps Davis creates, from the citizen soldiers of Africa mirroring Davis's idealised and distinctly American conception of a citizen soldiery to the mythologised American prairie appearing in Cuba, George Washington in Venezuela, Lafayette in New York, and so on. The preceding chapters have demonstrated that travel writing as a genre grapples with space and the articulation of forces within that space and if a unifying conclusion can be drawn across Davis's travel writing it is that in creating a map of the foreign, Davis is not transposing images of home but creating it within maps. It is perhaps interrogating this aspect that would present a truly thematic thread running through Davis's work. Within Davis's travel writing the domestic regime, as a distinct regime of signs, indexes and icons, manifest in approximations and comparisons, appears at the point of invocation only. The domestic regime is inserted into the map in the course of its drawing. The conception of home as it emerges in the homely comparisons and straight approximations Davis deploys co-exist alongside more complex articulations of the 'American point of view' which are 'imperfect' as a correlative force within the dynamic of a discursive cartography.⁴⁸⁵

It can be said that all Davis's travel writing conceives of a home and the foreign in a reciprocal relativity to a varying degree but it can also be said that it is only in travelling does

⁴⁸⁵ Osbourne, *Richard Harding Davis: Critical Battleground*, p. 67.

Davis's discourse manifest the 'home domestic' regime. In the act of travelling or representing travel, indeed of leaving can the domestic be inserted into the map. Distinct within Davis's travel writing within the United States, in *The West from a Car Window* there is an evident absence of an American point of view (a unified and indeed rarefied national character); in fact, within Davis's only domestic travel narrative he identifies himself not as an American but as an Easterner. It is only within his foreign travelogues that an identifiable 'American perspective' emerges within his work. Householder referencing George Van Den Abbeele goes on to discuss the position travel places in activating this concept of 'Home'.

Noting the ubiquity of travel both as a motif in literature and as a recurring metaphor in the history of thought, George Van Den Abbeele identifies a fundamental paradox in the 'economy of travel': To think travel and imagine its potential intellectual, commercial, or corporeal benefits, it is first necessary to posit a fixed position – origin or destination – against which loss or gain can be registered.⁴⁸⁶

Much like Seelye, Osbourne suggests that Davis frequently posited an American centre against the foreign territories he visited: 'He called this centre the American point of view. It rested finally upon certain unquestionable assumptions which gave significance and order to his world view'.⁴⁸⁷ What is interesting in Davis's travel writing is that this American centre emerges only after leaving the United States, it distinctly does not figure in his domestic travel writing. Indeed, the American centre emerges as a fixed position only retrospectively and as was seen in the fourth chapter this fixed position was subject to its own instability and proliferations. It could be argued that the most discernible effect of travel on Davis's writing is the conception of home which rests entirely on the act of departure, as Householder suggests:

The narrative component of travel writing, then, creates a diachronic axis along which the synchronous aporia of travel — the conception of nostalgic origin or ideal destination - and be fixed. The ordering of places and events in a narrative (in the

⁴⁸⁶ Householder, *Inventing Americans in the Age of Discovery: Narratives of Encounter*, p. 15.

⁴⁸⁷ Osbourne, *Richard Harding Davis: Critical Battleground*, p. 67.

form of, for example, crusader's tale, tourist's journal, or explorer's report), re-anchors the dislocations of travel plotting them onto a legible topography.⁴⁸⁸

The very act of departure, or indeed of traversal, constitutes the retrospectively activated conceptualisation of 'home', or the 'American centre' or indeed a domestic regime. Householder's contention is that to fix a point of origin is to immediately initiate a departure and in terms of Davis's writing perhaps also a point at which the regime or 'American point of view' becomes unstable and is placed in crisis. In this sense, Davis, cannot help but depart from home but also carry it with him; it is evident that it permeates his work 'along both axes', the form of content, and the form of expression. Home for Davis exists as part of a collective assemblage of enunciation (the American centre) and as a form of content, a material and physical measure of space (Davis uses Broadway to measure distances and so on). Home is then formulated as a concept for use in departure. This is an outcome and effect of the chronology of travel. Whilst the initial conception of this approach is derived from Householder's insights, Deleuze and Guattari again allow for a manner of interrogating this as it occurs within the discursive map.

Deleuze and Guattari's concepts rely on a reciprocity of equivocal relations: throughout all the specific articles and travelogues interrogated there is one or more regime in play within the cartography of the space Davis is writing about either as pre-existing entities or as inserted by Davis himself. The home and the foreign are formulated as coexistent unstable and malleable components of the same map. The effect of travel for Davis is then to create this home regime, to map the United States, both appearing and changed in the mapping against, over and under other regimes encountered, be they foreign, material or cultural. These are necessarily deployed as a schema based on difference, similarities or shared properties. While this appears to be ostensibly the case these comparisons appear to

⁴⁸⁸ Householder, *Inventing Americans in the Age of Discovery: Narratives of Encounter*, p. 15.

work in two ways for Davis – as straight approximation and something more crystal-like. The straight approximation is seen here for example in Davis’s article covering Budapest, which Davis recounts ‘as everyone knows, is formed of two cities separated by the Danube, and joined together like New York and Brooklyn by Great Bridges’ or ‘The whole place – patio, porticos and outer corridor – was about as big as the stage of a New York theatre’.⁴⁸⁹ Home is formulated with the benefit of a long range vision to foreground the foreign, a type of nostalgia which serves a functional purpose in relaying the foreign to the domestic, in this way the American centre emerges in the map of somewhere else.

This thesis has considered the emergence and creation of this regime as an aspect of the cartographies Davis creates; on one level this takes the form of approximation or even metaphor, the very instances where ‘losses and gains’ occur but because it occurs retrospectively there is something more complex going on.⁴⁹⁰ For instance, using a different piece of Davis’s travel writing to consider this will also illustrate that whilst this thesis has been self-consciously selective in the works considered, the principles that underpin the thesis can be applied to any of Davis’s writing. Davis’s homely comparisons while intended to bring the exotic to a domestic audience also function as mirrors, placing them in contact with foreign actual referents in order to create and measure losses and gains; for example in the following passage Davis describes a prison.

The atmosphere of the place was horribly foul, but not worse than the atmosphere of either the men’s or women’s ward at night in a precinct station-house in New York City. Indeed I was not so much impressed with the horrors of the Sultan’s prisons as with the fact that our own are so little better, considering our advanced civilisation.⁴⁹¹

The actual image Davis is trying to represent is the Sultan’s prison but he cannot help but express it through a New York precinct-house. The precinct-house is a virtual image used

⁴⁸⁹ Richard Harding Davis, *A Year from a Reporters Note Book*, p. 71; Davis, *The Rulers of Mediterranean*, p. 65.

⁴⁹⁰ Duncan and Gregory, ‘Introduction’, *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing*, p.9.

⁴⁹¹ Davis, *The Rulers of the Mediterranean*, p. 69.

to convey the actual; but the virtual subsumes the actual. Retrospectively activated by leaving (departing the United States) and by recalling the New York precinct house. Davis's description does not assume the independence of the object, the New York precinct house serves to both, create and erase it in a loop where the discursive map brings both to life if only for a moment. It is because of this that in order to interrogate the comparisons Davis deploys throughout his work and which enunciate the home as it appears within the map it is perhaps useful to utilise another component of Deleuze's approach and specifically the crystal or crystalline image.

The crystal image or structure as it appears in Deleuze's writing on Cinema is typified 'as a process and place of the 'exchange' that is enacted between the actual and virtual' wherein the actual and virtual function is as 'an image produced in a mirror, it always has two poles: actual and virtual'.⁴⁹² While there are a myriad of examples of this application to cinema/ to a critical reading of cinema in *Cinema 2*, it is actually Herman Melville's *Moby Dick* which Deleuze utilises to explain the concept which he borrows and develops from Bergson.⁴⁹³ Thus, an application to the discursive arts is well within the scope of the concept, and, writing about Homi Bhabha's approach to colonial writing, Bewes parallels Deleuze's approach to cinema with Bhabha's approach to discourse:

Homi Bhabha has written that colonial discourse is defined by a 'splitting' into two regimes, two 'attitudes towards external reality'; one that 'takes reality into consideration', and another that 'disavows it and replaces it by a product of desire that repeats, rearticulates 'reality' as mimicry'. The upshot of Bhabha's essay is a reversal in the meaning of mimicry itself. The world, registered in 'the difference between being English and being Anglicized' (89-90) exposes its contradictions; mimicry operates subtly in the apparatus of colonial power to undermine the very 'monumentality' on which authority depends.⁴⁹⁴

While Bewes' approximation may be useful in considering the splitting of regimes there remains a more fundamental application of the virtual, actual exchange to discursive

⁴⁹² David Rodowick, *Gilles Deleuzes Time Machine* (London: Duke University Press, 1997), p. 92

⁴⁹³ Gilles Deleuze, *Cinema 2*, trans. By Hugh Tomlinson and Robert Garetta (London: Continuum, 2005)

⁴⁹⁴ Timothy Bewes, *The Event of Postcolonial Shame* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2010), p. 94.

description as Rodowick indicates, ‘what interests Deleuze is the logical nature of this ‘reflection’ of perception in memory suggested by the smallest circuit in Bergson’s schema’, wherein perception searches out memory as a mirror image that gives the actual identity and renders it meaningful’.⁴⁹⁵ If the home or domestic regime is retrospectively activated within the cartography of which it is a part, in one sense it can be considered to be activated as a subjective memory and function as a virtual image in a similar manner as Rodowick describes:

Indiscernibility relates primarily to description. Discernment in Bergson’s sense implies a movement between the virtual and the actual, the world of memory and the objective world. At the level of description, the actual refers to the states of things – the physical and the real – as described in space through perception. The Virtual is subjective, that is, mental and imaginary, sought out in time through memory. Indiscernibility thus refers to an image where it is impossible to distinguish between what is real and what is imaginary even when the two poles remain distant.⁴⁹⁶

What is gained or lost through this exchange is easy to discern from Davis’s description, in the exchange between the actual and the virtual, the virtual, which at the time writing would have appeared ‘actual’ to Davis is found to be lacking. Davis cannot describe the ‘actual’, the state of things at the Sultan’s prison as he perceives it without a subjective recourse to a retrospectively activated image of the United States. What is real in the description of the Sultan’s prison is not completely indiscernible but is certainly a circuit which veers between the two virtual and actual images. Davis’s description is ultimately then not entirely of the Sultan’s prison but is also not wholly the precinct house. Davis’s comparisons act like virtual foregrounds to the actualised image he perceives and attempts to render. In this manner and extrapolating beyond this one example, the maps, or discursive cartographies Davis create are both home and foreign, virtual and actual. While it can be seen that Davis’s homely comparisons become activated only in leaving the United States this

⁴⁹⁵ David Rodowick, *Deleuzess Time Machine* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997) p. 92.

⁴⁹⁶ Rodowick, *Deleuze’s Time Machine*, p. 92.

doubling or splitting and indiscernibility takes on another dimension when Davis's work includes not just retrospectively activated images of home but also regimes of other foreign locations:

But on the way to Boma and, later, when I travelled on the Upper Congo, I thought the river more beautiful than any great river I had ever seen. It was full of wonderful surprises. Sometimes it ran between palm-covered banks of yellow sand as low as those of the Mississippi or the Nile; and again, in half an hour, the banks were rock and heavily wooded as the mountains of Montana, or as white and bold as the cliffs of Dover, or we passed between great hills, covered with what looked like giant oaks, and with their peaks hidden in the clouds. I found it like no other river, because in some one particular it was like them all. Between Banana and Boma the banks first screened us in with the tangled jungle of the tropics, and then opened up great wind-slept plateaux, leading to hills that suggested – of all places - England, and, at that, cultivated England. The contour of the hills, the shape of the trees, the shade of their green contrasted with the green of the grass, were like only the cliffs above Plymouth. One did not look for native Kraals and the wild antelope, but for the square, ivy-topped tower of the village church, the loaf-shaped hay stacks, slowing-moving masses of sheep. But this that looks like a pasture land is only coarse limestone covered with bitter, un-nutritious grass, which benefits neither beast nor man.⁴⁹⁷

Davis's passage is like a circuit, self-referential in the sense that it is his own subjective memory to which he is referring. Just as Bogue finds D H Lawrence's descriptions of 'the landscapes ... only come into existence through the writing of *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*', the banks of the Congo come into being only through Davis's discursive rendering of them, that this discursive rendering however relies on a multitude of virtual images so as to make the actual discernible, it becomes effaced by a whole series of virtual images to the extent that just as the banks of the river become indiscernible to the reader so too are they to Davis.⁴⁹⁸ Davis's narrative is ostensibly straightforward – it is a major treatment of language – the homely comparisons he deploys appear as straightforward recollections or virtual images with a reliance on the 'interpretative framework' at work for his domestic audience but there is something complex occurring here. The role of approximation within travel writing appears as a creative enunciation of both the home and foreign simultaneously, as a

⁴⁹⁷ Richard Harding Davis, *The Congo and Coasts of Africa* (Middlesex: The Echo Library, 2007), p.23.

⁴⁹⁸ Roland Bogue, *Deleuze on Literature* (London: Routledge, 2003), p.175.

virtual actualisation and mapping of the two together as dependent components within the same assemblage; the Sultan's prison cannot exist within Davis's writing without the correlative element of the New York precinct house.

The In-between of Travel and Becoming

While the conceit of this thesis is that all travel writing is cartographic, within that cartography reciprocal processes of reterritorialisation and deterritorialisation occur. The contention of this thesis has opened other potential avenues of reading which illuminate a completely different aspect within Davis's writing and potentially a different approach to travel writing. There remains a startling gap in the study of travel writing which omits the significance of the middle, that space and time which occurs precisely between the point of departure and the point of arrival, or destination. This aspect of travel becomes a natural area of interest if Householder's contention is true and the home is only retrospectively activated in the act of departure then at what point in the departure does this occur? What is the effect of a moveable point of approximation against which the home is measured? Oceans, trails, roads and train lines typify these middle spaces of travel, being as they often are between the ontological 'here' and 'there' of travel writing. This rather simple formalism masks a significant complexity of theorising the 'middle' of travel but for the purposes of this limited discussion of it, it will suffice.

As noted previously, the rendering of a foreign space creates no easy reconciliation between cultures or competing discourses but this process commences prior to an author's arrival, or manifests in a retrospective recounting of their experiences, and indeed perhaps commences before departure. 'Home' as a concept and even as a regime of signs is retrospectively activated and in much the same way 'foreign' is perhaps anticipatorily activated not least through culture. This process is also manifest in the 'middle' of travel, that time and space between what the discourse is rendering as home and foreign. It is this middle,

at least within a few examples of Davis's travel writing which evidence an effect where approximation falters even further, where the order that comparison brings to travel writing escapes. Householder again details the manner in which travel narratives falter in maintaining order:

The structuring and ordering that travel narrative attempts to perform, however, is never perfect; orientation slips into disorientation, visitor becomes resident, alien becomes familiar, home drifts into an ever retreating mirage on the horizon. The process of fictive world – making, the stabilization of the apparent relation of the other to the self, in turn loosens the self's ideological moorings, which in turn demands further narrative in(ter)vention.⁴⁹⁹

Deleuze and Guattari's concept of 'becoming' arguably precisely describes this process. The becoming foreign of 'home' and vice versa does not occur as a totality, nor does it commence from a finite point A and arrive at a finite point B. In respect of space and time it may be fixed and resolved at a predefined point C (having passed through or merged with a point B). The retro activation of 'home' or a domestic regime cannot help but be a 'dynamic movement of difference': the concept of home is posited instantly in difference at the point of its activation (it is home because it is not somewhere else) but this difference is not a goal and the 'becoming' that the concept of home and indeed that Davis undergoes in the traversal of the middle is something altogether more of a metamorphosis than a metaphor. To expand on this point it is necessary to define 'becoming' more fully, Parr describes the concept of becoming as it exists within Deleuze and Guattari's work:

Becoming is not the end result of a change, such as when we posit in the past we had X but this then evolved, or changed, into Y in the present ... Becoming is a dynamic movement of difference that can be best described as a non-goal- orientated movement and this is why Deleuze and Guattari explain becoming 'produces nothing other than itself' ... If we use the concept of becoming we do not start out with a finite state and trace how this changes into another finite state, moving from the everyday subject to that of the traumatized subject.⁵⁰⁰

⁴⁹⁹ Householder, *Inventing Americans in the Age of Discovery: Narratives of Encounter*, p. 16.

⁵⁰⁰ Adrian Parr, *Deleuze and Memorial Culture: Desire, Singular Memory and the Politics of Trauma* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), p.121.

This becoming converges in the third component of Deleuze and Guattari's Pragmatics, again a natural extension to the first and second component, tracing and mapping discussed in the fourth chapter. The 'diagram' differs from the map and the tracing primarily because it consists of taking regimes of signs or forms of expression and extracting from them particles or 'signs that are no longer formalized but instead constitute unformed traits capable of combining with one another' in a becoming.⁵⁰¹ There is a distinct coalescence of several of Deleuze and Guattari's concepts within this conceit as espoused in *A Thousand Plateaus* namely the assemblage, diagram, abstract machine, tensor and metamorphosis. It would not suffice to engage with each of these on its own; rather it may prove more productive to elaborate on them through examples as we have already seen a number of these concepts deployed. It is necessary however to expand on the abstract machine and tensor in the first instances. An abstract machine in short, 'lays out what an assemblage can be made out of and what it can do, not just in its current state, but in future state as it enters into becoming's or transformative relations with any of the other assemblages it can reach by virtue of inhabiting a 'plane' allowing for mutual interaction'.⁵⁰²

The middle aspect of travel, that which lies between a Point A and a Point B is precisely a 'plane' allowing for mutual interaction – this is particularly the case when the 'plane' is made up of and traversed by a ship in Davis's discourse as will be discussed later. In Deleuze's own words. the diagram 'never functions in order to represent a persisting world but produces a new kind of reality'.⁵⁰³ Between a home, yet to be formalised through arrival at the foreign and perhaps in anticipation of the foreign the 'middle' of travel becomes a diagrammatic system at one and the same time considering a home so recently left and a destination not yet arrived at and both emergent within discourse.

⁵⁰¹ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, p. 161.

⁵⁰² Bonta and Protevi, *Deleuze and Geophilosophy*, p. 48.

⁵⁰³ Gilles Deleuze, *Foucault*, trans. By Sean Hand (London: Continuum, 1999), pp. 30 – 31.

While this oblique theoretical approach and layering of conceptual blocks remains an interesting exercise in understanding the intermingling of Deleuze and Guattari's various concepts it remains at present removed from both Davis and any practical application to discourse. Deleuze and Guattari will intersperse their works with the occasional definition and a seemingly finite and limited application of it, if not actually finite than stable enough to be deployed with confidence, and the tensor stands as exactly one such example and will be used to illustrate those concepts above and how they appear in Davis:

The atypical expression constitutes a cutting edge of deterritorialization of language, it plays the role of tensor; in other words, it causes language to tend toward the limit of its elements, forms, or notions, toward a near side or beyond of language. The tensor affects a kind of transitivization of the phrase, causing the last term to react upon the preceding term, back through the entire chain. It assures an intensive and chronic treatment of language. An expression as simple as AND ... can play the role of tensor for all of language. In this sense, AND is less a conjunction than the atypical expression of all of the possible conjunctions it places in continuous variation. The tensor, therefore, is not reducible either to a constant or a variable, but assures the variation of the variable by subtracting in each instance the value of the constant (n-1). Tensors coincide with no linguistic category; nevertheless they are pragmatic values essential to both assemblages of enunciation and indirect discourses.⁵⁰⁴

Deleuze would identify and locate the tensor effect in Walt Whitman's work in *Essays Critical and Clinical* and the concept can be applied just as readily to Davis travel writing especially in those instances where he is describing the in-between of travel. The following passage is again taken from *Rulers of the Mediterranean* and evidences this tensor effect making his discourse diagrammatic.

There was music for breakfast, dinner, and tea; music when the fingers of the trombonist were frozen and when the snow fell upon the taut surface of the big drum; and music at dawn to tell us it was Sunday, so that you awoke imagining yourself at church. There was also a ball, and the captain led an opening march, and the stewards stood at every point to see that the passengers kept in line and 'rounded up' those who tried to slip away from the procession. There were speeches, too, at all times, and lectures and religious services, and on the last night out a grand triumph of the chef, who built wonderful candy goddesses of Liberty smiling upon the other symbolic lady who keeps watch on the Rhine, and the band played 'Dixie', which it had been told was the national anthem, and the portrait of the German Emperor smiled down upon us over his autograph. All this was interesting, because it showed their childish

⁵⁰⁴ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, p. 110.

delight in little things, and the same simplicity of character which makes the German soldiers who would not move out of the way of the French bullets dance around a Christmas tree. The American or the English man will not do these things, because he has too keen a sense of the ridiculous, and is afraid of being it.⁵⁰⁵

Davis does not write in a ‘metamorphosis’ as a central conceit in the same manner as Kafka, nor would it seem that Davis is writing isolated metaphors. The process of travel is a becoming, but as has been seen this occurs in a fragmentary and potentially disconnected manner. Davis’s discourse at one and the same time demonstrates a retroactive activation of the home regime but also the immanent creation of new assemblages. In this sense the long sentence in the above is symptomatic of the statue of liberty becoming a candy goddess, the national anthem becoming ‘Dixie’. This long sentence is a whole series of becomings (and ... and ... and ... and). This is something different again to the approximation that evidences the retrospectively activated concept of home discussed earlier. Deleuze identified precisely this effect in Whitman, and while Deleuze does so in the context of the fragment when considering Whitman, the prevalence of and effect of tensors parallels well with what has been identified in Davis’s discourse. Deleuze elaborates on this point further when discussing Whitman:

For Whitman, fragmentary writing is not defined by the aphorism or through separation, but by a particular type of sentence that modulates the interval ... sometimes it appears as an occasional enumerative sentence, an enumeration of cases as in a catalog (the wounded in the hospital, the trees in a certain locale), sometimes it is a processional sentence, like a protocol of phrases or moments (a battle, convoy of cattle, successive swarms of bumblebees). It is almost a mad sentence with its changes in direction, its bifurcations, its ruptures and leaps, its prolongations, its sproutings, its parentheses.⁵⁰⁶

While Deleuze deploys the fragment to interrogate Whitman’s writing as a whole the above is illustrative of a practice of composing in series. It would be inaccurate to suggest Davis is writing in fragments – firstly because it was certainly not his intention to do so and

⁵⁰⁵ Davis, *Rulers of the Mediterranean*, pp. 2-3.

⁵⁰⁶ Deleuze, *Essays Critical and Clinical*, p. 58.

secondly because for Davis the two scenes which he renders no doubt appeared to him as a complete series. In Davis's passage the 'and' sign becomes a trigger for movement (a setting in motion), the tensor can then be understood as 'the effective side of the sign'.⁵⁰⁷ The words no longer 'denote' things as such, the conjunction 'and' functioning in connecting and prolongation creates an abstract machine, 'what an assemblage can be made out of' and in this sense the significations Davis deploys are no longer formalized but are capable of combining with one another rather than existing as approximate poles. The statue of liberty is not formalized; it is idealized perhaps, even transcendental, but is certainly not formalized, it lacks its proper designation. Furthermore, the 'matter content' (the non-discursive) aspect of the assemblage as it should exist within the assemblage is conspicuous by its absence. This is not restricted to connectivity within the different assemblages of the boat, indeed in the following passage Davis details the boat's connectivity to the shore and in doing so creates a passage of proliferating series that is in some ways poetic in nature:

At six o'clock, when we had reached the Gulf, the sun sank a blood-red disk into great desolate bayous of long grass and dreary stretches of vacant water. Dead trees with hanging grey moss and mistletoe on their bare branches reared themselves out of the swamps like gallows – trees or giant – sign-posts pointing the road to nowhere; and the herons, perched by dozens on their limbs or moving heavily across the sky with harsh, melancholy cries, were the only signs of life. On each side of the muddy Mississippi the waste swampland stretched as far as the eye could reach, and every blade of the long grass and of the slanted willows and every post of the dikes stood out black against the red sky as vividly as though it were lit by a great conflagration, and the stagnant pools and stretches of water showed one moment like flashing lakes of fire, and the next, as the light left them turned into mirrors of ink. It was a scene of the most awful and beautiful desolation, and the silence, save for the steady breathing of the steamer's engine, was the silence of the Nile at night.⁵⁰⁸

Whilst this thesis never intended to position Davis as a unfairly maligned writer there is an evident skill and poetic development at work in the passage above which should be

⁵⁰⁷ Deleuze, *Essays Critical and Clinical*, p. 58.

⁵⁰⁸ Davis, *Three Gringos in Venezuela and Central America*, p. 3.

acknowledged for the powerful imagery and progression to the juxtaposition of the, ‘most awful and beautiful desolation’.

However, in reading Davis’s travel writing it becomes apparent that there is an opportunity to juxtapose some of the conclusions drawn from Davis’s novels against what Davis articulated in his travel writing and journalism, particular in the context of violence. Wesley in particular singles Davis out as the purveyor of a distinctly and disturbing masculine violence and remarks that while, ‘Davis’s literary plots, characters, and moral values remained juvenile enough’, there remained within his work a moralising principle that functioned to justify that violence. Wesley concludes on Davis’s writing and as with Kaplan and Murphy specifically in relation to *Soldiers of Fortune*.⁵⁰⁹

The historical context of imperialism provides the particular occasion for the alignment of private need to public opportunity that is the hallmark of Richard Harding Davis’s fiction. The male hero of a Davis text connects the expansion of his own ego to the economic expansion of the power he allies himself with to justify both. By securing the sponsorship of the dominant order, the Davis hero like the decorated soldiers the author admired, acquires social sanction, while the affiliation of the hero to the social order valorises the actions of that system.⁵¹⁰

Whilst Wesley’s critical conclusions of Davis’s novel maybe valuable and Wesley is far from the only critic to perceive Davis’s novel as advocating not only imperial dominance and international intervention but also a particular brand of masculine adventurism there is a more ambivalent perspective, both towards international intervention and violence in particular within Davis’s travel writing. Davis’s war correspondence in particular presents a very different and considered perspective not only of war but of conflict. Interestingly it is a perspective that places Davis at odds with two peers to whom he was readily compared, Rudyard Kipling and Winston Churchill. Davis in an almost direct response to the published correspondence of Kipling during the First World War writes:

⁵⁰⁹ Marilyn Wesley, ‘The Hero of the Hour’: Ideology and Violence in the Works of Richard Harding Davis *American Literary Realism* (Winter 2000, vol. 32, no. 2, p. 109-124), p. 109.

⁵¹⁰ Wesley, ‘The Hero of the Hour’: Ideology and Violence in the Works of Richard Harding Davis’, p. 115.

Among the German wounded there was a Major (I remember describing him a year ago as looking like a college professor) who, when the fire came was one of these the priests could not save, and who was burned alive. Marks on the grey pillar against which he reclined and grease spots on the stones of the floor are supposed to be evidences of his end, a torture brought upon him by the shells of his own people. Mr Kipling has written that there are many who 'hope and pray these signs will be respected by our children's children'. Mr Kipling's hope shows an imperfect conception of the purposes of a cathedral. It is a house dedicated to God, and men on earth to peace and goodwill among men. It is not erected to gloat over the fact that an enemy, even a German Officer, was by accident burned alive.⁵¹¹

This passage could be easily explained away as Davis taking the opportunity to chide a peer, and even then it could be argued that as Davis's country was not at that point involved in the conflict he was writing for an audience not directly shedding blood in Europe. Davis's response to Kipling's 'imperfect conception' should not be considered to set Davis apart from Kipling in any moral sense, but whilst his fictional characters may have sought the 'sponsorship of the dominant order' his war correspondence appears to seek easy reconciliation with the consequence of war and the often sensationalist manner of its reporting; whilst in South Africa covering the Boer War Davis remarked on both Kipling and Churchill:

We see it also in the fact that in one of his letters Mr Kipling speaks jauntily of 'a good killing', and Winston Churchill even, than whom there is no one among English correspondents for whom I entertain a higher regard, writes, 'we had a good 'bag' to-day — ten killed, seventeen wounded'. It is not becoming that a great genius like Rudyard Kipling should not see something more in the killing of a few poor farmers than a day's pig killing in the Chicago stockyards, and that the death of ten of his enemies should weigh no more heavily on Mr Churchill's bayonet and clever mind than would a bag of grouse on his shoulder.⁵¹²

For the facile nature of his most famous novel Davis evidences a very different perspective when considering the impact of real conflict and its representation. The following passage encompasses Davis conclusion on the nature of war and war correspondence and it

⁵¹¹ Davis, *With the French in France and Salonika*, p. 51.

⁵¹² Davis, *With Both Armies*, pp. 130 – 131.

should then be considered alongside Wesley's assertion's on the character of his writing if for no other reason so as to provide balance:

War is sad, and it is all wrong. It is a hideous relic of the age of stone. It is outrageous and indecent. But as it must obtain we should lend to it every semblance of dignity ... But in this campaign, everything seems to have been done to degrade war, to make it even more brutal than it is; to callous the mind toward it; to rob it of all of its possible heroism and terrible magnificence.⁵¹³

A more cynically inclined reading would find in this passage a lament for the absence of a heroic element within war correspondence, a refrain for the romanticism for which Davis was considered to be a practitioner, but in arguably one of Davis's starkest passages he seemingly acknowledges the futility of war, its inevitability and the responsibilities he at least felt in covering it for his readership. Interestingly it is within Davis's travel writing that Davis reflects on the responsibilities of the war correspondent and the role they have to play and goes to significant lengths to articulate these to his readers. Whilst covering the first World War Davis was momentarily detained by the German military on suspicion of being a spy and encountered problems of censorship by the Allied forces and wrote in frustration:

The army calls for your father, husband, son - calls for your money. It enters upon a war that destroys your peace of mind, wrecks your business, kills the men of your family, the man you were going to marry, the son you brought into the world. And to you the army says: 'This is our war. We will fight it in our own way, and of it you can learn only what we choose to tell you. We will not let you know whether your country is winning the fight or is danger, whether we have blundered and the soldiers are starving, whether they gave their lives gloriously or through our lack of preparation or inefficiency are dying or neglected wounds'. And if you answer that you will send the army men to write letters home and tell you, not the plans for the future and the secrets of the army, but what are accomplished facts, the army makes reply: 'No, those men cannot be trusted. They are Spies'.⁵¹⁴

It is this description of principle that becomes compelling in Davis's war correspondence. It occurs within the writing as a first-person exhortation of a role and function that in the least Davis perceives to be responsible for reporting the blunders, the

⁵¹³ Davis, *With Both Armies*, p. 130.

⁵¹⁴ Davis, *With the Allies*, p. 77.

casualties of logistical error or unpreparedness and inefficiency. There is no ‘sponsorship of the dominant order’ in this role, but an evocation of objectivity and a desire to publish a truth to a domestic audience who have a vested interest in the war. Noting his standing as a foreign correspondent, and also the risk in war correspondence in divulging tactically pertinent information, Davis continues his tirade against censorship and cements the role of the war correspondent as a communicator of fact for an audience that has a right to know.

Some men are trained to fight, and others are trained to write. The latter can tell you of what they have seen so that you, safe at home at the breakfast table, also can see it. Any newspaper correspondent would rather send his paper news than a descriptive story. But news lasts only until you have told it to the next man, and if in this war, the correspondent is not to be permitted to send news I submit he should at least be permitted to tell what has happened in the past. This war is a world enterprise, and in it every man, woman, and child is an interested stockholder. They have a right to know what is going forward. The directors’ meetings should not be held in secret.⁵¹⁵

Davis’s war correspondence and his travelogues hold instances of self-reflexive discourse and almost autobiographical position statements on the role of the war correspondent and the values that should underpin the reporting of war. This is not the Davis who necessarily appears in Kaplan, Murphy or Wesley’s conclusions, this is an altogether more complex discursive rendering of both the nature of conflict and his subjective place in connection to it.

This thesis has illustrated that Davis’s travel writing has been neglected, and due to the volume of travel articles and collected works there remains a large amount of it that remains neglected. What works of Davis’s which have been interrogated within the scope of this thesis however has offered not just a novel insight into the geopolitical context and culture of the time but a very real emerging conception of home and a foreign in a dynamic cartography; a discursive creation of space made up of culture, people, politics, and a material world. The critical perspectives of Deleuze and Guattari have provided a series of

⁵¹⁵ Davis, *With the Allies*, p. 80.

interconnected conceptions of discourse and space that has illuminated Davis's travel writing in a unique and novel manner, and one that may be applied to other travel texts.

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