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The Discursive Production of the Pacific In Australian Colonial Discourse

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the
degree

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Wollongong

by

Michael Hayes, B.A. Hons, M.A.

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This thesis is all my own work and has not been submitted for a degree to any other institution or university.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'M Hayes', with a long, sweeping underline.

Michael Hayes
23-2-97.

Abstract

The Discursive Production of the Pacific in Australian Colonial Discourse.

The thesis examines the genealogy of Australian colonialism in the Pacific by examining the production of 'the Pacific' as an object of knowledge in a variety of texts, disciplines, and practices. In arguing for an Australian colonial discourse I propose a distinct Australian formation of colonialism, informed by particular systems of knowledges, concepts, and institutions, which function in agreement with discourses of nation. The primary areas of research for this thesis are adventure narratives, tourism, and academic study. The discursive production of the Pacific is validated by the Romantic concept of 'imagination,' which positions the west as able to intervene, and represent by 'imagining,' Pacific Islander cultures and terrains. Imagination is used in discourses of Pacific history to justify the construction of Pacific Islanders past by western academic discourses. I examine the institutional network in which Pacific history and anthropology are articulated by discussing the first school of Pacific history at the Australian National University. The historical context of the stereotypes of the cannibal Pacific Islander man and sexualised woman, particularly the complicity of the university in reproducing these stereotypes, is discussed. Finally, I turn to the tourist industry to examine Australian colonialism as a discursive practice. The economies and administration of colonialism can be introduced by regulating the activities, sights, and relationships with Pacific Islanders of the Australian tourist. Importantly, I argue that Australian colonial discourse is a contemporary discourse which is currently active in areas such as tourism and academic research.

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My greatest support has come from my partner, Anna Hayes, who has been able to offer advice on everything from page layouts to historiography. Anna has always been encouraging no matter what the circumstances, and to her I owe the greatest acknowledgment.

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Introduction:

The Discursive Production of the Pacific in Australian Colonial Discourse.

In a review for a book of photographs of New Guinea, *Where Masks Still Dance: New Guinea*, Susan Cochrane writes on what, for her, are the current difficulties of praising such a project. "Since its entanglement with postmodern theory," Cochrane writes in the opening sentence, "the reviewing of photographs has become fraught, especially the critique of so-called 'ethnographic photography'."¹ Later Cochrane voices her second criticism: "Contrary to popular opinion, the 'subjects' in the photographs are usually willing participants." What has drawn my attention to this article, and prompted me to introduce this academic thesis with a book review, is Cochrane's conflation and simplification of contemporary criticisms of colonial practice in Australia to the disquieting grumbles by 'postmodernists' and 'popular opinion.' Cochrane's review seeks to reposition representations of Pacific Islanders and Papua New Guineans outside colonial discourse by initiating a new opposition between what she sees as legitimate representations and the opposing critical force which may be termed 'political correctness.' This thesis, which examines the discursive production of 'the Pacific' in Australian colonial discourse, does criticise 'ethnographic photography'; it also examines the politics of the representation of Pacific Islanders, and the agency of Pacific Islanders in this system. I realise that using the term 'the Pacific' is problematic for I am reproducing the homogenisation of Pacific Island identities, nations and cultures articulated in colonial discourse. While I

¹ Susan Cochrane, "Black and White Ambassadors," rev. of *Where Masks Still Dance: New Guinea*, by Chris Rainier, *The Australian's Review of Books* Nov. 1996, 28.

want to interrogate the procedures which make this generalisation possible, this does not absolve my position, and this thesis's argument, from the practice of exercising knowledge as a power to comprehend and contain indigenous subjects - in this specific instance, Pacific Islanders - as subordinate to western reason. The theoretical location of my position is taken from the work of Joseph Pugliese who traces the (im)possibility of a decolonising practice for western academics,² for my attempt to devalue the authority and power of Australian colonial discourse simultaneously functions within this discourse.

It is in the environment of an increasing hostility to these criticisms, put broadly under the misnomer 'political correctness,' that I wish to address the continuing legacy of colonialism in histories of the Pacific. In calling examinations of colonial legacy 'popular opinion' or 'postmodern,' Cochrane's argument attempts to make invalid criticisms of colonial discourse and the legacy of colonialism, by inferring they are based on hearsay, popular opinion, or on theoretical fads. Criticisms of 'ethnographic photography' and the anthropologist's gaze must be contextualised in a reaction across numerous disciplines, a reaction which sees criticisms of neocolonial and eurocentric practices as the "resentment" (to coin a recent phrase by the Australian playwright David Williamson) of so-called "minority groups."³ In this climate there are numerous strategies which seek to annul the continuing effects of colonialism. By praising post-colonialism as a movement away from (and perhaps a

² Joseph Pugliese, "Parasiting 'Post'-Colonialism: On the (Im)possibility of a Disappropriative Practice," *Southern Review* 28.3 (1995), 345.

³ Williamson suggests that "identity groups" have taken away the focus on inequality from the "real disadvantaged," the low income earners, and as a result the "villains of society [are let off] far too easily." David Williamson, "Truce in the Identity Wars," *The Weekend Australian*, 11-12 May 1996, 25. Williamson has also recently bought into the Margaret Mead, Derek Freeman debate, siding with Freeman's view that identity is natural and instinctive and not culturally mediated.

completion of) colonialism ignores the power of colonialism in Australian culture. As Anne McClintock suggests, without considering who benefits from colonialism, nor how post-colonialism frequently consolidates a singular, eurocentric reading practice, "Colonialism returns at the moment of its disappearance."⁴ Another strategy is to validate the representation of colonised peoples through a claim that knowledge of their histories and cultures will be mutually beneficial, as if knowing is equivalent to decolonisation. Cochrane's article employs both strategies.

Cochrane's review itself is informed, and reproduces in many ways, a politics of knowledge of the Pacific which is a legacy of Australia's colonial intervention. Though colonial relations are constantly erased or ignored and a new relationship of equality is proposed in the review, clearly marked by the title, "Black and White Ambassadors," Australia's colonial legacy is inscribed in the lexical registers, the eurocentric logic, and the romantic nostalgia of this text. The ambassadorial role of the photographs, for Cochrane, is in part their function as cultural preservation (Cochrane also suggests the ambassadorial role of photography is the control it gives to the subjects of the photographs; but more on this below). Quoting the photographer, Chris Rainier, Cochrane writes that this text will "capture on film some of the last of the Stone Age cultures before they were submerged in the rising tides of

⁴ Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 11. McClintock's concerns are that post-colonialism is a "singular, monolithic term, used ahistorically and haunted by the nineteenth-century image of linear progress" (13). Also see, for example, Ella Shohat, "Notes on the 'Post-Colonial'," *Social Text* 31-2 (1992), 99-113. Shohat is concerned with the homogenisation of various cultures into the same periphery and the complicity of post-colonialism with neo-colonialism. Arif Dirlik, "The Postcolonial Aura: Third World Criticism in the Age of Global Capitalism," *Critical Inquiry* 20 (1994), 328-56. Dirlik argues that the globalisation of post-colonial criticism can be considered in the context of global capitalism. For a critique specifically addressed to Australian concerns see Pugliese, "Parasiting 'Post'-Colonialism"; Bob Hodge and Vijay Mishra, *Dark Side of the Dream: Australian Literature and the Post-Colonial Mind* (North Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1991).

global industrial capital.” In this logic, Papua New Guinea invites the coloniser to record its culture before all is lost, and the knowledge is preserved by the benevolent west. The Papua New Guinean culture, termed by the western scientific archaism of ‘Stone Age,’ is static, on the threshold of disappearing into the voracious and ever-moving western culture. This statement articulates a fundamental strategy of colonial discourse: the telos of history is the western capitalist society which must ‘naturally’ overtake ahistorical other cultures. The logic of this ‘capture’ must be considered in the context of what Foucault has called a discursive statement, “the elementary unit of discourse” or the “atom of discourse,”⁵ in the discourse of colonialism. Thus cultural preservation, colonial historiography, and the pervasiveness of global capital are accorded the status of knowledge, “and makes of them objects to be studied, repeated, and passed on to others.”⁶ Cochrane, in reproducing this statement, agrees with the discursive formation that enlists a series of representations, myths and assumptions to validate colonial intervention and assume western superiority. The ‘diplomacy’ inferred by the title is, then, operating in a system of knowledges inflected by colonialism.

The landmass of Papua New Guinea and Irian Jaya, containing numerous cultural groups, is conflated in Rainier’s title simply to ‘New Guinea,’ as if the name of the colonial territory to the north of Papua, which through colonialism has moved from German protectorate to Australian Trust Territory to independence, can lexically signal the ‘Stone Age’ cultures he seeks. The nostalgia for an untainted past is

⁵ Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. A.M. Sheridan (New York: Pantheon, 1972), 80.

⁶ Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics* (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1982), 48.

emphasised in Cochrane's praises for the Papua New Guineans' apparent proximity to nature and distance from the west: the photographs "avoid [...] the intrusion of the west" and "evoke the presence of ancestors and spirits, whether in hazy presences or the haunting tone of sacred flutes"; the photographs celebrate nature: "the brooding magnificence of the skies and swollen rivers, the unrivalled jungles." This nostalgia can be placed in a genealogy of European philosophical beliefs and colonial discourses which seeks to represent non-western cultures as inferior to western 'civilisation,' history and commerce. By reducing Papua New Guinean culture to a simplistic representation of animist beliefs, or untapped natural resources, Cochrane gives status to the ideology of colonial discourse that has continued to function powerfully within Australian culture since the nineteenth century.

This thesis seeks to describe the history and function of descriptions such as these, in particular their operation in relation to Australian colonial discourse in the Pacific. To propose an 'Australian colonial discourse' demands some explanation. I am suggesting, in a rigorous Foucauldian sense, a discursive formation which defines a regularity, an order, and a dispersion of statements on Australian colonialism. Australian colonialism is not synonymous with the history of Australian rule in the Pacific,⁷ and is similarly not signifying the period of 1788-1901 commonly termed period of colonial Australia. Nor is Australian colonial discourse merely a 'minor' discourse or offshoot of a grander, seemingly more complete English colonialism;⁸

⁷ I borrow this point from Sara Suleri's discussion of the concept of English India being distinct from English rule. Her project, obviously, is different from mine. Sara Suleri, *The Rhetoric of English India* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1992), 2-3.

⁸ Ron Blabler argues for this minor, or dependent role of Australia's orientalism in comparison to Britain. The Australian writer's "gaze," according to Blabler, "is constructed by and within the European gaze but is of lesser authority." Ron Blabler, "Australian Travel Writing about Asia in the 20s and 30s," *Westerly* 38.4 (1993), 46.

finally, Australian colonial discourse is not a unique discourse independent from Europe and America colonial discourses but intersects and cooperates with them. I take colonialism to mean the knowledges, practices, administrative processes, and legalities, which are used to dominate colonised subjects. Related, but distinct from imperialism, colonialism is more directly concerned with the intervention into colonial territory, and with managing a population (both the colonised and coloniser) through colonial practices, incorporating everything from the rhetoric, clothes, politics of observation, to labour administration. It is through these practices that the Pacific is produced in Australian colonial discourse, a production which structures and orients the representations of the Pacific to enable its appropriation and comprehension. These various practices of colonialism are regulated by a discursive formation which manages this domination. The use of the term 'manage' I take from Suvendrini Perera's *Reaches of Empire* in which she considers how novels from the English canon apparently unrelated to colonialism 'managed' colonial relationships through political and sexual configurations. Perera's point that "certain fictional practices - the ordering of empire in fiction - prepare for, or make possible a climate for receiving or accommodating empire" must be taken seriously.⁹ I concentrate my investigation on the period of approximately 1880-1920, for this time sees the most concerted political effort by white Australia to colonise Pacific territory. However, I do not attempt to periodise Australian colonialism, for colonialism cannot be relegated to the appropriation of material possessions and can involve contestations of representation, knowledge, and identity that still functions powerfully in contemporary Australian

⁹ Suvendrini Perera, *Reaches of Empire: The English Novel from Edgeworth to Dickens* (New York: Columbia UP, 1991), 7.

culture. Colonialism, thus, has not terminated but rather is ongoing, with contemporary effects in texts and practices. To emphasise McClintock's point, suggesting that colonialism has passed may be an insidious return of colonialism itself.

In suggesting an Australian colonial discourse I propose a distinct Australian formation of colonialism, informed by particular systems of knowledges, concepts and institutions, which function in agreement with discourses of nation; yet this is a discourse which simultaneously emerges from and validates the colonialisms of other western nations.

Through a close scrutiny of the discursive production of the Pacific in Australian colonial texts the aim I have for this thesis is to map Australian colonialism as a discursive practice. Australian colonialism operates in space and time on bodies with social consequences and is not just a mimicry or transference of British colonialism. By suggesting a materiality of practice I do not wish to imply a true, real, or positivist qualification of the examination, as if colonialism becomes apparent through 'hard evidence.' Rather I wish to connect the representational politics of colonialism to its corporeal, economic, and cultural consequences. To rebuke Cochrane, the critique of colonialism cannot be reduced to 'popular opinion' nor points of contest in contemporary theory, but must instead be situated in the burden of colonialism's commerce and the violence of its inscriptions. As I will detail, Australian colonialism is repeatedly ignored or depoliticised, particularly in current orthodox concepts of post-colonialism, in order to situate white Australia itself as a colonised nation or to occlude from Australian history the records of economic, cultural and military interventions in Pacific Island territories and cultures. Colonialism, quite obviously, is not a monolithic system but has, as Chandra Talpade Mohanty writes of relations of

power in terms of gender and 'race,' "multiple, fluid structures of domination ... while at the same time [a] dynamic, oppositional agency of individuals and collectives."¹⁰ In paying particular attention to the multiple and fluid structure of colonial discourse, I wish to examine its operation predominantly in areas outside government administration and official foreign policy. I will not ignore the historical events of Australian administration in the Pacific, but rather focus on the genres of literature, tourist ventures, and academic studies which disseminate Australian colonialism.

There are at least two reasons for this choice of research area. Firstly, detailed histories of Australian colonialism in the Pacific, with close attention to government policies, foreign relations, and juridical administration have already been published.¹¹ While this thesis is informed by the work of these histories, and frequently comments on the arguments and findings of them, I wish not to replicate this research. Second, in determining how the stereotypes of the Pacific have and continue to circulate in Australian culture today, I see that an examination of Australian colonialism must address institutions and genres which often problematically disassociate themselves from colonialism. The active disassociation of institutions, texts, and discourses from

¹⁰ Chandra Talpade Mohanty, "Introduction: Cartographies of Struggle: Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism," *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*, eds. Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Ann Russo, and Lourdes Torres (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1991), 13.

¹¹ The primary texts in this area are Roger C. Thompson, *Australian Imperialism in the Pacific: The Expansionist Era, 1820-1920* (Melbourne: Melbourne UP, 1980); Neville Meaney, *The Search for Security in the Pacific, 1901-14* (Sydney: Sydney UP, 1976). There is much study on the Australian colonial administration of Papua New Guinea. See, for instance, J.D. Legge, *Australian Colonial Policy: A Survey of Native Administration and European Development in Papua* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1956); L.P. Mair, *Australia in New Guinea* (London: Christophers, 1948); Lewis Lett, *The Papuan Achievement* (Melbourne: Melbourne UP, 1942); C.D. Rowely, *The Australians in German New Guinea, 1914-1921* (Melbourne: Melbourne UP, 1958). Lett writes in his preface that "in the administration policy of Papua idealism and logic have stood always side by side, working with a unified effort towards the same objective" (viii). This statement, not so much an apology but an erasure of the violence of Australian colonialism, is typical of many histories of Australia's colonial administration.

colonialism is clearly articulated in Cochrane's review. On the one hand Cochrane, at numerous points, details how the text she reviews is not colonial: she claims photography can "avoid the intrusion of Western culture"; that photography is not simply "'The Gaze' upon 'The Other'"; that the photographed subjects are "willing participants"; and the photographer may "become accepted into the natural flow of events ... [and] become unobtrusive." Yet the conclusion situates Papua New Guineans as ethnographic subjects of an Australian study: "photographs and the personal text are supplemented with anthropological notes and references, expanding their multi-layered utility as documents of New Guinea cultures." Contradicting the 'avoidance' of western intrusion, the so-called 'preservation' of New Guinea cultures through anthropological documentation is utilised to interpret the cultures to the white Australian audience.

Like Cochrane's review which positions itself as providing agency for Papua New Guineans and thus avoiding colonialism, the main texts and institutions investigated in this thesis similarly set themselves as criticisms of colonialism, or as independent from colonialism. They are the university, the adventure narrative, and the tourism industry. These three, all with quite complex intersections of institutional power, economic forces, structures of knowledge, and generic, literary, and rhetorical conventions, demonstrate a degree of complicity with colonial discourse, yet often declare an independence from the governing of a colonised terrain. This thesis is compelled to examine a diverse and often dispersed range of institutions and texts precisely because colonialism has a globalising reach inscribing itself across a number of heterogeneous texts. What makes colonialism such a powerful discourse is the multiplicity of practices it marshals to 'manage' colonial subjectivity, and this multiplicity operates

through a range of texts, bodies, artefacts, knowledges, archives, and so on. Reducing colonialism to political and economic administration, or strategies of particular texts, can elide addressing the fundamental strength of colonialism: that it reaches across a diverse range of objects, and works on multiple levels. In mapping these relationships of power, this thesis must traverse discourses such as tourism, history, and popular fiction, and examine their rhetorical, mercantile, and political configurations. In particular, the seeming disjunctions within this multiplicity imply a discontinuity between colonialism and discourses such as tourism; disassociations such as this must be refuted because they stage colonialism as a localised practice which, only by accident, transgresses cultural bodies, as if beyond the reach of colonialism.

In Tony Bennett's examination of the 'birth' of the museum he introduces his text with a discussion of the museum's connection with fairs and circuses: "in spite of the efforts to keep them clearly separated ... the activities of fairs, museums, and exhibitions interacted with one another."¹² In this argument Bennett's concern is that the museum, an institution concerned with archiving colonial knowledge, articulates statements and implies an authorisation in order to disassociate itself from the fairground display of colonial conquest, sensationalist representations, or representations of the monstrous or mysterious. In an alternative reading, I propose that academic discourses on the Pacific circulating in Australian culture have similar interactions with adventure writing, tourism, and the popular stereotyped representations of Pacific Islanders, and that these connections underscore the authority of colonialism. While Bennett's study concentrates on the disassociation of

¹² Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995), 11.

the institution of knowledge from popular culture, I wish to argue that through discussing the genealogy of Australian colonialism, academic work remains incorporated with its populist, colonial, and often melodramatic representations of the Pacific.

By focussing on these three areas there is the potential to forget or ignore other sites through which colonialism functions. However, I do not seek for this thesis to be an encyclopaedic reading of Australian colonial discourse. The three topics are not an arbitrary selection, but are examined because they are central to popular and contemporary articulations of colonialism. The Pacific is most commonly represented in contemporary Australia in a romanticised adventure narrative, as tourist destination, or a subject of knowledge. Representations of Pacific Island cultures have been widely disseminated through tourist brochures and university-based studies; the growth of anthropology and ethnography, and the incorporation of this practice into a tourist activity, correlates almost directly with colonial intervention in the Pacific. One of the first anthropological field trips was in 1898, fourteen years after the first Pacific cruise, and was organised by Cambridge University to visit the Torres Strait islands. As I detail in chapter five on cannibalism, this field trip was to validate stereotypes of Pacific Islanders already in circulation, and then rationalise the representations as a form of academic knowledge. The popularity of anthropologists such as Margaret Mead and Bronislaw Malinowski, with their study of sexuality, saw in the 1930s an anthropologised Pacific Islander culture brought once again to western audiences as examples of sexually liberated societies. More recently, and particularly in Australia, the university's intervention into the Pacific is broached in the discipline of Pacific history, in which the Pacific Islander's knowledge is subordinated to western

academic knowledge. The study of Pacific history in Australia, and the institutional context supporting it, details a transformation of colonial practice from political administration to pedagogical commodification. To detail this discursive practice demands an interdisciplinary approach for colonial discourse works across a variety of disciplines and informs many academic discourses. Hence this thesis employs different disciplinary theories and critical practices in order to broach the heterogeneity of disciplines and practices under examination. Colonial discourse is not confined by disciplinary boundaries and it is necessary to engage with the numerous disciplinary transgressions when Australian colonial discourse operates from literary, anthropological, tourist or historical texts.

The adventure novel is perhaps one of the more obvious and vocal proponents of colonial ideology. Regardless of the seeming disparity between the jingoistic adventure novel and the academic research project, I wish to suggest connections between the university and the narratives of adventure. Adrian Vickers asserts a direct connection between popular literature and Australia's knowledge of non-western countries, commenting the "knowledge that was available was chiefly formed and reflected in literature."¹³ Knowledge available in adventure and travel narratives is commodified and appropriated by university institutions. University practice is a nexus of popular and academic knowledge, of adventure and tourist representations alongside ethnographic studies. Adventure writers were keen for their work to be seen as factual, and university discourse has frequently relied upon adventure narratives to validate their research. Within the belligerent and nationalistic fervour of

¹³ Adrian Vickers, "Kipling Goes South: Australian Novels and South-East Asia 1895-1945," *Australian Cultural History* 9 (1990), 66.

the adventure narrative is an obedience to scientific categorisations of representing culture.

In tourist narratives, particularly at the turn of the century, the academic practice of ethnography and the sensationalism of adventure narratives are again brought together. Tourist practices such as sightseeing, souveniring, and photography merge the rhetoric of adventure with the justifications of western commerce and morality. The crucial role of tourism, and thus its importance to this thesis, is that it provides a regime for the practice of colonialism. Tourists who participated in the Pacific cruises were to engage in relationships of power managed by colonial discourse; they were to subscribe to regimes of representing Pacific Islanders as commodities, and they were to learn the commerce of colonialism, a financial knowledge which the tourist also funded. The university, adventure narrative, and tourist industry, importantly, are located in Australian institutions and categorise Pacific terrain as Australia's colonial possession. Through these areas the stereotypes of the Pacific are formulated and distributed in Australia as a knowledge of the Pacific.¹⁴

This is a central issue to my investigation of Australian colonialism: the use of knowledge, particularly as a pedagogic practice, in the discourse of colonialism. Specifically, I wish to disarticulate the privileging of knowledge as it operates in academic institutions in Australia's colonial history. I consider how the concept of

¹⁴ A related institutional site which I do not examine independently is the Christian mission.

Missionary forces play a significant role in the reorganisation of Pacific culture and I examine in a variety of ways the role of missionary work in Australian colonialism. Missionary ethnography crucially influenced Australian academic work; Australian shipping and tourism businesses relied on the commerce of missionary stations. Each major western religion, the Anglican, Wesleyan, Presbyterian, and Church of England churches, had regional headquarters in Sydney that widely advertised missionary projects to Australian audiences. Christian rhetoric, dominant in colonial narratives, is frequently employed in Australian colonial discourse to justify colonial intervention by introducing 'morality.'

knowledge has been motivated as an apolitical, humanist strategy that validates study, and authorises a person's intervention into Pacific cultures. Indeed, the term 'knowledge' is highly charged: most typically seen as emerging from the Enlightenment, the pursuit, quest, or desire for knowledge is the motor for much contemporary research. Also, in the context of 'the Pacific,' knowledge has taken on a decidedly Romantic agenda. The European intervention and representation of Pacific Island cultures at the height of imperialism was often articulated through Romantic ideology - ideas of freedom and imagination, or of the value of 'untouched' cultures - demonstrable in contemporary scholarship and Cochrane's review. Thomas Richards argues that

Romanticism persists ... as the basic animating project of the imperial archive, namely the organisation of all knowledges in a coherent imperial whole.... The legacy of Romanticism was the residual conviction most Victorians shared that all knowledge, despite its modular character, should and would be united.¹⁵

By historically contextualising Romanticism with the European intervention in the Pacific I examine how concepts articulated by thinkers such as Coleridge rationalised colonial intervention and appropriate Pacific Island cultures in a project to 'unite' knowledge. In particular, imagination has remained a predominant method of validating European description of the Pacific, a method that rationalises the European discursive production of the Pacific.

Obviously this thesis, as a demonstration of a 'contribution to knowledge,' necessarily details a complicity with precisely the colonialism of knowledge I criticise. This possibly untenable position calls for a strict positioning of myself and this study; I

¹⁵ Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (London: Verso, 1993), 7.

must necessarily signal my position as complicit in a system valorising knowledge and making the possession of such knowledge a marketable resource - for any male, non-Pacific Islander speaking from the relative privilege of the Australian academy can occlude the history of others, and can mobilise indigenous histories as commodities within a white academic economy. Yet, to turn away from these issues, to subscribe to a complicity of silence around colonisation in the Pacific, is to ignore the force of racist representations, the inequalities in education and welfare facing many Pacific Islanders, and the histories that need to be spoken.¹⁶ Also, to infer I speak from an oppositional viewpoint and hence occupy a marginalised position does not acknowledge the privileges which have allowed me to produce this work (such as mobility, resources and institutional recognition). The thesis is already marked by this privilege. As Suvendrini Perera and Joseph Pugliese write in their brief essay "Subject Positions," from which I have taken many of the above points,

subject positions - despite the facile gestures made by some, which celebrate absolute disassociations of body and text, of author(s) and corpus - leave their traces in all texts. These traces remain precisely because a text is always a situated language event structured by a complex field of discursive and extra-discursive forces.¹⁷

A crucial point articulated here, which is relevant to my position and this thesis, is the erasure of corporeality from academic work in an effort to suggest a transcendent, unbiased, universal viewpoint and knowledge of the subject of study. In chapter three on Pacific historiography I detail the contradictions involved in this claim, particularly

¹⁶ Further, if Australian universities are to support an academic infrastructure for Pacific Islanders wanting tertiary education, which is part of the foreign aid commitment, it is crucial for these institutions to address their history of colonialism.

¹⁷ Suvendrini Perera and Joseph Pugliese, "Subject Positions," *Arena Magazine* 12 (1994), 38.

where a transhistorical 'experience' or 'imagination' is coupled with the practice of field trips.

A recent statement by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak in a paper on pedagogy succinctly details some crucial political imperatives on academic positionality: "To claim agency in the emerging dominant is to recognise agency in others, not simply to comprehend otherness."¹⁸ While my position is distinct from Third-World academics, who are the focus of Spivak's article, her point on addressing agency, not knowledge, is significant. The task of my thesis is not the specious quest to 'know' how Pacific Islanders felt or thought under colonialism, but to describe both the function of colonial discourse in Australia and the points of its contestation. And my description, constructed by the generic concerns of the academic thesis, and determined by academic knowledges and discourses, is limited, specific and partial. The quest for knowledge, such a general Humanist claim of most academic work, does not justify the circulation and speaking on representations of Pacific Islanders. To criticise the representations of Pacific Island stereotypes necessitates locating my specific commercial, corporeal, and academic position in response to the cultural and colonial context, and the agency of Pacific Islanders whose lives are marked by these stereotypes. Colonial discourse in Australia is thus not exclusive from the series of knowledges I participate in and must ceaselessly be considered relational to the thesis itself.

¹⁸ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Teaching for the Times," *The Decolonization of Imagination: Culture Knowledge and Power*, eds. Jan Nederveen Pieterse and Bhikhu Parekh (London: Zed Books, 1995), 182.

In order to consider these problems I draw upon the work of Rey Chow who examines these issues in her text *Writing Diaspora*.¹⁹ Chow questions the scholarly tradition of studying East Asia with particular reference to the discursive politics situating women in Chinese studies, and maps the inequalities between the Chinese intellectual in China and the Chinese intellectual in America:

As we continue to use Chinese women's writings and lives as the 'raw material' for our research in the West, then the relationship between us as intellectuals overseas and them 'at home' will increasingly take on a the coloration of a kind of 'master discourse/native informant' relationship. (109)

Of particular interest is the danger Chow signals in the constructed division of 'us' and 'them' to form two disassociated groups, a group of 'intellectuals,' and the other group of 'Chinese women,' or not intellectual, caught in a relationship of power within an academic context. What marks this distinction is the formation of 'raw material' by which texts and 'lives' are commodified in an economy of academic knowledge. Chow is aware of this tension and answers it by an ethical call to "use this privilege as truthfully and tactically as they can" (114).²⁰ Chow does emphasise the economy of this relationship in her introduction:

What academic intellectuals must confront is thus *not* their "victimization" by society at large (or their victimization-in-solidarity-with-the-oppressed), but the power, wealth and privilege that ironically accumulate from their "oppositional" viewpoint, and the widening gap between the professed contents of their words and the upward mobility they gain from such words. (17)

The formation of non-western cultures as 'raw material' for study opens up an economy of knowledge articulated through the university, an economy which simultaneously produces a space of 'otherness' in which the bodies, texts, and

¹⁹ Rey Chow, *Writing Diaspora: Tactics of Intervention in Contemporary Cultural Studies* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1993).

²⁰ With her use of 'they,' Chow does not position herself in the category of "the Chinese intellectual living in the liberal west" (115).

knowledges of non-westerners are categorised; crucially, an economy made possible by the non-western other. There are two central concerns. First, a study which commodifies non-western cultures is a 'profit' to western institutions: the lives and practices of non-western others, such as Pacific Islanders in relation to my position, not only produce jobs in universities, but the wealth of museums and libraries. Second, the practice of studying itself can suppose a hierarchy of knowledge. The performance of studying or research is legitimated in colonial discourse because it contributes to this field of knowledge and hence is thus inherently decolonising, or the person studying in some way will access the 'real' or 'true' history which non-westerners never knew and thus may liberate the non-western other from their misconceptions. The Humanist and Romantic concepts of knowledge are largely uncriticised because undercutting this power assaults the very core of the university's privilege.

The politics of my position must also be described in terms of an ethics of the study; why should other cultures become the 'objects' of a study from a western institution? What are the politics of applying a study to another culture? Do academics have the right to describe or represent other cultures? How can an ethical response to colonialism be articulated? These questions urge an ethical response to the use of Pacific Islanders as objects of knowledge, an ethics recognising agency and alterity outside the First-World academy. The production of Pacific Islanders as the 'raw material' of western research suggests knowledge is confined to an academic economy; however, I wish to emphasise that practices of study must fail to apprehend at some point, the objects they commodify and the economies they produce. A failure to apprehend - apprehend meaning both to arrest and to perceive - results from Pacific

Islander resistance to colonial appropriation, and the contestation between Pacific Islander knowledges and western academic knowledges. What colonial knowledge cannot apprehend confronts colonial rule as a juridical failure to police, or for the law to codify, Pacific Islander knowledge. Also, constantly concessions are made by the colonisers that they fail to perceive all of the colonised culture: the anthropologist is always seeking to witness so-called secret ceremonies never before observed by the west, or the tourist searches for 'authentic' Pacific Islander culture. That Pacific Islander cultures cannot be apprehended and that knowledges circulate independent of western reason provides an ethical recognition of Pacific Islander alterity.

There are numerous terms and concepts I use which need specific definition in relation to the parameters of this study. Here I address these definitions before briefly outlining the theoretical context of the thesis by discussing Foucault's concept of genealogical history, particularly in relationship to studies of colonial discourse theory and post-colonialism.

I necessarily must contextualise what I consider the parameters of 'the Pacific' for this is a term defining both spatial and cultural categories determined by colonialism. A key problematic in many studies of colonial intervention is the complicity of the subject of study to colonial categories. Geographical areas and cultural classifications such as 'the Pacific' and 'Pacific Islanders' are emergent from colonial demarcations, and hence inscribe colonial signification in homogenising disparate cultures as a singular concept and region. My definition of 'the Pacific' will necessarily produce an arbitrary area defined by the colonial invasion of the west. What I term the Pacific Islands in this thesis are the Micronesian, Polynesian and Melanesian island groups,

including Papua New Guinea, but excluding Aotearoa/New Zealand.²¹ I predominantly discuss the islands which have colonial relations with Australia. Hence the area of interest is determined more by my particular concern with the sphere of Australian colonialism as a produced and demarcated space in Australian legal, military, and economic discourses.

Nomenclature is not innocent of colonial history but marked by the economic and ideological desires of colonising nations. The Pacific in this thesis is both a colonial generalisation, and a strategic collective signalling political independence from Australian and other western, colonising nations. The name 'Pacific' is used in numerous western texts from European explorers in the eighteenth century to colonial officials in the twentieth century. In his study of nomenclature O.H.K. Spate details the use of the term Pacific; supposedly first used by Magellan in 1518, the 'Pacific' was replaced by the term 'South Sea'²² (or Mar del Sur, Mer du Sud, Zuid Zee in the respective languages of Spanish, French, and Dutch) during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Spate does not locate exactly the area signified by the Pacific, but argues that the predominantly Spanish patterns of trade and the southern entry points lead to the preferred use of 'South Sea.' However, the so-called "geographical discovery" of the northern Pacific by Cook (210) and the trade focus on American Whalers and Chinese goods were to limit the use of 'South Sea' in preference to 'the

²¹ I exclude Aotearoa/New Zealand for two reasons: firstly, Australia's attempts at colonising Aotearoa/New Zealand were over by 1850, and this is before the time period which I am most interested in; secondly, Aotearoa/New Zealand has its own history of colonialism in the Pacific which should not be conflated with Australia's. For a detailed study of Aotearoa/New Zealand colonialism see Angus Ross, *New Zealand Aspirations in the Pacific in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1964).

²² O.H.K. Spate, "'South Sea' to 'Pacific Ocean': A Note on Nomenclature," *Journal of Pacific History* 12 (1978), 205-11. The 'South Sea,' it is imperative to note, is distinct from the later, romanticised name of 'the South Seas' common in tourism advertising.

Pacific;' the term regaining popularity mainly among Europeans and Americans.

Indeed, the ocean was supposedly named 'Pacific' because of its smooth and peaceful nature - an impossible forecast for Magellan who gave this name to the world's largest ocean before even entering it. Further, being pacific, or to pacify, are terms of the imperial lexicon signifying the weakness of the non-western other, suggesting the inevitability of colonial intervention.

I call the indigenous peoples of these islands 'Pacific Islanders.' Again, this term is fraught, for within 'Pacific Islanders' are numerous culturally distinct groups who respond to and contest colonialism differently, such as Papua New Guineans, Solomon Islanders, and Fijians. Vilsoni Hereniko notes the fluidity of Pacific Islanders' identity: "Outside one's island of birth, identity becomes variable and more susceptible to manipulation" and is "situationally variable."²³ A concession must be noted that peoples of the Pacific Islands, as Hereniko states, do not often call themselves 'Pacific Islanders,' and only do so in relation to whites. Where it is necessary, I specify the national or cultural identity of Pacific Islanders, but I also use the generalised term, when strategic, to signify the peoples who are represented in or administered by Australian colonialism. Additionally I wish to avoid the homogenisation of Pacific Islanders into a category of 'other,' or simply indigenes, which silently collapses all non-western others into a single, and thus easily articulated, group. Because colonial histories attempt to represent Pacific Islanders as static and passive, it is important to emphasise the mobility of various Pacific Island

²³ Vilsoni Hereniko, "Representations of Cultural Identities," *Tides of History: The Pacific Islands in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Kerry Howe, Robert C. Kiste, and Brij Lal (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1994), 419. Hereniko takes the term 'situationally variable' from Alan Howard, "Cultural Paradigms, History, and the Search for Identity in Oceania," *Cultural Identity and Ethnicity in the Pacific*, eds. Jocelyn Linnekin and Lin Poyer (Honolulu: U of Hawaii P, 1990).

groups around the Pacific. Trade routes, Pacific Islander explorers who predate European voyages by centuries, forced migrations, various mobile vocations for sailors, labourers, and missionaries, and Pacific Islander's desire to travel has produced dynamic Pacific cultures. While the association of indigeneity with 'home' or 'native' terrain can be misleading in context to this movement, it necessarily enforces the strategic positioning of Pacific Islanders as the rightful owners of their terrain, a concept frequently queried by colonial discourse's naming of Pacific Islanders as immigrants on their own land.²⁴ Finally, I discuss the representation of Pacific Islander in Australian colonial discourse in terms of 'race.' As Henry Louis Gates jnr. describes the term, "Race is the ultimate trope of difference because it is so very arbitrary in its application.... Yet we carelessly use language in such a way as to *will* this sense of *natural* difference into our formulations."²⁵ Race is problematic precisely because it makes racism conceptually possible, but as colonial discourse fundamentally operates around this term its interrogation is crucial. I avoid using Melanesian, Polynesian, and Micronesain, to describe Pacific Islanders, but rather use these terms geographically to locate specific island groups. As I point out in chapter five, these terms are organised by theories of race.

When I write of 'Australia,' in reference to an 'Australian colonial discourse,' I speak predominantly of white Australia, the society from which the colonial practices and representations are issued. The colonisation of the Pacific has a correlating function of proposing a unified Australian nation pursuing imperial agendas. The

²⁴ The ownership can work to contest colonial appropriation; yet also, in Fiji, indigenous Fijians can disallow Indo-Fijians from land ownership.

²⁵ Henry Louis Gates jnr, "Writing 'Race' and the Difference it Makes," *"Race," Writing and Difference*, ed. Henry Louis Gates jnr. (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1985), 5.

unification is ordered in terms of an hegemony - for which I mean, to quote Raymond William's reading of Gramsci, "a whole body of practices and expectations, ... our shaping perceptions of ourselves and our world"²⁶ that relate to and issue directly from the dominant white class in Australia. The representation of such a unified nation functions to organise discourses and produce authorities that manage the heterogenous Pacific which borders Australia. Hence I am denoting the concept 'Australia' only to the extent that it operates in a master narrative, articulated by an hegemony, and used to privilege particular histories, social groups, and cultural practices. Australia, as I will outline, is determined through racial and gendered categories, and is a term which needs to be under constant interrogation.

While much of the colonial practice I detail here is similar to the invasion of Aboriginal territories in Australia and the warfare against Aboriginal groups, I want to signal a few differences so as to emphasis that my research does not consider Aboriginal history as irrelevant to colonialism in the Pacific nor does it conflate the two colonialisms. The histories of Aborigines and Pacific Islanders cannot simply be homogenised into a rubric of 'colonised peoples' and must be recognised for their distinct agency in contesting colonialism. The stereotypes of cannibalism, sexually promiscuous women, and servility operate under different discursive contexts for Aborigines and Pacific Islanders. However, the practices and discourses operated by the colonial powers against Aboriginal populations quite obviously are colonial, in that the appropriation of land, control of the culture, and representational elision of resistance were strategies of the Australian colonial discourse. The invasion and

²⁶ Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1977), 110.

subsequent brutal treatment of Aborigines is a colonisation which must underscore Australian history. The justification of colonialism in the Pacific has similarities to the colonialism of Aboriginal peoples - the use of racism, concepts such as the 'natural right' to intervene, and the supposed superiority of British culture similarly functions in both areas. Though operating under many similarities, there are distinctions marked by the role of national boundaries and foreign relations between Australian and Pacific colonialism. The Australian nation is constructed in Pacific colonialism by an international context where concerns of the proximity of other nations and cultures (both western and Pacific), and Australia's 'natural right' to colonise neighbouring countries, were to inform issues of hegemonic identities, political rhetoric, and cultural representations. The agitation for control of various Pacific Islands involved relationships with European countries competing for control in the area and the justification of Australian administration on the grounds of 'defence.' Australian colonial discourse in the context of the Pacific is a related formation that is distinct from the colonisation of Aboriginal nations.

Because this thesis explores the discipline of history, and is a criticism of some aspects of contemporary Pacific historiography, I need to define both my interpretation of 'Pacific History,' and my theoretical context to these histories. There are many interrogative, critical studies of historiography in the Pacific, and a number of well publicised debates on the validity and the economics of institutional research, which suggests Pacific History has not been left in the clutches of traditional and colonialist academic study. I aim to discuss how certain practices of Pacific History, which are often named 'truths' or 'common sense,' have reproduced relationships which can

best be described as colonial. What I signal as 'Pacific History' (which I capitalise to signify the propriety it has gained), I term the institutionally validated, pedagogically reproduced system of narratives, texts, events, and dates. In a sense it is the history taught and discussed in Australian pedagogy. Undoubtedly this discourse has been contested, and it is not a monolithic, orderly system. However, across this field runs a number of statements and beliefs on the function of history, and on the purpose and directive of the study, which give it a coherence as a systematised field of knowledge. So, in this sense, I employ the term Pacific History to classify that area of study which, operating from western academic institutions and archives, is concerned with classifying, writing, and speaking for the past of Pacific cultures through positioning Pacific Island cultures as dependent upon, and dominated by European knowledges. Importantly, Pacific History is not the unique historical discourse of the Pacific, but one of many. Hence, I do not wish to negate indigenous agency in Pacific History, nor negate alternative Pacific histories, but rather imply an unequal access to institutions and archives and a discriminatory evaluation of discourses, realities, and languages which favour history written by western nations.

As a significant portion of this thesis is a response and critique of Pacific History, Australian History, and theories of colonialism through addressing discursive production, I employ numerous concepts and insights from Michel Foucault's work on power, history, and knowledge. I follow a rather orthodox Foucauldian definition of the discursive formation:

Whenever one can describe, between a number of statements, such a system of dispersion, whenever, between objects, types of statements, concepts, or

thematic choices, one can define a regularity ... we will say ... that we are dealing with a discursive formation.²⁷

Foucault's concept of discursive formation is useful because it proposes a system whereby the rhetoric, categorisations, institutions, theories of colonialism and Pacific History may be conceived as a related set of rules actively reproducing and dispersing particular ways of writing, thinking about and representing the past in the Pacific. The Pacific as an object of knowledge is thus discursively produced from this matrix. By positing a discursive formation which produces the Pacific, I am suggesting that within colonialism there are regularities of representation and systems of dispersal which ensure the Pacific is discussed, written, and conceived in a mode which rationalises colonial intervention.

Some criticisms and limitations of this methodology of discursive formation, particularly as it is situated in *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, need to be signalled. Rabinow and Dreyfus have located in their analysis of structuralism's relationship to Foucault's early work the problematic objectivity of the rules of discourse; presuming a "phenomological detachment" of the observer neglects the effects of social practices on the study itself.²⁸ The systematic process of discursive analysis cannot be taken as a general theory, for the analysis cannot be bracketed as a simple description of events without an underlying explanation or theoretical prescription. The discursive formation I map cannot be unproblematically situated into other fields of the human sciences or regional histories, as if it is a foolproof model. Similarly, the discursive

²⁷ Foucault, *Archaeology* 38

²⁸ Dreyfus and Rabinow 100. For this viewpoint see particularly "The Methodological Failure of Archaeology," 79-103. Also see Gary Gutting, *Michel Foucault's Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989), particularly chapter 7, "Reason and Philosophy," in which Gutting elaborates on Dreyfus and Rabinow's argument.

formation I outline is specific to the context of Pacific History in which I write, and the conventions of the academic thesis to which I comply.

The history I undertake may be considered a genealogy, for it critically and theoretically reconsiders the construction of the Pacific as an object of knowledge in historical, cultural, political, and colonial discourses. In a lecture Foucault defined genealogy thus:

Let us give the term *genealogy* to the union of erudite knowledge and local memories which allows us to establish a historical knowledge of the struggles and to make use of this knowledge tactically today.²⁹

Foucault qualified erudite knowledges as those ideas which were buried and ignored - "present but disguised" in knowledge, and local memories as "disqualified ... popular knowledges" (82), the research of which leads to an opposition of the centralised, powerful knowledges: "genealogy [wages its struggle] against the effects of the power of a discourse that is considered to be scientific" (84). The 'union' recognises that traditional histories are formed by these disqualified popular knowledges, which tactically disempowers traditional history's claimed positions of objectivity or elite academic discourse. The concept of genealogy is most explicitly outlined in the essay "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History,"³⁰ in which Foucault elaborates on Friedrich Nietzsche's writings on genealogy to construct a practice which ruptures and questions the patently metaphysical suppositions of traditional history without rejecting the concept of history itself: "genealogy does not oppose itself to history ... on the contrary, it rejects the metahistorical deployment of ideal significations and

²⁹ Foucault, "Two Lectures," *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-77*, ed. Colin Gordon, trans. Colin Gordon *et al* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 83.

³⁰ Michel Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," *Language, Counter-Memory Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, eds. Donald Bouchard and Sherry Simon (New York: Cornell UP, 1977).

indefinite teleologies. It is opposed to the search for origins” (140). The relationship between genealogy and traditional history, as Foucault states, is crucial. Genealogy is not simply the reverse or opposite of linear, teleological histories, but neither is genealogy mutually exclusive from traditional history for its very process is one of criticism and deconstruction of these historical processes. Foucault’s essay criticises some fundamental tenets of traditional history which he outlines as three Platonic modalities of history: that history is continuous, that it describes reality, and that it is a knowledge of the truth (160). The concept of the origin as a central organising point in history “makes possible,” according to Foucault, “a field of knowledge whose function is to recover it” (143). The metaphysical dependence on a systematic and linear tradition organised by an origin is problematised in genealogy through introducing the agency of accidents and the “proliferation of errors” (143). History is marked, then, by discontinuities that contradict history as linear. The ‘great’ historical characters and events, or what Nietzsche has termed monumental history, is contextualised within the specificity of the historian and the historical discourse: “Historians take unusual pains to erase the elements in their work which reveal their grounding in a particular time and place, their preferences in a controversy” (156). With history connected to the agency of historians, to historical corporeality, the very foundations of truth and reality must at once be read as subjective.

Owing much to Nietzsche’s *Genealogy of Morals*,³¹ Foucault has deployed genealogy to reconceptualise the histories, for instance, of sexuality and punishment.³²

³¹ Friedrich Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals*, trans. Walter Kaufmann and R.J. Hollingdale (New York: Vintage, 1989).

³² Foucault has also discussed other historical genealogies, but his texts *Discipline and Punishment* and the volumes of *The History of Sexuality* are probably the widest known and most detailed of his studies.

Nietzsche's text is concerned with debunking the natural superiority of the concept 'good.' He states that "the source of the concept 'good' has been sought and established in the wrong place: the judgement of good did not originate with those to whom 'goodness' was shown" (25), and develops this argument to demonstrate that 'good' is linked more particularly to the domination of slaves, or the classification by a society's nobility of foreigners as barbarians and "dark, black-haired aboriginal inhabitants" (30). 'Good', then, is no longer the transcendent, 'value-in-itself' as defined by Schopenhauer (19), but an historical construct "engaged in a fearful struggle on earth for thousands of years" (52); a struggle, it is pertinent to add, defined since its inception by 'race.' A crucial point which Foucault elaborates from Nietzsche's work is the refutation of history as manipulated by individuals; as if history is a conscious and personal choice. Rather, the "[r]ules are empty in themselves, violent and unfinalised; they are impersonal and can be bent to any purpose."³³ Hence, my critical engagement with Pacific History is not a focus on certain authors supposedly inventing and forcing this truth intentionally and self-consciously, but rather an examination of texts operating from the nexus of particular discourses and in agreement with certain truths, hierarchies, and stereotypes. What is considered 'good' or 'proper' history of the Pacific is a dynamic and contingent value.

Obviously much of this criticism is common currency in post-structuralist theory, particularly in reference to contemporary historiography. Still, there are numerous concerns of genealogy which are crucial specifically to this thesis. There is no single manifestation of Australian colonial history for which a particular discourse has a

³³ Foucault, "Nietzsche" 151.

monopoly. The traditional history of Australia in the Pacific, from Cook's 'discovery' to the administration of Papua New Guinea, can be criticised much like Nietzsche's criticism of 'good': history need not reside with those who have 'historical knowledge' for the hegemonic construction of history can also be described in terms of accidents, errors, and failures, of discontinuous and competing forces.

There is much contemporary work on colonial discourse, particularly as it relates to cultural practices. Nicholas Dirks considers the connection to be blatant: "many of us now believe that colonialism is what culture is all about."³⁴ There are some investigations of colonialism in the Pacific using Foucault's concept of discourse;³⁵ however, Roger Keesing's claim of discourse theory as reading the history of invasion in "jargons of postmodernism" makes the climate for conceptualising colonialism in these terms open to much criticism.³⁶ A recent text by Nicholas Thomas examines colonialism in the Pacific with a similar theoretical methodology to my own and has a number of similar subjects of study and critical concerns.³⁷ Thomas's text is most useful in its examination of "how former colonial discourses and the present might be related" (21), a study which examines the politics of representation in tourist photographs, missionary propaganda, and the 'new-age' appropriation of indigenous

³⁴ Nicholas B. Dirks, "Introduction: Colonialism and Culture," *Colonialism and Culture*, ed. Nicholas B. Dirks (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1992), 11. Dirks defines culture here in an anthropological sense: a classification of a society's practices which is simultaneously a project of colonialism (5-6).

³⁵ Two examples are Michael Davis, "Colonial Discourses, Representation and the Construction of Otherness: Case Studies from Papua," *Pacific History*, Proceeding from the 8th Pacific History Association Conference (Guam: University of Guam, 1992), 49-59; Lamont Lindstrom, *Power and Knowledge in a South Pacific Society* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1990).

³⁶ Roger Keesing, "Colonial Discourse and Codes of Discrimination in the Pacific," qtd. in Davis, "Colonial Discourses" 49. Keesing did, however, investigate colonialism in Melanesia in precisely these terms: Roger M. Keesing, "Colonial and Counter-Colonial Discourse in Melanesia," *Critique of Anthropology* 14.1 (1994), 41-58.

³⁷ Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel, and Government* (Melbourne: Melbourne UP, 1994).

knowledges. Yet, I also want to signal where our work is dissimilar, and elaborate these crucial distinctions. Thomas argues in *Colonialism's Culture* that much contemporary colonial discourse theory "take[s] 'colonial discourse' as a singular and definable entity" (49) and thus reads colonialism in "unitary and essentialist terms [as a] ... a global and transhistorical logic of denigration" (3). Thomas's reading, which tends to conflate the work of Gayatri Spivak, Homi Bhabha, and Aijaz Ahmed in a singular entity of 'colonial discourse theorists,' suggests certain procedures for interrogating agency in Pacific anthropology which is apparently unavailable in colonial discourse theory.³⁸ However, colonial discourse theory, and particularly the work of Spivak, does not propose a 'unitary and essentialist' project. While some aspects of Thomas's argument I am in agreement with - particularly the need to specify colonialism in cultural and historical contexts - I see that colonialism must at some levels be conceived in a matrix of international strategies. Colonial projects of Europe, America and Australia work in response to each other, and there are intersections of rhetoric, race, and economics between them which are important when mapping colonial power. Colonial discourse operates in regularity, mediated by knowledge, and this knowledge is pervasive in western societies. I do not mean that colonialism is a monolithic and unified scheme; however neither is it, as Thomas conceives, "a fractured [project], riddled with contradictions and exhausted as much by its own internal debates as by the resistance of the colonized" (51). To describe colonialism in these terms is to deny the unequal distribution of power in colonial

³⁸ For support of Thomas's text see Patrick Wolfe, rev. of *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel, and Government*, by Nicholas Thomas, *Australian Historical Studies* 105 (1995), 677-8. For a critique of Thomas's concept of agency see Lynnette Turner, "Consuming Colonialism," rev. of *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel, and Government*, by Nicholas Thomas, *Critique of Anthropology* 15.2 (1995), 203-12.

intervention, and to imply it was a weak and insipid force. The callous and unremitting subjugation of Aboriginal peoples over two centuries does not imply a 'fractured' and 'exhausted' project; colonialism is among the most powerful discursive strategies operating in western culture and its contradictions are not weaknesses in terms of its ability to effect colonised people - and here is a crucial distinction, the contradictions in colonial discourse rather are the failures of colonialism's philosophy to rationalise and justify its practice.

In chapter one I initiate this thesis by locating some of the principle organising concepts which enable Australian academic, literary, and tourist discourses to codify, classify, and finally to apprehend cultures and identities in the Pacific. I argue that the concept 'imagination,' particularly as it is used to describe and sexualise Pacific Island cultures, is mobilised in studies of the Pacific to validate the western observer's representation of history. Imagination can perform the homogenisation of Pacific Island cultures and the appropriation of their knowledges which has the strategy of preparing the identities and knowledges for consumption by Australian audiences. In chapter two I proceed to demonstrate the strategic use of the concept of imagination in justifying colonialism by looking in detail at a famous subject of Pacific History, William Henry 'Bully' Hayes. The stories of Hayes play out many of the conceptual tensions between fact and fiction, yarn and document, historical text and adventure narrative. By historically contextualising the Hayes narratives I demonstrate their importance in circulating a politics of colonialism, race, and gender. In chapter three I examine the dispersal of colonial knowledges in the discourse of Pacific History. The focus of this chapter is the Research School of Pacific History (RSPaCH), based at the Australian National University, and its historiographic practice of 'island-orientated'

history which gestures toward a decolonisation of historical practice but reinscribes western academic knowledge as 'true' history in a number of ways. 'Island-orientated' history offers imagination as a supplement to the historical narrative in a procedure to complete the archival reading. Further, the valorisation of knowledge is located on an institutional level, where western research and colonial practices are validated by a complex nexus of academic discourses, the military, the university, the archive, and popular narratives.

Chapter four addresses the role of adventure narratives in representing the Pacific, particularly in the period 1880-1920, in which I discuss the relationships between adventure narratives, literature, and history, by close attention to the writing of one of the most popular Pacific adventure writers, Louis Becke. The marked impact of adventure narratives on colonialism through their ability circulate colonial rhetoric as knowledge is frequently ignored by theorists of adventure writing; rather, a reading which suggests a more figurate relationship is often preferred. I argue adventure narratives are crucial to the practices of Australian colonialism, and I stage a criticism of the depoliticisation of adventure narratives by the adventure theorist, Martin Green. The relationships between popular and academic discourses are examined in chapters five and six, which argue that the stereotypes of Pacific Islanders as cannibals or sexualised women are the product of both popular horror narratives or eroticism and academic study. The stereotype of cannibalism displays the contradictions in colonialism's morality which represents the Pacific Islander as a 'savage' consumer of flesh while not acknowledging that colonialism's own practices of representation - especially representations of Pacific Islander women - are based on the very consumption of this sexualised flesh. By commodifying Pacific Islanders, these

stereotypes attempt to erase the alterity of Pacific Islanders and incorporate them as objects consumable by western audiences. Finally in chapter seven, by investigating the industry of tourism, I examine one of the ways in which colonial discourse is transformed into a practice that disseminates to the white Australian public knowledges and concepts of colonialism. The advent of the South Sea cruise in the 1880s enabled the tourist to practice colonial intervention by participating in performances of observation, disciplinary practice, and commercial management. This industry pursues an agenda of Pacific colonisation that was often unsuccessful through political measures. In this chapter the tourist rhetoric justifying a western mercantile economy and valorising western representational practices is examined.

The Imaginative Production of the Pacific.

Chapter One

Perhaps the most popular and widespread terms used by a western writer or academic to describe the Pacific are as 'imagined' and 'dreamed' regions. A. Grove Day initiates his literary history of western writers in the Pacific by suggesting the Pacific is facing the "sunsets of a dream" because it has been spoiled by visitors, but regardless "the romantic imagination will still dream of Pacific hideaways."¹ Day's is a rather typical example of classifying a study of colonial terrain through the concept of imagination,² for in the context of the Pacific we only need to consider the titles *Dream of Islands* by Gavin Daws,³ or *Imagining the Pacific*, the title of both a special issue of *Meanjin*⁴ and Bernard Smith's study of representations from Cook's voyages.⁵ In tourist brochures, travel narratives, histories and literary works, the Pacific is constantly rendered romantic, and hence enters a colonial representational economy, through rhetorical gestures which locate in imagination the possibility of the west describing the multiple cultures, identities and terrains of the Pacific. The systematic use of dream, romance, and imagination in the discursive production of the Pacific in western texts is widespread enough to warrant investigation. Why is

¹ A. Grove Day, *Mad About Islands: Novelists of a Vanished Pacific* (Honolulu: Mutual, 1987), 12.

² Europe's imaginative production of non-western cultures is the focus of many studies; for example Ronald Inden, *Imagining India* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990).

³ Gavin Daws, *A Dream of Islands: Voyages of Self Discovery in the South Seas* (New York: Norton, 1980). As the title suggests, Daws uses the Pacific as an 'idea' enabling European subjectivity to 'discover' itself.

⁴ *Meanjin* 49.4 (1990).

⁵ Bernard Smith, *Imagining the Pacific: In the Wake of the Cook Voyages* (Melbourne: Melbourne UP, 1992). Another text in this vein is Chris Tiffin, ed, *South Pacific Images: Proceedings of the First Conference of the South Pacific Association for Commonwealth Literature and Language Studies* (St Lucia: South Pacific Association for Commonwealth Literature and Language Studies, 1978).

imagination so common in the rhetoric of imperialism? What are the possible connections between imperialism and the imagination? Before I address, in the following chapters, the discursive production of the Pacific in Australian colonial discourse, I wish to outline in this chapter the conceptual framework which sees the Pacific dispersed as an exoticised and eroticised region in the imagination. Articulated in the western writer's use of the imagination is the representation of Pacific Islanders and their land as desirable, leading to the appropriation and consumption of these identities and objects. The Pacific as desirous - which implies the Pacific is responsible for its own colonisation because of this appeal⁶ - is readily promoted through the devices which the imagination calls into play.

Too often the problematic assumptions of imagination - the creative mind, selected images, fantasy, the exotic - are not critically positioned in the often asymmetric relations of power between colonising and colonised cultures. The imagination is readily promulgated in imperial discourses and indeed informs the representational politics of imperialism. Through discussing the emergence of this concept in European thought I consider the utility of imagination in patently colonialist representations, and its complicity in the activities of colonialism. This background can then inform the use of imagination in Australian colonial discourse, for by incorporating the legacy of Romantic imagination, Australian writers and academics employ the justification of colonialism made available in the European philosophy of imagination.

⁶ In Patricia Parker's discussion of the rhetoric of exploration she details the "perverse logic" in which the "unfolding" of the land and its riches to the explorer's eye (which she compared with the metaphorical rape of Lucrece) must be blamed on the land itself which "invites its own rape." Patricia Parker, *Literary Fat Ladies: Rhetoric, Gender, Property* (New York: Methuen, 1987), 141.

Bernard Smith and artistic imagination

The concept of imagination has a long critical and philosophical history in Europe, yet little has been made of its relationship with European imperialism. Bernard Smith's *Imagining the Pacific* is an able example of the critical investigation of imagination, and one of the few texts discussing the construction of the Pacific through imagination; yet this text reproduces colonial relations of power perpetuated through the use of imagination. *Imagining the Pacific* is a follow up to *European Visions and the Pacific*, a well received and canonised text in Pacific History discussing representations of the Pacific predominantly in European texts.⁷ The detailed catalogue of eurocentric viewpoints of the Pacific in both Smith's texts does little to respond to the dominance of these viewpoints in contemporary research - the pervasive ability of the European explorers to represent Pacific Islander culture - either through addressing indigenous resistance or deconstructing the authority of the representations in discourses of history and art.⁸ This dominance, questioned by writers such as Anne Salmond, Albert Wendt and Greg Dening, is left in stasis by, among other things, reproducing imagination as an apolitical observation.

A quotation from William Wordsworth's *Prelude* is *Imagining the Pacific*'s introductory epigraph, and it illustrates the tension between imagination as apolitical and as involved in systems of power:

imagination, which in truth
is but another name for absolute power

⁷ Bernard Smith, *European Visions and the South Pacific*, 2nd ed. (1960; Melbourne: Melbourne UP, 1989).

⁸ Similar criticisms are made of Edward Said's *Orientalism*, that the text ignores resistances to orientalist discourse; however, Said concentrates on "responses" to imperialism - indigenous resistance and deconstructing western authority - and the "movements of decolonization" in the following study, *Culture and Imperialism*. Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994), xii.

and clearest insight.⁹

On a number of levels the use of this quotation to frame Smith's text signals a legacy of colonialism in various authoritative discourses such as Pacific History, art history, and anthropology. Wordsworth's aphorism inadvertently suggests there is no purely aesthetic or depoliticised role for imagination, that it cannot be considered a 'natural' production of the creative mind for its insight correlates directly with power. Yet, imagination is currently conceived as an objective access to a creative reality that has little political importance, and Smith overtly assumes this reading. Notably lacking in Smith's selection of these lines from the full text is a notion of desire, central to the longer section from which Smith quotes, which activates the incorporation of the Pacific into a system of western representation.¹⁰

There are two possible readings here: on the one hand imagination is a powerful concept determining what representations will function as insight, truth, and reason, and on the other imagination is passive thinking. Wordsworth expresses the imagination as passive in his term of "clearest insight," as if the imagination provides an objective and factual view. Through favouring the second reading, the systems of power and desire mobilised by the imagination are concealed. In articulating colonial representation through the concept of imagination, the politics of colonialism returns

⁹ Smith, *Imagining* viii. The quotation is from William Wordsworth, *The Prelude* xiv, 190-2.

¹⁰ The full text reads:

This spiritual Love acts nor can exist
Without imagination, which, in truth,
Is but another name for absolute power
And clearest insight, amplitude of mind,
And reason in her most exalted mood.

Geoffrey H. Hartman, ed., *The Selected Poetry and Prose of Wordsworth* (New York: Meridian, 1980), 332.

in a neocolonial guise providing the west the upper hand in describing the history and identity of the Pacific. Underlining these concerns is the naturalisation of Romantic ideology as the legitimate form of human creativity, for it is through Wordsworth that imagination is framed in Smith's text,¹¹ centralising British culture as the origin of creativity and artistry. Enrolled in this particular use of Romanticism are concepts favoured in traditional Humanism such as nostalgia and creative genius. Reality, which is the 'clearest insight,' is determined by a western discourse inflected by a Romantic concept of the imagination.

The imagination may be considered overdetermined because it is an apparently simple symbol of a far more complex system of relations, or because it is an unconscious and unrepresentable desire, fear, or knowledge in need of translation. This consideration needs to be resisted for a number of reasons. While textually, imagination is overdetermined by its repetitive use to describe the region, and in the validity given to the concept to be able to explain or justify representing Pacific Islanders and their culture, the Freudian use inscribes a number of colonialist assumptions. Relating primarily to reading symbols in dreams, an overdetermined imagination classifies the Pacific as fantastic and exotic, a creative production of European observation that marks the Pacific Islanders as illusionary and monstrous others outside the norm of European 'reality.' And these politically charged effects are a legacy of Hegelian thought: imagination re-enacts the dualisms of west:other, mind:body, and real:fantasy. That is, while the west has an excess of imagination from which it can know, represent, and study the other, non-western cultures are limited to

¹¹ Smith also focuses on other Romantic thinkers such as Coleridge and Rousseau.

corporeal and emotional functions within the 'dream.' As such, the eroticisation of Pacific cultures signifies a limitation of Pacific Islanders to corporeal or hysteric reactions, and the European mind becomes the complexity through which Pacific identities and cultures are mapped. Here, the role of the western intellectual or observer is validated through this term because the overdetermined concept calls for a suitably trained analyst who is able to interpret the 'images.' I discuss an example of this stance in chapter three with J. W. Davidson's called for "informed imagination" in historical praxis to fill out or complete the narratives of history. Imagination allows numerous fantastic, stereotypical, and sexualised narratives to circulate as legitimate forms of representation.

Detailing the production of the imagination in a number of texts will materialise the imagination; by this I do not mean linking the imagination back to some concrete reality, but to historicise imagination within its discursive contexts of western philosophy, politics, and history to detail how it emerges from narratives, rhetoric, and representations and is not merely a phenomena of 'creative insight.' The imagined representation of the Pacific as 'exotic' is not, I argue, the result of an individual fantasy, a writer's creativity, nor artistic images and literary dreams which are mysteriously 'conjured' up in a moment of psychic desire; rather the creative practices of 'imagination' obey the narratological conventions of these imperial discourses which manage and reproduce the Pacific as an object proper to western discourses.

Through detailing the philosophical, institutional and political contexts of the imagination I will map textual strategies which limit the access to the imagination to specific races, genders and classes, and then suggest the complicity of these strategies with imperialism. Achieved in this limitation is the ownership of representation by the

west, and hence the continuation of stereotyped romantic imagery of the Pacific Islanders and their land. The first half of this chapter will detail how Humanist versions of imagination, and in particular English Romanticism, validates cultural intervention and western representations of non-western cultures. The very rhetoric of western creative practice, particularly concepts such as the imagination and expression, validate discourses of colonialism. Imagination, under this system, refuses to relinquish the role of the west as arbiter of knowledge and assumes description and observation are only possible by a western subject. The capabilities of a western subject to imagine are not only some form of mental or artistic ability but, quite contrary to Romantic idealism, are also bound up with issues of race, class, labour, and imperial nationalism. After detailing how eighteenth and nineteenth century philosophy can justify a racialised imagination, I address how these parameters are reproduced currently. A brief examination of Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*¹² will provide a contemporary text in which the politics of imagination may be mapped. Even though cultures and nationalities of the Pacific are entirely excluded from *Imagined Communities*, it circulates precisely the values and privileges which permit representations of the Pacific as an exotic and erotic region. When applied to the Pacific the models proposed by Anderson can be seen as tenuous, for his construction of nation is reliant on eurocentric concepts of language, communication, and history. The hierarchies, protocols, and categories of the Romantic imagination continue in this study of nationalism. The dangerous discourses of racism or orientalism, for example, are safely replaced by an imagined community

¹² Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflection on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised ed., (1983; London: Verso, 1993).

where homogeneity is achieved through national myths that, apparently, live in the people's minds and not in disciplinary practices. The nation, particularly in the disciplines of political history and social science, has taken on pivotal importance in defining and discussing culture and international relationships.

Imperial and non-imperial imagination

At this stage there are a number of reasons for focussing on the imagination before addressing, in detail, the practices of Australian colonialism. Ownership of knowledges - such as history or literature - is assumed by colonial institutions partially through access to the workings of the imagination. The ability to talk and write about the Pacific in terms of romanticism and exoticism, and the proliferation of literature on this region, is fertilised through an energised call to conceptualise and to imagine the Pacific to western audiences. Through these rhetorical and ideological formations, the colonial intervention in Pacific Island economies, sexualities, terrains, and cultures can be justified through the imagination. The voracious sexualisation of Polynesian women or the myth of agricultural abundance (implying Islanders never have to work), for example, are common descriptions in European texts. In these representations reside a politics of colonialism divorced from its material effects because they are imagined. Thus the role of patriarchy in imperialism, or the justification of the plantation economy, is critically distanced from what the west thinks and says about the Pacific. A specific colonial relationship is mediated and aestheticised by imagination. Yet it is important to signal that many colonial texts do, in a limited manner, hint at a disjuncture between the 'imagined' and the 'real' - by complaining about not finding 'authentic' Pacific Island culture while on a tourist

excursion or deploring the labour systems on plantations - in which the discursive production of colonialism is not contained by imaginative representations. However, while the imagination itself is not a foolproof faculty enabling the comprehension of the Pacific, in these instances various other myths and racist assumptions of colonial discourse are tactically engaged: 'authentic' Pacific Islander culture is represented as anachronistic, and Pacific Islanders are described as lazy and unable to labour properly.

The ability to observe and record the Pacific through the imagination also suggests a position from which a specific person can imagine. When a historian or writer imagines, just what processes are going on and what are the authorities, privileges, and hierarchies given to this person? In the concept of imagination are instances where literature and history reproduce colonialist relationships of power in their monopoly on representation. For who owns this imagination? Is there space in the imagination for the historian or observer of a non-western culture? Imagination, as a discursive construct, is not a democratic and universal practice but an activity which is found in specific groups and valued more by particular classes. In criticising the imagination, this thesis will undercut the notion that the west's practice of speaking for, of knowing and representing, non-western cultures can be validated by the use of imagination.

Questions of who can imagine are avoided in Smith's explanation of his use of imagination in *Imagining the Pacific*:

If we are to understand the Pacific world we must also accept the reality of objects out of which the concept of the Pacific was constructed, together with the reality of both those European minds that sought to understand it and of those Pacific minds that found themselves at once the objects and victims of that 'understanding.' In imagining the Pacific,

Europeans imagined from a reality that they had to come to terms with, not a fancy or fantasy that might eventually disappear. (ix)

Note here that knowledge and understanding - a knowledge that the Pacific Islanders are seen to be prone and passive too - only occurs as a European concept. The indigenous culture is forced to circulate, in a sense, inside the economy of European imaginative production. Like indigenous artefacts, indigenous agency is assumed to be appropriated by the colonisers; the monoglossic 'reality' of the Pacific for Smith is only of the objects the Europeans came across, or the singularly European 'understanding' foisted on the Pacific Islanders. The ownership of knowledge and imagination parallels the ownership of the objects, for Smith's text is almost exclusively of European paintings, diaries, literature and western-owned indigenous artefacts. Primarily, this ownership is justified through historical precedents set by the imagination which at once draws Pacific Islanders into the historical master narrative, or the 'reality,' set by Europe. And if "we are to understand" the Pacific "we" must subscribe to the imagination, the imagination which Smith describes in terms of "two primary components. First there is imaging, in which a person constructs an image in the presence of an object...; and then there is imagining, in which a person constructs an image while not in direct sensory contact" (ix). Curiously, the notion of imagination as "absolute power" outlined by Wordsworth is forgotten, and 'we' can simply construct an object in 'our' minds that is not in direct view. Hidden is a legacy of the politics of English Romanticism, which suggests imagination only belongs to a favoured subject with particular abilities to imagine and favoured texts which are canonised and lauded as artistic and imaginative. Smith is clearly establishing his debts to the English Romantic movement in the above quotation by replicating Samuel

Taylor Coleridge's distinction between imagination and the less valorised fancy (imagination is powerful because it is not ephemeral or frivolous like fancy). What is more, placing the names of the Romantic poets alongside the challenge for 'us' to comprehend underscores the elitism of this group who imagines, an intellectual elite constantly relied upon to denote what the west, apparently discretely and seamlessly, imagines.

It is necessary to specify the definition of imagination used at this juncture, for there are many contexts and meanings of the term. Primarily, I am concerned with how the concept is used in academic discourses (history, literature, anthropology and so on) and thus able to shift from a generalised term to a specific practice. Though the concept of imagination may have been used since Aristotle, it was during the eighteenth century that renewed usage and critical engagement intensified.¹³ James Engell argues the Enlightenment "created the idea of imagination" and numerous thinkers in this period used or considered the concept.¹⁴ While there is a noticeable growing complexity of imagination (especially from 1775-1800, Engell notes) and distinguishing categorisations and encodings at this time (such as imagination and fancy, or primary and secondary imagination), the theoretical premise on which I discuss imagination emerged with the English Romantic movement, particularly with concepts provided by Samuel Taylor Coleridge. While there may be other competing ideas, and other precursors, it is the Romantic version of imagination which has

¹³ A brief history of imagination is given in Cornelius Castoriadis, "Radical Imagination and the Social Instituting Imaginary," *Rethinking Imagination: Culture and Creativity*, eds. Gillian Robinson and John Rundell (London: Routledge, 1994), 136-8. A more detailed account is James Engell, *The Creative Imagination: Enlightenment to Romanticism* (Cambridge MS: Harvard UP, 1981).

¹⁴ Engell, *The Creative Imagination* 6. Engell notes over thirty philosophers who consider, define, or critically interpret the imagination, including Spinoza, Hobbes, Schelling, Fichte, and Kant.

maintained prominence and which indelibly marks the production of the Pacific in western texts; Coleridge is, for some, the “pioneer thinker”¹⁵ in the area. Lacking from Engell’s study, and other critical works, is the context of imperialism, a context that can be read in Coleridge’s formulation of imagination. Incessantly, there is an intersection between the transforming agendas of imperialism (from seventeenth century imperial expansion to the nineteenth century high imperialism) and the critical conceptualisation of the imagination. The faculty so quickly taken up in voyages of exploration and the literature of travel and now featuring in tourist narratives, is conceived as if autonomous from its most popular utility of describing the non-western as foreign, dreamlike, supernatural, or exotic.

Necessarily there are situations where the use of the concept imagination is not articulated from within an imperial politics, nor arises from eurocentric histories. While many cultures may have equivalent forms of imaginative thinking, its political and cultural use will vary greatly. I must delimit my critique of imagination to consider that essentialist formations of community or identity must not, in total, be condemned, but be strictly positioned according to what is discussed. I want to distinguish imagination’s essentialist tendencies into differing politics of normative practices and oppositional practices. The imagination used by Coleridge (and later by Benedict Anderson) asserts regulations and assumptions which produce subjects compliant to a hegemony. To subscribe to the imagination, here, is to reproduce the dominant representations, narratives, and myths of a culture in a normalising process; Romantic texts or national myths are seen as universal products of imagination.

¹⁵ Engell, *The Creative Imagination* 366.

However, in asserting cultural autonomy, indigenous cultures must assert an autonomous or oppositional imaginary practice.¹⁶

When Chandra Mohanty uses Benedict Anderson's concept of imagined community to suggest "potential alliances" and "collaborations across diverse boundaries" between Third-World women she emphasises this is a political definition and is not essentialist - it is determined by material and historical analysis.¹⁷

Imagination can be recuperated into a politics which contests the valorisation of imagination in western texts. Essentialism used by Aboriginal communities, Ian Anderson points out, does not "simply duplicate non-Aboriginal stereotypes,"¹⁸ and can be an empowering concept. Similarly, Stuart Hall argues, in reference to Caribbean cinema, for various communities' location in the "style in which they are imagined"¹⁹ and not in the authenticity of a culture. For Hall, communities as products of imagination allows a far more productive and dynamic way of thinking around cultural identity and avoids questioning the originality or 'authenticity' of a culture. Vilsoni Hereniko, when discussing personal, national and regional identities in the Pacific emphasises that while identity is, for many Pacific Islanders, "a composite of multiple cultural backgrounds" there is also a utility in negotiating a shared identity: "The motivation for the variations in defining identity is to try and be inclusive,

¹⁶ A common critical methodology employed to describe this manoeuvre is Spivak's concept of strategic essentialism. Spivak emphasises the need to "take a stand against discourses of essentialism, universalism as it comes in terms of the universal.... But *strategically* we cannot" (11). Gayatri Spivak, *The Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues*, ed. Sarah Harasym (New York: Routledge, 1990), 10-12.

¹⁷ Chandra Talpade Mohanty, "Cartographies of Struggle: Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism," *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*, eds. Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Ann Russo, and Loudres Torres (Indianapolis: Indiana UP, 1991), 4.

¹⁸ Ian Anderson, "Re-claiming Tru-ger-nan-ner," *Art Monthly Australia* Dec. 1993, 13.

¹⁹ Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. Jonathon Rutherford (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990), 237.

particularly if the forging of a common background is desirable.”²⁰ There are quite clear distinctions between communities imagined to contest colonial domination and those imagined to naturalise the dominant group’s colonialism; relationships of power, the privileges given to an imagining person, and the purposes imagination are put to, are all quite distinct under the two practices. I interrogate the imagination of imperial nations which construct representations as a rational product of a specific elite, and imagine the foreign as the fantastic and irrational. The critique of imagination here is not a matter of validating all non-western forms of imagination and discrediting the western forms, but of detailing how imagination is specifically incorporated into imperial projects through being credited with a universal, Humanist capability.

An example of the normative production of imagination is found in two recent collections of articles, *Rethinking Imagination*,²¹ and *The Decolonization of Imagination*,²² both which set out to critically re-evaluate imagination in contemporary thinking. *Rethinking Imagination* is an expansive investigation of imagination within traditional philosophy, but one which argues overwhelmingly within eurocentric parameters. Imagination is always positioned within an untheorised rational and modern Europe. The neglect of cultural specificity in these papers, and the denial of imagination’s possible imperial agenda is a significant shortcoming. A distinct feature of these essays (and a debate central to Romanticism and the Enlightenment) is the construction of a binary opposition between imagination and

²⁰ Vilsoni Hereniko, “Representations of Cultural Identities,” *Tides of History: The Pacific Islands in the Twentieth Century*, eds. K.R. Howe, Robert C. Kiste, and Brij V. Lal (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1994), 419.

²¹ Gillian Robinson and John Rundell, eds., *Rethinking Imagination: Culture and Creativity* (London: Routledge, 1994).

²² Jan Nederveen Pieterse and Bhikhu Parekh, eds., *The Decolonization of Imagination: Culture Knowledge and Power* (London: Zed Books, 1995).

rationalism, that is, the imagination is the antithesis of reason. Even when this binary is criticised in various essays, they locate both faculties primarily within Europe. The gestures toward non-western rationalism or imagination only signals what is exterior to rational and modern Europe. Thus, in one of the few mentions of non-European cultures, a non-European “voice,” according to Gyorgy Markus, is heard in contemporary western art in which “the pain of the Other” is experienced through postmodernism and “sometimes they [the artworks] even succeed.”²³ The homogenised non-western figure can only gain comprehension, here, through the contemporary artistic practice of the west. Modernity is qualified in an essay by Niklas Luhmann as the “radical structural transformation of society since the late middle ages,” and so Luhmann “embarrassingly” concedes Europe must be considered rational.²⁴ Rational provenance, circuitously, is decided by European history, for what other societies have had the European Middle Ages? The possible contexts in which imperialism may be discussed - for instance Kant’s imagination as sublime, in which white “purity” mixes with “nefarious” black²⁵ - are ignored. The key functions of imagination here are to consolidate Europe as the modern, and rational centre of the world, and to validate European history as the master narrative of history in general.

On the other hand, an expectation of *The Decolonization of Imagination* is that some colonial aspects of the theory of imagination will be addressed. Though the premise of the text is to investigate the influence of colonialism on the imagination, in

²³ Gyorgy Markus, “A Society of Culture: The Constitution of Modernity,” *Rethinking Imagination: Culture and Creativity*, eds. Gillian Robinson and John Rundell (London: Routledge, 1994), 28.

²⁴ Niklas Luhmann, “European Rationality,” *Rethinking Imagination: Culture and Creativity*, eds. Gillian Robinson and John Rundell (London: Routledge, 1994), 65-6.

²⁵ John Rundell, “Creativity and Judgement: Kant on Reason and Imagination,” *Rethinking Imagination: Culture and Creativity*, eds. Gillian Robinson and John Rundell (London: Routledge, 1994), 103.

the introduction the editors utilise Humanist concepts of the imagination, and ignore completely the genealogy of the faculty. Indeed, their project of making imagination post-colonial agrees with the universalising of imagination into a “global civil society and global democratisation.”²⁶ Hence, in giving preference to terms like hybridity and *métis*, the editors comply with imagination as a “shared” and “binding” order (5) that is negligent of unequal access to the specifically located authorities and productions of the imagination.²⁷ The simplicity with which imagination is addressed in this introduction conflicts with the complexity given to colonialism, imperialism, and decolonisation. Imagination is left in stasis as if this practice is unproblematic, while imperialism is open to an “analysis of its nature and impact” (1).²⁸ The globalisation of imagination under the guise of a universal ‘mind’ privileges western textuality as if artistic and historic production naturally arises independently from western philosophic and artistic histories.

The philosophical history of imagination

²⁶ Jan Nederveen Pieterse and Bhikhu Parekh, “Shifting Imaginaries: Decolonization, Internal Decolonization, Postcoloniality,” *The Decolonization of Imagination: Culture Knowledge and Power*, eds. Jan Nederveen Pieterse and Bhikhu Parekh (London: Zed Books, 1995), 15.

²⁷ The only article to critically investigate imagination is Marion O’Callaghan, “Continuities in Imagination,” *The Decolonization of Imagination Culture Knowledge and Power*, eds. Jan Nederveen Pieterse and Bhikhu Parekh (London: Zed Books, 1995), 22-42. She defines imagination as “the selecting out and rearrangement of ‘facts’ in order to provide coherence, framework and seeming unity between ideas and action” (22).

²⁸ Other contemporary critical investigations of imagination negate issues of culture and ethnicity through assuming the concept is supposedly natural and universal, as if mind and senses are identically used by all humanity. Elaine Scarry erases features of culture and history to validate her construction of imagination as a “deep structure of perception” (4) in which textual production is characterised by mimesis. Scarry selects writers and artists (a eurocentric list: Thomas Hardy, Charlotte Bronte, Keats, Sartre, Matisse, and Proust) who she considers proponents of the “global features of narrative that illustrate the same phenomenon” (6); the bourgeois novel and European impressionism are considered the closest approximations to the ‘real’ world because their imagination is the most ‘faithful.’ Elaine Scarry, “On Vivacity: The Difference Between Daydreaming and Imagination-Under-Authorial-Instruction,” *Representations* 52 (1995), 1-26.

Imagination had been a concept in European philosophy since Plato and Aristotle, but one of the first descriptions of it as a cohesive philosophical formula is Coleridge's *Biographia Literaria* in 1817.²⁹ Romantic writers have employed the term prior to Coleridge. William Blake was criticising empiricist views of perception, some decades before Coleridge's *Biographia Literaria*,³⁰ by arguing that the imagination gave truth to perception. Also philosophers such as Thomas Hobbes,³¹ various religious thinkers³² and German Idealists,³³ produced texts on the imagination. Yet, it is from Coleridge's text that contemporary Anglocentric concepts are most closely related. Coleridge's concept of the imagination is largely a reworking, and some have argued an unacknowledged translation, of German Idealism, a philosophic movement which was introduced to England primarily through Coleridge's translations and discussions. Coleridge turned to the writings of Immanuel Kant, Johann Gottlieb Fichte,³⁴ Friedrich Schelling and Hegel to criticise the English materialist philosophies of Locke, Hobbes, David Hartley and others. Coleridge heavily criticised the materialist

²⁹ Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria or Biographical Sketches of My Literary Life and Opinions*, eds. James Engell and W. Jackson Bate, Vols. 6 and 7 of *The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, 14 vols. (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1983). All references refer to the first volume. References from the second volume will be signalled by II before the page number.

³⁰ Maurice Cranston, *The Romantic Movement* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 53. Cranston suggests "Blake's homespun philosophy was groping towards what was to become in the thought of more sophisticated contemporaries, such as Coleridge, idealism" (53).

³¹ Engell considers Hobbes laid the groundwork for the contemporary understanding of imagination. Engell, *The Creative Imagination* 11.

³² Kathleen M. Wheeler has described Coleridge's concept of imagination as "Christianizing Plato," or in another instance, as conservatively adapting Kant to Christian ideology. To some extent, this work must have already been accomplished by the neo-Platonists. Kathleen M. Wheeler, *Sources, Processes and Methods in Coleridge's Biographia Literaria* (Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1980), 147.

³³ For details on these precursors see James Engell and W. Jackson Bate, "Editors Introduction," *Biographia Literaria or Biographical Sketches of My Literary Life and Opinions*, eds. James Engell and W. Jackson Bate, vol. 6 of *The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, 14 vols. (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1983), lxxxv-lxxxviii.

³⁴ Fichte introduced and expounded theories of self-consciousness and imagination as central practices of philosophy. According to Cranston he made Romantic ideology respectable through his philosophical exploration and criticism of Kant's work. Cranston, *The Romantic Movement* 28-9.

and 'commonsense' approach of the English thinkers when outlining his preference for transcendental philosophy, to the extent of devoting nearly three chapters of *Biographia Literaria* to criticise one aspect of English materialist philosophy, Hartian materialism. The threat from materialism was that if an outside reality existed independently of humans, a reality on which human knowledge is modelled from and dependent on, then, according to Coleridge in *Biographia Literaria*, knowledge becomes merely a reflection of the outside reality, the will a product of "blind Mechanism" (116), and the soul an *ens logicum*³⁵ (117). In this scheme the value of human thought has no higher or specialised position, no fundamental importance, and obviously a place for elite thinkers is impossible. Disputing this, Coleridge turned to German thinkers to argue that it is the human practice of imagination where this 'real' is experienced and produced, a practice that is a creative action synthesising the subject and object, thought and nature, presence and metaphysics. The mind, in this case, is not the passive recipient of an objective world but creates it through this synthesis, and the world is produced from the mind's imagination.

In detailing aspects of the colonial imagination I wish to make my agenda clear: first, the imagination proposes both a racial and class hierarchy and thus naturalises knowledge and creativity to specific white, elite groups. Secondly, Coleridge's work can be contextualised within English imperialism, and more specifically the intervention of Britain in the Pacific, in texts such as *Biographia Literaria* and "Rime of the Ancient Mariner." In these two texts concerns with race and imagination can be

³⁵ The result of the most basic, primordial logical process.

directly ascribed to the discursive production of the Pacific.³⁶ The connection between race and imagination can be usefully engaged by considering the sometimes interchangeable relationship of imagination with culture. These two concepts, while obviously dissimilar, in a certain sense both describe the production of hegemonic cultural values especially in texts valorised as artistic or works of 'genius,' for in Coleridge's argument it is the 'genius' who most successfully imagines.

Like culture, imagination is dependent upon the distinctions of race to manage its hierarchies. Robert Young's *Colonial Desire* is a particularly relevant study because not only does he demonstrate the complicity of the concepts culture and race, he also draws imagination as analogous to culture. In his analysis of Matthew Arnold's view of culture he states "Arnold's culture becomes, like imagination, a category of consciousness, produced by the reading and knowledge associated with civilization."³⁷ Thus imagination schematises a particular way of seeing, a specific state of subjectivity, from which the selected imaginer can produce the imaginative representations; like imagination, culture produced, to thinkers such as Arnold, a way of seeing and a position of subjectivity. Young historically contextualises the various utilities of culture in European thought, arguing that it has "for two hundred years carried within it an antagonism" (54) between universalism and an internal resistance, culture as something all humans belong to *or* things which are recognised as the 'refined' or 'best' products of society. However, Young warns that the attempt to move from this distinction into a broad anthropological reading of culture (or the

³⁶ While I do not address issues of gender directly here, they are relevant for Coleridge's imagination is strictly patriarchal. The ability to imagine is articulated purely in masculine terms.

³⁷ Robert J.C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995), 58.

universalist sense of imagination), *and* the use of this high/low distinction in culture (and imagination), reproduces the assumptions initiated in nineteenth century discourses on race.³⁸ Thus the ability to define and comprehend culture and imagination is dependent upon distinctions which frequently and similarly categorise race.

The crux of Young's argument is that both culture and imagination rely on race to demarcate a white elite. Young argues that artistic, historical, or imaginative productions are associated with racial characteristics. The 'civility' provided by imagination positions an elite group to master and produce what is accepted as culture; yet these figures are in a curious position, as Young notes in reference to *Culture and Anarchy*: "Arnold thus performs a manoeuvre that decisively transforms the marginal position of the alienated intellectual in the very centre of society" (58), and the site for the centre of these "chosen people" is the university.³⁹ Young explains that racial theory and racism mutually developed with the university using culture as the motor for these studies. Though currently there is little regard for the "blatant fact" of "university's amnesia about its relations to race," the university's complicity emphasises the very "racialization of knowledge" (64) particularly around issues of culture and imagination. The production and consolidation of categories of race in the university is a subject I return to when examining the discourse of Pacific History, as historical scholarship is frequently defined in terms of race; similarly, the circulation of

³⁸ See chapters two and three in Young's *Colonial Desire*. Arnold, in his division of Hebraic and Hellenistic culture, and his praise for Celtic culture, proposes that culture, intellect, 'civility' and so on, are determined by race. Young argues this "continues to be more a part of our contemporary thinking than we care to admit" (87).

³⁹ Young is here discussing the appropriation of the role of the chosen people by a select Anglo-Saxon class; in a curious reversal the Jews become, in a sense, non-Jewish, or philistine, when they are classified as Hebraic culture opposed to Arnold's more 'civilised' Hellenic culture (58).

Pacific Islander stereotypes is supported and made intelligible by racial classifications articulated in university scholarship.

Race and class in Coleridge's *Biographia Literaria*

A founding scholar of racial theory, J. F. Blumenbach, taught Coleridge at Göttingen, Germany between 1798-99, and according to Young his ideas can be credited to forms of Romanticism in which a pure, and white, origin of 'man' can be postulated (65). Coleridge's education in race may be a possible turning point in writings on the imagination. Nigel Leask argues that Coleridge's concept of the imagination transforms over the years 1795 - 1832 from a radical critique of class and social hierarchy (which is more predominantly circulated in other Romantic thinkers such as William Wordsworth) to a legitimation of the traditional elite.⁴⁰ Hence, it may be argued that once Coleridge was to include the emerging classifications of race into imagination, the faculty is no longer a criticism of Enlightenment rationalism but rather is employed to articulate class and racial hierarchies. The now more commonly used form of imagination, the faculty of the traditional elite, is described by Coleridge as "the living Power and prime Agent of all human Perception, and ... a repetition in the finite mind of the eternal act of creation in the infinite I AM" (304). Imagination is generally described in *Biographia Literaria* as the 'creative genius' or the special 'insight' of great artists or thinkers. These select few are capable of the act of 'self-experience,' for imagination is conceived as an action of thinking by a person, and this act must be accomplished to access the creative drive. Coleridge gives a second order

⁴⁰ Nigel Leask, *The Politics of Imagination in Coleridge's Critical Thought* (New York: St Martin's P, 1988), 3.

of imagination 'echoing' the first, which most of the "general public" are in possession of, but the selective, creative and synthesising powers of the first is available only to the few who produce the primary imagination (305). Before I discuss this distinction, some features of this 'self-experienced' form of imagination need discussion.

Instituting a metaphysics of presence, Coleridge writes of thinking using a metaphor of a water insect travelling upstream: similar to the insect, the mind's "self-experience" is of "alternate pulses of active and passive" (124). Thinking can be structured, then, in a Hegelian dialectic of active and passive, an opposition synthesised by imagination, the "intermediate faculty, which is both active and passive" (124). This is one of the many points where Coleridge uses or refigures the work of Hegel in discussing the imagination. Mary Anne Perkins links the imagination to Hegel's 'worldspirit,'⁴¹ and the theoretical parallels between these two figures are drawn out in detail in Kathleen Wheeler's "Coleridge's Theory of Imagination: A Hegelian Solution to Kant?"⁴² In employing Hegel, Coleridge brings in the fundamental privileges given to the west by dialectic Hegelian historiography. The water insect metaphor, taken by Coleridge from what he perceives as 'nature,' is a trope amenable to imperial discourse. Celebrating the movement over water (the insect "wins" its way), supposing binary oppositions occur naturally, and describing thought as a battle upstream, this is the kind of journey which we see Marlow take in *Heart of Darkness*. Far from neutral, the terms used to describe 'self-experience'

⁴¹ Mary Anne Perkins, "Logocentricity in Hegel and Coleridge," *Coleridge's Philosophy: The Logos as Unifying Principle* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1994), 283-8.

⁴² Kathleen M. Wheeler, "Coleridge's Theory of the Imagination: a Hegelian Solution to Kant?" *The Interpretation of Belief: Coleridge, Scheiermacher and Romanticism*, ed. David Jasper (London: Macmillan, 1986), 16-40.

privilege concepts frequently used in imperial discourse such as binarism, exploration, and thinking as a special kind of labour.

The person who can 'self-consciously' think is a figure of specific class and gender, a vocaliser of imperial discourse who brings the uncultivated cultures into history. As Joseph Pugliese states,

self-consciousness synonymously signifies western History, and all other histories are scripted as mere stories embedded in the myths of pre-history; in this unconscious state, they patiently await the colonial interventions of the west in order to be elevated to the self-conscious order of World History.⁴³

Coleridge's imagination produces a subject who possesses reason or knowledge through the self-conscious access to the "inner sense" (251) or "the mind's self-experience" (124). As Pugliese emphasises, 'self-consciousness' is a totalising gaze assuming "[full] possession and control" (353) of the observer and the observer's ideas or intentions, a current practice frequently used to bolster the legitimacy and attempted accuracy of many contemporary theories such as postcolonialism.

Coleridge, in mapping his teleology of history, states modernity is proof of Europe's self-consciousness: "In Egypt, Palestine, Greece, and India the analysis of the mind had reached its noon and manhood, while experimental research was still in its dawn and infancy" (90-1). Within the unity of a day, the Indian, Palestinian, Greek, or Egyptian subject is relegated to the full potency of infancy, patiently waiting the western imagination to bring them to maturity or consciousness and into the narrative of World History.

⁴³ Joseph Pugliese, "Parasiting 'Post'-Colonialism: On the (Im)possibility of a Disappropriative Practice," *Southern Review* 28.3 (1995), 352-3

An important manoeuvre of imagination which resonates in Benedict Anderson's work needs mentioning at this point: because the western viewer's observing protocol is imaginative, and achieved by performing 'self-conscious' examination, the strategy of 'self-consciousness' provides a non-corporeal status from which the European subject may observe the non-westerner's body. One specific link between Coleridge's and Anderson's imagination is the erasure of corporeality through close attention to the 'mind' of the observer. This manoeuvre covers precisely the racial politics Coleridge espouses: for Anderson to make an homogenous imagined community the inequalities of race which are most frequently articulated on a corporeal level, must be ignored through the utilisation of a disembodied, imaginative citizen. The homogeneity of the community is premised on unified speech acts; thus words and not bodies can suppose an equality. The legacy of Coleridge's racial theory continues in Anderson's text.

Thus, in a strictly Hegelian sense, and through self-consciousness, the act of reason is drawn along a teleological axis towards a greater truth like an explorer venturing up-river. Similarly, Coleridge proceeds to map out the primary and secondary imagination with an extended metaphor on the Roman Cis- and Trans-Alpine geography.⁴⁴ He details a topography where nearby is the "mere reflection and re-presentation" (237) of the lower-class secondary imagination, while farther away the "pure philosopher" can attempt "penetrating" the Alps and struggling through the "mists" and "clouds" and "uncultivated swamps" to find the "splendid palaces of happiness and power"; here, the philosopher realises that the "sources [are] far higher

⁴⁴ This metaphor 'imitates' one of Schelling's, the editors, Engell and Bate, note (236n)

and far inward" (239). The metaphor of crossing the Alps can be linked to the terms 'Caucasian' and 'Aryan' through Coleridge's teacher, Blumenbach. Robert Young explains:

[Blumenbach] anticipated the popular Romantic idea that the origins of mankind could be traced geographically to a pure source which seemingly moved ever eastwards - hence the term 'Caucasian,' which by stopping at the mountains between the Black and Caucasian seas, was still considerably to the west of the ultimate origins that, according to Herder and Schlegel, lay in the mountains of the Himalayas. (65)

There is a nexus of geography and race in operation which transforms the practices of exploration into a motivation and expression of imperialism, all under the guise of a philosophical quest. For, indeed, Blumenbach, divided race according to geography and added a fifth race, the 'Malays,' to his classification after learning of Cook's 'discoveries' in the Pacific. Nicholas Hudson writes that "evident in Blumenbach's work, the Enlightenment imagination had become dominated by the picture of great continental land masses, each, apparently, with its own color of human."⁴⁵ Similarly, the hierarchy of imagination is categorised by Coleridge in geographic terms, much like Hegel's inscription of history according to geography.⁴⁶ Philosophy as conquest situates an imperialist discourse within Coleridge's imagination, for the 'uncultivated swamps,' those primordial features, are transformed into 'images' of a perfect nature. As the water insect 'wins' its way, it is presumed the philosopher can only succeed if 'he' has the "courage" (239) to penetrate the unknown terrain and bring light to the "dark havens" (239). Throughout the metaphor of exploration or travel, the 'self-

⁴⁵ Nicholas Hudson, "From 'Nation' to 'Race': The Origin of Racial Classification in Eighteenth-Century Thought," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 29.3 (1996), 255.

⁴⁶ See especially Joseph Pugliese, "Embodied Economies of Desire in Hegel's Empire of Reason," *Social Semiotics* 4.1-2 (1995), 163-83.

experience' of philosophy assumes a decidedly imperial narratological praxis of 'bringing light' through the philosophical imagination or investigation.

The very act of imagination demands, for Coleridge, the initiation of an imperial quest. Some of these realms to be 'won over,' I assert, are the colonial terrains of the Pacific where "dark havens" necessarily call for "the few" to make them "*a-glow*" with the "sacred power of self intuition" (239-41). The tropes of imperialism - light/dark, swamps, the journey - at once are the tropes of philosophy, one justifying the other. The complicity between the practice of philosophic investigation and imperial penetration is obvious. Coleridge, in borrowing heavily from Hegel, writes that a consequence of the 'penetration' is to find the telos of natural philosophy:

The theory of natural philosophy will then be completed, when all nature was demonstrated to be identical in essence with that, which in its highest known power exists in man as intelligence and self-consciousness; when the heavens and the earth shall declare not only the power of their maker, but the glory and the presence of their God. (256)

The 'nature of philosophy,' as I will elaborate in the coming chapters on history and stereotypes, is a form of European domination made available to scholars, explorers, or colonial officials through a 'self-consciousness,' one that additionally polices history and knowledge.

Coleridge is adamant that philosophy is selective and not general, bluntly stating "philosophy cannot be intelligible to all, even of the most learned classes" (243). When Coleridge states "I say then, that it is neither possible nor necessary for all men, or for many, to be PHILOSOPHERS" (236), he, like Hegel, Schelling and Kant, is determined to limit philosophy to the activity and output of the gifted few. The bifurcated imagination distinguishes the producers of imagination from the receivers or admirers of the images. The limited number of people who imagine is due to the

rigours needed to attain the heightened state; the person must have “disciplined and strengthened this ulterior consciousness” (243), to the extent that “he” is “filled with the consciousness of freedom” (244); Schelling, on whom Coleridge’s selective enrolment can be attributed, considers if “philosophy is knowledge, which in order to be understood demands a certain measure of spiritual freedom, then it cannot be everybody’s possession.”⁴⁷ The lower classes, the admirers, can only imitate this imagination. In constructing this argument Coleridge relies heavily on Schelling - to the point of literally transcribing paragraphs - rather hypocritically suggesting that the origin of the imagination is not a ‘self-conscious’ insight but a textual re-production.⁴⁸ Coleridge’s own position as philosopher is perhaps closer to the imitative lower classes than the gifted imaginer. Also, as many critics have noted, Coleridge alludes to two other forthcoming writings in which he was to fully elaborate on his theory of imagination - an introduction to “Rime of the Ancient Mariner,” and a “detailed prospectus” (304), neither of which appeared. The full concept of the imagination is deferred, its complete meaning always awaiting one more definitive text. Gayatri Spivak, when addressing precisely this deferral, considers it a “ruse that makes possible the establishment of the *Law* of the imagination.”⁴⁹ While the completion of the meaning of imagination awaits, however, its racialised and classed-based ownership is already presumed.

⁴⁷ Qtd. in *Biographia Literaria*, 236n.

⁴⁸ The ‘philosophical’ chapters of *Biographia Literaria* (chps. 5-9, 12-13) have been criticised as plagiarism by numerous writers. The structure of these chapters has been called a “collage” by Wheeler who notes the extensive borrowings from other writers. Wheeler, *Sources* 43.

⁴⁹ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “The Letter as Cutting Edge,” *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics* (London: Routledge, 1987), 9. Spivak is here using ‘Law’ in a Lacanian sense.

The Pacific in Coleridge's imagination

The concept of imagination assumes that reality is accessible as a totality to particular people who have self-conscious access to the primary imagination. In Coleridge's scheme imagination incorporates all objective reality, a manoeuvre that assimilates all other knowledges, "all these we shall find united in one perspective central point" (247). As Coleridge makes clear: "We have imprisoned our own conceptions by the lines, which we have drawn, in order to exclude the conceptions of others" (247). The gesture of openness has lead Kathleen Wheeler to excitedly conclude that the imagination is not a metaphysical 'presence' because "it is a means of insisting upon the interactive, non-subjective nature of experience, such that reality is understood to reside neither in an absolute subject nor object, but in the experienced interaction between the two."⁵⁰ Wheeler's synthesis, it must be said, is clearly colonial in its erasure of difference and assumption of a universal and transcendent subject. Further, the interaction is still far from Wheeler's assumption of a universal and inclusive methodology. The 'others' of Coleridge's statement are the philosophers among whom Coleridge names Plato, Plotinus, Spinoza, the Stoics, and the Cabalists. However, Coleridge does not mean all philosophies or thinkers and he makes this adamantly clear, for he deliberately excludes in the following pages non-western thinkers and philosophies; these philosophies, apparently, are non-existent - they are "unintelligible" (251). Wheeler's optimistic assessment denies completely the hierarchies which function in Coleridge's thesis. The imagination here is not simply a high/low model, or some form of duality, for not only are there the 'original' thinkers

⁵⁰ Wheeler, "Coleridge's Theory" 17-8.

and the secondary thinkers, but the excluded non-western 'unintelligibles.' The levels are thus: first, that of the privileged 'imager,' second, the reader of the 'imagination,' and finally, the excluded non-western other. I will map out more clearly this three-runged hierarchy which Coleridge develops.

In his chapter titled 'The Best Parts of Language,' Coleridge takes issue with Wordsworth's 'rustic' characters, whom he considers cannot speak the language of "*good sense and natural feeling*" (II 55). Rather:

in civilized society, by imitation and passive remembrance of what they hear from their religious instructors and other superiors, the most uneducated share in the harvest which they neither sowed nor reaped.... The extreme difficulty, and often the impossibility, of finding words for the simplest moral and intellectual processes in the languages of uncivilized tribes has proved perhaps the weightiest obstacle to the progress of our most zealous and adroit missionaries. Yet these tribes are surrounded by the same nature as the peasants are. (II 54)

Coleridge's extensive 'imitation' of Schelling's work, which could be classified as 'passive remembrance,' is conveniently ignored. Instead, a unique reversal is proposed whereby the uneducated profit from the labours of the elite. Coleridge here states a comparison between lower classes and 'uncivilised tribes,' a comparison frequently utilised to classify the industrial workers of England as another race.⁵¹ We see this comparison when the excess of imitation is attributed to Australian Aborigines. Coleridge uses Australian Aborigines to categorise the "clowns and fools" (75) who attempt to parody or imitate William Wordsworth's style:

⁵¹ See Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 52-61, in which she discusses the representation of the working class as "white Negroes," racially distinguishing them from the upper- and middle-classes. Other studies of the juncture of class and race are: Sander L. Gilman, "Black Bodies, White Bodies: Toward an Iconography of Female Sexuality in Late Nineteenth-Century Art, Medicine and Literature," "*Race*," *Writing and Difference*, ed. Henry Louis Gates jnr. (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1985), 223-262; Young, *Colonial Desire*, 59-60; and George W. Stocking jnr., *Victorian Anthropology* (New York: Free Press, 1987), 208-19.

The talent for mimicry seems strongest where the human race are most degraded. The poor, naked, half human savages of New Holland were found excellent mimics: and in civilised society, minds of the very lowest stamp alone satarize by *copying*. (76)⁵²

As the extreme of the English uneducated, the Australian Aborigines are used to represent the polar opposite of an imagining person. Both these groups, the working class and the non-western, are banished from participating in the creation and reproduction of the 'good' and 'natural,' because their access is marked by imitation, a debased replication of the imaginative original.⁵³ Labour is prioritised according to intellectual capabilities - the uneducated do not work and their harvesting of the land is replaced by their supposed usurpation of the imaginative harvest from the instructors and superiors. A pedagogic economy replaces an agrarian one. But on another level a distinction is made between the un-educated's ability to use the knowledge and the non-western other's complete non-comprehension. The 'tribes' are left waiting for the translation performed by missionaries to 'enlighten' them, situating the imagining people as contemporary while the non-westerners must wait for these effects to trickle down through colonialism. In operation is a strategy which organises the European as modern and the non-western other as ahistorical or anachronistic, who waits in the providential telos of World History.⁵⁴ Thus Coleridge

⁵² The editors, Engell and Bate, trace this comment to a lecture given in January 1808 by Coleridge: "Ridicule disposes men to mimicry - The new Hollanders, whose dullness of apprehension has made many philanthropic observers melancholy, are yet perfect masters of mimicry" (76n). The information on Australian Aborigines may come from the journals of Cook, Banks, Forster, or George Shaw's *Zoology of New Holland* (1793).

⁵³ The categories developed here, the 'original' west and the imitating non-west, resonate in other areas. Discussions of Asian nationalism in some instances considers this 'modernity' an off-shoot of western nationalism; similarly some Pacific Island cultures' re-invigoration of traditional culture (such as Kastom or The Pacific Way) is proposed to be imitative of western anthropological research.

⁵⁴ I take the term "providential telos," or "the future-oriented goals which [western colonialism] promises can only come to fruition through the providential intervention of the colonial power"

reserves a special nadir for the non-western other, an abyss it is relevant to note, that is represented in *Biographia Literaria* by indigenes from around the Pacific.

The missionaries Coleridge refers to in the passage on 'uncivilised tribes,' it may be reasonably inferred, are on missions in the Pacific. As I soon detail, Coleridge has specifically praised missionaries in the Pacific, and this statement fits into his repeated use of indigenes or events from the Pacific area to describe the non-westerner's lack of imagination. The suggestion that the 'tribes' and the 'peasants' are in similar 'natural' environments may be due to the representation of Tahiti through European classical mythology as an English idyll.⁵⁵ Further, when Coleridge made this statement the British Evangelical movement was experiencing significant growth. John Wesley, the founder of the Wesleyans, made his first missionary venture to Georgia in the United States in 1730s, with the intention of converting Native Americans, but the growth of the evangelical movement in British religions was much later with the first organised mission to Sierra Leone in 1787, followed by the Baptist Missionary Society venture to India in 1793.⁵⁶ The mission to the Pacific by the Missionary Society in 1796,⁵⁷ probably the most widely recognised mission at the time, is noted as the "permanent expression of the energy that characterised the Evangelical

from Joseph Pugliese, "The Triangulated Tropics of Australian Colonialism," *New Literatures Review* 24 (1992), 30.

⁵⁵ See Smith, *European Visions* 133-54.

⁵⁶ For histories of the evangelical movement see D. W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Unwin, 1989); Stephen Neill, *Colonialism and Christian Missions* (London: Lutterworth P, 1966); Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986); and S. Gilley and W.J. Shiels, *A History of Religion in Britain* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994). The first published missionary accounts outside the Pacific are Thomas Winterbottom, *An Account of the Native Africans in the Neighbourhood of Sierra Leone* (London, 1802). Winterbottom was a Christian Missionary Society (CMS) missionary.

⁵⁷ Currently called the London Missionary Society (LMS). In 1795 the LMS was called the Missionary Society, changing to the LMS in 1818. See Niel Gunson, *Messengers of Grace: Evangelical Missionaries in the South Seas, 1792-1860* (Melbourne: OUP, 1978), 12.

movement.”⁵⁸ Missions were also supported by British imperialism, with the British government using the knowledge from these missions to mount various commercial and colonial projects.⁵⁹

After Coleridge’s use of Egypt and India, mentioned above, he proposes a racial hierarchy where the nadir is inhabited by ‘uncivilised tribes,’ in which are placed indigenes from around the Pacific, a group cobbled together by Coleridge through British imperial expansion. To the “Esquimaux or New Zealander, ... our most popular philosophy would be wholly unintelligible. The sense, the inward organ, ... is not yet born in him” (251).⁶⁰ The Maori or Eskimo are not even equated with the infant Egyptian, but with the foetal or undeveloped human, one who awaits the birth of the ‘inner organ.’ Thus the Maori or Eskimo are situated further down the philosophical ladder in a typical colonial classification which hierarchises non-western cultures by their relationship to western cultures. To represent the ‘unconscious’ or unphilosophical foetus of European thought, it is interesting that Coleridge turns to indigenes who figure in Cook’s voyages. But why would Coleridge use Pacific Islanders to represent this rung? The answer, I suggest, is in the complicity between representing English society as ‘civilised’ and representing Pacific Islander societies as degraded and ‘savage,’ a complicity fully reliant on imperialism to privilege the coloniser’s culture. Coleridge described and textualised imagination during a relatively intensive period of British intervention in the Pacific; the models of travel,

⁵⁸ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism* 42.

⁵⁹ The transfer of information was two-way, with the *Duff* mission using numerous vocabulary texts written by the *Bounty* mutineers. See Greg Denning, *Mr Bligh’s Bad Language: Passion, Power and Theatre on the Bounty* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992), 42-3.

⁶⁰ Coleridge here is quoting verbatim, but unacknowledged, from Schelling’s *Abhandlungen: Phil. Schrift*; however, he changes, as the editors’ note, a ‘Tierra del Fuego’ indigene to a ‘New Zealander’, (a Maori) - a point I will soon elaborate on. Coleridge, *Biographia* 249n.

transgression, and exploration in philosophy (such as 'penetrating' the Alps) were thoroughly compliant with the rhetoric of colonial policy and could demonstrate to the English audience the very civility of imagination. At the same time Coleridge was developing his theory of imagination between 1795 and 1830, the Pacific was of crucial importance to Britain. Though the 'era of exploration,' which historians tend to call the period around Cook's voyages, was at its end, the texts from these voyages were widely circulated.⁶¹ Further, growing economic importance, the establishment of the Port Jackson colony, the competition with other imperial powers such as Germany and France, and missionary intervention consolidated interest in this region.

The holy mission or telos of missionary work - exemplified by the frequently stated aphorism of 'bringing light to dark races' - is comparable to the telos of imagination.

Coleridge states:

missionaries have done a great deal for us in clearing up our notions about savage nations. What an immense deal of harm Captain Cook's *Voyages* did in that way!... We know now that they [Pacific Islanders] were more detestably licentious than we could have imagined.⁶²

Recorded in the early 1800s, this statement is a quite obvious refutation of the 'noble savage' myth often associated with the Romantic movement, and, as Neil Rennie notes, a reversal of Coleridge's own belief in this myth. The statement is in reference to the recently published account of the London Missionary Society (LMS) voyage to Tahiti, in their first mission in 1796.⁶³ Edward Said, elaborating the connection

⁶¹ Bernard Smith suggests many of these texts could be found in Coleridge's school library. Smith, *Imagining* 140.

⁶² John Sterling, *Essays and Tales*, ed. J.C. Hare (London, 1848), qtd. in Neil Rennie, *Far Fetched Facts: The Literature of Travel and the Idea of the South Seas* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1995), 180.

⁶³ William Wilson *et al*, *A Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean, performed in the years 1796, 1797, 1798, in the Ship Duff, Commanded by Captain James Wilson* (London: 1799); The ship *Duff* carried 30 missionaries. Neil Rennie notes Robert Southey writes of Coleridge's "scheme for putting an end to Tahitian wickedness ... 'by extirpating the breadfruit from their islands, and

between theology and the Romantic movement, describes missionary endeavour as a project similar to Romanticism in which the task to “revitalise ... Europe” is accomplished through encouraging a “sense of holy mission [Europe] had now lost.”⁶⁴ Within the ‘holy mission,’ the Pacific had an ambiguous position as both suggesting a potential utopia, and a place of ‘savagery’ needing ‘enlightenment’ from Europe. Thus, it may be argued one of the ‘missions’ of Romanticism was the revitalising of European culture through the extensive imaginative production of the Pacific. Coleridge, in his early twenties, planned a utopian community with the poet Robert Southey based on their social system called Pantisocracy.⁶⁵ The community of twenty couples was to be established somewhere in the ‘New World,’ the last proposed site was the Susquehanna River in Pennsylvania. Some scholars consider the utopian descriptions of Tahiti circulated in reports from Bougainville and Cook may have played a part in this concept.⁶⁶ The project failed and the community never occurred, Coleridge later stating the idea was “wild” and “harmless.”⁶⁷ The shift from Rousseau’s ideas of the Pacific in 1794-5 to the racial vehemence ten years later may be attributed, in part, to the strict inclusion of theories of race Coleridge had been exposed to during his time at Göttingen. Clearly, the Pacific was used to justify Coleridge’s attribution of imagination to a specific race, producing a racial theory on

making them live by the sweat of their brow’.” Rennie, *Far Fetched Facts* 180. Southey’s letter is dated 23 Dec. 1803.

⁶⁴ Said, *Orientalism* 115.

⁶⁵ Cranston, *The Romantic Movement* 57; Rennie, *Far Fetched Facts* 163; Alan Frost, “Tahiti, the Bounty Mutiny, and the English Romantic Poets,” *Dangerous Liaisons: Essays in Honour of Greg Denning*, ed. Donna Merwick (Melbourne: Dept. of History, U of Melbourne, 1994), 221-3.

⁶⁶ Rennie, *Far Fetched Facts* 163. Beaglehole, in his edition of Captain Cook’s journals, was to state that in ‘discovering’ Tahiti the English Captain, Samuel Wallis, had “stumbled on a foundation stone of the Romantic movement.” Qtd. in Rennie, *Far Fetched Facts* 84.

⁶⁷ S.T. Coleridge, letter to Mary Cruickshank, Sept. 1807, qtd. in Frost, “Tahiti, the Bounty Mutiny” 223.

the ownership and use of imagination. Further, the Pacific was to be conclusively marked as a region to be imagined, or a space where the European imaginer can have access to and produce the imaginings.

From referring to Pacific missionary work to using the Maori or Australian Aborigine as examples of the 'unintelligible,' the Pacific is repeatedly a margin in Coleridge's work. As noted previously, imitation marks the Aborigine as both anachronistic and a devalued copy or counterfeit of the 'original' European. And to repeat the point, Coleridge's own mimicry and plagiarism of the German Idealists, his word for word *copying*, is not subject to this racial classification. Located in Coleridge's claim of a 'degraded human race' - for degeneracy is a threat to the English imperial culture which positions itself as the apex of 'developed' culture - is the acknowledgment of a hierarchy within the human race. Coleridge did not valorise the figure of the 'rustic,' like Wordsworth who considered the rustic as a more authentic, beautiful or natural person (II 43). It appears Coleridge diverges from mainstream Romantic thought here.⁶⁸ Whereas it is commonly assumed that the Romantic tradition favoured the 'noble savage' myth, often this leniency was qualified by race and did not include all the Pacific Islanders, many of whom were branded 'savages.'⁶⁹ Pacific Island cultures, like many non-western cultures, served as the foetal stage in the development of knowledge in Coleridge's evolutionary lineage to an ideal, natural philosophy.

⁶⁸ Coleridge considered the "lower state of [the rustic's] cultivation, aims almost solely to convey *insulated facts* ... while the educated man chiefly seeks to discover and express those *connections* of things ... from which some ... general law is deducible" (II 52-3).

⁶⁹ Only the Tahitians were considered 'noble,' while the Maori, Aborigines, and Melanesians were often branded cannibals.

There is a definite connection between Coleridge's work and British intervention in the Pacific, which can be seen in a passage where Coleridge, in quoting verbatim from Schelling, switches 'native of Tierra del Fuego' to 'New Zealander' in his translation. This probably changes Schelling sources from the almost mythical stories by Magellan and Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, or the continental-based texts of Roggeveen and Bougainville,⁷⁰ to the British-based texts describing the Maori on Cook's voyages. Apart from some details from Abel Tasman's voyage which were not widely available, texts from Cook's voyages were the only European texts to discuss Aotearoa/New Zealand. Hence the indigenes of Tierra del Fuego are replaced by the dominantly Anglo-centric produced Maori. Coleridge's switch also refigures the purpose of the non-western subject in Coleridge's text, for the indigenes of Tierra del Fuego were a site of contested theories of 'universal brotherhood;' often represented as at the bottom of the evolutionary ladder or as eight foot monsters, the Tierra del Fuegians were used by some to refute the notion that all 'men' are born equal.⁷¹ On the other hand the Maori, through Cook's reported witnessing of cannibalism, were considered one of the most barbarous cultures in European eyes and were frequently cited in missionary propaganda.⁷² In his choice of Maori, Coleridge initiates a mapping of consciousness in terms of British sovereignty, but this is not to prepare for the Maori's inclusion; rather, Coleridge's texts work to efface Maori culture from Britain's imperial claims to the Maori's terrain.

⁷⁰ Both Roggeveen and Bougainville visited Tierra del Fuego (or Patagonia as it was then called by Europeans). The indigenes of Tierra del Fuego were of interest to the public because they were recorded as giants on Magellan's voyage, and were the Brobdignags of *Gulliver's Travels*.

⁷¹ See Smith, *Imagining* 60-1, and *European Visions* 40-1.

⁷² See Gananath Obeyesekere, "'British Cannibals': Contemplation of an Event in the Death and Resurrection of James Cook, Explorer," *Critical Inquiry* 18 (1992), 630-54.

Coleridge's poem "Rime of the Ancient Mariner" is a crucial text explicating the politics of a universal imagination through excluding the non-western other, which I want to briefly turn to before addressing Benedict Anderson. The poem is connected to narratives of the Pacific in a couple of ways. Bernard Smith associates Coleridge with Pacific exploration through Coleridge's mathematics teacher at Christ's Hospital, William Wales, where Coleridge studied between the age of ten and nineteen.⁷³ Wales was the astronomer and meteorologist on board the *Resolution* during Cook's second voyage. Smith proposes that the school provided the "creation of a substantial repertoire of imagery" (147) reproduced in later poetry, and Wales's importance to Coleridge can be likened to the wedding guest in "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner": Coleridge may have "once listened as a child would, spellbound, to an old seafaring man" (171). Smith outlines numerous points where descriptions in the poem are possibly taken from either descriptions in Wales's journal, paintings by William Hodges, or published accounts of the voyage by Cook, John Rienhold Forster, and his son George Forster. The poem does follow, vaguely, the path of Cook's second voyage from the Antarctic circle to the "tropical Latitude of the Great Pacific Ocean";⁷⁴ however, I do not wish to go to the extent of Smith in determining, through literary sleuthing, that "Wales's influence [is] discernible in the poetry that Coleridge wrote while still a pupil" (141) and surmising at one point that Coleridge's interest in clouds is a result of Wales's meteorological teachings and writings. Surmounting the

⁷³ Smith has a chapter in *Imagining the Pacific* detailing this connection: "Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner* and Cook's Second Voyage," 135-72.

⁷⁴ From the "Argument" at the introduction to "Rime of the Ancient Mariner." It must be noted that most ships voyaging directly to the Pacific needed to take the route described in the poem; that is, south to travel below Australia before sailing north to the Pacific. Alternative routes, such as through South-East Asia, were much longer. Hence the route is hardly unique.

basic criticism that “Coleridge [did] not confess that Wales was one of the major inspirational sources of *The Ancient Mariner*” (148), Smith demonstrates through the numerous similarities between Coleridge’s text and European representations of the Pacific that an intertextuality is evident. The other link between the poem and the Pacific is the reputed connection with the *Bounty* mutiny.⁷⁵ It has been argued that the mariner is actually Fletcher Christian, and the poem proof of Christian’s return to England from Pitcairn island. Christian plays out what Livingstone Lowes calls the “soul in agony”⁷⁶ or the “Romantic agony”⁷⁷ frequently described by Romantic poets. That two significant English voyages can be ascribed to the poem underscores the position Coleridge was to attain as quasi-official imaginer of the Pacific for his European audience and thus ‘self-consciously’ represent the racial categorisation of imagination itself.

The precis to the poem articulates the necessity to explain other ‘natures’ through the contemplative imagination. The precis runs:

I can well believe that there are more invisible than visible natures in the universe. But who shall describe their family? Who set forth the orders, kinships, respective stations, and functions of each?... The human mind has always sought after, but never attained, knowledge of these things. Meanwhile it is desirable, I grant, to contemplate in thought, as if in a picture, an image of a greater and better world.... But at the same time we

⁷⁵ First proposed in C.S. Wilkinson, *The Wake of the Bounty* (London: Cassell 1953); follow up publications include Neal B. Houston, “Fletcher Christian and the ‘Rime of the Ancient Mariner’,” *Dalhousie Review* 45 (1965), 431-466. Houston argues Christian is the model for the mariner. This point is countered in Robert C. Lietz III, “Fletcher Christian and the Ancient Mariner: A Refutation,” *Dalhousie Review* 50 (1970), 62-70. Livingstone Lowes notes that in Coleridge’s notebook one projected work was the “Adventures of CHRISTIAN the mutineer.” John Livingstone Lowes, *The Road to Xanadu: A Study in the Ways of Imagination* (Boston: Houghton, 1964), 26. The statement made by Christian before casting Bligh adrift, ‘I am in hell,’ has been generally associated with the poem. Rennie discusses some of this argument. Rennie, *Far Fetch Facts* 163, 273n.

⁷⁶ Lowes, *The Road to Xanadu* 27.

⁷⁷ Frost, “Tahiti, the Bounty Mutiny” 231.

must be vigilant for truth, and set a limit, lest we fail to distinguish certain from uncertain, day from night.⁷⁸

Coleridge's acknowledgment of unseen and unknown natures, and the suggestion of an anthropological inquiry - setting forth the kinship - substantiated by the knowing mind in contemplative thought, may be precursors to the scientific imperialism that Cook's voyages were to invigorate. The precis was written in the early eighteenth-century by Thomas Burnet and details a nexus between the increasing importance given to scientific study and the projects of European imperialism. Indeed, the observing scientist in the field is prompted to action by this precis to bring into sight (by imagination) those invisible 'natures.'

"The Rime of the Ancient Mariner" describes the passage of a ship from Europe to the Pacific Ocean. Once it has arrived in the Pacific - centre of British conquest, and the thriving arena of seventeenth century European science, art and adventure - the mariner's description of the Pacific is devoid of all life and only made up of spirits and demons haunting him: there is nothing but "that silent sea" (106) and "the painted ocean" (118) in the Pacific. The categorisation of certain 'natures' (which are by implication indigenous cultures) as invisible is paradoxical, for the very process of representation, of reinscribing groups such as the Maori into imaginative thought, ensures a representational contestation which, though greatly unequal in these eighteenth century texts, can now be contested. Coleridge instantiates invisibility, but in the call to describe the 'family' of Pacific Islanders through the imagination

⁷⁸ Preface, "Rime of the Ancient Mariner." The quotation is from Thomas Burnet, *The Archaeology of Philosophy*. Burnet (1635-1715) was an English theologian and philosopher. For a contemporary critique of his work see Stephen Jay Gould, *Time's Arrow, Time's Cycle: Myth and Metaphor in the Discovery of Geological Time* (Cambridge MS: Harvard UP, 1987). Gould's text discusses, in particular, Burnet's *The Sacred Theory of the Earth* (London, 1691)

Coleridge's representations are containable and comprehensible to the west: the spirits or demons which haunt the mariner are voices which speak his language or are the resurrected bodies of the ship's crew. The haunting of the mariner by his own shipmates is exemplary of what Jacques Derrida has called "white mythology," a concept I examine in detail in chapter five, where the culture of the west returns to itself as if a universal form of reason. The mariner's Rime replaces the 'invisible natures' imaginatively with visible knowledge; in Burnett's schema, brought to the 'certain' 'day' from the 'night,' the area of British colonial interest is represented in a series of ghostly visitations. The description of invisible natures in this "greater" world is exemplary of the rhetoric of the Enlightenment in which the categorisation of non-western cultures must submit to the "better world" of English imperialism, awaiting the 'discovery' by imagination and history. The expansionist activities such as Cook's voyages in the Pacific are validated by Coleridge's imagination which provides the conceptual ability to describe groups such as the Maori or Aborigines as products of the western consciousness. The violent constitution of the British imagination as the only form of thought, and as the telos of World History, makes the imagination a potential ally of colonialism.

Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*: imagining other communities

Imagination, particularly through the widely supported work of Benedict Anderson, has a contemporary political use of describing how a group sees itself or how cultures imagine their unity. This tendency has masked another crucial use of imagination in this context - how particular nations imagine other nations, cultures, and peoples. A central theorisation of this second modality of the imagination is Edward Said's

concept of Orientalist discourse, whose driving force, writes Said, is the “will” to understand control, or manipulate “what is manifestly different.”⁷⁹ Orientalism is a concept analogous to ‘imagining the Pacific,’ in that the ‘manifest difference’ between the colonising nations, such as Australia, and colonised terrain, such as the Pacific, is broached, and made knowledgable, through the critical employment of the concept of imagination. Though Anderson argues that the imagination is of the community perceiving itself, there are very similar processes of homogenisation occurring when white Australia imagines the Pacific. Indeed the omission of this rather fundamental function of nationalism is a glaring deficiency in Anderson’s thesis. Thinkers from Australia are able to ‘imagine’ without difficulty the Islands and cultures of the Pacific as one community regardless of enormous cultural, geographical and political differences. And this ‘imagining’ of other non-Australian regions makes possible the construction of a homogenous Australian ‘imagined community.’

Anderson’s text differs from most theories of nation because he argues that nations have not arisen from laws, institutions or politics but instead are the products of various changes in the way people *imagine* their community;⁸⁰ nationalism is a way of thinking about a group of people. Anderson sets out his imagined community thus: nations, he proposes, are imagined because not every member of a nation will know

⁷⁹ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 1978), 12.

⁸⁰ Nationalism, according to a number of critics, emerges in the nineteenth-century and relates to practices and disciplines that regulate and control a populace through the normalising concept of nation, and incite action for the defence of the nation. Ernest Gellner and E.J. Hobsbawm consider nationalism, as distinct from nation, to be “primarily a principle which holds that the political and national unit should be congruent.” E.J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, 2nd. ed (Cambridge: Canto-Cambridge UP, 1990). Hobsbawm quotes from Ernest Gellner, *Nation and Nationalism* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1983). Also relevant is Anthony D. Smith, *Theories of Nation*, 2nd. ed. (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1983). Smith dates nationalism from the nineteenth century.

every other member, “yet in the minds of each,” he considers, “lives the image of their communion.”⁸¹ Across the spectrum of a society resides a homogenous and positive ‘image’ of a nation bound in terms of ‘fraternity,’ ‘equality,’ and ‘comradeship’ (7). Because it is impossible to conceive the nation in its entirety, to know every person, Anderson argues that the nation resides in the imagination. The fraternity occurs through the community’s changing concepts of time and space produced by the development of print and the adoption of a single language within the State.⁸²

Wholly ignored by Anderson are connections between racial classifications and definitions of nation, giving the term nation a precedence as a civilising moment in a culture’s history. “Nation,” writes Nicholas Hudson, “began to be used as a subdivision of ‘race’ or, even more commonly, as a term denominating a cultural or political group of a certain sophistication.”⁸³ Similarly, in Hegel’s writings, the nation-state is a pinnacle in the civility of a society, for Hegel considers the “perfect embodiment of Spirit” is the state which is the “absolute final aim” of history.⁸⁴ This elitist aspect of nation, comparable to Coleridge’s specificities of imagination, is rendered silent in Anderson. The special Anglocentric ‘genius’ in Coleridge becomes the exemplary representative of a community under Anderson; though the conditions, subjects and privileges of imagination remains unchanged between Anderson and

⁸¹ Anderson, *Imagined* 6. All following quotations from this text will be cited in the body of the chapter.

⁸² Anderson’s argument tends to conflate nation, nationalism and the state, though he has written on the distinction between nation and state: the state is an institutional and legal power, significantly legitimated by the imagined nation. The implication here is that a nation is purely ideological, and any disciplinary or material powers are effects of the state. Benedict R. O’G. Anderson, *Language and Power: Exploring Political Cultures in Indonesia* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1990). See especially the chapter “Old State, New Society: Indonesia’s New Order in Comparative Historical Perspective.”

⁸³ Hudson, “From ‘Nation’ to ‘Race’” 258.

⁸⁴ Georg W.F. Hegel, *The Philosophy of History*, trans. J. Sibree (Buffalo: Prometheus, 1991), 17, 39.

Coleridge, the class and racial characteristics of Coleridge's imaginer are effaced by Anderson.

Representation of the Pacific in Australian colonial texts occurs through the often ignored transgression of boundaries achieved by the a colonial imagination. Why is the imagination seen by Anderson as a local and limited formulation when it is found in most imperialist adventure and travel narratives? And why are the violent practices of colonialism replaced by a concern for imaginative constructions? The assumed 'fictive' construction of the nation, a statement many critics choose to apply to Anderson's concept,⁸⁵ is a method of avoiding repressive apparatuses of nation and obscuring the violence endemic to most colonised nations. For instance, in relation to the academic representation of Pacific Island Culture, a particular 'fictive' reading of indigenous cultures has caused much debate in Pacific societies. Allan Hanson and Roger Keesing, in different papers, argue that indigenous culture have been, to a certain extent, invented.⁸⁶ Keesing states that "ancestral ways of life being evoked rhetorically may bear little relation to those documented historically" (19), and proceeds to detail that the past is far more ambiguous, and representations of this past are seen through the dominant colonial culture. Similarly Hanson, in invoking

⁸⁵ For example, Gyan Prakash considers this an easy system for some historians because "nationhood can more easily be shown as 'imagined' or fictive" rather than discussing the historicity of history itself. Gyan Prakash, "Writing Post-Orientalist Histories of the Third-World: Indian Historiography is Good to Think," *Colonialism and Culture*, ed. Nicholas B. Dirks (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1992), 369.

⁸⁶ Allan Hanson, "The Making of the Maori: Culture Invention and its Logic," *American Anthropologist* 91 (1989), 890-902. Roger M. Keesing, "Creating the Past: Custom and Identity in the Contemporary Pacific," *Contemporary Pacific* 1 (1989), 19-42. For discussion on the debate see Steven Webster, "Postmodernist Theory and the Sublimation of Maori Culture," *Oceania* 63.3 (1993), 222-239. Webster's argument, while an interesting summation, problematically conflates ideas of postmodernism, poststructuralism, and post-colonialism, while maintaining anthropology as a primary discourse to understand cultural interaction and articulate "cultural relativity" (237).

Hobsbawm's *The Invention of Tradition*⁸⁷ (which both authors cite) argues that Maori tradition is a contemporary construct. Located in these western criticisms and interrogations of Pacific Island cultures is an assumed ability to designate 'fictive' and real histories based on contemporary western methodologies. To brand a nation or group in this way is politically disempowering, for it assumes western practices have the knowledge to determine authenticity. Pacific Island and Maori histories are more complexly embedded in indigenous politics and decolonising practices than 'creating' or 'inventing' imply. The consolidation of power in, say, the Maori kaumatuas (traditional elders) involves a politics of gender and colonialism specific to the Maori that cannot be universalised or divorced from this context - a context frequently dismissed through centralising 'creation' or 'invention' as the cultural motor.⁸⁸ The application of imagination to a community can be seen as a strategy which legitimates or denies political autonomy - it is no surprise that most often it is the western institutions who adjudicate on the imagination or invention of non-western cultures. Again, I wish to stress that not all constructions of imagined communities are problematic - indeed it may have many political uses according to the specific context - but Anderson's conceptualisation of this structure needs critical re-evaluation. The term 'Pacific Way,' a widely used concept of Pacific identity, asserts Ron Crocombe, describes the "common interests of all islands peoples" and results from the awareness that "effective unifying concepts can reduce the extent and intensity of neocolonial dependency."⁸⁹ As Ian Anderson elaborates, these strategic alliances are

⁸⁷ Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1983).

⁸⁸ For a feminist critique of Maori politics see Ripeka Evans, "The Negation of Powerlessness: Maori Feminism, a Perspective," *Hecate* 20.2 (1994), 53-65.

⁸⁹ Ron Crocombe, *The Pacific Way: An Emerging Identity* (Suva: Lotu Pasifika, 1976), 1.

complex: “whilst notions of Aboriginal nationhood subvert aspects of the colonial tradition, they do risk collapsing particular histories and identities into a unitary category.”⁹⁰ The simultaneous subversion and homogenisation of nationalism is a complexity with which Benedict Anderson refuses to engage, for it ruptures the desired ‘fraternity’ of the imagined community. .

Using the term ‘imagined community’ to suggest a society’s modernity enacts an imperial relationship. Pacific nationalism is schematised in Anderson’s text as the ‘last wave’ in Europe’s history of its own nationalism, and the full coming to consciousness of Pacific nations are retarded in this eurocentric development.⁹¹ As if obedient to colonial history, Pacific nationalism is not considered oppositional to precisely the construction of nation as figured by Anderson. For instance, the ‘Pacific Way,’ states Crocombe, is a common rejection of colonialism, which acknowledges that the “colonial experience left a common unpleasant taste...: a common humiliation, a common feeling of deprivation and exploitation.”⁹² Nation is a charged term in recent post-colonial and cultural studies; nation both resists and incorporates imperialism, it both suggests decolonisation from, and inculcation into, western political systems. However, the confluence of imagination and nation in Anderson’s *Imagined Communities* stabilises the contestation of national identity through the homogenously constructed imagination. Indigenous resistances and decolonising

⁹⁰ Ian Anderson, “Aboriginal Nation(s)?” *Asian and Pacific Inscriptions: Identities, Ethnicities, Nationalities*, ed. Suvendrini Perera (Melbourne: Meridian Books, 1995), 68.

⁹¹ As I have mentioned, no Pacific nations are actually named, but they would be categorised in Anderson’s rubric of “young” and/or Colonial-state nations (119). At most, the Pacific is mentioned as prone to “peculiar geographies of the imaginary polities of the age” (69), in texts such as More’s *Utopia* and Swift’s *Gulliver’s Travels*. Typically, the Pacific is described primarily as the product of European imagination.

⁹² Crocombe, *Pacific Way* 13.

movements are drawn into a developmental narrative which sees the modernity of western society providing freedom in terms of the bourgeois imagination. Pacific nationalisms, under the guise of Anderson's communities, become an adjunct to European history, and identity is drawn into a colonial relationship on a national level through the homogenising concept of imagination.

Through eliding resistances to national identity, Anderson employs a rather romantic concept of 'community.' In one of the few stringent criticisms of this text, Mary Louise Pratt compares Anderson's concept of nation to utopian speech communities: "Put another way," states Pratt, "Anderson's limited, sovereign, horizontal brotherhood is the image in which the speech community often gets conceived in modern linguistics."⁹³ Much like Coleridge's telos of natural philosophy, the "splendid palaces of happiness and power,"⁹⁴ Anderson proposes nations are places where citizens can ideally imagine, speak, and comprehend the language. Indeed, it may be through borrowing linguistic concepts from speech-act theory or speech community theory, Pratt contends, that an idealised speaker gets transformed into an idealised citizen. Pratt details the utopian register of Anderson's proposal:

[nations] are imagined as islands, as discrete and sovereign social entities, and in the more general sense that the imagined version is an idealisation, embodying values like fraternity, equality, or liberty, which the societies profess but ... have failed to realise. (50).

Pratt emphasises that through concentrating on the nation as a utopia the failures or breakdowns which disturb the community are not taken into account or recognised in the system (51).

⁹³ Mary Louise Pratt, "Linguistic Utopias," *The Linguistics of Writing: Arguments Between Language and Literature*, eds. Nigel Fabb, Derek Attridge, Alan Durant, and Colin MacCabe (New York: Methuen, 1987), 50.

⁹⁴ Coleridge, *Biographia* 239.

Corporeality and language in imagined communities

Quite clearly there is no singular 'image' of the nation in Australia - the imagined community of Australia is only one possible nation among many; the community we infer Anderson means is that of white Australia, for the idealised and egalitarian imaginations provide a set of knowledges, national myths and stereotypes from which an imagined community is constructed. Aboriginal identities, cultures and peoples are mainly excluded, as are ethnic groups and women. The rather simple process of assuming hegemonic representations are idealistically egalitarian and uniformly spread among the community erases the contestations and frequent instability over representations of nationalism. Assuming nationalism is an internal operation, a practice of the mind, denies that the nation is also constructed by the foreign and the corporeal.

What is represented as foreign to a nation, the exclusions and margins, must necessarily determine a nation. One of the many forces determining an Australian state was the exclusionist White Australia Policy which both correlated 'Australian-ness' to whiteness and 'foreignness' as non-whiteness. The zones of South-East Asia and the Pacific described, to an extent, what the Australian nation was united against and different from. And the excoriation of foreignness is linked to the ability to imagine the foreignness; the fraternity of nationalism buoys itself through subjecting the foreign to the imperialistic imagination - the subject of stories and histories, the foreign is a commodity in patriotism.

The focus on the mind in Anderson's 'image' of nation denies that disciplining the body, regularising the 'proper' features (skin colour, hair type and so on) and 'proper'

activities of 'Australianness' (sexuality, work and leisure), are also important determinants of nationality.⁹⁵ Skin colour - the original signifier of the white Australian nation - is casually dropped from the structure of nation. Anderson's elision of corporeality is part of the larger project to conceive the nation as a transcendental image. Anderson does attempt to ground the metaphoric unity in the dispersal of print literature. However, to situate the nation's nascence in print technology (for Anderson's nationalism is born from Gutenberg's press) while espousing that the unity is a shared 'image' is a contradiction - either the nation is inscribed by language or conceived as transcendental. These attempts to unify the nation in language elide the corporeality of nationality. A telling example of the erasure of corporeality is demonstrated in Anderson's discussion on the tomb of the unknown soldier. The absence of the body from the tomb, the "void ... of identifiable mortal remains or immortal souls" is the nation's "force of ... modernity," the "ghostly national imaginings" (9). The tomb, for Anderson, is proof that nationalism derives not from material sources but from an idealism - there is no body on which nationalism is founded or inscribed but around the monument is voiced national patriotism. The example operates as if the war circulated only around tombs and not in family genealogies, forced migrations, the Returned Servicemen's League, and so on. And indeed in these bodies and institutions of war we see the corporeal cost - of life or the increase of racist invective through the RSL - associated with western wars. Yet, with the logocentric charge made by Anderson comes the dilemma of the

⁹⁵ Another useful study of corporeality in the work of Benedict Anderson is Stephen Fitzpatrick, "Fiction and (Corpo)reality: Writing Indonesian Inside Out. An Inquiry into Historiography," B.A. Hons. Thesis, Dept. of History and Politics, Wollongong University, 1995. Fitzpatrick examines Anderson's *Language and Power: Exploring Political Cultures in Indonesia* (London: Cornell UP, 1990), in which he discusses the "[elision of] the role of the body in negotiated transactions" (21).

corporeal interrupting the transcendent image. Thus in 1994, the Australian government located and reburied the unknown soldier amongst much patriotic ceremony, an action Anderson considered impossible: "sacrilege, of a strange contemporary kind!" (9). Reinscribed in this ceremony is the material cost - the skeletons of warfare - of white Australian patriotism.

Anderson is similarly unwilling to incorporate the violence and disciplines of nation-states in the process of homogenising communities. Joseph Pugliese writes of these ideological and disciplinary formations operating in discourses and practices of Australian national identity in relation to multicultural and assimilationist policies:

the images of nation were, ... for me, refracted by a dissymmetry: a dissymmetry generated by the materiality of non-congruent practices and, in the context of the ideology of assimilation (and its corporeal metaphors), indigestible cultural differences, as obstinate traces that exceeded the economy of assimilation.⁹⁶

The cohesive structure of a nation must at once be an assimilatory practice and a discipline. To be a national subject is to reproduce the hegemonic language, myths, and symbols that signify the nation. To participate in national identity is not solely to imagine, but also to obey in order to be included in specific nationalist practices. A contention, though, as Pugliese's statement infers, is that it is the nation's others who "fail to signify under this 'most representative' rubric [of nation]."⁹⁷ Perhaps to avoid the materiality of this violence, Anderson attempts to exclude racism from nationalism: "the nation was conceived in language, not in blood" (145). This is a

⁹⁶ Joseph Pugliese, "Assimilation, Unspeakable Traces and the Ontologies of Nation," *Asian and Pacific Inscriptions: Identities, Ethnicities, Nationalities*, ed. Suvendrini Perera (Melbourne: Meridian Books, 1995), 236.

⁹⁷ Joseph Pugliese, "Literary Histories and the Ontologies of Nation," *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature* 22.3-4 (1995), 483. Pugliese quotes 'most representative' from H.M. Green, *History of Australian Literature*, revised ed. by Dorothy Green (London: Angus and Robertson, 1984).

point Sara Suleri refutes when responding to Anderson's claim that nations produce 'self-sacrificing love': the "colonial encounter ... creat[es] a historical context where nationalism is synonymous with terror."⁹⁸

One aspect of the violence I wish to examine in the final section of this chapter is the use of language, particularly Anderson's simplistic division between language and blood. Anderson considers a nation is unified by a single language "the 'choice' of language appears as a gradual, unselfconscious, pragmatic, not to say haphazard development" (42). Anderson extends this argument with the suggestion that language is freely available to all:

Language is not an instrument of exclusion: in principle, anyone can learn a language. On the contrary, it is fundamentally inclusive, limited only by the fatality of Babel: no one lives long enough to learn *all* languages. Print-language is what invents nationalism, not *a* particular language per se. (134)

At this juncture Anderson erases the institutional support or interdiction of language. The legislation by colonial regimes against certain languages (Hawaiian, Gaelic, Maori and Aboriginal languages) means that not everyone can learn all languages, for invariably these banned languages were only circulated and taught within academic institutions by western scholars - people who wouldn't necessarily put them to political use. Matthew Arnold's role, as the Inspector of Schools, in banning Gaelic is telling: he wanted to see the language, according to Robert Young, extinct as a living language but "an object of academic study, the museum relic of an extinct culture."⁹⁹ One tactic within Australian colonialism is to represent indigenous languages as 'jabber' or 'noise,' and thus assume ownership of communication by associating

⁹⁸ Sara Suleri, *The Rhetoric of English India* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1992), 4.

⁹⁹ Young, *Colonial Desire* 71.

English with accuracy and reality. Here the celebrated egalitarianism of language, its disassociation with blood, erases the often violent repression of indigenous languages in both Australia and the Pacific Islands. A criticism raised by Homi Bhabha is pertinent here: "mustn't we ask with Derrida whether 'the people' will so unanimously and transparently assemble in the self presence of speech?"¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, any notion that the appropriation of a language can be a tactic *contra* to the structure of a colonial nation is ignored - and here the appropriation of an English legislature by Tonga precisely to exclude English colonial intervention is an apt example.¹⁰¹ Not that English became the recognised language, but English was appropriated to demonstrate clearly to the colonial authorities that Tonga was to maintain its sovereignty and not become a dependency of Britain.

Anderson's unification of language relies on the homogenising force of the printing press, because in this technology various gestures of equality can be read: the reader can "visualise thousands like themselves through print-language" (77); and the book, for Anderson, "is a distinct, self-contained object, exactly reproduced on a large scale" (35). The mechanical reproduction supposes some equivalence of information, that everyone reads the same text. What is termed the "boom" of printing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (33-4, 38) celebrates capitalism even though printing presses were previously used in non-European countries.¹⁰² The west did not

¹⁰⁰ Homi Bhabha, "A Question of Survival: Nations and States," *Psychoanalysis and Cultural Theory: Thresholds*, ed. James Donald (London: Macmillan, 1991), 90.

¹⁰¹ See Adrian Cunningham, "Tonga: A Case Study of an Unusual Protectorate," *Pacific Island Focus* 2.2 (1992), 3- 40. Similar political strategies were also employed in Thailand (Siam) and Japan.

¹⁰² In Tonga the Kupesi press, a form of wood block printing, was used before missionaries introduced the European press. See Pesi Fonua, "Publishing in Tonga," *Pacific Island Communication Journal* 14.1 (1985), 30-40. For accounts of the introduction of missionary presses see G. S. Parsonson, "The Literate Revolution in Polynesia," *Journal of Pacific History* 2 (1967),

'discover' this technology, only celebrated and claimed ownership of it, suggesting the press is not the natural or primal development Anderson supposes. Sourcing nationalism in print literature supposes the participants in the national discourse are the literate minds, implying the literary elite can speak for other people's nationalism.¹⁰³ Ranjit Guha foregrounds this literate assumption of national subjects:

literacy ... usurp[s] the role of language in the history of nationalism, and thereby ... represent[s] that phenomenon primarily as a transaction between a ruling elite and its *élèves*, a literary minority among the ruled. In this *pas de deux* there is nothing for a pre-literate peasant population to do except look on.¹⁰⁴

In the context of the Pacific, the introduction of European presses by missionaries into many Pacific Island cultures did not lead to nationalism or equality but instead initiated the emergence of various colonial pedagogical and administrative disciplines. Language is constructed in these pedagogical activities as a practice which needs to be contained and controlled (through phoneticising words) and simultaneously words are used to control and discipline the language user. Educational texts display this bias: *The English Lesson Book for Melanesians*,¹⁰⁵ a missionary publication for Pacific Islander children, enforces gender stereotypes, "my brother plants yams ... my daughter stays in her house" (8), rationalises colonial power "their guns are heavier than our bows" (8), emphasises racial stereotypes of indigenous behaviour "the stupid

39-57. The printing press was also in use in China and Korea centuries before Europe. J.M. Blaunt, *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History* (New York: Guilford P, 1993), 117.

¹⁰³ A number of critics have argued that Anderson's nationalism is elitist because it is based on a non-populist bourgeois intelligentsia. Julie Skurski considers that Anderson's scheme of Latin American nationalism suits only the colonial elites. Julie Skurski, "The Ambiguities of Authenticity in Latin America: *Doña Bárbara* and the Construction of National Identity," *Poetics Today* 15.4 (1994), 609-10. See also Anthony D. Smith, "The Nation: Invented, Imagined, Reconstructed?" *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 20.3 (1991), 363-4.

¹⁰⁴ Ranjit Guha, "Nationalism Reduced to 'Official Nationalism'," *ASAA Review* 9.1 (1985), 106.

¹⁰⁵ *The English Lesson Book for Melanesians* (Norfolk Island: Melanesian Missionary Press, 1906).

boy is bad, but the lazy boy is worse" (8) and "work hard you are always resting" (21). There are very clear themes in the language lessons, for hygiene, laziness, and being truthful to a colonial authority, are continually used as example sentences.

The Australian government also saw the control of languages as necessary for the management of colonial administration and commerce. In the *Interstate Commission of Australia: Report on South Sea Trade* language was specifically raised as "The Language Question."¹⁰⁶ The Commission suggests:

choosing or creating ... some uniform standard ... in the interests of administrative, educational and medical development, and the teaching of industrial and commercial pursuits; further, the question is being considered how far, for the same purpose, the natives should be taught the language of their rulers. (146)

The 'fundamental inclusion' of language within economic and pedagogical discourses quite clearly demonstrates a commercial and administrative priority. Indeed language's inclusion, far from an 'unselfconscious choice,' seems only to imply the amount of subordination of the Islanders to colonial rule. Uniformity of language, unisonance,¹⁰⁷ operates here for the benefit of commerce; the educational aspect is concerned primarily with teaching Pacific Islanders how to work for the colonial administration. Anderson argues that print language unifies a nation, which is to say the homogenising and disciplinary practices of the administration become transparent. To refute Anderson's notion that a nation's language is either technologically

¹⁰⁶ *Interstate Commission of Australia: Report on South Sea Trade* (Sydney: H.J. Green, Government Publishers, 1918).

¹⁰⁷ Unisonance is Anderson's concept of a nation speaking in one voice: "Take national anthems.... No matter how banal the words and mediocre the tunes, there is in this singing an experience of simultaneity. The image: unisonance. Singing ... *Waltzing Matilda* provide[s] occasions for unisonality, for the echoed physical realization of the imagined community" (145). Quite apart from Anderson's error on the Australian national anthem, there are problems with who knows the words, who sings it, and so on.

determined or unselfconscious, the comments made by Reverend John Wear Burton¹⁰⁸

in the report are telling:

it seems to me that [introducing English] would be impossible amongst a simple-minded people like the Islanders. The 'thought content' of the English language is much too high for the Polynesian. What we did in Fiji in the early days was to standardize one dialect.... When the Government took control, it took over the standardization from the missionaries.... [T]here is no possibility of developing the native mind in 'pidgin' English; you cannot bring higher thoughts to him. It would be very difficult to conduct industrial affairs in 'pidgin' English. (147).

Language's institutional utility is made blatant by Burton with his assumption that industrial uses are the primary uses of a language. That one language may be spoken at home, another at work and another in church for Fijians exemplifies the inaccuracy in positing a national language in colonised states. And the concept of 'thought content' of a language emphasises the racial qualifications of Coleridge's imagination or Anderson's 'image of nation.' The colonial evaluation of language at the same time evaluates Pacific Islander thought as inferior to English thought, and hence the Pacific Islander imagination as inferior. In this logic the imagination is signified by language, a contradiction in its implied transcendent status, in order to measure the superiority of the west.

Pidgin occupies a dangerous zone for colonists such as Burton because it is perceived as a deformation of the purity of the English language, a miscegenation of English that could at once break its connection with 'higher thoughts.' Indeed, the report defines 'pidgin' thus:

¹⁰⁸ Reverend J. W. Burton worked for the Australian Methodist Mission in Fiji between 1900-1912. He was a critic of Indian indentured labour and published these criticisms in his *Our Indian Work in Fiji* (1909). John Garrett, *Footsteps in the Sea: Christianity in Oceania to World War II* (Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, USP, 1992), 160-4.

‘Pidgin’ or ‘pigeon’ - Chinese corruption of ‘business’ (used indefinitely) - chiefly in ‘Pidgin’ or ‘pigeon’ English, the strange jargon, mainly of English words (often corrupted) arranged after Chinese syntax. (147)

The corruption of language is racialised, with pidgin’s ‘strangeness’ and limit to mercantile functions attributed to the Chinese. The comment that English is complex compared to a simplistic indigenous language reproduces the evaluation of Europe as a complex and developed nation, a hierarchy prevalent in Anderson’s text. Anderson’s generous comments of the inclusiveness of language is ignorant of the historical, cultural and economic, and often violent management of language in colonial situations.

Imagination, in its romantic use and current use by Anderson, can make Pacific cultures and identities intelligible within Australian colonial discourse. The concept, I wish to emphasise, is not limited to literary narratives but operates also in discourses of history and science. For in these discourses the intelligibility provided by imagination allows for an authorisation of particular readings of colonial history. In the construction of Pacific terrains, cultures and identities as objects of knowledge, the imagination can justify an intervention while simultaneously negating the colonial discursive practices in operation through claiming the involvement is merely imaginary. In the next chapter I examine a particular history, that of ‘Bully’ Hayes, in order to begin mapping the intersections of history, literature, and the imagination in Australian colonial discourse. Hayes, a ship’s captain and merchant in the Pacific from the 1850s to the 1870s, is perhaps one of the most popular identities of Australian adventure narratives about the Pacific in the period 1880-1920. Though he was an American, Hayes spent a period of time in Australia, and his history is most frequently written by Australian writers. Hayes features in popular culture, especially adventure

fiction and popular history, during the height of Australian colonialism, and the fictional narratives on this identity can clarify political issues relevant to Australian colonial practice. As I have previously mentioned, the extensive reach of colonialism, and its operation on numerous discursive levels, compels this thesis to critically examine a wide range of texts, institutional sites, archives and cultural bodies that are mobilised to reproduce the discourse of colonialism; and in the narratives of Hayes the 'romance' attributed to the genre of adventure story can at the same time systematise the direction for historical research. Adventure narratives are grounded on colonial practices which represented and adherently supported the ideology of colonial expansion; the narratives conformed to white Australia's politics of race and sexuality in order to validate the economy of Australian imperialism through advertising colonial ventures, and also to educate the reader in how colonial commerce worked.

'Bully' Hayes Adventure Narratives and Pacific History

Chapter two

Constructions of the past do not necessarily emerge from the uncovering of documents to reveal a hidden and coherent account of what has happened; rather, they are constructed from the contemporary forces at work in academic, popular, colonial, and political discourses. Contextualising adventure narratives in white Australian culture can elucidate the forces at work in colonial discourse's production of literary and historical narratives. The complex intersection between adventure narratives and history, in particular, is one area where Australian colonial discourse is emphatically articulated. Beatrice Grimshaw, the widely read Australian adventure and travel writer, opens a travelogue advertising European settlement in the Pacific by addressing the popular genre in which the Pacific is most often produced, the adventure story:

The very name of the South Seas reeks of adventure and romance. Every boy at school has dreams of coral islands and rakish schooners, sharks and pearls; most men retain a shame-faced fancy for the stories of peril and adventure in that magical South Sea world.¹

Adventure, as represented by Grimshaw, is considered juvenilia which at most is an embarrassing interest for men. Conceived this way, adventure is independent from the politics of colonialism, and from western scientific interests such as history or anthropology. In this chapter I wish to contest this popular view and show some interdependencies between history and adventure to explain how the narratives of

¹ Beatrice Grimshaw, "The Cook Islands," *Daily Graphic* 1905, Beatrice Grimshaw newspaper clippings, La Trobe Library, Victoria. Some of these clippings are republished in *From Fiji to the Cannibal Islands* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1907).

adventure are integral to Australia's colonial discourse. I am particularly concerned with the racialisation of these narratives. In extending the argument I proposed in the previous chapter - that imagination is a concept which makes intelligible, and rationalises, colonial intervention into the Pacific - my focus here is to examine how so-called imaginative texts reproduce the values of race and class found in the concept of imagination, and in turn how the status of fact (and hence the connection with history) is produced from this.

The reciprocity between narratives of history and adventure is clearly exemplified in John M.R. Young's bibliographical essay describing the historian of Australian colonialism:

The student of Australian expansion into the Pacific is, like the object of his study, an adventurer in uncharted seas. A book such as [mine] cannot pilot its reader to historical judgements which lay beyond the intellectual horizon of its many authors; (those are his to make). It will have served its purpose if it enables him to follow in their wake.²

The interchangeable role of the adventurer and historian lays claim to the multiple and often interchanging utilities between adventure and history; the proclivity to transform historical discourse to adventure narrative implies a similarity of strategy. The language of historical discourse is frequently informed by the tropes of adventure, thus the historical search is valorised as an adventurous quest, a manoeuvre that simplistically supports the practice of colonial intervention. But more than this, the historian him/herself replays the actions of intervention, only this time on an conceptual level, in which the 'uncharted' texts are 'discovered' and ordered by the historian. In this passage the close connection between Romanticism and history, as

² John M.R. Young, *Australia's Pacific Frontier: Economic and Cultural Expansion into the Pacific, 1795-1885* (Melbourne: Cassell, 1967), 110-1.

brought to attention through Coleridge's 'penetration' by the imagination, is obvious in the 'uncharted' area beyond the 'horizon.' The history of colonialism, which Young 'charts,' is not an account of a frequently violent, and unequal contest for power on Pacific terrain, but instead is represented like an adventure narrative.

Biographies of Hayes

A focus of this chapter is to detail where the 'fiction' of adventure becomes the political organisation of colonialism, particularly in Australian colonial discourse's inscriptions of terrain and bodies. The connection and contestation between the genres of adventure and history is foreground in the commentary on William 'Bully' Hayes. Because the stories of Hayes are given the status of legends, myths, or yarns, and are largely unsubstantiated, they activate a collision of the categories history and story, fact and fiction. Exposed in this contestation is the reliance of both adventure and history on statements promulgating colonial strategies within historical or literary discourses. Hayes is figured as a part of Australian Pacific History and frequently mentioned in debates on indentured labour or Pacific commerce, yet many historians and writers substantiate and legitimate colonialism through uncritically repeating the myths found in adventure narratives of Hayes. In this context, the texts about Hayes are not so much about cultural myths, but articulations of the management of Australia's intercession, control, and history in the Pacific, regardless of the fictional status of the narratives.

Aspects of Pacific History, which I will discuss in chapter three, produce a past sympathetic to colonialism. This can be done through constructing the Pacific as an object of knowledge in the colonial archive so that representations are significantly

monitored by colonial discourse. Regardless of the apparent 'fictionality,' this regulation of knowledge operates similarly in adventure narratives. Through the narratives of Hayes I examine how history, fact, fiction and document are produced and formulated as objects of knowledge in a particular hierarchy, and how this knowledge functions within colonial discourse. The histories of Hayes often represent him as a mythical figure based on a historical character, from which there is little evidence to validate numerous stories of the events in his life. Yet, clearly, Australian colonialism is situated in this field in which the forces of Australian literary culture, history, politics, and commerce describe a strategy of subjugating the peoples and areas of the Pacific made possible by the fictions on Hayes.

Frank Clune's history of Hayes begins with the claim that the "reputation of ... Hayes, has been so blackened by fictioneers that it is difficult to sift the fact from the fables."³ Clune's 'blackening' of history, implying a racial impurity, will only arrive through a factual 'whitening' of history. Likewise, Basil Lubbock claims his book will "gather up and straighten out the kinked up strands in the strange life-line of that notorious South Sea adventurer, Captain William Henry Hayes."⁴ Narratives, for Lubbock, possess a linear structure, and can be neatly woven into 'proper' fabric. Frank Coffee, using a similar trope, says "myths and legends have been inextricably woven with facts."⁵ The trope of weaving provides a systematic ordering of historical and fictional narratives, and simultaneously resonates with the legacy of fabric manufacture in the colonial economy: through the monopoly on the cotton industry

³ Frank Clune, *Captain Bully Hayes: Blackbirder and Bigamist* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1970), 1.

⁴ Basil Lubbock, *Bully Hayes: South Sea Pirate* (London: Martin Hopkins, 1931), v.

⁵ Frank Coffee, *Forty Years on the Pacific: The lure of the great ocean. A book of reference for the traveller and pleasure for the stay-at-home* (New York: Oceanic Book Company, 1920), 347.

Britain gained commercial strength in India and some Pacific islands. The systematic ordering infers that fact and fiction are essentially different things, and can be distinctly sorted, but with 'Bully' Hayes this difference is problematised: A. Grove Day and James A. Michener consider: "it is almost impossible to separate fact from legend."⁶ The impossibility of differentiation is not evidenced, however, in their resultant history which valorises the entertainment of the stories, they state they have "never ... heard a dull yarn" (224); however, they are able to "isolate the true history" (223). The legends and yarns, or what H.E. Maude calls the "fog of romantic invention,"⁷ are the supplementary narratives providing the 'romance' of adventure under which is found the history. Once again, in the colonial trope of fabric, Day and Michener describe history as the origin that is woven into adventure: "Upon a slim thread of proven incident has been hung all the romantic canvas of a great ocean" (223).

A narrative 'thread' most frequently considered 'proven fact' in Hayes' history is that of biography. Biography supplies coherency by assuming that history has a rationalism based on consciousness, and contradictingly, a materiality based on corporeality. That is, the writing of western history, particularly influenced by Hegel, are those events 'conscious' to the recorder; yet a secondary 'proof' available to western history is the material existence of a body. The details of Hayes' life, and as I discuss later the descriptions of his appearance, are readily accorded a status of fact through their agreement with these conventions. By charting the history as biography,

⁶ James A. Michener and A. Grove Day, "Bully Hayes: South Sea Buccaneer," *Rascals in Paradise* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1957), 223.

⁷ H. E. Maude, "The Traders' Historian," rev. of *Louis Becke*, by A. Grove Day, *Journal of Pacific History* 2 (1967), 225.

the character of Hayes is given the status of sovereign subject that has the result of, according to Foucault, "making human consciousness the original subject of all historical development."⁸ A function of biography, particularly in western history, is to construct history as the product of conscious agents, so events only occur because someone wanted them to. Foucault undertakes an extensive critique of the concept of a unified, conscious subject, a sovereign subject, in *The Archaeology of Knowledge*:

Continuous history is the indispensable correlative of the founding function of the subject: the guarantee that everything that has eluded him may be restored to him; the certainty that time will disperse nothing without restoring it in a reconstituted unity; the promise that the subject - in the form of historical consciousness - will once again be able to appropriate, to bring back under his sway, all those things that are kept at a distance by difference and find in them what might be called his abode. (12)

Foucault, in this study, undertakes to analyse the "discontinuity of planes" and "various positions of subjectivity" that negate the possibility of a unified subject position (54-5). In the histories of Hayes, the events detailing a 'biography' are on one level movements towards constructing a history that is the product of Hayes' individual intentions, or the intentions of those around him, as if the stories can be comprehended through understanding the proclivities of an 'adventurous spirit.' In this system the politics of colonialism can be elided because history is only those actions which are, apparently, 'conscious' - colonialism is not included in this definition of individuality and intentionality. Thus the power of these narratives on Hayes is to document and represent Australian colonialism while denying any involvement of colonialism.

⁸ Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. A. M. Sheridan (New York: Pantheon, 1972), 12.

In a number of ways, however, the history as 'biography' is informed by colonialism. Hayes' history, as I detail later, is simultaneously determined by a desire for corporeal materiality; most histories are 'fascinated' with Hayes' physical features, an interest suggesting corporeality may provide positive, material proof of Hayes. Yet corporeality is similarly constructed by the discursive formation of colonialism in which Hayes' body, far from offering a materialist proof, inscribes representations of race and gender. As a 'typical' male at the frontier, Hayes is described with features of an Anglo-Saxon, and having numerous sexual relationships with Pacific Islander women. In the very description of the body is articulated theories of race which make intelligible colonialism, and sexual relationships which naturalise colonial relationships of power in terms of gender. Underlying corporeality and consciousness is the opening in biography to manage further interventions, of terrains, bodies and knowledges, by Australian colonialism of the Pacific.

The biographical details I give of Hayes' life are thus permissible statements in the system of Australian colonialism for they are preserved as statements describing Australia's central role in administering the law, history, and knowledge of the Pacific. I give the regularly stated events in the various histories of Hayes not as the 'truths' around which the myths can be positioned, nor do they prove Hayes as some kind of unified subject, but they are used to provide a chronology and hence can structure a biographical narrative. Hayes was born in 1829 in Ohio, USA and is frequently called a pirate, blackbirder, buccaneer, bigamist and barrator⁹ in various studies and stories. After sailing on Down-Easters, (American boats which sailed from New York to San

⁹ A barrator is a ship's captain who swindles the ship's owner, often by selling the cargo or even selling the ship and not passing on the profits.

Francisco via Cape Horn) he resided in Australia at numerous times between 1857 and 1864, where he married an Adelaide widow after jilting the Fremantle Harbourmaster's daughter. His Australian wife was one of three he had married (two wives, apparently, at the same time¹⁰); one wife, the entertainer Rosa Buckingham, died in a boating accident in the Croixelles (the north end of Aoteoroa/New Zealand's South Island) in 1864. The accident was, some writers believe, deliberate. He had two daughters to another wife, Emily Butler, whom he married in 1865, and he named his famous boat, *Leonora*, after one of these daughters. Hayes first came to notice in Australia after leaving debts in Singapore and Perth and pocketing the sale of his cargo. Thence Hayes escaped his creditors in Adelaide in 1858, and was briefly jailed in Sydney's Debtor's prison in 1860. He sailed to San Francisco and upon his return to Australia his boat, the *Ellenita*, floundered in mid-ocean with the crew and passengers having to sail seventy miles in an open boat to Samoa. When in Australia he worked as a singing minstrel in the New South Wales goldfields, and later in the Otago goldfields at Arrowtown. Here, in 1863, a vaudeville performance of a barber exposing Hayes' missing ear, called *The Barbarous Barber or The Lather and Shave* was performed.¹¹ Apparently the ear was lost in a fight after a game of cards. There are various accounts of Hayes indecently assaulting women. He was charged with assaulting a fifteen year old girl, Cornelia Murray on his ship the *Ellenita*, in 1859, for which he was found not guilty by a Sydney court because there was "no

¹⁰ Thomas Dunbabin writes "A writer who saw Hayes ... states that in the cabin of the *Rona* sat the two white wives of Hayes, each with a child." Thomas Dunbabin, *Slavers of the South Seas* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1935), 225.

¹¹ Frank Clune, *Captain Bully Hayes* 43. Clune takes this information from Robert Gilkison, *Early Days in Central Otago: Being the Tale of Times Gone By* (Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1936).

collaboration” of evidence.¹² He was also accused of assaulting Helen Murray, a young Irish immigrant in Lyttleton, Aotearoa/New Zealand in 1865,¹³ and a “young Pinjelah girl”¹⁴ in the early 1870s. Stories also mention his “harem” of Island women who sailed with him on board the *Leonora*. One historian, A. T. Saunders, states he sailed with five young women with him aboard the *Leonora*. In the 1860s and 70s Hayes became a Pacific trader and recruited labour in many Pacific islands. He was arrested in Samoa by British Consul John L. Williams in 1870 for kidnapping Pacific Islanders, but escaped with the aid of Ben Pease, another reputed pirate of the Pacific.¹⁵ Hayes escaped custody again during an inquiry into kidnapping Pacific Islanders in 1874 on Kosrae Island (Strong’s Island) after the *Leonora* was sunk on the reef during a gale. Louis Becke was with Hayes at the time, and wrote one of his many stories on Hayes, “The Wreck of the *Leonora*: A Memory of ‘Bully’ Hayes.”¹⁶ He was briefly imprisoned in the Philippines after Spanish soldiers arrested him in Guam for attempting to aid escaping convicts. Hayes was killed in 1877 during an on-board quarrel with a sailor when he was knocked unconscious by the main boom crutch (a heavy iron crutch used to hold the boom in place) and thrown overboard.

There are an assortment of documents relating to Hayes’ activities, such as newspaper reports, various letters he personally wrote,¹⁷ a royal commission into the

¹² A[lfred] T[homas] Saunders, *Bully Hayes: Barrator, Bigamist, Buccaneer, Blackbirder and Pirate. An Authentic life of William Henry Hayes, of Ohio or New York, U.S.A. Born 1829, Killed 1877* (Perth WA: *The Sunday Times*, 1932), 9.

¹³ This accusation, according to Frank Clune, appeared in an article in the *Malborough Times* (Aotearoa/New Zealand) 29 Jan. 1865. Clune, *Captain Bully Hayes* 51.

¹⁴ Saunders, *Bully Hayes: Barrator* 42.

¹⁵ Louis Becke spells his name Peese in “Concerning Bully Hayes,” *The Strange Adventures of James Shirvington and Other Stories* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1902).

¹⁶ Louis Becke, “The Wreck of the *Leonora*: A Memory of ‘Bully’ Hayes,” *Ridan the Devil and Other Stories* (London: T. Fischer Unwin, 1896), 281-95.

¹⁷ Hayes wrote a reply to an article “The Story of a Scoundrel” about him in the *Sydney Morning Herald* 6 Jan. 1860. The article described him as “a man of little education, and but a little talent,

labour trade in 1869-72,¹⁸ and accounts of stolen ships,¹⁹ swindled cargoes, abduction and rape. Hayes was popularly known through the numerous adventure stories about him, in many of which he is a peripheral character symbolising the evil white slave-trader. Literary interest in Hayes did not start till Louis Becke popularised him in numerous short stories published in the *Bulletin* in the 1890s, twenty years after Hayes' death. According to newspaper stories and accounts in the Royal Commission he was a well recognised personality around the Pacific before he was a character popular in adventure stories. However, even with the literary interest, Becke was lamenting that "one hardly ever hears the name of the redoubtable Bully mentioned nowadays."²⁰ The stories written about Hayes in this period were mainly Boys-Own adventure stories and travelogues mentioning events such as his swindling German traders, gun running to the Maoris, his salvage operation of the famous missionary boat *John Williams*, and his numerous escapes from custody. Apart from the adventure stories, there are some histories which detail most of these myths and documents, like Frank Clune's exhaustive text *Captain Bully Hayes: Blackbirder and Bigamist*, the work of journalist and historian A.T. Saunders, and various pieces on Hayes by A. Grove Day and James A. Michener such as a chapter in *Rascals in*

except for rascality.... [H]e is now to all intents and purposes a pirate." This is the first time Hayes is mentioned as a pirate. A copy of his reply is reprinted in Frank Coffee, "The Story of 'Bully Hayes'" 347-50. Hayes also wrote thanking for the help he received both after the *Ellenita* sinking (*Sydney Morning Herald* 24 Dec. 1859) and after his wife drowned in the *Croixelles* (*Nelson Colonist* 1 Sept. 1864). There are notes written by Hayes giving Louis Becke, after the *Leonora* sinking, power of attorney over his trade goods. These are reproduced in Saunders, *Bully Hayes: Barritor* 44-5.

¹⁸ *Queensland Government Gazette*, 28 Aug. 1875. Also the *Correspondence Respecting the Deportation of South Sea Islanders*, House of Commons July 29, 1869. *Report of the Royal Commission Appointed to Inquire into Certain Alleged Cases of Kidnapping of Natives of the Loyalty Islands*. Sydney (1869).

¹⁹ To be accurate Hayes never stole the ships. He sold them without compensating the creditors, or repaying his loan.

²⁰ Becke, "Concerning" 216.

Paradise. Though there was a film made about Hayes,²¹ and Clune's history published in 1970, currently there is not nearly the popular knowledge or interest in this identity as there was early this century. It may be argued that Hayes' virtual disappearance is linked to the decline of the Pacific in Australian trade and the termination of the Australian administration of Pacific territory. As the Pacific Rim now replaces the basin as a dominant force in Australian foreign affairs,²² with the call by mainstream political parties for Australia to be recognised as part of Asia, the interest in reproducing representations, stereotypes, and narratives about the economy and colonisation of the Pacific region in Australian culture has dramatically declined.

Reading nomadology in the Hayes narratives

The genres associated with adventure, those of yarns and myths, can displace the colonial practices of power with representations whose supposed fictional status renders the action entertaining and harmless. Evident in the critical work of adventure theorists such as Martin Green, who I examine in chapter four, adventure narratives are represented as part of a category of fiction, as a dream or yarn, which has no associated political ramifications. As if the transmission of adventure through a 'yarn' reduces its viability as a point of enunciation of colonial politics, the effect of fiction on colonial politics is frequently passed over. Yet more insidious are the justifications

²¹ *His Majesty O'Keefe*, dir. Byron Haskin, Warner Bros., 1954. The film stars Burt Lancaster as Captain David O'Keefe, who brings 'modern' practices of work to the 'lazy' islanders of Yap (though filmed in Fiji), and makes a small fortune from their resources. His changes are nearly thwarted by 'Bully' Hayes (played by Charles Horveth) who attempts to steal some of the Islanders for the labour trade.

²² For an examination of this shift see Paul Sharrad, "Imagining the Pacific," *Meanjin* 49.4 (1990), 597-606.

of Australian racial hierarchies and the legitimization of labour policies, gender roles, and xenophobia in the widely circulated adventure stories.

Apart from using adventure's literary status as a foil for reading colonialism, I wish to address some possible mis-readings of narratives on Hayes. Most valorised in Hayes, even amongst his numerous critics, is his mobility. The difficulty in describing or categorising him, for many, is a point of 'fascination.' His exploits cover the United States, Australia, Aotearoa/New Zealand, the Pacific, and South East Asia, and much of his life is told as fabulous myth. Seen in this shifting, nomadic figure is an avenue to criticise orthodox powers and institutions - Hayes could rile against English Maritime law, Missionary schemes, and colonial commercial activity by escaping the pervasive authority of the law. In the histories by Clune and Grove Day, even while they are critical of his illegal and often offensive behaviour, is a praise for Hayes' elusive abilities of escape, disguise, and movement. It is this valorised concept of movement, recently brought to the fore by postmodern critical theory, that I wish to carefully position. In this reading, Hayes tenuously occupies an oppositional and marginal status in history because he escapes the law and is not 'captured' by history.

Categorising Hayes as 'nomadic' elides many issues of race and gender within colonial economies. Arising from the facile reading of nomadology in Deleuze and Guattari's *A Thousand Plateaus*, anything unconventional, mobile, or minor - and this surely covers much terrain - can easily be called nomadic and thus valorised. Issues of nomadology are pertinent to adventure narratives because many valorised attributes of the adventure hero are those of the nomad: freedom to move and travel, powers of evasion, crossing borders and 'discovering' 'new' lands. Nomadology is often used in critical analysis because of its supposed radical status and its harsh critique on static,

centralised state formations. It would be easy to describe Hayes, according to Deleuze and Guattari's *A Thousand Plateaus*, as a nomad war machine, imparting smooth space on the striated State sphere of the Pacific through constantly breaking geographical, commercial, and legal boundaries. Hayes could be the schizophrenic of capitalist society, or the abstract machine which makes "the territorial assemblage open into something else, assemblages of another type, the molecular, the cosmic."²³ The contestation over signifying Hayes (hero versus villain), the freedom of movement, the play between fact and fiction, the disruption of colonial frameworks, can all emphasise rhizomic, dynamic aspects of the narrative. However, much of the resistance is enabled through racism and patriarchy. The simplistic reading of cultures and peoples through nomadology demonstrates what Andrew Lattas, in his criticism of Deleuze and Guattari, considers "part of philosophy's colonisation of minority movements and their alterity."²⁴ Difference, or anything threatening that resides outside western philosophy and history, is appropriated into western knowledge as soon as it escapes.

I want to pursue a criticism of this argument and propose that it is precisely because he breaks these boundaries, because he is nomadic and he 'reassembles' various terrains that Hayes is integral to colonial discourse. I am not claiming that critical theory such as nomadology is conspiratorially attached to colonial ideology directly, but that it reproduces certain assumptions around the notions of movement and freedom which do not consider who is allowed to move freely, and how this is

²³ Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi (London: Althone, 1988), 35.

²⁴ Andrew Lattas, "Primitivism in Deleuze and Guattari's *A Thousand Plateaus*," *Social Analysis* 30 (1991), 100.

represented and valorised. Not only do these assumptions inform nomadology, but they also formulate Australian colonialism. A crucial assumption is that white colonials were the only mobile force in the region, ignoring the mobility of Pacific Islanders. The valorisation of English and Australian explorers, adventurers, and traders methodically displaces Pacific Islander movement with colonial movement, purposefully connecting metaphors of travel with colonialism on the one hand, and stasis with the colonised Pacific Islanders on the other. Only in the recent reappraisal of historical research in Australia has there been a concerted attempt to write of the Pacific Islanders as a mobile and dynamic population, and to discuss how colonial movement was only possible, to a large extent, because of Pacific Islander navigators, guides, missionaries, sailors and translators.²⁵ Further, there was a significant amount of Pacific Islander movement before colonialism which is unrecorded in western histories.²⁶ And as I have already argued, representing Pacific Islanders as static is a strategy of Hegelian historiography which implies Pacific Island culture is a historyless culture, having no history because in the colonial view they have not moved or 'progressed.'

The second assumption is that movement is freely available to all, and simultaneously implies freedom. A reading in agreement with colonial discourse which

²⁵ For example, the employment of Islanders as sailors and labourers is discussed in K.R. Howe, "Tourists, Sailors and Labourers: A Survey of Labour Recruiting in Southern Melanesia," *Journal of Pacific History* 13.1 (1978), 22-35; movements of native missionaries are documented in Marjorie Crocombe, *Polynesian Missionaries in Melanesia: From Samoa, Cook Islands and Tonga to Papua New Guinea and New Caledonia* (Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, USP, 1982).

²⁶ The development of a 'Pacific Way' was considered a return to 'intra-Pacific linkages' broken by colonialism. However, Ron Crocombe warns of overemphasising this movement: "The colonial powers did greatly curtail movement between island groups, and *some* of it was movement which had gone on since time immemorial. But most of it was movement that had begun on a significant scale only in the nineteenth century." Ron Crocombe, *The Pacific Way: An Emerging Identity* (Suva: Lotu Pasifika, 1976), 12.

states exploration and travel are 'natural' characteristics of the European and thus explain colonial intervention, is that movement is associated with the work ethic and with furthering one's position in life. That most of the main characters in adventure stories are young boys who travel the globe with apparently no financial means suggests 'exploration' is a matter of will and not wealth, gender, and race. Rather, movement is directly correlated to patriarchy. Janet Wolfe's "On the Road Again: Metaphors of Travel in Cultural Criticism" argues that theories of travel do not admit that "we don't all have the same access to the road," for the discursive construction of travel is gendered.²⁷ Similarly Meaghan Morris, in "At Henry Parks Motel," discusses "the association of men with travel and women with home that organises so many Australian legends."²⁸ What nomadology allows to move, in its valorisation of colonial figures who often appropriate the movement of indigenous travellers, is colonial systems of representation and movement. The patriarchal 'yarn' or 'sea story' (male groups talking about men) circulates the patriarchal figuration of colonisation (the feminisation of the colonised land, the lexias of penetration and conquest) providing a method to know different cultures in terms which, from the very outset, are oppressive. The critical celebration of movement and freedom in the context of Pacific colonialism reproduces Australian colonial discourse, for it represents Pacific Islands as the 'natural' location of Australian movement. In Aotearoa/New Zealand, with colonial interests in Polynesia, the Governor Sir George Grey states that "Any attempt to confine the Anglo-Saxon race within the limit of Aotearoa/New Zealand must prove a failure. It might as well attempt to confine the birds of the ocean to the

²⁷ Janet Wolfe, "On the Road Again: Metaphors of Travel in Cultural Criticism," *Cultural Critique* 7.2 (1993), 235.

same limits.”²⁹ The bird is a frequently used metaphor in colonialism with the associated concepts of freedom of movement, security of the nest, and an all-seeing eye; representing colonialism as part of nature, the metaphor of the bird is amendable to the concept of ‘manifest destiny’ frequently articulated in Australian colonial discourse, in which colonial intervention is part of the ‘inevitable march’ of western progress.

However, Hayes does not only produce the Pacific Islanders as static in a binary opposition, for the narratives position the state bureaucracy, in the form of naval officers, maritime law, missionaries, colonial administrators, and traders, as forces attempting to contain the movement of colonialism. Here, Robert Dixon’s reading of Louis Becke is useful, for he proposes Becke writes at a time when adventure is seen to be “out of control,” when the “enemy is ‘adventure’ itself.”³⁰ In these stories, according to Dixon, a “rogue male” (190) is bought under control by a new generation of adventurers.³¹ Thus the representations of Hayes, because of their complicity in colonial discourses, both agree with and disrupt colonialism, they both condone and criticise movement and colonialism. In many stories Hayes is the reason to continue the colonial project, to manage the aberrant colonisers. Hayes’ currency derives from the intercessory narratives which manage colonial relations by formulating them in terms favourable to Australian colonial history. The disruptions

²⁸ Meaghan Morris, “At Henry Parks Motel,” *Australian Cultural Studies: A Reader*, eds. John From and Meaghan Morris (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1993), 241.

²⁹ Merze Tate, “The Australasian Munroe Doctrine,” *Political Science Quarterly* 76 (1961), 267-8.

³⁰ Robert Dixon, *Writing the Colonial Adventure: Race, Gender and Nation in Anglo-Australian Popular Fiction, 1875-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995), 189-90.

³¹ Dixon takes this reading from Louis Becke, “The Pearl Divers of Roncador,” *The Pearl Divers of Roncador* (London: Clarke, 1908). Classifying Hayes as a ‘rogue male’ in Becke’s story, however, is problematic because he is most often praised by Becke, and described in terms of a masculine hero who is benevolent, ethical, and intelligent.

do not negate colonialism but instead disperses colonial control through the employment of freedom and movement. The narratives of Hayes position discourses of sexuality, religion, commerce and law on colonial terrain by the disruptive insertion, or the wandering in, of the nomad Hayes. Precisely because of Hayes' activity, his nomadic and mythical exploits, it is argued that Australian law and religion must administer territories and peoples that are apparently susceptible to aberrant Europeans. Hayes, as a barbarous white exploiting Pacific Islanders, is a reason for intervention through a redemptive narrative, for the Pacific Islanders are considered vulnerable to his actions; he steals, sexually exploits, or conquers and 'tames' Pacific Islanders, or even rescues Islanders from evil missionaries and traders depending on the writer. Regardless, adventure disseminates an idea that the Pacific Islanders are 'saved' by the civilising powers of Australian law, military, or religion. Pacific Islanders are activated in a system of colonial representation to justify their colonisation because of the nomadism of colonialism.³² By reading the historians and histories of Hayes my concern is not to consider how he has escaped categorisation or evaded capture by traditional historiography, but how a problematic and contradictory mythology works to valorise and justify the actions of Australian colonialism in the Pacific.

³² The Australian 'frontier,' writes John McQuilton, is not "the random lawlessness ... beloved of novels, films and television," but instead a lawlessness between "antagonistic groups" (46). While McQuilton refers to Australia and the United States, a comparison can be made with the Pacific. Adventure narratives describe a lawlessness in terms of a lack of juridical control in which the conflicts are more likely to be between colonising forces themselves - the cause of the lawlessness is not Pacific Islander culture but the lawless appropriation of the land itself. John McQuilton, "Comparative Frontiers: Australia and the United States," *Australian Journal of American Studies* 12.1 (1993), 26-46.

The histories of A.T. Saunders and the *Bulletin* writers

There is a substantial amount of archival documentation on Hayes, with accounts of him reported in newspaper articles, legal documents, bureaucratic records, and personal memorabilia such as letters and diaries. The first systematic organisation of this documentation was done by Perth journalist A.T. (Alfred Thomas) Saunders around 1910 to 1935. Saunders wrote three pamphlets and a small book on the topic of Hayes which were published by newspapers he wrote for, the Adelaide *Mail* and the Perth *Sunday Times*.³³ Saunders quotes extensively from newspapers, and republishes material verbatim from various sources such as shipping logs and Colonial Office correspondence, commenting that his material is “compiled from official documents and newspapers; therefore its accuracy can be depended on.”³⁴ Of note in Sanders’ history is the implication that with these various texts, because of the status of the document or the importance of archival preservation, a facticity is attained. The supposedly ‘dependable’ history allows Saunders to entitle his book an ‘authentic’ life of Hayes. What can be seen in the ‘authentic’ history is a matrix of institutional power and literary discourses mediating a supposed unbiased stance. The history Saunders writes is in agreement with the Australian archive of the Pacific and this is clear in the documents Saunders’ privileges and the audience he covets. Saunders is eager to validate his history by these official bodies, and he was to correspond with Edward

³³ Saunders’ book is *Bully Hayes: Barritor, Bigamist, Buccaneer, Blackbirder and Pirate. An Authentic life of William Henry Hayes, of Ohio or New York, U.S.A. Born 1829, Killed 1877* (Perth WA: *The Sunday Times*, 1932). The three pamphlets he wrote are *Bully Hayes, Louis Becke and The Earl of Pembroke: Written for ‘The Mail’ by A.T. Saunders*, (North Adelaide: *The Mail*, n.d); *Bully Hayes the Pirate: True History of the South Seas Buccaneer. Written for the Adelaide Mail By A. T. Saunders*, North Adelaide, (North Adelaide: *The Mail*, n.d); *Bully Hayes the Pirate: True History of the South Seas Buccaneer. Written for the Adelaide Mail by A. T. Saunders*, North Adelaide, (North Adelaide: *The Mail*, 1913).

³⁴ Saunders, *Bully Hayes: Barritor* 1.

Petherick, a bibliophile whose collection is the basis of the National Library of Australia's collection. Saunders regularly sent copies of the newspaper articles, shipping logs, bibliographies, personal stories and his own pamphlets to Petherick, presumably for preservation.³⁵ Saunders concludes his book on Hayes with the statement that the "documents from which this history is written will, in due course, be handed to the Mitchell Library, Sydney, N.S.W."³⁶ Thus Saunders' premonition of the document's preservation also details a further utility: the archive can legitimate the history which Saunders' writes. The ongoing relationship between the archive and the historian, which will be discussed in chapter three, signals the nurturing of colonial history on an official level within Australian culture, and the desire to preserve this history.

Saunders argues in his pamphlets for the importance of documentation, history, and facts to differentiate history from fiction. The seeming control of Hayes' identity by adventure writers is a point of concern for Saunders. Disassociating the competing fictional narratives from the historical, Saunders states in a letter to Petherick, "the facts of Hayes' life are much more prosaic than the fictions of Becke, Boldrewood and company."³⁷ In the letters he also stringently criticises The Earl of Pembroke's reputed meeting with Hayes - later these criticisms were written up in a pamphlet calling Pembroke's claims "erroneous recollections," and "rubbish."³⁸ In the same pamphlet Saunders writes that Becke and other writers perpetuate historical fraud, for "Becke was a romancer with a picturesque imagination," and Becke's stories are

³⁵ These can be found in Pethpam 2807, Petherick Library, National Library of Australia.

³⁶ Saunders, *Bully Hayes: Barritor* 59. Only a portion of the documents are held in the Mitchell Library and it appears most went to the NLA. I am unsure of the reason for this.

³⁷ A.T. Saunders, letter to Petherick, 13 Jan. 1915, Pethpam 2807, NLA.

³⁸ A.T. Saunders, *Bully Hayes, Louis Becke and The Earl of Pembroke* n.pag.

“mendacious.” This attempt to down play the drama and sensationalism and instead claim a prosaic narrative responds to the glorification of Hayes by Becke and Boldrewood with a supposed rational and unemotive historical facticity. The primary response for Saunders was to de-mythologise Hayes through asserting a discoverable historical truth, a truth available through the numerous collected documents; thus all four of Saunders’ studies contain in the sub-title the words “True history.”

Saunders employs a variety of tactics to imprint his narrative with conditions of a ‘factual’ history which enforces a marked differentiation from fictional narratives, especially those of the adventure writers of the *Bulletin*, discussed in chapter four. Narratives of Hayes were recognised as being associated with the adventure, not history, and an article in the *Sydney Morning Herald* states as much:

Captain ‘Bully’ Hayes of world wide piratical fame, who has been recently set up as a hero of romance by Australian writers of fiction, and who will probably, as time rolls on, be guilded with posthumous glory, belongs to the rapidly vanishing past.³⁹

Now as a subject of nostalgia, Hayes’ illegal activities are ignored or romanticised by these writers. Possibly to criticise this manoeuvre, and to assert the propriety of history, Saunders has a campaign to track down marriage and birth certificates linked to Hayes, as this is the source of most of his correspondence in the Mitchell Library and to Petherick. Saunders considers this will get all the “proved facts” about Hayes.⁴⁰ The certificates have multiple purposes: they situate Hayes in a specific time and place; they prove he was untrustworthy (because his age is inconsistent between

³⁹ “‘Bully’ Hayes: Old Memories Revived: Man Who Arrested the Desperado,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 Feb, 1912, 7.

⁴⁰ A.T. Saunders, letter to H. Wright, 4 Feb. 1916, Mitchell Library, Ah 44, NSW. The letter states Saunders is searching for the birth certificates of Hayes’ two daughters and his Aoteoroa/New Zealand wedding certificate.

certificates); and this also proves he was bigamous and thus a law-breaker (he was married to both Amelia Lyttleton and Emily Butler at the same time). Re-evaluating the documents leads Saunders to implore that Hayes had been misrepresented: "When the romance which Becke and Boldrewood wrapped around Hayes is torn away, he is found to be a vile ruffian."⁴¹ The documented records provide Saunders with an institutional history as opposed to a personal history which is provided by yarns and interviews; the certificates restate the law (of both history and justice) as the arbiter of truth. By assiduously maintaining a distinction between the document and the 'yarn' Saunders differentiates the historian from the adventure writer. I will develop the position of 'yarn' in reference to history; however, the validity of history in narratives such as Saunders' is predicated on a juridical, political legitimation through official documentation. The certificates strategically differ Saunders' project from writers of the *Bulletin*.

The dispute between Saunders and the adventure writers does not necessarily demonstrate the incompatibility between the fiction and history but elucidates the conceptual context, the terms of the debate, which naturalise some conventions and obviate other associations between them. Through conventions of documentation Saunders attempts to distinguish 'fact' and 'fiction.' However, circulating in both categories is a naturalisation of the authority and power of the colonial nation (in this case Australia). Either through asserting the justice of western law, the rationalism of Australian commerce, or the morality of western customs, both categories reproduce and privilege Australia's intervention in the Pacific. As an example, situated in both

⁴¹ A.T. Saunders, *Bully Hayes the Pirate: The True History of the South Seas Buccaneer: Written for 'The Mail' by A.T. Saunders* (North Adelaide: *The Mail*, n.d), 1

categories is the stability of masculinity, but in a seemingly contradictory situation.

For the *Bulletin* writers, Hayes is represented as a wandering pirate who shared many of the masculine features of the Australian bushman valorised in the literature of the 1890s. The association of movement, nationality, and employment with men, is patently obvious in both the bush stories and the accounts of Hayes in the *Bulletin*.

On the other hand Saunders concentrates on Hayes' mis-treatment of women:

"[Hayes'] treatment of women, especially of the coloured races, was brutal and shocking and at least one case must have been well known to Becke as the Queensland 'Government Gazette' of August 28, 1875 proves" (1). Singling out the treatment of indigenous women by Saunders is not a feminist critique as such, but works to distinguish the patriarchy of the *Bulletin* writers from Saunders' more traditional concept of masculinity - that of the gentleman. Thus the qualification of class enters to distinguish popular adventure from history. A fundamental requisite of colonial representation is the figuration of dominance, and cultural superiority, derived from mobile, masculine power. While Saunders' descriptions emphasise in the abuse of women the underside of violence and rape associated with this patriarchy and colonialism, he is not criticising masculinity nor colonialism, but proposing a more rigorous surveillance of women (particularly in colonised terrain) in order to maintain western rationality and legality. Hence the kinds of opposition Saunders mounts are not to eradicate the colonialist myths associated with Hayes but to administer their dissemination. Many of the distinctions, such as those which accord with gender or class classifications, reproduce the hierarchies as supposedly natural. Saunders' criticism of the values ascribed to the *Bulletin* writers more firmly authorises the patriarchal and colonial representations.

Hayes was written as a popular hero whose anti-authorial stance fitted closely the ideals of the 1890s Australian literary nationalism. The *Bulletin* magazine was an institutional core of the nationalist movement and is concerned with enunciating nationalist statements. The association between the *Bulletin* and Hayes is part of the wide-ranging movement in Australian culture around the period 1890-1920, where the story of Hayes is told in the context of Australian nationalism and a nascent foreign intrusion in the Pacific. Introduced predominantly through Becke, the *Bulletin* was to publish Hayes stories by a number of its prominent adventure writers.⁴² It may be problematic associating the bush 'yarns' with Pacific adventure narratives as these are two quite separate regions of colonialism and genres of literature. However, in both genres we see the representation of Australian culture which Graeme Davison posits as the "projection onto the outback of values revered by an alienated urban intelligentsia";⁴³ the Pacific is represented as another outback. In these narratives which I develop below, are detailed the justifications and economic benefits of colonialism; Sydney, as the major shipping port for the Pacific Islands, held an obvious benefit in advertising its colonial trade. The values of racial purity are developed with urgency in the narratives written in the context of the emerging White Australia policy. Genres such as the yarn or the myth propagate a naturalised position of authority for masculine, white representation.

⁴² Becke's second article for the *Bulletin* in January 1894 mentions Hayes, and his first signed article was "Bully Hayes the Pirate," *Bulletin* 4 Feb. 1893.

⁴³ Graeme Davison, "Sydney and the Bush," *Intruders in the Bush: The Quest for Australian Identity*, ed. John Carroll (Melbourne: OUP, 1982), 129. It may be claimed that Becke, the main chronicler of Hayes, does not fit into the class of 'urban intelligentsia.' He did not live in Sydney till late in his life, and was not a member of the upper class, as were other adventure writers such as Albert Dorrington, Thomas Browne (Rolfe Boldrewood) or Guy Boothby. However, Becke's stories reproduce the authority of the urban elite in their racial, gendered, and class representations.

Hayes and traditional history

Many histories of Hayes subscribe to colonialism for they concentrate on the validity of colonial intervention - especially mercantile, missionary and juridical expansion.

Yet Hayes is virtually absent from traditional history texts, or what may be termed imperial histories, often relegated to a single line such as the “notorious figure in the labour traffic,”⁴⁴ thus leaving his history primarily in adventure and popular history texts. Attempts by Saunders to rewrite Hayes as a subject of legitimate history rather than the popular figure of adventure stories only emphasises the basis of this history in ideas of personality, the ‘yarn,’ and non-governmental practices. The virtual absence of Hayes from traditional history texts does not mean his influence was negligible. The myths around Hayes’ blackbirding practices were to resonate in the legal and political renegotiations when the British set up a Royal Commission into labour practices.

While in the Commission’s proceedings Hayes was only mentioned in passing a couple of times, he appeared to epitomise the alleged acts of slavery and barbarism which the Commission was empowered to control and supposedly eradicate. His mention came almost exclusively with his reputation: British Consul John L. Williams writes his character was “too well known” in the Pacific for him to escape recognition,⁴⁵ and in a report by a Mr Rothey, he comments “looking at the facts ... remembering, too, the unscrupulous character of Captain Hayes ... there are but a few

⁴⁴ Jean Ingram Brookes, *International Rivalry in the Pacific Islands, 1800-1875* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1941), 316. This is Brookes’ sole reference to Hayes.

⁴⁵ Enclosure 77, *Further Correspondence Respecting the Deportation of South Sea Islanders*, Feb. 10 1871. British House of Commons.

parts of this world where he can go without being apprehended.’⁴⁶ It is this reputation which in part represented the Pacific labour trade as a continuation of the African slave trade some 200 years before.⁴⁷ Accounts were taken from the Royal commission and repeated in adventure stories on Hayes. The narratives of Hayes circulating in colonial texts were used by missionary groups to advocate legal and juridical intervention into the Pacific by the British navy and various missionary enterprises. One of the most widely circulated stories is that of Dr J.P. Murray, the captain of the brig *Carl*. Murray confessed to murdering Pacific Islanders during his testament delivered to the Royal Commission. In the Commission he detailed practices such as sinking boats with an anchor tied to a chain and then grabbing the Pacific Islander occupants, dressing up as a missionary to lure the Islanders aboard, or throwing wounded men overboard and letting them drown.

These incidents are repeated in Beatrice Grimshaw's *South Sea Sarah* by the character Hayes.⁴⁸ Grimshaw's *South Sea Sarah* brought to the Australian reading public accounts such as Murray's, which Consul Williams and Rothey discuss in the Royal Commission. The novel is about a white girl, Sarah, brought up by a Samoan chief. Sarah has competing lovers, one German the other American. The American she wishes to marry, while the German turns into a blackbirder after training under

⁴⁶ Enclosure 89, *Further Correspondence Respecting the Deportation of South Sea Islanders*, Feb. 10 1871. British House of Commons.

⁴⁷ The labour trade is marked by the few notorious accounts of kidnapping by the boats *Carl*, the *Young Australian*, and *Daphne*. These are more thoroughly documented than Hayes' accounts of kidnapping. There is an extensive range of texts on the Melanesian labour trade in Australia. For example see Peter Corris, *Passage, Port, and Plantation: A History of Solomon Islands Labour and Migration, 1870-1914*. (Melbourne: Melbourne UP, 1973); Adrian Graves, *Cane and Labour: The Political Economy of the Queensland Sugar Industry* (Edinburgh: U of Edinburgh P, 1993); Kay Saunders, *Workers in Bondage: The Origins and Bases of Unfree Labour in Queensland, 1820-1916* (St Lucia: UQP, 1982).

⁴⁸ Beatrice Grimshaw, *South Sea Sarah* (Sydney: New Century Press, 1940).

Bully Hayes⁴⁹ and initiates various evil actions including an attempt to steal a plantation from Sarah by marrying her - indicating the German's willingness to transgress racial boundaries, Grimshaw writes he "like[s] something with pepper in it" (72). At the climax Sarah is rescued from the German by the sudden arrival of a missionary, Charlesworth, who restores law and morality. The novel contrasts Hayes' brutal recruitment tactics⁵⁰ with his attraction to women: "Bully had a way of carrying off good-looking females wherever he went" (101). Indeed the rescue of Sarah, who is a racially sanitised version of the sexualised Pacific Islander woman, incorporates gender to define the power relationships in colonialism: the feminised Pacific is 'ravaged' by powerful and immoral renegades from despotic colonial nations, and must be saved by benevolent Australian colonialism. Hayes is employed here for purposes different from *Bulletin* nationalists. Situated by Grimshaw as a fringe character (he does not appear in the story, and is only spoken about by other people), Hayes signifies the excess and exploitation of colonial economic practices, the kind of activity that will occur without the administrative control of colonial nations such as Britain and Australia. The character of Hayes in this narrative enforces to the reader a demand for the provision of western law and religion by the civilising nations to protect the 'helpless' indigenous population. The practices of Australian nationalism, underscored clearly in descriptions of anti-German activities, the validation of the

⁴⁹ Goodman the German (later to become Gutmann), however, "was in reality no buccaneer, simply an adventurous youth who ... [had] ran away from the notorious 'Leonora' before he had been a week on board." (75). Grimshaw is probably here satirising Becke who at the age of 19, though he claimed he was Hayes' supercargo for over a year, was on the *Leonora* for no more than a few weeks.

⁵⁰ Grimshaw, *South Sea Sarah* 72.

colonial plantation economy, and of the tactical use of slavery to legitimate colonial intervention are regularities managing Australia's colonial relationships.

The novel is partially set on 'New Gaboon,' a fictional equivalent of New Guinea, and similarly a colony threatened by German occupation and in close proximity to Australia. *South Sea Sarah* is one of Grimshaw's last novels, written in 1940 or twenty five years after Australia took over administering the German colony, but written in the context of the Second World War, so that Sarah can have an "innate dislike of the German population" (79). That the novel closes with law and honour restored by the missionary, and the plantation back to full working order, suggests colonialism, and in particular Australia colonialism, provides 'natural' justice to these islands.

The novel is an articulation of Grimshaw's agenda of promoting Australian colonialism. On the subject of writing travelogues on Papua, New Guinea and the New Hebrides, Grimshaw states in a personal letter to the Australian Prime Minister, Alfred Deakin, she wishes to "be of use to the Australian side in any way that I can."⁵¹ This is fulfilling her beliefs that Australia, as "characteristic of a new country for the first time trying its hand at colonising work ... [is] better qualified than any other country to colonise Melanesia."⁵² One of the necessary 'characteristics' for colonial management is the organisation and description of race. Sarah's English gives her

⁵¹ Beatrice Grimshaw, letter to Alfred Deakin, 25 Jan. 1908, Deakin Correspondence MS1540, National Library of Australia. For details on Grimshaw's articulation of Deakin's colonial policy see Susan Gardner, "A 'vert to Australianism': Beatrice Grimshaw and the Bicentenary," *Hecate* 13.2 (1987), 31-68; Susan Gardner, "For Love and Money: Early Writings of Beatrice Grimshaw. Colonial Papua's Woman of Letters," *New Literatures Review* 2 (1977), 10-36; Eugenie and Hugh Laracy, "Beatrice Grimshaw: Pride and Prejudice in Papua," *Journal of Pacific History* 12.3 (1977), 154-75.

⁵² Beatrice Grimshaw, letter to Alfred Deakin, 21 March, 1908, Deakin Correspondence MS1540, NLA.

“what her grandchildren would no doubt have called a complex against the dark races” (48). Racism, detailed as a psychological, and presumably ‘innate’ characteristic, validates the “mild and kindly version of slavery” such as plantation labour (30). The racism intensifies the threat of ‘miscegenation’ in Grimshaw’s story, a fear also echoed in western historical discourse. The racial purity found in Pacific romances are reproduced in western historical narratives, such as the history of Hayes. Indeed, it is the cautious management of reproduction itself, and I take this term as applicable to biological and narrative levels, that is a focus in narratives of Hayes. As Grimshaw’s novel infers from the destructive potential of miscegenetic reproduction through Sarah, the same fear is played out with the possible destruction of western historical discourse if fact and fiction are mixed.

Virtually ubiquitous in any commentary on Hayes is a discussion of the dangers of mixing the two supposedly distinct categories. Myth and yarns are the substance of fiction while truth is the property of western history, and maintaining purity of fact is coterminous with a fear of miscegenetic history, a fear that can be read in both racial and historical terms. Saunders wishes not to allow the “shameful”⁵³ history of the adventure writers to sully history; similarly Clune, in a racially defined trope, does not want history “blackened”⁵⁴ by fiction. The bastardisation of facticity operates similarly to Australian racist practices - there is a drive to represent Australia as a white country threatened predominantly by Asians, but as well by Pacific Islanders. The stories of Hayes overwhelmingly discuss the politics of race in colonialism, mapping racial hierarchies and articulating sexual boundaries. Like a miscegenetic history,

⁵³ A.T. Saunders, *Bully Hayes, Louis Becke and The Earl of Pembroke* n.pag.

⁵⁴ Frank Clune, *Captain Bully Hayes* 1.

Hayes is a miscegenetic character who has many Pacific Islander and white wives, and produces miscegenetic children alongside his miscegenetic history. And here is the threatened failure of history, where the degradation of facts to myth imply a threat to the racial purity of the coloniser, where colonial truth becomes romance. The process of enunciating a 'failure' of history through miscegenation is thus associated with the racist myths in romance, for the genre of romance continues the colonial project of racial purity in charting the sexualisation of Pacific Island women and the failure of inter-cultural relationships. In opposition to claims made by Martin Green that adventure resides in the 'bed' of empire,⁵⁵ adventure's intervention and representation of the 'beds' of colonisers demonstrates the dangers of miscegenation to the white, colonial audience; similarly, the complicity of certain historical narratives with structuring a purity of fact enforces that history and adventure can authorise colonial racial classifications. In this second section of the chapter I wish to outline how colonialism manages issues of facticity, gender and the law to validate and naturalise certain practices.

The search for 'Bully' Hayes: the problems of singularity, originality, and orality.

While the many authors of Hayes narratives assert they are aware of the instability of fact and fiction, they never venture to query the very constructions of 'fact,' preferring to leave this intact so that there exists for them, somewhere, a true and actual history. The reiteration of the distinction between fact and fiction proposes that

⁵⁵ See chapter four.

history can be derived from an examination of facts; the writer's very action of consciously debating fact and fiction only consolidates the conceptual ground on which fact can become truth.

This path for investigating this 'truth' is still fraught with difficulties. Should some particular status be ascribed to the documents as a measure of degree of accuracy of representation? How can a literary event, often written as simple colonial fantasy, be discussed with documents delivered to a Royal Commission as an eyewitness account? How can representation be discussed without recourse to the events they are reputedly representing? Constantly, descriptions threaten to collapse into definitions of document versus literature, real versus imaginary, or history versus myth.

However, what formalises a document as 'literary,' or as 'historical,' is not recourse back to some ideal generic form. It is the discourse that actualises the representation, constituting it as something real, disseminating and sanctioning this representation.

Timothy Mitchell elucidates this proposal in his discussion of how Egypt was represented at World Fairs: "What matters about the labyrinth [that we call the exhibition] is not that we never reach the real, never find the exit [to the real], but that such a notion of the real, such a system of truth, continues to convince us."⁵⁶ If Hayes is such a mythical figure and a literary phantasm, why, against the paucity of his 'reality,' is he continually evoked? And, importantly, why, amongst all the questionable details of evidence, documents, and a supposed 'real' Hayes, is a final extreme where the representation attaches itself to some truthful event still considered? Thus continually Hayes will always be written as 'history' and not

⁵⁶ Timothy Mitchell, "The World as Exhibition," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31.2 (1989), 237.

'fiction.' The notion of 'real' is constantly deferred, but defines, informs, and founds the system.

Clune's *Captain Bully Hayes*, perhaps the most comprehensive history, provides some interesting moments when the search for definitive data collides with myths about gender and race. Clune relied on the Pacific historian H.E. Maude for many documents which distinguished his work from his precursors. One of Maude's first replies to Clune's request for documents contains this anecdote:

I had a student a few years ago, Bill Newton from Kenya, who decided to do a doctoral thesis on 'Bully' Hayes. Being blessed with an adequate private income and not being in a hurry he spent a year wandering from Perth across to Sydney, followed by a trek from Dunedin to Auckland, and then spent some time in Fiji and Samoa, picking up every scrap of material on Hayes, interviewing every descendent and also the descendants of those who had known him. By the time he had reached Suva he had a suitcase full of material, much of it hitherto unknown, and he told me that most everything written to date, including Lubbock's work, was either wrong or incomplete.

Then he went to the Ellis and Gilbert Islands to collect more information on the spot, but alas married an island girl and has since completely disappeared. I was not particularly interested in his thesis, as his material was too good for a doctoral dissertation, but how I wished he had written his book before he left finally for the lotus land where everything can be best done tomorrow.⁵⁷

The complete history of Hayes, which has all the possible records of the living and the dead, is the suitcase, a deferred 'presence' somewhere in the Pacific. The reason for the unfortunate deferral is the alluring and feminine Pacific which captures and displaces the wealth of information into an non-historical temporality, one that has no progress, no future, and where 'everything is done tomorrow.' The feminine makes pure (masculine) history impossible. Obvious here is the imprint of Hegelian historiography with the feminisation of the Pacific and the definition of history as

⁵⁷ H.E. Maude, letter to Frank Clune, 14 Nov. 1969, Clune Papers 4951, NLA.

civilising progress. While history is materially present to Bill Newton and Maude, and Hayes can be brought forth by them using it, exactly what nomadic journey do they document, Hayes' or Bill's? The historian is not a transparent conduit opening up the past, but a point at which various representations are ordered and systematised; documents are produced and permitted by discursive systems and must be addressed as such.

Many of the facts of Hayes occur as repetitions of common colonial narratives and not as primary scenes. Lubbock's work, which Maude implies is a benchmark study, is itself an unacknowledged borrowing of A.T. Saunders' research; the interviews and yarns most probably are frequently circulated myths - it would be interesting to see what Newton considered unknown and unrepeated material. Apparently much of the information in the suitcase was passed on from the editor of *Pacific Island Monthly*, Robbie Robson, to Olaf Ruhen, who was planning a book on Hayes,⁵⁸ and this forms the basis of the suitcase; most of the details are now available in the Pacific Manuscript Bureau (PMB). Maude does mention similar details in his letter to Clune. Apparently, according to Deryck Scarr, Bill Newton was not 'lost' to the Pacific but returned to Melbourne.⁵⁹ Hence the objects were already circulating and functioning within an economy of Pacific History before their 'discovery.' That some of the narratives retain their currency emphasises their importance in the repetition and recirculation of colonial myths. The reason for the repetition often exemplifies a strategy of racism or sexism produced out of Australian culture, which attempts to

⁵⁸ Olaf Ruhen did not complete his book. Clune was aware that Ruhen was writing a book on Hayes and hoped to produce his before. Ruhen published a short story of Becke's in an edited work: *South Pacific Adventure* (Melbourne: Sun Books, 1966), 25-93. Ruhen published Becke's "The Real 'Bully' Hayes," *Lone Hand* 10 (1912), 378-88.

⁵⁹ Pers. comm. Deryck Scarr, Dec 1994.

consolidate Australia's authority and power, defined in masculine, white terms, in the Pacific region.

The miscegenetic truth underscores a paranoia of not being able to contain the 'impure' information, and this is articulated in the disapproval many historians note of a 'mass' of myths. The reliability of documents is determined by the hierarchy of the singular truth above this so-called plethora of the mythical, or the fictional, which threatens to exceed the singular, prosaic history. Grove Day's articulates a regular description of fact versus fiction: "[the] career of this South Sea rogue [Hayes] can be followed through documents which separate fairly well the truth from the mass of legends that have grown up around him."⁶⁰ Situating the documents as 'originals' sanctions the notion of unique presence; they occur only once in historical temporality while myths are repetitive, unauthentic, copied, and excessive. The authorisation of a singular history, a unique documentation, may also explain the importance of Bill Newton's interviews. Maude excitedly details the exhaustive research procedure of Newton - interviewing the entire genealogy of this figure - as if in its dedicated and regimented system the complete history can be discovered. Newton's interviews are complicit with the 'island-orientated' theory of history, discussed in the next chapter, that gives oral accounts, through sanctioning 'experience,' a form of validity. Here, through orality, history is managed and made pure by the apparent singularity and originality of the oral source. The 'island-orientated' recorded interview, however, is a contradiction between the mythology and the history of Hayes, with the 'yarn' given, simultaneously, the status of literary genre and scientific documentation.

⁶⁰ A. Grove Day, *Louis Becke*, Twayne World Author Series (New York: Twayne, 1966), 102.

Representing an event as a 'recounting' or an 'interview of a descendant' does a couple of things. Firstly, it conflates the constructs of 'yarn' with fact, suggesting that real events which determine history can be accessed through listening to eyewitness accounts, ignoring interpretation as a process. Secondly, privileging the circulation of information in an oral medium suggests Hayes exists outside authority and 'traditional' documents. Because he is a rogue, and escapes being captured in history, narratives such as Becke's are positioned as marginal to traditional Australian history, yet they are still a part, as Maude wishes to emphasise, of history. Through orality, and its association with patriarchy in the genre of 'yarn,' a history of Hayes augments an originality and singularity. The associated valorisation of movement and orality prominent amongst the *Bulletin* writers accords a certain literary romanticism to oral accounts while the historical interview implies a principled adherence to conventions of documentation.

The 'yarns' on Hayes also describe a patriarchal economy. Basil Lubbock, the maritime historian, frames his entire history of Hayes as stories told by five male characters 'yarning' on a yacht as it travels from San Francisco to Tahiti, often in darkened rooms with the speaker obscured, much like Marlow's narrator in *Heart of Darkness*.⁶¹ The women's only position in Lubbock's stories is to interrupt conversations between men. In one passage Hayes' wife interrupts his scheming: "[Hayes' wife] gave such a look of warning from under her straight brows ... that [Hayes] realised it was no good. He cleverly sheered off making as if the crowd separated us" (50). The narratives circulate patriarchal representations of power by

⁶¹ Basil Lubbock, *Bully Hayes: South Sea Pirate* (London: Martin Hopkins, 1931).

considering communication to be strictly in the domain of patriarchal spaces and knowledge; women do not 'yarn' in Lubbock's story. On the problem of promoting oral stories to facts, Maude says of Becke's writing,

The division made between fiction and non-fiction writing is, however, rather artificial and disguises the fact that Becke based much, probably most, of his so-called fiction on the stories of actual events which he heard recounted by the traders and natives with whom he mixed, supplemented by library research.⁶²

How the library research supplements the stories is curious, for Becke never qualified the stories as researched histories, nor cited any archival collections, and there are some pertinent reasons for this. Not that Becke would feel the need to provide a bibliography to his adventure stories. However, it is extremely doubtful that library research verifies the narratives.

Driving these oral myths is a reliance on origin as an organising force. While the historians consider being able to situate a document in time verifies it, much of what they consider 'document,' and this includes their own work, is textually circuitous and fragmentary. Basil Lubbock, who Clune calls the "[e]minent British nautical writer" (3) plagiarises entire paragraphs, word for word, from A.T. Saunders without acknowledgment. Lubbock, however, is not alone in his copying of large slabs of other people's work. Becke's story "Bully Hayes" contains, verbatim, pages from H. Stonehewer Cooper's *The Islands of the Pacific*, and Frederick Moss' *Through Atolls and Islands in the Great South Sea*, under the pretext that they "supplement my own impressions" (29). At least Becke cited his sources, but his is a contradictory admission from the writer who stated that he knew Hayes better than any living person. The first major literary piece on Hayes, T. A. Browne's *A Modern Buccaneer*,

⁶² Maude, "Traders" 226.

published under the pen-name, Rolfe Boldrewood, was taken from a manuscript written by Becke and sold to T. A. Browne for £25. Browne wanted to follow his successful *Robbery Under Arms* with another adventure book, so he paid Becke to write him one. Becke, at this point of his career, had only published some short stories with the *Bulletin* and could not have organised a publisher for a novel. Becke, thinking he was providing an outline and not a novel for Browne, was rather upset at the virtual re-publication, unchanged and with no acknowledgment, of his manuscript. Supported by A. G. Stephens, and under the supervision of his lawyer, A. B. "Banjo" Patterson, Becke wrote to Browne of his "profound astonishment ... that the manuscript would go without alteration, into a book of your work."⁶³ Boldrewood would later print a small apology, yet did not pay Becke the balance of £12 for the manuscript. Clune, in knowledge of this event, places an ironic warning at the beginning of his book: "Warning to literary hijackers. This book may be classed as fiction because it includes numerous yarns about the career of Bully Hayes that cannot be verified." Clune considers Boldrewood "a bigger buccaneer than Hayes" (2), and sneers at the plagiarism made by the better connected Browne.

Yet Clune does not happen to mention that his book on Hayes, like most of his books, was co-written by the unacknowledged P. R. "Inky" Stephenson.⁶⁴ The manuscript for *Captain 'Bully' Hayes* was originally written as a chapter in his 1938

⁶³ Louis Becke, letter to T. A. Browne, 6 Aug. 1894. There is a copy of the letter in *Bibliobooks* 5.5 (1952), 7. For full details of this event see Mark Gilbert, "Literary Buccaneering: Boldrewood, Becke, and the *Bulletin*," *Adelaide ALS Working Papers* 2.2 (1977), 24-35; Clive Hamer, "Boldrewood Reassessed," *Southerly* 16 (1966), 263-78.

⁶⁴ On this relationship see Craig Munro, *Wild Man Of Letters: The Story of P. R. Stephenson* (Melbourne: Melbourne UP, 1984).

work, *Free and Easy Land*.⁶⁵ Then in 1955 the story was republished in an article for the Melbourne *Truth*. Clune and Stephenson planned a weekly column "Frank Clune's True Story" which Stephenson would write from Clune's research, and receive half the payment (£12/10). The column never eventuated and Clune wanted Stephenson to expand the 5,000 word article to a 35,000 word book. The first manuscript was completed in 1958; I'm unsure who did the work on this - probably it was both of them. After Stephenson's death Clune revised the manuscript, added passages from other travel stories to increase the length, and published it with Angus and Robertson in 1970.⁶⁶ Clune was reluctant to acknowledge Stephenson, according to Stephenson's biographer, Craig Munroe, because of possible controversy that might have arisen from Stephenson's radical fascist politics.⁶⁷ Here, with the wealthy and popular writer appropriating the work of the relatively unknown writer, are some parallels between Becke and Stephenson. Another point of similarity between Becke and Stephenson is that they were both financially unrewarded. Becke never received the £12 Browne owed him for writing the manuscript. Similarly, Stephenson was paid what he considered a meagre salary while Clune pocketed all the royalties, and with the final edition of *Captain Bully Hayes*, published after Stephenson's death, none of the royalties were passed on to his family. Becke was quick to be outraged when one story he co-authored with Walter James Jeffery (who co-authored six books with

⁶⁵ The chapter, titled "Bully Hayes, Kanaka Kidnapper" was mainly a rewriting of Saunders' book. Frank Clune, *Free and Easy Land* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1938), 324-52.

⁶⁶ Clune Papers 4951, folders 404-8, NLA.

⁶⁷ Stephenson supported Hitler, and was interned during the Second War World because of these views.

Becke)⁶⁸ appeared in the *London Illustrated News* without Jeffery's name; Becke wrote to Jeffery that the omission of his name was "scandalous."⁶⁹ The commercial transactions behind the Hayes narratives, which fund the dissemination of the history hint at the investments needed for history to be produced. The writers and historians are not artistically situated outside this economy, by work within the institutional forces funding literature. What this funding provides, as I wish to outline in the next section, is a rationalisation of Australia's colonial intervention in the Pacific.

Australian colonialism and 'Bully' Hayes

On numerous occasions the unfound source of a story relegates it to myth, while an official context provides veracity. Why, then, do the authors constantly repeat obviously fictional myths about Hayes? The representations are obviously not systematised on fact versus fiction, but on issues such as race. Stories are repeated not because they are true, but because they manage a racist relationship and operate as didactic narratives. There is a strong undercurrent of anti-Chinese and anti-German sentiment in many Hayes stories. Lubbock's text, like the majority of the texts under consideration, features the Chinese as a source of evil. The Chinese cook is always "flitting back and forth" (7) on the boat while the men talk on deck. The cook, Ah-Foo, tells one story, but from the kitchen in a gesture which both feminises and devalues his comments through taking them out of a masculine arena on the ship's deck. His only audience is the narrator who states he is forced to translate his "cryptic

⁶⁸ Some of these books are *The Mutineer: A Romance of Pitcairn Island* (London: T. Fischer Unwin, 1898); *The Naval Pioneers of Australia* (London: John Murray, 1899); and *Admiral Phillip: The Founding of New South Wales* (London: Unwin, 1899).

⁶⁹ Louis Becke, letter to W.J. Jeffery, 28 Mar. 1896, NLA 443.

sentences” (139) because Ah-Foo was “unlike the Admiral [and] extremely hazy when it came to dates” (146). In complying with Orientalism, and the widespread racism against the Chinese, they are represented in Lubbock’s story continually as feminine, unhistorical, and untrustworthy. This stereotype is to mark a significant proportion of narratives on Hayes.

The myth of the “Chinese Coolies,” which Saunders calls the “most famous romance” (57) of the many Hayes stories, is exemplary of a widely told ‘yarn’ systematising racial stereotypes and validating the colonial economy. In brief, Hayes takes a boatload of Chinese labourers to an Australian Port and pretends his boat is sinking. The pilot comes to the rescue, carries the labourers ashore because Hayes is adamant they are rescued first - “Save these people, and let the ship sink,” Hayes is said to have called⁷⁰ - and then sails away before the pilot returns. By doing this he keeps the poll tax, around ten pounds a head, already given to him by the Chinese, forcing the pilot to pay the tax. What is particularly interesting about this myth is the number of times it is repeated. As far as I can tell the “Coolie” myth was first written in H. Stonehewer Cooper’s *The Coral Lands of the Pacific: Their Peoples and Their Products*.⁷¹ Becke quotes Cooper’s story in his “‘Bully’ Hayes,” in *‘Bully’ Hayes: Buccaneer*.⁷² Richard Covett’s *Tamate* repeats a similar story, but with much more details of the boat, the *Rona*, and amount of poll tax saved: “something like £3000.... This was a cruel business for the Pilot company. They had to pay that large amount

⁷⁰ Becke, “Bully Hayes” 31.

⁷¹ H. Stonehewer Cooper, *The Coral Lands of the Pacific: Their Peoples and Their Products* (London: Richard Bentley, 1882).

⁷² Louis Becke, *‘Bully’ Hayes: Buccaneer* (Sydney: NSW Bookstall, 1913).

themselves.”⁷³ Clune details two other versions by Robert Gilkison and Bart Adamson.⁷⁴ Clune states “despite all my researches into the legends ... I was unable to verify this yarn” (41) and considers that the “yarns about Bully Hayes multiply as the years sail by” (41). A.T. Saunders, wishing to situate the blame elsewhere considers “[t]here is no truth in these stories, but doubtless Hayes started them himself.”⁷⁵ If these narratives are openly declared as false, and are described as such, why would they be made part of the history and so frequently repeated? The repetition has far greater implications than just entertainment, and suggests a politics of colonial representation in action. The stories were written when imported labour was an controversial issue, especially Queensland’s use of South Sea Island labour in the 1890s, and the xenophobic fear of Chinese, Japanese and South-East Asian labourers.⁷⁶ Further, Chinese immigrants were represented stereotypically as devious with money, and for the pilot to be swindled of money was evidence of the cost of immigration to Australia. Typical of adventure narratives, the Chinese are represented as a threat to the order of white Australian society.

The most racist Hayes stories are those contained in Albert Dorrington’s *South Sea Buccaneer*, in which Hayes has to deal with a devious Chinese banker, Willy Ah King, whose “mind is an abyss of unfathomable schemes.... [T]o the average investigator the brain of the Mongolian is a jungle and a blank” (6). Another character is Hung Chat, an Opium dealer. The standard of feminising the non-western other is patently

⁷³ Richard Covett, *Tamate: The Life and Adventures of a Christian Hero, A Book for Boys* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1904), 64-5.

⁷⁴ Clune, *Captain Bully Hayes* 39-41. Clune refers to Robert Gilkison, *Early Days in Central Otago*; Bart Adamson, “The Man in the Mask,” *Smith’s Weekly* Jan.1 1938.

⁷⁵ Saunders, *Bully Hayes: Barritor* 57.

⁷⁶ The most blatant examples of the xenophobic fear are in the invasion novels written in the first decades of the twentieth century, which I briefly note in chapter four.

obvious in the descriptions of Chat: he has “silken ways and delicate palate,” and his weakness is exposed when faced with Hayes: “[h]is manicured fingers trembled slightly; he turned his withered, opium-ravaged face to the buccaneer” (144). The ‘Coolie’ myth is associated with western history through investigations such as Saunders and Clune. Left intact, the question addressed by Saunders and Clune is not why the Chinese are represented in this racist manner, but who writes the myths, letting the myths assume an historical status.

It is not solely myths in adventure stories which detail this kind of racism. An account given by “Ah-So, a Chinaman” for a report on Hayes’ activities on Strong’s Island tabled by A. E. Dupuis, captain of the *Rosario*, reads in part: “Have been on board Leonora four years as cook and steward. About two years ago went to Merike Island. Plenty of cocoanuts come off and one woman; another woman ran away into the bush.” The bottom of the statement reads: “(signed) AH-SO (Chinese characters).”⁷⁷ A seaman who is illiterate (he signs with a cross), on the other hand, writes grammatically, often repeating the same statements as Ah-So, but correctly. The sailor’s white skin enables a grammatical account which is denied to Ah-So. Similarly, the “King” of Strong’s Island is recorded as saying “We think Kaptin Hayes one bad man. Suppose he no run away. I Like very much you take him on board your ship and carry him off.... (signed) -TONGUSA (X his mark).”⁷⁸ The documents show how institutional discourses produce truth, not the authors themselves. Ah-So’s statements were prepared by Dupuis for the purpose of having Hayes arrested. Reverend B. G. Snow, a missionary who wanted Hayes imprisoned composed

⁷⁷ Qtd. in Saunders, *Bully Hayes: Barritor* 42.

⁷⁸ Qtd. in Saunders, *Bully Hayes: Barritor* 42.

Togusa's statement and gave it to the British authorities.⁷⁹ The corrupt evidence is not a judicial travesty but is indicative of the legal system of colonialism which was to introduce the White Australia policy twenty years later, and already had various racist immigration rules in place.

In this case Hayes, according to A.T. Saunders, allegedly "violently assaulted and ravished" a Pacific Island woman.⁸⁰ For the British authority, A. E. Dupuis, there was insufficient evidence to arrest Hayes. Dupuis doubted "whether Sydney law would have been able to deal with such cases."⁸¹ Noting the unwillingness of Australian Colonies to charge blackbirders, Dupuis also was referring to the *Rosario*, a British warship, which was fined by a Sydney court for wrongfully arresting the labour ship *Daphne*.⁸² Though the *Daphne* was taken by a British Captain under British law, the trial hearing was in Australia, and related to the situation of procuring Melanesian labour for Queensland farmers.⁸³ Australian law, by the 1880s, was to become the dominant force in Melanesia.

The function of Hayes in many narratives is to clarify the ambiguous position of Australian law in colonialism. Hayes could demonstrate where colonialism was excessive and needed to be contained under Australian law. This does not mean that all comments on blackbirding were negative as Louis Becke, for instance, laments:

⁷⁹ Also see Clune, *Captain Bully Hayes* 132-6.

⁸⁰ Saunders, *Bully Hayes: Barritor* 41-2.

⁸¹ Saunders, *Bully Hayes: Barritor* 39.

⁸² The charges failed because there was a lack of evidence that the Islanders had been taken by force; as the slavery law stipulates, slavery is the "forcible or fraudulent carrying of persons against their wills to be used and dealt with as slaves." From the Slave Trade Consolidation act, qtd. in Enclosure 89, *Further Correspondence Respecting the Deportation of South Sea Islanders*, Feb. 10, 1871. British House of Commons. The most detailed account of the *Daphne* incident is by the Captain of the *Rosario*: George Palmer, *Kidnapping in the South Seas: Being a Narrative of a Three Month Cruise of H.M. Ship Rosario* (Edinburgh: Edmonstone and Douglas, 1871; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973).

⁸³ *Queensland Government Gazette*, Aug. 28, 1875.

“Oh the Halcyon days of the sixties and seventies ... when Queensland schooners ran full ‘nigger’ cargoes to Bundaberg ... [when recruiters] drew thumping bonuses from the planters.... Merry times indeed had those who ran the labour vessels then in the trade.”⁸⁴ While Becke was the most obvious apologist for blackbirding, he was in sharp opposition to missionary agencies who, in continuing the fight against slavery, saw the abolition of blackbirding as a task of their religious organisation. The conflict, though, sets up an entry point for Australian colonialism into the Pacific. The interest in the atrocities perpetrated by the blackbirders was a means to enforce the necessity of law in the region. Missionary tracts such as Richard Covett’s *Tamate*, a biography of the missionary James Chalmers, describe Hayes as a kidnapper, but one who “seems to have come strongly under the fascination of Chalmers’ personality.”⁸⁵

Through the guidance of the missionary, Covett presumes, the evil of slavery can be abolished from the Pacific. The continual reference to illegal acts and criminal personalities within the Pacific region, alongside the valorisation of slavers in face of ‘defenceless’ Pacific cultures, urges for greater surveillance, a more specific governance, and a tighter control of economic markets. The myths about labour practices which the popular novels reproduced consolidate an Australian economic and legal interest in the Pacific through manufacturing and disseminating a political ‘reality’ of the rights, importance, and ethics of colonial commerce.

The implementation of the ‘civilising’ law of Australia serves not only juridical purposes, as many of the narratives also set up roles and conventions of gender which need administering in the Pacific. I want to describe some points where gendered

⁸⁴ Becke, “Concerning Bully Hayes” 217-8.

⁸⁵ Covett, *Tamate* 70.

systems of power manage colonial relationships - that is, where the similar techniques and representations which consolidate masculine authority by managing women within Australian culture are used to describe colonial relationships, particularly where Australian authority is consolidated over the colonised culture. The role of gender in this period, as many Australian critics have pointed out, was a site of contest.⁸⁶ With the emergence of political rights for white women and the transformation of labour, came a critical backlash from magazines such as the *Bulletin*, and in literary genres such as adventure. In a sense this is agreeing with arguments such as Sidney Mintz's and Anne Laura Stoler that "the hallmarks of European cultural production have been sighted in earlier ventures of empire and sometimes in the colonies first."⁸⁷ While this scheme may formulate problems of origins - for colonial power must have genealogies in both colony and empire - the notion of colonised terrain mapping out structures of power, in particular gender relationships, is accurate. At the time of Hayes' popularity, magazines which wrote of him such as the *Bulletin*, were strongly anti-feminist, criticising the suffragette movement as a threat to the masculine nation.⁸⁸ The criticism of patriarchy and the contestation for power by women's groups in England and Australia was redefined by adventure writers in terms of the 'natural' authority of the coloniser over the colonised; to demonstrate the results if this apparently 'natural' relationship of power was subverted, characters such as Hayes would describe the threat to women (through his rape and abduction of 'independent'

⁸⁶ See especially Susan Magarey, Sue Rowley and Susan Sheridan, *Debutante Nation: Feminism Contests the 1890s* (North Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1993).

⁸⁷ Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Viking, 1985), qtd. in Anne Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham: Duke UP, 1995), 15.

⁸⁸ For the *Bulletin's* specific treatment of women see Sylvia Lawson, *The Archibald Paradox: A Strange Case of Authorship* (Ringwood: Penguin, 1987), 194-204.

women) and imply an urgent need to stringently control gender roles to halt the degradation of the masculine nation.

Will Lawson's *The Laughing Buccaneer*⁸⁹ concisely illustrates this movement between patriarchy and colonialism. The novel is based around Moeke, a fictional island in Vanuatu (New Hebrides) controlled by women, and known as the Island of Women. An Irish Australian ship's master, Phil Gallon, thinking that "sooner or later, Moeke would be seized by other natives or a trader would settle there" (20) decides that he will become the new King. Gallon arrives at the island one night and witnesses the women whipping a disobedient man with such viciousness that "[t]he he-man in him boiled" (25). Gallon organises the men to escape, promising to train them to be fighting men. He makes a triumphant return to the women's village with the newly trained male Islanders, announcing "I have bought back your men. But no more shall they be slaves. Henceforth they shall lead. The whips shall be kept for the women who disobey" (36). Ratu, the princess of the island and Gallon's first love interest, is overjoyed and calls out "I am your slave, beat me" (37). With Gallon marrying the princess Ratu, "proper" patriarchal order (not 'racial' order) is restored to Moeke.⁹⁰ This order is disrupted twice: once by a pearler with a beautiful daughter, Nancy who vies with Ratu for the love of Gallon, and later by 'Bully' Hayes who attempts to abduct the islanders for labour. The fortuitous colonisation of the island saves the 'honour' of Nancy, for Hayes announces "evilily" to Nancy "if this bully [Gallon]

⁸⁹ Will Lawson, *The Laughing Buccaneer* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1935).

⁹⁰ The men's status as "proper" comes from Lawson's frontispiece to the second edition where he explains the "Features of the Story." The features outline the suitability of the story for a film, detailing possible shooting locations such as Aotearoa/New Zealand where "the natives resemble ... and speak almost the same tongue" as those in the story. Will Lawson, "Features of the Story," *The Laughing Buccaneer* (Sydney: Frank Johnson Bluebird Series, 1942), i.

hadn't been here, I'd have *you* all to myself' (101). The inevitability of colonialism is predicted by the Islanders who have a prophecy that "one will come from over the sea, a white man and brave, who may be God" (25), which agrees with Gallon's view that 'natural' law needs to be implemented to stop the subordination of men on the island.

In this description of a benevolent transformation by colonialism, the 'natural' inevitability of colonisation simultaneously reappoints a 'natural' society in which men maintain authority. The order of this society is mapped onto Australian cultural history, particularly around the description of the whippings. Beating men is naturally unjust, whereas beating women is not - the women even agree with this. Furthermore, by employing signifiers of Australia's convict history, the whipping scene situates Moeke in an Australian historical paradigm. Whipping is a 'savage' act of the convict past that needs eradicating. Moeke demonstrates the barbarity of a nascent culture, it has not "evolved" from these practices as Australia has. What is more, its evolution is only possible through the intervention of Australia. Yet, within this paradigm the women have the ambiguous associations of being the evil administrators of an unjust law, very much like the English officials who administered the penal colonies. The evident stereotype informing this representation is that of the Amazon, the exotic women warriors, who have acquired too much power (and here is a connection to the suffragette movement) and use this power inappropriately. The role of the Amazon is only 'unnatural' because it contrasts with the servility and order of white women. Women's power is defined racially for Nancy, who is described in Aryan terms as a Greek beauty (163), knows that "women were women the world over, be they natives or Europeans" (127). Nancy's position of servility, however, is not equal between all

women. When there is a possibility of a white woman being surpassed by a Pacific Islander, when Ratu displaces Nancy as Gallon's partner, the threat of 'miscegenation' is answered by the tragic death of Ratu in a natural catastrophe. The gender roles drawn by Lawson explicitly detail the necessity of female servility for colonialism to succeed. The necessity is all the more crucial precisely because of colonialism's potential, in the character of Hayes, to disrupt the natural order of male and female, coloniser and colonised.

Completing Hayes, the corporeal picture

Hayes' history describes what Foucault calls the "crisis in which we have been involved for so long, and which is growing more serious ... that transcendental reflexion ... by which we avoid the difference of our presence."⁹¹ The historians of Hayes seem to write in the continual hope, in the face of contradictory and deferred histories, that a history will be completed and Hayes found. A common feature of the studies on Hayes is the lament of incomplete or missing data, such as Bill Newton's suitcase. The wreck of Hayes' last, and most famous boat the *Leonora* was refound and surveyed at the request of the Kosrae Islanders who were afraid that amateur divers may take items and damage the wreck. A comprehensive marine archaeological survey was done, and in a moment where fiction is used in a political organisation, the researchers used Becke's fictional short stories to ascertain the events at the time of the sinking.⁹² However, when detailing the artefacts at the wreck site, there is mention

⁹¹ Foucault, *Archaeology* 204.

⁹² The relevant stories are "Bully Hayes: Buccaneer"; "The Wreck of the *Leonora*"; and "Concerning Bully Hayes."

of a previous "reconnaissance dive" in 1967 by the American Scripps institute in which the group took items to display in the *Star of India* Museum, and "removed several other items, the whereabouts of which are now unknown."⁹³ A move typical of First-World institutions claiming ownership of objects belonging to Pacific Islanders in the name of 'research,' the value of these objects is determined by the west and appropriated in the Humanist 'search' for knowledge. The importance of these items apart from their status as stolen, is their signification of incompleteness, for the incompleteness of Hayes' record drives western history to further collect, collate, and control objects and identities of Pacific Islanders.

The search for Hayes often revolves around producing an accurate representation. The core of this issue is his corporealisation, as if representing the body is the best way to factually prove his existence. Most common in the stories is a description of Hayes' appearance. Rolfe Boldrewood's *The Modern Buccaneer* (written by Becke) gives one of the most detailed descriptions of Hayes. It reads:

Hayston [the fictional name of Hayes] was a giant in stature: six feet four in height, with a chest that measured, from shoulder to shoulder, forty-nine inches; and there was nothing clumsy about him, as his many antagonists could testify. His strength was enormous, and he was proud of it.... Hayston was one of the most remarkably handsome men about this time I had ever seen. His hair fell in clusters across his forehead, above laughing eyes of the brightest blue; his nose was a bold aquiline; a well-cut, full-lipped mouth that could set like fate was covered by a moustache. A Vandyke beard completed the *tout assemblage* of a visage which, once seen, was rarely forgotten by friend or foe. Taking him altogether, what with face, figure and manner, he had a personal magnetism only too fatally attractive, as many a man - ay, and woman too - knew to their cost. He was my beau ideal of a naval officer - bold and masterful, yet soft and pleasant-voiced withal when he chose to conciliate. His sole disfigurement - not wholly so, perhaps, in the eye of his admirers - was a sabre cut which extended from the right temple to his ear.⁹⁴

⁹³ Scott Russell, ed., *Of Wooden Ships and Iron Men: An Historical and Archaeological Survey of the Brig Leonora* (Melanesian Archaeological Survey, n.d.), 95.

⁹⁴ Boldrewood, *A Modern Buccaneer* 15-6.

Hayes' Aryan features, his attractiveness, is described in specifically European terms: the blond-hair and blue eyes, are part of colonialism's investment in racial purity. The inscription of the face with Anglo-Saxon features, and the repeated and desirous reference to its beauty, not only enforces a eurocentric concept of beauty, but asserts Hayes is a complete identity: the *tout assemblage*. Becke/Boldrewood asks the reader to take the description as evidence of completion - he is taken "altogether," as if, in an sense of identity and race, the body is fully grown, evolved, and complete. Racially pure, Hayes' facial features also figure as proof of existence, for the completion represents him as 'real,' as a person 'rarely forgotten.' Through racial qualifiers, the stereotyped Aryan is accorded a status seemingly incompatible with the very stereotype it articulates: that of a 'real' man. An important question is why is this obviously racialised description the most favoured form of description?

The importance of the face or the portrait has been investigated by various theorists, yet cultural and historical specificity of the face is often ignored. Homi Bhabha elaborates on Franz Fanon's 'epidermal schema' of racism as the fetishisation of black skin as a "recognition of difference" between the coloniser and the colonised.⁹⁵ The face is possibly a fetishised recognition of sameness in which the colonisers locate a 'purity' of race with stereotyped, and sexualised, features. However, little recognition is given to the face as a culturally produced signifier. Deleuze and Guattari, for instance, use the face as a fundamental signifier of western culture, for non-western cultures, in their system, "pertain to the body."⁹⁶ And thus

⁹⁵ Homi Bhabha, "The Other Question: Difference, Discrimination, and the Discourse of Colonialism," *Literature, Politics, and Theory*, eds. Francis Barker et al (London: Methuen, 1986), 168. Franz Fanon *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Charles Lam Markham (London: Pluto, 1968).

⁹⁶ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus* 176. Deleuze and Guattari do associate racism with the reading of faces: "Racism operates by the determination of degrees of deviance in relation to the

“‘Primitives’ may have the most human of heads ... but they have no face and need none” (176). Their theory of the face puts it as a prime organiser of signification:

The face is the Icon proper to the signifying regime.... The face is what gives the signifier substance; it is what fuels interpretation, and it is what changes traits when interpretation reimparts signifier to its substance. Look, his expression has changed. (115)

Deleuze and Guattari use faciality to describe the fixity of western society which they compare to the romantic freedom of “primitive” masks. Andrew Lattas has accurately criticised this view as eurocentric: Deleuze and Guattari “are preaching a return to primitivism” in their totalising view of non-western cultures.⁹⁷ Their reading agrees with the use of facial features, physiognomy, in colonial discourse to demonstrate differences of race, based on the idea that the western face is open, honest, and not exaggerated in any way.

The fetishisation also inscribes a sexual economy in the representations of Hayes. Hayes’ vanity is seized on by writers wishing to criticise him. One newspaper report recounts:

Mr Britt, who has an excellent memory, remembers one curious circumstance - that the picturesque desperado had a pair of curling tongs amongst his belongings that were evidently in constant use.⁹⁸

Hayes’ vanity on one level is used to feminise him, working in opposition to his generally masculine description. The ambivalent sexuality complements his transgressive behaviour, and alludes to his ability to corrupt gender roles. But importantly the feminisation describes a textual negotiation between homosocial and homosexual relations, for women are often scripted as points of transaction to enable

White-Man face” (178). However, racism is determined by the deviance from the founding centre of the White-Man face.

⁹⁷ Andrew Lattas, “Primitivism in Deleuze and Guattari’s *A Thousand Plateaus*” 102.

⁹⁸ “Bully Hayes: Old Memories Revived,” *Sydney Morning Herald* 12 Feb. 1912, 7.

male to male desire.⁹⁹ In the above descriptions the 'fatal attraction' of both men and women to Hayes have correlations in the stories: Gallon leaves Nancy to sail with Hayes in *The Laughing Buccaneer*, as Hayes promising Gallon a "girl [and a] special cabin" (114) if he sails with him. In constructing colonial activity as a male-only domain, there is an obvious ambiguity in sexuality of the homosocial group, and women are necessary in these stories to act as exchangeable commodities to make "intelligible" male to male desire.¹⁰⁰ In these descriptions of Hayes is the rupturing of the masculine colonial male with homosexual desire. The acknowledgment and celebration of Hayes' masculinity meshes homosocial activity with homoerotic desire.

Similarly, the argument underlying these descriptions, that corporeality provides a material 'proof,' as if a witnessed account of a body is positivistic proof of 'presence,' is ruptured in the attempts to locate the 'true' representation of Hayes. It may seem to historians such as Becke and Clune that proof can be found with the location of a body, as if proving the 'fact' of bodily existence will justify the history. The importance of the description of the body, I suggest, is not how it consolidates an existence or absence, but its signification of incompleteness, and thus the need to continue the colonial enterprise. In moments of fictional completion the historical documentation is not what historian's want, and it is these incompletenesses which drive the history and forces its reproduction. Till recently the closest resemblance of Hayes was assumed to be Norman Lindsay's cover of Becke's *Bully Hayes: Buccaneer and*

⁹⁹ Joseph Pugliese argues that these "acts of symbolic exchange ... guarantees the order of mateship." Joseph Pugliese, "Cartographies of Violence: Heterotopias and the Barbarism of Western Law," *The Australian Feminist Law Journal* 7 (1996), 28. See also Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia UP, 1985); Luce Irigaray, *This Sex Which is Not One*, trans. Catherine Porter (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1985).

¹⁰⁰ Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *The Epistemology of the Closet* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1990), 15.

Other Stories. Walter Stone comments that Hayes “is familiar to many of us through the drawings made by Norman Lindsay.... Becke is said to have declared it a good likeness.”¹⁰¹ Becke’s declaration, however, probably comes from Lindsay himself who wrote about the production of the cover:

I discussed a suitable cover with Becke, and he selected an episode of Hayes fighting.... As there was no portrait of Hayes extant, I had Becke describe him to me.... Becke kept correcting [my sketches] till he was satisfied I had a fair enough representation of Hayes.¹⁰²

Lindsay suggests that this was the most valid representation: “[A man] was collecting material for the life of Bully Hayes, and told me that the Hayes of my cover was understood to be an authentic portrait ... drawn by a man who had known him” (2). Later, this picture would be superseded. Maude mentions in one of first letters to Clune that he discovered a photograph of Hayes, only commenting that it “looked quite different from anything I imagined.” Here is an inconsistency in the colonial imagination. It is no surprise to read Clune’s response, after seeing the only known photograph of Hayes: “What a thud was the photo of Bully Hayes? I expected to see a hearty six-footer with a deep brown and bulging biceps. Instead he looks like a navvy hanging around the wharves in search of free grog.”¹⁰³ Much like, perhaps, the disappointment if Maude or Clune had found the suitcase; it would be no more proof than a partial and disseminated representation of Hayes.

There is a silent agenda in practice: the search for ‘facts’ that will provide the history of Hayes needs to obey the conditions set by the colonial management of these representations. Any representations of reality or truth must conform to these

¹⁰¹ Walter Stone, “Rogues and Roamers in the Pacific,” *Bibliobooks* 145 11.2 (1958), 5.

¹⁰² Norman Lindsay, “Louis Becke,” *Bulletin* 7 June 1955, 2.

¹⁰³ Frank Clune, letter H. E. Maude, 31 March 1970, Clune Papers 4951, folder 71, NLA.

conditions. The history, far from an origin, is the accumulation of certain ideas and stories associated with institutionally sanctioned representations. The colonial history, then, predetermined by Australian racial and sexual orders, is not to be completed by historians or adventure writers but disseminated by them. The intersections of adventure and history are textual sites where colonialism is activated as knowledge and distributed to a popular audience. I will now turn to the discursive formation of history and examine the institutional support given to concepts, practices, and discourses of colonialism.

Pacific Histories

Chapter three

In this chapter I approach the practices of colonialism in Australian culture with a specific examination of academic colonialism. There is significant interest in the Pacific by academic institutions; however, describing this interest in terms of colonialism is commonly resisted. Even the related, but relatively unemphasised, interventions by governmental, religious and administrative organisations are frequently not couched in terms of an Australian colonial discourse which articulates a colonial policy. Nor are they represented as part of a systematic formation which is rationalised by a history of Australia written to justify the politics of race, concepts of defence, or commercial exploitation. A current widely vocalised concern is the continuing legacy of colonialism in western academic discourses on Pacific History. As I outlined in the introduction, Pacific History is a discursive formation informed by various colonial knowledges, and meshed with colonial discourses. I concentrate on the relationship between colonialism and Pacific History because this thesis, which emerges in many ways from the academic discipline of Pacific History, is simultaneously an articulation of these colonised knowledges and a criticism of their configuration in colonial discourse. And Australian institutions, having a pivotal role in the articulation of Pacific History, produce epistemic conditions making colonial intervention possible, and in some contemporary structures such as 'island-orientated' history, they fund the discursive practice of Pacific History.

Australia's role in the Pacific has been described by historian Neville Meaney as a "rather hazy folk myth which doubles for twentieth-century Australian history,"¹ because many historians suggest that Australia had little, if any, foreign policy till the First World War. Historians who ignore colonialism in Australian history, Meaney considers, promulgate the view, as stated here by Gordon Greenwood, that until 1914 "Australians by a fortunate combination of circumstances were able to afford the luxury of an almost exclusive concentration upon internal pursuits."² Indeed, John M.R. Young's introduction to Australia's role in the Pacific does not once mention that the relationship was colonial, preferring instead to classify the Pacific as an Australian "frontier" for "economic expansion" (3), "settlement" (10), leading finally to "assimilation."³ The focus of this chapters is to consider how, in writing a Pacific History, Australia has represented, and often occluded, its colonialism in this narrative. Frequently the events of Australian colonialism are elided in historical narratives in an effort to distance the practices and economies of colonialism from a concept of 'national identity.'

One method of this containment, to which this thesis replies, is to limit the reading of colonialism and imperialism to strictly governmental and economic actions, as if colonialism is restricted only to when a country or peoples are officially and formally accorded the status of colony in relation to the imperial power. This conservative reading is stated by the British scholar of imperialism, J.A. Hobson: "Imperialism ...

¹ Neville Meaney, *The Search for Security in the Pacific, 1901-14* (Sydney: Sydney UP, 1976), 1.

² Gordon Greenwood, *Australia, A Social and Political History* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1955), qtd in Meaney 1. Other historians supporting this view, according to Meaney, are Manning Clarke, R.M. Crawford, and Fred Alexander. To this list can be added popular historians such as Kylie Tennant and Russell Ward.

³ John M.R. Young, *Australia's Pacific Frontier: Economic and Cultural Expansion into the Pacific, 1795-1885* (Melbourne: Cassell, 1967), 12.

implies the use of the machinery of government by private interests, mainly capitalists, to secure for them economic gains outside their country.”⁴ There has been a substantial and lengthy criticism of this economic determinist viewpoint; Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher proposed colonisation was not reliant on political control in their distinction between informal and formal imperialism.⁵ More recent work has emphasised the cultural aspects of colonialism, in which popular entertainment has articulated the values of imperialism,⁶ and is critical of positing colonialism as economically or governmentally determined. A further step I take is to examine how knowledge itself reproduces and makes profitable Australian colonialism.

Pacific History and colonialism

Writing on the concern of the western academic monopoly of historical writings on the Pacific, Greg Denning states the “contemporary Pacific needs history ‘in’ the Pacific;”⁷ Denning implies this history is not ‘of’ the Pacific or, what he critically calls ‘real history,’ but history ‘in.’ In a gesture intending to rectify the imbalance between Pacific Islander and western historians, Denning proposes that a relocation ‘into’ the

⁴ J.A. Hobson, *Imperialism: A Study* (1902; London: Allen and Unwin, 1954), qtd. in Raymond F. Betts, *The False Dawn: European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century* (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1975), 121.

⁵ Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher, “The Imperialism of Free Trade,” *Economic History Review* 6 (1953), 1-15. For further discussion of Robinson and Gallagher’s theory see W.R. Louis, ed., *Imperialism: the Robinson and Gallagher Controversy* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1976). For an application of Robinson and Gallagher to the Pacific see Adrian Cunningham’s reading of the Protectorate of Tonga: Adrian Cunningham, “Tonga: A Case Study of an Unusual Protectorate,” *Pacific Island Focus* 2.2 (1992), 3-40.

⁶ See Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1993); Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1988); John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1984).

⁷ Greg Denning, “History ‘in’ the Pacific,” *The Contemporary Pacific* 1.1 (1989), 137.

Pacific will terminate the colonial relationship of external countries writing Pacific History from the outside. History 'in' suggests that when the historian moves into this region and becomes 'closer' to the subject matter, the cultural location of the historian will be erased. Yet, the conditions of this 'space' through which history supposedly moves is determined from the outset by colonial intervention. The categorisation of the Pacific as a cohesive object is the result of an imperial taxonomy, in which Pacific terrain and cultures are simplistically differentiated from Asian, African and American terrains and cultures. Indeed, some geographers have considered that the emergence of the study of space - the discipline of geography - was founded in Cook's voyages,⁸ and most Pacific historians have started their histories with the very same point. The space which history occupies, and the figures such as Cook who punctuate it, are constituted by particular narratives supporting the politics of colonial intervention. A definition of the Pacific according to this space is both clearly eurocentric and historically problematic. The region of the 'South Seas' circulated in European culture from the early Spanish voyages, 200 years before Cook, and had been extensively represented in literature before Cook's voyages.⁹ Denning's attempt to naturalise a space independent from the discursive conditions of history, as a geographic specificity not determined in some way by historical discourse, seeks to disengage western academic practices from the colonial history in which it is embedded. Denning's assertion prompts some questions: who 'needs' this history? If history 'in'

⁸ David Stoddart, *On Geography and its History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), 28-38.

⁹ For instance Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516) and Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726), both discuss the 'South Seas.' For details of a range of texts on the Pacific before Cook see Glyndwr Williams, "Buccaneers, Castaways, and Satirists: The South Seas in the English Consciousness Before 1750," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 18 (1994), 114-128; Niel Rennie, *Far Fetched Facts: The Literature of Travel and the Idea of the South Seas* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1995). Rennie examines the use of 'south sea' from Ancient Greek literature to the nineteenth century.

the Pacific is “liberating” (137), for whom is it liberating, and what is it liberating them from? Next, what object or practice, precisely, is going ‘in’? How can we say that history ‘in’ the Pacific is not another colonial intervention much like a re-enactment of Cook voyages, to repeat another moment of historical intervention? Finally, if history has not been ‘in,’ how has it managed to speak from the outside with so much power, and what narratives will history articulate, appropriate, or replace when it finally takes up its ‘inside’ residence?

I address this constitution of a space occupied by Pacific histories, both the attempts by Pacific History to transgress ‘in’ to the Pacific, and the master narratives which write history from the outside. The investigation is neither to demarcate certain spatial coordinates of a region called the Pacific, nor a rigid structure called Pacific History, but to examine how the formation of a knowledge can *produce* and *regulate* a space, to gain mastery of a region or scholarly discipline. The two investigations of this chapter are, therefore, how the Pacific becomes an object of knowledge as it is generally conceived today, and how this is systematised and authorised by Australian institutions. By giving details of some of the economic and governmental interventions into the Pacific, alongside the discourses of history which represent this, I suggest that Australia’s colonial practice cannot be limited to its formal administration of Papua. The discourse of Pacific History, as a colonial practice, emerged within a context of colonialism. The ideas, genres, institutions, audiences, and related scientific and Humanist discourses of European history of the Pacific are responses to, and enabled by, colonialism. It is crucial to understand why some events in history are ignored and others discussed, for this displays the politics of history in constructing national identities or colonial histories.

These two directions purposefully situate my investigation primarily within a Foucauldian analysis. Explaining how accounts such as John Hawkesworth's journals of Cook's voyage lead to detailed political histories such as Gordon Greenwood's *Early American-Australian Relations*, or J.M. Ward's *British Policy in the South Pacific*,¹⁰ and then can be linked to an 'ethnographic history' such as Greg Denning's *Islands and Beaches*, necessitates an investigation of the discursive formations, institutional forces, and transformations of knowledge and power involved in Pacific History.¹¹ This transition, from texts valorising western intervention in the Pacific to texts problematising Australian historians speaking for indigenous history, demonstrates the refiguring of concepts of knowledge and history in Pacific History. Through incorporating particular texts or objects as knowledge, the discourses of history in the Pacific actively constitutes a formation which has long been complicit with the project of colonialism. To a certain extent, the call for a move 'in' to rebut history's eurocentrism is also a continuation in the discourse of Pacific History of the engagement between colonialism and historical practice.

I wish to deconstruct Pacific History's authority to describe Australia's role in the Pacific, both to signal the 'outside' (or traditional and eurocentric) history from which this thesis emerges, and to describe how Pacific History enforces a specific politics of

¹⁰ I cite these two texts as among the first Australian histories of the Pacific, published in 1944 and 1948 respectively. Gordon Greenwood, *Early American-Australian Relations: From the Arrival of the Spaniards in America to the Close of 1830* (Melbourne: Melbourne UP, 1944); J.M. Ward, *British Policy in the South Pacific: 1786-1893* (Sydney: Australasian Publishing, 1948).

¹¹ I take this question from an example given by Foucault in an interview in which he refutes the label of 'discontinuous history' frequently attributed to him by describing some continuities he explores: "a book of medicine dating from the 1750s is, for us, a hilarious object of folklore, of which we understand practically nothing; on the other hand ... around 1820, there appeared books of medicine that ... are part of the same type of knowledge as our own." "On Power," *Michel Foucault: Politics, Philosophy, Culture. Interviews and Other Writings, 1977-84*, ed. Lawrence D. Kritzman, trans. Alan Sheridan and others (London: Routledge, 1988), 100.

representation and ownership of the objects of history. The history I investigate is, predominantly, the product of master narratives within Australian history, and thus it is necessary to address some points of opposition and rupture, both within the historical discipline and from discourses outside history. My procedure for mapping this history is to firstly examine the points of contestation and rupture in contemporary historical practice. Through analysing the institutions and contests as they are situated in a paper by Doug Munro, I start mapping the validations, rationalisms, and practices of academic work in Pacific History. In the rhetoric that legitimates Pacific History can be found an anxiety about the potential loss of authority from traditional historical practice, and the fundamental assumptions on the supposed truths and values of history. The truths and values can be traced through philosophical, cultural, institutional and pedagogic formations by focussing on a nexus of these: the first institutionally cohesive structure of Pacific History - the Research School of Pacific Studies at the Australian National University (RSPacS). This institution, though it situated itself as anti-colonial, proceeded to articulate history in compliance with various colonial ideas of knowledge.

The Pacific Archive

Pacific History produces on the one level a space - the geographical region problematically delimited by colonial edicts - through which concepts of time may be narrated. But this history also produces a space for documents, artefacts, and inscriptions ordered in a geographic and historical topos. The space of these objects may be considered the Pacific archive. Investigating how history is systematised into a field of knowledge is to discuss the archive: the conditioning, preservation,

classification and collection of some objects alongside the destruction, debasement, and exclusion of other objects. Jacques Derrida has written on the archive, noting that the concept of archive is “not easy to archive itself.”¹² This problem can be articulated in the etymological root in the word *Arkhe*, which signifies both to house and to command, an irredeemable cleft between domicile and nomology, the local and the law, between inside and outside, sequential and jussive (9). In these divisions Derrida considers the violence of the archive, its power to order and classify (with similarities to Foucault’s argument that discourse is a ‘violence we do to things’). He argues that there is an interdiction in a supposedly inclusive system; thus we must consider that a history produced from the archival economy is both inexorably linked to power *and* subject to the violence of this power. Further, as Derrida writes, the archive is subject to the conditions of its own technology which both reproduces and limits the conditions of itself:

archival technology no longer determines ... merely the moment of the conservational recording, but rather the very institution of the archivable event.... To put it more trivially: what is no longer archived in the same way is no longer lived in the same way. Archivable meaning is also and in advance codetermined by the structure that archives. (18)

The praxis which selects objects for the archive determines the object’s meaning, clearly seen in the politics of nineteenth-century museum taxonomies in which non-western cultures are displayed like animals in a zoo.¹³ Hence an archived object is deemed to have a particular value and utility according to the archival technology.

¹² Jacques Derrida, “Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression,” *Diacritics* 25.2 (1995), 9.

¹³ There is extensive literature on the display of non-western cultures at world fairs and exhibitions. See Anne Maxwell, “Theorising Settler Identities: Images of Racial and Cultural Difference in the Colonial Exhibitions and Photographic Tourism,” *Asian and Pacific Inscriptions: Identities, Ethnicities, Nationalities*, ed. Suvendrini Perera (Melbourne: Meridian Books, 1995), 193-211; Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1985); Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995).

Thus the 'events' of Australian colonialism I address, even though they could be conceived as oppositional to or contesting colonialism, are already in, and obedient to, the archive, and part of the study 'codetermined' by the archive.

There are a number of similarities between Derrida's statements and Foucault's description of the archive in *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. Caution is necessary when using Foucault's concept; its inception in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* was subsequently problematised in later texts, and the possible structuralist misreadings must be considered. Foucault writes the archive is the exhaustive "general system of the formation and transformation of statements."¹⁴ More particularly it is

that which determines that all these things said do not accumulate endlessly in an amorphous mass ... but they are grouped together in distinct figures, composed together in accordance with multiple relations, maintained or blurred in accordance with specific regularities.... The archive ... is that which, at the very root of the statement-event, and in that which embodies it, defines at the outset *the system of its enunciability*. [The archive] is that which defines the mode of occurrence of the statement-thing; it is *the system of its functioning*. [emphasis in original] (129)

The archive works on a much wider and total level than discourse, for it organises the coherency of a "society, a culture, or a civilisation" (130). Because the archive is at once so total and "cannot be described" but "emerges in fragments, regions, and levels" (130) there is a possibility of misconceiving this construct, as Gary Gutting points out, as the "transhistorical condition of history,"¹⁵ or, on the other hand, recognising the impossibility of its description as a "nihilism"¹⁶ because all that is

¹⁴ Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. A.M. Sheridan (New York: Pantheon, 1972), 130.

¹⁵ Gary Gutting, *Michel Foucault's Archaeology of Scientific Reason* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989), 243.

¹⁶ Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1983), 87.

possible is the illusion of meaningful interpretation. My use of 'archive,' specifically in suggesting a Pacific archive, in some areas stays particularly close to Foucault's definition; that is, the Pacific archive defines and permits certain statements about the Pacific Islands, or in a sense is their "condition of reality" (128). However, in this chapter I want to emphasise the proximity of the concept 'archive' to the archival institutions - the libraries, museums, and universities - which document, preserve, circulate, and define the 'statement thing' of the Pacific. That is, rather than investigating a total, exhaustive construct of the archive I consider at this stage it is more practical to describe institutions appropriating this position of totality when they gesture toward an encyclopedic, all encompassing collection or knowledge of the Pacific. The issue here is to locate in these institutions, on the one hand, the rules which constitute the statements and things of history, and, on the other, the aporias, the not preserved, undocumented, or unprivileged statements problematising the archival history. Hence, in investigating that which determines a Pacific History in Australia, I examine what is articulated, documented and collected as Pacific History, and the institutions which categorise, classify, and document the statement-things of it. This is not to say that museums and libraries are the Pacific archive; rather, they are institutions embedded in this general system. In order to outline the working system of Pacific History I focus, primarily, on the institutions to detail some politics of the broader general system in which colonialism and history intersect.

Indeed, within imperial nations are numerous institutions which have developed archives on the Pacific.¹⁷ In Australia there are some significant institutions which

¹⁷ To name a few prominent collections: in France, the Musée National des Arts d'Afrique et Océanie, the Bishop Museum in Honolulu, the Rockefeller collection in the Metropolitan Museum

concentrate on collecting historical texts of the Pacific, and through these archives the possibility of Australian Pacific History is made. Rex Nan Kivell's bequest to the National Library of Australia of his 15,000 items concentrating on the colonisation of the Pacific, and the history of Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand is one of the dominant collections of Pacific History. In Bernard Smith's address at the opening of the Rex Nan Kivell room, he speaks of the collection as reminiscent of the great Renaissance collections, which goes a way to aid "the man in search of his own origins."¹⁸ The origins, quite obviously, are those of white Australia.

A similar collection is David Scott Mitchell's bequest to the public library of New South Wales. Mitchell, according to the trustees of the library, first began collecting on the Elizabethan period but,

realizing... he was but one collector among many ... devoted himself to the task of gathering together records ... concerning the history of Australia, New Zealand, and the islands of the Pacific. Such a project had never been previously attempted on the grand scale.¹⁹

The Mitchell Library was later bolstered by a bequest from Sir William Dixon, and continues a program of acquisition focussing on Pacific and Australian history.²⁰

There were similar collections of indigenous artefacts in, for example, Hawaii (the Bishop Museum), and in the Missionary Museum in London at the same time or

of Art, in Aotearoa/New Zealand the Alexander Turnbull Library. These collections are all quite distinct and have greatly differing agendas. For details on the influence of the Bishop Museum in Pacific anthropological discourse see Nicholas Thomas, *Out of Time: History and Evolution in Anthropological Discourse*, 2nd. ed. (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1996).

¹⁸ Bernard Smith, "Opening Address," *The Rex Nan Kivell Room* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 1974), n.pag.

¹⁹ Ida Leeson, *The Mitchell Library, Sydney: Historical and Descriptive Notes* (Sydney: Public Library of New South Wales, 1936), 3.

²⁰ Sir William Dixon, heir of a tobacco fortune, collected ethnographic pictures, documents from sea voyages, and rare pamphlets relating to Australia and the Pacific. Suzanne Mourot and Paulette Jones, *The Great South Land: Treasures of the Mitchell and Dixon Libraries and Dixon Galleries* (Melbourne: Sun, 1979).

before Mitchell's 'grand project.'²¹ It is, therefore, rather dubious to argue that Mitchell's collection had never before been attempted. Indeed, returning to Derrida's point on the importance of the archival technology to determine the archival meaning, to claim the Kivell and Mitchell collections were representative of Renaissance collections while simultaneously arguing the collections were in some ways 'new' and never before attempted is contradictory. A group of objects (books, prints, paintings, manuscripts, maps, etc) relating to the Pacific cannot be conceived as a cohesive category, and an ordered subject of knowledge, unless relevant archives, or systemised categories (such as 'Pacific' and 'History'), were already discursively produced. Similarly, the history written today must, to a certain extent, come out of this nineteenth century technology of collecting, and subscribe to taxonomies inherent in it. The Pacific archive sustains a politics of knowledge in which these nineteenth century repositories locate the investigation, criticism, and 'truth' of history in colonial systems of collection, exclusion, categorisation, and classification. In these celebrated institutions operate the privileged agenda of collecting an encyclopaedic, and determinedly imperial, range of objects and the silent erasure or destruction of statements or things not in agreement with this order - the housed and the law in Derrida's terms.

In the introduction I classify the discourse of Pacific History, not as a classification of documents or a 'truthfully portrayed' representation of the past, but as the network which organises the possibilities and rules of statements on the history of the Pacific.

²¹ See Nicholas Thomas, "The European Appropriation of Indigenous Things," *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge Ms: Harvard UP, 1991), 125-84.

Thus the archive in which one writes has determined the rules of objectivity and truth already; necessarily the agenda of my thesis, describing Australian colonialism in the Pacific in terms of academic, commercial, and literary interventions, is complicit in this archive. This does not necessarily make the thesis irrelevant or unimportant because it operates within this archive; valid criticisms can still be made of the relationships of power. It is problematic, though, to imply that this work itself is not complicit in these relationships of power or able to negate them through some kind of 'consciousness' to them. Instead, I wish to articulate at this point some of these crucial assumptions in the practice and structure Pacific History in Australia to describe how their seemingly privileged position or supposed access to a 'truth' is rationalised.

The discursive practice of Pacific History, I contend, continues to maintain the coloniser's control of knowledge by naturalising western practices as 'real' or 'proper' history, and establishing western historiographic protocols as correct. The formation 'Pacific History' produces a regime truth that has certain standards and conventions, but this is not to say that history is an entirely regulated and static discourse.²² Ideas are contested; yet my interest is with those areas taken as 'proper' history. Though systematically challenged within Pacific History, the concept of knowledge as an organising power of colonial discourse is not broached. Gestures toward discussing colonial control of knowledge by considering it as something

²² The concept of a "regime of truth" is discussed in his essay "Truth and Power." He specifically situates the intellectual not as a "bearer of universal values" but as linked in to an "apparatus of truth.... 'Truth' is linked in a circular relation with systems of power which produce and sustain it, and to effects of power which it induces and which extends it. A 'régime' of truth." Michel Foucault, "Truth and Power," *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon, trans. Colin Gordon et al (New York: Pantheon, 1980), 132-3.

already past - as part of history itself - elides the on-going unequal relationships of power in the practice of history written in Australia. By elaborating on a discussion on the contestation over historical knowledge I engage with relationships of power in Pacific History and locate in contemporary historiography a rhetoric justifying an 'imperative' or 'nature' in history.

Mapping the Ownership of Pacific History

Doug Munro's recent article "Who Owns Pacific History"²³ is a response to the emerging contestation over who speaks for Pacific History. Munro discusses 'ownership' through two questions: "who, if anyone, is better qualified to write Pacific history [than current Pacific Historians]?" and second, who is "entitled?" (232). However, the concern in Munro's paper is not so much about who *does* own Pacific History, for this is predominantly western academic institutions, but the necessary practices and positions which can enable a historian to write. Hence, ownership is not about the economies of bodies, narratives, and objects which are exchanged to produce histories (that are predominantly in the domain of the western university), but a qualification to speak a historical discourse. The emerging contestation over who speaks for Pacific History by indigenous historians prompts Munro to validate his position by proposing a liberal Humanist and quasi-democratic freedom for any researcher to write about history.²⁴ Thus, at no point does Munro

²³ Doug Munro, "Who Owns Pacific History? Reflections on the Insider/Outsider Dichotomy," *Journal of Pacific History* 29.2 (1994), 232-7.

²⁴ Bhikhu Parekh's discussion of the problematic politics of liberalism is pertinent here; Parekh writes that liberals have paradoxically supported individuality and freedom alongside exploitative economic policies: "Liberals grant equality to all men on the condition that they share and live by the narrowly defined liberal values" (97). Liberal Humanism, as practiced in the west, is a duplicitous tactic promising equality while maintaining colonial relationships of power. Bhikhu

consider why Pacific History is owned by one group - 'outsiders,' or European academics working in First-World institutions - rather he concentrates on why this group should maintain a supposedly equal partnership with 'insiders' in the production of history. Through pinpointing some of the rhetorical devices, representations, and discourses at work legitimising ownership in this article, I want to locate how the apparent equality is argued. The starting point is the formation of historical knowledge, and the statements which authorise this knowledge. From this, the circulation of power and truth in the historical discourse can be described, particularly where this power is at its extremes and most questionable - for example, when knowledge is racialised in the insider/outsider debate. Munro's paper articulates the hierarchies naturalising the coloniser's history as proper history through the occlusion of economic, racial and institutional privileges; it articulates this not from a novel or unique viewpoint but rather in accordance to a number of previous historiographic theories which have had, for some time, a concern with the maintenance and dispersal of western knowledge.

Munro's concept of history is of an investigation based on a "strand of historicist thinking" which "penetrate[s] the thought-world of other places and times."²⁵ The historian, obedient to Coleridge's imager and a product of Hegelian *Geist*, is conceptualised as a disembodied spirit able to intervene and evaluate the culture of the Pacific Islander, free from the bias which mark lesser versions of history. 'Thought-world penetration,' produces a site from which, apparently, the historian has lost all

Parekh, "Liberalism and Colonialism: A Critique of Locke and Mill," *The Decolonization of Imagination: Culture Knowledge and Power*, eds. Jan Nederveen Pieterse and Bhikhu Parekh (London: Zed Books, 1995), 81-98.

²⁵ David Bebbington, *Patterns in History* (Leicester: Inter-Varsity P 1979), qtd. in Munro, "Who" 234.

corporeal restrictions and can freely understand the colonised viewpoint. Munro is reproducing an accepted discourse of historical scholarship when outlining his authoritative position from which a history may be articulated. Studying one's own culture is negated in the paper for it assumes if this position is taken up a lack of objectivity will naturally occur, a bias that cannot be found in the disembodied viewer who assumes the subjectivity (the 'standpoint') of the Islander.

Albert Wendt asks some critical questions of this historical theory which I take up: "Can a historian ever get into the brain and blood of someone whose culture is so different from his own, and write from inside that person? And should he pretend he can?"²⁶ Now, according to Munro, since all history is in the past, is in another space, any form of historical scholarship is valid because all there is to offer is "rival interpretations" or "assertion and belief" (235). Because the object of history is in this 'other' place, which nobody inhabits, anyone has the right to intervene, represent, and offer their interpretations or beliefs. By privileging the ability of the western historian to jump between times and spaces, Munro delimits the possibility of Islanders telling their own history - they cannot gain the objectivity of a supposedly neutral and outside standpoint. The ability of the historian to lose corporeal restrictions and freely enter the colonised subject's thoughts and viewpoint owes its groundwork to the 'island-orientated' concept of history, and its theoretical premise to Hegel's philosophy of history, two points which I discuss in the next section on J.W. Davidson. Historical practice is, therefore, not about the appropriation of objects, nor

²⁶ Albert Wendt, "Novelists and Historians and the Art of Remembering," *Class and Culture in the South Pacific*, eds. Anthony Hooper, Steve Britton, Ron Crocombe, Judith Huntsman and Cluny Macpherson (Suva: Centre for Pacific Studies, and U of Auckland, 1987), 88.

the subjective position of the viewer, but the transformational ability of the 'outside' historians. As I have outlined in discussing the concept of 'imagination,' the penetration of the 'thought-world' is hardly a new practice, and certainly not autonomous from colonial and eurocentric relationships of power.

Though ostensibly about the ownership of history, Munro's paper is primarily concerned with the loss of privileges to the 'outsiders' and it attempts to disqualify a culturally based validity to study, which assumes 'insiders' (Pacific Islanders) are more qualified. The terms 'insider' and 'outsider' are problematic as these categories are not coherent and definitive, and some limitations in demarcating these positions need addressing. They began appearing in Pacific History articles in the early 1980s, though Sione Latukefu writes that criticism of 'outsider' historians was possibly first voiced by students at the University of Papua New Guinea in the early 1970s.²⁷ Later, in a letter to *Pacific Viewpoint* in 1980, Ron Crocombe directly articulates the problem of 'outsider' involvement under the title "The Academic Imperialism Problem," quoting that 94% of all research in the Pacific Islands is undertaken by outsiders.²⁸ Not only are there discrepancies within westerner's and Pacific Islander's access to education, resources and funding, but also in the privileging of English over other languages. Thus, the terms 'insider' and 'outsider' threaten to collapse 'insider'

²⁷ Sione Latukefu, "The First Tongan-born Professional Historian," *Pacific Islands History: Journeys and Transformations*, ed. Brij Lal (Canberra: *Journal of Pacific History*, 1992), 27-8. Latukefu himself criticises those whom he calls "expatriates" for the hypocrisy of decrying modernisation in "primitive" culture while at the same time being "ardent advocates of the need for change in their own culture" (19). Sione Latukefu, "Tradition and Modernisation in the Pacific Islands," *Pacific Perspectives* 5.2 (1976), 19-23.

²⁸ R.G. Crocombe, "The Academic Imperialism Problem," *Pacific Viewpoint* 21 (1980), 71-2. Crocombe's letter is a reply to a comment made by Barrie Macdonald in the previous issue. Barrie Macdonald, "Fitting Tribute," rev. of *The Changing Pacific*, by Niel Gunson, ed., *Pacific Viewpoint* 20.2 (1979), 213-4.

history in a mutually exclusive, uncontaminated discourse that is not affected by, nor responsive to, 'outsider' history. However, just as 'insider' histories are not isolated from 'outside,' so to are 'outsiders' not innocent from the appropriation of 'inside' histories. Currently the terms are frequently used and the issue is dominant in discussions of Pacific historiography. While there are obvious inequalities in the access to and availability of academic institutions, I don't necessarily see the problem as simply a monopoly by the 'outsiders.' Assuming the issue will disappear when 'insiders' write history neglects the western generic and academic conventions of history. As Malama Meleisea notes, academic lectureships, so clearly lauded by Australian historians, are not as prestigious as the historians think: "I did not stay in my village or my country to become a vanguard of revolution, I left to become a junior member of ... academic staff."²⁹ The "desirability of creating a new history by Islanders rather than about them," writes Nicholas Thomas,

tend[s] to postulate a unitary 'Islander' perspective and universalise an interest in certain modes of historical narrative; the authorship of European styles of narrative history is displaced from its metropolitan origin to those who have generally been written about.... [W]riting on this topic also presumes that the colonial framework ... can be transcended in a straightforward and unproblematic manner.³⁰

This desire by Australian academics also assumes Pacific Islanders need western history, and indeed will produce western history if benevolently given a 'voice' by the outsiders. At a particular level the division of 'inside' and 'outside,' though risking

²⁹ Malama Meleisea, "Ideology in Pacific Studies: A Personal View," *Class and Culture in the South Pacific*, eds. Anthony Hooper, Steve Britton, Ron Crocombe, Judith Huntsman and Cluny Macpherson (Suva: Centre for Pacific Studies and U of Auckland, 1987), 149.

³⁰ Nicholas Thomas, "Partial Texts: Representation, Colonialism and Agency in Pacific History," *Journal of Pacific History* 25.2 (1990), 141. See also Donald Denoon, "What is to be done, and who is to do it?" *Across the Sea: Colonial Inheritance in the Post-Colonial Pacific*, ed. Brij Lal and Hank Nelson (Brisbane: Pacific History Association, 1995), ix-x.

essentialism, must be articulated to locate the inequalities. The terms 'insider' and 'outsider' are necessarily strategic as they do not imply an impervious barrier, or two mutually exclusive groups of historians, but they signal the often silenced qualifications of race in the formation of Pacific History.³¹ Like the emergence of imagination, classifications of race can be accurately attributed to historical methodologies, such as the colonial logic that the west can write and think history, but Pacific Islanders must learn this skill.

In stating not that one has ownership of Pacific history, but privileging those who have "done all the right things" (235), Munro does omit, quite purposefully, who is more likely to have done these 'right things.' The initiation process refers directly to western pedagogic practices. The practices which provide

a reasoned case for outsider involvement in Pacific historiography [is] that one has done all the right things: combed the archives, engaged in fieldwork, learned the language, actively sought to be involved in another way of life ('self implication'), and made a serious and honest attempt to see things from the standpoint of the other. (235)

The practices here, quite obviously, privilege a western academic who has the wealth and mobility to access archives, to be a field worker, and to consider another language and way of life. The 'honesty' in seeing from the standpoint of the other (now such a crucial question in post-colonial studies especially around the appropriation of the non-western other's voice), is premised on a relationship between 'inside' and 'outside'. The 'other' from Munro's statement is always assumed to be a Pacific Islander, and the 'right things' centralises western academic practices as correct and

³¹ Spivak's concept of strategy is useful here. Defined by the *OED* as "usually, an artifice or trick designed to outwit or surprise the enemy," Spivak sees strategy as a "persistent (de)constructive critique of the theoretical." Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "In a word: *Interview*," *Outside in the Teaching Machine* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 3.

proper. Yet, the archive, as a western construction and an imperial apparatus, conserves and permits a history in compliance with western concepts of history. Combing through the archive must be contextualised in the limited historical reading that the archive can produce and the obedience of the historical narrative to these institutions and discourses.³² The practice of fieldwork, as part of the anthropological institution, has a complicity with colonial administration. The 'involvement' in another life infers history, to a certain extent, is an intervention in another culture, an intervention Munro never addresses.

Munro's criticism of the 'insider's' right to their history is overtly discriminatory in his description of the contest over the history. Pacific History, Munro implies, was a relatively harmonious subject till the late sixties when ownership was first "seriously contested" (236). This peaceful study changes with the demands for access to Pacific History from 'insiders.' Now history becomes a "blood sport" (233), and the debate is reduced to a "battlefield" of a "polarised and acrimonious debate" (236) where there are "accusations of racism and paternalism" (233). The claim of a nostalgic and peaceful field before the interruption by indigenous issues is much like bell hooks's description of the establishment's reaction to American feminism as "singing the same tune on too many things.... [A] jazzed-up version of 'The Way We Were' - you know, the good old days before feminism and multiculturalism and the unbiased curriculum fucked everything up."³³ Rather typically, any questioning of (white) Pacific Historian's 'qualifications' is described in derogatory terms. In some examples - the

³² There are studies of the colonial archive which invigorate an oppositional reading, such as the work done by the Subaltern Studies Group, who, according to Dipesh Chakrabarty work towards history as a critique of "imperialist knowledge itself." Dipesh Chakrabarty, "Subaltern Studies and Critique of History," *Arena* 96 (1991), 105.

³³ bell hooks, *Outlaw Culture: Resisting Representation* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 86.

questioning of a white American academic working in African-American History, Robert Starobin, and later the “belligerent ethnonationalist” (236) intervention in the inaugural Pacific History Association conference in 1986 - Munro reduces contests of knowledge of Pacific History to a peaceful, western academy fighting off the violent, emotional ‘insiders’ while nostalgically yearning for the ‘democracy’ of colonialism.

The interventions, moreover, are reduced to minor tactics whereby oppositional voices are represented as debating rhetorical and lexical issues and not legitimate epistemological issues. Hawaiian scholar Haunani-Kay Trask delivers, according to Munro, a “scathing broadside” against anthropologists, Roger Keesing in particular (233). Footnoted is a reference to Aboriginal critic, Jackie Huggins, who makes a statement “that is remarkably similar in language and tone [to Trask]” (233). Huggins’ piece is a response to critics using Sally Morgan’s *My Place* to define Aboriginality: “Foremost,” Huggins writes, “I detest the imposition that anyone who is non-Aboriginal can define my Aboriginality for me and my race.”³⁴ Munro characterises Trask’s and Huggins’s argument by its tone and language, while the questioning of academic intrusion, which the article prompts, is undisclosed. Similarly Keesing, in response to Trask, is adamant that her views are flourishes of ‘rhetoric’ (repeated three times) or “vituperative commentary.”³⁵ Here is what Joseph Pugliese states are the “racialised concerns about the use of the English language” in which is found “an anxiety about the possibility of contestation and re-writing by the colonised, who

³⁴ Jackie Huggins, “Always was always will be,” *Australian Historical Studies* 25 (1993), 459.

Huggins is replying to an article by Bain Attwood, “Portrait of an Aboriginal as an Artist: Sally Morgan and the Construction of Aboriginality,” *Australian Historical Studies* 25 (1993), 302-18.

³⁵ Roger M. Keesing, “Reply to Trask,” *The Contemporary Pacific* 3.1 (1991), 168.

refuse to follow the linguistic dictates and prescriptions of the colonial master.”³⁶ On the one hand, Munro demonstrates an anxiety over the power of indigenous history through naming it rhetorical, and on the other hand asserts in the same piece that interpretation will “rest on assertion or belief” (235). The specifically chosen examples of contest (only two instances in decades of colonialist historical practices), represent indigenous historians as belligerent and destructive. More insidiously, the violence of colonialism and colonial history is placed back on to the Pacific Islanders as if they were the aggressors, wiping the blood from the Pacific Historian’s hands.

By claiming Pacific History cannot be owned, and that interpretation is simply a matter of ‘belief,’ Munro states that, therefore, history should have an “open door policy where all are potentially welcomed” (236). Munro does not ask whose door he is opening and in which house is he making himself at home. The assumption that history is mutually exclusive from peoples and cultures makes available a singular, transcendent history to be unearthed. There is a field, according to Munro, of the “primary documentation,” or “documentary evidence” (234) of the “actual past” (235) which the historian must address. In positing a neutral and objective past, Munro ignores that histories must subscribe to literary, generic, and cultural conventions. In this field, as constructed by Munro, the Pacific historian must face a “paucity of documentary evidence” (234), a qualification of ‘evidence’ which assumes the west has an excess of history compared to the Pacific Island cultures’s lack of documentations. In action is the nomological aspect of the archive: the legislative control of information which constructs a supply/demand model favouring the

³⁶ Joseph Pugliese, “Parasiting ‘Post’-Colonialism: On the (Im)possibility of a Disappropriative Practice,” *Southern Review* 28.3 (1995), 349-50.

'outsider.' Because this lack in the historical record makes impossible a full and complete history, then Munro is justified in saying "[i]f rival interpretations cannot be checked against the past itself, then the insider/outsider debate is irresolvable in that, ultimately, one's claim to historical understanding can only rest on assertion or belief" (235). Suggesting that there is a 'real' history which can only partially be recovered allows an open slather for anyone who considers she/he can offer an interpretation, and as if suddenly there is a level playing field, the cultures, objects and practices of Pacific Islanders are open to any 'authorised' historian. This point echoes the stance taken in many postmodern studies which, in contending that nothing is real, ignore systems of power. What makes interpretation legitimate, and why so many interpretations have agreed with colonialist concepts of civilisation, time, economy, race, and so on, is the reproduction of knowledge in agreement within master narratives of history. The particular practices which authorise an interpretation, and the tropes which represent this interpretation, are deemed almost natural - a consciousness - and devoid of the politics of who writes history from where. The blatant masking of hierarchies, of asymmetric relationships of power, within history in favour of a quasi-egalitarian speaking for the past does much to consolidate the inequalities of who speaks for Pacific history.

Here, the concept of imagination can cautiously mask the eurocentric focus of the 'anyone's claim' to write history. An historical practice central to 'island-orientated' histories, Munro notes, is the "exercise of 'informed imagination'" (234) suggested by Jim Davidson. In an attempt to validate the historian's partial reading of a full and total past, Munro implies that the lack of history can be supplemented by the experience and imagination of the historian. Here the humanist concepts of 'belief,'

'experience,' and 'imagination' are mobilised to assert a magnanimous scholar in possession of a universal set of values. 'Imagination' works as a stop gap, a supplement, allowing the paucity of the past to become a written history. Again the fundamental assertion that there is a paucity of documents which necessitates an imagination makes imperative a particular reading of Pacific cultures that can produce the lacking 'images.' Once again, the mechanics of this 'understanding' are not elaborated on, and the proclivity for institutions to privilege certain 'assertions or beliefs' is unmentioned.

The lack of the Pacific Islander's history, furthermore, necessitates the intervention of European history. In Munro's view the 'ethnonationalists' are scripted into European history for the

[academic] purist should recall that the development of nationalist feeling in 19th century Europe was often an extension of ethnicity bolstered by history; people looked back to the past, as reconstructed by intellectuals, for explicit contemporary purposes" (237).

Not only is 'insider' opposition to Pacific History safely relegated to a 'stage they're going through' which has been proved by the European past, it is up to the modernity of western scholarship to sort and understand it. As if European history can ceaselessly be addressed to answer questions in Pacific History, Munro conflates issues of European nationalism with Pacific decolonisation. The western intellectuals, missionary-like, will shed this light of the machinations of history onto the archaic 'ethnonationalists.' Munro, here, is in agreement with Benedict Anderson's construction of nation that, in its reproduction of Hegelian orders of history, contends that the Enlightened west is the seat of liberty and reason and thus enjoys the status of

nation-state. The nation-state will validate western historiography and explain the privileged position of the western observer.

Finally, in an attempt to down play the importance of the contestation of history, Munro states that “there are better things to do than become embroiled in those silly squabbles over who, if anyone, has a greater claim to teach and write Pacific History” (237). The comment is highly ironic considering he has just written and published a piece on the ‘silly squabble,’ but it suggests that ‘real’ history is not about the context from which history is written, but the events of the past. The subject matter of history, for Munro, should stay in the safe and apparently apolitical areas which do not address the economics of its own production.

I turn now to the emergence of the first institution of Pacific History in Australia and investigate precisely the subject Munro sees as being ahistorical - the politics of the production of history. Examining the theoretical and material context of Pacific History at this institution through the work of the a key figure here, J.W. Davidson, outlines the conditions enabling Munro’s construction of history.

The Institutional Study of Pacific History: The RSPacS

In this section I situate the Australian historian’s entitlement or ‘claim’ to write Pacific History in some Australian institutions producing Pacific History. Textual practices of historical studies descend from genres, narratives, and institutions which constructed the Pacific as a commodity in an economy of colonialism. Historical narratives justifying or naturalising colonialism, most prevalent in texts up to the 1960s, at some point are contested by anti-colonial histories which are far more prevalent today. Yet these textual antecedents, the tradition of pro-colonial histories, suggest that

colonialism cannot be completely eradicated from discourses of history. Munro's validations - the neutrality of the historical observer, the definition of 'real' history, or the evaluation of historical narratives - disseminate an ideology of history marked by a eurocentric and liberal Humanist bias. There are a couple of issues drawn from Munro which are necessary to contextualise in the work of Jim Davidson, for they employ various assumptions on how history functions in western universities: the idea that history is written by a disembodied subject who can penetrate the Islander and reproduce their viewpoint; the employment of categories such as 'belief' or 'experience' to validate an historical narrative; the primacy of the archive; and the 'informed imagination.' Many of these ideas did not originate in Australia's study of Pacific history, but are used or borrowed from neighbouring disciplines or practices. The historical methodology instigated in Davidson's 'island-orientated' theory of history, and significant in the history performed at Davidson's institution, the Research School of Pacific Studies (RSPacS), charge history in general with a methodology of research which is negligent of the problematic assumptions it makes.

Pacific History in Australia was not consolidated into an institution till 1949 with the foundation of the RSPacS at the Australian National University. Supported by H.C. Coombes, and advised by Raymond Firth, the school was designed primarily as a research centre with little or no emphasis on undergraduate or career training.³⁷ Raymond Firth states its initial goals were "not so clear at the time," but his "vision" as an adviser to the Research School, was of "an organisation geared to the systematic extension of knowledge by theoretical and empirical study of the vast

³⁷ Raymond Firth, "The Founding of the Research School of Pacific Studies," *Journal of Pacific History* 31.1 (1996), 3.

Pacific region" (4-5). Jim Davidson took up the foundation chair of Pacific History in 1948 at the school working alongside O.H.K. Spate and others.³⁸ The RSPacS was the first academic school devoted to the study of Pacific History in Australia, and significantly addressed and formalised issues of Pacific History into an academic field. It was directed to a significant degree by Jim Davidson's call for 'island-orientated' history; a methodology which was to reinvest Pacific Islanders into the production of history by focussing on colonial and pre-colonial events from the viewpoint of the islands and the Islanders. Davidson's ideas, delivered at the inaugural lecture and reprinted eleven years later, place Pacific history in opposition to "established methods" or "traditional preoccupations" of "imperial histories."³⁹ This change of position and historical practice re-examines the pervasive command of western history with its imperial and eurocentric bias in representing history. However, there is now an increasingly vocal and widespread questioning of historical studies of the Pacific, a reappraisal that is concerned with practices, institutions, and ethics. 'Island-orientated' history is now, obviously, not as widely received, and there are a number of critical investigations. The stability and direction of Pacific History proposed by Davidson has lost much of its egalitarian and post-colonial claims.⁴⁰ However, there

³⁸ Firth states Davidson's position was inaugurated in 1948, but some other sources give the date as 1947; Peter Hempenstell writes Davidson was the "world's first Professor of Pacific History ... in 1947." Peter Hempenstell, "The Line of Descent: Creating Pacific Histories in Australasia," Special issue, *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 41 (1995), 157.

³⁹ J. W. Davidson, "Problems in Pacific History," *Journal of Pacific History* 1 (1966), 5. This will be cited in the text as "P." The original article was *The Study of Pacific History. An Inaugural Lecture Delivered at Canberra on 25 November 1954* (Canberra: n.p., 1955). The second article I refer to extensively is J. W. Davidson, "Understanding Pacific History: The Participant as Historian," *The Feel of Truth: Essays in New Zealand and Pacific History Presented to F.L. W. Wood and J.C. Beaglehole on the Occasion of Their Retirement*, ed. Peter Munz (Wellington: Reed, 1969), 25-40. This will be cited in the text as "U."

⁴⁰ There are many texts criticising 'island-orientated' history. See Thomas "Partial Texts"; Peter Hempenstell, "The Line of Descent"; Peter Hempenstell, "'My Place': Finding a Voice Within Pacific Colonial Studies," *Pacific Islands History: Journeys and Transformations*, ed. Brij Lal

are some practices vital to 'island-orientated' history which continue to circulate in contemporary historical studies, and which consolidate a privileged 'outsider' historian. In 'island-orientated' history the assumptions found in imperial history, assumptions which justify colonial management of historical resources and narratives, still operate in what is a supposedly contemporary and decolonised historical practice.

Though the RSPacS was the first department solely devoted to the study of Pacific history, other universities, such as Sydney and Melbourne, had courses on Pacific History. Run by John M. Ward and Gordon Greenwood at Sydney and Dorothy Munro at Melbourne, these courses taught Pacific studies within the discipline of history. As noted by Neil Gunson, history of the Pacific at this time concentrated mainly on colonialism, or perceptions and economic activities by western nations.⁴¹ Sydney University historians focussed on the imperial history, and the courses were typical of the study of most non-western regions, such as Asia and Africa, at the time. John Ward wrote one of the first Australian book-length studies of the region, *British Policy in the South Seas: 1786-1893*.⁴² Concerned primarily with the policy and governmental machinations of Britain, but containing a chapter, "Colonial Imperialism," on the increasing imperial desires in colonial Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand, Ward typically wrote Pacific history as a record of European

(Canberra: *Journal of Pacific History*, 1992), 60-78; Malama Meleisea "Pacific Historiography: An Indigenous View," *Journal of Pacific Studies* 4 (1978), 25-43; David A. Chappell, "Active Agents versus Passive Victims: Decolonising Historiography or Problematic Paradigm," *The Contemporary Pacific* 7.2 (1995), 303-326; Francis X. Hezel, "New Directions in Pacific History: A Practitioner's Critical View," *Pacific Studies* 11.3 (1988), 101-10; Kerry Howe, "Preface," *Tides of History: The Pacific Islands in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Kerry Howe, Robert C. Kiste, and Brij Lal (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1994), xi-xiv; Max Quanchi, "Pacific History - The East View over the Breakers," *Australian Historical Association Bulletin* 61 (1989), 9-17.

⁴¹ Niel Gunson, "An Introduction to Pacific History," *Pacific Island History: Journeys and Transformations*, ed. Brij V. Lal (Canberra: *Journal of Pacific History*, 1992), 2-3.

⁴² John Ward, *British Policy in the South Seas: 1786-1893* (Sydney: Australasian Publishing, 1948).

intervention. Similarly, Gordon Greenwood's *Early American-Australian Relations* was to infer the Pacific was a region of interaction between the two western nations, almost irrespective of the Pacific Islanders who inhabit the area. These two texts are among the first Australian works to continue the imperial history, that Davidson disputed, by authors such as the Aoteoroa/New Zealander G.H. Scholefield⁴³ and the American J.I. Brookes.⁴⁴ Yet even the opposition mounted by Davidson, considers David Routledge, was tokenistic, for "the central concern has remained the analysis of European action."⁴⁵ At this juncture is an ensuing stability of the set of texts concerned with recording European politics in the Pacific.

'Island-Orientated' History

Davidson's criticism of the traditional orthodoxy is twofold: firstly, through the practice of participant history "first-hand experience" ("U" 29) and field trips are made essential; secondly, by bringing the "social structure of the particular colony" ("U" 8) or non-European practices into the field of study, the orthodox subject matter of history is contested. Factors such as "indigenous tradition, internal economic organisation, religious and economic ties ..." ("U" 8) now feature alongside European documents.⁴⁶ These changes in directions are at the centre of Davidson's new approach. With 'island-orientated' history, the site of knowledge has changed from the university to the field trip, and from master narratives of history to

⁴³ G.H. Scholefield, *The Pacific: Its Past and Future and the Policy of the Great Powers from the Eighteenth Century* (London: Murray, 1920).

⁴⁴ J.I. Brookes, *International Rivalry in the Pacific Islands, 1800-1875* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1941).

⁴⁵ David Routledge, "Pacific History as Seen from the Pacific Islands," *Pacific Studies* 8.2 (1985), 84.

⁴⁶ See also Gunson, "An Introduction to Pacific History" 4.

multidisciplinary practices resulting in distinctly different concepts of documents.

Interviews, oral transcriptions and oral histories are now texts for the historians to study. As Kerry Howe has noted, a new set of practises were incorporated into the historian's task:

New techniques had to be employed to [develop an island-orientated view]. Davidson insisted that his students supplement the usual archival research with fieldwork in Pacific communities, and that they be familiar with relevant findings of linguists, demographers, prehistorians, and anthropologists.⁴⁷

As I detail below, the bent in Pacific History towards the field trip was to draw it institutionally closer to colonial administration to such an extent that the discipline in some areas was enrolled in the practice of administering Australian colonialism, for Australia was, at this time, a colonial power in the region with its administration of Papua New Guinea. While we must consider Davidson's reappraisal of history as significant in the process of decolonisation, we cannot ignore the residual politics which determine a strictly western concept of knowledge. Davidson quite accurately destabilises the European archive as the fundamental source of truth for historical investigation by introducing island-based texts and narratives through the practice of fieldwork, yet the role of fieldwork, which can be situated in ethnography's eurocentrism, is unquestioned.

The theory of 'field-work' has numerous assumptions justifying colonial management of historical resources and the natural right of Europeans to write historical narratives. Davidson criticises traditional histories of empire by suggesting they orient all study around a singular concept of imperialism:

⁴⁷ K.R. Howe, "The Fate of the 'Savage' in Pacific Historiography," *New Zealand Journal of History* 11 (1977), 148.

The humble participants in trade and navigation, in settlement and missionary work become, in the lofty flights of the imperial historians' imaginations, the exponents of a theory of empire rather than what they actually were, men who went about their various tasks unconcerned, in the main, with any grandiose political conceptions. Imperial history, when it insists on studying the history of European expansion by orientating all its material around the imperial factor, becomes, indeed, the negation of true historical scholarship. ("P" 8)

Yet, Davidson's argument that participants are not associated with imperialism is problematic. Are historians 'humble participants' unaware of the theory of empire? The all-knowing status of the new Pacific historian is problematically based on an intention by the historian not to be part of the colonial project. Davidson incorporates Humanist concepts such as 'consciousness' to provide 'truth' to the intentional historian, and simultaneously to absolve responsibility of any wrong in the historical narrative. By making colonialism 'conscious' or 'intended' fallaciously excises the cultural or political context from history and lets it assume a transcendent status, 'true history.' Davidson is suggesting that only those who were charged with the desire to colonise, those who were knowledgeable of imperial politics, were the colonisers. Quite neatly what this implies is that if the Pacific Historian, for example, earnestly considers history *not* colonial, then it isn't, and the issue may be sidestepped. What Davidson chooses to ignore here is the will to power in these 'humble participants' or historians. Imperialism is a particular form of 'reality,' a means to manage the ordering and systematising of colonial relationships and cultures within everyday life that enabled the 'humble servants' to rationalise and understand their tasks. Because the field worker is more sympathetic and knowledgeable of the indigenous population than the traditional historian does not necessarily mean s/he is exempt from colonial practices. Obviously, imperialism is not this cohesive; imperialism operates in relation

to the specifics of gender, ethnicity, race, culture and politics for there is no homogenous imperial 'consciousness.'

In his analysis of ethnographic authority James Clifford criticises the field work practices Davidson valorises. Clifford states that the changing practices in the social sciences from 1900-1960 lead to a transformation of knowledge where "fieldwork, pursued by the university-trained specialists, emerged as a privileged, sanctioned source of data about exotic peoples."⁴⁸ The introduction of 'participant observation' to the science of ethnography was due, according to Clifford, to the new authority given to 'personal experience' by the importance of a "documentary, observational stance" (28). The status of eyewitness, then, becomes the crux of ethnographic authority. The emphasis on observation, and new practices like photography and the field work notebook, suggest the indigenous subject is knowable to western history and can be documented scientifically. Clifford argues that participant's field work turns into a cognisant account through ethnographic authority, an authority made available through three changes in anthropology: increased professionalisation of anthropology, the scientific validity given to observation, and the emergence of theoretical models of society (30-2). This authority is central to Davidson's history which suggest 'island-orientated' history is part of the wider pedagogical strategy in western universities of placing "a controlling mode of authority [on an] unruly text" (54); the field worker is necessary to order and organise non-western societies. As Edward Said has emphasised, imperialism is not solely the physical control of people, but utilising representation within systems of knowledge to allows the west a

⁴⁸ James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1988), 24.

multiplicity of positions “without ever losing him [sic] the relative upper hand.”⁴⁹ In the relationship between field worker and indigene is a network of power which gives the observer the control of representation.

Trinh T. Min-ha’s critique of anthropology, specifically the work of Malinowski whom she sarcastically calls ‘The Great Master,’ details many of the power relationships involved in fieldwork:

What I resent most, however, is not inheritance of a power he [The Great Master] so often disclaims, disengaging himself from a system he carries with him, but his ear, eye, and pen, which record in his language while pretending to speak through mine, on my behalf.⁵⁰

In the early twentieth century much anthropological theory, and leading anthropological scholars such as Malinowski, Mead and Radcliffe-Brown, pursued field work in the Pacific. In Mead and Malinowski’s work is an implied classification of the area as uncontaminated by the west, a judgement which can be traced to Joseph Bank’s scientific descriptions of the Pacific, hence the consideration of the area as ‘primitive.’ This classification invigorates many studies and influences the structure of the Pacific archive, while at the same time situating the peoples and cultures of the Pacific as subjects of western knowledge. It is no accident that Davidson would forge greater links between the expanding study of anthropology and history in his plan for ‘island-orientated’ history, since the Pacific region is marked as the testing ground of anthropological studies. The limitation of traditional history to the concerns of the politics of powerful sections of society, and the primacy placed on documented

⁴⁹ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 1978), 7.

⁵⁰ Trinh T. Min-ha, *Women Native Other: Writing, Postcoloniality and Feminism* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1989), 48. Another notable text in the criticism of anthropology is Talal Asad, ed., *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter* (London: Ithaca, 1973).

evidence, are perhaps why history was held from doing fieldwork for so long, considering anthropologists entered the field 40 years before the historians.

A legacy of anthropological science in history is the naturalisation of the scientific observer as a European who intervenes in non-western culture. Clifford does suggest in his study of ethnographic authority ways of dispelling the authority through dialogue, textuality, and polyphony; yet, to Clifford the culture studied, and the culture doing the studying, remain static. Through this stasis arises the standardisation of 'primitive' and 'western' identities which are later reproduced as 'insider' and 'outsider' historians. These undisclosed assumptions of the westerner as observer also structure Davidson's history. A criteria of skills, given by Davidson in his account of participant history, are based on the observer being western: the historian is "partial" to Islander culture, has "gained knowledge of their beliefs, values, and aspirations," is "able to adapt," has an "adequate formal training," and will "contribute to our knowledge" ("U" 29-30). The practice silently implies that history must be done by someone who can go on a field trip, and by someone who must learn *their* languages: that is, by an outsider. Who is 'them' and 'us' in these statements, and where 'our' knowledge resides, is patently clear. One of Davidson's supporters in the school, Harry Maude, in describing this new model of 'island-orientated' history, similarly assumes participation is confined to the white outsider:

Unfortunately Pacific historians are as yet seldom given training in the difficult techniques of interviewing or recording, nor ... are they required to learn the rudiments of a Pacific language.... Even though in our discipline the journeyman cannot hope to attain the position of respect of the historiographer he is none the less an essential half of a symbiotic

relationship, and is in any case probably the best qualified person to utilise eventually his own discoveries.⁵¹

That the historian is essential, and the 'best' person, to write history suggests that academic practices are the proper means of representing, preserving and understanding Pacific Island cultures.⁵² As a journey, there is a notion of imperial adventure, of 'discovery,' in the practice of this history. Again, English is the assumed language, and a 'native informant' the assumed subject of the study. Maude undercuts the privilege of the participant historian by stating the difficulty of gaining respect, but this is only tactical as it questions the traditional history that Maude and Davidson criticise and not the authority of the interviewer him/herself.

The assumptions about what constitutes 'formal training' by both Maude and Davidson, specifically in relationship to access to western institutions and archives, undeniably favours the western historian. Of course Davidson was a great supporter of Pacific Islanders writing their own history, yet the rationale behind his participatory history is marked by an assumption that the historian is *not* a Pacific Islander.⁵³ The primacy given to field work and the centrality of the archive determine that to understand history in the Pacific implies s/he must leave, temporarily, the western domain to observe the Pacific Islander. Historical ownership, here, may appear only on a rhetorical level - in that it is the phrasing which suggests 'outside' participation - but the concept of knowledge is only conceivable for Davidson through western

⁵¹ H.E. Maude, "Pacific History - Past, Present and Future," *Journal of Pacific History* 6 (1971), 21-2.

⁵² Maude wants Pacific history to begin a "collection of fast disappearing oral and documentary records." Maude, "Pacific History" 22. Tradition is no longer mobilised through cultural paths, for Maude, but through the western academy.

⁵³ Of the early students under Davidson, there were a number of indigenous Pacific islanders including Ron Crocombe, Sione Latukefu and Whetu Tirikatene. On the reception of Pacific Islander historians see Routledge, "Pacific History."

language and thought. Indeed, this rhetorical strategy, according to Trinh, is indicative of the power of representation maintained by the west:

Language also reveals its power through an insignificant slip of the pen, for no matter how one tries to subject it to control and reduce it to 'pure' instrumentality, it always succeeds in giving an inkling of its irreducible governing status.⁵⁴

The language standardising a western observer is the very linguistic dictate of who can speak, authoritatively, on Pacific Island cultures and histories.

The methodological change by Davidson to incorporate field work into 'island-orientated' history can be seen as an interdisciplinary move towards the social sciences. Davidson states that the practice of 'island-orientated' knowledge is developed by "shift[ing] the centre of interest from the metropolitan capitals to the islands themselves" ("P" 14) so that the work of the historian is not solely in European documents and archives, but will also incorporate the indigenous population as a subject of study. Some historians discuss this conjunction in terms of 'ethnohistory,' a term under which Greg Denning, H.E. Maude, and Bronwyn Douglas have written.⁵⁵ The discipline of ethnohistory, broadly speaking, is the study of the history of non-western cultures. Emerging from American anthropology and, to a certain extent, from the work of Marshall Sahlins and Clifford Geertz,⁵⁶ Denning describes the practice as telling the two-sided history of contact and expansion

⁵⁴ Trinh, *Woman* 59.

⁵⁵ It is important to note that none of these writers appear comfortable with the term: Maude considers it "seems to produce more heat than light." Maude, "Pacific History" 20; Denning provides a detailed account, suggesting it is "unlikely to succeed." Greg Denning, *Islands and Beaches: Discourse on the Silent Land, Marquesas, 1774-1880* (Chicago: Dorsey, 1980), 39. See also Bronwen Douglas, "Doing Ethnographic History: Reflections on Practices and Practicing," *Pacific Island History: Journeys and Transformations*, ed. Brij V. Lal (Canberra: Journal of Pacific History, 1992), 92-106.

⁵⁶ Marshall Sahlins, *Islands of History* (Chicago: Chicago UP, 1985); Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Culture: Selected Essays* (1972; Ann Arbor: Michigan UP, 1985).

through “traips[ing] the frontiers of European expansion because that is where [ethnohistorian’s] sources are.”⁵⁷ For Maude the move from traditional history is similarly an escape from colonial historiography, for “anthropology [is] the only discipline which had freed itself from a predominantly European orientation” (15), a mistaken belief that the incorporation of anthropological field work can make up for the lack of documented history without undue eurocentricism. Undoing the document as the traditional source of history, then, can be answered in the enrolment of disciplines such as anthropology, and the concomitant social science practices such as the interview, oral histories, and the study of cultural institutions to map the structure and history of a society.

A tension in this ‘island-orientated’ history is the position of the archive. In challenging the precursor, imperial history, Davidson wishes to make the fundamental reliance on the European archive illegitimate (and here Davidson’s meaning of the archive is obviously different to Foucault’s); yet, repeatedly the notion of an archive is used to legitimate or authorise a history and also to provide an imperative for the investigating historian to compliment the archive. One clear distinction Davidson sees between imperial histories and ‘island-orientated’ histories is that imperial histories were limited to writing about the European action in the Pacific, and hence dependent on records from institutions such as the Colonial Office or Western Pacific High Commission, or on notes and diaries kept by politicians and administrators. Yet, while avoiding the reliance on these records, Davidson sees that the data from fieldwork, on the other hand, can supplement the archival research.

⁵⁷ Denning, *Islands* 37.

Though the European archive of colonial history is dislodged from its apex in historical research, the RSPacS was to replace it with its own archive: the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau (PMB). Established in 1968, Maude considered the charter of the PMB was “to have every manuscript of significance for research available in original or copy.”⁵⁸ Some goals of the archive are based on a particularly patronising view of Pacific Island nationalism. Maude says the PMB will

copy all the manuscripts of value actually located in the islands, even though housed in archives, libraries or museums, before, or as soon after as possible, the attainment of independence in a territory. The inviolability of material in such depositories is a principle observed as a matter of course by only a few sophisticated nations and experience in the Pacific Islands has already shown that it is better to be sure than sorry in such matters.⁵⁹

Here Derrida’s violence of the archive is pronounced - the law of ‘sophisticated nations’ who can control and house the archived material is administered. Maude’s distrust of Pacific nations to administer the archives themselves because they are unsophisticated accredits the documents with a function and value apparently above and beyond the Pacific nation’s abilities. Thus nations of the Pacific must obey the system of enunciation, the historical discourse, of Australia. Through attributing value to these documents, Maude spells out two distinct economies: the western institutions where ‘value’ is realised and circulated, and the Pacific where the objects are given no such value and are in danger of violation. Thus the economy of scholarship is only realised by the west, and can only be put to value in western pedagogic discourses.

⁵⁸ H.E. Maude, “Pacific Documentation: An Introductory Survey,” UNESCO seminar: Source Materials Related to Research in the Pacific Area (Canberra: NLA, 1973), 20.

⁵⁹ Maude, “Pacific History” 18.

A similar proposal, with similar politics, has recently been made in Adrian Cunningham and Ewan Maidment's brief survey of the PMB. They state:

Rather than disempowering an organization by removing its records to a remote repository and thereby divorcing it from its history, arranging and describing records for [micro]filming brings an order to an organization's archives, recognizes their inherent value, adds value to them by making them accessible, and in the process empowers the producing organization.⁶⁰

While the institutional support for Pacific Islanders history is meritorious, assuming that order is only brought by western archives (as if Pacific Island archives are 'naturally' chaotic), and the curiously vague notion of value which drives the archival preservation are points needing closer scrutiny. For this is to suggest Pacific History is an economy which, under the systems in Davidson's and Maude's 'island-orientated' practice is an economy in which the west is primarily favoured to profit. And to return to Maude's articulation of the PMB, the 'profit' of the PMB in Pacific history is detailed in a telling metaphor.

Maude writes that he hopes "the systematic collection of oral sources" (21) will benefit the task of the historian for "even the surface deposits of this vast mine of information have barely been scratched as yet, but those who have dug an experimental shaft here and there have been astonished at the wealth which lies still buried" (21). Maude quite easily classifies the objects and texts of history as raw material with no value until it is mined and converted to ore, underlining the archived objects as commodities in the economy of western knowledge. The metaphor, now rather clumsy in terms of the battle between mining giants and indigenous groups in

⁶⁰ Adrian Cunningham and Ewan Maidment, "The Pacific Manuscript Bureau: Preserving and Disseminating Pacific Documentation," *The Contemporary Pacific* 8.2 (1996), 451.

Australia and Papua New Guinea, emphasises the white ownership and regulation of history as similar to the mining industry. To extend this metaphor, Donald Denoon's discussion of limitations placed on Australian history is pertinent in this context.⁶¹ Denoon calls for a comparative analysis of, among other things, Australia's mining history which has a significant effect on world politics; South African apartheid policy can be traced to the Australian mining practices reinvigorating unionism and labour colour bars (256). The metaphor of mining not only carries racial assumptions (only whites manage mines) but also implies the unequal distribution of the resources (the minerals are developed for the First World). While the law of apartheid cannot be equated to the law of the archive, once evaluations based on colonial economies are made of particular archives, then these two laws will approach each other.

From Munro's statement on the 'right things' qualifying a historian to Davidson's notion of the "certainties" of history ("U" 27), archival research maintains pivotal importance, but one mediated by field work observations. There is a tenuous contest between the 'certain' colonial sources and the 'uncertain' (often oral) indigenous sources; in this debate the historian enters as the arbiter who validates information. In a short paper attacking Peter Munz's consideration that writing the history of non-European people is "grossly arrogant"⁶² because it forces a European idea of past upon them, Davidson positions history as a "search for history *behind* the facts"⁶³ in the historian's quest to "analyse earlier periods" (117). Though field work, for

⁶¹ Donald Denoon, "The Isolation of Australian History," *Historical Studies* 22.87 (1986), 252-60.

⁶² Peter Munz, "The Purity of Historical Method: Some Sceptical Reflections on the Current Enthusiasm for the History of Non-European Societies," *New Zealand Journal of History* 5.1 (1971), 2.

⁶³ J. W. Davidson, "History, Art of Game? A Comment on 'The Purity of Historical Method'," *New Zealand Journal of History* 5.2 (1971), 115.

Davidson, is only comprehensible “in conjunction with other sources” (117), the ability to interpret and understand these texts is the prerogative of the historian. But it is the European archive which holds the ‘certainty’ of history. As a social science that utilises the imperial archive, ‘island-orientated’ history stands in between two colonial practices, fieldwork and archival research, neither of which promises a decolonisation of history.

The disembodied historian

Davidson writes of the incorporation of the social sciences as new and, he infers, ‘lower- class’ knowledges. Mapping the class distinctions, Davidson considers that traditionally history was written by people who have “either participated in the politics or come from a section of society in touch with the political world” (“P” 6), while social sciences are studied by the lower-class: the “indigent student from a working-class home might become an eminent classic or natural philosopher ... but seldom a historian” (“P” 6). The shift in history which Davidson initiates is supposedly at the same time an egalitarian thrust. Involved in the class distinction is a criticism of imperial histories as ‘upper-class’ (and by implication out of touch with the general populace), compared to the labour-orientated and ‘hands-on’ approach of ‘island-orientated’ history. Through his metaphor of class, the historian is transformed from the reclusive academic to the contemporary, and apparently egalitarian, field worker. In this distinction, however, is the erroneous assumption that the working-class is the most legitimate site of opposition. The assumption employed by Davidson - conflating working class with opposition politics - is that working class sciences will ‘naturally’ oppose the traditional, hegemonic sciences, a critical movement in which, according

to Tony Bennett, we can see that “bourgeois hegemony is secured not via the obliteration of working class culture but via its articulation to bourgeois culture.”⁶⁴ Thus there is a simplistic equivalence made between the working class and Pacific Islanders in an attempt to erase the specificity of Pacific Island cultures by this categorisation of western class systems.

It is no accident that European classes are mobilised to hierarchise knowledges, for colonial discourses are managed by representing differences in European terms such as class, or in terms of European history, such as Munro’s conflation of ethnicity and nineteenth-century European nationalism. Further, class distinctions may be relevant for mapping internal structures of power in the Pacific, but they can in no way justify an equality between western ‘working class’ historians and Pacific Islander historians.⁶⁵ Using class as the motivating difference erases race as the most obvious, and most dangerous, qualification for the historian, a qualification that silently interpellates the status of the historian in Davidson’s article. Hence, even with the incorporation of these two new concepts - the practice of field work and the methodology of social science - Davidson continued to demarcate and classify history as the property of the colonisers, as specific to their race.

The ‘right things’ which qualify both Munro’s and Davidson’s historian imply a specific western figure, and I wish to detail some of the characteristics attributed to this figure. There are a number of the supposed skills to enable the ‘island-orientated’

⁶⁴ Tony Bennett, “Introduction: Popular Culture and ‘the Turn to Gramsci’,” *Popular Culture and Social Relations*, ed. Tony Bennett, Colin Mercer and Joan Woollacott (Stratford: Open University Press, 1986), xv. Bennett, obviously, is talking in more general terms.

⁶⁵ A landmark text discussing issues of class and inequality within Pacific societies is Anthony Hooper, Steve Britton, Ron Crocombe, Judith Huntsman and Cluny Macpherson, eds., *Class and Culture in the South Pacific* (Suva: Centre for Pacific Studies, and U of Auckland, 1987).

historian to 'search behind the facts,' found in both Munro and Davidson's texts. History is validated through experience, informed imagination and self-consciousness; these, in turn, are specific to the western Humanist philosophy. In particular, these three concepts need contextualisation in traditional, Hegelian philosophy. Hegel, in his *Philosophy of History*, writes that the "self-conscious" understanding of the "rational process" of history comes in the form of *Geist*, or the spirit of history.⁶⁶ Only within this spirit is history rational, and made to attain "substance" and "infinite energy" (9); Hegel describes the nature of the spirit as opposite to matter, with freedom its essence, and is the result of self-conscious knowledge (16). The politics of 'self-conscious' knowledge, already discussed in Coleridge's imagination, are mobilised in the practice of Pacific History. *Geist* activates the west/other, mind/body dichotomy in which the non-western other must become the body of the west's mind in the global history; the historical spirit is found, then, in the west's mind moving above the subjects of history. Hegel proposes that there is an "ultimate design" (14) of history in the realm of spirit, and through self-conscious examination a knowledge of this will manifest to the historian: "*the final cause of the World at large*, we allege to be the *consciousness* of its own freedom, on the part of the Spirit" (19); however, Hegel quickly inserts an imperial qualification on the rights to this knowledge: "The Orientals have not attained [that] knowledge.... The German nations ... were the first to attain the consciousness" (18). In a stringent examination of Hegelian historiography, Joseph Pugliese argues that Hegel's construct of *Geist* enables the violent appropriation of the non-western other into Western history, at once making

⁶⁶ Georg W.F. Hegel, *The Philosophy of History*, trans. J. Sibree (New York: Colonial Press, 1899), 10.

European history global, and producing an eurocentric economic relationship.⁶⁷ The participant historian's experience falls under this rubric of 'self-consciousness' whereby the historian, in divesting corporeal constraints, gains 'consciousness' to the spirit of the 'ultimate design' while the indigene is dormant, to be awoken by the west through the intervention of imperialism. And, from Pugliese's analysis, the historian articulates World History in which the non-western others are inscribed as part of western knowledge. While the western historian participates in and 'makes conscious' the indigenous society through 'island-orientated' research, his/her own position in relation to colonial intervention is simultaneously effaced. The asymmetric relations of power so central to colonisation are thus reproduced: that of the control and management of knowledge.

What Hegel terms 'self-consciousness' is equivalent to Davidson's notion of 'experience,' from which the historian may gain "enlightenment as to the character of those who exercised the minds of earlier generations" ("U" 27). Experience is a comely comparison to *Geist*. Indeed, Davidson opens his article on participant history with this thought:

To any scholar of quality, the field of study within which he works is not an isolated fragment of the body of human knowledge but a discipline which he uses to interpret the whole of his experience. ("U" 27)

Davidson's historians become ethnographers who obtain their research through the activity called 'experience,' a concept also explored by James Clifford. 'Experience,' writes Clifford, is a the method of obscuring the representational text with a "'feel' for

⁶⁷ There are two articles I draw on: Joseph Pugliese, "Embodied Economies of Colonialism and Desire in Hegel's Empire of Reason," *Social Semiotics* 4.1-2 (1994), 163-83; Joseph Pugliese, "Parasiting 'Post'-Colonialism."

the foreign context” as if by “intuition.”⁶⁸ This phenomenological method is favourable, according to Clifford, “[p]recisely because it is so hard to pin down, ‘experience’ has served as an effective guarantee of ethnographic authority” (37). The personal, reflective nature of the historian’s insight is problematic because the position of the historian in someone else’s history is effaced by this self-referential praxis. Thus, Davidson asserts that “[h]owever far he [the historian] may be able to go by applying the tests of logic and fact, the final acceptance or rejection of his conclusions is always against the image of truth in his own mind” (“P” 11). Here, the context of the historian’s knowledge, the discursive formation from which s/he speaks, is ignored in this Humanist move which insists on a hermeneutic evaluation derived from this category of ‘experience.’ The facticity of history, the ‘image of truth,’ constitutes a history emerging from, and selected by, western assumptions and myths about knowledge, without regarding the colonial context. There is a complex philosophical history to experience involving phenomenology and hermeneutics, which I can only signal, but of particular concern are the numerous ways in which experience attempts to tactically disengage the subject position of the historian from the corporeal and cultural contexts. Because the historical discourse’s rhetoric is race-specific, and authority is premised on a western ownership of knowledge, then it follows that not everyone can think this history or have these experiences; western culture is normalised as the ‘experience’ or reality by which other histories and cultures are measured. The very Humanist notion of ‘experience’ rarely escapes the confines of the western subject. Thus, to take some examples from Davidson’s inaugural lecture,

⁶⁸ Clifford, “On Ethnographic” 35.

only the western historian can “be impressed by the exactness with which western forms had been copied” in the Polynesian Parliament (“P” 15), or can know “how far and by what stages [indigenous traders] come to adopt modern methods of accounting” (“P” 18) because a ‘western experience’ is assumed as the ‘spirit’ of history. It is never, or rarely, asked ‘to what extent are western historians ignorant of Pacific Islander’s culture?’ because this very question situates knowledge within Pacific Island culture and questions the transcendence of the historian’s experience.

The casual shift from field work to experience and then to observation evident in ‘island-orientated’ history belies a more radical manoeuvre - from a corporeal subject in history to a disembodied observer. Experience relies on observation as the method of accumulating historical data. Observation, with the concomitant disciplines of surveillance and the politics of the panopticon, divests the body from the historical terrain and relies on the omnipotent, and ocular historian to ‘see’ or provide, according to Davidson, “the qualities of insight” (“P” 11) of the history. Many contradictions are apparent in this logic. Firstly, the process of observation is fundamentally a corporeal practice. The lexicon of visual terms which attempt to theorise observation as non-corporeal (as ‘insight’) replace the specificities of sight with concepts which infer that meaning, reason, and understanding are the natural functions of sight. Secondly, Davidson suggests historians must “possess an unusual curiosity about the social processes [and] be able to adapt themselves to the conventions of discussion in diverse groups” yet they must also be “at home in the area [of study]” (“U” 30). That is, must maintain an aloof distance from the social processes but have agency in the society. Davidson gives an example of a possible

impartiality in his own work, *Samoa mo Samoa*.⁶⁹ He justifies his opinion by arguing he was “conscious” of possible objections (“U” 38), but has, through “self-forgetfulness,”⁷⁰ implicated himself in the society and can offer an advantageous interpretation. Much like transforming observation’s corporeal basis to ‘insight,’ Davidson here wants to both participate in social groups and transcend the politics social processes. The position spelled out surreptitiously denies agency to Pacific Islander historians who cannot formulate this ‘self-forgetfulness.’ Malama Meleisea’s historical investigations of his home Samoa have no pretences to ‘self-forgetfulness’; one project “was politically more controversial than I had originally imagined. Accordingly, I abandoned the project.”⁷¹ Meleisea also writes that where Davidson could research particular records, the records were denied to a Samoan researcher because the authorities in Samoa thought the researcher may “prove embarrassing to the Samoans connected.”⁷² Davidson’s view is untenable, for acts of censorship do not occur only for Pacific Islanders, as if Australian historians can freely express what they wish.

I am not arguing here that it is impossible for the western historian to write about history in Pacific Island culture, but that there is no relatively privileged site from which an ‘historical understanding’ or ‘insight’ occurs devoid of the contextual politics. There are some tasks which Pacific History must achieve: the radical

⁶⁹ J. W. Davidson, *Samoa mo Samoa: The Emergence of the Independent State of Western Samoa* (Melbourne: Melbourne UP, 1967).

⁷⁰ Davidson is citing W.K. Hancock, *Survey of British Commonwealth Affairs*, vol II: *Problems of Economic Policy, 1918-1939* (London, 1942).

⁷¹ Malama Meleisea, “Pacific Historiography: An Indigenous View,” *Journal of Pacific Studies* 4 (1978), 35.

⁷² Meleisea, “Pacific Historiography” 34. Meleisea has written on the land courts in Samoa: Malama Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa: Traditional Authority and Colonial Administration in the Modern History of Samoa* (Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, USP, 1987).

positioning of the historian in the context of a colonial history, and the recognition of the agency of Pacific Islanders in the production of Pacific History.

Pacific History and the imagination

As I discussed in a previous chapter of this thesis, a crucial adjunct of experience, which again interpellates the historian as a 'knowledgeable spirit,' is imagination. Constantly the 'image of truth' which validates the historian's opinion is considered an act of imagination and Coleridge's valorised faculty is thus incorporated into the process of writing history. Indigenous history, as constructed by the west, is partial and incomplete and Davidson argues that it must forever be supplemented by "informed imagination" to complete the historical record. Hence history is the mediation of "analysis and personal judgement" ("U" 27) because history is interrupted by probabilities and imprecision. Davidson, in each of his articles, emphasises the importance of imagination to the historical narrative: Davidson specifically makes a "high claim for the qualities of insight and imagination that must be possessed by the good historian" ("P" 11); similarly, "A historian who knows an island society sufficiently well is able ... to bring an informed imagination to bear upon the creative side of his task."⁷³ Imagination supplements the past to produce written history. Thus Davidson, like Munro, can justify his practice because all people apparently have equal access to imagination. The skill of imagination in scholarship validates a procedure in which knowledge is only cognisant in a 'self-conscious' and disembodied historical mind, giving imagination the capacity to complete history

⁷³ Davidson, "History, Art of Game?" 118.

through a reliance on history as *Geist*. Access to this 'spirit' details a practice of western experience and racialises the concept of historical imagination, for it is the western thinker who has the privileged position from which to 'imagine' the rest of the globe and to conceive, self-consciously in his/her own mind, how to represent and narrate history.

The recent papers arguing that Pacific Islander culture is an 'invention,' by Allan Hanson and Roger Keesing, rely on the position of omnipotent anthropologist who can adjudicate a culture's authenticity. What isn't considered is the 'invention' of historical privilege to question other cultures precisely because this authority is constructed to transcend the field of debate. Thus Keesing's "liberation" of Pacific Islander's history relies on staunch Hegelian concepts of self reflection and critical self-consciousness (37) - though the implications are that Pacific Islanders do not have these skills because of their "simple" political symbols (19). Rising above the objects of history, the historian apparently has the consciousness of the 'authentic' and 'real' which determines the culture.⁷⁴

With the historian's imagination necessary to complete the narrative, s/he immediately becomes crucial to history. The historian must give his/her "artistic"⁷⁵ imprimatur to the documents for them to circulate in history. It is no accident, then, that Maude discusses the utility of history to Pacific Islanders as therapeutic:

⁷⁴ There is a range of literature on 'tradition' in the Pacific. Two good starting points are Margaret Jolly, "Spectres of Inauthenticity," *The Contemporary Pacific* 4.1 (1992), 49-72; Margaret Jolly and Nicholas Thomas, "Introduction: The Politics of Tradition on the Pacific," *Oceania* 62.4 (1992), 241-8. Jolly problematically suggests the 'crisis' of tradition was made "self-conscious" to the Pacific Islanders by colonialism, as if their identity is only awoken through this Hegelian construct. Jolly, "Spectres" 60.

⁷⁵ Davidson states the Pacific historian must have the "attributes of the artist as well as those of the scientist." Davidson, "Problems" 11.

[Pacific history] also has a very practical and therapeutic role to enact in assisting the rehabilitation of the Pacific peoples at the end of a traumatic era of European political, economic and technological ascendancy by renewing their self-respect and providing them with a secure historical base from which to play their part as responsible citizens of independent or self-governing communities in a new world. (24)

The historian as therapist, nursing the psychologically wounded Pacific Islanders, immediately delineates a relationship of power, and of dependency, between the Islander and historian. The artistry of history, here, serves to psychologically repair the mind of the Islander through generously giving over the imagined narrative of history. Denied in this account are non-western histories which Pacific History attempts to appropriate and replace. In numerous accounts such as Maude's, no mention is made of the unequal access to the production of history, for instead the imagination and experience of history are taken as freely available to all. Thus Hugh Laracy writes of the centrality of westerners to history: "by helping bring about profound and ineradicable changes in the traditional way of life, palagi [white people] became part of indigenous history."⁷⁶ With no indication of the legacy of colonialism, the historians are both complicit in the apparent trauma, and the cure. The guise of illness is an able cover for the use of history in colonial contexts in which concepts like imagination and experience can validate the historian's position. With the requisite skills so clearly determined by western Humanism, and the Islanders represented as mentally incapacitated to produce their own histories, the scholarship, objects, and narratives of history are passed on to the western historian.

⁷⁶ Hugh Laracy, rev. of *The Samoan Journal of John Williams, 1830-1832*, by Richard Moyle, ed., *Polynesian Society Journal* 95 (1986), 401.

This relationship has been rearticulated in numerous forms. In a discussion of RSPacS historians in 1975, Oskar Spate, in response to comments about the disadvantages of the Island-born scholar, comments

I do not want to be thought of as suggesting that there should be a dichotomous share-out, the island taking the inner or local function, the European relating it to outside world forces and trends. Far from it: in the long run, the job will not be properly completed until islanders tackle European themes.... [I]t should be our ideal, a community of scholars ...⁷⁷

Munro cites Spate's 'community of scholars' to map his 'open door' policy, suggesting a utopian field in which all academics are equal. This call is echoed in numerous descriptions of the practice of Pacific History: Greg Denning, in suggesting "it is the present that we share," considers "My past is your past and you must make sense of it as you can."⁷⁸ That this kind of shared history has never been written is unquestioned, and that there is no institutional support for it is never mentioned as a problem. Not that Pacific Islanders reproducing European history will suddenly democratise the pedagogy of history; rather, the rhetorics of contemporary historical practice needs these suggestions to imply an equality that is not there.

Pacific History and Colonial Administration.

When Davidson considers that the Pacific historian's task "concerns the imposition of alien institutions of western origin upon non-European society" ("P" 13), the institutions which produce history, curiously, are never part of this study. The RSPacS maintains an academic distance from the mechanisms of colonial authority

⁷⁷ Gavin Daws, "On Being a Historian of the Pacific," *Historical Disciplines and Cultures in Australia: An Assessment*, ed. John A. Moses (St Lucia: UQP, 1979), 131. The historians in the discussion (including Spate, Daws, Niel Gunson, Hank Nelson, Judith Bennett, and Deryck Scarr) were all non-Pacific Islanders.

⁷⁸ Denning, "History 'in' the Pacific" 139.

because it was conceived, primarily, as a research institute. However, closely associated with colonial authority were institutions which contributed to colonial administration and influenced discourses of history and anthropology from which emerged the structures and practices of Australia's colonial authority. It is no accident that the burgeoning 'science' of Pacific History found a home in the Australian colonial administration, in the Australian School of Pacific Administration (ASOPA). Also disclosed in these institutional connections is the fundamental influence of the military in the formation of knowledge of colonised terrain.

Set up in 1945 as part of the Australian army by Lieutenant Colonel Alfred Colon to train civil servants stationed in New Guinea, the Land Headquarters School of Civil Affairs became ASOPA in 1947.⁷⁹ The focus of the school initially was on training the staff of the Provisional Administration, or Kiaps (patrol officers). The inaugural newsletter, *Monthly Notes*, states ASOPA's future plans were as "a permanently established academic institution of University standard, specialising in teaching, training and research in colonial affairs."⁸⁰ However, the decision to use the RSPacS as the established research school dealt the "coup de grace to ASOPA's aspirations as a research centre,"⁸¹ and it became instead a more practical-based centre for teaching administrative officers. ASOPA held a middle position between research and administrative training, joining the Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit

⁷⁹ There are no histories written of ASOPA, but information is accessible through PMB records: PMB 27, containing the Annual Report of the Council of ASOPA from 1955-72. For a very brief history see V.H. Parkinson, "ASOPA in War and Peace," *25 Years of ASOPA*, ed. Geoff Lever (Sydney: n.p., 1972), 4-6.

⁸⁰ "Monthly Notes and the School," *Monthly Notes* 1.1 (Sept. 1946), 1. The journal title changed from *Monthly Notes* to *South Pacific* in 1946.

⁸¹ D. Wetherell and C. Carr-Gregg, *Camilla: a Life of C.H. Wedgewood, 1901-1955* (Sydney: New South Wales UP, 1990), 205.

(ANGAU), which was also involved in teaching administration. There were frequent territorial clashes between these institutions, for the ANGAU considered ASOPA had “socialist” leanings.⁸² And by all accounts, since ASOPA was far from left wing, ANGAU was probably a right-leaning, imperialist institution. ASOPA ran a variety of courses such as one- to two-year diploma courses for patrol officers, and had notable lecturers such as Camilla Wedgewood, James McAuley, and C. D. Rowley.⁸³ The school started through the approval of General Blamey, and at one time had Sir J.R. Kerr (the infamous Governor General) as its principal. Though the subjects obviously changed over its 25 years of teaching, courses running through the 50s and 60s were: geography and land use, map reading and surveying, anthropology, government, history, native education, and law.

While ASOPA can be considered exclusively administrative to Davidson’s academic ‘island-orientated’ history, there is much to connect the two schools. The complicity between colonial politics and academia, while overt in ASOPA, is not as blatantly articulated in the RSPacS. In a sense both schools are concerned with the administration of Pacific Islands, one on a governmental level, the other on an epistemic level. Both schools were concerned with the training and recruitment of administrators in the area. Neil Gunson emphasises that Davidson’s belief in participant history extended to his recruitment of teachers: “[Davidson] much preferred to enlist persons who had the requisite ‘grooming’ for their subjects. Staff

⁸² Wetherell, *Camilla* 195.

⁸³ McAuley is a well known conservative Australian poet, and part of the Ern Malley Hoax. At ASOPA he lectured in Government and wrote extensively on topics such as constitutional questions and the politics of colonialism for *Monthly Notes* and *South Pacific*. C.D Rowley is known for anthropological and historical work on Aborigines; C.D Rowley, *The Remote Aborigines* (Ringwood: Penguin, 1972). Another text relevant to Rowley’s work at ASOPA is: C. D. Rowley, *The New Guinea Villager: A Retrospect from 1914* (Melbourne: Cheshire, 1972).

and students were virtually handpicked on this basis,”⁸⁴ with many teachers and students, such as H.E. Maude, picked on their previous experience as colonial administrators.

Before H.E. Maude took a position at RSPacS he was offered the position of principal at ASOPA; his suitability was vouched for by his long-time friend, Camilla Wedgewood.⁸⁵ Wedgewood herself gained her position at ASOPA through her close friend, Raymond Firth, the initial adviser for the foundation of the RSPacS. Wedgewood trained in anthropology under A.C. Haddon,⁸⁶ Bronislaw Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown, and obviously used this structural-functionalist heritage in her work investigating various Pacific societies and suggesting possible education strategies for Papua New Guineans. She worked for a period at the South Pacific Commission, a UNESCO funded institution, and published widely in *Oceania* and *South Pacific*.⁸⁷ That major figures of anthropology and history can be so easily connected in the context of Australian colonial administration exemplifies the shared heritage between colonial administration and academic pedagogy, under the military umbrella. There is little critical distance between the epistemic colonisations in Davidson’s and Munro’s history - the disembodied observer and privileged imaginer -

⁸⁴ Gunson, “Introduction” 4.

⁸⁵ Wetherell, *Camilla* 206. Indeed, Wedgewood through the influence of her father, Colonel Josiah Wedgewood VI, an M.P. and later a Peer in the British Parliament, enabled Maude and his wife to stay in the Pacific instead of leaving for a post in Zanzibar. Wedgewood is a descendent of the Wedgewood porcelain makers, and a grand-daughter of Charles Darwin. For another account of this meeting see Robert Langdon, “Harry Maude; Shy Proconsul, Dedicated Pacific Historian,” *The Changing Pacific: Essays in Honour of H.E. Maude*, ed. Niel Gunson (Melbourne Oxford UP, 1978), 1-21.

⁸⁶ A.C. Haddon is discussed in my chapter on cannibalism.

⁸⁷ Wedgewood also published, while working for the South Pacific Commission, *Education in the Pacific Islands: A Selective Bibliography* (Noumea: South Pacific Commission, 1956).

and the administrator who, in one way or another, structures Australia's colonial policy over Pacific territories.

It is crucial to emphasise, however, that the authority of the administrator is quite distinct from the authority of the participant historian. Not having the legal jurisdiction, the participant historian's authority comes through the ability to collate fieldwork notes with archival research - to repeat Davidson, to "search for the thoughts behind the facts."⁸⁸ Hence, the archive can be seen as a fundamental tool of the western historian, as it constitutes knowledge as a product of western culture which transcends cultural boundaries. Though 'Island-orientated' history problematises the European archive as the fundamental source of truth, as I have discussed, repeatedly the archive is invoked as the site for the accumulation and validation of historical 'fact.'

The archive does not only organise the functioning of history, for it operates on numerous levels and across a range of discourses. I wish to turn now to adventure narratives to emphasise the proximity between these texts of fiction and historical narratives as they both rely on the 'condition of reality,' provided by the archive. Importantly, across these two areas can be mapped a regularity of statements articulated in Australian colonial discourse which rationalise the coloniser's control of representation, and the authorisation of knowledge. I wish to focus on criticising the untenable distinction made between colonial practice and adventure narratives in various studies; these studies propose that adventure narratives, as 'fictional' texts, are not associated with the discursive practice of colonialism. I have already

⁸⁸ Davidson, "History, Art of Game?" 115.

suggested through investigating the relationship between narratives on 'Bully' Hayes, Pacific History, and Australian colonialism that adventure fiction seeks to rationalise gender and racial categorisations, and validate Australian law in the Pacific region. I will now analyse how adventure theorists argue for the disassociation between colonial practice and literature, and the implications this has for recognising Australian colonial discourse's effects on bodies, cultures and identities of the Pacific.

Pacific Adventure Stories and Australian Imperialism.

Chapter four

The most overt representations of Australian colonialism are found in the genre of adventure literature. In the period around 1880-1920 there were numerous novels, short stories and poems written on the Pacific, and publishing houses took keen interest in these narratives. Aware of the interest, it is curious that this literature is frequently disassociated from the practices of colonialism, as if adventure stories are a fictional and imaginary response at a distance from the colonial activity. This manifests as an overt disassociation between history and adventure, made clear by the historians writing on 'Bully' Hayes who wish to remove the 'erroneous recollections' and 'mendacious' stories from the historical text.¹ I argue that adventure narratives, as much as history and science, have multiple uses in Australian colonial discourse: they provide the representations and concepts which operate as knowledge in disciplines such as anthropology and history; they disseminate the gendered and racialised concept of nation; and finally serve in colonialism's rationalisation of its practices. Fiction is as much part of these procedures as 'fact,' for narratives of history or politics often rely on fiction to provide a context. Michel Foucault elucidates this point:

the possibility exists for fiction to function in truth, for a fictional discourse to induce the effects of truth, and for bringing it about that a true discourse engenders or 'manufactures' something that does not as yet exist, that is, 'fictions' it. One 'fictions' history on the basis of a political

¹ A.T. Saunders, *Bully Hayes, Louis Becke and The Earl of Pembroke: Written for 'The Mail' by A.T. Saunders* (North Adelaide: *The Mail*, n.d), n.pag.

reality that makes it true, one 'fictions' a politics not yet in existence on that basis of a historical truth.²

Adventure narratives are based on a political reality which can permit actions, ideas, and practices to be representative of colonialism in the Pacific. In a sense, Foucault's statement negates the assertion that adventure tales are fictional responses to colonialism, a statement frequently made by commentators of adventure stories; adventure tales 'induce' or provide the conditions for a political reality in which colonialism becomes a representational possibility. The connection between discourses which premise a concern over what is 'real,' such as politics, history, or science, and discourses concerned with 'fiction,' such as adventure or romance narratives, is not of one mimicking or 'imagining' the other, but of a co-dependency on what 'truths' can possibly be brought forth. Adrian Vickers forwards this argument in his investigation of Australian adventure stories of Malay: "while there was generally no Australian impetus to know about the Malay islands, what knowledge that was available was chiefly formed and reflected in literature."³ The conventions of adventure narratives must, thus, subscribe to particular 'truths' of colonialism, and these 'truths' are common to both fictional and 'factual' discourses. Australian society produces its colonialism like it does its history and literature: both as strategies to manage cultural identification and organise relationships of power over foreign countries and peoples. The conditions of management also include the consistent

² Michel Foucault, "The History of Sexuality," *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-77*, ed. Colin Gordon, trans. Colin Gordon *et al* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 193.

³ Adrian Vickers, "Kipling Goes South: Australian Novels and South-East Asia 1895-1945," *Australian Cultural History* 9 (1990), 66.

representation of colonised peoples as objects of knowledge within colonial discourse, a knowledge which, importantly, is informed by 'fiction' as much as 'fact.'

In this chapter I focus specifically on the relationship between adventure narratives and the discourses of history, particularly how this inter-relationship operates in Australian colonial discourse. I wish to emphasise the proximity between the authoritative discourses of anthropology and history and the 'imaginative' narratives of adventure and travel, as the proximity details a procedure in Australian colonialism where the lack of administrative or legislative control is fortified by an intellectual and observational rationalisation of Pacific cultures, bringing these cultures to a supposed order.

There is a double movement between high and low literary genres, between sciences and literatures; the factual status of history is readily appropriated in adventure narratives to justify and disseminate imperial politics, commerce, and moralities. At the same time history retells and employs the 'romance' of adventure narratives to either consolidate its own status as academic or 'high' literature, or to romanticise Pacific colonialism and hence make aesthetic the violence which marks its history. The connections between adventure and romance are many; generically, adventure was closely related to romance, and indeed the narratives were frequently structured through romantic conventions. Also, adventure in terms of 'dreams' and 'fancy' situates the 'romance' of adventure within the relationship of power informed by the European concept of imagination. To 'romance' is to idealise, in this context to idealise colonial appropriation and control. Finally 'romance' signifies adventure's subscription to popular fiction. Positioning adventure narratives as simply popular culture is problematic because they also function within, and feature, nationalistic and

colonialist strategies which tactically engage with a number of genres and disperse a variety of colonial representations.

My argument is informed by Peter Stallybrass and Allon White's *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*, in which they lucidly map the history of the categories high and low in various subjects and terrains such as the body, the market, and the city. They argue that "cultural categories of high and low, social and aesthetic ... are never entirely separable," and these differences are interrelating and involve moments where the "low troubles the high."⁴ Further, this interdependency also details, and here the intersection with romance is again described, an appropriation that involves a sexualised relationship, since "the top *includes* that low symbolically, as a primary eroticized constituent of its own fantasy life" (5). The representation of Pacific Islander women in term of sexual fantasy, as I discuss in chapter six, is part of western history's consumption of romance and adventure. But crucial to this reading, as argued by Joseph Pugliese in a critical rejoinder to the concept of transgression, is the "potentially conservative nature of transgression.... [It] is that which simultaneously conserves and maintains the parameters of that which it exceeds."⁵ Thus by employing adventure stories to supplement history will conserve the distinctions as much as contests them. The very signalling of a distinguishable boundary attempts to stabilise some essential difference between the authority of history and the popularity of adventure.

⁴ Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (Ithaca: Cornell, 1986), 2-3.

⁵ Joseph Pugliese, "Cartographies of Violence: Heterotopias and the Barbarism of Western Law," *The Australian Feminist Law Journal* 7 (1996), 22.

Part of the management of adventure is maintaining a regularity of statements enunciated in the discursive formation. Adventure narratives tend to tell the same stories, write from the same archive, and represent colonialism in a relatively homogenous manner; in the face of a multitude of disparate and conflicting viewpoints, various interpretations of events, and the representation, administration, and accumulation of Pacific Island cultures by white Australia, adventure stories ceaselessly reiterate stereotypical characters, and remarkably similar plot lines, racial politics, and ethics. The literary texts I discuss in this chapter are primarily concerned with representations of the Pacific in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century; the Pacific at this time is crucial to the genre of adventure because it was the subject of significant economic, political, geographical and ideological debate in white Australian culture. To emphasise the critical role of Pacific Island terrain in the formulation of white Australian culture, it is worthwhile considering Gayatri Spivak's comment that the "centre is always constituted in terms of its own marginality."⁶ In these regions of the Pacific, adventure narratives represented the masculinity and morality of the white Australian male, the justice of its legal system, and the humanism of its society. The strength of unionism, which is seen as the bulwark of the nationalist movement, was a reaction to the competition of Melanesian and Chinese labour.⁷ The region figured in discussions of defence, for the islands were considered

⁶ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *The Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues*, ed. Sarah Harasym (New York: Routledge, 1990), 40.

⁷ The *Bulletin's* stance is best summed up by the famous editorial titled "Australia for the Australians:" "The rights of a small state are lost sight of in the interests of the overgrown dominion. The policy of its freedom is the policy it gives to its people ... the direct governance of its own land.... By the term Australian we mean no those who have been merely born in Australia. All white men who come to these shores - with a clean record - and who leave behind them the memory of class distinctions and religious differences of the old world.... No nigger, no Chinaman,

in adventure narratives a void into which could step a competing European power. And Melanesia was considered part of Australia, for as a white country, it had a 'natural right' to own this region. Henry Parkes, a dominant figure in early Australian politics, commented in 1874 that "[i]t would be impossible for colonisation to stop where it has commenced; and the islands of the Pacific *ought* to form one with the Anglo-Australian communities."⁸ He was advocating ideals stated previously by many colonists, such as James Dunmore Lang, an ardent Australian imperialist, who considered an Anglo-Saxon empire in the Pacific was a "manifest destiny."⁹ Lang suggested that "to [Australia's] geographical position the island's of the western Pacific naturally look for their guide and protection."¹⁰ The colonisation of areas of the Pacific, mainly Melanesian Island groups such as Vanuatu, the Solomons and Papua New Guinea was thus not articulated so much as a rational economic consideration but a 'natural' historical action. While the ambitions to colonise regions of the Pacific were not overwhelmingly supported,¹¹ these 'natural rights' were drawn, almost exclusively, through racist stereotypes and paranoid whisperings of 'foreign' threats. These political figures of Australian colonialism are voicing the colonial and racial 'imagined community' of Australia, a community whose unity is determined by ceaselessly imagining nationality in terms of race.

no Lascar, no Kanaka, no purveyor of cheap coloured labour is an Australian." Editorial, *Bulletin* July 3 1887.

⁸ Qtd. in Roger C. Thompson, *Australian Imperialism in the Pacific: The Expansionist Era, 1820-1920* (Melbourne: Melbourne UP, 1980), 33.

⁹ Qtd. in Neville Meaney, *The Search for Security in the Pacific, 1901-14* (Sydney: Sydney UP, 1976), 16.

¹⁰ Qtd. in Merze Tate, "The Australasian Munroe Doctrine," *Political Science Quarterly* 76 (1961), 269.

¹¹ Charles Grimshaw notes "little direct interest" in imperial matters, yet does consider there was a "wide-ranging and sometimes intense public interest in international questions." Charles Grimshaw, Preface, *Documents on Australian International Affairs 1901-1918*, eds. Gordon Greenwood and Charles Grimshaw (Melbourne: Nelson, 1977), vii.

A necessary task is to demonstrate that adventure narratives are not apolitical, nor innocent from the consequences of colonialism which they describe, but emerge from a violent, colonial history. I criticise the particular literary reading that, in constructing a literary history, effaces the imperial and racist history in which this literature is incorporated; to criticise this viewpoint I first discuss the work of Martin Green whose critical work on adventure is widely circulated, and who maintains this difference. Next I turn to Louis Becke to demonstrate the complicity between adventure and the violence of colonialism.

Martin Green and conservative readings of adventure narratives

The single, powerful recourse often employed to distinguish historical narratives from adventure narratives is that between fact and fiction. The assumption is that fictive and 'fanciful' narratives have no influence on the politics and practice of colonialism. On the other hand, it is supposedly the factual or 'true' history that can express colonialism. Yet, historical narratives, particularly of Pacific colonisation, consistently retell adventure narratives not as historical fact but as myths that can be ordered and understood through the organising principles of historical discourse. This distinction plays a forceful role in the literature surrounding the Hayes narratives, as argue in chapter two. There is a pronounced ambiguity in the academic treatment of a history dealing with a subject described as an almost mythological character.

The genre of adventure quite obviously represents colonial successes and demonstrates colonial values and ethics at work. However, much critical work on adventure narratives refuse to see these narratives as anything but idealised dreams or narratives preparing and positioning subjects before the 'real' colonisation is enacted

on colonised terrain that is in turn 'truthfully' described in historical texts. Martin Green, recognised as an authority of literary studies of adventure, formulates adventure narratives in this vein:

[Adventure narratives were] the energizing myth of English imperialism. They were, collectively, the story England told itself as it went to sleep at night; and, in the form of its dreams, they charged England's will with the energy to go out into the world and explore, conquer, and rule.¹²

Functioning as a catalyst, the adventure stories in this form only give impetus to what happens later on colonised terrain. The dream is excluded from the colonial practice and classifies adventure, according to Green, as an "imaginative context [to the] history of imperialism" (DA 3). The separation Green puts between the 'imagined' of adventure stories and the history of imperialism, in consideration of the criticism of imagination discussed earlier, is a fallacious sidestepping of the pervasiveness of colonial discourse in popular culture. As Green's quotation reveals, there is a marked distinction between the actions of dreaming and of conquering, informed by a binary opposition of imagined and real. The conceptualisation, and the concomitant hierarchising, of fact and fiction qualifies a relationship between adventure and history in which colonialism is only enacted in history, leaving adventure as an 'imaginative' response. Green's scenario proposes that the inscription of colonised subjects with racial, economic, or sexual stereotypes is not the responsibility of adventure narratives. Rather, as 'dreams' and 'myths,' adventure holds a relatively innocent role compared to the 'will' of colonial administration or colonial practice. Adventure as a dream or myth precludes the narratives from being conceived as a cultural and/or

¹² Martin Green, *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire* (New York: Basic Books, 1979), 3. Hereafter quotes will be cited in the text as DA

political force outside the imperial 'bed,' and excludes the impact of fiction from discourses of colonial history. By leaving adventure in the safety of the imperial 'bed,' and thus popularising it as an 'eroticized constituent' according to Stallybrass and White, the violence of colonialism's racism and sexism is managed through the apparently autonomous narratives of adventure. The violence of colonialism's regulatory agenda, however, is circulated as much in 'fact' as in fiction.

While there is no denying the widespread and fundamental popularity of adventure stories amongst the white communities of imperial nations, Martin Green is reticent to read into adventure any engagement with colonial practice. The types of generalisations he makes, perhaps indicative of conservative responses, are frequently employed by critics to suggest the position of adventure narratives in the structure of imperialism is that of a fictional account of a related, yet distant, political reality. However, these concerns exemplify a general methodology of reading adventure as imperial literary *responses*, not *organising* discourses of colonialism which significantly reproduce the possibility for colonialism in the literary criticism of colonial and post-colonial texts. Under this capacity adventure texts become the 'imagination' of colonialism in Coleridge's sense; the faculty located in the 'imagined community' enabling a transcendence of national regions, from where the imaginer incorporates the indigenous subject as the coloniser's object of knowledge.

Assuming that texts are produced from a dream, and not from political and cultural strategies supporting colonialism, interprets adventure in a rather orthodox sense as the manifestation of a desire. Thus in the 'dream' from the 'bed' of empire the symbols of imperialism are interpreted as if analysing a dream. Some critical texts locate in this dream a 'natural' masculine desire, as if imperialism is sublimated

masculinity.¹³ In the process of classifying adventure in this liminal region the potential political utility of these texts, and their legacy in racist politics, is negated. As a liminal desire, the pressing danger is in compliance with the belief that imperialism is a natural characteristic of Anglo-Saxon races; the 'will' to adventure and discover, according to this myth, is part of the English 'spirit.' Adventure read in this way suggests the narratives merely inform or provoke a latent desire which is only later acted upon while on colonial terrain. These fix the terrain in which adventure functions as the imperial centre not the colonial margins, and suggest the relationships of power within the colonial administration are not informed or impinged upon by the stereotypes promulgated in adventure narratives. That is, the 'political reality' of colonial intervention cannot be conceived alongside the 'fiction' of adventure. In Green's critical works, adventure is described as autonomous from the discursive practice of imperialism and colonialism.

Green's manoeuvres to regulate a theory of adventure can be seen quite clearly as a depoliticisation of this narrative. While he does gesture to a definitive link between colonial practice and adventure literature, at several points he attempts to 'manage' this relationship through making the connection moralistic, where adventure supplies morality to colonial invasion, or he devalues adventure narratives as merely preparatory or incidental. Stating there is no political agency in the reading, Green contradicts what he proposes as the utility of adventure narratives - to educate the populace in the political reality of colonialism: "The frontier is the locus of adventure,

¹³ For example, Joseph Bristow, *Empire Boys: Adventures in a Man's World* (London: Harper Collins, 1991).

and men read adventures to prepare themselves imaginatively for these encounters.”¹⁴

There is a curious temporality at work because Green concedes that the values were already instilled before the ‘encounters.’ The understanding of an ‘encounter,’ such a repetitive and depoliticised term in colonial discourse, is developed in literature before the encounter takes place. That is, the moment of origin in cultural relations between the indigene and the coloniser, for Green, is always already written by the colonising society. Even though Green repeatedly argues that adventure has no part in the construction of facts, the history - which he implies in an essentialist fashion is developed from facts - arises from a relationship prepared by adventure. Green suggests that the preparatory readings have no effect on the encounter for once a kind of facticity (an ‘unimagined’ event) intervenes then the description is not within the adventure narrative but the history narrative. The fragile distinction between the homeliness of adventure and the distance of history ruptures with this contradiction. The obverse of this position is that because adventure formulates an ‘encounter’ in a similar fashion to history, it similarly reproduces the ‘facts’ and politics, a point which disturbs fiction’s status awarded by Green.

When Green describes adventure’s “social function” (ST 37) as educative to the populace of the imperial nation on the politics of borders, nations, and colonies, his assertion of neutrality should be repudiated. However, rather than adventure taking on the violence or racism of colonialism, it takes its ‘enlightening’ and moralistic drive:

Only historians, licensed by fact, were allowed to create images of imperial glory, of military conquest, and of triumphant domination. Fiction

¹⁴ Martin Green, *Seven Types of Adventure: An Etiology of a Major Genre* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania UP, 1991), 36. Hereafter, quotes will be cited in the text as ST.

had to obey moral restraints, to celebrate mercantile virtues, and consequently to approach the facts of imperialism - individual and political - very obliquely. (DA 35)

Green implies a certain political reality here unavailable to adventure because of a forced didactic utility. Why these 'restraints' and 'virtues' are not told in colonial history is not investigated, neither is the question why the very 'images' of imperial glory are precisely the morals and economic actions featuring in adventure? Green's position reiterates J.W. Davidson's formulation of the 'humble participant' unconcerned with 'grandiose' political concepts. There is an attempt to aestheticise adventure, as if the 'racial,' sexual and commercial politics of these stories only 'obliquely' relate to the 'truth' which resides in the entirely separate discourse of history. Morally bound, adventure authors supposedly provide morals and virtues while 'the truth' can be seen in history. Why Green would excise morals from colonial actions is contradictory to his covert premise that imperialism is a civilising mission, for he quite blatantly shows his agreement with many imperial values.

Green's text, *Seven Types of Adventure*, was published some 12 years after the widely acclaimed *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire*, and is a far more conservative work. In *Seven Types of Adventure* he attempts to justify the location of adventure in what he calls the 'modern world' through imperial concepts such as the 'civilising' or an implied 'natural' right of the west. Green wastes no time positioning himself in the political right wing; after initiating a call for a "language of common sense" (ST 2) in literary criticism he uses a conservative, patriarchal argument to foster adventure's "masculinist" ownership - women, never at the frontier of 'civilisation,' "have psychologically easier access to the 'law'" (ST 3); because women obey the law, the logic goes, they cannot address "experience beyond the law, or on

the very frontier of civilization” (*ST* 3). The blatant contradiction of Green’s argument is that his text is entirely run by a desire to prove a law (seven categories of adventure as a literary law) of this ‘experience’ beyond the law. Finally the introduction inadvertently valorises the capitalism underpinning colonialism by stating the “impugned and doubtful values of Marxism” are outlasted by the “universally legitimate[d]” values of nation (*ST* 7). Primarily, Green reproduces the eurocentric assumption that art, philosophy, and the truth is the property of the western world, and as their property they demonstrate the west’s undeniable ‘civility.’ Thus while he admits that there are adventure stories outside Europe (as if all the world’s literature complies to European generic classifications), these are quickly dismissed because his concern is the “modern world” (*ST* 20); replicating Hegel’s philosophy of history, the non-western world is not modern because adventure is resultant only from “forces specific to the modern world, not to other cultures’ narratives” (*ST* 20). ‘Modern’ adventure, moreover, is linked directly, by Green, to a “primarily logical [method]” (*ST* 20). By concurring that the west is modern and rational, Green, like Hegel, is complicit in the processes of imperialism on which he writes.

When Green does address the violence of colonialism in his next book, he considers that although repugnant, the consequences are indeed necessary because this is a knowledge of “the violence that protects us in our peaceful pursuits” (*ST* 28). At once the ongoing practices of neocolonialism are rendered peaceful, and the history of colonial violence is justified through a maintenance of the First-World’s power. Green constantly evokes a ‘natural’ or ‘commonsense’ morality as a legitimating discourse for reading these texts, implying that his readings are not culturally specific to the First-World but are common human qualities. Green coins

this criticism “spontaneous” (ST 22) as if the reading naturally emerges from the literature without any cultural constraints. It is through this naturalising of the eurocentric reading practice that Green can state the inevitability of colonialism, for it is “essential to the [modern world] system” (DA 9). For ‘commonsense’ to prevail, we must assume, the literary practices and the violence of colonialism must be allowed to run its course.

A measure of the First-World’s modernity, for Green, is the nation. Green compares the adventure to narratives of nation, using Benedict Anderson’s *Imagined Communities*.¹⁵ “The great adventure tales,” writes Green, “are those acts of imagination and narration that constitute the imagined communities called nations” (23). Once again, Green’s contradictory position is brought to the fore, where he both articulates the connection between imperialism and literature, yet denies literature any responsibility for the violence of colonialism. Used to demonstrate that “the adventure tale and political force have worked reciprocally together” (ST 7), Green asserts a respectability based on an almost divine destiny in his formulation of adventure:

When put in the proper context, adventures of the respectable kind reveal themselves to be political documents. They reflect, and are reflected in, all the white nations’ feeling about their status as nation states and about the imperial adventure they were jointly engaged in - about their national and international destinies. (ST 23-4)

Green conservatively uses Anderson notion of community, particularly the supposed ‘fraternity’ created through reading coalitions, to suggest widespread support of a nation’s political directives. The privileging of ‘commonsense’ and ‘imagination’ in Green’s reading of literature quite clearly formulates a ‘proper’ western history which

¹⁵ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflection on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd. ed. (1983; London: Verso, 1991).

has a destiny to rule the nationless colonies who have none of this 'imagination.'

Adventure forms a nation, and nation is the master narrative of the destiny of western history. Thus Green avoids associating adventure with colonialism because it does not leave the imperial nation, and does not venture further than the imagination. As imagination, adventure reflects the interiority of the imperial nation, and situates colonised peoples in a western representational economy.

Invoking the classification of popular from high culture to mark adventure as distinct from Literature (the use of capital L is Green's), Green's reading praxis is focussed on adventure gaining the "serious attention" (*ST* 6) normally reserved for Literature. While Green is adamant that adventure is distinct from history, he details what he considers an unwarranted distinction between Literature and adventure. Green argues that adventure has been excluded from the canon of Literature and he plans to redress this problem by "building a bridge" between the "broader sense of life" and the "study of literature as art" (*ST* 6). Green is adamant that Literature functions within adventure narratives, and this function excludes it from politics and history: "Adventure served and serves the interests of imperialists, chauvinists, entrepreneurs, and some of the clerisy.... But within the world of letters all this power is held in check, subordinate to literary values" (*ST* 45). Here is the nub of Green's desire for adventure to gain entry into the Literature - under the apolitical rubric of 'Literature' these narratives can throw off the often violent, racist, and exploitative politics which is their fundamental message because they are, by their very nature, fictional and imaginative. Adventure's exclusion from Literature is also an exclusion of the criticism of adventure from the esteemed positions of literary critics, for Green is at pains to structure sub-genres, classifications, and thematics, which will produce a

“serious” subject. Thus the comparison of adventure with Literature is an example, suggested above by Pugliese, of conservative transgression. The classifications are transgressed not to problematise Literature’s transcendent status, but to suggest adventure’s supplementary role to Literature: adventure defines a canonised notion of Literature as much as it opposes it. Green defines what he calls western art’s respectability as its “celebrat[ion of] various forms of freedom, force and growth” (ST 25), an evaluation which sounds suspiciously like Matthew Arnold’s “sweetness and light.” The Enlightenment grasp on issues of colonialism is in stark political ignorance of the actions of colonialism. For what Green celebrates, and what needs elaborating in his critical methodology, is the eurocentrism of the values of Literature.

Some recent work has made steps redressing the erasure of colonial practice from adventure narratives. Jeffrey Richards’ collection, *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature* aims to examine how adventure literature ‘produces’ society, how it was to “inculcate approved value systems, to spread useful knowledges, to provide acceptable role models.”¹⁶ Similarly Joseph Bristow’s *Empire Boys* focuses on the nexus of masculinity and empire, proposing that Boy’s Own style Adventure narratives “pieced together a myth” of a “potent masculinity”¹⁷ representing the strength and morality of imperialism. Patrick Brantlinger’s *Rules of Darkness* is, he writes, an investigation of the “ideology” of imperialism: “Clearly my topic bears less directly on actual territorial aggrandizement than on the cultural expressions of that ideology which also goes by the name of imperialism.”¹⁸ Thomas Richards in his study

¹⁶ Jeffrey Richards, “Introduction,” *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*, ed. Jeffrey Richards (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1989), 3.

¹⁷ Joseph Bristow, *Empire Boys* 225-6.

¹⁸ Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1988), 14.

of the “fictive thought of imperial control” (2) states that “[i]mperial fiction is far more frequently the site of fantasy rather than realism” (8).¹⁹ Even though Richards describes in detail the incursion of imperial fiction into the territory of Tibet through its clandestine mapping by the British India Survey, noting that what “began as utopian fictions of knowledge ... often ended as territory” (16), he continues to distinguish between a ‘fictive’ response to imperialism and an actual imperialism. The texts of Richards, Brantlinger, Bristow, and Richards at some level discern a split between territorial appropriation and an ideology producing adventure. While quite obviously adventure as a popular literature has a “way of operating”²⁰ within white Australia and England, the danger in these readings is to divorce the features and conventions of adventure from discourses such as history and politics, as if some discourses only ‘imagine’ colonised terrain. Colonial political legislature, colonial history, and colonial administration, it must be conceived, are also narratives of adventure, and to use Foucault’s term, ‘induce’ a ‘reality’ of colonialism in agreement with these generic conventions. To concede adventure as literature and not politics, suggested in Bristow’s and Brantlinger’s critical work, promotes adventure as an idea nestled in the ‘bed’ of imperialism and not on the violence of the colonised terrain, a literature drawn from ideas and not from the colonising impact of language. In reference to *Heart of Darkness*, Edward Said writes that far from “its image of Africa being ‘only’ literature, the work is extraordinarily caught up in, is indeed an organic part of, the ‘scramble for Africa’ that was contemporary with Conrad’s

¹⁹ Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (London: Verso, 1993), 8.

²⁰ Meaghan Morris, “Banality in Cultural Studies,” *Block 14* (1988); qtd. in Anne Cranny-Francis, *Popular Culture* (Geelong: Deakin UP, 1994), 5. Morris and Cranny-Francis argue that popular

composition.”²¹ Violence is not limited to physical manifestations, for epistemic violence - the violence of appropriating knowledges, containing languages, and inscribing bodies - does not operate merely within colonised terrain.

In Robert Dixon’s extensive study of Australian adventure narratives, *Writing the Colonial Adventure*, he argues that popular fiction is not simply the reproduction of dominant ideologies but the narrating and marking of differences in imaginative terms within a larger “nation’s unity.”²² Anderson’s concept of the nation as ‘imagined community’ allows Dixon to study adventure as the process of “narrating the nation,” which is taken from Homi Bhabha (10).²³ Borrowing from Stallybrass and White’s *The Politics and Poetics of Tradition*, the idea that popular literature is a repeated “marking of boundaries” and “inscription of a hierarchy,” Dixon considers the nation is then problematically ‘unified’ in this narrative (10). Emphasising that the ‘nation’ is ‘fraught with difficulties’ (11), the constitution of the unity is always contested. However, the theoretical axiom of ‘narrating a nation’ reduces a complex and problematic concept such as nation to a simple generic and literary feature which sits uncomfortably with the claim of contested meaning. Using the trope of ‘marking boundaries’ to describe the how adventure defines a nation, Dixon enlists a metaphysical organisation first proposed by Immanuel Kant. For Kant, the difference between real and transcendental is distinguished by a ‘boundary,’ an unmitigated division. The boundary signifies that which is outside or beyond the ‘experience’ of

culture is “a way of operating,” so that the texts themselves are not inherently popular, but they are used, described, and circulated as popular within a specific culture.

²¹ Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994), 80.

²² Robert Dixon, *Writing the Colonial Adventure: Race, Gender and Nation in Anglo-Australian Popular Fiction, 1875-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995), 10.

²³ Homi K. Bhabha, “DissemiNation: time, narrative, and the margins of the modern nation,” *Nation and Narration*, ed. Homi K. Bhabha (London: Routledge, 1989), 291-322.

‘man,’ the above and beyond of reality.²⁴ The boundary, far from signifying a limit, suggests a demarcation where the ‘outside’ is forced into a relationship with the inside.

The topos of boundary problematically proposes that other societies, particularly colonised societies, are not narrated - that the borders propose the end of narration - and thus are incorporated into the western imagination. Hence the binary of ‘real’ colonialism and ‘imagined’ colonialism can be enacted. Furthermore, the exterior is caught in a relationship of identity with the inside, as if dependent and supplementary to the narration of the nation. Thus when emphasising the “conflictual positions” (5) and “contradictory structure” (11), or the internal instability in adventure narratives, Dixon chooses to focus on the ‘anxiety’ of colonial discourse with little regard to the relationship of power that the discourse is in. That racism and imperialism could be so widely accepted, could validate the wholesale appropriation of land, could inaugurate numerous disciplines, and take over resources and economies with the support of adventure narratives is elided when focussing on the apparent weaknesses or ambiguity of the discourse. Thus, in the direction which some post-colonial theory has recently taken, Dixon concentrates on the “implausibility” (9) of colonial texts, and “fallible [and] facile” (199) nature of the discourse. This particular criticism of colonial discourse, reliant on Homi Bhabha’s work deconstructing colonial logic, has

²⁴ The editors to Coleridge’s *Biographia Literaria* note that Kant specifically discriminates between the terms transcendental and transcendent using words like ‘border,’ ‘demarcation,’ and ‘boundary stakes’: “The transcendental supposes a reality beyond our senses But the Transcendent goes beyond ‘all bounds of experience’.” James Engell and W. Jackson Bate, eds., *Biographia Literaria or Biographical Sketches of My Literary Life and Opinions*, by Samuel Taylor Coleridge, vol. 6 of *The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, 14 vols. (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1983), 237.

been taken up in Nicholas Thomas's *Colonialism's Culture*.²⁵ In hindsight it is easy to argue colonialism was often conceptually problematic and incomprehensible, that its 'dreams' were never realised and were indeed faulty in their logic. However, this does attempt to wish away the very power it could muster and the widespread dissemination and consumption of virulent and racist ideology. Confronting the reader of adventure narratives was a systematic rationalisation of racial hierarchies, western capitalism, and the values of 'exploration.' With the support of discourses of science and history, adventure narratives can situate theories of, for instance, 'miscegenation,' in the context of colonialism.

Colonial politics and adventure narratives

In theories of adventure such as Green's, the racism and sexism patent to adventure narratives are relegated to a fictional status produced from 'imaginary' sources when, rather, they enact racist and sexist political 'realities.' The project here is to move critical analyses of adventure stories from examining the content of adventure stories in terms of a fantastic desire, on behalf of imperial nations for their juvenile boy or potential settler audience, to a discursive and institutional formation in which colonial practice is produced. The conventions of the Pacific adventure narrative detail specific colonial functions: representing of the colonial system in operation; representing Pacific Islanders by racial qualifiers such as intelligence, gender, biology, or 'civility'; valorising and heroic status of the white explorer, missionary, or plantation owner; and representing the untapped wealth of colonised terrain which needs to be

²⁵ Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994). Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel, and Government* (Melbourne: Melbourne UP, 1994).

‘unlocked.’ These features of adventure narratives are pedagogical, in that they reproduce Pacific Island cultures as objects of knowledge from which a ‘political reality’ of colonialism is rendered. I want to, in a sense, transform these points from an evocation of imperialism as a flawed project to a more specific description of colonialism - from practices of the metropolitan centre to methods of organising the colonial margin. For not only was adventure inculcating Australian (and British) ideology with ideas of progress, morality, and civilisation, it was representing, positioning, and appropriating the land and the bodies of colonised peoples. I do not wish to survey the literature of the Pacific by Australian writers, nor extensively detail the genre of Pacific adventure.²⁶ Rather, focussing on the complicity between literary institutions and colonialism, one aspect I concentrate on is the journalism found in the *Bulletin*, and the writer Louis Becke. I concentrate on Becke because he is considered one of the main Pacific adventure writers in Australia, and is also known for his association and writing on ‘Bully’ Hayes, which I discuss in chapter two. In Becke’s literature can be seen the interdependence between literature, science, history, and colonial politics.

The *Bulletin* magazine, and to a lesser extent its sibling publication the *Lone Hand*, are the products of the transformation in popular culture occurring in 1880-1920 due to the development of the popular press. The effect of the presses, writes Stuart Hall in relation to British popular presses, was to “reconstitut[e] the cultural and political

²⁶ For surveys of the Australian writers of Pacific adventure see Dixon, *Writing the Colonial Adventure*, and H.M. Green, *History of Australian Literature* (London: Angus and Robertson, 1984). More general details of Pacific adventure stories see Bill Pearson, *Rifled Sanctuaries: Some Views of the Pacific Islands in Western Literature to 1900* (Auckland: Auckland UP, 1982).

relations between dominant and dominated classes.”²⁷ Adventure narratives are inextricably linked with Australia’s popular presses at this time - apart from the journals such as the *Bulletin* there was an expansion in book publishing with imprints such as the New South Wales Bookstall Company. While adventure narratives were published on a large scale since the 1850s in Britain with the publication of journals such as *Boys Own*, it was in this period in Australia that print became a mass medium of communication in Australia. This is not to suggest that print in some form unified or regulated the reading public, as Anderson argues in *Imagined Communities*, but rather that print was an effective communication medium to disperse colonialist discourse. As David MacKenzie states on the surge of printed material on imperialism,

The new wave of journals presented imperial ideas, in all their nationalist, racial, and militarist forms, in adventure stories and historical romances. These journals represented the distinctive late Victorian alliance of Church, State, and military, and [would] secure a truly mass, cross-class following through excitements acceptable to Establishment, parents, and children alike.²⁸

Various Australian writers of what has been called the nationalistic period in the 1890s concentrated on this genre, and the gestures of nationalism and imperialism that reproduce patriarchal and racist stereotypes so frequent in the adventure narratives were consumed on a considerable scale. And what makes this mass consumption significant is that these stereotypes and tropes invariably constituted white Australia’s knowledge of the Pacific.

²⁷ Stuart Hall, “Notes on Deconstructing ‘The Popular’,” *People’s History and Socialist Theory*, ed. Ralph Samuel (London: Routledge, 1981), 230.

²⁸ John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1984), 203. MacKenzie notes some magazines claimed circulations figures of 250,000.

The rise in popular presses and adventure narratives in the period 1880-1920 correlates directly with a compounding interest in the Pacific as a possible territory for colonisation. Apart from moves to include Aotearoa/New Zealand as an Australian colony in the 1830s, in the early 1850s sectors of the white Australian community wanted to colonise Fiji. In response to increasing American activity on the island group, and possibly following Aotearoa/New Zealand's expressed desire to administer Fiji, Australian businesses wanted to exploit the apparent wealth of the islands.²⁹ These requests were, however, for British control of Fiji which would be administered (but not paid by) Australia or Aotearoa/New Zealand. The Fiji cotton boom in the late 1860s renewed agitation for colonisation; the cotton shortage, due to the American civil war, led to many speculative commercial ventures in Fiji such as the Victorian Chamber of Commerce setting up the Polynesia Company.³⁰ Attention turned to New Guinea in the 1870s, with Captain Moresby's exploration and grandiose descriptions of a wealth of gold and pasture land in the area, prompting the New Guinea gold rushes in the 1870s which mainly ended in failure.³¹

²⁹ Sir George Grey, the Governor of Aotearoa/New Zealand, stated that Fijians wanted to "become subjects of Queen Victoria" and proposed Aotearoa/New Zealand as a logical administrator. Angus Ross, *New Zealand Aspirations in the Pacific in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1964), 42.

³⁰ The Polynesian Company was founded by Victorian businessmen to cash in on the 'Great Fiji Rush' in 1868. For details of the Polynesian company see Roger Thompson, *Australian Imperialism in the Pacific* (Melbourne: Melbourne UP, 1980), 24-26; Deryck Scarr, *Fragments of Empire: A History of the Western Pacific High Commission, 1877-1914* (Canberra: ANU P, 1967), 14.

³¹ One of the first expeditions in 1872 ended in the death of 35 prospectors. For a literary response see Marcus Clarke, "Gipsies of the Sea, or The Island of Gold," *New Guinea Images in Australian Literature*, ed. Nigel Krauth, Portable Australian Authors (St Lucia: UQP, 1982), 12-34. For a history of goldmining in Papua New Guinea see Hank Nelson, *Black, White, Gold: Gold Mining in Papua New Guinea, 1878-1930* (Canberra: ANUP, 1976); A.M. Healy, "Labour and Combination in New Guinea to 1942," *Labour and the Gold Fields*, eds. Australian Society for the Study of Labour History (Canberra: The Society, 1968); for details of the 1870s rushes see J.D. Legge, *Australian Colonial Policy: A Survey of Native Administration and European Development in Papua* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1956), 87-9.

The 1880s saw a major shift in white Australia's political attitude toward colonisation, and in particular the strategies of Victoria and Queensland governments. The rhetoric to colonise was not, quite clearly, the same throughout the Australian colonies; Victoria, as the wealthiest colony, was commercially interested in the Pacific. Having gained much capital through the gold rushes, the Pacific Islands were proposed as a good investment by groups such as the Victorian Chamber of Commerce.³² The proximity of Papua and New Guinea, and some island groups such as New Hebrides to Queensland, led to calls for annexation, either for defence or for commercial investment. Additionally, the labour trade was crucial to the Queensland agricultural economy. The sugar industry was viable mainly through the use of cheap labour provided by Pacific Islanders. The introduction of the Pacific Island Protection Act in 1872, and pressure by Missionary groups to abolish slave labour, forced Queensland to search for alternatives to the New Hebrides and Solomon Islands for its agricultural work force, so it turned to Papua and New Guinea for more labour. With the British government uncommitted to annexing New Guinea, and an apparent threat of German annexation, the Queensland premier Sir Thomas McIlwraith unilaterally annexed New Guinea without British authority in April 1883.³³ The Catholic *Freeman's Journal*, notes Roger Thompson, wrote of this action as the changing of a familial relationship in the imperial family: "It is as the first independent act of a son announcing ... that he is coming of age" (59). The move was met with divided opinion in the British government, but received harsh criticism from the

³² On the Premier's role see Roger C. Thompson, "James Service: Father of Australian Foreign Policy," *Historical Studies* 16 (1974), 258-76; Geoffrey Serle, *The Rush to Be Rich: A History of the Colony of Victoria, 1883-1889* (Melbourne: Melbourne UP, 1971), 221-8.

³³ See Marjorie G. Jacobs, "The Colonial Office and New Guinea, 1874-84," *Historical Studies of Australia and New Zealand* 5.18 (1952), 106-17.

Aborigines Protection Society in London and the Commissioner of the Western Pacific, Sir Arthur Gordon, who saw this move as a means to supply cheap, or even slave, labour to the Queensland plantations.³⁴ Gordon wrote that

it is impossible to converse with any average Queensland colonist, to read their newspapers or the speeches of their legislators, without perceiving that even amongst the most enlightened and humane of their number, the native is regarded simply as an encumbrance on the soil, as being destitute of rights.³⁵

Three months later McIlwraith's move was annulled in the British Government by the Colonial Secretary, Lord Derby, because of an absence of foreign threat. In 1884 Germany annexed north-eastern New Guinea, and in the following months Britain swapped colonies in Africa, Samoa, Tonga, and Fiji with Germany in order to assure the annexation of Papua.³⁶

Australian foreign policy at this time was defined by the Munroe Doctrine. Named after American President, James Munroe, the doctrine proposed that a "protective fence" be built around the country, and that all 'foreign' governments (that is non-English to Australia) were to be warned off annexing any nearby territory.³⁷

Apparently for matters of defence, the policy, which was officially recorded at the intercolonial conference in December, 1883, stated that "acquisition ... by any foreign power, would be highly detrimental to the safety and well-being of the British

³⁴ The *Bulletin* would keep up this criticism by calling Sir Samuel Griffiths, the Labour Premier of Queensland, "Samuel Griffiths: Nigger Driver" for not banning South Sea Islander labour. The *Bulletin* was not motivated from an anti-slavery stance, but from its adherence to a white Australian policy. *Bulletin* 2 April 1892, 7. Griffith made the cover in a cartoon holding a black lion representing 'black labour.' *Bulletin* 27 Feb. 1892.

³⁵ Qtd. in John D. Legge, "Australia and New Guinea to the Establishment of the British Protectorate, 1884," *Historical Studies in Australia and New Zealand* 4.13 (1949), 41.

³⁶ The Louis Becke criticised Britain giving up Samoa stating the German Roman Catholic missionaries in Samoa were decidedly "anti-English" and this would have a divisive effect. Louis Becke, "The Surrender of Samoa; and how this will effect Missionary Enterprise," *Leisure Hour* Nov. 1899, 220.

³⁷ Merze Tate, "The Australasian Munroe Doctrine" 264.

possessions in Australasia.”³⁸ The policy called for an active colonial program to ensure the ‘defence’ of Australasia through securing New Guinea, New Hebrides, and other nearby Pacific countries. In light of the doctrine, the British Gladstone government in March 1885 was forced to make a concessionary gesture to placate the parliamentary opposition and retain friendly ties to the Australian colonies, over its position to the New Hebrides. The Parliament reports recorded that the “Government would never agree to French annexation [of the New Hebrides] without consultation with the Australian colonies, and without conditions absolutely satisfactory to their governments.”³⁹ Roger Thompson considers this to be the first time the British Government would defer to Australia in matters of foreign policy and thus signalling Australia’s importance in the negotiation of colonisation.

The ambitions of the Australian colonies in the 1880s were mediated by the policies of the British Colonial Office. Political support for colonisation was ambiguous with the election of the Gladstone government highlighting, for Marjorie Jacobs the “mid-Victorian anti-imperialism of the Liberals.”⁴⁰ Quite obviously, with the ‘scramble for Africa’ marked by the Berlin treaty of 1884, and the jockeying for islands in the Pacific, imperialism in this period hardly lessened. Rather, what traditional imperial histories have failed to located is the articulation of colonial rhetoric in popular mediums such as adventure narratives which signal the growth of an understanding of colonialism in British colonies such as Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand.

³⁸ Merze Tate, “The Australasian Munroe Doctrine” 275.

³⁹ Thompson, “James Service” 269. Also Thompson, *Australian Imperialism* 104.

⁴⁰ Marjorie Jacobs, “The Colonial Office” 118. See also Neville Meaney, *The Search for Security* 17.

The *Bulletin* and Adventure Writers of the Pacific

Some critics consider the *Bulletin* was a staunch advocate of anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism. Against the rising consensus for an Australian-styled Munroe doctrine in the Pacific the *Bulletin*, according to Merze Tate, “persistently inveighed against the indefinite extension ... to the adjacent islands.”⁴¹ Sylvia Lawson, in her study of the *Bulletin*, writes that “[f]or The *Bulletin* there was certainly no beckoning dream of a South Pacific imperialism for Australia itself; all imperialisms were evil.”⁴² Yet the very motto of ‘Australia for the White Man’ is a direct rebuttal of these arguments. The *Bulletin* was at this time publishing numerous stories about the Pacific and setting up an agenda of how the Pacific terrain and peoples were represented to the readership. That the magazine frequently was in opposition to public and colonial government calls for annexing Pacific Islands did not stop it publishing trader and adventure stories of Australians in the Pacific nor organising publishers for these writers. Much like the United State’s reticence to admit its own colonialism because “the nation had fought to escape one imperial regime, making the voluntary creation of another was a morally perverse act,”⁴³ the *Bulletin* on the one hand criticised British imperialism while condoning Australian intervention into the Pacific.

There were a number of popular writers employed by the *Bulletin*, many who wrote both on the Pacific and on the ‘bush,’ such as Louis Becke, Will Lawson,

⁴¹ Merze Tate, “The Australasian Munroe Doctrine” 275.

⁴² Sylvia Lawson, *The Archibald Paradox: A Strange Case of Authorship* (Ringwood: Penguin, 1987), 129.

⁴³ Qtd. in Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1985), 75. Greenhalgh quotes from a nineteenth-century Democrat’s speech.

Albert Dornington, Victor Daley and Jack McLaren. Discourses of imperialism and colonialism, I think, can be usefully distinguished at this point. Both Sylvia Lawson and Merze Tate, and the editorial of the *Bulletin*, consider that because colonialism is rejected, so is imperialism; hence imperialism only functions in a strictly governmental, administrative sense. That is, by conflating imperialism and colonialism, the rhetoric of imperialism is relegated to an 'imaginary' and non-political status. Not included in this definition is the production of the Pacific as an object of knowledge for Australia, with the control and appropriation of the Pacific available through a knowledge of geography, law, morality, religion, and commerce. But it was the 'South Seas yarn' that circulated the regulations of representing and knowing the Pacific terrains and cultures which would educate the audience in the apparent 'natural' superiority of the Australian nation. As if the violence of its racism and sexism were exempt from the political realm, adventure narratives are rendered 'imaginative' to a reality of government and the law. Because the *Bulletin* did not support colonial intervention by the Australian government does not remove stories of colonial success from a politics of colonialism.

There were Australian narratives of the Pacific in literature and adventure novels before the publication of the *Bulletin*, but with this magazine came a recognised forum for these stories.⁴⁴ During the 1890s to 1920s many Australian writers gained popularity through the genre of 'South Seas yarn,' and Louis Becke is probably the

⁴⁴ There were many travel texts, beachcomber narratives, and missionary texts of the Pacific, but few Australian adventure narratives. Henry Kendall published some essays about travel and work in the Pacific: Henry Kendall, "Sperm Whaling," *Colonial Monthly*, 1869; Henry Kendall, "A Cruise Amongst the South Sea Islands" *The Australasian* 7 May 1870. Both essays are republished in Russell McDougall ed., *Henry Kendall: the Muse of Australia* (Armidale, NSW : University of New England, Centre for Australian Language and Literature Studies, 1992), 256-262, 263-269.

most well known. Outside Australia, the notable writers of this genre were Robert Louis Stevenson, Herman Melville, and R.M. Ballantyne,⁴⁵ but in terms of importance, the work of Rudyard Kipling, whose imperialist writing influenced some Australian writers, is telling. The influence of Kipling to Australian writers is described by Adrian Vickers:

it was Kipling who, both in his writings and as a public figure, managed to ground [Australian views of the Islands] in a colonial view of the world, so that the Australian writers who followed him incorporated colonialism within their assumptions about the nature of the area they used as a setting, and about the workings of the genre in which they wrote.⁴⁶

Louis Becke was called, according to A. Grove Day, the 'Rudyard Kipling' of the Pacific; Kipling's name here is an imprimatur for the status of Becke's writing on the Pacific.⁴⁷ As Vickers writes, Kipling was a personal friend of a prolific adventure writer, Guy Boothby, and a noted guide for many other adventure writers.⁴⁸

Boothby wrote for the *Bulletin* and published over forty novels, many including locations in the Pacific. His earlier novels concentrated on the Pacific; *In Strange Company* is a story of a sailor's travel across the Pacific from Valparaíso, South America, through Tahiti, the Solomons, to South East Asia; *Love Made Manifest* is a romance of a painter and writer from Samoa returning to England, an obvious fictionalisation of the life of Paul Gauguin.⁴⁹ Boothby was born in Adelaide, but it was

⁴⁵ There is a profusion of criticism on Melville and Stevenson. Ballantyne wrote 'Boy's Own' adventure stories such as *The Coral Island* (1858), *The Cannibal Islands: or Captain Cook's Adventures in the South Seas* (1874). See Bill Pearson, *Rifled Sanctuaries* 52-7.

⁴⁶ Adrian Vickers, "Kipling Goes South" 67

⁴⁷ A. Grove Day, *Mad About Islands: Novelists of a Vanished Pacific* (Honolulu: Mutual, 1987), 125.

⁴⁸ For more details of the meeting in Adelaide and the friendship see Guy Depasquale, *Guy Boothby: His Life and Work* (South Australia: Pioneer Books, 1982).

⁴⁹ Guy Boothby, *In Strange Company: a story of Chili and the Southern Seas* (London: Ward Lock, 1894); Guy Boothby, *Love Made Manifest* (London: Ward Lock, 1899). Boothby's other novels, including the Dr Nikola series, sometimes included a Pacific location. Little, if any, mention is made of indigenous peoples or cultures.

not until he travelled to England, and published his writings with a London-based publisher that he gained popularity. In fact, most writers had to travel to England for financial and career stability.⁵⁰ Albert Dorrington, a regular contributor to the *Bulletin*, though born in England, first wrote in Australia before returning to England in 1907 to forward his writing career. Dorrington published one of his first collections of stories, *Castro's Last Sacrament and Other Stories*, with the *Bulletin's* in-house publishing company⁵¹ and wrote an adventure novel with the *Bulletin's* editor A.G. Stephens.⁵² In a short autobiography Dorrington wrote in the *Bulletin's* Red Page that, when trying to sell his writing in England, it was only his stories of "Bully Hayes kind" that kept him in London.⁵³ The fight for recognition in England was critical for many writers. Becke complains that British literary agents showed a lack of consideration for Australian writers:

[Australian stories] do not appeal, as a rule, to the average English reader. He (or she) does not care about the most brilliantly worded descriptive matter, of strange sights and scenes in wild lands, of the tragedies that beset the life of a settler, miner and explorer. In the rush of modern life they prefer what is termed "light reading" - adventures of a titled lady who runs off with a chauffer to Paris and Rome. ⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Of the writers whose brief details I give, Becke, Dorrington, McLaren, and Boothby wrote in England.

⁵¹ Another writer who published through the *Bulletin* imprint was Ernest Favenc, whose collection, *The Last of Six: Tales from the Austral Tropics*, *Bulletin* Series number 3 (Sydney: *Bulletin*, 1893), was the third collection published. Favenc was an explorer who worked mainly in Queensland and the Northern Territory before he turned to adventure stories for employment.

⁵² Albert Dorrington and A.G. Stephens, *The Lady Calphurnia Royal* (London: Mills and Boon, 1909).

⁵³ Albert Dorrington, "Literary Career," *Bulletin* Dec. 12 1914, [Red Page] 2. Decades later Dorrington published a series of short stories on Hayes in Australia: Albert Dorrington, "Untold Tales of Bully Hayes: The Goatskin Buccaneer," *Bulletin* 4 Sept. 1929: 55, 57; Albert Dorrington, "Untold Tales of Bully Hayes: Belmore Sue," *Bulletin* 16 Oct. 1929: 55, 57; Albert Dorrington, "Untold Tales of Bully Hayes: Beauty and the Buccaneer," *Bulletin* 5 Feb. 1930: 55, 57.

⁵⁴ Becke papers, A 1373, Mitchell Library.

Becke interestingly implies that imperial adventure narratives are 'heavy reading' compared the romances set in England. The lack of interest by English magazines to publish imperial adventure was probably caused not by 'strange sights and scenes' but by the lack of recognition for Australian writers, as Kipling was one of the highest paid writers of the time. Dorrington comments: "Is there a market in England or America for Australian stories? Frankly I do not think so.... Where one editor will reach out for a real swag-and-pannikin yarn a dozen will consider a story of English country life."⁵⁵ The rejection of Australian colonial narratives by English publishers is not say the English public were uninterested in stories or in the politics they promulgated, but the Pacific, as a terrain managed by colonial discourse, was of greater importance to Australia.

The major distributor and publisher of these adventure narratives that was to follow on from the *Bulletin* was the New South Wales Bookstall Company. As an early and successful publishing venture, NSW Bookstall sold cheap paperback editions of detective, horror, and adventure stories in railway and ferry bookstalls.⁵⁶ Carol Mills, in her essay on the company, details the most regular themes of the novels: "stories of bushrangers, horse races, gold, floods, bushfires, droughts, and ... the contemporary fascination with life in the Pacific Islands."⁵⁷ Louis Becke and Beatrice Grimshaw published novels with NSW Bookstall, and amongst the stable of writers were Jack McLaren and John Walsh. McLaren wrote the semi-

⁵⁵ Dorrington, "Literary Career" 2.

⁵⁶ George Robertson in the 1850s was probably the first Australian publisher; contemporaneous publishing ventures to NSW Bookstall were the *Bulletin*, Angus and Robertson, and later the Cornstalk.

⁵⁷ Carol Mills, "The Bookstall Novel: An Australian Paperback Revolution, 1904-1946," *Australian Cultural Studies* 11 (1992), 96.

autobiographical *Isles of Escape: A Story of the South Seas*, concentrating mainly on north Queensland, and the Solomon Islands, and romance adventures such as *Fagaloa's Daughter*, *The Skipper of Roaring Meg*, and *The Oil Seekers*.⁵⁸ John Walsh, who wrote over forty novels, would use New Guinea and the New Hebrides as the setting for some of his detective adventures.⁵⁹ The NSW Bookstall published over 300 titles, of which a significant proportion was concerned with 'South Seas' adventure narratives.

Louis Becke published with both NSW Bookstall and the *Bulletin*. Becke was the author of over thirty novels mainly set in the Pacific, and can demonstrate some rather fundamental myths about the praxis of literature in the histories written of him. Claimed to be "the most widely read writer of South Sea Island stories,"⁶⁰ Becke was published frequently in the *Bulletin*, at least at the beginning of his career. At this time the *Bulletin* operated within a reappraisal of Australian culture that John Docker suggests "projected values most dear to [the masculinist Bohemians], male camaraderie, and bachelordom, onto the men of the Bush."⁶¹ The narratives in the

⁵⁸ Jack McLaren, *Isles of Escape: A Story of the South Seas* (London: T. Fischer Unwin, 1926); Jack McLaren, *Fagaloa's Daughter* (Sydney: Mandrake, 1923); Jack McLaren, *The Skipper of the Roaring Meg* (Sydney: NSW Bookstall, 1919) and Jack McLaren, *The Oil Seekers* (Sydney: NSW Bookstall, 1921), set in Papua New Guinea. See also Vance Palmer's obituary for McLaren: Vance Palmer, "A Note On Jack McLaren," *Meanjin* 13 (1954), 303-4. In it he notes McLaren's "interest in character or ideas was not deep" but he was still had "success as a journalist and a teller of South Sea tales" (304).

⁵⁹ J.M. Walsh, *Tap-Tap Island*, Ill. Percy Lindsay (Sydney: NSW Bookstall, 1921). Another 'South Seas romance' is J.M. Walsh, *A Girl of the Islands* (Sydney: Cornstalk, 1927), about a plantation manager who falls in love with a part Tahitian woman.

⁶⁰ Arthur A.D. Bayldon, "Life and Letters: A Review of Australian Fiction," *Lone Hand* 1.4 (1907), 453.

⁶¹ John Docker, *The Nervous Nineties: Australian Cultural Life in the 1890s* (Melbourne: OUP, 1991), xxiv. Docker's claim is almost too similar to Graeme Davison, who posits the "projection onto the outback of values revered by an alienated urban intelligentsia." Graeme Davison, "Sydney and the Bush," *Intruders in the Bush: The Quest for Australian Identity*, ed. John Carroll (Melbourne: OUP, 1982), 129.

Bulletin were not this reductively focussed as there were a multitude of 'projections' - more accurately ethnocentric representations - apart from the bush including the 'South Seas yarn.' Magazines like the *Bulletin* were administered by the archive of statements and knowledges on the Pacific in order to manage racial and national relations. The 'South Seas yarn' operates alongside what has been considered the more orthodox white Australian narrative, the 'bush yarn.' In terms of orthodox post-colonial Australian literature, at least as it is conceived in the universities, the genre of the 'South Seas yarn' is apparently not part of the master narratives of Australian literature; its colonialism is not discernible in Australian literary histories. I do not want to suggest that this genre should be promoted to a master narrative like that of the 'bush stories,' nor attempt a reading proposing the size and importance of the genre in Australian colonial literature. Rather, across these genres can be found the regulation and dissemination of Australian colonial discourse, a discourse which functions still in the support and critical investment in these narratives.

Literary historians valorise 1890s nationalism and consider the *Bulletin* as an advocate of working class, egalitarian values. D.R. Jarvis goes so far as to say that the conventions of the literary genre it most often published (the bush or 'South Seas' yarn) demonstrate its "commitment to realism on extra-literary, ideological grounds. It [the *Bulletin*] is committed to realism ... as the literary vehicle of egalitarian and ... nationalist values."⁶² That these often imperialist, and misogynist stories are claimed as politically egalitarian implies Jarvis has read only certain aspects of them, and erases from the journal the politics of the literature's 'poetics.' What Jarvis chooses to

⁶² D.R. Jarvis, "The Development of an Egalitarian Poetics in the *Bulletin*, 1880-1890," *Australian Literary Studies* 10.1 (1981), 30.

reproduce, moreover, is the *Bulletin's* minority status within English literature, thus its occupancy of a supposedly oppositional position in colonial literature. Further, to imply realism is egalitarian is problematic. In contextualising this literature in the culture of Australian colonialism, passing off these stories as 'egalitarian' (and other such notions of the '90s legend') enables critics such as John Docker, even while savaging the *Bulletin's* racism, to applaud its "trickster" tone and also its political dislike for England, colonialism, and "the brutal dispossession of indigenous peoples."⁶³ Reinstating the 1890s values, such as those of the *Bulletin*, as "inconsistent, conflicting, uncertain"⁶⁴ Docker can elide the reproduction of colonialism and focus, rather, on the potential textual radicalism of the text.

The criticism of Becke's work suggest how fiction can easily turn into 'truth' or a political reality of the Pacific. Louis Becke began writing for the *Bulletin* in the early 1890s and his work on the Pacific, according to critic Elizabeth Perkins, is within the project of providing "[t]he reality of 'The Pacific' as an imaginative entity."⁶⁵ Becke's success is often attributed to the production of a factual image of the Pacific; Perkins states "A distinctive quality of Becke's writing comes from the fact that he *works* there. Becke's detached observations ... prevents his factual narratives from being distorted by prolonged introspection" (236). H.E. Maude agrees with this point: "the ultimate tribute to Louis Becke is the fact he is ... the favourite island author of those

⁶³ Docker, *Nervous* 38, 68.

⁶⁴ John Docker, "The Feminist Legend: A New Historicism?" *Debutante Nation: Feminism Contests the 1890s*, eds Susan Magarey, Sue Rowley, and Susan Sheridan (North Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1993), 19.

⁶⁵ Elizabeth Perkins, rev. of *Louis Becke*, by A. Grove Day, *Australian Literary Studies* 3.3 (1968), 237.

who actually lived and worked in the South Seas.”⁶⁶ Australian literary historian, H.M. Green, claims “Becke is not a romantic but a matter-of-fact realist” (567). The Earl of Pembroke’s introduction for Becke’s first collection of short stories, *By Reef and Palm*, merits his realism: “Everyone who knows the South Seas, and I believe many who [sic] do not, will feel that they [the stories] have the unmistakable stamp of truth.”⁶⁷ In their chapter on Becke in *Rascals of the Pacific*, A. Grove Day and James Michener consider Becke the major figure amongst Pacific writers. They describe their canon of Pacific authors as the only possible answers to the question “Who ... is the best writer about the Pacific?” (260). In contrast to names such as James Norman Hall, Robert Dean Frisbee, Robert Louis Stevenson, and Herman Melville, Becke is the best because he could make his reader “cry out ... ‘Ah, that’s the way it was!’ Louis Becke is the laureate of the prosaic, the curator of things as they actually were” (261). Day and Michener concede that Becke may not have been a “great writer” (260) for the canon of Pacific writers is, they consider, at a lower level than the canon of English literature. Like Green, they situate adventure writers in opposition to the ‘Great Tradition,’ both to resist it, and to consolidate the status of the English canon as ‘the best.’ They do assert that, for Becke, best can be interpreted as the most real. Most startling about the evaluations of Perkins, Maude, Green, Pembroke, Day and Michener is that regardless of their quite distinct fields (from book review, to history, to literary history) they all describe Becke’s fiction at a particular juncture between imagination and conventions of realism.

⁶⁶ H. E. Maude, “The Traders’ Historian,” rev. of *Louis Becke*, by A. Grove Day, *Journal of Pacific History* 2 (1967), 227.

⁶⁷ The Earl of Pembroke, “Introduction,” *By Reef and Palm* (1894; Sydney: Angus and Roberts, 1955), 15.

The repetition of the word 'actual' illustrates a slide from fiction to authorising reality with certain representations and tropes: the 'actual' author living in an 'actual' country suddenly means his stories can determine a reality. Here, the conventions of realism in the genre 'South Seas yarn' become a political reality, one in which certain statements are permitted to be considered factual and a perspective which is deemed 'real' is introduced. The reduction of the Pacific to stereotypical pictures of scenery and indigenous women - as Becke would say the 'coral isles' and the 'dusky maiden' - typifies the politics guiding various representations and discourses into a monoglossic, white Australian master narrative of reality. This is not to say that Becke ignores or replaces a 'real' Pacific with his fiction, but that his narratives, the tropes that he and other writers of this genre repeat and circulate, make the Pacific conducive to the political reality of Australian colonialism. And this genre of adventure story is perpetuated by archives and institutions which regulate a colonial discourse that has its 'political reality' speaking, frequently, from the genre of adventure.

Becke's literature, for some, had a special access to a reality produced out of the literary imagination. Traced in Becke's authority is an agreement with forms of knowledge and colonial policies found in discourses of science, economics, and politics. The utilisation of Becke's fiction to establish scientific evidence is indicative of the organisational capabilities of the archive. *Wild Life in the Southern Seas*, Becke's supposedly anthropological work, describes cultural practices, flora and fauna, and the history of various islands which, like the booklets of Becke's anthropological work contained in the Mitchell Library, reproduce numerous colonial myths. That the supposed 'scientific writing' of *Wild Life in the Southern Seas* reproduces precisely the tropes of adventure literature underscores the proximity

between the two. In an anthropological notebook now in the Mitchell library, which contains small essays on various Pacific Islands, Becke tells an extraordinary account of the discovery of an “utterly forgotten heathen drum” in his section “Notes on Polynesia: The Hervey and Society Islands.” When the drum is beaten,

in an instant the girls start to their feet and with their sparkling eyes listen, then Bibles and hymn books are thrown out the window.... Their lithe, supple figures begin to wiggle and squirm, gowns are torn off and thrown aside and then begins a scene that begs description.⁶⁸

Obviously the scene begged for Becke’s description, in which he lists some major colonial stereotypes such as the sexualisation of Pacific Islander women, and the irrepressible corporeality of Pacific Islanders. As I discuss in chapter six, these ‘scientific’ descriptions, still common in contemporary academic investigations of the Pacific, make available Pacific Islanders for consumption by the intervening colonial forces. In this scheme Pacific Islander cultures, represented in colonial texts as sexually licentious, display their ‘availability’ to the coloniser and thus call for their own colonisation.

Becke worked within the popular Darwinian theory of the “dying race” but did not believe in the theory of the ‘survival of the fittest.’ Rather, in an unpublished manuscript titled “The Dying Out of South Sea Islanders,” he blamed missionaries as the prime cause. Missionaries introduced clothing which, according to Becke, causes widespread pulmonary diseases. The story “Concerning Bully Hayes” makes these claims when focussing on people from Kosrae (Strong’s) Island. The Islanders, according to Becke, were “a very handsome race and possessed of great intelligence,

⁶⁸ Louis Becke, “Notes on Polynesia: The Hervey and Society Islands,” A 1373, Mitchell Library.

[but] were dying out rapidly.”⁶⁹ The causes were European diseases, and the conversion to Christianity by American missionaries. A short story, “Bringing the Glad Tidings,” describes an island decimated through measles brought in by a missionary’s coat.⁷⁰ Similarly, stories in *Wild Life* detail the “total extinction” of certain customs and rapidly declining population.⁷¹ The ‘dying race’ myth is pervasive in colonial texts for it justifies the ‘natural’ superiority of the Europeans. A pervasive myth, it is also found over sixty years later in Day and Michener’s texts. They emphasise the falling population, the decimation by diseases, and comment:

One of the authors of this book has lived for several years on Melanesian Islands where blackbirders have ravaged the populations, and he saw many flowering, lovely valleys in which a thousand people had once lived, but where six now huddled by the shore in desolation.⁷²

The ethnographic assumptions of Day and Michener, who repeat Becke’s assumptions, are at odds with prevailing studies which show population levels in the Pacific Islands to be nowhere near the decimation described by these writers. While populations did decrease, this in no way validates the ‘dying race’ myth, for notions of ‘survival of the fittest’ are unrelated to the phenomenon of population decrease. ‘Dying race’ is a strategy reproduced in some parts of anthropological discourse to hierarchise culture, and to justify and implement intrusive colonial practices under the guise of welfare or humanism.

⁶⁹ Louis Becke, “Concerning ‘Bully’ Hayes,” *The Strange Adventures of James Shirvington and Other Stories* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1902), 245.

⁷⁰ Louis Becke, “Bringing the Glad Tidings,” *Ling* 9.3 (1981), 130-47.

⁷¹ See especially Louis Becke, “Gente Hermosa: The Island of ‘Beautiful People’,” “Love and Marriage in Polynesia,” *Wild Life in Southern Seas* (London: T. Fischer Unwin, 1897).

⁷² James A. Michener and A. Grove Day, “Bully Hayes: South Sea Buccaneer,” *Rascals in Paradise* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1957), 239.

Because he so eloquently wrote on colonial stereotypes, the 'dying race' myth, and the eurocentric rationalism of exploitative economics, Becke's literary work provided his entrance to the Royal Geographical Society of London. Clearly, the scientific validation of his literature demonstrates a complicity in the scientific institutes with colonialism - members of the society were willing to believe adventure writers and their representations of non-western societies, a belief which had been in effect for nearly sixty years in the Society.⁷³ Becke's ethnographic practice is highly questionable; a *Fiji Times* report on an ethnographic excursion of Becke's hints his excursion was more akin to a Safari than a field trip:

[Becke] has a commission from the Royal Geographical Society of London and Berlin and the Anthropological Societies of these same cities to study the folklore in the Pacific.... For the work he is armed with a phonograph and gramophone receivers for collecting verbatim songs and stories and also supplied with, as Mr Becke says with a smile, "quantities of guns and pistols."⁷⁴

According to Day and Michener the trip was to last two months before "the adventure collapsed" (273). Becke attempted to obtain funds and information for this trip from A.C. Haddon, the leader of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to the Torres Strait. Haddon gave Becke a bibliography of texts on the area, particularly by authors who were on the Cambridge expedition, but regretted there was no money available.⁷⁵ There can be no recourse to the claim, such as that by Day and Michener, that Becke was an "observer" in the Pacific who was "merely relating a normal experience" (284), for Becke's interest extends from the ethnographic to the

⁷³ In 1839, George Stocking writes, a leading ethnologist James Pritchard circulated a concern with the quality of ethnographic information from travel writers, explorers and colonial officials, but nothing was done. George W. Stocking Jr., *Victorian Anthropology* (New York: Macmillan, 1987), 79.

⁷⁴ *Fiji Times* 4 Aug. 1908. Clipping in Becke papers, A 1379, Mitchell Library.

⁷⁵ A.C. Haddon, letter to Becke, 10 Apr. 1908, Becke Papers, A 1372, vol. 1, Mitchell Library.

commercial. Becke attempted to float a number of Pacific Island investment schemes, including a rubber plantation in the Solomons with Sydney businessmen R.T. Neave and Henry George Sheppard, an attempt to sell Kava, and to market a supposed cure for gonorrhoea, extracted from the plant root *Methisticum* (called atat), to the pharmaceutical giant Burroughs, Welcome and Company.⁷⁶ All these projects failed. Becke's interest in the Pacific included economic investments. He worked as a trader in Micronesia and New Britain for nearly twenty years before he began writing.⁷⁷ In these positions, according to Grove Day, Becke "stored up his deep knowledges" of Pacific Islanders;⁷⁸ yet Becke's occupation, like his writing, is inflected with economic and racial concerns, and often these concerns are disassociated from the texts he writes by critics who would prefer to let the complicity of literature and colonialism disappear by presuming an autonomy of literature from colonialism.

In reading these texts the issue is not so much what aspects of Australian colonialism have gone unrecorded, nor why their visibility has been unmentioned, but how critical interrogations of adventure can necessarily not foreground the motives, authorities and agendas of colonial discourse in operation in these narratives. Literary histories can tactically disengage colonial discourse from adventure to make histories appear innocent of the violence they administer. Like the politics of racial purity most frequently espoused in the stories, a function of colonial discourse is to keep the imperial 'bed' where adventures are 'dreamed' pure from the violent history in which

⁷⁶ Louis Becke, letter to Burroughs Wellcome and Co., 21 Dec. 1907; Louis Becke, letter to R.T. Neave, 7 Feb. 1908, Becke Papers vol. 1, A 1372. Mitchell Library

⁷⁷ For details of Becke in the Tuvalu (Ellice) and Kiribati (Gilbert) group see Doug Munro, "The Lives and Times of Resident Traders in Tuvalu: An Exercise in History from Below," *Pacific Studies* 10.2 (1987), 73-106.

⁷⁸ Grove Day, *Mad About Islands* 133.

they occur. In the next two chapters I examine other points where colonialism extends its reach across diverse academic and popular texts in the form of stereotypes of Pacific Islanders. Far from eradicating stereotypes found in popular literature, on the contrary discourses of science and history appropriate such figures as objects of knowledge. By discussing the two most powerful stereotypes active in the west's representation of the Pacific, the cannibal man and the sexualised woman, my next chapter describes how the west's consumption of such objects conscripts Pacific Islanders into a colonial economy.

Consuming Cannibalism: The Body in Australia's Pacific Archive.

Chapter 6

Through popularising and disseminating the two major stereotypes of Pacific Islanders - the cannibal and the sexualised Pacific Islander woman - imperial nations manage the politics of colonialism by making available Pacific Island terrains and cultures for consumption within a colonial economy. Before I examine in detail the stereotype of the 'cannibal' and its function in the colonial discourse, I want to mark out how both these representations of Pacific Islanders operate as a classification. Divided along gender or 'racial' lines, vastly divergent Pacific Island cultures are homogenised into the two categories of 'cannibal' or 'sexual' in a process which imputes a dependency on, and a 'natural' inferiority to western society. The inferiority is 'natural' in the sense that eroticism or cannibalism is discussed within colonial texts as actions arising from a natural, original society, untainted by civilisation. The Pacific Islanders, branded anachronistic and their culture undeveloped, survive from a prior non-historical culture within the teleology of western civilisation and thus must be brought into the present through the benevolent act of colonialism. On one side of this classification of 'natural' there is a utopian force in the stereotypes, of discovering an untainted, pure, and original culture which is most readily seen in the eroticisation of women. The term 'noble savage' and the utopian idealism found in Romantic narratives are central to the sexualisation of the Pacific Islanders. But also the barbarity of 'uncivilised' life, displayed in the narratives of cannibalism, suggest the potential destruction of morality if western 'civilisation' were absent.

The stereotypes categorise Pacific Islanders firstly, by gender: the assumption is made that Pacific Islander men are cannibals, and Pacific Island women are 'erotic' and 'exotic.' The western viewer stereotypes Pacific Islander women in the tropes of 'dusky maidens,' 'shapely natives' or as 'Venuses.'¹ Like the cannibalisation of males, Pacific Island women are defined in corporeal terms as bodily objects observed by the western mind. Perhaps one of the most effusive stereotypes of the Pacific, the sexualisation of the region has dominated European accounts and remains pervasive in current tourist literatures and films.

The second order of categorisation in these stereotypes is racial, with the distinctions of 'Melanesia' and 'Polynesia' activated by both cannibalism and sexualisation. First coming to prominence in nineteenth-century journals of European explorers, the racial distinctions of 'Melanesian' and 'Polynesian' were based on, among a number of features and practices, assumptions that Polynesian societies have "attractive women,"² Melanesian societies "hideous women;" Polynesian societies are reasonably 'civilised,' while Melanesian societies are marked by their "tyrannical" Chiefs and a "state of barbarism."³ Managing this distinction, moreover, is the Europeans concentration on an apparent difference in skin colour, for the etymology of 'Melanesia' is 'black people.' Colonial distinctions arising from stereotypes are thus reinforced lexically.

¹ I detail in chapter six the history and politics behind the use of 'Venus' to describe Pacific Islander women.

² Nicholas Thomas, "The Force of Ethnology: Origins and Significance of the Melanesia/Polynesia Division," *Current Anthropology* 30.1 (1989), 31. The details I give of this argument are from Thomas's article. Whereas Cook and Forster had suggested a difference, it was not spatialised till Dumont d'Urville, first proposed the division in an article in 1832.

³ D'Urville, qtd. in Thomas, "The Force of Ethnology" 30.

The distinctions, clearly, are not strictly along the lines of a sexualised Polynesian society and cannibalistic Melanesian society, as not all societies, according to colonial observers, agreed with this rule. However, a hierarchy is introduced in which the binary opposites erotic/ugly, and noble/savage are brought into play. Thus the stereotypes repeatedly set up a simple opposition whose utility is to validate the knowledge and culture of the colonisers, as if the antithesis of European society is the 'ugly cannibal.' However, I wish to use an anonymous short verse from the *Bulletin* called "The Cannibal's Convert" to describe the complexities of colonial representations of cannibalism and underscore the west's participation in the acts of cannibalism it vehemently opposes. In its response to cannibalism this verse displays the colonial racism that was to represent male Pacific Islanders to a popular white Australian audience:

The poor, untutored savage,
Who no collection pays,
Knows human nature's dual,
Conversion cuts both ways.

When Reverend Howler sought to save
A South Sea Island Sinner,
Whose *soul* polite attention gave
And *body* yearned for dinner.

He was not - nigger wary!-
Converted in belief,
But the reckless missionary
Was converted into beef.⁴

Written in 1894, this piece demonstrates how cannibalism fits into discourses of colonialism within the specific context of the Pacific Islands. As doggerel verse, it is exemplary of the widespread popularity and the supposed simplicity of cannibal

⁴ Anon., "The Cannibal's Convert," *Bulletin* 23 June 1894, 18.

narratives. What I find particularly interesting about this poem, and much colonial literature about cannibalism, is the concept enunciated here of *cutting both ways*. The poem describes a conflict of consumption within a Christian economy. The Reverend is consumed by the Islander while attempting to convert him; the missionary falls prey to 'savage' practice of consumption. However, the Pacific Islander's actions are resisting consumption by Christianity - for the Pacific Islander is a potential commodity for consumption by the missionary, his conversion is marketed to church groups and sold through church collections in colonising countries such as Australia. In this sense indigenous conversion and colonial consumption are equivalent, they cut both ways, almost as if the missionary is the cannibal. But operating to distinguish the two systems is not the frequently articulated European myth that cannibalism is an original sin like incest, used as a fundamental structure of most critical studies of representations of cannibalism, but instead the distinction between soul and body. The bodily urges, working in opposition to the polite soul, according to the poet, drive the Islander to this act. The attribution of bodily functions to the Islander is a typical strategy in colonial narratives, for it positions the mind, and hence reason and rationalism, in the coloniser. Thus, while this poem on one level mildly criticises the privileging of western forms of consumption, indigenous resistance is managed through corporealising it. The dissemination of this colonialist stereotype will be investigated in this chapter through the interchanging concepts of cannibalism and consumption, for the two systems exemplified in this poem are hierarchised so that western forms of commerce are privileged and valorised through representing indigenous consumption as cannibalistic. And as I develop in the next chapter on the stereotype of sexualised Pacific Islander women, it is precisely this consumption of

flesh which inscribes Pacific Islander women as sexual objects in colonialism. In this relationship of consumption and corporeality I want to map the operation of Australian colonial discourse, examining the investment of various Australian institutions in representing Pacific Islanders, the epistemic conditions circulating in Australian culture which produce these stereotypes as objects of knowledge, and the conceptualisation of observation which commodifies the Pacific Islander as a consumable representation.⁵

In particular I closely analyse the consumption of Pacific Island identities in academic narratives, for this demonstrates an economy in which the popular representation of the cannibal man or erotic woman is used as 'raw material,' in Rey Chow's sense, to profit and reproduce academic intervention. To open I want to consider an indigenous response to cannibalism. There are a few archival traces of indigenous accounts of cannibalism which rupture the simplistic and horrific picture by the west and outline the colonial and historical context which was unseen by the western observers. The saturation of western texts with representations of cannibalism, compared to the virtual absence in Pacific Islander texts, spells out the relative interest, and perhaps importance, each culture has made of this practice. More often, it is the legacy of stereotypes such as cannibalism that inscribe the Pacific Islander's history as 'savage' or 'barbarous.' The Papua New Guinean Bernard Narokobi, in arguing for the importance of the 'Melanesian way' in national identity, states: "Since the impact [of colonialism], many people hold the view that the only

⁵ Deborah Root develops a similar argument. Deborah Root, *Cannibal Culture: Art Appropriation, and the Commodification of Difference* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996). Root's text concentrates on western appropriation of indigenous objects and knowledges as cannibalism and not on western representations of cannibalism as this chapter does.

history worth recording and remembering is the history of Western and Eastern peoples. They maintain that our own past history is so inferior, negative, and uncivilised that it is best forgotten.”⁶ The move to devalue the history of Pacific Islanders is particularly insidious because the very production of that ‘inferior’ history is managed and articulated by colonial discourse.

I want to briefly look at accounts by Maretu, a LMS native missionary, whose discussion of cannibalism problematises the observational objectivity of the colonial interlocutor.⁷ Maretu recorded his notes on cannibalism for his missionary teacher, Reverend Dr. William Wyatt Gill, a graduate of London University, who gained his doctorate through his ethnographic work. This work was circulated in Australian academia through publications such as *The Journal of Polynesian Society*.⁸ The origin of cannibalism is situated by Maretu in a Rarotongan history about two feuding cousins whose conflict and pursuit lead them to Rarotonga. While Maretu gives numerous accounts of cannibalism, the “deed” from which “generation after generation seeks revenge” through cannibalism is when one group became “bereft of reason and went like animals to an opposing tribe.”⁹ They were kept like slaves for some time till they were killed and eaten. This example appears to have particular

⁶ Bernard Narokobi, *Life and Leadership in Melanesia* (Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, USP, 1983), 22.

⁷ Maretu, *Cannibals and Converts: Radical Change in the Cook Islands*, trans., annot., and ed. Marjorie Tuainekore Crocombe (Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, USP, 1993). Originally dated 3 January 1873, the manuscript formed part of Rev. Dr. Wyatt Gill’s anthropological papers. There are two version in English: one translated by Stephen Savage in 1911 and published as “Extracts from Dr. Wyatt Gill’s Papers, No. 13, Maretu,” *The Journal of Polynesian Society* 20 (1911), 194-6. Marjorie Crocombe notes this is a “rather free” (33n1) translation. Crocombe’s translation is republished as *Cannibals and Converts*.

⁸ *The Journal of Polynesian Society* was published from Wellington, Aotearoa/New Zealand. Among Gill’s numerous ethnographic publications on Polynesia are: *Life in the Southern Isles; or, Scenes and Incidents in the South Pacific and New Guinea* (London, 1876); *From Darkness to Light in Polynesia* (London, 1894).

⁹ Gill, “Extracts” 52. Also Maretu, *Cannibals and Converts* 40.

resonance for a society facing colonialism where some groups, against the wishes of others, put their allegiance behind the colonial or Christian mission, and, if this metaphor is extended, to be 'consumed' by the colonial power. Indeed, the conditions which are necessary for cannibalism, according to Maretu, correlate directly to colonial intervention. Cannibalism is the result of an act of revenge, mainly through warfare, and committed by the warriors. The chiefs do not consume human flesh, and no-one is consumed in times of peace.¹⁰

Maretu's most recent and detailed account of cannibalism occurred when Captain Goodenough visited Rarotonga in 1814 on a private Sydney-financed venture for sandalwood. Four Europeans were killed because they had desecrated a sacred Marae and had stolen coconuts. Because their bodies were the victim of war they were eaten, an action the Rarotongans were forced to carry out. The intervention of the colonial market demands purposefully initiated these practices, and indeed, produced them. An act of cutting both ways, the European bodies are victims to their own economy for their intervention and desecration, not the Rarotongan's hunger, addiction, or desire for human flesh (three common reasons for cannibalism in colonial representations), forced this action. Further, in Maretu's account, what exactly was eaten, how much, and the level of symbolism of the consumption is not stated. The possibility of cannibalism as figurative or as an exaggeration is ignored by Wyatt Gill who records Maretu's story.

The role of the interlocutor Gill, who probably suggested Maretu describe these acts, and who embellished many of these stories for his other work, cannot be

¹⁰ Maretu, *Cannibals and Converts* 33.

ignored. Other native missionaries were asked to talk about cannibalism; the Pacific Islander missionary, Ta'unga wrote on cannibalism, and addressed the details directly to his teacher, Charles Pitman: "It is for Pitman, my missionary in Rarotonga, that I have written this account. It is to be taken to him so that he may understand all the customs of the islands where I have been living."¹¹ In his account Ta'unga details ovens used to cook humans, customs of dividing the body, and the consumption of the dead after warfare. Ta'unga frequently mentions his horror that the dead are consumed, but does not reach the embellishment of his missionary supervisor, Pitman. In one letter Pitman recounts a story by Ta'unga of a "cannibal priestess" explaining her fondness of flesh in these words (translated by Pitman): "Oh, there is no food so sweet and savoury as that of human flesh; oh! If you did but taste it! There is nothing equal to it" (95). Ta'unga gives no witnessed accounts of cannibalism, and in a number of cases his presence averts potential acts of cannibalism; he buys one potential victim as a servant (57), tells how islanders themselves "forbade" the eating of a missionary (53), and when a severed hand is brought to a leader of Ta'unga's region in New Caledonia, the leader throws it away, refusing to eat it (74).

Gill discusses the killing and eating of children in another text translating Maretu's notes, a story republished by Gill for an intended audience of western children, the purpose of these 'horror' stories is blatant.¹² Gill was both audience and master of Maretu's confessions. The suggestion to write on cannibalism is similar to Captain Cook's sensationalist attempt to prove the Maoris were cannibals by giving them a

¹¹ R.G. and Marjorie Crocombe, *The Works of Ta'unga: Records of a Polynesian Traveller in the South Seas, 1833-1896* (Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, USP, 1984), 86.

¹² This is another translation of Maretu: Wyatt Gill, *Jottings from the Pacific* (London: Religious Tract, 1885), 234-5.

piece of broiled human flesh and recording for the 'general reader' their obvious "relish" at eating this.¹³ On Cook's first voyage to Aotearoa/New Zealand Joseph Banks writes of the crew's insistence on discussing, whenever possible, occurrences of cannibalism: "we have never faild [sic] wherever we went ashore and often when we conversed with [Maori] canoes to ask the question; we have without one exception been answered in the affirmative.... They however as [sic] universally agree that they eat none but the bodies of their enemies who are killd [sic] in war."¹⁴ These acts can be described as eighteenth-century anthropological verbals which underlie the basis of cannibalism: it is the product of colonial intervention, a clash of systems and struggle for power in which the forces of European rationalism attempt to construct an emotional and mindless non-western other as an observable and transmissible commodity, a process that disguises the violence of imperial consumption of non-western culture.

Cannibalism and eroticism as white mythology

To approach the problem of consumption in these stereotypes, Jacques Derrida's essay, "White Mythologies" is pertinent. In this essay Derrida problematises the notion of metaphor, suggesting philosophy is both a theory of metaphor and metaphor for theory.¹⁵ A principal focus of Derrida's deconstruction is the supposed link

¹³ Gananath Obeyesekere, "'British Cannibals': Contemplation of an Event in the Death and Resurrection of James Cook, Explorer," *Critical Inquiry* 18 (1992), 630-54. Obeyesekere concludes "The British discourse on cannibalism produced, in very complicated ways, the Maori practice of cannibalism" (653).

¹⁴ Anne Salmond, *Two Worlds: First Meetings Between Maori and Europeans, 1642-1772* (Honolulu: U of Hawaii P, 1991), 228. Salmond is quoting from Beaglehole's edition of Bank's journal.

¹⁵ Jacques Derrida, "White Mythology," *Margins of Philosophy*, trans. Alan Bass (Chicago: Chicago UP, 1982), 254.

metaphor enables between words and ideas, as if metaphor were a process of making present a transcendent idea. The “ideal of every language, and in particular of metaphor, [is] ... to bring to knowledge the thing itself, the turn of speech will be better if it brings us closer to the thing’s essential or proper truth” (247). The theory of metaphor, thus, is located in a philosophy of metaphysics. Derrida concentrates on deconstructing the status of mastery or dominance of particular metaphors central to western mythology: “What other is to be found if not the metaphor of *domination*, heightened by its power of dissimulation which permits it to escape mastery: God or the Sun?” (266). Metaphor presumes an idea beyond language, an idealism not subject to the “forced” or “abusive” inscription of language (255). There are points in Derrida’s deconstruction of metaphor which can be ably applied to an investigation of stereotypes in this context, for stereotypes similarly attempt to make ‘present’ an essential truth. A deconstruction of metaphor is not a process of reducing everything to words, as if this will eradicate the metaphysical, but a reading of the stratification of metaphors and metaphysics, and a criticism of the reasons why some metaphors gain dominance.¹⁶ The metaphor of the ‘Tahitian Venus,’ as a dominant metaphor of Pacific Island women for example, works from an idealism that the transcendent, proper truth, perhaps the only truth or knowledge of the Pacific for the western observer, is the aesthetics of the sexualised, ‘heavenly,’ body. Thus, in the privileging of this metaphor, its domination, resonates the politics of colonial ‘penetration.’ Bringing Tahitian culture to order through its feminisation by the active, intrusive

¹⁶ A stratified reading for Derrida implies “a simultaneous critique of the model of transcendental history of philosophy and of the model of systematic structures perfectly closed over their technical and synchronic manipulation” (254-5).

white mythology, the metaphor asserts its mastery in the patriarchal rape, the 'penetration,' which is first enacted figuratively to make possible the literal.

The descriptions of the Pacific Islander women's beauty or the Pacific Islander man's barbarity are exemplary of the white mythology of Derrida's essay. Derrida quite specifically critiques in metaphor a politics of language which situates reason and meaning in the 'illuminated' west, and the loss of meaning through metaphor, or figurative language, in the 'East' (268-9).¹⁷ As Derrida points out, metaphysics, or what he calls the white mythology, "reassembles and reflects the culture of the West: the white man takes his own mythology, Indo-European mythology, his own *logos*, that is, the *mythos* of his idiom, for the universal form of that he must still wish to call Reason" (213). Thus the figurative language of the 'East' is a reassemblage of the west's own metaphysical mythology, a metaphorical visitation by the language of the west in a "specular circle, a return to itself without loss of meaning, without irreversible expenditure" (268), a manoeuvre consolidating Reason as the property of the West. The politics of western culture's reassemblage and reflections of itself onto the Pacific Islanders detail the processes of white mythology. The views of sex and death, resulting from a specifically western mythology, are projected as if they are the products of a standard and universal rationality, losing their specific "historico-problematic terrain" (215). Sex and death are the mainstay of critical interventions, such as the Mead Freeman 'controversy' or Sahlins and Obeyesekere 'debate,' where the functions of sex (of the Samoans) and death (in Hawaiian culture) are contested

¹⁷ Derrida specifically employs tropes relating to light and sun to deconstruct their authority.

by academics within western institutions.¹⁸ The task here, on one level, is to identify the politics of the projection and locate in it the functions of colonial discourse. That is, what specific relationships of power do sexualising and cannibalising Pacific Islanders produce? A second task is investigating the circulation of consumption as an Australian commercial venture in these representations. How does the evaluation of these representations, and their circulation in Australia, benefit colonialism?

Of particular interest is the incorporation of an economy in this system. In using the term *usure*, defined as the effacing of the marks of value from a coin, to describe metaphor, Derrida suggests there is in the theory of metaphor a contradiction between an “acquisition of too much interest,” or “linguistic surplus,” and a degradation or “deterioration through usage” (209n2, 211). Defacing a coin can both deface the specific value of the coin, and over-invest value by suggesting its value is now universal. Metaphor is a distancing, a travelling away, of words or language from the idea, and thus a degradation of the original, transcendent meaning. Simultaneously, metaphor is an addition, an investment or expansion on the meaning, in which figures of speech accumulate and supplement the meaning of the ‘original’ idea. As an example, in a tourist travelogue discussed in chapter seven, an account is given of an Indo-Fijian woman who “carries her wealth on her body.”¹⁹ The metaphor is,

¹⁸ For the Mead/Freeman debate see Derek Freeman, *Margaret Mead in Samoa: The Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth* (Cambridge MS: Harvard UP, 1983). Much criticism has been devoted to Sahlins and Obeyesekere’s debate, the majority from non-Hawaiians arguing on Hawaiian culture. Obeyesekere positions himself as a non-western academic, yet is still an ‘outsider’ in relation to Pacific History. Details of the debate are in a special edition of *Social Analysis* 34 (1993). The relevant texts are Gananath Obeyesekere, *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook: European Mythmaking in the Pacific* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1992); Marshal Sahlins, *Islands of History* (Chicago: Chicago UP, 1985); Marshal Sahlins, *Mythical Realities: Structure in the Early History of the Sandwich Islands Kingdom* (Ann Arbor: Michigan UP, 1981); Marshal Sahlins, *How Natives Think: About Captain Cook, for Example* (Chicago: Chicago UP, 1995).

¹⁹ Anon., *Our Island Trip*: S.S. Manapouri (Sydney: Pepperday, 1904), 11.

simultaneously, literal with the “silver ornaments, ... bracelet and bangles” (11) she wears, and figurative with the reduction of her subjectivity, her value, to her body. The body as commodity is given value metaphorically as the jewellery, enabling a measurement of commercial exchange, thus subjectivity is commodified as value. Derrida suggests that an idea of value has attached itself “with remarkable insistence” to the metaphorical process (216) resulting in the repeated use of gold, coins, and metal to demonstrate the comparative and exchange systems of metaphor. As the Indo-Fijian woman’s silver describes her sexual value to the colonial viewer, Derrida’s own coinage of *usure* describes the contradictory value of metaphor: her body’s wealth is the deterioration of beauty by the silver jewellery which can never represent ‘ideal’ beauty, and the over-investment of the body with this surplus jewellery. Thus, like the replacement of the ‘original’ beauty with a metaphor, the metaphorising of beauty erases the corporeal beauty in the first place. However, erasing the corporeal beauty is more like a transferral of value to western systems of representation. Her wealth is valuable only to the colonising observer.

There is a point at which the representation of cannibalism and eroticism within western consumption needs to be articulated in the context of a theory of value, a value that is also an over-investment. The signifier ‘cannibalism’ is put to use in economies of commerce, representation, and sexuality; in the value of the sign as metaphor, cannibalism is used to enforce the ‘savagery’ of non-western societies. Thus in a story entitled “A Cannibal Episode,”²⁰ in which cannibalism does not occur,

²⁰ James Dixon, “A Cannibal Episode,” *Lone Hand* 1 Jan. 1909, 260-7. The story is of lost love: for a Fijian village to avoid attack a young man is sacrificed to a great Chief who is unrivalled in the number of murders committed or amount of human flesh eaten. The young man’s love follows him, witnesses his murder, and is sold by the Chief to a white trader, whom she kills. In escaping she swims into the ocean to rejoin her love: “On, and ever on she swam.... Her memory swept clean of

the signifier over-invests in the narrative the various social, political, and moral values in excess of the narrative itself. The white mythology is usurious, it adds excessive 'interest' (in the registers of mercantilism and curiosity) to an object. As I detail below, the objects related to cannibalism are classified according to a commercial value in collecting and souveniring, providing a market in which cannibalism can circulate through the imperial culture. The stereotypes are given value through their appropriation and consumption by western audiences - narratives and pictures gain value not only through book sales and author royalties, but also through the evaluation of western Reason as proper and truthful.

The 'fascination' with cannibalism in colonial texts

In this section I pursue a crucial rupture in colonial claims to reason raised in a recent paper by Joseph Pugliese. In outlining Hegel's ethnocentrism in *The Philosophy of History*, Pugliese writes that one particular economy following "colonial penetration" is "a form of unconscious cannibalism, in which an epistemic violence is visited upon the body of the other in the very processes of representation and cultural consumption."²¹ Pugliese in his reading, which stages a return of the non-western body and unconscious to Hegel's rational west, suggests that observation and representation, particularly of the non-western body, prepares for "colonial histories of violence without reserve" (182). As an object that circulates within various discourses of science and horror, that signifies the monstrous, the savage, and the

all save her love; his image ever before her, beckoning" (267). Cannibalism is employed to emphasise the Chief's inhumanity, he is both a murderer and a slave-trader.

²¹ Joseph Pugliese, "Embodied Economies of Desire in Hegel's Empire of Reason," *Social Semiotics* 4.1-2 (1995), 176.

uncivilised to a western audience, cannibalism is a point where the power of colonial representation itself consumes the body of the non-western other.

Through various accounts of cannibalism I want to trace some regularities, the stories which move from haphazard guesswork to scientific fact through repetition, the objects that recur in representations of cannibalism, and the tropes of cannibal narratives. My investigation of cannibalism is limited in various ways predominantly to Australian descriptions of these events, how they were circulated, and the utility they took in various institutions. There are obvious precursors to these representations, but the focus of this study is the forces and transformations in Europe and Australia during the colonisation of the Pacific. The word 'cannibalism' derives from Columbus' naming of Caribbean indigenes as Caribs, which is translated into 'cannibal'; the concept of anthropophagy, on the other hand, has a longer European history dating to the ancient Greeks.²² While western representations of cannibalism are documented before this time, most notably early European representations of Native Americans, I am concerned with how the representations of Pacific Islanders were organised, and indeed became an entirely different object, a different practice, with the emergence of Australian colonialism in the Pacific. There are similarities between European representations of indigenous Caribbean cannibalism and later African and Pacific Islander cannibalism; however, the regional colonial political agenda influences the strategy of naming a group of people 'cannibals.' That is, the study, representation, and dissemination of Pacific Islanders as cannibals operates

²² See Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492-1797* (London: Routledge, 1992), 15-17.

within specific institutions and discourses organising relationships of power between the colonising nations (such as Australia) and the terrain of the colonised.

The majority of studies of cannibalism foreground an alleged ‘fascination’ by the west with the subject of cannibalism, a fascination still prevalent in contemporary studies. Indeed, this paper fits into the genealogy of studies which reproduce Pacific cultures as the subjects of western observation and study, and profits from the sensationalism of their racist representations. In an effort to both situate and problematise these effects I want to elaborate on how such studies maintain this authority. In one of Australia’s earliest scientific papers devoted to cannibalism, Thomas Steel delivers a lecture titled “Cannibals and Cannibalism” to the Field Naturalist Club of Victoria in 1893. His paper begins by elaborating on the interest in cannibalism:

To most people there is a certain fascination of feeling about [cannibals and cannibalism]. However repugnant it may be to our minds, we cannot help feeling interested in a custom which we know to be so widespread amongst savage people, and which is so greatly at variance with the amenities which civilisation has developed in our own social state. Indeed, it is perhaps to this strong contrast between our own manners and customs and those of the more primitive races of mankind that the anthropological studies owe their chief attractiveness.²³

Fascination, with its etymology in witchcraft and spells, speaks of an emotive and irrational interest in something outside society, both foreign and occult, and describes a peculiarly imperial process of power.²⁴ At this level the bewitching possibility spells something of cannibalism’s danger within western systems: as if it was contagious or was to reveal something of the west’s own economy of consumption, the very

²³ Thomas Steel, “Cannibals and Cannibalism,” *The Victorian Naturalist* 10 (1894), 4.

²⁴ For the association between witchcraft and cannibalism see W. Arens, *The Man Eating Myth: Anthropology and Anthropophagy* (New York: OUP, 1979), 93-96, 155.

knowledge of cannibalism can mesmerise and overcome the western viewer.

Fascination also complies with a Freudian reading, one of the popular entrances into conceptualising the topic: issues of sex and death, desire and disavowal are unproblematically concocted as unconscious desire. Steel's paper stages a movement past emotive fascination by arguing that the impulsive or entrancing interest is modified into the 'sensibility' of a research topic, the anthropological study.

Fascination occurs here within the Enlightenment desire to know, or as Steel considers, its 'attractiveness' arises from possible comparative studies between the contemporary civilised and the prior 'primitive.' Hence, in moving past the occult fascination, the study stages a civilised present and non-western antiquity, in which cannibalism signifies an anterior culture or desire observed from the 'modern' position of the imperial scientist. Under this study cannibalism becomes mythical: to employ the frequently used statements, a relic of the stone age,²⁵ of "considerable antiquity"²⁶ or a "thing of the past"²⁷ - to restate Derrida a white mythology making Europe and Australia the seat of reason.

The cautiously guarded Enlightenment position of the student of cannibalism is found also in Peter Hulme's *Colonial Encounters*. While he locates the importance of 'fascination,' leading him to ask "why are there no sociological investigations of the fascination [with cannibalism]?" (81), his answer is unfortunately one of "ambivalence" or of "universality" (82), leaving intact the ongoing control and production of rationalism in the observing west. For precisely his 'fascination' can be

²⁵ James Cowan, "The Last of the Cannibals," *Lone Hand* 5 (1909), 569.

²⁶ Steel, "Cannibals and Cannibalism" 5.

²⁷ Rev. W. Watt, "Cannibalism as Practised on Tanna, New Hebrides," *Journal of Polynesian Society* 4 (1895), 227.

found in the “obsession” of the officers and crew of the *Endeavour* with cannibalism.²⁸ Indeed, the question Hulme concludes with - were the Caribs really cannibals? - is exemplary of the direction of most work on this subject: an attempt to relocate a signifier ‘cannibalism’ onto the body of the other. Underlying Hulme’s reading is the racialisation of cannibalism; for, unquestioned in his account, is its location in non-western culture. As some recent studies have demonstrated, cannibalism has been widely reported in European cultures and was a regular occurrence in maritime disasters or failed expeditions.²⁹ Another notable current article similarly stages this move: Gananath Obeyesekere writes that cannibalism is from the “dark side of our being”³⁰ - a condition meaningful only in the racist black/white binary - and is a “latent wish” (642), has a “deeper affinity” (649) and is part of an “unconscious motivation” (640). The oppositions are starkly political: the contemporary and conscious field of science versus the dark, natural and unconscious state of the ‘primitive.’

The methodology of this research, moreover, points to a Freudian examination, one in which cannibalism is discussed in terms of psychoanalysis. Yet to propose an unconscious desire and fear, related to sex and death, problematically suggest a

²⁸ Anne Salmond, *Two Worlds* 244. Salmond states that cannibalism was often written about in the journals of the officers and crew; Banks comments “eating people is now always the uppermost idea in their heads.” Qtd. in Salmond, *Two Worlds* 252.

²⁹ Brian Simpson gives detailed accounts of cannibalism during the seventeenth and eighteenth century in maritime disasters and exploration parties who survive by consuming their dead. Included in his work are a number of popular ballads describing stories of cannibalism on the sea; for example, from “The Shipwreck of the Essex,”

Then his messmates they killed him and cut off his head,
And all from the ships crew from the body did feed,
And at eight different times lots amongst them were drawn,
For to keep them from starving that’s the way they went on. (387)

A.W. Brian Simpson, *Cannibalism and the Common Law: A Victorian Yatching Tragedy* (London: Hambledon, 1994).

³⁰ Obeyesekere, “British Cannibals” 638.

universal consciousness for cannibalism, and completely negates the force of colonialism which was to project 'cannibal horrors' onto non-westerners. This is not to negate indigenous narratives of cannibalism, which may be comparable to western 'horror' stories, but they are quite a distinct practice which cannot be conflated with western narratives.³¹ Cannibalism employed as a white mythology to 'reassemble and reflect' the consumption of the west refutes the possibility of a universal, unconscious horror.

The use of Freudian theory to 'read' cannibalism, such as Obeyesekere's 'latent wish,' Paul Lyons's consideration of jokes,³² or Caleb Crain's orality,³³ frequently employs psychoanalytic concepts instead of descriptions of the colonial violence in which representations of cannibalism are occurring. Questions of 'but did *they* really do it?' quite neatly ignore the speaker's enrolment of moral civility and scientific rationalism to determine what cannibalism means. As if cannibalism is a coherent and universal practice which can be uncovered through investigation, questions of 'doing it' ignore, precisely, what 'it' is, and what 'it' means in specific cultural contexts.

³¹ Cannibal stories told by Fijian, Maori, or Hawaiian cultures are sometimes appropriated into western histories to demonstrate an implied universal fear. See Sahlins, *Islands of History* 86, 98, for examples of indigenous narratives on cannibalism. Sahlins's reading of these, as a Levi-Strauss structure of raw women and cooked men, is problematic.

³² Paul Lyons, "From Man-Eaters to Spam-Eaters: Literary Tourism and the Discourse of Cannibalism from Herman Melville to Paul Theroux," *Arizona Quarterly* 52.2 (1995), 33-62. Lyons proposes an unconscious desire for cannibalism displaced by jokes.

³³ Caleb Crain, "Lovers of Human Flesh: Homosexuality and Cannibalism in Melville's Novels," *American Literature* 66.1 (1994), 25-53. Crain's article focuses on connections between attraction and revulsion in both homosexuality and cannibalism in the nineteenth century. Orality is used in terms of the "first erogenous zone" (35). Additionally, a number of anthropology papers have attempted psychoanalytical readings of cannibalism, including one which "interprets" cannibalism as a process from oral frustration, through denial of anxiety, to "boasting modesty" in which the victim becomes "a representative of the super-ego" (494-5). Géza Róhiem, "Cannibalism in Duau, Normanby Island, D'Entrecasteaux Group, Territory of Papua," *Mankind* 4.12 (1954), 487-95. Róhiem also interprets a dream of a 'native informant' in which he interprets the Duau man's desire to kill him in an act of confession: "He would really be in trouble if I told the Government," Róhiem comments (493).

These questions repeat the structure Steel proposes, that of the civilised mind and the primitive body, of investigative westerner and occult Pacific Islander. Hence I am neither concerned with verifying or negating the occurrence of the eating of human flesh in Pacific Island cultures, nor of asserting what cannibalism could mean to Pacific Islanders; but I am concerned with discussing how cannibalism circulates in imperial and colonial discourses and the strictly western meaning it takes from these discourses.

Perhaps I have too neatly perpetuated the division of mind/body, Westerner/Pacific Islander, for western rationalism leaves a trace of the body of the investigator, the one who is 'fascinated;' this is a trace which destabilises the authority of the investigator's discourse. The juncture of a rational observation with an emotive fascination prepares the non-western other to be consumed by the science and pleasure of the west, to make the object palatable yet, contradictingly, disgusting. Nicholas Thomas develops a similar tension in his discussion of the motives for European collectors of Pacific Island objects who define the collection in terms of curiosity. Curiosity is "grounded in passion rather than reason"³⁴ and is a moment where the "intellect is ... overcome by desire" (128). The scientific collector can then distinguish him/herself from the more "infantile attitude" (a phrase from Edmund Burke's description of curiosity³⁵) of collecting for financial gain or simple curiosity. The difference between the two collections is typically the authority of the collector, not the purpose of collecting. In the context of cannibalism, the 'infantile attitude' cannot be divorced from science

³⁴ Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge Ms: Harvard UP, 1991), 127.

³⁵ Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757), qtd. in Thomas, *Entangled* 130.

because the popular culture narratives, such as horror stories and circus sideshows, expose the colonial passion or attraction which informs and legitimates the scientific study. The scientificity of the observer will always be circumscribed, then, by the admittance of corporeal fascination. The admittance, moreover, marks the purchase of colonial discourse in the intersection between academia and the popular, where the institutions of science can systematically and authoritatively distribute the politics of colonialism to an extensive and interested audience.

Cannibalism, perhaps, gains its western 'fascination' by fear of the apparently 'natural' or 'common sense' values it degrades: the value of life, the sovereignty of the body, and the limits of consumption. In terms of European capitalism, the branding of cannibalism as 'primitive' or 'barbarous' behaviour is a criticism of practices which denigrate the value of life, practices which can simultaneously be located in theories of industrial utilitarianism, such as Taylorism. The pervasive commodification of actions, artefacts, and ideas which underpin an industrial object are projected onto the non-western other. In a period when labour and consumption in Europe were undergoing a process of radical transformation, industrial expansion threatened to denigrate the body to a 'beast of burden' or empirical labour units. To allay these fears and transport the site of denigration of the body from industrial centres it was the non-western other such as the Pacific Islander who was represented as having little value or regard for the body. As Nigel Rigby notes, in western society cannibalism proposes one will "give up power after death," an action threatening the authority of Christian eternal life, a politics he relates back to J. G. Frazer's *Golden*

Bough.³⁶ Into the western industrial economy cannibalism becomes a monster, one that would differentiate the human body from the commodity, the 'civilised' from the 'primitive,' eternal western life from the darkness of non-western death. These distinctions are accomplished, to a certain extent, by invigorating the Humanist mythology of the sanctity of human life, that the body is one's temple. The contradictory value of the metaphor, which Derrida considers in terms of usure, can account for this system. The 'inexpressible' or metaphysical value of the body is contradictingly written and rewritten in terms of utility - the body as food or work unit. Masked is capitalism's potential outcome: where the body becomes a commodity for exchange and consumption on the free market. Cannibalism describes a limit for imperial consumption, the point at which the 'artificial' value of a economic commodity stops and the 'natural' and 'invaluable' property of the body and life begins. The transgression of this distinction marks the limit of western society: where, apparently, industry and commodification cannot reach unless they turn 'primitive.'

Yet, the imperial rationalism of these politics offer up the represented culture and body of the non-western other for western consumption in a double movement which rejects cannibalism, while practising it within a western episteme of colonial observation. The so-called 'natural' politics of the body and consumption are procedures cutting both ways: they prepare the non-western body for popular consumption by the audience who will perpetuate the morality necessary for colonial practice when observing the consumption of humans.

³⁶ Nigel Rigby, "Sober Cannibals and Drunken Christians: Colonial Encounters of the Cannibal Kind," *Journal of Commonwealth Literature* 27.1 (1992), 171.

There were other utilities for cannibalism apart from the economic discourse, for cannibalism in the Pacific also coincides with the emergence of the evangelical movement from the 1780s, and the marketing of missionary societies. And fundamental to the majority of western representations of cannibalism is the context of imperial intervention: cannibals were most frequently reported on terrain contested between imperial powers and indigenous peoples. Concepts central to colonial discourse, light and dark, civilised and uncivilised, mind and body, beautiful and ugly, are all inscribed on the bodies of Pacific Islanders within representations of cannibalism. And as is systematic in Hegelian history, the synthesis of the two produces an imperative for colonial intervention to bring the society to an enlightened, 'civilised' present, rescuing the Pacific Islanders from their past 'savage' behaviours. The bias of these stereotypes feminises the region, for it is the 'attractive female' stereotypes which are saved in the adventure and travel narratives, while the cannibal masculine aspect must be eradicated when 'civility' is brought to the 'cannibal.' There is a hypocritical evaluation of consumption, for the Pacific Islander is represented as preying on human flesh, yet this is precisely the focus of these colonial stereotypes which reproduce, popularise, and consume the represented body of the Pacific Islander. Thus I do not wish to suggest an economic determinism of cannibalism, but state the crucial role cannibalism plays in the functioning of economics, ethics and values of Australian colonial discourse. To consider how these values are rationalised by a western viewer I now turn to the methodology and politics of observation in the nineteenth century and sketch some points where the concept of observation, and particularly the commodification of an object for visual consumption, must be connected to colonial formations.

Observation and consumption: Jonathon Crary's *Techniques of the Observer*

The predominant reading of western observation around the time of Pacific colonisation posits a post-Enlightenment revolution coined 'the crisis of representation' by theorists such as Jonathan Crary, Jean Baudrillard, and Geoffrey Batchen, who are elaborating on Foucault's thesis in *The Order of Things*. Foucault considers there were fundamental changes in European culture when the classical age gave way to the modern age around the beginning of the nineteenth century, a transformation which inaugurates a "profound historicity"³⁷ in place of the general taxonomy of the classical age. The fundamental changes in how Europeans thought and perceived things lead to the emergence of the modern sciences such as ethnography and anthropology, the technology of photography, and modern art movements. However, the term 'crisis' as it is employed here is problematic as it infers a coherent European society which is disrupted by this transformation; such narratives produce a unified teleology of history. Far too often this change has been described as autonomously European, brought about by some form of internal evolution, and not contextualised within European conquests and inscriptions of non-European terrain. I want to bring this colonial context into the predominantly Eurocentric history by a reading of Jonathan Crary's *Techniques of the Observer*³⁸ which problematically attempts to source rationalism and knowledge in the west and perpetuates the consumption of the non-western other. The non-western other

³⁷ Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Vintage, 1973), xxiii.

³⁸ Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1994).

becomes the commodified body of the western economy of representation; swallowed up, their digestion by the western viewer stimulates colonial discourse.

The emergence of the 'modern observer' coincides with extensive observation of the Pacific and unprecedented imperial expansion, a view owing much to the work of Bernard Smith.³⁹ The Pacific is central to 'modern' accounts of cannibalism: circulating in Europe in the eighteenth century through narratives by Captain Cook, Surville, and Bougainville; later, missionaries devoted much interest to what they saw as the pagan rituals of cannibalism; finally, schools of ethnography and anthropology where to develop this 'fascinating' topic into a scientific regime. The burgeoning sciences of race were to inculcate cannibalism into a colonial hierarchy; ethnography was to provide the field practices to document and archive it; new technologies such as photography could represent it, and narratives of travel and fiction, using the forms of horror and adventure, were to widely disperse these stories to a popular audience. Cannibalism's movement between scientific discourses and genres of popular culture describes colonialism's pervasive economy which at once provides different commodities, systems of exchange, and practices of consumption for western and non-western peoples. Implying that Pacific cultures were passive in this revolution denies any agency in forcing Europeans to question, restructure, and initiate systems of control over this region. The 'crisis' is not so much an evolution of western technology and art, but an emergence of colonial discourses in diverse fields such as

³⁹ Bernard Smith considers the Pacific radically changed European science which he cautiously associates with Thomas Kuhn's thesis of a scientific revolution. Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago, U of Chicago P, 1962). Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*, 2nd. ed. (1960; Melbourne OUP, 1989), viii.

photography and children's stories, bringing signifiers such as cannibalism into the imperial lexicon.

Crary relies heavily on Foucault to structure the historicity of his 'crisis.' The changing understanding of observation, which Crary relates to investigations of the observer's physiology, derives from the 'docile body' thesis in *Discipline and Punish*,⁴⁰ while the discursive context of this transformation comes from the representational 'crisis,' or "threshold of our modernity,"⁴¹ in *The Order of Things*. Foucault's discussion of modernity focuses on the doubled role of the observer: for the first time 'man' emerges as the object of 'his' own study. Geoffrey Batchen, in reviewing Crary's text, perhaps jokingly repeats this cycle of observation by emphasising Crary's reliance on Foucault in the title to his review: "Enslaved Sovereign, Observed Spectator."⁴²

In modern human sciences there is an uneasy vacillation, Foucault contends, between the observed object of study and rational observer, much like the critical genealogy Batchen's title suggests: Batchen studies Crary studies Foucault. There are a couple of important issues to be drawn from this point. Firstly, this very double process of being subject and object has particular resonance in representations of cannibalism when the Pacific Islander becomes both consumer and consumed, and the coloniser both the observer and participant in this process. Secondly, the broad generalisation with which Foucault employs the term 'man' is unquestioned by either

⁴⁰ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977). Crary's reading of Foucault concentrates on reinvigorating the spectacle, which Foucault considered less important than surveillance, as a means to discipline the body's vision.

⁴¹ Foucault, *Order* 319.

⁴² Geoffrey Batchen, "Enslaved Sovereign, Observed Spectator: On Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*," *Continuum* 6.2 (1993), 80-94.

Crary or Batchen. Crary explains the increasing biological interest in sight by using Foucault's argument of the emergence of 'man' studying himself, yet he edits out one of Foucault's two analyses necessary to this study of 'man': while Crary elucidates on those studies which "operate within the space of the body" and determine what Foucault calls the "*nature* of human knowledge" (319) - specifically of Goethe's work on the "inward experience" (72) or physiological aspects of sight - Crary ignores Foucault's twinned proposal that the history of human knowledge, its antiquity, its "historical, social or economic conditions" (319) was similarly brought to the fore. Thus anatomy came to emerge at the same time as anthropology, human biology with ethnology; and though, as Foucault states, these knowledges "claim to be able to rest entirely on themselves" (319), they are results of the same critique and "necessary to one another" (322).

Quite obviously Crary's 'inward' study dismisses the transformations occurring in imperial sciences due to new practices such as ethnography, and elides the historicity of the 'man' to be studied. Though Crary's concerns, which he cogently analyses, are the transformations operating on the user of technologies such as photography, he too easily ignores what the camera was pointed *at* to contextualise these changes. Crary's 'docile' observer becomes a passive subject who is the "historical product *and* the site of certain practices, techniques, institutions and procedures of subjectification" (5);⁴³ the camera-user's agency, his reproduction of colonial relationships of power is not considered. I am not advocating an intentionality of the observer here, but a particular

⁴³ Crary studies the use of numerous technologies and machines such as the kaleidoscope, stereoscope, zootrope, phenakistiscope. Crary's simplistic dependence on the object to produce a different reaction by the viewer has lead Geoffrey Batchen to criticise his technological determinism; Batchen, "Enslaved" 89-90.

agency involved in the relationship of viewer and viewed, a power relationship which Crary ignores. For in Crary's concentration on the disciplined formation of the observing subject he elides the privilege allocated to the subject, which frequently, in an imperial context, is a privilege of gender, race and class. Through following perhaps too closely Guy Debord's suggestion in *The Society of the Spectacle*, that sight was "elevate[d] to the special place occupied by touch,"⁴⁴ Crary suggests it is the *sense*, and not the *subject*, which is privileged. At some points in the introduction Crary signals the importance of the context,⁴⁵ particularly the institutional and discursive production of the viewer, but in his detailed examination of the camera obscura the only relationship discussed is between the user and the object. The viewer - a product and site of the history - also produces and transforms this site by determining what is viewed. As Paul Fox comments, "the photographer can be seen to be not only a contributor to the visual imagery of the primitive but also as a significant contributor to the institutions of classification."⁴⁶ Practices of observation and critiques of verisimilitude were mapped within colonial discourses by agents who were willing the construction and categorisation of the so-called 'savage' and the 'primitive' through their camera viewfinders, and were making these bodies for consumption, to be digested by the western audiences.

Crary's use of 'crisis' obscures a relationship with the non-western other made possible (and impossible) by generalisations linking development to western history.

⁴⁴ Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, trans. Donald Nicholson Smith (New York: Swerve, 1990), qtd. in Crary, *Techniques* 19.

⁴⁵ Crary lists three "developments inseparable from the institutionalisation of art historical practice." Roughly they are evolutionary theory, introduction of a classed leisure time, and technologies of mass reproduction (21).

⁴⁶ Paul Fox, "The Imperial Schema: Ethnography, Photography and Collecting," *Photofile* 7.4 (1989), 10.

Crary is at pains to dispute that his history is part of any teleology of progressive history; he comments “it is possible to pose a logic of modernism that is radically severed from the idea of progress or development, and that entails non-linear transformations” (10); yet, he utilises specific imperial tropes contradicting his rejection of progress and development. The whole crux of the ‘crisis’ is the ‘modernisation’ of the viewer through the ‘development’ of western ‘logic.’ Crary comments that “Modernization becomes a ceaseless and self-perpetuating creation of new needs, new consumption, and new production” (10). The term ‘new’ is problematic because these needs, consumptions and productions, in following Crary who takes their meaning from Marx, are the result of the “exploration of the earth, in all directions, to discover new things of use as well as new useful qualities of the old.”⁴⁷ The markets and needs are, obviously, only ‘new’ to some, and their importance in modernism derives more from colonialism’s exploitative economies than the ‘creation’ of the objects. ‘New’ describes a historicity of Europe which is denied to the non-western other - marking Pacific Islanders in historical antecedence. As was described in the chapter on historiography, the west repeatedly writes history as if the west is in the ‘present’ and all non-western countries are in the past and still attempting to reach the modernity of the west. Objects introduced from the Pacific are contradictorily doubly inscribed as ‘new’ and as antiquities: new to the European market yet signifying the antiquity, or the ‘unevolved’ condition, of Pacific Islander culture. Admittedly, the discontinuity in visual representation leading to a “proliferation of signs” (12) in European society, a statement Crary quotes from

⁴⁷ Karl Marx, *Grundrisse*, qtd. in Crary, *Techniques* 10n9.

Baudrillard, is indicative of a new social movement; however, the apparent newness was frequently validated by a contrast to what was considered old, or without history: the non-western.

By classifying 'movement' as a feature of the European history Crary subscribes to the colonial argument that European incursion is due to the proclivity of Europeans to move. Crary states "modernization is a process by which capitalism uproots and makes mobile that which is grounded" (10). Further, a "new valuation of visible experience [occurs]: it is given an unprecedented mobility" (14). Crary's value of movement, a common procedure in ideas attempting to locate freedom and independence in the ability to move, similarly fails to recognise the obverse of this freedom: the privilege of movement relies on imperialist systems of power and is a fundamental part of the taxonomy of imperial discourse. The valorisation of movement assumes European society is dynamic and non-western societies are immobile. Crary presumes that modernity produces a "'need' for 'a more mobile, useable and productive observer',"⁴⁸ which assumes the viewer is part of an evolution driven by the scientific progress of the west rather than capitalism's positive evaluation of movement. Crary's conclusion perhaps sits a little too close: "A more adaptable, autonomous, and productive observer was needed in both discourse and practice - to conform to new functions of the body and to a vast proliferation of indifferent and convertible signs and images" (149). The mobility of the viewer valorises the westerner's mind - s/he has better sight and better knowledge of what 'reality' looks like - a 'need' sitting too close to a naturalised belief in imperialism.

⁴⁸ Qtd. in Batchen, "Enslaved" 89

Curiously, this does not explain why the technology was premised on stasis - the idea of 'capturing' a scene or permanently recording an image. Indeed, as Roland Barthes considers, the photograph "arrests" movement, and this "immobility" situates photography in the past, as a representation "that-has-been."⁴⁹ Far from the 'adaptable' and 'new' proliferation, the photographic representation could, to a greater extent, arrest signification to manage colonised terrains and identities.

Cannibalism can be conceptualised in this 'crisis' by considering how the stability, or rationalism, of the 'crisis' reproduces its own cannibal antithesis in its white mythology. That is, to return to the politics of metaphor as white mythology, cannibalism is the reassemblage of western culture in a determinedly universalist gesture. Rather than imperial powers combating the 'irrational' non-western other, they were to conceptualise and then observe the other as the inverse of the rationally informed west, for there are few other reasons why Australian or European rationalism as articulated in academic discourse 'coincides' with the 'discovery' of so-called 'primitive' irrationality, other than its construction being located in western systems of thought. Crucial to this conflict is the compatibility of the opposition; that is, cannibalism carefully reinforces the conceptual terrain of colonialism, and hence is popularised in a manner comprehensible to western values such that it will directly valorise colonising politics of the body and its morality. Yet this popularisation provides the consumption of the corpus of the Pacific Islanders; the feeding frenzy in which the representation of the Pacific Islanders' body is consumed on a massive scale is implicit in the imperialism of observation and the justification of colonisation.

⁴⁹ Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (London: Jonathon Cape, 1982), 78-80.

Cannibalism in Australian colonial texts

Pacific travel books and missionary tracts of the late nineteenth century read by an Australian audience commonly began with either a picture or a discussion of cannibalism which, I want to propose, set out at once cultural distinctions based on European concepts of 'race.' These distinctions were signposted by cannibalism, which provides the racial hierarchies for the reader to understand what assumptions to bring to the text. Edward Reeves, Aoteoroa/New Zealander author of *Brown Men and Women*, an account of a tour around islands of the South Pacific in 1895, opens with a discussion of cannibalism.⁵⁰ On the very first page the body is mentioned as an commercial object "traded away ... to the cannibal for his gruesome feast" (1-2), and notice is made to remember the compatriots who have disappeared down islander's throats (1); the topic is then promptly dropped and does not recur in the narrative. Accompanying these two small details is a photograph of "A Cannibal Feast in Fiji, 1869" (see fig. 1). Reeves uses photography's realist formal conventions to frame the fantastic subject within a rational discourse. One purpose of his text, Reeves states, is to fulfil the "absence of pictorial illustration" in books on the Pacific, particularly the "misleading character of engravings and woodcuts" (10). Photographs, the "most perfect form of illustration" (10), would rectify this fault. However, as Barthes suggests in *Camera Lucida*, the coherency of photography is self-referential; Barthes writes on his photographed representation, "All I look *like* is other photographs of

⁵⁰ Edward Reeves, *Brown Men and Women: Or, the South Seas in 1895 and 1896* (London: Swan and Sonnenschien, 1898).

myself.”⁵¹ Reeves’ suggestion that photography is the ‘perfect form’ suggests an equivalence between the photograph and the ‘real.’ Yet the photograph of the ‘cannibal feast’ suggests connections with other photographs more than it does with the so-called ‘real.’

Reeves’ photograph is by Thomas Andrew, a Aotearoa/New Zealand photographer who worked mainly in the Pacific Islands, and comes from a series on a ‘cannibal feast.’⁵² Andrews worked in Samoa from 1890 till the 1930s, and the majority of photographs produced from his company were studio portraits for Samoans, and thus differed somewhat from souvenir photographs for tourists. However, his cannibalism series is a departure for it appears to be marketed strictly to Australian and Aotearoa/New Zealand tourists. It is rather peculiar that the opening photograph of Reeves’ text is a staged tableau and thus not representative of what he considers photography’s values: representing “real current life and action ... a faithful picture of these lovely islands and their inhabitants” (11). For a start, cannibalism’s antiquity is explained by the inaccurate date of the photograph, it was taken in the 1890s, not 1869, a farcical means to antiquate cannibalism. The scene is most obviously acted out for the photographer, and hence any notion of ‘real current life’ is spurious. The veracity of photography elides the elements which structure the view - the politics of the observer, the conventions of the medium - with an apparent ‘naturalism’ of reality. Reeves himself hints at the possibility of manufacturing the ‘faithful’ picture when he later writes of the actions of two *Colonial Illustrated*

⁵¹ Barthes, *Camera Lucida* 102.

⁵² For more details see City Group, “Deconstruction in Camera: Thomas Andrew,” *Photofile* 6.3 (1988), 30-2.

newspaper photographers who would “‘get up’ picturesque groupings of natives and fly around ... in a despairing effort to place effective niggers up trees [and] get in a nice bit of tree with a peep of sky in it” (198). Placing the Islanders in the tree readily gives the reader an association with the then fashionable social Darwinian belief that non-western cultures were closer to apes and chimpanzees, hence were not as ‘civilised.’⁵³ The supposed realism of the photograph surreptitiously slides into conventions of realism without announcing its departure. The very fact that cannibalism is used to introduce a travelogue in which there is no witnessing or proof of cannibalism outlines the connection between fantasy, the photograph, and cannibalism. The reader need not believe the event is ‘real current life,’ only that it conforms to knowledges and beliefs enabling it to be taken as such.

James Chalmers’ missionary autobiography, *Work and Adventure in New Guinea*⁵⁴ similarly opens with a reference to cannibalism. As an example of the ‘misleading’ woodcuts Reeves mentions, it employs conventions of European realism to articulate an imperialist discourse. The introductory picture, titled “Life in New Guinea, 1877,” (see fig. 2) displays the pre-missionary life which has been eradicated by Christianity. Like Reeves’ pictures, Chalmers dates indigenous life antecedently, in 1877 before missionary invasion. The date proposes the reader has the advantage of the present to look back and construct history. Generalising life in this way - through a graphic display of death - emphasises the benefit of the civilising mission to these cultures:

⁵³ This precise scene recurs in Alfred Burton’s descriptions of the first Pacific cruise in 1884, discussed in chapter 7.

⁵⁴ James Chalmers, *Work and Adventure in New Guinea* (London: Religious Tract, 1902).

eternal life brought by Christianity. Chalmers' commentary of pre-Christian life enforces this:

When we first landed here, the natives lived only to fight, and victory was celebrated by a cannibal feast. It is painfully significant to find that the only field which New Guinea natives have shown much skill and ingenuity is in the manufacture of weapons. (237)

Hence death is representative of life for non-western cultures which must now operate in an economy of lack compared to the abundant, and indeed, eternal economy of the Christian west. Chalmers says the deadly weapon, the man-catcher (displayed in the picture) was exemplary of a "people sunk in crime that to them has become a custom and a religion" (236); but now the "signs of breaking light" (236) through Christianity has meant "[t]ribes that could not formerly meet but to fight, now meet as friends, and sit side by side in the same house worshipping the true God" (237). By featuring the implement in the illustration Chalmers is subscribing to the ethnographic theory developed by Sir John Lubbock that the "key to the comparability [of cultures] was provided by material culture, [their] implements and weapons."⁵⁵ A culture's implements supposedly represent the stage of the culture's development. Chalmers' picture showing the man-catcher in use (three stages of use are demonstrated in various parts of the illustration) is typical of the tendency for colonial photography to have indigenes demonstrating the use of certain tools, for Andrew's photographs similarly show Fijian warclubs and the oven in use. Chalmers' text positions a reader as an ethnographic observer able to understand the 'inferior' nature of a society through its technology.

⁵⁵ George W. Stocking, jnr., *Victorian Anthropology* (New York: Macmillan, 1987), 153. See also Fox, "Imperial" 11-14. Lubbock's relevant work is *Prehistoric Times, as Illustrated by Ancient Remains and the Manners and Customs of Modern Savages* (London, 1869).

The mancatcher is one of numerous objects associated with cannibalism which entered the European market as a commodity. Implements of great interest to colonial ethnographers were the so-called cannibal forks, also known as *Bokola* or *iculunibakola* forks. Steel writes they were used because “excessive eating of human flesh caused the inside of the mouth to become luminous in the dark” (10), a view probably due to the mistaken idea that flesh was *tabu* and not allowed to be touched.⁵⁶ The forks signify the barbarous and hidden ‘nature’ of the Islander; as Nicholas Thomas notes, they “betokened the relative inhumanity of the Fijians”⁵⁷ and are still sold in tourist stalls today. Adapting Spivak’s theorisation of the subaltern, the Islander is replaced by the subject-constituting objects in a system of representation of the imperial masters.⁵⁸ Objects such as the fork, or mancatcher, circulate as an exchangeable commodity in European commerce for archival collections, or as a souvenir the clubs and forks authenticate the act,⁵⁹ and through mass replication denigrate the cultural specificity of the object. Indeed the mass reproduction enables a cultural appropriation and palatable consumption of difference, with the Pacific Islanders now ceremoniously offered to the First-World audience who can take away portions of the spectacle for their personal enjoyment. But the value of these objects is not determined exclusively by the colonisers. The Pacific Islanders willingness to exchange these objects guarantees that in many cases the Pacific

⁵⁶ More detailed description of the forks and European attitudes to them can be found in Thomas, *Entangled Objects* 165-7.

⁵⁷ Thomas, *Entangled Objects* 167.

⁵⁸ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “Can the Subaltern Speak? Speculations on Widow Sacrifice,” *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, eds. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (London: Macmillan, 1988), 305.

⁵⁹ On the utility of the souvenir as authentication see Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham: Duke UP, 1993), 134-5.

Islanders will profit. From Joseph Bank's desire to trade for bones,⁶⁰ Pacific Islanders have engaged in the souvenir trade often with commercial profit.⁶¹

Some objects, however, were not constituted as commercial, but utilised as signifiers for the act itself. So instead of necessarily witnessing the act of consumption, the western observer could rely upon these signals to stand in for and replace cannibalism; this is a form of the over-invested economy of metaphor Derrida, which as I mentioned above, writes of in "White Mythologies." One such object is the drum; any sound of the drum in colonial discourse signals at once evil, savagery, cannibalism, madness, and hysteria. The drum can consolidate more of the feared 'savagery' than the act of cannibalism itself. Tom Harrisson's children's book on the Malelukans, *Living Among Cannibals*, gives a grandiose description of the drums before modernity or Christianity:

Men rush to beat the great upright drums with their evil, carved wooden faces, and in a few moments the dancing-ground [becomes] a place vibrating and alive with sound. They beat out furious rhythms on five drums, and it is taken up all over the plateau ... until the whole land seems overwhelmed with nerve-shaking sound. The victim's body is hung on the largest drum.⁶²

Harrisson, a English government officer in Vanuatu, was employed by the American actor Douglas Fairbanks to help make a film about the Malelukans concentrating on their cannibalism. Harrisson writes of Hollywood's perception of cannibalism: "they

⁶⁰ Human bones became a "sought after souvenir for amongst the *Endeavour* sailors." Ann Salmond, *Two Worlds* 249.

⁶¹ I discuss Pacific Islanders commerce in souvenirs in more depth in the chapter on tourism. The tourism trade was manipulated by many colonised groups. In relation to Native Americans and their commercially successful involvement in the tourist economy, see Ruth B. Phillips, "Why Not Tourist Art? Significant Silences in Native American Museum Representations," *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements*, ed. Gyan Prakash (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1995), 98-125; Patricia C. Albers and William R. James, "Tourism and the Changing Photographic Image of the Great Lakes Indians," *Annals of Tourism Research* 10 (1983), 123-48.

⁶² Tom Harrisson, *Living among Cannibals* (London: George G. Harrap, 1943), 104.

had their own cannibal dogmas. These included stone altars; cracked dances.... He [Chuck Lewis, Fairbanks' producer] taught those cannibals what they ought to be."⁶³ As a white mythology projecting the values of the west, the Malelukans necessarily have to be taught how to be proper, and hence visually consumable, cannibals.

The beating of drums is widespread in colonial literature on Africa and the Pacific, and often their use signifies a western historicity in which progress was articulated through differentiating a traditional versus a modern usage of the drum.⁶⁴ Thomas Steel writes that "the great *lali*, or drums, which formerly sounded the dread signals of death, now serve the purpose of church bells, their musical booming being heard in every village as the call to the regular religious exercises" (29). The transforming utility of the drum can play out specific politics. Julian Thomas, an Australian journalist and travel writer of the 1880s, writes of a drum's change in the context of Fijian chief Cakobau's conversion to Christianity in April, 1854:

after much vacillation, [Thakambau] took the decisive step, when cannibalism at once ceased under his rule.... At nine o'clock ... the *lali*, the fearful drum which had sounded the announcement of a cannibal feast only ten days previously, was beaten for an assembly to witness [Thakambau's] public renunciation of heathenism.⁶⁵

The reason Cakobau was to figure prominently in cannibal episodes was his crucial position in missionary politics in Tonga and Fiji, which I develop below. The details of the drums subscribe to Lubbock's materialist theory; drums indicate an exchange in social function of both communication and commodity: Islander languages (if the

⁶³ Tom Harrisson, *Savage Civilisation* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1937), 428-9. Also qtd. in Ngaire Douglas, *They Came for Savages* 88. Harrisson says the film was never made, and he does not know what happened to the film reels (430).

⁶⁴ For a literary example see Ion Idress, *Drums of Mer* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1933).

⁶⁵ Julian Thomas, *Cannibals and Convicts: Notes and Personal Experiences in the Western Pacific* (London: Cassell, 1886). The following accounts use various spellings of the Fijian chief, I have kept the text's spelling to highlight the contradictory state of colonial knowledge at this time.

drumbeats can be described as such) once accompanied by what Reverend W. Deane describes as the “weird and revolting chants,”⁶⁶ which threatened the coloniser’s control of communication, now announce the order and morality brought by the colonising forces. Additionally, the transformation of the drum’s use is matched by the social transformations, in which the social structure - the position and power of a ‘Chief’ - now reflects, and is determined by, European modes of representation and communication. Drums are commodified as relics of the barbaric past to be reinterpreted into a contemporary colonial present, as a palimpsest they are inscribed with the regulations of the colonising power, yet still signify the cannibal past.

Another crucial signifier of a culture’s cannibalism, for the European, is the skull. The skull productively associates human sacrifice, cannibalism, paganism, and measurements of indigenous ‘nature’ and intelligence through sciences such as phrenology. When Joseph Banks wants proof that the human bone he buys from a group of Maoris is from a human body (and thus proves cannibalism) he asks for them to “Bring [the skulls] and we shall then be convinced that these are men.”⁶⁷ In no way does a skull infer cannibalism, but it is remarkable the haste with which colonial observers draw this conclusion. There is a crossover here between headhunting and cannibalism; often conflated, these quite disparate practices are similarly read by ethnographers and anthropologists in terms of a ‘savage’ consumption. One of the earliest European pictures which associated these signifiers is John Webber’s “Human Sacrifice, in a Morai, in Otaheiti” (1784) drawn for Captain James Cook’s third

⁶⁶Rev. W. Deane, *Fijian Society and the Sociology and Psychology of the Fijians* (London: Macmillan, 1921), 238.

⁶⁷ Qtd. in Anne Salmond, *Two Worlds* 245. Salmon is quoting from Beaglehole’s edition of Bank’s journal.

voyage (see fig. 3). The picture, which Bernard Smith writes was to become “one of the best known illustrations of the century,”⁶⁸ carries out what Cook suggests as the function of the illustrations of the voyage: to be “interesting to the generality of readers, as well as instructive to the sailor and the scholar. Mr Webber was pitched upon ... to bring home such drawings of the most memorable scenes of our transactions.”⁶⁹ While the picture is of human sacrifice, the drums, skulls, oven, and trussed up body form the basis of what were to become the regular features of cannibal feast pictures, the genre which Thomas Andrew’s work is in. The proximity made between ‘sacrifice’ and cannibalism by western observers implies that Pacific Island law is based on ‘primitive’ actions, while western law abides by personal rights. Britain and Australia’s practice of capital punishment does not, then, possess the barbarity of indigenous law or the inappropriate forms of indigenous consumption.

The circulation of skulls can be conceived in terms of an economy because they deliver up the representation to be consumed by the western viewer. Skulls frequently became objects of value for numerous collectors who were not necessarily anthropologists or ethnographers. The Australian film maker, Frank Hurley, was to capitalise on the interest in cannibalism in his films, and the profit was not simply revenue from the films. A diary entry, while Hurley was travelling in New Guinea filming for his quasi-documentary *Pearls and Savages*, details an economy in cannibalism and skulls:

Skulls, human bits and pieces, filled our bags while knives, axes, and fabrics, were substituted - in the cause of science! From a dim alcove I gave a yell of delight ... treasure beyond bonanzas! What luck! Human heads stuffed, painted, and decorated.... I have never seen objects more

⁶⁸ Smith, *European* 317.

⁶⁹ Smith, *European* 109.

ghastly and horrible, but had we raided a bank and carried off the bullion we could scarcely have been more pleased.⁷⁰

The transition from object to commodity is clearly enunciated in this passage. The skulls, at once signifiers of the ancient and uncivilised - they are after all, Hurley comments, from a "lost tribe [that] could have passed for bronzed Babylonian Jews"⁷¹ - play a role truncated between objects of fascination and science, in which they realise a treasure equivalent to gold.⁷² Hurley's popular films subscribed to an Australian 'cannibal fascination,' and he was to make five films on New Guinea and the Pacific, *The Lost Tribe*, *Pearls and Savages*, *The Jungle Woman*, *Headhunters of Unknown Papua*, and the pearling film *Hound of the Deep*.⁷³ The body parts of the dead, consumed by Hurley, thus gave the wealth for his films, like they gave Reeves the audience for his travel narratives or Chalmers the donations of his generous church parishioners. The Islander body, the marked and categorised body, enters an exchange system on which colonialism was to drive the market to support its

⁷⁰ Qtd. in Lennard Bickel, *In Search of Frank Hurley* (Melbourne: Macmillan, 1980), 79. Bickel states this quote is a diary entry, and a similar passage is written in Hurley's book: *Pearls and Savages: Adventures in the air, on land and sea in New Guinea* (New York: Putnam, 1924), 380. Nicholas Thomas, discusses this section in his *Entangled Objects*, stating the passage was also published in the *Sydney Sun* 7 Feb. 1923. For details on Hurley see Frank Legg, *Once More on My Adventure* (Sydney: Ure Smith, 1966); Stuart Cunningham, "Hurley/Chauvel" *Photofile* 6.3 (1988), 41-6.

⁷¹ Bickel, *In Search* 80.

⁷² On Hegel's use of gold to describe Africa, Pugliese writes "The signifier 'Gold' introduces the twinned elements of desire and commerce: Africa, as exotic other of Europe, is here situated in sexualised and commodified economies of desire, conquest, and exploitation." Pugliese, "Embodied" 165.

⁷³ The film *Pearls and Savages* (1921-23), is described as an "'educational' melodrama" by John Tullock as it mixed genres of documentary and adventure. John Tullock, *Legends on Screen: The Narrative Film in Australia, 1919-29* (Sydney: Currency, 1981), 288. Hurley's first non-documentary feature, *The Jungle Woman* (1926), is a love story set in Papua, with the movie advertisement stating "Love knows no barrier of caste or colour beyond the outposts of civilisation." Because the movie dealt with inter-racial love, Hurley was not allowed to film in Australian territory and instead filmed in Dutch New Guinea (Irian Jaya). See Hart Cohen, "Expeditions, Exoticism, and Ethnography: Film and the Pacific," *Photofile* 6.3 (1988), 34-40. *Headhunters of Unknown Papua* was also titled *With the Headhunters of Papua* (1923). The pearling film *Hound of the Deep* came out in 1926.

imperialist ideals. The cannibal was a body to be explored and exploited by the colonising agents.

The cannibalised body

Missionary texts suggest the practice of cannibalism is a recant to eternal life.

Cannibalism is constructed as irrational because it is prone to the conditions of the body, such as overindulgence or addiction. As in the opening poem, the Pacific Islander is considered without a soul and controlled by urges of the body. Further, the Christian motives agreed with the ideologies of capitalism, for the possibilities of production which haunted the representational 'crisis' of Europe - of consumption gone wild - were now associated with the non-western other who had not developed a rational mind to control the 'primitive' body. Numerous missionary narratives of 'cannibal feasts' describe the events as orgies of excess to fulfil the "monstrous appetites" of the Pacific Islanders for human flesh, in which mothers ate their babies, or hundreds of bodies were consumed.⁷⁴ Indulgence leads to the apparent addiction of eating flesh. This addiction is detailed in James Cowan's article, "The Last of the Cannibals." He writes of Te Araki, an Arawa Maori who fought against the Hau Hau's, in the land wars and still has an "intense longing for human flesh that returns, even after many years to the man who has once eaten it."⁷⁵ The body has taken over the mind, as in the opening poem, and (western) reason disappears for the Islander. The condition is pathological, and the Islander is now perpetually besieged by the yearning and addicted body. Now prone to these irrepressible urges, the cannibal is

⁷⁴ Deane, *Fijian* 227-30.

⁷⁵ Cowan, "The Last of the Cannibals" 573.

represented as a monster like Dracula or Dr Jeekyll. Once cannibalism is diagnosed as a corporeal flaw the cannibal must now fall prey to the excesses of the body.

The narratives surrounding Cakobau, the supposed 'Cannibal King' of Fiji, represent Fijian society as 'savage' and 'barbarous' through excessive corporeal desire. The narratives tend toward exaggeration and brutality, demonstrated in an account by Julian Thomas of Cakobau eating someone alive: Thakambau ordered a prisoner's "tongue to be cut out, and [he] ate it raw before the man's face, cracking jokes the while."⁷⁶ His father, Tanoa, according to Thomas Steel, supposedly "cut [a prisoner's] arm off at the elbow and drunk the blood that flowed from the wound, then cooked and ate the arm before the eyes of the owner, who was then disembowelled while still alive, cooked and eaten."⁷⁷ A children's missionary magazine considered "Thakova butchered and ate nigh upon one thousand individuals."⁷⁸ Cakobau's power was essential for establishment of a LMS missionary base in Fiji; he threatened warfare against the Christian Lau in 1845, and his rather political conversion was a last ditch attempt to consolidate his waning power base. If Cakobau, whom Europeans saw as the most brutal and highest ranking Fijian, converted then this transformation would prove the veracity and strength of the civilising mission. In Australia, where movements were made to annex Fiji in the 1850s, the political role of Cakobau in the Fijian constituency was of great interest. To emphasise the need for a 'civil' governing body, the representation of the ruler as a cannibal provides justification for intervention. Thus the concentration of exaggerated

⁷⁶ Thomas, *Cannibals and Convicts* 9.

⁷⁷ Steel, "Cannibals and Cannibalism" 8.

⁷⁸ Joseph Foulkes Winks, "Visit to a Cannibal Island," *The Children's Magazine and Missionary Repository* 26 (1863), 252.

and particularly gruesome stories is part of colonial expansionist policies and missionary propaganda around the successful establishment of missions in Fiji. The conversion of Fijians, considered the most barbarous Pacific Islanders, to Christianity is an advertisement of missionary success. If missionary narratives were to inculcate a value of life and the soul, then there is no better way than demonstrating the conversion of the cannibal, often enabling the benign missionary to forgive the barbarous cannibal. Marau, who confessed to Reverend Aaron Buzacott of killing and eating seven people, was forgiven by Buzacott because “the beautiful words of the Scripture came to my mind - ‘The blood of Jesus Christ, his son, cleanseth us from all sin.’ Here was no exception to ‘all sin’ ... who was I, that I should say. Except cannibalism?”⁷⁹ Cannibalism figures in these examples within a missionary economy and body politic. As the opening poem suggested, the cannibal is a commodity in the missionary economy whose redemption was what the church goes of Australia, Aotearoa/New Zealand, and England were paying for. The details of gluttony binds Pacific Island cultures to a body of uncontained desire - a ‘natural habit’ that is not controlled by ‘civilised’ society. But through discipline and self-control, two principles of the missionary movement, the Pacific Islander can be ‘civilised’ and ‘enlightened.’

As well, in operation in the stories of eating someone while they are still alive is an invigoration of the politics of observation, for the horror is compounded with the person witnessing his/her own consumption. There is a further relationship with

⁷⁹ Rev. A. Buzacott, *Mission Life in the Islands of the South Pacific: Being the Narrative of the Life and Labours of Rev. A. Buzacott*, eds. Rev. J.P. Sunderland and Rev. A. Buzacott (London: John Snow, 1866; Suva: USP, 1985), 54.

photography here. Barthes' argues that photography has a historical relation with 'the crisis of death,'⁸⁰ for there is "in every photograph [a] return of the dead" (9). As if resurrected and saved by the western representational formation, the western observers are also the saviours of these 'victims' of cannibalism. With observation, and the photographic 'proof' of cannibalism, the white Australian audience is in a position of moral certitude. Witnessing provides the specular horror that the audience, assumedly, experiences as they witness the representations of cannibalism. Rather than considering the act of observation itself as a form of cannibalism, where the flesh of the cannibal male or sexualised Pacific Islander woman is consumed by the western audience, these colonial accounts suggest cannibalism is a performance by the cannibal for the viewer or consumed. The act transgresses the values of particular objects as commercial commodities, and hence any notion of utility collapses in that the tongue's ability to talk or the body to labour is ignored for its edible consumption. Repeatedly asserting people were eaten alive proposes to some colonial observers the indigenous culture's inability to distinguish an evolutionary hierarchy of life and death. W. T. Pritchard, British consul to Fiji, considers cannibalism arises from a mentality demonstrable when "a Fijian catches an enemy crawling about his head, he invariably exclaims, 'you bit me, and now I eat you.'"⁸¹ The inference being the life of an insect is the same as a human to Fijians; they do not recognise the value nor importance of human life.

⁸⁰ Barthes, *Camera Lucida* 92.

⁸¹ W.T. Pritchard, *Polynesian Reminiscences: or, Life in the South Pacific Islands* (1866; London: Dawson, 1968).

At issue in a number of the narratives on Cakobau, and indeed on any figures of 'Royalty' in the Pacific Islands, is the supposed genetic proclivity for cannibalism. Promulgated by racist science, the corporealising of cannibalism leads to its construction as pathological, and hence endemic in the Pacific Islander 'race.' The Pacific Islander missionary, Ta'unga (which Arens' history of cannibalism mistakenly infers is the Pacific's first eyewitness record⁸²) writes of the son of Rarotongan Chief Pasan asking his father to kill a fat man, a story similar to Steel's account of Cakobau (see fig. 4). In the background of this etching can be seen Ta'unga praying to stop this action. Supposedly the 'taste' for cannibalism is inherited from father to son, suggesting it is 'in the blood' and thus indelibly marks the Pacific Islander as forever prone to this condition. However, typical of reports of cannibalism, at no point in Ta'unga's description is there any suggestion that the man was eaten - further demonstrating the fallacious connection made by colonial texts between capital punishment and cannibalism. If someone was put to death, immediately the western observers would assume the corpse was eaten. The absence of notions of western juridical law and disciplinary punishment from colonial descriptions of Fijian society excludes the society from the enlightened Humanism of Europe. Thus the punitive raids of the western colonial administrations, or the death sentences given out by the colonial administration are deemed justice, while the Pacific Islander's capital punishment is deemed 'savagery' and supposedly leads to cannibalism.

⁸² Arens, *The Man Eating Myth* 31.

The emergence of anthropology and representations of cannibalism

With the introduction of ethnography and anthropology into the Pacific, new rules emerged for the observation and recording of cannibalism. Yet much of the simplistic and 'horrific' inferences and speculations found in the missionary texts and travel narratives were to remain. For a start, the veracity of cannibalism relies on the colonial belief that the Islanders always lie. Reverend Watt, a missionary from the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, initiates his account of cannibalism with a cautionary preamble: the "natives ... are capable of spinning a yarn as any old salt."⁸³ Deeming the native informant untrustworthy, Watt is then able to make wholesale decisions about what is true and false in Islander history. He states that "we may safely then conclude, I think, that the practice is not yet totally abandoned" because "we hear every now and again of some one having been cooked and eaten" (227). Factors which prove this statement are the dubious statistic of a falling population, and "according to all accounts, human flesh was esteemed by many as a luxury" (227). These points are in abeyance of the statement that "During my residence of twenty years on the island I have never heard of anyone being eaten" (228). One advantage to the colonial agent of this logical sidestepping is the incorporation of myths, yarns and gossip into factual narratives of the colonial agent. Once again, the mythology of cannibalism here is usurious, the acquisition of too much interest, as a surplus of hearsay is excessively valued by the authoritative position of the colonial administrator. Sweeping statements by colonial administrators such as W.T. Pritchard, demonstrate the twinned construction of horror stories and colonial reminiscences: "It

⁸³ Watt, "Cannibalism as Practised on Tanna" 226-30.

is true that the practice [of cannibalism] was one of the institutions of the country, and that stories told of the deliberate eating of a fellow-man while that fellow-man was still living are facts" (371). Pritchard's verification of stories of eating the living is exemplary of narratives of the 'fascination' that drives much colonial science; objects of study are often selected because of their utility in colonial strategies, yet the 'purity' of the scientific study is dependent on narratives of horror which popularise and promulgate imperial discourses.

The authoritative ethnographic imprimatur is found in a study of one account of cannibalism that is considered by western historians and anthropologists as the most gruesome. Discussed in a *Pacific Island Monthly* (PIM) article by Lew Priday, the narrative states that in 1858, 317 Chinese were captured, fattened while in captivity, and eaten by Rossel Islanders of the Louisiades (a western archipelago in PNG).⁸⁴ Priday notes this account has been a "periodical sensation ... ever since" (83). The Chinese were on board a French ship transporting them to the goldfields of Victoria when it ran aground. The captain and crew left in a long boat for Noumea, from where they mounted a rescue mission with the boat *Styx*. When they returned they found only one survivor. The veracity of the story comes from confirmation given by two highly esteemed figures in colonial administration and anthropology in two separate investigations: the Lieutenant-Governor of Papua, J.H.P Murray and noted anthropologist Dr A.C. Haddon. Murray and Haddon, both consider that though they did not "obtain a clear account,"⁸⁵ they were satisfied that cannibalism had happened.

⁸⁴ Lew Priday, "NG's Most Celebrated Cannibal Feast," *Pacific Island Monthly* 19.10 (1959), 83, 97, 99.

⁸⁵ Murray qtd. in Priday, "NG's most Celebrated" 99.

The islanders themselves stated they were not cannibals; however, this was not convincing enough to sway the assumptions of the western investigators who relied on the discovery of some coins to confirm the massacre and digestion of the Chinese. How coins can signal digestion of human flesh is never broached by the two authorities, but their scholarly training was obviously an asset in reaching this conclusion.

I wish to dwell on this assumption for a moment; evidence of cannibalism in the accounts, to a certain degree, appears decided before any investigation of the event. Priday's interest in cannibalism is not solely through this story, for previously he wrote a history of New Caledonia entitled *Cannibal Island: The Turbulent Story of New Caledonia's Cannibal Coast*.⁸⁶ In representing the Kanaks of New Caledonia, Priday bases their culture around cannibalism:

Cannibalism was indulged in as much from superstition as from lack of meat, and they looked forward to their great cannibal feasts with the relish of the gormandiser. Choice morsels, such as human eyes and the breasts of nubile girl prisoners, were generally reserved for the chiefs, who also possessed more wives than the commonality. (1)

With references to sexuality and excess, Priday's description of Kanak culture is sensationalist and colonial, as indeed is the article for *PIM*. The basis for Priday's article is the appendix to W.E. Armstrong's study of Rossel Island, in which Armstrong quotes extensively from a variety of texts about the event, including Haddon's and Murray's assertions.⁸⁷ To distance his article from the 'periodical sensationalism' found in most accounts, Priday refutes the claim that the Chinese

⁸⁶ Lew Priday, *Cannibal Island: The Turbulent Story of New Caledonia's Cannibal Coast* (Wellington: Reed, 1944).

⁸⁷ W.E. Armstrong, *Rossel Island: An Ethnographic Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1928).

labourers were penned like sheep and proposes a more 'rational' version; instead, they were merely eaten. This is verified through a first-hand account of the rescue of the last surviving Chinese labourer by the French ship, the *Styx*. In giving a synopsis of the account, written in 1861 by a French investigator, V. de Rochas, Priday does not happen to mention that the single reference to cannibalism in the account comes not from the Chinese labourer, but from de Rochas himself.⁸⁸ Priday would rather rely on Haddon's introduction to Armstrong's text, stating the account is "confirmed" by the book, rather than on reading the ambiguous material assembled in the appendix.

Around the same time as Murray's Rossel Island report,⁸⁹ the *Sydney Sun* Correspondent from New Guinea, penned an article titled "Cannibalism: Natives of New Guinea Fondness for Babies." To substantiate claims of baby eating the correspondent writes of Papuans as having no reverence for life and thus no fear of death. The correspondent, under the sub-heading "No Fear of Death," quotes from Murray:

I do not think the average Papuan has the slightest fear of death. I have known a native when charged with murder to fall asleep within five minutes of the beginning of the trial. As a judge I have sentenced a man to death while he yawningly reminded me that he was tired of the whole legal process.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ The account was translated for me by Warren Niesluchowski. The Chinese labourer the *Styx* picked up could not speak French (his first words - 'all dead' - were spoken in English). It appears he demonstrated the captivity and killings by acting out "the drama" in which the Chinese labourer's throats were slit and the Rossel Islanders divided up the "still palpitating bits" (197-8). However, as Rochas notes, these details were only confirmed after the Chinese labourer's story was later translated in Sydney. Member of the *Styx* found a pile of clothes and pig-tails belonging to the Chinese labourers. The Rossel Islanders stated to Sir William Macgregor that the Chinese made rafts and left the Island (211), and they were not eaten. Priday dismisses this by asserting Macgregor "tried not to believe it" (99).

⁸⁹ Murray's report quoted in Armstrong's appendix is dated 1911, and is published in *Annual Report, Papua, 1911-12*, 19-20.

⁹⁰ Correspondent from New Guinea, "Cannibalism: Natives of New Guinea Fondness for Babies," *Sun* 15 Aug. 1911, 3.

There is no questioning, of course, whether Murray would eat the body of the Papuan after he had convicted him to death.

Haddon, similarly, already had a demonstrable colonial interest and knowledge in cannibalism. Haddon was an eminent Cambridge anthropologist and leader of the 1898-1899 Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to the Torres Straits, had published widely on culture and artefacts belonging to various Pacific Island and Aboriginal peoples.⁹¹ There appears more than an accidental interest in cannibalism for Haddon. As one of the first professional anthropologists, Haddon's success came out of a long dispute between ethnology and anthropology, in which anthropologists, under the name "The Cannibal Club" staged a split from the Ethnological Society some forty years before Haddon's arrival.⁹² That European study of non-western culture can fall under the rubric of 'cannibal' demonstrates a bias in the very foundation of the scientific discipline. This was not Haddon's only connection with cannibalism. According to his biographer, A. Hingston Quiggan, the search for body remnants was not novel:

Even in these early days he [Haddon] earned the title of 'head-hunter' which clung to him through life, for somehow or other he acquired some human skulls. He hoped to scare his sisters with them, placing them, dimly illuminated, in a row on a shelf, turning out the light and hiding the matches. He was disappointed when the girls showed no alarm.⁹³

The English anthropologist as cannibal, using the horror of cannibal displays to frighten his sisters. Maybe the disappointment of his sisters' lack of interest lead him to search for greater, and more ghastly episodes. The commodification of horror is

⁹¹ Haddon also studied Borneo: Alfred Cort Haddon, *Headhunters Black, White, and Brown* (London: Methuen, 1901).

⁹² See Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology* 248-62.

⁹³ A. Hingston Quiggan, *Haddon the Head-Hunter* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1942), 7.

only one aspect of the economy of anthropology which profits from the dissemination of cannibal representations and objects. Indeed, in the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to the Torres Straits, one of the earliest, if not the first, organised anthropological field trip, Haddon used his position for commercial gain. Haddon, at this point in his career, was changing his area of scholarship from zoology to anthropology, for he saw possibility in the study of “savage” people;⁹⁴ the possibility, Quiggan elaborates, was also economic:

he [Haddon] had always intended to make the most of his opportunities of seeing and learning what he could of his first ‘savages’; he had also a secondary motive ... as he hoped to recoup himself for some of the expenses of his journey by collecting ‘curios’ for museums. (82)

Among the collection, of course, were skulls of which he acquired a number. The collection turned out to be quite profitable. Quiggan, quoting from Haddon’s field notes, describes his pleasure: “They [Thursday Islanders] know, poor souls, that they have no need for these things, but they *have* need for baccy [tobacco] I really have had wonderful luck” (88). Haddon additionally collected a number of items such as string bags, stone clubs, pots and so on, but these ‘ethnographic’ objects were supplemented by the more sensational skulls.

The consumption and profit through collecting objects of cannibalism can be clearly seen in the importance given to the coins found on Rossel Island. For here is a connection to Derrida’s notion of *usure*; the value of the coins in a particular economy is erased - they are not valuable as money - yet there is a surplus, an “acquisition of too much interest” (210) in that the coins verify, and this is their

⁹⁴ Haddon, according to a footnote supplied by Quiggan, was careful of his use of the term ‘savage.’ He distinguished the noun from the verb: the noun meaning “backward people” which describes non-Europeans, while the verb meant acts of barbarity. A concealing manoeuvre which promises a neutral description but does no such thing. Quiggan, *Haddon the Head-Hunter* 83n2.

excessive value and interest in white mythology, an account of cannibalism. Their value is to make 'savage' the Rossel Islanders and validate the learned research of Haddon and Murray. Thus, even though the signification of cannibalism has been erased - there are no bodies or accounts of the cannibal activity - a western system of value, notably coins, can enter to inscribe an imperial economy: a value, a history, and a morality. For in these scientific histories can be seen the west's ethnocentric rationalism attempting to extricate a valorised practice of consumption through denying its own basis in practices of cannibalism on the bodies of the Pacific Islander.

The multiple sexual, mercantile, and moral values of colonial stereotypes are also the focus of the next chapter which continues the investigation of stereotypes as a white mythology. Australian colonial discourse's production of the Pacific as a region available for colonisation is validated these representations of peoples and cultures. The observation and discussion of Pacific Islander women, in disciplines such as colonial anthropology and contemporary post-colonial studies, continues to profit western institutions and colonial nations; this profit which is based on the consumption of the sexualised bodies of Pacific Islander women, moreover, must be considered in the context of representations of cannibalism.

Sexualising Pacific Islander Women.

Chapter six.

In this section I wish to outline, in the context of Australian colonial discourse, what Anne McClintock has called the “erotics of engulfment” in the discursive production of the Pacific.¹ In the last chapter I detailed how a ‘fascination’ with the mythology of cannibalism, articulated in scientific, popular and literary discourses, by the western observer constructed the Pacific Islander as a consumable commodity; as an act of ‘barbarism’ or ‘savagery’ the difference of Pacific Islander cultures is appropriated into a western moral and scientific order. It is important to extend this critique to the stereotype of the sexualised Pacific Islander woman which similarly fundamentally structures Pacific Islander identity in western representation. There is, indeed, no argument of the ubiquity of this representation in the texts describing the Pacific Islands to a western audience. In many ways this stereotype operates through similar colonial strategies representing cannibalism, and inscribes a related politics of consumption on the bodies and cultures of Pacific Islanders. However, mobilised in the stereotype of the sexualised Pacific Islander woman are projects to organise colonial intervention through relations of power reliant on western classifications of gender and sexuality. Louis Montrose in his examination of the “protocolonialist discourse of discovery”² rightly emphasises a necessary divergence between gendering and sexual conduct: the gendering of terrain as feminine is distinct from the articulation of exploration and settlement in sexual terms. However, as Montrose

¹ Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 24.

² Louis Montrose, “The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery” *Representations* 33 (1991), 2.

states, in both we see that “gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power.”³ In my examination of colonial narratives and contemporary critical analyses I want to outline how the two projects - gendering and sexualising - operate in colonial discourse to justify colonial appropriation and ‘engulfment.’ It is pertinent to reassert the function of the stereotype in terms of consumption, of engulfing, for this underscores the very contradictory rhetorics when colonial discourse at one point decries the barbarity of Pacific Islander’s human consumption while circulating the flesh of the Pacific Islander woman as an exchangeable and consumable product.

I also must mark the problematic status of my argument in this chapter for it reproduces the knowledge which makes possible the stereotype, and situates the bodies, identities, and sexualities of Pacific Islander women as the subject of a western interventionist examination. The critical theories I use to interrogate colonialism can at the same time compliment and extend the range of colonial discourse, for the Pacific Islander, as subject to the west’s ‘fascination,’ remains the material commodity of the industry. Enrolled in some of the west’s post-colonial gestures to criticise the inaccuracy of the stereotype is a significant avoidance of enunciating the positions which produce this knowledge, as most studies are ordered by the distinctions of First and Third World, colonisers and colonised. An awareness of this does not absolve my position from a complicity with the commerce of western academia; however, I wish this chapter to gesture towards a possible destabilising of the ‘right’ to observe, reproduce, and study in western academic institutions (a ‘right’ often articulated as Humanist concepts such as benevolence, altruism and sympathy),

³ Montrose, “The Work of Gender” 1. Montrose is quoting Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York, 1988), 1.

and the negation of a speaking position of the western observer which seeks to transcend the commercial and political luxury from which the western academic can research. The trajectory for this chapter cannot simply be a description of the stereotype but must rather locate disruptions to the order of the coloniser's position of power. A crucial issue here is to recognise agency in Pacific Islander women's resistance of the stereotype, a dissidence that is situated in the unequal relationships of power, between the powerful west and the Pacific Islander woman. By examining one representation, John Webber's portrait "Poedua, Daughter of Oree, Chief of Lulaietea, one of the Society Islands,"⁴ I will map the context of European representations of sexuality and their function in colonial discourse; then I consider how this portrait, so obviously valued by the investment of European desire, is transformed into a sign of Pacific Islander sexual identity, in particular a transformation invigorated by contemporary western art history and Pacific History discourses.

To introduce these issues, and elaborate on the issue of agency, I turn to Rey Chow's discussion on the "space of the native"⁵ in American cultural discourse. Chow raises the criticism that Malek Alloula's *The Colonial Harem*, even as a text of cultural criticism, "can further engender exploitation of the native" (39). Chow writes:

What results [from Alloula's text] is neither a dismantling of the pornographic apparatus of imperialist domination nor a resortation of the native to her "authentic" history but a perfect symmetry between the

⁴ See fig. 5. This is taken from Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*, 2nd. ed. (Melbourne: Oxford UP, 1989), 97.

⁵ Rey Chow, "Where Have all the Natives Gone?" *Writing Diaspora: Tactics of Intervention in Contemporary Cultural Studies* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1993), 27-54. Chow's use of 'native' is problematic in that it conflates Native Americans with peoples from the Third World.

imperialist and anti-imperialist gazes, which cross over the images of the native woman as silent objects.⁶

Post-colonial or post structuralist discourses, which this thesis articulates, are not safe from the danger of becoming accomplices to the colonialism they critique. The reproduction of Pacific Islander identities as sexualised bodies institutes an economy of knowledge primarily available through western critical discourse. Chow stages a criticism of the coloniser's gaze, which is relevant to my argument, by describing potential agency in the photograph of the naked colonised woman:

When the colonizer undresses her, the native's nakedness stares back at him both as the defiled image of his creation and as the indifferent gaze that says, "there was nothing - no secret - to be unveiled underneath my clothes. That secret is your phantasm." (52)

Chow's argument is important, and problematic, for a number of reasons. Indigenous agency is located, but in the rather limiting and hence problematic 'indifference' of the indigene. Also the nakedness, in this scenario, both exposes the indigene to the coloniser and, importantly, exposes the coloniser to 'his' own vulnerable phantasm. Yet, there is no recognition of vastly unequal relationships of power - indifference is hardly a defence for sexual violence or economic exploitation. Similarly, there is a need to allocate status to the almost monopolistic control of representation by the coloniser in this relationship. That the nakedness is, most often, displayed on a postcard, described in an adventure narrative or poem, or photographed for western texts delimits the possibility for 'indifference.' The staring back must be traced

⁶ Chow, *Writing Diaspora* 41. Malek Alloula, *The Colonial Harem*, trans. Myrna Godzich and Wlad Godzich (Minneapolis: U Of Minnesota P, 1986). There are a number of criticisms of Alloula's text, specifically around how he easily reproduces the imperial gaze in his criticism of it. See Winifred Woodhull, "Unveiling Algeria," *Genders* 10 (1991), 121-26; Anne Maxwell, "'Native' Woman and Tourism: A Site of Contested Orientalism," *Third Text* 26 (1994), 21-2; Ali Behdad, *Belated Travellers: Orientalism in the Age of Colonial Dissolution* (Durham: Duke UP, 1994), 6-9. Behdad criticises Alloula for provoking colonial nostalgia.

through the conventions of the western genre in which the nakedness is represented. I wish to locate the commercial network of the consumption of this nakedness in colonising institutions, and, however problematically, exploit the phantasm as a vulnerable nakedness of the coloniser. Exposing the desire of the coloniser disarticulates the position of morally superior and scientifically objective observer which validates so much colonial observation.

A genealogy of sexual identity in the Pacific

A recent travel narrative by Scott Malcomson, *Tuturani*,⁷ positions itself as a politically left-wing narrative that wishes to examine three substantial issues in Pacific Island cultural politics: race, national identity, and sex. There is a keen focus on independence movements, racism, and the legacy of United States imperialism; however, the subject of sex, though provided as a framing principle of the text, is rarely broached. When the topic is finally discussed, on two occasions, and typically in Tahiti where the response is that Tahitian women are “modest and chaste” (249), it is Malcomson who brings up the issue. Interestingly, Malcomson’s topic of ‘sex’ is not about gender identities or reproductive politics but rather about promiscuity and eroticism. There is an assumption that the audience knows already what this topic of ‘sex’ means for at no point is the domain of his investigation defined and rather the stereotype, almost as a secret which can neither be found or discussed, remains as a part of the logical framework of the text.

⁷ Scott L. Malcomson, *Tuturani: A Political Journey into the Pacific Islands* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1990). Paul Theroux, in his colonialist travel narrative, uses Bronislaw Malinowski’s *The Sexual Life of Savages* as his guide and introduction to the Pacific Islands. Paul Theroux, *The Happy Isles of Oceania: Paddling the Pacific* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1992).

That the western narrator must make apparent the stereotype reiterates Malcomson's introductory point that "Western civilisation has found the islands to be useful sources of material with which to construct its own image" (19); Malcomson must transport the stereotypes into the region in order to discuss them, exemplifying a white mythology about sex and the Pacific that "reassembles and reflects the culture of the west."⁸ The Pacific Island woman is sexualised to become a metaphor of domination; the cultures and identities of Pacific Islander are signified as passive and alluring in colonial discourse, and desirous in a formation of western aesthetics and value. The metaphor of the 'Tahitian Venus,' an example that I will soon examine, proposes a transcendent idea of beauty, an aesthetics only knowable through western Reason. Precisely through commodification, the metaphor circulates within a western system of consumption managed by the coloniser, an economy which is to profit colonial nations. The profit does not terminate, moreover, with the decline of colonial administration, for these stereotypes are reproduced in popular culture, tourist and travel narratives such as Malcomson's, and art history. Malcomson's text emerges from a genealogy of scientific and travel narratives concerned with the sexuality of Pacific Islander. In 1928 the publication of Margaret Mead's *Coming of Age in Samoa*,⁹ a study of the sexuality of teenage Samoan women, was to reformulate Pacific Islander sexuality, by reading the culture using anthropological science, for a twentieth century western audience. According to Andrew Ross the text "had a profound effect on the cultural mores of the USA,"¹⁰ for Mead's text was to impact

⁸ Jacques Derrida, "White Mythology," *Margins of Philosophy*, trans. Alan Bass (Chicago: Chicago UP, 1982), 213.

⁹ Margaret Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa: A Study of Adolescence and Sex in Primitive Societies* (1928; London: Penguin, 1965).

¹⁰ Andrew Ross, *The Chicago Gangster Theory of Life* (London: Verso, 1995), 36.

on American society's perception of teenagers and sexuality, but also to consolidate the myth of the Pacific Islander sexuality into scientific fact. Albert Wendt writes that Mead's view of Samoa "is part of that escapist tradition which began with Papalagi's search for El Dorado and the Noble Savage; a utopian mirror she was holding up to industrialised societies' ills."¹¹ A second study in this period which again concentrates on Pacific Islander sexuality is Bronislaw Malinowski's *The Sexual Lives of Savages*.¹² These studies were in part an application of western-based theories of anthropology, such as cultural determinism, or theories of sexuality by Freud and Havelock Ellis,¹³ tested on Pacific Islander culture. This was, according to Wendt, "as if we don't know much about ourselves; we only exist in the debate!"¹⁴ From these institutionally sanctioned positions the stereotype of the sexualised Pacific Islander woman could be articulated and dispersed, for in a roundabout fashion the necessity of scientific observation was made possible by an extensive textual record by 'imaginative' Europeans of the sexualised Pacific Islander woman.

I do not wish to propose that colonial stereotypes of Pacific Island women can be reductively categorised in the metaphor of the 'Tahitian Venus' or any other simple sexualisation as an idealisation of western beauty. When contextualised with Australian colonialism in Melanesia, sexualised identity is more complex. As I

¹¹ Albert Wendt, "Pacific Maps and Fiction(s), A Personal Journey," *Asian and Pacific Inscriptions: Identities, Ethnicities, Nationalities*, ed. Suvendrini Perera (Melbourne: Meridian Books, 1995), 29.

¹² Bronislaw Malinowski, *The Sexual Lives of Savages: An Ethnological Account of Courtship, Marriage, and Family Among the Natives of the Trobriand Islands and British New Guinea* (London: Routledge, 1929).

¹³ Havelock Ellis also wrote the preface to Malinowski's *The Sexual Life of Savages*. He was, according to Paul Robinson, a "central figure in the emergence of [the] modern sexual ethos." Paul Robinson, *The Modernisation of Sex: Havelock Ellis, Alfred Kingsley, William Masters, and Virginia Johnson* (London: Paul Elek, 1976), 3.

¹⁴ Wendt, "Pacific Maps" 31.

outlined last chapter, the colonial production of Melanesia was, alongside classifications of skin colour and 'primitive' society, organised in part by categorising the women as "hideous."¹⁵ The racist categorisation of women were based most clearly on physical attributes such as skin colour. However, associated with these categorisations Melanesian women were considered by European observers to be caught in positions of servitude and barbarity, they were the labourers and agriculturalists for communities in which men apparently did little work. Indeed, as Margaret Jolly has pointed out, there are three "refrains" of Melanesian women from Cook's second voyage: "they are rarely seen, [they are] more ugly than men, and that women were obviously in a debased situation."¹⁶ The concepts of gendering and sexualising must be distinguished at this point, for a discourse which debases women as 'hideous' still signifies relationships of power with gender, a signification incorporating the bodies of Pacific Islander women. The Australian shipping company Burns Philp published a tourist brochure, *Picturesque Travel*, on cruises to Papua in 1913.¹⁷ Proudly claimed as the "first of the adjoining Pacific possessions," (6) the details of the cruise are contextualised with photographs of Papua New Guinean women; the photographs of the head and shoulders of the women, almost like a criminal mug-shot, subscribe theories of physiognomy and phrenology in the racist belief that, according to Alan Sekula, "the surface of the body and especially the face

¹⁵ Nicholas Thomas, "The Force of Ethnology: Origins and Significance of the Melanesia/Polynesia Division," *Current Anthropology* 30.1 (1989), 30.

¹⁶ Margaret Jolly, "'Ill-Natured Comparisons': Racism and Relativism in European Representations of ni-Vanuatu from Cook's Second Voyage," *History and Anthropology* 5.3-4 (1992), 341.

¹⁷ Burns Philp and Company, *Picturesque Travel* (Sydney: Burns Philp and Company, 1913). This brochure was the first of an annual series of *Picturesque Travel*.

and head, bore the outward signs of inner character.”¹⁸ Photographs of the face, continues Sekula, “establish the terrain of the other,”(345) and “promise more than a wealth of detail; [photography] promised to reduce nature to its geometrical essence” (352). The ‘essence,’ which the photographs of the Papua New Guinea women promise, is that Australia’s ‘first possession’ is gendered female. The text surrounding these photographs describes the “centres of interest” to the visitor, and in these passages Papua New Guinea communities are cast as feminine and a subject of interest to the male tourist:

Strangely quaint seem these leafy huts.... And the people! Such bright, happy, brown barbarians indolently wiling away time, sunning themselves in chatter, gossiping groups, or employed in pottery making, cooking, or other light pursuits. How brain-tired city men envy them their care-free existence. The contrast from the busy whirl of civilisation is startling. (8)

The activities of gossip and cooking watched by the men from ‘civilisation’ consolidates the colonial binary opposition between civilised and primitive with gender qualifiers of masculine and feminine. Papua New Guinean is signified almost exclusively in the photographs and the text by women. Thus announced is the passive servility of Papua New Guinea, as the first of a possible number of ‘possessions,’ and as a cooperative dominion of Australia. That Papua New Guinea is gendered in this way this does not negate within colonial discourse the sexualisation of Melanesian women in many Australian colonial texts, for women are traded commodities, freely available for sex, and in abundance in many stories. It is this particularly powerful

¹⁸ Alan Sekula, “The Body and the Archive,” *The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography*, ed. Richard Bolton (Cambridge MS: MIT Press, 1989), 347.

stereotype of the sexually available woman in the discursive production of the Pacific which I concentrate on first.¹⁹

The discursive production of the stereotypes of the sexualised Pacific Islander woman emerged as a pervasive figure with the accounts from the first English and French ships describing Tahiti. Previous Spanish and Dutch expeditions to the Pacific of the sixteenth and seventeenth century did comment on women's sexuality and proceeded rhetorically to justify the possession of terrain through gender. De Quiros used the feminine gender to call the first islands he landed on La Australia del Espirito Santo and added he "was greatly impressed by the beauty of the light-skinned Polynesians" of the Cook Islands. He named the islands 'Islas de Gente Hermosa,' 'Island of the Beautiful People.'²⁰ Indeed, the wealth of critical interrogations of the Spanish invasion of the Americas emphasises that discourses of discovery employed gender as an organising relationship of power, most redolent in the famous engraving "America" in which the conceptualisation of the non-western

¹⁹ For a reading of this stereotype see Joseph Pugliese, "Cartographies Of Violence Heterotopias and the Barbarism of Western Law," *The Australian Feminist Law Journal* 7 (1996), 21-35. An extreme example of these racist and patriarchal narratives is Keith Willey, "The Diary of Ginger Palmer," *Naked Island and Other South Sea Stories* (Sydney: Hodder and Stoughton, 1970), 77-124. Willey describes life in Papua New Guinea for Palmer as "plenty of food and tobacco, lots to drink, and more women than [Palmer] could handle" (92).

²⁰ William Eisler, *The Furthest Shore: Images of Terra Australia from the Middle Ages to Captain Cook* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995) 46. Becke was to use the Spanish name as a title for an anthropological study: Louis Becke, "Gente Hermosa: The Island of 'Beautiful People'," *Wild Life in Southern Seas* (London: T. Fischer Unwin, 1897). Eisler states that later Dutch descriptions of Polynesia were "far from the enticing image of the Polynesian woman so familiar to us from eighteenth-century travel books" (73). Ross Gibson's reading of de Quiros's voyage considers the "indeterminacy" of the land, leading to an unfulfilled desire in de Quiros, were factors in the failure of the colony (26). This is a reading which could, but fails, to accommodate a gendered gaze. Ross Gibson, "I Could Not See As Much as I Desired," *Pirating the Pacific: Images of Travel, Trade and Tourism*, ed. Ann Stephen (Sydney: Powerhouse Publishing, 1993). The extensive study of the Spanish period of European intervention is O.H.K. Spate, *The Pacific Since Magellan. Volume One: The Spanish Lake* (London: Croom Helm, 1979).

other in terms of sexuality is displayed.²¹ From this “tradition of porno-tropics”²² and the later political and cultural context of eighteenth-century England and France emerges stereotypes such as the ‘Tahitian Venus.’

The European Romantic movement valorised ideas and actions that were apparently ‘natural’ and ‘untainted’ by ‘civilisation’ and were to influence the narratives of British and French ‘voyages of discovery.’ The anthropologist, W.H.R. Rivers writes the importance of his study of Melanesia is

providing a basis for the analysis of human culture ... [and] is the direct result of the insular character. It is only through the isolation due to this character that there have been preserved, often apparently in a wonderfully pure form, samples of cultures which have contributed to the building ... of the great historical civilisation of the earth.²³

The prevalent ‘noble savage’ myth attributable to Jean Jacque Rousseau and Diderot relates precisely to this consideration that Pacific Island cultures have the ‘insular character’ and can thus display, anachronistically, what Europe was. The ‘noble savage’ stereotype projected a transforming politics of sexuality in Europe; sex, according to Diderot, is the “noblest urge of nature.”²⁴ Alongside the configurations of Romanticism and science these social transformations, according to Michel

²¹ For comments see Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492-1797* (London: Routledge, 1992), 1-2; Montrose, “The Work of Gender” 3-7; McClintock, *Imperial Leather* 24-7; Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History*, trans. Tom Conley (New York: Columbia UP, 1988), xxv-xxvii. See also Alan Bewell who examines the allegorical representation of the continents as women (in particular the geopolitical understanding of Polynesia) in the frontispiece of Atlases. Alan Bewell, “Constructed Places, Constructed Peoples: Charting the Improvement of the Female Body in the Pacific,” *Eighteenth-Century Life* 18 (1994), 37-54.

²² McClintock, *Imperial Leather* 22.

²³ Qtd. in Tom Harrison, *Savage Civilisation* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1937), i.

²⁴ Qtd. in Roy Porter, “The Exotic as Erotic: Captain Cook at Tahiti,” *Exoticism in the Enlightenment*, eds. G.S. Rousseau and Roy Porter (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1990), 120. For an examination of Diderot’s representation of the ‘Noble Savage’ in the *Supplement to Bougainville’s Voyage* and the *Encyclopedia* see Claude Rawson, “Savages Noble and Ignoble: Natives, Cannibals, Third Parties, and Others in South Pacific Narratives by Gulliver, Bougainville, and Diderot, With notes on the *Encyclopédie* and on Voltaire,” *Eighteenth-Century Life* 18 (1994), 168-97.

Foucault, are in a period in which sexuality becomes a topic of investigation and discussion. Formulated as an object to be disciplined by surveillance, sex was now administered: "In the eighteenth century, sex became a 'police' matter."²⁵ The "discursive explosion" (38) relating to this new disciplinary formation, writes Foucault, is governed by the discourse of science forming a *scientia sexualis*. Sexuality emerges as a valid topic for study of the European scientific community, among whose ranks were the European explorers. Thus the accounts of Tahitian sexuality for the European audience were not simply entertaining but pedagogical. Anne Stoler examines this twinned formation of sexuality in her contextualisation of European discourses of sexuality with colonialism: "The management of European sexuality in the colonies was a class and gender-specific project that animated a range of longings as much as it was a consequence of them."²⁶ European audiences learnt of the sexualised Pacific from the accounts published in Europe after the return of the first English and French voyages to Tahiti: Samuel Wallis in 1767, Louis-Antoine Bougainville in 1768 and James Cook in 1769. The narratives of these Europeans visiting Tahiti mark the Pacific Island women as a site of sexual liberty, and simultaneously a practice of European restraint and benevolence.

Details of the European's activities circulated predominantly through the publication of the journals and diaries of the senior seamen on board, but they also only compounded much gossip and hearsay already in European society.²⁷ It is useful

²⁵ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (1976; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987), 24.

²⁶ Anne Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham: Duke UP, 1995), 176.

²⁷ Among the accounts, George Robertson, the Master of Wallis's *Dolphin*, published an account. Bougainville and his surgeon, Philibert Commerson published their accounts around a year after returning, which were translated into English in 1773; Cook's edited journals by John

to mention a couple of the many prominently repeated stories deemed central to these stereotypes to map the stereotype in terms of colonialism and discipline.²⁸ The term 'Venus' can be found in Louis-Antoine Bougainville's much repeated description of a naked girl on the deck of his boat when it first reached Tahiti:

The girl carelessly dropped a cloth, which covered her, and appeared to the eyes of all beholders, such as Venus showed herself to the Phrygian shepherd, having, indeed, the celestial form of that goddess. Both sailors and soldiers endeavoured to come [near]. At last our cares succeeded in keeping these bewitched fellows in order, though it was no less difficult to keep command ourselves.²⁹

Tahitian culture is appropriated, on one level, into European pre-history as ancient Greek society.³⁰ In the woman's disrobing is the 'defilement' Chow writes of, yet the concomitant 'indifference' Chow suggests as a resistance, is difficult to register. What is apparent, rather, is a recognition of power to bewitch; related to the occult 'fascination,' the supernatural power to bewitch the sailors situates the colonised bodies as dangerous commodities that can spellbind the European man. Yet the very danger is underscored by the logic of colonialism which, here, insists that the

Hawkesworth, first published in 1773, included the journals of Banks, Wallis and Byron. Many texts note the rapidity with which rumours of Tahitian cultural practices spread before the publications of the journals, yet there are few details of the mediums of communication spreading the information.

²⁸ There are an extensive number of texts dealing with the reports from Tahiti: Bernard Smith's research in *European Visions and Imagining the Pacific: In the Wake of the Cook Voyages* (Melbourne: Melbourne UP, 1992); and Neil Rennie, *Far Fetched Facts: The Literature of Travel and the Idea of the South Seas* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1995); a detailed survey of this literature is given in Roy Porter, "The Exotic as Erotic." For a criticism of the various European myths, and a contextualisation in Tahitian culture, see W.H. Pearson, "European Intimidation and the Myth of Tahiti," *Journal of Pacific History* 4 (1969), 199-217.

²⁹ Qtd. in Kerry Howe, *Where the Waves Fall: A New South Sea Islands History from First Settlement to Colonial Rule* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1984), 84. The quote is from Louis-Antoine Bougainville, *A Voyage Around the World ... in the Frigate La Boudeuse...* (1772).

³⁰ Strictly speaking, Venus is the Roman equivalent of Aphrodite. Yet these European descriptions, influenced strongly by the burgeoning Romantic movement and willing to homogenise different cultural myths, were to constantly evoke through the Roman 'Venus' Tahiti as an example of the ancient Greek 'Golden Age.' Bougainville named the islands 'la nouvelle Cythère.' See Smith, *European Visions* 42-5.

Tahitians invite their own colonisation: the open display suggesting a desire to be possessed.³¹

That the Tahitian woman is idealised as a goddess attributes beauty to a transcendent quality (erasing its European source) and positions the gaze as contemporary compared to the mythical, ancient Tahitian woman. The term Venus has multiple uses in colonial discourse. Not only as an anachronistic Greek myth, Venus is the 'heavenly body,' to introduce another colonialist trope, which would make navigation a more accurate science and hence be of value to the imperial project. Cook's stay at Matavai Bay for three months was to record the transit of the planet Venus to aid in the determination of solar and lunar distances.³² The scientific observation of the planet Venus is compounded with Banks and Cook's apparent scientific and object observation of Tahitian culture, as if the sexualisation is a function of scientific fact and not imperial propaganda.

The authority of the colonised gaze and the sexualised economy is still found in contemporary readings of these accounts. Neil Rennie's *Far-Fetched Facts*, dwells extensively on representations of Tahitian women, descriptions of sexual intercourse and nudity, yet at no point does he consider why Europeans spent so much time on these descriptions, nor if there was possibly some political agenda in them. His statement on Bougainville's passage on the 'Tahitian Venus' is telling:

³¹ See Montrose, "The Work of Gender" 19; Patricia Parker, *Literary Fat Ladies: Rhetoric, Gender, Property* (New York: Methuen, 1987), 132-40.

³² See Dava Sobel for a discussion on competition between astronomical and temporal measurements. Dava Sobel, *Longitude: The true story of a lone genius who solved the greatest scientific problem of his time* (London: Fourth Estate, 1996), 114-7.

Thus Tahiti discovered herself to the city of Paris, in Bougainville's *Voyage*, as Venus did to the shepherd in classical myth. Thus the Tahiti of myth and literature was publicly revealed.³³

The 'public' to Rennie (which seems a euphemism for 'civilisation') brings the Tahitian woman to consciousness in a strictly Hegelian program. What the metaphor, and Rennie's reading 'reveals' is Tahiti as a passive colonised terrain metaphorised as woman. Legitimising the Pacific Islander woman as object of the west's gaze, only through being seen by the western observer does Tahiti enter history. The Tahitian woman is trapped in an undiscovered, ahistorical situation till she apparently willingly 'reveals' and invites colonisation and appropriation. Thus Rennie can justify, and indeed reproduce, the patriarchal gaze of colonialism.

There are a number of stories in the European narratives frequently referred to, and by implication are deemed representative of Pacific Islander society. Instances of public sexual intercourse, "indecent" dances,³⁴ and nudity which punctuate the journals, and are of utmost concern to critics like Rennie, are the defining parameters of Tahitian, and by implication Pacific Islander culture. Tahiti was the subject of many Romantic poems; satires were written on activities such as Sir Joseph Banks's relationship with an attendant of the court of Queen Parea,³⁵ which was retold in Hawkesworth's edited journals. Suggestions were made that Banks spent more time concentrating on women than botany, and the 'revelation' of sexuality recounted by Hawkesworth was a controversy to English society.³⁶ Hawkesworth writes that

³³ Rennie, *Far Fetched Facts* 117.

³⁴ Qtd. in Porter, "The Exotic as Erotic" 127. Porter quotes from James Cook's *Journal*.

³⁵ There are a number of spellings for Parea, including Oborea and Oberea.

³⁶ Pearson notes thirteen satirical poems before 1780. W.H. Pearson, *Rifled Sanctuaries: Some Views of the Pacific Islands in Western Literature to 1900* (Auckland: Auckland UP, 1982) 18. For details on the satires see Smith, *European Visions* 45-51 and Rennie, *Far Fetched Facts* 98-108. Among the European responses is a performance, 'The Rites of Venus,' supposedly a

Banks, after staying the night at Queen Parea's, found his clothes stolen and had to return to the ship dressed "half English and half Indian."³⁷ A satire of the time states

Behold, a Queen her Gul o'er reaches;

first steals, and then she wears his breeches³⁸

Queen Parea in the satires is a comic rendition of English royalty: her nudity, 'amorous' attentiveness to Banks, and tattooed buttocks exemplify Pacific political structures as a weak parody of the stronger European states. The parody, moreover, is figured in her appropriation of European dress, for clothing herself in Bank's trousers signifies both a misrecognition of gender (she wears men's clothes) and thus the threat a Tahitian woman poses to the masculinity of the European. Most crucially emphasised in satires such as these is the Tahitian women's apparent willingness for sexual relationships with European sailors. The economic underpinning of the sexual relationship initiated, according to Howe, a period of sexual politics where the Tahitians, no match for the firepower of the French and English ships, traded instead through 'prostitution.'³⁹ Pearson has questioned whether the introduction of an exchange based on sex was part of Tahitian culture, or whether it was one of the few

Tahitian sexual ritual, by twelve couples, put on by Charlotte Hayes, a Madame of a French brothel. For discussion of Ohera myth and the literature associated with it see Bridget Orr, "'Southern Passions Mix with Northern Art: Miscegenation and the *Endeavour* Voyage,'" *Eighteenth-Century Life* 18 (1994), 212-31. Orr argues these satires present "normative heterosexuality" (221) and a discourse of interdiction on 'miscegenation.'

³⁷ Porter, "The Exotic as Erotic" 133. Porter quotes from Sir Joseph Banks's *Journal*, 282. See also Jonathan Lamb, "Circumstances Surrounding the Death of John Hawkesworth," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 18 (1994), 97-113.

³⁸ Smith, *European Visions* 147.

³⁹ Howe, *Where the Waves Fall* 87. I place 'prostitution' in quote marks because, as Caroline Ralston, points out, terms such as 'prostitution' "ignore the women's own experience and their perceptions of it, and condemn it from a particular cultural and religious perspective" (76). Caroline Ralston, "Polyandry, 'Pollution,' 'Prostitution': the problems of eurocentrism and androcentrism in Polynesian Studies," *Crossing Boundaries: Feminism and the Critique of Knowledge*, eds. B.E. Caine, Elizabeth Grosz and M. de Lepervanche (North Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1988), 71-80.

commodities the Tahitian men could trade,⁴⁰ refuting the association between Tahitian society and 'open' and 'natural' sexual practices.⁴¹ Rather than the Europeans 'revealing' a sexually available Tahitian woman, revealed is a mercantile exchange in which Tahitian culture is represented by the west as anachronistic and willing its possession by Europe.

Webber's *Poedua* as a commodity in contemporary criticism

Out of the numerous narratives sexualising Pacific Islander identities, I turn to John Webber's portrait "Poedua, Daughter of Oree, Chief of Lulaietea, one of the Society Islands." In the discursive nexus around this portrait can be noted the conditions promoting the sexualisation of the Pacific, the profit from sexualising the region, and the politics of the commodification and consumption of the Pacific Islander woman. Painted around 1785 from drawings made on Cook's third voyage, the portrait is encircled by the west's production and 'fascination' with Pacific Islander sexuality. While Webber's portrait is not by an Australian, nor is its production associated with Australian colonialism in the Pacific, preservation and criticism of it operates with Australian discourses of colonialism. It has been suggested that the portrait of Poedua, a Tahitian girl (she apparently was about 14 when painted) was drawn by Webber when the girl was imprisoned on the *Discovery* for five days when she was

⁴⁰ Pearson notes that it was four days before sex was traded, and hence sex wasn't spontaneously and openly traded from the start. Sexual trade was directed, so the European recorded, by the Tahitian men and to the "unease" of the women. Pearson, "European Intimidation" 211.

⁴¹ Marshal Sahlins structures his study of Cook's meeting with Hawaiians in terms of a sexual economy - the Hawaiian people transformed under his rubric of "Venus Observed." In this economy Sahlins argues the Hawaiian women would gain status in their community from the goods gained by having sex with the British sailors. Marshal Sahlins. *Islands of History* (Chicago: Chicago UP, 1985), 6-8.

held ransom by Cook and his crew. The portrait was completed later in England. Two sailors had deserted ship for Tahiti on November 24, 1777, perhaps because they wished not to make the journey to the Arctic circle and instead live in the relative comfort of Tahiti. Cook took three hostages, Teura, the son of Orio, the chieftain of Raiatea, his daughter, Poedua, and his son in law (Poedua's husband) Moetua, and locked them in a captain's cabin; they were not to be released till the deserting sailors were returned.⁴² Under these conditions of captivity the portrait was drawn. By examining this portrait I want to map some of the politics of colonialism, art history, criticism, and commodification, drawing attention to the complicity of anti-imperial or post-colonial discourse with the colonialism it critiques through the preservation and criticism of this portrait.

There are three versions of the portrait, one in the English National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, one in the National Gallery of Australia, and one in the possession of Takau Pomare, whose "whereabouts is not known."⁴³ That the portrait survives in western archives, and is widely recorded in a number of critical works suggests its importance to these cultures. Portraiture remains a valued genre of painting, for as Bernard Smith points out, the title page of the three-volumed official account of the third voyage advertises the "Variety of Portraits of Persons, Views of

⁴² Smith writes that Orio (the Chieftain) and not his son Teura, was the third hostage. Smith, *Imagining* 210. He corrects, this however, in William Eisler and Bernard Smith, eds., *Terra Australis: The Furthest Shore* (Sydney: Art Gallery of New South Wales, 1988), 181. According to Cook's journals he detained the son, daughter, and son-in-law. The reason Cook went to such lengths, he writes, was "to save the son of a brother Officer from being lost to his country." Poedua, hence, acts as commodity to trade between men - between Cook and his 'brother Officer,' and Cook and the Tahitian chief. Captain James Cook, *The Voyages of Discovery of Captain James Cook*, unabridged (London: Ward, Locke, Bowden, n.d.), 803.

⁴³ Eisler, *Terra Australis* 181. Takau Pomare is presumably related to the Tahitian Pomare royal family, but I am unsure of his exact identity.

Places ... Drawn by Mr Webber,"⁴⁴ hence suggesting public interest in Webber's portraits. The portrait is one of the few full-sized portraits of a named Pacific Island subject, and opens crucial questions on the practice of portraiture.⁴⁵ Portraiture was a critically esteemed category in the fine art academy of the eighteenth century; Smith notes that it "provided a visual record not only of the appearance, but the role and class of the person portrayed.... It proved links with the past, sustained tradition, [and] revived ancestral memories."⁴⁶ However, this painting does not comfortably fit into the genre of the traditional European portrait, for there are a number of conventions transgressed. While the posture, title, and position of the subject on the canvas suggests a compliance to portraiture, the tropical background (with banana fronds) and Tahitian fan include elements which the English audience would consider 'exotic.' In addition Poedua is partially naked, suggesting the painting is a conjunction of the nude, the ethnographic study, and the European portrait, and may be considered an early example of the colonial nude widespread in orientalist art.

The nude, according to conservative art historian Kenneth Clarke, is "the chief link to classic disciplines."⁴⁷ This supposed Classicism, Olivier Richon states in relation to Orientalist art, makes sure the "Orient is processed and recycled through a Greek and Roman mould in order to become prehistoric Antiquity."⁴⁸ For the nakedness of Poedua incorporates a temporal qualification which is to inform the

⁴⁴ Smith, *European Visions* 109.

⁴⁵ Another well known portrait is Joshua Reynold's portrait of Omai, a Tahitian who returned with Cook and circulated in the English Aristocracy for some years before returning to Tahiti. See E.H. McCormack, *Omai: Pacific Envoy* (Auckland: Oxford UP, 1977).

⁴⁶ Smith, *Imagining the Pacific* 31.

⁴⁷ Kenneth Clarke, *The Nude: A Study of Ideal Art* (London: John Murray, 1956).

⁴⁸ Olivier Richon, "Representation, The Despot and the Harem: Some Questions around an Academic Orientalist Painting by Lecomte-Du-Nouy," *Europe and Its Others*, vol. 1, ed. Francis Barker *et al* (Colchester: U of Essex P, 1985), 2.

sexualised identity with European sciences of race. In nineteenth-century Orientalist art the scenes of Turkish baths and naked women by artists such as Ingres and Jean-Léon Gérôme drew represented non-western cultures as sexually saturated, lavish, and almost mythological.⁴⁹ While there are some obvious geographic and cultural distinctions between Orientalism and Webber's portrait, for Poedua is drawn in the context of the English Romanticism, there is in the 'revelation' a similar conviction that European artists are able to, according to Richon, "uncover what is hidden."⁵⁰ Patricia Parker ably investigates the gendered and imperial politics of this 'rhetoric of display'⁵¹ particularly its mercantile application to open up an area for colonial intervention. The practice of these displays continues with the observation of non-western women under the guise of either ethnography or art, finding widespread circulation in the format of postcards around 1900. Writing on the growth of postcards of colonial nudes, Raymond Corbey suggests there were found in these representations "visual narratives, telling a story of civilisation and primitiveness, of wildness and control, of Europe and its others, of European beliefs, fears and, especially, desire."⁵² In the Pacific region, writes Anne Maxwell, the postcards exhibited a passive, often supine, woman which suggested to the western male viewer

⁴⁹ There is a growing popularity in publications to use Orientalist paintings on the covers of texts critical to precisely these representations, such as Edward Said's *Orientalism* and Anne McClintock's *Imperial Leather*. Traditional art historians generally ignore the colonial politics contextualising these representations. Michael Levey writes of Ingres: "Only in his female nudes, often in oriental settings where he can indulge in almost cruel sensuality, did Ingres succeed in giving any satisfactory expression of imagination." Michael Levey, qtd. in "Ingres," *The Oxford Companion to Art*, ed. Harold Osborne (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1975), 582.

⁵⁰ Richon, "Representation" 9.

⁵¹ Patricia Parker, *Literary Fat Ladies* 128. Parker takes this term from Nancy Vickers, "'The blazon of sweet beauty's best': Shakespeare's *Lucrece*," *Shakespeare and the Question of Theory*, eds. Patricia Parker and Geoffrey Hartman (London: Routledge, 1985).

⁵² Raymond Corbey, "Alterity: The Colonial Nude," *Critique of Anthropology* 8.3 (1988), 75. Corbey's article is problematic in that its reproduction of the numerous racist stereotypes of

“an image of unconditional co-operation.”⁵³ In this web of colonial and patriarchal technologies of representations and generic conventions any notion of a portrait as a ‘co-operation’ is problematic. Postcards, often, could employ the discourse of anthropology to describe its subject and thus the representation of Pacific Island women is a function of knowledge .

Far from an example of “a paradigmatic cross cultural exchange,” as Bridget Orr described representations of Ohera by the English men on the *Discovery*⁵⁴ any notion of ‘exchange’ must be meted with an emphasis on inequalities of power and the limited contestation of the representation by the Tahitian woman through a possible ‘indifference’ to the colonising gaze. Bernard Smith suggests the portrait of Poedua was “deliberately [constructing] a peaceful image of the Pacific” because it had the strategy of representing Cook as an “Enlightenment Man”: someone who was virtuous, generous, and an arbiter of justice.⁵⁵ To suit this aim, according to Smith, the portrait of the Poedua, as a euphemism for the Pacific, is drawn as “young, feminine, desirable, and vulnerable, an ocean of desire.”⁵⁶ In direct contradiction, Poedua was imprisoned for a crime she did not commit, nor did anyone from her society. And under this captivity the portrait was drawn. The role of aestheticising colonial violence is crucial, for there is a collusion between militarism and violence in the portrait, as Poedua is held like a prisoner of war, and is ‘captured’ in western

African women is not accompanied by a critique of the authoritative western gaze. Rather he attempts to put the “fragments” of colonial discourses together into a coherent reading (75).

⁵³ Anne Maxwell, “Rewriting the Nation,” *Meanjin* 53 (1994), 316. See also Naomi Schor in her analysis of the “penchant for propaganda and nationalistic self-promotion” in postcards (273).

Naomi Schor, “*Cartes Postales*: Representing Paris 1900,” *Critical Inquiry* 18 (1992), 188-244.

⁵⁴ Orr, “Southern Passions” 217

⁵⁵ Smith, *Imagining* 209.

⁵⁶ Smith, *Imagining* 210.

representation; her body commodified to produce the aestheticising of colonial intervention. This is an underlying factor in many colonial nudes: the passive body 'captured' in western representation is also an object captured by colonial forces, as much representative of a trophy of war as an object of sexual conquest. While the inscription of the violence of colonial conquest is not evident on Poedua herself, a reading can be made that the tension of the situation is drawn in the storm clouds in the background, which may also signify the cataclysmic future of Tahitians as a 'doomed race' in the British science of race. Yet, elided in this reading is the processes by which the economy of colonialism not only evades the violence of its inscription but commodifies that very inscription for consumption in the western market.⁵⁷ The violence of colonial inscription, the violence of the metaphor itself, is reproduced, frequently, in the economy of representation that the painting is part of - that, specifically, of western observer and critic and the non-western subject.

The paintings and sketches from Cook's three voyages are considered some of the most important western representations of the Pacific, and they receive much attention and criticism. As Smith considers, "the art of Cook's voyages proposed a model ... for the visual description of the world."⁵⁸ Or, indeed, Peter Whitehead eulogises "natural history representations ... on the great voyages of discovery, and especially those of the Pacific region, have the most glamour."⁵⁹ The commendation of these texts in history, art history, and literature, and the acclaim given to Bernard

⁵⁷ See David Dabydeen, *Hogarth's Blacks: Images of Blacks in Eighteenth Century English Art* (Mundelstrop and Surrey: Dangaroo P, 1985).

⁵⁸ Smith, *Imagining* 34.

⁵⁹ Peter Whitehead, "Natural History Drawing on British Eighteenth Century Expeditions to the Pacific," *Terra Australis: The Furthest Shore*, ed. William Eisler and Bernard Smith (Sydney: Art Gallery of New South Wales, 1988), 135.

Smith's work on the Pacific, has left little room for criticism of the privileged position many of the journals, paintings, and artefacts have in the Pacific archive. There are a number of uses these texts are put to; a reading of the extensive collections can suggest what various Islander cultures were like before European intervention, as if the history of the Pacific Island cultures can only be revealed through western records.⁶⁰ Or else various scenarios are given for Europe's own ideological, political and social make-up through a reading of these texts, as if they transparently elucidate a coherent western viewpoint, and the classifications of race which make these descriptions possible is ignored.⁶¹ Whether the artists on Cook's voyages are representative of the west's 'viewpoint' at this time is a problematic generalisation; apart from the homogenisation into one viewpoint, the materiality of the texts - their production, preservation, and archiving - is excluded from the functions of constructing ways of seeing or the regularity of particular viewpoints. The archival privilege of the objects, and the transferring use from document to historical record to pedagogical text as they move from colonialism to European imperialism to Australian academic fields, are functions of the discursive practice constructing the archive which preserves and manages the products of certain discourses to privilege certain histories.

⁶⁰ Studies such as Douglas Oliver, *Ancient Tahitian Society*, 3 vols. (Canberra: ANUP, 1974) use almost solely European records to describe Tahitian culture *before* Europeans arrived.

⁶¹ Lee Wallace, in a lucid interrogation of gender, reads gender roles as separate from racial identity. Lee Wallace, "Too Dam Hot: Sexual Contact in the Sandwich Islands on Cook's Third Voyage," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 18 (1994), 232-42. Homophobia is, under Wallace's reading a "second nature" that "regulates all relations between men" (239). It is rather problematic to argue that Tahitian male sexuality is organised by a European homophobic discourse. This is not to say European homophobia and homosexuality does not have an impact on the representation of non-westerners. See, for instance, Adrian Vickers for a discussion of Bali as a 'homosexual paradise' for Europeans: Adrian Vickers, *Bali: A Paradise Created* (Ringwood: Penguin, 1989), 120, 193-4.

In a recent paper, "From Point Venus to Bali H'ai: Eroticism and Exoticism in Representations of the Pacific,"⁶² Margaret Jolly discusses the recurring theme of the sexualisation of the Pacific.⁶³ As a contemporary investigation of the portrait and of the sexualisation of Pacific Island women, this paper interrogates colonialist stereotypes, and is entwined in the complex politics of the study itself. Jolly's paper, however, does not address the fact that the definitions which give coherence to ideas of sexualising Pacific Islander identities are situated in the texts and discourses of the colonising nations; it is through these texts that concepts of sexuality and the erotic are formulated. This is not to negate the force of Jolly's paper which articulates the violence of colonialist discourses operating in the sexualised images. However, it is to point out that unless addressed, the investigation of the Pacific Islander woman as a sexualised identity will redeploy again the body of the Pacific Island woman, the portrait of Poedua, as a silent object in the economy of the west, and extend the industry of western academic practice to once again 'engulf' the alterity of the non-western other.

Jolly's paper, she states, is a focus on the "sexually saturated figure of the Polynesian woman" (88) by discussing three clusters of texts in the western history of

⁶² Margaret Jolly, "From Point Venus to Bali H'ai: Eroticism and Exoticism in Representations of the Pacific," forthcoming, *Sites of Desire/Economies of Pleasure: Sexualities in Asia and the Pacific*, eds. Lenore Manderson and Margaret Jolly, (Chicago: Chicago UP, n.d.).

⁶³ This paper was presented at the conference: "Exchanges: Different worlds interact on the contested ground of Sydney," Museum of Sydney, 22-23 July 1995. Greg Denning preceded with a lengthy anecdote on the musical Omai, the supposed sexual relationship between Joseph Banks and Queen Parea, and other aspects of Cook's visits to Tahiti. Jolly's paper followed with the exhibition of various representations of Polynesian women. There was a noticeable interest in the audience on the sexual history of the Pacific. I draw attention to these events because there is an implicit erasure of the pedagogical complicity in sexualisation; as if the conference room discussion after a paper has no colonial 'fascination' or is not 'bewitching.' It appears, rather, that it is precisely in these discourses that the stereotypical sexualisation of Pacific Islanders is reproduced.

sexualising the Pacific: representations from Cook's visits to Point Venus in Tahiti, the travel writing of Beatrice Grimshaw, and the musical *South Pacific*. Three rather prominent and lasting texts on Pacific sexuality, Cook, tourism and *South Pacific* are qualified by Jolly as "arbitrary if important" (109); however, they are significantly more than 'arbitrary' texts, and are only 'saturated' to a specific audience. Each text has fundamental importance in how colonial nations view, describe, and make knowledgable the Pacific. Jolly introduces and concludes her argument by referring to a paper by Teresia K. Teaiwa, "bikinis and other s/pacific n/oceans,"⁶⁴ which argues that there is a comparative violence between the Bikini nuclear explosions and the trivialised sexuality of Pacific Islanders in the bikini swimming garment. Teaiwa is concerned directly with the "celebration and forgetting of nuclear power that strategically and materially marginalises and erases the living history of Pacific Islanders" (87). Given that much is at issue with the celebration and trivialisation of Pacific Islanders, one would expect a certain amount of both caution and understanding when discussing sexuality in the Pacific. A study such as mine, which has the privilege to read these representations within a western academic discourse, profits (both discursively and economically) from these very representations. An obvious question here is how does a twentieth-century academic observation of the sexualised Pacific Island woman differ from the eighteenth-century observation of Poedua or the satires of Bank's involvement with Tahitian women? Is the study of the west's knowledge on the sexualisation of Pacific peoples an act of neocolonialism

⁶⁴ Teresia K. Teaiwa, "bikinis and other s/pacific n/oceans," *The Contemporary Pacific* 6.1 (1994), 87-109.

supported by the imperial knowledges at work during and after early European incursions?

The viewing of eighteenth-century portraits of Tahitian women, this time by white Australian academics rather than British gentlemen and scientists, can leave intact the privileging and nurturing of specific western discourses of knowledge. In a strategic elision of these issues, discussing the politics of observation can be considered an ethically viable practice to the academic because it discusses the representations in context of racism and sexism. Yet, regardless of the intentionality of negotiating racism, the Pacific Islander body remains the object of study from which the western academy can detail its study and knowledge, and mark its terrain. Jolly does read for resistance in the narratives, admitting an “investment in an alternative image of Raiatean women” (95). For her “reinterpretation and recirculation” (95) enables a feminist politics that rereads the picture in a way that possibly “succumb[s] to an alternative ‘romance of resistance’” (95). However, it is precisely Romanticism, in the form of European imagination or the gravity given to romantic and sexual representations, which energises the stereotype. Romanticising resistance suggests a certain profit to be gained through celebrating another’s contestation.⁶⁵ In this scenario, rather than explicating precisely what makes the observer able to observe, colonial representations are offered up as testimony to the racism and sexism of the imperial powers, that are in turn eradicated by their trenchant criticism from discourses such as Pacific History, Anglo-American feminism, or cultural studies. Yet

⁶⁵ Jolly quotes the ‘romance of resistance’ from L. Abu-Lughod, “The Romance of Resistance: Tracing Transformations of Power Through Bedouin Women,” *American Ethnologist* 17 (1990), 41-55.

the celebration of this criticism of colonial knowledge is precisely a reproduction of this knowledge.

Jolly's paper performs such as criticism, for its interrogation is problematised by the silent authoritative position: the study both deconstructs the mastery of the stereotypes and uses the position of 'fascinated' observer to access, and gain currency from, the very objects of study. Somewhere in the history of the spectatorship of Poedua's body, from eighteenth-century nude to twentieth-century art and cultural criticism, it is no longer an object of patriarchy and colonialism but instead a topic of academic, art history interest. The portrait of Poedua, because the western academic 'studies' it, is considered innocent of the politics of observation of the patriarchal, imperial viewer in 1786. The only discussion of audience and only context of public consumption given in Jolly's paper is of the eighteenth-century viewer as if the history of the body's inscription by relationships of power, if examined at all by contemporary historians, ends when the audience resituates the painting from 'entertainment' into pedagogy. The commodification of Poedua into a western representational economy is replaced by contemporary studies to a reading of the eighteenth-century viewer and portrait, not the contemporary audience, allowing a certain 'invisibility' to uncritically observe free from the 'fascination' of the eighteenth-century viewer. The portrait details the captivity of the non-western other by the colonial military and western gaze. In terms of the commodification of colonial representations of the Pacific, a concern of this chapter is the 'rendering invisible' of various readings and theoretical strategies which lay claim to deconstructing or disempowering colonial authority, yet use its very logic to privilege, or understand, the subject matter.

A strategy to employ knowledges made available through colonialism is the use of imagination as a valid procedure of observation, for here the sexualisation of the Pacific Island woman positions a western patriarchal voyeur in possession of the 'imagination' who can construct representations of the sexualised Pacific body. Jolly uses 'imagination' to supplement the sexualised body of Polynesian women in a manner similar to Coleridge. The locations of the textual readings - Bali H'ai and Point Venus - are, for Jolly, "imagined places rather than mere loci on the map" (88), implying that the knowledge to understand these places, and their socio-political construction, is primarily within uncontested European systems of thought. The terrain in which colonial gaze operates is organised by European fantasy, and the bodies have no identity, they are "subjects imagined" (89) by the European viewer, making a disruption of these 'images' problematic because no non-western agency is recognised. Thus what these texts (Webber's and Jolly's) are studying is European sexuality, with no acknowledgment of the indigenous appropriation into this economy. Sexuality here is noticeably limited to patriarchal conventions, as other sexualities are indeed ignored.⁶⁶ When Jolly considers "Polynesian eroticism was no figment of the European imagination" (89), eroticism is employed in a universal sense that is similarly comprehended in both cultures as if sexual contact was enacted in reciprocity. In a number of ways the relationship is unequal, for eroticism as it is

⁶⁶ Largely ignored are exchanges and representations of homosexuality. A.N. Gilbert quotes a contemporaneous account suggesting that "sodomy is a regular thing on ships that go on long cruises. In the warships, I would say the sailor preferred it." A.N. Gilbert, "Buggery and the British Navy, 1700-1861," *Journal of Social History* 19 (1976), 73. Gilbert argues that sodomy was one of the most strictly policed activities for sailors, though it appeared common in the navy. Lee Wallace similarly explores possible sexual investitures. Wallace, "Too Dam Hot."

understood here is strictly western, as if the symbolism and rhetoric of sexual activity is transparent between cultural differences.

Jolly's complicity with the stereotypes she criticises is found in the essay's unproblematic reproduction of the numerous colonial tropes representing the Pacific in terms of western sexuality: Polynesian women must negotiate "alluring objectifications" of the "beauty of their bodies" (89); their bodies are "heavenly bodies" (89) and subscribe to "canonical Polynesian beauties" (92); and this is discussed in the "promiscuous scope" of the essay (88). The cultural specificity of beauty is not discussed, which leaves unconsidered why Polynesian women's representation must be sited fundamentally in their silent and aestheticised body, rather than the racial and gender classifications which give coherency to the western observers evaluations.⁶⁷ And here the "promiscuous scope" is most telling; the Pacific as a sexualised object of knowledge can only be traversed, comprehended, and commodified by a promiscuous observer who is willing to engage with the sexualised representations in order not to disrupt or disturb this economy, but reproduce it and enable the industry of the western academy to continue the fertile intervention and enunciation of the politics of sexuality.

Recognising agency and violence in the white mythology of Pacific Islander women

I want to return to Teaiwa's paper because in examining her argument, some of the luxuries of romanticising the representation of Pacific Islander's bodies will be

⁶⁷ Elsewhere, Jolly has written on the association of science with beauty in European racism. Jolly, "Ill-Natured Comparisons" 334.

clarified, and the complicity of the 'imagined' and 'romantic' Pacific with the destructive forces of colonialism (and in her paper with nuclear testing) can be located in a continuum of colonial occupancy and knowledge. What attracted Jolly to Teaiwa's paper was its association between sexualisation and violence when discussing colonialism in the Pacific. Teaiwa's focus is not eighteenth-century European intervention but the *contemporary* issues arising from United States and French imperialism, particularly the inscription of gender and the politics of observation in the nuclear program of these countries. The cultural contexts to the Bikinis (both the Pacific Island group and the swimming costume) provide a history of the bodies, materials, and economies operating around the consumption and circulation of Pacific Women's sexuality. Teaiwa links the increasing visibility of women's bodies with the inverse invisibility of nuclear testing: "colonial dynamics," she states, are "rendered invisible" (87) when the woman's body is 'revealed' in the bikini and the effects of the bomb hidden. "In the end," Teaiwa states, "the female body is appropriated by a colonial discourse to successfully disguise the horror of the bomb" (92). In relation to Australian culture, it is often through the bikini that the Pacific Islands are conceived and articulated, their cultural identity mediated by women's beach fashion. The problem of non-violently representing weapons of destruction for imperial states is now contained and aestheticised by their "co-commodification" with the fetishised and sexualised object of the bikini (95). At once, argues Teaiwa, the justification for using Bikini Atoll to denote the bomb is contained by representing the uprooted Bikini community as feminine and

homogeneous. In a similar paper William A. Callahan and Steve Olive⁶⁸ discuss how discourses and representations from the Joshua Logan movie *South Pacific* have impinged upon the justification and management of chemical weapon disposal in the Pacific by the U.S. Navy. *South Pacific* celebrates representations of Pacific Islanders as 'passive' and 'exotic' by featuring them as mere dependencies of the United States Navy. The identities of Pacific Islanders in the James A. Michener story supplement the main American characters, and in aiding American troops - in both work and pleasure - the Pacific Islanders are used to disguise the potential damage of chemical weapon disposal.⁶⁹ As Callahan and Olive demonstrate, the inappropriate linkage made between American Naval power and Pacific Islanders also details a history of colonial violence. These juxtapositions, writes Teaiwa, are significant in colonial representations of the Pacific. The bikini, writes Teaiwa, now "offered white bodies the opportunity to become tanned, coloured, or otherwise marked as exotic[;] bikini-clad bodies have subsequently become 'natural' props in a scene of leisure (93). The 'natural' and sexual female body, the leisurely Pacific, and the "nobility"⁷⁰ of the Pacific Island population, are some of the "bizarre juxtapositions" (101) managing and validating colonialism and nuclear testing.

One contestation of the sexualisation of the Bikinis, Teaiwa considers, is the theoretical framework of fetishism. Fetishising the bomb in Freudian and rather conventional phallic terms, states Teaiwa, emphasises the masculine and hence

⁶⁸ William A. Callahan and Steve Olive, "Chemical Weapons Discourse in the 'South Pacific'," *Boundary 2* 22.1 (1995), 263-85.

⁶⁹ Callahan and Olive also note that Michener was sent as a representative of the USA to commemorate Vanuatu's independence by President Jimmy Carter, as if his fiction gives him an acute understanding of Pacific Islander culture and politics (266).

⁷⁰ Teaiwa uses this term in context of the 'noble savage' discourse.

‘penetrative’ practice of colonialism in a nation’s gendered symbols (94). While circulating a limited and phallogentric concept of fetishism may be interpreted as subscribing to the patriarchy of this model, it also emphasises the very patriarchal construction of the discourse of nuclear weapons. The hyper-masculine control of a feminised and passive Pacific strengthens the bomb’s representation. As some contemporary studies of fetishism have shown, this phallic organisation is unstable. Anne McClintock’s detailed investigation of fetishism acknowledges another possible understanding of fetishism which can open it “to a more complex and variable history in which racial and class hierarchies would play a formative role in sexuality ... [and] explore fetishism as the historical re-enactment of ambiguity itself.”⁷¹ One aspect of this more variable history, McClintock states, is when the “fetish ... stages the history of industrial capital as haunted by the traumatic and ineradicable memory of imperial slavery” (155).⁷² I want to briefly suggest some ways in which the atomic bomb is haunted by its imperialism.

The conflictual economies within colonial representation, or the ‘bizarre juxtapositions,’ demonstrate that the atom bomb cannot maintain its masculine autonomy because of numerous contradictory gendered positions. In some of these relationships we see the gender of the bomb transform, from the masculine ‘Little Boy,’ the first bomb exploded in the Nevada desert, to the feminine ‘Gilda,’ with a

⁷¹ Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather* 184. See also Joseph Pugliese, who argues in the context of Hegel’s use of ‘fetish’ that it is a “censoring operation” and also “draws attention to larger, global concerns of empire building, accumulation of capital, and the European slave trade.” Joseph Pugliese, “Embodied Economies of Desire in Hegel’s Empire of Reason,” *Social Semiotics* 4.1-2 (1995), 179.

⁷² McClintock relates this reading of fetishism to the ‘slave band’ worn by Hannah Cullwick, a servant in England who married the higher class Arthur Munby. From photographic records and diaries, McClintock examines narratives of race, fetishism, and domesticity.

picture of Rita Hayworth, exploded on Bikini Atoll.⁷³ A method to conceive this change of gender is through Said's distinction of filiation and affiliation: the bomb changes gender and familial ties once introduced to a colonial context.⁷⁴ Said employs this distinction in his (questionable) pursuit of 'worldliness' in literary criticism; that metropolitan, familial and 'natural' relationships give way to cultural, institutional affiliations and relationships under radical changes such as colonialism. The bomb originally was the 'son' of Oppenheimer, and thus the name 'Little Boy' exemplifies notions of primogeniture. The regendering of the bomb occurring in the move to the Pacific enacts the "compensatory order"⁷⁵ of affiliation which replaces the father/son family with a colonial institution. It is during this movement that the bomb is fetishised in the colonial economy, but fetishised almost as an act of cross dressing. The bomb lacks the gendered fixity necessary for masculinity, and its 'disguise' when entering colonised terrain attempts to manage the intervention through signifying the invasion in terms of gender. Thus, the once masculine bomb is reconsidered as feminine, and insidiously associated with women's swim wear.

Further, elaborating on the significance of Rita Hayworth, an ambiguity can be seen implying the haunted memory of the violence underpinning imperialism, in the atomic project. 'Gilda,' the name of the bomb, is the title of a 1946 Rita Hayworth movie in which she stars as an adulteress. The movie, called an erotic thriller, which contains scenes of violence against women, was apparently very popular among GI's

⁷³ Teaiwa, quoting Jane Caputi, gives this history. Caputi writes of the transformation as a "sex change operation" (426). Jane Caputi, "The Metaphors of Radiation: Or, Why a Beautiful Woman is Like a Nuclear Power Plant," *Women's Studies International Forum* 14.5 (1991), 432-42.

⁷⁴ Edward Said, *The World, the Text, the Critic* (Cambridge MS: Harvard, 1983), 19.

⁷⁵ Said, *The World* 19.

returning from the Second World War. Gilda is represented as the immoral and untrustworthy woman, perhaps a suitable representation for the ethical and immoral violence of the bomb, and the violence committed against her justified because of this immorality. For the difference between Rita Hayworth, the Hollywood icon and sex symbol, and the adulteress is similarly the difference between US government calling the Bikinians the 'children of Israel' and exhorting them to leave their island "for the good of mankind and to end all wars,"⁷⁶ and the legacy of radiation, unsatisfactory compensation, and ecological devastation left by the US government. There is a matching rhetoric here - the justification of violence against women through Gilda, and the violence against the Bikinians through the bomb.

Teaiwa contests the homogeneity of the Pacific Island women's body with her notion of s/pacific bodies: the universal body of the woman is criticised through recognition of the specificity of bodies, especially in their relation to the dynamics of colonisation. Teaiwa crucially acknowledges Pacific Islander's agency in decolonisation through institutions and practices of resistance, signalling a contestation of the Polynesian women's bodies between the gendered and racialised practices of colonialism and military occupation and Pacific Island cultures. Teaiwa maps resistance in indigenous Christian responses to nudity and political protests against nuclear weapon testing, and importantly situates the resistance in relation to western feminism. There can be no denying that western women and Islander women face vastly different formations of power, as, indeed, the politics of bikini wearing are vastly different; in locating indigenous resistance Teaiwa also implicitly criticises the

⁷⁶ Ross, *The Chicago Gangster Theory* 27

homogenous construction of discourses of resistance such as feminism. Teaiwa explains:

Because nudity and nuclear testing both take on moral and ethical dimensions, Christianity - the most overtly popular religion in the Pacific - figures prominently in discussion of both the colonisation and decolonisation of s/pacific bodies. (96)

Sexual identity is not universal, but a response to disciplines, economies, and representations in the cultures in which they operate, and through which they are contested. The potential for colonising manoeuvres of Anglo-American western feminism is obvious. In bell hooks's criticism of Katie Rophie and the orthodoxy of American feminism, she suggests that the ownership of feminist politics relies on the type of genetic hegemony that is privileged in colonialism:

[Rophie's] book begins with the evocation of a cultural family genealogy in which feminism is evoked as a legacy handed down from mother to daughter, a strategy which from the onset makes feminism at least symbolically a turf that, like a small country, can be owned and occupied by some and not others.⁷⁷

The genetically determined feminist hegemony can fetishise or romanticise the resistance of the other, as if the political reality of sexism is universally reproduced. Sexism conceived thus becomes like 'western theory's burden,' replicating the politics of the 'white man's burden,' in which the Anglo-American feminist must be called upon to answer and demarcate the politics of gender. This criticism of Anglo-American feminism is not a call for its abolition, for though Western critical practises, to use Teaiwa's phrase, may be "ornamental" (102) to the interruptive colonial practices, there is a necessity to consider where they can be tactically engaged.

⁷⁷ bell hooks, "A Little Feminist Excess Goes A Long Way," *Outlaw Culture: Resisting Representation* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 103.

As the bikini 'renders invisible' the bomb, so too does Poedua's portrait render invisible the colonial dynamics of observing and preserving the Pacific archive in contemporary academic discourse. Not only does the portrait erase the captivity of Poedua on the *Discovery*, but much contemporary so-called post-colonial western academic criticism concerned with the portrait erases her captivity in a western economy of representation and observation. It is this second captivity that is overlooked in numerous critical engagements with colonial representations of Pacific Island women. I wish now to turn from the management of knowledges in the colonisation of the Pacific to examine the tourist industry which is focussed on colonialism as a discursive practice. Here, through the organisation of the cruises, the stereotypes of cannibals or sexualised women (among many colonial representations) are used to advertise the colonial economy and Australia's desire for a pivotal role in the administration of these territories. Tourism is a critical industry to interrogate because it enables the tourist to engage in colonial relationships of power, and to discursively practice a 'mastery' over Pacific Islander on colonised terrain.

The Emergence of the Pacific Cruise: Economies and Investments in Tourism

Chapter seven.

In June, 1884 the Aoteoroa/New Zealand shipping firm, Union Steam Ship Company of New Zealand (USSC) made probably the first of what is now commonly referred to as a South Pacific cruise. In the accompanying promotional material and advertising the company titled the circular route an "Excursion to the South Sea Islands."¹ The ship *Wairarapa*, took 100 passengers² on the proposed four week cruise to Fiji, Samoa, and Tonga, which was cut short before Samoa and Tonga were visited because a crewman fell sick with measles, an interruption I will return to. As a consequence a second cruise in July 1884, was organised, and offered free to those on the first who missed out (seven people took up this offer). These cruises are unique from any previous voyages in the Pacific for many reasons: the route was circular, so all the passengers were aboard solely for visiting the islands and not for passage from one port to another; the ship carried no cargo and would not make any commercial stops - a point often mentioned in the brochures; the accompanying pamphlet set out a daily schedule, a list of sights, points of interest, activities, rules and regulations for the passengers. In February of the same year Australian shipping company Burns Philp (BP), advertised that the clipper yacht, *Elsea*, would sail on an "excursion trip"

¹ *Excursion to the South Sea Islands from Auckland, 4th June, 1884* (Dunedin: *Daily Times*, 1884).

² The number of passengers vary between 99 and 103. The programme lists 99, Alfred Burton claims there were 103, and the Special Correspondent for the *Sydney Morning Herald* states the number "has been strictly limited to 100 - "the Centarians" we have been dubbed." Anon, "Back from the Coral Islands: The Trip of the One Hundred," *Sydney Morning Herald* 8 July 1884, 3.

to New Guinea where a “short stay” would be made on various islands en route.³ In September a second trip was organised, stating the boat

will leave Thursday Island ... for Port Moresby, New Guinea, and then on a cruise of the D’Entrecasteaux group of islands.... Capital shooting and fishing is sure to be had, and intending passengers should therefore take rifles and fishing tackle with them. ⁴

The advertisement, according to historians Klugman and Buckley, was the “first real encouragement of tourism by any Australian shipping company.”⁵ That the first cruises appear only months apart in Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand suggests the emergence of the tourist cruise industry in the Pacific is not an accidental or haphazard business. Rather, these events can be located in a larger constellation of activities in the colonial Pacific.

Around this nexus of events in 1884 I wish to map the institutions, discourses, and representations which operated in the formation of a South Pacific cruise. In this chapter I discuss the cruises originating in Aotearoa/New Zealand as well as Australia. While this may conflate the colonial manoeuvres of these two countries, the activity of the USSC in the 1880s is an able model for Australian imperialism for a couple of reasons. Many of the passengers were Australian (26 out of 100), and the USSC was to advertise heavily in Australia (using BP as a ticketing agency), and employ Australian writers, such as Beatrice Grimshaw and ‘The Vagabond’ to write

³ *Sydney Morning Herald* 16 Feb. 1884, qtd. in Ngaire Douglas, *They Came for Savages: 100 years of Tourism in Melanesia* (Alstonville, NSW: Southern Cross UP, 1996), 49.

⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald* 29 Sept. 1884, 1.

⁵ K. Buckley and K. Klugman, *The History of Burns Philp: The Australian Company in the South Pacific* (Sydney: Burns Philp Company, 1981), 53. Buckley and Klugman incorrectly consider the September voyage is the first trip, while Ngaire Douglas correctly states the first trip was in February.

advertising copy.⁶ Grimshaw, though not directly articulating her support for Australian colonialism in these pieces, was an ardent supporter. At the same time as corresponding with the Australian Prime Minister Alfred Deakin about the merit of Australian colonial practice, praising the “spread of government influence,”⁷ Grimshaw wrote extensively for the USSC and did not see this as compromising her position.⁸ Thus while the USSC is an Aotearoa/New Zealand company, and is concerned with Aotearoa/New Zealand colonialism, in the related texts can be observed relationships with Australian colonialism, and an intersection of colonial practice by Aotearoa/New Zealand and Australia in the Pacific Islands. Other reasons for including the USSC cruises of the late nineteenth is the amount of documentation; there was a photographer on board the first cruise which I examine in depth, and published accounts of the first voyage. There are few records of BP cruises of the late nineteenth century; however, I examine BP cruises in the first decades of the twentieth century and contextualise this with Australian colonial discourse.⁹ In examining cruises from both companies I want to elaborate on the connection between colonialism and tourism and suggest that tours to the Pacific are one aspect

⁶ The writer Julian Thomas, famous to the *Age* and *Sydney Morning Herald* readers as ‘The Vagabond,’ received a lucrative travel writing offer from USSC in 1893, but instead reported from Vanuatu (New Hebrides) for the *Age*. Michael Cannon, Introduction, *The Vagabond Papers: John Stanley James (‘The Vagabond,’ Julian Thomas)*, ed. Michael Cannon (Melbourne: Melbourne UP, 1969) 11-2. Grimshaw and the Australian writer W. Farmer Whyte wrote for the USSC around 1910.

⁷ Beatrice Grimshaw, letter to Alfred Deakin 21 Feb. 1908. Deakin papers, 1540 (letter 2382), NLA.

⁸ Grimshaw published two tourist booklet for the USSC: “Three Wonderful Nations: Tonga, Samoa, Fiji,” (Dunedin: USSC, n.d); “The Islands of the Blest: Something about Rarotonga, Mangaia, Atiu, Mauke, Aitutaki, Tahiti, Raiatea, Huahine,” (Dunedin: USSC, n.d).

⁹ One possible reason for the relative strength of USSC tourism is that Polynesia was more accessible and had the supporting infrastructure to accommodate tourists. Colonial intervention into the Solomons, Papua New Guinea, and Vanuatu was still limited at this time

of Australian and Aotearoa/New Zealand colonialism in the Pacific.¹⁰ The cruises articulate colonialism through employing a variety of colonial economies, rhetorics, representations, technologies and disciplines which validate colonial intervention.

The two major trading and shipping companies of the Pacific were the obvious contenders to establish tourism routes; often holiday travel in the Pacific before 1884 was no more than rented rooms on cargo steamers whose routes were subsidised by government or missionary agencies. Extra revenue was gained by having paying passengers. In Gavin McLean's history of the USSC he considers that the reasons for the origin of Pacific tourist cruises were the small but growing industry in travel to the Pacific, its warm winter destinations, the employment they generated for ships and their crew in their off-season, and most importantly the "enhanced public profile"¹¹ of the company through advertising. Yet the financial and publicity benefits, which were probably meagre, do not fully explain what could be called the 'social imperative' of the cruise. The first cruise did not occur as a result of a growing patronage of travel to the Pacific; instead, it was quite the reverse. According to Sydney Waters, there was a decreasing demand for travellers to the Pacific in the 1880s, and the Company responded by introducing its first cargo-only ships.¹² The notion that tourism was *not* a response to a demand in the market proposes that the companies had to actively seek people to travel and hence find ways to advertise the cruise, and design activities and sights to interest travellers. Questions must be asked as to why these companies

¹⁰ Studies of Pacific cruises tend to ignore the context colonialism. For instance, see George M. Foster, "South Seas Cruise: A Case Study of a Short-lived Society," *Annals of Tourism Research* 13 (1986), 215-38.

¹¹ Gavin McLean, *The Southern Octopus: The Rise of a Shipping Era* (Wellington: New Zealand Ship and Maritime Society, 1990), 39.

¹² Sydney D. Waters, *Union Line: A Short History of the Union Steam Ship Company of New Zealand 1875-1951* (Wellington: n.p., n.d.), 30.

planned to increase the infrastructure and interest in tourism in the face of a diminishing market, for there must be other strategies at work. Furthermore, why was the Pacific cruise 'invented' by Australian and Aotearoa/New Zealand companies?

I want to suggest a couple of reasons why tourism was pursued. The main reason, I contend, is that tourism promulgated colonial ambitions for countries like Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand. At the time the Pacific cruise emerged there was an unprecedented scramble by western nations for control of Pacific Islands. In 1884 the colony of Victoria under James Service was attempting to annex numerous Pacific Islands; Queensland had overstepped the authority of Great Britain and annexed Papua and New Guinea a year before in 1883; similarly, Aotearoa/New Zealand was agitating for control of various Pacific Island groups such as Samoa, Tonga, and the Cook Islands; the United States was consolidating its control of Hawaii and Samoa; Germany annexed New Guinea, New Britain and New Ireland in 1884 much to the disapproval of Australia, who saw this move as a direct threat; around 1883 France launched a trading company, *Compagnie Calédonienne de Nouvelles Hébrides* (CCNH) in direct opposition to Australian and English trading companies operating in New Hebrides; France also had exported 10,000 convicts who had supported the Paris Commune to New Caledonia, again leading to widespread fears in the white Australian and Pakeha New Zealand community that the convicts would spill over and infiltrate their countries; and finally, Russia was considered a threatening expansionist power. The 1880s, as I have argued already, was a noted period of pro-expansion and defensive insecurity in Australian history. That travel to the Pacific was advertised at this time of unrest is not coincidental. Colonial governments actively used tourist texts to advertise their colonial ambitions and their colonial successes. The Australian

government actively supported BP's trade in the Pacific, and one founder of the company, Sir Robert Philp, went on to become Premier of Queensland between 1899-1903.¹³ Furthermore, the close link between the industry of tourism and colonialism provided alternative income to companies benefiting from colonialism, with the infrastructure of tourism keeping open trade and supply links between various islands. In the case of BP, one potential way to interest speculators in their plantations in the New Hebrides and New Guinea was to have them visited and praised by tourists on cruises, or read about in brochures.¹⁴ Advertising the prosperity of the colonial-run plantations and trading stations propagandises the nation's colonial activities and on a more general level puts forward the merits of imperialism.

The abandonment of the first cruise by the *Wairarapa* at Samoa, in this context, is telling. The *Sydney Morning Herald* published a series of articles from a "Special Correspondent" on board the ship detailing the passage of the cruise. After the ship had left Fiji for Samoa, a crewman fell sick with measles. The Samoan German Consul, William Hennings, refused to allow the passengers to disembark at Pango Pango. When the *Wairarapa* sailed on to Tonga, Reverend Shirley Baker did the same. The correspondent noted a dissatisfaction among the passengers who blamed the USSC authorities for the cancellation of the cruise; it was found that a crewman had been taken off the ship with measles days before departing Auckland. The

¹³ G.C. Bolton, "The Rise of Burns, Philp, 1873-93," *Wealth and Progress: Studies in Australian Business History*, eds. Alan Birch and David S. MacMillan (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1967), 113.

¹⁴ BP published the *Queensland Handbook of Information* (1884), then a revised version, *British New Guinea* (1886), which advertised BP trading posts, goods, freight charges, and proposed tourist sights in North Queensland and Papua New Guinea. BP also had investments in the Australian New Hebrides Company (ANHC). Roger C. Thompson, "Commerce Christianity and Colonialism: the Australian New Hebrides Company, 1883-1897," *Journal of Pacific History* 6 (1971), 25-38.

company, according to the passengers, should have acted much earlier to stop the potential spread of the disease. The series of articles, penned obviously to advertise the cruise, stoutly defends the USSC company and asserts the proper procedures were taken, as no “additional safeguards could have been taken to prevent the second sailor from receiving the contagion.”¹⁵ Soon after, however, the ship’s rejection from Samoa was used by John Lundon, a Aotearoa/New Zealand politician and businessman working for the Henderson trading company in Samoa, as proof that the Germans were overtly discriminating against Aotearoa/New Zealand involvement in Samoa. Lundon had been attempting to obtain land and have Samoa annexed to Aotearoa/New Zealand in the previous year by agitating dissent between opposition parties and organising petitions against the Germans. Lundon received a letter from a source which apparently stated the cruise’s rejection was “a political dodge to keep New Zealand from entering the thin edge of the wedge, as they believe this excursion to be.”¹⁶ Though widely publicised in Aotearoa/New Zealand to support the desire for annexation of Samoa, the validity of Lundon’s claim is questionable. However, the ability of the cruise to perform within colonial agendas is noticeable, for the visit by a tourist ship was considered by numerous parties as part of a colonising program. These political and economic reasons for pursuing tourism detail only some aspects of the profits to be made, for there were other discursive and ideological strategies in

¹⁵ Anon. [Special Correspondent] “Back from the Coral Islands: The Trip of the One Hundred,” *Sydney Morning Herald* 8 July 1884, 3. The other articles are: “Among Coral Islands: The Trip of the One Hundred, I,” *Sydney Morning Herald* 10 June 1884, 5; and “Among Coral Islands: The Trip of the One Hundred, II,” *Sydney Morning Herald* 28 June 1884, 7. Further reports are found in a pre-departure piece advertising the cruise: “Excursion to the South Seas,” *Daily Telegraph* 6 June 1884, 3; and an article on the return: “The Return of the *Wairarapa*,” *Daily Telegraph* 8 July 1884, 5. Here the measles is only mentioned as the “unfortunate accident.”

¹⁶ *New Zealand Herald*, 5 July 1884, qtd. in Angus Ross, *New Zealand Aspirations in the Pacific in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1964), 182.

operation with tourist cruises. Having colonial terrain walked over, represented, collected, pictured, and studied is perhaps one of the most insidious forms of colonialism, where indigenous terrain becomes an object of knowledge to Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand, and the site for reproducing colonial relationships of power.

Importantly, tourism allows colonialism to be *practised* in that the tourist is involved in a number of disciplines dealing with observation, recording, and consuming which are produced from colonial relationships of power. By asserting tourism as a practice of colonialism I wish to emphasise that it has material effects on the identity and wealth of Pacific Islanders. To emphasise the often direct and personal effect of tourist-produced stereotypes a statement by Samoan writer Albert Wendt is pertinent:

As a writer I have so many literary straight jackets and myths about the South Seas to break out of in order to see my own people, honestly, truthfully. Still so much crap to unlearn! To some extent, I am still a stereotyped tourist wandering through stereotyped tropical paradises, a cliché viewing the South Seas through a screen of clichés.¹⁷

The stereotypes I examine in this chapter, as Wendt emphasises, can intervene and structure the everyday life of the Pacific Islander who must interact with cultures whose knowledge, and hence interaction, with Pacific Islanders is formed through tourist stereotypes. Yet, Pacific Islanders have agency in this interaction in face of the unequal relationships of power. Pacific Islanders can influence the economy of tourism, as currently tourism is a major industry in Fiji and Vanuatu.¹⁸ Furthermore,

¹⁷ Albert Wendt, "In a Stone Castle in the South Seas," *Mana Review* 1.2 (1976), 28.

¹⁸ Tourism is approximately 20% of Vanuatu's GNP and 6% of the Solomons. Douglas, *They Came for Savages* 25. For an overview of the ambiguous economic benefits and social costs see Freda Rajotte, "Tourism Impact in the Pacific," *Pacific Tourism: As the Islanders See It*, eds. Freda Rajotte and Ron Crocombe (Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, USP, 1980), 1-15.

since the emergence of souvenir collecting, Pacific Islanders have manipulated prices of objects. In Meli Loki's advice to the Pacific Islander involved in tourism, titled "How Fijians can Benefit from Tourism and How to Milk the Tourists," he suggests "your approach has to be appealing, simple and friendly before starting to drain dollars out of their pockets."¹⁹ This advice is not new, as the Australian Lieutenant Governor of Papua Hubert Murray, states "adults as well as children ... ask ridiculously exorbitant prices for insignificant services.... [A] native will demand 4/- for the privilege of taking his photograph."²⁰ Complaints of exorbitant prices are rife in tourist accounts; in a 1904 account a tourist claims the Islanders charge "absurd prices,"²¹ then details the operation of the tourist market economy. Hiring a number of traps for a day journey outside Apia, a price was negotiated, then,

suddenly down came a thunderclap. Rates had risen all round 2dol. per diem. R. fumed, threatening the owners with all sorts of penalties for breach of contract. The natives were obdurate.... We were strongly advised to compromise.... Then began some more chaffering with the owners of several native carriages ... eventually all was fixed up.²²

Far from passively accepting the economic regulations of the tourists, the Samoans organise the rates and terms of the contract. Pacific Islander agency in the tourist economy currently occurs, but is mediated by foreign capital and the impervious stereotypes which force Pacific Islander often only to be recognised within 'traditional' cultural settings.²³ Yet, these 'traditional' setting are organised for the

¹⁹ Meli Loki, "How Fijians can Benefit from Tourism and How to Milk the Tourists," *The Pacific Way: Social Issues in National Development*, eds. Sione Tupouniua, Ron Crocombe, and Claire Slatter (Suva: South Pacific Social Sciences Association, 1975), 225.

²⁰ Qtd. in Douglas, *They Came for Savages* 83.

²¹ Anon., *Our Island Trip*: S.S. Manapouri (Sydney: Pepperday, 1904), 21

²² Anon., *Our Island Trip* 22.

²³ For discussions of contemporary accounts of Pacific Islanders and tourism see *Pacific Tourism: As the Islanders See It*, eds. Freda Rajotte and Ron Crocombe (Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, USP, 1980); Ngaire Douglas, *They Came for Savages*, "Indigenes" 169-211. Also, for an examination of

tourists themselves. 'Traditional artefacts' such as carving are often made directly for the tourist market. Cema Bolabola notes that many objects sold as Fijian carvings were "not done traditionally in Fiji ... [T]he carvers make whatever they think will appeal to the tourists."²⁴ While I examine the tourism of Australians and Aotearoa/New Zealanders visiting the Pacific, it is crucial, as Epeli Hau'ofa points out, to "be mindful of the fact that every year ... thousands of Pacific islanders travel each year to Australia and New Zealand as short term visitors.... The flow of island visitors ... has been largely overlooked by those who have studied tourism."²⁵ Concentrating on Australian tourism threatens to reinforce the stereotypical binaries of active white Australian and passive Pacific Islander. While this chapter is focussed on the construction of the Australian tourist industry, and the interpellation of the tourist subject, recognition needs to be made of other tourisms and travels that contest the idea that white Australians are the only travellers in this region.

tourist art's rejection from museums, and marginalisation as an art form, see Ruth B. Phillips, "Why Not Tourist Art? Significant Silences in Native American Museum Representations," Gyan Prakash, *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1995), 98-125.

²⁴ Cema. A. B. Bolabola, "The Impact of Tourism on Fijian Woodcarving," *Pacific Tourism: As the Islanders See It*, eds. Freda Rajotte and Ron Crocombe (Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, USP, 1980), 95.

²⁵ Epeli Hau'ofa, "The New South Pacific Society: Integration and Independence," *Class and Culture in the South Pacific*, eds. Anthony Hooper, Steve Britton, Ron Crocombe, Judith Huntsman and Cluny Macpherson (Suva: Centre for Pacific Studies, and U of Auckland, 1987), 6. For an account of Pacific Islander tourists see S. Eleni Mone, "Tourism in Reverse: The Reaction of Islanders Abroad," *Pacific Tourism: As the Islanders See It*, eds. Freda Rajotte and Ron Crocombe (Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, USP, 1980), 164-7.

The emergence of the Pacific cruise

USSC had run similar tourist cruises to the West Coast Sounds in Aotearoa/New Zealand for eight years.²⁶ Previously, group cruises were sailed around the Mediterranean since 1844,²⁷ and on the American Great Lakes and the Caribbean, but the *Wairarapa*'s voyage was the first advertised cruise to the Pacific.²⁸ In suggesting a 'first' cruise at this specific time I do not want to imply a magical origin in which a cruise spontaneously occurred, and from which all later cruises can be understood. Nor is this the origin of a determinedly new form of colonialism, in which the cruise can be situated in a developmental history of imperialism when 'modern' technology (such as maritime travel) proves that imperialism is ever growing and improving. The question is, rather, why at this moment did a desire to produce the cruise manifest itself? In answering the question I want to show the discursive regularities, regimes of truth, and apparatuses of power that enabled, and disseminated, the practice of tourism. I take this point of departure from Geoffrey Batchen's study of the 'invention' of photography. Batchen criticises the idea that photography was invented in 1839, as traditional histories posit, and instead locates photography's emergence in a changing epistemology of representation. Rather than searching for an origin as a

²⁶ The west coast cruises, visiting the Dusky and Milford Sounds, were eight days long, and gave passengers, according to an advertisement, opportunities for "fishing, shooting, sketching and exploring."

²⁷ These first cruises were organised by P&O. Ngaire Douglas writes P&O also initiated the practice of publishing accounts of these cruises by giving free tickets to writers, sponsoring William Thackeray on a cruise. USSC and BP were to continue this practice. Douglas, *They Came for Savages* 71.

²⁸ The first purpose built ocean liner was the "Kaiser Wilhelm der Gross" in 1897. Bill Miller, *Ocean Liners* (New York: Mullard, 1980).

singular, unique event, Batchen asks, following Foucault's lead in *The Archaeology of Knowledge*,

at what moment in history did the discursive *desire* to photograph emerge and begin to insistently manifest itself? At what moment did photography shift from an occasional isolated, individual fantasy to a demonstrably widespread, social *imperative*?²⁹

Similarly, the questions I ask (at what moment did the discursive desire to cruise the Pacific emerge, at what moment did the cruise become a widespread social imperative?) are not about documenting a date for the first cruise, but locating the epistemic conditions and institutional support for this activity. Thus, while these cruises may have been the first, they are not the origin, or starting point, for Pacific tourism because they are more-like the crystallisation of numerous desires: imperial, colonial, economic, sexual and so on. The maritime technology and infrastructure (hotels, wharves, ports, roads) necessary to cruise the Pacific had been available for many decades previously. However, it was only when the 'social imperative' transformed these disparate events into a cohesive practice that the Pacific cruise emerged.

The utility of Batchen's study of photography to this chapter is not simply his criticism of origins, as I am also interested in the use of the camera itself by tourists as a signifier of western superiority, and through this how observation is constructed as a practice which stages a privileging of the coloniser. Batchen situates the inception of photography within the reproduction of certain forms of power which can reorganise, map, and penetrate the body (25). In this vein, it is important that a photographer,

²⁹ Geoffrey Batchen, "Desiring Production Itself: Notes on the Invention of Photography," *Cartographies: Poststructuralism and the Mapping of Bodies and Spaces*, eds. Roslyn Diprose and Robyn Ferrell (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1991), 15.

Alfred Burton, was on the first 1884 cruises recording the activities and sights. There is a refiguring of representational power in colonising nations to incorporate the technology of photography and use these representations to describe the superiority of colonising nations and cultures. The methods and technologies of representing the cruise and the colonised terrain institute a privileged space for the western viewer to make stereotypical representations of Pacific Islanders and hence reproduce relations of power through marking the Islanders as feminised, 'primitive,' or anachronistic. The white mythology constructing the sexualised or cannibal stereotypes were made into practices of observation for the tourists, who could record and reproduce the stereotypes through the camera or a written account of the cruise. These stereotypes are powerfully used in tourism to validate the economic and cultural intervention of the colonising nations and position a tourist to see the 'sights' and events while on holiday in this particular way. The cruises assert a much broader social acceptance of various colonial activities. I demonstrate these practices in the second half of this chapter when I examine texts relating to the 1884 USSC Pacific cruises, and some texts both before and after the first cruises which utilise the technologies of representation as markers of colonial privilege. However, firstly I shall address the objects, activities and concepts from which a Pacific cruise emerged. Then I will suggest connections between colonialism, technology and tourism in the Pacific, before examining texts associated with the first cruises.

The Grand Tour

In terms of tourist history, the most obvious precursor to the cruise is the Grand Tour. The travel of British aristocracy around the European continent in the period of

1550-1850 has been widely valorised as signalling the birth of tourism. A necessary distinction should be made between the terms 'tourist' and 'traveller.' The word 'tourism' was first used, apparently in 1811 (according to the *OED*) and "tourist" in 1793 where it gained meaning from its Greek roots, signifying a tool which describes a circle. There have been other theories that posit 'tourism' is a proper noun from a family, de la Tour, who organised the first trips to France from England.³⁰ As the industrial revolution made travel more accessible the tourist was seen as the middle class replacement of the travelling aristocrat.³¹ In the difference between the two terms can be marked the concepts crucially linking the Grand Tour to forms of travel such as the cruise: that of class and education. The Grand Tour is considered specific to the upper classes and is occasionally announced in the advertising material of Pacific cruises to imply luxury and prestige, asserting that the passengers on a cruise are of a high social standing. Indeed, when the Prime Minister of Aotearoa/New Zealand, R. J. Seddon, was advised to take "absolute rest from worry" and "leave ... the telegraph and telephone"³² he went on a Pacific cruise with USSC.³³ The generalised representation of the Grand Tour as the origin of travel invented by the English Aristocrat is found in traditional descriptions of the tour by historians, such as Jeremy Black or Geoffrey Trease, who subscribe to a limited definition of travel as a

³⁰ Niel Leiper, "An Etymology of 'Tourism'," *Annals of Tourism Research* 10.2 (1983), 227-80. Also József Böröcz gives a detailed list of the first uses of 'tourism' and 'tourist' in each European country. József Böröcz, "Travel Capitalism: The Structures of Europe and the Advent of the Tourist," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 34.4 (1992), 708-41.

³¹ John Towner, "The Grand Tour: A Key Phase in the History of Tourism," *Annals of Tourism Research* 12 (1985), 297-333. Towner does note that there were many other travellers apart from the aristocrats (300-1).

³² [Edward Treagar], *The Right Hon. R.J. Seddon's Visit to Tonga, Fiji, Savage Island and the Cook Islands, May 1900* (Wellington: Government Printers, 1900), 1.

³³ Incidentally, Seddon used the cruise to investigate and test the possible federation of Fiji to New Zealand. For details see Ross, *New Zealand Aspirations* 271-80.

movement by a specific social class, and not a travelling circuit of Europe undertaken by anyone.³⁴

A second major influence of the Grand Tour is the emphasis on education, with the Grand Tour seen by young English men as a form of education. Virtually ubiquitous in the Pacific tourism literature is the maxim 'travel and learn,' which prefaces the intervention by tourists as beneficial to knowledge. Invoking education as a fundamental value of travel has done much to represent tourism as an activity with supposed humanist intentions and presumes the interaction between tourists and Pacific Islanders is simply pedagogical, with little reference to the economic motives. That something should be 'learned' from travel, according to Francis Bacon, in possibly the first English text on travel, implies that the practice of sightseeing is perilously close to espionage. According to Bacon sights to view were specific military installations and activities such as armories, arsenals, and training of soldiers.³⁵ Similarly, one of the most popular sights of the Pacific Islands was the plantation, where the tourist could learn of indentured labour, the agricultural economy, and the commercial exports of the Pacific Islands.³⁶ Travel for political use is reinvigorated through colonialism, as Richard Lambert, in his conservative text on the history of travel, *The Fortunate Traveller*, states: "[travel] turned out a ruthless and adventurous type of Englishman, well disciplined by a code of honour ..., tempered by

³⁴ Jeremy Black, *The British and the Grand Tour* (London: Croom Helm, 1985); Geoffrey Trease, *The Grand Tour* (London: Heinemann, 1967). For a criticism of this viewpoint see John Towner, "The Grand Tour" 300.

³⁵ Francis Bacon, *Essays Civil and Moral: The advancement of Learning Novum Organum, etc.* (London: Wards Lock, n.d), 28

³⁶ For and example see Ralph Stock, "On a Fijian Coconut Plantation," *Lone Hand* 10 (1912), 349-55.

the altruism of the Christian tradition.”³⁷ The new ‘type’ in Pacific travel was the colonial subject who is the master of colonised peoples, a scientific observer, and consumer of commodities from the colonial market. As I will discuss, the promotional material for the cruises were to suggest how this subject should behave, from appropriate dress to protocols of interaction with the indigenes. Lambert considers these disciplines the benefit of travel for the person and the nation: “The serious traveller had, then, two objects: first, to improve himself [sic] and so forward his [sic] own career; and secondly to fit himself [sic] better to serve his country” (41). These “incentives” he suggests, explain the English proclivity to “cultivate other regions” (37). As his statements make clear, education gained through travel implicitly promulgates colonialism: to serve one’s country abroad is to ‘cultivate’ (which can be taken both in the cultural and agricultural sense) the territory of the other. Cultivation through travel is constantly implied in one of the most popular destinations of the first cruises, the plantation, where the colonial economy, work practices, and sightseeing are combined.

What was considered educative, and the methods of learning this knowledge, was to change from the Grand Tour to the Pacific cruise. The Grand Tour was not the only form of regularised travel in the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, however, as other forms of popular travel such as tramping demonstrate, the mercantile and craftsman class had their own version of travel.³⁸ According to Judith Addler, part of an English artisan or craftsman’s training was the tramping around France or

³⁷Richard Lambert, *The Fortunate Traveller: A Short History of Touring and Travel for Pleasure* (London: Andrew Melrose, 1950), 39.

³⁸ Judith Addler, “Youth on the Road: Reflections on the History of Tramping,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 12 (1985), 335-54.

Germany, a practice that may be linked to the later Scottish naturalist walk, or contemporary backpacking. Walking originally was not seen as part of the Grand Tour itinerary, as one historian comments on Edward Gibbons' eighteenth-century account of being carried over the mountains by five Swiss porters: "It never seems to have occurred to the ex-captain of the Hampshire Militia ... to tackle the fifteen-mile tramp himself. Mountain walking for pleasure was still an eccentric activity."³⁹

However, walking and observing nature were to become popular activities on the cruises. The reason is the popularity of the sciences such as botany (gaining credibility through Linnaeus and Joseph Banks), and ethnography as crucial practices of the traveller's observation and education in the nineteenth century. Probably the first acknowledgment of nature on the Grand Tour was the hike from Geneva to the Glaciers of Chamoix in 1741. The hike comes at this time of growing interest in nature which was to manifest as the Romantic movement, and was invigorated by the Swiss botanist's, Albrecht von Haller, popular poem about Chamoix, "*Die Alpen*" ["The Alps"].⁴⁰ The poem, it is claimed, "attracted the attention of Europe to Switzerland" and suggested the countryside was an Arcadia.⁴¹ The activities of the hike can be likened to another fundamental resource for the Pacific cruise: the 'voyage of discovery.' The suggested practices of plant collecting on the cruise are close to Bank's studies of botany on Captain Cook's first voyage of the Pacific. The advice given to tourists in a USSC guide advises on the protocols of plant collecting:

Collectors who desire to collect plants in the Islands will find some difficulty in drying their specimens and in protecting them from the mould

³⁹ Trease, *The Grand Tour* 183.

⁴⁰ Trease, *The Grand Tour* 182.

⁴¹ Lambert, *The Fortunate Traveller* 68. Lambert also considers Rousseau's work crucial in the nascent interest in nature.

and mildew that are readily generated in a warm and moist climate. Dipping the specimens in a solution of corrosive sublimate and alcohol will be found an effective protection.⁴²

Plant collecting is another example of ordering, in which nature (which often included Pacific Islanders) was systematised. The tourist was asked to observe in an ever broadening scale the colonised terrain, from the Pacific Islanders to the economy and vegetation. Yet the observation was not an ad hoc practice of noticing and admiring, but came replete with a lexical and conceptual frame in which to categorise this terrain.

The voyage of exploration

The 'voyage of exploration' is an important precursor to the Pacific cruise. Pakeha New Zealand and white Australian historical narratives give the 'voyage of exploration' textual significance as a primal and celebratory event. In constructing the terrain of indigenous peoples as *tabula rasa*, and hence extirpating indigenous ownership, the western 'discovery' of Australia or Aotearoa/New Zealand has been instituted as an historical origin. These colonial narratives are similarly employed in tourism, where tourists can become the 'discoverers' and initiators of western history into the Pacific Islands in a gesture which curiously repeats the 'discovery.' A visit to Rarotonga is described in one tourist's narrative thus:

July 12 will be a day long remembered by the natives as well as by the passengers of the *Waikare*, it being the first occasion on which such a

⁴² Union Steam Ship Company, *A Cruise to the Islands: Tonga, Samoa, Fiji* (Dunedin: USSC, 1890), v. Later brochures often describe the interest in plant collecting under the rubric of the 'study of nature' in which the indigene is not separated from the vegetation.

splendidly appointed ship and so many passengers had visited the island. Occasion was taken of the event to hold a festival.⁴³

The arrival of the Europeans, more often associated with conflict and violence, is here re-enacted as a festival of the 'first' arrival. The relationship between exploration and the tourist cruise casts the tourists as 'explorers' in a manoeuvre replacing what was considered the outmoded practices of exploration with the modernity of tourism. The world, to the late nineteenth century colonial tourist, was virtually all 'discovered,' and tourism articulated the modernity of the colonising nations through valorising an accessibility to 'distant' areas by "magnificent" ships who have "first class accommodation."⁴⁴ The Pacific cruise is such a replacement of discovery, as BP's

British New Guinea brochure claims:

Now-a-days when every 'arry has done what not so many years ago was known as the 'Grand Tour,' when alligator shooting in the Nile, lion hunting in Nubia ... can be done by contract with Cook's tickets ... it comes almost with a sense of relief to visit a country really new ... a country of real cannibals and genuine savages.⁴⁵

The Grand Tour, written here as past purity which has been popularised by the middle class (a common complaint of traditional historians), correlates now with the Pacific cruise in which authenticity is achieved through casting the indigene as the 'real' and 'genuine' other. The 'relief' of continuing the Grand Tour in the Pacific reproduces the celebrated narratives of exploration which are lauded by colonial discourses and institutions.

⁴³ W. M. Fehon, *Six Weeks Excursion to the South Seas and Eastern Pacific Islands* (1898), 3. This is a brochure advertising the USSC's Pacific cruises, written as a tourist's diary.

⁴⁴ Fehon, *Six Weeks Excursion* 1.

⁴⁵ Burns Philp Company, *British New Guinea: With Illustrations of Scenery* (Sydney: Burns Philp Company, 1886), 11.

An important strategy performed by the cruise is to link the valorisation and expansion of western industrialism to tourism. The Pacific cruise was, as emphasised in numerous pamphlets, a place where the 'ancient' world of the Islanders was confronted with the latest developments of western science - such as electricity, air-conditioning and telegraph communication; photographs of dug-out canoes next to the cruise ships featured in numerous brochures plays out this distinction. The ship on the first cruises, the *Wairarapa*, was one of the first steamers with electric lights. An article in the *New Zealand Herald* describes the sister ship, *Manapouri*, first arriving in Auckland: "in the evening she was thrown open to the public, and ... thousands took advantage of the opportunity of inspecting her magnificent construction ... and the utility of electricity as lighting power. The electric light proved the greatest attraction."⁴⁶ A decade later a pamphlet would advertise that "Electric lighting has been so arranged that there was not a dark corner in the ship."⁴⁷ Darkness, in many forms, was continually expelled from the ship that was to position itself as the modern white beacon in the colonised territory. These instances of the modern cruise ship meeting the 'real cannibal' were to be represented as the privileged 'encounter' between the west and non-west, and I want to contextualise why.

There were 'exploration' voyages to New Guinea at the same time as the first Pacific cruises, yet they were ambiguously treated by the press and government, though still supported by the scientific community. There are some reasons why the 'voyage of discovery,' one the most lauded activities of the imperial nation, was to

⁴⁶ *The New Zealand Herald* 23 June 1882, qtd. in N.H. Brewer, *A Century of Style: Great Ships of the Union Line, 1875-1976* (Wellington: Reed, 1982), 27.

⁴⁷ Fehon, *Six Weeks Excursion* 1.

lose public interest. At the time BP was developing its tourist industry in the 1880s, it commissioned an explorer, Theodore Bevan, and supplied a boat, the *Victory*, to explore the area around the Gulf of Papua. The objectives of the exploration were to determine if there was access to the mountains via rivers, collect scientific specimens, discover gold, and any other “fresh geographical discoveries.”⁴⁸ The public debate encircling Bevan’s ‘discoveries’ demonstrates that exploration was no longer the celebrated practice it had previously been and was a source of much satire. Bevan’s ‘discoveries’ were publicly disputed in the Sydney papers by W.G. Lawes, a London Missionary Society missionary who claimed these ‘discoveries’ had already been found by Reverend James Chalmers years before. And Lawes added that Chalmers “certainly did not write a column or two of descriptions in a newspaper, and did not make a long speech about it.”⁴⁹ Previous ‘exploratory’ trips to Papua were predominantly unsuccessful, either foundering on sandbars or finding nothing of significance to the explorers and sponsors, and were thus unfavourably noted. One newspaper article commented that a New Guinea expedition had “returned without anything startling.... They had not even been attacked by natives.”⁵⁰ A correspondent satirically reported of Bevan’s expedition: “I hear Mr Bevan is returning [to Papua] with a large party in November. It is hoped no new rivers will be discovered or there will be no room to chart them.”⁵¹ In the context of these humiliations Bevan himself notes that public support for expeditions “has been such a drain on colonial

⁴⁸ Vivian R. Bowden, letter to Cpt F.A. Boone, 16 May 1887. NLA ms 2301/1.

⁴⁹ W.G. Lawes, letter, *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney) 10 March 1888. The debate between Lawes and Bevan can be found in a collection of newspaper clippings in the Mitchell Library: “British New Guinea in 1885,” Newspaper Clippings vol. 117.

⁵⁰ British New Guinea Correspondent, *Sydney Morning Herald* 4 Oct. 1888, 5.

⁵¹ British New Guinea Correspondent, *Sydney Morning Herald* 1 Sept. 1887, 3.

patience.”⁵² One possible reason for the ridicule towards exploration in this period is that late nineteenth-century narratives of colonialism were tending towards a desire for nostalgia that simultaneously promoted Europe’s modernity.⁵³ Juxtaposing the ‘ancient’ or ‘edenic’ representations of the Pacific with the technology of tourism produces this nostalgia much more successfully than the expedition. Also, industrialised nations were concerned more with the economic productivity of colonialism, and tourism was more profitable than the apparent ‘heroics’ of exploration. While there are numerous hesitations with this argument, especially around the ‘profit’ of tourism compared to exploration, and modernity’s novel inception of nostalgia, I want to consider the means by which tourism could represent its modernity.

The practices of the tourist

From the voyage of exploration and the Grand Tour emerged the nature walk, and the assumed educative value of travel. As well as collecting planting and visiting ‘scenic’ vistas the tourist was asked to become an amateur ethnographer, to collect and understand Pacific Island culture, and be able to determine so-called ‘authentic’ from ‘non-traditional’ culture. The pamphlet of information issued to the passengers on the 1884 *Wairarapa* trip gives, on the first page, the list of passengers with their seat allocation, then the Officers, followed by the General Directions which details meal

⁵² Theodore F. Bevan, *Discovery of Two New Rivers in British New Guinea* (Sydney: Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, 1888), 1.

⁵³ I take this argument on nostalgia from Susan Stewart *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Baltimore: John Hopkins UP, 1984).

times, barber hours, provision of boats and lights out times.⁵⁴ The programme of the excursion then outlines “a few particulars of the places to be visited, which may be of interest to the passengers” (4). Each Island groups is described in terms of population, government, exports, and the ‘race’ of the Pacific Islander they will meet. The politics of racial classification are simply stated: Fijians are “a fine well-made people; dark complexion, good physique and a fairly intelligent caste of countenance. Their great pride is their hair....” (5); and Tongans “surpass all other South Sea Islanders in mental development.... They have been styled the Anglo-Saxons of the South Pacific, and enjoy the reputation of being the most civilised of the South Sea Islanders” (9). The tourists are asked to read difference by physiognomy, skin colour, and development of tools; they are positioned as ethnographers who must observe the ‘characteristics,’ an authority readily taken up in many of the pamphlets and reliant on colonial relationships of power.⁵⁵

The display of colonial plantations, sites of manufacture, descriptions of work and leisure activities in the colony were to construct the colonial economy as fundamentally western by impressing on the tourist the protocols of observing correct labour techniques and evaluating commercial productivity. The tourist subject enabled by tourism could circulate colonial values, take up the position of the coloniser, and disseminate the science, history, and morality of colonialism. Tourism, on a broad

⁵⁴ Union Steam Ship Company, *Excursion to the South Sea Islands from Auckland, 4th June, 1884* (Dunedin: *Daily Times*, 1884).

⁵⁵ There are many articles which concentrate on the connection between tourism and anthropology. Malcolm Crick, “‘Tracing’ the Anthropological Self: Quizzical Reflections on Fieldwork, Tourism and the Ludic,” *Social Analysis* 17 (1985), 71-92; Frederick Errington and Deborah Gewertz, “Tourism and Anthropology in a Post-Modern World,” *Oceania* 60.1 (1989), 37-54.

scale, educated and disseminated issues of nationalism and racism within Australian and Aotearoa/New Zealand culture.

The cruise is a most suitable model to achieve this form of education because the activities of the passengers were closely regulated. The programme of the tour details who is travelling, their places at the dinner table, the roster for all the daily meals from morning coffee to dinner, and hours when the lights are to be turned off. The regimen extends to entertainment, as one ship board account notes, the “revelry” one night was fortunately on Saturday or else “Captain Chatfield would have to grant us a special bill of indulgence, or even the ladies would mutiny against the lights being put out at the usual hour.”⁵⁶ Passengers were advised on the clothes to wear; the advice is, of course, the costume of a coloniser: an 1898 USSC pamphlet states “The regulation wear for men is white drill. A cummerbund of silk or woollen material is substituted for the waistcoat ... and it is thought to be necessary protection to the loins against changes in temperature.”⁵⁷ This was worn with, of course, the cork-lined (pith) helmet. The threat to the fertility of the tourist, and the necessary protection of the loins, is part of the widespread social fear of the ‘frontiers’ being places of ‘miscegenation’ and ‘degenerate’ races. As the tourists were visiting, according to scientific thought at the time, a region “undergoing a process of depopulation,”⁵⁸ the potential of sterility caused by the environment was seriously considered. Alongside the suggestions of clothes for protection (the helmet “protects the head against sunstroke”), they also signify status. In particular the colour white is enforced. The

⁵⁶ Anon. [Special Correspondent], “Among Coral Islands: The Trip of the One Hundred, II,” *Sydney Morning Herald* June 28, 1884, 7.

⁵⁷ Union Steam Ship Company, *A Cruise to the Islands* iv.

⁵⁸ W.H.R. Rivers, “The Psychological Factor,” *Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia*, ed. W.H.R. Rivers (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1922), 84.

uniform of the officer is complimented by describing how to issue commands to Pacific Islanders; here the tourist is properly trained in mastering Pacific Islanders as servants. The “Hints to Tourists” in the *Commercial Directory and Tourist Guide* (1905) is an excellent example:

the natives of ... the South Pacific Islands, have a particularly quick eye in detecting the true lady or gentleman, from [the] common person.... Their treatment of visitors is also exactly proportioned to the actions and manners of their guests; if your manner and actions are those of gentlefolk, or of a commoner, so will you be treated by the natives.⁵⁹

These examples naturalise colonial practices as a necessary form of education.

Tourism trains the passenger in ordering: both delivering an order to the Pacific Islander and the hierarchical ordering of coloniser and colonised.

The discipline of regularising eating, sleeping, and socialisation is accompanied by detailed suggestions of what activities constitute leisure. Not only were cruises educating the tourists to become colonial masters, but also to become disciplined workers in an imperial economy. The repeated emphasis on the Pacific Islands as, according to Beatrice Grimshaw, “The Paradise of Laziness”⁶⁰ assumes the metropolitan centres are the sites of industry and labour, and the colonised terrain the place of “surfeit”⁶¹ and excess. Grimshaw explains:

Someone had been overworking; the doctors had told him so these six months past.... The sordid details of each day’s work suddenly became almost unbearable. Yet where was real rest to be found in the midst of all the accustomed, tiresome surroundings?⁶²

⁵⁹ *The Commercial Directory and Tourists’ Guide to the South Pacific Islands, 1905* (Sydney: Dineen, 1905), 138.

⁶⁰ Grimshaw, “Islands of the Blessed” 4.

⁶¹ Grimshaw, “Three Wonderful Nations” 6. The term ‘surfeit’ is repeatedly used to signify the excess and resource wealth of the Pacific Islands.

⁶² Grimshaw, “Three Wonderful Nations” 1.

So opens one of Grimshaw's advertising pamphlets for the USSC, neatly setting out the labour of the tourist as difficult and tiresome, while indigenous labour is not recognised. 'Real' rest, we must assume from Grimshaw's suggestion, is only possible on a cruise while watching the Pacific Islander perform labour. The rigorous discipline of tourist activities is carefully naturalised because the cruises are supposedly 'holidays' where no employment activities take place. The assumption that all business is left behind and the tourists' 'play' on the islands masks the specificity of the pedagogical agenda. The list of what sights to view and vantage points to be taken trains tourists in the naturalisation of colonial representations as the 'truth,' and also articulates ways of describing indigenous cultures and peoples as always inferior to white Australian or Pakeha New Zealand culture.

Tourism as a practice of imperialism can be aptly understood through Spivak's concept of 'worlding.' In an effort to describe what makes the subaltern assume the marginalised subject-position of 'other,' Spivak addresses how Europe is consolidated as the sovereign subject within which the concept 'Third World' operates as a discursive field.⁶³ The coloniser has a 'full,' or 'proper' subjectivity while the marginalised colonised subject is supplemented or brought forth by this imperial plenitude. Spivak describes this point using the example of a colonial officer who, when riding through the colonised terrain, is "actually engaged in consolidating the self of Europe by obliging the native to cathect the space of the Other on his home ground. He is worlding *their own world*, which is far from mere uninscribed earth, anew, by obliging *them* to domesticate the alien as master" (133). The "glimpse"

⁶³ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "The Rani of Samur," *Europe and Its Others*, ed. Francis Barker *et al* (Colchester: U of Essex, 1985), 128.

(135) of the coloniser makes possible the subject position 'coloniser' and is, in Spivak's terms, an attempt to cartographically (re)inscribe a true and imperial history.

The coloniser, then, through the practice of 'consolidating the self' orders, inscribes, and circulates the representation of the 'world' of the colonisers. Tourism was to actively pursue the emplacement of tourists into the 'scenery,' and then 'oblige' the Islanders to serve and integrate them as masters, as the previous example from "tourists' hints" suggests. A pertinent example of 'worlding' is described in the privately published booklet "Our Island Trip," a published diary of a passenger on a 1904 voyage of the USSC's *Manapouri*. The anonymous narrator writes of a journey 'up river' to a missionary village on the island of Bau. When summonsed to dinner:

Judge of our surprise to see a table set with the finest linen, serviettes, cut tumblers, flowers in vases - in fact, all the usual accompaniments of a gentleman's house, and we expected to divide our food with our hands. In our room was an electric bell, which was quite unnecessary, for a couple of native servants swooped down noiselessly as soon as the plate was empty.... [T]o complete the whole illusion we were served in the style of a first-class hotel.⁶⁴

The 'noiseless' Islanders are workers serving the colonial industry with the silence marginalising them from the privileged world of the guest. The 'home ground' of the Fijian is domesticated by the luxury items or technology of the European tourists, so that eating with the hand, the supposed anachronistic behaviour of the Fijian, is 'modernised' by hotel service. That the service is an 'illusion,' a secondary and unreal version of a western four-star hotel, states the service merely replicates the 'reality' of the colonial world. The Bauan Islander, then, mimics or copies from the 'real' dinner of the European first-class hotel. Representing the Pacific Islanders as domesticated is

⁶⁴ Anon., *Our Island Trip* 14.

part of an economic and representational marginalisation. Anne McClintock has coined this manoeuvre “anachronistic space” in which the indigenous subject is displaced from the historical time of modernity, to provide a space which is occupied by the coloniser - or in this case the tourist.⁶⁵ On the other hand the tourists themselves must consent to the economic and moral privileges of colonialism, they are made active agents in the reproduction and dissemination of imperialism. For this to occur it is necessary to situate them in practices which ‘naturalise,’ and validate their authority; the tourists must now evaluate how the servants cater for them, and must know what ‘authentic’ service is. The ‘worlding’ of the Pacific islands make sure that the knowledge of these islands functions through institutions and texts linked to white Australian or Pakeha New Zealand culture.

Photography and tourism

A crucial aspect of the tourist representative regime is the categorisation of the ‘sight’ or ‘scene,’ a view that the tourist must observe, possibly record, and admire. Around tourist activity various practices of vision are condensed. Judith Addler has described the growing reliance on vision in European travel during the seventeenth and eighteenth century as the “historical development (and eventual popularisation) of post-Baconian and Lockeian orientations toward the problem of attaining, and authoritatively representing, knowledge.”⁶⁶ The rise of Natural Philosophy, according to Addler, led to the privilege of the eye over the ear for verification, with accurate

⁶⁵ Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 44.

⁶⁶ Judith Addler, “The Origins of Sightseeing,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 16 (1989), 8.

descriptions taking the form of a speculum. With the increasing importance of representational practice, and the association between the photograph and 'truth,' came the technology of photography. The exploration of Papua by Thomas Bevan used photography, linking tourism, again, with the 'voyage of exploration.'⁶⁷ Bevan travelled with a photographer who had specific instructions to keep a journal record of exposed plates and act as the leader's assistant.⁶⁸ The first cruise by the *Wairarapa* had a photographer to record the places visited, and then to sell the photographs as souvenirs or collectors items. The 'truth' of the photograph, for the tourist, is an example of 'worlding' the colonised terrain by assuming veracity of representation lies solely with the coloniser's technology.

That tourism was actively supporting and using photography emphasises the growing centrality of the camera as a method of documentation and verification.⁶⁹ Many BP brochures, and the *BP magazine*, advised tourists where to obtain good scenic views to photograph, and what type of cameras and film to buy. In BP's *Picturesque Travel*, the tourist upon arriving in the Solomons, is advised to "wander through the native villages, viewing the novel sights and trafficking for curios, or, with Kodak in hand, take snapshots of the natives and their primitive surroundings."⁷⁰ Kodak similarly advertised "Make the most of your travels; use your Kodak," or

⁶⁷ I have been unable to locate the photographs of the New Guinea exploration, though Bevan's *Discovery of Two New Rivers* contains some ink drawing copies of the 50 photographs taken.

⁶⁸ "Report of the Expedition Committee," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographic Society of Australia* 3-4 (1887), 199-201. The objectives are in: Vivian R. Bowden, letter to Cpt F.A. Boone, 16 May 1887, 2301/1 NLA.

⁶⁹ For studies on the association between photography and tourism as mutual technologies enunciating colonialist discourses see: Patricia C. Albers and William R. James, "Travel Photography: A Methodological Approach," *Annals of Tourism Research* 15 (1988), 134-58; Gordon Maitland, "Two Sides of the Camera Lens: Nineteenth-Century Photography and the Indigenous People of the Pacific," *Photofile* 6.3 (1988), 47-58.

⁷⁰ Burns Philp and Company, *Picturesque Travel* (Sydney: Burns Philp and Company, 1913), 10.

“Showing is better than telling when it comes to what you say and did abroad!”⁷¹ The camera employs both an artistic formation in discerning the ‘picturesque’ and ‘scenic,’ and an authority produced from discourses of science which recorded and constructed cultures and artefacts, especially in areas such as anthropology and ethnography where this medium demonstrated the measurements and characteristics of what were defined as races. In these two genres of nineteenth-century photography, Alan Sekula writes, was “a fundamental tension ... between uses of photography that fulfil a bourgeois conception of the *self* and uses that seek to establish and delimit the terrain of the *other*.”⁷² The dual purposes for photography which Sekula highlights are pertinent, but they are not necessarily different uses. Tourism photography could establish the concept of self as colonising viewer while simultaneously representing the terrain of the other. The subject positions in photography, both of the photographer and the subject, are effects of transformations in the science of representation that were to reposition the body of the colonisers and colonised in terms of vision, truth, and science.

On the photographs of the first cruise one newspaper comments “Nothing can picture strange scenes more faithfully and effectively as the camera, and anyone viewing this series [by Alfred Burton] will acquire a far more exact and familiar knowledge.”⁷³ The conflation of realism and the photograph is evident in this evaluation, a conflation which charges European textuality with a value of

⁷¹ Qtd. in Douglas, *They Came for Savages* 83-5. Douglas is quoting from two Kodak advertisements in the *BP magazine*.

⁷² Alan Sekula, “The Traffic in Photographs,” *Photography Against the Grain*, ed. Alan Sekula (Halifax: Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1984), 79. Emphasis in the original.

⁷³ Qtd. in Alfred Burton, *Camera in the Coral Seas* (Dunedin: *Daily Times*, 1884), 6. The quote is taken from a review of Burton’s photographs in the *Otago Daily Times*.

verisimilitude and truth. John Frow, in a contemporary analysis of photography and tourism, states photography's centrality to tourism is "its power of capturing any piece of empirically witnessed reality and transforming it into a sign of itself"⁷⁴ Precisely the materiality of this 'capturing,' the violent effects on the colonised body through representational 'capture,' is elided in discussions which concentrate on the 'faithfulness' of photography rather than focussing on the procedures of shooting and capturing by the west. Photography enables and prepares terrain for colonisation, as Patricia Albers and William James demonstrate in their work on the ability of postcards and photographs to transform the "historically specific and culturally unique experience of indigenous people into stereotyped images that can be marketed as commodities."⁷⁵ The photograph as souvenir becomes a commodity in the economy of imperialism in which cultural artefacts and scenic vistas are valued and exchanged. In these exchanges is a contest of ownership with the colonisers 'worlding' the colonised terrain and the Pacific Islanders resisting, or trading, in this market. The authority of the camera as representative of 'empirical reality' needs to be questioned specifically in the context of constructing the photograph as the 'natural' and 'faithful' text of reality: how is the camera's failure to produce the 'real' broached, how does the Pacific Islander's agency rupture the 'faithful' text discussed within colonial discourse?

⁷⁴ John Frow, "Tourism and the Semiotics of Nostalgia," *October* 57 (1991), 144.

⁷⁵ Patricia C. Albers and William R. James, "Tourism and the Changing Photographic Image of the Great Lakes Indians," *Annals of Tourism Research* 10 (1983), 145. I do have reservations about this article as its strategy is to use the postcards to "study the way tourists 'see' people" (125), a theoretical standpoint which leaves intact the privileged site of the western observer, and assumes there is a 'real' image and 'authentic' Native American culture which is misrepresented.

Representations of tourism before the camera

Before photographic reproductions became commercially viable one method of representing the Pacific to a large audience was the lantern slide show. Using a similar technology to photography - the slide is produced from a photographic negative - slide shows were seen in many church halls and chapels. John MacKenzie argues that these shows were frequently devoted to imperial events, especially travel and missionary subjects.⁷⁶ Scottish photographer George Washington Wilson produced a lantern slide lecture titled "Cannibal Isles or Rovings among the Coral Reefs and Palms" which toured around England in the 1880s.⁷⁷ A booklet which accompanied the lecture gives a paragraph description to the 60 slides. The lecture traces a linear movement through the Islands of Fiji, Tonga, Samoa, and the Solomon Islands, with the commentary focussing on houses, women, and on the 'scenic.' The first slide, "Map of Oceania," contextualises the movement in terms of European geography; the commentary reads in part:

It is our intention ... to give our audience some glimpses of the beautiful scenery to be found in the sunny islands of the South Pacific, and to furnish illustrations of the interesting native races and customs as they exist there at the present today. The islands of Polynesia ... [are] so

⁷⁶ John MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1984), 32.

⁷⁷ G.W.W. [George Washington Wilson], *Cannibal Isles or Rovings among the Coral Reefs and Palms: A Reading. Descriptive Series of Lantern Slides* (Aberdeen: n.p., n.d.). Wilson also produced a similar series titled *A Trip to the Paradise of the Pacific: The Great Hawaii. Volcano and the Leper's Home* (Aberdeen: n.p., n.d.). Authorship of these two pamphlets is uncertain and attributed to Wilson by Sir William Dixon, from whose collections these pamphlets are found. Further, the date of the lectures vary widely. The British Museum considers the pamphlet was published in 1865, which is totally inaccurate. The Mitchell Library considers the date before 1882, for it describes Levuka as the Fijian capital (it became Suva after 1882); however, the author mentions Shirley Baker who had been a missionary in the islands for 30 years (he arrived in 1860), which should place the publication around the late 1880s and before 1893 before the death of King George Tupou I (who is described as the living monarch). The 1865 date is given, possibly because there was a George W. Wilson photographer in England who took Royal portraits; one of Queen Victoria features in Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (London: Jonathon Cape, 1982), 56.

numerous that it would be impossible, in the limited time at our disposal, to touch *all* the different groups. (5)

The violence of colonialism here is played down by implying the Europeans are only 'touching' the islands and their observation is 'glimpsing.' Similar tropes are used in tourism brochures of the cruises: islands are touched or acquainted, the view is partial or 'glimpsed' because the region is too big. However, the omnipotent view remains as a desirous possibility to Wilson. The terrain is reduced to readings of 'nature,' a 'nature' which homogenises the indigenous peoples, the vegetation, terrain, and culture. Other slides in the collection regularly include a plantation and viewers are asked to "Note the luxuriant foliage of the bananas growing in the plantation below the [native] house" (5). Representations of European industry like the plantation or wharf, the regular signifiers of European commerce, are shown so the viewer is "at once reminded of the influence of British rule in the busy life of the wharf" (5-6). Among these slides are pictures of labouring Fijians who are 'taught' the various skills of fetching coconuts on the plantation representing them as naturally servile to the managing British. Beatrice Grimshaw in a tourist brochure emphasises this servility of the Pacific Islanders: "Any native, if politely asked ... will readily climb the nearest tree ... and throw down a nut or two."⁷⁸ The implied servility of the Pacific Islander and the practice of ordering by the tourist are crucial concepts in colonial discourse. It is assumed by Wilson that the British possess the knowledge to grow and harvest coconuts while the Pacific Islanders have the 'natural' skills such as climbing trees to labour in the plantation. The slides infer an economy waiting for British control, with willing labour and plentiful resources and, as latter described, a "good living off a fair-

⁷⁸ Beatrice Grimshaw, "Three Wonderful Nations" 13.

sized plantation” (9). Details of the copra, banana, bread fruit and sugar cane economies are given in the reading. The Fijians are unable to take advantage of these resources because, as the slides show, they “take life easy” (8) and the “absence of knives and tools hinders native works from advancing” (10). Seizure of the land is justified because the abundance of vegetation growing “plentifully in all directions” implies the wealth of the plantations in contrast to the “thinly populated” and “impenetrable” (7) interior of the Fijian hills.

Wilson introduces Samoa by a differing process of colonisation; that of engendering the culture as feminine: “As our first Samoan view, we beg to introduce to notice a young Samoan princess. We will allow the little beauty, dressed in her costume of tapa or native bark cloth, to speak for herself” (16). Patronising the Samoan woman as ‘little beauty,’ the association of the colonial gaze with patriarchy, and the focus upon so-called royalty, produces sexualised and stereotypical representations in colonial discourse. Colonial photographers frequently titled representations of Pacific Islanders with King, Queen, Princess or Chief’s daughter, which satirises Islander systems of authority (suggesting they are a mimicry or artificial version of British systems of authority) while attempting to universalise monarchy (and hence biological inheritance) as a natural form of government. Wilson’s comment of letting the ‘Princess’ speak for herself assumes it is her body which is communicating to the voyeuristic English audience, setting up the mind:body dichotomy between the western audience and the Pacific Islander’s body. The ‘voice’ of the indigene is silenced and replaced with a western representation of the body, her passive silence a sign of her domination by the coloniser’s gaze. The viewer, whose

notice is asked for, necessarily constructs through 'his' gaze colonial and patriarchal power.

Yet, the viewer must simultaneously have a disembodied gaze and corporealised, fetishistic desire of the stereotyped other, for the very process of sight is corporeal.⁷⁹ The viewer is asked to 'observe' and understand Samoa through the woman's body, yet the knowledge is formulated by a sexual economy; knowledge comes about through figuring Samoa as sexually desirous. With this sexualised ambiguity in mind, I will turn to the account of the 1884 cruise and through the politicised figures of Pacific Islander women examine issues around the colonial authority of the camera in the first tourist cruises in the Pacific. The representation of women in colonial photography is underscored with the practices inscribing indigenous bodies which are commodified to enable their seizure by the 'observers.' Sexual observation makes way for the seizure of the terrain, the labour, and the commerce of Pacific Islanders. As Annette Kolodny argues in relation to what she calls the American pastoral vocabulary, "to make the new continent Woman was already to civilise it a bit, casting the stamp of human relations upon what was otherwise unknown and untamed."⁸⁰ The focus on women in a plethora of tourist literature operates within a fetishisation of the non-western other that attempts to apprehend and contain the colonised in submissive positions already 'stamped' in colonial relationships of power by gender roles. As I will argue, the photographers devote much time to discussing the picturing

⁷⁹ I take this theoretical strategy from Joseph Pugliese, "Embodied Economies of Desire in Hegel's Empire of Reason," *Social Semiotics* 4.1-2 (1995), 163-83. In this article Pugliese argues Hegel's disembodied *Geist* returns in the figure of the corporeal non-western other.

⁸⁰ Annette Kolodny, *The Lay of the Land: Metaphor as Experience and History in American Life and Letters* (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1975), 9. There are many points in Kolodny's text which I find problematic, particularly gestures of a universally recognised gender difference. However, her text is an apt examination of the rhetorical strategy of feminising the land.

of women, yet this activity is fraught with problems such as the 'faithfulness' of the camera.⁸¹

Alfred Burton's photography on the *Wairarapa*

The 1884 *Wairarapa* excursion is a valuable event from which to map tourist activities because the designated sights were recorded by the on-board photographer, Alfred Burton, one of the brothers in the well-known Aotearoa/New Zealand Photographic studio, the Burton Brothers.⁸² Burton wrote an account of this excursion, a "Photographer's Diary" which was published in a pamphlet to accompany the advertised catalogue of photographs.⁸³ The catalogue lists 250 photographs, including panoramas of Levuka and Apia, and 24 stereoscopic slides, which were intended for individual sale.⁸⁴ One section of this diary outlines the ideological gaze of the photographer particularly the ways that aesthetic, sexualised and economic evaluations are signified through controlling sight. The photograph, it can be argued, constitutes the space of the colonised as always subject to the coloniser's reality. However, western representational power is constantly ruptured by its own omissions and incapacities, especially where the colonial viewer is

⁸¹ For a related investigation of the exoticisation of Malaysia in tourist brochures see Harry Aveling, "Representations of Malaysia in Current Tourist Brochures for Australian Travelers," Australia-Malaysia Relations, Conference at Centre for Malaysian Studies, Monash University, April 1995.

⁸² For details on the Burton Brothers see Hardwicke Knight, *Burton Brothers Photographers* (Dunedin: John McIndoe, 1980); Hardwicke Knight, "Burton Brothers of New Zealand," *History of Photography* 3.2 (1979), 167-79.

⁸³ Alfred Burton, *Camera in the Coral Seas* (Dunedin: *Daily Times*, 1884). All following references will be made in the text.

⁸⁴ The stereoscope, according to Jonathon Crary, "for decades ... defined a major mode of experiencing photographically produced images." Jonathon Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1994), 118. Burton's photographs were among the first taken of the Pacific Islands. Other photograph collections include an 1887 collection published as *Picturesque New Guinea*. Douglas, *They Came for Savages* 45.

corporealised as desirous - a movement where the tourist or photographer is no longer a rational mind but a seduced body. The tourist, as a 'civilised' observer, is positioned as 'naturally' superior to the colonised subject; yet, this contradicts the very reliance of the coloniser's authority on the technologies of representation. Even though at points the authority of western representation is problematised, this does not negate the entrenched positions of power held by the colonial observers.

Addressing the contradictions in the representational economy does not suggest colonialism is a fragile ideological and political system. Rather, the rationalisation of colonialism is specious at these points. This can occur as a disinvestment of colonial authority, literally when tourists dress or undress to become Islanders. Dressing cannot merely be considered 'going native,' or the 'fall' of the coloniser from 'civilisation,' but must be conceived as a clandestine intervention into and appropriation of Pacific Islander culture.

On 16 July, Burton writes of a one day excursion made by the ship to the island of Mango in the Lau Group, Fiji. Planned as a "grand field day" Burton describes this excursion as a war party:

The force was divided; one body, consisting chiefly of the ladies, pulled round to attack the island by a flank movement ... while the larger division pushed on boldly to the front, [and] gallantly cleared the coconut groves.... Meanwhile the Engineer corps - represented by the Photographer-in-chief and a small but effective following of dingy mercenaries - had hovered on the skirts of the column, making a diversion ever and anon as some tempting scene would invite capture. (11-2)

The excursion, figured in militaristic tropes describing an offensive movement, articulates tourism as an invasion, where the picnic is not simply for "prospecting" (11), as Burton claims, but for the expressed purpose of 'capture.' At once the excursion is contextualised in lexias of patriarchy: the military, the men move 'boldly

to the front' while the women travel circuitously 'round the side.' Interestingly, the camera's role as 'hovering mercenary' or 'on the skirts' suggests its role ambiguously as a spy or an apparatus for surveillance - a disguised technology which can infiltrate the opposition.⁸⁵ Burton continues the military trope; vegetation is "falling" to the camera, before a panorama of valley was "covered by [the camera's] fire" (12). The metaphor of the camera as a loaded weapon suggests that the 'fired upon' landscape is in a colonial struggle for representation. The 'wilderness' is both the chaotic foliage which must be conquered by Burton if his camera is going to have a successful representational 'campaign,' and the area the tourists see themselves in, as shown in the title given to the on-board printed newspaper: the "Wairarapa Wilderness."⁸⁶ While the tourists see themselves as travelling through the 'wilderness' and indeed 'capturing' it through technology such as the camera, Burton's limited shots of this vegetation in his advertised catalogue, titled "studies native foliage" were taken within the Fijian Botanical gardens, hardly suggestive of the 'gallant clearing' of the wilderness. The capturing of 'wild' nature for specimens from a European-cultivated garden emphasises the disjunction between the apparent power of the camera to 'capture' the wilderness and the limited photographs of foliage in a garden.

'Capturing' the landscape is only one struggle at this juncture, for soon after taking the panorama the "Engineer" group found that "good fortune awaited them ... they were confronted by a large body of coolies (female).... Their disposition was

⁸⁵ A recurring project in colonial intervention is the clandestine invasion of colonised territory while in disguise. This forms the basis of Rudyard Kipling's *Kim*, and the practice of the orientalist, William Lane, described by Edward Said as an "Orientalist device for capturing ... valuable [and] otherwise inaccessible information." Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 1978), 160. See also McClintock, *Imperial Leather* 70.

⁸⁶ It was common on the early cruises for the passengers to publish their own on-board newspaper, often with satirical stories about the crew or other passengers.

excellent, but after a very brief engagement they were all 'taken'" (12). This 'engagement' details the strategy of contesting colonised space; the sexualisation of the colonised subject as feminised and weak attempts to naturalise 'capture' as patriarchal superiority - to penetrate and 'take' the colonised. But this desire is cross hatched with the violent history of colonial conquest:

The chieftess of the party (a Brahmin [sic], it afterwards appeared) was decorated with silver anklets and wristlets.... Despite the temptation, no attempt was made to 'loot.' This lady, on the approach of the victors, appeared to consider it the correct thing to veil herself, which she did, partially, with a corner of her robe; but on the Photographer-and-chief imitating her with a corner of *his* robe (coat-lap), she laughed at the joke, dropped the garment, and let all who would gaze their fill. After this the whole coffee estate [was] duly captured. (12)

The woman is commodified into a material economy; like silver she is considered a spoil of war. Her 'capture' is coterminous with the coffee estate's capture, the military 'engagement' paralleling the representational capture. The violence of war with the association of rape and looting, is only avoided by the apparent good will of the photographer, as if colonialism is a far more benevolent practice than war. The woman attempts to match the 'civility,' or perhaps prudery, of the tourists by veiling herself from their view. However, to continue the demarcation of the woman as sexualised object available to the gaze of the tourist, the photographer mimics her to suggest the 'joke' of her covering. The mimicry suggests the tourists consider the 'proper' behaviour of the woman is to undress for them. Yet the participation of the photographer suggests that the action of undressing is not 'naturally' or 'originally' indigenous. It is the tourists who must suggest and act out the undressing, so that the non-western other can be seen in her so-called "natural" state. Displays of nudity by Pacific Islanders are not always passive, and in specific instances can register a

defiance of colonial authority. Malama and Penelope Meleisea, when outlining the acceptance of tourism in contemporary Western Samoa, describe some young Samoans' attitude to tourists: "Samoan attitudes to foreigners who venture outside Apia ... might best be judged by the irreverent young children who, unconstrained by adult requirements of dignity and courtesy, bare their bottoms at passing cars and buses and shout obscene invitations."⁸⁷ While the gesture of the Brahman woman is not in this context of defiance, she does demonstrate that her supposed 'amorality' of exhibiting her body to the tourists is copying an amoral gesture from the tourist party itself, and hence her 'disposition' is produced by the colonised viewer.

To get the Brahman to do what he wants, Burton must mimic taking off his clothes, and in numerous other passages of his text this is quite literally done. Burton describes a large party from the ship at a bathing area who were "disporting themselves in primitive - even biblical fashion, for *they* were naked, and the native ladies on the banks were evidently not ashamed" (13). The myth of 'going native' is played out here, with the passengers taking on the role of Islanders, yet the tourists are now subject to the gaze of the Islanders. The mimicked gesture of pulling the coat lap or swimming naked describes moments where the authority of the observing tourist is shown to be invested in signifiers such as clothes, the slight action of disrobing quickly problematises the tourist's authority. Burton's text frequently references what he calls the "perceptible relaxation of the moral fibre" (15) of the tourists, but in many cases these 'relaxations' are either the tourist assuming the

⁸⁷ Malama and Penelope Meleisea, "'The Best Kept Secret': Tourism in Western Samoa," *Pacific Tourism: As the Islanders See It*, eds. Freda Rajotte and Ron Crocombe (Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, USP, 1980), 42.

subject position of the colonised, or mimicking the colonised. Burton at one point describes a “decorous and rigid churchgoer ... lying upon a mat in a native house, his head pillowed upon the lap of a dusky charmer who ... toyed seductively with his hair” (15). The seduction of the prudent churchgoer is both a criticism of the hypocrisy of moralists and a cautionary warning of the ‘allure’ or ‘temptation’ of the exotic and sexualised Pacific: the Pacific Islander woman is named ‘Circe,’ the Greek goddess who enchants Odysseus. The tourist in the ‘lap’ of the Islander corporealises colonial desire in the weak figure of the prostrate churchgoer ‘seduced’ by participation in what are considered Islander practices. However, the churchgoer’s power is not erased by this situation: when the Pacific Island woman asks his name he displays a handkerchief on which his name appeared in ‘permanent ink.’ The woman then asks if he is married, at which point “the photographer left, and diligently minded his own business” (15). The tourist with a proper, but undisclosed, name (compared to the stereotype given to the woman) is not passively seduced but actively controls information to gain his gratification, and is joined in this conspiracy by the photographer.

Scenes of mimicry are found in the catalogue of photographs where, on various occasions, the passengers would climb a tree; Burton stating “the sad spectacle was witnessed of affluent ‘globe-trotters’ and substantial Fijian merchants all ‘up a tree’” (10). Sad, because the useful signifier of racial inferiority is the association of non-western others with monkeys, and hence their apparent tree-climbing ability. The passengers ‘going native’ are satirising the evolutionary ladder with these ‘uncivilised’ habits and negating their colonial authority. The loss, however, must be contextualised within the unequal relationships of power, specifically here around the

production of representation. I would not go so far as to say, as does David Bate in his study of photographs of 'Orientalists' dressing up as 'Orientals,' that mimicry undermines the colonising gaze through its ambivalence, because this gaze is fluid within colonialism.⁸⁸ The Pacific Islander women watching the naked swimmers are in turn watched by the photographer. The photographer, with the technology to reproduce the 'real,' can 'document' the ambivalence as a site of conflict between the exotic other and the seduced coloniser; photography asserts the body of the colonised is a desired object like the 'loot' of the battlefield; the weakness of corporeality or the threat of degeneration to a 'monkey-like' state is an even greater reason for tourists to vigilantly adhere to scientific observation of Pacific Islanders and maintain 'rationalism.'

In this sense I call the Brahman's return gaze a gesture because she can only stage her response within the representational economy of the photographer. Within the parameters of colonialism's technology of representation the Brahman is only part of the 'conquest,' for behind her is the coffee estate, one of the spoils of war. After their capture Burton writes the

force returned to the landing place, covered with honour and self-satisfaction.... [A]ll the best (i.e., most picturesque) positions duly secured on that occasion. The whole force ... generously abandoned the whole of their conquests to the original occupiers, reserving only the glory. The engineers, though, retained their spoils - namely, twenty-two exposed plates. (12)

The trip is called an 'excursion' in the programme during which the ship "touched" the land,⁸⁹ the harbours are described as "commodius,"⁹⁰ and the tourists are named

⁸⁸ David Bate, "Photography and the Colonial Vision," *Third Text* 22 (1993): 81-92.

⁸⁹ Burton, *Camera in the Coral Seas* 6. This is a summary of a newspaper review of Burton's photographs.

⁹⁰ Union Steam Ship Company, *Excursion to the South Sea Islands* 5.

the “innocents abroad” (6). These descriptions are part of the lexical tactic to negate the intercessory and destructive features of colonialism. Though Burton considers he leaves the terrain to the ‘original occupiers,’ there are numerous inconsistencies to this claim. Firstly, Indian indentured labour is a legacy of the exploitative British labour policy in which Indians were imported for labour on Fijian plantations, a migration that, in Burton’s account, threatens to erase the indigenous Fijian from their ownership of the land. Secondly, the reputed exit of the ‘force’ does nothing to alter the British ownership of the plantation. The ‘glory’ of the tourists is far from their only ‘spoils,’ for not only do they naturalise indentured labour and plantation economy on the terrain while seemingly neglecting their appropriation of the land, their ‘capture’ in the form of the exposed plates enables the viable containment of the terrain and its economy. The ambivalence of the power does not hinder the commercial profit of colonialism.

Photography is perceived as a technology which signifies western superiority: the newspapers comment that the Islanders, “Whether they clearly understood the process of photography or not, they seem to have been singularly willing to lend it their passive assistance” (7). Yet there are numerous points where the camera seems far from able to describe the reality which is associated to it. The abundance or excess made possible by the camera is undercut by the drudgery of the photographer’s labour. Burton frequently comments on the effort needed to haul the camera about with him, and having to engage a young Samoan as a “beast of burden” (14). Not only the physical exhaustion of “dragging” (10) the instrument around, the weather is often “anti-photographic” (10), the days “too short for the camera to secure all it could see” (10) and subjects frequently cover up or, in one particular instance, a subject ““turned

abruptly on her heel, saying, 'Me go now,' and this photographer saw her no more" (14). The possible excess of 'reality' from the "faithful" (6) camera cannot totally represent the colony. On a discursive level the availability of an excess of vision is repeated: Burton's diary repetitively describes the posing of women in terms of surfeit: the Brahman woman letting the voyeur's 'gaze their fill;' or "a bevy of Tongan girls ... were easily induced to form groups for the insatiable camera" (19). The repetition and cataloguing of these poses, with descriptions such as "shapliest native girls" (10), of the "most delicious abandon" (15), "shapely limbs being freely revealed" (15), and "nature's own children" (19) enforce the importance of sexualised representations. Burton speaks most often of photographing women, and only in passing mentions some other sites he photographs. However, out of the 250 photographs advertised in the catalogue, 28 of these are women; the most predominant photographs are of 'scenes,' especially colonial buildings and streets (there are approximately one hundred). However, the relative lack of photographs of women does not indicate they were less circulated or considered unimportant compared to the street scenes, only that these representations emerge from an overdetermined signification.

Burton's guide shows master narratives of colonialism functioning with tourism to enable the epistemic control of Pacific Islander knowledges and representations. While this may not seem exceptional, as colonial ideology was pervasive in Australian and Aotearoa/New Zealand society around the turn of the century, the effects of these discourses profoundly structure the practice of tourism, and have continued to do so. I am not proposing that every time a tourist takes a photograph that s/he is adopting the subject position of coloniser and is subjecting the indigenous people to a colonial

relationship. However, the photograph's possibility, and the naturalised and valorised acceptance of them, comes from a history of privileging western modalities of observation. The tourists industry commonly reproduces many of the concepts and practices of Australian colonialism in their advertisements and representations of the Pacific Islands. A critical concern of my thesis is to examine where Australian colonial discourse continues to function in contemporary Australian society through mapping the genealogy of this discourse, and in my conclusion I wish to briefly turn to some instances of this contemporary colonialism.

Conclusion

In the programmes of the early tourist cruises colonialism functioned to enable the epistemic control of Pacific Islander's knowledges and representations. Because the terrain and economy of the Pacific Islanders in the 1880s was highly contested between western nations the practice of tourism could, on a popular and widespread scale, disseminate and validate Australian and Aotearoa/New Zealand intervention and educate the population in the politics of colonialism. Much more than a practice of observation, tourism was to institute a range of discursive practices in which the tourist was educated in how to categorise, record, and order the Pacific Islanders.

To conclude I want to briefly articulate the legacy of the colonial lexicon in contemporary Australian culture. The repetition of various 'imaginative' tropes of the Pacific erase the violent history of colonialism, and figure the colonised terrain in terms of western economies and desires. I will list three typical statements from a selection of tourist brochures on Vanuatu to emphasise that this relationship is still in operation. First, "Ni-Vanuatu are a graceful, quiet, natural people who have held on to many traditions of the past."¹ The servility of the colonised population is valorised, and Ni-Vanuatu culture is deemed 'undeveloped' through its association with nature and implied distance from 'civilisation.' Second, "Discovering Vanuatu is a rare experience. It is discovering the untouched paradise of the South Pacific."² Tourist excursions are described in the colonialist trope of 'discovery,' and the often violent colonial history, including decades of labour recruiting which significantly affected the

¹ "Breathtaking Vanuatu," Islands International Travel, n.d., 1.

² "Vanuatu," National Tourism Office of Vanuatu, n.d.

population of Vanuatu, is elided with the signifier of 'untouched.' It is worth turning to Faith Bandler's 'experience' of this 'untouched paradise' to remember this history:

They [South Sea Islander labourers] had been brought here from their Island villages which had often been devastated by the slaver's ruthless invasion when they went to hunt for the men. On the canefields he [Welou] had seen men drop and die from heat, hard work and hunger. Sugar cane, that monstrous idol, sucking the life out of those who tended it, devouring so many, always hungry for more.³

The 'savagery' of colonialism's commercial ventures, such as the sugar industry, cannibalistically consumes the Pacific Islander in direct contravention to Australia's claims that Vanuatu has the 'cannibal past.'

Third, "The charms of the Anglo-French heritage are reflected in the language, the cafes...."⁴ The reluctance of the 'charming' Anglo-French condominium to relinquish control to the indigenous population in 1980 led to a small scale civil war. The French Secretary for State for overseas territories encouraged French nationals to "continue their activities against the legally elected government of New Hebrides."⁵ Far from untouched, Vanuatu was a site of colonial conflict in which French-supported terrorists clashed with the independence movement; a conflict that has continued for over a century, and is still occurring in Tahiti, New Caledonia and many Pacific Islands. As these statements enforce, the violent history of colonialism, in which tourism is complicit, is erased from the modern tourist industry.

Contemporary Australian colonialism is not, however, only relegated to these areas of 'popular' culture such as tourism, advertising, or film. For the academic study of

³ Faith Bandler, *Welou, My Brother* (Sydney: Wild and Woolley, 1984), 27.

⁴ "Vanuatu," *Viva Holidays*, n.d., 3.

⁵ Fr. Walter Lini, *Beyond Pandemonium: From the New Hebrides to Vanuatu* (Wellington: Asia Pacific Books, 1980), 51-2.

the Pacific, as I assert in my thesis, appropriates Pacific Islander knowledges and terrains in an act of neocolonialism. The consideration of the Pacific as a European object of knowledge around the eighteenth century, from which there is the legacy of the 'imagination' and Romantic concepts of non-western peoples, has produced in turn a distinctly Australian colonial discourse. Active from the nineteenth century, Australian colonialism has operated across adventure narratives, historical studies and the industry of tourism with forms of representation which continue to the present.

Finally, I wish to emphasise that neocolonial practice is strategically active in the production and dissemination of the Pacific as an object of knowledge. In a review of Neil Rennie's *Far Fetched Facts: The Literature of Travel and the Idea of the South Seas*,⁶ Greg Denning, who is considered one of Australia's most eminent Pacific Historians, states that there "has never been a 'Pacificism' to go with Orientalism, the South Seas having always seemed more luscious than mysterious."⁷ In his employment of these two stereotypical descriptions of non-western culture, luscious and mysterious, Denning proceeds to construct the Pacific as an object of knowledge owned, understood, and finally consumed by the western intellectual. There is something quite disturbing and stunning about Neil Rennie's text which investigates the concept of the 'South Seas' in western culture. In a way, a study positions itself alongside Said's *Orientalism*, Rennie's text is, unfortunately, precisely the category of text Said so accurately interrogates in his work. Denning refuses to acknowledge a discursive formation producing the Pacific as an object of knowledge in Australian

⁶ Neil Rennie, *Far Fetched Facts: The Literature of Travel and the Idea of the South Seas* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1995).

⁷ Greg Denning, "Where am I?" rev. of *Far Fetched Facts: The Literature of Travel and the Idea of the South Seas*, by Neil Rennie, *London Review of Books* 31 Oct. 1996, 12.

institutions. He does not consider that stereotypes of the Pacific circulating in Australian culture are resultant from the 'study' by academic institutions which provide the conceptual validation for an 'imagination' of, or a 'fascination' with this region. Disavowed at this level, the practices of colonialism in contemporary Australia are erased.

The politics of Rennie's extremely eurocentric, colonialist text is untouched by Denning. The extensive bibliography, detailing a significant amount of European critical work on Pacific history is noted but the selection is eurocentric. There are no Pacific Islander responses to European history; missionary histories by Ron and Marjorie Crocombe and indigenous perspectives on historiography are glaring omissions. And Denning, who cautiously notes Rennie's omission of major Australian texts on the Pacific (an "oversight"[12]), threatens to be complicit in the erasure of Australian colonialism in the Pacific. The references are eurocentric in a strict sense, since even Australian and New Zealand historians (historians 'from the antipodes' as Rennie calls them), are treated cursorily.⁸ Yet, the texts which Rennie uses as 'proof' of Marquesian cannibalism are written by Australian Pacific Historians, emphasising that Australia has a crucial role in the production of the Pacific as an object of knowledge.⁹

⁸ William Eisler's and Bernard Smith's work is largely ignored. Douglas Oliver is scolded that he "should have known better" in discussing Cook's arrival at Tahiti (252n78), and Derek Freeman's work is "unbalanced" (293n184). That these evaluations are situated predominantly in the footnotes is a further indication of the status given to them: appendage issues.

⁹ Rennie quotes from work by Greg Denning and Nicholas Thomas. However, they are seriously misrepresented: myths of the 'dying race' in the Marquesas are attributed to Denning, when he is actually referring to the strategy of a colonial anthropologist; and Thomas is given the title of "specialist ethnohistorian" and quoted to prove that the Marquesians "probably were cannibals" (194).

Dening does mildly criticise a statement by Rennie, a re-reading Mariner's account of Finau (King Finow), addressing the "profound" silence of "native peoples" (13).¹⁰ Dening describes Finau's anxiousness about losing his identity when his name is written in the western alphabet: 'Where am I now?' is a question Finau (and Dening) ask. The loss of identity when Pacific Islanders are inscribed in western representational forms should be a current concern, but the loss is articulated here, rather, as a historical question. Indeed, in numerous representations of the Pacific in Australian texts this same question could be asked, for the identity, and history of Pacific Islander is invariably consumed by the 'imaginative' western observer. Yet, as if to demonstrate 'Pacificism' in action, Dening quickly appropriates the 'I' of Finau, and then writes on the 'I' of various Europeans: Cook, Magellan, Balboa, and so on. As if the Pacific Islander is only ever an object of study, and never an agent in the intellectual, historical, and cultural production of the Pacific, Dening does not address the relationships of power implicit in his study; the very notion that his study is only made possible by his appropriation of the 'I' of the Pacific Islanders.

I have set out in my thesis to discuss the operation of Australian colonial discourse, and to map the organisation of rhetorics, knowledges, and economies in this

¹⁰ Rennie's statement is:

While it has been my concern in this work to treat the works of travellers, I have not forgotten the treatment those travellers gave to their own subjects: the savages. The literature of travel to distant, illiterate peoples comes, by definition, from only one side of the world. Savages speak to us, if at all, ventriloquially - in our own words. As they will have so little to say in this work, then, which is concerned with those who speak about them, for them, or against them, I shall give the last word in this preface to King Finow of Tonga, quoted in a passage from John Martin and William Mariner's *Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands*. (1)

Here we see the resuscitation of racist stereotypes, the erasure of any signification of Pacific indigenous cultures, and the facetious generosity of 'giving a voice to the Pacific Islander' as if Pacific Islanders are puppets controlled by western languages. Indeed, Pacific Islanders are marginalised in this text to the extent that they get bundled into a category of 'uncivilised' with all non-European cultures.

discourse. While demonstrating colonialism operates in Australian culture as a coherent and regulated formation, I also hope to have demonstrated that this regularity is informed by popular as much as academic narratives, and articulates privileged knowledges alongside popular stereotypes. The interrelated dependencies of high and low, academic and popular assert that colonial knowledges function in numerous cultural bodies and across a range of texts, a span which determines colonialism as a most powerful discourse. With Australia now facing a torrent of racist invective validated in the Federal parliament, and a re-emergence of assimilationist and white Australia policies (in different guises), an examination of the justification of these knowledges is crucial.

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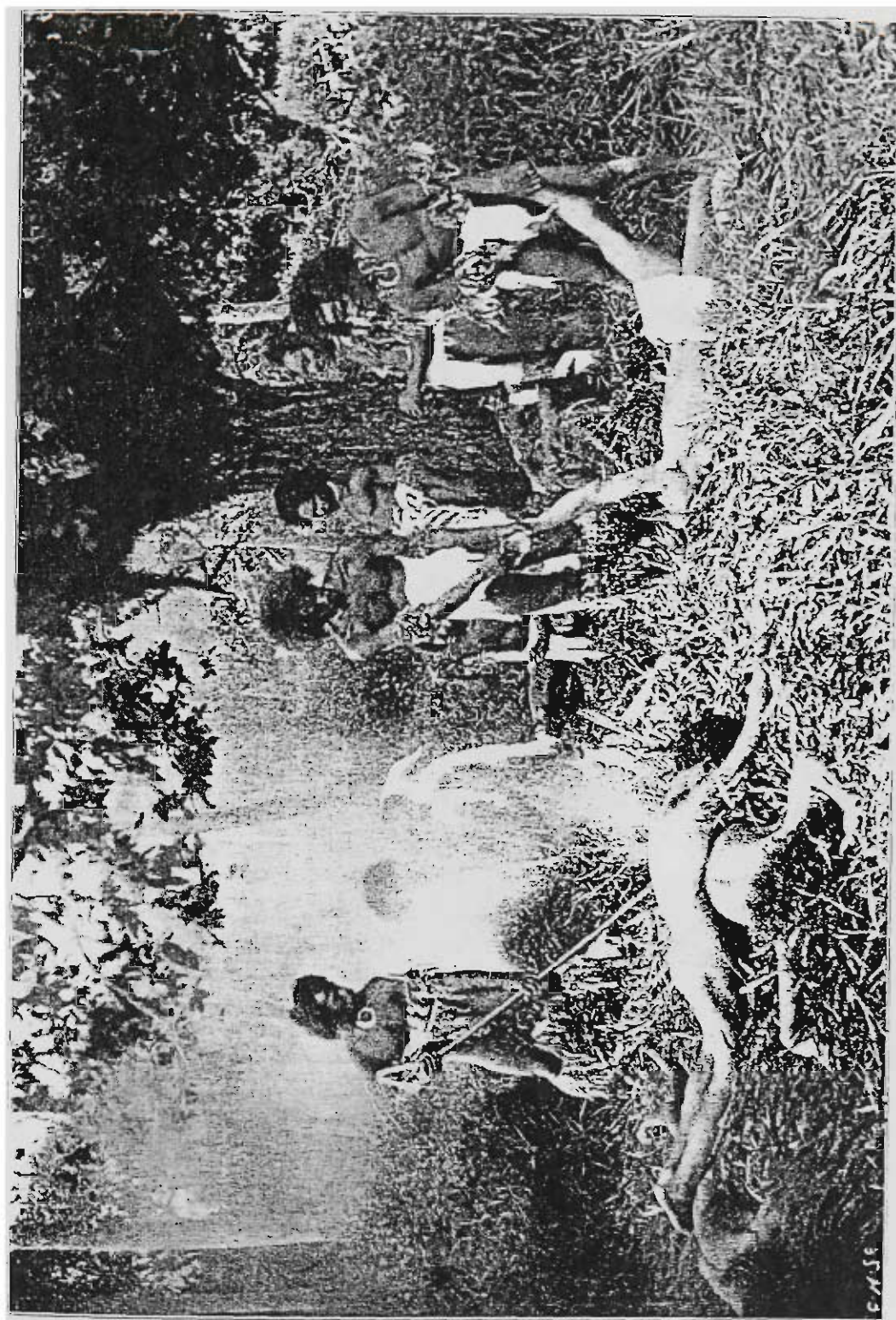
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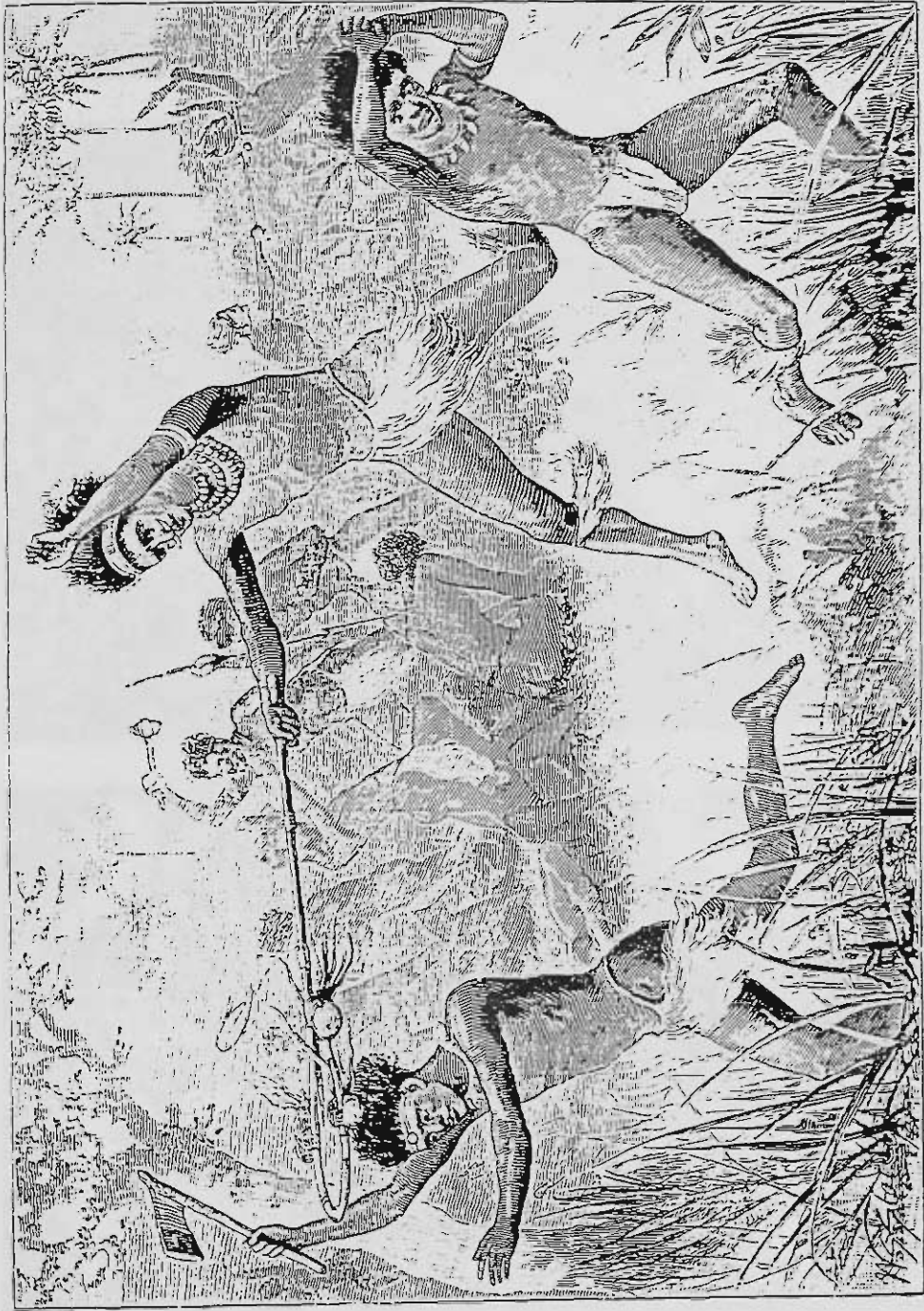
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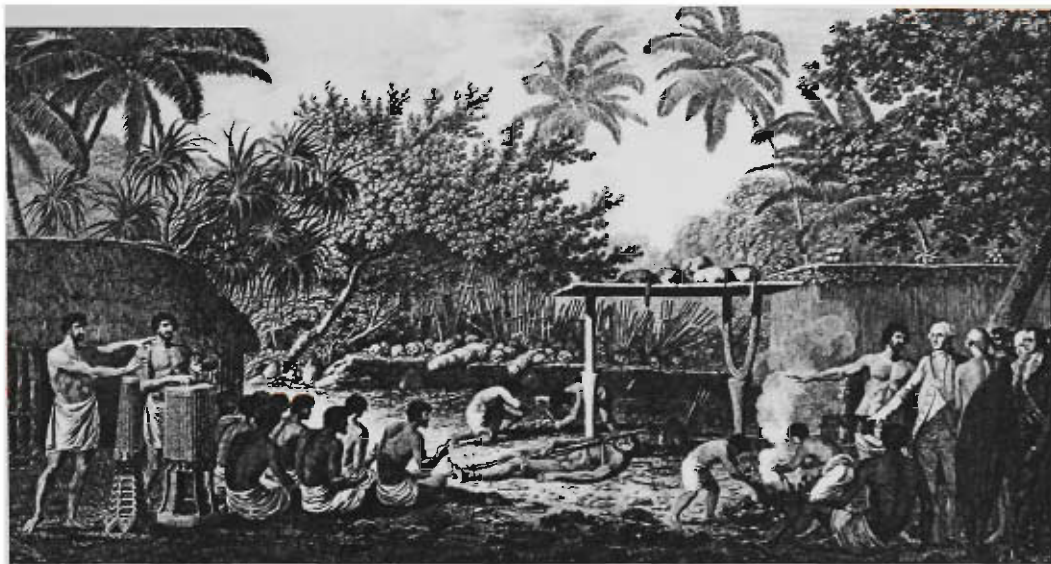


A CANNIBAL FEAST IN FIJI, 1869.

The meat, the fire, and the cooks.



LIFE IN NEW GUINEA IN 1877.



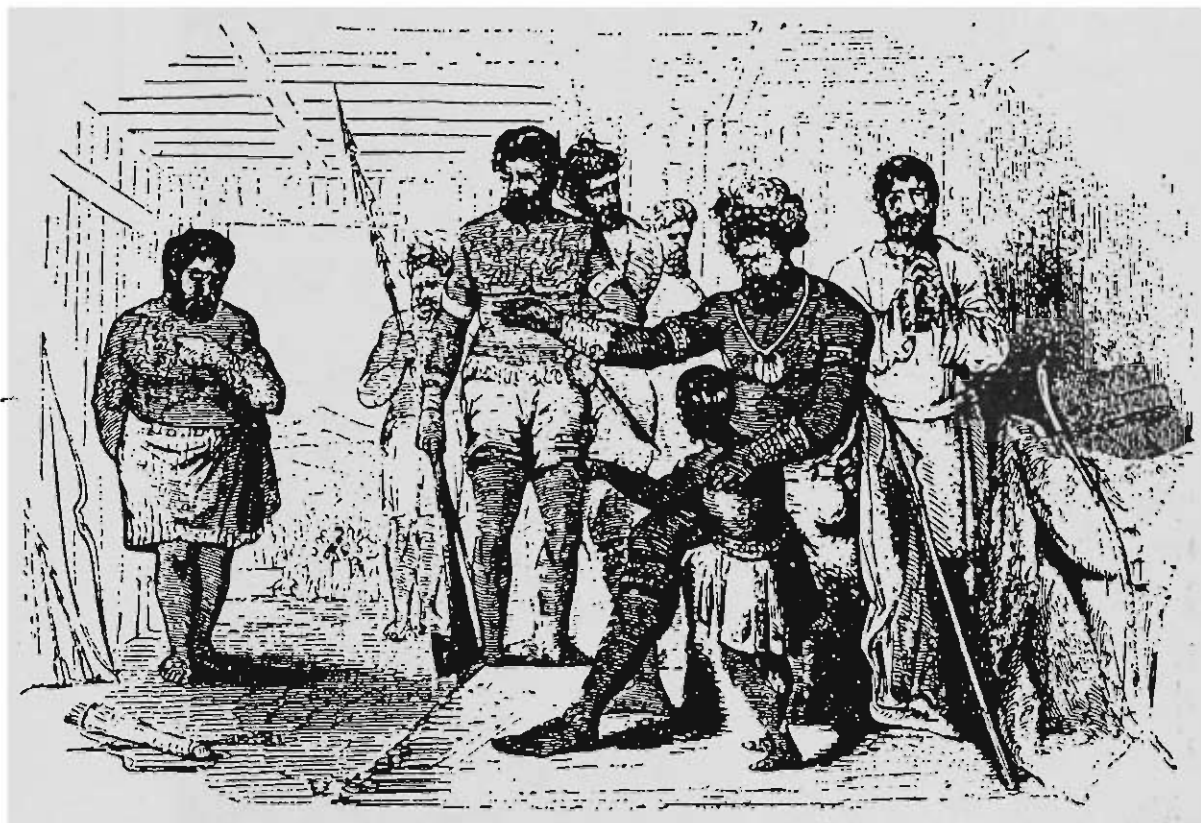
197. *A Human Sacrifice, in a Morai, in Otahite*, engraving after John Webber by Woollett, in Cook and King, *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean* (1784), pl. 25



198. *The Offering of a Human Sacrifice in Tahiti*, woodcut after John Webber, in *Missionary Sketches* (1837)



199. *The Ceremony of a Human Sacrifice in Tahiti*, engraving by J. F. Read, in Cook's *Voyages* pub. W. Wright, 1843



11 Missionary representation of the son of Pasan asking his father for
the fat man to eat
From the *Missionary Magazine and Chronicle*, no. CL, Nov. 1848



13. John Webber, *Poedooa (Poetua), Daughter of Oree, Chief of Ulietea (Raiatea), one of the Society Islands*. canvas, 57 × 37 in.
c. 1780. National Library of Australia, Canberra

