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| RESEARCH ARTICLE

Collective Memory in the Diaspora as Represented in Crossing the River by Caryl Phillips and Small Island by Andrea Levy

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| ABSTRACT

The current study seeks to investigate how *Crossing the River* (1993) by Caryl Phillips and *Small Island* (2004) by Andrea Levy engage with what is known today as postcolonial counter-discourse to show how colonialism, slavery and racism shape the collective memory of African and Afro-Caribbean diaspora. It is also significant to understand how such a process allows both writers to use tangible or intangible forms of collective memory as tools in representing, reassessing and documenting the diaspora history from the perspective of the oppressed other. Moreover, a chance will be given to understand how they abrogate/dismantle essentialist hegemonic Western assumptions through collective forms of remembrance in multicultural contexts. In that sense, the analysis will draw on the concept of collective memory as defined by Maurice Halbuach, Aleida Assmann and Linda Shortt's description of memory as a powerful agent of change and Pierre Nora's sites of memory to explore how the diaspora characters remember or deal with their colonial past and its aftermath beyond their national borders. The study concludes that the process of memory recovery and transmission from one diasporic generation to the other, as representative subjects of multiple movements and dwellings, resulted in acquiring problematic senses of belonging due, in large part, to the pervasiveness of ethnic and racial oppression in the new world. At this stage, each diasporic member would consider such traumatic social environments as their premise to define and select what should be remembered or forgotten from a past marked with constant transformations. This selectivity is triggered by their impossible return to a place once called home in their collective diasporic consciousness.

| KEYWORDS

Crossing the River, Small Island, Diaspora, Collective Memory, Sites of Memory, Memory Mechanisms

| ARTICLE INFORMATION

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1. Introduction

In the past two decades, exploring the workings of memory has taken center stage in postcolonial literary criticism. In this field of study, the process of engaging analytically and critically with memory-work allows postcolonial literary writers to concentrate on the history of the Western colonial project and its disastrous impact on indigenous people and their descendants across the world. Therefore, to define the connection between memory and history, the philosopher George Santayana wrote, "History is nothing but assisted and recorded memory" (394). Furthermore, in literature, such aspects as rewriting Western colonial history are characterized by "subversive manoeuvres" (Ashcroft et al. 221). To be specific, the creation of fictional memory narratives allows postcolonial literary writers to revive and reassess neglected histories by the Western hegemonic discourse. Therefore, by taking Caryl Phillips's *Crossing the River* (1993) and Andrea Levy's *Small Island* (2004) as representative postcolonial counter-discourse literary texts, the present study aims to trace the remnants of the Western colonial system through the collective memory of the African and afro-Caribbean diaspora characters within and across their national borders. For that reason, creating a connection between memory and history will clarify how both writers abrogate/dismantle essentialist hegemonic Western assumptions about

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diasporic nations in multicultural contexts. In that sense, it is important to consider their fictional representations of the diaspora nations' histories as a distinct postcolonial form of writing back against hegemonic Western sociopolitical systems.

In both novels, we are presented with various moments of imaginative departure and return across time and space. Through the diaspora characters' memory, we as readers become invited to domestic, public and foreign spheres. Moreover, remembering the past for the diaspora characters can be described as a quest for one's lost cultural, national and geographical identity. Interestingly, this form of departure occurs when the displaced characters attempt to understand their position in a multicultural context. More than that, the remembering process is activated or assisted by various mnemonic instruments, in other words, sites of memory. According to Pierre Nora, these sites "fundamentally remain the ultimate embodiments of a memorial consciousness that has barely survived in a historical age that calls out for memory because it has abandoned it" (Nora 7). As an example, in Phillips's *Crossing the River*, the unknown African father alludes to the Atlantic Ocean, a landmark slave trade site in Western history. In fact, this happens at a moment of "shameful intercourse" (Phillips 11). At this moment, his three children lost their familial, emotional, cultural and national ties with Africa after selling them out to a British slave trader. The memory this site invokes makes the father desperately wait for 250 years on the river bank. In a similar matter, Levy's *Small Island* alludes to a crucial site in British history, which is the SS Empire Windrush ship. It is this ship that connects and transports the Jamaican couple Hortense and Gilbert to the New World. Driven by the idyllic memory of Britain, these couples attempt to leave their native land, Jamaica, in search of better living conditions. In fact, this is the same purpose that forced the Windrush generation in 1948, more particularly after WWII, to move outside their homelands in search of the opportunities Britain promised for the Afro-Caribbean nations due to their efforts in this war.

By evoking the diasporic characters' memory of journeying and exile, it is clear that the connection between the colonizer and colonized subjects is never stable, either physically or psychologically. It is possible to describe both writers' return to the West's colonial past in Africa and the Caribbean Island of Jamaica as a way to reclaim the African and Afro-Caribbean diaspora's lost sense of identity and place. In this manner, David Scott's introductory chapter in *On the Archaeologies of Black memory* introduces the concept of counter-memory, which has to do with studying memory as a tool to relocate, extract and, most importantly, question hidden or buried histories. To him, this is seen as a valuable critical activity, in which it will help to recover the past, negotiate it, argue with it and reposition basic assumptions that shape those who lived during that old period of time. In addition, he views memory as a "temporal idiom of tradition" (6); therefore, recovering it into the present will make the past alive and subject to examination. He concludes that "this practice of recovery, in turn, will depend upon the construction of an archive, and the distinctive labor, therefore, of an archaeologist" (6). In this sense, the present paper aims to investigate how the diasporic narratives of "counter-memory" in Caryl Phillips's *Crossing the River* and Andrea Levy's *Small Island* rewrite their exilic history. Moreover, this aim will help us understand how political communities remember or deal with their colonial past and its aftermath.

2. Literature Review

In postcolonial studies, investigating the connection between memory, history, and the past can offer an opportunity to reintroduce the untold truth behind Western colonial rule worldwide. For that reason, (Pichler 2011) concentrates on the temporal and spatial significance of diasporic memory; in fact, the term diaspora is often used in postcolonial studies to describe "the voluntary or forcible movement of peoples from their homelands into new regions" (Ashcroft et al. 1998). In *Crossing the River* (1993), this change in setting from local to global spheres starts when an African father laments himself for selling his children into slavery due to an economic issue. Interestingly, this memory is constantly activated in his mind because, for 250 years, he has been hearing his children's voices across the river. In this case, (Pichler 2011) claims that memory can establish an imaginary communicative bond between communities across time and space. Moreover, as the novel ends and begins with the haunting presence of the African father, (Bellamy 2014) argues that the haunting aspect allows Caryl Phillips to rewrite the history of the European slave trade and explore its unrecorded traumatic impact on the African slaves. To clarify, the lamentation scenes define the father's strong sense of regret and resentment for abandoning his children. In the father's eyes, this complicity, as referred to by Bellamy, is a form of parental betrayal, which distributes the African slaves into different parts of the Western world.

Similarly, (Bonnici 2006) attempts to analyze the effect of displacement and homelessness on the African diaspora. He explains that such an experience, especially at a young age, can severely destroy one's national memory. Hence, it is observed that some of the characters, after returning back to their original homeland, start to feel like strangers among their own people. Moreover, forced migration as a consequence of the European slave trade can lead to cut off familial relations; therefore, it is expected to experience disastrous psychological breakdowns. Another important point mentioned by Bonnici is about colonization and its transformative competing power on local subjects. Part of the colonialists' political success abroad is their attempt to intervene culturally by spreading Western values in order to eradicate or awaken the colonized subjects' national memory. In agreement with the previous study, (Labidi 2016) explains that leaving a homeland can lead to a disastrous loss of identity. For this reason, he concentrates on Phillips's fictional method of dealing with the issue of slavery and forced migration. He claims that memory is used in the novel as a tool to resist forgetting unrecorded history concerning slavery and colonization in national and cross-national contexts. Alongside (Bonnici's 2006) sociocultural dimension of the European slave trade in Africa, (Labidi 2016) views it as a capitalistic enterprise. In fact, as depicted by Phillips, the African slaves in diasporic spaces were put on auction blocks, sold and then taken away from one place to another. It is assumed that with this intense and disruptive journeying experience, exilic and dislocated identities are created. This is to say, under slavery, it is possible to inherit a restless vision of life. Therefore, to move forward and backwards in time and space is, as referred to by Labidi, the definition of diasporic identity.

In terms of identity formation, (Stefanova 2020) claims that the multicultural settings in *Crossing the River* are created by Phillips to challenge the idea of the nation as an ethnically fixed community. Therefore, by mixing together Western and non-Western voices in global contexts, the novel presents a fragmented narrative structure. Moreover, she points out that this fragmentation is created by Phillips to reflect and parallel the fractured and displaced living conditions imposed on the African diaspora due to slavery and forced migration. For this reason, by focusing on the psychological effect of slavery on the African diaspora, (Bentley 2017) defines *Crossing the River* as a postcolonial trauma novel. In fact, the exploitive economic, social and political practices slavery imposes on its subjects are, to a greater degree, psychologically damaging. This is to say, treating humans as commodities is one of the deriving causes behind experiencing psychological breakdowns. As a slave, the father had no choice but to sell his children. For this reason, the father is presented lamenting himself as a response to the haunting presence of this severe memory. In the case of trauma victims, it is found that repetition, either in behavior or speech, is an obvious symptom of trauma. In the novel, Bentley clarifies that this repetition appears as a haunting traumatic memory, which reflects the colonial project's inhumanly oppressive power. More on trauma memory, (Gonel 2011) asserts that the issue of racial oppression is color-centred. Drawing on Stef Craps's *Postcolonial Witnessing* (2013), she contends that it is important to create a link between postcolonial and trauma studies in order to hear and listen to the oppressed racial others who are intentionally silenced by the Western discourse.

Kehinde (2009) analyzes the novel's hybrid narrative structure in order to show the huge impact slavery has left on the African diaspora. He explains that Phillips creates a unique dialogic frame, which involves a mixture of nationalities, cultures, epochs, genres and ages. In doing so, Phillips constructs a fragmentary image of the diaspora abroad, which in turn creates dislocated identities as well. In agreement with the pervious study, (Di Maio 2000) stresses the fact that Phillips's attempt to activate the memory of the Atlantic slave trade and its multiple geographical crossings beyond national borders is to rewrite the untold damaging story of slavery by the Western discourse. Furthermore, (Cvijanović 2015) claims that memory and rememoration are presented by Phillips as crucial instruments for the retrieval of pre-colonial subjects' lost, denied or marginalized histories in the global historical records. Therefore, it is possible to say that memory can help us to establish a strong link with one's past. Moreover, in the case of Africans' forced migration, as it is a common feature in all of Phillips's fiction, memory-work is seen as an effective tool for preserving one's cultural and national identity as well as recording factual elements about one's lost history. More importantly, in *Crossing the River*, the process of returning back to the past helps many characters escape the harsh reality of leaving their homeland.

In a similar fashion, as *Small Island* (2004) moves forward and backward between Britain and Jamaica, more particularly during and after WWII, (Ellis 2012) concentrates on the effect of this multicultural colonial encounter on the Afro-Caribbean diaspora characters in Britain and its connection to identity formation. She describes post-war Britain as an important historical period in shaping the British collective consciousness and attitude towards non-Western migrants. This encounter between both communities helps in increasing the native's knowledge about the racial other and constructs a shared cultural memory. As an example, (Graham 2013) concentrates on analyzing one of the important historical sites in Levy's novel, which is the Empire Exhibition in London. In this place, Andrea Levy presents valuable objects and real figures that belong to Britain's colonies. By doing so, Graham describes such a site of memory as a bitter reminder of the British government's hegemonic colonial rule in its former colonies. Moreover, by including real people as objects to be looked at in the exhibition, Levy attempts to challenge essential Western ideologies concerning the racial other, such as the African man who speaks the English language fluently with the visitors. On the other side, it is argued that the Exhibition is used as a proof and confrontational tool against Eurocentric mentalities who intentionally neglect their colonial past.

Andermahr (2019) believes that nations' cultural memory can operate as a powerful historical record. Moreover, through narratives of cultural memory, an attempt can be made to define their mental and psychological health. Therefore, revisiting the war's historical record allows Levy to share crucial facts concerning the political involvement of Black Jamaicans as active warriors for the British Empire. By drawing on Stef Crape's insights in *Postcolonial Witnessing* (2013), Andermahr agrees with the fact that trauma theory, as a Western production, has failed to recognize the traumatic impact of slavery, racial oppression and colonization on non-Western subjects. As an example, in *Small Island,* the traumatizing problem that affects the Afro-Caribbean military servicemen in Britain is racism. The dehumanizing look those worriers receive from people they have served in brutal wars to ensure their safety and political prosperity is put under question by Levy. In the case of Gilbert Joseph, a Jamaican solider in the British Army, he discovers after returning to Britain the hypocrite nature of the British political system he has been working for. This hypocrisy is represented through the natives' racist attitude towards him, which manifests, as Andermahr puts it, an intentional disappearance of the Caribbean's war efforts from the British public memory. Moreover, (Laursen 2012) agrees with the previous study that racism is the reason behind the exclusion of the Caribbean community as colonial subjects from the British history record. For this reason, he argues that Britain's multicultural reality encourages Levy to rewrite the traumatic history of the Caribbean community in Britain due to the loss of "commemorative and narrative traditions" caused by migration (1). In this manner, Levy's revival of traumatic cultural memories, as Laursen claims, is portrayed in a storytelling form in order to show that literature can reflect or pass on historical events. Through employing a non-linear narrative structure, Levy presents each character with a distinctive voice and a traumatic story to tell. In this perception, Laursen introduces Hirsch's notion of *postmemory*, which is associated with the belated impact of witnessing a traumatic memory. In doing so, she defines the migrants' attempts to reimagine their past memories and presents them in a story form as the belated impact of trauma.

In postcolonial studies, reimagining the colonized past is seen as an essential step towards rejecting or correcting false Western assumptions. In addition, this process may offer new details beyond that of the established historical records worldwide. In this sense, Marquis (2012) suggests that Levy's inclination to revive past memories is to reclaim the Caribbean diaspora's lost sense of identity, history and community due to colonization. By doing so, the author attempts to represent history as a lived experience and, more importantly, to participate in working through the trauma of the British invasion of Jamaica. As the novel has a hybrid narrative structure, Levy combines the Caribbean immigrants' voices with the British people to highlight moments of contact and collision and to bear witness to the multicultural image such encounter creates in Britain. According to (Fernández 2009), this ethnically diverse space is created by Levy to redefine post-war London in accordance with its hybrid social structure. By doing so, she contests and challenges a hegemonic national view of London. In addition, each character negotiates and redefines his/her sense of belonging and identity after interacting and collaborating with the racial other. This is clearly evident with immigrants who imagine Britain as a place of opportunity or the natives who, after many difficult times of multicultural encounters with racial others, accept the presence of black immigrants.

Moreover, Polopoli (2015) explains that writing about shared moments concerning the Afro-Caribbean and British nation, more particularly, the Windrush era generation and the Caribbean subjects' involvement in the Second World War as British defenders, is to participate in deconstructing an exclusive identification of British national identity. By doing so, she reestablishes Britain with a plural multicultural identity. To clarify, in creating a strong connection between racially different communities, in other words, between the colonized and the colonizer, diasporic objects and national subjects in Britain, is to confirm that all these histories should be an integral part of British national identity. In conclusion, Polopoli confirms that *Small Island's* transnational and transcultural approach is constructed to question a hegemonic view regarding British history and British national identity. In a similar fashion, Nunziata (2020) investigates Andrea Levy's representation of Britain as a multicultural space and how she fictionalizes the relationship between postcolonial subjects in London. The establishment of a multicultural narrative mood is to revive forgotten histories and stories about Caribbean migrants in London as well as criticize Britain's hegemonic views and visions concerning nationhood and cultural identity. However, as Nunziata believes, this collaboration also reveals unexpected outcomes in which the Caribbean migrants' idealized memory of Britain juxtaposes with the harsh reality there. The idea the British transmit about their superiority, which derives the Afro-Caribbean immigrants to form an appealing image of postwar London, is propagated to serve their political agenda. In this study, Brophy (2010) focuses on the multicultural construction of postwar Britain and its effect on the community. It is understood that the relationship between both communities is subject to complex Eurocentric ideologies, which in turn limits the possibility of creating a connected social space. Moreover, the cultural memory that dominates each race, European or Caribbean, reveals different inherited beliefs, which direct their communities accordingly. Interestingly, the Jamaican characters, during moments of contact with the British characters, practice all the civilized manners in which the colonialists have enlightened their colonized subjects within their native land. However, the reality of the British people contradicts these colonial teachings. In fact, as referred to by Brophy, these cultural differences create communication issues among the British and Jamaican characters.

It is these discursive issues that derive Perfect (2010) to read Levy's *Small Island* from a postcolonial perspective. Moreover, this way of reading is seen as a chance to explore hidden or uncovered historical facts concerning the British colonial rule and its aftermath in Jamaica. The novel's polyphonic narrative structure presents racial misconceptions and moments of conflicts and tensions between local and foreign characters, more particularly after the arrival of the Windrush generation. Furthermore, writing about the Afro-Caribbean servicemen and their participation in the Second World War as part of the British military forces is to revive their forgotten memory in European historical and fictional records. As an example, the novel makes a connection between two war soldiers who fought in different places, but all are working under the British government's name, the British Bernard Bligh and the Jamaican Gilbert Joseph in London. In fact, their image together can be viewed as a reminder of the Caribbean men's role in the war, which is, unfortunately, met by neglect and racist descriptions. More than that, Perfect believes that such raciest descriptions would indicate that the British people are intentionally forgetting important facts concerning their colonial and imperial history worldwide.

3. Methodology

Drawing on the concept of collective memory, as theorized by Maurice Halbwachs in his seminal work *On Collective Memory*, the current study seeks to examine how individuals in diasporic group contexts recall their shared aspects of the past. In other words, through memory, we can have the opportunity to trace the historical development of the African and Afro-Caribbean diaspora communities before and after voyaging out from their original homelands to multiple dwellings in the New World. Moreover, it is important to view the diaspora collective memories as representations of collective mentalities, which constitute a shared network of past experiences. As stated by Halbwachs, "no memory is possible outside frameworks used by people living in society to determine and retrieve their recollections" (43). In this sense, the process of remembering can be characterized as an imaginative reconstruction act through which shared images of the past become integrated into a particular present context. More importantly, it is individuals who remember the past, not groups or institutions, but as those individuals are part of a specific group, they would draw on that social context to remember or recreate a common past. At this stage, the collective framework of memory would then be the result of individual recollections of many members in the same social context.

Therefore, the collective framework of memory is the social environment of the people around us, which is an indispensable prerequisite for every act of recollection. To understand how individual memory is part or an aspect of group memory, Halbwachs maintains that "there exists a collective memory and social frameworks for memory; it is to the degree that our individual thought places itself in these frameworks and participates in this memory that it is capable of the act of recollection" (Halbwachs 38). In that sense, to locate a group collective memory, one must observe individual acts of remembering within the same social circle because, for Halbwachs, "each memory is a viewpoint on the collective memory" (Halbwachs 48).

Moreover, through diasporic narratives of collective memory, we can have the opportunity to comprehend the effect of drastic sociopolitical changes that emerge at moments of transition, such as migration, border crossing, poverty, wars, colonization, slavery and racism. At this point, Aleida Assmann and Linda Shortt's description of memory as an agent of change in *Memory and Political Change* provides a useful explanation concerning memory work during periods of political transition. It is believed that this change can enforce "an abrupt reorganization of memory by ushering in a new value system" (7). In other words, it is expected that nations under such unprecedented sociopolitical situations restructure their vision of the past with new guiding knowledge. In this case, their past memories might experience unprecedented transformations. To put it in another way, the process of working through the legacy of the violent past can make or drive those diasporic nations to choose what memories they should remember, forget, select, exclude or include in their minds. Moreover, focusing on how such diasporic nations reflect their collective memories at moments of transition is an important aspect of understanding how their identities are constructed or deconstructed the moment they remember certain events in their pasts. Regarding sites of memory, this concept is used by the French historian Pierre Nora in a seven-volume collection known as *Realms of Memory* to emphasize that the past can be remembered through particular sites of memory. He calls this process "the acceleration of history", which is "an increasingly rapid slippage of the present into a historical past that is gone for good" (7). Moreover, to him, "the embodiment of memory in certain sites" can establish a strong sense of "historical continuity … because there are no longer milieux de memoire, real environments of memory" (7). In other words, recalling such sites of memory can lead us to actively engage with history. In that sense, they are also referred to as symbolic physical traces "where memory crystallizes and secretes itself" (7). Therefore, what would be the response of such diasporic nations after recalling these sites of memory? What kinds of new meanings would they constantly inherit at various moments of imaginative encounter? In fact, the answer to such a question here will provide us with the real commemorative purposes for which such sites of memory are constructed. At this stage, it is important to analyze the psychological, cultural and political connection between these representative historical traces of memory and individuals in diasporic group contexts. In doing so, a chance can be gained to explore the symbolic value such displays of history would indirectly refer to, as well as clarify why they are specifically chosen as representational sites of memory. Therefore, the current paper will be directed towards using these three concepts to analyze the collective memory of African and Afro-Caribbean diasporic nations and examine how it is constructed or deconstructed beyond their national borders in the novels *Crossing the River* and *Small Island*.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1. The Collective Memory of African Diaspora in America

From the fifteenth and through the nineteenth century, the African continent was presented as a profitable site for agricultural, industrial, or domestic labor forces in the collective memory of European landowners. On a global scale, the disruptive and transformative social impact of slavery and its commercial Atlantic journeys from Africa to the Americas has resulted in huge demographic changes with the arrival of African slaves in the New World. Therefore, it is significant to understand how such an economic venture, which constitutes forced servitude, migration and complete subordination to the will of European slave masters, constructs and deconstructs the collective memory of African diaspora as representative subjects of "movement and mobility" (Baronian et al., 12), in Caryl Phillips's *Crossing the River* (1993). At this point, the concept of collective memory is defined by Jan Assmann and John Czaplicka in their essay "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity" as "a collective concept for all knowledge that directs behavior and experience in the interactive framework of a society and one that obtains through generations in repeated societal practice and initiation" (126). In that sense, exploring Phillips's fictional representation of the European slave trade and its continuous rupturing of human ties through generations is significant to identify socially constructed notions, which control and keep on guiding its major actors of change across time and space. More specifically, this process entails analyzing the collective body of knowledge, which the European slave masters acquired and transmitted among the Atlantic slave trade community in the Western world by various modes of social interaction. Therefore, this part of the study will analyze how the Western slave masters represent the European slave trade ideology in the New World and examine its connection in shaping the collective memory of the African diaspora abroad.

In fact, the African continent, with the arrival of slave-based European vessels from Portugal, England, France and Spain, has turned into a globalized Atlantic space. For that reason, it is estimated that more than fifteen million African slaves had reached the Americas and the Caribbean islands as a consequence of the European slave trade (Rodney 4). More importantly, the process of capturing slaves by European traders was conducted as follows:

> Slavery was virtually always initiated through violence that reduced the status of a person from a condition of freedom and citizenship to a condition of slavery. The most common type of violence has been warfare, in which prisoners were enslaved. Variations in the organization of such violence—including raids whose purpose was to acquire slaves, banditry, and kidnapping—indicate that violent enslavement can be thought of as falling on a continuum from large-scale political action...to small-scale criminal activity, in which enslavement is the sole purpose of the action. Taken together, warfare, slave-raiding, and kidnapping have accounted for the vast majority of new slaves in history. (Lovejoy 3)

Given the brutality associated with the European slave trade practices, it is also vital to point out that, on the African side, local African merchants, kings and leaders had played a key role in shaping the structure of the Atlantic slave trade by selling out their own people in exchange for valuable European goods and money. According to the historian John Thornton in *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1680*, the slave trade practices " should not be seen as an "impact" brought in from outside ... Instead, it grew out of and was rationalized by the African societies who participated in it and had complete control over it until the slaves were loaded onto European ships for transfer to Atlantic societies" (74). This is to say, slavery and the Africans' complicit role in it was part of their social systems and structures.

Therefore, investigating the traumatic effect of the European slave trade on African families is significant to visualize a collective form of remembrance that is generational. This area of investigation will clarify how and why certain traumatic memories are transmitted from one generation to the other. Furthermore, forced migration, as a destructive social phenomenon, is the main cause behind such massive dispersal and mobilization of memories beyond national borders because when "migrants carry their heritage, memories and traumas with them", it is expected that they transfer them and incorporate them into "new social constellations and political contexts" (Assmann and Conrad 2). In this process, it can be said that trauma memories can have the capacity to direct the present behavior of their victims.

In *Crossing the River*, the European slave trade's traumatic presence in Africa is framed by a haunting ghostly image of an eighteenth-century African father who constantly remembers selling his three children, Nash, Martha and Travis, into slavery after his crops have failed. According to Maria Rice Bellamy, "haunting serves primarily as a means of accessing lost or repressed knowledge", especially among people whose history has been devalued in mainstream Western culture (129). To put it differently, we appeal to memory witnesses "to corroborate or invalidate as well as supplement what we somehow know already about an event that in many other details remains obscure" (Halbwachs 22). The novel begins and ends with the African father's voice, who, in the prologue, laments himself for abandoning his children by selling them to a British slave trader known as James Hamilton. In the epilogue, he returns and waits "for two hundred and fifty years ... on the far bank of the river", soon after listening to his displaced children "among the sundry restless voices" of the Atlantic slave trade common traumatic memory of familial rupture, which most of the Africans are subject to experience. In this regard, the traumatized African father, as one of the victims of such past experience, accurately reflects Cathy Caruth's definition of trauma, which consists "in the structure of its experience or reception: the event is not assimilated or experienced fully at the time, but only belatedly, in its repeated possession of the one who experiences it" (Cathy 4-5). The father accomplishes this by re-membering his children's entrance into slavery, in which such an act of abandonment is, to him, a form of parental betrayal.

Furthermore, remembering the past after experiencing traumatic moments of "change and transition" can have a "transformative quality" (Assmann 3). This is clearly evident with the African father's daughter, Martha, who takes us to pre- and post-civil war America. Before the abolition of slavery in 1865, Martha, her husband Lucas, and her daughter Eliza Mae are depicted as victims of a Western, slave-based mercantile system, which places the whole family on an auction block for sale. However, as a witness to the country's new sociopolitical stance towards the racial other, which entails a transition in treatment from autocratic to democratic, she desperately states: "I was free now, but it was difficult to tell what difference being free was making to my life"(Phillips 84). As a result, Martha constantly hears "voices from the past" the moment she remembers that she is "drifting into middle age without a family" (Phillips 79). These voices show how Martha is yearning for familial connection and, at the same time, reflecting the same action of her original father, who constantly hears the voices of his dislocated children across the river. In other words, Martha reflects "the pain of original loss" (Low 136). Moreover, such traumatic memory of familial loss directs her to "rework and reinvent the content of what is being remembered and forgotten" (Baronian et al., 15). In this sense, Martha raises a crucial question that would travel back in time and space to her country of origin, looking for an answer to "*Father, why hast thou forsaken me*?" (Phillips 73) This question accurately reflects how generational traumatic memories are transmitted in collective contexts because "it is in society that people normally acquire their memories" (Halbwachs 38). Moreover, this question demonstrates how social settings play a key role in constructing or deconstructing individuals' memories for the reason that "it is also in society that they recall, recognize, and localize their memories" (Halbwachs 38).

With that point in mind, it is significant enough to deviate and question what effect members in any group would have when representing their shared collective memories as a powerful site of contestation. As Martha's story focuses on the break-up of family ties in an oppressive white community, she eventually decides to run towards the West, especially to California, with "a group of colored pioneers" to start a new life (Phillips 73). More importantly, her choice for such a destination is due in part to the reemergence of some tragic memories that are associated with old places, people, events and feelings, which would make her return back in time to the east:

> Through some atavistic mist, Martha peered back east, beyond Kansas, back beyond her motherhood, her teen years, and her arrival in Virginia, to a smooth white beach where a trembling girl waited with two boys and a man. Standing off a ship. Her journey had been a long one. But now the sun had set. Her course was run. Father, Why hast thou forsaken me? (Phillips 73)

It is clear that Martha's life is characterized by numerous years of intense journeying within and across national borders; as Avtar Brah puts it, "it is [these] contradictions of and between location and dislocation that are a regular feature of diasporic positioning" (201). Thus, such multi-locality would make Martha's memories appear constantly in flux and subject to "permanent evolution…vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation" (Nora 8). More specifically, her second marriage to Chester in Dodge, a Negro storekeeper, encourages her to cut off her relation with the traumatic memories that she has experienced in the east before the emancipation act. The reason behind doing this, as she states, has to do with the fact that "for ten long years, this man has made me happy. For ten long years, this man has made me forget" (Phillips 84). Interestingly, with Chester, as a colored property owner, she retains her lost freedom and subjectivity; however, his urgent calling to be treated equally in society, unfortunately, brings about his tragic death. At this moment, remembering again her past in the East with all its wounding injuries manifests itself after witnessing Chester's brutal death by white frontiersmen. Therefore, as a victim of familial loss, displacement and rootlessness, which are part of the enslaved Africans' cultural heritage, Martha would immediately modify, challenge or replace such oppressive history with a new one. The remaking of history starts when she opts to "materialize the immaterial" (Nora 19), which is the moment when she imagines meeting her daughter in the West. Also, Martha pictures Eliza Mae as a beautiful woman, married to a schoolteacher, and the mother of three children. Therefore, the West, as an imaginary site of memory, becomes Martha's new destination towards community-building.

Moreover, every group in society reflects the collective memory of its own past in a way that highlights its unique collective identity. In this process, the group members can be represented as the main carriers of common conceptions, feelings, ideas and, more importantly, memories. For Halbwachs, this connectivity among group members has a distinctive social value. In terms of memory retrieval processes, he describes such connectivity as follows: "When I remember, it is others who spur me on; their memory comes to the aid of mine, and mine relies on theirs" (38). To clarify this point, it is possible to say that the individual remembers his/her shared past with a certain group by placing him/herself "in the perspective of the group"; in other words, "the memory of the group realizes and manifests itself in individual memories" (40). In *Crossing the River*, the American slave masters' non-objective collective consciousness about the African community is directed by a political vision which seeks to assert their superiority and civility. In their views, the experiment of preaching Christianity and the Christian god as the only true one among African natives is significant to eradicate all which resembles the African culture. Such hegemonic Christian memory has resulted in sending back slaves to their African homelands in order "to fuse into their [fellow Africans'] souls the values of American civilization with which their good masters labored to anoint them" (Phillips 31).

In the case of repatriated slave Nash, the process of placing himself in the collective framework of that Christian memory has led him to establish a mission school in Liberia. Therefore, after "having undergone a rigorous program of Christian education" in

America, Nash reenacts the Western tutelage by teaching unlettered heathens how to write and read "in the Bible, in arithmetic, and in geography." (Phillips 13-15). Interestingly, remembering his previous past life in "America...a land of milk and honey" (Phillips 25) triggers him to mimic and reflect the West's superior nature towards his fellow African natives, meanwhile constructing his Christian settlement. It can be said that the American civilized life, as a site of memory, has a "performative process", which depends mostly on "re-articulations and re-enactments" (Baronian et al. 12). In other words, Nash's diasporic memory encourages him to re-articulate and re-enact the Western hegemonic mentality of master-slave relationship, "which marks out the superiority of the American life over the African" (Phillips 27). More importantly, Nash's diasporic memory becomes active the moment he writes letters about the natives' "crude dialect", superstitious religious beliefs, and barbaric heathen spirit to his former master Edward William, which forces him to encounter a devastating kind of "cultural estrangement" (Phillips 8). In these letters, Nash creates "patterns of attachment across time and space" (Baronian et al. 12). This is to say, the language he uses to describe his situation before and after returning back to Africa reflects, to a greater degree, "his colonial mindset" (Low 133).

Therefore, we can describe all the presented traumatic experiences of slavery and its aftermath within and across the African continent as evidence of a major actor of change, which is the West's radical collective memory of the slave trade. In the end, we can describe Caryl Phillips's fictional representation of the Atlantic Ocean as a natural site of memory, to the slave trade tragic routes of forced migration. In doing so, he attempts "to make a connection between the African world which was left behind and the diasporan world which people had entered once they crossed the water" (Davison 93). Moreover, this aspect manifests Phillips's conviction concerning the scattered African diaspora and their decedents in the New World, which is their impossible return to Africa. As expressed by the African father, "there are no paths in water. No signposts. There is no return" (Phillips 1-2). To clarify this aspect, in *Crossing the River*, the African father remains permanently separated from his children, who are unable to hear his calling across the river and return because they are found in many locations and temporalities.

4.2. The Collective Memory of Afro-Caribbean Diaspora in Britain

> I did not dare to dream that it would one day be I who would go to England. It would one day be I who would sail on a ship as big as a world and feel the sun's heat on my face gradually change from roasting to caressing. But there was I! Standing at the door of a house in London and ringing the bell. (Hortense; Levy 9)

Revisiting the Afro-Caribbean Windrush generation's colonial history in Jamaica, more particularly after the Second World War, is significant for understanding why their voluntary migratory movement to Britain in 1948 is about moving from marginality to centrality in their collective Caribbean consciousness. This is to confirm that "in remembering, one could locate beginnings and trace developments" (Hutton 20). This process is also an opportunity to state how such a multicultural environment is recalled by both communities. In this sense, one should not interpret the meaning of individual memories in each community apart from their social frameworks. The latter point is introduced to emphasize that "the collective framework of memory would then be only the result, or sum, or combination of individual recollections of many members of the same society" (Halbwachs 39). Therefore, this part of the study will analyze how the reproduction process of collective memories for both the Jamaican and British communities takes the form of either preserving or questioning their shared multicultural past experiences.

In this context, Andrea Levy, the London-based writer of Jamaican origins, attempts to envision the story of the Afro-Caribbean Windrush generation as part of the British collective memory to deconstruct racially hegemonic configurations of British national identity in her novel *Small Island* (2004). In that sense, Stuart Hall argues that "national identities are not things we are born with, but are formed and transformed within and in relation to [cultural] representation[s]" (292). Therefore, to deconstruct the English exclusive cultural representations of nationhood, Levy employs a specific "narrative strategy", defined as "counter-narratives of the nation that continually evoke and erase its totalizing boundaries — both actual and conceptual — [and that] disturb those ideological manoeuvres through which 'imagined communities' are given essentialist identities" (Bhabha 292-300). This is to say, such strategy offers Levy a chance to counter Eurocentric narratives in order to visualize the Windrush immigrants' inextricable connection to the development of the British nation.

Historically speaking, it all begins with the Empire's need for and utilization of Caribbean men as British soldiers in the Second World War. For that reason, Paul Rich claims that "the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 ushered in the beginnings of a new era in British race relations" (145). But with the end of this war in 1945, the British government issued the Nationality Act in 1948 to reduce post-war labor shortages. The Nationality Act considers the citizens of the government's colonies as British subjects. In other words, they can work and settle in the UK with their families to rebuild the country after the war. As a result, the arrival of the Empire Windrush ship "at Tilbury on 22 June 1948, with 492 Caribbean migrants aboard seeking a new life in London" (McLeod 24), has often been considered a landmark event and a primary cause behind the construction of present day multicultural British community.

In *Small Island*, the Jamaican Windrush immigrants' shared collective consciousness portrays Britain, the Mother Country, as a new site of identity renewal, more specifically, in terms of living through or acquiring decent and productive life opportunities. The fact that later on proves contradictory about starting a new life there, disseminated by colonial propaganda, is that they are equal to the British citizens and not second class subjects of Britain's colonial rule. Each of the Jamaican immigrants, represented by the couple Gilbert and Hortense, share the same background of colonial education. Therefore, it is important to concentrate on British colonial education in Jamaica for its effective pedagogical role as a disseminator of colonial ideologies. According to Ashcroft et al., colonial education is "a conquest of another kind of territory—it is the foundation of colonialist power and consolidates this power through legal and administrative apparatuses" (425). In other words, the British methods and agents of mental control are found in their colonial school systems to extend their power and domination over the colonized Jamaican community. Moreover, the content of the materials used by the British is taught to reflect the idea that they are superior in all sectors of life. For this reason, Ashcroft et al. assert that the European colonial education "whether state or missionary, primary or secondary (and later tertiary) was a massive cannon in the artillery of empire" (425).

As a result, the colonial education hegemonic representation of the British culture manifests itself in Gilbert and Hortense's thoughts and actions. For Gilbert, the British have taught him to revere the Mother Country: "this relation is so dear a kin that she is known as Mother" (Levy 139). With this imaginary filial bond, Gilbert decides to join the Royal Air Forces and fight for the safety of Britain in WWII. He believes that this experience would grant him the pleasure to feel, think and act as a patriotic British citizen. However, for Hortense, such an educational system has negatively shaped her mentality. Together, her light skin, the "colour of warm honey" (Levy 38), and simple English language drive Hortense to view herself as superior to other darker-skinned Caribbean individuals. Especially towards those who could neither read nor write proper English as the natives. "My recitation of 'Ode to a Nightingale' had earned me a merit star and the honour of ringing the school bell for a week" (Levy 13). At this stage, it is suitable to define the couple's collective colonial memory as "an elaborate network of social mores, values, and ideas that marks out the dimensions of [their] imaginations according to the attitudes of the social groups to which [they] relate." (Hutton 78) For both couples, such acquired colonial ideologies motivate them to consider migration to the Mother Country as a constructive step towards unveiling their deep and strong sense of Britishness.

Furthermore, the British culture reinforces Hortense to reenact the acquired content of her colonial school among her community as if she were a master rather than a subject of British colonialism. To clarify, Hortense's English language drives her to expose her colonial mindset in a moment of contact and collision with her grandmother, Miss Jewel. She says: "I told her, you should learn to speak properly as the King of England does. Not in this rough country way" (Levy 36). For Hortense, the English culture is a source of strength, respect and prosperity. For this reason, she decides to join the teacher-training college in the Jamaican capital, Kingston, to practice and later teach "the perfect English diction spoken by the King" (Levy 52). Interestingly, the idealized and superior memory of the Mother Country and its nation manifests itself in the way she wishes her native students to provide her with the same treatment female British teachers receive in the Caribbean society:

> I hungered to make those children regard me with as high an opinion as I had for the principal and tutors at my college. Those white women whose superiority encircled them like an aureole could quieten any raucous gathering by just placing a finger on a lip. Their formal elocution, their eminent intelligence, and their imperial demeanour demanded and received obedience from all who beheld them. (Levy 57)

Hortense's endorsement of the white teachers' imperial demeanour is the result of Eurocentric ideologies disseminated by the British colonial pedagogy. Therefore, she confirms that her intention to learn and teach the English language is because of an actively stimulating imaginary vision, which entails representing herself in a respectable position of power within the British community.

On a global scale, the process of moving around different Western geographies, relations, and cultures during the Second World War negatively shaped Gilbert's memory of his homeland, Jamaica. In his eyes, the Western world is "bigger than any dream you can conjure" with its massive technological, architectural, political and economic advancements (Levy 172). More specifically, in remembering the images he stores within his mind about the Mother Country, which pervade in all his "family albums" with "many valorous stories told of her", Gilbert sees Jamaica as a "small island":

> With alarm, I became aware that the island of Jamaica was no universe: it ran only a few miles before it fell into the sea. At that moment, standing tall on Kingston harbour, I was shocked by the awful realisation that, man, we Jamaicans are all small islanders too! (Levy 116-196)

To put it in another way, after the war, Gilbert sees himself restricted by the unpromising and underdeveloped environment in Jamaica; it is like going back to "the dark ages" (Levy 201). Therefore, it is possible to consider Gilbert's Eurocentric motifs as the main reason behind the construction of his unstable diasporic consciousness, which travels within and beyond the conflicting boundaries of nation-state memories. To clarify, such a comparative aspect reaches its peak when he observes that there are many people around him who are "queuing up for passport" to leave Jamaica because "there is opportunity ripe out there" in the Western world (Levy 171-2). For that reason, Gilbert embarks upon the project of revisiting the memory of his war years, which drives him to re-evaluate his native land.

On the other side, the novel also embarks on another journey of self-discovery, which manifests how the British colonial memory, as part of the nation's public heritage, reflects dominant Eurocentric cultural ideologies. In other words, the attempt of the English character, Queenie, to re-imagine, in a classroom context, her journey to the British Empire Exhibition with the family and their servants, Graham and Emily, reveals dialectic social constructs about the racial other. This is clearly evident in the way Queenie describes her community's reactions toward unfamiliar indigenous displays:

> India was full of women brightly dressed in strange, long, colourful fabrics. All of these women had red dots in the middle of their foreheads. No one could tell me what the dots were for. "Go and ask one of them," Emily said to me. But mother said I shouldn't in case the dots meant they were ill—in case they were contagious. (Levy 4)

At this stage, the Indian women fall subject to the mother's degrading colonial gaze towards cultural differences, which makes Queenie feel threatened among them; for this reason, she chooses to remain at a safe distance. Furthermore, Queenie recalls the moment when she and her servants "got lost in Africa ... then we found ourselves in an African village ... we were in the jungle" (Levy 5). There, Queenie sees an African woman in a hut on a dirt floor, about whom Graham comments: "She can't understand what I'm saying ... they're not civilised. They only understand drums" (Levy 5). As Anna Grmelová puts it, Levy shows us this scene to define "a shared history of colonialism and to anticipate some of the crude racial stereotypes ... which await the hybrid Jamaican couple in London later on" (78). Therefore, it is important to consider the visitors' reactions during various moments of multicultural encounter as a materialized embodiment of, or a mnemonic reference to, a troubling history of colonial objectification based on race, gender and class.

Moreover, as a "storehouse" of indigenous cultural remains, a powerful sense of "historical continuity persists" with the Empire Exhibition's reliance on "the materiality of the trace, the immediacy of the recording, the visibility of the image" (Nora 7-13). This aspect provides its visitors with a space to recreate their collective memories about the British colonial power across the world. To clarify, in this place, Queenie encounters "the different woods of Burma...the big-game trophies of Malaya ... the coffee of Jamaica, the sugar of Barbados... the chocolate of Grenada" and the green apples of Australia (Levy 3). Through these objects on display, Levy shows us the reality of colonial domination as a "museum exhibit of past glories" (Woodcock 51), which entails a celebration of the British Empire's profitable exploitive politics in its former colonies. According to Shane Graham, the Empire Exhibition scene is used by levy "to enshrine in the collective memory of British citizens a particular, museum-like vision of Britain's history with its colonies" (1). In this context, it is possible to say that museums, as tangible sites of memories, have a commitment not only to collect, preserve and document concrete evidence of the past but also to add new content to the existing knowledge of their visitors.

Furthermore, the British characters' engagement with their colonial history illustrates levy's explicit "politicization of memory" (Radstone and Schwarz 2). To clarify, "the politicization of memory is to a degree driven by the sufferings attendant upon the making of the modern, globalized world, encompassing instances where memory, as a site of social practice, has intensified." (Radstone and Schwarz 3) In terms of forced migration, the Empire Exhibition, as a representation of real displaced entities, "undermines the tightly ordered fixity of the museum display" (Graham 1). In other words, Levy attempts to deconstruct essential frames of cultural artifacts, which can be seen as an effective opportunity to create a connection between memory, history and politics. As a product of an imperial ideology that presented the British as superior to the world, Queenie, inside the African village, was surprised by the unfamiliar representation of the racial other. This is to say, her memory of an African man's excellent English language and polite demeanor after shaking his "warm and slightly sweaty hand" (Levy 5) constructs, as we shall see in the result part, her open-minded racial attitude towards coloured immigrants.

Now, by drawing on storytelling as a form of narrating oral history for coloured immigrants, Levy offers a counter-memory of Britain's multicultural history; with the arrival of the Windrush couple, Gilbert and Hortense, in London, their storytelling aesthetic functions as a mode of passing on shared memories. In doing so, Levy concentrates on re-narrating the history of the Afro-Caribbean diaspora in Britain, which specifically "point[s] to multiple truths or the overturning of an old received Truth" (Keen 171). This technique in postcolonial literature "can be seen as a theoretical resistance to the mystifying amnesia of the colonial aftermath"

(Gandhi 4). Moreover, it can be said that retelling the Windrush generation's story of migration to Britain is essential to break out the silence surrounding their social presence in Western discourse.

As an example, reintroducing the story of the British community's inability to remember the Jamaican soldiers' efforts in the Second World War for the British Empire will clarify how such an issue has created a complex reality for Britain's post-war immigrants. As a narrator, Gilbert, presumably a member of the British Empire, would consider it inconvincible not to "fly to the Mother Country’s defence when there was a threat" (Levy 118). For this reason, he expects that he would be welcomed in Britain due to his war efforts, but the treatment he receives there contradicts such an imaginary vision:

> So, how many gates I swing open? How many houses I knock on? Let me count the door that opened slow and shut quick without even me breath managing to get inside … If I had been in uniform … would they have seen me different? Would they have thanked me for the sweet victory, shaken my hand and invited me in for tea? Or would I still see that look of quiet horror pass across their smiling face like a cloud before the sun, while polite as nobility they inform me the room has gone? … Man, there was a list of people who would not like it if I came to live—husband, wife, women in the house, neighbours, and hear this, they tell me even little children would be outraged if a coloured man came among them. (Levy 215)

Therefore, Gilbert's unacknowledged or unrecognized victorious allegiance to the Mother Country is inextricably linked to or has its roots in, the invisibility of Jamaica as a country with a distinct culture from the Western collective consciousness. In this context, Gilbert performs a specific act of remomration, which narrates a "haunting memorial of [who and] what has been [intentionally] excluded" from the Western historical records (Bhabha 198). It is possible to say that such an act of remomration helps Levy define how the Western imagination constructs exotic spaces for the other race. To clarify this process, it is, in fact, about making non-Western communities feel like outsiders, culturally unfit to humanity itself and always at the margin. With this rejection, we can say that Gilbert's fascination with the West's advanced reality declares how little he knows about life across the Atlantic.

Furthermore, the British backward colonial gaze towards the Afro-Caribbean community creates mistaken identities due in part to the invisibility of the non-Western world from the British memory processes. This is clearly evident when an English solider describes Jamaica with a new geographical map to Gilbert, "Tommy, tell me nah, where is Jamaica? And hear him reply, Well, dunno. Africa, ain't it?" (Levy 105), reflecting the same mistake when Queenie, as a young girl, describes her memory of visiting the British Empire Exhibition to her classmates as follows: "I went to Africa when it came to Wembley" (Levy 1). Ironically, these random testimonies indirectly bring to mind the mistaken idealized identity of the Mother Country propagated by colonial elites in Jamaica.

Therefore, to contest the British backward colonial gaze towards non-Western minorities in Britain, Levy attempts to reexamine the idealized collective memory of the Mother Country through the perspective of Jamaican couple Gilbert and Hortense. On their arrival in London, both of them were shocked at the country's state that they had admired for a long period of time. In Gilbert's words, the Mother Country proves to be a "filthy tramp...ragged, old and dusty as the long dead ... she offers you no comfort ... No smile. No welcome. Yet she looks down at you through lordly eyes and says 'who the bloody hell are you?'" (Levy 116). Gilbert's response reflects his disappointment towards the Mother Country's reluctance to accept the Caribbean immigrants as part of the British nation. Similarly, Hortense's belief that her academic qualifications will grant her a respectable job in Britain vanishes after being told, "you're not qualified to teach here in England" (Levy 376). As she is taught to speak the perfect English of the king in colonial schools, Hortense finds out that she is unable to communicate clearly with the British in London:

> It took me several attempts at saying the address to the driver of the taxi vehicle before his face lit with recognition. 'I need to be taken to number twenty-one Nevern Street in SW five. Twenty-one Nevern Street. N-e-v-e-r-n S-t-r-e-e-t.' I put on my best accent. An accent that had taken me to the top of the class of Miss Stuart's English pronunciation competition...But still, this taxi driver did not understand me.

Here, levy reflects the process of how language, as a means of communication in a multicultural context, can complicate the connection between foreign nations rather than facilitate it. Therefore, such an issue would make us, as the immigrants themselves, question the validity and reliability of colonial teaching for its misleading methods and ways of persuasion, which subject Gilbert and Hortense to redefine their Caribbean identity and leave Jamaica. "Anyone hearing Gilbert Joseph speak would know without hesitation that this man was not English ... he talked (and walked) in a rough Jamaican way" (Levy 372). At this point, it is possible to describe such Caribbean immigrants as those who are "constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference" (Hall 235).

For that reason, it is important to consider Andrea Levy's fictional representation of the Windrush immigrants' collective memory as an attempt to rewrite their multicultural history in Britain. Moreover, to define their motifs behind leaving their homeland, Jamaica, this means narrating the main aspects, which present Britain as their Mother Country in their collective Caribbean consciousness. As explained before, the idealized image of Britain as a place of opportunity, propagated by colonialism in Jamaica, drove the Windrush immigrants in *Small Island* to question their Caribbean identity. This side is given to emphasize how they are presented as subjects to the Western hegemonic discourse.

4.3. Results

In the context of voluntary or involuntary migration, where the cultures of the dominant majority and vulnerable minority meet and collide, new aspects of belonging emerge as a key operating device in defining the collective memory of the African and Afro-Caribbean diaspora abroad. It all starts with the moment such diasporic communities leave their homelands and cross over new cultural territories in which they become subject to or live through an imaginatively dual web of geographically-based conceptions such as "here and there, homeland and hostland, indigenousness and dispersal", in this sense, it is appropriate to describe such diasporic collective memory as "a site of conflicted meanings" (Fortier 158). This suggests that such contradictions associated with space and memory would create a fragmentary representation of the past. In an essay entitled "Diaspora", James Clifford claims that such terminology has become "loose in the world, for reasons having to do with decolonization, increased immigration, global communications, and transport – a whole range of phenomena that encourage multi-locale attachments, dwelling, and travelling within and across nations" (249). Therefore, in the case of voluntary or forced migration, the disjunction between past and present can make a home seem far-removed in time or space, and only through acts of imagination can it become available for return.

For the diaspora, it is possible to argue that such imagined constructs of homes may occupy fluid or unstable representations in their minds the moment they cross over their national borders. To clarify, in migrating from one country to another, John McLeod, in *Beginning Postcolonialism* claims that "no single location can act as a secure home; instead, the multiple experiences, contacts and cultural affiliations which such people nurture mean that their sense of identity and belonging may be eternally split across two or more locations" (143). Therefore, to exist in a diasporic location, is to live "without or beyond old notions of being at home or securely in place", but, "it is to embrace movement, motion and fragmentariness as key forms of existence and being, instead of stability, rootedness and wholeness" (McLeod 143). For that reason, it is important to view the characters' imaginative constructs of diasporic homes in *Crossing the River* and *Small Island* as a way to claim a secure sense of domestic space.

In *Crossing the River*, Nash's inability to forget his pervious life in his former American master's planation household is the reason behind his mysterious, tragic death in Liberia. Interestingly, the nostalgia evoked by such home memory is inextricably linked to his deep sense of homelessness in Africa, "the beautiful land of my forefathers" (Phillips 18). There, in America, he belongs to the master Edward William's non-blood family in bondage. Moreover, in the guise of a supportive Christian father, Edward William provides Nash with the feeling that he is "something more akin to son than servant" (Phillips 21), especially when he gives all the slaves his English family surname. It is due to Edward's fatherly attitude that Nash starts to indirectly insert the collective memory of the West's planation world order into his African settlement. Therefore, he attempts to organize his farm by following a strict labor regime with his "colored property" (Phillips 20). This is clearly evident in a letter he writes to Edward, "yesterday I moved amongst the natives who labour about my land. They are good workers, although they require a stern and watchful supervision" (Phillips 27). At this stage, it is obvious that Nash's tragic annihilation of his ancestor's African culture is the main reason behind his adoption of the Western hegemonic strategy of master narrative. Moreover, when he requests Edward to send him "good white shirting, shoes, stockings, tobacco, flour, port, mackerels, molasses, sugar … bacon … nails" (Phillips 25), he reflects his wish to develop his farm in a way that matches the U.S. costumes of domestic life administration. Therefore, we can say that Nash's Liberian settlement, as "a place of re-membering", is "a place of collective memory, in which elements of the past are brought together to mould a communal body of belonging" (Fortier 153).

However, the deeper Nash goes into imagining his pervious civilized life in America, "a land of milk and honey" (Phillips 25), the more bitter he accepts the reality of Edward's abandonment. As the issue of setting up a home with Western traces is central to the construction of Nash's diasporic memory, Edward's unknown answer to "*Father, why hast thou forsaken me?*" (Phillips 73) drives Nash to redefine his collective Western identity in native terms. In this regard, "as a mimic man, Nash seems to shift from one set of identifications to another, rather than signifying a double inscription" (Goyal 19). To put it differently, after realizing his non-biological father's abandonment and failure to assist him with enough money and goods in his African religious mission, Nash desperately remarks in a letter he sends to Edward, "Perhaps in this realm of the hereafter you might explain to me why you used me for your purposes and then expelled me to this Liberian paradise" (Phillips 62). As a result, Nash "disappeared from the known world" and "was nowhere to be found" (Phillips 7). As he feels ostracized from the other side of the Atlantic, remembering the American Colonization Society's exploitive repatriation agendas drives Nash, before his mysterious death, to redefine his social status in native terms. Therefore, by "severing the ties to his former 'American' self" (Pichlar 6), Nash chooses to turn native and set up a new home in the interior of "this Liberian paradise" (Phillips 62), reflecting, at the same time, Claude Julien's notion, which states that "home is not where you come from, but where you are" (89).

For Martha, the central element in her Journey from East to West is the imagined home of reunion she constantly visits when dreaming about her sold daughter into slavery, Eliza Mea. Moreover, the recurring domestic image of combing her daughter's matted hair can serve, at this stage, a "mnemonic function" (Gilroy 198) that directs one back to the American planation system where Martha fails to mother her daughter given the structure of slavery and coercive field work. For that reason, Martha could not find the time to suckle this child at the breast, nor did she cradle her in her arms and shower her with enough motherly love (Phillip 77). This condition, under the influence of slavery, shows us how Martha's life is marked by defeated efforts to establish a family home through maternity. As a result, such painful separation between mother and daughter drives Martha to create a transcendent moment of familial reunion across time and space:

> Martha dreamed that she had traveled on west to California ... Once there, she was met by Eliza Mae, who was now a tall, sturdy colored woman of some social standing. Together, they tip-toed their way through the mire of the streets to Eliza Mae’s residence, which stood on a fine, broad avenue. They were greeted by Eliza Mae’s schoolteacher husband and the three children, who were all dressed in their Sunday best, even though this was not Sunday. Martha, feeling old and tired, sat down and wept openly, and in front of her grandchildren. She would not be going any place. She would never again head east. To Kansas. To Virginia. Or to beyond. She had a westward soul which had found its natural-born home in the bosom of her daughter (Phillips 73).

The West, as a site of contestation, identity renewal and survival, provokes in Martha the right to set up a new home and freely live with her family far away from white biases and prejudices. To put it in another way, her fictional representation of the West is, in fact, the essence of a stored memory she deliberately invents to forget about her past miseries. Before, Martha was forced to leave the planation life when her former master died and sold as a property to the Hoffmans family. Later, the family decides to sell her again to finance their trip to California, but this time, she plans to flee away and search for her lost subjectivity, which she finally finds in Locus's home as a wife to a colored property owner. However, with his death by white people, she remembers her scattered family after hearing out again her daughter's voice, "Moma. Moma" (Phillips 74). In this regard, "home becomes an especially unstable and unpredictable mental construct built from the incomplete odds and ends of memory that survive from the past. It exists in a fractured, discontinuous relationship with the present" (McLeod 243). This is to say, her attempt to escape the injustices of slavery in the East, which drives her to live in multiple dwelling places, is the reason behind constructing such a static home image in the West.

In *Small Island*, the imagined construct of secure domestic life in Britain is the driving force behind Hortense's migration journey. Kim Evelyn labels such an image Hortense bears in mind about the interior life in British homes as a "hegemonically constructed colonial image of Britain’s refinement" (60). As a result, her strong attachment to Britain leads her to form an imaginary site of home memory:

> A dining-table in a dining room set with four chairs. A starched tablecloth embroidered with bows. Armchairs in the sitting room placed around a small wood fire. The house is modest—nothing fancy, no show—the kitchen small but with everything I need to prepare meals. We eat rice and peas on Sunday with chicken and corn, but in my English kitchen roast meat with two vegetables and even fish and chips bubble on the stove. My husband fixes the window that sticks and the creaky board on the veranda. I sip hot tea by an open window and look on my neighbors in the adjacent and opposite dwelling. I walk to the shop where I am greeted with manners ... politeness ... and refinement ... a red bus, a cold morning and daffodils blooming with all the colors of the rainbow. (Levy 83)

At this stage, it is possible to consider such an imagined construct of a diasporic home as an example used by Andrea levy to claim a domestic space for the children of empire. In this matter, Levy states, "If Englishness doesn't define me, then redefine Englishness" (Prince 162). Therefore, to pursue her dreams abroad, Hortense constructs a business deal with Gilbert in Jamaica, which states, "I will lend you the money, we will be married, and you can send for me to come to England when you have a place for me to live" (Levy 82). Once she is there, she discovers that the memory of a modest home is, in reality, a small shabby room with "dark brown walls", "a broken chair", "a window with torn curtain", and "a crack in the ceiling"; moreover, part of the room is equipped with "a sink in the corner" and a "gas-ring" for cooking (levy 16- 24). Consequently, such reality drives Hortense to replace the imaginative representation of her modest future home with the pitiful architectural memory-image of "jagged black lines of cracking" that are everywhere in the room (Levy 186). This process would show us how memory is dynamic and subject to continuous reformulations.

Moreover, Levy’s homemaking processes in post-war London target specifically the British collective consciousness in order to depict the white and black communities' disastrous racial divide. Gilbert and Hortense's face to face encounter with the biased attitude and mentality of the English society reaches its peak when Queenie rents them a room in her husband's house, the RAF solider, Bernard, who with much arrogance defines himself as "an Englishman ... a civilised man" (Levy 330), "proud to belong to a civilisation" (Levy 300). In fact, the emergence of the colured immigrants in Britain is recognized by the British as "an illegitimate intrusion into a vision of authentic British life that, prior to their arrival, was as stable and peaceful as it was ethnically undifferentiated" (Gilroy 7). After his return from the British colony in India, Bernard recalls feeling severely estranged by the threatening presence of colured immigrants in his house: "I fought a war to protect home and hearth. Not about to be invaded by stealth" (Levy 390). As Queenie's neighbor, Mr Todd, whose actions and thoughts were directed by irrational fears and worries: "I was to watch out, keep my door locked" (Levy 97), claiming that such coloured community "would turn the area into a jungle" if they were allowed to receive equal treatment (Levy 95). Obviously, it is clear that Bernard and Mr. Todd's racist attitudes toward the racial other reflect their objection to any form of cultural cooperation between both races.

Therefore, the image of domestic space in London as a private sanctuary for an intimate connection between the 'Mother Country' and its children of the Empire proves ironical and contradictory. This is to confirm that the relationship of the Afro-Caribbean immigrants to the white working-class world of Britain is often dominated by Eurocentric ideologies of race, class and gender. These three aspects have tragically shaped or represented their shared multicultural memory in London. To clarify, Gilbert and Hortense's room in Bernard's home depicts "an interracial conflict for legitimate control and appropriation" (Duboin 18). Here, Levy illustrates the paradox of belonging and unbelonging with Bernard's racially biased views towards "domestic exclusivity" (Evelyn 67):

> My house, and I’ve a key to every room ... It was [their] privacy [Gilbert] started ranting about next. Said he paid rent therefore he deserved—yes, deserved—privacy ... What he deserved was to be thrown on to the street. Him and all the other ungrateful swine. He came towards me then. Eyes bulging like a savage’s ...‘You’re going to have to leave ... now I’m back and we intend to live respectably again’ (Levy 389-390)

Bernard's radical conceptualization of British nationalism gives him the right to exoticized foreign cultures. Therefore, he indirectly presents Britain as a "small island" because it contradicts the principles of multicultural conviviality and unity. For example, Gilbert and Hortense's room, as a tangible site of power relations, encourages Bernard to unreasonably break their privacy because he is the owner of the place. As a result, the Jamaican couple decides to find accommodation in another place where they feel welcomed and appreciated.

To conclude, we can describe all the presented physical examples of homes for the African and Afro-Caribbean diaspora characters in *Crossing the River* and *Small Island* as a consequence of imaginative operations that they have followed to reach domestic instability and security abroad. However, such imaginative operations, whether conducted under the influence of voluntary or involuntary migration, reveal that both diasporic communities share fluid senses of belonging and place. This is to say that the experience of moving from one country to another drives such communities to encounter multiple dwellings due to racial and ethnic issues.

5. Conclusion

This study explores the construction and reconstruction of collective memory in two distinct diasporic groups in *Crossing the River* by Caryl Phillips and *Small Island* by Andrea Levy. The former literary text introduces the relocated African diaspora in the U.S. by forced migration, while the latter introduces the relocated Afro-Caribbean diaspora in the UK by voluntary migration. As explained before, the aspect of collective memory here reflects narratives of past experiences which are part of specific diasporic groups in multicultural contexts. Moreover, through memory processes, such narratives may reflect aspects they acquire from various past experiences, which they share with other individuals in the same social context. At this stage, the chosen literary texts present each diasporic group's collective memory as evidence of national and cross-national historical stories. This is to say, through individual testimony, we, as readers, become introduced to crucial sites of memory in the history of the African and Afro-Caribbean diaspora.

Moreover, this study attempts to create an explicit connection between memory and history by examining the effect of slavery, racism and colonization on the collective memory of the African and Afro-Caribbean diaspora groups abroad. Here, the Western mentalities tend to operate in a hegemonically destructive way to reflect their superiority and civility over the oppressed other across time and space. Furthermore, ethnically biased Western institutions that support and practice such ideologies exist to propagate their dialectic representations of the "imagined communities" (Anderson 1983) they seek to create or recreate in order to serve their political agendas. As a result, such a process destabilizes the diaspora communities' collective memories with a new belief system, which forces them to encounter devastating realities after migration. For the African diaspora, Nash and Martha, the issue of forced migration, as a consequence of the European slave trade, makes the process of returning to their life in the past something unachievable because all their attempts in doing so had ended in being found dead. While the issue of voluntary migration, for the Jamaican diaspora, Gilbert and Hortense, drives them to continue searching for their lost subjectivity and freedom in the New World due to racial and ethnic oppression. As a suggestion, it would be effective to create a comparison between both diasporic communities in terms of analyzing what they have intentionally forgotten from their past using space theories to understand how they perceive the world around them after migration. In this study, this area of investigation receives little attention due to time limitations.

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