

Atmo-Orientalism: Olfactory Racialization and Environmental Health

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This 2011 map of “New York’s Smelliest Blocks” {Fig. 1}, in which the cartographer Kate McLean charts the smells of the city identified through interviews with local residents, indiscriminately combines potentially toxic chemical odors such as “perfume” and “car oil” with organic odors—like “five-spice” and “dried fish”—whose “smelliness” has more to do with cultural preferences than environmental health. While the map appears to present an objective perspective on the distribution of unwelcome smells, it obscures the fact that the food smells mapped here are associated with Chinese and Southeast Asian cuisine common in Manhattan’s Chinatown neighborhood. Did McLean’s interviews with local residents include Asian laborers and long-term residents (many of whom may not be easily accessible to English-language interviews), or did they only gather data from tourists and recent arrivals in the neighborhood? Because smells must enter and transform the body in order to be perceived, they’ve historically figured prominently in discourses of environmental health. However, the subjective and uncertain nature of olfactory perception—the difficulty of defining a “bad” smell or of proving the toxicity of specific airborne particulates—makes smell a fuzzy medium for determining what counts as a public nuisance or environmental hazard.



Figure 1. Kate McLean, <http://sensorymaps.com/portfolio/new-yorks-smelliest-block/>

The fuzzy, indeterminate zone in which cultural “otherness” overlaps with environmental toxicity has given rise to a complex and flexible discourse that I term “atmo-orientalism”—a discourse that frames Asiatic subjects (and particularly the Chinese) in terms of noxious atmospheres. Environmental studies scholars such as Arun Agrawal, Suzana Sawyer, Gisli Pálssonⁱ, and Diana Davisⁱⁱ have introduced the term “environmental orientalism” to describe imperialist depictions of nonwestern environments as “strange and defective”ⁱⁱⁱ and therefore in need of Western intervention—or “forms of environmental conservation that simultaneously seek to protect nature and to vilify Third World poor today.”^{iv} While these scholars highlight orientalist depictions of environments in need of protection, I emphasize the racializing effects of *atmo-orientalism*—a term that underscores not only how Asiatic subjects are framed in association with atmospheric toxicity, but also how Asiatic atmospheres are perceived as chemical threats to the integrity of white bodies and minds. Atmo-orientalism does sometimes imply the necessity of Western interventions in Asian diasporic communities, households, and laws; however, it also functions as a form of “environmental exclusion” through which, in Sarah Jacquette Ray’s formulation, “the environmental movement deploys cultural disgust against various communities it sees as threats to nature.”^v

Atmo-orientalism does the work of racialization on two levels: as a discourse and as a strategy for producing space.^{vi} As a discourse, it organizes political and cultural power by tethering olfactory perception to racial difference. As Alain Corbin writes, “Abhorrence of smells produces its own form of social power. Foul-smelling rubbish appears to threaten the social order, whereas the reassuring victory of the hygienic and the fragrant promises to buttress its stability.”^{vii} Ostensibly instinctive responses to smells reinforce the legitimacy of the state as an agent of hygiene and deodorization. At the same time, perpetuate ideas of racial difference that effectively blame the victims of environmental racism (the uneven allocation of noxious air) by framing them as atmospheric threats. As a strategy for producing space, atmo-orientalism underscores the dispersed (i.e., atmospheric) materiality of racism—its capacity to be embodied not in physiognomic or genetic terms but through the ways in which geographically differentiated atmospheres enter and chemically transform racialized bodies. Attending to the always changing, always incomplete discursive, material, and affective nature of “the racial atmosphere,” Renisa Mawani argues for “rethinking race and racism in ways that are no longer anthropocentric. The atmosphere... forges an expensive, limitless, and mobile field. It is a force that is not visible or even palpable but one that remains vital and necessary to biological and social existence. Like the air we breathe, the racial atmosphere provides the very conditions of life and death.”^{viii} Mawani’s formulation highlights the dual nature of atmo-orientalism as both a process that disproportionately exposes Asiatics to noxious air and a discourse that naturalizes those exposures by racializing noxious air as Asiatic.

This chapter traces the development of atmo-orientalist discourses from nineteenth-century medical geography and miasma theory to contemporary “Yellow Peril” narratives and nuisance complaints targeting Asian immigrants. I focus on the sense of smell, whose role in nineteenth-century miasma theory and medical geography made it a visceral, culturally variable, yet notoriously elusive mode of perceiving and representing racialized atmospheres. Alongside the racialized figure of the “coolie,” atmo-orientalism emerged as a response to massive shifts in environment and spatial scale as industrial capitalism consolidated global markets, railroad and steam transportation, and the intense horizontal and vertical stratifications held in proximity by modern cities. In addition to contextualizing the atmospheric representation of Asian groups that stretches across a range of US health campaigns and cultural narratives, this genealogy of atmo-orientalism illuminates the stakes of Asian diasporic cultural productions that set out to reconfigure their audience’s perceptions of Asiatic smells: writing in the Exclusion era, Edith Maude Eaton/Sui Sin Far deploys motifs of fragrance and fresh air in an effort to discursively deodorize Chinese immigrants; the contemporary olfactory artist Anicka Yi produces cross-racial and transpacific conviviality by deploying the immersive and combinatory qualities of olfaction. As illustrated by these case studies, theorizing olfaction provides a critical hermeneutic for analyzing the atmospheric interventions that frequently go unnoticed in the background of antiracist cultural productions.

Yellow Miasmas

Sensory anthropologists and historians have documented how cultural groups that come to valorize “deodorization” mobilize beliefs about olfactory difference to shore up racial boundaries.^{ix} What distinguishes atmo-orientalism from other forms of olfactory racialization is that, rather than emphasizing “premodern” bodily odors, it underscores odors and environmental risks associated with modernity: industrial production, urban crowding, and global commerce. As the Asian Americanist scholars Colleen Lye and Iyko Day have noted, Asiatic racial form made the Asian immigrant a figure of “dehumanized economism” by underscoring “the inorganic quality of the Asiatic body.”^x In *Alien Capital: Asian Racialization and the Logic of Settler Colonial Capitalism*, Day frames Asian racialization as a key element of “romantic anti-capitalism”—a critical but misguided response to capitalism that posits a false antinomy between the concrete and the abstract: “Expressing the antinomy of concrete and abstract, nature... personifies concrete, perfected human relations against the social degeneration caused by the abstract circuits of capitalism.”^{xi} Capitalism’s depredations are attributed to “the abstractness of money and finance,” which are given biological expression in racial representations of the Asian. If Asian racial form gives form to social anxieties about perceived shifts from the natural and concrete to the inorganic and abstract, then atmosphere is an optimal medium for staging those

anxieties. Atmo-orientalism is preoccupied with the denaturalization of air—an element characterized by indistinct boundaries between the abstract and the material, the “natural” and the anthropogenic. On the one hand, air is abstract, invisible, and “natural” (as Whitman insisted in a moment before the onset of risk society, “The atmosphere is not a perfume, it has no taste of the distillation, it is odorless...”^{xii}); on the other hand, air is materially burdened, chemically volatile, and at times intoxicating. In *Racial Worldmaking*, Mark Jerng notes the powerful role played by “the incoherence and fogginess of abstractions” in Yellow Peril narratives, as race is delinked from visual and corporeal qualities and represented in climactic and atmospheric terms.^{xiii} Floating in the background of public health discourses and literary representations of Asian immigrants, Atmo-orientalism blends these foggy abstractions with anxieties about trans-corporeal inhalations and Asiatic miasmas. Spanning two centuries and an eclectic range of discourses, varied discourses of atmo-orientalism orient audiences to feelings of repulsion that associate olfaction with contagion, while both materially and rhetorically displacing odors propagated by modernization and global capital onto racial “others.”

Representations of toxic Asiatic atmospheres have their origins in nineteenth-century public health discourses oriented by miasma theory. Health experts believed that diseases were spread through airborne miasmas released by decomposing organic matter. In their view, one of the most serious urban health threats was “vitiating air,” or air thick with human exhalations of “carbonic acid.”^{xiv} One of the most widely circulated examples of the dangers of carbonic acid was the story of the “Black Hole of Calcutta,” in which the Nawab of Bengal supposedly case British prisoners of war into a small cell in 1756. Alleging that most of these prisoners died from suffocation, nineteenth-century ventilation manuals established the common urban condition of overcrowding as an Asiatic health condition—one that implicitly legitimized British imperialism as a sanitary and human rights project.^{xv} One manual on the ventilation of *Hospitals, Infirmaries, and Dispensaries*, for example, pairs the Black Hole of Calcutta with “the fearful mortality on board Coolie ships” as preeminent cases illustrating the dangers of poorly ventilated spaces.^{xvi}

In the 1870s, even as medical experts were embracing the germ theory of disease, anxieties about vitiating air circulated widely in representations of Pacific Coast Chinatowns as public health threats. As Nayan Shah has documented, San Francisco public health officials accused Chinese immigrants of “willful and diabolical disregard of our sanitary laws” and represented Chinatown as a “plague spot” and “cesspool” characterized by poor hygiene and disease risk.^{xvii} Widespread anxieties about the quality of “Chinese” air were legally encoded in the Sanitary Ordinance passed by San Francisco’s Board of Supervisors in 1870. Popularly known as the “cubic air law” or the “pure air law,” this ordinance “made it a misdemeanor for anyone to let rooms or apartments that should contain less than five hundred cubic feet of air for each adult person sleeping or dwelling in them and made it a crime as well for any tenant

to dwell or sleep in such a room or apartment.”^{xviii} As historians have noted, this ostensibly colorblind law was exclusively enforced against the Chinese^{xix}; in 1877, a white landlord who had rented rooms to Chinese tenants objected that the law was “applied simply and entirely to molest and drive out the Chinese; but if applied to all classes, nearly every block in the city would be found defective. The law is violated by whites as well as Chinese” (Stout 648). In 1876, the California legislature passed a statewide version of the law, and New York City enacted a similar law requiring 600 cubic feet of air space per person in 1879. The regional planning scholar Ellen Pader explains that “Their justification for establishing highly restrictive occupancy limits touted the best scientific evidence of the day—scientific evidence long since disproven. They believed that exhaled breath contained poisonous carbonic acids that created miasmas (impure air). This then created a potentially deadly environment in which people could drown in their own breath if there were insufficient air space to dilute the poison” (187).^{xx} Despite this medical rationale, experts disagreed as to both the amount of cubic feet of air necessary to sustain a healthy life and whether ventilation, rather than air volume, was the pivotal factor in ensuring health. As Spickard notes, “Hundreds of Chinese immigrants were roused out of beds and jailed for violating this law, [then] packed in jail to the point where they had scarcely 100 cubic feet of air apiece.”^{xxi} Anticipating that the jails would not be able to accommodate so many prisoners, Chinese community leaders advised tenants to opt for jail time rather than pay a fine. Regarding the “mass arrests” made under this ordinance, Jean Pfaelzer writes, “Many Chinese refused to pay the fines and announced that they would crowd the jail rather than fill the city’s coffers—turning the codes into an ironic form of mass civil disobedience.”^{xxii}

In “Monterey-by-the-Smell: Odors and Social Conflict on the California Coastline,” the historian Connie Chiang details how atmo-orientalism played out in a very different context, among a small coastal settlement of Chinese squid fishermen working in Monterey, California. After the Chinese in Monterey were pushed out of conventional fisheries by hostile competitors, accusations of unsustainable fishing, and a series of racially targeted regulations (including a ban on the Chinese bag net and California’s 1880 prohibition of fishing by aliens incapable of voting), they turned to the business of fishing and drying squid (190). Chiang documents how local residents, newspapers, and businesses stigmatized the odors produced by squid drying, framing these “Chinese” smells as both aesthetically offensive and a threat to public health. Determined to protect the city’s property values and burgeoning tourist economy (which particularly attracted visitors who believed the coastal air had health-enhancing effects), city officials declared squid drying a nuisance and ordered the Chinese fishermen to relocate. Racially discriminatory complaints and regulations continued until 1907, when the city of Monterey prohibited squid drying within city limits altogether and effectively terminated an important means of employment for Chinese migrants. By contrast, Chiang observes that in subsequent decades local

residents and white fishermen successfully responded to complaints about fishing-related odors by framing them as a distinctive aspect of Monterey's economy and history. The divergent outcomes of these odor complaints demonstrate the efficacy of olfactory racialization, as "Those with superior resources and political authority were able to define odors and use them to exercise power over people and their environment" (185).

San Francisco's Cubic Air Ordinance and Monterey's regulations of squid drying gave legal force to diverse travelogues, political cartoons, fictional narratives, and public health reports associating Chinese immigrations with unhealthy air and noxious odors. Despite their ostensibly scientific basis in theories of miasma and vitiated air, these accounts of "Chinese" smells are characterized by rhetorical excess in the form of a compulsive and never-quite-successful effort to describe the indescribable. For example, an 1885 municipal report on Chinatown's health conditions renders the popular stereotype of the "inscrutable" Chinese in olfactory terms: "...the intermingling odors of cooking, sink, water-closet and urinal, added to the fumes of opium and tobacco smoke and the indescribable, unknowable, all-pervading atmosphere of the Chinese quarter, make up a perfume which can neither be imagined nor described."^{xxiii} Although this characteristic description of Chinatown's smells lists numerous details that can be traced to faulty infrastructure, poor building maintenance, and the legacies ("opium and tobacco") of the plantation system, global commerce, and the Opium Wars, the qualities of promiscuous "intermingling" and inscrutability frame the odors in terms of deviant practices and anti-Chinese stereotypes. The report goes on to offer a virtual tour of a Chinatown basement, but the tour itself is forestalled by another thick description of the basement's atmosphere:

Now follow your guide through a door, which he forces, into a sleeping-room. The air is thick with smoke and fetid with an indescribable odor of reeking vapors. The atmosphere is tangible. Tangible—if we may be licensed to so use the word in this instance—to four out of the five human senses. Tangible to the sight, tangible to the touch, tangible to the taste, and oh, how tangible to the smell! You may even hear it as the opium-smoker sucks it through his pipe bowl into his tainted lungs, and you breathe it yourself as if it were of the substance and tenacity of tar. It is a sense of a horror you have never before experienced, revolting to the last degree, sickening and stupefying. Through this semi-opaque atmosphere you discover perhaps eight or ten—never less than two or three—bunks, the greater part or all of which are occupied by two persons.... Before the door was opened for your entrance every aperture was closed, and here, had they not been thus rudely disturbed, they would have slept in the dense and poisonous atmosphere until morning, proof against the baneful effects of the carbonic acid gas generated by this human defiance of chemical laws, and proof against all the zymotic poisons that would be fatal to a person of any other race in an hour of such surroundings and such conditions" (180).

The visual conventions and second-person address of an urban tour are here interrupted by the transcorporeal inhalation of a poisoned atmosphere. The momentum of the passage becomes bogged down when “you” are confronted by the affective (“revolting”), physical (“sickening”), and cognitive (“stupefying”) effects of breathing a mixture of opium and “carbonic acid gas.” The Chinese themselves are biologically distinguished by their putative immunity to this noxious atmosphere, whose poisons “would be fatal to a person of any other race in an hour.”

Even the Methodist missionary Otis Gibson, who wrote in support of Chinese immigrants, registers a visceral and racialized response to “the Chinese smell” in *The Chinese In America* (1877): The Chinese smell is a mixture and a puzzle, a marvel and a wonder, a mystery and a disgust; but, nevertheless, you shall find it a palpable fact. The smell of opium raw and cooked, and in the process of cooking, mixed with the smell of cigars, and tobacco leaves wet and dry, dried fish and dried vegetables, and a thousand other indescribable ingredients; all these toned to a certain degree by what may be called a shippy smell, produce a sensation upon the olfactory nerves of the average American, which once experienced will not soon be forgotten.^{xxiv}

Gibson’s “Chinese smell” consists of an indiscriminate mixture of food and psychoactive drugs, but its most distinctive feature is its inscrutability: a “puzzle,” a “mystery,” “a thousand other indescribable ingredients.” Gibson also assumes a physiological (even if environmentally conditioned) distinction between “the olfactory nerves” of Chinese immigrants and those of “the average American.” Yet he tempers these implications of foreignness with less stigmatizing adjectives: the smell is unforgettable, “a marvel and a wonder” as well as “a disgust.” Along with the smells of cigars and opium the vague “shippy” smell” invokes global commerce rather than indigenous “Chinese” products. The smell of Chinatown, in Gibson’s rendering, derives not just from China, but from tobacco plantations, Indian opium farms, and transpacific ships (including overcrowded coolie ships). Gibson thus attempts to destigmatize atmo-orientalism in the very act of invoking it: for him, the Chinese smell is as alluring as it is repulsive, as cosmopolitan as it is “Chinese.” He concludes this paragraph by invoking the ease with which we adapt to new smells: despite his claim that this smell “will not soon be forgotten,” he writes: “But never mind, we shall not notice the smell so much when we get a little further into it, and have become a little more accustomed to it.”^{xxv}

For those who viewed the Chinese as a health threat, however, to become accustomed to Chinatown’s smells would be to neglect important warning signals of a potential disease outbreak. In 1880, the Workingmen’s Committee of California published a sixteen-page pamphlet entitled *Chinatown Declared a Nuisance!*, which cited Chinatown as an atmospheric threat to surrounding neighborhoods: “That this laboratory of infection—situated in the very heart of our city, distilling its deadly poison by day and by night, and sending it forth to contaminate the atmosphere of the streets and

houses of a populous, wealthy and intelligent community—is permitted to exist is a disgrace to the civilization of the age” (5). Alfred Trumble’s *The “Heathen Chinese” at Home and Abroad* (1882) depicts Chinatown’s air as a greater and more intractable threat than the notorious London smoke: “Over this blighted heart of a great American city a tainted atmosphere broods like the smoke bank upon the spires of London, or rather like the fever fog that rises over a tropical river when the sun goes down. Only, unlike the fog, it defies the sun, and remains ever in place. This pestilential air wraps Chinatown about in a shroud as deadly as the shirt of Nessus. Born of the foul earth and the fouler living things beneath it, it can only vanish when the last house in Chinatown is razed and the last clod of its corrupted soul purified by [sentence unfinished].”^{xxvi} With an atmosphere tainted by “tropical,” subterranean, and non-human (in Greek mythology, the shirt of Nessus contaminated Heracles with the venom of the hydra and the blood of a centaur) elements, Chinatown posed a threat to the bodily and racial integrity of white Americans.

Writing in the *Medical Sentinel*, the Oregon-based physician Woods Hutchinson’s “The Plague Situation in San Francisco and the Problem of Chinatown” (1903) cited overcrowding and poor ventilation as health threats reminiscent of the Black Hole of Calcutta: “there are rooms not to exceed 10x12 feet, which have neither windows nor air shafts, nor connection with the outside air of any sort or description, save a door opening into a dark passage barely thirty inches wide and thirty feet long, which opens into a very moderately lighted hallway. In such a Black Hole of Calcutta as this, from five to seven Chinamen will live, cook, eat and sleep.”^{xxvii} Hutchinson blamed the Chinese inhabitants—rather than landlords, economic conditions, and the widespread purges^{xxviii} that led many Chinese to migrate to urban settlements in the first place—for these conditions, and contrasted their “greed for space” with the deodorization measures of city officials: “The roosts which have been built from the back wall of one building [sic] to the back wall of the next by the Chinese in their greed for space, absolutely shutting off what little air penetrated to the already squalid courts below, have been torn out bodily, new ventilators and plumbing are being put in, cellars are being filled up, and everything is being dusted, where dryness will avail, with chloride of lime, and drenched, where moisture is more suitable, with strong solutions of carbolic acid and bichloride. The seven and thirty separate smells of Chinatown have all been drowned in one grand olfactory delirium of chloride of lime and carbolic acid. Never was Chinatown so free from vermin....”^{xxix} Despite these successes, Hutchinson echoes Trumble in affirming that there is only one way to eradicate the “problem of Chinatown” for public health: “it is my profound conviction from a careful daily inspection of the district covering nine consecutive days, that Chinatown can never be cleaned except by fire. Sterilization by dry heat at 400 degrees Fahrenheit is, in my judgment, the only cure for its filthy condition....”^{xxx} Throughout the Pacific region, anti-Chinese activists mobilized rhetorics of nuisance and contagion against Chinese residents and businessmen, at times calling for the

institution of an official “smelling committee.”^{xxxix}

In addition to legitimizing laws intended to discipline and displace Chinese immigrants, public health discourses racialized them as an environmentally insensitive population. These discourses built on popular stereotypes representing the Chinese as impassive, insensitive to pain, and indifferent to environmental conditions such as poor ventilation and overcrowding. For example, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions missionary Arthur Smith’s influential book, *Chinese Characteristics* (1894), claims that Chinese bodies are able to tolerate the most filthy and toxic surroundings: “[T]he Chinese race, though apparently in a condition of semi-strangulation, seems to itself comparatively comfortable, which is but to say that the Chinese standard of comfort and convenience, and the standard to which we are accustomed, are widely variant.... The Chinese has learned to accommodate himself to his environment.”^{xxxix} Whereas poverty and inequality constrained Chinese immigrants to inhabit substandard and sometimes noxious spaces, the racializing effect of public health discourses reframed harmful environments resulting from structural inequality as racial characteristics. This effectively blamed the victims of racial and environmental inequality for living in overcrowded, unventilated spaces as the state attempted to ameliorate environmental harm by punishing individual tenants rather than regulating faulty spaces and infrastructure.

Inspired by public health discourses about Asiatic atmospheres, literary representations of the “Yellow Peril” mobilized atmospheric representation—as well as physical and moral characteristics—to depict racial difference as an insidious threat to environmental health.^{xxxix} While visual indicators of poor hygiene—such as worn clothing, stains, and the presence of vermin—appear throughout this literature, olfaction plays a subtle yet powerful role in evoking the reader’s repulsion. Whereas vision preserves a sense of distance, smell calls forth feelings of vulnerability, suspected contagion, and uncontrollable material intimacy.

Frank Norris—whose fascination with noxious smells will be considered more closely in Chapter 4—repeatedly associates Chinese sailors with discomfiting odors in *Moran of the Lady Letty* (1898). In her groundbreaking critique of the novel’s racializing representations of “Asiatic coolieism,” Colleen Lye underscores Norris’s depiction of “coolie” physiognomy and swarming masses.^{xxxix} These racializing techniques are enhanced by the novel’s olfactory horrors. Descending into the fo’c’sle, the novel’s protagonist is struck by the noxious air surrounding the “Chinamen”:

A single reeking lamp swing with the swinging of the schooner over the centre of the group, and long after Wilbur could remember the grisly scene—the punk-sticks, the bread-pan full of hunks of meat, the horrid close and oily smell, and the circle of silent, preoccupied Chinese.... (33)

In a novel that moves from perfumed drawing rooms to a gas explosion, to a “rancid” schooner bent on harvesting reeking “yellow oil” from shark livers, to an interracial battle over an aromatic lump of

ambergris, the “horrid” smell of the fo’c’sle puts Chinese laborers on a continuum with industrial accidents, class stratification, environmental degradation, and brutal extraction processes characteristic of the capitalist economy.

If other “Yellow Peril” authors are less obsessed with smell, they nevertheless invoke Asiatic atmospheres at pivotal moments. Susan Lanser and Erica Fretwell have suggested that Charlotte Perkins Gilman’s “The Yellow Wallpaper” (1892) draws on broad cultural pattern associating the color yellow with disease and degeneration.^{xxxv} The wallpaper’s troubling “yellow smell”—which could literally be making the narrator ill as a result of dust or pigment inhalation—thus invokes multiple anxieties about race and immigration including “Yellow Peril” discourses common “[i]n California, where Gilman lived while writing ‘The Yellow Wallpaper...’^{xxxvi} “Chun Ah Chun” (1910), Jack London’s rags-to-riches story based on the life of the Hawai’i-based merchant and coolie importer Chun Afong, deploys olfactory memories to mark Ah Chun’s unassimilability: “as the years came upon him, he found himself harking back more and more to his own kind. The reeking smells of the Chinese quarter were spicy to him. He sniffed them with satisfaction as he passed along the street, for in his mind they carried him back to the narrow tortuous alleys of Canton swarming with life and movement.”^{xxxvii} Despite his status as a member of the Hawaiian Yacht Club, a multi-millionaire, and a parent of mixed-race children educated at elite U.S. colleges, Ah Chun’s exposure to these “reeking smells” inspires an irresistible “desire to return to his Chinese flesh-pots.”^{xxxviii}

Twentieth-century “Yellow Peril” plots imagine a striking range of atmo-orientalist variations. Sax Rohmer’s *The Insidious Dr. Fu-Manchu* (1913), which introduced the twentieth-century’s most notorious serial Asiatic villain, begins with a corpse murdered through the agency of an envelope perfumed with the essential oil of a rare Burmese orchid. Later, a sarcophagus emits a “green mist” that “seemed to be alive,” killing two men and debilitating another. Doctor Petrie and detective Nayland Smith themselves are almost killed by the same means—“a sort of yellowish-green cloud—an oily vapor” (156-7). After escaping the mist, Petrie explains:

“It is a poisonous gas!” I said hoarsely; “in many respects identical with *chlorine*, but having unique properties which prove it to be something else—God and Fu-Manchu, alone know what! It is the fumes of chlorine that kill the men in the bleaching powder works. We have been blind—I particularly. Don’t you see? There was no one in the sarcophagus, Smith, but there was enough of that fearful stuff to have suffocated a regiment!” (157)

If Petrie understands this murderous mist through an analogy with chlorine gas, he also insists on its difference—a difference that can be comprehended only by “God and Fu-Manchu.” These mysterious “unique properties” distinguish Fu Manchu’s deadly mist from a common cause of industrial sickness and death (“the fumes of chlorine that kill the men in the bleaching powder works”). An Asiatic

atmosphere thus spectacularly stands in for—and displaces—everyday occupational health hazards. Yet both this “yellowish-green cloud” and industrial chlorine fumes share an insidious and nearly invisible materiality indicated here by the terms “blind” and “see”: after killing and dispersing, the gas leaves “no clew remaining—except the smell” (158). Smell turns out to be the most perceptible quality of “the ghastly media employed by the Chinaman” (148). Rohmer fills his later Fu Manchu with noxious and “miasmatic” smells, framing the work of the detective as a project of racial deodorization. If, according to Peter Sloterdijk, the introduction of gas warfare in 1915 precipitated a new ontological understanding of humans as continuous with and dependent on a “breathable” surrounding atmosphere, it is noteworthy that “Yellow Peril” narratives had begun staging such scenarios of “Being-in-the-breathable” by the late nineteenth century.^{xxxix}

Cherie Priest’s critically acclaimed steampunk novel *Boneshaker* (2009) attests to atmo-orientalism’s persistence in twenty-first century genre fiction. *Boneshaker* is set in an alternate nineteenth-century timeline in which Seattle has been devastated by the release of a toxic underground gas called “the Blight” unwittingly released by a massive drilling machine. Possibly inspired by the Asiatic zombification gas featured in Victor Halperin’s *Revolt of the Zombies* (1936)^{xl}, the Blight transforms those exposed to it into “rotters”—fast-moving zombies who traverse the ruins of the city’s downtown in hordes. Seattle’s central blocks have been walled off, and only a few intrepid outcasts—along with a settlement of “Chinamen”—have chosen to remain in ventilated underground areas beneath the contaminated area. The novel has been praised for its “superb world-building,” which produces dynamic steampunk scenarios in which air pumps, airtight curtains, and a panoply of stylish gas masks keep the reader’s attention focused on what Elias Cannetti called “the defenselessness of breathing.”^{xli} However, the novel’s worldmaking^{xlii} turns out to be entirely dependent on its marginalized “Chinamen,” who with few exceptions appear as deindividualized hordes surrounded by dirty air. When the protagonist, Briar, first encounters them,

It felt like a dozen men, but it was only three or four.

They were Asian—Chinese, she guessed, since two of the men had partially shaved heads with braids like Fang’s....

Even though the charcoal filter in her mask, she could sense the soot choking the air. It smothered her, even though it couldn’t really be smothering her, could it? And it watered her eyes, though it couldn’t really reach them. (115)

Here, the undifferentiated Chinese working the furnaces are immediately contiguous with soot-filled air and its uncertain real or imagined physical consequences for Briar. In an interesting departure from atmo-orientalist conventions, it turns out that the Chinese are actually responsible for cleaning the interior air of the Blight. That is, they immerse themselves in soot and dirt so that everyone in the sealed

off areas can breathe easier: “Those are the furnace rooms and the bellows. The Chinamen work them; they’re the ones who keep the air down here good and clean, far as it ever gets good and clean. They pump it down here from up top, by these big ol’ tubes they made. It’s loud, hot, and dirty, but they keep it up anyway...” (128). On the one hand, these “Chinamen” sustain the novel’s world by making its setting more breathable. On the other hand, Priest’s characterization of these plural “Chinamen” renders them analogous to the novel’s hordes of atmospherically-produced zombies. As Briar and her son escape a zombie attack near the end of the novel, they see a group of “masked men who cared nothing for whatever fight still raged beneath the station” impassively lighting bonfires to keep the zombies away from the Chinese quarter (389). Even as they cleanse the air and protect their settlement from zombies, the mechanical behavior of these faceless “Chinamen” already approximates that of the zombies. Both their furnaces and their bonfires evoke the plight of “reflexive modernity” diagnosed by Beck^{xliii}: in the course of cleansing the air and repelling the zombies, they fill the air with smoke and soot. It should come as no surprise that, when polarized lenses make it possible for Priest’s characters to see the Blight, its appearance echoes that of Fu Manchu’s fatal mist: “Even in trace amounts it would appear as a yellowish-greenish haze that oozed and dripped. Although the Blight was technically a gaseous substance, it was a very heavy one that poured or collected like thick sludge” (45).

Originating in nineteenth-century public health and Yellow Peril literature, atmo-orientalism continues to play a powerful role in contemporary public discourse. In “Lead’s Racial Matters,” Mel Chen has argued that 2007 U.S. media reports about toxic lead in Chinese toys racialized lead as a foreign threat to the integrity and normativity of white children’s bodies. As Chen points out, this racialization of Chinese lead sustained an “exceptionalist” view of the U.S. as victim while obscuring the health threats that toy factories pose to workers and neighboring communities in China.^{xliv} A similar dynamic occurs in media accounts of noxious air. For example, Julie Sze and Michael Ziser have critiqued the fascination with “Chinese smog” that characterized U.S. media coverage of the 2008 Summer Olympics in Beijing. While smog has certainly posed a serious health risk in many Chinese cities, Sze and Ziser incisively observe that coding that smog as “Chinese”—particularly when a vast proportion of Chinese carbon emissions are a byproduct of production for export to the U.S. and Western Europe—“[displaces] Western responsibility for historical carbon emissions onto a convenient geopolitical scapegoat and rival” (394).^{xlv} A 2009 headline announcing that “Toxic Chinese Drywall Turns U.S. Homes into Smelly Cancer Traps” illustrates how environmental risk continues to be racialized through perceptions of Asiatic odors transgressing the boundaries of American homes and bodies.^{xlvi} Atmo-orientalism also animates neighbors’ disproportionate hostility towards Asian restaurant^{xlvii} and factory smells throughout the U.S. Recent nuisance complaints against the Wat Monkolratanaram Buddhist temple in Berkeley (which hosts a Thai brunch on weekends to raise funds)

and Huy Fong Foods in Irwindale, California (producers of Sriracha Sauce) register “resentment of the presence of Asianness...through a refusal of the visceral and purported offensiveness of Asian odors.”^{xlvi} While it is vital to take such atmospheric health risks as a serious cause of concern, the genealogy of atmo-orientalist discourse that I have traced raises questions about the subjective (and racializing) aspects of odor and risk perception, as well as the complex ways in which risk perceptions interact with the ongoing production of racial difference on both material and representational levels. The following sections will consider how Asian diasporic artists have mobilized olfactory metaphors and materials in efforts to reshape public perceptions of race and risk.

II. Edith Maude Eaton/Sui Sin Far’s Deodorization Narratives

Atmo-orientalism provides a crucial context for understanding the hitherto overlooked motifs of fragrance and fresh air in the writings of the mixed-race Asian North American author Edith Maude Eaton/Sui Sin Far. A stenographer, journalist, and fiction writer who spent her career working in various cities in Canada, Jamaica, and the U.S., Eaton was the first North American author of Chinese descent to publish a collection of short stories. Although she is best known for her “Chinatown” stories collected in *Mrs. Spring Fragrance* (1912), her writing thematized air quality and its health effects across diverse geographies, including Jamaica, urban North American Chinatowns, and a range of sites in the U.S. and Canadian countryside. Although descriptions of air appear to linger in the background of Eaton’s Chinatown writings as signs of exoticism and “local color,” her writings about Chinese immigrant communities and the North American countryside subtly reorient public perceptions of Chinese immigrants’ olfactory experiences and desires. Although Eaton has been framed as a “local color” writer, her writings have not to date been engaged by scholars of the environmental humanities.^{xlix} Attending to Eaton’s literary atmospherics—and particularly her appeals to olfaction—illuminates the ecocritical stakes of her work, as well as the vital ways in which her representations of urban and rural environments are linked to her critical perspectives on immigration, race, and empire. By mapping the racially uneven distribution of breathable atmospheres across urban and national scales, Eaton directs readers’ attention to critical questions of power, mobility, and access that are occluded by atmo-orientalist discourse.

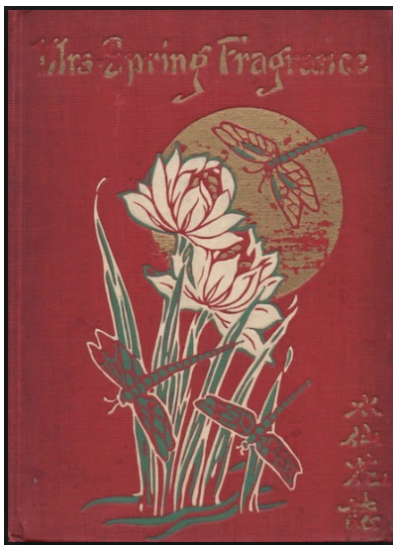


Fig. 2

Racializing descriptions of Chinese smells provide an environmental health context for interpreting Eaton's floral iconography. Whereas critics tend to associate the flowers imprinted into the spine, title page, and every page of *Mrs. Spring Fragrance* as signs of Eaton's auto-Orientalist and self-feminizing "exoticizing aesthetic,"ⁱ Eaton's prolific flower imagery would have appealed to turn-of-the-century readers on an olfactory level as well as a visual one {Fig. 2}. As Melanie Kiechle documents in *Smell Detectives: An Olfactory History of Nineteenth-Century Urban America*, middle-class American women in the nineteenth century were well versed in the use of aromatic flowers to improve indoor air quality. Domestic manuals instructed women in the arts of potpourri, planting flowerbeds as "olfactory buffers" against urban odors, and sweetening domestic air by placing flowers near doors and windows.ⁱⁱ Because miasma theory's associations between smell and disease persisted even after experts embraced germ theory, "pleasant smells were not merely an aesthetic preference, but healthful agents," and "sweet plants released a fragrance that improved the air of the home and helped women protect their families' health."ⁱⁱⁱ In the 1870s and 1880s, when the young Eaton attended Sunday School and socialized with missionaries, philanthropic middle-class women organized Flower Missions to distribute fragrant bouquets to impoverished inhabitants of urban hospitals, prisons, asylums, schools, and tenement houses.ⁱⁱⁱⁱ For the Flower Missions, "The benefit of flowers was as obvious as that of day excursions to the shore or mountains: a change of air improved health."^{lv} Eaton's pen-name, "Sui Sin Far"—which literally translates as "water fragrance flower" or the narcissus flower—underscores the notion of "fragrance" invoked by her book's title. Although it is most commonly associated with visual seduction in the myth of Narcissus, the narcissus flower had another origin story in Greek mythology: the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* recounts how Persephone was ensnared by the narcissus: "From its root a hundred-fold bloom sprang up and smelled so sweet that the whole vast heaven above and the whole earth

laughed, and the salty smell of the sea.”^{lv} Widely used in the production of perfumes and essential oils, the fragrant narcissus appears at the entryway to *Mrs. Spring Fragrance* as an index for the deodorization of Chinatown. Eaton’s flower iconography—which extends across many of her stories—may be visually self-orientalizing, but the scents it invokes would have opposed atmo-orientalism’s tendency to blame environmental health risks on the Chinese.

Eaton’s most extensive deployment of air as a plot element occurs in her 1898 story “Away Down in Jamaica.” Written over a decade before the publication of *Mrs. Spring Fragrance* and one of her few stories signed with her own name (“Edith Eaton”), “Away Down” draws on Eaton’s experience working as a court stenographer and reporter in Jamaica from 1896-97. The story’s plot traces the erotic relations and frustrations of four characters: the domineering white businessman Wycliff Walker, his reluctant fiancée Kathleen Harold, a court stenographer named Everett who is hopelessly in love with Kathleen, and Walker’s jilted mulatta lover Clarissa. Critics have pointed out Eaton’s mixed identifications with the three disempowered characters: the white woman overwhelmed by Walker’s influence, the struggling stenographer, and the racialized woman treated as an erotic plaything by the elite white gentleman.^{lvi} The story culminates with the deaths of Everett and Kathleen: just after Everett succumbs to a constitutional disease attributed to Jamaica’s climate, Clarissa is killed by her repeated exposures to toxic flowers gifted by Walker. Assisted by a local “Obi man” or Obeah practitioner, Clarissa’s revenge against both Walker and Kathleen—embodiments of the U.S. neoimperial commerce—has been persuasively interpreted as an act of anti-imperial resistance.^{lvii} However, Eaton’s allegory of resistance on the part of racialized women, Obeah traditions, and Jamaica’s climate relies on colonial traditions of geographical determinism and “moral climatology” that traced racial and moral differences to the effects of tropical climates.^{lviii} In this story written early in her career as a fiction writer, Eaton depicts Jamaica’s “tropical climate” and “hot, dusty streets” as health hazards: long before Clarissa’s poison affects Kathleen, Everett has contracted a tropical fever figured as a “poison” in his veins.^{lix} In depicting Jamaica’s racial atmosphere as a source of resistance, Eaton perhaps unwittingly reinscribes beliefs concerning the racialized toxicity of tropical atmospheres.

Mrs. Spring Fragrance takes a very different approach to atmospheric representation. The collection’s title echoes Eaton’s earlier sketch entitled “Spring Impressions,” which describes a time of year “when the spring fragrance and freshness fill the air; when all nature rejoices in returning life.”^{lx} While such a passage might sound like a naïve description of an idealized “nature,” associating the Chinese with fresh air and its associated health effects quietly undercuts the demonization of urban Chinese atmospheres. Eaton, who suffered from rheumatic fever and writes in her memoir that she was “ordered beyond the Rockies by the doctor, who declare[d] that I will never again regain my strength in

the East,^{lxvi} was acutely aware of medical beliefs associating climatological differences with health and disease. Eaton's deodorization of Chinatown is most evident in her omission of the olfactory and atmospheric conventions of Chinatown description: while she occasionally describes characters smoking and burning incense, her stories about the Chinese seldom describe unpleasant smells.

“Its Wavering Image” is unique among the stories in its account of Chinatown's unpleasant atmosphere. This story, however, subtly inverts the atmo-orientalist demonization of Chinese interiors by describing a white character moving from Chinatown's public spaces into the pleasant atmosphere of a Chinese home: “After the heat and dust and unsavoriness of the highways and byways of Chinatown, the young reporter who had been sent to find a story, had stepped across the threshold of a cool, deep room, fragrant with the odor of dried lilies and sandalwood, and found Pan.”^{lxvii} Whereas the Chinese home is “fragrant” with the smells of nature, the “dust and unsavoriness” of Chinatown's streets result from municipal neglect: as Shah notes, “The municipality did have responsibility for street cleaning, but often it blatantly ignored the condition of Chinatown streets. Both the influential physician Dr. Arthur B. Stout and the special police officer George Duffield testified that the city superintendent of streets ignored Chinatown streets despite tax contributions by Chinese residents.”^{lxviii}

Whereas “Away Down in Jamaica” underscored the toxicity of Jamaica's climate, *Mrs. Spring Fragrance* emphasizes Chinese immigrants' relative lack of access to the invigorating influence of fresh air. Eaton presents a lyrical account of the countryside in the story “Tian Shan's Kindred Spirit.” Here, Eaton's prose uncharacteristically echoes turn-of-the-century wilderness discourse: “The air was fresh, sweet, and piny. As Tian Shan and Fin Fan walked, they chatted gaily...of the brilliant landscape, the sun shining through a grove of black-trunked trees with golden leaves, the squirrels that whisked past them, the birds twittering and soliloquizing over their vanishing homes, and many other objects of nature.”^{lxix} Eaton's choice of names—another idiosyncrasy that critics have framed as a self-exoticizing tactic^{lxx}—associates her protagonists with their desires for fresh air: “Tian Shan” is likely taken from “heavenly mountains,” where “tian” is the Chinese word for sky; “Fin Fan” invokes the English word “fan,” along with associations of air flow and ventilation. Soon after this idyllic scene, however, Eaton reminds us that access to mobility, public space, and fresh air was racially uneven when Fin Fan reads that her beloved Tian Shan has been captured: “A Chinese, who has been unlawfully breathing United States air for several years, was captured last night crossing the border...”^{lxxi} Whereas the phrase “unlawfully breathing United States air” might pass as another instance of Eaton's self-exoticizing prose (in which such metaphors indicate the difference of Chinese speech without rendering it as dialect), it also suggests that, if Chinese immigrants frequently lived amid unhealthful urban air, it was in part because their capacities to reside and move around outside of urban enclaves were severely restricted by both legal restrictions and extralegal violence.^{lxxii} Before Chinese immigrants were forced out of the

countryside and smaller towns by the Foreign Miners' Tax, racial purges, Alien Land Laws, and vagrancy laws,^{lxviii} they had more ample access to fresh air: as a Chinese "Forty-Niner" interviewed by Eaton recounts, "the new life [in California] brought with [it] renewed health and strength. In the old California days the Chinese lived and worked in the open air...the sunshine and freshness of this western country transformed me both physically and mentally."^{lxix} For Chinese workers driven from outdoor work and countryside settlements to urban enclaves, the problem of noxious air stems not from any racial propensity for poor hygiene but from the racial violence that has driven them out of "physically and mentally" salubrious environments.

If "Tian Shan's Kindred Spirit" critiques legal and extralegal restrictions on Chinese immigrants' desires for access to fresh country air, however, it nevertheless relies on the "romantic anti-capitalist" and settler colonial ideology of wilderness as an invigorating retreat from the vitiating influence of urban spaces and industrial production.^{lxx} Eaton's "Wing Sing of Los Angeles on His Travels" (1904), a fictionalized travelogue recently recovered by Mary Chapman, stages the entanglements of fresh air and settler colonialism by depicting a Chinese merchant on a transcontinental railroad trip across Canada and the U.S. Apparently unaware of the histories of anti-Chinese purges and exclusion legislation in both nations, Wing repeatedly expresses his appreciation for the freshness of the western air. "I hear the men in the next [sic] speak of the air—how clear and how sweet it is—of the forests, how grand and how beautiful of the rivers and streams, of the birds and the fish, big game and small game, of all the sport to be had in this region—and I think how excellently beneficial to the mind and the body must be the days that are passed by the shores of this lake" ("WS" 220). Wing's exuberant accounts of western air support his blithe speculations about a future in which Chinese farmers settle throughout the prairies: "He [an Irish traveling companion] say plenty room for poor people to come and take farm and grow rich in this and, so I think when I go back to China I tell some of my countrymen to come. My countrymen good farmers, make things grow in all land they touch. I think the wheat land the same to the white man as the rice land to the Chinaman" ("WS" 209). If Wing's fantasy of Chinese settlement elides the history of anti-Chinese violence and Alien Land Laws directed against Chinese settlers in the western U.S., it nevertheless participates in settler fantasies of uninhabited land (and inexhaustible air).^{lxxi}

At times, Wing's assimilationist desires for farmland and fresh air give way to critical insights about the imperial nation's enclosure of salubrious atmospheres. In addition to eliding ongoing settler colonial violence, the conception of nature as a pure and invigorating "wilderness" is also conscripted into sustaining imperial wars abroad. The section entitled "Why American Soldier is Nurtured" condenses complex and multifaceted histories of race and empire:

Much exhilarated am I by the pure, rare atmosphere.... There is also a fort call Fort Harrison now occupied by United States colored troops. Hot water springs for the good of the

people that cold water spring not suit are situate in convenient position and I am inform that the American government think to buy them out for a soldiers' sanitarium, for the American government want try hard to keep soldiers alive for the foreign governments to kill. ("WS" 236)

Named after president William Henry Harrison—who was best known for his prominent role in battles against Native Americans—Fort Harrison was built to consolidate military forces that had been more dispersed during the Indian Wars. In 1902, the First Battalion of the African American 24th Infantry Regiment was housed at the fort after serving in the U.S.-Philippine War, and before being redeployed to the Philippines in December 1905.^{lxxii} Eaton's description of this fort underscores how both wilderness and racialized populations could be incorporated into projects of imperial violence: black soldiers fought in both Indian Wars and the U.S.-Philippine War; and according to Wing's source, the government was considering instrumentalizing the "natural" hot springs and mountain air near the fort as tools for rehabilitating and recreating imperial soldiers. If imperial violence might recreate African Americans as valued elements of the national body, then settler colonial violence (at least in the imagined absence of anti-Chinese immigration laws) seems to Wing a promising strategy for incorporating Chinese farmers into Canadian and U.S. national narratives. The shift from fresh air to "pure, rare atmosphere" here is telling: here, the atmosphere is not an infinite and freely available resource but a "rare" commodity available only to those deemed deserving. The air's healthful "purity" invokes eugenic ideas associating wilderness experiences with racial purity: as Bruce Braun writes in a groundbreaking analysis of American articulations of nature, race, and risk, "Nature...served as a purification machine, a place where people became white."^{lxxiii} If the "pure, rare atmosphere" of Fort Harrison can be used to incorporate black soldiers into US imperial projects, then perhaps the deodorizing influence of fresh air may also render Chinese immigrants useful to the imperial settler nation.

Eaton's deodorized representations of Chinatown and Chinese immigrants' excursions into the countryside combat "romantic anti-capitalism" by refuting its opposition between Asiatic abstraction and settler colonial "nature." In Eaton's stories, Chinese households are suffused with carefully curated fragrance, and Chinese immigrants yearn for the physical, mental, and emotional health benefits afforded by access to fresh air. Yet the ironic tensions between anti-racism and settler colonialism in "Wing Sing" point to the limitations of this deodorizing strategy: its complicity with settler colonialism and overseas imperialism. If Eaton undoes the whiteness of "wilderness" by depicting Chinese bodies in the countryside, she does so by simultaneously reinscribing fantasies of the unsettled, available frontier as a freely available space for the deodorization and invigoration of settler bodies made sick by urban modernity. The following section will consider how the olfactory artist Anicka Yi mobilizes atmospheric promiscuity—as opposed to notions atmospheric purity—in a different kind of aesthetic

response to atmo-orientalism. Whereas Eaton frequently deploys deodorized, middle-class spaces and bodies in an effort to represent the Chinese as assimilable subjects, Yi employs discomfiting odors to stage assimilation as a hybridized and multidirectional process that transgresses the boundaries of race, class, gender, and species.

III. Olfactory Empathy and Atmospheric Conviviality

Beneath atmo-orientalism's racial stigmatization is an anxious awareness of the risky, trans-corporeal exchanges of matter between bodies and environments theorized by the materialist ecocritic Stacy Alaimo. To smell something is to become vulnerable to it: olfaction necessarily puts the smeller's body at risk. Historically, this vulnerability has been distributed along the lines of race, class, and gender: as Neel Ahuja writes, "Atmosphere names a space of unpredictable touching, attractions, and subtle violences—a space at once geophysical and affective, informed by yet exploding representation, a space where the violences of late-carbon liberalism subtly reform racialized sensoria through shifting scales of interface."^{lxxiv} But what if olfaction's capacities for violence and vulnerability are also occasions for transformed capacities of perception and empathy—for the re-conception of bodies in terms of molecular exchanges and the expansion of material-and-ethical relations across racial and geographic lines? As Mawani notes in a nuanced reading of Fanon's comments on atmosphere, "the racial atmosphere may be weighted, but its shifting properties open spontaneous possibilities for resistance and change."^{lxxv} Ahuja, too, suggests that atmosphere materializes queer intimacies as well as environmental violence: "In ever more precarious intimacy with the shrinking number of living species, we inhabit a queer atmosphere in which the ether of the everyday is marked by senses of transformation and crisis." The perceptual and ethical intimacies enacted by shared atmospheres lie at the heart of Anicka Yi's olfactory artworks, which deploy smell to make an irresistible claim on our bodies—a claim that is no sooner perceived than inhaled and internalized. For Yi, even strange or unpleasant smells have a seductive edge:

Growing up in a Korean-American household, I was immersed in pungent kitchen aromas. The smell of fermenting kimchi and *doenjang* seemed to sink into our furniture, clothing, and hair. As a child, I often felt ashamed of my family's olfactory world. I wanted to smell American, which I imagined would involve becoming perfectly odorless. But shame works in mysterious ways: the strongest odors disgusted but also excited me, eliciting a tingling response.^{lxxvi}

The seductive quality of odor has played a key role in Yi's artistic production. Yi's earlier works leveraged olfaction to convey—in material, sensuous terms—the personal experience of the exiled Japanese Red Army founder and leader Fusako Shigenobu (Anicka Yi and Maggie Peng, *Shigenobu Twilight* [2008]), the sensory dissonance of beautiful yet pungent tempura-fried flowers (*Sister* [2011]),

and the blended olfactory signatures of the Gagosian Gallery and bacterial cultures sampled from a network of one hundred women in Yi's social circles (*You Can Call Me F* [2015]). The contrasting scents of the deodorized Gagosian gallery and women's bacterial cultures allegorizes—and also materially enacts—Yi's reasons for turning to olfactory perception: “I do think there is still the pervasive ocularcentric, normative vision that abounds—within that dominant scene, at any rate—but there is also a growing curiosity about alternative paths, about other senses. For me, I want to shift perception through the other senses and influence the forces that compose the field in which perception occurs. We've lost our empathic core. It's through the other senses that I believe we can try to rebuild this core.”^{lxxvii} Whereas vision has been privileged within a post-Kantian aesthetics of disinterestedness and autonomy, smell's immersive and visceral qualities make empathy unavoidable.

Life is Cheap (2017), Yi's Hugo Boss Prize installation at the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, deploys olfaction's empathetic potential against entrenched discourses of atmo-orientalism. *Life is Cheap* consisted of three interlinked works featuring the intermingled scents and bacterial cultures of carpenter ants and the Asian diaspora. The first of these pieces, located in the exhibition's entryway, presented three gas canisters releasing the blended scents of Asian American women (sampled from Manhattan's Chinatown and Koreatown) and carpenter ants. Along with the fumigation canisters, a metal gate gives this installation the appearance of a detainment facility. But the centerpiece here is the smell, which Yi synthesized in collaboration with the perfumer Barnabé Fillion, the forensic scientist Kenneth Furton, three PhD students at the Columbia University Medical Center, and the olfactory artist Sean Raspel.^{lxxviii} Yi describes the “Asian-American part of the fragrance” as “vegetal and floral, with notes of cedar, hay, cumin, and cellophane” and the ant fragrance as “citrusy and meaty.”^{lxxix} The combined scent, according to Yi, is “sweaty and herbacious until the garlicky note of the ant kicks in.... People have described it as delicate, but they also seem unsure of how to talk about it.”^{lxxx} Visitors were exposed to this unsettling trans-species and (for many) cross-racial scent—as well as its physiological, cognitive, and affective consequences—prior to encountering the other two pieces in Yi's exhibition. By introducing this odor into the conventionally deodorized, “anosmic cubes”^{lxxx} of the modern art museum, Yi endows the odors of ants and Asians with the cultural capital of Hugo Boss and the Guggenheim.



Fig. 3. Anicka Yi, *Immigrant Caucus*

The title of this initial work, *Immigrant Caucus* (Fig.3), has a similarly unsettling effect. Who are the “immigrants” here: the Asian American women, the carpenter ants, or the museum’s visitors whose own odors blend with Yi’s synthesized scent? If a “caucus” is a meeting of a political party frequently oriented towards choosing a representative, then what does it mean to bring these three heterogeneous groups together in a multi-species, multi-racial caucus? The term “caucus” immediately situates the olfactory—in this case a scent produced through bacteriological and chemical means—in political terms. Is the material, trans-corporeal blending of scents already a powerful form of political deliberation, a mode of olfactory conditioning that contests the politics of differential deodorization while predisposing bodies (ants, Asian Americans, diverse gallery-goers) towards particular political views?

After participating in *Immigrant Caucus* (both by inhaling it and contributing their own scents to it), visitors entered a space in which two dioramas were on display. While the form of the diorama invokes the ocularcentrism, timelessness, and nature/culture demarcation that Donna Haraway diagnosed in the Museum of Natural History’s African dioramas,^{lxxxii} Yi’s immersive displays present multiscalar spaces, hybridized *naturecultures*, and living specimens to visitors who have just inhaled what they’re observing. On one side, *Force Majeure* (Fig. 4) featured agar tiles, glass cases, and illuminated sculptures resembling biomorphic chairs displayed behind a window, all overgrown with colorful bacterial cultures sampled from Manhattan’s Chinatown and Koreatown neighborhoods. Because Yi obtained the bacterial samples for this work by swabbing surfaces such as toilet handles and door handles, these bacterial cultures index racialized *spaces* rather than Asian bodies. The title of this

piece alludes to the “force majeure” clause found in most contracts that (at least temporarily) releases both parties from their obligations when a “greater force” or extraordinary circumstance prevents one or both parties from fulfilling the contract.^{lxxxiii} Framing her visually striking bacterial cultures as an instance of *force majeure* underscores how conceiving of agency in material terms (constantly shifting masses of bacteria and chemical scents) shakes up the idea of contract that forms the basis of liberal society. If we are physically, mentally, and affectively transformed by microbes, smells, and other transcorporeal materials, then even something as apparently insignificant as an odor can undercut our capacity to freely enter and fulfill contracts. Already transformed (and perhaps intoxicated) by the odor of *Immigrant Caucus*, the exhibition’s visitors must relinquish any claim to occupy the status of liberalism’s deodorized, disinterested, and fully rational subject. As Ahuja puts it in his incisive theorization of atmospheric intimacies, “Liberalism thrives on masking violence through ruses of the individual’s transcendence, the refusal of the ‘promiscuous’ interspecies connections that make bodies, according to Donna Haraway, ‘constitutively a crowd.’”^{lxxxiv}



Fig. 4 and Fig. 5 Anicka Yi, *Force Majeure* and *Lifestyle Wars* (detail)

On the far side of the room was another diorama that was simultaneously an intricate ant farm and an arrangement of reflective metal sheets, pathways, and LED lights resembling a massive electrical circuit board. Entitled *Lifestyle Wars* (Fig. 5), this diorama incorporated exposed a colony of twenty thousand living ants to the scent of *Immigrant Caucus*. Yi explains that her fascination with ants is inspired by “their matriarchy, industry, and powerful sense of smell, which they use to recognize the caste of other colony members.”^{lxxxv} More attuned to smell than humans, the ants perform the olfactory disorientation that Yi hopes to have inspired—albeit on a subtler level—in the exhibition’s human visitors: “At times,” observes Yi, “groups of [the ants] have appeared confused by the scent, seeming to

interrogate a single ant as though they were prosecutors cross-examining a witness. What do they make of the invisible stranger in their midst?”

Yet, viewed from even a short distance, the ants *are* the “invisible stranger[s]” inhabiting *Lifestyle Wars*. When first approached, the diorama’s play of mirrored and luminous surfaces resemble an enlarged electronic circuit board, “evoking a massive data-processing unit.”^{lxxxvi} The initial invisibility of the ants—along with their industrious behavior, their appearance as an undifferentiated plurality, and Yi’s decision to title the exhibition *Life is Cheap*—evoke the socially invisible status of the marginalized Asian laborer. Historically, as Lye has noted, anti-Asian agitators represented the Asiatic as an “indissociably plural” mass of undifferentiated, dehumanized laborers; today, Asian laborers continue to be marginalized and dehumanized in both Asia and the US. Yi’s ants dramatize the invisibility of Asian laborers—particularly those who manufacture the electronics that we generally assume to be odorless and nontoxic (at least for the consumer). Yi’s visitors experience a shared olfactory state (along with all the biochemical changes that olfaction can trigger). *Lifestyle Wars* thus brings together—on a visceral, chemical level—the scents of transpacific productive labor, the enlarged appearance of the labor’s product (the electronic circuit board), and the reflected image of the product’s consumers (the gallery’s visitors reflected in the metal sheets).^{lxxxvii}

The structural violence of differential deodorization is sustained by atmo-orientalist “lifestyle wars” in which middle-class subjects avoid and stigmatize the smells of the production that enable their technologically mediated lifestyle. Rather than disavowing and displacing the odors associated with the transnational flow of bodies and commodities, Yi makes the visitor chemically intimate with those smells. Her conception of her work as exploring a “biopolitics of the senses”^{lxxxviii}—a biopolitics in which bacterial and molecular flows continually blur the visual and conceptual lines that racism draws between populations—marks a departure from Foucault’s theorization of racism as introducing and enforcing a biopolitical “break between what must live and what must die.”^{lxxxix} *Life is Cheap* instills olfactory empathy not through melodramatic imagery or psychological structures of identification, but by incorporating into the aesthetic experience a process of trans-corporeal becoming that crosses geographic, racial, and species boundaries.^{xc} Yi’s work thus enacts on trans-corporeal terms the concept of “conviviality” theorized by Jasbir Puar: “As an attribute and function of assembling,” she writes, “conviviality does not lead to a politics of the universal or inclusive common, nor an ethics of individuatedness, rather the futurity enabled through the open materiality of bodies as a Place to Meet.... [T]here is no absolute self or other, rather bodies that come together and dissipate through intensifications and vulnerabilities, insistently rendering bare the instability of the divisions between capacity-endowed and debility-laden bodies.”” *Life is Cheap* literally instills in its visitors an experience of the multi-scalar (chemical, bacterial, corporeal, and global) circulations underpinning atmo-

orientalism: here, bodies and minds literally inhabit and transform one other through the affective^{xci} channels of olfaction.

The genealogy of atmo-orientalism traced in this chapter illustrates the vital stakes of atmospheric descriptions frequently perceived as mere “background” to literary plots. The cases of olfactory contestation I have considered—from one of the earliest books of Asian North American fiction to the most highly regarded work of Asian American olfactory art—demonstrate the critical need for practices of “atmospheric reading”^{xcii} attuned to the racial dynamics of Sloterdijk’s “micro-climatic ‘fragmenting of the atmosphere.’” Finally, the racializing agency of air attests to the need for further research oriented towards constructing and contextualizing archives that stage the changing intersections between race and olfaction in literary history and the history of art. In addition to expanding our reading methods and bringing new texts to light, such research could inform and energize new aesthetic engagements with atmo-orientalism and related forms of olfactory racism.

ⁱ Gisli Pálsson, “Human-Environmental Relations: Orientalism, Paternalism and Communalism.”

ⁱⁱ Diana K. Davis, “Imperialism, Orientalism, and Environment in the Middle East: History, Policy, Power, and Practice” 4.

ⁱⁱⁱ Davis.

^{iv} Agrawal and Sawyer.

^v Sarah Jacquette Ray, *The Ecological Other: Environmental Exclusion in American Culture* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2013) 1.

^{vi} See Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991).

^{vii} Alain Corbin, *The Foul and the Fragrant: Odor and the French Social Imagination* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988) 5.

^{viii} Renisa Mawani, “Atmospheric Pressures: On Race and Affect” {unpublished MS—citation will require permission from author..}

^{ix} See Mark Smith, *How Race is Made: Slavery, Segregation, and the Senses* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Connie Chiang, “Monterey-by-the-Smell,” *Pacific Historical Review* 73:2 (May 2004) 183-214; Kelvin Low, *Scent and Scent-Sibilities: Smell and Everyday Life Experiences* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2008) 84-121.

^x Iyko Day 6, Colleen Lye 130.

^{xi} Day 15.

^{xii} Whitman, *Song of Myself*.

^{xiii} Jerng *Racial Worldmaking: The Power of Popular Fiction* (forthcoming) 66; see also Jerng’s discussion of “Blackness as Atmosphere,” 117-23.

^{xiv} Melanie Kiechle, *Smell Detectives: An Olfactory History of Nineteenth-Century Urban America* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2017) 27.

^{xv} *Hospitals, Infirmaries, and Dispensaries*; “Need I say that I allude to the horrible tale, often quoted, of the Black Hole of Calcutta, and to the fearful mortality on board Coolie ships?” “No Black Hole of Calcutta, no Atlantic steamship steerage hold, could be more densely packed,” writes J. D. Edgar of the “Chinese thieves’ quarter” in San Francisco’s Chinatown (J. D. Edgar, “Celestial America,” *Canadian Monthly and National Review* 6:5 (Nov 1874) 394-5.

^{xvi} *Hospitals, Infirmaries, and Dispensaries*; “Need I say that I allude to the horrible tale, often quoted, of the Black Hole of Calcutta, and to the fearful mortality on board Coolie ships?” “No Black Hole of Calcutta, no Atlantic steamship steerage hold, could be more densely packed,” writes J. D. Edgar of the “Chinese thieves’ quarter” in San Francisco’s Chinatown (J. D. Edgar, “Celestial America,” *Canadian Monthly and National Review* 6:5 (Nov 1874) 394-5.

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- ^{xvii} Qtd in Shah 1.
- ^{xviii} Charles McClain, *In Search of Equality: The Chinese Struggle Against Discrimination in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994) 45.
- ^{xix} McClain 45; Roger Daniels, *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States Since 1850* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011) 39; Paul Spickard, *Almost All Aliens: Immigration, Race, and Colonialism in American History* (New York: Routledge, 2009) 162.
- ^{xx} Ellen Pader, “Restructuring Immigrant Workers’ Housing: When does Policy or Design Become Discriminatory?” 187.
- ^{xxi} Spickard, *Almost All Aliens*, 162.
- ^{xxii} Jean Pfaelzer, *Driven Out: The Forgotten War Against Chinese Americans* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008) 75. In 1873 (when first passed by the Board of Supervisors in 1873, the ordinance was vetoed by mayor William Alvord) and 1876, the city’s Board of Supervisors introduced the Queue Ordinance (popularly called the “Pigtail Ordinance”) to further dissuade Chinese immigrants from serving jail time: this law required prisoners in San Francisco’s jails to have their hair cut within an inch of their scalp. Although the law purported to be a sanitary measure designed to prevent lice and fleas, it specifically targeted the Han Chinese, whose queues were worn as signs of loyalty to the ruling Qing dynasty. As Spickard explains, “[A]ny Chinese immigrant in America who did not keep his queue could not go back to China on pain of death” (162). The queue ordinance was eventually declared unconstitutional (in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment, among other things) in the federal court case *Ho Ah Kow v. Nunan* (1879).
- ^{xxiii} “Condition of the Chinese Quarter,” *San Francisco Municipal Reports for the Fiscal Year 1884-85, Ending June 30, 1885* Board of Supervisors. (San Francisco: W. M. Hinton & Co., 1885) 175.
- ^{xxiv} Otis Gibson, *The Chinese in America* (Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden, 1877) 63-4.
- ^{xxv} *Ibid.* 64.
- ^{xxvi} *Ibid.* 25.
- ^{xxvii} Woods Hutchinson, “The Plague Situation in San Francisco and the Problem of Chinatown,” *Medical Sentinel* 11:6 (June 1903) 338.
- ^{xxviii} See {Pfaelzer, *Driven Out*}
- ^{xxix} Hutchinson 337.
- ^{xxx} *Ibid.*
- ^{xxxi} *Riverside Enterprise* (1906). See “The Chinese Question,” *Morning Oregonian* (24 Mar 1890) 6 for an interesting refutation of racially targeted smelling committees.
- ^{xxxii} Arthur Henderson Smith, *Chinese Characteristics* (New York: Revell, 1894) 142.
- ^{xxxiii} Mark Jerng, *Racial Worldmaking* {forthcoming}.
- ^{xxxiv} Lye 89-93.
- ^{xxxv} Erica Fretwell, “Senses of Belonging: The Synaesthetics of Citizenship in American Literature, 1862-1903,” PhD dissertation (Duke University, 2011) 9-12. See also Sabine Doran, *The Culture of Yellow: or, the Visual Politics of Late Modernity* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013) 69-96.
- ^{xxxvi} Susan Lanser, “Feminist Criticism, ‘The Yellow Wallpaper,’ and the Politics of Color in America,” *Feminist Studies* 15:3 (Autumn 1989) 427.
- ^{xxxvii} Jack London, “Chun Ah Chun,” in *The House of Pride, and Other Tales of Hawai’i* (New York: MacMillan, 1919) 173-4.
- ^{xxxviii} *Ibid.* 175.
- ^{xxxix} Sloterdijk 48.
- ^{xl} Dir. Victor Halperin, *Revenge of the Zombies* (Academy Pictures, 1936).
- ^{xli} David Barnett, in *The Independent*. Cannetti qtd in Sloterdijk, 100.
- ^{xlii} see Jerng, *Racial Worldmaking*.
- ^{xliii} Beck, *Risk Society*.
- ^{xliv} 164. Chen elaborates that “mass media stories pitched Chinese environmental threats neither as harmful to actual Chinese people or landscapes, nor as products of a global industrialization that the United States itself eagerly promotes, but as invasive dangers to the U. S. territory from other national territories. These environmental toxins were supposed to be ‘there’ but were found ‘here’” (165).
- ^{xlv} As Sze notes elsewhere, “the growth of China’s industrial economy must be understood in inverse relation to Germany’s, which has seen its carbon emissions decline by 19 percent since 1990 as a significant percentage of its industrial production has moved offshore to China. Similarly, calculations of British carbon emissions leap if output within China for British factories is counted as U.K. rather than Chinese emissions” (32).

- ^{xlvi} Alex Salkever, “Toxic Chinese Drywall Turns U.S. Homes Into Smelly Cancer Traps,” *aol.com* (9/9/2009).
- ^{xlvii} For a nuanced olfactory artwork responding to xenophobic complaints about the smell of curry, see Sita Kuratomi Bhaumik, *To Curry Favor* (2010).
- ^{xlviii} Anita Mannur and Martin Manalansan, “Dude, What’s That Smell? The Sriracha Shutdown and Immigrant Excess,” *From the Square: NYU Press Blog* (Jan 16 2014). <https://www.fromthesquare.org/dude-whats-that-smell-the-sriracha-shutdown-and-immigrant-excess/#.WiBm462ZOqA>
- ^{lix} There is no mention of Eaton, for example, in the important essay collection *Asian American Literature and the Environment* (eds. Lorna Fitzsimmons, Youngsuk Chae, and Bella Adams, *Asian American Literature and the Environment* [New York: Routledge, 2014]).
- ^l Martha Patterson, *Beyond the Gibson Girl: Reimagining the American New Woman, 1895-1915* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010) 111. See also Chapman, “Introduction,” xiii.
- ^{li} Kiechle, 83.
- ^{lii} *Ibid.* 83, 84.
- ^{liii} *Ibid.* 193.
- ^{liv} *Ibid.* 195.
- ^{lv} Qtd. in Jane Draycott, “Smelling Trees, Flowers and Herbs in the Ancient World,” in *Smell and the Ancient Senses*, ed. Mark Bradley (New York: Routledge, 2014) 69.
- ^{lvi} See Martha Cutter, “‘Sex, Love, Revenge, and Murder in ‘Away Down in Jamaica’: A Lost Short Story by Sui Sin Far (Edith Eaton),” *Legacy* 21.1 (2004) 85-89.
- ^{lvii} See Sean X. Goudie, “Toward a Definition of Caribbean American Regionalism: Contesting Anglo-America’s Caribbean Designs in Mary Seacole and Sui Sin Far,” *American Literature* 80.2 (June 2008): 293-322.
- ^{lviii} See David Livingstone, “Race, Space, and Moral Climatology: Notes Toward a Genealogy,” *Journal of Historical Geography* 28:2 (2002) 159-180 and James Duncan, *In the Shadows of the Tropics: Climate, Race and Biopower in Nineteenth-Century Ceylon* (New York: Routledge, 2016).
- ^{lix} Eaton 174, 177.
- ^{lx} Eaton, “Spring Impressions,” {#}. Cite Amy Ling on this passage as pivotal to framing of *Mrs. Spring Fragrance*.
- ^{lxi} Eaton, “Leaves from the Mental Portfolio of an Eurasian,” {#}. Eaton perhaps draws on this experience in “Sweet Sin” (1898), where she writes, “California sunshine and the balmy freshness of Pacific breezes had helped to make her a bewitching woman.” (Chapman ed. 168)
- ^{lxii} Eaton 80.
- ^{lxiii} Shah 50.
- ^{lxiv} Eaton {#}.
- ^{lxv} Eaton {#}.
- ^{lxvi} Eaton {#}. Cf. “The Smuggling of Tie Co,” in which Eaton describes how Chinese could be “[proven] to be an American citizen with the right to breathe United States air” (133).
- ^{lxvii} J. B. Sibara argues that “Sui Sin Far’s writings counter this characterization [of Chinese as public health threat] by demonstrating that racial inequality rendered the Chinese in North American vulnerable to illness and disability. Her writing thus reconfigures illness and disability as signs of imperialist violence rather than as symptoms of racial contamination” (Jennifer Barager Sibara, “Disease, Disability, and the Alien Body in the Literature of Sui Sin Far,” *MELUS: Multi-Ethnic Literature of the U.S.* 39:1 (Spr 2014) 56).
- ^{lxviii} On the nearly two hundred documented purges of Chinese from settlements in California and other western states, see Pfaelzer; on states’ alien land laws targeting Asian farmers, see Huping Ling, *Surviving on the Gold Mountain: A History of Chinese American Women and their Lives* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1998) 75.
- ^{lxix} Eaton, “The Chinese in America, Part III” 245.
- ^{lxx} For influential critiques of Progressive Era wilderness discourse, see William Cronon, “The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature,” in ed. William Cronon, *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1995) 69-90 and Ray, *Ecological Other*.
- ^{lxxi} For a more extensive discussion of settler colonial investments in “Wing Sing,” see Hsu and Wong, “Uncollected: Remapping Edith Maude Eaton/Sui Sin Far” {forthcoming}. On Asian American complicities with settler colonialism within the Hawai’ian context, see eds. Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Okamura, *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai’i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2008).
- ^{lxxii} Willard Squire III, “The 24th Infantry Regiment and the Racial Debate in the U.S. Army,” MMAS Thesis (Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, 1997) 71.

- ^{lxxiii} Bruce Braun, “‘On the Raggedy Edge of Risk’: Articulations of Race and Nature After Biology,” in eds. Donald Moore, Jake Kosek, and Anand Pandian, *Race, Nature and the Politics of Difference* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003) 197.
- ^{lxxiv} Neel Ahuja, “Intimate Atmospheres: Queer Theory in a Time of Extinctions,” *GLQ* 21:2-3 (2015) 371.
- ^{lxxv} Mawani {#}.
- ^{lxxvi} Anicka Yi, “How I Solved It: Transforming Ideas into Smells,” *New Yorker* (May 9 2017) <https://www.newyorker.com/culture/personal-history/how-i-solved-it-transforming-ideas-into-smells>.
- ^{lxxvii} Anicka Yi, {interview} in ed. Alise Uptis, *Anicka Yi: 6,070,430K of Digital Spit* (Mousse Publishing 2016) 9-10.
- ^{lxxviii} Yi, “How I Solved It.”
- ^{lxxix} *Ibid.*
- ^{lxxx} *Ibid.*
- ^{lxxxi} Jim Drobnick, “Volatile Effects: Olfactory Dimensions in Art and Architecture,” in *Empire of the Senses: The Sensual Culture Reader*, ed. David Howes (New York: Berg, 266).
- ^{lxxxii} Donna Haraway, “Teddy Bear Patriarchy: Taxidermy in the Garden of Eden, New York City, 1908-1936,” *Social Text* 11 (Winter 1984-85) 25.
- ^{lxxxiii} Ed. Jonathan Law, *A Dictionary of Law*, 8th edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) 267.
- ^{lxxxiv} Ahuja 368.
- ^{lxxxv} Yi, “How I solved It.”
- ^{lxxxvi} {Guggenheim wall text}
- ^{lxxxvii} Cf. Ahuja: “The everyday activities of carbon-dependent industrial living connect one’s bodily consumption and waste to the ‘stranger intimacies’ of a shared atmosphere, slowly threatening other far-flung bodies, human and nonhuman” (372).
- ^{lxxxviii} “Yi uses unconventional materials to examine what she calls a ‘biopolitics of the senses,’ or how assumptions and anxieties related to gender, race, and class shape physical perception” ({Guggenheim wall text})
- ^{lxxxix} Michel Foucault, “*Society Must Be Defended*”: *Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975-1976*, trans. David Macey (New York: Picador, 2003) 254.
- ^{xc} Cf. Springray on the “sensational pedagogy” enacted by the Toronto-based artist Diane Borsato’s relational artwork “The Chinatown Foray”: “Sensational pedagogies offer the potential to re-think the ideologies of domination that are materialized and preserved through smells” (Stephanie Springray, “‘The Chinatown Foray’ as Sensational Pedagogy,” *Curriculum Inquiry* 41:5 [2011] 640).
- ^{xc} Teresa Brennan, *The Transmission of Affect* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004).
- ^{xcii} On “atmospheric thinking” and “atmospheric reading,” see Jesse Oak Taylor, *The Sky of Our Manufacture: The London Fog in British Fiction from Dickens to Woolf* (University of Virginia Press, 2016) 7.